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Religio Augustini: Jordan of Quedlinburg and the Augustinian tradition in late medieval Germany

Saak, Eric Leland, Ph.D.
The University of Arizona, 1993

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RELIGIO AUGUSTINI:
JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG AND THE AUGUSTINIAN TRADITION
IN LATE MEDIEVAL GERMANY
by
Eric Leland Saak

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
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As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Eric Leland Saak entitled Religio Augustini: Jordan of Quedlinburg and the Augustinian Tradition in Late Medieval Germany and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Heiko A. Oberman
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Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

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I can only hope that the work that follows will in some respects reflect my gratitude to those who have done so much to bring this dissertation to fruition.
...and where you are, is where you are not.

...and where should I begin, please, your Majesty?

Weil ich Angst habe, ein Nichts zu sein, will ich alles sein; weil ich alles sein will, habe ich Angst, ein Nichts zu sein. Ich schäme mich...

Necesse est quod quisquis libros ut hanc dissertationem scriberet, in obscuritate laborat et in solitudine vivit--sine luce, sine laetitia, sine refugio, sine amicis et sine pace. Numquam sananda sunt vulnera cordis, quae altissimum animae perforant. Immo in tenebris meis gratias ago. Sanus esse non quaero, quia musicam noctis possum audire et gaudium quietis habeo.

To Seymour and to Momo.
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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* of the little known Augustinian friar Jordan of Quedlinburg (d. 1370/80). An edition of this work is presented in Part One. Jordan's treatise originated from lectures he held in the Order's *studium* at Erfurt in 1327. As such, they offer insight into the 'other side' of the Augustinian School, the teaching in the *studia* not associated with a university. In the fourteenth century there were 32 *studia generalia* in which Augustinians could receive the prerequisite instruction for the 'degree' lector, the license to teach in any school of the Order except for those associated with a university. The theology of the other side of the Augustinian school was more representative of the Order's theology than were the *Sentences* commentaries of the Order's *magistri*. Furthermore, the office of lector was not merely a stage within the Order's educational system. The lectors were the legislators of the Order's doctrine.

Jordan's theology was thoroughly Augustinian. This becomes apparent when his theology is placed in context of the *religio Augustini*. Jordan exhorted his brothers to be the imitators of Augustine and to follow Augustine's religion. Thus, they were not to remain cloistered in their cells, but were to bring the riches of the contemplative life to society at large by teaching and preaching. In this light, the *religio Augustini* offers the foundation for an historical interpretation of late medieval Augustinianism, rather than one based on theological definitions of the term.
Augustinian. For the late medieval Augustinian Hermit, it was the *religio Augustini* that made one an Augustinian.
INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is a single text. In 1327 the Augustinian friar Jordan of Quedlinburg lectured *ordinarie* on the Gospel of Matthew in the Augustinian *studium* at Erfurt. At the request of his students he published 10 lectures on the sixth chapter, verses 9-13. These formed his *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* and this treatise is all that remains of Jordan’s lecture course.¹ He later incorporated his exposition of the Lord’s Prayer into his first major sermon collection, the *Opus Postillarum*. Fifty-four manuscripts of Jordan’s *Expositio* have survived as an independent treatise,² and another 153 as part of his *Opus Postillarum*, printed in Strassburg in 1483.³ The *Opus Postillarum* was translated into middle high and middle low German⁴, and an anonymous German exposition of the 'Our Father' is

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¹ The explicit in the Berlin manuscript reads: "Explicit Expositio Orationis Dominicae, edita et lecta in scolis Erfordis per fratrem Iordanum de Quetelingburg, ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno Domini M CCC xxvii, cum Mattheum ordinarie lectitaret, qui etiam ad maiorem utilitatem hanc lecturam secundam numerum decalogi decem lectionibus contentam compendiose conscribere et communicare curavit pulsatus instantibus auditorum." Berlin, MS theol. lat. qu. 175, fol. 89va. Lectures given *ordinarie* were reserved for the regent master or lector, in which philosophical and theological questions were expected to be treated rather than a 'cursory' reading of the text. See Eelcko Ypma, *La Formation des Professeurs chez les Ermites de Saint-Augustin de 1256 à 1354*, (Paris, 1956), 36.

² See below, Part I.


essentially a compilation from Jordan’s treatise.\textsuperscript{5}

At first sight, Jordan’s \textit{Expositio} is one treatise dealing with the Lord’s Prayer among many in the Middle Ages, offering nothing of special import. Yet the reason this text merits our attention is not its uniqueness. Indeed, no less a scholar than Erasmus of Rotterdam entered Jordan on a list of preachers, ‘now fortunately rendered obsolete,’ who provided negative examples of the art of preaching, composing sermons perhaps useful to impress their audience, but devoid of learning.\textsuperscript{6} If, however, we accepted the judgment of Erasmus we would lose the opportunity to learn what this single text has to teach us. We are not concerned with the \textit{ars praedicandi}. It is not even as an exposition of the \textit{Pater Noster} that Jordan’s text evokes our attention. Its uniqueness is rather to be found in the fact

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{6} "Sequutum est postea concionatorum genus, fortassis aptum suo theatro, sed prorsus ignorantium artis, nec ita multum prae se ferens prudentiae. Ab his prodierunt nobis sermones de paradiso, sermones Jordanis, sermones Voraginis, sermones Roberti de Licio etc. qui nunc suapte sponte abierunt in oblivionem, ut iam nihil sit opus quenquam ab horum imitatione deterrere." Erasmus, \textit{Ecclesiastes} II. In vol. V-IV of \textit{Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami}, ed. Jacques Chomarat, (Amsterdam, 1991), 268,475-480. I would like to thank my colleague Pete Dykema for bringing this reference to my attention. Not all contemporaries of Erasmus agreed with his judgment. In 1521 Jordan’s \textit{Opus Dan (Sermones de sanctis)} was published for the sixth and last time, the third edition issued by Parisian printers. In the dedicatory epistle we read: "...implerisque copioso abundantius tamen et excellentius in hisce Iordani Sermonibus invenias: ut eorum lectione sic recreetur anima tua quasi biberis de fontibus Salvatoris." \textit{Opus Sermonum seu Sermones de Sanctis [Opus Dan]}, (ed. Paris, 1521), fol. Aiiv.
\end{footnotesize}
that Jordan's ten lectures on Matthew 6:9-13 offer us access to the level of instruction within the Augustinian *studia* not associated with a university; they were lectures by a lector who never became a master or even a bachelor. This echelon of education within the Augustinian Order has been by-passed by scholars who have sought to explicate the Order's university theology, particularly to prove or to disprove the influence of the Order's theology on its most famous member, Martin Luther.

Our task in what follows is to interpret Jordan's *Expositio*. To do so we will find ourselves far beyond the confines of the biblical passage. To arrive at a deeper understanding of Jordan's treatment of the 'Our Father' we must venture into the alleyways and corridors of Jordan's mind and Jordan's society. We must follow a very different path from that of Erasmus. Our destination is to arrive at an understanding of this single text, its explicit enunciation and its implicit silence. With this recognition as our guide, we begin our journey.

Frater Jordanus

Jordan of Quedlinburg is not a name that instantly rings a bell in the minds of historians. It does not have the grandeur of such illustrious figures as Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Marsilius of Padua, Jean Gerson or John Wycliff. The fact that our Jordan also went by the more general appellation of Jordan of Saxony is not of great help in evoking recognition; it simply necessitates the footnote that he
should not be confused with the more widely known thirteenth-century Dominican of the same name. Yet this *frater Jordanus* tells of his world in ways the more famous figures never could. He was an 'average' Augustinian, but as such, he brings us closer to the center, nearer to the heart of the matter than do the remarkable exceptions. When one stops to reflect on the noteworthy Augustinians of the later Middle Ages the likes of Aegidius Romanus and Gregory of Rimini are easily recalled. Jordan we have forgotten. He has remained an obscure friar from a relatively obscure place of origin; in the medieval 'Who's Who' one rarely finds the designation, 'of Quedlinburg'.

Jordan is one of many late medieval Augustinians about whom we know far too little. He left no letters, no diary, no autobiography, and no confessions. He is a stranger to us, and must largely remain so. What we are able to discover about the details of his life must be gleaned from a variety of sources. Even so we are left

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with such a paucity of information, tantalizing glimpses here and there, that it is impossible to compose a complete biography.

Yet the historical record is not blank, even if vague and obscure. If, as a member of the Augustinian Hermits, Jordan's progress pursued a normal course, he would have entered the Order perhaps as early as the thirteenth year of the fourteenth century, most likely in his home town where the Augustinian cloister had been established in 1295. ⁸ We know nothing of his family or childhood, or why he entered the religious life. We can assume, however, that once he joined the Order, after a year of probation, his scholarly skills were noted, for Jordan was chosen to be sent to the Order's general studium at Bologna where he studied under Prosper of Regio and Albert of Padua.

Jordan's tenure at Bologna was short lived, two years in all, from 1317-1319, at which time he was sent north and became, "the very least among the scholars of Paris." ⁹ Paris had long been the theological mecca of Europe, and the

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⁹ Jordan made this comment in the Prologue of his *Collectanea Sancti Augustini*, which is extant is Jordan's autograph: "Quia iuxta dictum sapientis ad locum unde ereunt flumina revertunt ut iterum fluant. Hinc est quod ego frater Jordanus de Saxonia dictus de Quedelingburg inter scolares Parisiensis minimus, quosdam sermones beatissimi patris nostri ac doctoris eximii Augustini cum quibusdam illis tractatibus seu opusculis vel legendis de vita et gestis eiusdem sancti patris ac sue pie matris sancte Monice, atque de translationibus eorum prout ad me fide digna assertione ac fideli communicatione...in unum volumen collegi." Paris, Bibliothèque d'Arsenal MS 251, fol. 1vb.
Augustinians venerated their first Parisian magister, Aegidius Romanus, more than saints Thomas and Bonaventure. Jordan hailed Aegidius as the first among the Order's theological professors after Augustine. In this tradition Jordan studied theology at Paris and obtained the 'degree' of lector in 1322.

To become a lector in the Augustinian Order required a minimum of five years of study. When Jordan received the title lector in 1322 he had fulfilled this requirement, having studied for two years in Bologna and three in Paris. What Jordan studied is difficult to say, at least precisely. The definitive form of the course of studies leading to the lectorate was not achieved until the later fourteenth century. Until that time there were continual revisions of the stipulations; the

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11 'Lector' was not a university degree, but was a 'degree' and office within the educational system of the OESA. See, Eelko Ypma, La formation des professeurs; see also ch. 1 below.

12 Ypma, La Formation des Professeurs, 10, 39. For the course of study for the English Augustinians, see William J. Courtenay, Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England, (Princeton, 1987), 72-77.

gradual reform of the Augustinians educational system was slow in coming.\textsuperscript{14}

Jordan did not receive his education during the heyday of the Order's scholarly prowess. The year before Jordan was sent to Paris, the General Chapter meeting in Rimini acknowledged that due to the paucity of masters in Paris the honor and fame of the Order was seriously diminished; therefore, the Chapter decreed that from that time forward two masters of theology were always to be in residence in Paris.\textsuperscript{15}

Logic, philosophy, and theology were the subjects in which the candidate for the lectorate was to be examined. Yet even this definition was not codified until the General Chapter of Florence (1326), four years after Jordan had already finished his studies.\textsuperscript{16} The General Chapter meeting at Padua in 1315 mentioned only the need for one year of philosophical study, although making an exception for students

\textsuperscript{14} Ypma writes: "Il ne faut qu'examiner les conditions requises à l'accomplissement du priorat, formulées par les Chaptres Generaux de l'Ordre des Ermites de S. Augustin après cette Union de 1256 pour soupçonner que, une quarantaine d'années encore après cette union, la formation intellectuelle et l'instruction théologique des Augustins étaient très médiocres." Ypma, \textit{La Formation des Professeurs}, 3-4.

\textsuperscript{15} "Item quia ex paucitate Magistrorum in loco nostro de Parisius honor et fama nostrri Ordinis de facili posset diminui et non modicum denigrari, diffinimus et diffiniendo statuimus quod semper in loco nostro Parisiensi sint duo Magistri in sacra pagina, unus actu regens, alius non regens debeat commorari; non regens autem non possit nec debeat inde recedere donec Magister, qui cathedram tenet, alium Magistrum habeat successorem." General Chapter of Rimini, 1318, AAug 3(1909):223-224.

\textsuperscript{16} "Item presenti diffinitione stricte precipimus quod nullus frater nostris ordinis promoveatur ad officium lectorie nisi sit sufficienter instructus in loyca et philosophia ac etiam in theologa...", AAug 4(1911): 6. See also, Ypma, "La Promotion au Lectorat," 400.
at Paris. The Constitutiones of the Order simply stated the need for examinations without delineating the content, although they did require the teaching of the three chief subjects. It is no wonder that the leading scholar of the Augustinian educational system called the requirements for the office of lector in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century vague.

We can assume, nevertheless, that Jordan studied these three subjects in Bologna and Paris, having already achieved a sufficient knowledge of Latin. We

17 "In primis diffinimus et ordinamus quod nullus studens de aliquo studio generali examineetur nec pro lectore licentiatur nisi ante ipsius examinationem philosophiam legerit saltem per annum. Nolumus tamen quod hec diffinitio ad illos qui student parysius extendatur." AAug 3(1909): 176-177.

18 "...a quocumque Studio Ordinis recedat, antequam pro Lectore se gerat vel officium Lectorie exerceat, a Generali impetret a quibus examinari et approbari debeat. Et postquam de sufficientia suae scientiae fuerit approbatus, pro Lectore ubique, et non aliter, reputetur." Const. Ratis. 36.335 (ed. Cendoya, 112).


19 "Les directives concernant l'examen que devaient passer les étudiants des Studia Generalia pour être promus au lectorat sont bien vagues." Ypma, "La Promotion au Lectorat," 394.

20 The Acts of the General Chapters had stipulated since as early as the Chapter meeting in Siena in 1295 that no one was to be admitted to a studium unless he could read the divine office: "Diffinitimus quod nullus frater mictatur ad aliquod studium in
only have indications of what these areas of instruction included from the time when Jordan was already teaching in Erfurt and Magdeburg. For logic, the Chapter of Siena of 1338 required the new and old logic,\textsuperscript{21} which was modified by Thomas of Strassburg’s \textit{Additiones} to the Regensberg Constitutions, ratified a decade later at the General Chapter in Pavia in 1348. Thomas stated that a candidate for the lectorate could either study one book of the new logic, or the entire old logic;\textsuperscript{22} namely, one of Aristotle’s \textit{Prior} and \textit{Posterior Analytics}, \textit{Topics}, or \textit{Sophistical Refutations} for the latter, or Porphyry’s \textit{Isagoge}, Aristotle’s \textit{Categories} and \textit{On Interpretation}, Boethius’ \textit{Liber divisionum} and \textit{Liber Topicorum}, and Gilbert de la Porée’s \textit{Liber sex principium} for the former.\textsuperscript{23} Aristotle held the day once again for the

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Infra quod triennium idem lector tractatus cum tota loyca nova et veteri perficere teneatur.} AAug 4(1911):178.
\item \textit{Nullus autem Studens definiri possit ad parisiensem Studium, vel licentiari pro Lectore citra Parisius, nisi prius in aliquo Studio, vel loco sibi per suam Provinciam deputato, legerit saltem unum librum novae Logicae; quod si veterem Logiacm velit legere, Logiacm totam pro uno libro...} Thomas of Strassburg, \textit{Additiones}, 36 (Cendoya, 117).
\item Alfonso Maierù, "Regulations Governing Teaching and Academic Exercises in Mendicant \textit{Studia.}" In, Maierù, \textit{University Training in Medieval Europe}, trans. and ed. D.N. Pryds, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 3 (Leiden, 1993): 1-35; originally published in, \textit{Le scuole degli Ordini Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)}, Convegno del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale, October
\end{enumerate}
philosophy texts since one of Aristotle's *Physics, Metaphysics, Politics, Ethics,* or *Rhetoric* was prescribed, or the entire *parva naturalia.* The *Sentences* and the Bible were the theological texts. According to the *Constitutiones,* before one could become the principle lector of a *studium generale* he had to have lectured on the *Sentences* for at least three years. The General Chapter of 1335 determined that in every *studium generale* two books of the *Sentences* were to be taught each year, so that the entire work would be covered within a two-year period, which was repeated by Thomas of Strassburg in his *Additiones.* The same two year period was required for the Bible. The Chapter at Florence mandated that the bachelors lecturing on the Bible at Paris were to cover the entire text within two years, beginning with the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Judith, Kings, Job, and the

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25 "Statuimus quod pro Lectore principali in Studio generali nullus ponatur, nisi prius legerit ad minus tribus annis omnes libros Sententiarum in Scholis..." *Const. Ratis.,* 36.344, (Cendoya, 113). Every *studium generale* was required to have two lectors. *Const. Ratis.,* 36.340, (Cendoya, 113); see also supra, ns. 15, 18.

26 "Item, diffinimus et ordinamus quod quicumque lector secundarius, in quocunque studio generali nostri ordinis ad legendum Sententias deputatus, quolibet anno teneatur legere et compleure duo libros Sententiarii, ita quod infra biennium omnes quatuor libri Sententiarii in quolibet studio legantur, et compleantur integraliter." AAug 4(1911):140.

"Volumus etiam quod quilibet istorum Lectorum secundariorum, infra annum legat duo libros Sententiarii, ita quod infra biennium compleantur quatuor libri Sententiarii." *Additiones,* 36, (Cendoya, 119).
Sapiential books, all of which were to be presented in one year. The remaining books of the Old and New Testaments followed, to be lectured on according to the discretion of the bachelor.27

Although these stipulations post-date Jordan’s stay at Paris, it is likely that after his three years there, together with the two he spent in Bologna, Jordan would have heard lectures on the entire Bible, all four books of the Sentences, and a good deal of Aristotle as well. The course of study for the lectorate was not simply elementary education preceding theological study at the university; rather, it was a rigorous program leading to the 'degree'--the license to teach as a lector within any studium generale of the Order except for those associated with a university--that for most Augustinian students was the "high point" in their academic careers.28 Jordan may have been among the 'least of the scholars of Paris', but his training was anything but meager.

Why Jordan never continued his studies by pursuing the degrees of bachelor

27 "Item quia illi qui ordinantur ad legendum bibliae in studio Parisium condivindunt sibi libros Biblie ad legendum pro libitu proprie voluntatis potius quam pro auditorum utilitate, idcirco, volentes huiusmodi biblicos ad utilitatem studentium limitare, diffinimus et presenti diffinitione firmamus et ordinamus quod Biblia tota infra biennium compleatur. Et quia nostre intentionis est quod quilibet biblicus per unum annum solummodo legat Biblia, volumus quod ille qui a capite Biblia inchoaverit legat totum pentateuecum, Iosue, Iudicum, Iudith, Regum, Job, et libros sapientiales, quos omnes in uno anno perficiat. Ille vero qui novum testamentum leget, legat reliquos libros Biblie qui ad lecturam biblici pertinent modo conseuto." AAug 4(1911):12.

28 Courtenay, Schools and Scholars, 75.
and then the master of theology is not known. Perhaps he was never selected to continue; advancement within the Order was not determined by one's own ambition, at least not entirely. Perhaps he never chose to go on, following the example of his Prior in Bologna, Johannes de Lana. Johannes de Lana, Jordan related in the Liber Vitae fratrum, was a bachelor of theology, but declined the opportunity to pursue the magisterium so that he could better serve his Order in a more humble position.\textsuperscript{29} Jordan perhaps followed suit. We do know, however, that at Paris he began composing his Collectanea Sancti Augustini, which he later donated to the Parisian house of studies.\textsuperscript{30} Jordan's Collectanea reveals his devotion and commitment to Augustine's heritage which found its most complete expression more than thirty

\textsuperscript{29} "Est et tertium de eodem viro [i.e., Johannes de Lana] non minoris tolerantiae et humilitatis exemplum; quia cum ipse baccalaurius in sacra theologia fuerit per omnia sufficiens et valens, adveniente tempore suae praesentationis ex humilitate et ex zelo, quem habuit ad conventum, cui praefuit et cui utique suam absentiam non mediocriter dispendorisam prospexit, sponte dignitati et statui magisterii renuntiavit, contentus in statu humiliori Deo et Ordini utiliter deservire magis quam in sublimiore statu supercilii honoris efferri." VF 2,8 (121,75-82).

\textsuperscript{30} Hümpfer, intro., xxiv-xxv. Although much of the material for this work was prepared in Paris, the final form points to a date of completion after 1334. The Collectanea is comprised of a Vita Sancti Augustini; an Annotatio temporum sancti Augustini; a Legenda de sancto Augustino; a Tractatus de vita sanctae Monicae; thirty three Sermones Aurelii Augustini episcopi (twenty three ad fratres suos in heremo, four ad presbyteros, and six ad populum); and three Regulae sancti Augustini. See, Hümpfer, intro., xxiv; A. Zumkeller, Manuskripte, nr. 639, 287. In the Annotatio temporum Jordan refers to the chronology of the Order's history given by Henry of Friemar in his Tractatus de origine et progressu Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum S. Augustini, which was completed in 1334. See, R. Arbesmann, "Henry of Friemar's Treatise on the origin and development of the Order of the Hermit Friars and its true and real title," in Aug(L) 6(1956):37-145, which includes a critical edition of Henry's treatise.
years later in his *Liber Vitasfratrum*.  

When Jordan left Paris, he also left behind the early phase of his career and his life. For the next three decades he was constantly consumed with his teaching responsibilities and administrative duties within the Order. These were primarily concerned with his home province of Saxony-Thuringia, to which he returned in 1322 to assume the lectorship of the Order’s *studium* in Erfurt.

The Erfurt to which Jordan came was a city in turmoil. Populated by pagan peasants in the eighth century, it became known by the mid-thirteenth century as a ‘Thuringian Rome’. Yet soon thereafter the bonds between the ecclesiastical establishment and the civic authority began to break under the pressure of power struggles that pitted the clergy, the citizens, and the nobility against one another, each claiming superiority. Tensions reached the boiling point in 1324, when the citizens accused a priest of theft. Not waiting for the proper judicial procedures, the

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31 For a listing of the manuscripts of Jordan’s extant works, see Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, nrs. 636-655a, 285-319. For a description of Jordan’s works, see Hümpfner, intro., xxiv-xlvi; Jordan’s *Liber Vitasfratrum* is treated separately by Hümpfner, xlvi-lxxxvi.

32 In 742 Bonifatius determined that three bishoprics should be established in Germany: "Unam esse sedem episcopatus decrevimus in castello, quod dicitur Wirzaburg; et alteram in oppido, quod nominatur Buraburg; tertiam in loco, qui dicitur Erphesfurt, qui fuit iam olim urbs paganorum rusticorum." Carl Beyer, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Erfurt*, Teil 1, (Halle 1889), nr. 1, 1.

citizens took justice into their own hands and carried out their sentence—death by hanging. This outraged the clergy who immediately ceased all sacramental services, placing the city under the ban. The city had suffered interdict before and no longer were the citizens going to allow the clergy to interfere with religious life in this fashion. Thus broke out "great discord between the clergy and the citizens of Erfurt,"—a magna discordia as the chronicler called it, which is perhaps more accurately labeled a genuine Pfaffenkrieg. It took the arrival of the Archbishop of Mainz to restore peace. This event well illustrates the tensions Jordan entered in 1322.

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34 See Weiss, 17ff.

35 "Eodem anno [1324] facta est magna discordia inter cives Erphordenses et clerum, quia cives quendam clericum de furto diffamatum fecerunt suspendio interire; qua de re statim a divinis clerici cessavere. Unde commoti cives curias dicere, domos destruere, bona diripere et per nephandos homines procurare; quapropter circa festum sancti Bartholomei Mathias archiepiscopus veniens Erphordiam cum processione et crucibus, candelis et reliquis sanctorum honorifice est susceptus; qui inter clerum et cives pacem faciens eos concorditer reformavit." Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis Moderna, ed. Oswaldus Holder-Egger, in Monumenta Erphesfurtensia, Saecc. XII. XIII. XIV, ed. Oswaldus Holder-Egger, (Hannover and Lipsia, 1899), 354-355. The date of this incident is somewhat unclear. In this chronicle it is listed as "Eodem anno" under a previous entry dated 1324. The editor, however, places 1322 in the margin as a possible date. The Cronica Erfordensis Engelhusiana, states: "Anno 1323. Facta est discordia inter cives et clerum. Et eodem anno per archiepiscocum facta est eorum plena concordia. Tunc autem spoliatus erat clerus, precipue Sacrifontis.", ed. Holder-Egger, in Monumenta Erphesfurtensia, 803. The Chronici Saxonici Continuatio Erfordensis, however, places the event in 1324: "Des selben jares [1324] was ein groz krig zu Erforte undir den pfaffen unde undir den burgeren, wan die burgere lizen einen pfaffen henge, der was en besagit mit dube. Zuhant leiten die pfaffen gemeineclichen daz singen nedir. Da irzorneten die burgere unde brochen ire
If the Erfurt Jordan entered in 1322 was an angry city, Magdeburg was as well and Magdeburg demanded Jordan's attention even before he assumed the lectorate of his Order's studium in that city in 1333. The trouble had begun two decades previous to Jordan's arrival. In 1313 the Archbishop of Magdeburg was captured by a group of citizens and held in the city's court house. It is not known why Archbishop Burchard was taken prisoner, but to obtain his freedom he promised peace and friendship and swore on the body of Christ to be faithful to the citizens. He was released and led to his palace with honor.36 The relationship

36 "Eodem anno [1313] dominus Borchardus archiepiscopus captus fuit a civibus in civitate Magdeburgh in Novo foro et detentus in lobio vel consistorio civitatis; parabaturque ei una cista super turrim Sancti Iohannis, in qua includi debat, ut dicebatur; sed ipse, ut prudens, iram civium verbis mollibus et blandis frangere sathagebat promisitque eis magnam pacem et amiciciam; quod et iuramento non exactus firmavit. Misit enim ad plebanum ecclesie sancti Iohannis, mandans, ut sibi corpus dominicum apportaret; quo facto, ipse proprio motu iuravit super corpus Christi, quod vellet esse fidelis civibus nec de illa captivitate se unquam vel
t expetere ulcionem; et tunc dimissus, liber ad suum pallacium cum honore est deductus." Gesta Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium, MGH.SS 14, 430. The account continues: "Captiveores autem sui postea in propriis personis ad curiam Romanam accedentes, absolucionem graciosam tandem meruerunt. Ipse autem episcopus post sicut ante gravitatem sui animi civibus ostendebat, dicens, se illud iuramentum facisse metu mortis, ac per hoc ad servandum illud se minime obligari. Unum tamen actum legallitis notabilem fecit erga cives. Contigit enim, illos qui pro absolucione iuerant ad curiam, qui erant de maioribus civitatis viri 12, in eorum reditu in Westfalia captivari et in Castro quod Swalenbergh dicitur hostiliter detineri. Quod cum iste dominus Borchardus archiepiscopus comperisset, mox misit gentem suam expeditam et fortem illae ante castrum; qui, evicto Castro tam subtiliter quam
between the Archbishop and his city, however, did not remain amicable; twelve
years later, upon entering the city, Burchard was once again captured and held
captive in the episcopal palace. This time peace was not forthcoming and on
September 21, 1325, having been a prisoner in his own residence for three weeks,
he was led from the palace to a place where ruffians and criminal were often held
and there clubbed to death. Thus, the chronicler hoped, he was made a martyr of
Christ.\textsuperscript{37}

The reason for the discord between the Archbishop and the burgers of

potenter, captivos illos liberos ad propria reduxerunt." Ibid.

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{...iste dominus Borchardus archiepiscopus plura gravamina contra cives
attemptaret et non solum Magdeburgensis, sed eciam Hallensis et Calvensibus
necon et ministerialibus et baronibus et comitibus circumquaque se gravem
exhiberet, ipsi, ut humana habet industria, sese invicem contra archiepiscopum
fortificantes, confederati sunt; et plures domini terre facti sunt cives in Magdeborch,
videlicet comes de Mansvelt et comes de Werningrode, dominus Gardunus de
Hademersleve et aliqui ministeriales. Tandem angelus Sathane misit in corda
aliquorum, ut conspirarent in necem eius. Factum est ergo anno Domini 1325, in die
decollacionis sancti Iohannis baptiste [Aug.29], cum idem archiepiscopus intrasset
civitatem Magdeborch, captus est et detentus in pallacio episcopali cum diligenti
custodia. Ponebant enim vigiles multos per singulas noctes iuxta pallacium
circumquaque et per hoc involvabant totam communitatem. Ipsi autem consules per
se diebus ac noctibus intra pallacium apud eum excubabant. Cumque tandem de tam
crebra et laboriosa custodia attendiarentur, pluresque consulum horrerent nephas necis
eius, quasi volentes se a scelere extrahere ad instar Pylati, qui lavans manus suas
dicebat: Innocens ego sum a sanguine huius, commiserunt eum viris sceleracionibus,
qui inter eos maiori odio ad ipsum afficiebantur, et illi adhuc nequioribus, qui larvis
induti in ipsa nocte sancti Mathei apostoli [Sept. 21] ipsum de pallacio suo ad
cellarium novum civitatis, in quo captivi et malefactores detineri solent, duferunt,
ibique eum cum fuste vel clava in cerebro percutientes, proch dolor! occiderunt et, ut
esperandum est, Christi martirem ipsum fecerunt." \textit{Gesta Archiepis. Magd.}, MGH.SS
14, 431.
Magdeburg is unclear; the chronicle reports only the testimony of a single culprit who claimed that Burchard, "...had impoverished him and taken all his goods, wherefore when the opportunity was presented, he was only too glad to avenge himself."38 For Burchard's murder, the city was placed under interdict. It was not until 1331 that the citizens of Magdeburg arranged a solution with the pope. They were to build one chapel and six altars in Burchard's memory and give homage to the current Archbishop, Otto, whereupon they were to be absolved from excommunication and re-instated by papal appointees, Conrad, from the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin in Magdeburg, and Henry of Friemar, the Prior of the Saxon Province of the Order of Augustinian Hermits.39 We do not know the reason, but Henry delegated this responsibility to a younger brother, Jordan, who was by that time an experienced lector of the Order's studium in Erfurt.40 Although hindered

38 "...eum depauperaverat et omnia bona sua sibi abstulerat, idcirco nacta oportunitate se de eo posse vindicare gaudebat." *Gesta Archiepis. Magd.*, MGH.SS 14, 432.

39 "Anno Domini 1331, cives Magdeburgenses obtinuerunt graciam sedis apostolice de nece domini Burchardi hoc modo, quod communitas consulum et civium construere deberet unam capellam et sex altaria eaque dotare et homagium facere domino archiepiscopo, qui pro tempore esset, in sua novitate, in memoriam necis tam horrende, et sic absolvi deberet omnes et singuli ab excommunicatione et habilitari per commissarios ad hoc a sede deputatos, qui fuerunt isti: prepositus Beate Virginis in Magdeburgh et prior provincialis provincie Saxonie ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini." *Gesta Archiepis. Magd.*, MGH.SS 14, 433-434.

from completing their mission for four months by Archbishop Otto and the cathedral chapter—who felt that far more should be required of the citizens—Jordan and Conrad were able to reconcile the two parties and restore peace.41 In 1333 the citizens faithfully swore allegiance to Archbishop Otto,42 and by 1349 they had

41 "...qui duo, scilicet prepositus et frater Iordanus, cum auxilio Dei idem negotium sibi efficaciter asumerent, licet magnum resistenciam haberent a domino Ottone archiepiscopo et capitulo ecclesie eiusdem, pro eo quod ecclesie eorum, que lesa fuit per necem sui pastoris, videtur minime satisfactum. Sed ex alia parte videtur, quod dominus papa illam emendam de capelle et altarium construccione et homagii prestacione in satisfactionem ecclesie taxasset, et hiis et pluribus aliis questionibus incidentibus, execucio negocii impediebatur fere per quatuor menses; sed tandem multis laboribus, tractatibus et placitis per ipsos commissarios habitis inter parties, eas ad pacem et concordiam reduxerunt. Et tunc hiidem commissarii cives omnes et singulos qui indigebant ab excommunicacione absolverunt, interdictum sollemniter relaxaverunt, cimiteria reconciliari fecerunt, cives ipsos et eorum filios ac nepotes ad beneficia ecclesiastica et feoda habiliaverunt, infamie maculam sive notam omnesque penas alias spirituales et temporales aboleverunt. Homagium cuilibet archiepiscopo in sua novitate faciendum indixerunt. Capellam et altaria sex in emendam pro anima sepedicti domini Burchardi occisi construenda et dotanda ad effectum posuerunt, prout hec omnia in litteris apostolicis eiusdem commissariis et executoribus super hiis directis plenius continentur." Gesta Archiep. Magd., MGH.SS 14, 434.

42 "Nos Conradus dei gratia prepositus monasterii sancte Marie virginis Magdeburgensis, ordinis Premonstratensis, et frater Iordanus, lector Erfurthensis, ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini, commissarii ad infrascripta auctoritate apostolica deputati recognoscimus et presentibus protestamur, honorabiles viros consules et communitatem civitatis Magdeburgensis ecclesie archiepiscopo iuramentum fidelitatis et homagii in nostra presentia prestitisse iuxta mandatum apostolicum in hunc modum, quod congregatis parochianis singulis per singulas eiusdem civitatis parochias, domino archiepiscopo predicto presentaliter constituto,
completed the construction of the mandated chapel and altars, whereupon they were fully absolved.\textsuperscript{43} The case of Burchard was finally settled.

Jordan's experiences in Erfurt served him well. When the case of Burchard was still running its course, the new lector in Magdeburg was appointed \textit{inquisitor hereticae pravitatis} in 1336 to adjudicate a group of Waldensians in the Brandenburg

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\textit{interrogatis a nobis, si vellent litteras et mandata apostolica observare sub his verbis vulgaribus: Seid ihr herkommen, ihr herren von dem rate und die gemeine der alten stadt tho Magdeburg, dat ihr holden wollet des pabst geboht und seine briefe? et respondentibus eis quasi unius vocis clamore, quod sic, iussu nostro elevantes singuli manus suas fecerunt iuramentum verbis vulgaribus sub forma consensu partium concepta et utrumlibet voluntarie accepta, que dinoscitur esse talis: Wy rahtmanne und wy gemeyne lude alle der olden stad tho Magdeburg schweren unsem hern ertzbischoff Otten, de gegenwertig ist, trew und holt tho wesen, alse we van recht schollen, dat uns gott also helpe und syne hylgen, et hoc idem vice versa idem dominus eisdem civibus favorabler repromisit. in cuius rei testimonium sigilla nostra presentibus sunt appensa." \textit{Urkundenbuch des K.U.L.F. zu Magd.}, nr. 192 (dated April 24, 1333), 174.
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{43} "Nos Petrus dei gratia prepositus monasterii sancte Marie virginis Magdeburgensis, ordinis Premonstratensis, et frater Iordanus, prior provincialis in provincia Saxonic, ordinis fratum eremitarum sancti Augustini, comissarii et executores ad infraescripta a sede apostolica deputati, ad universorum Christi fidelium cupimus notitiam pervenire, quod honorables viri consules et communitas civitatis Magdeburgensis omnia et singula in emenda et pacificatione actionis atque necis venerabilis patris beate memorie domini Burchardi archieiscopi Magdeburgensis, et damnationis atque necis cuiusdam conversi dicti de Bernborch, ordinis Cisterciensis, eis iniuncta et in litteris apostolicis super hoc gratiose obtentis contenta plene et efficaciter fereunt et adimpleverunt de nostro mandato, consilio et assensu, pronunciantes eos eroumque sucesores et nunc et in perpetuum ab omni obligamine litterarum earundem liberos penitus et solutos, salvo tamen, quod in eiuslibet archieiscopi novitate iuramentum fidelitatis et homagii eidem archieiscopo present et faciant iuxta ipsarum continentiam litterarum. In cuius rei testimonium presentem litteram sigillorum nostrorum munimine duximus roborandam." \textit{Urkundenbuch des K.U.L.F. zu Magd.}, nr. 201 (dated June 26, 1349), 183.
city of Angermünde, and in 1350 he presided at the trial of Constantine of Erfurt.\textsuperscript{44} 

Jordan’s legal talents were soon widely extolled and he was often conscripted for the Order’s administration. He attended the General Chapter at Siena in 1338 as the elected representative of the Saxon-Thuringian Province. In 1343 he was present at the General Chapter of Milan.\textsuperscript{45} In addition, in the same year he was charged with making the canonical visitation of the French Augustinians (at which time it is likely that he actually presented his \textit{Collectanea} to the house in Paris), he served as \textit{Vicarius Prioris Generalis} for the Provincial Chapter in Barfleur.\textsuperscript{46} Two years later he was elected Prior Provincial of the Saxon-Thuringian Province, an office he held until 1351.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Gesta archiep. Magd.}, MGH.SS 14, 434-435; see also, Robert E. Lerner, \textit{The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages}, (Berkeley 1972), 28, 128-130, 151. For the position of inquisitor in Germany during this time, see, Richard Kieckhefer, \textit{Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany}, (Pennsylvania, 1979).

\textsuperscript{45} AAug 4(1911):232.


\textsuperscript{47} It is possible that Jordan was Prior Provincial of his home province from 1340-1343, but the evidence for this is slight. It is based on Jordan’s account of the death of Henry of Friemar in his \textit{Liber Vitasfratrum}. Jordan records that the Prior Provincial was present at Henry’s death bed. Jordan states: "...Prior Provincialis, qui affuit et dotatus pro tunc a Sede apostolicae et a Priore Generali singularibus gratis
After 1351 we lose the trail. Jordan’s whereabouts and activities recede into the unrecorded past. His later years, however, were his most productive as an author. From his pen came the Liber Vitasticratrum, completed by 1357, the Meditationes de passione Christi, and his three major collections of sermons: the Opus Postillarum, Opus Jor, and Opus Dan. He was not an original thinker. He left no masterpieces of literary or philosophical 'significance'. Yet Jordan composed more sermons, extant in more manuscripts than any other Augustinian in the Later Middle Ages. In addition, there are more extant manuscripts of his Expositio fuit, absolutionem largam et bene copiosam fecit." VF 2, 13 (154). Humpfner argues that Jordan, "...himself was probably the Provincial who visited the sick friar...and gave him general absolution." Humpfner, intro., xv. While this interpretation is certainly possible, it is in any case inconclusive.

See Humpfner, intro., xxxi-xxxiv, xxxix-xliii; and Zumkeller, Manuskripte, nrs. 641-643, 648-648b. Zumkeller also lists a Quadragesimale (nr. 650) and Sermones diversi (nr. 653). These, however, were never printed, and it remains to be shown whether they contain sermons not in the other collections.

There are 460 sermons in the 153 manuscripts of the Opus Postillarum, printed in 1483; 292 comprising the Opus Jor; 271 in his Sermones de Sanctis (Opus Dan), proliferated in 65 manuscripts and 6 printed editions; 75 sermons comprising his Quadragesimale; and various other miscellaneous sermons contained in manuscripts scattered throughout Europe; at least 1098 in all. See Zumkeller, Manuskripte, nr. 648, 300 for Jordan’ Opus Postillarum; ibid., nr. 643, 292 for the Opus Jor (extant in only three manuscripts and never printed); ibid., nr. 641, 287 for the Opus Dan; ibid., nr. 650, 313 for the Quadragesimale (see also ibid, nr. 651, 315 for Sermones quadragesimale, opus alius, extant in only one manuscript: Kolmar Konsist. Bibl. 21 (1951), a. 1420, fol. 2-133); and for what Zumkeller lists as Sermones diversi, see ibid., nr. 653, 315. In addition, there are extant middle-high and middle-low German translations of at least segments of his Opus Postillarum (see ibid. nr. 648a, 310 and nr. 648b, 311), and the sermons de sancto Augustino from the Opus Dan circulated in a low German translation (ibid. 641a, 291). See also, Schneyer, Repertorium, BGPhMA 43/1, 802-864. Schneyer gives 575 entries (a numbering which does not
Orationis Dominicae and Opus Postillarum than there are of any Sentences commentary of an Augustinian doctor of theology. It is thus all the more surprising that Jordan has received scarce attention in scholarship.

In the later fifteenth century, the General of the Order, Ambrosius de Cora listed Jordan among forty-two noteworthy Augustinian scholars, as well as among the brothers of outstanding holiness. Since then Jordan continued to be

include the numerous subsermons). This compares, for example, to the 454 listings for Henry of Friemar (BGPhMA 43/2, 639-673) and the 393 for Albert of Padua (BGPhMA 43/1, 124-150). Zumkeller lists 22 manuscripts of Albert's Postilla super evangelia dominicalia (Manuskripte, nr. 83, 50) and 5 for Albert's Postilla super evangelia quadragesimalia (ibid., nr. 85, 51). The printing history of Albert's two collections, however, rivaled Jordan's. The Postilla super evangelia dominicalia went through 6 editions (Venice 1476; Ulm 1480; Turin 1529; Paris 1540, 1544 and 1586), and the Quadragesimale 4 (Venice 1523; Turin 1527; Paris 1544; and Venice 1584). Henry's Sermones de tempore and Sermones super epistolas et devangelia dominicalia are both rather short; see Zumkeller, Manuskripte, nr. 331, 158 for the former and nr. 332, 159 for the latter. For Henry's other sermons, see ibid., nr. 333, 159; nr. 333a, 161 and nr. 333b, 162.

50 "Haec autem secunda pars huius cronicae in tres consumitur partes. Prima virorum doctorum excellentiam explicabit. Secunda, sanctorum patrum nostrum sanctimonia complectitur; tertia ut de pontificibus, qui hunc ordinem post eius unionem gratiis sunt prosecuti....Vigesimus secundus fuit magister Iordanus, qui multarum antiquitatum indagator extitit. Hic pulchrum quadragesime fecit, diffusam appollogiam ordinis condidit, apocalipsim exposuit, multosque sermones, tractatus, et questiones de diversis materiebus scripsit." Ambrosius de Cora, Chronica Sacratissimi Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini, (Rome, 1481), 706, 712 (see, Zumkeller, Manuskripte, nr. 93, 55; Hain, nr. 5684). When Abrosius turned to enumerating the brothers of outstanding holiness, he began with the saints of the Order: Augustine, Simplicianus, Gulielmus Gallicus, and Nicolaus de Tolentino. He then noted: "Secuntur nunc beati, qui quamvis multis claruerunt miraculis non tamen adhuc sunt canonizati." (718). Jordan is listed twenty-eighth of 36, as beatus Jordanus de Saxonia (720). Concerning Jordan's supposed exposition on the Apocalypse, which is extant in a single manuscript (Munich, BStB MS Clm. 6102, fol. 77r-128v), see Zumkeller, Manuskripte, nr. 638, 286. Jordan's authorship is
mentioned in histories of the Order, and he is given a place in the standard history of Saxon-Thuringia. Kunzelmann lists Jordan together with Henry of Friemar and Herman Schidelsche as the three great lectors of the Order's studium generale in Erfurt during the first half of the fourteenth century. In addition, Jordan is given center stage in accounts of the Order's spirituality. Yet the most comprehensive account of Jordan's life and works is Winfrid Hümpfner's introduction to the edition of Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum*.

Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum* is his only work to have received a modern

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mentioned in addition by Elssius and Ossinger (see n. 51 below). It remains to be shown, however, whether Jordan is indeed the author of this particular exposition, or whether an exposition on the Apocalypse from Jordan's hand has not survived.


critical edition. Based on this work, Fulgence Mathes devoted considerable space to Jordan in his monograph on the issue of poverty within the Order. As portrayed by Mathes, Jordan appears as a staunch defender of the Augustinians' *via media* in the mid-fourteenth-century poverty controversy, and his *Liber Vitasfratrum* is credited with having laid down the fundamental principles of Augustinian religious observance in a systematic outline. Mathes' study is a detailed investigation of Jordan's view of poverty but is little more than an exposition of the text. A more comprehensive portrait of Jordan is needed.

The late nineteenth-century historians of German preaching, R. Cruel and A. Linsenmayer, included brief treatments of Jordan in their works. Jordan is portrayed as a scholastic preacher, whose sermons, according to Cruel, contain *exempla* drawn from all fields of natural science. However, rather than offering a detailed analysis of Jordan as preacher, Cruel and Linsenmayer limited themselves

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57 "...[Jordan’s *Opus postillarum*] fügt auch ein neues Element hinzu, was in diesem Umfange früher noch nicht gebräuchlich war. Das ist die Verwendung von gelehrtren Kenntnissen und Notizen aus allen Fächern der Naturwissenschaft, aus Astronomie, Physik, Alchemie, Medicin, Geographie und der Geschichte der Pflanzen, Thiere und Steine. Man könnte solche Predigten, welche ihre Eintheilung oder Ausführung aus der gleichen werken schöpfen, physikalische oder naturgeschichtliche Predigten nennen." R. Cruel, 426.
to a cursory treatment, placing Jordan's works in general categories of medieval sermon literature. Moreover, both authors were confused by the various sermon collections Jordan wrote. Cruel equated Jordan's *Opus Jor* and *Opus Dan* with the *Opus Postillarum*, and Linsenmayer did the same with the *Opus Jor*. Jordan's sermons have never been studied systematically, and Hümpfner noted that it is "nearly impossible" to ascertain from manuscript catalogues which collection of Jordan's sermons the manuscript contains. Perhaps this is a reason why Jordan is virtually absent from the most recent survey of German preaching in the Middle Ages, which is also the most comprehensive account since Cruel and Linsenmayer. His name appears a mere five times, all in a single article dealing with sermons employing knowledge of the natural world. He is mentioned as a mere *exemplum* himself, as a named dropped, without information or analysis to improve the state of scholarship of the past one hundred years.

58 "Das Werk [Opus Postillarum] zerfällt in zwei Theile De Tempore und De Sanctis, welche er nach den beiden Silben seines Names *Opus Jor* und *Opus Dan* benennt." Cruel, 422.

59 Linsenmayer, 457.

60 Hümpfner, intro., xl-xl.


Jeremiah Hackett has studied Jordan’s *Opus postilarum* to investigate the relationship between Jordan and Meister Eckhart. Hackett has demonstrated that Jordan quoted and paraphrased passages from Eckhart’s *Expositio Sancti Evangeli secundum Iohannem*, although Jordan was critical of his Dominican contemporary’s more unorthodox doctrines. Confirming the view of Joseph Koch, Hackett argues

von Regensburg, Konrad von Brudelscheim, Eckhart, and Konrad Holtnickers as one of the very few, i.e., only those listed here, to have presented natural scientific exempla in sermons. On p. 291 Jordan himself is used simply as exemplum, albeit unfootnoted, to state that between sermons 26 and 43 he does not bring a single noteworthy example. Jordan next appears on p. 292, and for the first time with a citation (to the *Opus Postilarum*). The entire reference to Jordan is as follows:

"Berthold schilder in der deutschen Predigt zuerst kurz den Einfluss der Sterne auf die gesamte belebte und unbelebte Natur im allgemeinen, ohne dabei die Eigenschaft der einzelnen Planeten genauer zu beschreiben, wie dies z.B. Jordanus von Quedlinburg in Sermo VIII und XXVI tut: 'Saturnus est frigidus [...] Jupiter est mansuetus [...] Mercurius est temperatus.'" (292). Jordan is mentioned for the fourth time on p. 296: "Jordanus von Quedlinburg äussert sich über die Wassersucht und ausführlich über die Embryonalentwicklung. Ausserdem werden die verschiedenen Lebensalter, wie sie z.B. Thomas in seiner Enzykolpadie darstellt, behandelt." Schinagl-Peitz continues with Berthold. Jordan lastly appears on p. 297, yet once again as a mere name drop: "Während sich Jordanus von Quedlinburg stark für Astrologie und Gynäkologie interessiert..."; the text then continues with a discussion of Odeo von Chateauroux. The lack of prominence Jordan is given by Schingal-Peitz is not the basis for a negative judgement on her article. The same can be said for the entire volume. This is an important book and hopefully will stimulate research in the field of German preaching and therefore bring new attention to Jordan; it is unfortunate that regarding the latter this volume was not able to have done so already.

that Jordan's sermons are, "...important for the reconstruction of the text of the expositio on St. John by Meister Eckhart," and that Jordan, having been an inquisitor, "...is of primary importance for our picture of how Meister Eckhart's contemporaries understood him."64 Hackett's work is an indication of the fruit that may lie hidden in Jordan's sermons. Yet before we can reap a harvest, much textual work will have to be done.65

A first step in this direction is the 1958 study of Robrecht Lievens, the most detailed textual study of Jordan's works to date.66 Lievens edited a selection from the Low German translations of Jordan's sermons, and the Prologue and first article of the Low German translation of Jordan's Meditationes de passione Christi. Nevertheless, Lievens' work is not without its limitations. After a brief sketch of Jordan's life, Lievens focuses exclusively on the textual history of Jordan's works in

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65 D.N. Pryds and I are planning to edit Jordan's Opera Omnia for Brepols, in Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis. Jordan's Expositio Orationis Dominicae will appear in volume 5 within Part III of the Opus Postillarum; in Part I below of this study we offer an "Editio Minor" of Jordan's text.

66 Robrecht Lievens, Jordanus van Quedlinburg in de Nederlanden. Een Onderzoek van de Handschriften, (Gent 1958).
the Netherlands. There is little interpretation and no comprehensive account of Jordan’s teaching and influence.

In addition to the editorial work of Lievens, in 1911 J. Flensburg edited a volume of selections from the Middle Low German version of Jordan’s sermons, and in 1965 Romana Guarnieri edited a small selection from sermons—which concern the heresy of the "Free Spirit" from Jordan’s Opus Postillarum and Opus Jor. Finally, J. M. Willeumier-Schalij has edited the prayers of the sixty-five articles of the Meditationes from the early Dutch translations.

Jordan’s Meditationes circulated more widely than any other work on the Passion written by an Augustinian before the Coelifodina of Johannes von Paltz. Walter Baier has provided us with the most thorough study of this treatise to date in his monumental three volume work on Jordan’s contemporary, Ludolph of

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68 Romana Guarieneri, "Il movimento del Libero Spirito", in *Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà* IV (1965):351-708. The edited sermons of Jordan are to be found on 444-450.

69 Willeumier-Schalij, "De LXV Artkelen van de Passie van Jordanus van Quedlinburg in middelnederlandse handschriften", OGE LIII/1 (1979):15-35.
Saxony.70 Baier’s work contains substantial sections on Jordan’s Meditationes and a brief treatment of his Expositio Psalterii. Regarding the former, Baier challenges the previously held assumption that Jordan incorporated his Meditationes into his Opus postillarum.71 Baier persuasively—if not conclusively—argues that the Meditationes stemmed from Jordan’s sermons and should be dated c.1364.72

This re-dating also places the relationship between Jordan’s Meditationes and Ludolph’s Vita Christi in different light. Baier argues that Ludolph is not dependent on Jordan since the Vita Christi was composed no later than 1368 and perhaps as early as 1348.73 Neither, however, was Jordan dependent on Ludolph, but rather,

70 Walter Baier, Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der ‘Vita Christi’ des Ludolf von Sachsen. Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zu Leben und Werk Ludolfs und zur Geschichte der Passionstheologie, 3 vols., Analecta Cartusiana 44, Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, (Salzburg, 1977). Published in 1977, Baier’s book was his doctoral dissertation and originated as a comparison between Ludolph’s Vita Christi and Jordan’s Meditationes. Baier soon realized that such an investigation was less than satisfactory since Ludolph seemingly appropriated the most important parts of Jordan’s Meditationes. Baier, therefore, refocused his project on a comprehensive analysis of Ludolph’s sources and a general study of his Vita Christi; See Baier, 1:11.

71 He points to article 64 of the Meditationes in which Jordan cites his own sermon 81 of the Opus postillarum; Baier, 2.3.13.1; 2:312f. The oldest manuscripts of the Meditationes include this reference which gives weightier evidence to Baier’s position than Hümpfner’s argument based on the 1483 edition of the Opus Postillarum; see Hümpfner, intro. xxxviii; cf. Baier, 2.3.13.1; 2:312f.

72 Baier, 2.3.13.2; 2:315. Only the critical edition of Jordan’s Meditationes and Opus Postillarum will firmly settle the question as to the relationship between the two.

73 Baier, 2.3.13.2; 2:315.
both drew on a common source or sources. Since both authors were stylistically exceptional in dividing their works on the passion into articles, Baier postulates an otherwise unknown source which he designates the *Articulus-Quelle*.

A similar textual relationship exists between Jordan's *Expositio Psalterii* and Ludolph's *Enarratio in Psalmos*. Erfurt Stadtbibliothek (MS Amploniana F. 75) contains what Hümpfner called, "...a fairly extensive expositio" on the Psalms, dated c. 1378. The Prologue of the text explicitly attributes it to Jordan, although this has never been confirmed by thorough study. There are many similarities between the works of Jordan and Ludolph, and both drew from a common source, the *Expositio Alani*, composed by Alan of Lille or one of his students. Baier argues that Jordan's *Expositio* should be dated after 1365 based

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74 Baier, 2.1.13.2; 2:320f.

75 Ibid. In his *Coeliformina* Johannes von Paltz referred anonymously to Ludolf and Jordan when in the section, "Divisio passionis dominicae", he wrote: "...hic posset dividere eam cum Guilhelmo Parisiensi vel aliter in valde multis articulos iuxta textus exigentiam." *Coeliformina*, ed. Christoph Burger and Friedhelm Stasch, with Berndt Hamm and Venicio Marcolino, SuR 2, (Berlin, 1983), 12,17-18. The editors gave no reference for the "vel aliter".

76 Hümpfner, intro., xliv.


78 Baier, 1.3.1.1; 1:86-97.
on the date of the single Erfurt manuscript. He admits that the work has never been studied previously but does not question whether it could actually stem from Jordan's early teaching career and gives no textual evidence in support of the later date. Although Baier devotes far more space to Jordan's *Meditationes*, his brief treatment of Jordan's *Expositio* is the only scholarship on this work.

Baier's focus is Ludolph, not Jordan, and therefore only discusses the latter as he related to the former. Nevertheless, Baier has made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Jordan, and his work serves as a stimulus for further research.

The scholarship on Jordan to date has yet to produce a general study of his life and influence. Jordan's most popular works--and most likely most influential--remain unedited. Yet if Jordan himself has received little attention in scholarship, the same cannot be said for the heritage to which he contributed.

Late Medieval Augustinianism: Problems of Definition

On July 15, 1255, Pope Alexander IV summoned representatives from the Orders of St. Augustine and St. William, from the followers of Friar John Bonus, the Brethren of Favali, and the Brixinenses to convene at Sta. Maria del Popolo in Rome, to discuss the union of these eremetical groups. The result was the

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79 Baier, 1.3.1.1; 1:93.

foundation and first General Chapter of a new Order, which "...legitimized for the first time the imposition of a certain rule on diverse religious groups and the change from rules already approved."\textsuperscript{81} From this time forward, the diverse members constituting the union were to be brought, "into a single observance of the way of life and a uniform regulation of living."\textsuperscript{82} Thus the \textit{Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini} came into existence, confirmed by the bull \textit{Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae}, issued by Alexander IV on April 9, 1256.\textsuperscript{83}

The contribution of the Order of Augustinian Hermits to European cultural life in the later Middle Ages has long been recognized. From the hierocratic political theories of Aegidius Romanus and Augustinus Triumphus to the philosophical and theological doctrines of Gregory of Rimini the Augustinians exerted their influence on princes and prelates alike. The humanist circles of Luigi Marsili in Florence and Johannes Staupitz in Nürnberg, together with the Order's university chairs in Paris and Oxford, placed the Augustinians on the forefront of the European intelligentsia.

\textsuperscript{81} Kuiters, 14.

\textsuperscript{82} "in unam ordinis observantiam, et vivendi formulam uniformem." \textit{Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae}, April 9, 1256; as edited by Kuiters, 12.

\textsuperscript{83} For an analysis of \textit{Licet Ecclesiae} and a discussion of the historical developments leading up to and stemming from the Great Union, see Kuiters, "Licet Ecclesiae," (as in note 80 above).
Modern scholarship on late medieval Augustinianism, however, has yet to yield a consensus on how to characterize the heritage of Augustine in the later Middle Ages. At the center of the debate has been the problem of how late medieval Augustinianism should be defined; was it essentially a renaissance of Augustine's antipelagianism, or a specific theological tradition within the Order? Two distinct, but closely interrelated lines of research have resulted; one holding to the former definition, and the other arguing for the latter. At stake in this debate is not only the demarcation of late medieval intellectual history, but also the relationship between late medieval Augustinianism and the emergence of Reformation theology. Much of the scholarship of the past century has been fueled by the question of Luther's relationship to his Order. Such efforts have obscured the distinction between the existence of the Augustinian school and the renewed campaign against the Pelagiani moderni.

The Augustinian School. In 1883 Karl Werner published the first monographic treatment of late medieval Augustinianism.84 Werner traced the origins of

84 Karl Werner, Die Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters, vol. 3: Der Augustinimus in der Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters, (Wien, 1883). Werner has often been overlooked in the later historiography, appearing essentially only in the footnotes as a reference to someone who labeled Thomas Bradwardine a determinist (Oberman, Archbishop Thomas Bradwardine. Oberman cites Werner some 11 times; although not always negatively, e.g., 75; Werner is nevertheless most often used as a negative example), or as the first to deal with the subject in monographic fashion (Schulze, "Via Gregorii," (as in note 188 infra) 3, n. 21). Thus, for example, Werner is not mentioned at all by David Steinmetz in his overview of the scholarship (Steinmetz,
fourteenth-century Augustinianism to the thirteenth-century reaction against Aristotelianism. He argued forcefully for an Order specific Augustinianism; the Augustinian school is defined by the doctrines of Aegidius Romanus, according to which Augustinian magistri were required to teach, as formulated by the General Chapter of Florence in 1287. As genuine followers of Aegidius, Werner listed James of Viterbo, Augustinus of Ancona, Gerard of Siena, Prosper of Reggio, Albert of Padua, Henry of Friemar, and Thomas of Strassburg. Werner dedicated the first part of the work to explicating Aegidius' position on the major theological topics: epistemology, ontology and metaphysics, cosmology and anthropology, the doctrine of God, Christology, soteriology, the sacraments, and ethics. When he came to Gregory of Rimini, Werner saw a major rift in the Augustinian school. Whereas Aegidius viewed theology as affective knowledge, Gregory, based on his Ockhamism, sought to combat the uncertainty of the speculative nature of Aegidius' theology by turning theology into scientific, practical


85 Werner, 13.

86 Werner, 14f.

87 These are treated in chap. 4-11.

knowledge. Only by 'purifying' the Order's theology of speculative Aristotelianism could a true Augustinianism come to light. Yet it is here that Werner evidenced his own position. Gregory's Ockhamism was not much better than Thomas Bradwardine's determinism, which Werner treated in the second part of his book. With the extremes of Gregory on the one hand and those of Bradwardine on the other, the church was in dire need of a Thomistic restoration, which only came about in the Council of Trent.

Modern scholarship has corrected Werner's portrayal of Bradwardine and Gregory, which was colored by Werner's own biases. Yet Werner's overarching thesis that there was an identifiable Augustinian school, founded on the doctrines of Aegidius, has remained controversial, though often attributed to other scholars.

Werner clearly distinguished between the Augustinian school and renewed antipelagianism, treated in Parts one and two of his monograph. For Werner, the Augustinian school and an Augustinian antipelagianism were two separate

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89 Werner, 26f.

90 Werner, 26.

91 Werner concluded his study by remarking: "...so wurde Bradwardina gleichsam unfreiwillig zum Zeugen für die Notwendigkeit einer Restauration der kirchlichen Scholastik auf thomistischer Unterlage. Diese Art von Restauration war eine geschichtliche Notwendigkeit, und erwies ihre tiefgehende Bedeutung für die Weiterentwicklung des dogmatischen Lehrbegriffes der Kirche in den lehrhaften Beschlüssen des Trienter Councils....," Werner, 305-306.

92 Adolar Zumkeller is usually attributed with being the major spokesperson for the Augustinerschule; see infra, 54ff.
phenomena of the fourteenth century.

The diversity of positions within late medieval Augustinianism, and within late medieval theology in general, was stressed in 1925 by Franz Ehrle. Focusing on the Sentences commentary of Peter of Candia, Ehrle identified four distinct schools which Peter took into account in his commentary: the nominalist school, the Scotist school, the Thomistic school, and the Augustinian school. The nominalists themselves were a varied group, unified by terminist logic, rather than by theological positions. Thus Peter numbered not only Ockham, but also Gregory of Rimini among the nominalists. Ehrle devoted far more space to the nominalist school than he did to the other three, in attempt to prove that the theology of the university of Paris in the 14th and 15th centuries cannot be said to have been dominated by nominalism, or by any other theological school.

Ehrle continued his study by tracing the influence of nominalism within the universities of Europe through the Wegestreit of the fifteenth century. It was not nominalism or humanism that caused the 'death of scholasticism', but rather

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94 "...so müssen wir mit verstärktem Nachdruck auf die Mannigfaltigkeit dieser Lehrrichtung [i.e., nominalism] hinweisen." Ehrle, 106.

95 Ehrle, 138.
Lutheranism. Although he claimed the effects of Lutheranism to be beyond the boundaries of his study, Lutheranism for Ehrle was "a-catholic".

When he finally turned to brief treatments of the three other theological schools found in Peter's commentary, he distinguished two ways of understanding theological schools. The first, labeled as internal and objective, is characterized by the succession of a theological tradition passed down from doctor to doctor. The second understanding of a theological school, is the legislated mandate to teach in the tradition of a specific theologian. For the Dominicans, Thomas was the Order's theologian, and for the Augustinians, it was Aegidius Romanus.

Although Peter rarely cited Augustinians in his commentary, Ehrle identified a specific Augustinian school. The Augustinian school was evidenced not only by the official decree of the General Chapter, but also--in reality, Ehrle noted--in the self-consciousness of the Order's theologians. Thus Alphonus Vargus cited Aegidius as doctor noster, and other theologians of the Order as quidam doctor noster. Ehrle found convincing proof of the psychological adherence to a specific

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96 Ehrle, 250.
97 Ehrle, 251.
98 Ehrle, 264f.
99 Ehrle, 265f.
100 "Eine solche [i.e., Augustinian School] bestand nicht nur auf dem Pergament der Ordensdekrete, sondern auch in Wirklichkeit im Bewusstsein der Lesemeister und Doktoren des Ordens." Ehrle, 265.
school in John of Basel’s explicit reference to the *schola nostra*, and in his statement *ex dictis doctorum nostrorum, faciunt doctores nostri*.\(^{101}\) He was quick to point out that such references do not signify theological unity in all respects. Gregory of Rimini was clearly distant from the "conservative" Thomas of Strassburg. Ehrle then posited the question whether it was not so much theological doctrine that provided the unity of the Augustinian school, as it was a certain "group spirit".\(^{102}\) Although Ehrle did not go so far as to claim this group spirit as a third way of understanding a theological school, his treatment of the Augustinian school came very near doing so. He simply affirmed that before such a question could be answered, far more work in the manuscripts of the Augustinians must be done.\(^ {103}\)

It was over a quarter of a century later that members of the Augustinian Order in particular set themselves the task of determining in far greater detail the contours of the Augustinian school, based on thorough study of the manuscripts.

In his pioneering, monographic article published in 1956, Damasus Trapp focused on the academic Augustinianism of the Order’s theologians in the fourteenth century. The question Trapp sought to answer was not one of a 'group spirit' or of the leading theological doctrines within the Order. Rather, Trapp turned to the

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\(^{101}\) Ehrle, 266.

\(^{102}\) "Es bleibt allerdings noch zu untersuchen, worin das diese Schule einigende und kennzeichnende Element bestand...War es mehr ein gewisser Korpsgeist als eine lehrhafte Übereinstimmung, was diese Ordenslehrer verband?" Ehrle, 266.

\(^{103}\) Ehrle, 266.
question of how Augustine was appropriated by the Order’s theologians. Based on extensive and detailed manuscript work, Trapp argued that the *schola Augustiniana moderna* was characterized by a historico-critical attitude toward the citation of sources, combined with an erudition regarding the entire corpus of St. Augustine’s works.\(^{104}\) Trapp pointed to a shift in late medieval Augustinianism from the older Augustinianism of Aegidius Romanus to the newer Augustinianism initiated by Gregory of Rimini.\(^{105}\) "Augustinianism of Aegidius", according to Trapp, ended with Thomas of Strassburg and was characterized by an epistemological *cognitio rei universalis*.\(^{106}\) It did not emphasize the "historical Augustine" as much as did Gregory, the "best Augustine scholar of the Middle Ages."\(^{107}\) The *schola Augustiniana moderna* advocated an epistemological *cognitio rei particularis*, which went hand in hand with the pursuit of evidence.\(^{108}\) The "happy quoters", as Trapp


\(^{105}\) See, Damasus Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the Fourteenth Century."

\(^{106}\) "Thomas of Strassburg marks the turning point in Augustinian Modern Theology. I call him the 'last Augustinian of Aegidius'...", Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the Fourteenth Century", 181; for Trapp’s discussion of the shift in priority from the *cognitio rei universalis* to the *cognitio rei particularis*, see 147-152.


\(^{108}\) See, Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the Fourteenth Century," 149-152, 182-190; cf.: "The facts seem to be beyond any quibbling. From the texts of Mirecourt and Gregory it is obvious that Mirecourt and Ceffons wanted an Augustinianism without evidence, while Gregory, on his part, was just as thoroughly
called the modern Augustinians,\textsuperscript{109} were no longer satisfied with the anonymous *quidam* quotations, but went to the specific source to cite chapter, title, and author. The call *ad fontes* in the fourteenth century was not only central to Italian literary humanism, but was also a defining characteristic of the modern Augustinian school.\textsuperscript{110} This rebirth of Augustinianism culminated, according to Trapp, in John of Basel, OESA (d. 1392), who read the Sentences at Paris in 1365/66, and later became the General of the Order under the Avignonese Pope Clement VII.\textsuperscript{111}


\textsuperscript{110} For the relationship between late medieval Augustinianism and humanism, see, Trapp, "Hiltalinger’s Augustinian Quotations," and Rudolph Arbesmann, *Der Augustiner-Eremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung*, (Würzburg, 1965).

\textsuperscript{111} See, Trapp, "Hiltalinger’s Augustinian Quotations", and A. Zumkeller, "Der Augustinertheologe Johannes Hiltalingen von Basel (d. 1392) über Urstand, Erbsünde, Gnade und Verdienst," AAug 43 (1980): 57-162. For the Generalate of John under Clement VII, see, F. Roth, "The Great Schism and the Augustinian Order," Aug(L) 8 (1958): 281-298. John of Basel has yet to find his way into general accounts of late medieval intellectual life. Although a critical edition of his extensive Commentary on the Sentences--which Trapp called the "gateway to research and study in Augustinian modern theology", (Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the Fourteenth Century," 242)--was originally planned as part of the Tübingen project that gave us such monumental editions as the *Sentences* commentary of Gregory of Rimini, the works of Johannes von Paltz, and those of Johannes von Staupitz, John’s works remain in manuscript. In his article, "Hiltalinger’s Augustinian Quotations," Trapp claimed that Hiltalingen left "...a theological legacy which, without exaggeration, might be called a Petit dictionnaire de la théologie du XIVe siècle." (414). The Sonderforschungsbereich 8: "Spätmittelalter und Reformation", under the direction of Heiko A. Oberman included a division "Spätmittelalterlicher Augustinismus", which originally planned to publish
Trapp decisively reoriented the debate about late medieval Augustinianism on the scholarly reception of Augustine's works. The modern Augustinians, following Gregory of Rimini, simply knew their Augustine better than other theologians did. Hence, the modern Augustinian school was a specific tradition within the Order of Augustinian Hermits. Yet the schola Augustiniana moderna was short-lived. It was founded by Gregory of Rimini and ended only a half-century thereafter: "The death knell of the Schola Modernorum," Trapp proclaimed, "rang when the schism destroyed the scholastic standards of Paris by subordinating the academic world, its institutions and its magisterial dignities to political expediency."\textsuperscript{112}

Three years after the appearance of Trapp's article, Agostino Trapè, OESA, sought to broaden the definition of the Augustinian school to include the Order's spirituality and its theology.\textsuperscript{113} Whereas Trapp focused on the detailed manuscript work called for by Ehrle, Trapè turned to explicate the "group spirit" of the Augustinian theologians.

Trapè's point of departure was a letter of Aegidius Romanus to all the

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\textsuperscript{112} Trapp, "Hiltalinger's Augustinian Quotations," 424.

\textsuperscript{113} A. Trapè, "Scuola Teologica e Spiritualia nell'Ordine Agostiniano," in, \textit{Sanctus Augustinus Vitae Spiritualis Magister}, 2:5-75.
provinces of the Order, in which Aegidius exhorted his correligious to pursue theological studies with the argument that the study of theology together with the observance of the rule, was the means by which the Order would grow and flourish.\textsuperscript{114} According to Trapè, the Order’s spirituality and theology formed a grand system of doctrine, which incorporated historical, psychological, and affective dimensions regarding the relationship between humans and the supernatural.\textsuperscript{115} The Augustinian school in this sense can be characterized by three unifying factors: the primacy of love, the primacy of grace and the primacy of Christ.\textsuperscript{116}

The primacy of love, for Trapè was marked by a modernate voluntarism within the Order’s theology.\textsuperscript{117} From Aegidius Romanus to Thomas of Strassburg and Alphonsus Vargus theologians emphasized the will above the intellect, arguing that the will is more noble than the intellect.\textsuperscript{118} The will, and not the intellect,

\textsuperscript{114} "Studia theologiae, scrive, toto vestro conamine manuteneatis ac etiam foveatis, quia per ea, simul cum observantia regulari, oportet nostrum Ordinem in humilitate crescere ac etiam exaltari." As cited by Trapè, 8f.

\textsuperscript{115} "Più che dalle circostanze accennate, l’influenza della teologia nella spiritualità agostiniana emerge dal sistema dottrinale elaborato dai maestri della scuola; un sistema che ai problemi del soprannaturale dà un’impostazione prevalentemente storica, psicologica et affettiva...che dell’uomo ha un concetto profondamente dinamico, che studia di preferenza la teologia positiva, che s’impegnà a mostrare l’intimo nesso esistente tra la natura e la grazia, la teologia e la vita, la speculazione e la pietà." Trapè, 9.

\textsuperscript{116} Trapè, 12.

\textsuperscript{117} Trapè, 13-18.

\textsuperscript{118} Trapè, 15.
was the basis of an innate human desire to see God. In addition, the Augustinian theologians were unified in defining theology as affective knowledge. It was not the knowledge of the intellect, but of the heart, leading to union with God, that formed the object of the Augustinians' theology.

Closely connected with the primacy of love, was the primacy of grace. A common teaching in the Order regarding infralapsarian predestination, and an emphasis on *gratia sanans* can be identified. The Fall and its consequences prevent humans from meriting grace without the prevenient grace of God, which yielded a common teaching on the infusion of grace *ante praevisa merita*. It was, however, the primacy of Christ that provided the spiritual theology of the Augustinian school with its foundation.

These three characteristics of the Augustinian school were professed by the theologians of the Order precisely because they were emphases to be found in the writings of Augustine himself. Trapè, however, did not base his understanding of the Augustinian school on the knowledge of Augustine, but rather appears to have taken the Augustinian school as a given, perhaps in the second sense of theological schools given by Ehrle, and argued that this school was also unified in its

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119 Trapè, 19-22.

120 Trapè, 37-45.

121 Trapè, 48-62.

122 Trapè, 62-75.
theological spirituality. Indeed, the theology of the Order cannot be separated from the Order's spirituality. Thus, Trapè brought the illusive group spirit posited by Ehrle onto center stage of discussions of the Augustinian school.

Since his programatic article published in 1964, Adolar Zumkeller has been the major proponent for a clearly identifiable Augustinian school. Encompassing elements found in Werner, Ehrle, Trapp, and Trapè, Zumkeller emphasized the Aegidian nature of the school's affective theology, and claimed that as a group the Augustinian theologians held to a primacy of love and a primacy of grace.123 Focusing on the self-perception of the Order's theologians, Zumkeller echoed Ehrle in finding the unity of the school in the terms doctores nostri and scola nostra.124 The Augustinerschule, which spans the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was a concerted effort of the Augustinian magistri to adhere to an Augustinian theology in the tradition of Aegidius Romanus.125

Twenty years later, and after further detailed manuscript research on individual Augustinian theologians, focusing on their doctrines of original sin, grace, merit, and justification, Zumkeller refined his position. In his extensive study of the Augustinians at Erfurt, Zumkeller admitted that in his earlier article he over-

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125 Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule," 171 and passim.
emphasized the unity of the theological teaching in the Order. Nevertheless, he insisted, the existence of the Augustinian School is not to be denied. Rather than a particular unity of doctrine within the Order, Zumkeller defined the Augustinian School as the self-understanding of the Order’s theologians. Following the definitions of theological schools put forth by Ehrle and Karl Rahner, Zumkeller points out that all Augustinian theologians "were members of the Order of Saint Augustine and as such felt the responsibility to further his


127 Responding to the critique of Alister McGrath and Berndt Hamm, Zumkeller retorted: "Sind also die Thesen McGrath’s von den zwei verschiedenen 'schools of thought' der mittelalterlichen Augustiner oder gar die Behauptung Hamms, eine Augustinerschule des Mittelalters habe es nie gegeben, zutreffend? Gewiss nicht." Erbsünde, 439.


129 See, Erbsünde, 440.
spiritual heritage." The Augustinian School, as the Franciscan, Dominican, or Carmelite Schools, is defined as "the sum of the theologians who belonged to the Order of Augustinian Hermits and showed in their teaching a more or less strong spiritual relationship and often also a certain dependency on one another. Thus, for Zumkeller the "group spirit" of the Augustinians formed the foundation of the Augustinian school. It is another question whether and to what extent the teaching of this school with respect to the individual members can in addition be marked as 'Augustinian' in the sense of a special adherence to the teaching of the Church Father."

The very thesis, however, of an Augustinian school has been called into question. Making a sharp distinction between *Ordensbrüder* and *Lehrrichtung*, William J. Courtenay has shown that such terms as *magistri nostri*, *doctores nostri*,

\[\text{\footnotesize \cite{130}}\] 

\[\text{\footnotesize "Alle diese Theologen waren Mitglieder des Ordens des hl. Augustinus und fühlten sich als solche verpflichtet, sein geistiges Erbe zu pflegen." Erbsünde, 441.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize \cite{131}}\] 

\[\text{\footnotesize "In der deutschen geistesgeschichtlichen Forschung ist das Wort 'Augustinierschule' seit langem in Gebrauch. Es bezeichnet--analog den Wortbildungen Dominikaner-, Franziskaner- und Karmelitenschule--die Gesamtheit jener Theologen, die dem Orden der Augustiner-Eremiten angehörten und in ihrer Lehre eine mehr oder weniger starke geistige Verwandtschaft und vielfach auch eine gewisse Abhängigkeit voneinander aufweisen. Ob und inwieweit die Lehre dieser Schule bzw. einzelner ihrer Vertreter ausserdem auch als 'augustinisch' im Sinn einer besonderen Ausrichtung an der Lehre des Kirchenvaters zu bezeichnen ist, bildet eine andere Frage." Erbsünde, 1.}\]
magister meus, and the like cannot be used to delineate schools of thought.\textsuperscript{132} Rather, such designations often were employed in the same fashion as scholars today refer to 'my esteemed colleague'.\textsuperscript{133} Thus, in his Sentences commentary Marsilius of Inghen referred to Gregory of Rimini as frater magister noster Gregorius.\textsuperscript{134} Further, Courtenay identified the Marsilius noster cited by the Augustinian Angelus Dobelinus, not as Angelus' fellow Augustinian Luigi Marsili, as was posited by Damasus Trapp, but as Marsilius of Inghen.\textsuperscript{135} The same criticism is valid for scola nostra, which can be taken as reference to the academic context rather than to a specific theological 'school'. Such terms were academic formulas, not terms of theological demarcation. This is supported by the fact that "a corresponding magistri vestri or scola vestra is not to be found."\textsuperscript{136} Thus the existence of an 'Augustinian school' cannot be based on John of Basel's reference to a scola nostra.


\textsuperscript{134} Ibid, 29.

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid, 33.

\textsuperscript{136} "Entsprechend fehlt ein korrespondierendes magistri vestri oder scola vestra, auch wenn man etwa an Autoritäten anderer Disziplinen wie des Kanonischen Rechts denkt." Courtenay, "Marsilius von Inghen (d.1396) als Heidelberger Theologe," 30. See also, Courtenay, Schools and Scholars, 171ff and 307-324.
or William Becchi’s *via Augustiniensium*.¹³⁷

Courtenay’s argument is persuasive and should caution against accepting every reference to a *doctor noster* or a *scola nostra* as conclusive evidence of a unified ‘school’. Nevertheless, even if such terms were academic formulas it does not follow that they could not also be used as school associations, given Zumkeller’s definition of the Augustinian school. When Marsilius of Inghen referred to Gregory of Rimini as *frater magister noster Gregorius* the term very possibly had different connotations from Augustinian designations of fellow Augustinians as *magister noster*. Thomas of Strassburg did use the term *doctor tuus*, albeit indirectly, as a reference to Aegidius by Aureolus, whom Thomas then countered by defending Aegidius, referring to him as *doctor noster*. Aureolus’ argument against Aegidius was invalid because neither Aegidius nor his *discipuli* adhered to the position attributed to him by the Franciscan: Aureolus established nothing *contra nos*.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ For such argumentation, see, Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule," 173 and *Erbsünde*, 441.

¹³⁸ "Forte dices, si doctor tuus non dixit potentiam generandi esse incompossibilem Filio; tamen dixit aequivalens: quia ipse ait distin. 20, q. 2. Filium non posse generare. Respondeo quod tale aequivalentiam habeas tibi; quia nec doctor, nec eius discipuli huiusmodi aequivalentiam acceptabunt...Ad secundum dicendum quod ratio non est contra nos: quia nos concedimus potentiam generandi pertinent ad omnipotentiam Filii illo modo, quo dictum est supra. Ad tertium respondet doctor noster personaliter: quia secundum ipsum et secundum veritatem...", Thomas of Strassburg, *1 Sent.* dist. 20, q. 1, art. 1, (ed. Venice, 1564; reprint: Ridgewood, 1965) fol. 78r I, (as cited by Shannon, *Good Works and Predestination*, 16). The influence of Aegidius is also evidenced by Thomas’ reference to *nostri iuniores Doctores, volentes salvare venerabilem Doctorem nostrum Aegidium*, Shannon, 15.
This case demonstrates that *doctor noster* could signify a self-conscious adherence to the Augustinian School when used by an Augustinian to refer to an Augustinian, and particularly to Aegidius.

If one takes the term Augustinian school as referring to a strict adherence to a unified theological teaching within the Order, one will look in vain for it. Scholarship of the past twenty years has demonstrated the diversity of late medieval thought. Just as one can no longer legitimately set the 'nominalists' over-against the 'Augustinians', so one can no longer speak of a unified theological Augustinianism inside—or outside—the Augustinian Order in the later Middle Ages. Continued research in tracing the transmission and influence of Aegidius and Gregory in the Augustinian Order, as well as detailed analysis of the knowledge and reception of Augustine’s works needs to be pursued, but the unity of late medieval Augustinianism will most likely not be found by such endeavors. Late medieval Augustinianism as an identifiable, unified phenomenon is to be discerned in the realm of historical research rather than in further refinements of the philosophy and theology of Augustinian theologians.

Yet denials of the Augustinian school’s existence have come not only from detailed analysis of terminology. Berndt Hamm clearly stated his position: "There was no specific Augustinian school of the Middle Ages."\textsuperscript{139} Focusing on Johannes

von Paltz, Hamm argued that the theology of the Augustinian Order in the later Middle Ages was representative of a general Frömmigkeitstheologie stemming from the influence of Jean Gerson. Such a theology stressed the importance of Christian life, evidenced in the pastoral goal of theology, rather than philosophical or theological teaching in obedience to a 'school.' Frömmigkeitstheologie was 'half-academic', but learned theology, originating from the Gersonian impulses for reform based on the combination of a practical mysticism and nominalism. It

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was "the reform theology of the fifteenth century."\textsuperscript{142} Hamm concluded his critique of Zumkeller's position by arguing that the 'Augustinianism' of Paltz "can only be asserted in a broad sense of the term whereby one is correct to speak of an 'Augustinianism' of late medieval \textit{Frömmigkeitstheologie} in general. Augustine was attractive in a completely unspecific way as a teacher of the religious life, even as the three other great Church Fathers in the west and Bernard of Clairvaux."\textsuperscript{143}

Yet the practical, affective nature of theology characterized not only a general \textit{Frömmigkeitstheologie} originating from the influence of Gerson, but also the theology of the Augustinian Order itself in the later Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{144} The inseparability of life and knowledge, of ethics and erudition, was not the unique contribution of Gerson, merely imitated by the likes of Paltz and Staupitz;\textsuperscript{145} it

\begin{quotation}
Einfluss Gersons stehende \textit{Frömmigkeitstheologie} des 15. Jahrhunderts...," ibid, 491.
\end{quotation}

\textsuperscript{142} "...[\textit{Frömmigkeitstheologie}] als \textit{die Reformtheologie des 15. Jahrhunderts...},\textit{Frömmigkeitstheologie}, 138.


\textsuperscript{144} See Trapè and Zumkeller; for the affective nature of \textit{Frömmigkeitstheologie}, see Hamm, \textit{Frömmigkeitstheologie}, 157ff.

\textsuperscript{145} "Für beide Augustiner [Paltz and Staupitz] gehören sowohl innerhalb ihrer theologischen Arbeit als auch biographisch scientia und vita, Wissenschaft und fromme Lebensgestaltung, eng zusammen." Hamm, \textit{Frömmigkeitstheologie}, 140.
was the very foundation of the Augustinians’ educational endeavor. The Augustinians’ ’mendicant theology’ was designed to bring the fruits of the contemplative life to others by teaching and preaching so that, as Jordan would put it, the brothers might not live only for themselves, but also to serve the Church. If we can speak of Frömmigkeitstheologie as a genre of late medieval theology, then we must recognize that to a large degree the theology of the Augustinian Order throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was Frömmigkeitstheologie. Paltz and Staupitz may have been representatives of a Frömmigkeitstheologie influenced by Gerson, but they can also be seen as representatives of their Order’s Frömmigkeitstheologie that had been pursued long before the Chancellor of Paris put pen to paper.

Hamm does not take his own definition and argument for Frömmigkeitstheologie far enough. After having delineated a general Frömmigkeitstheologie in the later Middle Ages—and this for Hamm is above all the fifteenth and early sixteenth century—he did not pursue the question of various forms within the genre. "Decisive for the concept of Frömmigkeit," Hamm explained, "is the mediate (theory of Frömmigkeit) or immediate (practice of Frömmigkeit) reference to a specific way of life, whether it is to the form of the inner life or the

\[146\] See infra, Part II, ch. 1.
external life. "147 It is this 'specific way of life' (bestimmte Lebensgestaltung) that is key here. In his study of Paltz and in his critique of the hypothesis of the Augustinian school, Hamm left undetermined the possible factors comprising a 'specific way of life'. In an earlier article, Hamm clarified that Frömmigkeit "thus consists not primarily in exceptional and certainly not in original, personal spiritual predecessors, but rather manifests itself structurally as a supra-individual mentality, which can be characteristic of a religious community (for example, of a religious Order or a fraternity), an occupational group, an economic class, or of a comprehensive political unity such as a city or a territory."148 If Frömmigkeit is a distinctive way of life, manifested as a mentality within structures of, for example, a religious Order, then Frömmigkeitstheologie can be the theological expression of this particular way of life. Hamm denied the existence of the Augustinian school based on his characterization of the general Frömmigkeitstheologie of the later Middle Ages without investigating the question as to the theological expression of the way

147 "Entscheidend für den Begriff der Frömmigkeit ist der mittelbare (Frömmigkeitstheorie) oder unmittelbare (Frömmigkeitspraxis) Bezug zu einer bestimmten Lebensgestaltung, sei es zur Gestaltung des inneren oder zu der des äusseren Lebens." Hamm, "Frömmigkeit als Gegenstand theologiegeschichtlicher Forschung," 466.

of life manifested structurally within the mentality of the Augustinian Order. Yet it is precisely at this level of analysis that the Augustinian school, as the self-understanding of the Augustinian theologians, is to be found.

Closely related to the debates over the existence and characteristics of an Augustinian school has been a line of research focusing on the relationship between late medieval Augustinianism and Martin Luther. Indeed, these two historiographical traditions have often overlapped; they have been so closely intertwined that it is often difficult to separate the one from the other, as is clear in the case of Werner and Ehrle. Thus Zumkeller concluded his study of the Erfurt Augustinians by asserting that the theology of the *magistri* in Erfurt cannot be labeled as Ockhamistic. This provided Zumkeller with evidence of the distance separating the Augustinian school from Luther.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, a distinction can be discerned between those scholars who have closely identified late medieval Augustinianism with the Augustinian school defined as the Order’s theology, and those who have described late medieval Augustinianism as a revival of antipelagianism. For the latter especially, the debate has turned on the degree to

¹⁴⁹ Zumkeller, *Erbsünde*, 503-504. Zumkeller, however, does not deny that Luther was influenced by his Order, particularly with regard to the critique of Aristotle; see, *Erbsünde*, 461-502; here Zumkeller discusses the relationship of the Erfurt Augustinians and Martin Luther. Much of this discussion is a restatement of two earlier articles: "Die Augustinertheologen Simon Fidati von Cascia und Hugolin von Orvieto und Martin Luthers Kritik an Aristoteles," ARG 54 (1963): 15-37; and, "Martin Luther und sein Orden," AAug 25 (1962): 254-290. In effect, one can summarize Zumkeller’s position by saying that what was ‘good’ in Luther, Luther received from the Order; what was ‘bad’, is to be attributed to Luther himself.
which antipelagianism was transmitted to Luther by the theologians of his own Order.

**Luther and Late Medieval Augustinianism.** Four years before the appearance of Werner’s monograph on late medieval Augustinianism, Theodor Kolde published a detailed study of Johannes von Staupitz and the German Augustinians. As he clearly outlined in his introduction, Kolde’s goal was to portray the theological and religious tradition in which Luther developed, to combat Luther-scholars who lacked the courage to see Luther as other than a new phenomenon.

Kolde argued that neither within the Augustinian Order in general, nor in the theology of Staupitz in particular, is an Augustinianism to be found. It was Staupitz’s personal influence that contributed to Luther’s development. Yet the Augustinian Order contributed significantly to the spread of the Reformation. Indeed, the Order’s preachers should be seen as the carriers of the evangelical teaching, particularly in northern Germany.

Kolde based his thesis on a distinction regarding the term Augustinian. On

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151 Kolde, v.

152 Kolde, 250f.

153 Kolde, 402.
the one hand he pointed to an Augustinianism resulting from the close adherence to
the writings of Augustine, and therefore, to a clear evangelical doctrine of grace. In
this light, there were no traces of Augustinianism in the theology of late medieval
Augustinian theologians. On the other hand, the Order was genuinely Augustinian,
when 'Augustinian' is understood as following the ecclesiology and pastoral
concerns of the Order's founder.\textsuperscript{154}

\textsuperscript{154} "Man hat wol früher gemeint, und die protestantische Geschichtsschreibung hat
besonders daran Gefallen gefunden, der Augustinerorden habe bei steter
Beschäftigung mit den Schriften seines Ahnherrn sich durch alle Zeit hindurch einen
gewissen Augustinismus oder, was man so gern identisch setzt, eine reinere
evangelische Gnadenlehre bewahrt. Die nachfolgende Darstellung wird zeigen, dass
sich davon keine Spuren nachweisen lassen, aber in anderer Beziehung, das ist nicht
tzu leugnen, ist der Orden immer gut augustinisch geblieben, das ist in der Betonung
des kirchlichen. Das kirchliche Interesse, insoweit es mit dem gottesdienstlichen
identisch steht, ist ohne Zweifel im Vordergrund. Gott den schuldigen Dienst zu
leisten, darauf zielt Alles ab, auch die persönliche heiligung, und auch in seinen
schlimmsten Zeiten, wo Zucht und Sitte Vieles zu wünschen übrig liessen, scheint die
Handhabung des Gottesdienstes und Alles, was nach mittelalterlichen Anschauungen
mit der 'cura animarum' zusammenhängt, hoch gehalten worden zu sein, wofür die
Brüderschaften den Beweis liefern werden. Nur hieraus erklärt sich die besondere
Zuneigung der edlen Geschlechter in den Städten für den Orden, die sich am
Ausgang des Mittelalters allenthalben constatiren lässt, und schliesslich ist der
Augustinerorden der einzige, bei dem das Volk Erbauung durch die Predigt findet: am
Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts ist in jedem grösseren Convente, wenigstens der
deutschen Congregation, ein Prediger. Bei diesen wesentlich praktisch-kirchlichen
Neigungen--noch heute wirken die wenigen Augustiner innerhalb des deutschen
Sprachgebietes entweder in der Seelsorge oder im Lehrfach--tritt, wie erklärlich, das
wissenschaftliche Moment mehr zurück und es will nicht allzu viel sagen, wenn die
Constitutionen einmal die Studien das Fundament des Ordens nennen, si sind eben nur
Mittel zum Zweck gewesen, wie bei den andern Bettelorden, nur dass bei allen
Anstrengungen die Augustiner keinen einzigen Gelehrten hervorgebracht, der denen
jener an die Seite zu stellen ist, obwohl sie am Ausgang des Mittelalters auf allen
deutschen Universitäten zu finden und in Erfurt sogar die Tonangebenden sind."
Kolde, 36-38.
Two points are to be noted here. First, Kolde was explicit that Augustinianism was a theologically defined term based on an evangelical understanding of grace. Second, such a definition was not the only valid means of identifying Augustinianism. The Augustinianism of the Augustinian Order was a genuine Augustinianism, even though it was not an Augustinianism in the evangelical theological sense. Unfortunately Kolde’s distinction between the varied meanings of the term Augustinian became blurred and even lost in the scholarship of the century proceeding.

At the turn of the century Carl Stange published two articles, in which he forcefully argued that "Luther’s membership within the Augustinian Order is of importance for his theological development."\textsuperscript{155} Stange, as Werner, Ehrle, and Zumkeller, emphasized the importance of the Order’s mandate for their theologians to teach according to the doctrines of Aegidius Romanus. In this light, he claimed that the theology of the later Middle Ages should be described as a theology of Orders.\textsuperscript{156} Even though the Aegidian tradition within the Order was interrupted by Gregory of Rimini--following Werner--Stange saw a resurgence of Aegidianism within the Order in the later fifteenth century. Yet it was the Gregorian tradition


\textsuperscript{156} Stange, "Über Luthers Beziehungen zur Theologie seines Ordens," 575.
within the Order that was determining for Luther’s development.\footnote{Ibid, 580-581.}

Stange’s thesis of late medieval theology as a theology of Orders was countered shortly thereafter by Heinrich Hermelink, who argued that the theology of the later Middle Ages is better described as a theology of universities.\footnote{Hermelink, \textit{Die theologische Fakultät in Tübingen vor der Reformation, 1477-1534}, (Stuttgart, 1906); see especially, 95f.} Yet the position that Luther was indebted to the theology of his Order, and particularly to the Gregorian line, was energetically appropriated by the ex-Dominican, Alphons Victor Müller.\footnote{A.V. Müller, \textit{Luthers theologische Quellen}, (Giessen, 1912).} Müller, arguing in fierce polemic against Heinrich Denifle’s position that Luther was simply ignorant of the medieval theological tradition,\footnote{See, Heinrich Denifle, O.P., \textit{Luther und Luthertum in der ersten Entwicklung}, 2 vols., (Mainz, 1904-1909).} claimed to have identified a specific Augustinian--and early evangelical!--tradition within the Augustinian Order, represented not only by Gregory of Rimini, but also by Simon Fidati of Cascia, Hugolino of Orvieto, Augustinus Favaroni, Jacob Perez of Valencia and Johannes Hoffmeister.


Yet a part of his thesis was adopted by Eduard Stakemeier, who argued that the late
medieval Augustinian tradition continued not in Luther and the Reformation, but rather in Jerome Seripando and the Augustinian theologians at the Council of Trent. Moreover, Heiko A. Oberman has found in Müller's thesis poignant points of departure for further research, divorced from the overtly polemical overtones of the original.

Oberman has described a broad movement in late medieval thought, to which he gave the appellation, the Augustinian Renaissance. Such a renaissance encompassed theologians of widely diverse orientations, from the realist Thomas Bradwardine to the nominalist Gregory of Rimini. For Oberman the campaign against the pelagiani moderni gave rise to the renewed emphasis on Augustine's doctrine of grace and predestination. The influence of this renaissance can be traced within the Augustinian Order through such theologians as Gregory of Rimini, Simon Fidati of Cascia, Hugolino of Orvieto--whose Sentences commentary was extant in a single manuscript held in the library at Wittenberg--and Johannes von Staupitz. Outside the Order we find evidence of the Augustinian renaissance in the works not only of the fourteenth-century secular theologian, Bradwardine, but also in those of

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162 Stakemeier, Der Kampf um Augustin auf dem Tridentinum, (Paderborn, 1937).

Wendelin Steinbach, the student of Gabriel Biel, in the later fifteenth, and Andreas Karlstadt in the early sixteenth century. Having instigated an intense academic interest in the writings of Augustine, and particularly the antipelagian writings, the Augustinian renaissance culminated in the Amerbach edition of Augustine's works.

There was no direct line from the late medieval Augustinian Renaissance to Luther's Reformation theology. Nevertheless, the schola Augustiniana moderna, "initiated by Gregory of Rimini, reflected by Hugolin of Orvieto, apparently spiritually alive in the Erfurt Augustinian monastery, and transformed into a pastoral reform-theology by Staupitz," should be seen "as the occasio proxima--not causa!--for the inception of the theologia vera at Wittenberg."\(^{164}\)

In Oberman's thesis we hear echoes not only of Müller, but also of Kolde and Trapp. In addition, the hues on Stange's canvas highlighting the importance of Gregory of Rimini for Luther's development are painted anew by Oberman in bright colors and with broad strokes in his emphasizing the significance of the via Gregorii

\(^{164}\) Oberman, "Headwaters," 82. For the Augustinian Renaissance, see especially, "Headwaters," 65-80. For a more complete account of Oberman's view of the Augustinian renaissance, see, Werden und Wertung der Reformation. Vom Wegestreit zum Glaubenskampf. (Tübingen, 1977. 2nd ed. Tübingen, 1979), 82-140. In both works Oberman also pointed to the importance of via Gregorii, the designation of the via moderna according to the statues of the University of Wittenberg. Oberman's position regarding the lack of direct influence between a rebirth of Augustinianism in the later Middle Ages and the theology of Luther was already put forth in his dissertation, Archbishop Thomas Bradwardine. A Fourteenth-Century Augustinian, (Utrecht, 1958).
at Wittenberg, according to which Luther was to teach by statute. Yet at precisely this point Oberman has met his fiercest challengers.

Leif Grane has denied the significance of late medieval Augustinianism, and of the *via Gregorii* in particular, for Luther's development. His argument is based on the fact that conclusive, 'hard' evidence that Luther was acquainted with Gregory before the Leipzig Debate (1519) is lacking. From a close reading of Luther's early writings, "to explain genetically Luther's theology," Grane has argued that it was not the Augustine of the Order, but rather "it was Augustine as the Pauline exegete," whom "Luther found and understood in the antipelagian writings," which he intensively and energetically studied beginning with his Lectures on Romans.

165 *Werden und Wertung*, 90f, and supra, n. 164.


168 Grane, *Modus loquendi*, 26. It should be noted that more recently Jun Matsura has discovered previously unknown notes of Luther's dating from his earliest period. In his notes on chapter 4 of Ockham's seventh Quodlibet, *De Sacramento Altaris*, Luther wrote: "Gabrie lect.42 sup(er) canon Et dis.xvii:li.2. ibid(em) Gre: arym. tene(n)t q(uod) in vno co(m)posito sit vna t(antu)m forma con(tra) occam & scotu(m)." See Matsura, "Restbestände aus der Bibliothek des Erfurter Augustinerklosters zu Luthers Zeit und bisher unbekannte eigenhändige Notizen Luthers. Ein Bericht", In *Lutheriana. Zum 500. Geburtstag Martin Luthers von dem Mitarbeitern der Weimarer Ausgabe*, ed. Gerhard Hammer and Karl-Heinz zur Mühlen, AWA 5, (Köln 1984), 315-330;330. This evidence may seem to be
sufficient proof against Grane that Luther was acquainted with Gregory well before Leipzig. Such a conclusion, however, is not so readily achieved. In this note Luther first cited Gabriel Biel's *Canonis Misse Expositio*, lectio 42. In this lectio Biel himself cited Gregory's *Sentences* Commentary, bk.II, d.16, q.2, and gave Gregory's conclusion on substance and form in composit beings that Luther noted:

"Consequenter notandum quod corpus accipitur tripliciter post Gregorium de arimino in ii Scripti, dist.xvi, quest ii....Item genus predicatur de omnibus speciebus et individuis sub eo contentis. Sub corpore autem tanquam sub genere continentur omnes species specialissime et individua substantiae, significantes res compositas, ut homo, asinus, ioannes, petrus, paulus, tales autem significant res totales per se in genere, et per consequens corpus non verificatur de eis si significaret rem partialem.". Gabriel Biel, *Canonis Misse Expositio*, Pars Secunda, ed. Heiko A. Oberman and William J. Courtenay, VIEG 32, (Wiesbaden, 1965), 128 C. Biel also refuted the position which he attributed to Scotus and Ockham, namely, that in man, in addition to the form of the intellect, there is also a form of the body (Biel, *Canonis Misse Expositio*, 2:130, 131). He did so by using "Ockham's razor" against him, and by claiming that Gregory of Rimini sufficiently solved the problem of the plurality of forms: "Sed quia paucitas est semper ponenda ubi plura ponendi nulla est necessitas, cui tanquam principio physico utrique Scotus et Ockham frequenter innituntur, nec aliqua necessitas cogens ad ponendum plures formas substantiales in eodem composito apparat, ideo secundo opinio que pluralitatem formarum vitat probabilior videtur. Nam omnes rationes quas alii contra hanc opinionem inducunt, tam phisicas quam theologicas, sufficierter solvit Gregorius de arimino in ii, dist. xvi, quest.ii." Gabriel Biel, *Canonis Misse Expositio*, 2:131 E. Hence, it is possible—if not probable—that Luther took his reference to Gregory directly from Biel.

However, it is not impossible that Luther did have a first hand knowledge of Gregory. It should be noted that Gregory of Rimini combined distinctions 16 and 17 and thus Luther's citing dist. 17 and Biel's citing dist. 16 refer to the same place in Gregory's text. This is perhaps further evidence that Luther indeed had a first hand knowledge of Gregory! It is not unthinkable that when making his marginals on Ockham's *De Sacramento Altaris*, Luther drew on two separate sources which applied to the problem rather than merely repeating what he had read in Biel. In any case, he most certainly learned the great importance of Gregory from Biel and perhaps began studying for himself his order's *Doctor Authenticus*. In addition, in bk.II, d. 16 and 17, q.3, Gregory discussed the problem of the plurality of forms in the context of the Trinity whereas Biel did not in lectio 42 of his *Expositio*. For Gregory, accepting the plurality of forms in a composit being would infringe upon the unity of the divine essence (Greg. 2 Sent. dist. 16-17 q. 3; tom. V:369,20-31 to 370,1-16;373,1-5). Further, on the authority of Augustine, Gregory accepted the position that the divine essence and the divine persons can be distinguished by the acts of the divine essence
With Grane the question of how late medieval Augustinianism should be defined has been left far behind; the central issue is Luther, or rather, Luther's theology. Yet at stake in this debate is far more than the problem of determining precisely when Luther became acquainted with Gregory of Rimini; as the continuation of the interchange between Grane and Oberman showed, the question of Luther and late medieval Augustinianism is inseparately bound with a much broader issue concerning the very nature of historical and of historical-theological research.

In 1977 Oberman published a programatic article in which he attacked Grane's *Modus loquendi theologicus*. According to Oberman, Grane's book was an example of the dangers of the Luther renaissance; it further entrenched traditional Luther scholarship by divorcing Luther from his historical context.

(Greg. 2 Sent. dist. 16-17 q. 3; tom. V:372,17-35). This same argument—on the basis that a composite being, such as the Trinity, has only one substantive form—is also found in Luther's Christmas Day 1514 sermon on John 1:1. The Trinity is a composite being consisting of three persons, but it has only one substantive form—the divine essence (WA 1.21,31-35). As did Gregory, Luther drew on St. Augustine's *De Trinitate* and used Aristotle's physics regarding potentiality and actuality as distinct from being itself to describe the relationship between the divine persons and the divine essence. When read in light of Gregory's position, Luther's discussion of the Trinity in this sermon suggests Luther's adherence to the *via Gregorii*.


170 The section of Oberman's article in which he attacked Grane was given the subtitle: "Lutherrenaissance als Gefährdung des historischen Luther", Oberman, "Reformation: Epoche oder Episode," 88-109.
Grane’s rebuttal was published together with Oberman’s article.\textsuperscript{171} According to Grane, Oberman misunderstood his intentions. Grane was not trying to explain Luther and the entire reformation. Rather, he sought, on methodologically determined grounds, to describe Luther’s internal theological development as it could be discerned from the texts themselves.\textsuperscript{172} He intended his work for theologians, and claimed that he never denied the validity of other forms of research.\textsuperscript{173} When it came to Gregory and Luther, Grane claimed to have left the question open; he simply stressed that no certain evidence can be brought forth as conclusive proof.\textsuperscript{174} Thus the scholar must rely on what is certain, and that, for Grane, is Luther’s texts. In appealing for his method of research not to be overlooked, Grane concluded by arguing that, "Reformation research, as much as historical portrayals of the Reformation period, needs textual analysis and synthesis."\textsuperscript{175} In contrast, Oberman concluded his article with the challenge to "rehistoricize" Luther research so that "theology will be taken into account as an


\textsuperscript{173} Grane, "Kritische Berichte," 305, 306.

\textsuperscript{174} Ibid, 310.

\textsuperscript{175} "Sowohl die Reformationsforschung als auch die Geschichtsschreibung des Reformationszeitalters brauchen Textanalysen und Synthesen." Ibid, 314.
irreducible *historical* factor. Whereas Grane argued for the importance of traditional, historical-theological explication of Luther's texts, Oberman crusaded for giving historical theology an historical importance beyond the circles of theologians.

The Oberman/Grane debate highlights two points of particular concern. First, the issue of Augustine's heritage has implications surpassing the characterization and definition of late medieval Augustinianism as a subdivision of late medieval intellectual history. Not only is it of primary importance for conceptions and interpretations of the Reformation, but it also carries implicit—and at times explicit!—overtones of how history should be done in the first place. Second, the question of the contours and definition of late medieval Augustinianism has been inextricably connected with theological concerns. Grane is clear that his interest is the internal development of Luther's theology, whereby a late medieval Augustinian school would have importance only if concrete, conclusive evidence could be uncovered to prove its influence on Luther's texts; evidence that Grane finds lacking. Oberman has fought a two-front battle. On the eastern front he has combated traditional Luther scholars who are content to remain within the closed world of historical theology. On the western front, Oberman has stood against historians who tend to marginalize theology to the realm of historical insignificance. He stands for the *historical* importance of theology to be sure, but likewise it is only the historical context that brings to light Luther's *theology*. Whereas Grane is an

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historical theologian, Oberman appears as an historian of theology in broad terms. The goal of both is to bring to light Luther’s uniqueness: Grane, by ignoring Luther’s predecessors, and Oberman by arguing that only in context of the preceding tradition does Luther’s genuine, i.e., historical, uniqueness come into focus.\textsuperscript{177} Finally, the Oberman/Grane debate has had repercussions extending beyond the original participants; the battle lines have been drawn.

In 1975 David Steinmetz supported Grane’s position over against Oberman in an article echoed in his 1980 study of Luther and Staupitz.\textsuperscript{178} Steinmetz detected five different meanings of how the term ‘Augustinian’ has been used. First, Augustinian can be used to describe the theology of the west in general; second, Augustinian can be applied to the theology of the Augustinian Order; third, a particular party within the Augustinian Order can be labeled Augustinian; fourth, Augustinian has been used to describe the ‘right wing’ of late medieval theology; and fifth, Augustinian has appeared as the counter-position to Pelagianism.\textsuperscript{179}

Steinmetz takes as his point of departure the thesis that Staupitz was the

\textsuperscript{177} As early as his \textit{Forerunners of the Reformation}, (1966; reprint: Philadelphia, 1981), 39, Oberman argued for a shift in research from a causal to a contextual reading of intellectual history.

\textsuperscript{178} Steinmetz, "Luther and the Late Medieval Augustinians: Another Look," CTM 44 (1975):245-260; idem, \textit{Luther and Staupitz}, (as in note 84 supra).

\textsuperscript{179} Steinmetz, \textit{Luther and Staupitz}, 13-16.
mediator of the via Gregorii to Luther.\textsuperscript{180} He points out that although one can find similarities between Staupitz and Gregory, there are many differences as well. Thus Staupitz appears as "no disciple of Gregory of Rimini, though he would cite him if he knew him better."\textsuperscript{181} In addition, Staupitz is more closely associated with the 'older Augustinian school' than he is with the schola Augustiniana moderna of Gregory. It was not an Augustinian tradition within the Order that lead Staupitz to his Augustinian theology, but rather a reading of Augustine's works themselves. If parallels can be found between Staupitz and the likes of Augustinus Favaroni, this does not prove influence, but rather simple similarity; it points to the fact that there was a common source. The 'Augustinian' elements in Staupitz theology can be accounted for by appealing to Augustine himself, rather than to a tradition within the Order. Staupitz certainly exerted a major influence on Luther's early development, but it was not one that included transmission of the via Gregorii.\textsuperscript{182}

In his insistence that parallels do not prove influence, but simply point to similarities, Steinmetz followed Grane's method of focusing on the texts themselves without appealing to the historical context unless evidently merited. Concrete proof of the influence of the via Gregorii is lacking, and therefore another explanation of Luther's development is called for. In a similar fashion, Markus Wriedt has more

\textsuperscript{180} Steinmetz, Luther and Staupitz, 27.

\textsuperscript{181} Steinmetz, Luther and Staupitz, 28.

\textsuperscript{182} Steinmetz, Luther and Staupitz, 27-34.
recently rejected the influence of Gregory on Staupitz. Wriedt analyzed passage by passage the texts in Staupitz’s *Libellus de Exsecutione Aeternae Praedestinationis* where the editors noted parallels to Gregory of Rimini. He came to the same conclusion as Steinmetz: parallels do not prove influence, but point to a common source or sources. Wriedt argued that the traditional scholastic schools are insufficient for describing Staupitz’s theology, and certainly cannot provide the answer to the transmission of an Augustinian tradition within the Order to Luther via Staupitz. Staupitz should be placed within late medieval *Frömmigkeitstheologie*.

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185 "Zusammenfassend bleibt festzuhalten, dass, obwohl sich zuweilen Übereinstimmungen ergeben, ein direkter Einfluss Gregors auf die Theologie von Staupitz nicht nachgewiesen werden kann. Für Parallelen ist im einzelnen wiederum zu prüfen, inwieweit sie auf die gemeinsame Quelle Augustin zurückgehen oder auch von den Schulhäuptern der 'Via antiqua'--Thomas, Agidius, dem Ordenstheologen, oder auch Duns Scotus--vermittelt wurden." Wriedt, 221. It should also be noted that Wriedt attributes Gregory’s acceptance of intelligible species to a position belonging to the *via antiqua* (220); as Katherine Tachau has shown, Ockham was unique in rejecting *species in medio* and by no means was his position accepted by all 'moderns', or as Wriedt might formulate it, by the *via moderna*. See below, Part II, ch. 5. In addition, the terms *via antiqua* and *via moderna* should be restricted to the fifteenth-century *Wegestreit* and not applied anachronistically to the fourteenth-century academic context.

186 Wriedt, *Gnade und Erwählung*, 224.
(here Wriedt drew on Hamm,) and thus should be approached as an 'eclectic'. For both Wriedt and Steinmetz, Staupitz was not the conduit of the *via Gregory* but the religious personality and advisor who influenced Luther.

The year following Steinmetz’s work on Luther and Staupitz, Manfred Schulze published the first thorough study of the *via Gregorii*. Schulze comprehensively surveyed both the sources pertinent to Luther’s place within the *via Gregorii*, and the secondary literature on the subject. Based on the available evidence, Schulze argued that Steinmetz’s reduction of the data to the categories of influence and similarities is insufficient. There is another category that particularly in the case of the *via Gregorii* must not be overlooked—environment. "If Gregory of Rimini had proven to be a forgotten author in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries," Schulze summarized, "and if Augustinian theology had been ignored as long out of date by this time, then there would be no real cause to deal seriously with Gregory’s importance for Wittenberg. The *via Gregorii* would in fact be a scribal error in the statues." Schulze finds Grane’s and Steinmetz’s

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189 Schulze, 125.

190 "Wenn sich uns Gregor von Rimini im 15. und beginnenden 16. Jahrhundert als vergessener Autor erwiesen hätte und die Augustintheologie als längst überholt zu dieser Zeit übergegangen worden wäre, dann bestände in der Tat kein Anlass,
solution that Augustine, rather than an Augustinian tradition, was the link between Gregory and Luther to be too simple. The 'environmental evidence' is too strong to ignore. And here the debate has stood, in a stalemate between the two opposing camps.

Overview. When we reflect on the century of scholarship concerned with late medieval Augustinianism, four points come to light. First, during the course of the twentieth century the definition of late medieval Augustinianism became inextricably intertwined with a theological definition of 'Augustinian'. The distinctions drawn last century by both Kolde and Werner between two different definitions of 'Augustinian' in the former case, and between the Augustinian school and a renewed antipelagianism in the latter, became lost. This is clearly seen when Schulze defined the Augustinianism of the modern Augustinian school exclusively based on the antipelagian Augustine. The question here is not whether Gregory of Rimini

ernsthaft mit Gregors Bedeutung für Wittenberg zu rechnen. Die via Gregorii wäre tatsächlich ein Schreibfehler in den Statuten." Schulze, 125. It remains to me incomprehensible how Christopher Ocker, seemingly referring to this passage, could claim that Schulze "has shown that the via Gregorii had suffered a kind of chronological lapse. Gregory, at the end of the fifteenth century, was a rediscovered theologian. He had been forgotten." Ocker, "Augustinianism in Fourteenth-Century Theology," in AugSt 18 (1987):81-106; 84 and 84, n. 14 (endnote, found on 98). Cf. "Der 'Doctor modernus' Gregor von Rimini wird noch im Jahre 1517 der Tübinger Schule zum herausfordernden Gegner." Schulze, 100.

191 Schulze, 125-126.

192 Schulze, 63.
viewed the antipelagian Augustine as the authentic Augustine, but rather whether Gregory and the antipelagian Augustine can be taken as the only genuine Augustinian representatives.

Second, research on late medieval Augustinianism must be conducted independently from the question of the relationship between late medieval Augustinianism and Martin Luther. For a century Luther has provided the catalyst for scholarship that has broadened and deepened our knowledge of Augustine’s heritage. Yet conclusive proof of Luther’s dependence on or independence from the tradition(s) of his Order remains beyond our grasp. The extent to which Luther was influenced by the likes of Gregory of Rimini, Hugolino of Orvieto, or Simon Fidati of Cascia remains in the realm of speculation and debate, or perhaps better stated, in the realm of ‘environmental history’.  

193 Zumkeller concluded his *Erbsünde*, with an investigation of the ‘Luther question’ and affirmed: "Die Frage jedoch, ob und in welchem Umfang Martin Luther von den genannten Autoren in seiner Lehre Anregung empfing oder gar beeinflusst wurde, bleibt auch heute noch offen und wird vielleicht niemals mit voller Sicherheit beantwortet werden können." *Erbsünde*, 481-482. In his final conclusion, Zumkeller summarized his findings: "Von Johannes Nathin (d. 1529), der seit 1493 den Universitätslehrstuhl der Augustiner innehatte und ihr Generalstudium leitete, ist nicht bekannt, welche Art Theologie er vertreten hat, da Schriften von ihm nicht überliefert sind...Ob sich Martin Luther in den Jahren seiner theologischen Ausbildung mit Schriften von Augustinertheologen näher befasst hat, ist unbekannt. Doch dürften ihm als Studenten an einem Generalstudium des Augustinerordens Namen wie Gregor von Rimini, Hugolin von Orvieto und Simon von Cascia schon frühzeitig begegnet sein." ibid., 503. After citing Grane, Zumkeller formulated the distinction between Luther and Augustine in a way seemingly valid also for the relationship between Luther and his Order’s theologians and acceptable to both confessional camps: "Luther selbst ist sich der Differenzen zwischen seiner und Augustins Theologie erst nach und nach bewusst geworden." ibid, 492.
This assertion, however, has a corollary: before the question of Luther and late medieval Augustinianism can be answered with greater probability than is now possible, we must first learn far more about late medieval Augustinianism. Even given the advances made by scholarship in the past twenty years, we still know relatively little about the Augustinian tradition in the later Middle Ages. We now have critical editions of Gregory of Rimini, Hugolino or Orvieto, Johannes von Paltz, and Johannes Staupitz, and the *Opera Omnia* of Aegidius Romanus is underway. But, the *Sentences* commentaries, for example, of Thomas of Strassburg, Alphonsus Vargus, Dionysius de Burgo, Facinus de Ast, Gerardus de Senis, Johannes Klenkok, Michael de Massa, John of Basel, whom Trapp called the "gateway to research and study in Augustinian Modern Theology,"194 Angelus Dobelinus, and Augustinus Favaroni remain in manuscripts and early printed editions. If we continue to base our portrayals of late medieval Augustinianism on the theology of Gregory and Hugolino from the fourteenth century, and Paltz and Staupitz from the fifteenth, we will not achieve an historical understanding of Augustinian theology in the later Middle Ages.

Yet this is only the beginning. The *Sentences* commentaries of the Order's university *magistri* tell only a small portion of what was 'Augustinian' theology. The Biblical scholarship of the Order remains essentially *terra incognita*. The sources, however, are abundant. Augustine of Ancona's lectures on the Pauline and

canonical epistles come to mind, as well as his lectures on Matthew.\footnote{Augustinus de Ancona, \textit{Lectura in epistolas canonicas}; see Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 69, nr. 124. This work is extant in 40 mss; ibid., \textit{Lectura in epistolas Pauli}; Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 77, nr. 140; ibid., \textit{Lectura in Evangelium Matthaei}, Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 73, nr. 133, also extant in 40 mss.} Or the lectures on the Apocalypse of Augustinus Favaroni, Johannes Zachariae, and Berthold of Regensburg offer ample material for future study,\footnote{Augustinus Favaroni, \textit{Lectura super Apocalypsim}; see Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 182, nr. 154; Johannes Zachariae, \textit{Commentarius super librum Apocalypsis}; see, Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 280, nr. 623, and Zumkeller, \textit{Leben, Schriftum und Lehrrichtung des Erfurter Universitätsprofessors Johannes Zachariae, O.S.A.} (d.1428), (Würzburg, 1984). Zumkeller has also published portions of Zachariae’s work on the Apocalypse in the appendix to \textit{Erbsünde}, 544-567. Bertholdus de Ratisbona (d.1437), \textit{Lectura super Apocalypsim}; see Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 93, nr. 190.} as do the Gospel commentaries of Zachariae, Michael de Massa, and Simon Fidati of Cascia.\footnote{Johannes Zachariae, \textit{Collecta super Mattheum, Marcum et Lucum}, see Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 281, nr. 625; Michael de Massa, \textit{Expositio super Evangelium Matthaei}, Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 331, nr. 694; ibidem, \textit{Expositio super Evangelium Lucae}, Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 331, nr. 693; Simon Fidati de Cascia, \textit{De gestis Domini Salvatoris}, also known as, \textit{Expositio super totum corpus Evangeliorum}, see Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 359, nr. 778, and M.G. McNeil, \textit{Simone Fidati and his De gestis Domini Salvatoris}, (Washington, D.C., 1950). Also of importance for the Augustinians’ biblical scholarship are Jacque Legrand’s \textit{Expositio in Psalmos} (Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 206, nr. 430), Johannes Klenkok’s \textit{Super librum Actuum Apostolorum} (Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 246, nr. 521), and Johannes Merkelin’s \textit{Expositio super epistolas dominicales} (Zumkeller, \textit{Manuskripte}, 253, nr. 544).} In addition, the exegetical handbooks, such as Antonius Rampegolus’ \textit{Figurae Bibliorum} and \textit{Biblia Aurea}, or the \textit{Distinctiones sive concordantiae historiales}
Veteris et Novi Testamenti of Bindus of Siena should not be overlooked.\textsuperscript{198} Before Luther's relationship to his theological environment can be graphed with more precise coordinates than it has been to date, we have much work to do on the environment itself.

Third, the attempt to chart the theology of late medieval Augustinianism has centered around the examination of Sentences commentaries of the Augustinian magistri. Little attention has been paid to the teaching in the schools not associated with a university. Yet before a friar received his doctorate in theology, indeed before he was granted permission to lecture on the Sentences at a university, he had spent at least five years studying the texts of Aristotle, the Sentences and the Bible, a period of study that often took place within non-university studia. The instruction in these studia should not be seen as only preparatory to higher degrees, or categorized simply as 'spiritual teaching'. In fact, these studia trained the preachers and priests of the Order. Few friars reached the pinnacle of the Augustinian educational system; the majority of the Order's preachers and teachers, those who did not become masters, was more representative of the theology operative within

the Order than were its *magistri* in the universities.

And finally, the problem of definition has never been solved. Whereas Zumkeller, following in the tradition of Werner and Ehrle, has argued for the importance of the Augustinian school, the debate has most often centered around the degree to which an antipelagian Augustinianism was communicated to Luther by his Order. The distinctions between the Augustinian school, the *schola Augustiniana moderna*, the Augustinian renaissance, and the *via Gregorii* have not always been made and have often merged into a nebulous concept of Augustine’s heritage. Steinmetz clearly delineated the various possible meanings of the term Augustinian, but the majority of the recent debate has focused primarily on his third and fifth senses, including Steinmetz’s own work. The broader conception of late medieval Augustinianism, as it was still present in the works of Werner and Kolde, has been increasingly narrowed, whereby those parts of the tradition that have not been brought into the discussion about the line leading to Luther have either been marginalized, or coopted into more ‘pertinent’ categories for which they are not suited. In this light, new conceptions are needed to reinvigorate the field of research that has become stale with theological debate. We need to seek an historical definition of late medieval Augustinianism in order to read the sources historically, and thus, anew. Such a definition was offered by Jordan. Hence, we turn from the historiography to the history.
The *Religio Augustini*

"Religion," Jordan clarified for his students in Erfurt, "is a certain moral virtue," consisting of all the ceremonies and acts that are owed God, a definition he would repeat over thirty years later in his *Opus Postillarum.* In the *Liber Vitasfratrum* Jordan commented further. Religion, he explained, comes from the gerundive 'religandus', 'to be bound'. To be a 'religious', therefore, is to be bound to God. There are two ways in which this term should be taken. The first refers to those who bind themselves to God by private vow, as were the monks of old, the contemporary Beghards and followers of Raymond Lull, and the like. These are not bound to a Rule, but lead the life they have chosen voluntarily. The second meaning of religious is the 'state' of being a religious. Those who bind themselves to a Rule perpetually in solemn profession are properly

199 See supra, L7, 318,10.

200 "Religio est virtus ad quam pertinet cultum deo exhibere." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 440, *(Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis)*, De Iustitia C. See this entire section for Jordan' discussion of religion and its various acts.

201 "Uno modo, ut dicantur Religiosi, qui se religaverunt Deo obligatione privata, sicut fuerunt antiquitus aliqui monachi et sicut nunc sunt Beghardi vel Lullardi et consimiles..." *VF* 2,25, (252,29-32); cf. *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 440, *(Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis)*, De Iustitia C.

202 "...qui nullum Religionis Regulam profitentur, sed talem modum vivendi ad libitum assumunt." *VF* 2,25 (252,32-33).
said to be *in statu religionis*. This second meaning of religion Jordan addressed in his *Liber Vitae fratrum* and it is the one we have adopted as the title of this study. For Jordan the type of religion he exhorted his fellow friars to follow, the friars "...of this holy Religion...," was that advocated by the Bishop of Hippo, "our most blessed father Augustine, who ought to be the exemplar and rule of our every action." Jordan left no doubt. The religion of which he spoke was the religion of Augustine: "[Our] most blessed father Augustine, the progenitor of our holy Religion... founded his...Religion...".

Jordan's *Liber Vitae fratrum* is an extensive commentary on the Order's Rule and *Constitutiones*. In his dedicatory letter to John of Basel, he followed the salutation with the Rule's central dictum: "to have one heart and soul in God." The entire work should be seen as an exposition of this precept. John had sought

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203 "Alio modo dicuntur Religiosi, qui se Deo obligaverunt Religione perpetua et solemni per professionem alicuius Regulae approbatae. Et isti habent statum Religionis. Secus illi. Status enim quandam immobilitatem importat; unde dicitur status a stando. Illi ergo, qui ordinantur ad Religionem cum hac duplici conditione, videlicet cum obligatione perpetua et cum solemnitate professionis, proprie dicuntur esse in statu Religionis; et ubi alterum deest, ibi est quis Religiosus, ita quod non est in statu Religionis." Ibid, lines 33-40.

204 "...fratres huius sacrae Religionis...," VF 1,16, (57,2).

205 "...beatissimus Pater noster Augustinus, qui debet esse omnis nostrae actionis exemplar et regula..." VF 1,11, (36,32-33).

206 "Beatissimus Pater et sacrae nostrae Religionis plantator Augustinus....Religionem suam...fundavit." VF 1,1, (7,9-20).

207 "cor unum et animam unam habere in Deo." VF, epist. ded., 1.
Jordan’s advice on who is “a true son of our most blessed father Augustine.”\(^{208}\) Jordan offered his work as a mirror, so that by reading it, “any brother will be able to know based on his own life, whether he is a true son of our most holy father Augustine and thereby, a true brother of his Order.”\(^{209}\) In the Prologue Jordan stated that he collected accounts of the notable lives and deeds of the fathers and brothers of the Order,\(^{210}\) “…lest the examples of holy religion from the fathers and the brothers of times past fade into a cloud of oblivion.”\(^{211}\) These served as examples of the true religio Augustini, instituted by St. Augustine himself.

Jordan opened chapter one of the Vitasfratrum by recalling the life of the first Christian community: "The whole body of believers was united in heart and soul. No one claimed any of his possessions as his own, but everything was held in common…distributed to any who stood in need." (Act. 4,32f).\(^{212}\) He then

\(^{208}\) "Mirae caritatis virtus ex profluo pectoris vestri emanans fonte de quibusdam quaestionibus dudum conscientiam vestram, ut scripsitis, perurgentibus, uppote qui beatissimi Patris nostri Augustini verus filius existere…", VF, epist. ded., 1,5-8.

\(^{209}\) "…tum quia eius lectione frater quilibet, an sit verus filius Patris nostri sanctissimi Augustini ac per hoc verus frater Ordinis sui, ex vita propria sua cognoscere valebit…", VF, epist. ded., 2,21-23.

\(^{210}\) "...idcirco studui patrum ac fratrum singularium gestorum et notabilium meritorum eiusdem Ordinis vitam gestaque, pro quanto ad mean pervenere notitiam, in unum colligere…", VF, Prol., 3,11-13.

\(^{211}\) "...ne exempla sanctae Religionis a patribus et praecedentium temporum fratribus in oblivionis nublium deducantur…", VF, Prol., 3,8-10.

\(^{212}\) Acts 4:32-34. As cited by Jordan, VF 1,1, (7,3-8).
commented: "Augustine, the most blessed Father and sower of our holy religion, intending to renew the apostolic life, based his entire vision on these words."\(^{213}\)

The \textit{vita communis} was the most fundamental principle of Augustine’s Order. According to Jordan, it comprised four parts: the communion of living together in a given place, the communion of spiritual union, the communion of worldly possessions, and the communion of distributing goods according to need.\(^{214}\) On these four pillars of the \textit{vita communis} Augustine based his Rule, and Jordan organized his \textit{Vitasfratrum} accordingly, treating each in respective parts.\(^{215}\)

In Part One Jordan narrated the origins of the Order within the broader context of the history of western monasticism. He discussed the Order’s habit, title, move to the cities, papal confirmation, and stipulations for living the combined \textit{vita activa} and \textit{vita contemplativa}. In Part Two he proceeded to expound the meaning of the Rule’s principle--\textit{cor unum et animam unam habere in Deo}--as expressed in the ideals of humility, charity, chastity, obedience, singing the canonical hours, and

\(^{213}\) "Beatissimus Pater et sacrae nostrae Religionis plantator Augustinus, intendens vitam apostolicam renovare, super praelibatis verbis totam suam intentionem fundavit." VF, 1,1, (7,9-11).

\(^{214}\) The four parts are: \textit{communio localis cohabitationis}; \textit{communio spiritualis unionis}; \textit{communio temporalis possessionis}; and \textit{communio proportionalis distributionis}. See, VF 1,1, (7-9).

\(^{215}\) "Denique ad has quattuor communiones omnia statuta Ordinis tam in Regula quam in Constitutionibus reducuntur. Et secundum hoc praeens opusculum in quattuor partes distinguitur, ita quod circa materiam primae communionis versatur prima pars operis; circa materiam secundae secunda; circa materiam tertiae tertia; circa materiam communio quartae quarta pars versatur." VF 1,1 (9,60-65).
prayer. In Part Three apostolic poverty as exemplified in the Acts of the Apostles and renewed by St. Augustine’s Rule becomes the focus. The final section of the work is devoted to the principle of "different but equal", whereby all brothers are aptly provided for according to their need, and not by hard-fast norms.

Throughout, Jordan illustrated his commentary with exempla from the Fathers--many of which are taken from the Vitaspatrium--and from exemplary brothers of "modern times". Jordan concluded each part of the Vitasfratrum with a chapter on the way the Constitutions of the Order pertain to the doctrine first expounded. His overall purpose was to give his brothers a "hand-book" of the religio Augustini, to provide them with the goals, ideals, and examples of what it meant to be a member of Augustine’s Order.

In the very year that Jordan lectured on Matthew in the Erfurt studium, Pope John XXII granted the Augustinian Hermits custody of St. Augustine’s tomb in San Pietro in Ciel d’Oro at Pavia, which had previously been under the aegis of the Canons Regular. The Hermits were given permission to establish a monastery large enough to house twenty-five to thirty friars adjoining San Pietro.216 This privilege, on the one hand, gave official recognition to the Order as the true heirs of St. Augustine, but on the other initiated a long dispute between the Hermits of St. Augustine and the Augustinian Canons regarding which was the ‘real’ Ordo Sancti

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216 See, R. Arbesman, "Henry of Friemar’s Treatise...," 41; and VF 1,18: “De reunione capitis ad membra in donatione corporis beati Augustini et loci in Papia.”
The conflict evoked a series of treatises from both sides arguing for historical priority. In the fifteenth century it became a cause célèbre until Pope Sixtus IV prohibited all further discussions of the issue on May 13, 1484.

When Jordan completed his Liber Vitasfratrum in 1357, the debate with the Canons may not have been the only controversy in his mind. On July 5, 1350, Richard FitzRalph, the Bishop of Armagh, attacked mendicant privileges in his Proposicio, preached before Clement VI in full consistory. His central thesis was not primarily the doctrine of apostolic poverty per se—as has traditionally been asserted—but rather, as Katherine Walsh has shown, the illegitimacy of mendicant privileges, namely, the rights of the friars to "preach, hear confessions, and bury the laity in their churches while retaining their privileged position of exemption from ordinary diocesan jurisdiction." In FitzRalph's mind, the friars interfered with

217 For a discussion of both the meanings of the terms ordo, religio, regula, and institutio, and the problem the mendicant orders presented by their representing neither the ordo monastichus nor the ordo canonicus, see Kuiters, "Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae," 18f.


219 See, K. Elm, "Augustinus Canonicus-Augustinus Eremita."


221 Walsh, 353.
the *cura animarum* and thus they were corruptors of the church's pastoral mission.

According to the bull of Boniface VIII, *Super Cathedram* (1300), which Clement VI reiterated in 1349, friars had the right to preach freely as long as they did not interfere with the preaching of the *prelati*. FitzRalph pounced on the meaning of the term *prelati* and argued that the term included not simply the bishops, but all those holding church offices.

FitzRalph saw in the friars a contradiction between their involvement in society and their vow of poverty. By obtaining privileges, acting as confessors to kings and princes, and—in the case of the Franciscans—denying that they held *dominium* of their property, the friars proved themselves to be hypocrites, even heretics. In his *De Pauperie Salvatoris* of 1356, FitzRalph went one step further than he had in his *Proposicio* and presented a detailed plea for the abolition not only of mendicant privileges, but also of the Orders themselves.

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222 Walsh, 359.
223 Walsh, 368.
224 "...prelati must be taken to include not only bishops, but all holding office in the Church structure, curati, rectores, vicarii, and capellani parochiales; all those having cure of souls, regardless of rank, are prepositi and therefore prelati!... Criticizing the impudence of the friars who preached near the parish church when the curate was saying Mass, he pointed out that whereas the curate could only preach to his flock during Mass, the friars had all day to do so, and he concluded--with a sweeping non sequitur—that the friars' privilege was anyhow superfluous and ought to be abolished." Walsh, 369.
225 FitzRalph focused on a strict interpretation of St. Francis' Rule, and seemingly ignored the fact that the other mendicant Orders did not follow this rule; Walsh, 375.
After the publication of FitzRalph's *De Pauperie Salvatoris* the mendicant controversy became a much debated issue both in Oxford and in Avignon. A papal commission was appointed to investigate the matter, but the status quo was preserved when the cause died inconclusively with FitzRalph himself in 1360.226

Jordan must have been aware of this debate when finishing his *Liber Vitasfratrum*. Indeed, it has been argued that Jordan's primary intent was to defend his Order's position on apostolic poverty.227 Jordan did devote ample space to the discussion of the Augustinian view of poverty in his *Liber Vitasfratrum*.228 Yet the doctrine of poverty per se was not the primary bone of contention for FitzRalph. Rather, the mendicant privileges of preaching and hearing confessions formed the basis for his attacks.229 Jordan briefly discussed the papal sanctions of the

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226 K. Walsh, 447. FitzRalph's attack on mendicant privilege elicited response from the friars, and in the OESA particularly from Geoffrey Hardeby, whose *Liber de vita evangelica* was the only treatise that directly answered FitzRalph's *De Pauperie Salvatoris*. See, Walsh, 394, 413f; F. Mathes, "The Poverty Movement and the Augustinian Hermits," AAug 32(1969):5-78.


228 See, VF, Part 3.

229 "Consequently the first indications of FitzRalph's criticism of the friars in his sermons preceding the Proposicio of 1350, and in this Proposicio itself, stemmed from his concern over confessional practice; and through the legal proceedings in Avignon from 1357 to 1360 it became even clearer that this was the central and crucial issue, while all other questions of mendicant poverty, preaching, and public activities were relegated to the role of supporting arguments." Walsh, 401. FitzRalph's doctrine of the dominion of grace, however, has been seen to reflect the "proto-type" as later adopted by Wycliff, indeed, that Wycliff's teaching "...was
OESA's right to preach and hear confessions in his chapter concerning the introduction of the Order into the cities,230 but his treatment is brief; it forms a stage in the much more encompassing exposition of the origins and development of the Order and gives no indication that it was intended as a defense against a formidable challenge. Jordan, having served as an inquisitor and having written a treatise--now lost--against the heresy of the "Free Spirit,"231 was no stranger to asserting orthodoxy against those whom he judged had distorted church doctrine. It is likely that if he had envisioned his Liber Vitasfratrum as a reply to FitzRalph, he would have given some indication of this intent. In his lengthy treatment of poverty, the language is in the mode of explication and explanation, not in that of exoneration. There is no firm evidence, aside from temporal proximity, to claim that Jordan composed his Liber Vitasfratrum in the heat of the mendicant controversy. This is not to say that he was unaware of the matter, and it is not unlikely that when he submitted his work to the Prior General, Gregory of Rimini, he did so with hopes of contributing to the affirmation of the religio Augustini.

borrowed from FitzRalph's elaborate inquiry into the whole theory of lordship, possession, property, and use." Walsh, 377. Walsh argues, however, that: "To interpret him [FitzRalph] in terms of what Wycliff, the Lollards, or the Reformers in Prague subsequently made of his thesis, is to ignore the manner in which an orthodox, ambitious, and essentially conservative and hierarchically-minded prelate made his own a doctrine which had been hierocratic in its conception." Walsh, 385.

230 VF 1,16, (57-59).

Jordan's interest in the heritage of his Order certainly preceded the need to defend that lineage against FitzRalph. While a student in Paris, Jordan had begun gathering material for his Collectanea. Hümpfner argued that while Jordan was still in Bologna he developed the inspiration for his Vitasfratrum having been influenced by the Dominican Vitasfratrum and the Libelleus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum of that Order's second General, the blessed Jordan of Saxony's (d. 1237).²³²

It may have been "natural" for Jordan to have longed for such a book while a student at Bologna as the one he eventually wrote, but there is no evidence that even his work on the Collectanea, "...must have been intended as preliminary studies for the first part of the Vitasfratrum...".²³³ If, however, Jordan had indeed conceived of his plan as early as 1319-1322, it further discredits the argument that Jordan's primary intent in the Vitasfratrum was to defend the Order's doctrine of poverty against FitzRalph. Unfortunately we can only speculate on the relationship in Jordan's mind between his early research for the Collectanea and his Vitasfratrum, which was published thirty-five years after he left Paris.

²³² "Jordanus probably conceived the plan of the Vitasfratrum while he was a student in Bologna, the famous university city where the Dominicans had their great monastery, and where the body of their founder was buried. While there, perhaps even earlier, he became acquainted with their Vitasfratrum; he must also have been aware of the second Dominican General, Blessed Jordanus of Saxony (d. 1237), who had written Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum. It was only natural that the mind of the Augustinian student should have wondered why his own Order could not have a Vitasfratrum, a record of the sanctity of its ancient members and of the contemporary great..." Hümpfner, intro. i.

²³³ Hümpfner, intro., li.
While Hümpfner supposes the early origin of the *Vitasfratrum*, he does argue that the mendicant controversy brought the work to fruition. Upon his election as General of the Order in May 1357 at the General Chapter of Montpellier, Gregory of Rimini attacked the decline in the observance of poverty and the *vita communis* within the Order.234 Everywhere he looked, Gregory wrote in a letter to the French Augustinians on July 18, 1357, brothers accumulated their own money and sought worldly honors, preferring the way of the seculars, "and thus the path of true religion is deserted."235 In light of FitzRalph's campaign against the mendicants, these words take on added importance, especially since Gregory was well aware of the issue being debated in the Curia.236

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234 Hümpfner, intro., liiif.

235 "Super nostre religionis specula licet immeriti constituti, dum plurimos, immo fere omnes aspicimus ad divina desides, sollicitos ad mundana, contra eorum professionem et statum proprias cumulare pecunias, perfrui deliciis, pompis seculi gloriar, sicque religiositatis deserta semita, vias potius incedere seculares, terret nos plurimum illa divina sententia, qua de manu negligentis speculatoris comminature Dominus sanguinem requirere morientium. Quamobrem tuam caritatem exhortamur in Domino, ut fratres tue provinciae, pro quarum salute tu quoque constitutus spectator agnoscere ab huiusmodi secularibus viis ad viam, que vere religiosos decet et sanctos, summa diligentia et sollicitudine studeas revocare.", AAug 4(1911):372-376, as quoted by Hümpfner, intro., liii.

236 Writing to the province of Cologne from Vienna on Nov. 16, 1358, Gregory explicitly called for measures to combat Fitzralph's attacks: "Tuam caritatem credimus non latere, qualiter in curia romana questio gravis et ardua cum ordinibus mendicantium ex una parte, et domino Armachano archiepiscopo in iubernia agitatur ex altera...Nos igitur attendentes totum ordinem nostrum per dictum Armachanum graviter molestari, ex quo cogimur nostra iura in iudicio defensare iustum existimamus et dignum omnes et singulas provincias ordinis memorati quorum factum
As evidence of Jordan’s urgent ambition to offer his solution to the problem, Hümpfner points to a passage in which Jordan announced a *Tractatus specialis in fine libri* concerning the miracles of St. Nicholas of Tolentino. This treatise is to be found neither at the end of the *Vitasfratrum*, nor anywhere else in Jordan’s works. Thus Hümpfner claims that Jordan did not have time to compose this treatise; the mendicant controversy prompted his haste in sending his *Vitasfratrum* to the General.

There is, however, absolutely no connection between this passage and the issue of poverty or of mendicant privileges. Jordan announced a *Tractatus specialis* in the chapter concerning the care of sick brothers In fact, the very same passage could be used with more validity to argue for an early date of composition. Jordan was discussing the miracles of Nicholas of Tolentino; he had heard many, but could not remember them in detail (*distincte non recolo*). His intention of


237 Hümpfner, intro., Ivi.

238 *VF* 2,11, (136-142); "Multa et innumerabilia miracula Deus per eundem beatum virum operatus est, quae vix sufficeret lingua dicere vel calamus exarare, et operatur Deus hodierna die, de quorum aliquibus est tractatus specialis in fine libri." *VF* 2,11, (142,156-159).

239 "Multa alia miracula de eodem sancto audivi, sed quia distincte non recolo, in genere quaedam rememoror...," *VF* 2,11, (142,149-150).
writing a special treatise dealing with the miracles of Nicholas could have been inspired by a decree of the General Chapter at Paris in 1329, which asked for all miracles of Augustinians to be collected and reported to the next General Chapter.\textsuperscript{240} Those of Nicholas would have had special importance since in 1325 John XXII set in motion the process for Nicholas' canonization.\textsuperscript{241} The Acts of the General Chapter at Venice in 1332 are silent regarding the success of this decree;\textsuperscript{242} but these circumstances provide a more likely context for interpreting

\textsuperscript{240} "Item diffinimus et mandamus quod omnia miracula fratrum nostrorum qui divina gratia claruerunt sub manu publica aut documentis autenticis in qualibet provincia colligantur et generali infra istud triennium transmittantur, ut praesententur futuro capitulo generali." AAug 4(1911):87; as quoted by Hümpfner, intro., li.

\textsuperscript{241} Although the canonization process was begun by John XXII in 1325, Nicholas was not canonized until 1446. For the initial testimony concerning Nicholas' canonization, see \textit{Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino}, ed. Nicola Occhioni, OSA, (Rome, 1984). However, the decree from the Paris general chapter does not specifically refer to Nicholas. Rather, it continues, after the passage cited by Hümpfner, by expressing a special interest in Aegidius Romanus: "Et eodem modo mandamus quod quilibet provincialis in sua provincia inquirat de operibus venerabilis patris et eximii doctoris nostri, quondam fratris Egidii, et scribat patri nostro generali, ut similiter futura capitulo presententur." AAug 4(1911): 87.

\textsuperscript{242} Hümpfner, intro., li. However, an anonymous Augustinian from Pisa wrote a \textit{Vita brevis aliquorum fratrum heremitarum}; see, R. Arbesmann, "A Legendary of Early Augustinian Saints," AAug 29(1966):5-58. Michael Goodich places this treatise, as well as both Henry of Friemar's \textit{Tractatus de origine et progressu}... and Jordan's \textit{Liber Vitafratrum} in the context of the Paris mandate. See, Michael Goodich, \textit{Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century}, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 25, (Stuttgart, 1982), 54. Referring to Henry's Tractatus, Hümpfner noted that: "There is no indication in this treatise that it was composed of material collected as a result of the definition, but the brief notices offered by Henry of Friemar may well have been influenced by the two General Chapters." Hümpfner, intro., li.
Jordan’s declaration of a future *Tractatus specialis* concerning Nicholas than does the mendicant controversy.

When we turn to the debate with the Canons, we are on firm ground, since Jordan explicitly mentioned the issue. The very crux of the debate (*totum pondus questionis*) was how one made one’s profession. The Canons, the flesh and blood behind Jordan’s ‘anonymous’ *alii*, vowed obedience to a prelate, rather than vowing obedience to the Rule itself.243 The Hermits profess obedience first to God, to the Virgin Mary, and then to the Prior General and his successors, obedience “to live until death without possessions and in chastity according to the Rule of blessed Augustine.” This is not only obedience to the Rule or to a prelate, but a vow to follow these three basic components of religion: obedience to God, to Mary, and to the General of the Order.244

243 “Ideo dicunt alii, quod illi, qui profitentur sub hac forma: ‘Facio professionem et promitto tibi praelato et successoribus tuis oboedientiam secundum Regulam sancti Augustini usque ad mortem,’ hi, inquam, ad nullum eorum, quae sunt in Regula obligantur ex praeccepto, nisi secundum quod praelatus indicet vel imponet eis. Unde si praelatus dicit huic: ‘Praecipio tibi hoc vel illud de contentis in Regula,’ illa erunt sibi praecerta et non alia, quantumcumque legislator utatur verbo praecepit. Sic enim iste promisit oboedientiam, non quod oboediret Regulae, sed praelato secundum Regulam, ita quod secundum istam viam ea, quae sunt in Regula, non apprehendunt istum subditum nisi mediante praelato. Sed hanc formam profitendi non habet Ordo noster.” VF, 2,14, (177,336-347).

244 “Verum quidem dicunt praedicti, quod totum pondus quaestionis versatur circa formam professionis. Forma autem profitendi, prout nobis praestituta est ab antiquis patribus Ordinis est haece: ‘Ego, frater N...facio professionem et promitto oboedientiam Deo et beatae Mariae Virgini et tibi Priori Generali Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum sancti Augustini et successoribus tuis, vivere sine proprio et in castitate secundum Regulam beati Augustini usque ad mortem.’ Isti itaque professores
Arbesmann argued that Jordan deplored the controversy, preferring to focus on religious obedience, rather than historical priority. The extent of Jordan's antipathy towards the issue needs to be determined within the broader context of the treatise. In Arbesmann's proof text, Jordan included not only the OESA and the Canons, but all Orders that follow St. Augustine's Rule, namely, the Dominicans, Praemonstratensians, and "many others." Jordan's strategy was not one of historical priority per se. Rather, he focused on establishing the "true sons" of St. Augustine. He admitted that many orders say that they are the Order of St. Augustine, and many others are hermits, but only the OESA can properly claim to be called "The Order of Hermits of St. Augustine." In fact, Jordan argued,

profitentur explicite non solum obedientiam, sed omnia tria illa substantialia Religionis." VF 2,14, (177,348-356).

245 "...[Jordan] deplored the dispute [with the Canons] and declared emphatically that the contest between the two Orders should not be concerned at all with priority but with the faithful compliance with the precepts contained in St. Augustine's Rule; and that, if he had a choice, he would rather prefer to be a member of that Order which distinguishes itself by strictness of observance than to have the certitude that it was the Hermit Friars to whom St. Augustine gave the Rule first." R. Arbesmann, "Henry of Friemar's Treatise...," 59-60. Arbesmann based his position on the passage of the *Vitasfratrum* in the chapter *De regula et constitutionibus ordinis*, VF 2,14.

246 VF 2,14, (173,225-229).

247 As Hümpfner noted, Jordan omitted the legend that Augustine provided the hermits in Tuscany with a Rule. See, Hümpfner, intro., lxxiv f.

248 "De cuius tituli congruentiast sciendum, quod iste titulus ita appropriatus estisti Ordini, quod nulli alteri convenit. Plures namque aliorum Ordinum Religiosi scribunt se Ordinis sancti Augustini, puta omnes habentes Regulam suam, videlicet
neither the Canons Regular nor the Dominicans--both of whom follow St. Augustine's Rule--bear the appellation 'Order of St. Augustine' in their title. 249

Even if not the first to receive Augustine’s Rule, the Hermits are the true Order of St. Augustine by reason of 1) their original, primordial, institution, (by Augustine the Order was *primordialiter propagatus*); 2) by reason of their following the Rule; 3) by reason of their papal affirmation and approbation as the true Order of St. Augustine; and 4) by reason of their possessing St. Augustine’s "most holy body". 250 These four reasons can be applied to no other Order, thus confirming

Regulares Canonici, Praemonstratenses, Victorini, Norbertini, Praedicatorum, Servi sanctae Mariae et plures alii, a quibus secerinit hoc, quod in titulo isto dicitur Eremitarum.

Rursus plures possunt esse adhuc Religiosi eremiticae viventes, qui se scribunt Eremitas, sed illud, quod ponitur in titulo sancti Augustini, distinguit nos ab illis. Sic enim olim omnes illi Ordines supradiicti, qui nunc huic sunt uniti, se vocabant et scriebant, scilicet Eremitas, sed fratres huius Ordinis soli appellabantur sancti Augustini, ad quos ali sunt uniti; fuerunt enim et sunt de illa felici propagine sacrae institutionis sancti Augustini. Quare merito ipsi retinent ab ipso praerogativam tituli prae omnibus aliis suam Regulam habentibus." VF 1,17 (59,9-60,23).

249 "In quibus omnibus et similibus locis iuris ita praedicti vocantur Canonici Regulares et Fratres Praedicatorum, quod non apponitur eis titulus sancti Augustini...," VF 2,17, (60,35-37).

250 "Digne etiam et congrue Ordo iste gaudere debet titulo sancti Augustini: tum ratione suae primordialis institutionis, cum Ordo sit ab ipso primordialiter propagatus; tum ratione regularis instructionis, quia per traditionem suae Regulae ab ipsom est dotatus; tum ratione apostolicae adaptationis, quia iste titulus est Ordini a Sede apostolica peculialiter adaptatus, appropriatus et confirmatus; tum etiam ratione corporalis possessionis, quia possessione sacratissimi corporis sui Ordo est singulariter praerogatus." VF 1,17 (61,63-70). Regarding John XXII’s donation to the OESA of St. Augustine’s tomb, Jordan states this act was revealed to a *fratri nominato in Ordine*; see, VF 1,18, (65-67). Hümpfer argued that this *frater nominatus* was Jordan himself (intro., li). Although Jordan does not clearly state that
the fact that the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine is the true, original, and only, Order of St. Augustine.\(^{251}\) If Jordan deplored the dispute with the Canons, he did so because he saw it as completely unnecessary. Even if the Canons could prove that they were the first to receive Augustine’s Rule, Jordan’s preference would be to be a member of the Order that most faithfully represented the religio Augustini; in his mind, there was no question—it was the Hermits.

Nevertheless, Jordan did not refrain from putting forward a claim to the historical priority of the Hermits. He explicitly stated: "[Augustine] gave the Rule to the brothers, and not to the Canons."\(^{252}\) His reasoning was that Augustine composed his Rule before he became a bishop and consequently he did not have the

\(^{251}\) "Et haec quattuor nulli alteri competunt Ordini; quare non immerito remanet huic Ordini praerogativa tituli." VF 1,17, (61,70-72). Yet over a decade later, as Jordan was composing his *Opus Dan*, he placed the two orders on equal ground. In his sermon *De translatione Sancti Augustini*, Jordan showed no signs of contention: "Unde pro maiori veneratione tanti Patris, iuxta ecclesiam sancti Petri in caelo aureo in qua requiescit, duo monasteria duorum ordinum quos idem pater seipsum instituisse legitur existunt constituta; unum videlicet canonicalum regularium et aliud fratrum heremitarum, qui diebus et noctibus in eadem ecclesia convenientes ad honorem et laudem dei et beati Patris Augustini divinis officiis invigilant incessanter." *Opus Dan*, (ed. Strassburg, 1484) sermo 59F.

\(^{252}\) "...istam Regulam fratribus dederit et non canonicis...". VF 2,14, (167,62).
legal right to give his Rule to the canons, since they were not under his
authority. Augustine, Jordan explained, wrote two Rules, or rather, wrote the
same Rule twice for different recipients—one for the friars and one for the Canons,
although the latter did not exclude the friars. Thus, even though both the friars
and the Canons follow St. Augustine’s Rule, "the brothers, nevertheless, retained the
beginning of the first Rule as a sign of their original institution together with the

253 "Ex quod istam Regulam fratribus dederit et non canonicis, patet cum ex eo,
quia ipse, antequam esset episcopus, canonicis legem dare non potuit, quia subditi sui
non erant...," VF 1,14, (167,62-64).

254 "...dici potest quod beatus Augustinus fecerit unam Regulam ad fratres, non
includendo canonicos, aliam ad canonicos, non excludendo fratres...," VF 2,14,
(169,133-138). For Jordan’s discussion of the tradition of the Rule, see this entire
section. There are two manuscript traditions of this chapter. Hümpfner states that
they represent Jordan’s change of mind regarding the authenticity of the Decretum;
see Hümpfner, intro., lxxvii. Of the three Rules ascribed to Augustine, Jordan
accepts that Augustine was without doubt the author of two. The "later" version
reads: "...praeter has duas nihilominus quandam tertiam Regulam scripsisse fratrum
communi consensu...Sed hunc libellum non esse Augustini, sed sancti Basili certis
indiciis esse probavi...De praedictis autem duabus Regulis Augustini nulli esse
dubium debet eas esse Augustini. De quibus tamen diceret aliquis eas non esse duas
Regulas distinctas, sed totum unum ab eo quod dicitur Ante omnia, fratres carissimi,
diligatur Deus usque ibi in temptationem non inducatur, et esse unam Regulam
indistinctam..." VF 2,14, (169,139 col. A--170,164 col. A). The "earlier" reading
states: "Et sic appareat, qualiter accipiantur tres Regulae supradictae; nisi quis vellet
dicere, quod secunda et tertia non sunt distinctae Regulae, sed totum illud ab eo, quod
dicitur Ante omnia, fratres carissimi, diligatur Deus usque ibi in temptationem non
inducatur, sit una Regula, et secundum hoc Augustinus non fecisset nisi unam
Regulam...," VF 2,14, (170,156-166 col.B). For modern scholarship concerning the
traditions of St. Augustine’s Rule, see, L Verheijen, La Règle de saint Augustin, I:
Tradition manuscrite; II: Recherches historiques, (Paris, 1967); idem, Nouvelle
Approche de la Règle de saint Augustin, (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1980); most
recently, George Lawless, Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule, (Oxford, 1987).
Rule. When Jordan deplored the continued debate between the Canons and the Hermits, he did so because for him there was in fact nothing to debate.

Whereas in 1334 Henry of Friemar had already given the Order its first historical legitimization with his *Tractatus de origine et progressu ordinis fratrum heremitarum et de vero et proprio titulo eiudem*, Jordan offered a comprehensive exposition of the Augustinian way of life—valid and continuous from its founder to his own time. There are sufficient parallels between the works of Henry and Jordan to suggest that Jordan derived the concept of his *Vitasfratrum* from Henry’s *Tractatus*. As Henry’s title states, his subject was the origin and development of the Order, and Jordan adopted this two-fold plan when in his Prologue he explained that he will gather his material, ...

...circa hoc originem progressumque eiusdem Ordinis. Further, according to Henry, the original principle of the Order stemmed from the most holy fathers. He opened chapter six of his treatise, which contains *exempla* from outstanding brothers, by claiming: "...but because some holy seeds were fruitfully germinated from the roots of such holiness of this

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255 "Fratres tamen in signum suae primaevae institutionis exordium prioris Regulae simul cum ista Regula retinuerunt." VF 2,14, (172,194-195).

256 VF, Prol., 7,13-14.

Order's first fathers, I, therefore, was eager to put down in writing what I could find out about the famous fathers of our Order whose sanctity was well known. 258

And finally, Henry referred to the Order as *illa sancta propago praedictorum patrum*. 259

This sentiment and terminology were taken over by Jordan, who based his work on the principle that "the life of the brothers derived from the life of the Fathers." 260 In Part I he traced *illa sancta propago sancti Augustini* 261 from the earliest desert Fathers to the Great Union. Furthermore, Jordan incorporated entire sections of Henry's treatise. 262 When we recall that the three aspects of his *Tractatus* were to discuss the foundation, approbation, and confirmation by exempla of the Order, we should not fail to recognize the similarity to Jordan's overall scheme.

There is no certain evidence that reveals to us the origins of Jordan's *Vitasfratrum*. Jordan had a deep interest in the heritage of his Order already in his

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258 "...verum quia a radice tantae sanctitatis primorum patrum huius ordinis nonnisi sancta germinia decuit propagari, ideo sub compendio pro aedificatione fratrum fratres famosae et notoriae sanctitatis huius nostri ordinis, de quibus compertum habui, studui annotare." Henry of Friemar, *Tractatus* 6, (ed. cit. 118,1-5).


261 *VF*, 1,14, (46,41).

262 See, for example, *VF* 1,7, (22ff).
student days as seen in his *Collectanea*. From the above analysis, we can suggest that he took an active interest in the dispute between the Canons and the Hermits, and having been influenced by Henry of Friemar's *Tractatus*, he conceived a plan to compose an expansion of this work on a grand scale, encompassing all aspects of the *religio Augustini*. When his confrere, John of Basel, wrote to Jordan seeking advice on how one was to know who was a true son of St. Augustine, Jordan offered him his *Vitasfratrum* as an answer. There is no evidence that suggests Jordan wrote his work in response to the mendicant controversy. The *Liber Vitasfratrum* is not a defense of the Order. It is an explication of the Augustinian way of life.

Jordan began his work with a statement of purpose. Because the memorable deeds of the outstanding members of the Order should never be forgotten, Jordan affirmed, "...I was desirous to gather together the life and deeds of the fathers and brothers of our Order...so that the examples of holy religion from the fathers and brothers of times past might not fade into a cloud of oblivion, but rather be stored away in eternal memory." With his *Liber Vitasfratrum*, Jordan offered an Augustinian *De viris illustribus*.

Although the *Liber Vitasfratrum* is not a work of history it is eminently historical. Jordan was intent on presenting only what he knew to be true: "...truth

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263 "...ne exempla sanctae Religionis a patribus et praecedentium temporum fratribus in oblivionis nubilum deducantur, sed potius in aeterna memoria recondantur, idcirco studui patrum ac fratrum singularium gestorum et notabilium meritorum eiusdem Ordinis vitam gestaque...," VF, Prol., 3,8-12.
is obtained most of all in fact; the facts that are able to be known from the particular deeds of devout persons are actually few with respect to those things that God secretly works in individual holy men...Therefore, I put down those few accounts that are known to me in some way."\textsuperscript{264} For Jordan history was based on fact.

Whereas Henry of Friemar had claimed for the Augustinians the title of the Joachite \textit{novus ordo} and solidified his argument for the historical primacy of the Order with Augustine's two-year sojourn in Centumcellis, Jordan saw that the chronology of Augustine's biography could not support more than a brief stay with the hermits at Centumcellis, and he makes no reference to the \textit{novus ordo}. In addition, we have already seen that Jordan based his case against the Canons on an historical analysis of Augustine's Rule; Augustine could not have given his Rule to the Canons first because he was not yet a bishop and therefore he did not have jurisdiction over them.

The \textit{Liber Vitasfratrum} should be placed within the general historical orientation of fourteenth-century theology. Jordan traced the origin and development of his Order, divided into the epochs of the \textit{status antiquus} and \textit{status modernus}. The continuity within the Order is found in the persistent pursuit of the apostolic life. The life of the brothers stemmed from the life of the fathers. The history of this pursuit Jordan presented in the first part of the \textit{Liber Vitasfratrum}.

\textsuperscript{264} "Quod maxime veritatem obtinet in his, quae in facto consistunt; qualia sunt huiusmodi, quae de gestis particularibus personarum devotarum sciri possunt, quae revera paucia sunt respectu eorum, quae Deus occulte operatur in singulis viris sanctis...Perpauca igitur utcumque mihi cognita conscripsi." VF, Prol., 3,21-4,27.
Jordan began by establishing that the apostolic life was initiated by Christ, who gave the apostles the example and rule for living. The *communio apostolica* grew over time, and gave birth to three generations of offspring. The first (*prima propago*) was the apostles themselves, who maintained the communal life after the Lord’s resurrection, as narrated in the Acts of the Apostles. Yet in time, "the fervor of that first faith died down" and became lax. A group that remembered the pristine perfection of the apostolic community withdrew from the city and from association with those who were negligent in order to renew the apostolic institution in secret; thus the second generation. The third generation

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265 "Deinde ipse Christus conventum apostolorum instituit regulam evangelicam eis tradens." VF 1,2, (10,25-26).

266 "Quam sacratissimam communionem apostoli post Domini resurrectionem semper retinuerunt et tunc etiam cohabitare in unum corporaliter inceperunt; legitur enim in Actibus Apostolorum, quod post resurrectionem Domini undecim apostoli simul habitaverunt in Jerusalem in coenaculo grandi strato, et erant omnes ibidem perseverantes in oratione cum mulieribus et Maria matre Jesu." VF 1,2, (10,26-32).

267 "...etiam illius ecclesiae perfectionem, quae in Hierosolymis consistebat, paulatim contaminare coepisset ac per hoc primae illius fidei fervor refrigeresceret, non solum hi, qui ad fidem Christi de gentibus confluacerant, verum etiam illi, qui videbantur illius ecclesiae principes et rectores, ab illa districtione laxati sunt, existimantes id, quod videbant gentibus pro infirmitate concessum, sibi etiam fore licitum." VF 1,2, (11,63-69).

268 "Unde factum est, quod hi, quibus adhuc apostolicus inerat fervor, memores illius pristinae perfectionis, discedentes a civitatibus suis et ab illorum consortio, qui sibi remissioris vitae negligentiam licitam esse dicebant, ad loca suburbana et secretiora secesserunt et ea, quae ab apostolis meminerant instituta, privatim ac peculiariter exercere coeperunt. Et ita coadolevit disciplina eorum, qui se ab aliorum contagio sequestraverunt. Et haec fuit propago secunda." VF 1,2, (11,69-12,76).
resulted once again from a 'cooling off' of devotion, and this time the move was by individuals who carried the apostolic fervor, but unable to live accordingly, left their parents and friends and chose a solitary life. For this reason, "they were called monks and on account of their common life, they were called cenobites."269 This third form of the apostolic community lasted for many years, up until the time of the first hermit, St. Paul, and St. Anthony.270

Jordan then proceeded to discuss the three types of monks.271 Among the desert fathers were the anchorites, who live entirely alone, cenobites, who live in

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269 "...quidam eorum, in quibus adhuc apostolicus fervor inferbuit, a coniugiis abstinentes, a parentum se consortio mundique istius conversatione secrerunt et singularem ac solitariam vitam elegerunt, seorsum a turbis cohabitantes in unum. Qui propter solitariae vitae distictionem monachi nominati sunt et ex communione consortii coenobitae dicti sunt." VF 1,2, (12,81-86).

270 "Et haec fuit apostolicae communionis propago tertia et duravit per annos plurimos usque ad tempora sancti Pauli primi eremitae et sancti Antonii." VF 1,2, (12,87-90).

271 "Tria fuisse in Aegypto monachorum genera antiquorum patrum instituta declarant; quorum duo sunt optima, tertium tepidum et evitandum." VF 1,3, (13,3-5). Jordan could have drawn on a number of sources for his discussion of the different types of monks, e.g., Johannes Cassian, Coll. 18, (CSEL 18, 4,2), or Ps-Augustine, *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, sermo 21, (PL 40, 1268f). Jordan also names a fourth type of monk, not discussed in sermo 21 of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, which is the worst of all: "Praeter hoc est et quartum genus monachorum, quod appellatur gyrovagum, de quo dicit beatus Benedictus in Regula sua, quod sunt adhuc 'deteriores Sarabaitis, qui per totam vitam suam per diversas provincias ternis atque quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hospitantur, semper vagi et numquam stables, propriis voluptatibus et gulae servientes.'...Sed duo ultima exsecrabilia genera...," see, VF 1,3, (15, 55-65); *Regula Sancti Benedicti* 1, 1, ed. Timothy Fry, et al. (Collegeville, Minn., 1981), 168-170; the passage Jordan cites is 1,1,10, (ed. cit., 170). The editors have noted that the *Regula Magistri* was the first to use the term *gyrovagus*, (171, n.1.10).
communities, and the sarabaites. These last were "detrimental and execrable," only pretending to live holy lives, like Ananias and Saphira; even if they appear as angels, in reality—if one could see their inner selves—they are really wolves.\footnote{272}

This type of monk should be avoided at all costs.\footnote{273}

Having brought the development of monasticism thus far, Jordan then entered into a rather lengthy discussion of the comparative values, and dangers, of the anchoritic and the cenobitic lives. The anchoritic form of monasticism provides the individual with the opportunity of pursuing his own perfection and in this sense the anchorite is the more perfect type of monk.\footnote{274} The anchorite’s life, however, is so harsh and difficult that before entering upon such a vow, "one should be thoroughly practiced in all righteousness and virtue, and filled with the Holy Spirit."\footnote{275}

\footnote{272}{"Tertium est illud deterrimum et exsecrabile genus Sarabaitarum, qui Ananiae et Saphirae sectantes simulationem, evangelicam perfectionem simulare potius quam in veritate arripere maluerunt, appetentes tantummodo nomine monachorum absqueulla aemulatione censeri. Hi foris praedicant paupertatem, nullam portare volentes egestatem. In cunctis suis operibus quaerunt honorari, revereri et laudari a hominibus et ut sancti venerari. Corpora foris despectis vestibus tegunt, sed intus ad carнем purpura induuntur. In cinere praedicant se iacere, sed in excelsis palatiis mollia strata non despiciunt. Angelicam faciem foris ostendunt, sed lupinam eos intus habere non dubitamus." VF 1,3, (14,30-40).}

\footnote{273}{"Tria fuisse in Aegypto monachorum genera antiquorum patrum instituta declarant quorum duo sunt optima, tertium tepidum et evitandum." VF 1,3, (13,3-5).}

\footnote{274}{"Quia igitur unumquodque ex fine suam sortitur perfectionem, constatanchoritarum genus perfectius esse." VF 1,4, (16).}

\footnote{275}{"...volentes transire ad vitam eremiticam debent prius esse omni iustitia etvirtute praexercitati atque Spiritu Sancto repleti...", VF 1,4, (16,17-19).}
only will one have to be content living alone in the desert on whatever bread and water can be found, but even greater danger, Jordan cautioned, will come from the devil. For as Jerome told of St. Paul, "No one knows what great temptations of Satan he bore." 276 The serpent came to Eve in paradise when she was alone—and prevailed. It is certain, Jordan warned, "that the Tempter goes for solitude. Wherefore it is necessary that the solitary man be well armed against the enemy." 277

For these reasons, the cenobitic life is safer. 278 Community is not to be shunned but cultivated, for Christ himself promised that where two or three are congregated in his name he will be among them. Thus, how much more does this apply when many are gathered. 279 Indeed, "it is better to say the canonical hours together with the brothers in church than alone in your cell." 280 Therefore, Jordan

276 "Unde etiam de isto sancto Paulo dicit Hieronymus, quod quantas ipse temptationes Satanae pertulerit, nulli hominum cognitum habetur...", VF 1,4, (17,57-59).

277 "Serpens etiam ille in paradiso, volens temptare matrem generis nostri Evam, solitariam eam agressus est. Ex quibus omnibus convincitur, quod temptator solitudinem amat. Quare oportet hominem solitarium bene esse armatum contra hostem." VF 1,4, (17,60-63).

278 "Coenobitarum autem genus securius esse...", VF 1,5, (18,3).

279 "Et si hoc de duobus vel tribus iustis congregatis, quanto magis in multorum iustorum congregatione, non est dubium Christum interesse et eorum vota exaudire...", VF 1,5, (19,35-37).

280 "...quod melius est dicere horas canonicas in congregatione fratrum in ecclesia quam seorsum in cella...", VF 1,5, (19,42-43).
concluded, "the cenobitic life is more secure and is more conducive to acquiring perfection, whereas the anchoritic life is suitable for those already perfect."281

Thus, the most perfect form of monastic life would be to combine the anchoritic and the cenobitic lives;282 this was essentially the accomplishment of St. Augustine.

There is no doubt, Jordan claimed, that Augustine was a cenobite.283 Nowhere is it read that Augustine was ever an anchorite.284 Yet although he was a bishop, he desired solitude. Jordan interpreted this solitude as that of an anchorite, although he admitted that Augustine never actually lived as an anchorite.285 Nevertheless, "although Augustine was never an anchorite in the strict sense, as has been shown, it is not subject to doubt that he often partook of an

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281 "...vita cenobitica securior est et aptior ad perfectionem acquirendam, vita vero anachoritica competit iam perfectam." VF 1,5, (20,84-86).

282 "Porro utriusque generis professio, si alicubi in eodem homine simul perfecte reperiatur, perfectissima est." VF 1,6, (21,3-4).

283 "Et quidem non est dubium ipsum beatum Augustinum coenobitam fuisset...," VF 1,7, (22,8-9).

284 "Nunc autem de eremitarum anachoritarum numero non legitur Augustinus umquam fuisse...," VF 1,7, (22,16-17).

285 "Quod tamen ipse semper in desiderio habuerit solitudinem etiam episcopus existens, ipsemet testatur X libro Confessionum [Conf. 10,43,70]...Et si hic per solitudinem intelligitur status anachoriticus, manifestum est ex ipsis cum eum illum statum in desiderio quidem habuisse, sed actualiter in eo non fuisse...," VF 1,7, (26,103-111).
anchoritic life.  

This dual form of life was possible because of a distinction regarding the meaning of the term 'hermit'. Both anchorites and cenobites could dwell in a hermitage, that is, a solitary anchorite could live in eremo. This is also possible, on the other hand, for cenobites. Removed from the crowd and commotion of secular life, yet living as a community, cenobites could also be in eremo. Whereas anchorite and cenobite refer to the type of life, hermit signifies the place of dwelling.  

"Therefore, there are anchoritic hermits and cenobitic hermits," and Augustine--from his time with Simplicianus, including both his stay with the hermits of Tuscany and his return to North Africa--lived as an eremetical cenobite. Augustine combined the "best of both worlds" and on this basis,  

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286 "Verum licet Augustinus numquam fuerit anachorita ex statu. ut ostensum est, sed actum anachoritarum non est dubium eum saepius habuisse." VF 1,7, (27,123-125).

287 Cf. Jordan's distinction between a monastery and a cenobitic community: "Denique inter coenobium et monasterium hoc interest, quia monasterium nomen est diversorii, nihil amplius quam locum, id est habitaculum, significans monachorum, coenobium vero etiam professionis ipsius qualitatem disciplinamque designat. Et monasterium potest etiam unius monachi habitatio nominari, coenobium vero appellari non potest, nisi ubi plurimorum cohabitantium degit unita communio...," VF 1,2, (12,90-96).

288 "Et si alicubi reperiatur se ipsum aut alios ipsum eremitam nuncupasse, distinguendum puto de eremitis: quoniam quidem sunt eremitaes, qui in eremo solitarii vivunt, et hi sunt anchoritae; alii etiam sunt eremitaes, qui in congregacione fratrum viventes in eremo commorantur a turbis saecularium semoti, et hi sunt coenobitae. Sunt igitur eremitaes anchoritae et sunt eremitaes coenobitae." VF 1,7, (22,10-15).

289 VF 1,7, (23-26).
founded his Order.

After the death of Augustine, the brothers who lived under the saint's guidance were dispersed due to the increasing hostility of the Vandals, who desecrated their monasteries and profaned their rituals. But one must not conclude that therefore the heritage of Augustine was lost. Some of the brothers fled Africa and came to Tuscany, and there regrouped

...some in solitary cells, and others in eremetical communities...serving the Lord, just as the Lord inspired them. And thus, that holy community, instituted by blessed Augustine and, as it is said, always guarded by him, was in no way broken asunder or abolished, but remained preserved in some good fathers; until in most recent times God deemed it worthy to call together that dispersion, just as He once "congregated the dispersion of the Israelites". 290

Even before this eventually occurred, the Church, beginning with Pope Innocent III, recognized the dispersed Order of Hermits of St. Augustine and granted them privileges. Thus the OESA preceded both the Franciscans and Dominicans, who were of more recent origin. 291 In addition, because they were

290 "...nonnulli eorum in cellis solitarie, alii in coenobiis eremiticis se receperunt, servientes Domino sicut cuique Dominus inspiravit. Et sic illa sancta communio per beatum Augustinum instituta et per eum semper, ut dictum est, observata non omni

dirupta fuit et abolita, sed in aliquibus bonis patribus extitit conservata, donec novissimis temporibus illam dispersionem Deus dignatus est congregare, sicut olim dispersiones Israelis congregavit." VF 1,14, (45,15-22).

291 "...Ordines Praedicatorum et Minorum, qui tunc recente surrexerant...," VF 1,14, (46,47-48).
hermits, the fathers of the OESA lived in more simplicity than even St. Francis. 292

At the Fourth Lateran Council Innocent III stopped just shy of officially confirming the Order, having avoided the issue with the word, 'acceptance'. After such recognition, the gradual reunification continued apace. 293 In 1243 Innocent IV, recognizing the considerable fruits that the Dominicans and Franciscans were bringing the Church, desired to increase their benefit. Thus, he brought the diverse groups of Augustinian hermits living in Tuscany into a single Order, and assigned to them a Cardinal Protector (Richard Annabaldi). 294 There were still, however, many other faithful heirs of St. Augustine who yet remained scattered.

At which time, blessed Augustine, wanting to end the dispersion of his own family, appeared in a vision with a large head but small body, to Innocent's successor to the apostolic seat, Pope Alexander IV. On account of this vision, as if by a divine oracle, the Pope was moved to complete the union that had been begun by his predecessor, Pope Innocent. 295

Thus began the status modernus of the Order, whose father was St.

292 "Sic aestimo fuisse de patribus nostris antiquis, qui adhuc in maiori simplicitate vivebant quam sanctus Franciscus, cum ipsi in eremo habitarent." VF 1,14, (45,34-36).

293 VF 1,14, (46,44-50).

294 VF 1,14, (46,62-47,79).

295 "Unde beatus Augustinus, volens dispersionem suae Religionis congregari, succedenti ei in Sede apostolica, scilicet domino Alexandro papae IV, in visione apparuit, grandis quidem capite, sed membris exilis. Ex qua visione velut divino oraculo papa commotus unionem per praedecessorem suum dominum Innocentium inchoatam consummavit." VF 1,14, (47,80-85).
Augustine, by means of his foundation, and whose mother was the Church, through its approbation. Jordan distinguished the *status modernus* from the *status antiquus* just as he did the patres from the fratres. He did not view the *status antiquus* and the *status modernus* as "two conditions" in succession, but rather as two stages in the single *status religionis* of Augustine's Order. The continuity—not the diversity—is stressed. *Status* was a legal term and in this case refers to the way of life established by Augustine; the adjectives *antiquus* or *modernus* signify the

296 Concerning this historical division, Kaspar Elm has explained that Jordan: "...did not view the history of the order as a homogeneous process. Rather he interpreted the order's development as a succession of two conditions or states of life—the old state, or 'state of the fathers' and the modern state, or 'state of the brethren.' Both were initiated by Augustine himself as a unifier of dispersed hermits: the status antiquus in person, the status modernus via a vision." K. Elm, "Augustinus Canonicus-Augustinus Eremita," 93. See also, K. Elm, "Elias, Paulus von Theben und Augustinus als Ordensgründer," 387.

297 In Canon Law the term *status* was used to refer to the conditions of the Orders' instituted way of life. Thus, in addition to decretales De statu regularium, we find in a decretal De religiosis domibus of Boniface VIII, who cites Gregory X in concilio generali Lugdunensi: "Sane ad Praedicatorum et Minorum ordines, quos evidens ex eis utilitas ecclesiae universalis proveniens perhibet approbatos, praesentem non patimur constitutionem extendi. Ceterum Eremitarum sancti Augustini et Carmelitarum ordinis, quorum institutio dictum concilium generale praecessit, in solido statu volumus permanere.," (Sexti Decretal. Lib. III, xvii, Corpus Iuris Canonici, pars secunda, ed. A. Friedberg, Graz 1959, col. 1055), and Clement V, De statu monachorum: "Praemissa igitur omnia, et ea nihilominus, quae felicis recordationis Innocentius Papa III, praedecessor noster circa statum monachorum ipsorum pro uberiori cultu observantiae regularis quoad usum camisiarum, abdicationem proprietatis, silentium et esum carnium, ac de eorum capitiis de triennio in triennium celebrandis, et etiam quoad quaelibet alia statuit, quae omnia innovamus et approbamus, expresse volumus et statuimus firmiter observari." (Clementinarum Lib. III, x, Corpus Iuris Canonici, pars secunda, col. 1168).
period pre- and post-Union respectively.  

Jordan was not setting forth a theory of history, but presented historical evidence to establish that the OESA and the original hermits gathered around Augustine, in Tuscany and in Hippo, were of one and the same stock. The apostolic life of the apostles, true evangelical poverty—the same as that practiced by Christ and the apostles—was renewed by Augustine's Rule and accepted by the Church. Both the *patres* and the *fratres* followed the same Rule, the same way of life, in short, the same *status religionis*.

If Jordan can be said to have a "theory of history", it is not one of successive *status*, but of continuous decline and renewal. This is seen in his discussion of the three *propagationes*, which eventually led to that holy community of St. Augustine's off-spring, and in his treatment of the stages of development of apostolic poverty. Holding possessions in common—which even the pagan philosophers affirmed as a component of natural law—was originally the principle of all Christians in the

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298 The unity of the term *status* as employed by Jordan can be seen in his analysis of the two different meanings of the term *religiosi*. As see above, in one sense, a person can be a religiousus if he or she has taken a private vow to God. Such *religiosi* do not bind themselves to a Rule, but rather adopt their way of life freely. These cannot be said to have a *status religionis*. The other definition of *religiosi* applies to those who have bound themselves in solemn profession to God according to an approved Rule. These religiosi do have a *status religionis* and are properly said to be in *status Religionis*. VF 2,25, (252,28-40).

299 VF 3,1, (320,8-16); 3,3, (330,3-9).

300 VF 3,1, (322,63-75).
first apostolic community. In time, as the Church grew in members and in societal influence, the doctrine of apostolic poverty was gradually relaxed, becoming increasingly restricted to the *religiosi*, until finally restored to its pristine form by the Rule--and Order--of St. Augustine\textsuperscript{301}, whose members, as the apostles, live with "one heart and soul in God."

Therefore, this holy community of this form of religious life is able to be that city, that is, a union of cities, about which it is said in the Psalm, "Glorious things are said of you, City of God." Glorious things, I say, are told about your origin (*de propagatione tua*) which you once had from your father, namely blessed Augustine; even more glorious things, however, are said about your confirmation (*de institutione tua*), which you have from your mother, that is, the holy universal church.\textsuperscript{302}

The Augustinian Order was truly the "city of God," a beacon in a dark sea with waves of decline and renewal. Jordan was certainly aware of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. It is, however, the differences that should be stressed between Jordan's use of the image 'the city of God' in his *Vitasfratrum*, and Augustine's *magnum opus et arduum*. For the Bishop of Hippo, the account of the city of God was the history of the *via salutis*; it began with the separation of the light from

\textsuperscript{301} VF 3,2, (326ff).

\textsuperscript{302} "Haec igitur sancta communio huius Religionis potest esse illa civitas, id est civium unio, de qua dicitur in psalmo: Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei. Gloriosa, inquam, dicta sunt de propagatione tua, quam olim habuisti a Patre, scilicet beato Augustino; gloriosiora vero dicta sunt de institutione tua, quam habes a matre, scilicet sancta universalis Ecclesia." VF 1,20, (70,76-81). This is the only place I have found where Jordan refers to the institution of the Order as derived from the Church. Usually, the foundation and institution of the Order is explicitly attributed to Augustine, with the Church's affirmation, and confirmation. See, VF 1,14, (45ff).
darkness and reached its final end in the beatitude of eternal, heavenly peace. There is indeed a historical dimension to Augustine's city of God, but the historical is always in a dialectical relationship with the trans-historical. 303 For Jordan, the Order as the city of God is completely historical. It enjoys divine protection and guidance, but it functions as an historical example. Jordan never equated membership in this "city of God" with beatitude. Jordan's city of God, namely the exemplary function of the Order, is not part of the via salutis, but rather, it is the model for the via vivendi. 304 The Order as the city of God does occupy a special place in the history of Christianity. To see more precisely how this was so for Jordan, we must look back to its founder himself, St. Augustine.

Augustine harmonized the anchoritic and the cenobitic lives, and he established his Order on this principle. In his person and in his Order Augustine united the active with the contemplative life. For Jordan the contemplative life did not consist in meditation alone, but in the cure of souls and spiritual growth in all forms, carried out by preaching, guiding, and teaching. The active life pertained to


304 For Jordan's further use of the 'city of God' model, see infra, Part II, ch. 3.
physical necessity, of one self or of a neighbor. All aspects of the spiritual life are part of the contemplative life. Augustine instituted his Order as a contemplative Order, but one that was to minister and preach to the people. Because of this original institution, the Church "directed the 'little brother hermits' of St. Augustine to the cities." Just as St. Augustine, who frequently sought the solitude of contemplation, so the brothers of the Order lead a hermetical life of meditation and contemplation, but are eager to impart their spiritual goods to others by their works and their doctrine, teaching equally by example and word. In this they truly imitate that first hermitage in Centumcellis, and even more so, Augustine himself.

305 "Intelligo autem ad praesens per opera activae vitae ea, quae fiunt ad necessitates corporales sui vel proximi, contemplativa vero ea, quae fiunt pro lucro animarum et profectu spirituali, ut sunt prae dicare, fratres regere et docere et similia." VF 1,10, (33,6-9); cf. "Tertia conclusio est quod utraque vita simul est perfectissima...opera vite active ea que fiunt ad subventionem proximi corporalem; contemplative vero ea que fiunt ad lucrum et profectum spiritualem, ut predicare et huiusmodi." Opus Dan, (ed. Strassburg, 1484) sermo 39B.

306 "Sane hunc modum primariae institutionis Ordinis attendens sacrosancta mater Ecclesia fratres eremicolas sancti Augustini ad civitates direxit...," VF 1,11, (35,23-25).

For Jordan the harmony of the anchoritic and cenobitic lives, together with the union of the active and contemplative lives, form not merely the vita perfecta, but the vita perfectissima. The most perfect life, Jordan stated, "is for a time to rest in solitude with God alone in contemplation, and then, through contemplation, to go out to bring forth from deep inside the well-springs to bear the riches of the soul to others." This vita perfectissima was the unique accomplishment of Augustine. In his Rule and institution Augustine taught the most perfect life to his Order, which, as no other, is therefore able to be the city of God. The true sons of Augustine hold a special place within the history of Christianity as the examples of the vita perfectissima—the genuine religio Augustini.

The religio Augustini was defined by the life of St. Augustine. Augustine, Jordan reminded his brothers, "is to be the rule and example of all our actions." As much as they were able, the Augustinian Hermits were to be imitatores Patris nostri Augustini. It was thus, that the heirs of the historical Augustine were able to be in the city and yet the city on the hill.

The contemplative life was defined uniquely by Jordan. In imitation of

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308 "Quo exemplo instruimur hanc esse vitam perfectissimam nunc in solitudine soli Deo in contemplatione vacare et nunc exire per contemplationem hausta ad lucra animarum reportanda aliis eructare." VF 1,11, (35,8-11).

309 "...qui [Augustine] debet esse omnis nostrae actionis exemplar et regula...," VF 1,11, (36).

310 VF 2,21, (226,2-3).
Augustine the Augustinian life was to be contemplative. The distinction between the contemplative and active life, however, was not that between the monk in his cell and the secular in the world, between solitude and the cure of souls. It was the mendicant ideal of 'civic monasticism', the explicit commision of the cloistered beggars to preach, teach, and hear confessions—in the cities. What distinguished contemplative activity from active activity, so to speak, was the age old division of 'soul' and 'body', or 'spirit' and 'flesh'. All endeavors geared toward cultivating the spirit were by definition, or rather, by Jordan's definition, 'contemplative'; the physical needs of oneself or of others comprised the active. Or put another way, contemplation was only one aspect of the vita contemplativa; preaching and teaching were also included. 'Going out' to preach and teach, to bring spiritual goods to others, was as necessary to the contemplative life as was the 'return' to God alone in one's cell. They were complementary. They combined to form the 'most perfect life'.

Jordan opened Part Two of the Liber Vitasfratrum with a discussion of what is meant by cor unum and anima una. Although these terms have been interpreted variously by theologians, Jordan explained that,

...in our present concern I plan to follow the intention of blessed Augustine in all things. Wherefore it is evident that according to Augustine, cor unum should be understood as the unity of the will; by anima una [is meant] the uniformity of life, or a single way of living

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311 On the theme of 'return' in Jordan's theology, see below, Part II, ch. 5.
according to that which Father Augustine himself approved.\textsuperscript{312} The unity of will and way of life form the unity of the \textit{vita communis}. In such a life, there is no room for diversity of opinion or of customs, for division or multiplicity, "...is not the apostolic life, but babylonian confusion; not Augustine's Rule, but inordinate abuse; not order, but horror!"\textsuperscript{313}

Therefore, upon entering the religious life, the new friar must strip himself of his worldly possessions, as well as his internal affections,\textsuperscript{314} and thus "naked and poor, follow the naked and poor Christ crucified."\textsuperscript{315} Those "brothers" who do not live according to this precept--who retain for themselves either worldly goods or their own wills--are the followers of Ananias and Judas. "Oh, if only there were no such types in these modern times," Jordan laments.\textsuperscript{316} Such deception and

\textsuperscript{312} "...in praesenti negotio intentionem beati Augustini per omnia prosequi intendo, quantum appareat ex intentione Augustini, per cor unum intelligitur unanimitas voluntatis, per animam unam uniformitas vitae seu una forma vivendi secundum quod ipse Pater Augustinus inuit...," VF 2,1, (76,41-45).

\textsuperscript{313} "Non est haec vita apostolica, sed confusio babylonica, non Augustini Regula, sed abusio anomala, non ordo, sed horror." VF 2,2, (78,87-89); cf. Aegidius Romanus, 2 \textit{Sent.}, Prol.: "...ubi non est ordo, ibi non est pulchritudo: sed horror et confusio." (ed. Venice 1581; reprint: Frankfurt, 1968), f. 2rc.

\textsuperscript{314} "Sic exspoliatus et nudatus debet esse frater quilibet in ingressu Religionis quantum ad affectum interiorem, quamvis taliter denudari non oporteat nec deceat quantum ad habitum exteriorem." VF 3,11, (359,32-35).

\textsuperscript{315} "...nudus et pauper secutus nudum et pauperem Christum crucifixum." VF 3,11, (360,56-57).

\textsuperscript{316} "Ex praedictis inductive apparat, quomodo a tempore Judae proditoris et primi proprietarii hoc vitium proprietatis semper ad posteros serpuit et semper in fine
fraud undermines the unity of the *vita communis*,\textsuperscript{317} which is to be a life of worship and prayer:

the primary and most fundamental aspect that must be observed in the communal life, which the Rule of holy religion teaches, is worship (*cultus divinus*). As far as the issue at hand is concerned, worship consists in the divine office and prayers. Some of our prayers are communal and public, such as the canonical hours, while others are private, namely those that a brother prays for his own devotion in private, and our father and master taught us about both of these in his Rule.\textsuperscript{318}

In singing the divine office, Jordan warned, one must always be careful to be intent on pleasing God, and not those who can hear, "for God is more concerned with devotion and purity of heart than with the quality of voice."\textsuperscript{319} Even if a

\textit{caudam malae mortis reliquit. Et utinam modernis temporibus nulli invenirentur Judaestae et Ananistae! Quales sunt sive qui ingredientes Religionem aliqua de bonis suis sibi occulte reservant sicut Ananias et Januarius, sive qui, postquam ingressi sunt, sibi ipsis et non communitati thesaurizantes aliqua sine licentia acquirunt et retinent sicut ille frater Aegyptius et monachus sancti Gregorii, sive qui officia monasterii habentes de bonis communibus subripiunt sicut Judas, sive qui missi ad quaestas seu terminos pro petendis eleemosynis de petitis et procuratis loculos faciunt, partem communitati praesentando et partem furtive et fraudulenter sibi imbursando, sicut Judas et sui sequaces. O utinam tales modernis temporibus nulli sint!" VF 3,15, (382,2-15).

\textsuperscript{317} See, VF 3,17, (389f).

\textsuperscript{318} "Primum et praecipuum in communi vita, quam Regula sacrae Religionis instruit, observandum debet esse cultus divinus. Cultus autem divinus quantum ad praesens negotium attenditur in officio divino et orationibus. Orationes autem nostrae quaedam sunt communes et publicae, sicut sunt horae canonicae, quaedam vero privatae sunt, puta quas quilibet pro devotione sua facit in privato. Et de utrisque Pater et praeceptor noster in Regula nos instruit...," VF 2,15, (180,2-8).

\textsuperscript{319} "In modo etiam cantandi semper plus quaerat frater placere Deo quam auditoribus. Qui enim studet Deo placere in cantando, quanto purius et simplicius
brother does not know how to sing, or is unable to do so, as are the illiterate (sicut idiotae et illiterati), this does not prevent him from participating in the divine office. Such brothers, in place of singing, should say an 'Our Father', which Augustine himself advised.  

The chief goal of singing and praying the divine hours is complete inner devotion. Concentration and earnestness in prayer are prerequisites, because it is during prayer that the devil makes his sally. Thus, Jordan concluded, "amongst all good works, praying is the most difficult." The Augustinian's entire life should

320 "Fratres vero, qui psallere et cantare aut nesciunt, sicut idiotae et illiterati, aut non possunt, sicut senes et valitudinarii, pro horis suis dicant Pater Noster, prout docet Pater noster Augustinus...," VF 2,15, (184,123-125). See also below, Part Two, ch. 5.

321 "...quod inter omnia bona opera orare est difficillimum." VF 2,16, (189,110-111). To illustrate his point, Jordan related a story about Nicholas of Tolentino: "Exemplum de beato Nicholao de Tolentino, qui sicut vir mirae sanctitatis, ita erat in oratione assiduus. Cuius devotae orationi diabolus invidens non solum per inspirationes malas ac temptationes, sed et per dura verbera et apparitiones terribiles ipsum molestabat. Unde cum quadam vice ante altare in oratione constitutus esset, lampadem accensam diabolus non solum extinxit, sed ad terram ipsam dirimens fregit. Super oratorii autem tectum stans voces diversarum ferarum formabat imbricesque revolvens tegmen subvertere conabatur. At vir sanctus illusionem esse cognoscens orationi fortius insistebat. Et ecce per ostium cum furia et terreore hostis nequissimus intrans ad orantem arripiensque ipsum tam gravibus verberibus eum afflixit, quod per multos dies vulnerum cicatrices in toto suo corpore apparebant. "Quadam autem die cum sibi consueret tunicam, diabolus sibi unam de tunica peciam accepit. Quam cum vir sanctus non inveniret, quaeret et requirit. Invenire autem non valens dicebat: 'Sancte Deus, sancte Deus', et: 'Quis mihi sic illusit? Vere, qui dignus nominari non est, ille mihi illusit.' Mox ad verbum viri sancti diabolus respondit dicens: 'Verum est, et illusi et illudam; sed aliter tecum ago, ex quo
be one of continuous prayer, and this is possible because there are three types of prayer: vocal prayer, mental prayer, and active prayer, or the prayer of works. Whether one is singing the canonical hours, studying sacred Scripture, or working for the maintenance of the cloister, the Augustinian should be in prayer.

Jordan illustrated the necessity of continuous prayer in the chapter treating the efficacy of intercessory prayer to the saints. An indication of the importance of prayer for the Augustinians is given by the fact that in this section Jordan became personal as no where else in the treatise. Every exemplum he brought was drawn from his own experience; as he put it, "I will refer to certain stories of my own misfortune." Here we learn that during his visitation of the French Province, Jordan was cured of a serious fever by St. Martin. Jordan further reveals that he was not embarrassed to admit his negligence in fulfilling a vow to St. Peter.

During the Black Death Jordan was Prior Provincial of the Saxon-Thuringian Province. Because of the severity of the plague, many brothers wanted to flee to Rome to obtain a jubilee indulgence. If all who desired were to receive permission, sic superare non possum.' Et ait vir sanctus: 'Quis es tu?' 'Ego sum,' inquit, 'Belial, datus in stimulum sanctitatis tuae.' Et ille: 'Si Deus mihi adiutor est, non timebo, quid faciat mihi homo." VF 2,16 (188,74-94).

322 "Est autem sciemund, quod triplex est oratio, scilicet vocalis...et est mentalis...et est actualis sive operis, quae fit bene operando...", VF 2,19 (214,118-122).

323 "Referam quasdam infelicitatis meae historias." VF 2,20 (218,7).

324 VF 2,20 (225,199-216).
Jordan claimed, the convents would be left virtually empty. Thus, Jordan exorted his brothers to remain in their cloisters and tried to persuade them, as best he could, that they could make a spiritual pilgrimage with works of devotion to God and to St. Peter. To set an example, Jordan himself made such a vow. After the plague subsided, however, and after Jordan completed his term of office, he forgot to fulfill his vow. At this time there was in Rome an elderly friar to whom Jordan used to confess. One night, as this brother was praying for him before the altar, "the blessed apostle Peter appeared as if standing before him in effigy, just as he had seen his image in Rome, holding the two keys, and formally spoke these words: 'Tell brother Jordan that he has done nothing at all to fulfill his promise to me.' Having said these words, he disappeared." The elderly brother told

325 "Non erubesco confiteri et aliud delictum insipientiae meae ob Dei laudem et sancti Petri apostolorum principis commendationem. Cum enim nuper in anno jubilaeo, perstrepente pestilentia per mundum, fratres passim festinarent currere Romam, quod si permissum fuisset, conventus nonnulli quasi vacui a fratribus remansissent...," VF 2,20, (223,158-162).

326 "...quod cernens ego, cui tunc cura fratrum Provinciae nostrae incumbebat ex officio, attendens nihilominus, quod discursus Religiosorum reprehenduntur in iure, restrinxi huiusmodi discursus fratrum, quantum potui, persuadens fratribus, ut loco peregrinationis Romanae in conventibus suis peregrinationem spiritualem facerent in certis actibus devotionis, quos eis indixi ad reverentiam Dei et beati Petri, pollicens cum voto, quod egomet eandem spiritualem peregrinationem vellem peragere, ut vel sic meo exemplo fratres magis retraherem a discursu, motus nihilominus ad voendum metu pestilentiae actualiter saevientis." VF 2,20 (223,162-224,171).

327 "Et ecce apparuit ei beatus petrus apostolus quasi stans coram eo in effigie, sicut imaginem eius Romae viderat, habens in manu dextra duas claves dicensque ei formaliter haec verba: 'Dic fratri Jordano lectori, quod sponsionem mihi factam minime servavit.' Quibus verbis dictis disparuit." VF 2,20 (224,182-186).
Jordan what had happened, whereupon Jordan carried out what he had promised St. Peter and the Lord the first chance he had.328

The Augustinians’ life of prayer was none other than the one founded by St. Augustine; an eremetical-cenobitic life, based on the first apostolic community in Jerusalem, and confirmed by Mother Church; a contemplative life of prayer, the true religio Augustini. For Jordan contemplation includes teaching and preaching—all aspects of the spiritual life, one’s own and that of one’s neighbor—and, as Augustine showed by his example, one’s neighbor lived on both sides of the cloister’s walls. For the most perfect life, the religio Augustini, was to rest in solitude with God alone, and then, through contemplation, to bring spiritual riches to the people. This charge—to contemplate God and act there from—formed the foundation for Augustine’s religion.

Perspectives and Points of Departure

To be an Augustinian: this is the phrase for which we seek definition. The title of the Order itself was sufficient for Jordan: "...many have been able to live eremetically as religious, who [even] call themselves 'Hermits', but that part of our title, 'of Saint Augustine’ distinguishes us from them."329 "To be an Augustinian’

328 VF 2,20 (223,158-225,194).

329 "Rursus plures possunt esse adhuc Religiosi eremitice viventes, qui se scribunt 'Eremitas', sed illud, quod ponitur in titulo 'sancti Augustini’, distinguit nos ab illis." VF 1,17, (59,16-18).
for Jordan, was then most fundamentally to be a member of that Order entitled to
bear the name of Augustine's heirs.

Yet we must look further. It was not simply the title and following the Rule
that made one an Augustinian--the habit did not make the monk. One must live
the life established by the Bishop of Hippo himself. Jordan as historian defended his
Order against the Canons' claims to priority, but Jordan as creator of the
Augustinian myth provided the social glue that pasted the individual friars onto the
unified collage that was the Order in the later Middle Ages.

To call Jordan a 'myth maker' may sound both unhistorical and counter to
Jordan's own understanding of what he was up to. Nevertheless, it describes his use
of language and argumentation. Thus, according to Jordan in the Vitae fratrum,
Augustine appeared in a vision to Alexander IV, which prompted the pontiff to
complete the union of dispersed groups of hermits. It was Augustine's
initiative, (... [Augustinus] volens dispersionem suae Religionis congregari) that led
to the Great Union. There is no reason to doubt that in Jordan's mind it was the
'historical' Augustine that brought this about, yet on the linguistic level a mythic
shift has occurred. The term 'Augustinus' no longer signifies the historical
individual, but rather the 'founder of the Order'. 'Augustinus' has become a term

330 "...quia habitus non facit monachum, sed professio et observantia regularis...,"
VF 1,20, (72); cf. Eric Leland Saak, "The Figurae Bibliorum of Antonius
Rampegulos," 34.

331 VF 1,14, (47).
in a second-order semiological system. When Jordan traced Augustine's biography and argued that he could not have spent two years with the hermits in Centumcellis, as Henry of Friemar claimed, the language was historical. It became mythic when 'Augustinus' assumed the signification of 'pater noster'.

Yet pointing to the mythic language of the *Vitasfratrum* is in itself insufficient for discerning the Augustinian myth. When we look beyond the function of the language to the function of the mythic we discern that the myth Jordan explicated was a myth of origins and foundations, an etiological micro-myth. Mythic

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332 "In myth, we find again the tri-dimensional pattern... the signifier, the signified and the sign. But myth is a peculiar system, in that it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it: it is a second-order semiological system. That which is a sign (namely the associative total of a concept and an image) in the first system, becomes a mere signifier in the second." Barthes, *Mythologies*, 114.

333 "We must here recall that the materials of mythical speech...however different at the start, are reduced to a pure signifying function as soon as they are caught by myth. Myth sees in them only the same raw material; their unity is that they all come down to the status of a mere language. Whether it deals with alphabetical or pictorial writing, myth wants to see in them only a sum of signs, a global sign, the final term of a first semiological chain. And it is precisely this final term which will become the first term of the greater system which it builds and of which it is only a part. Everything happens as if myth shifted the formal system of the first significations sideways." Barthes, *Mythologies*, 114f. Cf. James Liszka's theory of 'transvaluation' as presented in his study, *The Semiotic of Myth. A Critical Study of the Symbol*, (Bloomington, Ind., 1989). Barthes further explained that, "...myth has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us." Barthes, 117. This is precisely what Jordan was doing in part I of the *Liber Vitasfratrum*: he established 'Augustinus' as the founder of the Augustinian Order in both the fourth century and in the thirteenth.

334 For a classification of myths, as well as an excellent introduction to the study of myths, see, William G. Doty, *Mythography. The Study and Myths and Rituals*, (Alabama, 1986).
foundational accounts, William Doty has explained, "...may be emphasized strongly during periods when fragmentation or attenuation threaten social structures. A period of cultural breakup may produce a conservative reaction, leading to an almost magical reaffirmation of the normative breakthrough of order into chaos in the primeval era."335 Jordan composed the Liber Vitasfratrum in the midst of instability, marked by the two fronts of battle the Order faced in the first half of the fourteenth century--the debates with the Canons and the attacks of Fitzralph. The situation in which the Order found itself may not have been one of cosmic chaos, but it was one that threatened its legitimacy and indeed, its very existence. In this context Jordan appealed to the mythic origins of the OESA when Augustine re-established order from the chaos of his dispersed heirs.

The creation story Jordan recounted traces the origins and development of illa sancta propago sancti Augustini. The religio Augustini, as the most perfect life, is given a special place in sacred history. The followers of Augustine are the true heirs of the apostolic life. The history of the original hermits gathered around Augustine became part of the mythic account of the Order founded by Augustine in illo tempore.336

Myth creates reality. It was by Augustine's irruption into the world of Alexander IV--as a divine oracle (velut divino oraculo)--that the OESA was created.

335 Doty, 26.

Myth explains reality. The Augustinian myth provided the meaning and foundation for the reality of the Order's way of life; it was its guide and model, it was its identity.\textsuperscript{337}

Jordan used the foundational myth of the OESA to unite the \textit{fratres} with the \textit{patres}, the \textit{status modernus} with the \textit{status antiquus}. The over-arching theme of the entire \textit{Liber Vitasfratrum} is the exhortation to imitate Augustine. The phenomenon of mythic imitation provides the link between Jordan and his Order's founder. For the Augustinians, Augustine's primordial foundation (\textit{primordialiter propagatus}) comprised the event in \textit{illo tempore} which they strove to imitate in their daily lives.\textsuperscript{338} The \textit{imitatio Augustini} gave the Augustinians their identity and their legitimacy, their unity and their memory, in short, their reality. Seen in this light,

\textsuperscript{337} As Mircea Eliade has argued, "It is the irruption of the sacred into the world, an irruption narrated in the myths, that establishes the world as a reality...To tell how things came into existence is to explain them and at the same time indirectly to answer another question: why did they come into existence? The why is always implied in the how--for the simple reason that to tell how a thing was born is to reveal an irruption of the sacred into the world, and the sacred is the ultimate cause of all real existence." Eliade, \textit{The Sacred and the Profane}, 97.

\textsuperscript{338} Referring to the religious life of paleo-agricultural peoples, Eliade argued that for them, "...what is essential is periodically to evoke the primordial event that establishes the present condition of humanity. Their whole religious life is a commemoration, a remembering...what happened in illo tempore must never be forgotten....In so far as he imitates his gods, religious man lives in the time of origin." Eliade, \textit{The Sacred and The Profane}, 101 and 105. See also, Eliade, \textit{The Myth of Eternal Return}, (New York, 1954). For the importance of the imitation not only of Augustine, but also the \textit{imitatio Christi}, see infra, ch. 5.
the OESA appears a mythic community,\textsuperscript{339} centered around the *vita perfectissima* established by Augustine, of which the fratres of Jordan's day were both the heirs and the imitators. The historical argument of Jordan's text showed the members of the Order the myth that made an Augustinian an Augustinian. The Augustinian myth gave the Order its self-understanding as a community, but with the very concept of a mythic community leads us from the realm of abstract identity to the Order's existence in late medieval society.

What did it mean to be an Augustinian? How should the term be defined? We have offered one part of the answer by pointing to the Augustinian myth. To pursue this question further we must turn to another aspect of the late medieval Augustinian Order--its existence in society. From a sociological perspective, the Order of Augustinian Hermits was not only a group pursuing the *vita perfectissima* in imitation of Augustine, but was simultaneously a religious organization in society; the Order was a social system and as such provided the structure for defining what it

\textsuperscript{339} The term, 'mythic community' bears similarities to Brian Stock's 'textual communities' (see, Stock, *The Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, (Princeton, 1983); idem, *Listening For The Text. On the Uses of the Past*, (Baltimore, 1990). The difference is that the center around which the community is formed is a particular myth rather than a particular text. To this extent, a 'mythic community' also resembles Renaissance civic myths: see, for example, Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence. Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance*, (Princeton, 1970); Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, (Princeton, 1981); and Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, (New York, 1980).
meant to be an Augustinian.340

Historians have most often answered the question of what it meant to be an Augustinian in the later Middle Ages by appealing to theological definitions. As we have seen above, the term 'Augustinian' has been employed to refer to theologians who followed Augustine's teaching on predestination, original sin, grace and merit; or, it has been used to refer to those scholars who energetically pursued an academic adherence to Augustine's writings; or, 'Augustinian' has been seen to signify a self-perception of following in the footsteps of the bishop of Hippo, to mention simply three of various meanings ascribed to the term. As is so often the case when historical phenomena are elevated by the historiography to the metaphysical status of 'isms', 'Augustinianism' has become increasingly vague, to the point that its usefulness and indeed its use has been called into question.341 Such scholarly scepticism is a healthy check on abuses of the term, such as when the emergence of the guilt consciousness in the western tradition is attributed to the influence of 'Augustinism',342 but we should not throw out the proverbial baby with its bath;

340 For the sociological concept of meaning, and for the understanding of social systems, we have drawn from the works of Niklas Luhmann, particularly, Soziologische Aufklärung I-IV, (Opladen, 1970-1987); Soziale Systeme. Grundriss einer allgemeinen Theorie, (Frankfurt, 1984); and Die Wissenschaft der Gesellschaft, (Frankfurt, 1990).


abstract 'isms' as descriptive categories are essential to the scholarly endeavor. The reign of 'isms' only becomes tyranny when it obscures the issues at hand; when definitions become more important than their subjects. Our intent here is not to argue against the multiple meanings that have been ascribed to the term Augustinian. Yet we do hope to bring the discussion of late medieval Augustinianism back to its historical roots. By offering a reconceptualization of late medieval Augustinianism we endeavor to recapture the historical meaning, independent from philosophical or theological concerns; to shift the focus of interpretation from the theological adjective 'Augustinian' to the historical noun—and perhaps even to the historical verb of living as an Augustinian day in and day out.

Jordan himself gave an extensive explication of the meaning of being an Augustinian. As historians we choose our interpretive contexts and for late medieval Augustinianism the university has often been the preferred choice. Jordan's chosen reference, however, the context in which the term 'Augustinian' had meaning for him, was the religio Augustini. The Order, as an institution in late medieval society, provided the structure for discerning whether one was or was not a true son of Augustine. The title itself differentiated the Order from all others. Furthermore, the Augustinian myth was the symbolic expression that identified an Augustinian as an Augustinian by negating all other possibilities of following Augustine, such as that of the Canons. This is seen in the Augustinian understanding of poverty as well, when Jordan differentiated the observance of poverty for the vita perfectissima
from that of the Franciscans and Dominicans.\textsuperscript{343} Even the acts of wearing the habit, of singing the canonical hours, of teaching and of preaching distinguished the Augustinians from all others engaged in similar acts. This differentiation, from a sociological perspective, was the means by which the Augustinians ascribed meaning to their life. As a social system the Augustinian Order itself gave meaning to the term 'Augustinian'. In the later Middle Ages, 'being an Augustinian' had a social definition, the definition Jordan strove to explain in his \textit{Liber Vitasfratrum}. The theology of the Order was taught and preached in the social system of the Order; to be an Augustinian theologian, one first had to be an Augustinian. Such a social meaning and definition may not satisfy continued attempts of historical theology to discover, uncover, or undress a late medieval Augustinianism, but it does bring us closer to an historical understanding. For Jordan one entered the structure of meaning the term Augustinian signified when one made one's profession, when one became an Augustinian as a member and follower of Augustine's religion.\textsuperscript{344}

Jordan explicitly stated that he intended his \textit{Liber Vitasfratrum} as a means by

\textsuperscript{343} See, e.g., VF 3,4, (332f) and 3,8, (345ff).

\textsuperscript{344} The distinction between primary doctrines and governing doctrines of a religious community drawn by William A. Christian is instructive here. See, William A. Christian, Sr., \textit{Doctrines of Religious Communities. A Philosophical Study}, (New Haven/London, 1987). For achieving a more historical understanding of late medieval Augustinianism, we must not focus exclusively on the primary doctrines of the Order, but must first take into account the governing doctrines of the Order, doctrines that "are meant by a community to guide and govern its own teaching activities." Christian, 219.
which any brother of the Order could know, based on his own life, whether he was a true heir of Augustine. A brother was to read the text and compare it with his own life. The Liber Vitasfratrum provided a mirror for the Order as well as a handbook. It was designed to promote a common and unified understanding of the Augustinians’ religious life. To achieve an historical and social understanding of the late medieval OESA, we must not limit ourselves to the cognitive dimensions, explicating the words of Jordan’s text. We must also strive to see how the text functioned. A cognitive approach, "...may be adequate to explain how social influence is experienced as exterior but not how it could be experienced as constraining." The analysis of the emotional level of meaning reveals the means Jordan employed to stimulate conformity with the Augustinian myth.

By expounding on the central dictum of the Rule throughout his treatise, Jordan attempted to promote a common conception of living with 'one heart and soul in God’ among all members of the Order. This was not merely a physical

345 Thomas Scheff, following G.H. Mead and C.S. Pierce, has called this process abduction, which is, "...the rapid shuttling back and forth between observation and imagination." Thomas Scheff, Microsociology. Discourse, Emotion and Social Structure. (Chicago, 1990), 31. Abduction is the means, by which, according to Scheff, each member of a society, "...can, under ideal conditions, come very close to sharing the inner experience of the other party. By cycling between observing the outer behavior of the other and imagining the other's inner experience, a process of successive approximation, people can reach intersubjective understanding." Ibid, 103.

346 Scheff, 74.
cohabitation but a spiritual union, an unanimity of will and an unanimity of the form of living. To ensure the social bonds of the Order, Jordan set forth the means by which a negligent brother was to be kept in line. The responsibility for maintaining discipline lay not only with the superiors of the Order, but with every individual member. When a member of the Order was recognized as derelict, the brother who took notice was to approach the brother in need of correction privately and make known to him his error. If he admitted his fault and sought to reform the matter went no further. If, however, he remained unmoved by such private admonition, the next step was for the brother who had

347 "Ex quo apparebat, quod communio coenobitica, de qua nos principaliter agimus, non tam consistit in corporali cohabitatione quam in spirituali unione..." VF 2,1, (75,9-11).

348 "Qualiter autem diversimode accipiantur haec duo, cor et anima, an forte pro eodem stent velut synonyma, perscrutandum est...Sed quoniam in prae senti negotio intentionem beati Augustini per omnia prosequi intendo, quantum apparebat ex intentione Augustini, per cor unum intelligitur unanimitas voluntatis, per animam unam uniformitas vitae seu una forma vivendi..." VF 2,1, (76,36-44).


350 See, VF 2,4, "De Benevolentia Praelatorum erga Subditos," (91ff); "Quia vero in communione spiritualis unionis non solum debent bene ordinati esse subditi ad praetatos per oboedientiam et praetati ad subditos per benivolentiam, sed etiam requiritur, ut fratres omnes sint bene ordinati inter se per mutuae caritatis colligationem," VF 2,5, (99,2-5).

351 "Igitur in correctione fraterna est isto ordine procedendum. Primo admonendus est frater inter te et ipsum in caritate secrete, et, si se correxerit, bene." VF 2,10, (131,38-40).
spoken with him to take the matter to a superior in the Order. The prelate would then approach the brother needing discipline, once again in private, and seek to lead him to repentance.\textsuperscript{352} If he still remained obstinate the next course of action was to declare his negligence publically in chapter.\textsuperscript{353} After public declaration of the brother's fault, if he still persisted in his error, the process of expulsion began, also in three stages. The first consisted of social ostracization, by which no brother was to speak or associate with him.\textsuperscript{354} The second step was incarceration, and only if all previous means were unsuccessful was the brother finally expelled completely from the Order.\textsuperscript{355}

These procedures were instituted to preserve the uniformity of will and way

\textsuperscript{352} "Sin autem, referature praeposito, id est praelato immediato, ad quem pertinet correptio; et sibi soli, non propalando crimen fratris ulterius, ut si forte adhuc frater velit se emendare, maneat secretum apud praelatum." VF 2,10, (131,40-43).

\textsuperscript{353} "Deinde tertio gradu, si negaverit seu se emendare non curaverit, tunc est alteri vel tertio demonstrandum, per quos possit convinci. Et ex tunc denuntietur et prodatur in publicum, id est proclametur in Capitulo, et competenti severitate coerceatur secundum arbitrium praelati, ut dicit Augustinus; cum dolore enim abscedienda sunt vulnera, quae leviter sanari non possunt." VF 2,10, (132,53-59).

\textsuperscript{354} "Nam tribus modis aliquis proicitur de societate fratrum. Primus, cum frater proicitur ad poenam gravioris culpae, qua frater excluditur a consortio fratrum. Prohibitum enim est, ne quis se deeat coniungere illi aut ei loqui," VF 2,10, (133,84-87).

\textsuperscript{355} "Secundus, cum quis incarceratur. Talis enim proicitur de societate fratrum et retruditur in tenebras exteriores. Tertium est, cum quis sicut ovis morbida eicitur de Ordine. Sed ad istum tertium modum non leviter est procedendum, nisi tunc demum, cum frater est incorrigibilis ita, quod de eius emendatione desperatur." VF 2,10, (133,89-94).
of life within the Order. Every brother was responsible not only for himself, but also for his confrères. On the cognitive level the members were made aware of their responsibilities and the course of action to be taken should they recognize someone deviating from the established unity. On the emotional level such measures were based on the maintenance of social bonds.

By pointing to the realm of emotions we do not imply that we can discern the feelings of late medieval Augustinians, at least not directly. Nevertheless, Jordan’s account reveals a level of coercion that surpasses the purely cognitive. Jordan was sensitive to the emotional aspects of maintaining discipline by demarcating the degrees of the steps to be taken. A brother was first to be reprimanded in private. If private admonition was ineffective, public coercion was employed. Increasing peer pressure was the instrument used to enforce conformity. Jordan called for the emotional force that the Order could bring to bear on an

356 In this context we follow Clifford Geertz: "The ethnographer does not, and, in my opinion, largely cannot, perceive what his informants perceive. What he perceives, and that uncertainly enough, is what they perceive 'with'--or 'by means of,' or 'through'...or whatever the word should be...I have been concerned, among other things, with attempting to determine how the people who live there define themselves as persons, what goes into the idea they have (but, as I say, only half-realize they have) of what a self, Javanese, Balinese, or Moroccan style, is. And in each case, I have tried to get at this most intimate of notions not by imagining myself someone else, a rice peasant or a tribal sheikh, and then seeing what I thought, but by searching out and analyzing the symbolic forms--words, images, institutions, behaviors--in terms of which, in each place, people actually represented themselves to themselves and to one another." "'From the Native’s Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding," in, Geertz, *Local Knowledge. Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. (New York, 1983), 58.
incorrigible brother. If public pressure was insufficient, the social bonds uniting the brother to the group were severed by ostracizism—and finally expulsion. In effect, the brother was shamed into obedience. Jordan never used the word shame directly for exhortation or admonition, but a hidden shame is implied in his exposition.\textsuperscript{357}

The factor of hidden shame not only played a role in the \textit{Liber Vitasfratrum} with regard to ensuring conformity amongst the members, but, by the process of abduction, the omnipresent self-evaluation and reflection between the ideal as expressed in Jordan’s text and the reality of the individual’s life, hidden shame was operative throughout on the individual level as well. The \textit{exempla} Jordan brought to illustrate his enunciation of the \textit{religio Augustini} were not high ideals that formed the goals for which the individual brother was to strive as much as they were normative lessons according to which every member was to live. By continuous interaction between observation and imagination, or in other words, self-reflection and examination, the Augustinian was able to measure his life by the given standards. Jordan’s exempla are not simply cognitive explications of the Rule and \textit{Constitutiones}, but are instruments to establish and maintain obedience and conformity of the individual within the community.

\textsuperscript{357} Norbert Elias has described the importance of shame for society in \textit{The Civilizing Process}. 2 vols. (New York, 1978). Going beyond Elias and drawing on the work of the research psychologist, Helen B. Lewis, Thomas Scheff has analyzed the concept of shame in greater detail than did Elias, and has pointed to 'hidden shame', see, \textit{Microsociology}, esp. chs. 5-7.
In his discussion of obedience, the primary virtue regarding the *cor unum*, Jordan first described the proper understanding of the virtue in accordance with the Rule and Canon Law. He then added a number of *exempla*, in which the use of shame can be detected. Jordan related a story that he had heard himself second hand from a devoted brother to whom it was told by one whose confessions he heard. One time this brother was taken by a certain spirit to the place where the damned were tortured. There he saw a woman who was more excruciatingly afflicted than all the others. When he asked the spirit why this was so, the spirit told him to ask the woman herself, which he did. She responded that she was being punished so severely because she was disobedient to her confessor, preferring to follow her own will. Thus, Jordan concluded, "such will the be fate of all those brothers who want the prelates of the Order to follow their will."  

In this *exemplum*, Jordan's message was clear. Any brother reading this

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358 VF 2,2, (78t).

359 "Audivi a quodam fratre valente et multum religioso se habuisse filium confessionis, qui dicebat se quadam vice a quodam spiritu raptum et ductum ante locum, ubi cruciantur damnati. Et cum videret inter alios unam personam plus ceteris horrendissime cruciari, interrogavit iste a ductore suo, quid illa persona peccasset, quod tam saevissime tormentaretur. Cui ille dixit: 'Interroga ab eamet, et respondebit tibi.' Et cum iste quaesivisset ab ea, quare et qualiter ad hunc locum tantorum tormentorum venisset, respondit illa: 'Ego fui mulier pulcherrima de mundo et multis fui occasio multorum malorum praeter peccata, quae etiam corpore propio nefandissime perpetravi.' Quaerente autem isto, quomodo ad hoc perducta esset, ut ita abuteretur pulchritudine, quae fuit donum Dei, illa respondit: 'Ex desidia et ex nimia condescensione confessoris mei hoc habui, qui nimis dimisit voluntatem meam.' Sic timendum est, quod accidit aliquibus fratribus, qui volunt habere praelatos, qui sequantur voluntates eorum." VF 2,2, (82,94-109).
was, upon reflection, not only to understand the consequences of disobedience, but also to recognize the extent to which he was headed in this direction. If a reader realized that he had not been sufficiently obedient, this story was to instill fear for his fate. It is not only a cognitive understanding of obedience that is needed to enforce uniformity of life, but the emotional dimension is employed as well.

Jordan did not leave matters here. He continued with another *exemplum* about a brother who often deceived his prior in order to win permission to leave the cloister and wander around the city. One day as he was 'sight seeing', he came upon a man possessed by a demon, who asked for exorcism. The brother was not able to refuse the request and thus commanded the demon in virtue of holy obedience, to leave the man. The demon, however, responded: "Why do you think you can command me to be obedient when you yourself have never been truly obedient?" Upon hearing such a response, the brother left, disturbed and ashamed. Jordan affirmed that if that brother had been obedient to his superior, he surely would have been able to cast out the demon.\(^{360}\) He did not explicitly say that a

\(^{360}\) "Quidam frater, solitus saepe discurrere ad civitatem, restrictus est a Priore suo, ita quod non nisi in casu necessitatis deberet exire conventum. Sed iste tot causas necessitatis finxit, nunc praetendendo se vocatum ad infirmum, nunc ire ad emendum pergamenum, nunc candelas, nunc haec, nunc illa, quae videbantur necessaria et proficua. Sed sub chlamide talis licentiae ivit ad loca alia sibi placita et sic illusit Priori; numquam tamen sine licentia ivit. Hic frater quadam die transiens per locum, ubi erat homo arreptus a daemone, qui graviter torquebatur, rogatus ab incolis loci, ut accederet et per coniurationes et orationes suas daemonem expelleret, non valens resistere petentibus, venit ad illum. Et cum legisset initium sancti Evangelii secundum Johannem et alia, quae sibi legenda videbantur, subiunxit: 'Praecipio tibi in virtute sanctae oboedientiae, ut exes vasculum istud.' Tunc
disobedient brother should be ashamed of his disobedience, but rather used a hidden
shame, whereby the point is made indirectly. Again by abduction, the reader was to
evaluate his obedience by the model presented in the story. If he had not been
obedient, he should identify with the brother in the story who not only could not
cast out the demon, but who was also reprimanded by the demon. Shame was the
result.

Throughout the Liber Vitasfratrum we find an analogous method employed,
such as the exemplum cited above concerning Jordan’s own failure to fulfill his vow
to St. Peter. Jordan confessed that he was not embarrassed to relate the account,
implying that there was a degree of shame involved, particularly when he was
originally made aware of his negligence by St. Peter himself. The function of
Jordan’s treatise presupposes that the reader was to evaluate his own life in
accordance with the principles and exempla given, and if his did not match up, he
should be shamed into doing so. Yet this self-reflective understanding of the religio
Augustini was not simply individualistic. It provided the basis for the intersubjective
understanding for which every member was responsible. Every individual brother
was intimately connected by social bonding based on hidden shame. The emotional
as well as the cognitive must be considered for discerning more perspicuously the

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daemon de corpore obsesso respondit: ‘Quid tu habes mihi praecipere in virtute
sanctae oboedientiae, qui numquam verus oboediens fuisti?’ Quod ille audiens
verecundatus et confusus abscessit. Quod si iste frater fuisse vere oboediens
Superioribus suis, certe iam daemonium illud oboedisset ei,” VF 2,2, (83,125-143).
relationship between the individual and the OESA social system. Combined with the Augustinian myth, hidden shame was an essential aspect of the ties that bound the Augustinian Order in the late Middle Ages.

The Liber Vitasfratrum was Jordan's work, but it was not his creation alone. For many years he had gathered materials for his treatise, which points to the social configuration in which the text took form. And it was within the social system of the OESA that his book resonated long after it was completed, as is evidenced by the decision of the general chapter in 1571 that the Liber Vitasfratrum was to replace Hugh of St. Victor's commentary on the Rule as the reading ad coenam.

Although he was a cloistered friar, Jordan was not a homo clausus. When interpreting such a work as the Liber Vitasfratrum we must take into account the author in society. In this context it was not simply Jordan's self-understanding that is voiced in the text, but an intersubjective understanding of the Augustinian

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361 See, for example, Luhmann, Die Wissenschaft der Gesellschaft, 159.

362 On the concept of social configuration, see Elias, What is Sociology?, 71-103.

363 Hümpfner, intro., lxxii.

364 See, Elias, "Changes in the We-I Balance." In, The Society of Individuals, (Oxford, 1991), 153-237. As Elias has argued: "Paradoxical as it may seem at the present stage in the development of mental habits, the individuality and the social relatedness of a person are not only not antithetical to each other, but the special shaping and differentiation of mental functions that we refer to as 'individuality' is only possible for a person who grows up in a group, a society." Elias, The Society of Individuals, 22.
The Augustinian Order in the later Middle Ages was a mythic community into which new members were assimilated through a socialization process, imbuing them with the Order's social knowledge and initiating them into a new subuniverse, the Order itself. It was a process every brother underwent, even those who eventually were to become the Order's theologians. It is this dimension of late medieval Augustinianism that historical research has not sufficiently taken into account. Most often the theological writings of the Augustinians are interpreted in terms of the university social system rather than that of the Order. Yet before a brother could adopt a historico-critical attitude in theology, which has been seen to characterize the *schola Augustiniana moderna*, he would have been inculcated with the 'historico-mythic' attitude of the Order. If the Augustinian theologians sought to return to the theology of the original Augustine, they did so only after having returned to the original *religio Augustini*. It is not incorrect to choose the university as the context for interpreting late medieval Augustinianism. We must, however, be aware that we are making such a choice and that the Order is equally valid. When we ask the question of what made an Augustinian an Augustinian, or of what it meant to be an Augustinian in the later Middle Ages, the Augustinian social system is the only legitimate system of reference. This is not to say that a theologian who

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was not a member of the Order could not view himself as an 'Augustinian'. Rather, it is to claim that if he did so, he did so outside the structuration that gave meaning to the term. Beginning with the Great Union in 1256, the Order itself provided the identity for the academic and pastoral theology that can be labeled, Augustinian.

During the century that separated the Great Union from Jordan’s *Liber Vitasfratrum*, the OESA had developed from a conglomerate of various hermetical groups each following Augustine’s Rule, to the saint’s true heirs, the *imitatores Augustini*. Historians may point to non-Augustinian Augustinians, but for the historical Austin Friar, it was only within the social bonds of the Order that one could claim the Bishop of Hippo as *Augustinus Noster*.

We thus reach our point of departure for interpreting Jordan’s *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*. As lector in Erfurt and Magdeburg Jordan played an integral role in teaching his co-religious Augustinian doctrine. The Order’s educational system must not be divorced from the Order’s socialization process designed to inculcate the *religio Augustini* on all levels. From the simple friar to the theological doctor the members of the Order formed a social unit that must not be broken assunder by distinguishing too sharply between the Order’s theology and spirituality. Such a fissure is easily made, however, when one interprets the Order’s theology, the theology of the Augustinian school, based on *Sentences* commentaries alone. Jordan is a case in point. As a lector in Erfurt and Magdeburg Jordan represents a level of theological training within the Order that has not received sufficient
attention in scholarship: the *studia* not associated with a university. In the early fourteenth century there were three universities to which an Augustinian friar could be sent; there were thirty-two additional *studia generalia*.\textsuperscript{366} These *studia* comprised the 'other side’ of the Augustinian school and testify to the fact that if we desire to understand the theology of the Order we cannot limit our accounts to the Order’s university theologians.

In arguing for the social dimensions of the Order we do not mean to imply that the Order’s theology should be ignored. Much of what follows will certainly be theological. The point we stress, however, is that the theology of the Order must be firmly grounded within the social existence of the Order to guard against theological interpretations of the Order’s theology. It is not that the Order’s theology should be subordinated to the Order’s social existence; but rather, the Order’s theology must be placed in context of the Order’s social dimensions in order to achieve an historical, as opposed to a theological, understanding of Augustinian theology in the later Middle Ages. Our goal, therefore, is to interpret Jordan’s text, and the theology contained therein, within the historical context of the *religio Augustini*.

\textsuperscript{366} For a listing of the Order’s *studia generalia*, see, Gutierrez, *Geschichte des Augustinerordens*, 1/I:170f.
PART I

JORDAN'S TEXT
Since the appearance of the critical edition of Jordan's *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* still lies a number of years in the future,¹ we offer an "Editio Minor" of the text here.

Manuscripts

The following is a list of all known manuscripts of Jordan's *Expositio*:²

Alba Iulia, I.142, fol. 1-27
Basel, UB A. VI. 4. a. 1454, fol. 71r-93r
Berlin, StB Theol. qu. 175, 14 s., fol. 73ra-89vb
---------- lat. qu. 710 (Görres 152), fol. 204-223
Braunschweig, SdB 93, fol. 153-163
---------- 120, a. 1429, fol. 63-86 (anonym)
Brno, Mestsky Archiv 84 (59)
Eichstätt, 450, fol. 318-338
Frankfurt a.M., Praed. 125, fol. 124-160
Danzig, SdB Mar. Fol. 183, 15 s., fol. 212-227
---------- 1974, fol. 268-282 (anonym)
Göttingen, Luneb. 22, fol. 431 seql
Greifswald, (Nikolai-Kirche) Geistl. Ministerium XXXIII. E. 23, 15 s., fol. 246r-216v
---------- VII. E. 77, fol. 154-175
Harburg II lat. 1 fol. 17, fol. 108-122
------ II lat. 1 qu. 17, fol. 53-82
------ II lat. 1 qu. 57, fol. 1-32
Hildesheim, Beverin'che 674, fol. 351-358
Innsbruck, UB 584, 15 s., fol. 229r-247v
Kornick, 1657, fol. 213-227

¹ The critical edition will be part of the planned *Opera Omnia*; see supra, Introduction, n. 65.

² This list has been compiled from Zumkeller's *Manuskrpie*, nr. 647 (301); Bloomfield's *Incipits*, nr. 8440 (608); and Stegmüller's *Repertorium*, nr. 5138-5139 (3:465-466); none of these catalogues gives a complete listing.
For the edition that follows, we have used the two extant fourteenth-century manuscripts, one manuscript from the mid-fifteenth century, and the printed edition of
the *Opus Postillarum* (ed. Strassburg, 1483).

**B** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz MS theol. lat. qu. 175, 157 fols.; Parchment; 2 col.; 23.5 X 17 cm.; Erfurt, St. Peter's Benedictine cloister; mid-14th cent.; bastarda, from two hands.

fol. 26ra-41vb: Statuta Provincialis Concilii Moguntini.
fol. 42ra-72vb: Nicolaus de Argentina, *De Adventu Christi et Antichristi*.
fol. 73ra-89vb: Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*.
fol. 90ra-117ra: Jacobus de Cessolis, *De Moribus Hominum et Officiis Nobilium super Ludo Scaccorum*.
fol. 117va-156ra: Henricus de Frimaria, *De Decem Praeceptis*.


**M** Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Clm. 8151, 111 fols.; Parchment; Mallersdorf, Benedictine cloister; a. 1347; bastarda.

fol. 1r-54v: Henricus de Frimaria, *Tractatus de Decem Praeceptis*.
fol. 55r-84v: Henricus de Frimaria, *Expositio Decretalis 'Cum Marthe'*.
fol. 85r-106r: Jordanus de Quedlinburg, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*.
fol. 106v-111r: blank.

Lit.: *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*: IV/1: *Codices Latinos Continens*, II/1 (Monachii, 1874), 4.

**L** Basel, Universitätsbibliothek MS A.IV. 4, 314 fols.; Paper, with water marks; 28.5 X 20.5 cm.; Basel, Dominican cloister; written by Balthasar, OCist., abbot in Czena, 1453-1455; bastarda.

fol. 1r-58r: Johannes Müntzinger, *Compilatio sive Collectio cum certis quaestionibus circa Oratioem Dominicam*.
fol. 58v: blank.
fol. 59r-65v: Johannes Müntzinger, *Expositio super Oratione Dominica*.
fol. 66r-68v: Nicolaus V. Papa (?), *Tractatus brevis de Oratione Dominica*.
fol. 69r-70v: Johannes Müntzinger, *Dicta super Salutationem Angelicam*.
fol. 71r-93r: Jordanus Saxo de Quedlinburg, *Expositio Orationis*
Dominicae.
fol. 93v-100r: Petrus de Alliaco, Expositio Orationis Dominicae.
fol. 100v-106v: blank.
fol. 107r-110v: Johannes Müntzinger, Symbolum Apostolorum Glossaliter Collectum.
fol. 110v-118r: Johannes Müntzinger, Expositio Symboli Nicaeni.
fol. 118v-122v: Johannes Müntzinger, Expositio Symboli Athanasiani.
fol. 123r-133r: Johannes Franco Scholaster Meschedensis, Aurea Fabrica de Laudibus Virginis Gloriosae.
fol. 132v: Abcdarium latinum.
fol. 133r-138v: blank.
fol. 139r-150v: Johannes Müntzinger, De Poenitentiis et Remissionibus.
fol. 151r-164r: Johannes Müntzinger, Tractatus de Anima.
fol. 165r-166r: Henricus Hembuche de Hassia, dictus de Langenstein, Tractatus de Praedestinatione.
fol. 166v-167v: Henricus de Hassia, Tractatulus de Modo Vincendi Carnem.
fol. 168r-v: Henricus de Hassia, Tractatus de Cogitationibus.
fol. 168v-170v: Henricus de Hassia, Tractatus de Corpore Christi. 3
fol. 170v-174r: Johannes Müntzinger, Aliqua Notabilia super Tractatum Henrici de Langenstein de Corpore Christi, et Quartuor Quaestiones de eadem Materia.
fol. 174v: blank.
fol. 175r-182r: Anon., Tractatus de Poenis Inferni.
fol. 182v-186v: blank.
fol. 187r-195r: Aegidius de Colonna Romanus, Tractatus de Peccato Originali.
fol. 195v: blank.
fol. 196r-226v: Aegidius Romanus, Tractatus de Praedestinatione et Praesicientia, de Paradiso et Inferno, et ubi Praedestinati et Praesciti sunt finaliter Collocandi.
fol. 227r-290v: Aegidius Romanus, Tractatus de Formatione Humani Corporis.
fol. 291r-292v: blank.
fol. 293r-310v: Aegidius Romanus, Tractatus de Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae.
fol. 311r-314v: blank.

3 In a handwritten note in the catalogue, dated May 21, 1929, K. Heilig attributed the four treatises ascribed to Henry of Langenstein here to Henry Totting of Oyta.
S Opus Postillarum et Sermonum Jordani de Tempore, Strassburg; Johannes Grüniger; 1483.

fol. 1a: title.
fol. 2a-14b: tabula.
fol. 15a: Incipit: *Incipit Opus Postillarum et Sermonum de evangeliis dominicalibus compilatum a fratre Jordano de Quedlinburg, lectore Magdeburgensi ordinis fratum heremitarum beati Augustini...*
fol. 233b: Explicit: *Explicit Expositio Dominicae Passionis cum suis theorematibus... unus deus per infinita saecula saeculorum, Amen. (sermo 254).*
fol. 234-235: blank.
fol. 236a-242b: tabula.
fol. 243a: continuatio operis (sermo 255).
Explicit: *Explicit Opus Postillarum et Sermonum de evangeliis dominicalibus compilatum a fratre Jordano de Quedlinburg, lectore Magdeburgensi ordinis fratum heremitarum beati Augustini. Impressum Argentine Anno domini M CCCC lxxiiij.*


Rationes Editionis

The text that follows was constituted from B and M, with B as the leading text. Hümpfner suggested that B was Jordan’s own copy, which he prepared for publication.4 The textual variants, however, clearly show that this could not have been the case. The BM text was then compared with S and L. L is a corrupt manuscript; the scribe Balthasar seemingly did not read as he wrote, omitting at times negations, thus rendering an incomprehensible meaning. It is included, however, as an indication of the broad and

4 Hümpfner, Intro. xxx.
complex manuscript tradition of this work, and as an indication of later versions. The variations of S indicate that Jordan revised his Expositio at points when he included the work within his Opus Postillarum. The additiones are given in the variae lectiones. Occasionally S and L agree; in these instances the text is presented, with the "omissions" of B and M noted in the apparatus. This indicates contamination in later manuscripts of the Expositio stemming from the Opus Postillarum. Only when M, S and L agree against B has the reading from B not been followed, except in the case of omissions, or when the sense required. B and M are closely related, and offer a text that is seemingly close to the archetype. Since a stemma codicum based on these manuscripts is pointless, all variations have been noted, except for the following when the sense is otherwise not affected: seu/sive/vel; iste/ille; quod/quid; ergo/igitur; videlicet/scilicet; sic/ita; quia/quod; nec/neque. The orthography has been standardized according to classical Latin.

Classical authors and Church Fathers have been cited according to: Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Lipsiae, 1904; Supplementum, 1958). Aristotle has been cited from: Aristoteles, Opera edidit Academia Regia Borussica, rec. Immanuel Bekker. Vol. 1-2 (Berolini, 1831). Thomas Aquinas has been cited according to: S. Thomae Aquinatis Opera, Marietti ed. (Turin-Rome, 1948ff). Though never citing Thomas, Jordan drew heavily from Thomas' Catena Aurea. When a quotation is to be found in the Catena Aurea, it is noted in the apparatus following the reference to the explicit citation;
otherwise, *cf.* is used. \(^5\)

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\(^5\) The software and printing capabilities at my disposal have not allowed for a multi-level apparatus. Thus the *variae lectiones* appear at the bottom of the page, while the sources are placed as lettered endnotes, following each *lectio*. 
Incipit Expositio Orationis Dominicae

Lectio Prima

_Pater Noster._ Huic dominicae orationi beatus Gregorius praemittit praefationem sive prologum in officio missae, quae talis est: "Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere." In quo prologo Gregorius duo facit: primo innuit istius sacratissimae orationis dignitatem et eminentiam cum premittit: "Praeceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati"; secundo indicit nobis orandi audaciam, dans impetrandi confidentiam cum subiungit: "audemus dicere." Dignitas autem cuiuslibet ex suis causis colligitur, et

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1 praefationem sive| om. M
2 quae| quam L
3 et divina...dicere| om. ML
4 Gregorius| beatus Gregorius SL
5 et divina institutione formati| om. BL
6 indicit| inducit SL
7 nobis| om. L
8 confidentiam| audaciam et impetranti confidentiam L
9 cuiuslibet| rei add. SL
10 colligitur| tollitur B
tanguntur in hoc prologo quatuor causae istius orationis.

Materialis in hoc quod dicit 'praecptis salutaribus'. Nam omnes istae petitiones sunt de praeceptis, utpote de hiis quae sunt de necessitate salutis. Unde Cyprianus in libro De dominica oratione dicit istam orationem esse compendium praeceptorum divinorum, ut patet in quadam auctoritate posita in fine presentis opusculi.

Finalis tangitur in hoc quod dicit 'moniti'. Monitio enim fit vel ut adipiscamur finem vel ne decideamus a fine. In hac autem oratione utrumque monemur petere: et ut pertingamus ad finem beatitudinis eternae et ut

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11 tanguntur] dantur B
12 dicit] dicitur S
13 praeceptis] praecepti L
14 istae] istae causae add. L
15 praeceptis] dominicis add. S
16 de necessitate] ad necessitatem L
17 finalis] causa add. SL
18 quod] cum S
19 dicit] dicitur S
20 adipiscamur] adipiscamus L
21 ne] om. L
22 pertingamus] attingamus L
removeantur removantur impeditiva ipsius finis, ut patet infra in lectione tertia.

Efficiens innuitur cum dicitur 'divina institutione'. Haec enim oratio divinitus est instituta puta ab ipso Christo dictata, ut patet Matthei VI et Luce XI. Propter quod dominica oratio nuncupatur et ob hoc ista oratio merito efficacissima est et maxime exaudibilis, quia sicut dicit Chrysostomus super Mattheum: "Pater non libenter orationem exaudit, quam filius non dictavit. Cognoscit enim Pater sensus et verba non recipit quae usurpatio humana cogitavit, sed ea quae Christus patris sapientia exposuit." Et Cyprianus, De oratione dominica sic dicit: "cum

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23 in hac autem...ad finem] om. M
24 removeantur] removeamur L
25 impediva] impedimenta L
26 patet] patebit S
27 infra] om. L
28 efficiens] causa add. SL
29 innuitur] tangitur S
30 divina] om. S
31 XI] IX L
32 nuncupatur] dicitur S
33 et maxime exaudibilis] om. L
34 exaudit] exclusit L
35 non] om. L
ipsum filium advocatum apud patrem habeamus\textsuperscript{36} pro peccatis nostris\textsuperscript{37}, quando\textsuperscript{38} peccatores pro delictis nostris petimus\textsuperscript{39}, advocati nostri promamus verba." \(n\) Nec mirum si ista oratio est singulari efficacia a Christo dotata\textsuperscript{40}. Si enim papa vel episcopus est\textsuperscript{41} dictans\textsuperscript{42} aliquam\textsuperscript{43} orationem, eam speciali dotat\textsuperscript{44} gratia\textsuperscript{45} puta certam dando indulgentiam dicentibus eam\textsuperscript{46}, sicut est\textsuperscript{47} de\textsuperscript{48} quadam oratione domini Johannis Pape XXII\textsuperscript{v} de passione domini\textsuperscript{49}, quanto magis credendum est Christum suam orationem singularis\textsuperscript{50} gratiae\textsuperscript{51} dotasse privilegio. Unde

\textsuperscript{36} habeamus] habemus L
\textsuperscript{37} pro peccatis nostris] om. S
\textsuperscript{38} quando] nos add. M
\textsuperscript{39} petimus] om. L
\textsuperscript{40} dotata] dictata B
\textsuperscript{41} est] om. S
\textsuperscript{42} est dictans] dictaret ML
\textsuperscript{43} aliquam] om. L
\textsuperscript{44} dotat] dote L
\textsuperscript{45} gratia] et gratia dotaret L
\textsuperscript{46} puta...eam] om. L
\textsuperscript{47} est] enim L
\textsuperscript{48} de] in L
\textsuperscript{49} de passione domini] om. L
\textsuperscript{50} singularis] singulari L
impossibile est ceteris paribus aliquam orationem esse uberiorem et magis exaudibilem quam sit ista<sup>52</sup>, immo nec aeque. Sciemendum ergo quod haec sanctissima oratio specialiter<sup>53</sup> super omnem orationem triplicem habet effectum seu efficaciam<sup>54</sup>. Est enim haec oratio praeb omnibus exaudibilis et impetrativa<sup>55</sup>, ut patet ex<sup>56</sup> auctoritatis Chrysostomi et Cypriani iam<sup>57</sup> praemissis<sup>58</sup> "<Ex<sup>59</sup> secundo mentis sursum proiecta<sup>60</sup> provectimus<sup>61</sup>. Ipsa enim secundum Cassianum provehit<sup>62</sup> ad illam igneam et per paucos<sup>63</sup> expertam orationem, quae omnem

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<sup>51</sup> gratiae<sup>L</sup>] gratia L

<sup>52</sup> sit ista<sup>B</sup>] istam B

<sup>53</sup> specialiter<sup>L</sup>] om. L

<sup>54</sup> efficaciam<sup>S</sup>] efficaciam S

<sup>55</sup> est enim...impetrativa<sup>L</sup>] om. L

<sup>56</sup> ex<sup>L</sup>] in L

<sup>57</sup> iam<sup>S</sup>] om. S

<sup>58</sup> praemissis<sup>L</sup>] est enim haec oratio magis exaudibilis quasi omnibus et impetrativa add. L

<sup>59</sup> Et<sup>BMS</sup>] est BMS om. L

<sup>60</sup> proiecta<sup>S</sup>] proyecta S; om. L

<sup>61</sup> provectimus<sup>L</sup>] om. S provectiva L

<sup>62</sup> provehit<sup>L</sup>] provolet L

<sup>63</sup> paucos<sup>S</sup>] paucis S
transcendit humanum sensum, quam auctoritatem habes infra post Amen in fine. Est enim peccatorum venialium expulsiva, propter quod Augustinus et alii doctores sancti dicunt ipsam valere ad expiationem venialium peccatorum. Nec dubium quantoplures alios effectus salubres licet nos latentes habeant, quos divina clementia secundum uniuscuiusque orantis devotionem et affectum misericorditer influit et dispensat.

Formalis vero causa tangitur in eo quod dicit 'formati'. Haec enim oratio est nobis forma orandi et quantum ad res petendas, et quantum ad ordinem

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64 quam...in fine] om. L
65 enim] etiam tertio SL
66 immo nec aeque...venialium expulsiva] om. B; expulsiva] expiativa S expiatio L
67 propter quod] secundum SL
68 Augustinus] Augustinum SL
69 alii] alios SL
70 sancti] sanctos SL
71 dicunt ipsam...peccatorum] om. SL
72 quantoplures] quando L
73 alios] plures add. L
74 licet] offere M om. L
75 habeant] habeat SL
76 uniuscuiusque orantis devotionem et] om. M
77 dicit] dicitur SL
petendorum[78]; propter quod ipsa est totius nostri affectus informativa. Quantum ad
res petendas quidem[79] quia ut dicit Glossa super Mattheum huic orationi: "nihil deest
quod his[80] septem petitionibus non contineatur[81] sive ad praesentem sive ad futuram
pertineat vitam," et Augustinus Ad Probam: "Si recte," inquit, "et congruenter
oramus nihil aliud" dicere possimus nisi "quod in oratione dominica positum est,"
quod per plura exempla deducit ut[82] patet infra post Amen. o Quantum[83] ad
ordinem etiam postulandorum, quia eo ordine quo hic ponitur[84] postulanda sunt ut
patet infra[85] lectione[86] teritia."

Secundo, inducit nobis audaciam petendi[87] dans inpetrandi confidentiam, cum
subiungit 'audemus dicere'. O quanta fiducia et fiducialis audacia quod[88] futura

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78 petendorum] petendarum L
79 quidem] om. L
80 hiis] in hiis ML
81 contineatur] includatur sive contineatur L
82 ut] et L
83 quantum] etiam add. S
84 ponitur] ponuntur SL
85 infra] in L
86 lectione] petitione L
87 petendi] orandi L
88 quod] ut L
factorem\textsuperscript{89} servus dominum hoc\textsuperscript{90} deum patrem suum audeat\textsuperscript{91} nuncupare et regnum eius postulare. Quis umquam ausus\textsuperscript{92} est in veteri lege talia praesumere? Nemo utique, quia ut dicit Glossa super Mattheum, deus\textsuperscript{93} "antiquis ut servis dicebatur\textsuperscript{94} dominus nunc deus\textsuperscript{95} pater, cui non timore sed amore servimus,"\textsuperscript{9} et beatus\textsuperscript{96} Augustinus in sermone domini in monte dicit\textsuperscript{97} sic\textsuperscript{98}: "nusquam invenitur praeceptum populo Israel, ut diceret 'pater noster', sed est eis insinuatus tamquam dominus servis."\textsuperscript{r} Nos igitur per sanguinem Ihesu Christi adoptionis filii effecti confidenter clamamus, \textit{Abba, pater},\textsuperscript{4} secundum Apostolum ad Galatas 4\textsuperscript{99}. Audenter\textsuperscript{100} ergo dicere possumus 'pater noster'\.\textsuperscript{t}

\textsuperscript{89} futura factorem\textsuperscript{j} factura futuorem L
\textsuperscript{90} hoc\textsuperscript{j} homo L
\textsuperscript{91} audeat\textsuperscript{j} audet S
\textsuperscript{92} ausus\textsuperscript{j} om. L
\textsuperscript{93} deus\textsuperscript{j} dominus L
\textsuperscript{94} dicebatur\textsuperscript{j} loquebatur B
\textsuperscript{95} deus\textsuperscript{j} dicitur S igitur L
\textsuperscript{96} beatus\textsuperscript{j} om. S
\textsuperscript{97} dicit\textsuperscript{j} inquit S
\textsuperscript{98} sic\textsuperscript{j} om. L
\textsuperscript{99} 4\textsuperscript{j} om. L
\textsuperscript{100} audenter\textsuperscript{j} audacter L
Dividitur autem haec oratio in exordium, tractatum et conclusionem. In exordio benivolentia captatur, cum dicitur: 'Pater noster, qui es in caelis'; in tractatu petitiones ordinantur, cum subditur\textsuperscript{101}: 'sanctificetur'\textsuperscript{102} etc.\textsuperscript{103}; in conclusione confirmatio petitionum optatur, cum in fine\textsuperscript{104} subnectitur\textsuperscript{105}: 'Amen'.

Circa primum dubitaret\textsuperscript{106} aliquis, quia in vanum videmur\textsuperscript{107} captare benevolentiam eius qui\textsuperscript{108} sua benevolentia nos praevenit\textsuperscript{109}, sed deus sua benevolentia nos praevenit\textsuperscript{110} quoniam\textsuperscript{111} ipse prior dilexit nos,\textsuperscript{u} ut dicitur prima\textsuperscript{112} Johannis quarto\textsuperscript{113}. Superfluæ ergo praemittitur captatio benevolentiae, ut

\textsuperscript{101} subditur\textsuperscript{]} subiungitur S
\textsuperscript{102} sanctificetur\textsuperscript{]} nomen tuum add. SL
\textsuperscript{103} etc\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{104} fine\textsuperscript{]} finem L
\textsuperscript{105} subnectitur\textsuperscript{]} adiungitur M
\textsuperscript{106} dubitaret\textsuperscript{]} dubitet L
\textsuperscript{107} videmur\textsuperscript{]} videtur L
\textsuperscript{108} qui\textsuperscript{]} quia L
\textsuperscript{109} praevenit\textsuperscript{]} praevenitur L
\textsuperscript{110} sed…praevenit\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{111} quoniam\textsuperscript{]} quia S
\textsuperscript{112} prima\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{113} quarto\textsuperscript{]} octavo L
Ad quod dicendum, quod captatio benevolentiae non praemittitur propter deum, ut ipse flectatur, sed propter nos, ut fiducia petendi in nobis ipsis excitetur, quia secundum Augustinum: "Deus semper paratus est nobis dare suam lucem, sed nos non semper sumus parati accipere." Unde ex parte nostri requiritur devotionis excitatio, quae est quaedam divinae benevolentiae captatio. Igitur quod aliquis non habeat fiduciam petendi aliquem contingit ex duobus, aut quia praesumit illum dare nolle, aut dare non posse. Econtrario, fiducia petendi excitatur, aut considerando eius quem petimus.

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114 ut videtur] om. B
115 ad quod] om. S
116 excitetur] excitatur L
117 quia secundum Augustinum] unde Augustinus L
118 est] om. M
119 semper] om. L
120 accipere] recipere SL eam add. L
121 devotionis] om. M
122 est] quasi add. L
123 que est...captatio] om. M
124 duobus] modis add. L
125 econtrario] secunda L
erga nos dilectionem qua bonum nostrum vult, aut considerando eius potentiam et maiestatem qua id quod petimus dare potest. Et haec duo in hoc exordio consideranda proponuntur; ratione primi, dicimus, 'pater noster'; ratione secundi, 'qui es in caelis'. Propter considerationem primi dicit Augustinus in libro De sermone domini in monte: "Quid iam non det filiis petentibus, cum hoc ipsum ante dederit ut filii essent?" Dicit enim Chrysostomus quod hoc verbo mens orantis dupliciter erigitur: "et dignitate eius qua invocatur et magnitudine beneficiorum quilibet orans potitus est.

Est autem notandum, quod ipse deus dicitur pater noster tripliciter, secundum triplex esse quod ab eo accepimus, scilicet naturae, gratiae, et

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126 fiducia] illa fiducia L
127 qua] quod L
128 id] illud L
129 iam] nam SL
130 det] om. L
131 filii] in filiis L
132 petentibus] se add. L
133 dicit enim...potitus est] om. SL
134 est autem] om. L
135 ipse] om. L
136 eo] ipso L
Esse naturae dedit nobis in creatione; esse gratiae in recreatione sive redemptione; et esse gloriae dabat in regni communicatione. De primo,

Deuteronomii 33: *Numquid non ipse est pater tuus, qui possedit et fecit et creavit te?* *Fecit* inquam secundum corpus; *creavit* secundum animam; *possedit* secundum utrumque. De secundo, Isaiae 73: *Tu domine pater noster et redemptor noster, a saeculo nomen tuum.* Ipse enim voluntarie genuit nos verbo veritatis, Iacobi primo. *Itaque iam non est servus, sed filius, quod si filius et heres per deum.* Ad Romanos octavo: *heredes quidem dei, coheredes autem Christi.*

\[\text{Notes:}\]

137 accepimus] recepimus L  
138 sive redemptione] om. L  
139 et] om. SL  
140 et fecit] fecit S  
141 et creavit te] etc. M  
142 73] sexto  
143 et] om. S  
144 noster] om. L  
145 Ia 1] om. L  
146 Galatae quarto] ad Galatas octavo L  
147 ad] et S
Hoc triplex 'esse' quod a deo recepimus\textsuperscript{148}, correspondet triplicibus\textsuperscript{149} beneficiis quae filius carnalis accepit\textsuperscript{150} a patre. Primum beneficium\textsuperscript{151} est generationis, quo in esse naturae producitur quantum ad primum. Secundum est beneficium educationis, quo nutritur et alitur quantum ad secundum. Tertium beneficium hereditationis, quo vitae solacium ducitur quo ad tertium\textsuperscript{152}. Et haec tria comprehenduntur in illo\textsuperscript{153} dicto poetico\textsuperscript{154}, quod assumit Paulus Actuum septimo decimo\textsuperscript{155}: \textit{in ipso, scilicet deo, vivimus\textsuperscript{156}, movemur, et sumus}.\textsuperscript{88} Sumus, inquam, in natura; movemur in gratia; vivimus in gloria. Ratione primi, deus est a nobis\textsuperscript{157} summe laudabilis; ratione secundi, valde amabilis\textsuperscript{158}; ratione tertii,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{148} recepimus] accepius S
\item \textsuperscript{149} triplicibus] tribus L
\item \textsuperscript{150} accepit] accipit L
\item \textsuperscript{151} beneficium] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{152} quo ad tertium] quantum ad tertium S
\item \textsuperscript{153} illo] hoc L
\item \textsuperscript{154} poetica] apostoli S
\item \textsuperscript{155} quod assumit Paulus Actuum septimo decimo] om. S; septimo decimo] decimo L
\item \textsuperscript{156} vivimus] et add. L
\item \textsuperscript{157} a nobis] om. B
\item \textsuperscript{158} amabilis] laudabilis L
\end{itemize}
maxime desiderabilis. Notandum autem\textsuperscript{159} quod in hoc tripli beneficii omnia
divina beneficiua erga nos exhibita comprehenduntur, ut patet in dicenti\textsuperscript{160}. In hoc
ergo quod dicimus 'pater', rememoramus omnium beneficiiorum dei. Et ex hoc mens
orantis surgit ad devotas et internas gratarum actiones. Ex quibus ulterius\textsuperscript{161} mens
in oratione erigitur et ad devotionem ferventius excitatur, iuxta illud Psalmi: In
meditatione mea exardescet ignis. Dupliciter igitur in hoc verbo 'pater' mens ad
orandum bene disponitur. Tum\textsuperscript{162} quia ex affectu paterno dei quem habet ad nos,
fiducia petendi excitatur ex ea parte, qua vult dare quid petimus, ut dictum est statim
supra auctoritate Augustini et patebit infra in secunda dubitatione. Tum quia ex
beneficiiorum dei rememoratione mens ad devotionem maxime inflammatur. Et hoc
est quod dicit Chrysostomus, quod hoc verbo 'pater' mens orantis dupliciter erigitur:
et dignitate eius, quae\textsuperscript{163} invocatur\textsuperscript{164}, et magnitudine beneficiiorum, quibus orans
potitus\textsuperscript{165} est. Dicamus ergo 'pater noster' exorabilis ex paterna dilectione, quantum
ad primum dispositivum mentis; sed quantum ad secundum dipositivum predictorum

\textsuperscript{159} autem] om. L
\textsuperscript{160} dicenti] ducenti S
\textsuperscript{161} ulterius] uberius L
\textsuperscript{162} tum] cum L
\textsuperscript{163} quae] qua L
\textsuperscript{164} invocatur] vocatur L
\textsuperscript{165} potitus] petitus L
trium et per consequens omnium beneficiorum dei gratam recognitionem.\textsuperscript{166}

Oramus ergo\textsuperscript{167}:

Laudabilis in creatione;

Pater Noster amabilis in redemptione;

desiderabilis in regnis communicatione.

Cadunt autem super hac particularia\textsuperscript{168} tres dubitationes. Prima est, quare Christus non docuit nos dirigere orationem ad se\textsuperscript{169}, ut diceremus\textsuperscript{170}, 'Christe\textsuperscript{171}, fili dei, qui es in caelis etc\textsuperscript{172}', vel aliquid\textsuperscript{173} huius\textsuperscript{174}, quod\textsuperscript{175} tamen\textsuperscript{176} videretur esse conveniens cum persona filii sit\textsuperscript{177} magis familiariter coniuncta per

\textsuperscript{166} notandum autem quod in hoc triplici beneficio...recognitionem] om. BM; dicamus ergo...recognitionem] om. L

\textsuperscript{167} oramus] dicamus SL; ergo] sic S

\textsuperscript{168} hac particularia] hanc particulariam L

\textsuperscript{169} se] seipsum L

\textsuperscript{170} ut diceremus] dicendo L

\textsuperscript{171} Christe] Christus L

\textsuperscript{172} etc] om. L

\textsuperscript{173} aliquid] aliud L

\textsuperscript{174} huius] huiusmodi SL

\textsuperscript{175} quod] cum L

\textsuperscript{176} tamen] cum M

\textsuperscript{177} sit] nobis add. SL
susceptionem naturae, quare\textsuperscript{178} etc.

Ad hoc dicendum quod\textsuperscript{179}, quia filius est a patre et quidquid habet nascendo accepit\textsuperscript{180}, ut Augustinus\textsuperscript{bb} dicit; ideo patri honorem semper attribuit\textsuperscript{181}, iuxta illud, Johannis octavo: \textit{Ego glori\ae\ meam non quaero}\textsuperscript{182}, \textit{sed honorifico patrem meum}\textsuperscript{183} etc.\textsuperscript{ii} Nec obstat quod filius magis coniunctus\textsuperscript{184} est nobis\textsuperscript{185}, et quod in ipso redempti sumus, quia nostra\textsuperscript{186} redemp\tio originaliter a patre\textsuperscript{187} fuit, qui, ut nos redimeret, filium suum in mundum\textsuperscript{188} misit, etiam omnes tres personae simul una adoratione adorantur, et ideo non refert. Principaliter tamen\textsuperscript{189} oratio\textsuperscript{190}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{178} quare\textsuperscript{178} igitur S
\item \textsuperscript{179} quod\textsuperscript{179} et sic L
\item \textsuperscript{180} accepit\textsuperscript{180} a patre add. L
\item \textsuperscript{181} ideo patri...attribuit\textsuperscript{181} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{182} non quaero\textsuperscript{182} om. B
\item \textsuperscript{183} meum\textsuperscript{183} om. SL
\item \textsuperscript{184} coniunctus\textsuperscript{184} iunctus S
\item \textsuperscript{185} nobis\textsuperscript{185} om. B
\item \textsuperscript{186} nostra\textsuperscript{186} omnis L
\item \textsuperscript{187} a patre\textsuperscript{187} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{188} in mundum\textsuperscript{188} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{189} tamen\textsuperscript{189} cum L
\item \textsuperscript{190} oratio\textsuperscript{190} dominica add. M
\end{itemize}
dirigitur ad patrem\textsuperscript{191} propter causam iam\textsuperscript{192} dictam. Vel potest dici, quod hoc nomen 'pater' non accipitur hic personaliter, sed essentialiter prout omnibus personis simul convenit\textsuperscript{193}. Omnia enim illa tria esse in nobis tota trinitas operatur et dat\textsuperscript{194}, cum opera trinitatis ad extra sint indivisa.\textsuperscript{11}

Secunda dubitatio est\textsuperscript{195}, quare dixit potius 'pater'\textsuperscript{196} quam 'dominus'\textsuperscript{197} vel 'deus' vel\textsuperscript{198} aliud\textsuperscript{199} quod tamen magis sonaret in reverentiam, nam et filii nobilium suos patres dominos apellant\textsuperscript{201} secundum morem quarumdam terrarum\textsuperscript{202}.

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{191} patrem] filium L
\textsuperscript{192} iam] om. L
\textsuperscript{193} convenit] conveniat L
\textsuperscript{194} et dat] om. L
\textsuperscript{195} est] om. S
\textsuperscript{196} pater] noster add. S
\textsuperscript{197} dominus] domine noster S
\textsuperscript{198} deus vel] deus aut S
\textsuperscript{199} aliud] aliud L
\textsuperscript{200} huius] consimile S huiusmodi L
\textsuperscript{201} apellant] vocant S appellant L
\textsuperscript{202} terrarum] regionum L
\end{footnotes}
Ad quod dicendum, quod ideo non dixit\textsuperscript{203} 'dominus' sed 'pater', ut praebeat nobis fiduciam petendi, ut dictum est\textsuperscript{204}: servus enim non faciliter exauditur a domino, filius autem\textsuperscript{205} a patre\textsuperscript{206} facilime\textsuperscript{207}. Unde dicitur Lucae 11\textsuperscript{208}: \textit{Si vos bona data nostis dare filiis vestris, quanto magis pater\textsuperscript{209} celestis dabit spiritum bonum petentibus se?}\textsuperscript{2kk} Nec obstat, si nomen domini magis sonat in reverentiam\textsuperscript{210}; nomen tamen patris magis sonat in amorem et confidentiam.

Tertia dubitatio est\textsuperscript{211}, quare non dixit\textsuperscript{212} 'meus', sed 'noster', quod tamen videretur congruum, cum simus personae privatae quibus pluraliter\textsuperscript{213} locutio videtur\textsuperscript{214} sonare in pompam.
Ad quod dicendum, hic dicit 'noster' primo ad designandum differentiam filiationis Christi et nostrae. Christus enim filius dei est per naturam, quod sibi est singulare, et ideo sibi competit dicere, 'pater meus'. Nos autem sumus filii dei per adoptionis gratiam, quod est conveniens; hanc filiationis differentiam signavit ipse Christus tum dixit Johannis vicesimo: ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum, 'meum' inquam per naturam singulariter; 'vestrum' autem per gratiam communiter.

Secundo, ad insinuandum quod non debeamus tantum orare pro nobis, sed

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215 hic quod SL  
216 primo om. L  
217 autem vero L  
218 conveniens commune S  
219 signavit significavit L  
220 tum dixit om. L  
221 et patrem vestrum om. L  
222 inquam inquit L  
223 naturam gloriam S  
224 singulariter singular L  
225 autem vero L  
226 tantum om. L
etiam pro proximis\textsuperscript{227}. Unde Cyprianus, in oratione dominica\textsuperscript{228}: "Pacis et unitatis\textsuperscript{229} magister noluit\textsuperscript{230} sigillatim\textsuperscript{231} et\textsuperscript{232} privatim precem fieri, ut quis, cum precatur, tantum pro se precetur\textsuperscript{233}. Est enim\textsuperscript{234} nobis communis oratio; dominus enim unum pro omnibus orare voluit, quia in uno ipse omnes\textsuperscript{235} portavit."\textsuperscript{nn} Unde etiam\textsuperscript{236} dicit Chrysostomus: "Pro se orare neccesitas cogit, pro altero caritas fraternitatis hortatur. Dulcior\textsuperscript{237} est enim ante deum oratio, non quam neccessitas transmittit, sed quam caritas fraternitatis commendat."\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{nn}} Ex quo habetur quod quanto oratio\textsuperscript{238} communior, tanto\textsuperscript{239} efficacior.

\textsuperscript{227} proximis\textsuperscript{] proximo L}
\textsuperscript{228} in oratione dominica\textsuperscript{] in libro de dominica oratione L}
\textsuperscript{229} unitatis\textsuperscript{] veritatis L}
\textsuperscript{230} noluit\textsuperscript{] voluit SL}
\textsuperscript{231} sigillatim\textsuperscript{] singillatim S}
\textsuperscript{232} et\textsuperscript{] videlicet L}
\textsuperscript{233} precetur\textsuperscript{] precatur L}
\textsuperscript{234} enim\textsuperscript{] et L}
\textsuperscript{235} ipse omnes\textsuperscript{] om. L}
\textsuperscript{236} etiam\textsuperscript{] om. L}
\textsuperscript{237} dulciors\textsuperscript{] dulcius L}
\textsuperscript{238} oratio\textsuperscript{] est add. L}
\textsuperscript{239} tanto\textsuperscript{] est add. L}
Tertio, ad innuendum\textsuperscript{240} nos omnes esse fratres, tam pauperes quam divites, nobiles et ignobiles. Unde Augustinus in libro De sermone domini in monte:

"Admonentur hic divites" et "genere nobiles, non superbire adversus pauperes et ignobiles\textsuperscript{241}, quoniam\textsuperscript{242} simul dicant deo: 'pater noster', quod non possunt vere ac pie\textsuperscript{243} dicere, nisi se fratres esse cognoscant."\textsuperscript{pp} Unde Christus dixit Matthei tertio vicesimo: \textit{omnes autem vos fratres estis etc}\textsuperscript{244}.\textsuperscript{9q} Has\textsuperscript{245} duas ultimas rationes et quasdam\textsuperscript{246} alias tangit Chrysostomus super Mattheum dicens\textsuperscript{247} sic: dicendo, inquit, 'noster' docet generalem orationem pro fratibus facere et ubique\textsuperscript{248} non tam propria commoda quam proximorum requirere, hoc\textsuperscript{249} etiam ipso\textsuperscript{250} *inimicitias interimit, superbiam reprimit et invidiam expellit, matrem vero omnium bonorum

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{240} ad innuendum\textsuperscript{L} quasi instruendum L
\item \textsuperscript{241} unde Augustinus...ignobiles\textsuperscript{L} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{242} quoniam\textsuperscript{L} cum L
\item \textsuperscript{243} ac pie\textsuperscript{L} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{244} etc\textsuperscript{L} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{245} has\textsuperscript{L} autem add. L
\item \textsuperscript{246} quasdam\textsuperscript{L} in speciali L
\item \textsuperscript{247} dicens\textsuperscript{L} dicendo L
\item \textsuperscript{248} ubique\textsuperscript{L} ubicumque L
\item \textsuperscript{249} hoc\textsuperscript{L} enim add. L
\item \textsuperscript{250} ipso\textsuperscript{L} ipse L
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
caritatem introducit\textsuperscript{251}, humanarum\textsuperscript{252} rerum in\textit{equalitatem} prorsus excludit, mutuam\textsuperscript{253} regem\textsuperscript{254} cum paupere equalitatem habere ostendit,"\textsuperscript{255} et per\textsuperscript{255} hoc patet\textsuperscript{256} ad obiectum.

Sciendum autem quod\textsuperscript{257} ex praemissis elici potest, quod sicut per hoc nomen 'pater' mens dupliciter ad orandum\textsuperscript{258} disponitur, sic per hoc\textsuperscript{259} nomen 'noster' similiter disponitur quo\textsuperscript{260} ad alia duo. Primum est, quod per hoc mens ordinatur ad\textsuperscript{261} dilectionem proximi, ut secunda ratio implicat quaestionis praemissae. Secundum est quod mens de\textsuperscript{262} primitur ad humilitatem\textsuperscript{263}, ut tertia\textsuperscript{264} ratio

\textsuperscript{251 introducit} inducit L
\textsuperscript{252 humanarum} et humanarum L
\textsuperscript{253 mutuam} et mutuam SL
\textsuperscript{254 regem} rem L
\textsuperscript{255 et per} super L
\textsuperscript{256 patet} solutio add. B
\textsuperscript{257 quod} ut L
\textsuperscript{258 ad orandum} om. L
\textsuperscript{259 hoc} per add. L
\textsuperscript{260 quo} om. L
\textsuperscript{261 ad} ut L
\textsuperscript{262 humilitatem} humiliationem L
\textsuperscript{263 sui} anime L
\textsuperscript{264 tertia} secunda L
demonstrat. Quae duo ad puram\textsuperscript{265} orationem necessario\textsuperscript{266} praeexiguntur, ut\textsuperscript{267} patet. De primo, Matthi duodevicesimo, ubi salvator dicit: si\textsuperscript{268} duo ex vobis consenserint super terram de omni re quacumque petierint, fiet illis a\textsuperscript{269} patre meo. Super quo\textsuperscript{270} dicit Origenes\textsuperscript{271}: Ista est causa propter quod\textsuperscript{272} non exaudimur, quia non consentimus nobis per omnia super terram\textsuperscript{273} mutua charitate. Sicut enim in musicis\textsuperscript{274} nisi fuerit convenientia vocum non\textsuperscript{275} delectat audientem, sic in ecclesia nisi consensum\textsuperscript{276} habuerint\textsuperscript{277} per charitatem videlicet\textsuperscript{278} precum

\textsuperscript{265} puram] poenitentiae L
\textsuperscript{266} necessario] necessaria L
\textsuperscript{267} ut] quod L
\textsuperscript{268} salvator dicit si] om. L
\textsuperscript{269} a] de L
\textsuperscript{270} quo] verbo add. L
\textsuperscript{271} Origenes] et Augustinus add. L
\textsuperscript{272} quod] quam L
\textsuperscript{273} terram] scilicet add. L
\textsuperscript{274} musicis] musica L
\textsuperscript{275} non] nisi S
\textsuperscript{276} consensum] consensus L
\textsuperscript{277} habuerint] fuerit L
\textsuperscript{278} videlicet] valet L
communicationem non delectatur deus in ea, nec audit voces eorum. Haec Origenes. De secundo patet per illud Danieli tertio: *In animo contrito* et spiritu *humilitatis* suscipiamur. Et in Psalmo: *Cor contritum et humiliatum deus non despicietas.* Et quantum ad haec duo dicamus 'pater noster', id est omnium nostrum communiter, ut preces nostras omnibus communicemus equaliter, ut nos omnes equales esse cogitemus.

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279 communicationem] communicatio L
280 non] nisi S
281 per illud...contrito] et cetera dicendum L
282 et] ideo in L
283 humilitatis] et in animo contrito add. L
284 suscipiamur] domine a te add. L
285 et in] om. L
286 communiter] om. L
287 nos] om. L
288 equales] equaliter L
289 sciendum autem...esse cogitemus] om. BM; cogitemus] cognoscimus L
Sources

a. SACR.GREG 4,83 (PL 78,28c).

b. CYPR domin. orat. 28 (CChr 3A.107,519-524); cf. ibid 2 (CChr 3A.90,13-15).

c. Vide infra

d. PS.CHRYSSOST. in Matth. 14 (PG 56,714).

e. CYPR domin. orat. 3 (CChr 3A.91,33-35); cf. THOMAS Catena aurea, ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Marietti, 103a).

f. non invenitur; cf. Tapè, 36 n.102.


h. Cf. CASSIAN. Collationes patrum 9 (PL 49,788f).

i. Vide infra, L10, 393,3-394,1.

j. AUG enchir. 19,71 (PL 40,265-266; CChr 48,88); cf. AUG de serm. dom. 2,8,29 (PL 34,1282; CChr 35.118,625ff).

k. Cf. AUG enchir. 71 (PL 40,265; CChr 46,88); CYPR domin. orat. 22 (CChr 3A.103,403ff); Lombardus 4 Sent. dist. 16 cap. 1; Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,12 (PL 114,102b).

l. Cf. CYPR domin. orat. 2 (CChr 3A.90,13f).

m. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25F).

n. AUG epist. 130,12,22 (PL 33,502; CSEL 44,65,1-2).

o. Vide infra, L10, 390,5-392,7.
p. Vide infra, L3, 211,5-212,3.

q. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 24F; cf. PL 114,100b).

r. AUG de serm. dom. 2,4,15 (PL 34,1275-1276; CChr 35.105,314-317).

s. Gal. 4,6.

t. Cf. THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Marietti, 103a).

u. I Ioh. 4,19.

v. Cf. THOMAS In Matth. 584 (ed. Marietti, 90b).

w. AUG de serm. dom. 2,3,14 (PL 34,1275; CChr 35.104,286-288).

x. Cf. THOMAS STh II/II q 83 art 9 ad 5 (ed. Marietti, 396a).

y. AUG de serm. dom. 2,4,16 (PL 34,1276; CChr 35.106,342-343).

z. CHRYSTOST. hom. in Matth. 20; THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Marietti, 103a-b).

aa. Cf. THOMAS STh II/II q 1 art 8 resp. (ed. Marietti, 11a).

bb. Deut. 32,6.

cc. Is. 63,16.

dd. lac. 1,18.

ee. Gal. 4,7.

ff. Rom. 8,17.


hh. AUG c.Maximin. 2,14,7 (PL 42,774); cf. AUG in evag. Ioh. 20,4 (PL 35,1558; CChr 36.205,13-14); Lombardus 1 Sent. dist. 5 cap. 1.

ii. Ioh. 8,49.

jj. Cf. Lombardus 3 Sent. dist. 1, cap. 3.

kk. Luc. 11,13.
II. Ioh. 20,17.

mm. Cf. THOMAS In Matth 584 (ed. Marietti, 91a); Ambrosius De sacramentis 5,4 (PL 16,470); Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 24F).

nn. CYPR domin. orat. 8 (CChr 3A.93,101-111).

oo. PS.CHRYSOST. In Matth. 14 (PG 56,711).

pp. AUG de serm. dom. 2,4,16 (PL 34,1276; CChr 35.107,358-362).

qq. Matth. 23,8.

rr. CHRYSTOST hom. in Matth. 19,4 (PG 57,278).

ss. Dan. 3,39.

tt. Ps. 50,19.
Lectio Secunda

*Qui es in caelis.* Hoc¹ excitatur² in³ nobis fiducia petendi ex eo quod ipse, quem oramus⁴, est potens dare⁵ quod petimus⁶. Tanguntur autem hic tria quae ad potentiam pertinet et excellentiam, videlicet infinitas, aeternitas, et maiestas, quae tria sunt omnibus⁷ tribus personis communia, nec alicui alteri a Deo attribui possibilia. Propter quod istis verbis⁸, 'qui es in celis', magis⁹ proprie nominamus deum¹⁰ quam praedictis¹¹, scilicet 'pater noster', quia cum dicimus 'pater noster' nominamus eum per comparationem¹² ad nos; cum vero dicimus, 'qui es in caelis', nominamus

---

1 hoc] ubi ostendi quod M hic L  
2 excitatur] datur S  
3 in] om. S  
4 oramus] petimus et oramus L  
5 dare] nobis add. L  
6 quod petimus] om. M  
7 omnibus] om. L  
8 istis verbis] ista verba L  
9 magis] om. L  
10 deum] om. M  
11 praedictis] praedicta L  
12 comparationem] operationem L
eum per considerationem in se. Infinitas tangitur in eo quod dicitur 'qui', quod secundum grammaticos est nomen infinitum; aeternitas notatur cum dicitur 'es', quod secundum grammaticos est verbum substantivum significatione praesens, consignificatione primum resolutione, quia in ipsum omnia alia verba resoluntur, quae tria aeternitati congruunt. Illud enim est vere aeternum, quod per seipsum subsistit a nullo dependens, quod semper praesens

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13 eum ipsum S
14 considerationem eius add. L
15 substantivum sonacium B subjectum L
16 praesens praesentis L
17 consignificatione in significatione L
18 primum resolutione om. L
19 ipsum ipso L
20 verba om. L
21 resoluntur resolventur L
22 illud ille S
23 aeternum aeternus S
24 quod qui S
25 per seipsum subsistit a nullo dependens a nullo dependet sed per seipsum subsistit L
26 quod et L
incommunicabiliter\textsuperscript{27} persistit\textsuperscript{28} et quo\textsuperscript{29} nihil prius\textsuperscript{30} existit\textsuperscript{31}. Maiestas
notatur\textsuperscript{32} cum additur\textsuperscript{33}, 'in caelis', quae\textsuperscript{34} sunt corpora virtute\textsuperscript{35} et\textsuperscript{36} potentissima.

De primis duobus simul--et\textsuperscript{37} est sciendum quod istae duae\textsuperscript{38} dictiones, 'qui es' simul acceptae congruentissime deo--conveniunt in tantum quod per eas\textsuperscript{39} deus, qui innominabilis est, quasi\textsuperscript{40} proprio nomine explicatur. Unde Exodi tertio\textsuperscript{41}, cum
Moyses quaereret de nomine dei: Si quaerunt, inquit, \emph{quod est nomen eius} qui misit

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} incommunicabiliter\textsuperscript{]} immutabiliter L
\item \textsuperscript{28} persistit\textsuperscript{]} existit M
\item \textsuperscript{29} quo\textsuperscript{]} om. M
\item \textsuperscript{30} nihil prius\textsuperscript{]} nihil habet prius se M
\item \textsuperscript{31} existit\textsuperscript{]} om. M
\item \textsuperscript{32} notatur\textsuperscript{]} vocatur M
\item \textsuperscript{33} cum additur\textsuperscript{]} in hoc quod dicitur S
\item \textsuperscript{34} quae\textsuperscript{]} caeli enim L
\item \textsuperscript{35} virtute\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{36} et\textsuperscript{]} om. SL
\item \textsuperscript{37} et\textsuperscript{]} om. SL
\item \textsuperscript{38} duae\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{39} eas\textsuperscript{]} hoc L
\item \textsuperscript{40} quasi\textsuperscript{]} om. S
\item \textsuperscript{41} tertio\textsuperscript{]} 13 BM
\end{itemize}
te, *quid dicam?* Respondit dominus: *sic, inquit, dices filiis Israel, qui est misit me,*

et congruentissime, ut ipse, qui est infinitae essentiae et aeternae subsistentiae nomine infinito et verbo substantivo explicetur, propter quod Damascenus libro 2 capitolo 12: "Quod hoc nomen, 'qui es', est quaedam substantiae pelagus infinitum." Et hoc pulchre declarat beatus Bernardus in libro De consideratione ad Eugenium dicens: "Merito deus per 'qui es' exprimitur. Nil revera competentius aeternitati, quae deus est. Si enim iustum, bonum, pulchrum vel quidquid tale dixeris in hoc verbo restauratur 'qui es'. Nempe hoc est ei esse quod haec omnia esse, etsi centum talia addideris ab esse non recessisti, si ea dixeris, nihil addidisti, si non dixeris nihil minuisti."
Dubitaret autem [52] hic [53] aliquis [54], utrum hoc nomen, 'qui es', possit [55] convenire proprie cuilibet [56] divinarum personarum. Et [57] videtur quod non, quia secundum praedicta hoc nomen [58] non convenit nisi ei, qui per seipsum subsistit [59], non dependens ab aliquo, nec habens aliud [60] prius se. Sed hoc solum videtur [61] convenire patri, qui solus a nullo est [62], non habens aliud prius [63] se; aliae autem personae prius [64] sunt ab eo et ipse eis [65] prior est, ergo etc.

In contrarium est quod [66] dictum est supra, quod haec oratio ad totam

52 autem] om. L  
53 hic] om. S  
54 aliquis] quis S  
55 possit] posset L  
56 cuilibet] quilibet L  
57 et] om. L  
58 nomen] om. L  
59 subsistit] existit B  
60 aliud] aliquid L  
61 videtur] videntur B  
62 est] om. S  
63 prius] om. M  
64 prius] om. SL  
65 eis] omnium L  
66 quod] quia S ut L
trinitatem dirigitur, quare etc.

Dicendum quod hoc nomen 'qui es' convenit omnibus tribus personis simul generaliter et singulae personae singulariter. Primum patet quod cum in essentia divina nulla sit distinctio realis et hoc nomen significet essentiam quod de se patet; planum est quod convenit simul omnibus tribus. Secundum etiam patet, nam quaelibet persona per seipsum subsistit, quia dicitur Iohannis 5: *Sicut enim pater habet vitam in semetipso, sic dedit et filio vitam habere in semetipso,* et similiter de spiritu sancto. Et sicut de vita, ita eadem ratione est de esse. Quaelibet ergo persona habet esse in seipsa et per seipsam. Unde nulla earum

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67 quod] quia SL
68 nomen] qui es add. L
69 significet] significat L
70 tribus] personis add. L
71 etiam] om. L
72 nam] cum add. S
73 seipsum] se L
74 et] om. L
75 sicut] dicitur add. L
76 ita] sic S
77 est] om. M
dependet ab alia, licet una sit ab alia\textsuperscript{78}. Aliud est enim 'dependere ab alio' et aliud\textsuperscript{79} 'esse ab alio', quia 'dependere' dici\textsuperscript{80} imperfectionem; esse autem ab alio notat originis\textsuperscript{81} nomen\textsuperscript{82}. Nulla quidem\textsuperscript{83} personarum habet aliud prius se, licet bene\textsuperscript{84} habeat\textsuperscript{85} alium\textsuperscript{86} priorem se. Et nec illa est prioritas durationis qualis derogat aeternitati, sed est\textsuperscript{87} prioritas originis, quae non repugnat coaeternis et coaevis, ut patet in exemplo de sole et de\textsuperscript{88} eius\textsuperscript{89} splendore, de pede in pulvere et vestigio secundum Augustinum,\textsuperscript{8} et per ista patet solutio\textsuperscript{90} ad objectum.

Tertium pertinens ad potentiam et excellentiam est maiestas, quae notatur in\textsuperscript{91}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{78} licet una sit ab alia] om. M
\item \textsuperscript{79} aliud] est add. S
\item \textsuperscript{80} dici] signat S ostendit L
\item \textsuperscript{81} originis] originem L
\item \textsuperscript{82} nomen] rationalem M relationem S relationis L
\item \textsuperscript{83} quidem] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{84} bene] enim L
\item \textsuperscript{85} habeat] habent L
\item \textsuperscript{86} alium] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{87} prioritas durationis...sed est] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{88} de] ex L
\item \textsuperscript{89} eius] om. S
\item \textsuperscript{90} solutio] responsio S
\item \textsuperscript{91} in] per S
\end{itemize}
hoc quod dicit\textsuperscript{92} 'in caelis'. Possimus autem\textsuperscript{93} hic per 'caelos' intelligere vel caelos corporales--corpora scilicet\textsuperscript{94} supercaelestia--vel caelos spirituales--animas scilicet sanctas--vel etiam caelos\textsuperscript{95} aeternae beatitudinis. Primo modo accipiendo hic\textsuperscript{96} 'caelos', statim cadit\textsuperscript{97} dubium, quia\textsuperscript{98} et qualiter deus dicatur esse 'in caelis' potius quam in aliis locis, cum tamen\textsuperscript{99} deus sit ubique, et non clauditur\textsuperscript{100} aliquo loco.

Ad hoc dicendum quod deus dicitur esse 'in caelis' non quod localiter ibi moretur, quia ut dicit Augustinus: "Deus non spatio locorum continetur, si enim in caelis locus esse dei\textsuperscript{101} credatur melioris\textsuperscript{102} meriti\textsuperscript{103} sunt aves, quorum\textsuperscript{104} vita

\textsuperscript{92} dicit\textsuperscript{92} dicitur SL
\textsuperscript{93} autem\textsuperscript{93} enim L
\textsuperscript{94} scilicet\textsuperscript{94} id est L
\textsuperscript{95} caelos\textsuperscript{95} supernaturales add. S
\textsuperscript{96} hic\textsuperscript{96} om. S
\textsuperscript{97} cadit\textsuperscript{97} hic add. L
\textsuperscript{98} quia\textsuperscript{98} quare SL
\textsuperscript{99} cum tamen\textsuperscript{99} et cum L
\textsuperscript{100} clauditur\textsuperscript{100} clauditur L
\textsuperscript{101} dei\textsuperscript{101} om. L
\textsuperscript{102} melioris\textsuperscript{102} meliores L
\textsuperscript{103} meriti\textsuperscript{103} merito L
est deo vicinior. \textsuperscript{105} Dicitur tamen potius esse in caelis quam in aliis locis propter quinque rationes\textsuperscript{106}. Primo\textsuperscript{107}, quia in eis magis relucet maestas divinae operationis. Secundo\textsuperscript{108}, propter rudes homines, quia secundum Augustinum: "convenit ut omnium sensibus, tam magnorum quam parvulorum bene sensiatur\textsuperscript{110} de eo\textsuperscript{111}. Et ideo qui nondum possunt aliquid incorporeum cogitare, tollerabilior est eorum opinio, si deum in caelis potius esse credant quam in terra."i Tertio\textsuperscript{115}, ut innuat quod caelestis pater caelestes vult

\textsuperscript{104} quorum] quorum L
\textsuperscript{105} tamen] deus add. S
\textsuperscript{106} rationes] om. M
\textsuperscript{107} primo] prima est S
\textsuperscript{108} secundo] secunda S
\textsuperscript{109} tam] quam S
\textsuperscript{110} sensiatur] sensantur L
\textsuperscript{111} eo] deo SL
\textsuperscript{112} nondum] bene add. S non L
\textsuperscript{113} aliquid] aliquomodo L
\textsuperscript{114} credant] credunt S
\textsuperscript{115} tertio] tertia S
\textsuperscript{116} ut] hic L
\textsuperscript{117} innuat] innuitur L
habere filios. Unde dicit Chrysostomus: "erubesceant se terrenis rebus substernere\textsuperscript{118}, qui patrem habent in caelis."\textsuperscript{r} Quarto\textsuperscript{119}, ut orantes cælestia petamus; unde Chrysostomus in homelia\textsuperscript{120}, "in caelis deum esse dicit non illic\textsuperscript{121} eum concludens\textsuperscript{122} sed a terra abducens mentem orantis et cælestibus affigens."\textsuperscript{k} Quinto\textsuperscript{123}, ut hereditatem nostram in caelis\textsuperscript{124} quaeramus. Unde Cassianus in Collationibus Patrum: "ad illam," inquit, "regionem in quam\textsuperscript{125} patrem nostrem morari fatemur, summo desiderio properemus."\textsuperscript{l} Propter prædictas etiam rationes "orantes ad orientem nos\textsuperscript{126} convertimus\textsuperscript{127}, unde cælum surgit,"\textsuperscript{m} secundum Augustinum\textsuperscript{128}. Dicamus ergo:

\[
pelagus infinitatis;
\]

\textsuperscript{118} substernere\textsuperscript{]} subiicere add. S subsistere L
\textsuperscript{119} quarto\textsuperscript{]} quarta S
\textsuperscript{120} in homelia\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{121} illic\textsuperscript{]} illuc L
\textsuperscript{122} concludens\textsuperscript{]} includens S
\textsuperscript{123} quinto\textsuperscript{]} quinta S
\textsuperscript{124} caelis\textsuperscript{]} caelo L
\textsuperscript{125} quam\textsuperscript{]} qua SL
\textsuperscript{126} nos\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{127} convertimus\textsuperscript{]} convertimur L
\textsuperscript{128} secundum Augustinum\textsuperscript{]} om. L
Qui es in caelis speculum\textsuperscript{129} aeternitatis; speculum\textsuperscript{130} maiestatis.

Potest etiam illud\textsuperscript{131} secundo\textsuperscript{132} exponi de caelis spiritualibus, id est\textsuperscript{133} sanctis\textsuperscript{134}, de quibus caelis\textsuperscript{135} dicitur in Psalmo: \textit{Caeli enarrant gloriam dei}\textsuperscript{136}.

Dicuntur autem veri\textsuperscript{137} sancti\textsuperscript{138} caeli propter tria: propter\textsuperscript{139} spiritualis ornatus pulchritudinem et sponsitatem\textsuperscript{140}; propter\textsuperscript{141} caelestis conversationis celsitudinem et puritatem; propter\textsuperscript{142} divinae inhabitationis sanctitudinem et dignitatem. Primum

\textsuperscript{129} saeculum\textsuperscript{]} speculum ML
\textsuperscript{130} speculum\textsuperscript{]} excellentia L
\textsuperscript{131} illud\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{132} secundo\textsuperscript{]} om. LM
\textsuperscript{133} id est\textsuperscript{]} et de L
\textsuperscript{134} sanctis\textsuperscript{]} veris add. M viris SL
\textsuperscript{135} celis\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{136} dei\textsuperscript{]} et cetera add. S
\textsuperscript{137} veri\textsuperscript{]} viri SL
\textsuperscript{138} sancti\textsuperscript{]} om. S
\textsuperscript{139} propter\textsuperscript{]} primo propter S
\textsuperscript{140} sponsitatem\textsuperscript{]} speciositatem ML
\textsuperscript{141} propter\textsuperscript{]} secundo propter S om. L
\textsuperscript{142} propter\textsuperscript{]} tertio propter S om. L
patet, quia sicut\textsuperscript{143} caelum corporale\textsuperscript{144} est ornatum sole\textsuperscript{145}, luna et stellis\textsuperscript{146},
sic\textsuperscript{147} illud. Unde\textsuperscript{148} Bernardus\textsuperscript{9} super\textsuperscript{149} Cantica sermone 28: in caelo, inquit,
spirituali puta\textsuperscript{150} anima sancta sol est intellectus, luna fides, stellae virtutes, et sicut
stellae\textsuperscript{151} in nocte lucent\textsuperscript{152} in die latent\textsuperscript{153}, sic vera virtus, quae in prosperis non
apparet\textsuperscript{154}, eminet in adversis. Secundum\textsuperscript{155} patet per Augustinum in libro De
sermone domini in monte ubi dicit quod\textsuperscript{156} "tantum spiritualiter interesse videtur
inter iustos et peccatores, quantum corporaliter inter caelum et terram."\textsuperscript{p} Et hoc

\begin{footnotes}
  \item[143]\textit{quia sicut} om. L
  \item[144]\textit{corporale} corporeum L
  \item[145]\textit{sole} et add. S
  \item[146]\textit{stellis} stella L
  \item[147]\textit{sic} sicut L
  \item[148]\textit{unde} om. L
  \item[149]\textit{super} om. L
  \item[150]\textit{puta} scilicet S in add. L
  \item[151]\textit{stellae} stella L
  \item[152]\textit{luent} lucet L et add. L
  \item[153]\textit{latent} latet L
  \item[154]\textit{apparet} sed add. L
  \item[155]\textit{secundum} om. L
  \item[156]\textit{quod} qui L
\end{footnotes}
accidit ex diversitate affectuum, nam affectus iusti est\textsuperscript{157} circa caelestia\textsuperscript{158}, iuxta illud Philippiensium tertio\textsuperscript{159}: \textit{Nostra conversatio in caelis est};\textsuperscript{9} peccatorum\textsuperscript{160} autem affectus circa terrena versatur, de quibus dicitur in Psalmo\textsuperscript{161}: \textit{oculos suos statuerunt declinare in terram}.\textsuperscript{f} De tertio\textsuperscript{162} patet, quia anima iusti sedes est sapientiae, sedes autem dei caelum dicitur, iuxta illud Isaiae 26\textsuperscript{163}: caelum mihi sedes est. "Nec mirum," ut dicit Bernardus ubi supra, "si libenter inhabitata\textsuperscript{164} celum, hoc dominus Ihesus, quod\textsuperscript{165} utique\textsuperscript{166}, non quomodo caeteros\textsuperscript{167}, dixit tantum\textsuperscript{168} ut fieret\textsuperscript{169}, sed pugnavit ut acquireret, occubuit ut redimeret. Ideo post

\textsuperscript{157} iusti est\textsuperscript{]} in se L
\textsuperscript{158} caelestia\textsuperscript{]} versatur add. L
\textsuperscript{159} 3\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{160} peccatorum\textsuperscript{]} peccatori L
\textsuperscript{161} de quibus dicitur in Psalmo\textsuperscript{]} iuxta illud Psalmi L
\textsuperscript{162} de tertio\textsuperscript{]} et L
\textsuperscript{163} 26\textsuperscript{]} 6 B
\textsuperscript{164} inhabitat\textsuperscript{]} inhabitet L
\textsuperscript{165} quod\textsuperscript{]} qui S
\textsuperscript{166} Ihesus quod utique\textsuperscript{]} habet utique spirituali modo iustos M
\textsuperscript{167} ceteros\textsuperscript{]} ceteris L
\textsuperscript{168} tantum\textsuperscript{]} enim L
\textsuperscript{169} fieret\textsuperscript{]} fieren L
laborem voto potitus\textsuperscript{170} ait: \textit{haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi, hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam}\textsuperscript{171}. O beata illa anima, cui dicitur, 'veni electa mea\textsuperscript{172} et ponam in te thronum meum.'\textsuperscript{173} Ut autem anima\textsuperscript{173} semper magis et\textsuperscript{174} magis sit capax dei, oportet eam per gratiam et caritatem\textsuperscript{175} extendi et dilatari, dicente Apostolo 2 Corinthiorum quinto\textsuperscript{176}: dilatamini in caritate.\textsuperscript{177} De hac dilectione\textsuperscript{177} et extensione dicitur in Psalmo: \textit{extendens caelum sicut pellem},\textsuperscript{178} quod verbum perttractans Bernardus\textsuperscript{178} ubi\textsuperscript{178} supra dicit\textsuperscript{179} pellis cum ungitur dilatatur sic anima misericordia dei ungitur\textsuperscript{180} et gratia dilatatur, dilatatur autem non in substantia, sed in virtute quo etiam modo \textit{crescit in templum sanctum in domino}, Ephesiorum

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{170} potitus] petitus L
\textsuperscript{171} hic habitabo...eam] om. L
\textsuperscript{172} mea] om. L
\textsuperscript{173} anima] om. L
\textsuperscript{174} et] ac L
\textsuperscript{175} caritatem] claritatem L
\textsuperscript{176} 2 Corinthiorum quinto] om. L
\textsuperscript{177} dilectione] dilatatione L
\textsuperscript{178} ubi] om. L
\textsuperscript{179} dicit] om. L
\textsuperscript{180} ungitur] dirigitur S
\end{footnotesize}
secundo\textsuperscript{181}. \textit{x} In istis caelis, scilicet sanctis animabus\textsuperscript{182}, deus tria operatur.

Accepta sunt\textsuperscript{183} tria, quae videmus in caelis corporalibus, in quibus maxime maestas divinae operationis relucet.

\begin{itemize}
  \item in lumine claritatem;
  \item Habent enim caeli in motu regularitatem;
  \item in virtute caliditatem.
\end{itemize}

His\textsuperscript{184} correspondent\textsuperscript{185} in\textsuperscript{186} sanctis\textsuperscript{187}: deus\textsuperscript{188} illuminat intellectum, removendo errorem; regulat affectum, ordinando amorem; attendit\textsuperscript{189} ad\textsuperscript{190} profectum\textsuperscript{191}, ministrando vigorem.

\textsuperscript{181} Ephesiorum secundo\textsuperscript{L} om. L
\textsuperscript{182} animabus\textsuperscript{M} om. M
\textsuperscript{183} sunt\textsuperscript{S} secundum S
\textsuperscript{184} his\textsuperscript{L} hic L
\textsuperscript{185} correspondent\textsuperscript{M} alia tria add.
\textsuperscript{186} in\textsuperscript{L} de L
\textsuperscript{187} sanctis\textsuperscript{S} tria quae operatur deus in eis add.
\textsuperscript{188} deus\textsuperscript{S} enim add.
\textsuperscript{189} attendit\textsuperscript{M} influit
\textsuperscript{190} ad\textsuperscript{BL} om.
\textsuperscript{191} profectum\textsuperscript{B} affectum
De primo, Psalmi: Quoniam tu illuminat lumen\textsuperscript{192},\textit{y} id est intellectum meum, domine etc\textsuperscript{193}. De secundo, Canticorum secundo\textsuperscript{194}: \textit{Ordinavit in me caritatem},\textit{z} quae quidem ordinatio in hoc attenditur\textsuperscript{195} ut diligantur\textsuperscript{196} diligenda\textsuperscript{197}, et\textsuperscript{198} eo ordine, quo diligenda sunt. Et\textsuperscript{199} per hoc omnes motus affectionum\textsuperscript{200} nostrarum regulariter ordinantur. De tertio, Psalmi: \textit{Et enim caeli distillatorunt a facie dei Synay; a facie dei Israel}.\textsuperscript{aa} Isti caeli sunt sancti, qui distillant diffundendo opera caritatis, quae quidem diffusio convenienter\textsuperscript{202} dicitur distillatio; 'distillare' enim est guttatim stillas diffundere. Sic est in profectione\textsuperscript{203}

\textsuperscript{192} lumen\] lucernam meam SL
\textsuperscript{193} etc\] om. SL
\textsuperscript{194} secundo\] om. L
\textsuperscript{195} attenditur\] attendi L sic add. L
\textsuperscript{196} diligantur\] diligatur L
\textsuperscript{197} diligenda\] diligendo L
\textsuperscript{198} et\] om. L
\textsuperscript{199} et\] etiam S
\textsuperscript{200} affectionum\] affectuum S
\textsuperscript{201} a facie dei\] et L
\textsuperscript{202} conveniunt\] apte S
\textsuperscript{203} profectione\] profectione L
spirituali, quo paulatim et quasi²⁰⁴ guttatim de una virtute ad aliam proceditur. Nemo enim repente fit summus²⁰⁵ et cum quis²⁰⁶ omnes virtutes, quasi iam perfectus habuerit, diffundat stillam cuiuslibet virtutis per operis exercitium secundum oportunitatem temporis, ut nunc distillat murram amaritudinis per carnis mortificationem, secundum illud Canticorum quinto: *Manus meae distillaverunt murram*, bb nunc distillant²⁰⁷ favum dulcedinis per doctrinam et contemplationem, iuxta illud Canticorum quarto²⁰⁸: *favus distillans labia tua.* cc Et sic discurrendo per singulas virtutes quaelibet virtus stillam sui²⁰⁹ actus²¹⁰ suo tempore diffundat. Haec autem distillatio est a facie dei Sinai et²¹¹ Israel. Sinai interpretatur 'mandatum meum' et significat²¹² activam vitam²¹³, quae consistit in

²⁰⁴ quasi] om. S
²⁰⁵ summus] perfectionis add. M
²⁰⁶ quis] quidem L
²⁰⁷ distillant] distillat L
²⁰⁸ quarto] octavo L
²⁰⁹ sui] suam M
²¹⁰ actus] om. M
²¹¹ et] om. L
²¹² significat] signat L
²¹³ vitam] om. M
mandatorum\textsuperscript{214} dei observationem\textsuperscript{215}; Israel, quod\textsuperscript{216} interpretatur 'videns deum', significat\textsuperscript{218} contemplativam vitam; utraque enim vita a facie dei est, a qua\textsuperscript{219} omnis nostra distillatio\textsuperscript{220} sumit meritum\textsuperscript{221} et profectum. Dicamus ergo:

Illuminans intellectum;

Qui es in caelis\textsuperscript{222} ordinans affectum;

accedens ad profectum\textsuperscript{223}.

Tertio hic\textsuperscript{224} potest exponi de caelis beatitudinis aeternae, ex quorum consideratione maxime\textsuperscript{225} mens ad orandum excitatur. Proponitur ergo\textsuperscript{226} in hac

\textsuperscript{214} mandatorum\textsuperscript{\textdagger} mandatis L
\textsuperscript{215} observationem\textsuperscript{\textdagger} observatione L
\textsuperscript{216} quod\textsuperscript{\textdagger} quidem S om. L
\textsuperscript{217} videns deum\textsuperscript{\textdagger} princeps cum deo videns deum et S
\textsuperscript{218} significat\textsuperscript{\textdagger} et signat L
\textsuperscript{219} qua\textsuperscript{\textdagger} quo S
\textsuperscript{220} distillatio\textsuperscript{\textdagger} nostra add. S
\textsuperscript{221} meritum\textsuperscript{\textdagger} initium L
\textsuperscript{222} caelis\textsuperscript{\textdagger} scilicet sanctis add. M
\textsuperscript{223} accedens ad profectum\textsuperscript{\textdagger} conservens meritum et profectum M
\textsuperscript{224} hic\textsuperscript{\textdagger} om. SL
\textsuperscript{225} maxime\textsuperscript{\textdagger} est add. B
\textsuperscript{226} ergo\textsuperscript{\textdagger} autem S
exordiali particula deus esse\textsuperscript{227} in caelis, ut ad illud\textsuperscript{228} perveniendum\textsuperscript{229} tamquam ad patriam tota nostra figatur intentio, ubi patrem nostrum morari\textsuperscript{230} memoramur, ut dicit Cassianus\textsuperscript{4d} ubi supra\textsuperscript{231}. Dicitur autem\textsuperscript{232} 'in caelis' pluraliter propter distinctiones\textsuperscript{233} premiorum, iuxta illud, Iohannis 14\textsuperscript{234}: \textit{In domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt}\textsuperscript{235}. In his caelis deus dicitur esse:

objectum nostrae felicitatis;

tamquam gaudium aeternae iocunditatis;

thesaurus plene satietatis.

Secundum haec tria anima beata secundum omne sui\textsuperscript{236} perfectibile perfectetur.

Sunt enim tres precipue perfectiones\textsuperscript{237} beatorum\textsuperscript{238}: visio inobfuscabilis, quae

\textsuperscript{227} esse]\ est L
\textsuperscript{228} illud]\ aliud L
\textsuperscript{229} perveniendum]\ perveniens L
\textsuperscript{230} morari]\ om. B
\textsuperscript{231} ubi supra]\ om. L
\textsuperscript{232} autem]\ om. L
\textsuperscript{233} distinctiones]\ distinctionem S
\textsuperscript{234} 14]\ duodevicesimo L
\textsuperscript{235} sunt]\ et cetera add. L
\textsuperscript{236} sui]\ sue L
\textsuperscript{237} perfectiones]\ scilicet add. S
succedit fidei et perficit rationalem; tentio\textsuperscript{239} inamissibilis, quae succedit spei et perficit irascibilem; fruitio\textsuperscript{240} infastidibilis\textsuperscript{241}, quae respondet caritati et satiat concupiscientialem. De primo, Iob 23\textsuperscript{242}: \textit{Quis mihi det\textsuperscript{243} ut cognoscam et inveniam illum et veniam usque ad solium eius?\textsuperscript{244}} Hanc etiam perfectionem petiit Moyses cum dicebat, Deuteronomii 33: \textit{Ostende mihi gloriam tuam, cui respondit dominus}\textsuperscript{244}: \textit{Ego ostendam tibi omne bonum.\textsuperscript{48}} Haec\textsuperscript{245} est perfectio rationalis, Psalmi: \textit{sicut audivimus, sic vidimus etc}\textsuperscript{246}.\textsuperscript{hh}

De secundo, Exodi 15: \textit{Introduces eos et plantabis in monte\textsuperscript{247} hereditatis tuae etc}\textsuperscript{248}.\textsuperscript{ii} 'Introduces' inquam praesentialiter, quantum ad spei successionem, quae est futurorum, et plantabis inamissibiliter quantum ad firmam et securam

\textsuperscript{238} sunt enim...beatorum] om. L
\textsuperscript{239} tentatio] secunda est tentatio S
\textsuperscript{240} fruitio] tertia est fruitio S
\textsuperscript{241} infastidibilis] stabilis L
\textsuperscript{242} 23] 33 S
\textsuperscript{243} det] dat SL
\textsuperscript{244} dominus] om. M
\textsuperscript{245} haec] hoc L
\textsuperscript{246} etc] in civitate dei nostri in monte sancto eius L
\textsuperscript{247} monte] sancto add. L
\textsuperscript{248} etc] om. L
tentionem. Unde Augustinus ultimo De civitate dei: "Ibi vacabimus et videbimus, videbimus et amabimus, amabimus et laudabimus. Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine, nam quis alius noster est finis nisi venire ad regnum eius nullus est finis?"

De tertio, Psalmi: Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua. Haec satietas est infastidibilis, quia ut dicit Augustinus tertio libro De libero arbitrio, capitolo 42: "Tanta est iocunditas lucis aeternae, ut si etiam non liceret in ea amplius manere quam unius diei mora, propter hoc solum innumerabiles huius

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249 quantum ad firmam...tentionem] om. M
250 vacabimus] vocabimus S
251 videbimus et amabimus] om. S
252 quod] om. L
253 fine] quod erit add. L
254 regnum] illum L
255 eius] cui L
256 infastidibilis] ineffabilis L
257 42] duodevicesimo L
258 ea] eo L
259 manere] immorari L
260 quam] nisi S
261 innumerabiles] innumerabilis L
vitae dies pleni deliciis et circumfluentiae\textsuperscript{262} temporalium bonorum recte meritoque contemnerentur\textsuperscript{263}.

Dicamus ergo:

obietum nostrae felicitatis;

Qui es in caelis gaudium aeternae iocunditatis;

Thesaurus plene satietatis\textsuperscript{264}.

\textsuperscript{262} circumfluentia} influentia L

\textsuperscript{263} contemnerentur} contemserunt L et cetera add. L

\textsuperscript{264} dicamus ergo...satietatis} om. L
Sources


b. Cf. PRISC. II 414,13-16.


d. Johannes Damascenus De fide orthodoxa 1,9 (PG 94,836).

e. Bernardus De consideratione 5,6 (PL 182,795d-796a).

f. Ioh. 5,26.

g. PS.AUG de cog.ver.vit. 10 (PL 40,1013-1014); AUG civ. 10,31 (PL 41,311; CChr 47.309,13-18)

h. AUG de serm. dom. 2,5,17 (PL 34,1276-1277; CChr 35.107,365-370).

i. AUG de serm. dom. 2,5,18 (PL 34,1277; CChr 35.108,389-396).

j. PS.CHRYSTOST. In 14 (PG 56,711); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Marietti, 103b).

k. CHRYSTOST. hom. in Matth. 20; THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Marietti, 103b).

l. CASSIAN. Collationes patrum 19,18 (PL 49,789a); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Marietti, 103b).

m. AUG de serm. dom. 2,5,18 (PL 34,1277; CChr 35.108,383); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Marietti, 103b).

n. Ps. 18,2.

o. Cf. Bernardus Super Cant. 27,8 (PL 183,917c).

p. AUG de serm. dom. 2,5,17 (PL 34,1277; CChr 35.107,379-381); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Marietti, 103b).

q. Phil. 3,20.

r. Ps. 16,11.
s. Ps. 131,14.

t. Bernardus Super Cant. 27,5 (PL 183,918b).

u. Cf. II Cor. 6,13.

v. Ps. 103,2.


y. Cf. Ps. 135,5-7; Ps. 35,10.

z. Cant. 2,4.

aa. Ps. 67,9.

bb. Cant. 5,5.

cc. Cant. 4,11.

dd. Cf. CASSIAN. Collationes patrum 9,18 (PL 49,789a).

ee. Ioh. 14,2.

ff. Iob 23,3.

gg. Ex. 33,18-19.

hh. Ps. 47,9.

ii. Ex. 15,17.

jj. AUG civ. 22,30 (PL 41,804; CChr 48.866,145-148).

kk. Ps. 16,15.

ll. AUG lib. arb. 3,25,77 (PL 32,1308-1309; CChr 29.321,63-68).
Lectio Tertia

Sanctificetur nomen tuum. Posito exordio sequitur tractatus, in quo ordinantur petitiones, et habit vii partes secundum vii petitiones quae in hac oratione\(^1\) continentur; partes de se patent. Hic dubitari potest multiplicantur; primo de brevitate, quare haec oratio tam pausa verba complectatur\(^2\).

Ad quod\(^3\) dicendum, quod eius possunt assignari vii rationes: prima, ut citius addiscatur; secunda, ut melius retineatur; tertia, ut nullus de eius ignorantia excusetur; quarta ut frequentius dicatur; quinta, ut taedium in dicendo removeatur; sexta, ut fiducia inpetrandi\(^4\) cito tribuaturs; septima, ut in devotione mentis, non in\(^5\) multiplicatione verborum, virtus orationis esse ostendatur\(^6\). Praedictae rationes ex dictis diversorum sanctorum doctorum breviter sunt recollectae\(^7\), quorum auctoritates quaedam\(^8\) ponentur\(^9\) infra in fine operis\(^10\).

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1. oratione] conclusione B
2. complectatur] complectitur L
3. quod] hoc L
4. inpetrandi] inpetitior L
5. in] om. L
6. ostendatur] ostenditur L
7. recollectae] collecte M
8. quaedam] om. L
9. ponentur] ponuntur L
10. operis] operis L
Secundo, dubitur de dissensu vel diversitate Matthei et Lucae, nam Mattheus ponit septem petitiones, Lucas tantum quinque. Unde videtur quod vel iste sit superfluos, vel ille diminutus.

Ad hoc, quod Lucas easdem petitiones complexus est implicite, quas Mattheus ponit explicite. Tertiam enim petitionem scilicet 'fiat voluntas tua', quam Mattheus exprimit, Lucas sub duabus primis intelligit, quia scilicet ad hoc precipue dei voluntas tendit, ut eius sanctitatem cognoscamus et cum ipso regnemus. Similiter septima, quae est 'libera nos a malo', Lucas intelligit in praecedenti qua dicitur, 'ne nos inducas in temptationem'. In hoc enim aliquid liberatur a malo, quod non infertur in temptationem, et sic non est iste...
superflus\textsuperscript{22} nec ille diminutus, quia quod\textsuperscript{23} iste dicit explicite\textsuperscript{24}, ille intelligit implicite.\textsuperscript{c}

Tertio, dubitatur de numero, quare scilicet\textsuperscript{25} hae omnes petitiones sub\textsuperscript{26} septenario\textsuperscript{27} numero\textsuperscript{28} comprehenduntur\textsuperscript{29}.

Ad quod dicendum, quod quia septenarius numerus\textsuperscript{30} est numerus\textsuperscript{31} universitatis et quoniam universitas omnium recte desiderabilium in his petitionibus comprehenduntur\textsuperscript{32} secundum Augustinum\textsuperscript{d} Ad Probam et ponitur infra\textsuperscript{33} in fine post 'Amen', et patebit ex\textsuperscript{34} quaestione sequenti. Ideo, rationabiliter omnes

\textsuperscript{21} in hoc...in temptationem] om. S
\textsuperscript{22} superflus] om. B
\textsuperscript{23} quod] om. L
\textsuperscript{24} explicite] hoc add. S
\textsuperscript{25} scilicet] om. S
\textsuperscript{26} sub] om. M
\textsuperscript{27} septenario] septinarius M
\textsuperscript{28} numero] om. ML
\textsuperscript{29} comprehenduntur] comprehenduntur SL
\textsuperscript{30} numerus] om. ML
\textsuperscript{31} numerus] om. S
\textsuperscript{32} comprehenduntur] comprenditur S
\textsuperscript{33} infra] om. M
\textsuperscript{34} ex] in S
petitiones sub 35 septenario numero est 36 complexus, et propterea 37 quia per has 38 petitiones excluduntur vii vitia capitalia et introducuntur vii virtutes principales, vii dona 39 spiritus sancti, et 40 vii beatitudines, ut patebit de singulis prosequendo. Conveniens ergo fuit has petitiones sub septenario 41 comprehendi 42.

Quarto, dubitatur de ordine, quare sic ordinentur 43, cum enim prius sit 44 declinare a malo et 45 deinde facere bonum, et postea confirmari 46 in utroque, videtur hunc pervertere ordinem. 6

Dicendum ad hoc quod servat hic ordinem dignitatis. Dignius enim 47 est
bonum confirmatum, quod petitur\textsuperscript{48} in prima petitione; deinde est\textsuperscript{49} bonum\textsuperscript{50} simpliciter\textsuperscript{51}, quod\textsuperscript{52} respiciunt tres immediatae\textsuperscript{53} sequentes petitiones; ultimo vero est\textsuperscript{54} amotio mali, quod\textsuperscript{55} respiciunt ultimae tres petitiones.\textsuperscript{6}

Et quoniam, ut dictum est\textsuperscript{56} supra in prologo, haec preclara\textsuperscript{57} oratio est nobis forma et regula orandi informans nos et regulans--non solum quantum\textsuperscript{58} ad petenda, sed etiam quantum\textsuperscript{59} ad ordinem petendorum et desiderandorum--ideo convenienter hoc ordine petitiones sunt positae. Omnia enim quae hic petuntur eo ordine\textsuperscript{60} desideranda sunt quae\textsubscript{61} ponitur\textsuperscript{62}. "Primo, autem\textsuperscript{63} cadit in\textsuperscript{64}
desiderio\textsuperscript{62} finis, deinde ea\textsuperscript{64} quae sunt ad finem. Finis\textsuperscript{67} autem noster\textsuperscript{68} deus est, in quem noster affectus tendit dupliciter: uno quidem modo prout volumus gloriam deo\textsuperscript{69}; alio modo prout volumus frui gloria eius. Quorum\textsuperscript{70} primum pertinet ad dilectionem\textsuperscript{71}, qua\textsuperscript{72} deum in seipso diligimus; secundum\textsuperscript{73} vero pertinet ad dilectionem qua diligimus nos in deo; et ideo prima\textsuperscript{74} petitio\textsuperscript{75} ponitur 'sanctificetur nomen tuum', per quam petimus gloriam deo\textsuperscript{76}; secunda\textsuperscript{77} vero ponitur 'adveniat...
regnum tuum', per\textsuperscript{78} quam petimus nos\textsuperscript{79} ad gloriam\textsuperscript{80} regni\textsuperscript{81} eius pervenire\textsuperscript{82}.

Ad finem autem praedictum ordinat nos aliquid\textsuperscript{83} dupliciter: uno modo per se; alio modo per accidens. Per se quidem bonum quod est utile in finem. Est autem aliquid\textsuperscript{84} utile in finem\textsuperscript{85} beatitudinis\textsuperscript{86} dupliciter: uno modo\textsuperscript{87} directe et principaliter, secundum meritum quo beatitudinem mereimur deo obediendo, et quantum ad hoc ponitur 'fiat voluntas tua'; alio modo instrumentaliter, et quasi\textsuperscript{88} coadiuvans nos ad merendum\textsuperscript{89}, et ad hoc pertinet quod dicitur 'panem nostrem cottidianum'\textsuperscript{90}. Per accidens autem ordinamur\textsuperscript{91} in beatitudinem per remotionem

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{78} per\textsuperscript{L} secundum M
\item \textsuperscript{79} nos\textsuperscript{M} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{80} gloriam\textsuperscript{L} om. M
\item \textsuperscript{81} regni\textsuperscript{L} regnum M
\item \textsuperscript{82} pervenire\textsuperscript{S} venire L
\item \textsuperscript{83} aliquid\textsuperscript{L} deus M
\item \textsuperscript{84} aliquid\textsuperscript{L} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{85} utile in finem\textsuperscript{L} ad utilem finem L
\item \textsuperscript{86} beatitudinis\textsuperscript{M} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{87} beatitudinis…modo\textsuperscript{L} om. M
\item \textsuperscript{88} et quasi\textsuperscript{L} om. M
\item \textsuperscript{89} merendum\textsuperscript{L} meritum L
\item \textsuperscript{90} cottidianum\textsuperscript{L} et cetera L
\item \textsuperscript{91} ordinamur\textsuperscript{M} ordinatur M
\end{itemize}
prohibentis. Tria autem sunt, quae nos a beatitudine prohibent. Primo, quidem\textsuperscript{92} peccatum, quod directe nos prohibet et ad hoc pertinet quod dicitur 'dimitte nobis debita nostra'. Secundo, temptatio, quae nos impedit ab\textsuperscript{93} observantia\textsuperscript{94} divaine voluntatis, et ad hoc pertinet quod dicitur 'et ne nos inducas in temptationem\textsuperscript{95}'. Tertio, poenalitas praesens, quae impedit sufficientiam vitae et quantum ad hoc dicitur\textsuperscript{96} 'libera nos a malo'.\textsuperscript{98} Ex his patet ordinis congruentia et petitionum sufficientia et nichilominus totalis divisio harum petitionum in suas partes et sic patet ad objectum.

Prima ergo petitio est 'sanctificetur nomen tuum'. Circa quam prima facie dubitaret aliquis quia\textsuperscript{97} "vanum" videtur "petere illud quod semper\textsuperscript{98} est, sed nomen dei semper est sanctum, iuxta illud Lucae primo\textsuperscript{99}: \textit{Et sanctum nomen eius,\textsuperscript{98}} quare etc.

\textsuperscript{92} quidem]\ quodlibet M
\textsuperscript{93} ab]\ ad BSL
\textsuperscript{94} observantia]\ observantiam L
\textsuperscript{95} in temptationem]\ et cetera L
\textsuperscript{96} dicitur]\ sed add. SL
\textsuperscript{97} quia]\ in add. SL
\textsuperscript{98} semper]\ sanctum add. L
\textsuperscript{99} primo]\ tertio M
Respondeo sic\textsuperscript{100}: dicit Augustinus in\textsuperscript{101} libro\textsuperscript{102} De sermone domini in Monte: "Non hoc petitur quasi non sit sanctum nomen dei\textsuperscript{103}, sed ut sanctum ab hominibus habeatur.\textsuperscript{1} Unde haec locutio similis est illo\textsuperscript{104} in Psalmo: \textit{Notus in Iudea deus etiam\textsuperscript{105} Israel magnum nomen eius.}\textsuperscript{k} Non ideo nomen dei\textsuperscript{106} dicitur magnum in Israel\textsuperscript{107}, "quasi" intelligatur quod\textsuperscript{108} deus\textsuperscript{109} "alibi maior sit\textsuperscript{110} alibi\textsuperscript{111} minor, sed ibi nomen" dei dicitur "magnum, ubi" deus magnus agnoscitur. Similiter\textsuperscript{112} "ibi sanctum nomen" dei\textsuperscript{113} dicitur\textsuperscript{114}, "ubi" deus sanctus

\textsuperscript{100} sic\textsuperscript{]} sicut SM

\textsuperscript{101} in\textsuperscript{]} om. L

\textsuperscript{102} libro\textsuperscript{]} om. ML

\textsuperscript{103} dei\textsuperscript{]} domini L

\textsuperscript{104} illo\textsuperscript{]} illi L

\textsuperscript{105} etiam\textsuperscript{]} om. M in SL

\textsuperscript{106} eius\textsuperscript{]} dei S

\textsuperscript{107} non ideo...Israel\textsuperscript{]} om. L

\textsuperscript{108} quod\textsuperscript{]} om. S

\textsuperscript{109} deus\textsuperscript{]} om. M

\textsuperscript{110} sit\textsuperscript{]} esse S et add. SL

\textsuperscript{111} alibi\textsuperscript{]} esse add. S

\textsuperscript{112} similiter\textsuperscript{]} sicut L

\textsuperscript{113} dei\textsuperscript{]} om. L

\textsuperscript{114} dicitur\textsuperscript{]} esse add. S
agnoscitur\textsuperscript{115}. Sed dices\textsuperscript{116} ergo\textsuperscript{117} secundum hoc haec prima\textsuperscript{118} petitio non respicit\textsuperscript{119} gloriam dei in se, sed per respectum ad nos quod est contradicta\textsuperscript{120}, dicendum quod haec\textsuperscript{121} idem, quod est nomen dei sanctum agnoscere "pertinet ad gloriam dei in hominibus propagandam\textsuperscript{122}, sic quod gloriam dei petimus\textsuperscript{123} in nobis non principaliter\textsuperscript{124} propter nostram utilitatem, sed in hoc attendimus principaliter gloriad dei. Unde Chrysostomus in\textsuperscript{125} homelia: "sanctificetur\textsuperscript{126} hoc idem est quod glorificetur, ac si\textsuperscript{127} dicat, ita\textsuperscript{128} fac nos pure\textsuperscript{129} vivere\textsuperscript{130}, ut

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{115} similiter...agnoscitur\textsuperscript{115} om. M
\item \textsuperscript{116} dices\textsuperscript{116} diceres S
\item \textsuperscript{117} ergo\textsuperscript{117} om. S
\item \textsuperscript{118} prima\textsuperscript{118} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{119} respicit\textsuperscript{119} recipit M
\item \textsuperscript{120} contradicta\textsuperscript{120} contra predicta S
\item \textsuperscript{121} hec\textsuperscript{121} hoc L
\item \textsuperscript{122} propagandam\textsuperscript{122} propagandum L
\item \textsuperscript{123} petimus\textsuperscript{123} peterimus B
\item \textsuperscript{124} principaliter\textsuperscript{124} sed add. B
\item \textsuperscript{125} in\textsuperscript{125} una add. S
\item \textsuperscript{126} sanctificetur\textsuperscript{126} nomen tuum add. B
\item \textsuperscript{127} ac si\textsuperscript{127} quasi L
\item \textsuperscript{128} ita\textsuperscript{128} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{129} pure\textsuperscript{129} om. SL
\end{itemize}
per nos universi te glorificant."

Est autem notandum quod nomen dei tribus modis accipitur ad praesens, cui correspondet triplex sanctificatio sumpta ex triplici ethymologia sanctitatis. Primo modo, dicitur 'nomen dei' mysterium nostrae redemptionis, et sic sumitur Isaiae 9:132: *vocabitur* nomen eius admirabilis, consiliarius, deus fortis, pater futuri saeculi, princeps pacis. 'Admirabilis' in incarnacione, quae erat omnium mirabiliorum mirabilissimum; 'consiliarius' in praedicatione; 'deus' in miraculorum operatione; 'fortis' in passione; 'pater futuri saeculi' in resurrectione; 'princeps pacis' in ascensione. Ista ergo sacramentalis complexio nostrae redemptionis vocatur nomen. Hoc nomen in nobis sanctificari
petimus, ut fructum redemptionis\textsuperscript{141} in nobis\textsuperscript{142} sentiamus, ut sic vere\textsuperscript{143} simus sancti, quasi sanguine tincti.\textsuperscript{9} Quales sunt illi de quibus dicitur, Apocalypsis 7: \textit{Isti sunt qui venerunt ex magna tribulatione et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni}\textsuperscript{144}.\textsuperscript{9}

Et Apocalypsis primo: \textit{Lavit nos in sanguine suo a peccatis nostris.}\textsuperscript{7} Et sic est sensus\textsuperscript{145} 'sanctificetur nomen tuum', id est\textsuperscript{146}, fructificet in nobis redemptio tua.

Secundo modo, 'nomen dei' dicitur privilegium filialis\textsuperscript{147} adoptionis\textsuperscript{148}, et in hoc sensu specialiter accipitur\textsuperscript{149} hic\textsuperscript{150} . Istdnomen tunc sanctificatur in nobis, quoniam\textsuperscript{151} sicut nomine dicimur filii dei\textsuperscript{152}, ita sumus\textsuperscript{153} et re, et sic

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{redemptionis\textsuperscript{141} iugiter add. L}
\footnote{nobis\textsuperscript{142} manere add. L}
\footnote{vere\textsuperscript{143} om. L}
\footnote{et laverunt...agni\textsuperscript{144} om. L}
\footnote{sensus\textsuperscript{145} quod L}
\footnote{id est\textsuperscript{146} om. M}
\footnote{filialis\textsuperscript{147} filiationis L}
\footnote{adoptionis\textsuperscript{148} iuxta illud Iohannis primo: dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius add. S iuxta illud Iohannis primo: dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri add. L}
\footnote{accipitur\textsuperscript{149} sumitur L}
\footnote{hic\textsuperscript{150} om. M}
\footnote{quoniam\textsuperscript{151} quando L}
\footnote{dei\textsuperscript{152} om. B}
\end{footnotes}
dicimur 'sancti', quasi sine terra, id est, terrenis affectibus exuti. 'Sanctus'
enim Latine, 'agios' dicitur Grece, quod dicitur aba, quod est sine et 'geos',
terra, quasi sine terra. Et hoc est proprium filiorum dei, ut qui patrem habent in
caelis affectu non ambulent in terris. Et hoc est quod dicit dominus per
prophetam: Sancti estote quoniam ego sanctus sum. Et hoc modo est sensus
'sanctificetur nomen tuum', id est, immaculata conservetur in nobis filiatione tua, ut
vere simus filii tui, quorum tu pater esse dignaris.

Tertio modo, dicitur 'nomen dei' praeconium divini honoris et glorificationis.

Et sic accipitur in Psalmo: secundum nomen tuum deus sic et laus tua in fines

153 sumus] om. M
154 exuti] extenti L
155 enim] nam S
156 geos] quod est add. L
157 est] om. B
158 affectu] per affectum L
159 quoniam] quia L
160 sum] Lev. XI add. S
161 tui] dei L
162 dignaris] digneris L
163 et] om. M
terre

Hoc nomen sanctificatur in nobis quoniam deus iugiter in nobis et a nobis honoratur et glorificatur. Et secundum hoc dicimur 'sancti', quasi 'sanciti', id est firmati, ut a laude dei numquam cessemus. Et tunc erit sensus 'sanctificetur nomen tuum', id est firmetur ita in nobis gloria et honor tuus, ut semper te glorificemus.

Et haec tertia ethymologia sanctificationis posset etiam referri ad duas primas acceptiones nominis, ut diceretur secundum primum modum sic: sanctifictur nomen tuum, id est firmetur in nobis redemptio tua, ut eius fructum

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164 in fines terre] et cetera S om. L
165 sanctificatur] sanctificetur L
166 quoniam] quando L
167 a] in M
168 sanciti] sanxiti B
169 erit] est S
170 ita] om. M
171 gloria] tua add. L
172 te] om. M
173 sanctificationis] om. L
174 primas] personas M
175 acceptiones] acceptionis ML
numquam amittamus; secundum modum sic: sanctificetur nomen tuum, id est, firmetur in nobis filiatio tua, ut esse filii tui numquam desistamus.

Dicamus ergo, sanctificetur nomen tuum:

mysterium nostrae redemptionis;

quod est privilegium filialis adoptionis;

praecoonium tuae glorificationis.

Ratione primi, illud sanctissimum nomen vocatur 'Iesus', id est, salvator, Matthei secundo: vocabis nomen eius Iesum. Ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum.\[178\] Ratione secundi, vocatur 'pater', ut hic et Matthei 23: Unus est pater vester qui etc.\[180\] Ratione tertii, vocatur 'Christus', id est unctus, quia rex, Matthei primo: de qua natus est Ihesus, qui vocatur Christus.\[183\]

\[176\] amittamus] sed add. L sed secundum add. S

\[177\] numquam] om. L

\[178\] quod est] om. S

\[179\] sanctissimum] sanctum S

\[180\] secundo] primo S om. L

\[181\] hic et] habetur L

\[182\] est] enim add. L

\[183\] qui etc] om. L; etc] qui in caelis est S

\[184\] id est] in L

\[185\] quia rex] om. S
Hoc inquam\textsuperscript{186} triplex nomen sanctificetur\textsuperscript{187} in nobis\textsuperscript{188} per benivolentiam in corde;
per reverentiam in ore;
per efficaciam in opere;
Iubilus in corde;

ut sit nobis mel in ore;
exemplar in opere, secundum Bernardum\textsuperscript{189}.

Per hanc autem\textsuperscript{190} petitionem primam excluditur primum vitium, quod est superbia. Superbia\textsuperscript{191} enim tria mala\textsuperscript{192} facit\textsuperscript{193} sanctificationi\textsuperscript{194} trinitatis\textsuperscript{195} nominis praedicti contraria\textsuperscript{196}. Nam\textsuperscript{197} ipsa,

\textsuperscript{186} inquam] om. M
\textsuperscript{187} sanctificetur] sanctificatur L
\textsuperscript{188} nobis] scilicet add. S
\textsuperscript{189} secundum Bernardum] om. ML
\textsuperscript{190} autem] om. SL
\textsuperscript{191} superbia] superbus L
\textsuperscript{192} superbia enim tria mala] om. M
\textsuperscript{193} facit] quibus add. SL
\textsuperscript{194} sanctificationi] sanctificatio SL
\textsuperscript{195} trinitatis] triplicis SL
\textsuperscript{196} contraria] est add. L
meritum Christi evacuat, contra primum\(^\text{198}\); 
diaboli\(^\text{199}\) filios generat\(^\text{200}\), contra secundum\(^\text{201}\); 
deum blasphemat, contra tertium\(^\text{202}\).

De primo, Ieremiae 13\(^\text{203}\): *Sic computrescere faciam superbiam Iuda et superbiam*\(^\text{204}\) *Hierusalem multam*\(^\text{205}\), \(^\text{\textsuperscript{48}}\) sicut videlicet\(^\text{206}\) lumbare vide 
visionem\(^\text{207}\). Moraliter lumbare, illud quod absconditum fuerat\(^\text{208}\) *in foramine petre*\(^\text{bb}\) iuxta Eufratem ubi computruerat, signat humanam naturam, vel quemlibet 
hominem christianam, qui\(^\text{209}\) sicut lumbare\(^\text{210}\) lumbis\(^\text{211}\), sic Christo per meritum

\(^\text{197}\) nam\)] om. S 
\(^\text{198}\) contra primum\)] om. M 
\(^\text{199}\) diabolij diabolo L dei M autem add. M 
\(^\text{200}\) generat\)] degenerat M 
\(^\text{201}\) contra secundum\)] om. M 
\(^\text{202}\) contra tertium\)] om. M 
\(^\text{203}\) 13] tertio vicesimo L 
\(^\text{204}\) superbiam\)] om. L 
\(^\text{205}\) multam\)] multum L 
\(^\text{206}\) videlicet\)] om. L 
\(^\text{207}\) vide visionem\)] quod absconditum est L 
\(^\text{208}\) fuerat\)] erat B fuit L 
\(^\text{209}\) qui\)] quia L
passionis est coniunctus. Unde subditur ibidem: *sicut lumbare* ad lumbos viri, *sic adglutinavi* mihi omnem domum Israel et Iuda. Hoc lumbare iuxta Eufratem in foramine petre tunc absconditur, quando homo induritia mentis per superbiam a deo avertitur et ab aspectu divinae gratiae occultatur. 'Eufrates' vero interpretatur pulverulentus et signat hominem superbum, qui ad modum pulveris a vento elationis rapitur et agitatur.
'Foramine' petre est cor mundanum superbia induratum. Istud igitur
lumbare tunc dominus computrescere facit quoniam talem hominem
velud pretio sui sanguinis expertem in peccatis perseverare permittit.

De secundo, Iob 41: ipse est rex super omnes filios superbiae. 

Unde quibusdam dicitur Iohannis 13: vos ex patre vestro
estis. De tertio, Sophoniae secundo dicitur de quibusdam quod superbia sua
blasphemaverunt deum, et Ieremiae, dicitur verbis superbis
blasphemasti. Haec tria mala superstia contrariantur.

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226 foramen L
227 humanum L
228 enim S
229 om. L
230 om. B
231 quando L
232 om. L
233 quarto decimo L
234 de add. L
235 om. ML
236 primo L
237 2 L
238 superbis M
239 blasphemastis eum L
sanctificationi triplicis nominis dei praedicti, ut de se patet propter quod bene
dicitur per hanc petitionem hoc vitium excludi.

Introducitur autem per hanc petitionem de virtutibus fides, quae est prima
turris theologica. Habet enim fides tres effectus correspondentest sanctificationi triplicis nominis dei praedicti, per fidem

in sanguine Christi abluimur, quantum ad primum;
enim, vere filii dei efficimur, quantum ad secundum;
gloriam dei prosequimur, quantum ad tertium.

240 haec tria mala] his tribus malis SL
241 contrariantur] contrariatur SL
242 sanctificationi] sanctificatio SL
243 dicitur] dicit L
244 excludi] excluditur L
245 de virtutibus] om. L
246 theologica] catholica S
247 sanctificationi] sanctificatione L
248 dei] divini BL
249 quantum ad primum] om. M; quantum] contra L
250 quantum ad secundum] om. M; quantum] contra L
251 prosequimur] consequimur L
252 quantum ad tertium] om. M; quantum] contra L
De primo, Romanorum tertiio: \textit{justificati gratis per gratiam ipsius per redemptionem quae est in Christo Ihesu, quem proposuit deus propitiationem per fidem in sanguine ipsius}.\textsuperscript{hh} De secundo, Iohannis primo: \textit{dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri hiis qui credunt in nomine eius}.\textsuperscript{ii} De tertiio, ad Hebreos 11\textsuperscript{254} per\textsuperscript{255} totum verbi\textsuperscript{256} apostolus magnifica gesta antiquorum patrum commemorat\textsuperscript{257}, quae omnia ad Dei gloriam fide dicit operata.\textsuperscript{ii}

Introducitur etiam per hanc petitionem donum sapientiae, quia\textsuperscript{258} dicit Glossa super Mattheum: dicendo 'sanctificetur nomen tuum', "spiritum sapientiae\textsuperscript{259} postulamus, ne a\textsuperscript{260} sanctificatione nominis\textsuperscript{261} in aliquo discrepemus\textsuperscript{262}, sed\textsuperscript{263} patris nomen" in nobis tamquam "in filiis vita et moribus ostendamus.\textsuperscript{kk} Est autem

\textsuperscript{253} filios dei...eius] et cetera L; eius] ipsius B
\textsuperscript{254} 11] secundo L
\textsuperscript{255} per] ubi per L
\textsuperscript{256} verbi] ubi L
\textsuperscript{257} commemorat] commendat L
\textsuperscript{258} quia] ut add. L
\textsuperscript{259} quia dicit...sapientie] om. M
\textsuperscript{260} a] in L
\textsuperscript{261} nominis] tui add. S
\textsuperscript{262} discrepemus] discrepamus L
\textsuperscript{263} sed] quod L
sapientia proprie ut pro dono sumitur\textsuperscript{264} cognitio suavitatis divinae per experientiam\textsuperscript{265} habita. Unde dicta\textsuperscript{266} est sapientia, quasi sapida scientia, cognitio autem et experientia\textsuperscript{267} suavitatis divinae habetur ex sanctificatione trilicis\textsuperscript{268} nominis praedicti. Surgit\textsuperscript{269} enim mentis suavitas in nobis ad praesens ex tribus\textsuperscript{270}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ex passionis\textsuperscript{271} Christi devota meditatione;
  \item ex dilectionis dei erga nos memoratione;
  \item ex divinae laudis iugiter\textsuperscript{272} modulatione.
\end{itemize}

De primo, Ecclesiastici 24\textsuperscript{273}. Dicit sapientia increata: \textit{quasi murra electa dedi suavitatem oridis.}\textsuperscript{274} Christus enim in passione comperatur murrae, propter

\textsuperscript{264} sumitur} accipitur MS
\textsuperscript{265} experientiam} experigentiam L
\textsuperscript{266} dicta} dictum L
\textsuperscript{267} experientia} experigentia L
\textsuperscript{268} trilicis} trinitatis B
\textsuperscript{269} surgit} surgat L
\textsuperscript{270} tribus} videlicet add. L
\textsuperscript{271} passionis} passione L
\textsuperscript{272} iug} iugiter S
\textsuperscript{273} 24} duodesexagesimo L
mortis\textsuperscript{274} amaritudinem et poenarum\textsuperscript{275} acerbitatem. Et licet sibi passio fuerit amara, nobis tamen dat suavitatem odoris pro quanto mens spiritualibus delectationibus reficitur, quae de ea devote meditatur.

De secundo dicit\textsuperscript{276} Hugo\textsuperscript{277}, De Arra Animae: "dulcedo vitae meae et lumen occulorum meorum, \textit{Quid retribuam tibi pro omnibus quae retribuisti mihi?}\textsuperscript{278} de quibus est mihi dulce cogitare, semper loqui, semper gratias agere ut te laudem et amem,"\textsuperscript{279} et subdicit: "Certe mihi videtur cum eius miserationes circa me attendo, quod, si fas est dicere quodammodo\textsuperscript{278} nihil aliud\textsuperscript{279} agat deus nisi ut meae salutis\textsuperscript{280} provideat.\textsuperscript{281} Et si\textsuperscript{281} memoria\textsuperscript{282} quorumlibet\textsuperscript{283} divinorum beneficiorum homini\textsuperscript{284} dulcis sit\textsuperscript{285}, maxime tamen beneficium filiationis, quod

\textsuperscript{274} mortis] om. L
\textsuperscript{275} penarum] pene L
\textsuperscript{276} dicit] om. L
\textsuperscript{277} hugo] in add. SL
\textsuperscript{278} quodammodo] om. L
\textsuperscript{279} aliud] om. S
\textsuperscript{280} salutis] salute L
\textsuperscript{281} eti] et M
\textsuperscript{282} memoria] memoriam L
\textsuperscript{283} quorumlibet] est add. M
\textsuperscript{284} homini] huiusmodi L
ipse sit pie nos\textsuperscript{285}, nos\textsuperscript{287} tamquam filios prosequitur atque\textsuperscript{288} fovet\textsuperscript{289}. Unde

scribitur\textsuperscript{290} Sapientiae 16\textsuperscript{291}, de sapientia increata: \textit{dulcedinem tuam quam in filios habes ostendisti}\textsuperscript{292}.\textsuperscript{94}

De tertio dicit sponsus\textsuperscript{293} sapientia increata, Canticorum secundo: \textit{sonet}\textsuperscript{294} \textit{vox tua in auribus meis, vox enim tua dulcis}\textsuperscript{295}.\textsuperscript{r} Vox enim animae in modulatione laudis divinae dulcis est et ipsi deo audienti et animae promenti ad hanc dulcedinem et suavitatem invitat sapientia increata, Proverbiorum 24: \textit{comede fili}\textsuperscript{296} \textit{mel quia bonum est et favum dulcissimum gutturi tuo, sic et}\textsuperscript{297} \textit{doctrina sapientiae animae}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{285} sit\textsuperscript{] sic S}
\item \textsuperscript{286} ipse sit pie nos\textsuperscript{] om. M}
\item \textsuperscript{287} nos\textsuperscript{] om. L}
\item \textsuperscript{288} atque\textsuperscript{] et M}
\item \textsuperscript{289} fovet\textsuperscript{] pertractat M}
\item \textsuperscript{290} scribitur\textsuperscript{] dicitur L}
\item \textsuperscript{291} 16\textsuperscript{] duodevicesimo L}
\item \textsuperscript{292} ostendisti\textsuperscript{] demonstrasti seu ostendisti L}
\item \textsuperscript{293} sponsus\textsuperscript{] sponsa M sponsi L}
\item \textsuperscript{294} sonet\textsuperscript{] enim add. L}
\item \textsuperscript{295} dulcis\textsuperscript{] est add. L}
\item \textsuperscript{296} fili\textsuperscript{] mi add. SL}
\item \textsuperscript{297} et\textsuperscript{] om. B}
\end{itemize}
Introducitur nihilominus beatitudo pacis de qua dicitur Matthei 5:299:

Beati pacifici secundum Augustinum adaptatur dono sapientiae.

Dicit enim quendam statum virtutis, in quo est delectatio in Deo sine contradictione carnis, mundi et diaboli, vel si est aliqua, inefficax in hoc statu quieta et sine repugnantia, nomen dei in nobis sanctificatur. Includit enim haec beatitudo triplicem significationem triplicis nominis dei, secundum tres eius effectus

animam redimit;

Pax enim filios dei efficit;

honorem deo tribuit.

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298 nihilominus] hic add. S
299 5] XV L
300 pacifici] quoniam filii dei vocabuntur add. L
301 quae] om. L
302 delectatio] dilectio M
303 sine] om. L
304 est] et add. M et L
305 repugnantia] contradictione seu repugnantia S
306 significationem] sanctificationem SL
307 triplicis] om. M
Primo\textsuperscript{308}, inquam\textsuperscript{309}, animam redim\textsuperscript{310} vel potius redemptam ostendit.

Unde Psalmi: \textit{Redimet in pace animam meam},\textsuperscript{311} et sic\textsuperscript{311} pax est effectus nostrae redemptionis in quantum\textsuperscript{312} per redemptionem sumus in pace positi. Aliter pax potest esse causa redemptionis\textsuperscript{313} in quantum per pacem meremur esse participes redemptionis, et talem pacem non habent impii, iuxta illud Isaiae 47\textsuperscript{314}: \textit{non est pax impiis dicit dominus}.\textsuperscript{315}

Secundo\textsuperscript{315}, etiam\textsuperscript{316} pax filios dei efficit\textsuperscript{317}, Matthei 5: \textit{Beati pacifici}, quoniam filii dei vocabuntur\textsuperscript{318}. Et\textsuperscript{319} merito quia faciunt officium\textsuperscript{320} filii dei,
qui ad hoc venit in mundum ut pacem faceret inter deum et hominem, quod officium
erunt pacifici in seipsis et aliis pacem facientes.

Tertio\textsuperscript{321}, pax gloriam\textsuperscript{322} deo\textsuperscript{323} tribuit. Unde dicit\textsuperscript{324} Apostolus
Colossensium tertio: \textit{et pax dei exultet in cordibus vestris}\textsuperscript{325},\textsuperscript{326} et sequitur ad
propositum, \textit{commonentes nosmetipsos}\textsuperscript{326} in psalmis et hymnis et canticis\textsuperscript{327}
\textit{spiritualibus in gratia cantantes}\textsuperscript{328} in cordibus vestris deo.\textsuperscript{329}

Introducuntur propterea per hanc petitionem duo fructus, scilicet fides et pax,
quorum\textsuperscript{329} adaptatio patet ex dictis. Qualiter autem differenter fides\textsuperscript{330} est virtus
et fructus, et similiter\textsuperscript{331} pax\textsuperscript{332} est virtus, beatitudo et fructus\textsuperscript{333}, haberi potest

\textsuperscript{321} tertio] tertia B
\textsuperscript{322} gloriam] honorem L
\textsuperscript{323} deo] om. L
\textsuperscript{324} dicit] om. SL
\textsuperscript{325} vestris] nostris L
\textsuperscript{326} nosmetipsos] deo add. M vosmetipsos S
\textsuperscript{327} et canticis] om. L
\textsuperscript{328} cantantes] canentes L
\textsuperscript{329} quorum] cuius M
\textsuperscript{330} fides] prout add. L
\textsuperscript{331} et similiter] om. L
\textsuperscript{332} est virtus...similiter pax] om. M
ex his quae habentur in fine ultime petitionis infra ante Amen, sed hic supponatur ad praesens.

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333 et similiter...et fructus] om. S

334 infra] om. M
Sources


b. Cf. THOMAS STh II/II 83,9 dub. 4 (ed. Marietti, 394b).


d. AUG epist. 130,12,22 (PL 33,503; CSEL 44.66,8-12); vide infra, L10, 390,5-392,7; cf.: "Secundo dubitur quare solum septem petitiones comprehendat? Dicendum quod septenarius numerus est universitas. Et quia omnia quae recte desiderantur, in septem petitionibus contentur, ut dicit Augustinus in epistola ad Probam." Henricus de Frimaria, *Expositio Oratioinis Dominice*, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 183r.

e. Cf. THOMAS STh II/II 83,9 dub. 2 (ed. Marietti, 394b).


g. THOMAS STh 83,9 resp. (ed. Marietti, 395a).

h. Luc. 1,49.

i. THOMAS STh II/II 83,9 dub. 1 (ed. Marietti, 394a).

j. AUG de serm. dom. 2,5,19 (PL 34,1277; CChr 35.109,208); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Marietti, 104a); THOMAS STh 83,9 ad 1 (ed. Marietti, 395a-b).

k. Ps. 75,2.

l. Cf. AUG de serm. dom. 2,5,19 (PL 34,1277-1278; CChr 35.109,208-209).

m. THOMAS STh II/II 83,9 ad 1 (ed. Marietti, 395b).

n. CHRYSTOS. hom. in Matth. 19 (PG 57,279).

o. Is. 9,6.


q. Apoc. 7,14.
r. Apoc. 1,5.
s. Cf. THOMAS STh II/II 81, 8 resp. (ed. Marietti, 384a).
t. Lev. 11,44.
u. Ps. 47,11.
v. Cf. THOMAS STh II/II 81, 8 resp. (ed. Marietti, 384a).
w. Matth. 1,21.
x. Matth. 23,9.
y. Matth. 1,16.

z. non invenitur; cf.: "Petimus ergo ut nomen dei benedictum sanctificetur in nobis per fervidam dilectionem in corde, per devotam supplicationem in ore et per virtuosam executionem in opere, ut sic ab eius laude numquam cessemus, nec in mente, ore, nec opere." Henricus de Frimaria, Expositio Orationis Dominicae, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124 fol. 183v.

aa. Ier. 13,9.
bb. See, Ier. 13,4-8.
cc. Ier. 13,11.
dd. Iob 41,25.
ee. Ioh. 8,44.


hh. Rom. 3,24-25.

ii. Ioh. 1,12.

jj. Cf. Hebr. 11,4-40.

kk. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,9 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25B; cf. PL 114,100d); "Hic autem notabiliter advertandum quod sicut dicit Glossa super isto verbo:
per hoc quod dicimus, sanctificetur nomen tuum, spiritum sapientiae postulamus, cuius virtute nobis conceditur, ne a sanctificatione huius nominis umquam discrepemus, sed patris caelestis nomen in nobis tamquam in veris filiis et vita et moribus ostendamus."


mm. Eccli. 24,20.

nn. Ps. 115,12.

oo. Hugo de St. Victore De arra animae (PL 176,967c-968b).

pp. Hugo de St. Victore De arra animae (PL 176,968c).

qq. Sap. 16,21.

rr. Cant. 2,14.
ss. Prov. 24,13-14.

tt. Matth. 5,9.

uu. AUG de serm. dom. 1,4,11 (PL 34,1235; CChr 35.10,217ff); ibid 2,11,38 (PL 34,1286; CChr 35.129,862-863).

vv. Ps. 54,19.

ww. Is. 48,22.


yy. Col. 3,15.

zz. Col. 3,16.
Lectio Quarta

*Adveniat regnum tuum.* Haec est secunda petitio quae convenienter sequitur primam, "ut post adoptionem filiorum petamus regnum quod filiis debetur". Sed hic incidit duplex dubitatio: prima est quia vanum petere advenire regnum eius, qui semper regnat; sed regnum dei semper est, quare etc. b

Dicendum quod, non est intelligendum quod hic petamus ut regnum deo adveniat, quasi ipse iam non regnet, sed quod nobis adveniat. Unde Augustinus Ad Probam: regnum dei adveniat "sive velimus sive nolimus," sed

\[\begin{array}{l}
1 \text{ quae} \text{ om. L} \\
2 \text{ post} \text{ prius M} \\
3 \text{ filiis} \text{ filius L} \\
4 \text{ quia} \text{ quando L} \\
5 \text{ videtur} \text{ est S} \\
6 \text{ eius} \text{ ei SL} \\
7 \text{ dicendum} \text{ est add. S} \\
8 \text{ hic} \text{ hoc L} \\
9 \text{ ut} \text{ quod SM} \\
10 \text{ deo} \text{ dei L} \\
11 \text{ quasi ipse...adveniat} \text{ om. M} \\
12 \text{ unde} \text{ dicit add. ML} \\
13 \text{ velimus} \text{ volimus L}
\end{array}\]
"desiderium nostrum ad illud excitamus ut nobis veniat atque in eo regnemus." "

"Est ergo "sensus adveniat" id est, ad nos veniat regnum tuum."

Secunda dubitatio est quare non dicit, 'veniamus ad regnum tuum', quod tamen videretur convenientius, quia potius nos venimus ad regnum quam regnum ad nos.

Ad hoc dicendum quod nos ad deum venire non nisi prius deus veniat ad nos, secundum illud Iohannis: Nemo venit ad me nisi pater meus traxerit eum. Et ideo quia venire ad regnum non est in nostra potestate sed ex

| 14 nolimus| nolumus L |
| 15 veniat| adveniat S |
| 16 eo| ipso S |
| 17 est| et L |
| 18 sensus| est add. L |
| 19 tamen| non L |
| 20 videretur| videtur L |
| 21 potius| petimus L |
| 22 ad regnum| om. BS |
| 23 dicendum| est add. S |
| 24 non| repeated L |
| 25 possumus| possimus L |
| 26 eum| illum B |
| 27 quia| om. L |
divina gratia et voluntate, ideo potius petimus regnum dei venire ad nos quam nos venire ad regnum.

Notandum autem quod regnum dei triplex est. Primum regnum dicitur esse ecclesia militans, de quo Matthei 13: Mittet filius hominis angelos suos et colligent de regno eius omnia scandala. Super quo verbo Gregorius: regnum caelorum praesentis temporis ecclesia dicitur. Secundum regnum dei est in anima, quod est regnum gratiae, de quo Lucae septimo decimo: Regnum
Et hoc est quando omnes vires et motus in homine divinæ gubernationis obediunt, secus quando ibi est rebellio. Tertium regnum dei est in vita eterna, quod est regnum gloriae, de quo Matthei 25: *venite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum* etc. j

Huic autem triplici regno dei opponitur triplex regnum diaboli. Primum est regnum synagogæ satanae, quod opponitur regno ecclesiae. De hoc regno dicitur Apocalypsis secundo de quibusdam quod sunt synagoga satanae. k Sicut enim

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41 dei] om. ML
42 vos] nos L
43 divinæ] divina L
44 gubernationi] gubernatione L
45 secus...rebellio] om. L
46 in] om. L
47 percipite] possidete S
48 percipite regnum] om. L
49 etc] om. M paratum vobis S
50 autem] om. L
51 satanae] diaboli sive satanae L
52 quod] qui SL
53 enim] in M
ecclesia est congregatio Christifidelium\textsuperscript{54} in bono, sic synagoga satanae est
congregatio diaboli in malo\textsuperscript{55} et suorum.

Secundum est regnum peccati, de quo\textsuperscript{56} Romanorum 6: 

\textit{Non regnet peccatum in vestro mortali corpore.}\textsuperscript{1} Et istud opponitur regno gratiae\textsuperscript{57}, nam sicut deus in
anima regnat per gratiam, sic\textsuperscript{58} diabolus per peccatum. Unde\textsuperscript{59} Romanorum 5\textsuperscript{60} dicit Apostolus: 
\textit{sicut regnavit peccatum in mortem, ita et gratia regnet}\textsuperscript{51} per
\textit{iustitiam}\textsuperscript{62}.

Tertium regnum diaboli est regnum miseriae et damnationis aeternae, quod
opponitur regno gloriae. De hoc regno\textsuperscript{63} dicitur Apocalypsis 16\textsuperscript{64}: 
\textit{Quintus angelus effudit phialam suam super sedem bestiae et factum est regnum eius tenebrosum.}\textsuperscript{n}

\textsuperscript{54} christifidelium\textsuperscript{fidelium L}
\textsuperscript{55} in malo\textsuperscript{malorum S}
\textsuperscript{56} quo\textsuperscript{ad add. L}
\textsuperscript{57} gratiae\textsuperscript{de hoc dicitur Apocalypsis duodevicesmio add. L et del.}
\textsuperscript{58} sic\textsuperscript{regnat add. L}
\textsuperscript{59} unde\textsuperscript{ad add. L}
\textsuperscript{60} 5\textsuperscript{secundo L}
\textsuperscript{61} regnet\textsuperscript{regnat L}
\textsuperscript{62} iustitiam\textsuperscript{in vitam eternam add. S}
\textsuperscript{63} regno\textsuperscript{om. L}
\textsuperscript{64} 16\textsuperscript{octavo decimo L; cf. supra n. 57}
Iste angelus est filius dei, qui est magni consilii angelus; bestia est diabolus, cuius sedes est infernus; phiala super bestia et eius sedem effusa, est sententia divinae iustitiae, puta damnationis extremae. Phiala enim habet orificium artum et longum, sed ventrem largum, propter quod est magnae capacitatis sed tardae effusionis. Sic deus diu tollerat et exspectat in effundendo iram suam et sententiam extremam, sed finaliter eam plene effundit. De hac effusione dicit Psalmi: "Effunde domine iram tuam in gentes quae te non noverunt." Unde deus se habet ad instar molendenarii, qui diu aquas congregat et demum cum impetu

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65 et eius sedem] om. S
66 extremae] aeternae L
67 propter quod] om. L
68 est] et L
69 effusonis] de effusionis L [sic!]
70 et exspectat] om. L
71 effundit] effundat L
72 qua] S
73 dicit] om. S
74 domine] om. L
75 molendenarii] molendanarii S moleninarii L
76 congregat] colligit L
77 demum] deinde B
dimittit.

Cum ergo dicimus, 'adveniat regnum tuum', petimus ut adveniat triplex\textsuperscript{78} regnum dei et\textsuperscript{79} per oppositum destruatur triplex regnum diaboli. De primis duobus dicit\textsuperscript{80} Hieronymus: "Generaliter pro totius mundi petimus regno, ut diabolus in mundo regnare desistat," quantum ad primum, "vel ut\textsuperscript{81} in unoquoque\textsuperscript{82} regnet deus," scilicet\textsuperscript{83} per gratiam, "et non regnet peccatum in mortali hominum\textsuperscript{84} corpore\textsuperscript{85}."p De tertio dicit Cyprianus in libro De oratione dominica: "Regnum nostrum\textsuperscript{86} petimus advenire a deo nobis repromissum, et\textsuperscript{87} Christi sanguine acquisitum, ut quoniam\textsuperscript{88} in\textsuperscript{89} saeculo ante servivimus\textsuperscript{90} Christo dominante

\textsuperscript{78} triplex om. L
\textsuperscript{79} et\textsuperscript{1} ac S
\textsuperscript{80} dicit\textsuperscript{1} om. L
\textsuperscript{81} vel ut\textsuperscript{1} unde L
\textsuperscript{82} unoquoque\textsuperscript{1} unoque M homine add. S
\textsuperscript{83} scilicet\textsuperscript{1} om. SL
\textsuperscript{84} hominum\textsuperscript{1} hominis S
\textsuperscript{85} corpore\textsuperscript{1} quantum ad secundum add. S
\textsuperscript{86} nostrum\textsuperscript{1} dei enim L
\textsuperscript{87} et\textsuperscript{1} in add. L
\textsuperscript{88} quoniam\textsuperscript{1} quondam M
\textsuperscript{89} in\textsuperscript{1} hoc add. L
regnemus. "Iamus ergo,

ecclesiae;

Adveniat regnum tuum gratiae;

gloriae;

synagogae satanae;

ut destruatur regnum peccati et malitiae;

tenebrarum et miseriae.

Et sciendum quod in hac ultima combinatione, non petimus ita destrui regnum tenebrarum ne diabolum ibi sit, sed ne ipse ibi habeat regnare super nos, id est, ne nos illuc veniamus in regnum suum. Ipse enim regnat super omnes damnatos, iuxta illud Iob 41: Ipse est rex super omnes filios superbiae.

"Per hanc petitionem excluditur avaritia. Avari enim non regnum caeli, sed regnum terrae quaerunt. Contrariatur autem avaritia triplici regno dei

90 ante servivimus] sumus L
91 gratiae] et add. S videlicet et add. L
92 et] om. L
93 id est] et L
94 41] 24 L
95 avaritia] avaros L
96 celi] dei L
97 terrae] terrenum L
et conformatur\textsuperscript{98} triplici regno diaboli. Quod enim\textsuperscript{99} contrarietur primo regno dei et
conformetur primo regno diaboli\textsuperscript{100}, plane dicit Apostolus\textsuperscript{101} Ephesiorum 5\textsuperscript{102} ubi
dicit\textsuperscript{103} quod avaritia \textit{est idolorum servitus}.\textsuperscript{1} Sed constat quod idolorum servitus
repugnat fidei, in qua consistit regnum ecclesiae; ergo etc. Quod etiam
contrarietur\textsuperscript{104} secundo\textsuperscript{105} patet Ecclesiastici decimo: \textit{Avaro nihil est
scelestius}\textsuperscript{106}.\textsuperscript{u} Scelus autem et\textsuperscript{107} peccatum repugnant\textsuperscript{108} gratiae quia\textsuperscript{109} etc.
Quod vero contrarietur\textsuperscript{110} tertio regno dei et conformatur\textsuperscript{111} tertio regno diaboli

\textsuperscript{98} conformatur] conformetur L
\textsuperscript{99} enim] autem S
\textsuperscript{100} quod enim...diaboli] om. L
\textsuperscript{101} apostolus] ad add. S
\textsuperscript{102} 5] primo L
\textsuperscript{103} ubi dicit] om. L
\textsuperscript{104} contrarietur] contrariatur L
\textsuperscript{105} secundo] regno add. L
\textsuperscript{106} scelestius] caelestius M [sic!]
\textsuperscript{107} et] id est L
\textsuperscript{108} repugnant] repugnat L
\textsuperscript{109} quia] quare L
\textsuperscript{110} contrarietur] contrariatur L
\textsuperscript{111} conformatur] conformetur S
manifestum est, 2 Petri 2, ubi loquens de quibusdam habentibus cor excaecatum 'avaritia' dicit quod sint maledictionis filii. Petendo ergo regnum dei excluditur avaritia, quia per adventum unius contrariorum excluditur reliquam. Nec aliquem moveat quod non solum avaritia sed et quodlibet peccatum mortale contrariatur regno dei, et similiter sanctificationi nominis dei ac etiam voluntati dei. Licet enim per quamlibet istarum petitionum omnia peccata excludantur, unum tamen vitium magis directe opponitur alicui petitioni quam alius; et similiter est de inclusione virtutum et donorum et

112 2] om. L
113 loquens] legitur L
114 sint] sicut M sine L
115 maledictionis] maledictionae L
116 filii] similem [?] L
117 avaritia] avari L
118 et] om. ML
119 et similiter...voluntati dei] om. L
120 licet] est add. L
121 quamlibet] quemlibet L
122 istarum] istorum L
123 excludantur] excluduntur L
124 magis] magnum L
125 inclusione] introductione S conclusione L
aliorum.

Introducit autem per hanc petitionem de virtutibus\textsuperscript{127} spes, per quam regnum exspectamus. Describitur enim\textsuperscript{128} spes a magistro Sententiarum\textsuperscript{129} libro tertio, distinctione 26\textsuperscript{130}. "Spes est certa exspectatio futurae beatitudinis, veniens ex dei gratia et ex meritis praecedentibus."\textsuperscript{w} In qua descriptione ponitur\textsuperscript{131} tria correspondentia triplici regno dei praedicto, nam quod dicit 'certa exspectatio' respicit regnum ecclesiae, quod in fidei firmitate consistit. Unde certitudo spei certitudinii\textsuperscript{132} fidei\textsuperscript{133} innititur\textsuperscript{134}, spes enim que videtur non est spes, Romanorum 8.\textsuperscript{x} Quod autem dicit 'futurae beatitudinis', respicit regnum gloriae. Quod vero addit 'ex\textsuperscript{135} dei gratia etc\textsuperscript{136}', respicit regnum gratiae et patet. Ut igitur exspectatio sit certa,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[126] et\textsuperscript{1} om. SL
\item[127] de virtutibus\textsuperscript{1} om. L
\item[128] enim\textsuperscript{1} autem L
\item[129] sententiarum\textsuperscript{1} in sententiis S
\item[130] distinctione 26\textsuperscript{1} om. L
\item[131] ponitur\textsuperscript{1} ponuntur L
\item[132] certitudinis\textsuperscript{1} certitudinem L
\item[133] fidei\textsuperscript{1} om. L
\item[134] innititur\textsuperscript{1} innuitur L
\item[135] ex\textsuperscript{1} om. L
\item[136] etc\textsuperscript{1} om. SL
\end{footnotes}
indigemus regno\textsuperscript{137} ecclesiae; ut\textsuperscript{138} autem talis\textsuperscript{139} exspectatio ex\textsuperscript{140} gratia dei et nostris meritis proveniat, opus est regno gratiae; ut vero\textsuperscript{141} futuram beatitudinem praesentialiter habeamus, requiritur regnum gloriae. Sic ergo per hoc quod petimus regnum dei, introducitur\textsuperscript{142} spes.

Introducitur etiam\textsuperscript{143} donum intellectus. Unde Glossa super Mattheum cum dicitur, 'adveniat regnum tuum': "spiritus\textsuperscript{144} intelligentiae petitur, quo\textsuperscript{145} mundetur cor, ut deus videatur." Hoc\textsuperscript{146} enim donum tria facit in nobis\textsuperscript{147} promoventia\textsuperscript{148} nos ad triplex regnum dei:

\begin{itemize}
\item instruit ad recte credendum;
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{137} regno\textsuperscript{L} regnum L
\item\textsuperscript{138} ut\textsuperscript{L} utilis L
\item\textsuperscript{139} talis\textsuperscript{L} est L
\item\textsuperscript{140} ex\textsuperscript{L} om. L
\item\textsuperscript{141} vero\textsuperscript{L} deo L
\item\textsuperscript{142} introducitur\textsuperscript{L} introducuntur L
\item\textsuperscript{143} etiam\textsuperscript{L} et L
\item\textsuperscript{144} spiritus\textsuperscript{L} virtus add. L
\item\textsuperscript{145} quo\textsuperscript{L} quod L
\item\textsuperscript{146} hoc\textsuperscript{L} per hoc M
\item\textsuperscript{147} nobis\textsuperscript{L} que add. L
\item\textsuperscript{148} promoventur L
\end{itemize}
illustrat ad sane intelligendum;
purgat ad pure intendendum.\textsuperscript{3}
recte credendo advenit regnum\textsuperscript{149} ecclesiae;
sane intelligendo advenit regnum\textsuperscript{150} gratiae;
sed pure intendendo advenit regnum\textsuperscript{151} gloriae.

De primo, Psalmi: \textit{Intellectum tibi dabo et instruam te in via hac, qua gradieris.}\textsuperscript{88}
Regnum enim\textsuperscript{152} ecclesiae militantis non est nisi quaedam via\textsuperscript{153}, qua ad regnum\textsuperscript{154} gloriae\textsuperscript{155} gradimur. Et quia \textit{ambulamus per fidem}, ut ait Apostolus,\textsuperscript{1b} ideo indigemus dono intellectus ut instruat nos in credendis. Et hoc donum deus\textsuperscript{156} cuilibet iusto promittit per prophetam cum dicit: \textit{Intellectum tibi dabo et instruam te in via}\textsuperscript{157}.\textsuperscript{2b}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{149} regnum\textsuperscript{1} tuum add. S
\item \textsuperscript{150} regnum\textsuperscript{1} tuum add. S
\item \textsuperscript{151} regnum\textsuperscript{1} tuum add. S
\item \textsuperscript{152} enim\textsuperscript{1} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{153} via\textsuperscript{1} vis L
\item \textsuperscript{154} regnum\textsuperscript{1} scilicet add. S
\item \textsuperscript{155} gloriae\textsuperscript{1} caelorum L
\item \textsuperscript{156} deus\textsuperscript{1} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{157} via\textsuperscript{1} hac add. L; in via\textsuperscript{1} et cetera S om. M
\end{itemize}
De secundo, Matthei 15, ubi Christus increpans discipulos suos dicit: *adhuc et vos sine intellectu estis.*

Circa quod est sciendum quod donum intellectus est gratia intelligendi salubres significationes. Dominus ergo cum dixerat, *Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quod procedit de ore.*

Discipulis petentibus ut edisceret eis illum parabolam, dixit: *adhuc et vos sine intellectu estis.* Credebant enim mysticum quod erat proprie et ad litteram dictum.

Ex quo patet quod ipsi adhuc non erant illustrati dono intellectus. Viciosus est enim auditor, ut dicit Hieronymus: "qui aut obscura manifeste, aut manifestae dicta obscure velit intelligere." Hoc dono propheta petiiit illustrari, dicens Psalmo: *Illustra faciem tuam super servum tuum, doce me etc.*

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158 15] duodecimo L  
159 ubi Christus] om. L  
160 suos] om. B  
161 est] om. S  
162 salubres] sunt salubris L  
163 significationes] significationis L  
164 dixerat] dicebat S  
165 adhuc] om. L  
166 aut] om. L  
167 aut manifestae dicta obscure] om. L  
168 etc] iustificationes tuas S
De tertio, Psalmi\textsuperscript{169}: *Intell"ectibus*\textsuperscript{170} *manuum suarum deduxit*\textsuperscript{171} *eos.*\textsuperscript{ii}

Donum siquidem intellectus "non solum illustrat\textsuperscript{172}" intellectum, "sed etiam depurat affectum,"\textsuperscript{ii} ut dicit Augustinus in quodam sermone de timore\textsuperscript{173}: "Sextus\textsuperscript{174}," inquit, gradus "est intellectus ubi ab omni falsitate carnalis, vanitatis corda mundantur\textsuperscript{175}, ut pura intentio dirigatur in deum."\textsuperscript{kk} "Et differt istud donum a dono sapientiae quia sapientia est circa res divinas; intellectus autem\textsuperscript{176} circa res creatas, prout per eas moventur\textsuperscript{177} in deum. Et quia hae multae sunt et diversae, ideo" dicitur "pluraliter" intellectibus quod de sapientia "nusquam\textsuperscript{178} inventur in\textsuperscript{179} scriptura."\textsuperscript{ii} Quia etiam donum intellectus est quodam iuvamentum\textsuperscript{180}

\textsuperscript{169} psalmi\textsuperscript{i} in psalmo S
\textsuperscript{170} intellectibus\textsuperscript{i} in intellectum L
\textsuperscript{171} deduxit\textsuperscript{i} deduxisti L
\textsuperscript{172} illustrat\textsuperscript{i} illuminat M
\textsuperscript{173} in...timore\textsuperscript{i} om. L; timore\textsuperscript{i} dei add. S
\textsuperscript{174} sextus\textsuperscript{i} secundum L
\textsuperscript{175} mundantur\textsuperscript{i} mundentur atque purgentur L
\textsuperscript{176} autem\textsuperscript{i} om. L
\textsuperscript{177} moventur\textsuperscript{i} movetur S
\textsuperscript{178} nusquam\textsuperscript{i} numquam L
\textsuperscript{179} in\textsuperscript{i} sacra add. S
\textsuperscript{180} iuvamentum\textsuperscript{i} munimentum L
promovens et dirigens opera nostra in finem cognitum et intentum, nam ideo non solum intellectus assimulatur oculo, sed etiam manui, propter quod dicitur:

*Intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos.*

De beatitudinibus autem introducitur per hanc petitionem munditia cordis. Nam munditia cordis consequitur donum intellectus, secundum Augustinum et Glossam, patet ex dictis. Facit enim munditia cordis ad intelligentiam sicut puritas et claritas pupillae ad visionem oculi, ut dicit Glossa, Matthei tertio. Est autem munditia cordis duplex: una est

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181 manui] manu L
182 deduxit eos] om. L
183 autem] om. B
184 hanc] istam S; per hanc] repeated L
185 nam munditia cordis] que S
186 consequitur] sequitur L
187 secundum] beatum add. S
188 et] ut S
189 et Glossam...dictis] om. L
190 pupillae] pupilli L
191 ad] ut L
192 5] tertio L
depuratio mentis ab erroribus, ut ea, quae de deo proponuntur\textsuperscript{193}, sane et\textsuperscript{194} pure capiantur, quod pertinet ad donum intellectus, ut dictum est. Et in hac mundicia consistit regnum ecclesiae\textsuperscript{195}. Alia est depuratio affectus ab inordinatis affectionibus, quod etiam pertinet ad donum intellectus. Et in hac munditia consistit regnum\textsuperscript{196} gratiae. Est\textsuperscript{197} quoniam haec duplex munditia hic habetur imperfecte, perficietur autem in patria. Hinc est quod in\textsuperscript{198} tali perfectione et consumptione consistit regnum gloriae.

Ex quibus etiam\textsuperscript{199} patet quod\textsuperscript{200} convenienter huic beatitudini respondet\textsuperscript{201} pro praemio visio dei, quae si perfecta sit, secundum quod\textsuperscript{202} videtur deus per essentiam, pertinet ad donum intellectus et munditiam cordis consumatam; si vero sit imperfecta, pertinet ad ea prout habentur in via, et sic semper visio

\textsuperscript{193} proponuntur] ponuntur L
\textsuperscript{194} et] om. L
\textsuperscript{195} ecclesiae] om. B
\textsuperscript{196} regnum] donum B
\textsuperscript{197} est] et S
\textsuperscript{198} in] om. L
\textsuperscript{199} etiam] om. L
\textsuperscript{200} quod] om. L
\textsuperscript{201} respondet] quod B correspondet L
\textsuperscript{202} quod] quidem add. M
munditiam coexigit\textsuperscript{203}.

De fructibus etiam introducuntur hic\textsuperscript{204} duo, scilicet gaudium et longanimitas. Gaudium quidem quia petendo regnum ex magnitudine desiderii, mens dilatatur et sic gaudium generatur. Longanimitas etiam\textsuperscript{205} quia non statim ut postulatur regnum possidetur, sed plerumque differtur maxime regnum gloriae. Et ideo opus est longanimitatae, qua\textsuperscript{206} mens interim delectata exspectet. Est enim longanimitas diurna exspectatio boni desiderati cum delectatione spei certitudinem\textsuperscript{207} consequente\textsuperscript{208}.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{203} coexigit\textsuperscript{j} exigit L
\textsuperscript{204} hic\textsuperscript{j} haec L
\textsuperscript{205} etiam\textsuperscript{j} est L
\textsuperscript{206} qua\textsuperscript{j} quia L
\textsuperscript{207} certitudinem\textsuperscript{j} certitudine L
\textsuperscript{208} consequente\textsuperscript{j} et cetera add. L
Sources


c. Cf. AUG de serm. dom. 2,6,20 (PL 34,1278; CChr 35.109,427-429).

d. AUG epist. 130,11,21 (PL 33,502; CSEL 44.63,11-12); cf. THOMAS STh II/II 83,9 ad 1 (ed. Marietti, 395b).


f. Ioh. 6,44.

g. Matth. 13,41.

h. Cf. PS.GREG. ex.AI. 63 (PL 79,1161c); GREG.M in evang. 11,4 (PL 76,116).

i. Luc. 17,21; cf. Luc. 10,9.

j. Matth. 25,34.

k. Apoc. 2,9.

l. Rom. 6,12.

m. Rom. 5,21.

n. Apoc. 16,10.

o. Ps. 78,6.

p. HIER. in Matth. 1 (CChr 77.36,758-761).

q. CYPR domin. orat. 13 (CChr 3A.97,220-223).

r. Iob 41,25.


t. Eph. 5,5.
u. Eccli. 10,9.
v. II Petr. 2,14.
w. Lombardus 3 Sent. dist. 26 cap. 1.
x. Rom. 8,24.
y. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,10 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25C; PL 114,101a).
z. Cf.: "Hoc donum est operatur in nobis, per quae disponimur ad regnum dei consequendum. Nam primo mentem instruit ad bene sane intelligendum quae sunt fidei. Secundo intellectum illustrat ad recte credendum. Tertio mentem purgatur ad pure intelligendum." Henricus de Frimaria, Expositio Orationis Dominicae, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 185r-v.

aa. Ps. 31,8.
bb. Cf. II Cor. 5,7.
c. Ps. 31,8.
bb. Matth. 15,16.
d. Matth. 5,11.
e. Matth. 15,16.
ff. Matth. 5,11.
gg. HIER. in Matth. 2 (CChr 77.131,1504-1506).

hh. Ps. 30,17.
ii. Ps. 77,72.
nk. AUG serm. 347,3 (PL 39,1526).
ll. Henricus de Frimaria, Expositio Orationis Dominicae, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 185v.
mm. Cf. Bernardus Expositio in orationem dominicam (PL 184,816c).
nn. Ps. 30,17.
oo. See, Matth. 5,8.
pp. AUG de serm. dom. 1,4,11 (PL 34,1235; CChr 35.10,214-217); cf. ibid 2,11,38 (PL 34,1286; CChr 35.129,855-856).


Fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra. Haec tertia petitio rationabiliter sequitur secundam, quia secundum\(^1\) Chrysostomum\(^4\) in homelia\(^2\), postquam dominus\(^3\) docuit concupiscere caelestia dicendo 'adveniat regnum tuum', antequam ad caelum\(^4\) perveniatur in ipsa terra, docet fieri\(^5\) caelum per hoc quod dicit, 'fiat voluntas tua'. Est\(^6\) etiam congruum ut\(^7\) a quo regnum postulamus eius voluntati totaliter nos conformemus\(^8\). Ideo rationabiliter haec petitio sequitur praemissam. Et quia voluntatem dei nostris viribus perficere non valemus, dicente Apostolo Romanorum 7: velle quidem\(^9\) adiacet mihi perficere autem non invenio bonum\(^{10,\, b}\),

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\(^{1}\) quia secundum] om. L
\(^{2}\) in homelia] om. L
\(^{3}\) dominus] divina L
\(^{4}\) caelum] caelos S
\(^{5}\) fieri] super ML
\(^{6}\) est] et est L
\(^{7}\) ut] om. ML
\(^{8}\) conformemus] conformemur L
\(^{9}\) quidem] quae L
\(^{10}\) invenio bonum] valeo L
ideo hoc\textsuperscript{11} petimus a deo quatuus\textsuperscript{12} ipse det nobis gratiam, ut sicut voluntas sua perfecte fit ab angelis et sanctis in caelo, ita fiat a nobis qui sumus in terra. Nec putet\textsuperscript{13} aliiquis\textsuperscript{14} nos hic petere\textsuperscript{15} ut deus faciat\textsuperscript{16} voluntatem suam, quia hoc potest et facit\textsuperscript{17} absque nostra petitione. Sed petimus ut sua voluntas a nobis fiat et impleatur.\textsuperscript{5} Unde dicit Cyprianus: "Non petimus ut\textsuperscript{18} deus faciet\textsuperscript{19} quod vult, sed ut nos facere possimus quod deus vult, quod ut fiat in nobis opus est dei voluntate, id est, opera eius et protectione, quia nemo suis viribus fortis est, sed dei misericordia tutus.\textsuperscript{6d}

Notandum autem quod voluntas dei fit a nobis\textsuperscript{20} generaliter in mandatorum suorum observatione. Unde dicit\textsuperscript{21} propheta\textsuperscript{22} Michaeae 6: Indicabo tibi, o homo,

\textsuperscript{11} hoc\textsuperscript{11} hic L
\textsuperscript{12} quatuus\textsuperscript{12} quantus MS
\textsuperscript{13} putet\textsuperscript{13} om. L
\textsuperscript{14} aliiquis\textsuperscript{14} alia L
\textsuperscript{15} petere\textsuperscript{15} congruit nisi add. L
\textsuperscript{16} faciat\textsuperscript{16} faciet B
\textsuperscript{17} facit\textsuperscript{17} tamen add. L
\textsuperscript{18} ut\textsuperscript{18} quod L
\textsuperscript{19} faciet\textsuperscript{19} faciat MS
\textsuperscript{20} opus est dei voluntate...a nobis\textsuperscript{20} om. L
\textsuperscript{21} dicit\textsuperscript{21} dicitur S
quid sit bonum et quid dominus\textsuperscript{23} requirat a te\textsuperscript{24}: facere iudicium et diligere
misericordiam et\textsuperscript{25} sollicitum\textsuperscript{26} ambulare coram deo tuo,\textsuperscript{6} ubi tria dicit ad quae
omnia mandata divina reducuntur si bene considerentur. Specialiter tamen dei\textsuperscript{27}
voluntas circa nos est triplex, secundum quod ipse "specialiter a nobis\textsuperscript{28} vult tria,"
"peccatorum conversionem;
vult enim deus conversorum sanctificationem;
sanctificatorum glorificationem."\textsuperscript{f}

De primo, Ezechielis 18\textsuperscript{29}: \textit{Nolo mortem} peccatoris, sed ut magis convertatur
et vivat\textsuperscript{30}.\textsuperscript{g} De secundo, primo\textsuperscript{31} Thessaloniensium quarto: \textit{Haec est voluntas dei}
sanctificatio vestra.\textsuperscript{h} De tertio, Iohannis 6: \textit{Haec est voluntas patris mei qui misit
me\textsuperscript{32}, ut omnis qui videt filium et credit in eum\textsuperscript{33} habeat vitam eternam.\textsuperscript{1} Hanc\textsuperscript{34} triplicem dei\textsuperscript{35} voluntatem in nobis fieri petimus cum dicimus, 'fiat voluntas tua'\textsuperscript{36}.

Illud vero quod additur, 'sicut in caelo et in terra, potest exponi tripliciter, ut respondeat isti triplici voluntati dei. Uno modo, ut per caelum intelligatur\textsuperscript{37} 'iusti', per terram, vero\textsuperscript{38} 'peccatores'. Et hoc respondet\textsuperscript{39} primae voluntati dei, ut sit sensus: 'sicut voluntas tua fit in iustis, ita fiat\textsuperscript{40} in peccatoribus', "ut ad te convertantur."

Alio\textsuperscript{41} modo, ut per caelum intelligatur vel\textsuperscript{42} accipiatur\textsuperscript{43} 'spiritus'\textsuperscript{44}, per

\textsuperscript{32} qui misit me\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{33} qui videt filium et credit in eum\textsuperscript{]} et cetera B
\textsuperscript{34} hanc\textsuperscript{]} ergo add. S
\textsuperscript{35} dei\textsuperscript{]} om. S
\textsuperscript{36} tua\textsuperscript{]} sicut in caelo et in terra add. L
\textsuperscript{37} intelligatur\textsuperscript{]} intelliguntur L
\textsuperscript{38} vero\textsuperscript{]} om. S
\textsuperscript{39} respondet\textsuperscript{]} correspondet L
\textsuperscript{40} fiat\textsuperscript{]} om. S
\textsuperscript{41} alio\textsuperscript{]} secundo S
\textsuperscript{42} intelligatur vel\textsuperscript{]} om. ML
\textsuperscript{43} vel accipiatur\textsuperscript{]} om. S
\textsuperscript{44} spiritus\textsuperscript{]} et add. L
terram 'caro'. Et sic respondet secundae voluntati\textsuperscript{45} dei, ut sit sensus: sicut voluntas tua\textsuperscript{46} fit in spiritu, quod\textsuperscript{47} non resistit tibi, ita et in corpore, ut non resistat spiritui et per consequens nec tibi. Spiritus enim\textsuperscript{48} iustorum deo non resistit sed caro\textsuperscript{49}, quia dicit Apostolus Romanorum 7: \textit{mente}, inquid, \textit{servio legi dei, carne autem legi peccati},\textsuperscript{6} et iterum: \textit{condelector\textsuperscript{50} legi\textsuperscript{51} dei secundum interiorem hominem, video\textsuperscript{52} autem aliam\textsuperscript{53} legem in membris meis\textsuperscript{54} etc\textsuperscript{55}}. Et secundum hoc, hic petimus ut caro non resistat spiritui, vel si resistat et rebellet, quod\textsuperscript{56} non praevaleat quod pertinet ad sanctificationem hominis conversi.

Tertio modo, potest exponi ut per caelum intelligentur angeli et sancti in caelo,

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{45} voluntati] voluntate L
\item\textsuperscript{46} tua] om. M
\item\textsuperscript{47} quod] qui L
\item\textsuperscript{48} enim] namque S
\item\textsuperscript{49} sed caro] om. B
\item\textsuperscript{50} condelector] enim add. B
\item\textsuperscript{51} legi] lege L
\item\textsuperscript{52} video] vidi L
\item\textsuperscript{53} aliam] om. L
\item\textsuperscript{54} meis] repugnantem legi mentis meae add SL
\item\textsuperscript{55} etc] om. L
\item\textsuperscript{56} quod] tamen add. S
\end{itemize}
per terram vero homines\textsuperscript{57} degentes in terra. Et haec expositio respondet tertiae voluntati\textsuperscript{58} dei et\textsuperscript{59} est sensus: sicut voluntas tua fit in angelis et beatis\textsuperscript{60} in caelo, qui perfecti\textsuperscript{61} sunt voluntati tuae\textsuperscript{62} conformati\textsuperscript{63}, ita et\textsuperscript{64} in nobis\textsuperscript{65} hominibus in terra, ut\textsuperscript{66} ita voluntatem tuam hic faciamus\textsuperscript{67} quod et nos in gloria tuae voluntati perfecte conformemur. Et haec triplex expositio tangitur ab Augustino\textsuperscript{m} in libro De sermone domini\textsuperscript{68} in monte super hoc loco. Dicamus ergo,

in peccatorum conversione;

\textbf{fiat voluntas tua} in conversorum sanctificatione;

\textbf{in sanctificatorum glorificatione;}

\textsuperscript{a}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{57} homines\} omnes L
  \item \textsuperscript{58} voluntati\} voluntate L
  \item \textsuperscript{59} et\} ut sic add. S
  \item \textsuperscript{60} beatis\} sanctis SL
  \item \textsuperscript{61} perfecti\} perfecte SL
  \item \textsuperscript{62} tuae\} dei L
  \item \textsuperscript{63} conformati\} confortati L
  \item \textsuperscript{64} et\} etiam fiat voluntas tua S
  \item \textsuperscript{65} nobis\} om. L
  \item \textsuperscript{66} ut\} scilicet add. S
  \item \textsuperscript{67} faciamus\} in terra add. L
  \item \textsuperscript{68} domini\} dei L
\end{itemize}
"sicut in iustis, ita in peccatoribus"

sicut in caelo, et in terra sicut in spiritu, ita et in carne

"sicut in angelis, ita in hominibus."

Notandum autem secundum Chrysostomum, quod haec clausula, "sicut in caelo et in terra", referri debet super omnes tres petitiones praemissas, verbi gratia:

"sanctificetur nomen tuum, sicut in caelo et in terra; adveniat regnum tuum, sicut in caelo et in terra; fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo et in terra," ad designandum quod hae tres petitiones perfecte complebuntur in vita futura, sed in hac vita complebuntur imperfecte, secundum modum nobis possibilem. Petimus ergo in istis tribus petitionibus, ut illa, quae in eis petimus, et hic secundum modum

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69 ita] et add. S et L
70 et] om. B
71 et] om. B
72 referri] referre L
73 designandum] signandum L
74 complebuntur] comprehenduntur L
75 complentur] complebuntur L
76 ergo] nobis add. L
77 istis] hiis L
78 in] nobis add. L
79 et hic] om. L
possibilem nobis donentur, et\textsuperscript{80} illuc\textsuperscript{81} perveniamus ubi perfecte compleantur. Unde secundum\textsuperscript{82} Augustininum\textsuperscript{83},\textsuperscript{9} hae tres petitiones complentur in vita futura, quatuor vero sequentes\textsuperscript{84} pertinet ad necessitatem vitae praesentis.

Dubitaret autem aliquis circa praedictas tres petitiones cum in qualibet earum subaudiatur 'nobis', ut sanctificetur nomen tuum, 'in nobis'; adveniat regnum tuum, 'nobis'; similiter, fiat voluntas tua, 'in nobis et a nobis,' quare salvator hoc non expressit, sed sic impersonaliter est locutus.

Ad hanc dubitationem respondens\textsuperscript{85} Chrysostomus dicit\textsuperscript{86}: "Vide," inquit, "quam caute locutus est. Non dixit pater, sanctificetur\textsuperscript{87} nomen tuum in nobis, adduc\textsuperscript{88} regnum tuum super nos, fac voluntatem tuam in nobis. Nec iterum dixit, sanctificemus nomen tuum, suscipiamus regnum tuum, faciamus voluntatem tuam.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{80} et\textsuperscript{h} \textsuperscript{ic} \textsuperscript{e} \textsuperscript{l} \textsuperscript{L} \textsuperscript{c} \textsuperscript{L} \textsuperscript{e} \textsuperscript{S} \textsuperscript{e} \textsuperscript{L}
\item \textsuperscript{81} illuc\textsuperscript{illic} \textsuperscript{S}
\item \textsuperscript{82} secundum\textsuperscript{om.} \textsuperscript{L}
\item \textsuperscript{83} Augustininum\textsuperscript{Augustinus} \textsuperscript{L}
\item \textsuperscript{84} sequentes\textsuperscript{petitiones add.} \textsuperscript{S}
\item \textsuperscript{85} respondens\textsuperscript{respondit} \textsuperscript{L}
\item \textsuperscript{86} dicit\textsuperscript{dicens} \textsuperscript{L}
\item \textsuperscript{87} sanctificetur\textsuperscript{sanctifica} \textsuperscript{L}
\item \textsuperscript{88} adduc\textsuperscript{adveniat} \textsuperscript{L}
\end{itemize}
Ne hoc aut dei tantum aut hominis tantum esse videatur sed medie\textsuperscript{89} dixit et impersonaliter\textsuperscript{90}. Nam sicut homo non potest facere bonum nisi habuerit\textsuperscript{91} adiutorium dei, sic nec deus bonum operatur in homine nisi homo voluerit."\textsuperscript{t} Haec Chrysostomus.

Per hanc petitionem excluditur invidia, quae inter cetera vitia maxime\textsuperscript{92} contrariatur divinae voluntati. Nam dei voluntati\textsuperscript{93} placet bonum hominis et malum displicet; invidio autem econverso\textsuperscript{94} placet malum alterius\textsuperscript{95} et displicet bonum. Dei etiam\textsuperscript{96} bonitas tanta est, quod etiam de malo scit bonum elicere, secundum Augustinum\textsuperscript{t}; invidi autem malitia tanta est, quod de bono malum elicit. "Est" autem "invidia," secundum Augustinum, "odium alienae felicitatis."\textsuperscript{t} Et licet hoc nomine felicitatis intelligatur prosperitas\textsuperscript{97}, successus in bono sive temperali sive spirituali,
praecipue tamen felicitas attenditur penes bonum spirituale. Bonum autem nostrum spirituale triplex est, secundum triplicem voluntatem dei, qua ipse bonum nostrum vult.

conversionis;

videlicet bonum sanctificationis;

et glorificationis.

Hoc triplex bonum invidus vellet auferre proximo si posset, immo et venam totius boni vellet aliis obstruere, quod figuratum est Genesis 26, ubi legitur quod invidentes philistini omnes puteos Isaac obstruxerunt. Sic
invidi, qui per 'philistini' intelliguntur, vellent omnes obstruere puteos, de quibus alii bonum haurire possent, ut ipsi soli felices existerent.

Introducitur autem per hanc petitionem de virtutibus caritas, cuius est divinae voluntati hominem conformare, iuxta illud Iohannis 14: *Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit* v. Nec mirum si enim amicitia naturalis facit amicorum idem velle, secundum Philosophum Ethicorum, quanto magis caritas, quae est virtus divina, habet voluntatem hominis voluntati dei conformare. Unde ipsa secundum Dionysium transformat amantem in amatum, quod intelligendum est secundum conformitatem affectuum et

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109 philistini] palestinos S philistinum L
110 de] a L
111 alii] proximi S
112 conformare] conservare L
113 14] 11 S 18 L
114 servabit] et pater meas diliget eum add. L
115 enim] est M
116 facit] animos add. S
117 8] sexto L
118 voluntati] voluntate L
119 est] om. B
120 secundum] sed L
voluntatum. Impletur autem voluntas dei in nobis per caritatem specialiter quantum ad triplicem voluntatem dei praedictam. Per caritatem
ad deum trahimur in conversione;

enim deo unimur in sanctificatione;

a deo coronamur in glorificatione.

Primum patet Oseeae 11: Traham eos in vinculis caritatis. Secundum patet Iohannis 14: Si quis diliget me etc., et ad eum veniemus et mansiones apud eum faciemus, ubi Augustinus, caritas nos separat a mundo et ipsa nos unit deo. Tertium etiam patet Iacobis primo: Beatus vir etc., et sequitur}

121 conformitatem| conformitatio L
122 affectuum| affectionum L
123 et voluntatum| om. L
124 enim| namque S
125 a| et a S
126 11| 12 L
127 vinculis| vinculos S
128 14| 18 L
129 mansiones| mansionem S
130 et ad eum...faciemus ubi| om. L
131 etiam| om. SL
132 etc. et sequitur| qui suffert temptationem quoniam cum probatus fuerit L
accipiet\textsuperscript{133} coronam vitae, quam repromisit deus diligantibus se\textsuperscript{134}.\textsuperscript{bb}

De donis\textsuperscript{135} introducitur hic\textsuperscript{136} donum consilii. Unde Glossa hic:

"spiritus\textsuperscript{137} consilii postulatur quo ipsa\textsuperscript{138} voluntas dei\textsuperscript{139} inquiritur ut a nobis impleatur."\textsuperscript{cc} Per donum enim consilii homo dirigitur quasi consilio\textsuperscript{140} a deo accepto in his ad quae humana ratio non sufficit. Per prudentiam autem et virtutes ei annexas homo sufficienter dirigitur in his quae humana ratio comprehendere potest\textsuperscript{141}. Cum ergo dicimus, 'fiat voluntas tua', petimus a deo consilium ut ipse suam voluntatem nobis insinuet et secundum eam vivere nobis donet. Itaque\textsuperscript{142} donum consilii facit nos implere triplicem voluntatem dei praedictam,

peccatum remittitur;

\begin{itemize}
\item nam per donum consili
\item gratia infunditur;
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{133} accipiet] accipiat L
\textsuperscript{134} diligantibus se] hiis qui diligunt eum L
\textsuperscript{135} de donis] om. L
\textsuperscript{136} hic] om. S
\textsuperscript{137} spiritus] donum L
\textsuperscript{138} ipsa] ipso L
\textsuperscript{139} dei] om. M
\textsuperscript{140} consilio] om. L
\textsuperscript{141} per prudentiam...comprehendere potest] om. S; in hiis...comprehendere potest] om. L
\textsuperscript{142} itaque] ita L per add. L
gloria acquiritur.

Primum patet Ieremiae 50\textsuperscript{143}: 

*Audite consilium*\textsuperscript{144} *domini*\textsuperscript{145} Et sequitur:

*Haec dicit dominus: Ecce ego suscitabo super babylonem et super*\textsuperscript{146} *habitores*\textsuperscript{147} *eius qui cor suum levaverunt contra me, quasi ventum pestilentem*\textsuperscript{148} *et mittam in babylonem ventilatores et ventilabunt eam.*\textsuperscript{166} 'Babylon' interpretatur confusio\textsuperscript{167} et signat animam peccatricem\textsuperscript{169} cuius\textsuperscript{150} habitores sunt vitia. 'Ventus pestilens' est spiritus sanctus\textsuperscript{151} peccata removens et consumens. 'Ventilatores' sunt divinae correptiones\textsuperscript{152} infirmitatum, tribulationum et poenalitatum, quibus deus peccatores ventilat et\textsuperscript{153} paleas peccatorum excuciat. De secundo et tertio simile\textsuperscript{154} potest

\textsuperscript{143} 50] 48 L 51 L in marg.

\textsuperscript{144} consilium] verbum L

\textsuperscript{145} domini] dei S

\textsuperscript{146} super] om. S

\textsuperscript{147} habitores] habitatorem L

\textsuperscript{148} pestilentem] pestilantem L

\textsuperscript{149} peccatricem] peccantem S

\textsuperscript{150} cuius] cui L

\textsuperscript{151} sanctus] om. L

\textsuperscript{152} correptiones] correctores L

\textsuperscript{153} et] ut S

\textsuperscript{154} simile] simul L
sumi quod scribitur Ecclesiastici 21: *Consilium eius*, scilicet sapientiae increatae, *sicut fons vitae permanet*155.88 Donum siquidem consilii est sicut fons vitae de quo hauritur gratia in praesenti et gloria in futuro. De quo fonte dicit propheta: *Domine apud te est fons vitae*156.88

Introducitur etiam157 per hanc petitionem beatitudo misericordiae, quae secundum Augustinum sequitur donum consilii; dicit enim in libro De sermone domini in monte: "Consilium convenit misericordibus quia unicum remedium est de tantis malis exui dimittere et dare."ii Impletur autem in misericordibus triplex voluntas dei praedicta158. Nam

\[\text{peccatum dimititur;}\]

\[\text{misericordibus gratia infunditur;}\]

\[\text{et}^{159} \text{ beatitudo promittitur.}\]

Primum patet, quia160 sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna extinguit peccata161. De secundo Psalmi162. *Iocundus homo qui miseretur et commodat;*ii

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155 permanet\[\text{ et cetera add. L}\]

156 de quo hauritur...fons vitae\[\text{ om. L}\]

157 etiam\[\text{ autem S}\]

158 impletur autem...dei praedicta\[\text{ om. L}\]

159 et\[\text{ om. SL}\]

160 quia\[\text{ om. L}\]

161 peccata\[\text{ peccatum L}\]
spiritualis autem iocunditas non est sine gratia. De tertio Proverbiorum quarto: *Qui miseretur pauperi, beatus erit*,<sup>163</sup> et<sup>163</sup> Matthei quinto<sup>164</sup>: *Beati misericordes*,<sup>11</sup> quibus pro praemio promittitur misericordia. Unde dicitur, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur. Dignum est enim ut quod aliis<sup>165</sup> propter deum impendunt<sup>166</sup>, hoc ipsi a deo recipiunt<sup>167</sup>.

De fructibus etiam<sup>168</sup> introducuntur hic tres videlicet, caritas, bonitas, et benignitas. Caritas, quidem<sup>169</sup> secundum eandem correspondentiam et adaptationem quae dicta est de virtute caritatis. Bonitas autem quae<sup>170</sup> importat bonam voluntatem benefaciendi secundum conformitatem voluntatis divinae. Benignitas etiam<sup>171</sup> qua quis voluntatem dei ferventi<sup>172</sup> desiderio implere satagit. Unde haec duo differunt,

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<sup>162</sup> psalmi<sup>i</sup> om. L  
<sup>163</sup> Prov. 4...et<sup>i</sup> om. L  
<sup>164</sup> quinto<sup>i</sup> tertio L  
<sup>165</sup> aliis<sup>i</sup> propter aliis add. B  
<sup>166</sup> impendunt<sup>i</sup> impenderunt M impenderent L  
<sup>167</sup> recipiunt<sup>i</sup> recipiunt L  
<sup>168</sup> etiam<sup>i</sup> om. L  
<sup>169</sup> quidem<sup>i</sup> qualis M  
<sup>170</sup> quae<sup>i</sup> om. S  
<sup>171</sup> etiam<sup>i</sup> et M  
<sup>172</sup> ferventi<sup>i</sup> ferventius L in add. L
quia bonitas magis importat propositum voluntatis\textsuperscript{173}; benignitas vero\textsuperscript{174} magis\textsuperscript{175} executionem\textsuperscript{176} operis\textsuperscript{177}. Dicitur enim benignus, quem\textsuperscript{178} bonus ignis amoris fervere\textsuperscript{179} facit ad benefaciendum\textsuperscript{180}.

\textsuperscript{173} voluntatis\textsuperscript{173} bonitatis L et add. L
\textsuperscript{174} vero\textsuperscript{174} om. L
\textsuperscript{175} magis\textsuperscript{175} om. L
\textsuperscript{176} executionem\textsuperscript{176} executione L
\textsuperscript{177} operis\textsuperscript{177} operum L
\textsuperscript{178} quem\textsuperscript{178} quasi L
\textsuperscript{179} fervere\textsuperscript{179} enim add. L
\textsuperscript{180} benefaciendum\textsuperscript{180} faciendum omne bonum et cetera L
Sources

a. Cf. CHRYSTOS. hom. in Matth. 19 (PG 57,279-280); PS.CHRYSTOS. Explicatio orationis patris nostris (PG 51,46).

b. Rom. 7,18.

c. Cf.: "Et certe non potest esse melior et salubrior oratio quam ut celestibus terream coequantur in hoc videlicet ut sicut voluntas divina in sanctis angelis infallibiliter impletur in celo, ita etiam homines qui sunt in terra in omnibus suis dictis, factis, et desideriis suam impleant voluntatem, que fieri non potest nisi voluntas humana divine voluntati perfectissime conformetur. Hec ergo petimus ut per gratiam suam nobis donet ut sicut eius voluntas perfecte impletur a sanctis angelis in celo, ita etiam fiat a nobis qui sumus in terra. Et hec est illa gratia ineffabilis per quam terrena celestibus conformetur." Henricus de Frimaria, Expositio Orationis Dominice, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 186r.

d. CYPR. domin. orat. 14 (CChr 3A.98,245-252).

e. Mich. 6,8.

f. Henricus de Frimaria, Expositio Orationis Dominicae, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 186r.

g. Cf. Ez. 18,32.

h. I Thess. 4,3.

i. Ioh. 6,40.

j. AUG de serm. dom. 2,6,22 (PL 34,1279; CChr 35.112,480); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,10 (ed. Marietti, 105a); cf. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,10 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25C; PL 114,101d).

k. Rom. 7,25.

l. Rom. 7,22-23.

m. Cf. AUG de serm. dom. 2,6,21-23 (PL 34,1278-1279; CChr 35,111-113).

n. Cf.: "Unde hoc verbum 'sicut in celo' potest intelligi tripliciter. Uno modo quod per celum intelligatur viri sancti; per terram autem peccatores, ut sit sensus quod sicut voluntas tua sit in sanctis tibi fideliter obsequentibus, ita etiam fiat in terra, id est, in ipsis peccatoribus ut scilicet ad te convertantur et tibi servant. Secundo modo ut per celum intelligatur spiritus, per terram, caro, ut sit sensus, sicut voluntas tua fit in spiritu in hoc quod tibi non resistit, sed tuis mandatis

p. PS.CHRYST. in Matth. 14 (PG 56,712); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,10 (ed. Marietti, 105a).

q. AUG de serm. dom. 2,10,36-37 (PL 34,1285; CChr 35.127,795-801); cf. AUG serm. 58,10 (PL 38,399) et serm. 59,5 (PL 38,402).
r. PS.CHRYST. in Matth. 14 (PG 56,712); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matt. 6,10 (ed. Marietti, 105a-b).

s. AUG in psalm. 104,17 (PL 37,1398)
t. AUG in psalm. 104,17 (PL 37,1399; CChr 40.1545,18).
v. Ioh. 14,23.
x. Cf. Dionysius De divinis nominibus 13-17 (PG 3,711-714).
y. Os. 11,4.
z. Ioh. 14,23.

aa. Cf. AUG in evang. Ioh. 76,2 (PL 35,1831; CChr 36.518,16-17).

bb. Iac. 1,12.

cc. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,10 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25B; PL 114,101c).

dd. Ier. 50,45.

ee. Ier. 51,1-2.
ff. Cf. VF 2,2 (78,87-89).

gg. Eccli. 21,16.

hh. Ps. 35,10.

ii. AUG de serm. dom. 1,4,11 (PL 34,1234-1235; CChr 35.10,209-211).

jj. Ps. 111,5.


ll. Matth. 5,7.
Lectio Sexta

Panem nostrum supersubstantialem\(^1\) da nobis hodie. Postquam petivimus\(^2\) ea\(^3\), quae respiciunt vitam futuram, nunc descendimus\(^4\) ad ea, quae respiciunt\(^5\) necessitatem vitae presentis. Quorum primum est sustentatio naturae, quam hic\(^6\) nomine panis petimus\(^7\). Unde dicit Augustinus in Enchiridion: tria, inquit, quae in primis\(^8\) petitionibus petuntur "hic inchoantur et quantumcumque proficimus, augentur in nobis, perfecte vero in alia vita possidebuntur." \(^{ab}\) "Reliquis\(^{10}\)" vero, quae sequuntur, "quatuor" petuntur "temporalia quae propter aeterna consequenda sunt necessaria." \(^{ac}\) "Panis" enim qui consequenter\(^{11}\) petitur "hic est neccessarius," \(^{ad}\) et

\(^1\) supersubstantialem] cottidianum L
\(^2\) petivimus] petimus M
\(^3\) ea] illa S
\(^4\) descendimus] descendamus S
\(^5\) respiciunt] vitam presentam seu add. S ad add. L
\(^6\) hic] hoc M
\(^7\) quam hic nomine panis petimus] om. L
\(^8\) primis] tribus add. S
\(^9\) possidebuntur] possidentur S possidebimus L
\(^{10}\) reliquis] reliquaue L
\(^{11}\) consequenter] communiter L
ita de aliis. Exponitur autem haec particula, dicitur\textsuperscript{12} primo de pane materiali, secundo de pane mystico et\textsuperscript{13} spirituali.

Exponendo de pane materiali sciendum\textsuperscript{14} quod hic in sex dictionibus, sex includuntur circumstantiae circa sumptionem cibi corporalis attendendae\textsuperscript{15}. Primo, namque resecatur superfluitas, per hoc quod dicitur\textsuperscript{16} 'panem'; non ait\textsuperscript{17} carnes non\textsuperscript{18} pisces nec\textsuperscript{19} aliquod superfluum, sed solum quod necessarium est naturae, quod signatur\textsuperscript{20} per panem, Ecclesiastici\textsuperscript{21} 29: \textit{Initium vitae hominis aqua et panis.}

Secundo, resecatur rapacitas, ut homo non rapiat nec alias sibi\textsuperscript{22} cibum illicitum usurpet vel illicite\textsuperscript{23} acquirat, per hoc quod dicitur 'nostrum' non alienum.

\textsuperscript{12} dicitur\textsuperscript{12} dupliciter S differenter L
\textsuperscript{13} et\textsuperscript{13} id est L
\textsuperscript{14} sciendum\textsuperscript{14} dicendum B
\textsuperscript{15} attendendae\textsuperscript{15} attendendo L
\textsuperscript{16} dicitur\textsuperscript{16} dicit L
\textsuperscript{17} ait\textsuperscript{17} dicit S
\textsuperscript{18} non\textsuperscript{18} nec ML vel S
\textsuperscript{19} nec\textsuperscript{19} vel S
\textsuperscript{20} signatur\textsuperscript{20} significatur L
\textsuperscript{21} 29\textsuperscript{21} secundo L
\textsuperscript{22} sibi\textsuperscript{22} om. L
\textsuperscript{23} usurpet vel illicite\textsuperscript{23} om. L
Unde Chrysostomus: "Qui de iustitia panem acquisitum manducat, suum panem manducat; qui autem cum peccato, alienum." 

Tertio, resecatur gulositas vel leccacitas ut scilicet in summendo non quaerat leccacitatem et delectationem, sed naturae sustentationem, per hoc quod dicitur 'supersubstantialem', id est superadditum substantiae. Cibus enim cum convertitur quasi substantiae nostrae superadditum et sic per restaurationem deperditi corpus sustentatur. Ad illum ergo finem cibus debet sumi ut substantia naturae nostrae superteneatur et sustentetur. Unde dicit Augustinus 10 Confessionum: "Hoc me docuisti domine ut quemadmodum medicamenta sic alimenta sumpturus accedam." 

24 unde] om. L
25 vel leccacitas] om. L vel voracitas seu leccacitas S
26 summendo] homo add. S
27 leccacitatem et] gulositatem vel L
28 cum] non B in carnem add. S
29 quasi] om. L
30 sustentatur] restauratur atque sustentatur L
31 unde dicit] ut L
32 10 Confessionum] om. L
33 hoc] om. L
34 dicit] dicitur L
Lucas dicit cottidianum, et refertur ad idem. Quia enim cottidie in nobis fit deperditio, necesse est cottidie fiat restauratio. Unde oportet quod panis restaurativus et sustentativus sit cottidianus, ut sit sensus: 'panem nostrum cottidianum', id est, quo cottidie indigemus sine quo in vita ista subsistere non valemus. Vel etiam cottidianum potest referri ad idem cum eo quod subditur 'hodie', ut patebit.

Quarto, resecatur ingratitude, ne scilicet homo praesumat de se posse habere sustentationem, per hoc quod dicitur 'da', quasi dicat quia nec minimum granum ex nobis habere possumus nisi tu des, Psalmi: *Qui dat escam omni carnī.*

Sed dices, si panis noster est, quomodo petimus eum nobis dari, quod enim noster est iam habemus? Item, videtur quod dives non habeat dicere hanc
petitionem cum iam panem sufficientem habeat.

Dicendum secundum 46 Gregorium in Moralibus 47: panis quem habemus "dei est 48 ex munere, noster per" usum et "acceptionem"; vel 49 secundum Chrysostomum: panem nostrum 50 quem iam habemus a deo nobis dari petimus, "ut dum" ab eo "datur, sanctificatus accipiatur." Panem ergo "nostrum, id est quem nos 51 iam habemus, paratum" de tuo munere "da nobis 52 ut a te sanctificetur, sicut 53 sacerdos accipiens 54 panem a laico sanctificat et porrigit ei 55, panis enim 56 offerentis est sed 57 quod sanctificatum est, beneficium est sacerdotis."k Et

45 habeat] videtur L
46 secundum] quod L
47 moralibus] dicit add. S
48 est] om. L
49 vel] unde L
50 nostrum] om. L
51 nos] om. L
52 da nobis] om. L
53 sicut] igitur L
54 accipiens] sumes L
55 ei] om. L
56 enim] om. L
57 sed] secundum L
secundum hoc erit\textsuperscript{58} sensus: 'panem nostrum cottidianum da', id est benedic et sanctifica. In quo docemur quod cibus absque benedictione non est sumendus. Et secundum hunc modum exponendi\textsuperscript{59} cum dicimus, 'panem nostrum cottidianum da'\textsuperscript{60} etc.\textsuperscript{61}, idem sensus est sicut\textsuperscript{62} cum dicimus in benedictione mensae\textsuperscript{63}:

Benedic, domine\textsuperscript{64}, dona tua, quae de largitate tua sumus sumpturi\textsuperscript{65}. Unde homo devotus\textsuperscript{66} tali\textsuperscript{67} mente\textsuperscript{68} debet sumere cibum, ac si sibi de manu domini\textsuperscript{69} praesentialiter\textsuperscript{70} ministretur\textsuperscript{71}.

\textsuperscript{58} erit] est S
\textsuperscript{59} exponendi] exponendum est L
\textsuperscript{60} cottidianum da] om. L
\textsuperscript{61} etc.] om. S
\textsuperscript{62} sicut] om. S
\textsuperscript{63} in benedictione mensae] om. L
\textsuperscript{64} domine] haec add. S nos et add. L
\textsuperscript{65} quae...sumpturi] om. L
\textsuperscript{66} devotus] denotus L
\textsuperscript{67} tali] nempe add. L
\textsuperscript{68} mente] benedictione L
\textsuperscript{69} domini] dei L
\textsuperscript{70} praesentialiter] principaliter L
\textsuperscript{71} ministretur] ministaretur L
Quinto, resecatur incommunitas\textsuperscript{72}, ut scilicet\textsuperscript{73} homo ita\textsuperscript{74} sibi cibum non appropriet quin\textsuperscript{75} etiam\textsuperscript{76} alii indigentibus communicet\textsuperscript{77}, per hoc quod dicitur 'nobis' non\textsuperscript{78} mihi solum\textsuperscript{79}. Unde Chrysostomus: "omnia quae nobis deus dat\textsuperscript{80}, per nos aliis dat, ut de eo quod accepmus partem impotentibus\textsuperscript{81} faciamus,"\textsuperscript{1} iuxta illud: \textit{Mittite partes eis\textsuperscript{82} qui\textsuperscript{83} non praeparaverunt sibi.}\textsuperscript{m} Et\textsuperscript{84} ideo dicit Augustinus: "dicit\textsuperscript{85}," inquit, "tibi Christus, da mihi ex eo quod\textsuperscript{86} dedi tibi\textsuperscript{87},

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{72} incommunitas\textsuperscript{]} incommunicativitas ML

\textsuperscript{73} ut scilicet\textsuperscript{]} ne si L

\textsuperscript{74} ita\textsuperscript{]} om. L

\textsuperscript{75} quin\textsuperscript{]} quando S

\textsuperscript{76} etiam\textsuperscript{]} om. L

\textsuperscript{77} communicet\textsuperscript{]} communicaret L

\textsuperscript{78} non\textsuperscript{]} peto add. L

\textsuperscript{79} solum\textsuperscript{]} soli S

\textsuperscript{80} dat\textsuperscript{]} om. L

\textsuperscript{81} impotentibus\textsuperscript{]} in depetentibus S in potioribus L

\textsuperscript{82} eis\textsuperscript{]} illis L

\textsuperscript{83} qui\textsuperscript{]} quae M

\textsuperscript{84} et\textsuperscript{]} om. L

\textsuperscript{85} dicit\textsuperscript{]} om. S

\textsuperscript{86} quod\textsuperscript{]} ego add. M

\textsuperscript{87} tibi\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\end{flushleft}
habuisti largitorem, habe debitorem, habe feneratorem.

Sexto, resecatur nimia sollicitudo, ne scilicet homo nimis sollicitetur in providendo\(^88\) sibi in futurum, per hoc quod dicit\(^89\) 'hodie', non per 30 vel 40 annos immo nec per cras, quia nescimus si in crastinum perveniemus\(^90\).\(^9\) Ex qua etiam ratione dicit dominus Matthei \(^7\)\(^91\): *Nolite solliciti esse in crastinum. Crastinus*\(^92\) *enim dies sollicitus erit sibi; sufficit enim diei malitia sua.*\(^9\) Ad hoc etiam referri potest, quod Lucas dicit\(^93\) cottidianum non annuum vel\(^94\) decem annis\(^95\) provisum et in horreis reservatum. Unde dicit Chrysostomus: pro cibo cottidiano oramus, ut nequaquam "ulterioris\(^96\) diei cura" concurrat, crastinae\(^97\) enim diei "spatium te visurum" esse nescis quam ob causam in\(^98\) illius\(^99\) sollicitudine\(^100\) torqueris.\(^8\)

\(^88\) in providendo\] om. L

\(^89\) dicit\] dicitur S

\(^90\) perveniemus\] perveniamus ML

\(^91\) 7\]] 6 S

\(^92\) crastinus\] crastina L

\(^93\) dicit\] dicitur L

\(^94\) vel\] a add. M

\(^95\) annis\] annos et L

\(^96\) ulterioris\] ulteriora L

\(^97\) crastinae\] crastina L

\(^98\) in\] om. S
Et hoc est proprie perfectorum, qui cupientes dissolvi petunt regnum dei, ut de vita presenti non sollicitentur. Unde dicit Cyprianus: "Diurnum cibum discipulus Christi debet petere; contrarium enim esset et repugnans si nos qui petimus regnum dei velociter advenire quaeremus in hoc saeculo diu manere."

Et notandum quod non dicitur 'cibus diurnus' vel 'cottidianus' qui una die potest consumi, sed qui sufficit ad sustentationem naturae pro una die secundum moderamen rationis. Et hoc est quod dicit Cyprianus: panem cottidianum petere instruimur "ut tantum quis manducet quantum ratio naturalis exigit non quantum lascivia carnis impellit. Si enim in uno convivio tantum expendas

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99 in illius] nullius L
100 sollicitudine] sollicitudinem L
101 et] om. L
102 contrarium] contrariumque L
103 enim] om. L
104 quaeremus] quaeramus L
105 manere] permanere S
106 una] uno L
107 impellit] petit L
108 si] sine L
109 in] om. L
quantum tibi sufficere\textsuperscript{110} potest\textsuperscript{111} centum , diebus iam noncottidanum cibum
manducas, sed multorum dierum."\textsuperscript{8}

Alio\textsuperscript{112} modo haec petitio\textsuperscript{113} potest exponi de pane mystico et spirituali; et
sic exponendo, possumus dicere quod "est triplex\textsuperscript{114}" panis\textsuperscript{115},
"doctrinalis; intelligentiae
panis sacramentalis; vel sic panis\textsuperscript{116} eucharistiae
et caelestis\textsuperscript{117},
gloriae\textsuperscript{118}.

"Primus\textsuperscript{119} repellit famen erroris\textsuperscript{120}. Secundus\textsuperscript{121} est in\textsuperscript{122} nutrimentum
amoris. Tertius praebet delectamentum saporis. "

De primo pane dicitur Ecclesiastici 15: Cibavit illum panem vitae et intellectus, et Matthei quarto: non in solo pane vivit homo etc. Iste panis
"dicitur supersubstantialis quia superadditur substantiae animae nostrae" informans ipsam habitibus nobilibus, puta scientiis, virtutibus et spiritualibus carismatibus.

Unde dicit Augustinus in De verbis domini: 'panis supersubstantialis' dicitur eo quod animae nostrae substantiam fulcit; "dicitur 'cottidianum' quia cottidie necesse" est, "ut nobis ab ore doctorum administretur" ut dicit Chrysostomus. Hunc panem petimus nobis dari, id est quamdiu sumus in hac vita. Tota enim praesens vita est quasi quoddam 'hodie' dicente Apostolo Hebraeorum

122 in] om. SL
123 tertius] quartus S
124 cibavit] cibabit L
125 etc] sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore dei L
126 in] om. L
127 fulcit] fulcitur L
128 dicitur] etiam add. MS autem add. L
129 dari] om. B
130 est] om. M
131 hodie] pensatur add. in marg. M
tertio: hortamini\textsuperscript{132} vos\textsuperscript{133} per singulos dies donec Hodie cognominatur. In futura autem vita iste panis non erit necessarius, quia nullus erit ibi ignorans\textsuperscript{134}, sed erunt\textsuperscript{135} docibles omnes dei, Johannis 6\textsuperscript{136}.

De secundo\textsuperscript{137} pane, scilicet eucharistiae\textsuperscript{138}, dicitur Johannis 6: Ego sum panis vivus, etc.\textsuperscript{139} cc Unde Hieronymus super Mattheum\textsuperscript{140}: "Quando\textsuperscript{141} petimus ut panem nobis deus\textsuperscript{142} tribuat, panem illum petimus qui dicit in evangelio: Ego sum panis vivus, etc." dd Iste panis dicitur supersubstantialis quod secundum

\textsuperscript{132} hortamini] hortamur B hortantur L

\textsuperscript{133} vos] vosmetipsos S

\textsuperscript{134} ignorans S

\textsuperscript{135} ibi add. L


\textsuperscript{137} tertio S

\textsuperscript{138} eucharistiae] sacramentalis sive eucharistiae S

\textsuperscript{139} de caelo descendit L

\textsuperscript{140} om. L

\textsuperscript{141} cum S

\textsuperscript{142} om. S
Hieronymum in Greco 'epusyon'\textsuperscript{143} dicitur quod quidam\textsuperscript{144} interpretantur\textsuperscript{145} egregium vel peculiarem\textsuperscript{146}. Et re vera iste benedictus panis est summe\textsuperscript{147} egregius et nobis maxime peculiaris.\textsuperscript{48} Non enim est tam grandis natio quam habeat deos appropinquantes sibi sicut adest\textsuperscript{148} nobis dominus\textsuperscript{149} deus noster. Ex eo videlicet quod\textsuperscript{150} manducamus istum sanctissimum panem, quo deo unimur, propter quod dicitur esse\textsuperscript{151} sacramentum unitatis. Unde dicitur\textsuperscript{152} Iohannis 6: \textit{Qui manducat meam carnem etc.}\textsuperscript{154}, \textit{in me manet et ego in eo.}\textsuperscript{ff} Dicitur etiam panis\textsuperscript{155} cottidianus, quia cottidie, id est omni die, sumendus est\textsuperscript{156}. Unde Augustinus\textsuperscript{88} in

\textsuperscript{143} epusyon] epyusion M epinsion S epuisin L
\textsuperscript{144} quidam] quidem S
\textsuperscript{145} interpretantur] interpretatur S
\textsuperscript{146} peculiarem] peculiare S
\textsuperscript{147} summe] om. L
\textsuperscript{148} adest] om. S
\textsuperscript{149} dominus] om. SL
\textsuperscript{150} quod] om. L
\textsuperscript{151} esse] om. L
\textsuperscript{152} unde dicitur] om. L
\textsuperscript{153} carnem] om. M
\textsuperscript{154} etc] et bibit sanguinem meum L
\textsuperscript{155} panis] iste add. S
\textsuperscript{156} est] om. S
libro De verbis domini¹⁵⁷: "accipe coddidie quod coddidie tibi prosit, sic vive ut
coddidie merearis accipere." Qui non meretur coddidie accipere¹⁵⁸, non meretur post
annum accipere¹⁵⁹." Si ergo panis iste coddidianus est, cur post annum illum¹⁶⁰
sumas¹⁶¹? Et subdit Augustinusʰʰ ibidem¹⁶²: "Si coddidie accipis¹⁶³, coddidie est
tibi hodie Christus tibi¹⁶⁴ coddidie resurgit: hodie enim est quando Christus
resurgit¹⁶⁵. "si Hunc etiam panem petimus dari nobis hodie, id est in¹⁶⁶ vita
praesentī," ut supra¹⁶⁷, "quia in vita futura" non accipientem¹⁶⁸ sub sacramenti
"accidentibus velatum," il sed¹⁶⁹ secundum Apostolum: Revelata facie gloriarm

¹⁵⁷ in libro de verbis domini] om. L
¹⁵⁸ accipere] om. M
¹⁵⁹ qui non...annum accipere] om. L
¹⁶⁰ illum] om. L
¹⁶¹ sumas] sumis S
¹⁶² ibidem] om. L
¹⁶³ accipis] accipias M
¹⁶⁴ tibi] om. S
¹⁶⁵ Hodie enim...resurgit] om. L
¹⁶⁶ in] hac add. M
¹⁶⁷ ut supra] om. L
¹⁶⁸ accipientem] deum add. S
¹⁶⁹ sed] om. L
domini speculantes in eandem imaginem transformabimus a claritate in claritatem, tanquam a domini spiritu, secundo Corinthiorum tertio.

De tertio pane scilicet caelesti sive gloriae dicitur Lucae 14: Beatus qui manducat panem in regno dei. Et bene 'illa beata fruitio dicitur 'panis', quia sicut panis corporalis "satiat appetitum" edentis, "sic fruitio" illa "satiat desiderium contemplantis, Psalmi: Satiabor cum apparerit gloria tua. Reficimur autem ibi non solum" visione "divinitatis," sed et pascimur deliciosa contemplatione humanitatis in Christo. Propter quod sciendum, quod
secundum\textsuperscript{183} Bernardum,\textsuperscript{\infty} Christus dicitur triplex panis. Ipse enim\textsuperscript{184} est subcinericius in incarnatione;

panis reversatus in resurrectione;

triticeus in nudae divinitatis\textsuperscript{185} ostentatione.

Panis subcinericius est 'deus homo'. Quid enim, ut\textsuperscript{186} ait Bernardus, est deus nisi vita et panis? Quid\textsuperscript{187} est homo nisi pulvis et cinis? Et\textsuperscript{188} quid est in\textsuperscript{189} una persona deus latens et homo patens nisi panis subcinericius? Panis ergo subcinericius est panis\textsuperscript{190} sub cinere, deus latens sub\textsuperscript{191} homine, et hoc erat Christus ante resurrectionem.

Panis reversatus\textsuperscript{192} est\textsuperscript{193} 'homo deus', scilicet post resurrectionem. Prius

\textsuperscript{183} secundum} beatum add. M
\textsuperscript{184} enim} om. M
\textsuperscript{185} divinitatis} deitatis S
\textsuperscript{186} ut} om. S
\textsuperscript{187} quid} et quid ML
\textsuperscript{188} et} om. L
\textsuperscript{189} in} om. L
\textsuperscript{190} panis ergo subcinericius est panis} repeated L
\textsuperscript{191} sub} substantiae L
\textsuperscript{192} reversatus} reservatus L
\textsuperscript{193} est} econtro add. M econcerto add. SL
enim quasi\textsuperscript{194} cinis panem occultavit\textsuperscript{195}, post vero quasi panis cinerem celavit. Quando enim Christus habuit corpus glorificatum tunc humanitas quasi in eo celata fuit. Unde ante passionem humanitas in eo\textsuperscript{196} manifesta fuit\textsuperscript{197}, divinitas latebat. Et ideo tunc per miracula et praedicationem divinitatem\textsuperscript{198} probare et mundo ostendere oportebat. Post resurrectionem vero magis probationi humanitatis quam divinitatis insistebat. Unde tunc tactu, esu, et multis aliis argumentis se verum\textsuperscript{199} esse hominem probabat.

Panis triticeus sine omni cinere est\textsuperscript{200}, sine furfure, sine aenigmate, sed de simul\textsuperscript{201} purissima. Haec est nuda deitas\textsuperscript{202}. Hic panis est deus, nam secundum Bernardum,\textsuperscript{pp} devotioni\textsuperscript{203} non sufficit semel\textsuperscript{204} dicere 'deus'; vox enim devota

\textsuperscript{194} quasi] om. L
\textsuperscript{195} occultavit] occultavitur S
\textsuperscript{196} quasi in eo...humanitas in eo] om. L; in eo] om. S
\textsuperscript{197} fuit] et add. S
\textsuperscript{198} divinitatem] deitatem S
\textsuperscript{199} verum] unum M
\textsuperscript{200} est] om. L
\textsuperscript{201} simula] simila S
\textsuperscript{202} deitas] divinitas ML
\textsuperscript{203} devotioni] devotion L
\textsuperscript{204} semel] solus L
est 'deus, deus meus', hoc faciat mihi deus, et hoc addat ut sit 'deus, deus meus'.

Quid enim proderit mihi deus, si non sit deus meus?

Christus ergo est panis beatorum subcinericius in quantum reficit eos suae humanitatis passibilitate, quae ibi apparat in cicatricum ostentatione. Haec est enim una causarum quare dominus noster cicatrices in suo corpore reservaverit, ut videlicet beati de eis habeant gaudium singulare.

Est autem panis reversatus in quantum reficit eos eiusdem humanitatis glorificatione et sublimatione. Ex hoc nempe beati habent gaudium singulare, quod vident suam naturam tanta claritate dotatam et sublimatam ac

\[\text{hoc faciat mihi...ut sit deus, deus meus]} \quad \text{om. L}\]

\[\text{si]} \quad \text{sit L}\]

\[\text{ergo]} \quad \text{enim L}\]

\[\text{suae]} \quad \text{sub L}\]

\[\text{videlicet]} \quad \text{om. L}\]

\[\text{eis]} \quad \text{eo L}\]

\[\text{autem]} \quad \text{etiam L}\]

\[\text{reversatus]} \quad \text{reservatus M}\]

\[\text{beati]} \quad \text{om. L}\]

\[\text{suam]} \quad \text{humanam L}\]

\[\text{dotatam]} \quad \text{devotam L}\]

\[\text{et sublimatam]} \quad \text{om. L}\]
idemptitate suppositi verbi quasi in sinu trinitatis collocatam. Unde\textsuperscript{217}

Bernardus\textsuperscript{218} super Cantica\textsuperscript{219}: plenum est suavitatis dulcedinae videre ibi hominem\textsuperscript{219}, hominis conditorem.

Est propterea panis triticeus, in quantum ipsos reficit nudae divinitatis ostentatione, quam\textsuperscript{220} in ipso clare et nude feliciter contemplantur. Et sic sive ingrediantur\textsuperscript{221} per divinitatis contemplationem\textsuperscript{222}, sive egrediantur\textsuperscript{223} per humanitatis intuitionem\textsuperscript{224} semper\textsuperscript{225} pascua inveniunt\textsuperscript{226} per\textsuperscript{227} novae dulcedinis degustationem. De quibus pascuis dicit Gregorius: "quae sunt illa pascua nisi interna semper virentis\textsuperscript{228} paradisi gaudia?"\textsuperscript{217} Pascua namque electorum sunt

\textsuperscript{217} unde\textsuperscript{]} secundum add. L

\textsuperscript{218} Bernardus\textsuperscript{]} Bernardum L

\textsuperscript{219} hominem\textsuperscript{]} et add. B

\textsuperscript{220} quam\textsuperscript{]} quae L

\textsuperscript{221} ingrediantur\textsuperscript{]} ingrediamur S

\textsuperscript{222} per divinitatis contemplationem\textsuperscript{]} ad contemplationis excellentiam S

\textsuperscript{223} egrediantur\textsuperscript{]} egrediamur S ingrediantur L

\textsuperscript{224} intuitionem\textsuperscript{]} intentionem L

\textsuperscript{225} semper\textsuperscript{]} propter L

\textsuperscript{226} inveniunt\textsuperscript{]} inveniemus S invenientis L

\textsuperscript{227} per\textsuperscript{]} pro L

\textsuperscript{228} virentis\textsuperscript{]} virentia L
praesens vultus dei, qui dum sine defectu conspicitur, sine fine mens cibo satiatur. 

Iste igitur gloriosus panis\textsuperscript{229} dicitur supersubstantialis, quia super omnes substantias est et omnes superat creaturas. Dicitur etiam cottidianus, quia cottidie, id est aeternaliter, ipso reficiemur\textsuperscript{220} et nec uno momento sine ipso subsistere possumus.

Hunc panem petimus nobis dari hodie dupliciter: uno modo 'hodie', id est in praesenti vita per quandam praegustationem; alio modo 'hodie', id est in aeternitate per beatam fruitionem. Dicamus ergo panem nostrum cottidianum, materialem, doctrinalem, sacramentalem, caelestem\textsuperscript{231}, da nobis hodie in\textsuperscript{232} ista die, in vita praesenti, in aeternitate\textsuperscript{233}.

Per hanc petitionem excluditur gula, quod planum est ex dictis\textsuperscript{234} si exponatur de pane materiali quia\textsuperscript{235} omnes species gulae per eam resecantur, ut

\textsuperscript{229} panis\] cibus seu panis S
\textsuperscript{230} reficiemur\] respiciemur L
\textsuperscript{231} doctrinalem, sacramentalem, caelestem\] om. S
\textsuperscript{232} in\] id est S
\textsuperscript{233} dicamus ergo panem...in aeternitate\] om. B; panem nostrum...in aeternitate\] Panem nostrum quotidianum doctrinalem da nobis hodie, id est, in vita praesenti. Panem nostrum quotidianum luctualem da nobis hodie in vita praesenti. Panem nostrum sacramentalem da nobis hodie id est in vita praesenti. Panem nostrum quotidianum caelestem da nobis hodie id est in aeternitate. S panem nostrum materialem da nobis hodie, id est, in ista die, doctrinalem da nobis hodie in vita praesenti, sacramentalem da nobis hodie in vita, caelestem da nobis hodie, id est, in aeternitate L
\textsuperscript{234} dictis\] praedictis S
\textsuperscript{235} quia\] om. L
visum est. Exponendo etiam de pane spirituali, dicere possimus quod gula tria mala
facit per quae impedit hominem a sumptione triplicis panis praedicti. Nam
intellectum obumbrat et hebetat;
gula diabolum hospitium praeparat;
ad infernum hominem deducit et devorat.

Propter primum gula impedit verbi dei intellectionem; propter secundum impedit
eucharistiae sumptionem; propter tertium impedit gloriae fruitionem.

Primum patet in Psalmo: *Turbati sunt et moti sunt sicut ebrius et omnis sapientia eorum devorata est.* Per ebrietatem enim et crapulam intellectus
hominis turbatur et confunditur et extra naturalem perspicaciam movetur et per

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236 triplicis quadruplicis S
237 et hebetat om. L; hebetat praesentis vitae solatia procreat add. S
238 hominem om. L
239 gula om. L
240 intellectionem propter secundum impedit luctum et praesentis vitae miseriae add. S
241 secundum tertium S
242 impedit om. L
243 tertium quartum S
244 ebrius ebreus M
245 et omnis...est om. L
246 perspicaciam prospicaciam S
consequens omnis sapientia et scientia eius devoratur, id est devorando perditur. Per hoc autem gula impedit nos a sumptione primi panis puta a verbi dei intellectione, immo inducit eius oblivionem. Unde Oseae 13: *saturati sunt et levaverunt cor suum et obliti sunt mei*.

Secundum patet Matthei viii, ubi legio daemonum dicebat: *Mitte nos in porcos.* Ex quo datur intelligi quod diabolus libenter habitat in gulosis, qui per porcos intelliguntur. Propter quod gula impedit eucharistiae perceptionem.

Christus enim cum diabolo in eodem hospitio habitare desiderat, quae enim conventio Christi ad belial, 2 Corinthiorum 6.

Tertium patet Lucae 16 de divite epulone qui sepultus est in

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247 Osee 13] Jeremie duodecimo L

248 mei] S add.: "Secundum patet Exodi iii et 1 Corinthiorum iiiij, sedit populus manducare et bibere et surrexerunt ludere. Et per hoc gula impedit luctum pro quanto in presenti homines gaudere facit. Unde Gregorius 1 Moralium, Pene semper epulas concomitatur voluptas. Nam cum corpus in refectionis delectatione resoluitur, cor ad inane gaudium relaxatur."

249 secundum] tertium S

250 perceptionem] sumptionem S

251 quae] quid L

252 tertium] quartum S

253 16] undevicesimo L

254 divite] splendide add. S

255 epulone] epulante S
inferno. Et per hoc gula impedit nos a perceptione tertii\textsuperscript{256} panis, scilicet gloriae caelestis, quod patet cum sint mansiones oppositae infernus\textsuperscript{257} et caelum.

Unde et\textsuperscript{258} propter gulam homo de paradiso est eiectus.

Introducit autem\textsuperscript{259} per hanc petitionem de virtutibus fortitudo, cuius est in adversis comfortare. Unde bene per panem signatur, quia \textit{panis cor hominis confirmat}, ut dicitur in Psalmo\textsuperscript{260}.\textsuperscript{xx} Hanc\textsuperscript{261} fortitudinem introducit triplex\textsuperscript{262} panis spiritualis. Primo, panis intelligentiae. Unde postquam dixit sapiens Ecclesiastici 15: \textit{Cibavit\textsuperscript{263} illum panem\textsuperscript{264} vitae et intellectus}, statim subdit\textsuperscript{265}, \textit{firmabitur in illo et non flectetur}.\textsuperscript{37} In cuius etiam figura legitur Maccabaeorum\textsuperscript{266}.

\textsuperscript{256} tertii] quarti S
\textsuperscript{257} infernus] infernum S scilicet add. L
\textsuperscript{258} et] om. M etiam S
\textsuperscript{259} autem] om. L
\textsuperscript{260} ut dicitur in Psalmo] om. L
\textsuperscript{261} hanc] unde hanc L
\textsuperscript{262} triplex] quadruplex S
\textsuperscript{263} cibavit] cibabit B
\textsuperscript{264} panem] pane S
\textsuperscript{265} subdit] subditur S
\textsuperscript{266} Maccabaeorum] ii Maccabaeorum S
15: De iuda quod armavit socios suos non in\textsuperscript{267} clypeo vel\textsuperscript{268} hasta sed sermonibus optimis\textsuperscript{269}.

Secundo\textsuperscript{270}, confortat etiam\textsuperscript{271} panis eucharistiae, quod figuratum est in pane subcinericio. In cuius fortitudine Helias \textit{ambulavit}\textsuperscript{272} \textit{40 diebus}\textsuperscript{273} et \textit{40 noctibus}\textsuperscript{274} \textit{usque ad montem dei oreb}, ut legitur tertio Regum 19\textsuperscript{275}.\textsuperscript{aaa} Panis inquam sacramentalis aptissime figuratus est per panem subcinericium, quia corpus Christi\textsuperscript{276} latet sub accidentibus alienis sicut ibi\textsuperscript{277} panis sub cinere\textsuperscript{278}. In

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{267} in\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{268} vel\textsuperscript{]} et S
\item \textsuperscript{269} optimis\textsuperscript{]} S add.: "Secundo confortat mentem et si non ventrem panis luctus et mesticiae, Thobiae iii. Post luctationem et fletum exultationem infundis. Unde Cass. super illud Psalmi: Surgite postquam sederitis qui manducatis panem doloris, dicit sic: Revera perfectis Christianis ipse dolor panis est cum se de afflictione reficiunt et de mundana tristica consolantur et spiritu roborantur."
\item \textsuperscript{270} secundo\textsuperscript{]} tertio S
\item \textsuperscript{271} etiam\textsuperscript{]} et ML
\item \textsuperscript{272} ambulavit\textsuperscript{]} ambulabat S
\item \textsuperscript{273} diebus\textsuperscript{]} dies L
\item \textsuperscript{274} noctibus\textsuperscript{]} noctes L
\item \textsuperscript{275} ut legitur tertio Regum 19\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{276} Christi\textsuperscript{]} licet add. L
\item \textsuperscript{277} ibi\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{278} sub cinere\textsuperscript{]} subcinericius L
\end{itemize}
fortitudine istius panis ambulamus per decalogue praeceptorum et quaternarii
perfectionis²⁷⁹ evangelicae tam inter prospera, quae per diem, quam inter²⁸⁰
adversa, quae per noctem, intelliguntur donec perveniamus ad montem dei Oreb²⁸¹
celsitudinem, id est²⁸², caelestis beatitudinis.

Tertio²⁸³, causat in nobis fortitudinem panis vitae aeternae, etiam²⁸⁴ sola
spe hic gustatus. Unde Isaiae 30²⁸⁵: *In silentio et spe erit fortitudo vestra.* bbb

De donis etiam introductur hic donum fortitudinis. Unde²⁸⁶ dicit²⁸⁷ Glossa
super Mattheum: cum panis spiritualis petitur, spiritus fortitudinis postulatur quo
"esuries iustitiae ut ad saturitatem pertingat, at fulcitur."⁶⁶⁶ Correspondeat autem hoc
donum triplici²⁸⁸ pane²⁸⁹ eodem²⁹⁰ modo, quo de virtute fortintinis dictum est.

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²⁷⁹ perfectionis] doctrinae L
²⁸⁰ prospera...inter] om. M
²⁸¹ Oreb] ad add. S scilicet add. L
²⁸² id est] scilicet M om. L
²⁸³ tertio] quarto S
²⁸⁴ etiam] in S
²⁸⁵ 30] tertio L
²⁸⁶ unde] ut L
²⁸⁷ dicit] om. L
²⁸⁸ triplici] quadruplici S
²⁸⁹ pane] pani L
Qualiter autem differat fortitudo ut est virtus et ut\textsuperscript{291} est donum, patere potest ex his quae dicentur infra ante finem\textsuperscript{292} opusculi ante Amen.

De beatitudinibus\textsuperscript{293} vero introducitur per hanc petitionem 'esuries iustitiae', ut patet per Glossam iam dictam de dono fortitudinis. Est\textsuperscript{294} autem esuries et sitis hic vehemens desiderium boni, quia secundum Hieronymum: "Non satis est velle iustitiam nisi iustitiae patiamur famem, ut sic sub hoc exemplo numquam nos satis iustos\textsuperscript{295} et semper esurire iustitiae opera intelligamus\textsuperscript{296}."

Simile\textsuperscript{297} dicitur Bernardus in epistola: "Numquam iustus arbitratur se comprehendisse. Numquam dicit satis est, sed semper esurit\textsuperscript{298} sititque iustitiam. Ita ut si semper viveret semper\textsuperscript{299} quantum in se est iustior esse contenderet."

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300 accipitur] accipiatur S
301 secundum] sed L
302 ea] eo L
303 triplicem] quadruplicem S
304 spirituali] om. L
305 magis] plus SL
306 quanto] plus add. S
308 16] 18 SL
309 in vitis] minusa [?] L
sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibus etc. sanctum dare canibu
illud Psalmi: Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua. Propter quod convenienter huic beatitudini saturitas respondet pro praemio, in qua impleio desideriorum significatur, quam adimpletionem propheta expectit. cum dicebat: Adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo. Quod verbum pertractans Bernardus dicit: hic quidem est gustus, sed ibi adimpletio, cum erit deus omnia in omnibus. De fructibus per hanc petitionem introductur modestia, cuius est in omnibus exterioribus actionibus et rebus modum servare. Nam per istam petitionem omnis

321 responde] correspondet L
324 praemio] primo L
325 qua] quo SL
326 desideriorum] om. L
327 significatur] signatur MS signatum L
328 quam] quantum L
329 expetit] petiit SL
330 pertractans] tractans L
331 est] erit L
332 adimpletio] impleio L
333 erit] dicitur L
334 exterioribus] executionibus L
immoderatus usus rerum temporalium resectatur, secundum primam expositionem et patet\textsuperscript{335}.

\textsuperscript{335} et patet\textsuperscript{L} et cetera L
Sources

a. "...ubi sciendum secundum Augustinum, quod Christus in tribus primis petitionibus docuit nos petere illa bona, quae proprie inspiciunt vitam futuram, nunc descendit ad illa petenda quae respiciunt necessitatem praesentis vitae; non quidem terrenam et materialem, ut quidem dicere volunt, sed quae respiciunt formentum et nutritionem vitae spiritualis sine quibus homo in vita spirituali subsistere non potest, sicut nec in vita corporali potest subsistere sine pane materiali." Henricus de Frimaria, Expositio Orationis Dominicae, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 186v.

b. AUG enchy. 30,115 (PL 40,286; CChr 46.110,19-111,21).

c. AUG enchy. 30,115 (PL 40,285; CChr 46.110,14-15).

d. AUG enchy. 30,115 (PL 40,286; CChr 46.111,29); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,11 (ed. Marietti, 105b).

e. Eccli. 29,28.

f. PS.CHRYSOST. in Matth. 14 (PG 56,714); THOMAS Catena Aurea ad Matth. 6,11 (ed. Marietti, 106a).

g. AUG conf. 10,31,44 (PL 32,797; CChr 27.178,13-14).

h. Matth. 6,11; Luc. 11,3.

i. Ps. 135,25.

j. GREG.M moral. 11,10,16 (PL 75,961a); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,11 (ed. Marietti, 106a).

k. PS.CHRYSOST. in Matth. 14 (PG 56,713); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,11 (ed. Marietti, 106a).

l. PS.CHRYSOST. in Matth. 14 (PG 56,713); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,11 (ed. Marietti, 106a).

m. II Esdr. 8,10.

n. AUG serm. 123,5 (PL 38,686).

o. Cf. PS.CHRYSOST. in Matth. 14 (PG 56,713).

p. Matth. 6,34.
q. CHRYSTOS. hom. in Matth. 19 (PG 57,280).

r. CYPR. domin. orat. 19 (CChr 3A.102,352-360).

s. THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,11 (ed. Marietti, 106b). Thomas cites this passage as Cyprian’s, but it is actually, PS. CHRYSTOS. in Matth. 14 (PG 56,713).


v. Eccli. 15,3.

w. Matth. 4,4.

x. Cf. AUG serm. 57,7 (PL 38,389); ibid serm. 58,4 (PL 38,395); ibid serm. 59,3 (PL 38,401).


z. non inventit; Henricus de Frimaria cites Chrysostomus, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 187r.


cc. Ioh. 6,51.

dd. HIER. in Matth. 1 (CChr 77.37,776-778).

ee. HIER. in Matth. 1 (CChr 77.37,770-776); cf. THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,11 (ed. Marietti, 105b).

ff. Ioh. 6,57.

gg. non inventit

hh. non inventitur

ii. THOMAS Catena aurea ad Luc. 11,3 (ed. Marietti, 159b).

kk. II Cor. 3,18.
ll. Luc. 14,15.
mm. Ps. 16,15.
oo. non invenitur
pp. non invenitur
qq. non invenitur
rr. GREG.M in evang. 14,5 (PL 76,1130a).
ss. Ps. 106,27.
tt. Os. 13,6.
uu. Marc. 5,12. Cf. Matth. 8:31 and Luc. 8:30-33. The name, Legion is given in Marc. and Luc., but not in Matth.; 'Mitte' is present in Matth. and Marc., but Matth. reads: "Mitte nos in gregem porcorum." Jordan cites Matth., but quotes Marc.
vv. II Cor. 6,15.
ww. Luc. 16,22; cf. Luc. 16,19-31.
xx. Ps. 103,15.
yy. Eccli. 15,3.
zz. II Mach. 15,11.
aaa. III Reg. 19,8.
bbb. Is. 30,15.
ddd. HIER. in Matth. 1 (CChr 77.25,449-452).
eee. Bernardus epist. 254 (PL 182,460b).
fff. Eccli. 24,29.
ggg. Ps. 145,7.

hhh. Matth. 7,6.

iii. Luc. 1,53.

jjj. Ex. 33,19.

kkk. non invenitur; cf. Bernardus In antiphonam salve regina, sermo 1 (PL 184,1064a-b).

lll. Ps. 16,15.

mmm. Ps. 15,10.

nnn. non invenitur
315

Lectio Septima

Et dimittete nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.

Haec quinta petitio convenienter sequitur praemissam, quia ut dicit Cyprianus: dignum est1 "ut qui a deo pascitur, in deo vivat."2 In deo autem aliquis vivit quando3 sine peccato vivit et4 ideo5 post subsidium cibi petitur venia delicti4,6 vel aliter quia plerumque in usu cibi corporalis et aliarum rerum ad nostram necessitatem ordinatarum excedimus et peccavimus7 dicente Augustino X Confessionum8: "Et quis est, Domine, qui non aliquando rapiatur extra metas necessitatis?"9 "Ideo post petitionem cibi" statim "sequitur petitio" de dimissione8 peccati9. Et habet haec particula duas partes, "quia primo ponitur ipsa petitio, secundo adiungitur eius

\begin{itemize}
  \item est\[1\text{ et L}
  \item quando\[2\text{ qui S}
  \item et\[3\text{ om. S}
  \item delicti\[4\text{ delictorum L}
  \item peccavimus\[5\text{ peccamus SL}
  \item X Confessionum\[6\text{ om. L}
  \item petitio\[7\text{ petio S om. L}
  \item de dimissione\[8\text{ dimissio L}
  \item peccati\[9\text{ delicti L}
\end{itemize}
modus\textsuperscript{10} et conditio cum dicitur 'sicut et nos'.'\textsuperscript{11} Quantum\textsuperscript{11} ad continentiam petitionis dicitur 'dimittte nobis debita nostra', debita vocantur hic peccata. Et\textsuperscript{12} ex hoc elicitur quod quia omnes ad dicendum\textsuperscript{13} "istam\textsuperscript{14} orationem tenentur\textsuperscript{15}" nullum hominem a peccato esse immunem. "Unde dicit Cyprianus\textsuperscript{4}: "Ne quis sibi quasi innocens placeat et se extollendo plus pereat, instruitur se peccare cottidie dum pro peccatis cottidie\textsuperscript{16} iubetur orare."\textsuperscript{8}

Sed\textsuperscript{17} dubitaret aliquis quomodo peccata possint dici debita. Cum enim debita sint quae alicui debemus et solvere tenemur, peccata autem non possunt alicui deberi nec solvi, videtur\textsuperscript{18} quod inconvenienter hic per debita intelligantur peccata.

Dicendum quod pro tanto dicuntur peccata debita\textsuperscript{19}, quia inde peccata contraximus, quia debita non solvimus, id est, quia non fecimus quod debuimus et ob

\textsuperscript{10} modus\textsuperscript{10} modis L
\textsuperscript{11} quantum\textsuperscript{11} et quantum L
\textsuperscript{12} et\textsuperscript{12} om. S
\textsuperscript{13} ad dicendum\textsuperscript{13} dicere S
\textsuperscript{14} istam\textsuperscript{14} hanc S
\textsuperscript{15} tenentur\textsuperscript{15} scire add. L
\textsuperscript{16}cottidie\textsuperscript{16} om. L
\textsuperscript{17} sed\textsuperscript{17} hic L
\textsuperscript{18}videtur\textsuperscript{18} ergo add. S
\textsuperscript{19}debita\textsuperscript{19} et econverso add. S
hoc iudici poenam debemus. Sicut ergo qui non solvit pecuniam creditori statuto
termino dupliciter incurrit debitum ultra debitum pecuniae, puta debitum culpae, ex eo
quod non solvit per quod offendit creditorem, et debitum poenae, quam debet iudici
ex eo quod contra iustitiam egit, sic in proposito pro\textsuperscript{20} eo quod non facimus debitum
norum illis quibus debemus, contrahimus duo mala scilicet peccatum et reatum:
peccatum quantum ad culpam; reatum quantum ad poenam,\textsuperscript{21} quae utraque nomine
debiti\textsuperscript{22} intelliguntur. Ex quo patet quod potius\textsuperscript{23} et melius dicitur hic 'debita
nostra'\textsuperscript{24} quam 'peccata'\textsuperscript{25}, quia plus petimus dicendo 'dimitte nobis debita
nostra'\textsuperscript{26}, quia per hoc petimus\textsuperscript{27} dimissionem culpae et poenae, quam si diceremus,
'dimitte nobis peccata nostra', quia nonnunquam dimittitur peccatum\textsuperscript{28} quantum ad
culpam, remanente reatu quo\textsuperscript{29} ad poenam.\textsuperscript{f}

\textsuperscript{20} pro] ex B
\textsuperscript{21} poenam]\ et add. S
\textsuperscript{22} debiti]\ debita L
\textsuperscript{23} potius]\ petimus L
\textsuperscript{24} nostra]\ om. S
\textsuperscript{25} peccata]\ nostra add. S
\textsuperscript{26} nostra]\ om. B
\textsuperscript{27} petimus]\ nobis add. S
\textsuperscript{28} peccatum]\ nostrum add. S
\textsuperscript{29} quo] quantum SL
Ulterius quia dictum est, quod inde peccata contrahimus quia debita nostra quibus debemus non solvimus, dubitaret aliquis quibus et quae debita debeamus.

Propter quod est sciendum quod aliquid debemus deo, aliquid nobisipsis, et aliquest probmis nostris,

deo religionem;
debemus nobisipsis debitum gubernationem;
proximis mutuam dilectionem.

Debemus inquam deo religionem, Levitici 16: affligetis animas vestras deo religione perpetua. Est autem sciendum, quod religio non accipitur hic pro statu religiosorum; sed est quaedam virtus moralis, quae est pars iustitiae, ad quam

30 debemus] debemus L
31 est] om. SL
32 nobisipsis] nosmetipsis L
33 et] om. S
34 proximis] pro peccatis L
35 debemus] enim add. S
36 nobisipsis] nobismetipsis L
37 proximis] nostris add. S
38 affligetis] affligens L
39 vestras deo] om. L
virtutem pertinet deo cultum exhibere, et comprehendit sub se latriam. Et actus huius virtutis sunt adoratio, oratio, oblatio, laus, votum, iuramentum et cetera talia quae soli deo debentur. Et diffinitur a Tulio in secundo rhetoricae suae sic:

"Religio est virtus quae cuidam naturae quam divinam vocant, cultum cerimoniamque affert." Et ex hac virtute per anthonomasyam dicuntur illi religiosi qui seipsum totum tamquam holocaustum deo offerunt perpetuo. Unde dicta est religio secundum Isidorum a religando eo quod ipsa nos religat deo. "Debemus" etiam "nobisipsis" debitam gubernationem. Quale autem sit debitum nostrae gubernationis docet Apostolus Romanorum 8: debitores, inquid, sumus non carni, ut secundum carnum vivamus, si enim secundum carnum vixeritis

40 latriam] S add.: "Latria enim comprehendit quinque scilicet fidem, sapientiam, reverentiam, sacrificium et orationem. Prima duo sunt cordis; secunda duo operis; et ultimum oris."

41 talia] om. M alia L
42 diffinitur] religio add. S
43 cuidam] quidam L
44 nature] notatur L
45 cerimoniamque affert] om. L
46 tamquam] in add. L
47 deo] om. L
48 religio] haec religiosis L
49 nobisipsis] nobis S
moriemini, si autem spiritu facto carnis mortificaveritis vivetis.⁶ "Ex quo patet quod debitores sumus non carni sed spiritui⁵⁰. Ita quod spiritui⁵¹ ex debito servire debemus quod quidem facimus quando carnen spiritui subicimus, et secundum spiritum vivimus. Et in⁵² hoc" est "debitum" quod nobisipsis debemus.¹

Debemus⁵³ tertio proximis nostris mutuam dilectionem. De hoc⁵⁴ debito dicit Apostolus Romanorum ¹³⁵⁵: Nemini quidquam debeatis nisi ut invicem diligatis, ubi⁵⁶ Glossa, id est cetera ita solvite ut non debeatis aliquid⁵⁷, caritatem vero ita solvite ut semper⁵⁸ debeatis. "Sola enim caritas est quae etiam reddita semper" detinet debitorem.⁹ "Igitur quando⁵⁹ haec debita non" solvimus "faciendo" unicuique quod sibi "debemus"⁶⁰, sive deo, sive nobisipsis⁶¹, sive⁶² proximis

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⁵⁰ spiritui| spiritu L
⁵¹ spiritui| spiritu L
⁵² in| om. M
⁵³ quod quidem facimus quando...debemus| om. L
⁵⁴ hoc| quo L
⁵⁵ ¹| nono L
⁵⁶ ubi| om. L
⁵⁷ aliquid| ad add. L
⁵⁸ semper| eam add. L
⁵⁹ quando| cum L
⁶⁰ debemus| debetur S
nostris, ut dictum est, tunc debita, id est63 "peccata, contrahimus pro quibus poenam" debemus. "Haec" ergo "debita64" tam "quo ad culpam" quam quo ad "poenam dimittii" nobis "petimus" dicendo 'dimitte nobis debita nostra'.0 Debita inquam65 nostra quaecumque contra te;

commissimus66 contra nosipsos;

et67 contra proximos nostros.

Sequitur de modo et conditione68 huic petitioni apposita, cum dicitur, 'sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris69'.

Circa quod70 contingit dubitari71 multipliciter72. Et primo, quare non est

61 nobisipsis7 nobis S
62 sive7 etiam add. S
63 debita id est7 om. S
64 debita7 om. L
65 inquam7 om. L
66 commissimus7 omissimus L
67 et7 om. L
68 conditione7 conditioni L
69 debitoribus nostris7 et cetera L
70 quod7 quam L
71 dubitari7 dubitare S
apposita similis conditio aliis petitionibus, verbi gratia ut diceretur, 'panem nostrum\textsuperscript{73} da nobis\textsuperscript{74} sicut et nos damus' et\textsuperscript{75} 'libera nos a malo sicut et\textsuperscript{76} nos alios liberamus', et huiusmodi.

Ad hoc dicendum, quod ratio\textsuperscript{77} est quia in nostra potestate non est semper dare vel\textsuperscript{78} etiam\textsuperscript{79} liberare et ideo ad\textsuperscript{80} semper dare vel liberare non\textsuperscript{81} tenemur, sicut ad\textsuperscript{82} semper remittere\textsuperscript{83}. Nec ita a nobis sunt temporalia, sicut malivolentia, propter quod ad dimittendam malivolentiam quam contra proximum\textsuperscript{84} gerimus, semper tenemur. Non sic autem ad dandum vel ad liberandum quae concernunt\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{72} multipliciter\textsuperscript{72} multis modis S multum L
\textsuperscript{73} nostrum\textsuperscript{73} quotidianum add. SL
\textsuperscript{74} nobis\textsuperscript{74} hodie add. SL
\textsuperscript{75} et\textsuperscript{75} vel L
\textsuperscript{76} et\textsuperscript{76} om. L
\textsuperscript{77} ratio\textsuperscript{77} hec add. L
\textsuperscript{78} vel\textsuperscript{78} aut S
\textsuperscript{79} vel etiam\textsuperscript{79} et L
\textsuperscript{80} ad\textsuperscript{80} om. L
\textsuperscript{81} non\textsuperscript{81} om. M
\textsuperscript{82} ad\textsuperscript{82} et M
\textsuperscript{83} remittere\textsuperscript{83} dimittere SL
\textsuperscript{84} proximum\textsuperscript{84} proximos L
\textsuperscript{85} concernunt\textsuperscript{85} continent L
aliqua temporalia et actus extrinsecus\textsuperscript{86}, quare etc.

Secunda dubitatio est quia videtur quod nostrum non sit\textsuperscript{87} dimittere debitoribus nostris, quia solus deus dimittit peccata, non ergo nostrum est hoc.

Respondeo: in laesione iniusta alterius sunt duo\textsuperscript{88} inimicitia\textsuperscript{89}: et rancor, quem\textsuperscript{90} laesus concipit contra laedentem; et culpa, quam laedens comittit contra deum. Primum potest\textsuperscript{91} et debet dimittere homo laesus\textsuperscript{92}; secundum autem solus deus habet dimittere.\textsuperscript{9}

Tertio dubitatur, utrum homo licite possit repetere debitum suum, vel etiam exigere emendam de iniuria sibi facta? Et videtur quod non, quia si tenetur homo debitori dimittere debitum, ergo videtur quod ille peccet qui repetit debitum\textsuperscript{93}; et similiter ille qui petit\textsuperscript{94} emendam super iniuria\textsuperscript{95} sibi facta\textsuperscript{96}.

\textsuperscript{86} extrinsecus] extrinsecos SL

\textsuperscript{87} sit] potest add. L

\textsuperscript{88} duo] scilicet add. S

\textsuperscript{89} inimicitia] om. L

\textsuperscript{90} quem] quod M quae S

\textsuperscript{91} potest] patet M

\textsuperscript{92} laesus] laesis L

\textsuperscript{93} ergo...debitum] om. L

\textsuperscript{94} petit] exigit S

\textsuperscript{95} iniuria] iniuriam L
Respondendo\textsuperscript{97} secundum\textsuperscript{98} Augustinum\textsuperscript{99}: "non loquitur hic de debito pecuniae vel iustitiae"\textsuperscript{r} exigendae, sed\textsuperscript{100} rancoris et inimicitiae\textsuperscript{101} reinferendae\textsuperscript{102}; peccatum quidem quod commissum est in nos, dimittere debemus.

Pecuniam autem\textsuperscript{103} et iustitiam dimittere non tenemur, cum quis habet, unde\textsuperscript{104} solvat. Unde dicit Augustinus: "Peccat in te qui\textsuperscript{105} pecuniam tibi debitam cum habeat unde reddere\textsuperscript{106}, non reddiderit\textsuperscript{107}, quod peccatum si non dimiseris non potes\textsuperscript{108} dicere, 'dimitte nobis debita nostra etc.'\textsuperscript{109}".

\textsuperscript{97} facta] factam L
\textsuperscript{98} respondendo] respondit S respondendum L
\textsuperscript{99} secundum] om. S
\textsuperscript{100} sed] om. L
\textsuperscript{101} inimicitiae] non add. MS
\textsuperscript{102} reinferendae] inferendae L
\textsuperscript{103} autem] om. L
\textsuperscript{104} unde] bene L
\textsuperscript{105} qui] cum L
\textsuperscript{106} reddere] reddat tibi S
\textsuperscript{107} reddiderit] redderit B redderit M reddit L
\textsuperscript{108} potes] poteris ML
\textsuperscript{109} etc] sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris S om. ML
Quarto, dubitaret aliquis utrum ille qui servando rancorem dicit hanc orationem peccet? Et videtur quod sic, quia mentitur cum dicit dimittimus debitoribus et non dimittit. Item, quia petit contra se quod patet a destructione consequentis, dimitte nobis si dimittimus, sed nos non dimittimus, ergo non dimitte nobis.

Respondeo talis: aut loquitur in persona ecclesiae et sic non peccat scilicet novo peccato, licet peccet rancorem servando quod etiam peccatum aggravatur pertinaciter in eo perservando, nec tamen remissionem impetrat;
aut in persona propria. Et tunc aut loquitur advertendo et intelligendo actualiter de facto remissionis, ut sit sensus: dimitte nobis sicut ego dimitto de facto huic debitori meo, qui talem iniuriam mihi fecit. Et tunc certum est quod peccat cum quia mentitur, cum etiam quia petit contra se ut dictum est in arguendo. Aut intendit de iure remissionis, ut sit sensus: dimitte nobis sicut et nos dimittimus, id est, de iure dimittere debemus. Et sic non peccat orationem dicendo quia non mentitur, nec petit contra se, licet peccet rancorem tenendo, nec etiam talis remissionem impetrat, quia praeceptum Christi de iniuria

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124 nec...impetrat] om. L
125 aut] si autem L
126 aut] quod L
127 intelligendo] intelligi M
128 remissionis] dimissionis L
129 sicut] om. B
130 meo] om. S
131 cum] tum S om. L
132 cum] tum S
133 quia] qui L
134 arguendo] argumento L
135 talis] in hoc L
remittenda\textsuperscript{136} non servat. Dicitur enim\textsuperscript{137} infra\textsuperscript{138} Matthei 6 statim post presentem orationem: \textit{si non dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec pater vester\textsuperscript{139}} \textit{dimittet vobis peccata vestra},\textsuperscript{1} ubi\textsuperscript{140} dicit Cyprianus: "Excusatio tibi nulla est in die iudicii, cum secundum tuam sententiam iudiceris et quod feceris hoc ipse patiaris\textsuperscript{141}." \\

Quidam etiam volentes praedicta\textsuperscript{142} duo evitare\textsuperscript{143}, videlicet ne mentiantur\textsuperscript{144}, nec contra se petant, mutant\textsuperscript{145} verba dicentes\textsuperscript{146} sic: \textit{dimitte nobis debita nostra, melius quam nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris}. Sed licet per hanc formam verborum evadant illa duo, quia nec mentiuntur nec contra se petunt\textsuperscript{147}, non

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{136} remittenda\textsuperscript{136} dimittendo L
\item \textsuperscript{137} enim\textsuperscript{137} ut L
\item \textsuperscript{138} infra\textsuperscript{138} om. S
\item \textsuperscript{139} vester\textsuperscript{139} caelestis add. B
\item \textsuperscript{140} ubi\textsuperscript{140} unde B
\item \textsuperscript{141} et quod...patiaris\textsuperscript{141} om. S
\item \textsuperscript{142} praedicta\textsuperscript{142} haec L
\item \textsuperscript{143} evitare\textsuperscript{143} vitare SL
\item \textsuperscript{144} mentiuntur\textsuperscript{144} mentiuntur B
\item \textsuperscript{145} mutant\textsuperscript{145} mutantes L
\item \textsuperscript{146} dicentes\textsuperscript{146} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{147} petunt\textsuperscript{147} petant L
\end{itemize}
tamen impetrant eadem orationem iam dicta. Et nihilominus praeter hoc quod tales contra dei praeceptum rancorem scienter et pertinaciter retinent, ex quo grave peccatum non est dubium eos incurrere, ut dictum est. Etiam ex alio divinam offensam videntur incidere quia formam verborum a magistro immutabilis veritatis traditam praesumunt corrigere et temere iminutare.

Ad hoc accedit imprecatio Iohannis Apocalypsis ultimo: *Si quis apposuerit ad haec apponet deus super illum plagas etc.* Et si quis *diminuerit de verbis his auferet deus partem eius de libro vitae.* Et si hoc de verbis discipuli, quid de verbis magistri? Ut ergo oratio sit efficax et impetrativa, homo debet suas
debitoribus de facto dimittere et ex corde.

"Distinguendum" tamen "est inter perfectum\textsuperscript{160} et imperfectum\textsuperscript{161}.

Perfectus" enim "debet etiam\textsuperscript{162} non petenti\textsuperscript{163} veniam omnimode "indulgere; imperfectus autem tenetur quidem\textsuperscript{164} rancorem de corde\textsuperscript{165} deponere, "sed non tenetur satisfactionem debitam condonare."\textsuperscript{166} Nec praetermittendum est quod sunt quaedam culpae in quibus culpa est relaxare vindictam, ut dicit Innocentius.\textsuperscript{x} Et ideo licet peccatum in nos teneamur dimittere, peccatum tamen in deum vel in proximum debemus punire\textsuperscript{166} quantum\textsuperscript{167} nostra\textsuperscript{168} interest.

Quinto, dubitaret aliquis quare non dixit, 'dimitte nobis\textsuperscript{169} et tunc nos\textsuperscript{170}

\textsuperscript{160} perfectum] perfectis S
\textsuperscript{161} imperfectum] imperfectis S
\textsuperscript{162} debet etiam] om. L
\textsuperscript{163} petenti] petendo L
\textsuperscript{164} quidem] om. L
\textsuperscript{165} de corde] cordis S
\textsuperscript{166} punire vel impedire add. S
\textsuperscript{167} quantum] quando S
\textsuperscript{168} nostra] nostrum L
\textsuperscript{169} nobis] prius add. S
\textsuperscript{170} nos] om. S
dimittemus’, ita ut prius nobis deus dimitteret\textsuperscript{171} et postea\textsuperscript{172} nos debitoribus nostris?

Ad hoc dicunt quidam volentes ita intelligi\textsuperscript{173}, dimitte nobis debita nostra etc., id est\textsuperscript{174} sic: 'dimitte nobis debita nostra ut et nos dimittamus\textsuperscript{175} debitoribus nostris\textsuperscript{176}. Sedi\textsuperscript{177} intellectus non est secundum intentionem autori, quod patet per hoc, quod post\textsuperscript{178} subiungitur: \textit{si dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, dimitte vobis pater\textsuperscript{179} caelestis peccata vestra; si autem non dimiseritis hominibus\textsuperscript{180}, nec pater vester\textsuperscript{181} caelestis\textsuperscript{182} dimittet\textsuperscript{183} peccata vestra}.' Aliter

\textsuperscript{171} dimitteret\textsuperscript{]} peccata nostra add. S
\textsuperscript{172} postea\textsuperscript{]} posteas L
\textsuperscript{173} intelligi\textsuperscript{]} intelligere S
\textsuperscript{174} id est\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{175} dimittamus\textsuperscript{]} dimittimus M
\textsuperscript{176} nostris\textsuperscript{]} ita quod sic accipiatur contextus verborum, dimitte nobis debita nostra, sic ut et nos dimittamus debitoribus add. S
\textsuperscript{177} hic\textsuperscript{]} iste L
\textsuperscript{178} post\textsuperscript{]} postea S
\textsuperscript{179} pater\textsuperscript{]} vester add. MS
\textsuperscript{180} hominibus\textsuperscript{]} peccata eorum add. L
\textsuperscript{181} vester\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{182} caelestis\textsuperscript{]} om. MS
\textsuperscript{183} dimittet\textsuperscript{]} vobis add. L
ergo respondet Chrysostomus, dicens: "Scit deus homines esse mendaces quoniam etsi acceperunt remissionem peccati suiipsis suis debitoribus non dimittunt. Ideo sic dicit ut prius: 'dimittamus', et postea petamus dimissionem," et per haec omnia patet ad singula obiecta.

Per hanc petitionem excluditur ira, quae rancorem non dimittit nec alicuidebitum reddit, dicitur enim Iacobi primo: *ira viri iustitiam non operatur.*

Iustum autem est reddere unicumquedebitum suum. Primo, enim ira non reddit debitum deo, immo usurpat sibi illud quod dei est, scilicet vindictam peccati; dicit enim dominus per prophetam: *Mihi vindictam et ego retribuam.* Sed per iram

\[\begin{align*}
184 \text{ergo}] & \text{autem ML} \\
185 \text{dicens}] & \text{om. L} \\
186 \text{acceperunt}] & \text{acceperint L} \\
187 \text{suiipsi}] & \text{sui ipse S} \\
188 \text{dimittunt}] & \text{dimitterent L} \\
189 \text{petamus}] & \text{recipiamus S} \\
190 \text{haec}] & \text{hoc L} \\
191 \text{omnia}] & \text{om. L} \\
192 \text{iustitiam}] & \text{dei add. SL} \\
193 \text{enim}] & \text{om. S} \\
194 \text{primo...debitum}] & \text{om. L} \\
195 \text{illud}] & \text{om. L}
\end{align*}\]
homo vindicat se cum ipsa secundum propiam sui\textsuperscript{196} rationem sit appetitus vindictae. Secundo, non reddit debitum spiritui quia ponitur inter opera carnis, Galatae 5\textsuperscript{197}. Tertio, proximo non reddit debitum immo ipsum provocat et laedit quia \textit{vir iracundus}\textsuperscript{198} provocat rixas, ut dicitur\textsuperscript{199} Proverbiorum 29\textsuperscript{200}. dd Haec\textsuperscript{201} et multa alia mala de ira ponit Gregorius\textsuperscript{202} 5 libro Moralium: "Per iram," inquid, "spiritus sancti splendor excutitur qui super humilem et quietem\textsuperscript{203} requiescere dicitur\textsuperscript{204}, quia\textsuperscript{205} cum ira quietem menti\textsuperscript{206} subtrahit suam spiritui sancto habitationem claudit. Per iram iustitia\textsuperscript{207} relinquitur\textsuperscript{208}, quia dum\textsuperscript{209}

\textsuperscript{196} sui] suam L
\textsuperscript{197} 5] secundo M
\textsuperscript{198} iracundus] et add. B
\textsuperscript{199} ut dicitur] om. L
\textsuperscript{200} 29] undevesimo L
\textsuperscript{201} haec] om. L
\textsuperscript{202} gregorius] in add. M
\textsuperscript{203} quietem] quietum S
\textsuperscript{204} dicitur] om. S
\textsuperscript{205} quia] qui S
\textsuperscript{206} menti] mentem L
\textsuperscript{207} iustitia] iniustitia L
\textsuperscript{208} relinquitur] requiritur L
\textsuperscript{209} dum] enim L
perturbata mens iudicium sine ratione exasperat omne quod furo rem suggerit, rectum\textsuperscript{210} putat. Per iram lux veritatis\textsuperscript{211} amittitur, quia cum menti iracundia confusionis tenebras incutit, huic deus radium suae congregationis abscondit. Per iram gratia vitae socialis\textsuperscript{212} amittitur, quia qui se ex humana ratione non temperat necesse est ut bestialiter vivat. Per iram mansuetudo amittit. Per iram concordia rumpit, et multa alia mala per ipsam generantur, secundum Gregorium.

Introducitur autem hic virtus iustitiae cuius est reddere unicuique debitum suum. Et haec est eius\textsuperscript{213} propria ratio prout descriptur et\textsuperscript{214} a philosophis et a\textsuperscript{215} iurisperitis\textsuperscript{216}. Reddit autem iustitia triplex debitum praedictum prout\textsuperscript{217} pulchre comprehendit Anselmus in libro Cur Deus Homo: Iustitia, inquit, est animi libertas tribuens\textsuperscript{218} unicuique secundum proprian\textsuperscript{219} dignitatem\textsuperscript{220}: deo

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{210} rectum] iustum esse L
\item \textsuperscript{211} veritatis] caritatis L
\item \textsuperscript{212} socialis] spiritualitatis [?] L
\item \textsuperscript{213} eius] om. M
\item \textsuperscript{214} et] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{215} a] aliis
\item \textsuperscript{216} iurisperitis] viris peritis S peritis L
\item \textsuperscript{217} prout] ut L
\item \textsuperscript{218} tribuens] retributio L
\item \textsuperscript{219} proprian] prophetam L
\end{itemize}
obedientiam, sibi sanctimoniam, maiori reverentiam, pari concordiam, minori disciplinam.

De donis introducitur hic scientia, quia dicit Glossa super Mattheum: Cum dicitur nobis debita nostra', "spiritum scientiae rogamus, quo delicta intelligimus quae sine spiritu sancto non intelliguntur." Unde propheta in Psalmo quaerit: delicta quis intelligit, quasi dicat, nullus nisi cui tu donum scientiae dederis. Et ideo statim subdit, ab occultis meis munda me, domine. Nec etiam possumus esse iusti nisi reddamus cuique debitum

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220 dignitatem] dicentem L
221 sibi] sibiipsi L
222 pari concordiam] om. L
223 quia] ut add. L
224 scientiae] sanctum L
225 prophetae] om. S
226 in Psalmo] Psalmus S
227 quaerit] dicit L
228 dicat] diceret S
229 nullus] om. M
230 domine] om. ML
231 cuique] unicuique SL
suum, sed quid sit\textsuperscript{232} illud debitum quod tenemur cuique\textsuperscript{233} nescimus nisi per donum scientiae. Unde absque dono scientiae\textsuperscript{234} opera\textsuperscript{235} iustitiae\textsuperscript{236} facere non possumus, propter quod dicit\textsuperscript{237} Isaiae 53: \textit{in scientia sua iustificavit\textsuperscript{238} multos, \textsuperscript{ii} et loquitur\textsuperscript{239} de Christo cui attribuuntur dona\textsuperscript{240} spiritus sancti\textsuperscript{241} in ratione meriti, quia propter meritum suum nobis dantur. Unde etiam\textsuperscript{242} ipse\textsuperscript{243} spiritus sanctus dicitur spiritus filii\textsuperscript{244}, ad\textsuperscript{245} Galatas quarto\textsuperscript{246}. \textsuperscript{ii} Christus igitur in scientia sua, id est per donum scientiae, iustificat, id est, iustos facit multos docendo videlicet eos

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{232} quid sit\textsuperscript{232} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{233} cuique\textsuperscript{233} unicuique S
\item \textsuperscript{234} unde absque dono scientiae\textsuperscript{234} om. M
\item \textsuperscript{235} opera\textsuperscript{235} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{236} iustitiae\textsuperscript{236} iustitiam L
\item \textsuperscript{237} dicit\textsuperscript{237} dicitur L
\item \textsuperscript{238} iustificavit\textsuperscript{238} iustificabit S
\item \textsuperscript{239} loquitur\textsuperscript{239} ponitur L
\item \textsuperscript{240} dona\textsuperscript{240} scilicet add. L
\item \textsuperscript{241} spiritus sancti\textsuperscript{241} scientia L
\item \textsuperscript{242} etiam\textsuperscript{242} et S
\item \textsuperscript{243} ipse\textsuperscript{243} om. L
\item \textsuperscript{244} filii\textsuperscript{244} consilii L
\item \textsuperscript{245} ad\textsuperscript{245} om. S
\item \textsuperscript{246} quarto\textsuperscript{246} octavo L
\end{itemize}
quid cuique debeat, puta quid deo, quid sibiipsis et quid proximis; et nihilominus quae debita peccando contraxerunt. Et quia haec omnia sine dono scientiae scire non valemus, ideo in hac petitione spiritum postulamus.

Introducitur consequenter hic beatitudo luctus, quae secundum Augustinum adaptatur dono scientiae per quod scitur de quibus lugendum sit, cuius etiam convenientiae signum est in natura quae idem membrum ordinavit ad visum et ad luctum. Lugendum est autem pro delictis et peccatis tam quae commissimus contra deum quam quae contra nosmetipsos vel etiam contra

247 cuique] unicuique S
248 sibiipsis] sibiipsi L
249 quid] om. L
250 quae...contraxerunt] om. L; contraxerunt] contraxerint MS
251 et] om. L
252 scire] om. L
253 spiritui] L
254 scientiae] sancto L
255 consequenter] convenienter S
256 adaptatur] coaptatur L
257 per quod...sit] om. L
258 quam] tam B
proximos nostros. De hoc luctu dicit Psalmo: *Quasi lugens et contristatus sic humiliabar*261. Il Non solum etiam262 lugendum est pro263 peccatis propriis, sed etiam pro alienis quod est maioris perfectionis, quia dicit Chrysostomus: "Qui sua peccata lugent beati sunt, sed mediocriter; beatiores264 autem sunt qui aliena lugent peccata." Lugere autem peccata265 est ipsa266 odire, itaque267 surgamus ad destructionem eorum268. Est269 et270 alius luctus qui etiam ad hanc beatitudinem pertinet, scilicet271 lugere pro incolatu272 praesentis miseriae et pro dilatione273

259 quae] om. SL
260 vel] quam SL
261 humiliabar] humiliabitur B
262 etiam] et S
263 pro] de L
264 beatiores] beatitiores M
265 peccata] peccatum ML
266 ipsa] ipsum L
267 itaque] ita ut S ita quod L
268 eorum] ipsorum MS
269 est] autem add. S
270 et] om. L
271 scilicet] sed B
272 pro incolatu] colatum L
273 dilatione] caelestis add. S
gloriae. Hoc luctu luxit\textsuperscript{274} propheta cum dicebat\textsuperscript{275}: \textit{heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est}\textsuperscript{276}.\textsuperscript{na} Huic beatitudini respondet\textsuperscript{277} pro\textsuperscript{278} praemio\textsuperscript{279} consolatio, quae in hac vita inchoatur, perficitur autem in futura. Dignum est enim ut qui propter deum hic tristatur\textsuperscript{280}, ipse a deo consoletur.

De fructibus per hanc petitionem introducitur mansuetudo, quae secundum suam rationem est moderativa irarum, ut dicit Philosophus\textsuperscript{281} 4 Ethicorum.\textsuperscript{90}

Et\textsuperscript{282} maxime necessaria est nobis ad hoc, ut\textsuperscript{283} dimittamus debitoribus nostris, quibus ira non dimittit.

\textsuperscript{274} luxit\textsuperscript{]} lugebat L

\textsuperscript{275} dicebat\textsuperscript{]} dixit S

\textsuperscript{276} est\textsuperscript{]} et cetera add. B

\textsuperscript{277} respondet\textsuperscript{]} correspondet L

\textsuperscript{278} pro\textsuperscript{]} om. L

\textsuperscript{279} praemio\textsuperscript{]} primo L

\textsuperscript{280} tristatur\textsuperscript{]} tristaretur L ut add. L

\textsuperscript{281} philosophus\textsuperscript{]} om. S

\textsuperscript{282} et\textsuperscript{]} om. L

\textsuperscript{283} ut\textsuperscript{]} repeated M
Sources

a. CYPR. domin. orat. 22 (CChr 3A.103,405-406); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,12 (ed. Marietti, 106b).

b. THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,12 (ed. Marietti, 106b).

c. AUG conf. 10,31,47 (PL 32,799; CChr 27.180,79-80).


e. CYPR. domin. orat. 22 (CChr 3A.104,413-415); cf. Henricus de Frimaria, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 188r; THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,12 (ed. Marietti, 107a).

f. Cf.: "Sciendum tamen quod Christus melius dixit dimitte nobis debita nostra quam peccata nostra quia plus petimus dictis 'debitis' quia sic petimus nobis dimitti tam culpam quam penam quam tenemur exolure per peccata quid non fieret dicendo peccata quia quandoque peccatum dimittitur quo ad culpam et tamen reatus remanet quo ad penam." Henricus de Frimaria, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 188r.

g. Lev. 16,31.

h. Cf. VF 2,25 (252,28-45).


k. Rom. 8,12-13.


m. Rom. 13,8.


p. Cf.: "Sciendum quod in laesione, qua quis laeditur ab alio, est duo considerare scilicet ipsam culpam, quae ex laesione incurritur et illam solus deus remittit; et rancorem quod quis concipit contra illum qui ipsum laesit et tenemur dimittere si volumus nobis dimitti." Henricus de Frimaria, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 188v.

q. Cf. AUG de serm. dom. 2,8,28 (PL 34,1281-1282; CChr 35.117,595-118,624).


s. AUG de serm. dom. 2,8,28 (PL 34,1282; CChr 35.118,619-622); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,12 (ed. Marietti, 107a); cf.: "Sciendum quod hic non loquitur de debito iustitiae vel pecuniae quam quis iuste potest ab alio petere secundum Augustinum dum habeat ut solvatis, sed loquitur hic de inimicitia et rancore, quod concipimus contra illum offendentem; et illud tenemur dimittere et non primum quia alius quis peteret contra se ipsum scilicet quod deus sibi non ignosceret sicut ipse alii non vult ignoscere." Henricus de Frimaria, *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 188v-189r.

t. Matth. 6,15.

u. CYPR. domin. orat. 23 (CChr 3A.105,439-441).


x. non invenitur

y. Matth. 6,14-15.

z. PS.CHrysost. in Matth. 14 (PG 56,715).

aa. lac. 1,20.


dd. Prov. 29,22.

ee. GREG.M moral. 5,45 (PL 75,724a).


hh. Ps. 18,13.

ii. Is. 53,11.


kk. AUG de serm. dom. 2,11,38 (PL 34,1286; CChr 35.129,840-842); cf. ibid 1,4,11 (PL 34,1234; CChr 35.11,230-232).

ll. Ps. 34,14.

mm. PS.CHRYST. in Matth. 9 (PG 56,681).

nn. Ps. 119,5.

Lectio Octava

_Et ne nos inducas in temptationem._ Quia non sufficit ad salutem dimissio peccatorum, si homo postea patiatur recidivum et succumbat temptationibus futurorum, ideo convenienter haec sexta petetio subsequitur praemissam.

Dubitaret autem aliquis circa hanc petitionem, quia non videtur congrua et rationalis, cum apostolus Iacobus dicit: _Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem._ Ergo videtur quod orando ut non temptemur contra nosipsos, oremus petendo ut non beatificemur. Item dicitur Iacobi primo: _Omne gaudium existimate fraters, cum in temptationes varias incideritis._ Unde etiam propheta orat in Psalmo: _Proba me_
Ex quibus omnibus videtur quod temptatio sit utilis, ac per hoc appetenda; et sic haec petitio non est rationalis, ut videtur.

Ad quod dicendum, "quod ista quinque differunt: temptari, temptationem incidere, temptationem sufferre, in temptationem subduci, in temptationem induci. 'Temptari est temptatione simpliciter pulsari;" et in hoc "nec est virtus nec vitium, "d est tamen materia exercendae virtutis, secundum Augustinum." Et nemo hoc impulsione liber esse potest, quia secundum Ambrosium: Nulla mens est nulla anima, quae non recipiat etiam malarum motus agrestes.
cognitionum. Idem legitur in Collationibus patrum, ubi dicitur: "Mentem non
interpellari cogitationibus impossibile est; suscipere vero eas sive respuere omni
studenti per gratiam dei possibile est.

"'In temptationem incidere' est quando homo impulsus resistendo pugnat; et in
hoc" est "exercitium virtutis." Unde Augustinus super Psalmum lx: "Vita nostra
in hac peregrinatione non potest esse sine temptatione; quia profectus noster per
temptationem nostram fit. Nec sibi quisquam innotescit nisi temptatus,
on potest coronari nisi vincerit, non potest vincere nisi certaverit, nec

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25 cognitionum] cogitationum MS
26 idem legitur] sicut habetur L
27 interpellari] interpellamus L
28 idem legitur...possibile est] om. M
30 quia] et L
31 nostram] in eternum L
32 sibi] nobis L
33 quisquam] quidquam L
34 temptatus] et add. L
35 non potest] in marg. M
36 coronari] aeternari L
37 vincerit] vicerit S vincit L et add. L
38 non] nec B
potest certare nisi inimicum et temptationes habuerit."

"'Sufferre temptationem' est in bello temptationis nullatenus succumbere sed" fortes "ictus viriliter" sufferendo "triumphare"; et in hoc est perfecta virtus. De tali triumphatore dicitur: Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem. Unde dicit Ambrosius in quadam epistola: deus omnium rector et dominus cum omnium angelorum militia certamen tuum exspectat tibi, quae contra diabolum dimicant parat aeternitatis coronam.

"'Subduci in temptationem' est quando homo per temptationem decipitur; et sic diabolus temptat bonos, qui sine dubio resisterent, si" deceptionis "laqueos
cognoscerent. "m De hoc\textsuperscript{50} temptationis\textsuperscript{51} genere\textsuperscript{52} dicit Gregorius in Moralibus: "Ibi inimicus decipulam ponit, ubi semitam mentis\textsuperscript{53} esse conspicit."\textsuperscript{m} Unde fit ut saepe mens decepta et seducta subducatur et\textsuperscript{54} in temptatione succumbat; et in hoc est vitium et peccatum eo quod in\textsuperscript{55} cavendo tales laqueos negligentem\textsuperscript{56} et incauti.

"\textit{Induci}\textsuperscript{57}" vero "\textit{in temptationem}’ est quando homo scieret consentit\textsuperscript{50} et delectatur; et hoc est pessimum, quia secundum Gregorium in Pastoralibus: "humanum est in corde temptationem perpeti, demoniacum vero est in temptationis certamine\textsuperscript{58} superari."

In hac igitur petizione cum dicimus, ‘et\textsuperscript{59} ne nos inducas in temptationem’,

\textsuperscript{50} hoc\textsuperscript{50} hac L
\textsuperscript{51} temptationis\textsuperscript{51} temptatione L
\textsuperscript{52} genere\textsuperscript{52} om. L
\textsuperscript{53} mentis\textsuperscript{53} minimus curam add. L
\textsuperscript{54} et\textsuperscript{54} repeated L
\textsuperscript{55} in\textsuperscript{55} om. M
\textsuperscript{56} fuimus\textsuperscript{56} fuerimus M sumus SL
\textsuperscript{57} induci\textsuperscript{57} introduci L
\textsuperscript{58} certamine\textsuperscript{58} certamen S
\textsuperscript{59} et\textsuperscript{59} om. L
non petimus ut non temptemur, sed 60 non inducamur in temptationem puta per consensum. Et ponit Augustinus exemplum: sicut 61 "si aliquid necessario debeat igne examinari, ille non orat ut igne non contingatur 62, sed ut non exuratur 63." Et per hoc patet ad objecta.

Sed dices 64: deus neminem inducit 65 in consensum temptationis, ipse enim neminem temptat, ut 66 dicitur 67 Iacobi primo 68. Frusta ergo petimus ne ipse nos inducat in temptationem, immo videtur quod blasphememus 69 deum 70 inpingendo sibi quod sit temptator seu inductor in temptationem.

Dicendum "quod deus" non "inducit causaliter, sed permissive," vel non

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60 sed] ut add. SL
61 sicut] om. S
62 contingatur] tangatur L
63 exuratur] exuretur M
64 dices] om. L
65 inducit] ducit L
66 ut] om. L
67 dicitur] dicit L
68 primo] om. L
69 blasphememus] blasphemat L
70 deum] deo M
efficiendo, sed deserendo\textsuperscript{71}. "Unde est sensus: 'ne nos inducas', id est, ne nos permissas induci" secundum\textsuperscript{72} quem modum\textsuperscript{73} loquendi\textsuperscript{74} "dicitur" etiam\textsuperscript{75} "indurare" sicut ibi: Ego "induravi\textsuperscript{76} cor pharaonis," induravi, id est, permissi."

Sed dices: immo deus legitur temptasse causaliter et effective iuxta illud: temptavit deus Abraham\textsuperscript{77}; dicendum "quod\textsuperscript{77} temptatio est duplex\textsuperscript{78}: probationis et" hac\textsuperscript{79} "deus temptat sanctos," u non ut ipse deus per hoc\textsuperscript{80} capiat notitiam de eis sed ut ipsi seipsos probent, et\textsuperscript{81} sibiipsis\textsuperscript{82} innotescant. Unde Augustinus super Psalmum\textsuperscript{83}: Temptaris et\textsuperscript{84} "exercearis, ut prober is ut qui te nesciebas a teipso

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{71} deserendo] deferendo L
\textsuperscript{72} secundum] sed L
\textsuperscript{73} quem modum] quemadmodum L
\textsuperscript{74} loquendi] loquendo L
\textsuperscript{75} etiam] et L
\textsuperscript{76} induravi] indurari S
\textsuperscript{77} quod] om. BL
\textsuperscript{78} duplex] scilicet add. L
\textsuperscript{79} hac] temptatione add. L
\textsuperscript{80} hoc] haec M
\textsuperscript{81} et] om. L
\textsuperscript{82} sibiipsis] seipsis L
\textsuperscript{83} super Psalmum] om. L
\textsuperscript{84} et] ut SL
\end{footnotes}
inveniaris. Et hac temptatione propheta se temptari\textsuperscript{86} cupiebat\textsuperscript{87} cum dicebat\textsuperscript{88}:

*Proba me domine et tempta me,*\textsuperscript{w} et taliter Abraham temptatus est\textsuperscript{89}.

"Alia est temptatio deceptionis, et" hac "deus neminem\textsuperscript{90} temptat. Haec autem temptatio scilicet\textsuperscript{91}" deceptionis fit a tribus videlicet "a carne, ab\textsuperscript{92} hoste\textsuperscript{93}, et\textsuperscript{94} a mundo."\textsuperscript{x} Quae tria\textsuperscript{95} tangit Apostolus Ephesiorum 6\textsuperscript{96}: *non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem,*\textsuperscript{y} supponitur\textsuperscript{97} tantum secundum Glossam et hoc\textsuperscript{98} quantum\textsuperscript{99} ad temptationem\textsuperscript{100} carnis; *sed adversus principes*\textsuperscript{101} et

\textsuperscript{85} ut\textsuperscript{] om. L}

\textsuperscript{86} temptari\textsuperscript{] temptare S}

\textsuperscript{87} cupiebat\textsuperscript{] cupivit S}

\textsuperscript{88} cum dicebat\textsuperscript{] dicens S}

\textsuperscript{89} et taliter...est\textsuperscript{] om. L}

\textsuperscript{90} neminem\textsuperscript{] nullum S}

\textsuperscript{91} scilicet\textsuperscript{] om. S}

\textsuperscript{92} ab\textsuperscript{] a L}

\textsuperscript{93} hoste\textsuperscript{] diabolo L}

\textsuperscript{94} et\textsuperscript{] om. L}

\textsuperscript{95} tria\textsuperscript{] om. L}

\textsuperscript{96} 6\textsuperscript{] dicens add. S}

\textsuperscript{97} supponitur\textsuperscript{] supple S}

\textsuperscript{98} hoc\textsuperscript{] om. M}

\textsuperscript{99} supponitur...quantum\textsuperscript{] id est ad hoc L
potestates\textsuperscript{102}, adversus mundi rectores, etc.\textsuperscript{103},\textsuperscript{2} et hoc quantum ad temptationes\textsuperscript{104} diaboli et mundi.

De temptatione\textsuperscript{105} carnis\textsuperscript{106} dicit Gregorius in Moralibus: Nos\textsuperscript{107} gestamus laqueum nostrum nobiscum circumferimus inimicum carnem nostram loquor\textsuperscript{108} de peccato natam\textsuperscript{109}, in peccato nutritam corruptam nimis ipsa origine, sed multo amplius prava consuetudine vitiatam\textsuperscript{110}. De deceptione hostis\textsuperscript{111} dicit Isidorus in libro De summo bono, et idem dicit Hugo\textsuperscript{112}: diabolus, quando decipere aliquem temptat, prius naturam\textsuperscript{113} uniuscuiusque intendit, et inde\textsuperscript{114} se applicat, unde\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{100} temptationem] deceptionem L
\textsuperscript{101} principes] principatus L
\textsuperscript{102} potestates] tenebrarum harum et add. L
\textsuperscript{103} etc] om. L
\textsuperscript{104} temptationes] deceptiones L
\textsuperscript{105} temptatione] deceptione L
\textsuperscript{106} carnis] ut add. L
\textsuperscript{107} nos] om. L
\textsuperscript{108} loquor] loquitur L
\textsuperscript{109} natam] naturae L
\textsuperscript{110} vitiatam] vitiata L
\textsuperscript{111} hostis] scilicet diaboli add. S
\textsuperscript{112} et idem dicit Hugo] om. L
\textsuperscript{113} naturam] om. L
aptum hominem ad peccandum esse conspicit. De deceptione mundi
dicit Bernardus in sermone: Mundus est ubi malitiae plurimum, ubi sapientiae
modicum, ubi omnia sunt viscosa, omnia lubrica, et obsessa laqueis ubi periclitantur
animae, ubi omnis vanitas et afflictio spiritus.

"De his tribus temptationibus similiter dicit Bernardus: Mundus
clamat ego deficiam, caro ego inficiam, diabolus ego decipiam, Christus vero
dicit ego reficiam. Dicamus ergo 'et ne nos
Carnis;

inducas in temptationem Mundi;

\[\begin{align*}
114 \text{ inde}\} \text{ in L} \\
115 \text{ unde}\} \text{ ubi L} \\
116 \text{ aptum}\} \text{ apta L} \\
117 \text{ ad peccandum}\} \text{ om. B} \\
118 \text{ esse}\} \text{ om. L} \\
119 \text{ in sermone}\} \text{ om. L} \\
120 \text{ omnis}\} \text{ omnia M} \\
121 \text{ ubi periclitantur...spiritus}\} \text{ om. L} \\
122 \text{ tribus}\} \text{ om. L} \\
123 \text{ simul}\} \text{ similiter L} \\
124 \text{ clamat}\} \text{ et add. M} \\
125 \text{ temptationem}\} \text{ scilicet add. L}
\]
et diaboli. 

Per hanc petitionem excluditur luxuria, de qua \textsuperscript{126} ut plurimum homines \textsuperscript{127} magis \textsuperscript{128} temptatur \textsuperscript{129}, et ad hoc vitium omnes \textsuperscript{130} tres temptatores \textsuperscript{131} incitant et caro concupiscendo;

instigant diabolus suggerendo;

mundus alliciendo.

Non autem sic est de aliis vitis. Ad superbiam enim \textsuperscript{132} avaritiam et \textsuperscript{133} invidiam non instigat caro \textsuperscript{134}, cum illa proprie non sint \textsuperscript{135} carnis sed animi. Ad iram autem \textsuperscript{136} directe non instigat mundus, quia mundus \textsuperscript{137} prout est

\textsuperscript{126} de qua] om. L
\textsuperscript{127} homines] homo S omnes L
\textsuperscript{128} magis] om. L
\textsuperscript{129} temptatur] temptatur S
\textsuperscript{130} omnes] om. L
\textsuperscript{131} temptatores] in temptatione L
\textsuperscript{132} enim] ad L
\textsuperscript{133} et] ad L
\textsuperscript{134} caro] nostra add. S
\textsuperscript{135} sint] sunt L
\textsuperscript{136} autem] om. L
\textsuperscript{137} quia mundus] om. L
deceptivus\textsuperscript{138} magis blanditur quam quod commoveat\textsuperscript{139} iram. Ad gulam
etiam\textsuperscript{140} et accidiam mundus directe non incitat, sed ista\textsuperscript{141} respiciunt
delectionem et commodum carnis. Ad luxuriam autem omnia tria\textsuperscript{142} directe
concurrunt: diabolus quaedam\textsuperscript{143} cogitationes ingerendo et motum carnis
excitando\textsuperscript{144}; caro concupiscendo; mundus visum et alios sensus oblectando, quia
secundum Gregorium: Species\textsuperscript{145} formae per oculos cordi\textsuperscript{146} semel illigata vix\textsuperscript{147}
magni\textsuperscript{148} in\textsuperscript{149} luctaminis manu solvitur.

Introducitur autem\textsuperscript{150} hic de virtutibus prudentia, cuius est insidias et fraudes

\textsuperscript{138} deceptivus] deceptionis L
\textsuperscript{139} commoveat] moveat L ad add. L
\textsuperscript{140} etiam] om. L
\textsuperscript{141} ista] om. S
\textsuperscript{142} omnia tria] om. L
\textsuperscript{143} quaedam] quidam MS quidem L
\textsuperscript{144} excitando] incitando L
\textsuperscript{145} species] spes L
\textsuperscript{146} per oculos cordi] om. L
\textsuperscript{147} vix] via L
\textsuperscript{148} magni] magis L
\textsuperscript{149} in] om. SL
\textsuperscript{150} autem] om. L
temptatorum praevidere et caute declinare. Unde dicit Socrates in suis sententiis, Prudentis est ne quem in casum incidat cavere, et si quod forte acciderit, fortiter ferre fortis nemo potest iudicari qui prudens non fuerit. "Hinc est quod dominus, cum mitteret discipulos suos in mundum, hanc prudentiam eos docuit contra temptationes eos cautos reddendo dicens: "Estote prudentes sicut serpentes."

"Prudentia serpentis, quantum ad" propositum spectat, "perpenditur ex tribus. Primo, ex eo quod veterem pellem per artum foramen deponit. Sic et nos

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151 temptatorum} temptatoris L
152 quem} quis L
153 casum} casu L
154 quod} quidem S
155 fortis} foras L
156 iudicari} iudicare L
157 quod} om. BL
158 cautos} caute L
159 reddendo} reddendos L
160 quantum} quo L
161 spectat} om. L
162 sic} sed L
ne in temptationem ducamur, debemus pellem veteris conversationis deponere transeundo per artum foramen, "artae vitae et" castigationis ac etiam evangeliaca perfectionis. Unde "Matthei 7: Intrate per angustam portam." Unde Bernardus: Tu prius intrasti, O bone Ihesu, per angustum passionis foramen, ut sequentibus membris praeberes ingressum. Et hoc est optimum remedium contra temptationes carnis" puta "castigare corpus" et ducere vitam artam "in abstinentiis, vigiliis," macerationibus et aliis castigationibus.

"Secundo," prudentia serpentis ex hoc perpenditur quod solem "diliget" et solis calori exponit cum sit naturae frigidae. Sic nos tempore temptationis solem divine gratiae expetere debemus ut ipse nos, qui" ex nobis "sumus frigidi, sua virtute" corroboret. "Et hoc" est "potissimum remedium contra"

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163 ducamur] inducamur SL
164 et] om. L
165 etiam] om. L
166 angustum] angustam portam L
167 praeberes] praebens ML
168 diligit] concupiscit M
169 calori] calore L
170 sic] et add. L
171 gratiae] om. B
172 expetere] petere M exponere L
temptationes "diaboli," ut laqueus\textsuperscript{173} maligni spiritus virtute "sancti spiritus conteratur," ut sic "eius muniti presidio" de hoste "triumphemus."

"Tertio," prudentia serpentis in hoc est quod "corpus pro capite exponit. Sic\textsuperscript{174} nos tempore temptationis et persecutionis pro mente" defendenda vel "tuenda quae est caput" hominis, ne in malo consentiat, debemus totum corpus morti tradere. "Et" hoc "praecipue neccessarium est" quando quis sustinet temptationes seu persecutiones "mundi propter fidem vel" propter aliquid\textsuperscript{175} "aliud" pertinens "ad salutem. Nam antequam homo consentiret in\textsuperscript{176} peccatum mortale potius debet\textsuperscript{177} corpus suum tradere morti et omni pene temporali."\textsuperscript{6}

De donis introducitur per istam\textsuperscript{178} petitionem pietas. Unde dicit Glossa super Mattheum cum dicimus 'et ne nos inducas'\textsuperscript{179}: "Spiritum pietatis petimus ut homo interior mansuescat, et mitis fiat ne\textsuperscript{180} in temptationem moveatur,"\textsuperscript{88} et si

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{173} laqueus] laqueis L
\item \textsuperscript{174} sic] et add. S
\item \textsuperscript{175} aliquid] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{176} in] aliquid add. L
\item \textsuperscript{177} debet] deberet S
\item \textsuperscript{178} istam] hanc L
\item \textsuperscript{179} inducas] in temptationem add. SL
\item \textsuperscript{180} ne] pie L
\end{itemize}
quando\textsuperscript{181} temptetur citius a deo liberetur. Hoc enim donum valet ad superandum\textsuperscript{182} quaecumque genera temptationum, iuxta quod dicit\textsuperscript{183} Apostolus primo Timotheo quarto\textsuperscript{184}: \textit{Corporalis}, inquid, \textit{exercitatio ad modicum utilis est}; \textit{pietas autem ad omnia utilis est}\textsuperscript{185}. \textit{Corporalis inquam}\textsuperscript{186} exercitatio qua\textsuperscript{187} secundum Glossam,\textsuperscript{ii} aliquis\textsuperscript{188} se\textsuperscript{189} fatigat ieiunando et abstinendo, quae sunt frena carnis, ad modicum utilis est, quia tantum\textsuperscript{190} ad reprimendas temptationes carnis\textsuperscript{191}; pietas autem ad omnia utilis est, quia contra\textsuperscript{192} genera temptationum quaurumlibet\textsuperscript{193} valet, non solum carnis, sed etiam mundi et daemonis\textsuperscript{194}. Unde

\textsuperscript{181} quando] quandoque L
\textsuperscript{182} superandum] superanda S
\textsuperscript{183} quod dicit] illud L
\textsuperscript{184} primo Timotheo quarto] ad Timotheum 6 L
\textsuperscript{185} pietas...utilis est] om. M
\textsuperscript{186} inquam] inquit L
\textsuperscript{187} qua] quae L
\textsuperscript{188} aliquis] aliquos L
\textsuperscript{189} se] om. L
\textsuperscript{190} tantum] tamen L
\textsuperscript{191} carnis] valet add. L
\textsuperscript{192} contra] quaelibet add. L
\textsuperscript{193} quaurumlibet] om. L
\textsuperscript{194} daemonis] diaboli SL
Petrus dicit\textsuperscript{195}, 1 Petri secundo\textsuperscript{196}: *Novit deus\textsuperscript{197}pios in\textsuperscript{198}temptatione eripere.*\textsuperscript{ii} Est autem "pietas" prout "est donum habitus supernaturalis quo movet nos spiritus sanctus ut affectum" quendam "filialem habeamus ad deum. Et\textsuperscript{199} ex hoc consequenter\textsuperscript{200} movet nos ad miserandum proximis quodam pio affectu\textsuperscript{kk} pro quanto et\textsuperscript{201} ipsi sunt filii dei.

Et\textsuperscript{202} quoniam dono pietatis, secundum Augustinum,\textsuperscript{ii}adaptatur beatitudo mititatis, ideo conveniencer etiam\textsuperscript{203} introducitur hic de beatitudinibus mititas\textsuperscript{204}. Mitis enim est qui nec\textsuperscript{205} patitur nec deducitur, secundum Origenem.\textsuperscript{nnn} Unde mititas, prout est beatitudo, est quaedam\textsuperscript{206} status iam purgati animi, quando scilicet

\textsuperscript{195} dicit\textsuperscript{om. S}
\textsuperscript{196} Unde...Petri secundo\textsuperscript{om. L}
\textsuperscript{197} deus\textsuperscript{dominus S}
\textsuperscript{198} in\textsuperscript{de SL}
\textsuperscript{199} et\textsuperscript{om. L}
\textsuperscript{200} consequenter\textsuperscript{conveniencer SL}
\textsuperscript{201} et\textsuperscript{om. L}
\textsuperscript{202} et\textsuperscript{om. L}
\textsuperscript{203} etiam\textsuperscript{et L}
\textsuperscript{204} ideo conveniencer...mititas\textsuperscript{om. M}
\textsuperscript{205} nec\textsuperscript{non L}
\textsuperscript{206} quidam\textsuperscript{quaedam B}
homo post multarum temptationum frequentem victoriam quasi victor divina gratia in quietudine mentis ponitur, et quantum possibile est in hac vita temptationum impulsibus amplius non quassatur. Ex quo satis patet convenientia istius beatitudinis ad hanc petitionem, quantum ad omnia genera temptationum praedictarum.

Huic autem beatitudini respondet pro praemio possessio terrae.

Conveniens enim est ut qui pacifice sedatis temptationum tumultibus possidentur a deo et ipsi possideant deum, qui est beata habitatio viventium. Quia

\[207\] quasi] quem L
\[208\] victor] victorem L
\[209\] divina] de vita M
\[210\] quantum] quem L
\[211\] vita] ut add. L
\[212\] quassatur] conquassatur L
\[213\] quo] hoc SL
\[214\] istius] om. ML illius S
\[215\] quantum] quam L
\[216\] praemio] primo L
\[217\] sedatis] sedat L
\[218\] tumultibus] tumultus L

De fructibus vero hic introducuntur duo scilicet continentia et castitas, quae differunt quia castitas refrenat hominem ab illicitis concupiscientiis, continentia vero a licitis; et utroque modo contingit hominem temptari, quandoque de rebus illicitis, quandoque etiam de rebus lictis. Et ideo patet quomodo per hanc petitionem, qua petimus in temptationem nos non induci, haec duo introducuntur.

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219 possiderit] possedit S possederit L
220 inchoatur] in presenti add. L
221 vero] etiam add. S autem L
222 illicitis...rebus] om. L
223 qua] quam L
224 duo] non add. L
Sources

a. Iac. 1,12.
b. Iac. 1,2.
c. Ps. 25,2.
e. Cf. AUG de serm. dom. 2,9,30-32 (PL 34,1282-1283; CChr 35.119,637-121,678).
f. non invenitur
g. CASSIAN. Collationes patrum 1,17 (PL 49,506b).
i. AUG in psalm. 60,3 (PL 36,724; CChr 39.766,3-8).
k. Iac. 1,12.
l. non invenitur
n. GREG.M moral. 14,13 (PL 75, 1048); cf. ibid 32,22 (PL 76,662).
p. GREG.M. pastoral. 1,11 (PL 77,26a).
q. AUG de serm. dom. 2,9,32 (PL 34,1283; CChr 35.121,672-674).
r. Iac. 1,13.
s. Ex. 10,1; cf. Ex. 10,20, Ex. 10,27, Ex. 11,10.
t. Gen. 22,1.
v. AUG in psalm. 61,20 (PL 36,744; CChr 39.788,34-35).

w. Ps. 25,2.


y. Eph. 6,12.

z. Eph. 6,12.

aa. non invenitur


cc. Matth. 10,16.

dd. Cf. PS.AUG erem. 4 (PL 40,1241).


gg. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25F; PL 114,103a).

hh. I Tim. 4,8.

ii. Cf. Glossa ordinaria ad 1 Tim. 4,8 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 120F; PL 114,629c).

jj. II Petr. 2,9.


ll. AUG de serm. dom. 2,11,38 (PL 34,1286; CChr 35.128,833-834); cf. ibid 1,4,11 (PL 34,1234; CChr 35.11,228-230).

mm. non invenitur

nn. Cf. AUG in psalm. 145,11 (PL 37,1891; CChr 40.2113,17-31).
Sed libera nos a malo. Postquam in praecedentibus oravimus petitionibus non nos induci "in malum quo caremus," nunc in hac ultima petitione oramus nos liberari a malo, in quod "iam inducti sumus,"* secundum Augustinum De sermone domini. Et in hac petitione, ut dicit Cyprianus: "claudimus universas preces nostras, et nihil remanet quod ultra debeat postulari." Nam "protectione dei adversus malum quam hic petimus, impetrata securi sumus et tuti. Quis enim

1 precedentibus B
2 petivimus S oramus L
3 petitionibus B
4 om. L
5 om. S
6 temptationem M
7 vero add. S unde L
8 om. M
9 in libro L
10 in S
11 in monte L
12 om. M
13 adhuc add. MS
14 quod L
de 16 hoc saeculo metus 17 est cuius in hoc saeculo deus tutor est?"b Haec Cyprianus 18.

Notandum autem quod haec 19 "adversativa coniunctio 20," sed 21 "non ponitur hic adversative, quasi aliquid dictorum corrigat, sed" potius ponitur subiunctive, "ut id 22 quod" infra ponitur, adiciat, "quasi" dicens: "non solum praedicta nobis facias, sed 23 etiam 24 id 25 quod" supponitur "addicias" et dicit "potius" sed 26 quam et ad signandum 27 "hanc petitionem esse aliam a 28 praemissa, ut dicit Cyprianus."
Notandum autem quod quidam exponunt istam petitionem de "triplici malo, scilicet culpae, presentis miseriae, et futurae poenae. Sed haec expositione non videtur conveniens, quia intelligendo de malo culpae coincideret haec petitio cum quinta, qua dicitur 'dimitte nobis debita nostra', nam debita vocantur mala culpae, ut ibi patet. Intelligendo etiam de malo poenae futurae coincideret haec petitio cum secunda, qua dicimus 'adveniat regnum tuu, nam cum petimus unum oppositorum, excludimus reliquum. Unde ibi, ut dicebatur, petimus tripexus regnum dei excludendo tripexus regnum diaboli oppositum, quorum unum in se
habet poenae futurae inflictionem. Prereea, secundum Augustinum haec petitio respicit malum praesens in quod "iam inducti sumus," ut supra allegatum est in principio huius petitionis; quare inconvenienter exponitur de malo poenae futurae.

Alii exponunt de alio triplici malo scilicet mundi, carnis et diaboli. Sed tunc haec petitio coincideret cum praecedente, qua dicitur, "et ne nos inducas in temptationem." Alii exponunt de alio triplici malo scilicet praeteritis, praesentibus, et futuris. Sed hoc contra Augustinum, qui hanc petitionem dicit respicere mala praesentia, ut dictum est. Sed quia in

42 sed] et M etiam add. S
43 haec] ista L
44 praecedente] illa S
45 inducas in temptationem] et cetera L
46 scilicet] om. L
47 praeteritis] praeterito S
48 praesentibus] praesenti S
49 futuris] futuro S
50 hoc] haec M
51 est] om. M
52 mala] om. S
53 sed hoc...dictum est] om. L
54 sed] ut L
oratione, quae\textsuperscript{55} dicitur in missa\textsuperscript{56} post istam\textsuperscript{37} orationem dominicam immediate, liberari petimus a triplici malo\textsuperscript{58} scilicet praesenti, praeterito et futuro\textsuperscript{59}, ubi\textsuperscript{60} dicitur\textsuperscript{61} "libera nos quaesumus domine ab omnibus malis\textsuperscript{62} praesentibus, praeteritis, et futuris, etc.\textsuperscript{63}, "ideo nec\textsuperscript{64} illum intellectum omnino reprobo.

Restat ergo\textsuperscript{65} ut solum exponatur de malo praesentis miseriae, in quo iam laboramus\textsuperscript{66}, quod\textsuperscript{67} est triplex secundum Bernardum.\textsuperscript{8} Sumus

faciles ad seducendum, quantum\textsuperscript{68} ad rationalem;

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{55} quae] ut M
\item \textsuperscript{56} quae dicitur in missa] canonis L
\item \textsuperscript{57} istam] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{58} triplici malo] triplicibus malis S
\item \textsuperscript{59} praesenti, praeterito et futuro] praesentibus, praeteritis et futuris S
\item \textsuperscript{60} immediate liberari...ubi] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{61} dicitur] subditur L
\item \textsuperscript{62} praesenti, praeterito...omnibus malis] om. M
\item \textsuperscript{63} etc.] om. ML
\item \textsuperscript{64} nec] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{65} ergo] autem S
\item \textsuperscript{66} laboramus] laboremus B
\item \textsuperscript{67} quod] quae L
\item \textsuperscript{68} quantum] et quo L
\end{itemize}
enim debiles ad operandum, quantum^{69} ad concupiscibilem;

fragiles ad resistendum, quantum^{70} ad irascibilem.

Haec tria ponit Bernardus in sermone de adventu domini^{71}: "Triplici," inquit^{72}, "malo humanum genus miserabiliter laborat. Nam faciles sumus ad seducendum, debiles vel desides^{73} ad operandum, et^{74} fragiles ad resistendum. Si discernere volumus inter bonum et malum, decipimur; si temptamus facere bonum, deficimus; si conamur malo resistere, deicimur."

Et^{75} "notandum^{76} quod hoc quid hic dicitur de resistentia" mali "non" intelligitur de resistentia, "qua resistimus temptationibus," quia tunc "coincideret^{77} cum petitione praecedente^{78}; sed intelligitur de resistentia, qua resistimus malis nos

---

69 quantum] quo L

70 quantum] quo L

71 domini] om. L

72 inquid] in quo L

73 vel desides] om. B

74 et] om. M

75 et] est add. L

76 notandum] nota S

77 coincideret] coincidunt L

78 praecedente] praecedenti S
involuentibus sicut sunt adversitates saeculi, neccessitates corporis, et\textsuperscript{79} passiones
animi et cetera talia. Multa enim sunt mala, quae non per modum temptationis nobis
ingeruntur, quibus per nos resistere nos\textsuperscript{80} sufficimus\textsuperscript{81}, et ideo petimus ab eis\textsuperscript{82}
liberari. Petimus autem hic a praedicto triplici malo liberari, non ut eis\textsuperscript{83} \textit{totaliter}
"exuamur\textsuperscript{84}, " puta ut tollamur de\textsuperscript{85} hac vita "quia tunc ista petitio conicideret cum
secunda, sed petimus" sic "nos\textsuperscript{86} ab eis liberari, ne in exercitio spirituali nos
impediant aut retardent. Dicamus ergo 'libera nos a malo'"

\begin{itemize}
\item decep \textit{"quo decipimur in cognoscendo;}
\item defectionis\textsuperscript{87} \textit{quo deficimus in operando;}
\item deiec \textit{quo deicimur in resistendo.}\textsuperscript{88}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{79} et\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\item\textsuperscript{80} nos\textsuperscript{]} non M
\item\textsuperscript{81} sufficimus\textsuperscript{]} possumus L
\item\textsuperscript{82} eis\textsuperscript{]} his S
\item\textsuperscript{83} eis\textsuperscript{]} eo L
\item\textsuperscript{84} exuamur\textsuperscript{]} eruamur L
\item\textsuperscript{85} de\textsuperscript{]} ab S
\item\textsuperscript{86} nos\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\item\textsuperscript{87} deceptionis, defectionis, deiectionis\textsuperscript{]} om. MS
\item\textsuperscript{88} resistendo\textsuperscript{]} S add.: "Vel potest dici et melius quod, haec petitio intelligatur tam de
malo culpae quam poenae. Culpae inquam iam non perpetraeae, quia tunc coincideret
cum quinta ut supra dictum est. Sed culpae instantis possibilis perpetrari, a quo malo
petimus nos liberari ne videlicet peccamus. Item de malo poenae praesentis. Poena enim
"Per hanc petitionem excluditur accidia, quae secundum Bernardum est quidam
"animi" torpor, "i quo quis negligit aliqua bona inchoare ac fastidit perficere.

Et iste torpor causat in nobis triplex malum praedictum, quo laboramus" sicut patet diligenter consideranti.

"tepet studio

praesens qua affligimur aliquando, est satisfactiva et remeditativa de peccatis commissis vel committendis, imo est interdum stimulativa ad bonum. Iuxta illud Psalmi: Multiplicatae sunt infirmitates eorum postea acceleraverunt. Et tunc poena non habet rationem mali sed boni. A liquando autem est inductiva vel impulsiva ad peccatum. Metum enim poenae multa mala fiunt. Et ut sic poena habet rationem mali a quo malo petimus nos liberari, unde omnes poenalitates praesentis miseriae sive sint adversitates saeculi sive necessitates et dolores corporis sive passiones animi sive sit seducibilitas in ratione sive pronitas ad malum in concupiscibili sive difficulties ad bonum in irascibili et cetera talia, in quantum nobis proficient ad salutem bonae sunt, quia eis exercitamur ad virtutes. In quantum vero nos abducent et sunt nobis causa vel occasio ruinae, malae sunt et ut sic petimus nos ab eis liberari tam praesentibus quam praeteritis quam futuris. Nec obstat quod Augustinus dicit: Nos hic orare liberari a malo in quod iam inducti sumus. Nam in malum in poenalitatibus praesentis miseriae nobis imminens iam inducti sumus causaliter a cuius mali effective in cursu petimus nos liberari. Et notandum quod in hac petitione non petimus simpliciter nos liberari a poenis seu poenalitatibus miseriae praesentis, quia hoc petivimus in secunda petitione cum diximus, 'Adveniat regnum tuum'; sed petimus quod quamdui sumus in incolatu praesentis miseriae interim liberemur a talibus in quantum sunt nobis mala et saluti nostrae obnoxia. Item potest accipi de malo poenae futurae, ita quod petamus sic: nos liberari a malo praesenti ut non incurramus malum poenae futurae."

89 animi] animae L
90 quo] qua L
91 ac] aut S tunc L
92 malum] om. L
93 sicut] ut S
94 tepet] torpet L
"Accidiosus enim" torpet exercitio
languet taidio."

Quae tria convenientiam habent cum triplici malo praedicto. De primo, dicit Cassianus in epistola: natura humana sicut continuis studiis instruitur, ita per otia torpentia fatuatur; ecce malum deceptionis. De secundo, locum habet quod dicit Bernardus supra, quod accidia est animi torpor, quo quis negligit aliqua bona inchoare aut fastidit perficere; in quo est malum defectio. Et de his duobus simul dicit Seneca epistola: "desidiosa," inquit "studere torqueri est," quantum ad primum; "pigro supplicii loco labor est," quantum ad secundum. De tertio, dicit Bernardus in epistola quod accidia est quidam animi

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95 convenientiam] convenientia M
96 torpentia] torpentis M
97 fatuatur] famatur L
98 ecce malum deceptionis] om. L
99 Bernardus] ubi add. S
100 supra] om. L
101 inchoare] om. L
102 defectio] deceptionis L
103 72] om. L
104 desidiosa] desidioso SL
105 supplicii] sublimi L
languor cum "legere non libet, orare non delectat, meditationes sollicite non
senitiuntur." Et Gregorius in homelia dicit quod accidia est de virtutum
laudabili exercitio utriusque hominis languida deiectio; ecce malum deiectionis. Bene
ergo dictum est, quod per hoc quod petimus liberari ab hoc triplici malo implicite
fugamus accidiam.

Introducitur autem hic virtus temporantiae, cuius est a malis praesentibus
abstinere, declinat enim ab extremis et servat medium quod licet etiam aliis virtutibus
moralibus competat, ut patet secundo Ethicorum, praecipue tamen apropriatur
temporantiae. Stando autem in medio alius liber est a malis, quae sunt in
extremis. Unde dicit medium tenere beati.

Temporantiae autem sunt tres partes potentialia inter ceteras, quae iuvant
hominem contra triplex malum praedictum quo laborat, videlicet Studiositas,
austeritas, et continentia. Studiositas est virtus, qua mens hominis ad rerum
cognitionem vehementer afficitur secundum moderam rationem. Et haec virtus iuvat

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106 homelia] moralibus L
107 temporantiae] temporantia L
108 moralibus] om. L
109 in medio] om. L
110 hominem] om. S
111 laborat] laboramus S
contra primum malum et quantum\textsuperscript{112} ad istam partem, temporantia comparatur \textit{ligno scientiae boni et mali} quod est \textit{in medio paradisi}.\textsuperscript{9}

Austeritas autem, secundum Andronicum\textsuperscript{113},\textsuperscript{r} est virtus, quae excludit omnes delectationes superfluas et inordinatas, quae possent hominem impedire in exercitio operis virtuosi. Et haec virtus iuvat contra secundum\textsuperscript{114} malum, quo desides sumus in operando bonum. Et quantum\textsuperscript{115} ad hanc partem, temporantia comparatur soli, qui est medius planetarum et virtuosior inter omnes, nec per aliquem planetarum a suo lumine valet impediri.

Continentia vero est virtus, qua aliquis\textsuperscript{116} resistit concupiscientiis pravis, quae in eo vehementes existunt. Unde dicit Andronicus\textsuperscript{1} quod continentia est habitus invictus a delectatione. Et haec virtus suffragatur contra tertium malum, ut de se patet. Ex quo ad istam partem, temporantia comparatur magistro, qui est in medio discipulorum, ut\textsuperscript{117} potest haberi ex secundo Ethicorum.\textsuperscript{t} Igitur quod hae tres virtutes, ut dictum est, sunt partes temporantiae, ideo convenienter per hanc

\textsuperscript{112} quantum] quo L
\textsuperscript{113} secundum Andronicum] om. L
\textsuperscript{114} secundum] om. B
\textsuperscript{115} quantum] quo L
\textsuperscript{116} aliquis] quis S
\textsuperscript{117} ut] et L
petitionem virtus temporantiae dicitur\textsuperscript{118} introduci\textsuperscript{119}.

De donis vero introducitur timor, quia\textsuperscript{120} ut dicit Glossa super Mattheum: dum "ab imis ad summa ascenditur, per spiritum timoris a malo liberamur\textsuperscript{121}". Unde dicitur Proverbiorum 15\textsuperscript{122}: \textit{per timorem domini declinat omnis a malo}, a malo\textsuperscript{123} videlicet triplici praedicto. A primo quidem quia \textit{initium sapientiae timor domini}, Ecclesiastici primo\textsuperscript{124}, "immo \textit{omnis sapientia est timor domini}, Ecclesiastici 19\textsuperscript{125}. \textit{Sapientia autem facit ne in cognosendo decipiamur.}

\textit{A} secundo vero quia \textit{in timore domini fiducia fortitudinis}, ne videlicet in operando deficiamus, Proverbiorum 14\textsuperscript{127}. Unde\textsuperscript{128} secundum\textsuperscript{129} Gregorium:

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{118} dicitur] debet L
\item \textsuperscript{119} introduci] induci L
\item \textsuperscript{120} quia] om. S
\item \textsuperscript{121} liberamur] liberemur L
\item \textsuperscript{122} 15] quinto L
\item \textsuperscript{123} a malo] om. S
\item \textsuperscript{124} Ecclesiastici primo] Ecclesiastici undetricesimo
\item \textsuperscript{125} Ecclesiastici primo...Ecclesiastici undevicesimo] om. S; immo...Ecclesiastici undevicesimo] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{126} a] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{127} proverbiorum 14] om. L
\item \textsuperscript{128} unde] et S
\item \textsuperscript{129} secundum] om. L
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
"sicut in via saeculi timor debilitatem, ita in via dei \textsuperscript{130} timor fortitudinem gignit\textsuperscript{131}. Etiam per timorem dei \textsuperscript{132} a tertio malo, Psalmi: 

\textit{firmamentum est dominus timentibus eum,} \textsuperscript{88} ne scilicet ullis \textsuperscript{133} adversis \textsuperscript{134} deiciantur. Et haec tria et plura alia \textsuperscript{135} de \textsuperscript{136} hoc dono comprehendit\textsuperscript{137}

Cassianus in libro De institutis\textsuperscript{138} monachorum sic dicit: "Principium nostrae salutis sapientiaeque\textsuperscript{139} secundum scripturas timor domini est.\textsuperscript{88} De timore domini nascitur compunctio spiritualis. De compunctione cordis\textsuperscript{141} procedit abrenunciatio, id est, nuditas et contemptus omnium facultatum. De nuditate humilitas procreatur. De

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{130} dei L domini
\item \textsuperscript{131} gignit L gignit
\item \textsuperscript{132} dei S domini
\item \textsuperscript{133} ullis L illis
\item \textsuperscript{134} adversis L adversari
\item \textsuperscript{135} deiciantur...alia om. L
\item \textsuperscript{136} de L in
\item \textsuperscript{137} comprehendit L deprehendit
\item \textsuperscript{138} institutis L institutione
\item \textsuperscript{139} sapientiaeque om. L
\item \textsuperscript{140} de L nam de
\item \textsuperscript{141} cordis om. L
\end{itemize}
humilitate mortificatio voluntatum generatur. De voluptatis mortificatione
exstirpatur, atque marcescunt universa vitia. De vitiorum expulsione virtutes
fructicant atque succrescunt. De virtutum pullulatione puritas cordis acquiritur.
Per cordis puritatem apostolicae caritatis perfectio possidetur,
vetus est beati Anthonii sententia.

De beatitudinibus introducitur hic paupertas spiritus, nam sicut dicit
Glossa: "Liberati a malo, pauperes spiritu et rebus esse cupimus." Autem paupertas spiritus tripliciter. Primo, id est spirituali voluntate per devotionem gratiae. Secundo modo sic:

142 voluptatis | voluptatum S
143 atque succrescunt | om. L
144 apostolicae | apostolica L
145 caritatis | caritas L
146 perfectio | perfecto L
147 vetus | sive antiqua add. L
148 sicut | ut S
149 dicit | om. L
150 primo | prout L
151 ut | om. L
152 dicantur | dicamur S
153 modo | om. L
pauperes spiritu, id est, sui opinione vel reputatione secundum dicit.

Glossa interlinearis: "pauper spiritu humilis est corde." Tertio modo sic: spiritu pauperes, id est, non inflatu de se non confidentes sed timorosi sicut vulgariter pauper corde dicitur timidus et isti quia de se nihil praeumunt; ideo se totos deo committunt.

Primi pauperes sunt abiles ad cognoscendum verum. Unde dicit Augustinus super Psalmum 76: Omnis philosophiae magistra nobis est inopia propter quod legiur de multis philosophis quod divitias abiecerunt ut

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154 sic autem L
155 sui om. L
156 secundum sed quod L
157 glossa om. L
158 spiritu pauperes paupertas spiritu seu pauperes spiritu L
159 sui opinione...id est om. M; id est om. L
160 inflatus inflati M sunt inflati L
161 non multum add. L
162 sicut sententia L
163 pauperes spiritu add. S
164 abiles debiles L
165 76 om. S
166 inopia copia L
167 quod qui B
speculationi liberius\textsuperscript{168} possent\textsuperscript{169} vacari\textsuperscript{170}, ut\textsuperscript{171} de Socrate\textsuperscript{172}, Diogene, et pluribus aliis.

Secundi pauperes sunt stabiles\textsuperscript{173} ad faciendum bonum. Unde\textsuperscript{174} dicit Chrysostomus\textsuperscript{88} super Mattheum quod haec paupertas, id est humilitas, est quoddam stabile fundamentum, qua subiecta cum stabilitate alia superedificantur. Et ideo dicitur Isaiae 25\textsuperscript{175}: \textit{factus est dominus fortitudo pauperi},\textsuperscript{bb} ne videlicet in operatione boni deficiat.

Tertii pauperes sunt faciles ad resistendum malo, tales enim pauperes semper adiutorium dei sunt mendicantes\textsuperscript{176}, ut\textsuperscript{177} dicit Chrysostomus: "unde\textsuperscript{178} in Greco

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{168} liberius] liberetis B
\item \textsuperscript{169} possent] om. MSL
\item \textsuperscript{170} vacari] vacaverant M vacarent SL
\item \textsuperscript{171} ut] om. S
\item \textsuperscript{172} Socrate] et add. SL
\item \textsuperscript{173} stabiles] debiles L
\item \textsuperscript{174} unde] ut L
\item \textsuperscript{175} 25] quinto quinquagesimo L
\item \textsuperscript{176} mendicantes] medicantes L
\item \textsuperscript{177} ut] unde L
\item \textsuperscript{178} unde] quod L
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
habetur beati mendici." Et ideo divino adiutorio suffulci faciliter resistunt malis\textsuperscript{179}, propter quod de tali paupere\textsuperscript{180} dicit dominus Isaiae 66: \textit{ad quem respiciam nisi ad pauperculum et trementem sermones meos}\textsuperscript{181}. ii

Haec autem tria triplicibus pauperibus competentia\textsuperscript{182} sunt\textsuperscript{183} contra triplex malum praedictum, ut de se patet, intuenti. Propter quod bene dictum est hanc primam\textsuperscript{184} beatitudinem per istam\textsuperscript{185} ultimam petitionem introduci.

Sciendum autem quod secundum enumerationem Matthei haec beatitudo scilicet paupertatis\textsuperscript{186} ponitur prima\textsuperscript{187}, pacis autem ultima, quia ipse\textsuperscript{188} procedit\textsuperscript{189} a minus\textsuperscript{190} dignioribus ad magis digniores\textsuperscript{191}. Sed quoniam\textsuperscript{192} hae 7 petitiones

\textsuperscript{179} malis] malo S
\textsuperscript{180} paupere] pauperi L
\textsuperscript{181} sermones meos] sermonem meum L
\textsuperscript{182} competentia] convenientia S
\textsuperscript{183} sunt] om. B
\textsuperscript{184} primam] premissam L
\textsuperscript{185} istam] om. L
\textsuperscript{186} paupertatis] paupertas spiritu S
\textsuperscript{187} prima] loco primo L
\textsuperscript{188} ipse] om. L
\textsuperscript{189} procedit] perducit animos L
\textsuperscript{190} minus] om. L
istius sanctissimae orationis procedunt a perfectioribus ad minus perfecta, ideo in coaptatione petitionum et beatitudinum ordo opponitus observatur.

Octava autem beatitudo, quae est pati persecutiones propter iusticiam, hic nulli petitioni singulariter adaptatur, quia ipsa super singulas replicatur. Unde dicit Augustinus et Glossa, quod ipsa "redit ad caput," quod intelligitur dupliciter. Uno modo, quod ipsa replicari debeat super omnes praecedentes; verbi gratia, beati pauperes spiritu, si persecutionem patiuntur propter iusticiam, et sic de aliis. Et secundum hoc non est specialis beatitudo distincta ab aliis, sed est praecedentium illuminatio et probatio. Alio modo, quia usus istius beatitudinis

191 digniores] digniora
192 quoniam] autem
193 sanctissimae] sanctissimi
194 orationis] ordinis
195 perfecta] perfectas MS perfectus
196 persecutiones] persecutionem
197 hic] haec
198 nulli] nullae
199 et] in ML
200 spiritu] quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum add.
201 et secundum...ab aliis] om.
202 sed] si
ambit et complectitur usum omnium aliarum pro quanto in qualibet est passio quaedam. Quod sic declarari potest, patitur aliquis aut a se aut ab alio. Si a se aut voluntarie subtrahendo, quae sibi placent, aut inferenda, quae displicent. Subtrahendo quidem aut in quantum sibi sunt impedimenta, quod fit per paupertatem, aut in quantum aliis adiutoria, quod fit per misericordiam; inferendo quae displicent hoc fit per luctum. Si autem ab alio patitur aut intra aut extra. Si extra, tunc respectu inferentis necessaria

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203 complectitur| complectit L
204 patitur| autem add. M
205 aliquis| quis L
206 aut| om. M
207 voluntarie| voluntate L
208 inferenda| inferendo M
209 aut inferenda quae displicent| om. L
210 aut| om. L
211 sibi| etiam L
212 aliis| sunt add. S proximo L
213 misericordiam| aut add. L
214 patitur| patiatur S
215 tunc| enim add. L
216 inferentis| inferentia L
est 'mititas,' ut non reddat malum pro malo, respectu\textsuperscript{217} autem sustinentis 'esuries iusticiae', quae magis appetit probari\textsuperscript{218} et purgari. Si intra, tunc\textsuperscript{219} quantum ad inferentem necessaria est pax\textsuperscript{220}, ut secundum rationem rectam totum concordetur; quantum\textsuperscript{221} ad sustinentem munditia cordis ut voluntas non inficiatur. Et sic patet quomodo\textsuperscript{222} ista beatitudo decurrit per omnes alias, propier quod redire ad caput dicitur. Propter quod etiam convenit in primo\textsuperscript{223} cum prima, quod\textsuperscript{224} est regnum caelorum, et\textsuperscript{225} hoc etiam praemium in omnibus aliis praemiis\textsuperscript{226} intelligitur.

De fructibus autem\textsuperscript{227} introducitur per hanc ultimam\textsuperscript{228} petitionem patientia, cuius est equo animo tollerare mala praesentis miseriae, quamdiu ab eis non

\textsuperscript{217} respectu] om. L
\textsuperscript{218} probari] propriari M
\textsuperscript{219} tunc] om. L
\textsuperscript{220} pax] om. L
\textsuperscript{221} quantum] quo L
\textsuperscript{222} quomodo] quoniam L
\textsuperscript{223} primo] praemio L
\textsuperscript{224} quod] quae L
\textsuperscript{225} et] ad L
\textsuperscript{226} praemiis] om. L
\textsuperscript{227} autem] om. L
\textsuperscript{228} ultimam] om. L
liberamur.

Ad evidentiam praemissorum quoniam nonnumquam aliquae virtutes, dona et beatitudines et fructus in idem nomen coincidunt, perutile est earum distinctionem hic subnectere. Sciendum autem quod quinque sunt quae consequenter se habent ad animam perficiendam videlicet gratia, virtus, donum, beatitudo, et fructus. Gratia est enim habitus perficiens essentiam animae purgando egritudinem culpae et ad quodam esse supernaturale animam elevando. Virtus vero et donum perficiunt potentiam sed differenter, quia virtus perficit potentiam purgando eiusmod defectum et habilitando ipsam ad operandum sive naturaliter, si sit virtus acquisita, sive supernaturaliter si sit virtus infusa. Donum

\[229 \text{et]} \text{om. B}\]
\[230 \text{et]} \text{ac L}\]
\[231 \text{earum]} \text{eorum S}\]
\[232 \text{subnectere]} \text{subnectare M}\]
\[233 \text{autem]} \text{ergo ML}\]
\[234 \text{perficiendam]} \text{om. L}\]
\[235 \text{quodam]} \text{quamdam L}\]
\[236 \text{sed differenter...purgando]} \text{om. L}\]
\[237 \text{et]} \text{om. L}\]
\[238 \text{sive]} \text{sub L}\]
\[239 \text{donum]} \text{dona L}\]
autem purgat\textsuperscript{240} difficultatem in operando faciens prompte\textsuperscript{241} et faciliter hominem\textsuperscript{242} operari ad motum et instinctum spiritus sancti. Beatitudo\textsuperscript{243} vero est operatio doni et sic\textsuperscript{244}, quando\textsuperscript{245} Philosophus\textsuperscript{I} dicit \textit{Ethicorum} quod felicitas est operatio perfectae virtutis, perfecta virtus appellatur\textsuperscript{247} donum. Fructus autem est deliciosa delectatio consurgens ex praedicta operatione. Ex quibus patet quod beatitudo et fructus non dicunt\textsuperscript{248} novos habitus aliens\textsuperscript{249} a virtutibus et donis, sed sunt earum\textsuperscript{250} actus, qui quidem actus reponunt hominem in quodam perfectionis statu. Et hinc est quod beatitudines et fructus quidam\textsuperscript{251} status appellantur.

\textsuperscript{240} purgat\textsuperscript{f} purgant L
\textsuperscript{241} prompte\textsuperscript{f} pronos L
\textsuperscript{242} hominem\textsuperscript{f} enim L
\textsuperscript{243} beatitudo\textsuperscript{f} consentiendo L
\textsuperscript{244} et sic\textsuperscript{f} sicut L
\textsuperscript{245} quando\textsuperscript{f} om. L
\textsuperscript{246} \textit{4}\textsuperscript{f} 8 L
\textsuperscript{247} appellatur\textsuperscript{f} operatur L
\textsuperscript{248} dicunt\textsuperscript{f} ducunt L
\textsuperscript{249} aliens\textsuperscript{f} alienos L
\textsuperscript{250} earum\textsuperscript{f} eorum L
\textsuperscript{251} quidam\textsuperscript{f} quidem M
Dicitur enim beatitudo status et perfectio iam purgati animi. Alia autem quatuor praedicta sunt purgatoria animi, ut visum est. Et si aliquando iste status vocatur virtus, hoc est improprie; dicitur autem iste status beatitudo vel quia immediate est ad beatitudinem, vel quia animam iam purgatam facit statim evolare in aeternam beatitudinem, vel quia dat securitatem aeternae beatitudinis.

De hac materia plenius habes in tractatu quem edidi de arbore virtutum, capitulo secundo. Qualiter etiam eorum singula sit in idem nomen coincidentia a se differant, habes ibidem de singulis in suis locis.

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252 dicitur| datur L
253 enim| etiam S
254 quatuor| om. L
255 sunt| a natura add. L
256 purgatoria| purgationes S
257 evolare in aeternam...beatitudinis| om. L
258 etiam| autem L
259 sit| sint L
260 nomen| nomine L
261 coincidentia| et add. S
262 differant| differunt L
263 ibidem| ibi idem L
264 locis| et cetera add. L
Sources

a. AUG de serm. dom. 2,9,35 (PL 34,1284; CChr 35.125,762-764); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 13 (ed. Marietti, 108a).

b. CYPR. domin. orat. 27 (CChr 3A.107,501-512); cf. THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Marietti, 108a).


d. AUG de serm. dom. 2,9,35 (PL 34,1284; CChr 35.125,764).

e. Cf. THOMAS in Matth. 602 (ed. Marietti, 93b); Innocentius De saco altaris mysterio 5,16 (PL 217,898a).

f. Missale Romanum, canon missae.

g. non invenitur

h. Bernardus serm. 7 (PL 183,55a); cf.: "Et hoc malum est triplex secundum beatum Bernardum in sermone de adventu domini: Scimus enim fideles faciles ad seducendum quantum ad rationalem, debiles ad operandum quantum ad concupiscibilem, fragiles ad resistendum quantum ad irascibilem, quia ut ipse dicit, "si discernere volumus inter bonum et malum decipimur. Si attemptamus facere bonum deficimus. Si conamus malo resistere deicimur." " Henricus de Frimaria, Expositio Orationis Dominicae, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 191v.

i. Bernardus Vitis mystica seu tractatus de passione domini 19 (PL 184,674d).

j. Henricus de Frimaria, Expositio Orationis Dominicae, Basel, UB MS A.X. 124, fol. 191v-192r.

k. non invenitur

l. SEN. epist. 71,23.4.

m. SEN. epist. 71,23.3.


o. non invenitur


r. non invenitur
s. non invenitur
u. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25F; PL 114,102d-103a).
w. Eccli. 1,16.
x. Eccli. 19,18.
z. GREG.M moral. 5,16 (PL 75,607a).
aa. Ps. 24,14.
bb. Cf. Prov. 9,10; Prov. 1,7.
cc. CASSIAN. inst. 4,43 (PL 49,202a); cf. ibid 4,39 (PL 49,198c).
dd. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 25F; PL 114,103a).
e. Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 5,3 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 18B; cf. PL 114,89c); PS.CHRYSOST. in Matth. 9 (PG 56,680).
ff. Cf. AUG civ. 10,27 et 8,2.
gg. non invenitur
hh. Is. 25,4.
ii. PS.CHRYSOST. in Matth. 9 (PG 56,680).
jj. Is. 66,2.
kk. AUG de serm. dom. 1,4,12 (PL 34,1235; CChr 35.12,250); Glossa ordinaria ad Matth. 5,10 (ed. Venetiis 1588 tom. V, fol. 18A; cf. PL 114,90d).
mm. This work of Jordan's has not been found.

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1 adimpletio] impletio L
2 hebrayca] est add. L
3 ut] in add. M est add L in add. L
4 tertio] om. L
5 haec] hoc S
6 dicitur] om. S
7 vere] certe S
8 scriptum] esse add. L in add. L
9 quod aquila] aliquando L
'Amen' posita in fine orationis triplicem efficaciam et virtutem
concludit orationem;
Nam recolligit intentionem;
impetrat exauditionem.

Concludat\textsuperscript{10} quidem orationem, quia secundum Hieronymum est
signaculum\textsuperscript{11} orationis. Unde\textsuperscript{12} sicut per sigillum clauditur scriptura, sic per Amen
concluditur\textsuperscript{13} oratio. Recolligit etiam\textsuperscript{14} intentionem, nam quando dicitur 'Amen',
intentio summatim fertur\textsuperscript{15} super omnia praecedentia; et si aliquid ex humana
fragilitate per distractionem mentis in oratione absque actuali intentione
pertransitum\textsuperscript{16} est, ad id\textsuperscript{17} intentio redit dicendo 'Amen'. Impetrat nihilominus
exauditionem, est enim 'Amen' exauditionis nota\textsuperscript{18}. Unde dicit Rabanus\textsuperscript{19}: "per

\textsuperscript{10} concludat] concludit L
\textsuperscript{11} signaculum] dominicae add. L
\textsuperscript{12} unde] ut L
\textsuperscript{13} concluditur] clauditur L
\textsuperscript{14} etiam] secundum Hieronimum add. S
\textsuperscript{15} fertur] vertitur L
\textsuperscript{16} pertransitum] pertransitio facta L
\textsuperscript{17} id] illud SL
\textsuperscript{18} nota] nomen S
\textsuperscript{19} dicit Rabanus] om. L
hoc quod dominus dixerat\textsuperscript{21}, 'Amen', signat indubitae\textsuperscript{22} illis\textsuperscript{23} a domino conferri omnia quae rite postulant, qui conditionis additae servare pactum non negligunt.\textsuperscript{24} Quae quidem conditio est dimittere debitoribus nostris, de qua supra dictum est. Et in hoc terminatur expositio huius\textsuperscript{25} sanctissimae orationis.\textsuperscript{26}

De perfectione et sufficientia istius benedictae orationis dicit Augustinus Ad Probam: "Si per omnia prectionum sanctorum verba\textsuperscript{27} discurras nihil\textsuperscript{28} invenies, quod in ista oratione dominica non contineatur.\textsuperscript{29} Quaecumque autem alia verba dicamus, quae affectus orantis format, nihil\textsuperscript{30} aliud dicimus quam quod in ista oratione dominica positum est, si recte et congruenter oramus.\textsuperscript{31}

"Qui enim dicit, clarificare in omnibus gentibus sicut clarificatus est in nobis,\textsuperscript{32} quid aliud dicit quam\textsuperscript{33} 'sanctificetur nomen tuum'? Qui\textsuperscript{34} dicit, Ostende\textsuperscript{35} faciem

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{20} hoc] om. M
\item\textsuperscript{21} dixerat] dixit S dixerit L
\item\textsuperscript{22} indubitante] indubitabiliter L
\item\textsuperscript{23} illis] illud L
\item\textsuperscript{24} huius] istius L
\item\textsuperscript{25} verba] illa L
\item\textsuperscript{26} nihil] nec S
\item\textsuperscript{27} contineatur] occurratur L
\item\textsuperscript{28} nihil] vel L
\item\textsuperscript{29} quam] om. L
\end{itemize}
tuam et salvi erimus; quid aliud dicit quam 'adveniat regnum tuum'? Qui\(^{32}\) dicit, 
gressus meos dirige secundum eloquium tuum; quid aliud dicit quam 'fiat voluntas 
tua'? Qui\(^{33}\) dicit, divide et paupertatem\(^{34}\) ne dederis mihi, quid aliud dicit\(^{35}\) 
quam\(^{36}\) 'panem nostrum cottidianum da nobis hodie\(^{37}\)'? Qui\(^{38}\) dicit, Memento 
domine David et omnis mansuetudinis eius\(^{39}\), et si reddidi retribuentibus mihi 
mala\(^{40}\), quid aliud dicit quam 'dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus 
debitoribus nostris\(^{41}\)'? Qui\(^{42}\) dicit, Aufer a me concupiscentias\(^{43}\), quid aliud dicit

\(^{30}\) qui] quod L

\(^{31}\) ostende] nobis add. SL domine add. L

\(^{32}\) qui] quod L

\(^{33}\) qui] quod L

\(^{34}\) paupertatem] paupertates B

\(^{35}\) dicit] om. M

\(^{36}\) quam] om. L

\(^{37}\) da nobis hodie] et cetera L

\(^{38}\) qui] quod L

\(^{39}\) domine...eius] om. L

\(^{40}\) mala] malum B

\(^{41}\) sicut et...nostris] om. L

\(^{42}\) qui] quod L

\(^{43}\) concupiscentias] concupiscentiam L
quam 'ne nos inducas in temptationem'? Qui dicit, *Erue me ab inimicis meis* deus meus, quid aliud dicit quam 'libera nos a malo'? Et subdit Augustinus: "Quisquis autem id dicit quod ad istam evangelicam partem pertinere non possit carnaliter orat. Qui enim dicit in oratione: domine, multiplica divitas meas et honores meos auge, et hoc dicit eorum concupiscientias habens non id attendens ut ex his secundum deum prosit hominibus, puto eum invenire in oratione dominica quo possit haec vota aptare." Item

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44 in temptationem] et cetera L
45 qui] quod L
46 erue] eripe L
47 ab] de SL
48 meis] om. M
49 meus] om. S
50 quisquis] quisque S
51 id] aliud M illud S aliquid L
52 meos] meas B
53 et] qui add. L
54 concupiscentias] concupiscientiam SL
55 id] enim L
56 secundum] om. L
57 deum] offendit nec add. L
58 eum] enim L non add SL
Cyprianus in libro De oratione dominica dicit quod Christus in ista oratione "magisterio suo omnem precem nostram\textsuperscript{60} salutari\textsuperscript{61} sermone breviavit." Unde etiam\textsuperscript{62} dicit Cassianus in Collationibus patrum: hanc orationem "omnem\textsuperscript{63} perfectionis plenitudinem continere," subdens quod ipsa oratio dominica "provehit ad illam igneam et per paucos\textsuperscript{64} expertam orationem, quae omnem transcendent homanum sensum, nullo nec dum sono vocis, sed nec linguae motu distinguetur\textsuperscript{65}, sed mens\textsuperscript{66} infusione illius caelestis luminis illustrata, velut de fonte quodam copiosissimo\textsuperscript{67}, illam ubertim atque ineffabiliter eructuat ad deum, tantum\textsuperscript{68} promens in illo brevissimo temporis puncto, quanta\textsuperscript{69} nec eloqui facile\textsuperscript{70}, nec

\textsuperscript{59} aptare] optare S aptari L
\textsuperscript{60} nostram] necessariam L
\textsuperscript{61} salutari] salutare B
\textsuperscript{62} etiam] et L
\textsuperscript{63} omnem] om. L
\textsuperscript{64} paucos] paucis BS
\textsuperscript{65} distinguitur] destringimur L
\textsuperscript{66} mens] in add. L
\textsuperscript{67} copiosissimo] lucidissimo L
\textsuperscript{68} tantum] tanta ML
\textsuperscript{69} quanta] qua L
\textsuperscript{70} facile] facilime L
percurre mens in semetipsum\textsuperscript{71} reversa praevaleat\textsuperscript{72}.

\textsuperscript{71} semetipsum\textsuperscript{71} semetipsa L.

\textsuperscript{72} praevalent\textsuperscript{72} talem orationem digne promere nobis concedat deus benedictus qui vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum, Amen add. S
Sources

a. AUG in evang. Ioh. 41,3 (PL 35,1694; CChr 36.359,15-16).

b. Apoc. 3,14.

c. HIER. in Matth. 1 (CChr 77.37,788-789); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Marietti, 108a).

d. Rabanus Maurus in Matth. 2 (PL 107,823a); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Marietti, 109a).

e. Cf.: "Sciendum quod Christus signanter concludit istam orationem per 'Amen', in quo verbo optatur adimpletio omnium petitionum, quia secundum Augustinum est hebraica et signat sicut 'fiat, fiat'.

f. AUG epist. 130,12,22 (PL 33,503; CSEL 44.66,8-10).

g. AUG epist. 130,12,22 (PL 33,502; CSEL 44.64,17-65,2).

h. Cf. Eccli. 36,4.

i. Ps. 79,8 et 20.

j. Ps. 118,113.

k. Prov. 30,8.

l. Ps. 131,1.

m. Ps. 7,5.

n. Eccli. 23,6.

o. Ps. 58,2.
p. AUG epist. 130,12,22 (PL 33,502-503; CSEL 44.65,6-66,8); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Marietti, 108b).

q. AUG epist. 130,12,22 (PL 33,502; CSEL 44.65,2-4).

r. AUG epist. 130,12,23 (PL 33,503; CSEL 44.66,17-67,5); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Marietti, 108b).

s. CYPR. domin. orat. 28 (CChr 3A.107,514-515); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Marietti, 108a).

t. CASSIAN. Collationes patrum 9,25 (PL 49,801a-802a).
Expositio Arboris

Ut autem exclusio vitiorum et introductio virtutum, donorum, beatitudinum et fructuum per singulas petitiones secundum adaptationes praemissas lucide et oculatim etiam rudibus et simplicibus patefiant, omnia haec in unam arborem redigere decrevi.

Ad cuius arboris notitiam pleniorem possumus dicere quod haec est arbor illa mystica, quam vidit rex Nabuchodonosor, ut legitur Danieli quarto: videbam, inquid, et ecce arbor in medio terrae; arbor fortis et proceritas eius contingens caelum, aspectus eius usque ad terminum unversae terrae et folia eius pulcherrima

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1 ut] est L
2 exclusio] conclusio L
3 donorum] et add. ML
4 et fructuum] om. L
5 secundum] sibi M
6 oculatim] enucliatim S
7 etiam] quae L
8 et] singulis add. S
9 haec] om. L
10 quarto] octavo L
11 terminum] terminos S
et fructus eius nimius et esca universorum in ea. Subter\textsuperscript{12} eam habitabant animalia et bestiae et in ramis eius conversabantur\textsuperscript{13} volucres caeli\textsuperscript{14}.\textsuperscript{a}

Arbor ista est oratio dominica, ex\textsuperscript{15} ipso ore domini procreata et ideo fortis est utpote\textsuperscript{16} ab ipsa\textsuperscript{17} invincibili veritate producta et plantata, ac in\textsuperscript{18} ipsa\textsuperscript{19} etiam\textsuperscript{20} firmissime radicata. Haec\textsuperscript{21} arbor stare dicitur 'in medio terrae', id est, in corde humano; cor enim medium est\textsuperscript{22} hominis. Nempe\textsuperscript{23} non sufficit hanc orationem dicere ore, nisi et intentio versetur\textsuperscript{24} in corde, iuxta illud primae\textsuperscript{25} Corinthiorum 14: \textit{psallam spiritu, psallam et mente}.\textsuperscript{b} 'Proceritas eius usque ad

\textsuperscript{a} Quia quae inolis quae in Fil. 1, 6: 'In anima mea est oratio dominica, ...'

\textsuperscript{b} Quia quae in Fil. 1, 6: 'In anima mea est oratio dominica, ...'
caelum pertingit' quia ipsa mentem devotam sursum sublevat et usque ad 
caelum pertingere facit. Ad quod designandum, in summitate arboris pater 
caelestis et duae stellae caeli, quasi de duabus rosis radiantes depinguntur, ut
per hoc proceritas orationis dominicae ad caelum pertingere innuatur. In duabus
quidem rosis stellatis duae primae exordiales huius orationis particular

describuntur, quae velut quaedam stellae fulgidissimae divini videlicet amoris et
ciaelestis desiderii in mente orantis rutilant impetrandi fiduciam excitantes,
supra  

26 ipsa] ipsam S
27 sursum] om. L
28 ad] in S
29 ad quod] illudque L
30 designandum] quod add. L
31 pater] om. L
32 pater caelestis et] postiae sunt S
33 caeli] om. S
34 stellatis] stellas L
35 orationis] dominicae add. L
36 describuntur] intelliguntur L
37 quaedam] om. L
38 excitantes] existentes L
39 supra] super SL
quas in cacumine effigies dei patris collocatur, ad ostendum quod arbor\textsuperscript{40} huius\textsuperscript{41} orationis sicut ab ipso\textsuperscript{42} tota incipit, sic ad ipsum tota\textsuperscript{43} dirigitur\textsuperscript{44} et per ipsum perficitur et in ipso feliciter consumatur. Et hoc sive accipiat\textsuperscript{45} hic\textsuperscript{46} 'pater' essentialiter sive personaliter prout supra in principio est praemissum. 'Aspectibus\textsuperscript{47} eius usque ad terminos universae terrae', quia\textsuperscript{48} ab omnibus videri\textsuperscript{49} et\textsuperscript{50} intelligi\textsuperscript{51} seu adipisci potest, ipsa\textsuperscript{52} enim tante facilites evidentiae et compendiositatis est ut quilibet cuiuscumque status homo\textsuperscript{53} quantumcumque\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{40} arbor] illa add. S
\textsuperscript{41} huius] illius S
\textsuperscript{42} ab ispo] ad ipsam L
\textsuperscript{43} tota] totaliter S
\textsuperscript{44} dirigitur] om. L
\textsuperscript{45} accipiat] accipitur S
\textsuperscript{46} hic] ly add. S
\textsuperscript{47} aspectibus] aspectus L
\textsuperscript{48} quia] et S
\textsuperscript{49} videri] videtur S
\textsuperscript{50} et] om. L
\textsuperscript{51} intelligi] intelligitur S
\textsuperscript{52} ipsa] ipse L
\textsuperscript{53} homo] fuerit add. L
\textsuperscript{54} quantumcumque] etiam add. ML
rudis\textsuperscript{55} eam possit\textsuperscript{56} aspicer, discere\textsuperscript{57} et etiam retinere. Unde Cyprianus in libro De oratione dominica: "cum dominus Ihesus Christus colligens doctos pariter et indoctos omni sexui atque\textsuperscript{58} aetati praecepta salutis addiderit\textsuperscript{59}, praeceptorum suorum\textsuperscript{60} grande\textsuperscript{61} compendium fecit ut in disciplina caelesti dissertium\textsuperscript{62} memoria non laboraret\textsuperscript{63}, sed quod esset\textsuperscript{64} simplici\textsuperscript{65} fidei necessarium velociter disceret."

Et ut aspectus huius arboris evidentius apparet, sciendum est quod in ipso trunco seu stipite arboris quasdam puellarum figuram circumambente eam circulis collocavi, quae sunt septem et signat\textsuperscript{66} septem petitiones huius sanctissimae orationis

\textsuperscript{55} rudis] quomodo S rudus esse possit L
\textsuperscript{56} possit] potest L
\textsuperscript{57} discere] docere L
\textsuperscript{58} atque] et L
\textsuperscript{59} addiderit] ediderit L
\textsuperscript{60} suorum] om. S
\textsuperscript{61} grande] generale L
\textsuperscript{62} dissertium] dicentium L
\textsuperscript{63} laboraret] laberetur L
\textsuperscript{64} esset] eadem L
\textsuperscript{65} simplici] simplicitati S
\textsuperscript{66} signat] significat S
dominicae, quae et eisdem circulis inscribuntur. Singulae etiam puellae membranas singulas tenent manibus similiter dimembratas iuxta divisionem et dearticulationem cuiuslibet petitionis quales etiam membranae ex primis exordialibus rosis procedere demonstrantur. De qualibet autem puellarum velut ex trunco arboris procedit unus ramus continens virtutes, dona, beatitudines et fructus, quae per illam petitionem introducuntur. Et ex opposita parte cuiuslibet rami est alius ramus vitiorum illorum, quae per illam petitionem excluduntur, non quidem coniunctus arbori sed distant in ore bestiae illud capitale vitium

\[\begin{align*}
67 \text{ et}\} & \text{ etiam S} \\
68 \text{ etiam}\} & \text{ et S} \\
69 \text{ singulas}\} & \text{ in singulis L} \\
70 \text{ dimembratas}\} & \text{ demembratos L} \\
71 \text{ ex}\} & \text{ in L} \\
72 \text{ exordialibus}\} & \text{ ordialibus L} \\
73 \text{ velut}\} & \text{ om. S} \\
74 \text{ ex}\} & \text{ om. S} \\
75 \text{ opposita}\} & \text{ posita L ex add. L} \\
76 \text{ illorum}\} & \text{ om. L} \\
77 \text{ et ex opposita...excluduntur}\} & \text{ om. S} \\
78 \text{ distant}\} & \text{ distant L} \\
79 \text{ illud}\} & \text{ id est L}
\end{align*}\]
representantis\textsuperscript{80} gestatur; et \textit{ad}\textsuperscript{81} illam bestiam cum ramo suo \textit{propellendam}\textsuperscript{82}, est unus angelus iuxta petitionem quamlibet collocatus\textsuperscript{83} ad designandum quod per talem petitionem, tale vitium profugatur. In exordio autem cuiuslibet rami \textit{in}\textsuperscript{84} primo folio ceteris venustiori et maiori inscribitur una de virtutibus principalibus videlicet\textsuperscript{85} theologica\textsuperscript{86}, vel cardinalis. Ex qua aliae virtutes in eodem ramo consequenter posita\textsuperscript{87} quodam ordine velut per frondes et ramuscillos sive virgas quemadmodum pictura protendit\textsuperscript{88}, derivantur vel \textit{ad}\textsuperscript{89} ipsam quomodolibet\textsuperscript{90} reducuntur. Hoc attent\textsuperscript{91} quod ubicumque\textsuperscript{92} videris\textsuperscript{93} aliquid\textsuperscript{94} ramo superductum vel\textsuperscript{95} quasi ipsi

\textsuperscript{80} representantis\textsuperscript{] reputatur L

\textsuperscript{81} ad\textsuperscript{] om. L

\textsuperscript{82} propellendam\textsuperscript{] procellendam L

\textsuperscript{83} collocatus\textsuperscript{] collocatam S

\textsuperscript{84} in\textsuperscript{] om. L

\textsuperscript{85} videlicet\textsuperscript{] ut M

\textsuperscript{86} theologica\textsuperscript{] theologicalis S theoloicis L

\textsuperscript{87} posita\textsuperscript{] posse L

\textsuperscript{88} protendit\textsuperscript{] praetendit S vel add. L

\textsuperscript{89} ad\textsuperscript{] in S

\textsuperscript{90} quomodolibet\textsuperscript{] quamlibet L

\textsuperscript{91} hoc attento\textsuperscript{] haec attendae L

\textsuperscript{92} ubicumque\textsuperscript{] unicuique L

\textsuperscript{93} videris\textsuperscript{] veridi L folium add. L
ramo transfixum designat quod omnia in illo ramo consequenter exinde
procedentia ab illa virtute, quae illi folio inscribitur, procedunt vel sub
ea qualitercumque continentur, puta sicut partes subiective vel partes potentiales
sive etiam integrales. Inseribuntur autem virtutes foliis ea ratione, quia
sicut folia arbori deserviunt ad duo videlicet ad arboris decorationem et
ad fructus protectionem, sic revera virtutes hominem bonis ornant moribus et
nihilominus bonorum operum fructus a temptationum ventis et caninatibus.

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94 aliquid] aliquod S aliquo L
95 vel] et L
96 in] ex L
97 exinde] om. S
98 procedentia] procedent L
99 illa] alia L
100 folio] ramo S
101 vel] ut ML
102 subiective] subiecte S
103 etiam] om. L
104 integrales] intelligales L
105 sicut] illa S
106 arboris] eam S
107 decorationem] decorandam S
108 nihilominus] ut L
protegunt et defendunt\textsuperscript{110}; et hoc est quod dicitur\textsuperscript{111}, 'folia eius pulcherrima'.\textsuperscript{4} In singulo\textsuperscript{112} quoque ramorum principalium ponuntur aliqui fructus, per quos designantur fructus spiritus\textsuperscript{113}, qui sunt duodecim, quos enumerat Apostolus ad\textsuperscript{114} Galatas 5. Et descriptur hii fructus per ramos singulos secundum quod quilibet\textsuperscript{115} ipsorum fructuum cuilibet petitioni videtur\textsuperscript{116} convenientius\textsuperscript{117} adaptari. De quibus fructibus intelligendum\textsuperscript{118} est quod subditur, 'et fructus eius nimius', quantum ad fructus spirituales, qui in hac vita acquiri possunt, qui sunt quaedam participatio et praegustatio\textsuperscript{119} illius supremai\textsuperscript{120} fructus beatitudinis aeternae, qui per pomum

\textsuperscript{109} et caninatibus] om. SL
\textsuperscript{110} defendunt] defendant L
\textsuperscript{111} dicitur] et add. L
\textsuperscript{112} singulo] singulis L
\textsuperscript{113} spiritus] species L
\textsuperscript{114} ad] om. B
\textsuperscript{115} quilibet] om. S
\textsuperscript{116} videtur] om. L
\textsuperscript{117} convenientius] conveniens est L
\textsuperscript{118} intelligendum] attendendum S
\textsuperscript{119} praegustatio] praedestinatio L
\textsuperscript{120} supremi] summi L
aureum in manu dei patris designatur, ad quem quidem fructum consequendum\textsuperscript{121}
tota haec\textsuperscript{122} oratio principaliter\textsuperscript{123} ordinatur.

Ponuntur etiam et\textsuperscript{124} alii fructus quasi\textsuperscript{125} immaturi\textsuperscript{126} velut ex floribus
prodeuentes, et adhuc ipsis floribus coherentes, qui significant\textsuperscript{127} beatitudines,
quae\textsuperscript{128} sunt quidam\textsuperscript{129} actus ex donis spiritus sancti procèdentes neque\textsuperscript{130}
adhuc\textsuperscript{131} nomen fructus obtinentes, quarum quaelibet\textsuperscript{132} per illam petitionem\textsuperscript{133}
introducitur in cuius ramo ipsa crescere figuratur.

Et quoniam in hac oratianoe\textsuperscript{134} non tantum simplices et mediocres, sed et\textsuperscript{135}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{121} consequendum\textsuperscript{]} consequens L
\textsuperscript{122} haec\textsuperscript{]} hoc B
\textsuperscript{123} principaliter\textsuperscript{]} principalis S
\textsuperscript{124} et\textsuperscript{]} om. SL
\textsuperscript{125} quasi\textsuperscript{]} et B
\textsuperscript{126} immaturi\textsuperscript{]} maturi L
\textsuperscript{127} significant\textsuperscript{]} signant SL
\textsuperscript{128} quae\textsuperscript{]} qui S
\textsuperscript{129} quidam\textsuperscript{]} quasi S
\textsuperscript{130} neque\textsuperscript{]} nec S
\textsuperscript{131} adhuc\textsuperscript{]} ad hoc B
\textsuperscript{132} quaelibet\textsuperscript{]} quilibet L
\textsuperscript{133} petitionem\textsuperscript{]} petitio B beatitudinem S
\textsuperscript{134} oratione\textsuperscript{]} petitione L
\end{footnotes}
perfectissimi fructum inveniunt, ideo subditur," quia cuiuscumque status et conditionis homo existat, fructum ex hac arbore carpere poterit secundum exigentiam sui status: sive iustus sive peccator, doctus sive idiota, activus sive contemplativus, incipiens, proficiens, sive perfectus. Unde dicit Glossa super Mattheum: dominus noster paucis verbis res multiples et necessarias memoriae commendavit, ut sic simplicitas fidei sufficientiam suae salutis addisceret et prudentia ingeniosorum amplius

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135 et] etiam SL
136 subditur] subicitur B
137 et] vel S
138 poterit] potest S
139 peccator] sive add. L
140 sive idiota] om. M
141 incipient] et add. L
142 dominus] deus L
143 paucis] panes L
144 res] om. L
145 multiples] multiplicans L
146 necessarias] necessaries M
147 prudentia] prudentiam S
148 ingeniosorum] ingeniosioris S
profunditate mysteriorum stupesce[149]. Unde haec oratio est[150] quasi quidam
dominus[157] super terram, quem ita verbis[158] abreviavit ut memoriter capi possit,
ita rebus implevit ut nemo sine gratia spiritus sancti[159] percipere possit[160]. Quod
vero subditur, 'subter eam habitabant animalia et bestiae', refertur ad vitia et peccata
sive vitiorum suggestiones, quibus orantis animus distrahitur et plerumque homo
ab[161] orationis fructu deicitur et frustratur[162], quae[163] tamen[164] divina gratia per

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149 stupesce[1] stupebit S
150 est[1] om. L
151 pedit[1] peditas L
152 elephas[1] elephans M
153 natat[1] et add. L
154 sacra[1] om. L
155 scriptura[1] satis add. L
156 unde haec oratio...Gregorius[1] om. S
157 dominus[1] deus S
158 verbis[1] verbum L
159 spiritus sancti[1] om. S
160 possit[1] valeat S
161 ab[1] sub L
162 et plerumque...et frustratur[1] om. S
ferventem orantis\textsuperscript{163} dona cum\textsuperscript{166} virtute\textsuperscript{167} huius sanctissimae orationis propelluntur et excluduntur ac sub affectionum pedibus penitus substernuntur. Et idcirco signanter\textsuperscript{168} tales bestiae dicuntur subter arborem, non in arbore habitare. Nec tamen in\textsuperscript{169} pictura arboris nostrae huiusmodi\textsuperscript{170} bestias\textsuperscript{171} subter arborem sed potius\textsuperscript{172} a latere iuxta collocavi, utpote quamlibet bestiam ex adverso illius petitionis quam impugant; quod ideo feci, ut distinctius appareat quo\textsuperscript{173} pettio cui vitio specialiter adversetur.

Sunt autem septem bestiae secundum septem vitia capitalia: Prima est Bufo; per quem superbia vel inanis gloria designatur, quia sicut Bufo ad omnem tactum se

\textsuperscript{163} quae\textsuperscript{]} quod L
\textsuperscript{164} tamen\textsuperscript{]} cum S
\textsuperscript{165} orantis\textsuperscript{]} orationis L
\textsuperscript{166} dona cum\textsuperscript{]} conatum ML
\textsuperscript{167} dona cum virtute\textsuperscript{]} conatum S
\textsuperscript{168} signanter\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{169} in\textsuperscript{]} om. L
\textsuperscript{170} huiusmodi\textsuperscript{]} huius M
\textsuperscript{171} bestias\textsuperscript{]} bestiis L
\textsuperscript{172} sed potius\textsuperscript{]} et postea L
\textsuperscript{173} quo\textsuperscript{]} quae S quod quae L
animat et indignatur\textsuperscript{174}, ac\textsuperscript{175} per hoc\textsuperscript{176} turgescit amplius et inflatur, sic
superbus. Versus\textsuperscript{177}: Est tumide rane similata superbia plane. Et quia ruta
naturaliter habet fugare Bufonem hinc est quod angelus Bufoni contrarius cum ruta est
depictus\textsuperscript{178}.

\textbf{Secunda bestia est Luter\textsuperscript{179}; in quo\textsuperscript{180} avaritia designatur\textsuperscript{181}. Unde\textsuperscript{182} versus\textsuperscript{183}: ceu Luter\textsuperscript{184} servat cupidus res et\textsuperscript{185} coacervat.}

\textbf{Tertia bestia est Canis; in quo designatur\textsuperscript{186} invidia quia\textsuperscript{187}: dum canis os

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item indignatur\textsuperscript{174} dedignatur L
\item ac\textsuperscript{175} et L
\item ac per hoc\textsuperscript{176} atque S
\item versus\textsuperscript{177} om. L
\item et quia...est depictus\textsuperscript{178} om. L
\item luter\textsuperscript{179} lupus L
\item quo\textsuperscript{180} qua L
\item designatur\textsuperscript{181} signatur S
\item unde\textsuperscript{182} om. MSL
\item versus\textsuperscript{183} om. L
\item luter\textsuperscript{184} lupus L
\item et\textsuperscript{185} om. L
\item designatur\textsuperscript{186} om. M signatur S
\item quia\textsuperscript{187} versus S
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
rodit, socium quem diligsit, odit. Unde invidi dente\textsuperscript{188} canino mordere dicuntur. 

Unde\textsuperscript{189} versus\textsuperscript{190}: More\textsuperscript{191} canis rodit mordens quos invidus odit.\textsuperscript{1}

Quarta bestia est Ursus; in quo gula signatur\textsuperscript{192}, quia Ursus\textsuperscript{193} omnia comedit indifferenter, ut dicit Aristoteles\textsuperscript{1} 6 De animalibus. Unde\textsuperscript{194} versus\textsuperscript{195}:

Cui venter deus est velut ursus gluto vorax\textsuperscript{196} est.

Quinta bestia est Ericius, aut\textsuperscript{197} Hyricius\textsuperscript{198}; in quo\textsuperscript{199} ira designatur, quia quando alicud persentit\textsuperscript{200} statim spinas suas exasaperat et in globum conversus in sua se arma recolligit\textsuperscript{201}. Versus\textsuperscript{202}: ericii more saevis\textsuperscript{203} homo stulte furore.

\textsuperscript{188} invidi dente] invidente L

\textsuperscript{189} unde] om. S

\textsuperscript{190} unde versus] om. L

\textsuperscript{191} more] ore M

\textsuperscript{192} signatur] designatur L

\textsuperscript{193} in quo gula signatur, quia Ursus] qui S

\textsuperscript{194} unde] om. S

\textsuperscript{195} unde versus] om. L

\textsuperscript{196} vorax] forax S verax L

\textsuperscript{197} aut] vel S

\textsuperscript{198} aut Hyricius] om. L

\textsuperscript{199} quo] qua L

\textsuperscript{200} persentit] sentit L

\textsuperscript{201} recolligit] colligit M
Sexta bestia est Sus; in quo est luxuria, ex eo quod se cenet et luto ingurgitat et in locis foetidis requiescat. Versus: Gaudet luxosus coitu quasi spurco luto sus.

Septima est Asinus; in quo designatur accidia, quia est animal iners et pigrum. Versus est: Asellus iners omnisque boni pigri.
expers.

Harum siquidem bestiarum quaelibet gestat in ore ramum exustum cum foliis nigris quibus vitia inscribuntur ad designandam vitiorum deformationem. Et in primo cuiuslibet rami folio contingente ipsum ramum inscribitur vitium capitale cuius filiae in sequentibus foliis insignantur.

Cuilibet etiam istorum ramorum insidet una avis utpote illius vitii maiorem similitudinem gerens, verbi gratia: Ramo superbiae insidet Pavo; in quo superbia designatur propter glorificationem pennarum. Unde versus: extollit.

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219 pigri] piger ML
220 ramum] ex add. M
221 quibus] et cuilibet L
222 vitia] folio L
223 deformationem] deformitatem S
224 contingente] attingente L
225 insignantur] designantur S
226 gerens] gerentis L
227 glorificationem] gloriationem [cod. golriationem] S
228 unde] om. MS
229 unde versus] om. L
230 extollit] extollitur S
plana quasi pavo gloria vana.

In ramo avaritiae residet monedula; pro eo quod semper congregat et furata abscondit. Unde versus: quae cupidus cumulat ut avara monedula celat.

In ramo invidiae vultur; qui est avis invidiosa in tantum quod etiam invidet propriis pullis, cum impinguantur. Unde tunc eos eicit de nido nec redire permettit. Unde versus: vulturus invidia proprios detrudit in ima.

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231 plana] pluma S
232 furata] futura L
233 unde] om. MS
234 unde versus] om. L
235 ut] et S
236 celat] servat B
237 invidiae] sedet add. S resedit L
238 qui] quae SL
239 avis] om. S
240 in] om. M
241 etiam] om. SL
242 unde] om. MS
243 cum impinguantur...unde versus] om. L
244 vulturus] vulturis MS vultur L est add. M
In ramo gulae sedet corvus; qui est avis voracitati intenta. Unde: in nimiis escis quasi corvus gluto quiescis.

In ramo irae pica; quae est avis rixosa. Unde: ira velut pica rixis est semper amica.

In ramo luxuriae sedet passer; qui est avis valde libidinosa in tantum etiam quod caro eius frequenter in cibum sumpta est libidinis incitativa ut dicit Constantinus. Unde: passer alatur libidine non satiatur, ut

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245 qui] quae L  
246 unde] om. MS  
247 unde versus] om. L  
248 nimiis] numeris L  
249 quiescis] quiescit L  
250 irae] sedet add. S residet add. L  
251 pica] repeated B  
252 avis] om. S  
253 unde] om. MS  
254 qui est] om. S  
255 libidinosa] luxuriosa S  
256 unde] om. MS  
257 unde versus] om. L  
258 ut] om. L
alatur, id est, ut incipit alas habere tunc enim incipit\textsuperscript{259} statim luxuriari\textsuperscript{260}.

Ramo\textsuperscript{261} vero accidiae insidet Bubo; quae est parva noctua\textsuperscript{262}. Est enim\textsuperscript{263} avis onusta quidem\textsuperscript{264} plumis, sed gravi semper detenta pigritia, die et nocte commorans\textsuperscript{265} in cavernis et sepluchris. Debilis est ad volandum et aliae aves de die volant in circuitu eius et deplumant ipsum\textsuperscript{266}; sic est de accidiosis et de\textsuperscript{267} pigris. Unde\textsuperscript{268} versus\textsuperscript{269}: sic piger in strato\textsuperscript{270} quasi Bubo cumbit in antro.

His avibus vitiosis\textsuperscript{271} adversantur columbae in ramis virtutum residentes; de

\textsuperscript{259} incipit]\ incipiat L
\textsuperscript{260} ut alatur...luxuriari]\ om. S
\textsuperscript{261} ramo]\ in ramo S
\textsuperscript{262} noctua]\ victua L
\textsuperscript{263} enim]\ quaedam S
\textsuperscript{264} quidem]\ om. S
\textsuperscript{265} commorans]\ semper morans L
\textsuperscript{266} volant...ipsum]\ circumvolantes eam si deprehenderint ipsam deplumant S; ipsum]\ ipsam L
\textsuperscript{267} de]\ om. SL
\textsuperscript{268} unde]\ om. M
\textsuperscript{269} unde versus]\ om. L
\textsuperscript{270} strato]\ pulstro S
\textsuperscript{271} vitiosis]\ om. S
quibus intelligendum est quod subicitur, 'et in ramis eius conversantur volucres caeli.' Per istos volucres dona spiritus sancti intelligentur. Unde in figura columbae depinguntur tenentes singulae suos flores in ore, quibus ipsa dona spiritus sancti sunt inscripta ad designandum quod haec dona spiritus sancti animam spiritualibus carismatibus floridam faciunt et fecundam. In quolibet autem ramo illarum septem principalium virtutum una columba residet, quia per quamlibet petitionem unum donum introducitur quod etiam illi virtuti specialiter coaptatur. Hanc itaque arborem plene intelligere, et eius fructus digne carpere nobis concedat huius orationis sanctissimae, sapientissimus auctor Ihesus

272 est] illud add. S
273 subicitur] subditur S
274 conversantur] conversa M conversabantur L
275 dona] donum L
276 suos] suas L
277 flores] singulos add. S
278 illarum] illorum S
279 septem] om. L
280 quod] et L
281 coaptatur] et cetera add. L
282 itaque] igitur S
283 concedat] om. S
Christus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat unus deus gloriösus, per
infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Explicit expositio orationis dominicae, edita et lecta in scolis Erfordis per
fratrem Iordanum de Quetelingburg, ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini, anno
domini M CCC xxvii, cum Mattheum ordinarie lectitaret, qui etiam ad maiorem
utilitatem hanc lecturam secundum numerum decalogi decem lectionibus contentam
compendiose conscribere et communicare curavit pulsatus instantibus 
auditorum.

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284 saeculorum] praestare dignetur add. S
285 explicit expositio...auditorum] explicit iste expositor illius sanctissimae dominicae
orationis, sub anno domini M CCC xlviii, tertio nonas mensis Januarii M; explicit
expositio orationis dominicae edita per eximium doctorem Jordanum, sacrae Theologiae
professorem et cetera. Scripta et completa per me Balthazar Abbatem in Czenua, Anno
et cetera quinquagesimo quarto, die vero vicesimo quarto mensis Septembris, etc. L; om.
S
Sources


b. 1 Cor. 14,15.

c. CYPR. domin. orat. 28 (CChr 3A.107,519-524); THOMAS Catena aurea ad Matth. 6,13 (ed. Marietti, 108b).

d. Dan. 4,9.

e. Dan. 4,9.


g. non invenitur

h. Dan. 4,9.

i. Cf. HIER. epist. 50,1 (Walther nr. 6445; ThesLL III, col. 252, 57sqq).

j. Arist. De historia animalium 8,17 (600a,27-600b,24).

k. non invenitur

l. Dan. 4,9.
PART II

JORDAN'S AUGUSTINIAN THEOLOGY
CHAPTER I
THE OTHER SIDE OF THE AUGUSTINIAN SCHOOL

The educational system of the Augustinians was not distinctive. Each of the mendicant Orders developed structures for training prospective theologians that extended from the lectorate to the magisterium. Yet scholars who have investigated mendicant education have focused on the relationship between the mendicant studia and the universities, treating the earlier phases only as steps along the way.¹ The importance of the lectorate itself has not been sufficiently taken into account. The studia not associated with the universities trained the preachers and teachers of the Orders. From an internal perspective, these studia produced the theological instruction that yielded a genuine Order theology. In the case of the Augustinians, this level of education comprised the 'other side' of the Augustinian school. In order to comprehend more fully the theology of the Augustinians in the later Middle Ages, the non-university studia cannot be ignored. Although not novel in structure, the other side of the Augustinian school stamped its students with the distinctive ideals that identified a theologian as an Augustinian. Jordan of Quedlinburg stands as witness.

"...blessed Augustine is our teacher for the religious life. Hence I often refer

to him especially as 'our teacher.'" If it were not for the analogy Jordan used to illustrate what he meant by Augustine as teacher, we would easily pass over this comment as only one more appellation Jordan gave to his Order's mythic founder. Augustine was the Order's teacher not as a wise spiritual director, nor as the master of apprentices. The equation Jordan gave for the meaning of 'praecceptor' in the phrase, praecceptor noster, is one of magister and students: "Just as scholastic doctors and masters (doctores et magistri) are called 'teachers'...so even is blessed Augustine our teacher...." In his Opus Postillarum Jordan listed teaching among the spiritual alms, and earlier in the Liber Vitasfratrum he had warned of the danger a solitary anchorite faced; without teaching the anchorite could easily slip into doctrinal error regarding the


3 "Unde doctores et magistri scholastici dicitur praecptores...Sic etiam beatus Augustinus est praecceptor noster...", VF 2,14, (178,364-369).

articles of faith and the holy scriptures. Moreover, for the Augustinians teaching was part and parcel of the contemplative life. It was in this sense of teaching that Jordan referred to Augustine as 'our teacher'. Augustine's precepts were to be understood doctrinaliter. In comparison to all other doctors of the Church, Augustine reigns supreme, Jordan eulogized in the Opus Dan; for whereas others can be compared to the stars, Augustine alone shines as the sun. To follow in the footsteps of Augustine required more than simply living according to his Rule. If 'to be an Augustinian' entailed accepting Augustine as teacher, Augustine's doctrine must be taught.

When Jordan left Paris in 1322 to assume the office of lector in his home province, the Order was facing difficult times. Only four years later, upon the conclusion of the General Chapter in Florence, the Prior General, William of Cremona, wrote a letter to all provinces of the Order in which he set forth measures to combat

5 "Huiusmodi autem iuvamen consortii bonorum attenditur praecipue in quattuor. Primo in bona et sancta instructione; faciliter enim solitarius incaute cogitans de aliquo articulo fidei vel Scripturae posset incidere errorem, cum non haberet instructionem." VF 1,5, (18,6-10).

6 See supra, Introduction, 119, n. 305.

7 "...non semper accipit praecepta necessitative et potentialiter, sed interdum accipitur persuasive et doctrinaliter, sicut dicuntur praecepta artium. Unde doctores et magistri scholastici dicuntur praeceptores..." VF 2,14, (178,362-364).

8 "...[Augustinus] ceteros ecclesiae doctores tam ingenio quam scientia vicit incomparabiliter. Unde cum alii doctores assimilentur stellis, ipse soli comparatur...", Opus Dan, (ed. Strassburg, 1484) sermo 59 D.
what he saw as the ruin of the religious life. William lamented, "is spiritually collapsed and has fallen away from all observance of its heritage and holy constitutions." Such conditions resulted most of all from the negligence of the Order's prelates, who wore the habit in vain, living as seculars rather than as examples of the Christian life. Therefore, William declared, before a friar assumed an office of leadership, a thorough investigation was to be conducted to assure that the candidate was worthy of the position. This was necessary because incapable and evil prelates were the chief cause of the Order's dilapidated state.


10 "...sacra et veneranda nostra Religio...sit spiritualiter et collapsa et ab omni observantia paternarum traditionum et sacrarum constitutionum defecit..." AAug 4(1911):29.

11 "...et hoc maxime propter negligentiam prelatorum, ut iam in ipsa non imago christine ac sancte vite reluceat ut decreter, sed potius horrendum monstrum secularis et vane vite sub nomine et habitu religionis appareat." AAug 4(1911):29.

12 "In primis quidem mandamus tibi districte per obedientiam salutarem et sub pena privationis omnis nostre gratie quatenus lecta et publicata littera Vicariatus, statim, antequam ad electionem aliquam procedatur, inquisitionem districtam et cautam sub excommunicationis sententia facias, assumptis tecum duobus antiquioribus fratribus de corpore capituli, si scilicet aliquis frater procuravit, per se vel per alium vel pro alio, quod eligeretur ad officium provincialatus vel diffinitoris vel prioratus alcuus. Et si aliquem vel alius inveneris taliter procurasse huiusmodi officia, ipsum vel ipsos publica coram toto capitulo et cum ipso vel ipsi secundum tenorem nostrarum constitutionum procedas, ut scilicet qualiter talis voce careat et ineligibilis maneat, cum aliiis gravaminibus que in nostris constitutionibus continentur. Et nomina talium nobis
Second on William’s list was the need to maintain faithful celebration of the canonical hours. No brother was exempt, except for those seriously ill, lectors with teaching responsibilities, and brothers who were necessarily absent. The *cultus divinus* was the primary duty of the Christian. The onus of enforcing the proper and devoted performance of the divine office lay with the prior, who was to reprimand and correct the negligence of the brothers under his care as diligently as he was his own.\(^{13}\)

With this letter William reaffirmed the definitions of the General Chapter at Florence. At Florence the Chapter had mandated that provincial priors were responsible for punishing and correcting the errors of the brothers within their province, with love for the individual but hate for the vice. Visitations were to be conducted and

\[\text{cum actis capituli cum peccatis etiam ipsorum in causa huiusmodi lucide intimabis. Quod si secus fieret promotionem talium annullaremus et te reputaremus proditorem nostrae religionis et impeditorem nostri officii et redderemus tibi iuxta posse pro tuis demeritis talionem. Similiter attendas ad omnes promotiones in ipso capitulo si sint secundum Deum et tenorem nostrarum constitutionum et pro honore ordinis et utilitate locorum et conventuum in spiritualibus et temporalibus, scis quod nostrae intentionis est firmiter inquisitionem facere per nos vel per alium de promotis et promovendis, eo quod moditia et insufficientia prelatorum principalis causa confusionis nostrae religionis existat.}\]

\[\text{Aug 4(1911):29-30.}\]

\(^{13}\) "In primis, quia prima hominis iustitia est cultus divinus, quod moneant et cogant omnes frates suos, clericos et laicos, magnos et parvos, cuiuscumque conditionis existant, divinum officium devote et solicite de die et de nocte et tempore ipsius divini officii in ecclesia interesse, exceptis graviter infirmantibus et lectoribus actu legentibus et illis fratris qui eo tempore essent extra locum pro aliqua necessaria obedientia vel pro aliquo causu qui commode postponi et obmitteri non potest. Et studeat ipse prior diligenter ne frates aliqui pro quibus Deo tenetur reddidere rationem horas illas obmissant quas aliquocie in ecclesia cum aliis dicere non possunt; nostre enim intentionis est in talibus corrigerere et punire priores tam de negligentis suis quam de negligentis aliorum." AAug 4(1911), 30.
any negligence that could not be ameliorated effectively was to be dealt with publicly in the next provincial chapter.\textsuperscript{14} Just as William called for examinations to approve a candidate for promotion to office, so had the chapter at Florence strictly ordered that no brother should be promoted to the office of lector unless he was sufficiently learned in logic, philosophy and theology.\textsuperscript{15} Indeed, regulating theological studies was one

\textsuperscript{14} "Item diffinimus et diffinitione presenti firmamus quod vicarius et diffinitores cuiuslibet capituli provincialis per suas diffinitiones assignent priori provinciali unum socium maturum et religiosum qui eum associet per totum provinciam. Et prior provincialis quando actualiter visitat frater alicuius conventus habeat semper secum actualiter illum suum socium.

"Item diffinimus et presenti diffinitione stricte precipimus quod prior provinciales diligenter corrigant delicta suorum subditorum \textit{cum dilectione hominum et odio victorum} (\textit{Regula, IV, 10; Lawless, 92}), nec dimittant aliqua impunita. Si tamen contigerit quod propter impotentiam non possint corrigere suos subditos, volumus et districte precipimus quod vicarius et diffinitores capituli provincialis in proximo celebrandi ordinet unum librum, qui teneatur in uno de solemnioribus locis provincie sub tribus clavibus, quorum unam teneat prior provinciaJis, aliam prior illius loci, tertiam antiquior visitator illius provincie; in quo libro scribantur huiusmodi delicta sine correctione obmissa, dummodo sint sufficienter probata. Et scribantur ibi testimonia, motiva et signa propter que constet secundum ordinis instituta quod sunt merito corrigenda." AAug 4(1911):8-9.

Cf. "In primis diffinimus quod quilibet prior provincialis sub pena sui officii in sua visitatione quiteral divinum officium a fratribus dicatur diligenter inquirat. Et si quos invenerit non dicere horas canonicas et saepe non celebrare puntam animadversione condigna." General Chapter at Trier, June 1326, AAug 3(1910):245.

\textsuperscript{15} "Item presenti diffinitione stricte precipimus quod nullus frater nostri ordinis promoveatur ad officium lectorie nisi sit sufficienter instructus in loyca et philosophia ac etiam in theologia, ita quod in qualibet predictarum facultatum possit, alios instruendo, ordinis famulari. Si qui vero aliqus insufficientes promoverint ex nunc promotores huiusmodi, ad hoc ut ad zelum ordinis ferventius sint pervigiles, privamus auctoritate quoscumque alios promovendi ad officium lectorie quosque fuerit per generalem aliter dispensatum." AAug 4(1911):6. This was a decree that was often repeated in the acts of the General Chapters. Thus, the General Chapter at Viterbo in 1312 decreed: "...cum ex affectione quorumdam quiadam insufficientes promoveantur ad officium lectorie, volentes de cetero talibus obviare, omnibus et singulis
of the foremost issues for the definitions of the entire Chapter. Yet if this endeavor to assure the level of prerequisite instruction for the degree of lector seems here to be artificially combined with William’s intent for the priors to enforce proper worship, it was not so in the eyes of the new lector in Erfurt. In Jordan’s mind, theological studies were part and parcel of the divine cult.

For Jordan, as for William, the foundation of the religious life was worship. The *cultus divinus* was the life of prayer, "but because the brothers are not able to pray all the time," he instructed, "they ought, therefore, to spend certain hours in study."\(^{16}\) Jordan cited Hugh of St. Victor’s commentary on the Rule to affirm that the combination of prayer and study was the means to conquer the devil and attain eternal blessedness,\(^{17}\) but "our teacher Augustine“ was the model; Augustine had prescribed study in his Rule, and when he himself was not observing the canonical hours or

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\(^{16}\) "Quia vero non semper fratres possunt actualiter orare, debent ergo certis horis etiam legere." VF 2,22, (233,2-3).

providing for the needs of the Church, he spent his time studying the Holy Scriptures. 18 Augustine was the first of the Order's professors; all subsequent followed in his footsteps, beginning with Aegidius Romanus. 19

Calling on Cassian and Hugh, Jordan listed the three benefits derived from study: study keeps one's thoughts pure; illumines the intellect; and guides the acts, intents, and hopes of one's entire life. 20 Jordan devoted two chapters of the Liber Vitaefratrum to the importance of study: the first is entitled, "Divine reading or the study of Holy Scripture"; the second immediately following: "Spiritual Knowledge". Jordan distinguished between 'book learning' and spiritual knowledge: "But beyond this knowledge (has scientias), which is gained from the words of teachers and diligent


20 "Lectio namque Sacrae Scripturae triplicum nobis generat fructum. Primus est secundum Johannem Cassianum in Collationibus Patrum, Collatione abbatis Nesterotis, quia mens sacris lectionibus occupata nullis noxiarum cognitionum laqueis captivatur (Conl. 14, 10, 4; CSEL 13, 411)...Secundus est secundum eundem, quia per hanc mens perspicua intelligentia illustratur, ita ut occultissimorum etiam sensuum, quos vel tenui primum imaginatione percepimus legendo, quiescentibus nobis nocturna meditatione perspicua intelligentia reveletur. Tertius est secundum Hugonem, quia per hanc tota vita nostra in agendis, intendendis et sperandis instruitur et informatur." VF 2,22, (233,12-234,24).
study, is another knowledge—spiritual knowledge." The contrast made is not between knowledge and wisdom; Jordan was not setting in opposition the knowledge of the schools and the wisdom of the cloisters. The distinction is between knowledge that is spiritual and knowledge that is not; 'book learning' in and of itself only goes so far.

The second benefit of study is the illumination of the intellect. It is only in the second of the two chapters dealing with the life of the mind that we learn about illumination. Illumination produces spiritual knowledge, for spiritual knowledge "is not acquired without divine illumination." There is a continuum; study leads to illumination, and this yields spiritual knowledge.

Jordan is clear how this spiritual knowledge is acquired. It is given by divine illumination to be sure, but four characteristics are required: purity of heart, humility of mind, piety of prayer, and fruitfulness of works. The scholar, in short, must also be pious. "for we attain to the revelation of [divine] secrets," Jordan explained in his

21 "Sed praeter has scientias, quae docentium verbis et studio lectionis acquiruntur, est alia scientia, scilicet spiritualis...", VF 2,23, (242,2-3).

22 "...alia scientia, scilicet spiritualis, quae non nisi per illuminationem divinam attingitur....," VF 2,23, (242,3-4).

23 "...alia scientia, scilicet spiritualis, quae non nisi per illuminationem divinam attingitur, ad quam acquirendam quattuor requiruntur...Primum est cordis puritas...secundum est mentis humilitas...tertium est orationis pietas...quartum est operum fructuositas." VF 2,23, (242,3-245,74).
Opus Jor, "more by the devotion of prayer than by rational investigation." Of these four prerequisites for spiritual knowledge, humility reigns supreme: "the more one humbles oneself in prayer before God, the more God illumines him." Humility is so important because it counteracts the effects of the Fall, "for just as pride was the reason the angels were expelled from heaven and humans from paradise, so contrarily is humility the way we are lead back to paradise."

The combination of vita et scientia governed the ideal of the Augustinians' education, and this Jordan commemorated in the outstanding theologians of the Order. After Augustine and Aegidius Romanus, the Order was blessed with such luminaries as James of Viterbo, Henry of Friemar, Augustine of Ancona, Bartholomew of Urbino, Albert of Padua, and Herman of Schildesche. These Jordan named, together with their

24 "Magis enim proficimus ad secretorum revelationem orationis devotione quam a rationis investigatione ..." Opus Jor, sermo 197, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, f. 307vb.

25 "...et quanto quis in oratione se coram deo plus humiliat, tanto dominus illum magis illuminat." Opus Jor, sermo 197, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, f. 307vb.

26 "Sicut enim superbia fuit in via, qua angelis de caelo et homo de paradiso expulsus fuit, sic per contrarium humilitas est via, qua ad paradisum reducimur." Opus Jor, sermo 198, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, f. 309ra. Jordan emphasized that humility and learning belong together. Thus in an exemplum he related in the Liber Vitaefratrum, blessed Augustino de Tarano had turned his back on his great learning and worldly life to live as a simple Augustinian. When his previous acumen was eventually discovered, he was venerated for his humility, sanctity of life, and learning. See VF 2,7, (114,75-117,184): "Summus autem Pontifex et domini cardinales cum cognovissent eius humilitatem, vitae sanctitatem et scientiae ipsius claritatem, pio eum venerabantur affectu." (117,176-178).
works, as examples of outstanding members of the Order. In other words, Jordan's chosen context for ascribing meaning to the Augustinian magistri was not the university, but the Order, the followers of 'our teacher', Augustine. Aegidius was a renowned theologian held in high esteem, but his primary concern was for the Order. He was not alone. The Order was blessed with many very learned theologians. Jordan praised the Augustinian masters not just for their learning, but also for the quality of their lives; an exemplary life and knowledge went hand in hand. Theological studies were inseparable from the religio Augustini; the masters to be venerated as models were those following in the tradition of Augustine, those "in the same religion." The study and teaching of the holy scriptures was a fundamental component of Augustinian worship. It was the combination, or even the identity, of study and worship—not the opposition of a 'monastic' and a 'scholastic' theology—that Jordan advocated for his

27 VF 2,22, (236-241).


29 After listing the theologians and their works, Jordan notes: "Praeter praefatos venerandos viros fuerunt quam plures alii in Religione eadem magistri et alii viri scientia praeclari, de quibus longum esset enarrare. Et adhuc per Dei gratiam supersunt quam plurimi in Ordine viri doctissimi, vita et scientia famosi, de quorum laudum singulari descriptione stilum subduxi, ne viderer palpanistae officium usurpasse." VF 2,23, (242,238-243).

30 For the definition and opposition of monastic and scholastic theology, see, Jean Leclercq, OSA, "Monastic and Scholastic Theology in the Reformers of the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century." In, From Cloister to Classroom. Monastic and Scholastic Approaches to Truth, ed. E. Rozanne Elder, (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986), 178-201; idem,
Order and pursued himself as lector in the studium at Erfurt. And this in imitation of Augustine, the Order's preceptor.

If Jordan advocated humility as essential to the acquisition of knowledge, he did so as a practitioner himself. He called himself the 'least of the scholars in Paris', and later referred to himself as "Prior Provincial of the Saxon-Thuringian province, although unworthy." In the Liber Vitasfratrum we find once again the diminutive; in dedicating the book to John of Basel, Jordan christened himself as "the smallest among the lectors of the Order." Such self-denigration could have been mere

The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. Such a distinction is insufficient for describing the theology of the mendicants. For Jordan, the theology of the schools was indistinguishable from the theology of the Order. Mendicant theology was a scholastic 'monastic' theology.

31 See, supra, Introduction, 15, n. 9.

32 "...ego Jordanus, prior provincialis quamvis inmeritus provincie Thuringie et Saxonie ordinis...." A. Overmann, ed. Urkundenbuch der Erfurter Stifter und Klöster. 3 Vols. Magdeburg, 1934, 2, 61, nr. 79. This is one of two times Jordan's name appears among the Urkunden published by Overmann. The document, dated July 24, 1350, confirms Henry of Friemar's (the Younger) grant to the Erfurt cloister of twenty pounds, for which he was to receive a yearly rent of two pounds. There is no mention of common possessions here! The other time Jordan's name appears is his letter of July 7 to the Erfurt cloister after his visitation in 1346 concerning care for the library. Here the document contains no diminutive: "Frater Iordanus, prior provincialis provincie Thuringie et Saxonie ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum sancti Augustini...." Overmann, 2, 50, nr. 63.

literary formula, not worthy of our attention. Yet Jordan's brief comment that he was the least among the Order's lectors, reveals more than the rhetorical politeness of a salutation; in Jordan's minimal approach we discern much about his position and the Order's educational hierarchy. Rhetoric it may have been, but it calls for further investigation.

Jordan was a lector, and we have already seen what such a degree entailed. The lectorate was the first stage in the Order's educational system leading eventually to the bachelor of theology and finally to the magisterium. Lectors were the teachers in the Order's schools not associated with a university. At times, however, the individual filling the office of lector was already a master. Thus, after having completed his studies in Paris, Gregory of Rimini was appointed as the principle lector.

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34 The second reference, namely Jordan calling himself the prior provincial of the Saxon-Thuringian province though *indignus*, does seem to have been formulaic; Gregory of Rimini used the same designation for himself as prior general: "Fr. Gregorius, Prior Generalis Ordinis fratrum Heremitarum S. Augustini, licet indignus." Letter from Gregory to the Order, AAug 4(1911):372. For the same formulation, see also, AAug 4(1911):423 (letter from Gregory to cloister in Avignon) and AAug 4(1911):443 (letter from Gregory to cloister in Florence). The self-designation *minimus*, however, could be not only a genuine statement of Jordan's humility, but also carry Pauline overtones. In a sermon on Paul's conversion in the *Opus Dan*, Jordan wrote: "Quantum autem ipse [Paul] in humiliatione sui descenderit, apparat in eo quod ipse dicit se minimum apostolorum et non esse dignum vocari apostolus [1 Cor. 15:9]." *Opus Dan*, (ed. Strassburg, 1484) sermo 50B. For Jordan's view of Paul's conversion as the model, see infra, Part Two, ch. 4.

in the *studium generale* of Rimini. 36 Jordan never progressed beyond the office of lector. In this light he had good reason to refer to himself as *minimus* amongst the Order’s lectors; with respect to the level of education, Jordan was indeed among the least when compared to Gregory, or Jordan’s own teacher in Bologna, Prosper of Regio, or his close associate at Erfurt, Henry of Friemar—all lectors who were also masters. In short, the designation, 'lector', referred both to the office of lector, and to the title, lector; lectors, bachelors, or masters could serve in the office of lector. As lector by title and by office, Jordan was clear on where he stood within the educational hierarchy of the Order.

The distinction between lectors, bachelors, and masters was evident not merely by the sheepskin they framed and hung on the walls of their cells. In the Acts of the General Chapters there was never confusion between the office and title. When Gregory was appointed lector in Rimini it was clear; he was the 'reverend master' Gregory. 37 Even as lector, *magister Gregorius* enjoyed special privileges that accrued

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37 See note 36 above. The same held for lectors who were masters appointed to other types of schools. Thus the chapter of the Roman province in 1326 appointed Master John of Rome as lector in their school for logic: "Item diffinimus quod scolae logicales sint in loco nostro de Corneto, de lectore committimus in venerabilem virum Magistrum Iohannem de Roma, de studentibus committimus provinciali." AAug 4(1911): 34. The same chapter made clear that the appointed lector in their school for philosophy was a lector by title as well: "Item diffinimus quod scolae philosophiae sint in loco nostro de Urbeveteri et ibidem ponimus pro lectore fratrem Franciscum de Urbeveteri, lectorem, de studentibus mittendis committimus provinciali." AAug 4(1911):
to his title. The Order's masters and bachelors were a group apart. In 1328 the Prior General William of Cremona called for the destruction of furnaces in the cells of the friars at Paris, except for the venerable bachelors and masters.\(^{38}\) In addition, the General Chapter of Florence (1326) decreed that the average Augustinian friar was not to have the luxury of linen sheets, nor was he to have separate sleeping quarters, but was to remain in the common dormitory. The reverend masters and bachelors of theology, however, were exempt.\(^{39}\) The pecking order was set. The General Chapter

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34. We also find the distinction made between bachelors who were also lectors, and lectors by title. The Roman province in 1299 named four *definitores*, one of whom was a bachelor and a lector: "Item facti fuerunt iiiij Diffinitores in eodem Capitulo, videlicet: Frater Iohannes Gentilis, Romanus, Baccelarius parisiensis, tunc primus lector in Studio Curie; Frater Iacobus de Castreplebis, lector tunc Viterbiensis; Frater Franciscus de Vrbueuteri de Frater Iohannes de Tuscanella, lectores novi." AAug 2(1908): 481.

38 "Item, ordinamus quod omnes camini cellarum fratrum ubicumque sint destruantur, exceptis dumtaxat caminis illis qui sunt in cellis venerabilium magistrorum et bachelarium. Ipsos tamen monemus et qua possumus affectione hortamur, quod quando propter ipsorum consolationem eos in eisdem cellis facere ignem contigerit, caveant ne ibidem societates teneant et tumultus faciant ipsorum honestati et Ordinis repugnantes: non enim sustinemus talia, si de hoc ad nostras aures rationabilis querimonia perveniret." AAug 4(1911): 63.

39 "Item precipimus et mandamus quod quilibet frater nostri ordinis, cuiuscumque conditionis et status existat, sive sit forensis, sive residens in conventu, habeat lectum seu stratum honestum et religiosum, nec circa lectum vel stratum teneat aliquid quod possit honestatem ordinis denigrare.

"Item ad conservandam honestatem ordinis diffinimus quod fratres jacentes et residentes in dormitoriis non teneant linteamina linea in suis lectis vel stratis et eadem diffinitione sancimus quod omnes fratres qui possunt stare in communibus domibus non habeant cellas ab aliis sequestratas, sed resideant sub eadem clavi cum omnibus fratribus de conventu. Quod si secus per aliquem seu per aliquos factum fuerit illum vel illos ex nunc voce privamus. Non tamen intendimus quod presens diffinitio se extendat ad reverendos Magistros et Baccalarios sacratissime theologia." AAug 4(1911): 7.
meeting in Genoa in 1308 had declared that no bachelor should dare to dispute in public if a master was present, nor should a lector if a bachelor was on hand, without the special permission of the higher in rank. Such privilege was not limited to prestige. The Chapter at Rimini (1318) stipulated that in every general studium a master of theology was to receive six florins for his clothing needs, a bachelor five, and a lector four; in 1329 the Chapter at Paris conceded twice as much to the masters for their weekly needs as to bachelors, and two-thirds more than lectors received. The perquisites as well as the title distinguished the academic degrees within the Order. The system itself counted Jordan among the least of the privileged scholarly class, a


41 "Item diffinimus quod quilibet Magister in Theologia a conventu in quo legit habeat sex florenos de auro pro privisione vestimentorum suorum, Baccallarius vero quinque, alius vero lector quatuor; et hoc in omnibus generalibus studiis equaliter observetur." AAug 3(1909): 225.

42 "Item, diffinimus quod reverendi Magistri pro septimanali provisione unum Turonensem cum dimidio, Baccallarii vero hujus mediatatem, Lectores vero Turonensem medium recipiant a conventu." AAug 4(1911): 84-85.
lector in office and name.

Jordan may have played the role of the humble friar as the least of the Order's lectors, and he may have had reasons to consider himself as such, but here we must be on our guard. Jordan's self-deprecation must not be allowed to affect our perspective on the lector's title and office. The lectorate was indeed the lowest of the academic hierarchy, but it should not be viewed as only a holding pattern for future scholars until they were given the clearance to blast off for the higher orbits of the reverend bachelors and masters. Nor was it a consolation prize for those industrious brothers who were just not quite good enough to continue, but deserved some form of recognition, some sort of title, for their five plus years of diligent study. If the Order can be compared to a military organization, as it was in the Order's foundation charter,43 then the General of the Order was a Major General; the masters also held the general rank, bearing, however, a lesser number of stars; the bachelors were the majors and captains; but the lectors were the lieutenants and field commanders. The higher ranks are certainly necessary, and most impressive, but as every student of military affairs knows, without lieutenants and field commanders few battles can be fought, much less won. We must not ignore the lieutenants. And this brings us to the heart of the matter; the actual function of the office of lector. But first we must analyze more

43 "...si religionis militie vestre castra que sub uno vocabulo non magna discipline distantia secernebat, sub communi capite indifferenti concorporationis federe iungerentur et ex pluribus cuneis acies una corsurget fortior ad hostiles spiritualis nequitie impetus conterendos." Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae, ed. A. de Meijer, Aug(L) 6(1956): 10-13;11,6-7.
closely the organizational flow chart of the Order's system of education.

The Augustinians' program of education began from the moment a new brother donned the garb of the novice. It could continue, theoretically, until one ascended to the magisterium. There were four major levels of the system in the first decades of the fourteenth century: the novitiate; the studia particularia or studia provincialia; the studia generalia; and the universities, namely Paris and Oxford. To pass through them all required much time and effort.

The Order did not delay initiating its indoctrination. The Constitutiones mandated that "one learned and honest brother, approved and zealous for the Order" act as master of novices. This magister was to teach the neophytes the Rule, Constitutions, and way of life. In short, he was responsible for inculcating all that was necessary for living as one of Augustine's own.44 In 1326 the Prior General extended this initial period of close supervision and guidance until the young friars reached the age of twenty. William of Cremona viewed the inadequate indoctrination of novices and young friars as one of the causes that had lead to "the confusion of our religion". He therefore stipulated that after the novitiate, the young Augustinians were to be handed over to the care of an older friar who was to be obeyed just as the master of

44 "Prior praeponat Novitiis unum ex Fratribus Magistrum, doctum et honestum virum, approbatum et nostri Ordinis praeципuum zelatorem, qui eos ante omnia doceat pure, ac discrete et frequenter confiteri; caste et sine proprio vivere. Instruat eos de Regula, de Constitutionibus, de Officio, de cantu, de moribus, de signis, et aliis observantiis Ordinis." Const. Ratis., 17,111 (Cendoya, 59). For further details on the instruction of novices, see the entire chapter (Cendoya, 59-60).
novices.\footnote{45} It may not be technically precise to list such indoctrination, the inculcation of the Order's social stock of knowledge, as part of the educational system, but in the eyes of William such education was vital to the well-being of the Order. The novices may not have sat in classrooms every morning, but they most certainly were schooled by a teacher, or even two; their \textit{magister}, and their \textit{praecceptor}, Augustine.

In the list of subjects in the \textit{Constitutiones}, we find singing was mentioned along with all the rest.\footnote{46} The friars were to sing, or chant, seven times a day at the appointed canonical hours. It was not so much the quality of voice they learned as it was simply to carry the tunes of the chants; at least this was Jordan's opinion on the matter, when in the \textit{Liber Vitasfratrum} he cautioned brothers against being concerned

\footnote{45} "Item cum mala enutritio noviciorum et juvenum una extiterit de causis confusionis nostre religionis, ideo mandamus per obedientiam districte omnibus fratribus et singulis prioribus quod curam solicitam gerant non tantum de receptione noviciorum quantum de bona et honesta enutritione ipsorum, quia sanctius esset non recipere quam receptorum curam negligere.

"Insuper volumus et mandamus quod fratres juvenes completo anno noviciatus et facta professione tradantur a suo priore alicui de antiquioribus et honestioribus fratribus sui conventus in curam, cui fratri teneantur ipsi juvenes obedire sicut novitii magistro suo, ita quod sine ipsius licentia et voluntate nec discursus aliquos audeant facere, nec conversationem aliquam specialem intra locum vel extra habere. In qua et sub qua laudabili discipline regula et reverentie subiectione priores teneantur manutenere juvenes sui conventus quousque annum vicesimum etatis attigerint." AAug 4(1911): 31. William repeated these stipulations two years later in his letter to the house in Paris; see, AAug 4(1911): 59.

\footnote{46} See note 44 above.
with the beauty of their voices when they should be intent on pleasing God.\textsuperscript{47} In any case, the Order deemed learning to sing important for the novices, in keeping with the focus on the divine cult. Thus the \textit{Constitutiones} also stipulated that young friars were to be taught to sing in the summers, or perhaps we should say, they were to be 'schooled' in singing, for this regulation appears in chapter 36 of the \textit{Constitutiones}, the chapter treating the form of studies.\textsuperscript{48} 'Schooled' is indeed the proper term, for the General Chapter at Padua decreed in 1315 that every province of the Order was to have two schools to teach singing.\textsuperscript{49}

The \textit{studia in cantu} bring us from the first level of the Order's educational

\textsuperscript{47} "In modo etiam cantandi semper plus quaeerat frater placere Deo quam auditoribus. Qui enim studet Deo placere in cantando, quanto purius et simplicius cantaverit, tanto magis Deo placebit; plus enim attendit Deus devotionem et puritatem cordis quam modulationem vocis." VF 2, 15, (181,46-50). The brothers, on the other hand, who did not know how to sing the divine office were simply to say \textit{Pater Nosters}; see infra, chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{48} "Ordinent etiam quod quilibet Prior iuvenes sui Conventus faciat in aestate in cantu doceri." Const. Ratis. 36,364 (Cendoya, 116).

\textsuperscript{49} "Item diffinimus et ordinamus quod quilibet provincia habeat duo studia in cantu, ad que mittantur fratres ydonei ad cantandum." AAug 3(1909): 177. Cf.: "Item precipimus singulis vicaruis et duffinitoribus capitulorum provincialium quod solicite debeant ordinare quod in quolibet conventu sue provincie sit unus frater qui in cantu sit sufficienter instructus, et si qui fratres clerici fuerint in illo conventu infra XXV annos etatis, qui nesciant convenienter cantare, cogantur qualibet die intrare semel ad locum deputatum sibi, ubi qui ordinatus fuerit ad eos instruendos, doceat et instruat illos qui cantum ignorant. Qui fideliter et continuo illos docuerit, saltem per vj menses in anno, provisionem annualement habeat duplicatam. Si quis autem frater cantum ignorans non intraverit qualibet die semel ad locum ubi instruat in cantu et se qualibet die non exposuerit humiliter discipline ad cantum, illa die manducet solum panem et aquam." General Chapter Florence (1326), AAug 4(1911): 8.
system to the second; the schools of chant were *studia particularia*, among which we find as well schools for grammar, logic, and philosophy. The Acts of the General Chapters employed both the designation *studia particularia* and *studia provincialia* to refer to provincial schools for chant, grammar, logic and philosophy. Basic instruction in grammar came first. The *Constitutiones* mandated the establishment of schools in every province to teach logic for the elementary instruction of unlearned brothers. The Chapter meeting in Siena just five years after the *Constitutiones* were adopted in Regensburg (1290) prohibited any brother from being sent to any *studium*, "unless he is able to say the divine office distinctly," and the Chapter at Venice in 1332 required a knowledge of grammar and a speaking knowledge of Latin before one

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50 "...diffinimus et mandamus quod in qualibet provincia nostri ordinis ordinentur duo loca...in quorum uno sit studium naturalis philosophie et in alio studium loyce...Volumus nichilominus quod lectores in huiusmodi particularibus studiis legant per totum annum assidue...," General Chapter at Florence, 1326; AAug 4(1911): 6; "...volumus quod quelibet provincia nostri ordinis saltim unum studium provinciale teneat in quo unus lector sufficiens per provinciale capitulum deputetur, qui bene continuet lectiones...," General Chapter at Siena, 1338; AAug 4(1911): 178.


52 "Diffinimus quod Nullus frater mictatur ad aliquod studium in quacumque facultate, nisi sciat distincte legere totum officium, tam diurnum quam nocturnum...," AAug 2(1908): 369.
could proceed to a school for logic or a general *studium*. Even Jordan preached the need to study grammar before moving on to dialectic and the subtle and difficult questions of natural philosophy. Grammar was the foundation of all knowledge. The Chapter at Padua (1315) ordered every province to have two grammar schools, in addition to two schools for chant.

After having acquired a sufficient knowledge of Latin grammar, the young Augustinian scholar could begin studying logic and natural philosophy at one of the particular schools of his province. The General Chapter at Florence (1326) recommended that every province set aside two locations for schools, one of which would teach logic and the other natural philosophy. The lector of philosophy was to complete Aristotle’s natural philosophy within three years while the logic teacher also had three years to lecture on the entire logic (old and new). If, however, two

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55 "Item diffinimus et ordinamus quod quilibet provincia habeat duo studia grammaticalia, in quibus studentes per totum annum morentur et eorum magistri per totum annum legere teneantur." AAug 3(1909): 177.

56 "Item volentes utilitati ordinis diligenter intendere quantum possumus quoad studia, diffinimus et mandamus quod in qualibet provincia nostri ordinis ordinentur duo loca, si ad hoc sint ibi duo apta, in quorum uno sit studium naturalis philosophie
separate locations could not be found, one was sufficient, providing the studium had two lectors, one for philosophy and one for logic.\textsuperscript{57} This three year course in logic and natural philosophy provided the required education before a brother could be sent to a studium generale. In other words, before an Augustinian could begin the five year course leading to the lectorate, he had to spend three years in a provincial school. In 1338 the General Chapter at Siena mandated that in order to maintain the level of instruction worthy of the general studia, no brother was to be admitted to such a school unless he had first completed the three year course in the provincial schools, at least with respect to logic.\textsuperscript{58} Only after such preliminary education had been completed—in grammar, logic, and philosophy—could an Augustinian begin his studies at a general school.

\[\text{et in alio studium loyce, ita ut lector qui leget philosophiam teneatur infra triennium naturalem philosophiam perficere; lector vero qui leget loycam similiter teneatur per triennium perficere totam loycam.} \text{AAug 4(1911): 6.}\]

\textsuperscript{57} "Si vero aliqua sit provincia in qua non sit duo loca que ad huiusmodi studia sint apta, saltem ordinetur ibi unus locus ubi sint duo lectores, quorum unus per triennium legat naturalem philosophiam, alter vero loycam sicut superius est dictum." \text{AAug 4(1911): 6.}\n
\textsuperscript{58} "Item, cum ex eo quod fratres iuvenes indeci penitus et ignari ad studia generalia destinatur, studia ipsa dehonestentur, et Lectores ab exercitio debito retardentur, diffinimus et ordinamus quod nullus deinceps, sive pro provincia sive per literam patris nostri generalis, ad aliquod studium generale mictatur, nisi prius steterit in studio provinciali tribus annis continuis et in eo saltim in loyca profecerit competenter; et ut present ordinatio congruentius valeat observari, volumus quod quelibet provincia nostri ordinis saltim unum studium provintiale teneat in quo unus lector sufficiens per provinciale capitulum deputetur, qui bene continuet lectiones, et stet per triennium studio in eodem. Infra quod triennium idem lector tractatus cum tota loyca nova et veleri." \text{AAug 4(1911): 178. Cf. Thomas of Strassburg, Additiones 36 (Cendoya, 118).}
With the *studia generalia* we have reached the third level within the Order's educational system and the core of the Augustinian's program of indoctrination. By 1354 there were thirty-two such *studia* designed "to create a large, well trained corps of teachers."60 The *Constitutiones* mandated at least four general *studia* in Italy, exhorting other provinces to follow suit,61 and the General Chapter at Treviso (1321) required every province to maintain a general school to teach the Scriptures, the *Sentences*, and logic to students from the province.62 "One student from every province," the *Constitutiones* declared, "sufficiently learned in grammar and logic, should be sent to [one of] the general schools of the province and after having studied

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60 "Le but de tout cela était de créer un corps de professeurs, nombreux et bien instruits." Ypma, *La Formation des Professeurs*, 23.


in such a school for five years, if found worthy, attain to the office of Lector." The general schools were vital to the Order because they provided the basic theological training required for the priests and preachers of the order; the prerequisite instruction in theology for admission to a university; and produced the Order's 'learned corps of teachers', the lectors.

Among the Order's studia generalia, one in particular held primacy of place: Paris. On the one hand Paris was no different from any other studium generale.


64 The priests and clerics of the Order were exhorted to attend the theological lectures of the schools in their region: "Fratres quoque Sacerdotes et Clerici cuiuslibet loci, in quo erit Studium Theologiae, a Priore loci Scholas cotidie intrare cogantur." Const. Ratis. 36,358 (Cendoya, 115). See also, Gutierrez, I/1, 173.

65 For the requirements for the 'degree' of lector, see supra, Introduction, 17-21. The promotion of unqualified lectors was a constant concern for the General Chapters. Thus, the Chapter of Viterbo in 1312 reasserted the need for examinations: "Item cum affectione quorundam quidam insufficiens promoveantur ad officium lectoriae, volentes de cetero talibus obviare, omnibus et singulis examinatoribus tam parysiensis conventus quam aliorum studiorum generalium nostri ordinis precipimus per obedientiam salutarem quatenus nullum fratrem ordinis licentiare debeant ad officium lectoriae, qui non sit sufficens ad ipsum lectorie officium exercendum." AAug 3(1909): 153; see also, Ypma, La Formation des Professeurs, 28ff and the texts given in the appendix, 150-155, among which is also this decree from Viterbo (150/51); and Ypma, "La Promotion au Lectorat chez les Augustins," 395ff.

66 See, Ypma, La Formation des Professeurs, 38-39. We do find a differentiation in studia generalia between those designed as totius ordinis and those provincie. This distinction is not, however, between 'lower' and 'higher' levels of general schools, or
Yet on the other, Paris was unique indeed for the Augustinian *studium* at Paris was closely associated with the University of Paris, beginning in 1285 when Aegidius Romanus became the first Augustinian to be granted a chair in Theology at Paris.

The Augustinian *studium* at Paris was part of the Order's educational system, not, in and of itself, an institution of the University. As an Augustinian one could study at the *studium* at Paris, without studying at the University of Paris. The reverse, however, did not hold; if, as an Augustinian, one studied at the University of Paris, one did so in the Order's *studium generale* at Paris. The point of connection was the chair in Theology. For an Augustinian friar to study at the University of Paris, he had to be between *studia generalia* and universities; thus, for example, the *studia generalia* established by the General Chapter in 1303 for the Bavarian province, the Rhenisch province, the Cologne province and at Montepulciano were designated as *studia generalia totius ordinis*: "Item diffinimus quod Studium provincie Bavarie sit deinceps in loco nostro de Vienna, eiusdem provincie, et sit totius ordinis Studium Generale. Item diffinimus quod Studium Generale totius ordinis sit in provincia Reni in loco nostro de Argentina. Item diffinimus quod in loco nostro de Colonia de provincia Coloniensi sit Studium Generale totius ordinis. Item confirmamus Studium Generale totius ordinis in loco nostro de Montepesulano." AAug 3(1909):54-55. The distinction indicates that students from all provinces of the Order could attend a *studium generale totius ordinis*, whereas *studia generalia provincie* were limited to students from the same province; see Ypma, *La Formation Professeurs*, 47, 54-60. The provincial *studia generalia* took the pressure off of Paris. In 1324 the General Chapter of Montepulciano stipulated: "Item cum propter multitudinem studentium quos provincie ad studium parysiense mittunt sepe confusio oritur, quia provisio indecenter dividitur, tum quia sepe indigni ad dictum studium promoventur, diffinimus quod nulla provincia possit mittere Parysius ultra duos studentes sine speciali licentia generalis." AAug 3(1910):468; this stipulation was repeated by Thomas of Strassburg in his *Additiones*, 36 (Cendoya, 116). The Chapter then proceeded to the financial issue involved: "Item diffinimus quod nullus studens diffiniatur ad provisionem parysiensem nisi per tres annos. Quia si voluerit ultra stare remaneat ad expensas suas, ita tamen quod non possit ibi stare ultra quinquennium." Ibid.
accepted by the Augustinian master. As a university student, the friar's studies were
governed by university regulations. The requirements for the university degrees of
bachelor and master were determined by the university, not by the Order. We thus find
no stipulations regarding the requirements for university degrees in the Acts of the
General Chapter; only regulations for university study, concerning how one got there
in the first place, and who was able to stay and continue. It was only when the
Augustinians gained a university chair in Theology that the relationship between the
studium and university was firmly established. In other words, the Order's studium and
the university were different educational systems, linked by the master.67

The course of study leading to the bachelor's degree and finally to the doctorate
in theology was long and grueling.68 Only after the future theologian had spent three
years in a studium provinciale, and another five in a studium generale, could he then
embark, having been made a lector, upon another five years required of members of
religious orders in order to achieve the first bachelor's degree, the Baccalaureus
Biblicus. After another two years of lecturing on the Sentences the bachelor could
become 'formed' as a baccalaureus formatus, but it would only be yet another four

67 See Ypma, *La Formation des Professeurs*, 84ff.

years and numerous disputations later that he could be presented to the Chancellor of the University to become a *magister*.  

It took eleven years as a university student for an Augustinian to reach the pinnacle of the career that had begun the day he entered the Order. When we add the eight years of preliminary education required before one began at the university we end up with nineteen years, as a minimum; two decades were needed before the Augustinian theologian could become one of the privileged few, a reverend master of theology.

The Augustinian masters of theology may have been the most esteemed, the most decorated members of the militia brought together in 1256 as the Order of Augustine's Hermits, and they have certainly been the most studied. When we survey the Order's four-tiered educational system, however, we begin to realize that the 'reverend bachelors and masters' were merely the 'icing on the cake'. The *studia generalia* constituted the cake itself. The Order may have venerated the bachelors and

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69 See, Marcolino, "Der Augustinertheologe," 183-194; Ypma, *La Formation des Professeurs*, 91, 109, and 120.

70 According to the acts of the General Chapters, a friar could only stay in Paris for five years. After that time he had to return to his home province to teach for a number of years, before being eligible to be sent back to Paris for further study; see, AAug 2(1907): 293 and AAug 4(1911): 178. In addition, the *cursor* within the Augustinian educational system was not a *bachalareus biblicus* who read the text of the Bible *cusorie*, but rather the cursorate for the Augustinians was a year of student teaching before one received the title lector, mandated for the candidates for the lectorate, or before one advanced to Paris in the first place. See Ypma, "Les *cursores* chez les Augustins," RThAM 26(1959):137-144.
masters more than the others, and we have already seen the fringe benefits accompanying these degrees, but the lectors were the work horses of the Augustinians' educational endeavor. Efforts to ensure the production of lectors, to create an educated corps of teachers, fill the pages of the Acts of the General Chapters. The lectorate was not a university degree, but the Order-licensed lectors were the teachers of the Order's doctrines, the propagators of the Order's theology, although they remain overlooked in our portrayals of late medieval Augustinianism as only a stage on the way to more lofty goals.

Three considerations must be kept in mind at all times when analyzing the office of lector. First, we need to recognize the distinction between the office of lector and the title lector. Second, the lectorate was a stage within the Order's educational system through which all future bachelors and masters would have passed. Third, the lectorate was not simply a preliminary stage, but was a specific office within the Order, with its own duties and functions. We have already discussed the first two; to the third we must now give special attention.

The lectors performed central functions for the Order; they were the framers of the decrees at Chapter meetings, examiners of preachers, served as inquisitors and visitors, and most importantly worked as preachers and teachers. As stated by the Constitutiones, they were to be the "lovers and teachers of the divine law" and the
models for others to follow. In short, they were the 'theological watchdogs' of the Order. Aside from their teaching responsibilities, the documents do not delineate the specific duties accompanying the office of lector. In order to discern the actual functions lectors performed we must extract from the Acts of the General and Provincial Chapters the roles in which lectors appear.

The most common function fulfilled by lectors was that of *diffinitores* of the Chapters themselves. The *diffinitores* were the elected representatives of the provinces who were responsible for drawing up and voting on the stipulations of the Chapter. Thus, the recorded Acts usually begin in a similar fashion to that of the Chapter of 1287: "These are the decisions recorded during the General Chapter of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine, celebrated at Florence in the year of our Lord 1287 in the month of May, on the day of holy Pentecost, by brother Clement, Prior General, and

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71 After stipulating the provisions accorded to the lectorate, the *Constitutiones* exhorted the lector to be satisfied, and referred to the lectors as lovers and teachers of divine law: "Et eidem de uno vestimento, scilicet cuculla vel tunica et scapulari, si indiguerit, et in calceamentis, et lumine ac infirmitate diligenter provideat. Et ipse Lector de sic sibi administratis eleemosynis sit, tanquam divinae legis amator et instructor, contentus." *Const. Ratis.* 36,350 (Cendoya, 114). The lectors were exhorted to observe the divine hours as examples for others: "Lectores namque, qui esse debent alii in exemplum, ad Vigilias, et Horas nocturnas et diurnas solicite vadant, nisi quando forte, propter semones, et praedicationes et etiam varias lectiones legendas, ex hoc eorum studium impediretur." *Const. Raits.*, 36,353 (Cendoya, 115); cf.: "...venerabilium vero magistrorum in sacra theologia, quorum mores et vita esse debent ceteris in exemplum, quisquis duobus diebus de predictis consequenter ad matutinum venire neglexerit, sue septimanalis provisionis medietate privetur, nisi aliquo ipsarum dierum in sermone fuerit, vel pro aliquo solemnpi actu scolastico occupatus." Undated letter of Gregory of Rimini "Ad singulas Ordinis Provincias", AAug 4(1911):373.

72 See *Const. Ratis.* 32 (Cendoya, 93ff).
by the *diffinitores* of the Order's provinces, officially gathered."73 Not infrequently
the names of the *diffinitores* are given, and most often they are lectors.74 The office
oflector carried great responsibility and could not be given to just anyone. Thus, on
account of confusion arising from unqualified brothers seeking a vote in chapter by
aspiring to the lectorate, the General Chapter at Montepulciano (1324) restricted the
right to vote in provincial chapters to previous *diffinitores*, provincial priors, and lectors
actually teaching.75 As *diffinitores*, lectors took an active role in governing the Order;

73 "Iste sunt Diffinitiones facte in Capitulo Generali ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum
Sancti Augustini Florentie celebrato. Anno domini Millesimo CCLXXXVII. Mense
Madii. In die Sancto Pentecostes per fratrem Clementes, Priorem Generalem, et per

74 At the Chapter of the Roman province in 1316, for example: "the *diffinitores*
were brothers Bartholus de Viterbo, Sabas de Roma, Iohannes de Urbeveteri, and
Andreas de Perusio, lectores." AAug 3(1909): 175. Twice the designation lector was
added to the official record in later notes, inferring the importance of the office; see,

75 "Item cum propter multitudinem vocum in nostris provincialibus capitulis sepe
possit confusio exoriri, ac etiam cum ex voce quam habent lectores in dictis capitulis
multi indigni aspirent ad officium lectorie, diffinimus et presenti diffinitione firmamus
quod solum lectores actu legentes secundum formam constitutionum, et quicumque
fuerint provinciales, sive diffinitores capituli generalis, vel in futuro erunt postquam
talia officia habuerint, lectores vel non lectores, tamquam vocem habentes ad nostra
dantem Lectoribus vocem in Capitulo provinciali, restringimus ad Baacalarios et
Biblicos parientes, ac Lectores actu legentes, secundum formam Constitutionum; et qui
per duo triennia legerit in Studio generali, vel per unum triennium in Studio generali,
et per aliud in Studio provinciali; et qui fuerint Definitores Capituli generalis; necnon
qui fuerint Procuratores Ordinis in Romana Curia, vel Socii Prioris Generalis,
dummodo Lectores fuerint iam dicti." Thomas of Strassburg, *Additiones* 36 (Cendoya,
120).
they were not only to be lovers of divine law, but also the legislative backbone of the Order.  

Two further roles that lectors often filled were visitators and inquisitors. The Constitutiones stipulated that the General Chapters were to choose as visitors brothers who were "prudent and discrete, zealots of righteousness and religiosity who were never tainted with any notable vice." These visitors were "to correct and reform"

76 Lectors were not the only ones named as diffinitores, even though they were the ones appointed as such most often. The Roman Province, for example, in 1296 named four diffinitores: "Item tum electi fuerunt iij Diffinitiores, videlicet, frater Franciscus Romanus, Baccellarius in studio Romane Curie, frater Symon, lector de Viterbio, frater Dominicus, lector, de Castroplebis, et frater Augustinus de Vrbeveteri, Predicatar." AAug 2(1908): 390. Here we see the clear distinction between lectors and bachelors and simply friars or preachers. The following year we find four diffinitores once again, but this time two are lectors and two are preachers, AAug 2(1908): 394, whereas in 1300 three of the four diffinitores were lectors, AAug 3(1909): 35. The General Chapter at Padua (1315), gave masters equal rights to diffinitores: "Item diffininus et ordinamus quod Magistri parysienses in provincialibus capitulis sint in diffinitionibus capituli, sicut diffinitores ipsius capituli, et vocem habeant in diffinitione predicta." AAug 3(1909): 179. Lectors nevertheless fulfilled the role of diffinitor most often. Thus in the provincial chapter of the Roman province in 1319 we find once again three of the four diffinitores named as lectors: "Item in dicto capitulo fuerunt diffinitores fratres Bartholus de Viterbio, Franciscus de Vrbeveteri, Stephanus de Singnia, lectores, et Bartholus de Corciano." AAug 3(1909): 249. The title lector, however, was not always provided. Thus, in the General Chapter at Siena in 1338 the names of the participants were given with the masters and bachelors designated as such, including those who served also as diffinitores, but, Jordan, who attended as a diffinitor of the Saxon-Thuringian province, was only listed as "Jordanus de Madaborch diffinitore provincie Turingie et Saxonia," although he was at that time lector in Magdeburg; see, AAug 4(1911):177, n. 2.

77 "In generali Capitulo, quod debet de triennio in triennium celebrari, Generalis Prior et Definitores ipsius Capituli eligant plures Fratres providos et discretos, iustitiae et religiositatis non modicum zelatores et qui numquam in Ordine de aliquo vitio notabili fuerint notati." Const. Ratis. 41,439 (Cendoya, 141).
any errors in religious observance and were to report their findings to the Prior General and the *diffinitores* of the General Chapter.\(^{78}\) The brothers most often selected for this office were designated as lectors.\(^{79}\)

In close connection with the office of visitator was that of inquisitor. There was no specific office of inquisitor within the Order, but we do find an occasion when an inquisition into a specific problem was made, and those selected for the task were lectors. In 1325 the Roman Province instructed Franciscus of Viterbo and Dyonisius

\(^{78}\) "Praeterea, quidquid invenerint reformandum vel corrigendum, tam in vita quam in moribus, et in officiis ac in omnibus regularibus observantii, sive illud corexerint vel non corexerint, ad generale Capitulum deferant in scriptis, sine specialium infamia personarum, quod de correctis debet intelligi, ut per relationem huiusmodi possint Generalis Prior et Definitores generalis Capituli de statu et ordinacione totius Ordinis informari, et sic suo modo vitiis et virtutibus subvenire." *Const. Ratis.* 41,443 (Cendoya, 141-142).

\(^{79}\) Thus, the Provincial Chapter of Rome in 1297 stipulated: "Diffinimus quod Penitentie imposite per Visitatores preteritos, videlicet, per Fratrem Symonem de Viterbio et per fratrem Ioannem de Orto, lectores, quod ducantur ad executionem, et quod Prior provincialis teneatur facere adimpleure diligenter." AAug 2(1908): 396; the same Chapter in 1320 listed Sabas de Roma and Iohannes de Tuscanella as visitors and as lectors, AAug 3(1910): 250; and in 1326 Leonardus de Viterbio and Petrus de Orto, both lectors, were named as visitors, AAug 4(1911): 35. The Roman Provincial Chapter in 1318, however, listed as visitors Philippus de Plegario and Augustinus Acquependentis, without designating them as lectors; AAug 3(1910): 248. If they had been lectors it is most likely would have been noted, for the same Chapter meeting in 1325 named Angelus de Castroplebis and Iohannes Pandulfi as visitors, while designating only Angelus as lector, AAug 3(1910): 320. Visitors did not have to be lectors, but it is clear the majority of visitators were lectors. The importance of visitations was stressed in 1340 in the French provincial chapter. After emphasizing the need for uniform religious observance, the chapter stated: "Item, cum frivolum videatur visitatores eligere, ipsos autemnullatenus visitare, diffinimus et ordinamus quod visitatores qui in isto capitulo eligentur totam nostram provinciam visitent infra annum, secundum quod in nostris constitutionibus continetur." AAug 4(1911): 187.
of Viterbo Urbeveteri to investigate a scandal caused by brother Petrus of Viterbo. They were to report their findings speedily to the provincial prior. Both Franciscus and Dyonisius were specified as lectors. 80

As inquisitors and visitators, lectors appear as those especially charged with ensuring correct observance of the Order’s religious life. They were also specifically commissioned to preach. This is not to imply that bachelors and masters did not preach. Preaching was an essential part of the academic responsibilities at the universities, 81 and extensive sermon collections are extant from Augustinian magistri such as Albert of Padua and Henry of Friemar. Nevertheless the lectors were singled out especially as charged to preach. The Constitutiones required lectors to teach,

80 "Item cum audiverimus quedam peretirita [perpetrari] in loco de aquapendenti per fratrem Petrum modellum lectorem de Viterbio, que cedunt ad confusionem et scandalum, si ita est, nostre religionis, unde mandamus religionis viris Francisco de Vrbeveteri et Dyonisio eiusdem terre, lectoribus, quod de predictis in aquapendenti diligenter inquirant et illud quod in dicta inquisitione invenerint quem citius priori provinciali destinent." AAug 3(1910): 298. Franciscus and Dyonisius were at this time anyway not the visitators: "Visitatores facti fuerunt fratres Ranutius et Leonardus de Viterbio, lectores." Ibid. It thus appears that in such cases 'inquisitors' were appointed. However, in 1297 the Roman Provincial Chapter simply instructed the prior provincial himself to investigate accusations made against Symon de Viterbio and Alexandrus de Viterbio, both of whom were lectors: "Diffinimus, quod de hiis que dicta sunt contra Fratem Symonem de Viterbio et contra fratem Alexandrum de Viterbio, lectores, quod provincialis prior debeat inquirere diligenter, et penitentiam cum consilio Diffinitorum debeat provincialis eisdem assignare." AAug 2(1908): 396.

sermonize and preach, and the Provincial Chapter of Rome in 1325 named "all lectors and all others who are accustomed to preach" to the office of preacher. Though bachelors and masters and other brothers preached, only the lectors were given a special mandate to do so. Indeed, Thomas of Strassburg affirmed in the Additiones that no one should be sent to Paris or be licensed as lector unless he had first proved sufficiently learned in logic and philosophy and had given at least one sermon either in a provincial chapter or in a general studium.

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82 "Lector sane a consueto principio Studii usque ad festum sancti Petri continue legat, et sermocinetur et praedicet tempore opportuno." Const. Ratis. 36,350, (Cendoya, 114).

83 "Item eligimus ad officium predicationis omnes lectores et omnes alios qui praedicare consueverunt." AAug 3(1910): 296. In 1328 the Roman Provincial Chapter once again conscripted lectors as preachers: "predicatores vero qui examinati fuerunt vel habuerunt consuetudinem predicandi et lectores omnes ad praedicandum eligimus." AAug 4(1911): 39. This had been a long-standing concern, since the Roman province stipulated already in 1294 that lectors were to preach: "Inprimis Diffinimus et mandamus, ut lectores quibus deputati sunt studentes, solliciti sint ad lectiones continuas, et sermones, et praedicationes, secundum formam constitutionum nostrarum." AAug 2(1908): 363.

84 "Nullus autem Studens definiri possit ad parisensem Studium, vel licentiari pro Lectore citra Parisium, nisi prius in aliquo Studiio...legerit saltem unum librum novae Logicae; quod si veterem Logicam velit legere, Logicam totam pro uno libro, et unum in Philosophia...et nisi unum saltem sermonem ad clerum fecerit in Capitulo provinciali Provinciae suae, vel in aliquo Studio generali." Additiones 36 (Cendoya, 117). In 1365, at the General Chapter in Siena, the lector was to have preached at least ten times coram populo in the vernacular: "Item diffinimus quod nullus diffiniatur ad gradum lectorie, nec mittatur Parysius, vel ad alienam universitatem pro consequendo predicto gradu, nisi predicare sciat Dei verbum et ad minus sufficienter coram populo 10 vicibus predicaverit in vulgari." AAug 4(1911): 450; as cited by Ypma, "La Promotion au Lectorat," 403. The need for preaching in the vernacular had previously been stressed by Gregory of Rimini. In 1357 in a letter to the house in Avignon Gregory instructed: "Item, ut populus istius civitatis eo numerosior et ferventior ad ecclesiam nostram
Closely associated with the lectors' role as preachers was their function as examiners of those other brothers who desired to preach. The Constitutiones asserted that the Word of God was not to be preached except by qualified preachers who were sufficiently learned. Thus, two lectors, chosen by the Provincial Prior and the diffinitores, were to examine potential preachers. Only those found qualified to preach were granted permission to do so. 85

Yet it was not only potential preachers who were to be examined by lectors.

Lectors were also responsible for examining candidates to be sent to Paris, 86 and


86 "Diffinimus quod qui mictendus est parisius...examinetur per provincialem et duos ad minus lectores bonos..." General Chapter at Orvieto (1284), AAug 2(1907), 252. Cf.: "Et ideo volumus, ut qui Parisius ad Studium est mittendus, prius per Vicarium vel Provincialem et Definitores et duos Lectores ad minus examinetur...," Const. Ratis. 36,330 (Cendoya, 110).
participated in the examinations of candidates for the lectorate itself. In the Introduction we saw the prerequisites for the office of lector--namely, sufficient knowledge of logic, philosophy, and theology--and we noted the required examination. One part of the exam, however, we omitted. Not only was the candidate scrutinized on how much Aristotle, Lombard, and Scripture he had learned in his three years in provincial schools and five in general schools, but also on his moral character. The quality of the future lector's life was as fundamental to his promotion as was the quantity of his knowledge. To be sent to Paris the budding theologian was not only to be sufficiently learned in grammar and logic, but also to

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87 The General Chapter at Rimini (1318) had emphasized the need for examinations for promotion to the lectorate and named four masters as examiners: "Item diffinimus et per obedientiam salutarem precipimus examinatoribus studentium promovendorum ad officium lectorie, a cuius transgressione mandati nemo possit absolvere sine Prioris Generalis licentia speciali, quantenus nullum indignum ad officium lectorie licentient vel admittant. Examinator autem talium Studentium promovendorum in quocumque studio alicuius provincie de Alemania sit Magister Frater H[enricus] de Alemania; studentium vero in aliquo studio de lingua osytana sit examinator Ven. Magister G. De Luca; studentium vero in aliquo studio de Italia pro presenti anno sit examinator Ven. Magister Prosper de Regio, tertio anno Ven. Magister G. De Tolosa; in studio Parisieni examinator sit, qui esse consecruit temporibus retroactis." AAug 3(1909): 225-226. From later definitions, it seems that examinations were to be conducted by 'committees', on which lectors also sat: "...ad cuius examen [for promotion to lectorate] volumus actu legentes lectores, seu alios lectores si quinque in aliquo loco actu legentes non essent, penitus convocari, et tales vocati teneantur deponere super vita, moribus, atque scientia ipsius examinati...," General Chapter at Paris (1345), AAug 4(1911): 256. Cf.: "...mandantes illis ad quos pro tempore spectaverit examinare et licentiare Lectores...Cui quidem examini intersint Magistri, baccalarii, et omnes Lectores praesentes in loco, et super conscientis suis deponant singuli sufficientia scientiae et honestate vitae examinati." Thomas of Strassburg, Additiones 36 (Cendoya, 117).

have lead a laudable life;\textsuperscript{89} or as the Constitutiones phrased it, he was to be examined "as much for his knowledge as for his life."\textsuperscript{90} The same applied to the office of lector; the candidates were to be examined "on their life, morals, and knowledge."\textsuperscript{91} The Augustinian theologians of all levels, masters, bachelors, and lectors, were to combine an exemplary life with academic achievement; or as Jordan would enunciate it, 'book learning' was not enough. The knowledge gained from lectures and books was insufficient without the spiritual knowledge of illumination, the knowledge stemming from a pure heart, a humble mind, a pious prayer life, and fruitful works; in short, the combination of morals and knowledge in imitation of the Order’s praecceptor, Augustine. The task to ensure such harmony of life and knowledge, of

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\textsuperscript{89} "Diffinimuus quod qui mictendus est parvisius sit vite laudabilis et in Grammaticalibus et logicalibus sufficienter instructus." General Chapter of Orvieto (1284), AAug 2(1907): 252.


\textsuperscript{91} "...et tales vocati teneantur deponere super vita, moribus, atque scientia ipsius examinati per obedientiam salutarem, omni indebita affectione remota, quorum depositone recepta, ipse debens licentiare ad officium lectorie, super sufficientia, et insufficientia vitae, morum atque scientiae ipsius examinati maior partis deponentium se possit et valeat conformare." General Chapter at Paris (1345), AAug 4(1911): 256.

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morals and study, was incumbent upon all members of the Order, but most of all upon
the lectors, the 'watchdogs' of the Order, who examined and preached, made
inquisitions and visitations, and who legislated the *religio Augustini*.

The lectorate was the first stage in the Augustinians' educational system on the
way towards the *magisterium*, but it was also much more. It was not a degree, but an
office that carried great responsibility; the *officium lectoriae* is what we have been
discussing. The importance of understanding the lectors' functions is two-fold. First,
the lectorate formed future theologians. This preliminary education has been
overlooked all too frequently when we turn immediately to *Sentences* commentaries to
create the definitions of our '--ism' adjoined to the adjective Augustinian. Before one
could partake of the privileges granted to brothers holding university degrees, one had
served one's time, and had had one's morals and knowledge rigorously examined.
Second, the lectorate was not only a stepping stone to higher degrees. It was an office
in its own right, with its own responsibilities and functions. Some of these functions
we have just recounted; one remains to be discussed.

In addition to being definitors, visitors, examiners, and preachers, lectors were
first and foremost teachers. They were the ones who taught the courses in grammar,
logic, philosophy and theology in the provincial and general schools of the Order. It
was their theological lectures that trained the Order's preachers\(^\text{92}\) and provided the
theological foundation for all further study. They were the ones making the decisions

\(^{92}\) See supra, 444, n. 64.
on whom would be selected to be sent to Paris or Oxford. And they were the ones who together with the prior provincials were to make sure the general schools were up to par.93

There were three universities in the first half of the fourteenth century to which Augustinians could be sent: first Paris, and after 1318, Oxford and Cambridge.94 There were thirty-two studia generalia and most likely an equal or even greater number of provincial schools, all of which trained preachers and lectors, all of whom were taught by lectors and were examined by lectors. Numbers alone testify that the theology of the Order was not restricted to the theology of the Order’s university trained theologians. The teaching of the lectors is what we must strive to understand if we desire to glimpse the Order’s theology, a theology of knowledge and morals, a theology within a concept of worship, the theology of Augustine’s religion.

93 "Item diffinimus et ordinamus quod priores provinciales possint corrigere priores studiorum generalium secundum ordinis instituta et usque ad suspensionem procedere cum consilio lectorum et aliquorum de senioribus de conventu." General Chapter at Padua, 1315, AAug 3(1909): 177.

94 Ypma, La Formation des Professeurs, 122-123.
CHAPTER II
THE LECTOR GRATIAE

It may be hard to believe that the *Pater Noster* has been virtually ignored in studies of late medieval religion.¹ Yet in Herve Martin’s *Le métier de prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Age, 1350-1500*, there are only three references to the 'Our Father', two of which appear without further comment by Martin in fifteenth-century quotations he cites from the Franciscan Louis Peresi and the secular priest Robert Ciboule—and this in a chapter devoted to the catechetical function of sermons!² Martin by no means stands alone: neither Grundman³ nor Rapp,⁴ Vauchez⁵ nor Manselli,⁶ Gurevich⁷ nor

¹ This is especially so when one takes note of the abundant number of commentaries on the prayer listed by Morton Bloomfield: *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500 A.D., Including a Section of Incipits of Works on the Pater Noster*, ed. Morton W. Bloomfield, et al., The Medieval Academy of America. (Cambridge, 1979).


Bynum, include discussions of the place and function of the *Pater Noster* in their treatments of late medieval religion. This is not a comment on the erudition of these scholars; rather it illustrates that the theme with which we are concerned here has not been treated by the very authors who have contributed most to our understanding of religion in the later Middle Ages.

It was only shortly after the turn of the twentieth century that historians and scholars of literature began to concern themselves with the *Pater Noster*. In 1903 O. Dibelius published the first study that dealt with the 'Our Father' historically.

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9 This lacuna contrasts with the extensive literature dealing with the 'Our Father' in Biblical scholarship. See, for example, Jean Carmignac, *Recherches sur le 'Notre Pere*', (Paris, 1969), which includes a comprehensive bibliography. In this context scholars have focused on the origins of the prayer in the Hebrew and Greek traditions, and have sought to determine the primacy of the Matthean or the Lucan versions. This research was intensified after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the point that, Carmignac has remarked, "Le but essentiel de ce travail est donc d'intégrer à l'exégese du Notre Pere l'apport des manuscrits de Qumran." *Recherches*, 5. Noteworthy for our concerns here is a particular line of research within biblical scholarship on the Lord's Prayer that has sought to decipher the "Pater Noster cryptograms" found at Pompei and Budapest. See, for example, Henri Leclercq, "Croix et Crucifix," *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (DACHL)*, 3/2: 3045-3131; idem, "Oraison dominicale," *DACHL*, 12: 2244-2255; idem, "Sator-Arepo," *DACHL*, 15/1: 913-915; Jean Danielou, *Les symboles chrétiens primitifs*, (Paris, 1961); J. Carmignac, *Recherches*, 446-468. This provides evidence for a symbolic conjunction of the *Pater Noster* and the cross, an association we will meet in the relationship for Jordan between the Lord's Prayer and the Lord's Passion, (see ch. 5).

10 O. Dibelius, *Das Vaterunser. Umrisse zu einer Geschichte des Gebets in der alten und mittleren Kirche.* (Giessen, 1903). Although Dibelius' work was the first to treat the *Pater Noster* specifically, nineteenth-century works on the catechism touch on the issue: see, for example, P. Goebel, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom...*
Dibelius traced the exegetical tradition of the *Pater Noster* from Clement of Alexandria, Origin and Gregory of Nyssa through the Middle Ages and the German vernacular tradition to Luther, who, Dibelius concluded, did not know the German works dealing with the prayer. What similarities there may appear to be can be ascribed to the common patristic tradition. With his work Dibelius set the program for historical study of the *Pater Noster* that is still operative. Two lines of research have resulted, one has focused on patristic exegesis, while the other investigates the German literary tradition.

Over eighty years after Dibelius, the first comprehensive study of the *Pater Noster* in the patristic tradition appeared with the work of Klaus Schnurr. Schnurr traces the exegesis of the 'Our Father' from Tertullian's praise of the prayer as "a short summary of the entire Gospel," through Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine and Cassian, before concluding by presenting a typology of expositions of the *Pater Noster*. Schnurr identifies three basic types of expositions: catechetical, exegetical, and argumentative. The first category is closely related to baptism by setting forth the basic instruction

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*Verfalle des Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters.* (Kempten, 1880).


12 "breviarium totius evangeli," Schnurr, 7.
necessary for the new Christian to understand the fundamental doctrines of faith. The exegetical category of *Pater Noster* expositions is primarily based on the *Pater Noster* in larger scriptural commentaries, such as Augustine’s commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, and Jerome’s commentary on Matthew. The final category Schnurr defines by the boundaries of orthodoxy. This type can be distinguished from the first two by the characterization of the catechetical and exegetical types as 'exposition for', whereas the argumentative is 'exposition against'.

The historiographical treatment of the *Pater Noster* in the Middle Ages was likewise slow in coming. After the work of Dibelius it was another fifty years before the next thorough treatment of the theme, R. Rudolf’s study of the *Pater Noster* in the works of Thomas Peuntner. F. Schwab investigated David of Augsburg’s exposition of the 'Our Father', persuasively arguing for its authenticity by a literary analysis of his German works, and the scholarship reached a plateau with Bernd Adam’s monograph

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13 Among the works Schnurr includes in this category are the sermons of Augustine, Augustine’s letter *Ad Probam*, Ps-Augustine, Chromatius, Petrus Chrysologus, Ps-Quodvultdeus, Ps-Chrysostomus, Tertullian and Cyprian. Yet this typology is not author specific, and some of the works of the authors listed here belong to the other categories. *Hören und Handeln*, 277-278.

14 *Hören und Handeln*, 278-280.

15 *Hören und Handeln*, 281.


on German expositions of the *Pater Noster* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.\(^\text{18}\)

Adam traces the medieval tradition of the *Pater Noster* from the Carolingian stipulations for teaching the Lord's prayer to the people\(^\text{19}\) to late medieval German expositions for which—as did Schnurr—Adam offers a typology. Adam distinguishes not three, but four categories of expositions: the catechetical; the speculative, which is comprised of both scholastic and mystical treatments of the prayer; a group of practical treatises derived from the speculative category, but directed toward lay piety; and lastly a 'prayer group,' works in which the *Pater Noster* is treated together with other prayers.\(^\text{20}\) The focus of Adam's book is the textual tradition of the catechetical type and his work provides the foundation upon which further studies must be based. However, he has restricted himself to the vernacular tradition and the value of a typological approach reaches its limits when the Latin tradition is considered as well. Thus, for example, the *Exercitium Super Pater Noster*, edited by Barbara H. Jaye,\(^\text{21}\) bears similarities to the lost English *Pater Noster* plays; both the text and the iconography of the work present, "...a story with protagonists, action, and spectacle. These features,


\(^{19}\) See Adam, 7f.

\(^{20}\) Adam, 210-235; for a brief summary of the four types, see 214-216. Adam then proceeds to list manuscripts of expositions categorized under each of the four types.

unique among Pater noster explications, suggest the possibility of a stage."

Though it may be, the Exercitium does not fit the typologies given to date; it is evidence that when we investigate the place and function of the Pater Noster within late medieval religion we must not limit our sights to texts grouped in typologies of three or four categories, as helpful as such typologies are for precision in terminology. Typologies are useful for identifying literary genres, but when we seek the historical flesh and blood of the texts we must go beyond literary types. In turning to this endeavor we find ourselves in uncharted waters.

When we approach Jordan’s text, we find that it could be placed in the catechetical genre of expositions. Indeed, the textual parallels between Jordan’s treatise and the fifteenth-century Ciprianus spricht: der vns daz leben, suggest such a designation, and could point to an influence of Jordan’s work on later treatments.

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22 Jaye, 13.

resemblance most likely intimates the *Pater Noster* tradition in the Middle Ages rather than a specific influence of Jordan's text. Nevertheless, it indicates that Jordan's treatise should be placed within the broad category of catechetical expositions, especially as part of his *Opus Postillarum*.

Yet if we stopped our analysis here and were content to label Jordan's *Expositio* as an example of pastoral care and/or practical spirituality we would be missing the point. In their basic configuration Jordan's lectures bear close resemblance in method and form to Augustine of Ancona's lectures on Matthew;\(^{24}\) their classroom origin is sprichts du, so lüge ich, so ich bette für min schulde vnd minem schuldner nit vergen wil. Ich sprich 'nain', wann ich doch als ain gelid bin der hailigen cristenhait..."; cf. L7, 325,1-5. "Nu ist ain ander frage, war vmb wir an dem gebette sprechent "vergib vns, als wir vergeben", vnd nit in andern betten sprechen 'gib vns vnser täglich brot, als wir geben' oder 'erlöse vns, als wir erlören'. Ich sprich vnd antwurt, daz in vnserm gewalt so hant wir so vil, daz wir mögen geben, den wir gerne wolten gen, oder lösen, den wir gerne wolten lösen; da von sint wir nit allwegen gebunden ze lösende oder ze gebende, als wir sint gebunden vergebende vnsern schuldern..."; cf. L7, 321,10-322,5.

\(^{24}\) At the end of his Prologue Augustine spelled out his method: "Nunc igitur intentionis nostrae textum evangelii beati Matthei de hac incarnatione principaliter tractantem ipsam breviter et succincte exonere et postremo aliqua per modum quaestionum et dubitationem summam recolligere, ut facilius ab auditoribus capiatur, fructuosius quaeratur et fortius retineatur adiuvante ipso domino nostro Ihesu Christo, cui semper honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum Amen." *Augustinus de Ancona, Lectura super Mattheum*. München, BStB MS Clm. 8334, fol. 2va. The parallel to Jordan's method of exposition is seen as well when Augustine set forth five questions for discussion: "Secundum hoc possum esse quinque dubitationes. Prima, utrum oratio dominica sit excellenter omni alia oratione; secunda, utrum in hac oratione contineantur solum septem petitiones; tertia utrum licet oranti alia petere praeter illa, quae petenda sunt in hac orationis sine peccato; quarta utrum his septem petitionibus, quae hic ponuntur, correspondenter septem dona spiritus sancti; quinta, utrum his septem petitionibus correspondant septem beatitudines..." Ibid, fol. 81rb; cf. supra, L1.
evident and in the Berlin manuscript individual *lectiones* are occasionally noted.\(^{25}\) Jordan devoted two lectures to the Prologue of the prayer (*Pater Noster, qui es in caelis*), one to each of the seven petitions, and a final one to the conclusion (*Amen*). His method of exposition was a combination of *distinctiones* and *quaestiones*; in each lecture he distinguished the various meanings of key terms as well as raised and solved *dubia.* Jordan’s treatise was composed of academic lectures, yet lectures from the other side of the Augustinian school. In this light the catechetical nature of Jordan’s work comes into sharper focus; the theology of the *religio Augustini* was designed for both the schools and the street corners, when the distinction between the lectern and the pulpit was not so clearly drawn. This blurring of genres between the pastoral and the academic was part and parcel of the other side of the Augustinian school.

The Problem of Sources

When we shift our focal point for interpreting the theology of the Augustinians in the later Middle Ages from the Augustinian *magistri* at the universities to the other side of the Augustinian school, we are faced with a problem. When one wants to know what the Augustinian theologians at Paris or Oxford had to say about faith and reason, or God’s omnipotence, or angels and demons, one has ample material; the *Sentences* commentaries of Aegidius Romanus, Thomas of Strasburg, Gregory of Rimini, Hugolino

\(^{25}\) See, Lectio Secunda, Berlin, StB MS theol. lat. qu. 175, fol. 74rb; Lectio Quinta, fol. 79ra; and Lectio Septima, fol. 82va.
of Orvieto, or John Klenkok come to mind. When one seeks the theology taught in the *studia generalia* in Cologne, Nürnberg, or Erfurt, one runs into a dark abyss. The sources for analyzing the theology of the lectors, the theology of other side of the Augustinian school, are all but non-existent, or perhaps simply non-apparent. Prosper of Regio’s *Compendium* of theological questions discussed at Paris in the early fourteenth century comes close. Prosper’s text is an invaluable source for early Parisian theology, but does not represent actual lectures in the Order’s *studium* in Bologna.²⁶ At first sight one could be tempted to turn to John of Basel’s *Decem Responsiones*. These he prepared for his bachelor exams; they indeed represent a different level within the Augustinian system of education than is presented in commentaries on Lombard, but they are at least one step removed from what was required of a lector.²⁷ Hugolino of Orvieto’s *Physics* commentary is also a possibility, at least for the philosophy the young scholars might

²⁶ Prosper’s *In Libros Sententiarum* is extent in Vat., MS Vat. Lat. 1086. The work is a compilation of questions discussed at Paris in the early fourteenth century, rather than the text of Prosper’s own commentary; at least this seems to be the case when one finds forty-six questions on the prologue alone. See, A. Pelzer, "Prosper de Reggio Emilia des Ermites de Saint-Augustin et le manuscrit latin 1086 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane." *Revue néo-scholastique* 30(1928), 316-351, and ibidem, *Codices Vaticani Latini* II.1, (Vatican City, 1931), 654-683; Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule," 203-205.

²⁷ John’s *Decem Responsiones* have not yet been published. They are ten questions he determined in preparation for his bachelor’s degree, dealing with such varied topics as Christology, poverty, cognition, and the christian life. Twice he cited Jordan’s *Opus Postillarum*; Vienna, NB MS 4319, fol. 19r and fol. 33r.
have learned, but we cannot be sure.\textsuperscript{28} We do know that the Sentences were read in the non-university studia. We do not know, however, how the Sentences were read.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{28} See, Willigis Eckermann, 

\textsuperscript{29} We do have some indication of how the Sentences were read in the mendicant studia not associated with a university. The Franciscan Johannes de Fonte (13th/14th century) offered a summary of the Sentences in his widely circulated \textit{Conclusiones in libros Sententiarum}, (see, LThK 5:1033). The text is direct and straightforward, without commentary or explanations. Thus, for the fourth distinction of the first book, Johannes proceeded as follows: “Hic oritur distinctio quarta, quae continet tres conclusiones. Prima conclusio est quod concedendum est quod deus generit deum, et proximum unum generit. Nec tamen est concedendum quod deum generit et proximum unum generit. Secunda est quod deus pater generit deum qui non est patre. Tertia est quod fides tenet et praedicat tres personas et unum deum, unam substantiam seu essentiam seu naturam divinam.” Bamberg, StB MS Theol. 209, fol. 2r. The work is extant in 86 manuscripts; see, Stegmüller, nr. 446, 5:217, and P.V. Doucet, \textit{Commentaires sur les Sentences. Supplement au Repertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmueller}, (Quaracchi: 1954, 50). Zumkeller noted that the Augustinian Dionysius de Florentia (d. after 1443) used Johannes’ work as the model for his own \textit{Summa libri Sententiaria-Rum} (Zumkeller, Manuscripte, nr. 235, 110). Thus, Johannes began his work with: “Ad preces studentium dum essem lector in monte Pessulano et ut fratres pauperes sub compendio sententias haberent, libros sententiarum, ego frater Iohannis de fonte ordinis fratrum minorum per modum
conclusionum...quantumlibet eiusdem voluminis recollegi." Bamberg, StB MS Theol. 209, fol. 1r; Dionysius opened his work with: "Ad preces studentium, dum essem lector Bononiae, et ut fratres pauperes sub compendio summam haberent libri Sententiarum, ego frater D. de Fl. ordinis fratum heremitarum..." (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibl. MS Helmst. 269, fol. 52v; as cited by Zumkeller, Manuskripte, nr. 235, 110). Dionysius' work is very short and extant in only two manuscripts: in the Wolfenbüttel MS previously cited only fol. 52v-53v, and Bamberg, StB MS Theol. 209, fol. 199r-201r; cf. Johannes' Compendium, Bamberg, StB MS Theol. 209, fol. 1r-48r. The Bamberg manuscript of Dionysius' text only begins with the fourth book, distinction 34, c. 4. Rather than offering conclusions, Dionysius simply summarized Lombard's text. Thus the text begins: "furiosi dum sunt in amentia matrimonium contrahere non valent, distinctione 34: Copulati latine per matrimonium ex quo carnaliter sunt comixti quidquid eveni ab alteri vel ambobus sive leprosa sive furor sive in facto separari non possunt, ibidem." Bamberg, StB MS Theol. 209, fol. 199r. This text could point to a larger work of Dionysius that is not extant, depending on how one interprets the explicit, which refers to the text as excerpts from Dionysius' conclusiones: "Explicitur excerptae de conclusionibus super quattuor libros Sententiarum editae et compilatae per fratrem Dionysium de Florentina ordinis fratum heremitarum sancti Augustini." Bamberg, StB MS Theol. 209, fol. 201r; it could also be that Dionysius excerpted from Johannes' Compendium.

Similar to the work of Dionysius and Johannes are the registers of the Sentences, such as that of Theobaldus Coci de Miltenberg, OESA (d.c. 1480), extant in a single manuscript, Tübingen, UB MS Mc 327, fol. 3r-21r (Zumkeller, Manuskripte, nr. 799, 371). Theobaldus offered an alphabetical register of topics dealt with in the Sentences; thus the tabula begins: "Absolutio peccatoris a sacerdote, quals sit, libro quarto, d. xviij." Tübingen, UB MS Mc 327, fol. 3r (Zumkeller gave the foliation as 3r-23r; on fol. 21v, however, a new compendium begins: Registrum compedii theologicae iuridicae, which also proceeds alphabetically and topically, but the references are to canon law). In addition, Theobaldus offered a list of Lombard's doctrines not held by theologians ("Haec sunt opiniones magistri, quae non tenentur a doctoribus"), fol. 20v-21r. There is also a Tabula brevis et utilis super quattuor libros Sententiarum ascribed by an 18th-century hand to Petrus de Bruniquello, OESA (d. 1328), although it is questionable whether this is genuinely a work of Petrus or even if it can be dated to the 14th century, since the only extant manuscript is dated 1460 (München, BStB MS Clm. 26702, fol. 89va-94va; see, Zumkeller, Manuskripte, nr. 750, 348).

Perhaps the best indication of how the Sentences were read in the non-university studia, in addition to the work of Johannes de Fonte, are the anonymous marginals to the third and fourth books of Lombard, extant in Tübingen, UB MS Mc 327, fol. 30r-252r. Zumkeller noted: "Ob auch die reichen Randglossen zum Text der Sentenzen (f. 24-248) von Theobald stammen, bleibt zu untersuchen." Manuskripte, nr. 799, 371. It seems
There are no extant lectures on the *Sentences* given in the non-university *studia* to be compared with those of the *magistri* in order to characterize the theology of the other side of the Augustinian school.\(^{30}\) This is precisely why Jordan's *Expositio Orationis*

unlikely, however, that the marginals are from Theobaldus. Theobaldus' text is contained in two quires of different size from the rest of the codex, and the hand of Theobaldus' text is not the same hand that wrote the marginals. While this does not present conclusive proof against Theobaldus' authorship of the marginals, it distances Theobaldus' text from the marginals further than would have been the case had the same hand composed both the marginals and Theobaldus' text, or had Theobaldus' text and the marginals been originally part of the same codex. In any case, the marginals appear to have been notes made for a *lectio litteralis*. On the side margins we find simple summaries of the text, whereas on the top and bottom margins more complete commentary is given, including occasional *questiones* (e.g., fol. 86r) and *auctoritates* (e.g., fol. 33v, where the author simply cited Alexander of Hales, "Alex in secunda summa..."; the reference is to *Summa Theologica* II, tract. III, q. I (tom. II, 685a-b); for the process of composition of *Sentences* commentaries, see Marcolino, "Der Augstinertheologe," 148.

\(^{30}\) Whether the *Lectura Lectoris* represents the reading of the *Sentences* in the non-university *studia* is difficult to say. Damasus Trapp noted that: "Medieval *Lectores* who coveted a chance to go to some university wrote their *Lectura Lectoris* in such a clever way that the text-units coincided with the sexterni-units...Upon nomination to the *Baccalareatus*, and after his arrival in Paris, the aspirant *Baccalarius* would write *Additiones* to his *Lectura Lectoris* because his Parisian teaching had to take milieu and actuality into account." "Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century," 168. Only the *Lectura recollecta* would have been published. Gregory of Rimini, in whose text the various editions can be discerned, wrote his *Lectura Lectoris* in 1343-44, i.e., while at Paris, (see, Marcolino, "Der Augustinertheologe," 168-183; cf. Trapp, "Dreistufiger Editionsprozess und dreierartige Zitationsweise bei den Augustinertheologen des 14. Jahrhunderts?", Aug(L) 25(1975): 283-292; ibidem, "Gregory of Rimini Manuscripts, Editions, and Additiones," Aug(L) 8(1958): 425-443, esp. 425f), although this could have been based on an early text from his teaching as lector (Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century," 193). Thus even if the *Lectura Lectoris* of the Augustinian *magistri* could be reconstructed, it is questionable whether this text would indeed represent lectures on the level of the non-university *studia*. It should also be noted that Marcolino has shown that Gregory's *Additiones* represent an earlier version of his *Lectura*, rather than a later one, as suggested by Trapp here; see, Greg., *Sent. I*, Venicio Marcolino, "Einleitung," xiii-xcvii.
Dominicae is of such importance. We do have Biblical commentaries from other Augustinian theologians that originated as lectures in non-university studia, such as the lectures on Matthew of Augustine of Ancona which he held in the studium at Venice in 1321; but Jordan's lectures on the Pater Noster provide us with the first evidence of theological lectures in a non-university studium given by a lector who was not already a magister. As such they reveal the level of theological training within the other side of the Augustinian school perhaps as no other source.

The Expositio Orationis Dominicae does not easily yield a systematic statement of Jordan's theology. It is first and foremost an exposition of Matthew 6:9-13. The questions Jordan raised are exegetical in nature rather than designed to treat points of doctrine in systematic fashion as was the case with Sentences commentaries. In addition, Jordan did not enter into debate with fellow theologians. On the occasions when we do find such references as 'alii dicant' the point at issue is scriptural exegesis, not argument for or against a given theological position.

31 Augustine of Ancona received the magisterium at Paris in 1315. See, Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule," 201f. For Augustine's Lectura in Evangelium Matthaei, see, Zumkeller, Manuskripte, 73, nr. 133, extant in 40 mss. For Augustine's, Lectura in epistolas canonicas, see, Zumkeller, Manuskripte, 69, nr. 124, also extant in 40 mss; and regarding his Lectura in epistolas Pauli, Zumkeller, Manuskripte, 77, nr. 140. The biblical scholarship of the Order remains understudied, although the sources are plentiful; see supra, Introduction, 82f.

32 See, e.g., supra L9, 366,4-8.
there were no *socii* with whom Jordan would have to take issue.\textsuperscript{33}

Although Jordan did not present a systematic treatment of theological doctrine in his *Expositio*, central themes of his theology can be extracted from his lectures. We will draw as well from Jordan’s sermons, which offer extensive material regarding the theological themes found in his commentary on the Lord’s Prayer. The *Opus Postillarum* and *Opus Jor* in particular are rich sources for Jordan’s theology, but it is not Jordan’s theology *per se* that is the focus of our analysis; the *Expositio* remains central as the lectures given in the Erfurt *studium*. Yet the *Opus Postillarum* is a biblical commentary

\textsuperscript{33} There is evidence that lectors took part in disputations in other mendicant houses; this was the case at least for Heinricus Rietmüller de Liechstal (d. 1478), who held three quodlibetic questions in 1456, two in the Dominican house in Strassburg, and one in the Strassburg Franciscan house (see, Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, nr. 356-358, 171-172). In the previous year he also held a disputation in the Carmelite house (Zumkeller, nr. 354, 171: "...de domo et scola fratrum beatae Mariae de Monte Carmeli...", Basel, UB MS AN. IV. 13, fol. 161r). In these disputations Henry directly took on his opponents; he was explicit that he directed one of his conclusions, "...contra quodam conclusionem, quam pater meus cursor de domo et schola fratrum praedicatorum posuit in suo rutilanti principio, quae talis fuit..." Basel, UB MS AN. IV. 13, fol. 159v. We find similar statements in his *Principium et Collatio* of 1456: "Corrolarium primum: Natura non nata deum beatifice intueri sine contradictione non potest ei ypostatice uniri, quod corrolarium opponitur cuidam correlario patris mei bacalarii...", Basel, UB MS AN. IV. 13, fol. 145r; "...quod quidem corrolarium videtur directe obviare cuidam corrolario, quod pater meus bacalarius posuit in suo elegantio principio, quod tale fuit informa." Basel, UB MS AN. IV. 13, fol. 146v; "...sed verum est quod pater meus cursor suam maiorem tali defendebat medio primo pro prima parte...sed nego sibi minorem...", Basel, UB MS AN. IV. 13, fol. 147v. To determine whether such disputations were common practice, will require further research into the other side of the Augustinian school.
of sorts as much as it is a collection of model sermons,\textsuperscript{34} and Jordan incorporated his \textit{Expositio} into his \textit{Opus Postillarum}. Thus the \textit{Opus Postillarum} and \textit{Opus Jor} can be seen as representative of the same level of theology as is found in the \textit{Expositio}, and, together with the \textit{Opus Dan}, enable us to present a more complete explication of the theology contained in Jordan’s lectures.

Divine Dialectics

The theological point of departure in Jordan’s \textit{Expositio} was the doctrine of God. Jordan did not deal with the traditional scholastic questions. There is no discussion of God’s existence, ‘Being’, or knowledge. Nor is God’s sovereignty stressed, as it was by Jordan’s English contemporary Thomas Bradwardine.\textsuperscript{35} Rather, the central idea for Jordan’s doctrine of God is God as humans’ end (\textit{finis}), and as such, He is to be desired.\textsuperscript{36} The majesty and power of God are indeed recognized, for God always reigns in his kingdom and His will is always carried out, even without the petitions of

\textsuperscript{34} Jordan begin his \textit{Opus Postillarum} by stating his intent to expoit the scriptures. The readings of the Church year provide the structure and form of his exposition: "Jordanis ripas alvei sui tempore messis impleverat. Josue tertio...Intendens igitur Christo duce, secundum meae tenuitatis modulum, ad exponendum sequencias Evangeliorum dominicalium prout leguntur in Ecclesia stilum arripere pro ingressu eiusmodi negotii ad commendationem Evangeliorum apicum verba praemissa assumpsi, 'Jordanis ripas etc.'." \textit{Opus Postillarum} (ed. Strassburg 1483), Prologus (sermo 1 A).

\textsuperscript{35} Oberman, \textit{Archbishop Thomas Bradwardine}, 49-64.

\textsuperscript{36} See supra, L3, 212,7-213,1.
Christians. Yet it is not the 'hidden' God that Jordan presented in his lectures, and we find no reference to the realms of the 'powers of God' (potentia dei absoluta/ordinata); it is the revealed triune God that Jordan explicated, who is immanently present, for with respect to God's work in creation (opera ad extra) the entire trinity is involved. This is not to imply that Jordan did not distinguish between the persons of the trinity. He did indeed, and the first two lectures especially were devoted to this relationship.

Jordan treated the first phrase of the prayer as the prologue, which functions as a captatio benevolentiae whereby trust in God's ability to grant what is asked is aroused. If someone lacks this trust it is the result of the belief that God either cannot

37 In his fourth lecture, treating Adveniat regnum tuum, Jordan answers the dubia of whether or not it is in vain that we pray this petition by responding that God indeed reigns independently of our asking, but that we ask for his kingdom to come to us; see, supra, L4, 240,5-6. A similar answer is given in the following lectio regarding God's will; supra, L5, 262,2-4.

38 On this distinction, see, William J. Courtenay, Capacity and Volition. A History of the Distinction of Absolute and Ordained Power. Bergamo, 1990. In his Opus Postillarum Jordan did employ the distinction once. In discussing the question of God's entering the soul of sinners, Jordan explained: "Unde de potentia absoluta deus etiam posset salvare diabolum, sed non potest, id est, non vult de potentia ordinata in animam intrare nisi volentem." Opus Postillarum, sermo 267 G. The distinction, however, did not play a role in Jordan's theology. Rather than the dialectic of God's power, for Jordan the divine dialectic was that of God's justice and mercy.

39 L1, 173,1-4.

40 L1, 166,2-4.
grant what one asks, or is not willing.\textsuperscript{41} The phrase, \textit{Pater noster, qui es in caelis} sufficiently responds to this doubt. The first part of the phrase, \textit{Pater noster} indicates that God is the loving father, while \textit{qui es in caelis} signifies His power and majesty. Therefore, \textit{qui es in caelis} more properly refers to God because this phrase does so with respect to God himself, whereas 'Our Father' names God in relation to humans.\textsuperscript{42} Yet \textit{Pater noster}, and \textit{qui es in caelis} remain together, and thus even though the majesty and power of God are always recognized, they are not separated from the loving God.

There are three aspects to God's power which are common to all three persons of the trinity: God's infinity, God's eternity, and God's majesty.\textsuperscript{43} Jordan did not thoroughly analyze God's infinity, eternity, or majesty. Nor do we find a discussion of the relationship between God and time, as we might expect. Rather Jordan simply noted that \textit{qui} is grammatically a term that signifies infinity whereas \textit{es} signifies eternity.\textsuperscript{44} These two terms, however, in effect name God who is unnameable, and Jordan cited the response given to Moses in Exodus 3 as proof.\textsuperscript{45}

When we turn to Jordan's exposition of \textit{in caelis}, which corresponds to God's majesty, we find his doctrine of God in capsulated form. The God of majesty is God

\textsuperscript{41} \textit{L1, 166,7-8.}
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Supra, L1, 166,9-167,4; L2, 184,5-185,1.}
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Supra, L2, 184,2-4.}
\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Supra, L2, 185,1-5.}
\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Supra, L2, 186,4-187,3.}
enthroned, and one must never lose sight of this aspect of God. The term in caelis signifies the heavenly king. The divine majesty, however, is only one of five reasons God is said to be 'in heaven'.46 The second reason one says 'in heaven', which is still referring to God's power and majesty per se, is on account of the unlearned (rudes homines). In the next three reasons we see Jordan's own 'dialectic of God's omnipotence' at work, a dialectic between God's majesty and God's love. While ever aware of the divine majesty, God is said to be 'in heaven' so that humans might recognize that the heavenly father wants to have heavenly sons; so that one might pray for heavenly things; and finally so that Christians seek their inheritance in heaven.47

God, however, is not only humans' end. He is also their 'beginning', and indeed their very being. Drawing upon Thomas Aquinas without acknowledgment, Jordan explained that God is called 'Our Father' because of the three-fold being (esse) humans receive from Him: the being of nature, of grace, and of glory. In creation God gave the esse naturae; in recreation or redemption, God gives the esse gratiae; and in imparting His kingdom, humans will receive the esse gloriae.48 Thus God is praise-worthy in His creation; lovable in His redemption; and desirable in granting His Kingdom.49

46 Supra, L2, 192,1-3.
47 Supra, L2, 192,3-193,5.
48 Jordan draws from Thomas, STh II/II, 1, 8, resp; supra, L1, 167,9-168,2. Jordan relates these three 'beings' to the three 'benefits' a natural son receives from his biological father; L1, 169,1-5.
49 Supra, L1, 171,3-5.
It might seem that this three-fold exposition would lead Jordan to associate each with a specific person of the trinity. However, he used this very opportunity to stress the unity of the three persons. Jordan posed the dubium of why we do not direct the prayer to Christ since the being of the second person of the trinity is most closely related to our being because Christ also had the esse naturae. Jordan responded that the son is from the father and received from the father whatever he had, and therefore always attributed honor to the father. Further, we are indeed most closely joined to Christ and in Christ we are redeemed. We are redeemed by Christ, but whatever Christ received, he received from the father and thus human redemption originated from the father, "who, in order to redeem us, sent his son into the world." Therefore, when we say 'Our Father' we adore all three persons of the trinity with a single adoration. The terms do not refer to the persons, but to the essence of the Godhead. Because the works of the trinity ad extra are not distinguished according to persons, the entire trinity gives and works in nobis the three-fold being received from God.

In a similar manner, the words qui es are also directed to all three persons; they correspond both to the trinity as a whole and to the individual persons. Jordan argued that in the first place there is no real distinction regarding the divine essence, and the

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50 Supra, L1, 171,6-172,1.
51 Supra, L1, 172,2-7.
52 Supra, L1, 172,7-173,4.
53 Supra, L2, 189,2-3.
words 'qui es' refer to the divine essence.\textsuperscript{54} Second, each person exists \emph{per se} and therefore does not depend on any other being.\textsuperscript{55} However, the persons are 'from' something other than themselves. Here Jordan made a distinction between 'depending on another' and 'being from another'. Dependence implies imperfection, whereas 'being from another' signifies origin.\textsuperscript{56} To clarify Jordan made a further distinction between 'previous' (\emph{prior}) and 'prioriety' (\emph{prior}). None of the persons have anything previous to them, but they do have something prior in terms of prioriety, namely the father. This prioriety is not a prioriety of temporal duration and thus takes nothing away from the eternity of all three persons. It is a prioriety of origin, which can be understood in the sense of 'placed before', rather than 'existing' before.\textsuperscript{57}

Jordan's doctrine of God is not based on the Being of God, but on the works of the trinity. There is no Anselmian tension whereby the Son makes propitiation to the Father for human sin. The entire trinity works human salvation. The entire trinity is the object of the prayer, through which one recognizes not only the majesty and power of God, but also the love of God. God is the Christian's end and beginning, the Christian's being and desire.

Jordan's trinitarian theology is present throughout his exposition. In his

\textsuperscript{54} Supra, L2, 189,3-5.
\textsuperscript{55} Supra, L2, 189,5-190,1.
\textsuperscript{56} Supra, L2, 189,9-190,3.
\textsuperscript{57} Supra, L2, 190,3-6.
discussion of the various interpretations of 'our daily bread', not only do we find Christ in the bread of the eucharist, but also the present face of God in its pure divinity. The wheat bread of the sacrament is thus truly our 'daily' bread because "we are not able to survive a single moment without it."\(^{58}\) God's power and majesty ensure that the prayer is efficacious and the Christian must never forget that God is the heavenly king who always reigns 'in heaven'. Yet it is precisely this heavenly king who is also the loving father. The dialectic of God's majesty and God's love formed the nucleus of Jordan's exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and, we might add, of his entire theology. The heavens are God's habitation, but "so that the soul might become ever increasingly capable of receiving God, it is fitting that it is extended and broadened through grace and love."\(^{59}\) In effect, the human soul is expanded in order to contain the heavens which God has extended to the soul, as Jordan affirmed by citing Psalms 103:2: "[God] extending heaven just as a hide."\(^{60}\) And this 'extension' of the heavens and expansion of the soul provide us with the transition from Jordan's doctrine of God, to his doctrine of grace.

Jordon's Doctrine of Grace

When one considers the common categories used to describe a work such as Jordan's, it may be surprising to find grace as one of its leading theological themes. The

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\(^{58}\) Supra, L6, 299,4-300,4.

\(^{59}\) Supra, L2, 197,3-4.

\(^{60}\) Supra, L2, 197,5-6.
Trier manuscript of the *Expositio* notes that it is "valde solemnis". On first sight Jordan's commentary on the Lord's Prayer appears as a work of monastic piety, emphasizing the virtues and the vices. If it can be considered a 'theological' work at all, rather than one of practical spirituality, it surely should be placed within the genre of 'Frömmigkeits-theologie', which, at least in the later fifteenth century, was 'semi-pelagian'. Yet in his lectures on Matthew Jordan exhibited such a strong theology of grace that it is fitting to christen him the *Lector Gratiae*, who clearly stood in the tradition of the *Doctor Gratiae*, St. Augustine.

Jordan's theology of grace, however, is intimately intertwined with his exposition of the virtues and vices. This emphasis provides sufficient evidence to claim that Jordan is not a teacher of grace, but rather the preacher of moral perfection. Indeed, in his explication of what leads humans to their end directly and principally Jordan named merit, that is, that merit "by which we merit blessedness by obeying God." Further, it is not grace that enables one to merit blessedness, but peace. Peace is the cause of redemption, Jordan explained, "to the extent that through peace we earn the right (*meremur*) to be participants of redemption, and such peace the impious do not have."

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61 Trier StB 69/1053. As cited by Humpfner, intro. xxx.
63 Supra, L3, 214,2-5.
64 Supra, L3, 233,3-5.
We will return to Jordan’s understanding of peace and blessedness in due course, but here we must note that if one reads Jordan’s text through the lens of such statements as these, his theology of grace remains unseen. From a theological standpoint we must begin with the beginning, and this for Jordan was, as we have already seen, the extension of God’s kingdom to the soul, expanded through love and grace. The other side of the issue is therefore what is the role of human initiative? And with this question we begin our search for Jordan’s theology of grace.

Uncovering Jordan’s theology of grace is difficult because he did not directly address the precise relationship between grace and merit. The traditional scholastic terms used for explicating how humans achieve salvation are not to be found in Jordan’s lectures. He did not employ the distinction between 'half merit' (meritum de congruo) and 'full merit' (meritum de condigno), nor that between the general grace of God, or 'grace given gratuitously' (gratia gratis data) and sanctifying grace (gratia gratum faciens). Nevertheless, the relationship between God’s grace and human initiative is

65 See below, ch. 3.

66 Schulze has noted that this was the decisive question for Gregory of Rimini: "Ein entscheidender Schritt auf die Reformation zu, der Usingen zugleich mit Gregor verbinden und von Biel trennen würde, wäre die Negierung der Fähigkeiten des Menschen, aus seinen eigenen, natürlichen Kräften heraus moralisch gut zu handeln. Denn hier und nicht erst bei der Frage nach der Verdienstlichkeit eines Werkes, entscheidet sich für Gregor die Frage von Pelagianismus oder genuin augustinischer Theologie." Schulze, "Via Gregorii," 80.

clearly spelled out. Jordan did not explicitly use the scholastic term *ex puris naturalibus*, but when it comes to what humans can do on their own without grace Jordan is emphatic:

"we do not have the ability (*non valemus*) to carry out God’s will with our own powers...therefore we ask this of God so that He might give grace to us."68

In his *Expositio* Jordan did not discuss the consequences of the Fall. For the effects of Adam’s sin we must turn to the *Opus Postillarum*, where Jordan gave a detailed account of the wonderous attributes humans enjoyed in paradise.69 The state of innocence entailed humans living in the untarnished image of God and in complete obedience to God, which is Jordan’s definition of original righteousness (*iustitia*

68 Supra, L5, 261,7-262,2. In addition, the term *facere quod in se est* is not to be found in Jordan’s *Expositio*. It does appear in the *Opus Postillarum*, but not in the context of how a sinner merits grace. Rather it is used to describe the preacher who must 'do what is in him' by preaching and leave the reception of his words to his audience; see, infra. Cf. the sixth lecture, in discussing the beatitude, *esuries iustitie: “Ita ut si semper viveret, semper quantum in se est iustior esse contenderet.”* Supra, L6, 306,10. When this comment is read in conjunction with a statement in the fourth lecture, ("Et hoc donum [intellectus] deus cuilibet iusto promittit per prophetam cum dicit: *Intellectum tibi dabo et instruam in via.*"; supra, L4, 252,9-11) Jordan appears to have held a doctrine indistinguishable from the scholastic *facere quod in se est*. Yet it should be noted, that Jordan no where equates the *facere quod in se est* with the infallible infusion of grace based on God’s self-binding decree. In addition, both of these statements concern living the just life, which for Jordan was conducted on the battle field with the Devil and placed in a different realm from the *via salutis*; see below, ch. 4.

69 Jordan states that there were twelve conditions humans enjoyed in paradise: "...xii nobiles et praeclaras conditiones, in quibus homo conditus fuit, quaram sex accipiantur penes corpus et sex aliae penes animam. Prima fuit propagationis castitas...Secunda, complexionis sanitas...Tertia, iusitiae originalis integritas...Quarta, corporis et animae impassibilitas...Quinta fuit immortalitas...Sexta, loci tranquilitas...Septima fuit peccati immunitas...Octava, cognitionis perspicacitas...Nona fuit virtutum serenitas...Decima, beatitudinis securitas...Undecima, arbitrii libertas...Duodecima fuit divinae imaginis dignitas." *Opus Postillarum*, (ed. Strassburg 1483) sermo 7 B.
originalis). The will was completely free to follow God. All this harmony was lost in the Fall. Nevertheless, both the image of God and free will remained. As a consequence of sin, however, the image of God in humans is harmed and spoiled, and the free will is held captive to sin. Jordan echoed Augustine’s definition of the effects of the Fall on free will:

The free will certainly remains [after the Fall] but it is depraved and rotten because with sin came the difficulty to do the good and the propensity to do evil. With his free will before the Fall, man was able to sin and able not to sin, but after the Fall man was able to sin and not able not to sin. The image of God in the soul also remained after the Fall but afterwards it is a deformed image.70

In his seventh lecture on the Our Father Jordan stated that "someone lives in God when they live without sin."71 He had previously clarified in his first lecture when explicating Acts 17:28, "in God we live, we are moved, and we are", that 'to live in God’ refers to the esse gloriae, that is, to when one is living with God in heaven.72

70 "Duobus solum lineis ultimis adhuc vix superextantibus scilicet liberi arbitrii dotatione et divine imaginis insignitione, que duo velut due linee adhuc remanserant secundum essentiam; vulnerata tamen quo ad naturalia et spoliata quo ad gratuita. Remansit quippe liberum arbitrium sed depravatum et imminutum, quia per peccatum difficultatem recipit ad bonum et prontitatem ad malum. Prius enim homo per liberum arbitrium poterat peccare et non peccare, sed post potuit peccare et non potuit non peccare. Imago etiam dei remansit in anima post peccatum, sed quasi deformata." Opus Postillarum, (ed. Strassburg, 1484) sermo 7 B; cf. Augustinus, De Correptione et gratia 12 (PL 44,936) and De Civitate Dei 22, 30, 3 (PL 41,802) Landgraf attributed the formula posse peccare, non posse non peccare, to Hugh of St. Victore (Summa de Sacramentis Christianae Fidei 1,16 (PL 176,272); Landgraf, 102.

71 Supra, L7, 315,3-4.

72 Supra, L1, 169,5-8.
Thus directly after stating that humans live in God when they live without sin, Jordan is quick to affirm that everyone needs to pray 'forgive us our debts' because: "no man is free from sin." 73 Left to our own powers, we do not even have the smallest kernel of the bread we need daily unless God gives it to us. 74

Jordan's picture of the human condition is not pretty. The sinful soul, he affirmed in the Opus Jor, in and of itself (quantum in se est) is a daughter of Babylon, the disruptor of all nature, the abuser of all creation, of the scriptures and of all grace. 75 Humans are captive to sin and on their own can only ask for God's grace. "By ourselves we are weak and fragile," Jordan lamented in his Meditationes de Passione Christi, "and devoid of all good, unless we are held by the right hand of God." 76 Never certain of his own righteousness, one must "never think himself to be safe from the Devil...man

73 Supra, L7, 316,2-4.

74 Supra, L6, 284,8-9.

75 "Significanter autem anima peccatrix dicitur filia babilonis et confusionis, quia ipsa est aeterna confusione digna, qui totum ordinem divinae dispositionis deordinavit. Peccator enim quantum in se est deordinatio est omnium naturarum. Est enim abusor omnium creaturarum, omnium scripturarum, omnium gratiarum, contemnunt etiam per peccatum consortium divinarum personarum et ideo omnium deordinator ex verbis merito filia babilonis, id est, confusionis appellatur." Opus Jor, sermo 84, fol. 152 rb. Cf. Supra, Introduction, 122, n. 313. Jordan’s statement here, that quantum in se est the sinner is the corruptor of all nature places the facere quod in se est elements in their proper context.

76 "nos ex nobis esse infirmos et fragiles, ac omni bono vacuos, nisi dextera dei nos manu teneat." Art. 34, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 23va.
is wretched and fragile, certain of nothing except the death of Christ alone."

"nunquam...se putet securus de diabolo...homo miser et fragilis, certe de nullo nisi solum de morte Christi." Art. 62, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 39vb. Jordan's emphasis on the efficacy of Christ's death is seen in his view of confession and penance as well, themes not stressed explicitly in the Expositio. In the Opus Jor Jordan was uncompromising: "Audi, si toto corde dolores de peccato, si sanguineas lacrimas funderes, nisi habeas propositum confitendi nunquam invenies gratiam." Opus Jor, sermo 96, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 170rb. Indeed, the meritoriousness of penance seems to take precedence: "...quod summe utile est peccatori est mundatio per poenitentiam. Haec mundatio est ita utilis quod in quinque milibus annorum et trecentis, nunquam peccator magnus meruit regnum caelorum sine poenitentiale mundatione; nec umquam merebitur quam diu mundus stat, nisi fuerit mundatus per poenitentiam. Dicat Apostolus si linguis hominum Loquar et angelorum [I Cor. 13,1] quasi dicit, si per doctrinam converteres homines quantum fuerunt ab initio mundi vel quod sunt stellae caeli et si te ipsum per poenitentiam non mundaveris, factus es velut es sonans tampona enim ad utilitatem hominum serviens pulsando se ipsam consumit. Sequitur si habuero omnem scientiam [I Cor. 13,2] quasi dicit, si per tuam scientiam et tuis discretis consiliis omnes reges mundi vel prinipes immo totus mundus pacifice dirigerentur et te per poenitentiam non rueris, nihil proficies. Sequitur, si habuero omnem fidem [I Cor. 13,2] ita quod trahas omnes iudeos, hereticos et paganos ad fidem, si in peccato mortali es, nihil proferis ad salutem vitae aeternae....item, dico quod...si in peccato mortali discedis, si omnes sancti in caelo cum omnibus angelis prostrati ante deum sanguineas funderent lacrimas ante pedes Ihesu usque in diem novissimum orantes pro te, non flecterent misericordiam dei...Item, si Maria veniret ad te in persona propria et dulcisima allocuta te manu propria tibi daret corpus sui dulcissimi filii quod tamen esset utque supra modum omnium hominum solacium, dico tibi si peccator es, plus valet tibi una bona confession quam omnia illa beneficia inpsensa a virgine Maria; nec mirum cum pius Ihesus inde in persona propria dederit dilectissimum corpus suum nec tamen propter hoc fuerit salvatus qui fuit in peccato mortali. Item dico si morieris in sinu matris Mariae cum peccata mortali, potestas tamen daemonium omnium prevaleret in te; quod patet in latrone perverso, qui moriebatur iuxta latus Ihesu." Opus Jor, sermo 90, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 160rb-vb. This passage takes on even greater force when compared with Jordan's great estimation of Mary: "Ita ipsa [Maria] lapsum Evae per suam constantiam reparavit et totam naturam femineam super omnis hominis nobilitavit, reddens eam fortiori viris fortissimis a deo singulariter electis. Quod patet per hoc quod natura feminea est per naturam fluida et instabilis; est ad concupiscendum declivis et est in sensu prudentia exilis et debilis. Sed istas tres conditiones beata virgo a sexu femineo totaliter removit et ideo ipsam mirabiliter super omnes homines nobilitavit, quod patet." Opus Jor, sermo 137, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 225vb. Mary marks the limits of God's omnipotence: "...quia deus sua omnipotentia maiorem vel dignorem [matrem]
The flesh is the 'ass of the soul', as Jordan defined it in the *Opus Postillarum*, and human nature is beastly: "for just as certain men are as beasts and are extraordinarily evil, namely falling below the level of humanity (*citra modum hominum*), so even are other men as divine beings and live beyond the human condition (*super hominem*)."

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78 "Nam in nostro corpore idem sunt asinus et servus. Caro siquidem nostra quid est aliud quam asina animae?" *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 437 A.

79 "Nam sicut quidam homines sunt quasi bestiae et supermali videlicet citra modum hominum, sic etiam aliqui homines sunt quasi divini et super hominem" *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 439, *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitii*, De humanis virtutibus G. Jordan clarified that such a 'super virtue' is such: "...non quod sit supra potestatem humanam, sed quia est supra id, quod communiter in hominibus inventur." Ibid. In the Berlin MS of the *Opus Postillarum* some of the material comprising Jordan's *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitii*, i.e., sermons 439-441 of the Strassburg 1483 edition, was placed within sermons 437 and 438. Sermones 439-441 were omitted from the Berlin MS, which breaks off the *Opus Postillarum* in the middle of sermo 438 (Berlin StB, MS theol. fol. 133, fol. 186v; folio 187r to 217 contain a seemingly random collection of various material, which remains to be determined whether they come from Jordan's pen), which actually is from the section "De Iustitia" of the *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitii*, sermo 440 of the Strassburg edition. The text cited in the Berlin MS reads slightly differently: "Nam sicut quidem homines sunt quasi bestiae et semper mali videlicet circa modum hominum, sic aliquis homines sunt quasi divini et semper boni ultra modum humanum." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 437, Berlin StB, MS theol. fol. 133, fol. 184ra. Cf. Antonius Rampegolus' view of the *religiosi*, Eric Saak, "The *Figurae Bibliorum* of Antonius
It is not the *citra*, but the *super* that should be emphasized here. For Jordan, unless one lives 'beyond onself' one is truly beastly for on one's own one lives according to the 'ass of the soul'. What enables humans to live 'beyond themselves', what enables them to do something other than wallow in sin, is God expanding the soul and extending the heavens through love and grace. It is only by grace that humans have their being in the first place—the *esse naturae* and the *esse gratiae*—and grace is part of God's love *pro nobis*. It is so not as something earned; left on one's own, one can only sin. Thus, we must ask, what is Jordan's understanding of 'grace'? How does it 'work'?

Grace Given Gratuitously

In his penultimate lecture Jordan defined grace. Grace, he explained, "is a habit perfecting the essence of the soul by purging the sickness of guilt and by elevating the soul to a certain supernatural state of being." In other words, grace, for Jordan, is infused in the soul by God. In traditional scholastic terminology this infused grace was the *gratia gratum faciens*. Jordan's *confrerret*, Thomas of Strassburg distinguished *gratia gratis data* from *gratia gratum faciens* precisely in this manner. *Gratia gratum faciens* is infused, sacramental grace. Echoing Jordan, Thomas clarified that *gratia gratum faciens*

80 Supra, L9, 383,6-7; cf. Landgraf, 158.

81 "...quod prout communiter distinguitur duplex est gratia. Una, que dicitur gratum faciens; alia non gratum faciens, quamvis sit gratis data. De prima procedit praeans inquisitio: quia tam gratia sacramentorum, quam gratia virtutum, loquendo de infusis
faciens "perfects the essence of the soul." That Jordan was referring to infused sacramental grace in his definition, or at least that he intended to encompass such grace, is seen in his sixth lecture when discussing the various interpretations of 'our daily bread'. He first explained that the 'daily bread' of the Lucan version (panem cottidianum) is identical with the 'added bread of substance' (panem supersubstantialem) of Matthew, and then proceeded to interpret 'our daily bread' as doctrinal bread, sacramental bread, and celestial bread. Doctrinal bread, or the 'bread of understanding' (panis doctrinalis vel sit panis intelligentiae) is called supersubstantialis "because it is a special addition added to the substance of our soul, informing it with noble habits, namely, with holy virtues and spiritual gifts." Further, by partaking of the eucharistic bread one is united with God, wherefore "it is called the sacrament of unity." The 'heavenly bread' is the bread of glory received in beatitude. These three 'breads' are thus related to the three-fold being humans receive from God and at least the first two

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82 "Et haec, scilicet gratia gratum faciens potest dupliciter considerati. Uno modo secundum suam essentiam. Alio modo secundum redundantiam. Primo modo, perficit essentiam animae. Secundo modo, perficit potentias animae." Ibid.

83 Supra, L6, 283,10-284,1.

84 Supra, L6, 291,3-5.

85 Supra, L6, 293,4-6.

86 Supra, L6, 295,3-6.
are virtually identical with Jordan's definition of grace as the perfecting of our soul, i.e.,
the infusion of virtues, leading to a supernatural state of being, i.e., union with God.
Based on Jordan's only definition of grace, therefore, it would seem that essentially all
grace is gratia infusa, which was traditionally considered to be gratia gratum faciens.

When we turn to Jordan's Opus Postillarum we find further clarification, or at
least, additional information. For Jordan, gratia infusa is not gratia gratum faciens, but
rather gratia gratis data. In discussing the goods of grace (de bonis gratiae) that humans
receive from God, Jordan explained that:

some are acquired, such as knowledge, prudence, justice, fortitude,
temperance, and the other moral virtues, which, although they are
acquired through human effort, nevertheless are not acquired without
grace, for what do you have that you have not received? Other goods of
grace are infused, such as faith, hope, love and grace given gratuitously
(gratie gratis date).¹

For Jordan infused grace is gratia gratis data.

This seems confirmed when in the same sermon Jordan equated the 'goods' that
humans have from God with the feudal relationship between a lord and vassal; one's
goods are not one's own possessions (propria), humans are simply administrators who
must make good use of the goods they hold for their Lord:

We owe stewardship of those goods conceded to us, for God did not give
us those goods which we have from Him on account of our merits, or so

¹ "De bonis gratiae...quaedam sunt acquisita sicut scientia, prudentia, iusticia,
fortitudo, temperantia et ceterae virtutes morales, quae quamvis sint humano studio
acquisita, nequaquam tamen absque dei gratia acquiruntur: quid enim habes quod non
acceptisti? 1 Corinthiorum 4 [1 Cor. 4,7]; quaedam infunduntur a deo, ut fides, spes,
caritas, et gratiae gratis datae." Opus Postillarum, sermo 436 C.
to say, on account of our beautiful hair, but on account of His own goodness and for His service. For example: Princes and lords concede some goods to their men in the feudal pact so that their men might be able to do some services for them or might pay a certain debt from them. Therefore, the goods which we hold from God are not to be considered given to us from God as our own, but rather for our use so that we might be administrators and stewards of them, rather than our own lords."  

All goods that one possesses, even those infused in the soul, cannot be called one's own. Christians are merely administrators of the goods given gratis.  

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88 "...debemus pensionem deo de bonis nobis concessis. Non enim deus dedit nobis bona illa, quae habemus ab eo, propter nostra merita vel secundum modum loquendi, propter nostros pulchros capillos, sed propter suam bonitatem et ad suum servitium. Exemplum de principibus et dominis qui hominibus [suis] concedunt alia bona in foedum ut de ipsis faciant ei cetera servitia vel certam pensionem de eis solvant. Igitur bona, quae tenemus a deo, non reputemus nobis data [a deo] ut propria sed tamquam ad usum concessa ut eorum simus administratores et dispensatores potius quam domini." Opus Postillarum, sermo 436 A. The bracketed text represents text extant in the Berlin MS, not present in the Strassburg edition; see, Berlin StB, MS theol. fol. 133 fol. 178ra-b. Similar statements were made by the Augustinians Hermann von Schildesche, Johannes Zachariae, and Johannes von Dorsten. See Zumkeller, Erbsünde, 289, 378. Jordan's use of the phrase modus loquendi should be noted. Grane argued that modus loquendi theologicus or Apostoli was the formulation Luther used in particular, beginning with the Romans commentary, in distinction to the modus metaphysicus seu moralis of scholastic theology; see, Grane, Modus Loquendi, 16, 158. Modus loquendi theologicus points to the inseparability of the form and content of Luther's Pauline theology (16, 183). Grane did not discuss the broader modus loquendi tradition (in this respect, see, Oberman, Werden und Wertung, 127-140, and 140, n. 197); not only Jordan, but also Gregory of Rimini employed the formula (see, Greg., Sent. Prol. q. 5, art. 4; tom. 1:181,1-10). Hence, Luther's appropriation of the modus loquendi could be part of the Augustinian tradition. In any case, further research into the uses of modus loquendi in the later Middle Ages is called for to place Luther's use of the term within the historical context.  

89 Cf. the Opus Jor Jordan, where Jordan presents a hymn of sorts to the goods God has given humans: "Vide admirabilem providiam dei nostri; dederat enim homini visum, audium, gustum, odoratum et tactum etc. Attende ergo quod genera colorum nunc alborum nunc nigrorum nunc mediorum tibi dederit per visum. Vide quod consonantias vocum, quod voces omnium modulantium, quod genera musicorum instrumentorum, quod etiam genera cantilenarum tibi dederit propter auditum. Vide quod
is gratia gratis data.

genera odorum, quod genera herbarum et plurum et genera specierum et aliorum odorabilium corporum tibi dederit propter olefactum. Vide quod genera saporum, quod genera carnium, quod genera piscium, quod genera fructuum, quod genera blandorum, quod genera vinorum, quod genera olerum tibi dedit propter gustum. Vide genera liquidorum et aridorum, quod genera calidorum et frigidorum, quod genera vestimentorum tibi data sunt propter tactum. Si enim ista et alia plurima, quae dimitto, diligenter considerantur, valde admirabilis dominus noster....Tertio, o homo, si tibi non sufficiunt quod tibi paravit bona naturae et fortunae, saltem attende quia tibi paravit bona gratiae ex quo a te valde est diligendus quia hoc bonum non est bonum ventris sed mentis. Dederat enim deus humanae animae potentiam cognitivam, qua posset universam cognoscere; dederat potentiam amativam, qua posset per amorem suo precipio adherere; dederat enim et operativam, qua posset regi servire. Attendite igitur, o homo, quod genera dederit scientiarum, contemplatvarum, activarum sive naturalium et moralium propter intellectivam. Attendite quod genera tibi dederit gratiarum virtutum et donorum beatitudinem et fructum spiritualium propter potentiam affectivam. Attendite nihilominus homo quod genera dederit praecorporum, consiliorum et exemplorum, promissionum et comminationum propter operativam; et si ista tibi paucia videntur, attende quale grattiam tibi fecit dominus dum se ipsum in pretium tibi dedit in patibulo cruci et in cibum tibi se tradidit in sacramento altaris....Attendite ergo ex parte corporis, quod tibi dona paravit. Nam ibi visus, qui nunc pascitur coloribus vanis, illam regionem luminosam videbit, quae experientia [?] luce consistit. Si sol unus sic mundum illuminat, cogita quam luminosa est illa regio, quae ex sua natura ex luce purissima, ubi in mirabilis corpora supra solem splendentia, ubi Christus humanitas illuminatus universa et ubi insuper divina essentia super haec omnia radiat in virtute. Si ergo propter hoc ultimum ocultus super omnia iam dicta intuebitur, item si cantus avium, si cantilenae homini nunc dilectant auditum, quid erit omnium sanctorum audire contentum deum laudandum? Quid officium ubi erit, ubi odor inestimabilis, quid gustu dulcedinis dulcius delectabili, quid tactui ubi summa mollicies erit, quid toto corpore cuius erit tanta claritas ut supra solem resplendeat, tanta agilitas ut in modico totum mundum pertranseat et ubicunque volet se statim inveniet, tanta virtuositas sive subtillitas ut omne corpus quantumcumque solidum penetrare valeat, tanta etiam impassibilitas ut nulli passione subiaceant?...Ad haec igitur bona, ab eterna homini preparata, invitabit deus in die ultima quando dicet Matthei 25: Venite ecce ab omni malo separato benedictio patris mei [Math. 25,34]. Ecce summum horum collatio, quod nobis paratum est ab origine mundi. Ecce aeterna praedestinatio, quae nihil alius est quam preparatio gratiae in presenti et gloriae in futuro....Ergo, karissimi, qui vult effugere mala poenae, studeat deum agnoscere ex bonis naturae, studeat cognoscere et admirari ex bonis fortunae, studeat cognoscere et adimitari et amare ex bonis gratiae, ut per hoc possit in fine pertingere ad bona gloriae." Opus Jor, sermo 240, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 373ra-374va.
Jordan’s view of grace as the gifts Christian’s hold from their Lord is the theological expression of the *usus pauper*. As an Augustinian, Jordan did not hold to the Franciscan understanding of ‘poor use’. And yet there is an *usus pauper* of sorts in the Augustinians’ view of poverty regarding the relationship not between the Pope and the Order, but rather between the Prior and the *fratres*. Upon entering the Order the friar was to remit all his worldly possessions to the prior. The prior could then concede to the friar the use of goods according to his needs. The prior played the role of the lord in distributing to the brothers the needed goods to be used. This is an elaboration of the Rule, where Augustine affirms that when one recognizes the observance of the Rule one should give thanks to God, who is the "giver of all goods." The economy of grace in the Augustinian cloister became translated by Jordan into his theology of


91 "Oportet igitur secundum tenorem Regulae, si reditus alicui personae Ordinis conferantur vel comparentur, ut in rem communem redigantur sic, quod conventui approprientur et instrumenta super eis edenda in personis Prioris et conventui formentur et quod proventus nomine conventur exigantur et recipiantur...Et cum recepti fuerint, sit in potestate Superioris fratri illi conferre ad usum suum." VF 3,9 (352,58-64).

92 "Praelatus autem tamquam zelator salutis subditorum resignationem illum acceptet et tunc sicut pius pater necessitati fratris provideat concedendo sibi custodiam et usum earundum rerum in toto vel in parte, prout salutis et indigentiae fratris viderit expedire. Quarum rerum usum ipse frater quasi de manu Domini gratanter accipiat...," VF 3, 13 (376,140-145).

grace, whereby the Christian receives goods from the Lord not as possessions, but simply to be used for serving the Lord. All the Christian possesses he or she possesses not as property, but in terms of a 'poor use'; God retains the title, but concedes the use of the goods and graces that He gives by means of the gratia gratis data.

Why Jordan interpreted all grace as gratia gratis data is impossible to say for certain. Either, it seems, he did not understand the distinction, or was simply unaware of it, or he chose to ignore it, or perhaps he consciously reinterpreted gratia gratum faciens as gratia gratis data. Given Jordan's training the first two solutions seem unlikely. In addition, there is sufficient evidence to suggest the third, or even indeed the fourth answer.

We must remember that Jordan was giving lectures on Matthew in the Augustianian studium in Erfurt. These lectures were prerequisite to university study and thus were intended to inculcate 'basic' theological instruction. This included reading the Sentences. The gratia gratum faciens is not found in the text of Lombard. In book two, distinctions 26 and 27 Lombard discussed grace and here we do find gratia gratis data.94 It is most plausible that Jordan desired not to introduce terms in his Biblical lectures not found in the Sentences, and thus avoided the distinction between gratia gratis

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94 "Cum ergo ex gratia dicuntur esse bona merita et incipere, aut intelligitur gratia gratis dans, id est Deus, vel potius gratia gratis data, quae voluntatem hominis praevenit: non enim magnum esset si haec a Deo dicerent esse, a quo sunt omnia. Sed potius eius gratia gratis data intelligitur, ex qua incipiunt bona merita, quae cum ex sola gratia esse dicantur, non excluditur liberum arbitrium, quia nullum est meritum in homine, quod non sit per liberum arbitrium." Lombardus 2, dist. 27, c. 7.
data and gratia gratum faciens.

It also should be noted that Aegidius Romanus defined gratia gratum faciens not in distinction to gratia gratis data, but as an additional mode of grace. Gratia gratum faciens is indeed also gratia gratis data, but it is an addition.95 Further, Aegidius distinguished three ways of understanding grace: in a general sense, in a narrower general sense, and in a special sense. Gratia gratum faciens is this special sense.96 The narrower general sense of grace, as the most general sense, is gratia gratis data. This narrower general sense includes not only those things necessary for salvation, but also those things necessary to what is necessary for salvation.97 This includes, for example, preaching to and prayers for both the boni and the mali. In other words, those graces

95 "Gratia ergo gratum faciens condividitur contra gratiam gratis datam. Non quod huiusmodi gratia non sit gratis data: quod est gratis data, est etiam gratum faciens...Malos ergo non habentes gratiam gratum facientem: dato quod habeant multas gratias gratis datas, diliget deus secundum quod ista bona commutabilia sunt bona secundum quid: sed habentes gratiam gratum facientem, dicit deus diligere simpliciter, qui tales sunt digni deo, qui non est bonum secundum quid, sed simpliciter. Dividitur ergo gratia gratum faciens a gratias gratis datis sicut simpliciter dividitur a secundum quid, quia omnia alia bona sunt, sunt secundum quid: sed habentes gratiam gratum facientem sunt digni deo, qui est bonum simpliciter, respectu cuius omnia alia sunt secundum quid." Aegidius Romanus, 2 Sent. dist. 26, q. 2 art. 2 (ed. Venice, 1581, 328, col. Ib-d).

96 "Propter primum sciedendum quod gratia tripliciter potest accipi, vel omnino generaliter, vel minus generaliter, vel omnino specialiter...Tertio modo potest accipi gratia omnino specialiter: et sic sola gratia gratum faciens dicitur huiusmodi gratia." Ibid, 327 col Ia-IId. Gabriel Biel posited the same three-fold understanding of grace, in which Oberman saw a "lack of clarity"; see, Oberman, Harvest, 136f.

97 "Possunt etiam accipi huiusmodi gratiae non solum, quia sunt in rebus salvandis, vel ordinatis ad salutem, sed etiam ex ordine huiusmodi rerum." Ibid. 327, col. Iib.
that serve the church are graces *gratia gratis data*.\(^98\)

Jordan's lectures were intended not only for future theologians of the Order who would have time to debate the finer distinctions between the various understandings of grace, but also for the preachers of the order. Given Aegidius' discussion of the grace for the church as *gratia gratis data*, it is certainly plausible that Jordan had this definition in mind. His lectures had the practical purpose of teaching the doctrine of grace that would be appropriate and applicable for his audience and this, following Aegidius, was grace, all grace, as *gratia gratis data*.

Further, the question to which Aegidius devotes as much or even greater attention than that concerning the distinction between *gratia gratis data* and *gratia gratum faciens*, is the distinction between *gratia operans* and *gratia cooperans*, which is also found in Lombard. Lombard defined operating grace as the grace that "prepares the will of man so that it might will the good." Cooperating grace is 'helping' grace that aids the will so that it does not will the good in vain.\(^99\) These two graces, however, are actually one

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98 "Ordinavit enim deus propter salutem nostram praedicationes bonis, et malis. Praecepit etiam, ut oramus non solum pro amicis, sed pro inimicis nostris, quae omnia sunt quaedam gratiae, quas deus ordinavit ad salutem nostram. Omnia ergo huiusmodi sunt gratiae gratis datae, cum fiant praedicationes bonis et malis, et fiant orationes pro utrisque, et fiant multa alia, secundum quod ordinavit deus ad utilitatem ecclesiae...Hoc ergo modo gratia est accepta minus generaliter, quam prius. Nam secundum primum modum ipsa naturalia dicebantur quaedam gratiae, sed secundum hunc modum solum ea, quae sunt superaddita naturae, et ad quae non possumus per naturam, dicuntur gratiae." Ibid, 327, col. IIb-c.

99 "Haec est gratia operans et cooperans; operans enim gratia praeparat hominis voluntatem, ut velit bonum; gratia cooperans adiuvat, ne frustra velit." Lombardus 2 Sent. d. 26, c. 1. Cf. 2 Sent. d. 27, c. 1.
grace that both operates and cooperates. They are distinguished by their effects, not as
different types of grace.\footnote{100}{"Quibusdam non irrationabiliter videtur, quod una et eadem sit gratia, idem
donum, eadem virtus, quae operatur et cooperatur, sed propter diversos eius effectus
dicitur operans et cooperans." Lombardus 2 Sent. d. 27, c. 1.}

Aegidius distinguished between operating and cooperating grace not by discussing
to what extent they are one or two graces, but rather by how they function. Works of
grace come from God and from humans, and yet all grace comes from God. In a certain
way (\textit{aliquo modo}) works of grace are from God, and in another way (\textit{aliquo modo}) they
are from individuals.\footnote{101}{"Propter quod sciendum, quod opera gratiae dici possunt esse a nobis, et a Deo;
et dici possunt esse totalliter a Deo, cum omnia sint a Deo; et possumus dicere, quod
aliquo modo sunt a Deo, et aliquo modo a nobis." Aegidius Romanus, 2 Sent. dist. 26,
q. 2, art. 3 (ed. Venice, 1581, 329, col. Ib).} Aegidius then proceeded to explain this \textit{aliquo modo} by
making the distinction between prior (\textit{prius}) and posterior (\textit{posterius}). This is needed
because Scripture states both that God converts us first and then we convert to God, and
that first we must convert before God converts to us.\footnote{102}{"Omnibus
enim his modis utitur scriptura sacra. Nam quod a deo sint secundum
prioritatem: a nobis autem secundum posteritatem, habetur Tren. ult. ubi dicitur:
\textit{Converte nos Domine ad te, et convertemur ad te} [Tren. 5,21]. Prius ergo deus nos
convertit ad se et postea nos convertimur ad ipsum: sed contrarium videtur quod dicitur
Iacobi 1: \textit{Convertimini ad me} ait Dominus exercituum, \textit{et convertar ad vos}, dicit
Dominus [Iac. 4,8]. Hoc enim videtur dicere scriptura, quod prius nos convertimur ad
dominum, et postea ipse convertitur ad nos, convertendo nos." Aegidius Romanus, 2
Sent. dist. 26, q. 2, art. 3 (ed. Venice, 1588, 329, col. Ib).}
progression from the imperfect to the perfect. In this light, the priority of works that comes from humans is indeed prior but is therefore also imperfect. That which is posterior is the perfection of the works and this comes from God.\textsuperscript{103} Second, priority can be interpreted as that which is principle and works principally, whereas posterior is instrumental. Thus works are principally attributed to God, and instrumentally attributed to individuals.\textsuperscript{104} And this is the distinction between operating and cooperating grace.\textsuperscript{105}

In light of Aegidius’ treatment we can recognize that Jordan acknowledged an operating and cooperating grace. In addition, this distinction may be the key for understanding his statement that we merit blessedness. In his second lecture Jordan claimed that what leads humans to their end directly and principally is the merit by which

\textsuperscript{103} "Ad quod dici potest, quod prius et posterius in opere dupliciter considerari possunt, quia aliquando prioritas dicit imperfectionem: posterioritas, perfectionem; quia res naturaliter vadunt de imperfecto ad perfectum. Et secundum hoc potest continere, quod prioritas operis propter imperfectionem attribuatur nobis: posterioritas vero propter perfectionem attribuatur deo." Ibid, 329, col. Ic.


\textsuperscript{105} "Potest dici, quod nos inchoamus illud opus operando instrumentaliter et imperfecte: et deus cooperatur perficiendo illud opus principaliter et perfecte. Et quia quod nos inchoamus opus pertinens ad salutem nostram, habemus hoc a deo, refertur totum ad deum. Erit ergo inchoatio operis gratia operans et consummatio, gratia cooperans." Ibid, 329, col. IIc.
one merits blessedness by being obedient to God. Yet this is only one way to understand how humans are lead to their end. The other way, Jordan explained, is that humans are lead to their end instrumentally, "as if being helped to merit."\footnote{Supra, L3,214,3-8.} For Jordan what cooperates with humans to merit (coadiuvans nos ad merendum) does so instrumentally, which was Aegidius' definition of cooperating grace. The merit by which one merits blessedness, is that which leads one to one's end directly and principally (principaliter), which Aegidius defined as operating grace. In other words, the merit of blessedness, is actually operative grace, which is in keeping with Jordan's emphasis that humans possess no good works of their own, but that they hold them of their Lord. Jordan's merit is the work of operative grace, which is attributed to God alone.\footnote{The concept, even though not the precise terms, of operative and cooperative grace is clearly expressed in Jordan's Opus Jor. Here Jordan distinguished between grace as an habitual gift and grace as the auxilium dei. The auxilium dei preceeds the cooperation of the will, which then leads to the infusion of habitual grace: "...quinde praeparatoria ad gratiam, in quibus se quis disponit ut liberum arbitrium a deo moveatur. Quae quidem praeparatoria designantur in quinque, quae Pauli conversionem et illuminationem praecesserunt. Primum est recognitio proprie fragilitatis, quod notatur in eo quod Paulus in terram fuit prostratus [Act.9,4]. Terra enim est vilissimum elementorum. Unde in terram prostratio designat recognitionem proprie fragilitatis vel vilitatis. Secundum, verbum dei libens et diligens audiet. Unde de Paulo subditur, audivit vocem dicentis [Act. 9,4]. Et certe homo debet libenter audire verbum dei non solum verbum exterius per vocem praedicationis emissum, sed etiam verbum dei, quo ipse animae intrinsecus loquitor per occultos instinctus et monitiones. Tertio, dei timor....Quartum, conversio liberi arbitrii ad deum, ut cor paratum quantum in se est deo exhibeat ad gratiam suscipiendam, quasi dicat, cum Psalm: Paratum cor meum dominus etc. [Ps.] Sic fecit Paulus cum dicebat, domine quid me vis facere? Quintum est intrare in se ipsam per recollationem sui...Hic cadunt duae quaestiones. Prima, utrum homo possit se preparare ad gratiam sine gratia. Secunda, utrum ex necessitate detur gratia se preparanti ad gratiam. Ad primam respondeo, quod gratia dicitur duplex: uno modo,
ipsum habitualem donum infusum animae a deo; secundo modo dicitur gratia auxilium dei moventis animam ad bonum. Primo modo accipiendo gratiam praeexigitur aliqua preparatio ad eam, quia nulla forma introduci potest nisi in materia disposita. Et haec praeparatio paulatim, quandoque fit subito, quia ut dicitur Ecclesiastici 1, facile est in oculis dei honestare pauperem. Et in hanc preparationem non potest homo sine gratia, secundo modo dicta. Sed ad istam secundo modo dictam non requiritur aliqua praeparatio ex parte hominis quasi praeveniens divinum auxilium, scilicet potius quae cumque praeperatio in homine esse potest, est auxilio dei moventis animam ad bonum. Dicitur ergo homo se praepeare ad gratiam, scilicet habitualem in quantum moveetur eius liberum arbitrium a deo per gratiam praevenientem, quae non dicitur donum sed dei auxilium movens animam ad hec praeparatoria. Et sic intelligitur illud Proverbiorum 16, *hominis est preparare animam* [Prov. 16,1]. Et illud Ps. *Egressus hominis a deo*. Digentur haec itaque duplex gratia prope signata est in Pauli conversione. Nam antequam omnia praedicta quinque circa eum acciderent, dicitur ibi quod *circumfulsit eum lux de caelo* [Act. 9,3]. Per hanc lucem intelligo gratiam illam praevenientem, quae signifiicantur dicitur eum circumfulsisse vel in eum infusam fuisse, quia tibi gratia non est donum habituale infusum ut dictum est, sed est quasi intrinsecus ad bonum excitans. Contempleris autem his quinque de Paulo; subditur, quod Ananias venit ad eum dicens: *Saule frater, dominus Ihesus Christus misit me etc.* ut videas et impiearis spiritu sancto [Act.9,17]. Haec spirutus sanctus impletio designat gratiam habitualem. Haec enim non circumfulget, sed implet. Ad secundam quaestionem respondeo: quod praeparatio hominis ad gratiam potest considerari dupliciter. Uno modo ut a libero arbitrio et sic nullam neccessitatem habet ad gratiae consecutionem, quia donum gratiae excedit omnem praeparationem virtutis humanae. Alio modo potest considerari secundum quod est a deo movente et tunc habet neccessitatem ad illud ad quod ordinatur a deo, non quidem coactionis sed infallibilitatis, quia intentio dei deficere non potest. Unde Johannis 6: *Qui audit a patre mea et didicit, venit ad me* [Ioh. 6,45]. Sequitur secundum scilicet motus divina per gratiam; hoc signifiicatur perg angelum qui movebat aquam. Hic motus dicitur fuisse vel propter sacrificia, quae in illa piscina ablueabantur vel propter lignum cruces quod in ea dicitur iacuisse a tempore Salomonis usque ad tempus Christi et tunc inceptit super naturae; sed certum est quod angelus fecit tale motum et ex illa aqua vim sanativam habuerit. Signat autem iste motus aquae motum illum, quo deus movebatur liberum arbitrium per gratiam. Unde sicut aqua ille ex se non habet vim illum sed ex motu angeli, sic actus liberis arbitrii ex se vim merendi non habet, sed movente per gratiam ut dictum est. *"Opus Jor*, sermo 99, Vat., MS Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 173rb-174ra. Cf.: "Sed an ista praeparatoria praeveniant gratiam et an ista possimus sine gratia, dicendum quod gratia dicitur dupliciter. Uno modo dicitur habitualem donum, quod est principium operis meritorii. Alio modo dicitur gratia auxilium gratuitum dei interius animam moventis sine bonum propositum inspirantis. Primo modo non oportet praesupponere aliquod aliud donum habitale in anima quia sic procederetur
If Aegidius' discussion of operative and cooperative grace lay behind Jordan's distinction between merit *principaliter* and *instrumentaliter*, and we do know that Jordan had at least seen Aegidius' commentary,¹⁰⁸ not only can we understand his statement that one merits blessedness in light of his clear emphasis on the complete dependency on God, but we also see that with the distinction between cooperating and operating grace Jordan did not need to distinguish between *gratia gatum faciens* and *gratia gratis data*, because according to Lombard *gratia operans* and *gratia cooperans* were the same grace, with different effects. Jordan may indeed have had Aegidius in mind, although his direct source for this passage was not Aegidius, but Thomas Aquinas, from whom Jordan

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¹⁰⁸ In the *Liber Vitasfratrum* Jordan lists *Super Sententiarum tres libros* among the works of Aegidius "inter quae sunt quae ego vidi." VF 2,22 (236,90ff). In addition, the General Chapter at Florence in 1287 decreed that all lectors and students follow Aegidius' teaching: "Quia venerabilis Magistri nostri fratribus Egidii doctrina mundum universum illustrat, Diffinimus et mandamus inviolabiliter observari, ut opiniones, positiones et sententias scriptas et scribendas predicti Magistri nostri, omnes ordinis nostri lectors et studentes recipiat eisdem prebentes assensum, et eius doctrine omni qua poterunt sollicitudine, ut et ipsi illuminati alios illuminare possint, sint seduli defensores." AAug 2(1908): 275.
borrowed word for word. 109 In any case, the point to be made is that there were sufficient theological reasons for Jordan not to have employed the term *gratia gratum faciens* that we cannot conclude that he simply did not know the distinction, or did not understand it. On the contrary, it seems most probable that Jordan was aware of the distinction and either chose not to introduce it in his lectures, or purposefully redefined all *gratia gratum faciens* as *gratia gratis data*.

The Direction of Grace

Since Jordan did not use the term *gratia gratum faciens* it may not be entirely appropriate to claim that he reinterpreted the concept. 110 Traditionally *gratia gratum faciens* was seen as infused grace and this Jordan considered to be *gratia gratis data*. The explicit reinterpretation of *gratia gratum faciens* was given, as David Steinmetz has shown, over a century later by Jordan’s fellow Augustinian, Johannes von Staupitz. For Staupitz, *gratia gratum faciens* was not the grace that made humans acceptable to God, but rather the reverse: *gratia gratum faciens* was the grace that made God acceptable to humans. 111 Heiko A. Oberman pointed to the possibility that the earlier fifteenth-century Augustinian Augustinus Favaroni may have been a 'forerunner' of Staupitz, or at least that he provides evidence that Staupitz’s reinterpretation may not have come ex

109 Thomas, STh II/II, 83, 9.

110 Cf. infra, n. 113.

nihilo. In this context Oberman also mentioned Jordan, who closed the prologue to his Meditaciones de passione Christi by affirming that "all that Christ suffered ought to be accepted by and pleasing to man, as if Christ suffered such things for humans' salvation alone." The accepta et grata here seems to hint at the reversal of the understanding of gratia gratum faciens over a hundred years before Staupitz.

112 Oberman pointed to this phrase as providing, "...a key to Staupitz's seemingly unprecedented campaign against the scholastic gratia gratum faciens. Whereas Staupitz wants to reinterpret gratia gratum faciens not as the grace which makes us acceptable to God but vice versa as the grace which makes God acceptable to us, we read with Jordan: 'Omnia quae Christus passus est, ita debent homini esse accepta et grata, ac si pro ipsius solummodo salute ea sit passus.' [Jordan, Meditaciones de passione Christ, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 2vb] Out of this tradition emerges, finally, that aspect of the first of Luther's Ninety-five Theses according to which penance is a lasting mark of the Christian life." "Headwaters of the Reformation." In The Dawn of the Reformation, (Edinburgh, 1986), 72. Oberman cited Jordan from the article of Martin Elze, "Das Verständnis der Passion Jesu im ausgehenden Mittelalter und bei Luther." In, Geist und Geschichte der Reformation. Festgabe Hanns Rückert zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. K. Scholderer. (Berlin, 1966): 127-151. Elze argued that Jordan's Prologue, with the emphasis on Christ as the exemplar, is "repräsentativ für die ganze spätmittelalterliche Passionsbetrachtung," (134). Although Elze acknowledged Jordan's pro nobis (130), he claimed that Jordan's treatment of the Passion: "ist in die Lebensform des mönchischen Standes; dass also der satsfaktorische Charakter des 'pro nobis' hier nicht zur Diskussion steht, weil er doch immer schon in bestimmtem Sinne vorausgesetzt ist," (130). Oberman's observation should call Elze's interpretation into question, as Walter Baier has already done (see, Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der 'Vita Christi' des Ludolf von Sachsen, 458ff; see also, Zumkeller's "Das Ungenügen der menschlichen Werke," 275-281). Elze overlooked other statements from Jordan's Prologus such as: "Unde passio domini in se complectitur omnem perfectionem homini possibilem in hac vita, quoniam omnia opera perfectiosis, quae Christus umquam in evangelio docuit, ipse in seipso in sua passione perfectissimae adimplevit. Itaque in cruce domini est finis legis et scripture; in passione eius est summa omnis perfectionis; in morte ipsius est consummatio omnis sermonis," (Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 2ra). By drawing only on the prologue, Elze missed (and consequently Oberman as well) other passages such as those cited in notes 76 and 77 above. The exemplum aspect of Christ's death is certainly central for Jordan (see infra, ch. 5), but this should not be taken as deemphasizing the salvific nature of Jordan's theologia crucis.
It is in this context that we have used the term 'reinterpretation'. Jordan did not technically 'reinterpret' gratia gratum faciens; he did not even use the term. However, his understanding of grace is based on the concept that God first comes to humans and that it is humans' love and devotion that must be stimulated. This is the function of meditation on the passion. When one considers all that Christ suffered pro nobis, God essentially becomes pleasing to the meditant, and devotion is the result. The same position is found in Jordan's Expositio. God is the heavenly king, who is also the loving father. Thus one prays Pater noster, qui es in caelis, as a captatio benevolentiae, not in attempt to gain God’s good will, but rather propter nos so that one might have the

113 We do find the term at least twice, once in the Opus Postillarum and once in the Opus Jor. In the former the term is used to refer to the grace or graces Adam enjoyed before the Fall: "Et quia primus homo acceperat etiam gratiam tam gratis datam quam gratum facientem, ideo dicetur quod istum semen natum quidem fuit, id est, germinavit, sed natum adveniente escu temptationis diaboleicae, aruit per amissionem gratiae, quia non habebat humorem, utpote gratia sibi subtrahita." Opus Postillarum, sermo 137 J. In the Opus Jor Jordan referred to gratia gratum faciens as the smallest form of grace, which was not able to remain with even the slightest amount of sin: "...imaginari debemus quod nec minimus gradus gratiae, scilicet gratum facientis spiritus sancti potest stare cum minimo gradu culpae mortalitatis..." Opus Jor, sermo 216, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 336va. Even though Jordan did not employ the distinction between gratia gratis data and gratia gratum faciens in any consistent fashion, to the point that it is accurate to say that it does not have a part in his doctrine of grace, his reference to gratia gratum faciens as the minimus gradus gratiae stands in contrast to the common scholastic understanding of gratia gratum faciens as infused sacramental grace. Thus, in discussing Gabriel Biel's understanding of justification, Heiko A. Oberman explained: "While as we saw, the gratia gratis data does not seriously enter the discussion on justification and when mentioned either connotes a special charisma for the use of the Church at large or more generally a gift of God--in the same sense in which the natural powers of man are gifts of God--the gratia gratum faciens, habitual sanctifying grace, is seen as a power that directs the will to produce meritorious acts." Harvest of Medieval Theology, 164.
trust to ask God for those things one needs.\textsuperscript{114} Jordan cited Augustine to affirm that "God is always prepared to give us his own light, but we are not always prepared to receive it. Thus a stimulus to devotion is require on our part, which is a certain capture of divine good will."\textsuperscript{115} In other words, God must become pleasing to humans.

Jordan reverses the 'direction', so to speak. The \textit{gratia gratum faciens} was the infused grace the enabled humans to be acceptable to God. The direction here is from what is 'in' humans, albeit certainly not without grace coming from God first, towards God's acceptance. The \textit{gratia gratum faciens} is what makes it possible to move towards God. For Jordan, on the other hand, left on one's own one can only wallow in sin. Humans cannot raise themselves from sin;\textsuperscript{116} all that one does on one's own, without God's aid, "is nothing and is sin."\textsuperscript{117} Therefore, we do not pray that we might come to the kingdom of God, but rather that the kingdom might come to us.\textsuperscript{118} Similarly, when one prays that God's will be done, it is not that there is a possibility that God's will would not be done. Rather, Christians pray that God's will might be done by them, although humans do not have the ability to do God's will. Thus they pray for the grace

\textsuperscript{114} Supra, L1, 166,2-4.

\textsuperscript{115} Supra, L1, 166,4-7.

\textsuperscript{116} "...homo enim per se labi in peccatum potest, sed per se surgere non potest sine auxilio gratiae dei...," \textit{Opus Jor}, sermo 131, Vat., MS Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 215rb.

\textsuperscript{117} "...considerandum est quod omne, quod quis facit ex se ipso non ex deo motus, peccatum est et nihil." \textit{Opus Jor}, sermo 103, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 179rb.

\textsuperscript{118} Supra, L4, 240,5-241,2.
needed. And this grace is, once again, *gratia gratis data*. The 'direction' is God coming toward humans, which humans must then recognize and accept. The heavens have been extended through God's love and grace. The Christian must therefore realize this fact; one must recognize the extended love of God and allow one's soul to be expanded as well, to become increasingly *capax dei*. In short, humans must recognize that God is their loving father, that is, God must become pleasing to humans, because humans are all ready pleasing to Him through his love and grace.

Jordan may not have reinterpreted *gratia gratum faciens*, but with his understanding of *gratia infusa as gratia gratis data*, and with his 'directional' emphasis on God coming to humans, already in the early fourteenth century within the 'other side' of the Augustinian school was a doctrine of grace that paralleled Staupitz's 're'-interpretation of *gratia gratum faciens* as the grace that makes God pleasing to us.

Jordan's doctrine of grace was thoroughly Augustinian. This is not to imply, however, that Jordan was a Gregory of Rimini on a lower academic level. The centrality of grace to the Augustinian school has never been questioned. What Jordan as the *Lector Gratiae* indicates is that the centrality of grace in the theological teaching of the Augustinian Order was operative both in the universities and in the *studia*; both the academic and the pastoral theology of the Order was based on an Augustinian theology of grace. It also points to the fact that an Augustinian theology of grace was not disharmonious with a pastoral theology emphasizing moral perfection. But here we have

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\(^{119}\) Supra, L5, 261,5-262,5.
run ahead of ourselves. In order to show how Jordan's theology of grace synthesized with his call for moral growth, we need to proceed to his doctrine of sanctification, of becoming saints. If Jordan's doctrine of God was the theological nucleus of his *Expositio*, his doctrine of sanctification was the atom itself.
CHAPTER III
BECOMING SAINTS

If all grace is *gratia gratis data* it would seem that a doctrine of predestination is required. Jordan did not discuss the question of predestination in his *Expositio*. In his eighth lecture he included the beatitude of meekness to which corresponds the possession of the earth. This possession, he noted, is both that the blessed possess God, and that God possesses them.¹ Jordan seems to espouse a doctrine of election when he continued by citing Augustine to affirm that "God will be the possession of no one whom he has not first possessed."² In his sixth lecture Jordan explicitly mentioned the elect as those who see the face of God in its purity.³ Yet Jordan never addressed the doctrine of election explicitly in his lectures.

Rather than predestination and election, Jordan emphasized a doctrine of adoption. It is through the blood of Christ that Christians are made sons by adoption and thereby can confidently cry "Abba, father", which enables them to pray, *Pater noster*.⁴ Through grace humans are the adopted sons of God, which is evident in praying 'Our Father'. It was Christ and Christ alone, Jordan explained, who could

¹ Supra, L8, 359,6-8.
² Supra, L8, 360,1-2.
³ Supra, L6, 299,9-300,1.
⁴ Supra, L1, 164,7-9.
say, "My father". As adopted sons of God Christians pray for the name of God to be sanctified in nobis, so that they might 'feel' their redemption, and thus might truly be 'saints', as if having been washed by the blood of Christ. Indeed, it is by adoption that Christians are called sons of God and therefore saints, not just in name, but in reality.

'Becoming saints' is not achieved through merit or works, but rather through faith. Faith for Jordan is the first of the theological virtues, which are supernaturally infused in the soul. It is associated with the clear vision that God works in the blessed. Through faith "we are washed in the blood of Christ, are made true sons of God, and progress to the glory of God." In short, the Christian is saved, or sanctified through faith. In the lecture treating the petition, 'Hallowed be thy name,' Jordan placed not only the virtue faith, but also faith as the fruit of the Holy Spirit. In other words, the sancti are sancti through faith. In this light it is not incorrect to

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5 Supra, L1, 175,1-4.
6 Supra, L3, 218,10-219,2.
7 Supra, L3, 219,6-221,3. Jordan also treated the theme of Christians becoming sons of God in sermons 50-52 of the Opus Jor, which is designated in the Vatican manuscript as a Tractatus de filiatione divina, Vat., Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 97rb-106ra.
8 Supra, L3, 227,3-4; L9, 383,7-10.
9 Supra, L2, 202,10-203,1.
10 Supra, L3, 227,5-8.
11 Supra, L3, 234,7.
speak of a doctrine of *sola fide* in Jordan’s theology, even though it is a term he does not use. Faith was the ontological doorway between the *esse gratiae* and the *esse gloriae*. Jordan’s *sola gratia* is placed in terms of his doctrine of sanctification, rather than in those of justification. Through faith as the infused virtue, humans become sons of God and experience the ‘delicious delight’ resulting therefrom.\(^1\)

This is essentially all Jordan had to say about faith in his *Expositio*. As little as this may be quantitatively, qualitatively faith is the basis for the sanctification of the Christian.

When we turn to the *Opus Postillarum* we find more information regarding the particulars of Jordan’s understanding of faith. In the *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiiis* Jordan presented thirteen different meanings of the term ‘faith’, which renders the common division of *fides quae* and *fides qua* less than adequate. Faith can be interpreted as promise, as security, as a legal fidelity, as a simplicity or innocence, as equity, as conscience, as belief, as chastity, as the sacrament of baptism, as the articles of the catholic faith, as the act of faith, as informing faith, and finally as the theological virtue, which is faith supernaturally infused and is that faith that is informed by love (*fides caritate informata*).\(^2\) Jordan, however, did not continue

\(^{12}\) Supra, L9, 384,4-8.

\(^{13}\) "Fides multipliciter accipitur. Quandoque enim fides dicitur sponsio...Quandoque fides sumitur pro conventionali securitate, quae etiam hosti servanda est...Quandoque pro legalitate seu fidelitate...Quandoque pro simplicitate bona seu innocentia...Quandoque pro aequitate et exuberantia actionum, sicut in iure dicitur quod quaedam sunt actiones bonae fidei, quaedam stricti iuris. Quandoque pro
with an explanation of this *fides caritate informata*, but rather turned directly to an enumeration of the fourteen articles of faith.\(^{14}\)

Faith leads humans to their end, for through faith one comes to know the truth, which is the object of faith.\(^{15}\) Fear (*timor*) and the purification of the heart are the effects of faith, for through faith one comes to fear separation from God, who

\[\text{conscientia...Quandoque pro credulitate...Quandoque pro castitate chori...Quandoque pro sacramento baptismi...Quandoque pro credito et collectione creditorum scilicet articulorum...Quandoque sumitur fides pro actu fidei...Quandoque pro fide informi...Ultimo sumitur pro habitu infuso supernaturaliter, et haec est fides viva puta caritate informata, et sic de ea loquitur hic.} \]  

*Opus Postillarum*, sermo 439, *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis*, De Fide, A.

\(^{14}\) *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 439, *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis*, De Fide, A. Jordan also related the articles of faith to the twelve disciples, which he later did as well in his *Tractatus de articulis fidei*, sermo 102 of the *Opus Dan* (ed. Strassburg 1484), A-M. It should be noted that Hümpfner referred to Jordan’s *Tractatus de articulis fidei* as sermo 52 of the *Opus Dan*, (intro., xliii), an identification that was then followed by Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, n. 642, 292. Hümpfner’s text, however, is obviously problematic regarding numbering since after making sermo 52 of the *Opus Dan* Jordan’s treatise, he then states: "It is 'sermo quartus' in a sequence of *Sermones* and *Subsermones*, beginning with *Sermo* No. 197, on the subject, *De divisione apostolorum." Hümpfner, intro., xliii. The *Tractatus de articulis fidei* is indeed noted by Jordan as the fourth primary sermon in a series which, however, began with sermo 97, *In divisione apostolorum*. In the treatise, each apostle is accorded with having contributed one of the twelve articles of faith, drawn from the Apostle’s Creed. In addition, to each apostle and article Jordan ascribed a fruit of the Holy Spirit. Thus, for example: "Tertius articulus est, 'Qui conceptus est de spirito sanctu, natus ex Maria Virgine...hunc articulum posuit Johannes, qui fuit Virgini custos...per hanc articulum introducitur pax...'", *Opus Dan* (ed. Strassburg 1484), sermo 102 C.

\(^{15}\) "*Explicatis fidei articulis perspiciamus ad alia ad fidem pertinentia, quae sunt tria ad praesens. Primum est veritas; veritas prima, quae est fidei obiectum. Et hoc secundum formalem ratione objecit, non enim per fidem assentimus alciui nisi quia prima veritate revelatum...", *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 439, *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis*, De Fide, C.
is the highest good (*summum bonum*); one's hearts is purified by faith, which directs one to one's end.\(^\text{16}\)

Although Jordan did not enter into a lengthy explication of faith in either his *Expositio* or *Opus Postillarum*, faith occupied a place of central importance to his theology as the linch pin connecting the *esse gratiae* with the *esse gloriae*. And yet faith was not isolated in this function, but rather stood together with hope, love, and the church, in a theological cooperative union held together by grace.

Jordan's strong assertion that through grace and faith Christians become adopted sons of God and thus 'saints' *in re*, does not mean that humans become 'saintly'. His emphasis on the lack of human goodness remains. It is only by faith and grace, through the passion of Christ, that individuals are 'saints'. In his *Opus Postillarum* Jordan was cyrstal clear that one can never be certain of one's salvation. Echoing his teacher Albert of Padua, Jordan affirmed that the presumption of one's own righteousness is indeed a sin. No one is able to know for sure whether his works are really true, for a false righteousness deceives many. All human works are never pure; they are always contaminated with sin. Indeed, "there has never been a

\[\text{\textsuperscript{16} "Alia duo sunt timor et cordis purificatio, quae sunt fidei effectus. Timor quidem tam servilis, quo quis timet a deo puniri, quam filialis, quo quis timet a deo separari. Per fide..." Opus Postillarum, sermo 439, Tractatus de articulis fidei, De Fide C.}\]
righteous person or a saint who was free from sin."\textsuperscript{17}

Jordan concluded his tirade against security in one's own works, which in general is in keeping with his Order's tradition on the insufficiency of works,\textsuperscript{18} with a statement that seems to go beyond the tradition: "And this is the argument, that a humble sinner is better than someone just but proud, because by the very fact that a sinner humbles himself, he is already no longer a sinner, and the just person, by the

\textsuperscript{17} Enumerating the defects of works stemming from pride, Jordan wrote: "Secundus defectus illorum fuit de sua iustitia presumptio. Et quantum ad hoc dict 'tamquam iusti'. Circa quod considerandum quod nullus [homo], quantumcumque magni meriti, de suis iusticiis presumere debet...nullus enim scire potest pro certo an opera sua vera sint an iusta; falsa enim iusticia multos decepit...nostrae iustitiae purae non sunt sed semper habent aliquid [peccati] maculae annexum Isaiæ 64: facti sumus ut immundi omnes nos et quasi panus menstruatae universæ iustitiae nostræ [Is. 64,5]...Nemo est absque peccato, nec infans cuius est unius diei vita super terram. Item nec quicumque iusti et sancti sunt sine peccato..." \textit{Opus Postillarum}, sermo 374 B (brackets indicate text in Berlin, StB MS theol. fol. 133, fol.90rb-90va, not in Strassburg ed. 1483). Jordan drew from Albert of Padua virtually word for word. See Albert's sermon on Luke 18:9-14 for the tenth Sunday after Pentacost, in \textit{Expositio Evangeliorum dominicalium}, Venice, 1476, fol. S2ra-b. See also, Zumkeller, "Das Ungenügen der menschlichen Werke," 276, where this passage is quoted, and idem, "The Spirituality of the Augustinians," 66-67, for a brief English translation of the major points. Zumkeller used this passage, among others, to argue for the general insufficiency of works, among the Augustinian preachers especially, in the later Middle Ages. Heiko A. Oberman expressed caution regarding Zumkeller's argument by pointing to the fact that Zumkeller drew heavily from sermons on this text, i.e., Luke 18,9-14, the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican; Oberman, \textit{Harvest}, 181f, n. 112. In Jordan's case the evidence is overwhelming that human works are not that by which one gains God's favor, or that by which one earns a reward.

\textsuperscript{18} See Zumkeller, "Das Ungenügen der menschlichen Werke."
very fact that he is proud, is already no longer just.\textsuperscript{19} It is the humble sinner, the
sinner who confesses himself as a sinner, who is truly a saint, the adopted son of God
through grace, which is given \textit{gratis}. And here we have a fourteenth-century version
of Luther's \textit{simul iustus et peccator}!

Before we become carried away and claim to have found the true origins of
Reformation theology in the 'other side' of the Augustinian school, we must
reemphasize our last statement: this is a \textit{fourteenth-century} version of \textit{simul iustus et
peccator}. For Jordan this was used to drive home the inability of knowing for certain
whether one's works were meritorious. For Luther, on the other hand, this doctrine
was the very basis for the \textit{certitudo salutis}. For Jordan the \textit{simul iustus et peccator}
was used to emphasize human reliance on God's grace. The sinner could take no
confidence in his works, because all his works were not his own, they were merely
for his use. All good works come from God's grace, the \textit{gratia gratis data}, which
flows from God's love in extending the heavens and expanding the soul through His
love and grace. For Luther, the \textit{simul iustus et peccator} was the central encapsulation
of his doctrine of justification, not of his doctrine of grace. For Jordan, grace and

\textsuperscript{19} "Et hic est argumentum: quod melior est peccator humilis quam iustus
superbus; quia eo ipso quod peccator se humiliat, iam non est peccator; et iustus eo
ipso quod superbit, iam non est iustus." \textit{Opus Postillarum}, sermo 376 A; cf.: "In hoc
evangelio [Luc. 18,9-14] commendatur virtus orationis et ostenditur quia in qua
consistat summa totius humanae perfectionis. Et introducuntur hic duo homines, unus
iustus et alter peccator. Iustus, quia nescivit orare, fuit reprobatus; sed peccator, qui
scivit orare, fuit iustificatus." \textit{Opus Jor}, sermo, 256, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol.
396rb-va.
justification were separate issues.

Attaining the Blessed End

The Christian is redeemed in Christ. That is the central message of Jordan’s lectures. Through faith in Christ one is washed in the blood of Christ, made a true son of God, and acquires the glory of God, which correspond to the three-fold name of God that one prays be sanctified in nobis: the name of God is the mystery of redemption, the privilege of filial adoption, and the announcement of God’s glorification. Indeed it is Christ who makes it at all possible that one can pray, ‘Our Father’, because, Jordan exclaimed, who would have dared to pray for God’s kingdom or to call God, ‘his Father’ under the old law? God has given the esse gratiae, which, equated with the regnum gratiae in human souls, is humans’ redemption. This kingdom is given gratis, for ”we are not able to come to God unless God first comes to us…and therefore because to come to the Kingdom is not in our power, but comes from divine grace and will, we therefore pray for the Kingdom of God to come to us rather than that we might come to the Kingdom.” Christians

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20 Supra, L3, 227,5-8.

21 Supra, L3, 222,3-6; cf., L3, 227,4-8.

22 Supra, L1, 163,10-164,3.

23 See, supra, L1, 168,1-2; cf., L4, 242,3-243,3.

24 Supra, L4, 241,6-242,2.
have been adopted as God's sons through grace; their redemption has already been given, it is a done deal.

Yet one still prays for God's kingdom to come, for His will to be done by humans, and that Christians might become 'saints'. And one still prays the Lord's Prayer so that one might attain the blessed end (ut pertingamus ad finem): God himself. For the Christian redemption has been given, but it has not been completely realized. Nevertheless, humans know what God's will is, as Jordan explained in his fifth lecture. Spiritually understood God wants three things with respect to humans: the conversion of sinners, the sanctification of the converted, and the glorification of the sanctified. God desires the salvation of all. This is God's will, and this is the Christian's end.

This general will of salvation, combined with Jordan's doctrine of grace, once again begs the question regarding Jordan's doctrine of election and predestination. If God desires the salvation of all, and if God gives His grace gratis to all, and if redemption has already been 'completed', then why do not all humans achieve their end? In other words, what is the relation between Jordan's doctrine of redemption and the justification of the sinner?

We have already mentioned the hints Jordan gave regarding election, and these are only hints. Nevertheless, we must, at least for now, be satisfied with pointing to

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25 Supra, L1, 175,3-4.

26 Supra, L5, 263,3-7; cf., L5, 263,8-264,2.
the fact that Jordan seems to have held a doctrine of election of some sort. Jordan did not espouse a doctrine of justification in his *Expositio*, or rather, Jordan did not espouse a doctrine of justification in the sense of what justifies the sinner before God. On the other hand, as we will see shortly, Jordan did have a doctrine of justification but it was developed in the framework not of what justifies the sinner to be admitted into heaven, but rather of the process by which the sinner becomes just. In other words, Jordan subordinated justification to sanctification. It is ontological states of being that Jordan explicated in his lectures on the Lord’s Prayer—the *esse naturae*, *esse gratiae*, and *esse gloriae*—rather than what renders one justified before the heavenly judge. Thus before we can begin to unfold Jordan’s doctrine of justification, we must begin with his understanding of sanctification, which is the central theme of his exposition. Christians are to become saints, adopted sons of God, by realizing the redemption effected and offered by Christ; to do so is to attain the end, to complete the ‘homeward journey’ to eternal blessedness with God. We may ask of Jordan what the basis is for humans’ being justified before God, or in other words, what is the basis for the final step between the *esse gratiae* and the *esse gloriae*, but to do so is to ask Jordan to give an answer to a question he does not treat. Jordan is not in search of a righteous God; he already knows the loving Father who has offered humans redemption through the cross of Christ.

As Jordan stated at the very outset of his exposition, the Lord’s Prayer contains all that is necessary for salvation; it is the summary of the commandments
and leads to eternal blessedness. He is also very clear in what this blessedness entails. "There are," Jordan explained, "three chief perfections of the blessed: clear vision, which goes with faith and perfects the rational powers of the soul; ever present possession, which accompanies hope and perfects the emotional powers of the soul; and an unyielding fruition, which corresponds with love and satifies all the soul's desire." This blessedness is the result of God's operation within the saints, for "in the saints God illumines the intellect by removing errors, regulates the affections by directing their love, and cares for their progress by administering strength."

The term to be noted here is 'affections', which is only a slightly better translation of the Latin *affectus* than is 'emotions'. For Jordan blessedness was the harmony of the affections with the will of God. Rather than a Thomistic intellectual union, theology for Jordan aimed at an affective union with God, which places his theology within the broad Augustinian tradition, particularly as represented by the 'Old Franciscan School' and by such Augustinians as Aegidius, Thomas of Strassburg, Gregory of Rimini, Alphonsus Vargus, and Hugolino or Orvieto.

27 Supra, L1, 158,2-163,4.

28 Supra, L2, 202,9-203,3.

29 Supra, L2, 198,7-9.

30 See, Zur Mühlen, "Affekt II." TRE 1:600-605; cf. supra, L3, 228,10-229,2. For the affective nature of theology according to Aegidius, Thomas of Strassburg, Gregory of Rimini, Alphonsus Vargus and Hugolino of Orvieto, see Zumkeller, "Die
Indeed, the *regnum gratiae* is realized "when all the powers and motions in man are obedient to divine governance."³¹ Jordan did not ignore the intellective powers of the soul, and as we have just seen illumination of the intellect is one of the works that God operates in the blessed. However, the affective powers reign supreme. Even, for example, the *donum intellectus* not only illumines the intellect, but also purifies the affections, and Jordan cited Augustine as his proof text.³² When the affections are in proper order, one is truly blessed, for then one is at peace. Peace, Jordan affirmed, "is delight in God without the contradiction of the flesh, the world, or the devil," and thus "peace redeems the soul, brings about the sons of God, and pays honor to God."³³ Peace redeems the soul, Jordan explained, in so far as it makes known the redeemed soul and thus it "is the effect of our redemption in so far as by redemption we are placed in peace."³⁴ The saints, therefore, are those who are in

Augustinerschule," and Trapè.

³¹ Supra, L4, 242,6-243,2.

³² Supra, L4, 254,2-3.

³³ Supra, L3, 232,4-11.

³⁴ Supra, L3, 233,1-3. It is directly after this that Jordan states that peace is the cause of redemption for through peace one 'merits' to be participants in redemption; supra, L3, 233,3-5. Two things are to be noted here. First, the peace that Jordan is discussing is the peace of beatitude, *Beati pacifici*, which corresponds with the petition *sanctificetur nomen tuum*. Second, Aegidius defined *gratia gratum faciens* as that grace the that *mali* do not have: "*Gratia gratum faciens non dividitur contra gratias gratis data, quin ipsa sit gratis data: sed quia ultra hoc, quod est gratis data, est etiam gratum faciens, aliae autem gratiae secundum se, non sunt gratum facientes, cum possint haberia a malis, qui non sint deo grati...*Malos ergo non habentes gratiam
peace, whose affections are completely in harmony with God’s will and directed toward heaven,\textsuperscript{35} which is the purpose and effect of the entire Lord’s prayer—to direct and ‘inform’ all our affections.\textsuperscript{36} For Jordan, as for his Order’s university theologians, theology was affective.

Divine Geography

Thus far we have left undifferentiated the distinction between the blessed and the saints, and we have done so because there is grey area in Jordan’s treatment. On closer examination Jordan distinguished between the beati and the sancti. While explicating the various ways to understand how God is in heaven, Jordan stated that we can understand \textit{in caelis} as referring to celestial bodies, celestial spirits, or the heavens of eternal blessedness.\textsuperscript{37} He then proceeded to explain that ‘in heaven’ is not to be taken as a spatial dimension, and to give the five reasons we say that God is in heaven which we have already mentioned. Regarding the second interpretation of ‘in heaven’, Jordan included the \textit{veri sancti caeli}, who are such on account of the beauty Gratia facientem: dato quod habeant multas gratias gratis datas...” Aegidius, 2 Sent. dist. 26, q. 2, art. 2, (ed. Venice, 1588) 328, col. Ib-c. For Jordan the \textit{impii}, or the \textit{mali} do not lack \textit{gratia gratum faciens}, but rather the \textit{beatitudo, pax}. ‘Merit’ in this context for Jordan is not something one ‘earns’; rather it is something one ‘gains’ or ‘acquires’ through the \textit{gratia gratis data}.

\textsuperscript{35} Supra, L2, 196,1.

\textsuperscript{36} Supra, L1, 162,7-163,1.

\textsuperscript{37} Supra, L2, 191,1-3.
and splendor of their spiritual ornamentation, because of the purity of their heavenly conversation, and on account of the dignity and sanctity of their divine habitation. 38 It is in these saints that God illumines the intellect, regulates the affections, and cares for their progress. Yet this heavenly habitation is not physically in heaven, for Jordan continued by explaining that the regulation of the affections is that regulation by which "those things that are to be loved are loved, and are loved in the proper order, and thus all the motions of our affections are placed in sync." 39 Thus the veri sancti caeli can, at least in part, include humans. The third interpretation of 'in heaven' refers to the heaven of eternal blessedness, which stimulates the mind to prayer most of all. 40 And in these heavens are the beati, who enjoy the three perfections already mentioned.

The lines of demarcation, however, become somewhat blurred because Jordan included a beatitude that corresponds to each of the petitions, 41 which at least gives the impression that some degree of beatitude is attainable in this life. The sancti are not only those humans who are spiritually saints, but also are the saints already in heaven. In explicating the second petition, fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo et in terra, Jordan explained that 'in heaven' can be interpreted as "the angels and saints in

38 Supra, L2, 194,3-7.
39 Supra, L2, 199,3-5.
40 Supra, L2, 201,7-8.
41 For Jordan’s definition of beatitude, see supra, L9, 384,2-4; 385,1.
heaven" whereas 'on earth', refers to "humans passing their time on earth". 42 Thus, Jordan continued, "just as your will is done by the angels and blessed in heaven, who are perfectly conformed to your will, so even may it be done by us humans on earth, so that we might thus do your will here and hence might perfectly conform ourselves to your will in glory."43 Humans, _degentes in terra_, are saints as adopted sons of God and receive 'beatitudes' from God, and yet there are also those _sancti et beati_ who are truly in heaven. The distinctions are made, but there seem to be rather fine lines dividing the _sancti_ who to some degree can become _beati_ here on earth, and the _sancti_ and _beati_ already in heaven.

To gain a better grasp of Jordan's doctrine of sanctification given these somewhat blurred distinctions, we suggest two possible backgrounds; the second distinction of the second book of Lombard's _Sentences_, specifically as explicated by Aegidius Romanus, and Augustine's _De Civitate Dei_. We may indeed be entering the realm of pure speculation here, but such an exercise will help us to read between the lines of Jordan's text as far as is possible. To do so, we must remember that we are discussing the ontological relation between the _esse gratie_ and the _esse glorie_, both of which, according to Jordan, are gifts of God.

In distinctions two through eleven of the second book of the _Sentences_, Lombard treated the nature and being of the angels. In the second distinction, he

42 Supra, L5, 265,9-266,1.

43 Supra, L5, 266,2-5.
discussed the question of where the angels were created, and gave the answer that they were created and are in heaven, but not the heaven that is understood to have been the firmament created on the second day. They are in the *caelum empyreum*, which is as fire from its splendor, created on the first day.\textsuperscript{44} Aegidius further clarified that the *caelum empyreum* is as flames, and that after the resurrection of the body the saints will be shining just as the sun, in that they will be shining with their own light, rather than as the planets and stars which shine with light from the sun. They will shine not as the sun is now, but how it will be then, in that it will be seven times as bright; this is the splendor and flames of the *caelum empyreum*.\textsuperscript{45}

Jordan had claimed that the *veri sancti caeli* are said to be in heaven because of their spiritual ornateness, which he likened to the heavens being decorated by the sun, moon, and stars.\textsuperscript{46} It is somewhat unclear, however, precisely where these saints are; on the one hand Jordan was discussing the spiritual heavens (*de caelis*...)

\textsuperscript{44} "...prima die fuit creatum coelum, quod vocatur empyreum, id est igneum, non a calore, sed a splendore...," Aegidius Romanus, 2 Sent. dist. 2, q. 2, ar. 2, (ed. Venice, 1581) 138 IId.

\textsuperscript{45} "Sic ergo imaginabimur, quod totum coelum empyreum non ratione caloris, sed ratione splendoris est quasi quaedam flamma. Ibi ergo post resurrectionem corpora Sanctorum existentia, quae lucebunt sicut Sol, non sicut Sol nunc, sed sicut Sol tunc, qui erit in luciditate septuplus, quia tunc lux solis erit sicut lux 7 dierum." Aegidius Romanus, 2 Sent. dist. 2, q. 2, ar. 2, (ed. Venice, 1581) 145, col. Ic. Aegidius had shortly before explained that: "....distinctio reperitur in coelis, quia sunt ibi aliqua spissa, non pervia, sed lucentia et resplendentia: non per lucem, quam habeant a se, sed per eam, quam habent a Sole. Et huiusmodi sunt omnes stellae, sive sint planetae, sive sint stellae fixae." Ibid, 144, col. IIb.

\textsuperscript{46} Supra, L2, 194,5-195,1.
spiritualibus), which could be interpreted as a spiritual state of being, but on the other
these saints are also said to be in heaven on account of the sanctity and dignity of the
divine habitation. The latter could indeed be referring as well to a spiritual state of
being, but the locational connotations suggest other possibilities; it could be that
Jordan was referring to the saints of the caelum empyreum. This indeed seems the
case when he interpreted sicut in caelo et in terra, as referring to the angels and
saints in heaven regarding the former and humans degentes in terra regarding the
latter. And as we have already seen, for Aegidius and Lombard the angels are in the
caelum empyreum, which is also where Jordan placed them in his Opus Jor.48

If indeed Jordan was referring to the caelum empyreum the demarcations
between the sancti and beati come into sharper focus. Going beyond Lombard,
Aegidius explained that the caelum empyreum can be interpreted both as corporal and

47 Supra, L2, 194,7.

48 Jordan stated that God gave a natural place to all creation; he then gave
examples, among which are the angels: "Sicut patet de angelis, qui omnes sunt in
caelo empyreo; et de stellis, quae omnes sunt in firmamento; et de piscibus, qui
omnes sunt in aqua; et de plantis, quae omnes sunt in terra." Opus Jor, sermo 68,
Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 127rb; cf.: "Sicut autem triplices sunt caeli, tripliciter
differentiae in motus quia quidem caelis moventur motu proprio et motu raptus, sicut
omnes orbes septicm planetarum; octava sphera movetur solum motu proprio et non
motu raptus. Caelum autem empyreum est penitus immobili in quo sunt deus et
spiritus beatorum....Tertius actus contemplativorum, cognitio dei quantum possibile
est in seipso absque omni meditatione creaturarum et absque omni iudicio de
creaturis; et in isto modo anima contemplativa fit quodammodo immobiliti, ad modum
caeli empyrei, quia in unico bono divinae dulcedinis immobilier conquiescit." Opus
Jor, sermo 208, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 326ra-326rb.
as spiritual.⁴⁹ It should not be doubted that the *caelum empyreum* is indeed corporal; it is so as the place of the angels’ contemplation, and was created on the first day.⁵⁰ Aegidius also placed the *beati* in the *caelum empyreum*; the *caelum empyreum* is where the separated souls of the blessed go after they leave their bodies, that is, after the death of the individual, the individual’s soul, if it is blessed, is taken to the *caelum empyreum* to await the resurrection of the body.⁵¹ Yet the *caelum empyreum*, as the place of contemplation, can be understood in a spiritual sense; it is the third heaven into which Paul was taken up. In this sense the *caelum empyreum* is that without which there can be no *beati*, because beatitude is the vision of God, which is spiritual. If, Aegidius argued, we say that some souls by divine virtue experience the sense of damnation without actually going to a corporal place, this is to be understood in a spiritual sense, and likewise is the blessedness of the *caelum*


⁵⁰ “Sed si loquamur quantum ad congruitatem, sic coelum, quod est locus contemplationis angelorum, dicitur summum coelum corporale, quia prima die fuit creatum coelum, quod vocatur empyreum, id est igneum: non a calore, sed a splendore...,” Ibid, fol. 138, col. IId.

empyreum which can be experienced spiritually.\footnote{52}

For Aegidius the caelum empyreum was the habitation of the angels and blessed souls, but it was also a spiritual location to which the blessed in this life can spiritually be taken. In this light, Jordan’s description of the heavens takes on added dimensions. Jordan presented three interpretations of the heavens, which we have already mentioned: the heaven of the celestial bodies, the heaven of the true saints, and the heaven of eternal blessedness. If the caelum empyreum stood behind his exposition, then we come to see that the problematic 'heaven of the true saints', is the spiritual understanding of the caelum empyreum, to which Christians have access,

\footnotetext[52]{52} "Uno modo, ut dicatur huiusmodi coelum illud, quod est ipsa beatitudo angelorum vel animarum: vel illud, sine quo nec angeli nec animae possunt esse beati. et sic tale coelum non est quid corporale, sed quid spirituale. Deum enim ipse, vel visio eius: vel dilectio ilia summa, quam hæbebimus in patria: potest dici huiusmodi coelum. Ipsa enim deus est illa regio, in qua optime est animae nam ad ipsum factum sumus et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescamus in ipso, ut vult Augustinus circa principium libri Confessionum. Istud autem est tertium coelum ad quod raptus fuit Paulus ad visionem, scilicet dei apertam, quae non fit per corpus, neque per similitudinem corporis, sed per ipsum divinam essentiam. Et sicut coelum, vel regio superior, in qua sunt angeli, vel animae beatae, potest nobis dicere quid spirituale, non corporale, sic et infernus vel locus inferior, ad quem feruntur animae damnatae, potest dicere quid spirituale, non corporale, nam poena animarum damnatorum est duplex: una poena damnis. et alia sensus; et prima debet reputari maior quam secunda: plus enim debent dolere animae damnatae de poena damnis, quia carent tanto bono: sicut est visio dei, quam de poena sensus, ut quia sentiunt sic cruciatum acerbum; feruntur ergo animae damnatae ad infernum, id est, ad aliquid triste, ut ad poenam damnandi, vel ad poenam sensus. Si ergo per huiusmodi triste intelligatur poena damnis, certum est quod huiusmodi triste est quid spirituale: sed si per huiusmodi triste intelligatur poena sensus, non oportet quod nominet locum corporalem; possunt enim animae virtute divina habere huiusmodi poenam, absque eo, quod sint in loco illo inferior. Coelum ergo empyreum, id est igneum, in quo sunt angeli beati, et sine quo beati esse non possunt: debet dici quid spirituale." Ibid, fol. 138, col. Ic-col. IIa.
albeit most limited, through contemplation since it is the place of contemplation. The *beati* are those separated souls who are truly in heaven, whereas the *sancti* are both the *beati* residing with the angels and the saints here on earth, the saints who by grace are similar to the angels.\(^5^3\)

The spiritual understanding of the *caelum empyreum* is of utmost importance for interpreting not only Jordan’s understanding of ‘in heaven’, but also for grasping his doctrine of sanctification, and, perhaps unexpectedly, for gaining insight into his view of his Order. In his exposition of ‘in heaven’ as referring to the *veri sancti*

\(^5^3\) ..."nostra conversatio est in caelis...vivendo et intelligendo similes sumus angeli; hoc efficit gratia." *Opus Jor*, sermo 30, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 64ra. Expositing the phrase *in caelis* as referring in part to the *caelum empyrium* became incorporated within the exegetical tradition. Thus, for example, the rector of the schools in Ulm, Johannes Müntzinger (d. 1417), explained: "...nota quod triplex est caelum scilicet caelum supra nos, quod dicitur caelum divinum et empireum, et stellae illius caeli sunt angeli; secundum caelum est intra nos et est anima nostra, et huius stellae sunt virtutes; tertium caelum est iuxta nos, et hoc caelum est ecclesia, cuius stellae sunt Christifideles. Et ergo dicimus 'Qui es in caelis' in plurali numero et non in singulari numero." Johannes Müntzinger, *Expositio super oratione dominica*, Basel, UB MS A. VI. 4, fol. 61v. We find a similar interpretation in the catechetical expositions of the 'Our Father'. Thus, the fifteenth-century treatise, *Unser aller liebster her Ihesus* included the *caelum empyrium* in explaining the heavens: "Dye andern himel, dye ob disen obgenanten himeln erhebt sein [i.e., die leiplichen himel], seind gaystliche himel, da man nennet celum emprreum, den feurin himel, nit leiplichs feurs halben, sunder grosses himelischen liechcz halben vnd klarhait vnd grosser hiczier libe, dye an disem himel ist. Es ist werlich die freudenreych wonung der selgen, dye in disen himel den herren schauen von angesicht zu angesicht auff disem perg Syong yn dem himlischhen Iherusalem, der helgen stat, do alle freud seind." Adam, 109; see also Adam, 109, n.28. In this text, however, the third meaning of 'heaven' is the rational heaven, the realm of angels and humans: "Dye dritten hymel dass seind dye vernunfftigen himel, es seind engel oder menschen, yn denen der herr noch mit grossem rechten vnd sachen wonet um der gleichayt willen dess wesens vnd entpfenklikayt willen der natur mer wann yn den andern zwayerlay himeln...," Ibid, 109-110.
Jordan declared that the human soul is expanded by grace and love to become increasingly capable of containing God. And thus God extended the heavens, as a hide, to fill the expanded souls.\textsuperscript{54} In light of our above analysis, the heaven that has been extended appears as the spiritual \textit{caelum empyreum}. As an 'extended heaven' it is theoretically open not only to those like Paul who was taken up into the third heaven, but also to each contemplative soul. And it is in these souls, these saints, that God illumines the intellect by removing errors, regulates the affections by ordering love, and cares for their progress by administering strength. These saints Jordan compared to the heavenly bodies, which greatly shine with the majesty of God.\textsuperscript{55} In expositing Psalms 67:9, "For the heavens drip forth from the face of the God of Sinai, from the face of the God of Israel," Jordan explained that those heavens are the saints, "who drip forth by pouring out works of charity."\textsuperscript{56} To drip forth, Jordan continued, "is to pour fourth drops, drop by drop,"\textsuperscript{57} but these drops are the key to spiritual growth: it is by pouring out drops of one's virtues through works that one merits and grows. This merit and growth, however, have their source in the God of Sinai, which Jordan interpreted as obedience to God's commandments, or the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[54] Supra, L2, 197,3-4.
\item[55] Supra, L2, 198,2-6.
\item[56] Supra, L2, 199,6-7.
\item[57] Supra, L2, 199,8.
\end{footnotes}
active life, and the God of Israel, or seeing God, which is the contemplative life.\textsuperscript{58}

Several points are to be noted here. First, merit stems from God, or rather, flows from God; it is not a human acquisition by which individuals progress towards God. Second, and most importantly, this is Jordan's summation of sanctification. It is here that he spelled out the process of the sanctified life, for this is his exposition of the \emph{veri sancti caeli}. The saints are saints by pouring forth works of charity, drop by drop, in both the active and the contemplative lives. The saints are not holy individuals but the springs of love, virtue and divine splendor. The saints are those who keep God's commandments and those who see God. Third, Jordan's summation of sanctification here is the theological explication of the \emph{religio Augustini}. As we have already seen, the \emph{vita perfectissima} according to Jordan, was to rest in God and then to bring the fruits of contemplation to others.\textsuperscript{59} This is echoed here not only by the emphasis on the active and contemplative lives, but also when Jordan listed among what is poured out by the saints, "...the 'honeycomb' of sweetness through doctrine and contemplation,"\textsuperscript{60} which is both the \emph{vacare} and the \emph{exire...eructare} of the \emph{vita perfectissima}. The brothers of the Order were not only to be the \emph{imitatores Augustini}, but also the \emph{veri sancti caeli}. Finally, even though Jordan's doctrine of sanctification

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\textsuperscript{58} Supra, L2, 199,8-201,3.
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\textsuperscript{59} "...hunc esse vitam perfectissimam nunc in solitudine soli deo in contemplatione vacare et nunc exire per contemplationem hausta ad lucra animarum reportanda aliis eructare." VF 1,11 (35,9-11). See supra, Introduction, 120.
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\textsuperscript{60} Supra, L2, 200,6.
\end{flushright}
as here expressed was inseparable from his understanding of his Order, sanctification was not limited to the members of the order. All christians are the *veri sancti caeli* through keeping God’s commandments, or in other words, by conforming themselves to God’s will.\(^61\) The saints reflect the splendor of divine majesty, and as Jordan confirmed in a sermon specifically addressed to the cloistered, "the religious man, indeed every Christian ought to be bright and shinning."\(^62\) The true saints, the *veri sancti caeli*, are not only the *fratres Augustini*, nor even the *religiosi*, but rather the *Christiani*—every Christian, *quilibet Christianus*, is to be a saint.

The City of God In Exile

This brings us to our second interpretative lens, Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei*. We turn to Augustine not in an attempt to prove Jordan’s dependence on the *doctor gratiae*’s *magnum opus et arduum*, and indeed Jordan cited the work but once. Yet Augustine’s doctrine of the two cities casts light on Jordan’s doctrine of sanctification which reveals shades that might otherwise be overlooked.

To begin we should note that Aegidius explicitly appealed to Augustine’s *civitas Dei* as referring to the community of *beati* and *angeli* in the *caelum empyreum*:

\(^{61}\) See, supra, L5, 262,9-10.

\(^{62}\) "Sic debent homo religiosus et quilibet christianus esse clarus et luminosus." *Opus Dan*, sermo 256, *Ad Religiosos*, (ed. Paris 1521), fol. 412v. The same emphasis is seen in Jordan’s *Meditationes de passione Christi*, which he composed for his fellow religious and for the laity; see infra, ch. 5.
"now the angels and blessed humans comprise the one city of God; then [i.e., after the resurrection of the body] the caelum empyreum will be one city of God, whose citizens will be the angels and the blessed humans. Likewise at that time that hellish place far below will be one city of the devil, whose citizens will be the demons and the damned."\(^6\) Jordan, one the other hand, did not refer to the sancti and beati as the citizens of the city of God. Nevertheless, the parallels to Augustine's two cities are striking.

For Augustine the two cities had their origins when God separated the light from the darkness, and from this time onwards they steadily proceed through the historical drama towards their merited ends (debiti fines). The two cities are defined most succinctly as two loves; the dwellers in the heavenly city love God whereas those in the other city love themselves. The inhabitants of the heavenly city are destined towards eternal blessedness in heaven, whereas the citizens from hell are truly hell bent. In hac vita the cities are mixed, a corpus permixtum in the sense that humans in this life do not carry passports issued by their governments. The citizens of the heavenly city are forced to dwell in time, and thus they are aliens in this life, peregrini who are separated from their homeland. The pondus animae, the weight of historical existence renders the heavenly citizens estranged. There is an ontological

\(^6\) Referring to De Civitate Dei, 12, 1, Aegidius writes: "...nunc angeli et homines beati facient unam civitatem Dei: erit tunc caelum empyreum una civitas dei; cuius cives erunt angeli et homines beati: et tunc infernus locus ille profundus inferior erit una civitas diaboli, cuius cives erunt daemones et homines damnati." Aegidius Romanus, 2 Sent. dist. 2, q. 2, art. 1, (ed. Venice, 1581) fol. 139, col. 1c.
yearning for their end of blessedness, which they await in hope, manifested in their inquietude; the citizens of the heavenly city will only obtain peace when they reach their home.\textsuperscript{64}

This crystallizes Jordan's doctrine of sanctification as seen in his \textit{Expositio}. As we have already noted, Jordan cited \textit{De Civitate Dei} only once, and yet he made the most of his single scoop. Jordan concluded his exposition of the prologue of the prayer by setting forth the three chief perfections of the \textit{beati}. Yet even here we see the indeterminacy between the \textit{sancti} and the \textit{beati} because the ever present possession (\textit{tentio inamissibilia}) which the \textit{beati} enjoy is related to hope, and perfects the emotional powers of the soul, rather than a state of being in heaven. "But," Jordan clarified, "so that we might have future blessedness present here and now, we need the \textit{regnum gloriae}."\textsuperscript{65} This is the context in which Jordan placed the 'ever present possession' of the \textit{beati}. Christians are saints awaiting future blessedness and as long as they are in this life, they await with hope. And this is where \textit{De Civitate Dei} entered Jordan's text. In explicating the three chief perfections of the \textit{beati} to conclude the prologue in which Jordan set up the entire context of the prayer, with respect to the first, 'clear vision' (\textit{visio inobfuscabilis}) he simply cited Job, Exodus, 

\textsuperscript{64} See supra, Introduction, 117-119; see also, Johannes van Oort, \textit{Jerusalem and Babylon. A Study into Augustine's 'City of God' and the Sources of his Doctrine of the Two Cities}, Supplements to \textit{Vigiliae Christianae} 14. (Leiden, 1991).

\textsuperscript{65} Supra, L4, 251,2-3.
and Psalms.\textsuperscript{66} When it came to the second, however, the 'ever present possession' that is related to hope, Jordan first cited Exodus 15: "Lead them and plant them in the mountain of your heredity."\textsuperscript{67} The \textit{introduces}, he explained, is in the present and relates to hope, which is of the future; \textit{plantabis}, is the ever present possession that is firm and secure.\textsuperscript{68} To drive the point home, Jordan brought in \textit{De Civitate Dei:}

"Wherefore Augustine in the last book of 'The City of God': 'There we will rest and see, we will see and love, we will love and praise. Behold what will be in the end without end, for what else is our end but to come to the kingdom which has no end?'"\textsuperscript{69} To describe humans' end, to which the entire \textit{Pater Noster} is directed, and which Christians must await in hope, Jordan appealed to \textit{De Civitate Dei}.\textsuperscript{70}

Hope is the Moses of the \textit{sancti} and \textit{beati}, which leads them out of the land of

\textsuperscript{66} Supra, L2, 203,3-7.

\textsuperscript{67} Supra, L2, 203,8-9.

\textsuperscript{68} Supra, L2, 203,9-204,1.

\textsuperscript{69} Supra, L2, 204,1-4.

\textsuperscript{70} The importance of this text to Jordan's thought is testified to not only by its inclusion within the \textit{Expositio Orationis Dominicae}, but also by the fact that Jordan selected this same passage to conclude his \textit{Opus Postillarum}. After discussing the need for both the active and the contemplative lives, the Augustinian \textit{vita perfectissima}, Jordan summarized: 'Ibant inquam ad actionem et revertabantur ad contemplationem, et vice versa. Quam etiam desiderabilem vicissitudinem et nos continuare studeamus donec ad illam celestem montem perveniamus, ubi, secundum Augustinum libro De civitate dei, vacabimus et videbimus, videbimus et amabimus, amabimus et laudabimus. Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine. Quo nos perducere digneretur deus deorum, qui vivit et regnat per infinita saecula saeculorum, Amen.' \textit{Opus Postillarum}, sermo 460.
Egypt and plants them in the promised land. It was the link between the *esse gratiae* and the *esse gloriae*, or perhaps more accurately, between the *regnum gratiae* and the *regnum gloriae*. As such it occupied a place of central importance in Jordan's theology. Faith makes one a saint in a strict sense, but while the saints remain in hac *vita*, hope offers them the foretaste of eternal blessedness, leading them toward their end. Faith ontologically makes one a saint, providing the bridge between the *esse gratiae* and *esse gloriae*, but hope experientially makes one a saint, securing the promise within the *regnum gratiae* of the *regnum gloriae*.

In his fourth lecture Jordan introduced the virtue hope, defined as that "by which we await the kingdom." He then cited Lombard's definition of hope as the "certain expectation of future blessedness, coming from God's grace and from [our] preceding merits." The certain expectation, Jordan clarified, refers to the church (*regnum ecclesiae*), "which consists in the firmness of faith," and therefore "the certitude of hope relies on the certitude of faith." Yet since Lombard mentioned future blessedness, the kingdom of glory is also involved. This expectation comes from God's grace, and therefore corresponds to the *regnum gratiae*, but, as we have already seen, hope brings the *regnum gloriae* to the saints here and now. Having been made a saint by faith, the saint awaits his or her final end in hope, which allows

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71 Supra, L4, 250,2-3.

72 Supra, L4, 250,3-5.

73 Supra, L4, 250,5-8.
for an experience of that end for those saints *degentes in terra*. Whereas faith is that by which God’s name is sanctified in the sinner, hope brings about the coming of God’s kingdom and offers the certitude of future blessedness that is needed to conduct the war with the devil.\footnote{In the *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis*, Jordan presented a short treatment of hope that parallels his exposition in his lecture on Matthew: "Secunda virtus theologica est spes. Spes autem in sacra scriptura accipitur multis modis. Sumitur enim quandoque pro re, quam speramus, ut ad Titum secundo: *exspectantes beatam spem* [Tit. 2,13]. Quandoque pro certitudine gloriae futurae, Romanos V: *probatio vero spem* [Rom. 5,4]; gloria id est certitudinem futurae gloriae. Quandoque pro virtute, ut 1 Corinthiorum iii, *Nunc autem manent fides, spes et caritas* [1 Cor. 13,13]. Quandoque pro motu virtutis, et sic describit eam magister Sententiarum li. 3, d. 26: *Spes est certa expectatio beatae futurae veniens ex dei gratia et ex meritis precedentibus*, secundum eundem etiam describitur sic: *spes est appetitus excellentis boni cum fiducia obtinende*. Sed prout est virtus sic describitur: spes est virtus, qua spiritualia et aeterna bona sperantur, id est cum fiducia expectantur. Et sic accipitur hic huius virtutis communiter non assignantur aliquae species sive partes; obiectum autem eius propium est beatitudine aeterna, quam proprie et principaliter a deo sperare debemus." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 439, *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis*, De Spe, D. For the war with the devil, see infra, ch. 4.}

The promised land, the Christian’s *debita finis*, is the goal of the saint’s journey, and yet even now one can catch glimpses. In explicating the third chief perfection of the *beati, fruitio infastidibilis*, Jordan once again drew on Augustine, but this time from *De Libero Arbitrio*: "So great is the joy of the eternal light that even though it is not possible to remain in it for more than a brief time of a single day, on account of this alone innumerable days of this life are filled will delight, and the ebb and flow of temporal goods are rightly disparaged."\footnote{Supra, L2, 204,7-206,2.} It is in this context that the
sancti are the beati, who can experience a foretaste of the caelum empyreum as they make their way 'home'. For Jordan, as for Augustine, the sancti are citizens of the heavenly city, who must await their return in hope. It is this tension, this ontological tension, that the city of God experiences as peregrini in this life; or in Jordan’s terminology, it is the ontological tension between the esse gratiae and the esse gloriae that the sancti experience as they make their way from this life, degentes in terra, to their blessed end.76

This end, however, is not something that humans achieve. The Pater Noster is the prayer that leads one to 'stretch towards' one's end, or to 'extend towards' the end (ut pertingamus ad finem). Thus one must have patience (longanimitas), because the kingdom of glory is not immediate, but rather it is put off to the future. Thus in the meantime Christians await and expect the future delight with patience.77 In doing so they must conform themselves to God's will. They must direct their affections toward heaven, for the distinction between the righteous and the sinners, Jordan told us in echoes of Augustine, is based on the diverse affections; those of the just are directed toward heaven while those of sinners are concerned with earthly

76 Cf.: "...nostra conversatio in caelis est, videmus enim quod peregrinus non liberenter contrahit in terra peregrinationis praecipue si terra sit ignorabilis, sed redit ad locum nativitatis. Ita apostolus volens conubium facere congruens suae nobilitati dicebat: non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquirimus." Opus Jor, sermo 66, Vat., MS Pal. lat. 488, fol. 125rb.

77 Supra, L4, 257,4-6.
matters.\textsuperscript{78} Two separate affections, two separate loves distinguish the sinners from the saints. And yet even the saints are weighed down by the flesh. It is not, however, so much the \textit{pondus animae} that Jordan explicated, as the \textit{asinus animae};\textsuperscript{79} the flesh and the spirit are in opposition and must be brought into harmony. Hence one prays for God's will to be done 'in heaven as it is on earth', at least in part, for 'heaven' here refers to the soul, and 'earth, to the flesh.\textsuperscript{80} The spirit of the righteous (\textit{spiritus iustorum}) does not resist God, but the flesh. The flesh must be brought into obedience in harmony with the spirit, otherwise it is in rebellion and can prevent sanctification.\textsuperscript{81} Sanctification is indeed living as if not of this world, \textit{quasi sine terra}, and to be saints Christians must live without worldly, or earthly affections.\textsuperscript{82} Yet to do so \textit{in hac vita} is not within human power. One prays for God's will to be done in the spirit as in the flesh, but this can only be achieved imperfectly in this life, although it will be brought to perfection in eternal life. Thus one prays that it might be given one to do God's will to the extent possible for humans in this life. And this holds true as well for the sanctification of God's name

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{78} Supra, L2, 195,7-196,1.
\item \textsuperscript{79} The term \textit{asinus animae} is not found in Jordan's \textit{Expositio}, but in his \textit{Opus Postillarum}, where he also speaks of the 'weight' the soul bears due to the flesh: "gravamur nexibus carnis". sermo 5 D.
\item \textsuperscript{80} Supra, L5, 264,8-265,3.
\item \textsuperscript{81} Supra, L5, 265,3-8; cf. L4, 242,6-243,2.
\item \textsuperscript{82} Supra, L3, 219,7-220,1.
\end{itemize}
and the coming of his Kingdom.\textsuperscript{83} It is only in eternal life that the Christian will have perfect blessedness, when the affections will be in perfect obedience to God's will, when the saints will delight in God without contradictions of the flesh, the world, or the devil, for then they will be in perfect peace, then they will be 'home', \textit{in patria},\textsuperscript{84} then, they will have reached their end.

For Jordan the sancti were defined by the direction of their affections, which distinguish them from the sinners. Their home, their end, is in heaven, which they await with patience and hope. They live as if not of this world, \textit{quasi sine terra}, or in other words, as if they are citizens of another city, the city that is their blessed end in which they will find perfect peace.\textsuperscript{85} Even though Jordan only cited \textit{De Civitate Dei} once, albeit in a place of central importance to the text, we pick up the scent of his overall scheme of sanctification only when we recognize the latent presence of the two cities.

Election and Predestination

With the \textit{caelum empyreum} and Augustine's \textit{De Civitate Dei} as background,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{83} Supra, L5, 267,8-268,1.
\item \textsuperscript{84} See supra, L4, 256,5-7.
\item \textsuperscript{85} Cf.: "...mundus non convenit nostrae quieti, quia nullus in hoc mundo quietus est, eo quod mundus semper sit in motu; videmus enim quod quidquid est in remota semper movetur, ut qui vadit in navi. Unde Augustinus: fecisti nos domine a te ut inquietum est cor meum donec requiescat in te." \textit{Opus Jor}, sermo 66, Vat., MS Pal. lat. 448, fol. 125rb-125va.
\end{itemize}
the grey area between the sancti and beati comes into sharper focus. There is blurring indeed because the sancti and beati, those already in the caelum empyreum as well as those on earth, are together, in an analogous sense, the city of God. This places the question of election and predestination in Jordan’s theology in more direct light. Jordan was not addressing the individual who is concerned about how he or she can obtain grace; rather he addressed the sancti who are sancti by adoption as God’s sons through grace. The grace has already been given, the redemption has already been effected. The question Jordan strove to answer is not the process by which the individual finds a ‘righteous God’, which was to be the chief theological question of the later fifteenth century, but rather after one has already been redeemed, after one has already been given gifts, after one is already a saint, after one knows that God is the loving Father—now what? This is the question: how are Christians, as saints by adoption, to be good administrators of God’s gifts? How do they go about, as saints, pouring forth works of love? It is in this context that Jordan spoke of merit; one merits blessedness by being a good administrator after one has already been adopted by God.

Jordan was explicit in the Opus Postillarum regarding the steps, or stages of grace and merit. There is, Jordan explained, a three-fold image of God in humans. First, there is the image of God given at creation; second, the reformed, or recreated

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86 See Hamm, Frömmigkeitstheologie, 261f.
image after the Fall; and third, the image of likeness to God. 87 The first image was formed by God according to nature. 88 This image, however, was deformed by sin. 89 Thus, the second image of God in humans is the recreated image, reformed by the grace of God. The third image, the similitude to the trinity, is accomplished by the grace of God and by human habits and works. 90 Human cooperation only has its place once the deformed image has been recreated and reformed by the infusion of God’s grace. The order is clear; human merit does not precede, but follows the infusion of grace.

87 "...imago hominis interior triplex est scilicet imago creationis, imago recreationis et imago similitudinis." Opus Postillarum, sermo 445 A.

88 "Prima imago est a deo secundum naturam formata." Ibid.

89 "Haec autem imago creat a peccatum hominis deformata est." Opus Postillarum, sermo 445 B.

90 "Secunda est a deo per gratiam reformata. Sed tertia est a deo et ab homine habitibus et actibus informata." Opus Postillarum, sermo 445 A. Jordan continued: "Prima est imago in qua homo creatus est scilicet ratio; secunda est per quam reformatur imago creat a scilicet dei gratia, quae menti reparandae infunditur. Tertia est imago ad quam factus est homo scilicet ad imaginem et similitudinem ipsius trinitatis." Ibid. The image of God is central for Jordan, for this image separates the elect from the reprobate. In commenting on Mark 12,15-17, Jordan clarified: "...deus in extremo iudicio hanc quaestionem proponit exigendo a quolibet racionem quomodo imaginem suam in se custodierit et veneratus fuerit. Nam secundum dispositionem imaginis in quolibet ad conformitatem vel difformitatem Christi iudicabuntur. Et secundum hoc electi a reprobis discernentur." Opus Postillarum, sermo 446 C. By conforming oneself to the image of Christ, one returns to God; see infra, ch. 5.
Merit for Jordan was not a *quid pro quo*. If one can speak of merit, one can do so only based on what humans do with the grace bestowed on them to begin with, and even so, such merit is dependent upon God’s acceptance.

91 In his *Opus Jor* Jordan reiterated his position: "...quantcumque quis sit perfectus, semper se debet reputare servum inutilem propter tres rationes. Prima est, quia bona, quae fecimus, non sunt nostra...Secunda ratio est, quia nulla est compensatio earum ad finem beatitudinis. Illud enim dicitur inutile quod nullatenus attinget finem suum...Tertia ratio est ex humilitate; sic Maria: *ecce ancilla dominum* [Luc. 1,38]." *Opus Jor*, sermo 33, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 69ra.

92 "...nulla enim virtus sufficiens est producere ad deum, faciendo scilicet hominem meritorie dignum vitae aeternae nisi suupposita acceptatione divina, quod sit per gratiam." *Opus Jor*, sermo 57, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 111ra-b.

...et ideo quod homo convertatur ad deum, hoc non potest esse nisi deo ipsum convertente. Haec autem est praeparare se ad gratiam, quasi ad deum converti sicut ille qui habet oculum aversum a sole per hoc se praeparat ad recipiendum lumen solis quod oculos suos convertit versus solem; et hoc est quod dicitur Trenorum 5: *Converte nos domine ad te et convertimur* [Lam. 5,21]. Et si dicitur hominis est praeparare animam etc, ut scribitur Prov. 16. Dicendum quod hoc facit per liberum arbitrium, sed cum hoc non facit sine auxilio dei, moventis liberum arbitrium et ad se hominem trahentis, Unde. Johannis 7: *nemo venit ad me nisi pater meus qui misit me traxerit illum* [Ioh. 6,44]. Dico ergo quod praedicta praeparatoria facere non possumus sine gratia. Secundo modo dicta possumus cum ea sine habituali dono saltem initiative et imperfecte; perfecte autem et meritorie ea non possumus sine gratia, quae est donum habituale." *Opus Jor*, sermo 247, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 383ra. Cf. the distinction between operating and cooperating grace, supra, n. ??.

Here we see that meritorious works clearly follow the initial infusion of grace; one does not merit grace, but can only perform meritorious works after having received grace. Jordan does not employ the distinction between *meritum de congruo* and *meritum de condigno*, although we do find the terms on occasion. *Meritum de congruo* for Jordan is not that by which we merit grace, but rather that by which someone already just can merit first grace for someone else: "...notandum quod omnis oratio nostrae tendere debet ad salutem aeternam tam pro nobis quam pro aliis, pro quibus oramus. Quilibet enim iustus orando pro peccatore potest sibi menerima primam gratiam de congruo. Exemplum de beato Stephano qui meruit Paulo primam gratiam, sed ad hoc quod mereatur requiruntur in iusto mente quatuor, duo ex parte intentionis, scilicet quod sit fervida et pro peccatore directa; duo ex parte operis, scilicet quod opera sunt ardua et consumata. Unde si perseveraverit pulsans etc. Sed
will does not have the ability to merit. All the meritorious works of humans are not their own, but are worked in them. Individuals only perform meritorious works when the Holy Spirit moves their free will to do so, "just as a boy cannot write with a pen, unless his hand is led by the hand of a teacher." For Jordan, merit is equated with the works of the elect.

In the *Opus Postillarum* we find additional evidence that Jordan did indeed hold a doctrine of election and reprobation. Jordan discussed the three advents of Christ, the advent *in carmem*, and advent *in mentem*, that is in the believer, and the advent *in iudicium*. Regarding the later Jordan affirmed that Christ will come to judge the world in human form: first in order to judge in human form those who had
condemned him in human form; second, to confuse the Jews in so far as they will see themselves being judged by someone they did not want to believe in; and third, both for the punishment of the reprobate, seeing themselves judged not by an angel, but by a man, and for the glory of the elect, seeing the excellence of human nature.  

It is by the merit of the works of the elect that God will give the morning star as the crown to those who conquer and uphold His works, in reference to the second chapter of the Apocalypse. These stars, or this luminosity, Jordan explained, in other words, these works of the elect "never last until the evening, but are always in the morning, as if they begin from a new origin...further, just as the stars, which are immense even though they appear to be small, so our virtuous works however great and excellent they may be ought to appear small in our eyes."  

95 "Notandum etiam quod dominus iudicabit mundum in forma humanae naturae propter tria. Primo quia sicut venire in forma humana hominem redimere, qui scilicet homo ipsum christum in eadem forma condempnavit iniuste, ita ipse christus in eadem forma eum iuste iudicet....Secundo ad confusionem iudeorum, quatinus videntes se iudicari ab homine, in quem credere noluerunt, confundantur...Tertio ad poenam reproborum videntium se iudicari non ab angelo sed ab homine et ad gloriam electorum videntium in iudice humanam naturam excellentissime exaltatam."  

96 "In stellis, id est operibus electis, debet esse signum victoriae et supererogationis. Apoc. 2: qui vicerit et custodierit opera mea, dabo illi stellam matutinam [Apoc. 2,26-28], id est, premium correspondens merito, merito operum electorum."  

97 "Haec stella, id est luminositas, bonorum operum nunquam tendit ad occasum, sed semper erit in mane quasi de novo oriri incipiat...Item sicut stella cum magna sit, apparet parva, sic opera nostra virtuosa quantcumque magna sint et excellentia, debent in oculis nostris apparere parva."
Further, Christ is the farmer who sows his seeds in the field, some of which fall on the stones, some on the path, some fall among the thorns, while others land in good soil. The seed is his Word, sowed by the preacher. It is vain, therefore to preach to the incorrigible because stones cannot become earth, neither can the thorns be other than thorns, nor the path other than the path. Yet with regard to rational creatures, it is possible for stones to become earth, and for the path not to be trod underfoot, and for thorns to be weeded, and thus it is not vain for the preacher to preach to sinners, regardless how evil they may be. It is possible that for Jordan the stones, path, and thorns were the reprobate, for he referred to them as the indocibles and inepti. The sinners, or the rational creatures, therefore, in this light would comprise the corpus permixtum in this life, and we should not forget that for Jordan the saint was a sinner. It is these sinners, who certainly could become part of the damned, to whom the word of God must be preached for they can also be converted, or even, perhaps, are already part of the elect. In this case, the general will of God for the salvation of sinners appears in different light. Jordan did not say

98 Jordan devotes all of sermo 137 to the exposition of this parable. See Opus Postillarum, sermo 137 A-K.

99 "Sic et praedicator non intendit praedicare indocibilibus et ineptis, sed ipse facit quod in se est praedicando, sed si verbum recipitur sic vel sic, hoc est ex parte auditorum...increpandus esset agricola qui super sensibles spinas vel petram vel viam seminaret. Non est possibile est petram terram fieri, nec viam non esse viam, nec spinas non esse spinas. In rationalibus vero secus est; possibile est enim petram converti in terram pinguem, et viam non conculcari, et spinas dissipari. Unde non est vanum, immo valde utile praedicare peccatoribus, quamcumque malis." Opus Postillarum, sermo 137 F.
that God wills the salvation of all. God does not will the conversion, sanctification, and glorification of all, but the conversion of the sinners, who could be, at least in part, members of the elect who are just not 'there' yet.

This indeed seems to be the proper interpretation when we turn to the *Opus Jor*. God's general will of salvation seems to be confirmed, for, Jordan declared, Christ died not just for the Jews, but for all. This "for all", however, was not unequivocally "all", but referred to all the sons of God, that is, our preacher clarified, "the eternally predestined."100 "In the beginning," Jordan explained calling on Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei*, "two cities were established from men and angels; one was comprised of the good men and angels, and the other from the evil."101 Many are called by God—but few are choosen.102 These few are few indeed with respect

100 "...Christus enim non solum mori voluit pro salute populi iudaici, quibus non solum in lege promissum fuerat, sed et pro salute totius generis et hoc innuit evangelica cum subdit, Et non solum pro gente, scilicet iudaica, sed ut filios dei aeternaliter scilicet praedestinatos a deo in omnibus gentibus...." *Opus Jor*, sermo 143, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 233vb.

101 "...enim doctrinam beati Augustini 11 de civitate dei in principio ex angelis et hominibus duae constituuntur civitates; una ex angelis et hominibus bonis, alter ex angelis et hominibus malis..." *Opus Jor*, sermo 125, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 208ra.

102 "Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi*, Mt. 13 [Matth.22,14]. In verbis istis duo notantur. Primum est divina vocatio generalis ibi multi sunt vocati; secundum est divina electio singularis, ibi pauci vero electi." *Opus Jor*, sermo 76, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 136rb-136va.
to the number of the damned. They are the beloved of Christ, and it is to them to whom Jordan spoke:

...[Christ] always loved us, for from eternity he chose and predestined us, and within the realm of time, when we were nothing, he gave us our being, and he stamped it with his own image, which we have desecrated with sin; moreover, he restored us with his own blood, and so that he might always make known his plentiful love, he completely nourishes us with the food of his own body.

The boni and iusti--that is, the sancti as we have seen--are such by grace, and therefore they "ought to give Christ the greatest thanks because they were called by Christ out of the entire degenerate mob and chosen by grace from the number of the damned."

So, Jordan did have a doctrine of election and predestination after all, and we

103 "...non totum genus humanum dampnatur sed aliqui eliguntur ad salutem qui valde pauci sunt respectu multitidinis dampnatorum." Opus Jor, sermo 248, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 385ra.

104 "...semper nos dilexit quia patet ab aeterno enim in seipso nos elegit et praedestinavit et in tempore cum nihil essemus, nobis esse naturae contulit, quod etiam propria imagine insignavit, quam cum per peccatum foedissetis, nos iterum proprio sanguine restauravit et ut nobis plenius suam dilectionem ostenderet nos insuper alimento sui corporis satiavit...", Opus Jor, sermo 159, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 251rb-251va. Cf.: "...Christus valde dulciter captat nostram benevolentiam cum dicit: 'venite filii', quasi dicens, filii quos aeternaliter praedestinavi, quos temporaliiter glorificavi, quos sacramentaliter propio corpore pavi, quos spiritualiter meo sanguine lavi, venite acquiescendo firmiter meae resurrectionis articulo concaudendo titulo." Opus Jor, sermo 188, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 292ra. Here again we see that it is Christ who captures the Christian's good will; cf. supra, ch. 2.

105 "...ut iusti plurimum deo regradientur quia quod boni sunt non habent a natura sed a divina gratia... debent ergo iusti Christo plurimas gratias agere quod de massa tota corrupta vocati sunt a Christo et electi per gratiam de numero pereuntium" Opus Jor, sermo 72, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 133rb.
find him having based it explicitly on Augustine's two cities. Furthermore, Jordan was uncompromising; "God the Father rules the elect in this world, just as a paterfamilias governs his subjects in his own house."¹⁰⁶ In addition, if Gregory of Rimini merited the title, tortor infantium for adhering to a strict Augustinian doctrine of predestination, it was one he could have shared with Jordan. Unbaptized children were associated with the damned and condemned to hell.¹⁰⁷ Following closely on their heals, however, were mothers who killed their infants before baptism. In doing so they deprived the angels of great good and sent the souls of their children straight to hell: "Oh God, how greatly they will be tortured," Jordan lamented.¹⁰⁸ And finally, as he explained in the Opus Dan with strong echoes of Augustine, the elect are elect to replace the fallen angels, to fill the heavenly mansions the fallen angels had vacated.¹⁰⁹ It thus becomes clear. The elect must fill the heavenly mansions of

¹⁰⁶ "...paterfamilias est deus pater qui electos regit in mundo sicut paterfamilias subditos in domo." Opus Jor, sermo 73, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 133vb.

¹⁰⁷ In discussing the effects of Christ's passion, Jordan lists one as freeing the patriarchs, among other, from Limbo, but, he then adds: "Damnati autem et pueri non baptizati huius meriti capaces non fuerunt. Ideo tales non liberavit sed in statu suo reliquit." Opus Jor, sermo 143, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 234rb.

¹⁰⁸ "Infelices mulieres, quae partum impediunt vel suffocant sine baptismate...quantum bonum angelis aufferant...et quantum maledictionem incurrunt...O deus quantum cruciabitur, qui puerum non baptizatum interficit et animam ad infernum mittat." Opus Jor, sermo 65, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 124ra-b.

¹⁰⁹ "Et secundum illa [Ioh. 14,2] sumuntur diversae mansiones, quas mansiones omnium electorum sumere possimus secundum choros angelorum, ad quorum ruinam restaurandam homo est creatus. Quia enim de singulis choris aliqui angeli ceciderunt..."
the angels, the bright and shining mansions within the *caelum empyreum*, which, as we have already seen, was where Jordan placed the angels. These elect are the *sancti*, who have one foot in that heaven, but, *degentes in terra*, are held down by their other foot firmly planted on earth. Jordan addressed his *Expositio* to the *sancti*, the elect, as a guide for their journey homeward to their heavenly city.

Jordan never discussed the precise origins of the reprobate and elect, in that he never explicitly broached the question of whether predestination was *ante* or *post praevisa merita*. Nevertheless, as we have seen repeatedly, Jordan was crystal clear regarding the source of the initiative.\(^\text{110}\) Thus when Christ comes in judgment, the

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\(^{110}\) Cf.: "Ad haec igitur bona ab aeterna homini praeparata invitabit deus in die ultima quando dicet Matthei 25: *Vnite ecce ab omni malo separatio benedictio patris mei* [Matt. 25,34]. Ecce summum horum collatio, quod nobis paratum est ab origine mundi. Ecce aeterna praedestinatio, quae nihil alium est quam *praeparatio gratiae in praesenti et gloriae in futuro* [Augustine, *De dono perseverantiae*, PL 45,1014]." *Opus Jor*, sermo 240, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 374rb. Jordan’s model for human preparation for grace was Paul, and Paul, according to Jordan, was converted by God ‘violently’. After stating that some are called by gifts, some by castigations, and some by compulsion, Jordan gives Paul’s conversion as an example of the latter, together with the conversions of the Germans by Charlemagne: *"Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi*. Matthei 13 [Matt. 25,34]. In verbis istis duo notantur. Primum est divina vocatio generalis ibi multi sunt vocati; secundum est divina electio singularis, ibi pauci vero electi. Quantum ad primum est sciendum quod aliqui vocantur a deo tribus modi. Primo donacione, secundo castigationone, tertio, coactione…deus potest ergo quidquid vult. Aliquando ergo aliquos malos, quos non potest per dona vel per castigationes vacare, vocat cum violentia. Exemplum in Paulo, quem vocavit violenter et omnes veteros alamanos, quos rex Carolus coegit fieri Christianos et modo sunt bona Christiani. Unde completum est illud evangelicum Luc. 9: compelle intrare, quia ipse Carolus compulsit eos intrare, id est, fidem
rebrobate—those, seemingly already reprobate rather than those to be sentenced to damnation—will be additionally punished by being judged by a human, while the elect will delight in the glory of human nature and from their works will receive the crown of the morning star. The works of the just, however, are to appear small in the eyes of the elect, and this is the context of Jordan’s *simul iustus et peccator*; the elect, the sancti, perform works of charity and thus contribute to their own perfection, but they must realize that all their works are contaminated by sin because of their imperfection. It is only at the end that the elect can glory in their own election. Until then, they are starting ever anew with works, working towards their perfection which is only possible because of their adoption and election. The elect are the sancti, but they are the sancti who are in this life awaiting their glory, caught within the ontological tension between the esse gratiae and the esse gloriae. In this light Jordan’s *simul iustus et peccator* is not a doctrine of justification, but a description of the saints’ state of being. And in this sense Jordan could say that the saint’s redemption is still approaching, that it is to be expected, for as long as Christians are weighed down by the flesh (*gravamur nexibus carnis*) the effects of their redemption

acceptare, ut impletur domus, et hoc quantum ad primum." *Opus Jor*, sermo 76, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 136rb-vb. Jordan may not have been explicit regarding predestination *ante* or *post previsa merita*, but he was clear regarding the initiative; predestination stems from God’s will and is not based on God’s promise to reward foreseen good works.
lie in the future.\textsuperscript{111}

To grasp Jordan's understanding of election, grace and merit, terms placed in an order of which he would have approved, we must remind ourselves that he was not writing a theological defense of an Augustinian doctrine of grace against the threat of the \textit{pelagiani moderni}. Rather, his preaching predestination was a theological call to arms. Election provided the fife and drum as the soldiers of Christ marched into battle.\textsuperscript{112} Jordan's doctrine of sanctification was based on election, predestination, and adoption. The problem he faced was that one does not know, one cannot know precisely who the saints are. Thus he directed his exposition of the 'Our Father' to the community of the saints, or perhaps to the \textit{corpus permixtum}, who as saints are to be good administrators of the gifts they have received, not for their merits or beautiful hair, but purely from God's love and grace; they are to pour forth works of charity as they make their way in hope and patience to their merited end. They must recognize the gifts they have received from God and in response fulfill the office of sainthood by conforming themselves to the will of their Lord, who possessed them

\textsuperscript{111} In responding to the question of why we say that our redemption approaches when it has already been given by Christ, Jordan answers: "dicendum quod virtute passionis Christi facta quidem est redemptio, sed nondum eiusdem redemptionis effectus plenarie consecuti sunt, adhuc ergo gravamur nexibus carnis quamdiu enim sumus in isto habitaculo corporis ingemuimus gravati." \textit{Opus Postillarum}, sermo 5 D. Cf.: "Nota quod virtute passionis Christi redemptio electorum facta est, sed eiusdem redemptionis effectum nondum plenarie consecuti sunt. Adhuc enim gravamur vexibus corporis." Albert of Padua, \textit{Expositio Evangeliorum dominicalium}, Venice 1476, fol. A3va.

\textsuperscript{112} See infra, ch. 5.
before He ever became their possession. And only in this context, as humble administrators and servants, are the sancti also the iusti.

With this last statement we meet again the theme of justification. Justification, for Jordan, was subsumed within his doctrine of sanctification. It was part of his answer to the 'and now what?' question; the saint in hac vita must also be just. But being just for Jordan was not first and foremost that which justifies the sinner before God. Rather, being just is upholding justice, or in other words, paying what one owes: Redde quod debes as Jordan defined it.113 And in this light Jordan's doctrines of grace and justification are separate issues. On the one hand they most certainly are not; but on the other Jordan's doctrine of sanctification and grace explains the relationship between the esse gratiae and the esse gloriae, whereas his understanding of justification, or rather, of justice, pertains to his conception of the Christian life, and it is to this theme that we now turn.

113 Supra, L7, 333,7-334,2. See also, ch.4.
CHAPTER IV
BETWEEN GOD AND THE DEVIL

When we move from the heavenly life of the saints to the earthly existence of the Christian, we shift our focus regarding the ontological level of Jordan’s theology, from the relationship between the esse gratiae and esse gloriae, to that between the esse naturae and the esse gratiae. In this context it is not the simul iustus et peccator that takes precedence, but rather the call for spiritual progression. In the Opus Postillarum Jordan referred to God as a first mover,

from whom the motive power in the soul is derived, just as from a certain primal font, from which grace flows into the soul, through which God moves the free will to love Him and to virtuous acts. This motion of God in the soul is three-fold according to the three-fold state of humans: He moves those beginning (incipientes) to recognition of their guilt and to the sorrowful remembrance of their sins; those who have achieved an intermediate level of spiritual perfection (proficiens) God moves to continuous spiritual growth and progress; but the contemplatives (contemplantes) He moves to the internal taste of divine sweetness.¹

¹ "...deus est sicut motor primus, a quo virtus motiva derivatur in animam, sicut a quodam fonte paterno, a quo fluit gratia in animam per quam deus movet liberum arbitrium ad se amandum et virtuose operandum. Haec autem motio dei in anima triplex est secundum triplicem statum: incipientes movet ad culpae compunctionem et peccatorum dolorosam rememorationem; proficientes movet ad profectus spiritualem continuam progressionem; sed contemplativos movet ad divinae dulcedinis internum degustomationem." Opus Postillarum, sermo 11 A. Jordan most likely took his description of the three-fold stages of the Christian’s progress from Aegidius Romanus: "Erit ergo huiusmodi ordo, quod huiusmodi amor charitatis: primo, incipit; secundo, perficit; tertio, sic perfectus, facit amatorum dicere cum Paulo: Cupio dissolvi, ratione delectationis divinae et esse cum Christo, sive esse in deo et quiescere in ipso. Ergo secundum hanc amorem, incipientes per desiderium in deum tendunt; proficientes ei uniuntur; perfecti, quasi omnino dei formes, in deum transformantur, transformati nihil est eis alius.
This passage is reflected in Jordan's *Expositio* when he rhapsodized that we exist in God, we are moved by God, and we live in God.² We are moved by God's grace to progress from beginners in the spiritual life, to an intermediate level of proficiency, and finally to the level of the contemplatives, or truly to living in God and God's glory. The motion comes from God's grace, primarily and principally; but the exercise of virtue cooperates with God's grace instrumentally as the Christian progresses in spiritual development.

The Christian life for Jordan was not conducted in a laboratory where God injects grace into the specimen and leaves it to the theologians to figure out how the grace works when it works, and why it does not work when it does not work. The Christian finds himself or herself on the battle field where the kingdom of the devil is assaulting the kingdom of God. To be sure, this battle will only last as long as God allows,³ until He comes in judgment with his army of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all the elect and saints.⁴ The situation the Christian faces in this life is not repose in which

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² Supra, L1, 169,5-8.

³ Supra, L4, 245,1-6.

⁴ In describing the *adventus in iudicium*, in the *Opus Postillarum*, Jordan wrote: "Et nota quod maiestas Christi apparebit in homine concomitantium scilicet in multitudine..."
she or he can work on their spiritual development, but rather a battle between God and the devil. And it is only in this context that we can properly understand not only Jordan's moral exhortation regarding the virtues and vices, but also his doctrine of justification, of becoming just, of upholding justice.

In his *Expositio* Jordan contrasted the three-fold kingdom of God, the *regnum ecclesiae*, the *regnum gratiae*, and the *regnum gloriae*, with the three-fold kingdom of the devil. In opposition to the *regnum ecclesiae* stands the devil's synagogue of Satan. Just as the church is the congregation of the faithful (*congregatio Christifidelium*), so is the synagogue of Satan the congregation of the devil (*congregatio diaboli*).\(^5\) The second kingdom of the devil is the *regnum peccati*, which stands opposed to the *regnum gratiae*. Just as the God reigns in the soul through grace, so does the devil reign in the soul through sin.\(^6\) The third kingdom of the devil is the kingdom of misery and eternal damnation, which is the counterpart to the kingdom of glory.\(^7\)

This is the situation in which the Christian finds himself—caught between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the devil. Thus when one prays, 'Thy Kingdom come', one is praying that the three-fold kingdom of God will destroy the three-fold

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\(^5\) Supra, L4, 243,5-244,2.

\(^6\) Supra, L4, 244,3-5.

\(^7\) Supra, L4, 244,8-9.
kingdom of the devil. Yet it is not for the destruction of the devil himself that one prays. The devil is to reign over all the damned. Rather Christians pray that they might not be ruled by the devil and find themselves in his kingdom. The kingdom of darkness remains.

In this battle, however, Christians are not left to themselves. God is on our side and gives humans the grace of His gifts with which they fight. Thus, as Jordan trumpeted in the *Opus Jor*, our works are as the king’s standard leading us as we march to battle against the devil. Indeed, works of love, the works of the saints, are the Christian’s most powerful weapons, for good works, Jordan confirmed in the *Opus Postillarum*, are contrary to the devil; the devil fears nothing more than love. Love appears in Jordan’s *Expositio* as the third theological virtue, accompanying the petition ‘Thy will be done’. Through love humans are conformed to the divine will, for love draws one to God in conversion, unites one with God in sanctification, and crowns one

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8 Supra, L4, 246,2-3.

9 Supra, L4, 247,8-11.

10 "...diabolus...fidem, spem, caritatem et bona opera laborat auferre, sed debet quilibet resistere de fide scutum facere, de spe galeam, de caritate lanceam, opera autem debet ponere super omnia arma tamquam regis insignia." *Opus Jor*, sermo 114, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 191va.

11 "Impugnamus autem eum [i.e., diabolum] per bona opera, quae sibi sunt a tota specie contraria et maxime per caritatem, quia ut dicit Hugo in Expositione Regulae, nihil est quod ipse diabolus tantum timeat quantum caritatis unitatem." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 437 B.
by God in glory.\textsuperscript{12}

It is in the battle between God and the devil that Jordan placed the efficacy of the 
\textit{Pater Noster}. Each petition is designed to introduce a particular virtue, and to exclude 
a particular vice. It is not only a prayer that leads one to one’s end in a positive sense, 
or as Jordan said, \textit{per se}, but also \textit{per accidens} by removing the impediments to the 
attainment of the end.\textsuperscript{13} Individuals are kept from their end by sin, temptation, and the 
present sufferings of this life.\textsuperscript{14} The final cause (\textit{causa finalis}) of the prayer, Jordan 
stated at the outset, is the exhortation that we stretch towards our end, and that we do 
not fall away from our end.\textsuperscript{15} Virtues are not merely means by which one grows 
towards spiritual perfection: they are the Christian’s weapons in the fight against the 
devil.

The Law Old and New

From Jordan’s perspective the sinners of his day followed the devil more often than 
they followed God.\textsuperscript{16} Vice was rampant, and our moralist lashed out against the excess:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{12}] Supra, L5, 271,3–272,5. Cf., \textit{Opus Postillarum}, sermo 439, \textit{Tractatus de virtutibus et vitis}, Da Caritate, E.
  \item[\textsuperscript{13}] Supra, L3, 214,2-3.
  \item[\textsuperscript{14}] Supra, L3, 215,1-6.
  \item[\textsuperscript{15}] Supra, L1, 158,7-159,1.
  \item[\textsuperscript{16}] "Sed heu, peccatores hodie magis secuntur diabolum quam deum." \textit{Opus Jor}, 
sermo 241, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 375vb.
\end{itemize}
"in this day and age men are accustomed to drink excessively. From morning til evening they are eager for libations." Drunkenness is contrary to the soul; it obscures the reason, and leads to the loss of salvation. Yet if Jordan’s contemporaries were prone to drunkenness, they were no better with gluttony. The glutton truly lay in the gutter; not bothering to praise God, he was headed for hell. Gluttony worked against nature; it was precisely to prevent gluttony that humans were created with two eyes, two nostrils, two hands, and two feet, but only one mouth.

But food and drink alone were not the single source of Jordan’s censures. Another vice had arisen that was dangerous indeed--song and dance. Groups of dancers

17 "...hominis hoc tempore solent nimis potare a mane usque ad vesperam, student potationibus, Isaiae 5: Ve qui consurgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandum et potandum usque ad vesperam ut vino escuetis [Is. 5,11]; magnae fatuitas quod homo se cotti die ingurgit et quod tamen bibit quod usum rationis omitit, Ps. Anima eorum in malis tabescebat usque sapientia eorum devorata est. Tunc homo in malis tabescit, id est, deficit, quando ebrietatem, quae contraria est animae, querit; tunc omnis sapientia denotatur quando homo ita inebriabitur quod beneficiorum dei et homini, quae ad salutem animae spectant, obliscitatur." Opus Jor, sermo 83, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 149vb; cf.: "Ebriosus confundit naturam, amittit gratiam et perdit gloriam, et incurrit damnationem aeternam." Opus Dan, sermo 31 C.

18 "Audi, O gulose, tu ventrem tuum imples et a laude dei taces; tu habundas superfluis et pauper eget necessariis. Considera quid evenit diminuti [?] qui epulabatur cotidie splendide et pauperem lazarum nolebat in aliquo respicere post ea ductus ad infernum ad tantam devenit in opiam quod ardens inflammis guttam aquae habere non potuit. Noli ergo sequi gulam....Noli avidus esse in omnium epulatione et non te offendas super omnem escam, in multis enim escis erit infirmitas et sequitur propter crapulum multi perierunt; qui autem abstiens est, adiciet vitam. Unde inter animalia magnorum corporum nulli dedit natura ita parvum os sicut homini. Et hoc ideo ut homo parce commedat...Item propter eandem rationem natura dedit homini duos oculos, duas nares, duas manus, duos pedes, unum os tamen dedit ne homo nimis commedat." Opus Jor, sermo 83, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 149rb-149vb.
and singers were sheer vanity and Jordan was afraid: "I greatly fear," he preached,
"that...today God is angered by the many vain things they sing, among which are found
lies, filth and extravagance." Such dances are a waste of time and offer the occasion
for all kinds of sin, and most of all pride. Yet even worse, the dancers mocked the

19 "...hominis solent in hoc tempore vana cantare, nam hoc tempore singulis
civitatibus et villis et castris per totam diem vanacantantur; talis fuit cantus filiorum
Israel, de quo Exodi 32 duxit Moyses vocem cantantium ego audio. Cumque
approinquasset, vidit vithulum [Ex. 32,18-19] et choreas iratus, quae est nimis. Timeo
valde, quod eodem modo irascetur deus hodie multis, quae vana cantant, in quibus
continentur mendacia, turpia, luxuriosa etc." Opus Jor, sermo 83, Vat., MS Pal. Lat.
448, fol. 150va.

20 "Nota quod choreae detestabiles sunt propter multa mala, quae mihi provenit.
Primo, in chorea est temporis amissio, quando tempus illud, quod datum est nobis pro
premia, acquirenda et salutem expendimus in vanitate, 2 Corinthians 6: Ecce nunc tempus
acceptabile etc. [2 Cor. 6,2]. In choreis de salute nihil cogitamus et ideo tempus
amittimus. Augustinus: tempus in quo de deo nihil cogitas, puta te perdidisse. Secundo,
in choreis, quae ut frequentiis fiunt, diebus sacris et sabbati violatio contra illud
praeceptum divinum, Exodi 19, memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices diebus enim sacris
non debent homines facere labores serviles ut heu multi per totam septimanam non
laborant tamen necessaria conquendo sicut labrant diebus sacris vanas choreas
ducendo, Augustinus: Melius est diebus sacris arare vel foedere quam choreas ducere,
cuius ratio est quia in primo est necessitatias; in secundo, vanitas et superfluitas. Tertio,
in choreis est multorum peccatorum occasio, scilicet superbiae, quia unus vult alii se
praeferre in cantando incedendo invidiae quia unus invidet a se melius incedat vel si
meliorem ornatum habeat. Ibi provenit luxuria ex contactu et ex propinquo aspectu, ex
familiari colloquio. Si enim David videns a remotis mulierem statim concupivit, quanto
magis qui appropinquo et manu tenent audient mulieres, qui se ad hoc ornant ut choreas
ducant compositio gradu incedant. Ut alii placeant et nutibus oculorum animas
illaqueant, quid dicatur eis Isaiah 3, pro eo quod elevatae sunt filiae Sion et ambulaverunt
ex tento collo et nutibus oculorum ibant et plaudebant, ambulabant et pedibus suis
composito gradu incedebant [Is. 3,16]. Ecce quam plane et plane descriptur modum
chorizandi deocalvabit dominus virtutem filiorum Sion hoc erit in sepulchro, quando
capillos, de quibus modo mulieres superbiunt, fluent de capite. Sequitur: in die illa
auferet dominus ornamentum calcientorum etc. [Is. 3,18]; vere emeriat plura
ornamenta quibus mulieres solent se ornare, quae omnia auferentur illo tempore, quo
corpus mulieres operietur vili panniculo et vermissus devorandum proicietur in sepulchro."
passion of Christ:

for [whereas] Christ on the cross extended his hands in great punishment, you on the other hand, open your arms with great vanity. Likewise, [whereas] Christ bowed his head on the cross, you, however, hold your head up proudly in the dances. Further, Christ's feet were nailed to the cross so that he could not move them, but you move not only your feet, but also your entire body dancing and singing in circles...Christ hung naked [on the cross], but you dress up for your dances...In short, [the difference between] Christ on the cross and you in your dances [are easily summarized]: Christ prayed, you mock; Christ wepted, you laugh; Christ called out for you, you against Christ; Christ had a crown of thorns, you [wear a crown] of flowers; Christ died, you never think of death. 21

Christ's Passion was the perfect counterpart to all vice, and Jordan held up this model before the eyes of all, the dancers and the drunkards. 22 It was not merely the Augustinian in his cell, but the Christian in society who should always keep the Passion

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Opus Jor, sermo 83, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 150vb-151rb.

21 "...in choreis est derisio passionis Christi. Christus enim in cruce expandit manus cum magna penalitate; tu vero in chorea expandis cum magna vanitate. Item, Christus inclinavit caput in cruce; tu vero prae superbia in choreis erigis caput. Item, Christus habuit pedes confixos crucique movere non poterat et tu moves pedes et totum corpus et re tamen in circuitu saltando. Unde Ps. In circuitu impii ambulant. Item Christus pependit nudus, tu in choreis incides ornatus. Ps. filiae eorum composite etc. Et ut breviter includam Christus, in cruce tu in choreis: Christus oravit, tu insultas; Christus flevit, tu rides; Christus clamavit pro te, tu contra Christum; Christus habuit coronam de spinis, tu de floribus; Christus moriebatur, tu de morte numquam cogitas." Opus Jor, sermo 83, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 151rb.

22 "O si velles cogitare sitim quam Christus pro te sustinuit, certus sum quod numquam peccares per ebrietatem pro te sitivit, quando fatigatus ex itinere sedit supra fontem et pro uno hausto aquae instanter petivit; pro te sitivit, quando pendens in cruce dicit, sitio [Ioh. 19,28]. Nec tamen poterat habere haustum aquae, sed oblatum est ei vinum cum mirra et felle mixtum, quod cum gustasset noluit bibere ista [cf. Ioh. 19,29]. O homo, debes cogitare et te a superfluis potationibus cohibere." Opus Jor, sermo 83, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 149vb-150ra.
before the mind's eyes. As such, the Passion could act as the prick of the conscience, since the conscience functioned as a sour stomach: "For there are some people," Jordan explained, "in whom stomach pains do not cease until they vomit up whatever it was [causing the problem], as if spitting out the foulness. In the same way the sinner's conscience does not leave him in peace until he vomits up the foulness of sin through confession and penitence." 

Fortunately God has given not only the grace and the gifts with which to fight the battle against vice, sin and the devil, but also the battle plan. "If we are sons of God," Jordan argued in the Opus Postillarum, "it is therefore fitting that we imitate God in works of mercy." The Christian imitates God by imitating Christ and by following His will. God's will, which Jordan tells us in the Expositio is done when we observe God's commandments. It makes sense that one completely conform oneself to the will of him, whose kingdom one seeks. Thus, praying for God's kingdom, one asks in the following petition to be able to do God's will. This indeed is the function of the

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23 See, infra, ch. 5.

24 "Sunt enim quidam...in quibus dolor stomachi non cessant quousque evomant quaedam quod est sicut accetum bulliens. Sic peccatoris conscientia non quiescit quousque per penitentiam et per confessionem evomat accetum peccati...," Opus Jor, sermo 86, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 156ra.

25 "Si ergo filii dei sumus, oportet nos ipsum in operibus misericordiae imitari." Opus Postillarum, sermo 324 A.

26 Supra, L5, 262,9-10.

27 Supra, L5, 261,5-6.
Pater Noster since it is the summary of the commandments. Obedience to God's commandments is part of the very definition of what makes a saint. By obeying the commandments one conforms oneself to God's will, becomes a saint, and fights the devil. There is no via securior for Jordan as there was to be over a century and a half later for his fellow Augustinian Johannes von Paltz; the Christian life is a battle.

In his emphasis on keeping the commandments not only do we see the moral direction of Jordan's theology, but we can also discern the importance of the old law. The law is God's will most perfectly revealed. Indeed, it is only through Christ that one can fulfill the law in so far as one recognizes in the law the loving Father. Yet the law of the Old Testament still provides the guidelines for the Christian life. Just as God gathered together the scattered tribes of Israel, so did He gather together the various groups of Augustinian hermits to unite them into a single order; and just as Moses lead the Israelites out of the land of Egypt and into the promised land, so does hope lead the saints to their promised land in heaven. And on the way to that promised land, as Christians wander through the desert, they are guided by the God of Sinai and the God of Israel, the active and contemplative lives; they are lead by the vision of God, and by keeping God's law. If the city of God was one model for Jordan's theology, particularly with regard to his doctrine of sanctification, the children of Israel wandering in the desert

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28 See supra, L1, 158,2-5.

29 See, Hamm, Frömmigkeitstheologie, esp. 247ff.

30 See above, Introduction, 114, n. 290.
was the model for his doctrine of the Christian life.\(^{31}\)

As Jordan explained in the *Opus Postillarum*, Christ the farmer goes out to sow his seed. He has sown five types. First is the seed of the natural law, which is sown in the minds of all men, and is identical to the 'golden rule'. Second is the written law of the two tables of the ten commandments. Third is the evangelical law, which Christ has sown in the Church for all the faithful. Forth is the law of perfection given to the religious as the councils of poverty, chastity, patience, and obedience. Fifth is the good seed of virtues and gifts in human souls.\(^{32}\)

\(^{31}\) Cf.: "...quando per iniquiorum tribulationes tangitur homo, probatur per ipsius patientiam, si ipse sit filius dei stimulando, ut electi in via huius exilii segnes non efficiantur, sed festinent ad patriam suam, sicut figuratur Exodi 7 urgebat egiptii populum exire de terra velociter." *Opus Jor*, sermo 72, Vat., MS Pal. lat. 448, fol. 133va-b; cf. "Et sic per hunc Iordanem aperta est via populis christianis, vere israelitis, qua transire possunt ad terram promissionis vitae aeternae." *Opus Dan* (ed. Strassburg 1484), sermo 50 A. Christians were the true Israelites, wandering through the desert as they make their way back to God. For the theme of return, see infra, ch. 5.

When he proceeded to interpret the harvest of this sowing, he gave preeminence to the old law. In the parable in Matthew, some of the seeds that fell in the good soil brought forth a hundred-fold yield, others a sixty-fold, while others a thirty-fold. Jordan offered three interpretations of the various yields. The hundred-fold can be seen as the virgins, the sixty-fold as the continent, and the thirty-fold as the married; or, he continued, the first could refer to the doctors, the second to the martyrs and the third to the apostles. In other words, as far as the harvest is concerned, the doctors yield more than the martyrs or apostles! This last interpretation not only seems to contradict to some extent his first interpretation, when he placed the virgins and the chaste before the married, but also reveals his estimation of the old law. The hundred-fold yield, Jordan explained, is the observance of the old law; the sixty-fold is the observance of the new law; and the thirty-fold is the observance of the councils.33 Not only has he placed the monastic councils in last place, bearing the smallest yield of fruit, but he has also

33 "Notandum autem quod Matthei 13 [Matt. 13,18-23] magis explicite agitur de huiusmodi fructibus ubi dicitur quod alius centesimus, alius sexagesimus, alius tricesimus. Primus est virginum; secundus continentium; tertius coniugatorum. Vel primus est doctorum; secundus martirum; tertius apostolorum. Vel primus datur per observantiam legis veteris; secundus per observantiam legis novae; tertius per observantiam consiliorum." Opus Postillarum, sermo 137 G. Jordan's emphasis on the importance of the old law stands out even further when compared to Albert of Padua's treatment of the same passage. Jordan, who closely followed Albert in this sermon, reversed the order: "Nota quod triplex ponitur fructus istius seminis, scilicet tricesimus, sexagesimus et centesimus. Primus est coniugatorum; secundus, continentium; tertius, virginum: vel primus est doctorum, secundus est martirum, tertius apostolorum: vel primus datur propter observantiam antiquae legis; secundum propter observantiam novae; tertius propter observantiam consiliorum." Albert of Padua, Expositio Evangeliorum dominicalium, Venice 1476, Dominica in Sexagesima, Prima Pars, fol. 1-2rb.
elevated the observance of the old law above that of the new. It is the old law most of all that Jordan equated with God’s will, and with following Christ, for he continued by clarifying his exposition by referring to Matthew 19,29 where those who leave everything and follow Christ receive a hundred-fold.\(^{34}\) The old law, and chiefly the ten commandments, reveal God’s will, and this is to be followed by every Christian. To this will the Christian must strive to conform her or himself in the battle between God and the devil.

In the *Expositio* Jordan offered a summary of the law. Not only are God’s commandments contained in the *Pater Noster*, but they are summarized, or reduced to the words of Michah: "do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before your God."\(^{35}\) It should be noted that for the summary of the law Jordan turned not to Christ’s words in Matthew [22,36-40], but rather to an Old Testament prophet. This is what God requires of the Christian, and the Christian is helped in this because he knows what doing justice is: it is being just by doing works of justice,\(^{36}\) and by paying what one owes.\(^{37}\) Christians are the children of Israel who know they have a loving Father and precisely because of this they are to conform themselves to God’s will as He had revealed it to the

\(^{34}\) "Unde Matthei 19 dicitur: vos qui reliquistis omnia et secuti estis me, centuplum accipietis. [Matth. 19,29]" *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 137 G.

\(^{35}\) Supra, L5, 262,9-263,3.

\(^{36}\) Supra, L6, 307,1-2.

\(^{37}\) Supra, L7, 333,7-8.
patriarchs and prophets of old. Jordan's God was the loving Father, but He was also the God of the Old Testament who led His children out of the land of Egypt and towards the promised land. Christians are to obey this God and conform themselves to His will, *in order* to arrive in the promised land. God is a loving God, and has provided his justice as the guide through the desert. No one can accumulate enough merit to put God in one's debt. Nor has God promised to reward human works with grace. God has simply given humans His grace and gifts for their use. Thus the question of justification for Jordan is not what has God promised to reward with the payment of eternal life, but rather what it is that Christians owe God. Christians are God's debtors and they always have a negative balance. And thus they must pray, "forgive us our debts."

Paying What is Owed

In the seventh lecture of his *Expositio* Jordan set forth a radical interpretation of justice, which he later expanded in his *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitis.*

Justice, for Jordan, as we have already noted, was paying what is owed. The problem is to know precisely what one owes, for unless one is aware of what one owes, one cannot pay it. Unpaid debts not only put the debtor further in the red but further in the red with respect to the heavenly creditor. All debts include sin. Indeed, 'debt' is a more encompassing category than is 'sin,' and for this reason one prays 'forgive us our debts,' rather than

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38 *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 440, *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitis*, de Iustitia, A-F.

39 Supra, L7, 334,8-335,2.
'forgive us our sins.' This works the other way as well: all sin is debt. Sin is a legal term for Jordan which he equated with unfulfilled debts. To be just is to pay all one's debts.

There are three creditors to whom Christians owe, to whom Christians must pay their debts by giving them what is rightly theirs: God, ourselves, and our neighbor. To God we owe religion; to ourselves we owe governance; to our neighbor we owe love. Jordan viewed religion as a moral virtue, and thus as part of justice, which consists of latria, namely, adoration, prayers, offerings, praise, vows, oaths, and other such things which we owe God. To ourselves we owe the discipline of the flesh so that we might live according to the spirit. And we simply owe our neighbor love, which corresponds to Jordan's exegesis of the first phrase of the prayer when he explained that we pray 'Our Father' to signify that we are all brothers, regardless of our state; whether we are poor or rich, noble or common, we all pray the same prayer and we all have the same Lord and Savior. As Jordan admonished in a sermon on the nobility (De Nobilibus): "Those in a position of superiority and the nobles are not to despise their

40 Supra, L7, 316,10-317,11.
41 Supra, L7, 318,3-7.
42 Supra, L7, 318,9-319,3.
43 Supra, L7, 319,8-320,4.
44 Supra, L7, 320,5.
45 Supra, L1, 177,1-6.
inferiors and the common folk since they are made from the same matter and are redeemed by the same price, are called to the same glory, and were created by the same God.  

In effect, Jordan advocated a single standard of justice. The individual is just before God in the same way as that by which she or he is just in society. From one perspective Jordan lowered the justice of God to the level of the just in society; or from another, he elevated the justice of society to the level of divine justice. The result from either view is the same. Not to love one's neighbor is not to give him or her what is owed and this entails sin, the same sin one incurs when one does not render to God what is God's.

In the *Opus Postillarum* we find further clarification of what it is that one owes, and of what justice is. Jordan began his exposition of the words of Matthew, *Redde quod debes* [Matth. 18,28], by stating that in the scriptures they are spoken parabolically, whereas they can also be understood as spoken by the supreme judge to every person at death, or in the last judgment. Regarding his exposition, however, they can also be interpreted as the admonition of any preacher or doctor, or even confessor, to the faithful.

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46 "...superiores et nobiles non debent inferiores et ignobiles contemnere, cum sunt de eadem materia facti, et de eadem pretio redempti, ad eandem gloriam vocati, ab uno deo creati." *Opus Dan* (ed. Strassburg 1484) sermo 268 A.

47 "Redde quod debes, Matthei xviii [Matth. 18,28]. Licet haec verba parabolice dicta fuerint a servo debitum a suo conservo atrociter extorquente, mystice autem haec verba possunt accipi ut dicenda a summo iudice ad quemlibet hominem in morte vel in iudicio extremo rationem ab ipso iudicialiter exigente." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 436 A.
to render what they owe faithfully.\textsuperscript{48} It is here that we see Jordan’s radical view of justice. Justice, as defined by rendering what is due, is the basis for the last judgment. When individuals stand before God in judgment He will ask them whether they have ‘paid their debts’. It is the justice of God that provided Jordan with his model for all justice, or perhaps the legal understanding of justice provided Jordan with his model of divine justice. In any case what is expected of the just citizen in this life is precisely the same as that which is expected of the just citizen for eternal life, for citizenship within the heavenly city of God—and vice versa. This is the God of the Old Testament, this is Jordan’s God, and the God before whom every Christian will stand, not for their souls to be weighed to determine how much grace is therein, but for their account to be settled. The theology that is taught and preached in this life, as well as the justice of the confessional, is not a \textit{via securior} by which the sinner can be assured of divine mercy, but rather it is the foretaste of the final judgment before the divine judge. The justice of the confessional, the justice called for by the preacher, is the same justice as that exacted in the final judgment.

It is also in the \textit{Opus Postillarum} that we find further explanation of what it is that Christians owe God. It is not simply religion that one owes God, but in addition humans owe obedience to the commandments, reverence for the sacraments, stewardship of the

\textsuperscript{48} "...ad praesens tamen accipi possunt ut dicantur a quolibet praedicator et doctore vel etiam confessore fideles ad redditionem sui debiti fideliter exhortante dicendo cuilibet, \textit{redde quod debes.}" Ibid.
goods He has loaned them, and satisfaction for their offenses.\(^49\) It is here that Jordan equated the goods Christians receive from God with the goods a vassal receives from his Lord in the feudal contract, rather than as rewards for their merits, or for their beautiful hair.\(^50\) Thus for all the Christian has, for all the Christian possesses, he or she is indebted to God. This included paying what is owed God with respect to all the powers of the soul, both internal and external.\(^51\) One’s memory, will, and intellect one owes to God. Indeed, loving God before and above all else is not something that humans do naturally in order to first merit grace, as was debated in the universities, but rather it is simply something owed.\(^52\) For all humans have, their physical and mental goods, their

\(^{49}\) "Debemus autem deo in genere loquendi quinque, videlicet, obedientiam in praeceptis, reverentiam in sacramentis, religionem in obsequiis, pensionem de bonis concessis, et satisfactionem de offensis."
\textit{Opus Postillarum}, sermo 436 A.

\(^{50}\) \textit{Opus Postillarum}, sermo 436, Berlin StB, MS theol. fol. 133, fol. 178ra-rb; see supra, ch. 2, 492, n. 88.

\(^{51}\) This is where Jordan most clearly differentiated his understanding of justice from that of Thomas Aquinas. For Thomas justice concerned the regulation of external acts, rather than the interior 'passions': "Et ideo, cum iustitia ordinetur ad alterum, non est circa totam materiam virtutis moralis, sed solum circa exteroires actiones et res secundum quandam rationem obiecti speciale, prout scilicet secundum eas unus homo alteri coordinatur." Thomas Aquinas, \textit{STh} II\textit{a} II\textit{b}, 58, 8; "Quia iustitia est circa ea, quae sunt ad alterum. Non autem per passionem interiores immediate ad alterum ordinamur. Et ideo iustitia circa passiones non est." \textit{STh} II\textit{a} II\textit{b}, 58, 9.

\(^{52}\) "Sunt autem huiusmodi bona, quae a deo accepi in triplici genere; quia quaedam sunt bona naturae, quaedam bona fortunae, et quaedam bona gratiae. Bona naturae quaedam pertinent ad animam et quaedam ad corpus. Bona animae quantum ad partem rationalem sunt memoria, intellectus, et voluntas, quae sunt partes imaginis de quibus pensum debemus deo, ut de memoria reddamus ei primitias omnium recordationum nostrarum; de intellectu pensum omnium cognitionum nostrarum; de voluntate reddamus censum amoris et omnium affectionum nostrarum. Unde cum primo
worldly goods, their individual fame, fortune and honor, thy owe to God, and therefore
they are indebted to Him. And when they do not pay what they owe, when they do
not render to those what is theirs, they not only incur debt, they also sin. This is
Jordan’s radicalization of justice. Justice is the justice of the divine judge as revealed

53 "Bona vero fortunae sunt divitiae, potestas, [familiaritas seu, in Berlin MS]
familiares, honores, amici, consanguinei, fama et gloria etc, de quibus omnibus debitum
do reddere tenemur, ut eis principaliter ad laudem et servitium dei utamur, et sicut ratio
dispensaverit omnia in deum referamus, ut sic omnia flumina bonorum dei fluant in mare
diviniae magnificentiae ut iterum fluant, Ecclesiastici 1 [cf. Eccli. 1,1-4]." Ibid.
in the Old Testament, who has given humans all they have. This is their debt, this is what they owe. And this is Jordan’s doctrine of justification.

One might expect that with this radical view of justice Jordan would find some way out, some lessening of the debt one owed. Simply put, he did not. He simply affirmed that therefore, all must pray the Our Father, because "no man is free from sin." Every individual is held to this strict understanding of justice. However, because humans cannot even begin to know what it is they owe, connected with the petition, 'Forgive us our debts', is the *donum scientiae*:

We are not even able to be just unless we render to each was is owed them, but what that debt is to which we are held we do not know unless by the gift of knowledge. Wherefore without the gift of knowledge we are not able to do just works. And here is the connection for Jordan between the Old Law and the New, between the majesty and justice of God and the love of God, for the *donum scientiae* is an infused gift. In addition, the *donum scientiae* is Christ, and it is on account of his merit that the Christian is given the gift of knowledge. Christ therefore, justifies humans through the gift of wisdom in that he makes Christians just by teaching them what it is they owe, namely to God, to themselves and to their neighbor. Nevertheless, humans still sin. Therefore, the beatitude that is associate with this petition is the blessedness of weeping.

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54 Supra, L7, 316,2-4.
55 Supra, L7, 334,8-335,3.
56 Supra, L7, 335,3-336,2.
Since one sins even with the gift of knowledge, one weeps for one’s sins and for the sins of others, and therefore one will be consoled by God, beginning in this life, but perfected in the life to come.

Jordan’s divine dialectic is clearly in view here. The majesty of God, God’s justice, is intricately combined with His love. Humans cannot be just, even though they are held to being just. It is a gift of God that one even know what it is one owes, that one even knows how short one falls. Thus Christians weep for their sins, and for the sins of others; they weep for the injustice done to God. And God will console this weeping. Not as a reward; humans have done nothing to deserve a reward. It is not that Christians weep for their sins and then God bestows His grace; rather He bestows His grace and Christians recognize what it is they have received and what they owe in return—and they weep. Christians are called to justice, they are held to being just, but they cannot be 'justified'. Humans are saints by adoption, through grace, and it is thus that Jordan espoused his simul iustus et peccator. It is only the peccator, who recognizes that he or she cannot be truly just, who is the adopted son of God, and is therefore a saint.

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57 Supra, L7, 336,5-337,3.


59 “Primo igitur debemus deo obedientiam in preceptis, Levitici 2: Custodite precepta mea et facite ea. Et istud est debitum necessitatis in tantum quod de eius plena solutione numquam nos esse tutos praesumere valeamus, iuxta istud Lucae 17: Cum feceritis omnia, quae praecepta sunt vobis, dicite servi inutiles sumus, quod debuimus facere, fecimus [Luc. 17,10]; quantumcumque enim homo praecepta dei impleat, semper videt sibi superesse quod timeat.” Opus Postillarum, sermo 436 A.
Yet the saints must continue to strive for justice, for the absolute standard of justice remains; they continue to strive to do good works lest God's grace is received in a vacuum; Christians do not merit grace, they only merit the loss of grace.\footnote{Yet the saints must continue to strive for justice, for the absolute standard of justice remains; they continue to strive to do good works lest God's grace is received in a vacuum; Christians do not merit grace, they only merit the loss of grace.} The divine dialectic is not an either/or, nor a first/then, but is always a true dialectic—"Our Father" is indeed the loving Father, but He is also the God of majesty and justice in heaven.

With Jordan's view of justice, combined with his understanding of predestination, one might consider claiming that Jordan espoused a theology of justification that was simultaneously \textit{sola gratia} and \textit{solis operibus}, much the same as that of Gabriel Biel in the later fifteenth century.\footnote{With Jordan's view of justice, combined with his understanding of predestination, one might consider claiming that Jordan espoused a theology of justification that was simultaneously \textit{sola gratia} and \textit{solis operibus}, much the same as that of Gabriel Biel in the later fifteenth century.} It is actually, however, the differences between Jordan's theology and a theology such as Biel's that must be stressed. As Jordan, Biel too posited a dialectic between God's mercy and God's justice, but this dialectic was placed in the context of the dialectic between the \textit{potentia dei absoluta} and the \textit{potentia dei ordinata}. God's mercy is evidenced by the former, whereas God's justice is operative within the latter; the merciful God bound himself to an ordained order of justice in which the \textit{viator} must do his very best in order to receive the promised infusion of grace. The ordained

\footnote{Yet the saints must continue to strive for justice, for the absolute standard of justice remains; they continue to strive to do good works lest God's grace is received in a vacuum; Christians do not merit grace, they only merit the loss of grace.}

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order, "proves to be the 'dome' within which the actual life of the viator unfolds."\textsuperscript{62}

The dialectic of the potestia dei absoluta and potestia dei ordinata did not play a role in Jordan's theology. This fact emphasizes his radicalization of divine justice; the order to which God has bound Himself is the absolute standard of justice as revealed in the Old Testament. Thus we come to recognize that the relationship between God's justice and God's mercy in Jordan's theology was the inversion of that advocated by Biel. Whereas for Biel the 'outer realm' signified God's mercy, within which God ordained the 'dome' of justice, for Jordan the 'outer realm' was equated with God's justice, within which God's mercy was operative for the elect; God's mercy was a subset of God's justice. And here again we see the Augustinian elements of Jordan's theology; the saints are those who have been chosen by God from the massa perditionis.\textsuperscript{63}

God's mercy, however, does not circumvent His justice; even the true saints are held to render to God what is God's. In addition, no one can be certain of one's election, and thus Jordan addressed his Expositio to the corpus permixtum, the city of God degens in terra. Finally, the city of God is hindered in its homeward journey by the constant battle with the devil. In this perspective one cannot rely on the personal

\textsuperscript{62} "The order de potentia absoluta signifies, as we have seen, God's mercy according to which He chose, absolutely free from exterior interference, undetermined by any cause whatever apart from Himself, to accept man's moral virtue as meritorious for his salvation. The order de potentia ordinata, on the other hand, proves to be the 'dome' within which the actual life of the viator unfolds, where justice reigns and judgment day looms large as the day on which it will be disclosed whether the viator has indeed done his very best." Oberman, Harvest, 186.

\textsuperscript{63} See supra, ch. 3.
certitude of election--for the true saint is one who confesses himself a sinner--but rather one must fight to maintain God's justice over against the kingdom of Satan and sin. Jordan's theology was not only an affirmation of God's merciful election; it was also a call to arms.

Fighting The Devil

In striving for justice the Christian combats the devil who is ever at work standing in opposition to the kingdom of God. The kingdom of sin sallies forth against the kingdom of grace to capture the soul of the sinner. This is the individual's personal battle, which is fought with works of love flowing from God's grace. Yet as long as Christians are in this life they find themselves also in a corporate battle, defending the militant church from the synagogue of Satan. Jordan did not give us much insight into his idea of the church in his *Expositio* other than the church as the *milites Christi* at war with the devil's minions. The church appears as the congregation of lovers battling the devil. There is no direct relationship between the church militant and the communion of saints. In describing Christ's advent in judgment in his *Opus Postillarum* Jordan stated that "then all church offices [praelatia] will cease because there will be no need for them."64 The church is simply the means to the end, the point of departure for the

64 "...sed tunc omnis praelatio cessabit, quia necessarium non erit." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 3 K.
saint’s homeward journey.\textsuperscript{65} Certainly there is no salvation outside the church,\textsuperscript{66} but what is stressed is the church as the \textit{congregatio fidelium} in battle with Satan as it makes its way to its final destination.

It is thus that \textit{in hac vita} one must continue to work towards justice corporately and personally by performing works of love; one must continue to strive to fulfill God’s will and to follow His commandments just as the angels and saints in heaven. But one cannot do this without God’s grace, and thus Christians pray that it might be given to them to do \textit{so to the extent possible} for them in this life.\textsuperscript{67} They continue to strive for justice in the midst of the battle between God and the devil, when sin, temptation and the present misery of life are constantly at work trying to divert them from their path home; when the flesh, the world, and the devil are constantly trying to keep humans from being just; when the synagogue of Satan and the kingdom of sin are at war with the kingdom

\textsuperscript{65} Supra, L4, 252,7-8.

\textsuperscript{66} "Omnis christianus qui a sacerdote excommunicatur, satanae traditur, extra enim ecclesiam diabolus est..." \textit{Opus Jor}, sermo 213, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 331va. In his \textit{Opus Jor} Jordan distinguished between just and unjust excommunication, the latter of which was meritorious if born with patience and obedience. The \textit{Opus Jor} was composed after 1365. If this distinction was a reference to the Schism, this passage could be relevant for determining Jordan’s death date, as well as the dating of this work and his \textit{Opus Dan}, which was written after the \textit{Opus Jor}. Yet there is no conclusive evidence that the following passage is an oblique reference to the Schism: "...sententias excommunicationis sic iniustas praelati nostri temporis fecunt sepe et omni sententia sic iniusta est servanda et patienter ferenda. Tunc enim non nocet, sed prodest meretur enim talis et in hoc quod verecundiam sustinet....quando enim quis iuste excommunicatur, tunc illa sententia valde est timenda propter periculum damnnum et obprobrium." \textit{Opus Jor}, sermo 213, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 331rb-va.

\textsuperscript{67} Supra, L5, 262,1-2; 267,9-268,1.
of God's church and God's grace. In this context, in the midst of this war, not only do humans owe religion, obedience, and justice to God and love to their neighbor, but they also must give the devil his due.

In the *Opus Postillarum* Jordan included an additional creditor to whom Christians are indebted. Satan is on Christians' list of creditors as well and to Satan is owed hostility, resistance and battle. This is where good works have their role most of all. Good works, and particularly love, are contrary to Satan. Indeed Satan greatly fears humans being joined in love, for it was this union of love that he had despised in heaven. Good works are not that by which Christians merit God's grace, but are what they use with the grace already given in this life to fight Satan. By works one excludes the impediments to reaching one's end, and progresses from a beginner in the spiritual life, to the final stage of contemplation in which one sees God. In doing so Christians follow the God of Sinai and the God of Israel, the active and the contemplative lives, by which one conforms oneself to God's will and keeps His commandments—to the extent

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68 "...sciendum quod quaedam debemus deo supra nos, quaedem nobisipsis intra nos, quaedam vero proximis nostris iuxta nos, quaedam etiam diabolo, qui est infra nos." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 436 A.

69 "Postremo videndum quid debeamus diabolo, qui infra nos est; ipse et satellites eius, scilicet peccata et vitia. Et...debemus ei tria scilicet inimicitiam, resistentiam et pugnam." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 437 B.

70 "Impugnamus autem eum [diabolum] per bona opera, quae sibi sunt a tota specie contraria et maxime per caritatem, quia ut dicit Hugo in expositione Regulae: Nihil est quod ipse diabolus tantum timeat quam caritatis unitatem. Si enim caritate coniungimur, inde vehementer expavescit, quia hoc tenemus in terra quod ipse in caelo servare contempsit." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 437 B.
possible in this life. The devil is always at work and humans must be on guard; the
temptations of the flesh, the world, and the devil are omnipresent, but Christians are not
left alone. Whereas the world cries out, "I will forsake you," and the flesh cries out,
"I will corrupt you," and the devil cries out, "I will deceive you," Christ cries out, "I
will restore you!" Christ is the Christian's redemption and stands with all those
progressing in the Christian life from beginners to contemplatives in their battle with the
devil, for through faith in Christ humans are made sons of God. The battle continues,
but it is Christ who leads his elect from this life, to the blessedness of the life to come,
to one's home, and one's end. Haec Jordanus.

In the Trenches

Jordan's theology was intimately intertwined with the ideals of his Order. It was
a theology, however, designed not simply for the brother in his cell, but for the Christian
making his or her way back to God, the heavenly deity and the loving Father. It was a
moral theology, that exhorted the believer to fight fiercely the forces of Satan. The
etymological unity of 'vice' and 'vicious' sharply reveals the lines of battle, which easily
disappear in a moralized fog of 'virtues and vices'. The devil was a vicious enemy.

Whether an accident of history, or of historians, the virtues and vices have not

\[71\] See supra, L8, 351,5-7.
played a central role in our portrayals of late medieval theology. Questions of epistemology, soteriology, and ecclesiology have dominated the field. Yet Thomas of Strassburg published his commentary on the third book of Lombard’s Sentences, the book in which the virtues were given their due. As Jordan, Thomas followed Augustine in combining the seven virtues with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the beatitudes, and the fruits of the Holy Spirit, placed in opposition to the seven vices: superbia, avaritia, gula, luxuria, accidia, invidia, and ira. We may assume that the virtues and vices were not ignored in the universities; we know this to have been the case in the classrooms of the other side of the Augustinian school. Jordan’s Expositio stands as witness.

Jordan’s theology was a practical, mendicant theology. Theology in the Augustinian Order from Giles of Rome to Hugolino of Orvieto, was conceived as affective knowledge, leading towards the love of God and neighbor. Jordan followed suit. As an intermediate level of theology, Jordan’s lectures on Matthew provide us with an indispensable link between the lectern and the pulpit. They were not simply intended to prepare future theologians for the rigors of university training; they were not only a step, or stage within the Augustinians’ educational system. They represented the Order’s theology par excellence. Before a young sententiarus would have taken on all

72 The work of Morton Bloomfield and his students has addressed the theme of the virtues and vices in medieval literature, although the virtues and vices have not entered into presentations of scholastic theology.

73 Thomas of Strassburg, 3 Sent. dist. 34-35, (ed. Venice 1564), fol. 49rb-55rb; cf. 2 Sent. dist. 42, fol. 199vb.
challengers in debate over such intricacies as whether God generates God, or whether theoretically God could accept one to salvation without the habit of love or faith, or whether God’s entering the soul after having stood at the door and knocked should be attributed to God’s grace, or to human merit, he would have already learned what being a saint means in the context of the battle with Satan in a studium other than Paris or Oxford, a studium such as Erfurt, from lectures such as Jordan’s. For the majority of Augustinians absolving the sins of Europe’s sinners and preaching sanctification of divine militarization from pulpits and street corners, Jordan’s theology was all they knew. It was not inconsiderable; it should not remain unconsidered.
CHAPTER V

THE EXPOSITIO ARBORIS AND THE POWER OF IMAGES

"Spiritual and subtle things should be preached to the spiritual, simple and common things to the unlearned and general public." Thus Jordan stated his opinion of the preacher's task in his Opus Postillarum. If we were to conduct a census of fourteenth-century Europe, going door to door, we would find that the majority of souls comprised the 'simple' of Jordan's day, the illiterati, who were found in the garb of friar and farmer. These 'simple souls' were not to be ignored.

Although we do not know if the last section of his Expositio was first delivered in the classroom of Erfurt, when Jordan prepared his lectures for publication he did not set his quill aside having explicated the Amen. After presenting his students with more quotations and citations from Scripture and ancient authority than they were likely to crave, Jordan forged on: "so that the exclusion of the vices and the introduction of the virtues, gifts, beatitudes, and fruits corresponding to the individual

1 "Secundo, ponitur sermonis congruitas. Congruus enim modus praedicandi est ut doctrina sit secundam exigentiam auditorium, ut spiritualibus spiritualia et subtilia; rudibus et popularibus simplicia et grossa praedicentur." Opus Postillarum, sermo 137 B.; "...de retentione autem dicit aliquis se ob defectum memoriae et ruditatem verbum dei se retinere non posse. Cui dicendum quod homines simplices non tenentur retinere singula verba praedicationis, sed sufficit retinere virtutem sententiae saltim in generali." Opus Jor, sermo 157, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, f. 249va; cf.: "...qui praedicat...bonis scilicet, quae sunt de genere bonorum, sic secreta fidei sunt eis praedicanda; malis, tunc eis praedicanda ea, quae spectant ad morum correctionem, sed secreta fidei non sunt eis dicenda...fidelibus aut rudibus, tunc non debet praedicare subtilia; subtilibus, tunc potest praedicare subtilia." Johannes von Erfurt, De Summa Confessorum, II.1.3., ed. Norbert Brieskorn, (Frankfurt a.M., 1980), 842.
petitions might be lucid and clear even to the common and simple (rudibus et simplicibus), I decided to summarize my entire exposition here around [the image of] a single tree."²

With these lines Jordan began an additional treatise appended to his *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* which in the Berlin manuscript is given the title *Expositio Arboris*. With such an exposition Jordan sought not only to assure that the unschooled clerics in his audience would understand the proper interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, but also to provide an example of how that prayer could and should be accommodated to a common audience. Those hearing or reading the text could then learn the academic interpretation of the Lord's Prayer from the lector, and simultaneously be prepared to preach and teach the prayer to the people. As Jordan reminded his brothers in the *Liber Vitasfratrum*, central to the religious life of the Augustinians was going "beyond the walls" by preaching and hearing confessions.³

Thus, at the very top of the tree, above all else, we find the radiant image of God the Father, from whom the prayer begins, to whom the prayer is directed, by whom it is carried out, and in whom it is delightedly fulfilled--and this regardless of whether we

² Supra, EA, 397,1-4.

³ "...qui vero ex eis ad fructificandum in populo essent idonei, illi deberent in civitatibus habitare et populo praedicare ac confessiones fidelium eis confiteri volentium audire et sic fructum salutiferum in Dei Ecclesia germinare...non enimm per hoc a statu suae primariae perfectionis degenerasse putandi sunt, sed potius maloris perfectionis statum acquisisse, utpote qui nunc non solum sibi ipsis vivunt, sed etiam Ecclesiae Dei proficiunt." VF 1, 16 (58,19-35).
interpret the term *pater* essentially or personally, as was discussed previously. This
tree is an image that everyone, even the unlearned, can grasp, learn, and remember.\(^4\)
Jordan offered material that was not only meant to be learned in the classroom, but
that was also intended to be preached from the pulpit. The arboreal image of the Our
Father was Jordan’s translation for the laity in both cloister and commune. What is
spiritual for the spiritual, and common for the common.

Since the Carolingian age the *Pater Noster* had been the people’s prayer.\(^5\) In
the later Middle Ages it was diffused throughout religious life, from the liturgy\(^6\) and
confessional,\(^7\) to prayer books\(^8\) and catechisms.\(^9\) It was a prayer pregnant with
meaning and sacrament, as an anonymous German exposition of the fifteenth century
observed.\(^10\) The Our Father was intimately intertwined with popular religion.\(^11\) It

\(^4\) Supra, EA, 400,5-401,1; 406,8-407,4.

\(^5\) Adam, 7f.


\(^7\) See, Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*,
(Princeton, 1977), 84.

\(^8\) See, F. Haimerl, *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der
Gebetbuchliteratur Süddeutschlands*, (München, 1952).

\(^9\) See, P. Egin Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen
katechetischen Literature des späten Mittelalters, Nach den Handschriften der
Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, (München, 1965).

\(^10\) "Unser aller liebster her Ihesus, aussz grosser liebe, di er zu unser sele hail
hat, mit hoher weyshait hat er ein kurcze regeln des gebecez mit kurczen worten
assumed a power of its own that was used as a magic charm for protection of all types. In animals and humans alike, it warded off sickness and evil spirits.12

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begriffen, aber vol vnd swanger kostenlicher vnd tyeffer synn vnd sacrament...,

Unser aller liebster her Ihesus, ed. by B. Adam, Katechetische Vaterunserauslegungen, 104.


12 See, "Vaterunser," in Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglauben, ed. Hanns Bächold-Stäubi, et al., (Berlin-New York, 1987), 8:1513-1515. Thus, in 1472 the Carthusian Werner Rolevinck concluded his De Regimine Rusticorum with an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, (see, Egidius Holzapfel, Werner Rolevincks Bauernspiegel. Untersuchung und Neuerausgabe von ‘De Regimine Rusticorum’, Freiburger Theologische Studien, 76, Basel/Freiburg/Wien, 1959,) in which he sought to teach the ignorant and illiterate rural folk: "Et quia rusticana gens pro maiori parte litteras nescit, ideo, postquam mala consuetudo naturam pessimavit, fiunt paene incorrigibles, quia sicut alius nihil viderunt nec sciunt nec didicerunt, putant sibi totum licere, quod animo occurrit, totum esse bonum, quod solitum; contrarium asserentibus non credunt et sic penitus verecundiam amittunt....Porro, quia oratio dominica inter omnes alias primatum tenet et est laicus magis familiaris, ideo hic pro complemento huius opusculi eam cum quadam simplici expositione ponam....De cetero, carissimi fratres et sorores in Domino, confortamini; et haec paucula, quae scripsi vobis, corde avere percipite! Neque vobis sufficiat, si eam semel aut bis legeritis sive audieritis, sed velut animalia munda quotidie ruminate, quae spiritus Dei loquitor vobis per hunc qualemcumque libellum statui vestro dedicatum." De reg. rust., 107-108; 142-144. In his harangue against necromancy, Rolevinck included the misuse of the Lord's prayer: "Si enim malefico faciente aperte coniurationem daemon visibliter apparent et sibi oboediit, putant debiles in fide, quod illa ars necromantiae efficax sit et super daemones potestatem habeat; sed non est ita, quinimmo daemones fugiunt se compelli, ut animas decipiant, ne quicquam curarent de tali coniuratione, eo quod non fiat per aliquam potestatem superiorum, sed tantummodo per iniquam eorum persuasionem et humanam curiositatem, stultitiam aut malitiam. Si vero effectus superstitionis occulte fiant, tunc aequo imo amplius fides populi periclitatur, quia putant illud esse divinum, quod est diabolicum...plus debet homo christianus timere occultas insidias diaboli quam apertas, quia illas potest cavere, has autem vix advertere...Dicamus etiam secure, quod nulla verba hodie in ecclesia Dei sunt
Evidence that Jordan attempted to reach a popular audience is found not only by his explicit statement that his *Expositio Arboris* was specifically designated for the unlearned, but also by his choice of the tree itself with which to do so. The tree image has a long history in ancient cultures as the 'tree of life', and within Christian iconography signifies the 'tree of knowledge of good and evil' as well as the 'tree of

*divinitus instituta ad determinatos effectus producendos nisi tamen sacramentalia secundum ritum suum, sicut a debito ministro super debitam materiam cum intentione faciendi, quod ecclesia facit et non aliter. Dicamus quoque nullus caerimonias aut characteres sive signa laicis divinitus traditas esse vel ab ecclesia institutas pro aliqubis determinatis effectibus producendis.*

"Ut autem simplices intelligent, quid sit ex aliqua causa naturali sive miraculosa determinatum effectum producere, hoc sic est accipienda, quod aliquo verbo, dicto vel signo aut charactere protracto aliquod necessario sequeretur, quod ille intendit, qui hoc dicit vel facit, sicut in naturalibus videmus: quicumque fundit aquam super ignem, sequitur necessario, quod ignem exstinguat. Ex quo sequitur, quod aspersio aquae benedictae aut consignatio crucis et similia non habent determinatos effectus ex necessitate repellendi omne periculum spirituale et corporale, sed habent congruentiam ad hoc. Ita de aliiis caerimoniiis universis. Si enim per significationem crucis aut orationem dominantem aut aliam quamlibet sacram operationem in ecclesia consuetam statim omne malum propelleretur necessario, tunc fides et spes quoad multa evacuerentur; nec stantibus rebus, ut nunc, reator haberet plenum dominum super creaturam a se factam...

"Sunt ergo omnes orationes et caerimoniae ecclesiasticae sanctae et bonae et pro bonis adipiscendis et malis propulsandis frequentandae, sed effectus determinatos non habent sicut sacramenta; quamvis non minus debemus confidere in spe et pia fide de eorum effectu salubri, si et in quantum Deo placeat in nobis utiles sint ad salutem...

"Sunt praeterea quidam homines modicae intelligentiae ultra alios forte, qui audacter dicunt: nos pro certo scimus, quod, quicquid fit per Pater Noster et Ave Maria et Evangelia et Credo et psalmos et alia sancta verba, hoc est licitum. Et quoniam duri sunt, a diabolo possidentur ad ipsius voluntatem, quod sit hoc frivolum, per eorum responsonem statim patebit, si ab eis quaeratur, an possit abusus fieri sacrorum verborum...

"Sed tamen veraciter loquendo nihil horum per sacra verba fit, quae ipsi putant taliter fieri, sicut iam dictum est. Neque ad hoc sunt instituta divinitus; et immo impossible est, quod propter Dei ordinacionem tales effectus habeant, sed ut diabolus simplices decipiatur, sacra verba suis truphis applicat." *De reg. rust.*, 136-137.
calvary. Moreover, by the time Jordan composed his exposition, the tree of the virtues and vices was well established in religious literature, a tradition dating back to Cassian (d.c. 435).

The tree Jordan chose as image however, was not the tree of Genesis, nor that of the Gospels. Jordan based his Expositio Arboris on the tree of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, recounted in Daniel 4:7-9. Jordan's tree was not, strictly speaking, a tree of the virtues and vices, but the tree of the Lord's Prayer which issued forth from the words of Christ, firmly rooted in his truth. It stood in the center of the world, which Jordan interpreted as the human heart.

The trunk of the tree is formed by seven girls, each of whom hold a sheet inscribed with one of the seven petitions of the prayer. From each girl, as from a

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14 See Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins. An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature, (Michigan, State College Press, 1952), 70 and passim.

15 Supra, EA, 397,5-398,2.

16 Supra, EA, 398,3-5.

17 Supra, EA, 398,5-6. For the importance of the center in the history of religions, see, Eliade, The Sacred and the Prophane, 36-47.
trunk, grows a branch containing the virtues, gifts, beatitudes and fruits corresponding to the individual petitions. Opposed to the branches are corresponding branches of the vices. These branches, however, are not attached to the tree, but are being chewed in the mouths of seven beasts which reside around the tree--the bull frog, the otter, the dog, the bear, the porcupine, the pig, and the ass--representing the seven principle vices. Driving away the beasts are seven angels, which represent the exclusion of the vices. The vices are further symbolized by seven birds--a peacock, jackdaw, vulture, raven, magpie, sparrow, and owl--residing in the branches of the vices. These are opposed by seven doves in the branches of the virtues, which hold in their mouths leaves inscribed with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Jordan closed his exposition of the Pater Noster tree by asserting that Christ had given the ability to understand the tree and to partake of its fruits.

When we attempt to interpret Jordan’s Expositio Arboris, we must recognize that the image Jordan presented was not an allegory of the prayer in a strict sense. To make the prayer, and Jordan’s exposition of it, clear and lucid, even to the unlearned, he constructed a visual image; the tree was designed to make the meaning of the prayer "appear all the more evidently"—evidentius appareat. It is well known that images were the means of educating the illiterate, a tradition stemming

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18 Supra, EA, 401,6-406,7; 409,8-417,8.
19 Supra, EA, 417,8-418,2.
20 Supra, EA, 401,6.
back to Gregory the Great, yet more is at issue here: "we can only understand the role of the visual in popular piety," Bob Scribner explains, "in relationship to a people's entire perception of truth (Wahrnehmungsfähigkeit)." In order to grasp Jordan's perception of truth as it related to his construction of the visual image of the Pater Noster tree, we need to investigate his view of images in general. To translate his lectures for the common folk Jordan concretized his theological ideas; to make the prayer understandable to the unlearned he constructed a visual image which could be understood clearly and easily by all. Jordan's most extensive use of visual imagery is found in his Meditationes de Passione Christi, and it is to this text that we turn to analyze his concretization of theological ideas.

_Imago Passionis--Imitatio Imaginis:_ Jordan's Passion Dialectic

Jordan's _Meditationes_ were a product of his later career. It is reasonable to assume that some of the material finding its way into Jordan's _Meditationes_ had its origins in his Erfurt lectures on Matthew. Not only the Lord's Prayer, but also his


23 See supra, Introduction, 39.
Passion is found in that Gospel. In addition, the Lord’s Prayer and Lord’s Passion were intimately related. As Jordan argued in his *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, it is the Passion that binds us to Christ,\(^\text{24}\) and it is through the Passion of Christ that we are able to taste Christ’s sweetness.\(^\text{25}\) In the Prologue to the *Meditationes* Jordan exhorted the meditant to say fifteen *Pater Nosters* every day for an entire year. This exercise would result with one having said one *Pater Noster* for every wound Christ suffered.\(^\text{26}\) Imitation of the Passion was the summary of the Christian life. The Christian must be crucified with Christ, and is so by the nails of the commandments of righteousness.\(^\text{27}\) Yet the Lord’s Prayer is the summary of the commandments.\(^\text{28}\)

\(^{24}\) Supra, L3, 224,8-225,1.

\(^{25}\) Supra, L3, 229,4-5.


\(^{27}\) "Ex isto articulo trahitur documentum, quod et nos crucifigere debemus carnem nostram cum vitii et concupiscentiis...In hac qualis cruce semper in hac vita pendere debet christianus, ut sic fixus clavis, id est, praeceptis iustitiae sicut Christus in cruce clavis confixus fuit." *Meditationes*, Art. 47, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, f. 30va-b.

\(^{28}\) Supra, L1, 158,2-5.
For the devout Christian, therefore, Christ's Prayer and Passion were two sides of the same coin—both were explications of the religious life within the cloister, and beyond. And both present powerful images. 29

The Meditationes was the work that, "widely popularized the name of Jordanus." 30 The Meditationes reflect the general shift in medieval spirituality from the Christus triumphus to the Christus patiens, which, as generally agreed, began in the twelfth century. 31 The humanity and humility of Christ were stressed in the works of Bernard of Clairvaux and exemplified in the life and stigmatization of St. Francis. Both the art and the literature of the High Middle Ages began to portray the crucifix with the bleeding corps, and not as the living, reigning Christ. 32

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29 On the power of images in general, see Freedberg, The Power of Images.

30 Hümpfner, intro., xxxv.


32 In a recent work, Klara Erdei has commented that: "Bis zum 12. Jahrhundert war Christus in erster Linie der allwaltende Himmelskönig, sein Leben und Leiden traten demgegenüber zurück. Für die im 12. Jahrhundert einsetzende Individualisierung wurde es aber wichtig, ein persönliches Verhältnis zu Christus zu gewinnen, besonders seiner Passion gegenüber." Erdei, Auf dem Wege zu sich selbst: Die Meditation im 16. Jahrhundert. Eine Funktionsanalytische Gattungsbeschreibung, (Wiesbaden, 1990), 33. A graphic portrayal of the sufferings of Jesus became central. The pseudonymous works of the twelfth-and thirteenth-centuries attributed to Bede, Anselm, Bernard, and Bonaventure gave forceful expression to the efficaciousness of meditating on the suffering Christ: Ps-Bede, De Meditazione Passionis Christi per septem diei horas Libellus, (PL 94, 561-568); Ps-Anselm, Dialogus Beate Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini, (PL 159,271-290), and Ps-
In the *Meditationes* Jordan painted a visual image of Christ’s sufferings—it is the *Christus illusus* that we should have before our eyes.\(^{33}\) Calling on Augustine, Jordan instructed his readers that: “When some foul thought pesters me, I go back to the wounds of Christ. When my flesh weighs on me, I take strength in the memory of the wounds of my Lord. When the devil tries to ensnare me, I flee to the entrails (viscera) of my Lord and the devil leaves me...In all my adversities, I find no cure so potent as the wounds of Christ.”\(^{34}\) For Jordan, a realistic image of Christ’s Passion

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Anselm, *De Mensuratione Crucis*, (PL 159, 289-302); Ps-Bernard, *Vitis Mystica seu Tractatus de Passione Domini*, (PL 184, 635-740), *Meditatio in passionem et resurrectionem Domini*, (PL 184, 741-768), and *Lamentatio in passionem Christi*, (PL 184, 769-772); and Ps-Bonaventure, *Meditationes de Vita Christi*, Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, ed. A. C. Peltier, 12 vols., (Paris, 1868), 12:509-630. See also, Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, *Meditations on the Life of Christ. An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, (Princeton, 1961). Ragusa and Green translated the work of the Ps-Bonaventure from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Ital. 115, and provided commentary. In these tracts we find the foundation of fourteenth-century treatments of the Passion: the detailed enumeration and exposition of Christ’s individual wounds, from his capture in Gethsemane to the piercing of his side on the cross (especially Ps-Bernard and Ps-Bonaventure); deep compassion for Mary (especially Ps-Anselm and Ps-Bernard); and the division of the scenes of the Passion according to the canonical hours (especially Ps-Bede and Ps-Bonaventure). All these elements were adopted by Jordan, as well as by the author of the most famous late medieval work on the Passion, Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi*. Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi et quatuor Evangelii et scriptoribus orthodoxis concinnata*, ed. L.-M. Rigolot, 4 vols. Paris and Rome, 1870; Paris and Brussels 1878. For Ludolph, see Walter Baier, *Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen*.

\(^{33}\) “...quod nos Christum illusum ante mentis nostrae oculos habeamus...,” Art. 39, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, f. 25ra.

\(^{34}\) “Cum me pulsat aliqua turpis cogitatio, recurro ad vulnera Christi. Cum me premit caro mea, recordatione vulnerum Domini mei resurgo. Cum dyabolus parat mihi insidias, fugio ad viscera Domini mei et recedit a me...In omnibus adversitatibus meis, non invenio tam efficax remedium quam vulnera Christi.” *Meditationes*, Art.
was fundamental to Christian life.

Jordan divided his *Meditationes* into sixty-five articles, each of which treats a specific point of the Passion at which "Christ suffered something notably." Each  

48, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 31 rb. Jordan cited the Ps-Augustinian, *Manuale*, which he believed to be the authentic voice of the *Doctor gratiae; Manuale*, 22, (PL 40, 960D-961A). Cf.: "Sic nos intuendo cordis oculis Christum in cruce, sanamur a morsu temptationis...Nihil enim est quod tantum terreat diabolus sicut arma Passionis Christi, quia ipse eis victus fuit." VF 2, 30 (291,368-375); "Et quanto homo magis fuerit spiritualis, id est secundum spiritum vivens, tanto fortis arma sua hostis acuit contra eum. Et inde est, quod diabolus plus est infestus Religiosis quam aliis et plus gaudeat de victoria sua contra unum Religiosum quam de multis aliis." VF 2,29 (276,166-170).

35 "Nec est intentionis meae circa singula gesta historiae passionis immorari, sed circa illa praecipue puncta, in quibus singulis Christus aliquid notabiliter passus fuit." *Meditationes*, Prol., Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, f. 1va. He divided the Passion according to the canonical hours, drawing on the tradition stemming from Ps-Bede, *Meditacione passionis Christi per septem diei horas Libellus* (PL 94,561ff). Matins as the first part of his work contains scenes of the Passion from Christ beginning to suffer in Gethsemane and extends to his being mockingly asked to prophesy before Caiphus. The first part of the *Meditationes* contains twenty articles. Then follow eight articles concerning Christ's presentation to both Pilate and Herod, and his return to Pilate, which constitute the second part and Prime. The third part, de hora tertia, treats in twelve articles the Jews' choice of Barabbas over Christ up to their cry Crucifige! Jesus is lead to the tribunal, condemned to death, crucified and mocked by the thief on the cross in the fourth section of Jordan's work, which concludes with an appeal to join in suffering with Mary. This part, de hora sexta, is the second longest of the *Meditationes*, containing eighteen articles. The ninth hour, and the fifth part, opens with article fifty-nine--Christ's abandonment by God on the cross. Four articles later, Christ has died, and the Roman soldier Longinus has pierced his side. This leads to the last two articles, each of which comprises a separate part of the treatise and a separate hour. The deposition is the subject for Vespers as the sixth part, and the canonical day ends with Compline and Christ's burial. In the fourteenth century hymns were written commemorating the Passion and divided into stanzas according to the canonical hours. See, for example, the hymn *Horae canonicae salvatoris*, in *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, ed. Franz Joseph Mone, Freiburg im Breisgau 1853 (reprint ed. Aalen 1964), nr. 82, 106-107 (see also, nrs. 83-87). This hymn is found in several fourteenth-century manuscripts of Brevaries (107). Jordan dividing
article begins with a prayer,36 followed by an explication of the particular scene of the passion, lessons derived therefrom, and concludes with suggestions on how to conform oneself to the theme being discussed. The entire work is designed to give instruction concerning the Passion itself, and to show what should be the proper response. Thus, in article fifteen, treating Christ’s condemnation to death, Jordan warns that by persisting in mortal sin we ourselves speak the words of the Jews, *Reus est mortis.*37 He then adds the conformatio: "In order to conform ourselves to this article, one should consider how often one is deserving of death because of one’s own

his work according to the canonical hours is congruent with both the meditative and the liturgical traditions of his society.

36 Jordan’s *theoremata* bear a close formulaic similarity to a fifteenth-century sequences or tropes "de passione Christi"; see, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters*, ed. Joseph Kehrein, (Mainz, 1873; reprint: Hildesheim, 1969). For example, in one sequence (nr. 45, 54-55) we read: "Ave Jesu Christe, qui ab impiis Iudaeis reprobasti et a Iuda osculo tradi voluisti...," (54); cf. Jordan’s *theoremata* preceding article 5: "Iesu, qui a iudeis capi et teneri voluisti..." Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 7a. The vocative 'Iesu', combined with a subordinate passive clause, is both the formula for the sequence and for Jordan’s *theoremata*, which then include a supplication ("da mihi..."). The close relationship between Jordan’s *Meditationes de passione Christi* and the liturgical life of the church—for both the *religiosi* and the *laici*—must not be overlooked when interpreting this treatise.

sins, but that God’s mercy has thus far persevered for his own emendation.”  

The conformationes are not guides to mystical contemplation, or to ascetical imitation. Most often they simply consist of the exhortation to consider intently (recogite) what Christ suffered and the degree to which we are the cause of his suffering. Jordan’s Meditationes are devotional, intended to instruct the meditant about the Passion, and to evoke love for what Christ did for us.  

The function of meditating on the Passion was not solely to ignite emotion. For Jordan, meditation was fundamental to the process of salvation by cooperating with grace to restore the imago Dei. Following Augustine, Jordan stated that the image of God is reflected in the tripartite division of the soul into memory, understanding, and love. These three faculties reflect the similarity to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit respectively. The image of God in us is violated by sin. Thus even if someone both remembers and understands something about God, but persists in mortal sin, the image is broken asunder because love is not present. The ability to restore the complete trinitarian imago Dei comes not from one’s own endeavor, but is the result of grace. Grace enables the believer to preserve the memory of God, the

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38 "Ad conformandum nos isti articulo, recogitet homo qualiter ipse saepe propter demerita sua reum mortis se fecerit, sed dei misericordia sit hactenus conservatus pro sua emendatione." Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 14va.

understanding of God, and the love for God either in habit or act. 40

This *actu vel habitu* is a key for unlocking Jordan's purpose. His *Meditationes* function to stimulate the act of memory, understanding and love for Christ. They teach the sinner about Christ's Passion, calling for the need to keep ever in mind what Jesus suffered for us: "...[Christ] wanted his face to be spat on, so that he might clean his image polluted in us; he willingly let his face be slapped, so that he might make whole his image broken in us; he allowed his face to be covered, so that he might uncover and make shine his image veiled and obscured in us." 41 By practicing the *Meditationes*, the devout person begins to create a habit of remembering, understanding, and loving the Passion of Christ. By his suffering and

40 "Ad cuius evidentiam est sciendum, quod imago dei in mente habet tres conditiones nobilissimas. Primo, habet puritatem, nam imago in mente in omnimoda puritate creata est, et menti impressa. Et haec puritas maculatur sordibus peccatorum tamquam sputis sordidissimis, quibus facies Christi conspuitur, ut in articulo precedenti. Secundo, habet imago dei, quae per Christi faciem intelligitur, integritatem, quia non solum patrem vel solum filium nec solum spiritum sanctum, sed omnes tres personas assimulat. Ipsa per memoriam similis est patri; per intelligentiam filio; per amorem spiritu sancto. Et haec integritas imaginis violatur et offenditur per peccatum. Nam homo existens in peccato mortale esti memoretur vel intelligat aliiquid de deo, non tamen amat deum. Et sic violata est integritas imaginis quia deest tertia persona. Rursus, si memoretur et enim intelligat nec amat, violata est imago quem ad duas potentias. Et maxime hoc vera ponendo veritatem imaginis non secundum naturalem aptitudinem ad memoriam, intelligendum et amandum sed secundum quod homo actu vel habitu deum meminit, intelligit et amat, quod haec esse per conformitatem gratiae, secundum hoc enim magis proprie attenditur ratio imaginis secundum Augustinum." Art. 18, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 16ra.

41 "Igitur Christus voluit faciem suam sputis conspui, ut imaginem suam in nobis pollutam lavaret; voluit in faciem suam percuti, ut imaginem suam in nobis laesam reintegretur; voluit faciem suam velari, ut imaginem suam in nobis velatum et obscuratam detegeret et illustraret." Art. 18, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 16rb.
crucifixion, Jesus made whole the image of God in humans, which is torn and broken by sin. Meditating on the Passion, for Jordan, was not meant to lead to a mystical union with Christ, nor did it promote an ascetical imitation of Christ's sufferings. Meditation was to stimulate the faculties of the memory, intellect, and love—to restore the *imago Dei*.

To stimulate the creation of a visual image Jordan used extra-Gospel imagery and did not refrain from graphically portraying Christ's sufferings. The meditant must see the various scenes of the Passion; when one sees, one is moved to compassion. Thus we learn that Christ was bound three times, first by his captors in Gethsemane, then as he was lead from Annas to Caiphas, and finally before Pilate, Jesus was bound to a column and whipped. Likewise, after having been

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42 The imagery employed by late medieval Passion literature was influenced by Old Testament prophecy. Authors graphically filled-in the details of Christ's Passion that the Gospels 'omitted'; they turned to prophecy to describe what 'must have happened', and to portray the scenes of the Passion more forcefully. See, F. P. Pickering, *Literatur und darstellende Kunst im Mittelalter*. (Berlin, 1966); ibidem, "The Gothic image of Christ. The sources of medieval representations of the crucifixion," in Pickering, *Essays on Medieval German Literature and Iconography*. (Cambridge, 1980); James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*. (Kortrijk, Belgium, 1979).

43 "Et nota quod tria legitur dominus ligatus in evangelia. Primo statim cum captus esset Iohannis 18: *comprehenderunt Ihesum et ligaverunt eum et adducerunt eum ad Annam primum* [Ioh. 18,12-13]. Secundo, cum de Anna duceretur ad Caipham... Tertio, cum duceretur ante Pilatum... Et continue tenuerunt eum vinctum ab hora captionis usque ad crucifixionem ubi etiam ipsum clavis vinixerunt. Et sic semper vinctus fuisset usque ad depositionem de cruce... Quarto potest addi, quod etiam ligatus fuit cum flagellaretur, licet homo in evangeliio non exprimatur, creditur tamen tunc fuisset ligatus ad columnam..." Art. 6, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 8vb.
interrogated by Caiphas, Christ was spat on and beaten by Caiphas' soldiers so that he appeared *quasi leprosum*, an image drawn from Isaiah 53. Further, his face was so beaten that "blood flowed from his nose and his mouth", although Jordan notes that this is not mentioned by the Evangelists. Jordan devotes an entire article (Art. 46) to the explication of the verse from Psalm 21, *Dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea* [Ps. 21:18] as it relates to Christ hanging on the cross, and tells of the two competing theories regarding the actual crucifixion, namely, that Christ was first nailed to the cross on the ground and then lifted into place, or, that the cross was first erected, so that Christ had to ascend on a ladder before he was nailed. We further

44 "Et sic illa facies benedicta facta est ita abhorriabilis quasi esset leprosa exputis et verberibus, quae ei infaciem dederunt, ut sequitur, unde ad impletus est in eo illud Isaiah liii: Et nos reputavimus eum quasi leprosum, percussum a deo et humilitatum [Is. 53,4]." Art. 17, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 15ra.

45 In facie enim sunt omnes sensus et sunt ibi membra tenera, facile laesabilia. Unde verisimile est quod ex tali percussione fluxerit sanguis per nares et per os, licet hoc ab evangelistis non exprimatur. O quam horrendum scelus impiissimorum iudeorum, quod faciem tam formosam tam crudeliter verberibus affecerunt!" Art. 18, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 15va-vb.

46 Art. 46, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 29vb-30rb.

47 "Quinquagesimus secundus articulus est in cruce levatio. Nam secundum quosdam crucifixio facta fuit cruceiacente in terra et postea eo affixo levaverunt eum cum cruce...Ista autem levatio non dubium quin maximum doloris fuerit eo quod ex ponderositate corporis tunc lacerabantur vulnera manuum et pedum, quod sine magno dolore nequaquam esse potuit. Secundum alios autem et est communior existimatio, crux prius erecta fuit et terrae infixa et postea fecerunt eum ascendere forte per scalam et sic applicantes eum cruci affixerunt eum. Et si sic, tunc articulus ille debebet praeecedere sex immediate praemissos. Nec illa crucis ascensio et applicatio potuit sine singulari poena. Unde qualitercumque accipiatur, planum est quod levatio in cruce vel ascensio et applicatio ad crucem fuit poenalis, quare non immerito facit..."
learn that after Jesus' death on the cross, the blind Roman soldier Longinus pierced
Christ's side with a lance. The blood from the wound fell on Longinus' eyes,
whereupon he was immediately able to see. 48

All these images were current in the Passion literature of the High and Later
Middle Ages. 49 Yet Jordan never used such imagery for mere sensationalism. He
employed images for pedagogical and homiletical purposes, always directing his
enhancements toward stimulating meditation. Jordan's Meditationes were part of this
pastoral mission. That Jordan's work was not intended for religious alone is indicated
when he mentions such themes as the efficaciousness of relics, pilgrimages,
processions, and the virtue of the nobility. 50 Yet he goes even further when he
compares the horror of Judas' kiss of betrayal with kissing someone with "nauseous
breath": "For if it is sickening for anyone to receive a kiss from someone with
disgusting breath (os foetidum), how much greater was it a punishment for Christ to

articulum specialem." Art. 52, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 32rb-32va.

48 "Et ille miles dicitur fuisse Longinus, cuius oculi caligaverant, et cum casu vel
nutu divino sicut et lanceavit licet nesciens sanguine Christi defluente per lanceam
oculos tangeret clare vidit." Art. 63, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 40va.

49 See, Marrow, Passion Iconography.

50 For the virtue of the nobility, see, Art. 37, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 24ra; reference
to the efficaciousness of relics is found in, Art. 54, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26,
fol. 33vb; for pilgrimages, see Art.44, ibid, fol. 29ra; and for processions, also see
Art. 44, ibid, fol. 29ra.
receive a kiss from a mouth of such foulness...?"51 Jordan shows his awareness of human relationships when he exhorts his readers that when they are abandoned by friends and neighbors in times of need, they should calmly bear in mind that Christ was abandoned by his own apostles.52 Such references suggest that the Meditations were not written by a cloistered monk out of contact with society; this work was not intended for Jordan's co-religious alone.

Jordan certainly had his fellow friars in mind when he stated that just as Christ was shaven on calvary (decalvatus fuit) for us, "so are we shaven when we strip ourselves of all our temporal possessions through the vow of voluntary poverty."53 He had harsh words for religiosi who do not reveal and surrender to their prelate their entire will, because Christ did as much by completely entrusting his spirit to the Father on the cross. Those religiosi who retain some of their own will are mali religiosi: "they are liars and they hinder the resurrection," since Christ's resurrection would not have occurred if he had not committed everything to God, "and therefore

51 "Si enim nauseabile est, est cuique homini suscipere osculum ab aliquo habente os foetidum, quanto magis Christo fuit poenale suscipere osculum ab ore tantae foeditatis...," Art. 4, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 7ra.

52 "...quod si interdum hi, qui videntur amici nostri et proximi recedant a nobis tempore necessitatis vel adversitatis, equanimiter hoc feramus memores quod et apostoli in neccesitate recesserunt a Christo." Art. 7, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26,, fol. 10ra.

53 "Sic et nos decalvamur quando per paupertatem voluntarium ab omni proprietate temporalium denudamus." Art. 44, Basel, MS UB B.V. 26, fol. 29rb.
they are antichrists."\(^54\)

At times Jordan explicitly stated that a particular lesson is *pro religiosis*.\(^55\)

By specifically designating occasional *documenta* as *pro religiosis*, Jordan intended the majority of the lessons for the laity. Thus, he noted that even though the *religiosi* are especially to be the imitators of Christ,\(^56\) "all those who desire to live devoutly according to the 'new man' are ridiculed by those who live according to the 'old man'."\(^57\) All true Christians must tolerate derision from the wicked and strive to be an example; Jordan exhorted every Christian to be "bright and shining."\(^58\) The reason for this, as Jordan told in his *Meditationes*, calling on his blessed Father Augustine, is that, "The entire life of any Christian, if he lives according to the

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\(^54\) "Tertium documentum specialiter pro religiosis, qui moriuntur mundo in religionis ingressu vel saltem in professione, est. Quod ipsi debent spiritum, id est voluntatem et sensum suum, tradere in manus patris spiritualis, scilicet praelati, quod amplius non resumant usque ad diem resurrectionis, exemplo Christi, qui spiritum suum moriens in manus patris commendaverat ulterius non resumit nisi in resurrectione sua. Mali ergo religiosi, qui nunquam deposuerunt spiritum suum puta qui volunt facere secundum voluntatem suam et sequi sensum suum, mendaces sunt et praeveniunt resurrectionem; et ideo antichristi sunt." Art. 62, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 39vb.

\(^55\) E.g.: "Tertium documentum specialiter pro religiosis..." Art. 62, Basel, MS UB B.V. 26, fol. 39vb.

\(^56\) "Ex hoc articulo est documentum, quod religiosi, qui specialiter debet esse immitatores Christi..." Art.22, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 19ra.

\(^57\) "...omnes qui pie volunt vivere secundum novum hominem illuduntur ab hiis, qui vivunt secundum veterem hominem." Art. 27, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 20ra.

Gospel, is a certain cross, or even martyrdom."\(^{59}\) Jordan composed his *Meditationes* as a way of bringing the monastic imitation of Christ to the people at large. The importance of the *quilibet christianus* should not be underestimated. The *Meditationes* may not have originated from the people, but they were intended for the people.\(^{60}\)

Jordan's *Meditationes* must not be cloistered from popular religion.\(^{61}\)

In this light, a correct analysis of Jordan's *Meditationes* must ask not only what Jordan is saying, but to whom he is saying it as well. This raises the issue of

\(^{59}\) "...tota vita cuiuslibet christiani hominis, si secundum evangelium vivat, quaedam crux atque martyrium sit." *Meditationes*, Prol., Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 1rb. This statement is repeated in Art. 43, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26, fol. 28rb. Jordan quotes the same passage in the prologue of his *Opus Dan* (ed. Strassburg 1484), sermo 1 A.


\(^{61}\) See note 11 above. Cf. André Vauchez, "La Pieté Populaire au Moyen Age. Etat des Travaux et Position des Problemes", in Vauchez, *Religion et Société dans L'Occident Medieval*, (Torino, 1980): 324-325: "En effet, la spiritualité n'est pas seulement un système codifiant les règles de l'ascèse et les étapes de la vie mystique. Elle peut se définir, de façon à la fois plus large et plus exacte, comme une relation entre certains aspects du mystère chrétien particulièrement mis en valeur à une époque donnée (ainsi l'accent mis sur l'humanité du Christ et la valeur rédemptrice de la souffrance, à la fin du Moyen Age) et d'autre part un ensemble de pratiques (par exemple, pour la même époque, la flagellation ou la dévotion à la couronne d'épines), elles-mêmes privilégiées par rapport à d'autres pratiques religieuses possibles à l'intérieur de la vie chrétienne. L'ensemble de ces manifestations de religiosité constitue la pieté."
his cognitive style. A semiotic analysis of Jordan's *imago passionis*—which he vividly presented *ante mentis nostre oculos*—requires the analysis of his culture's *imago passionis*. Such an analysis is lacking when his *Meditationes* are approached from the vantage point of theology or spirituality alone.

This perspective informs the search for the cultural text of Jordan's *Meditationes*. To interpret such a work as Jordan's *Meditationes*—as well as his *Expositio Arboris*—we must follow a synchronous approach to texts, which, as Aron Gurevich put it, "...focuses on the cultural work as conditioned by the state of mind contemporary with it. It explores a text's relationship with current existence, the various stimuli the author received apart from the inherited artistic canon...and also the possible influence of the work on its surroundings, its actual socio-cultural

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62 See, Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy. A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, (Oxford, 1972; second edition, 1988). Baxandall defines 'cognitive style' as: "...the equipment that the fifteenth-century painter's public brought to complex visual stimulations like pictures...some of the mental equipment a man orders his visual experience with is variable, and much of this variable equipment is culturally relative, in the sense of being determined by the society which has influenced his experience." (39-40). Clifford Geertz, drawing on Baxandall, concludes that, "It is out of participation in the general system of symbolic forms we call culture that participation in the particular we call art, which is in fact but a sector of it, is possible. A theory of art is thus at the same time a theory of culture, not an autonomous enterprise. And if it is a semiotic theory of art it must trace the life of signs in society, not in an invented world of dualities, transformations, parallels, and equivalences." "Art as a Cultural System," in *Local Knowledge. Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, (New York, 1983), 94-120; 109. For Geertz, "The artist works with his audience's capacities....Art and the equipment to grasp it are made in the same shop." (118).
function. To grasp the socio-cultural function of Jordan's *Meditationes*, we return to fourteenth-century Erfurt.

The *imago passionis* in Erfurt reflects remarkably late the general shift of the twelfth century in medieval spirituality from the triumphant Christ to the suffering Christ. The *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis Moderna* records that from the twelfth through the fourteenth century there were in St. Peter's seven chapels (and/or altars) at least partially dedicated to the cross. Four of the five dedications in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries bore the formula: *in honore individuae trinitatis et victoriosissme sancte crucis*. A dedication in 1348 repeated this formula with an important difference—the reference to the "victorious cross" was omitted. In 1304 a chapel was dedicated: *in honore sancte crucis ac dominici corporis et sanguinis*.

Table 1, Dedications of Altars, Chapels, and Churches in Erfurt, 1100-1400


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<tr>
<th>Century</th>
<th>12th</th>
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<th>14th</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dedications, at least partially, to the cross with relics of Christ</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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64 *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis Moderna*, 417ff.
Dedications, at least partially to the cross, with no relics of Christ

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<th>Century</th>
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<tr>
<td>De ligno Domini</td>
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<td>De sepulcro Domini</td>
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<td>De spongia Domini</td>
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<td>De lecto Domini</td>
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<td>De presepio Domini</td>
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Dedications not to the cross, but with relics of Christ

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<td>De ligno Domini</td>
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<td>De presepio Domini</td>
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This shift is reflected as well in Erfurt’s relics. Of the 37 relics relating to Christ listed by the chronicler, 23 directly concerned the Passion, and almost half of these date from the fourteenth century. Relics *de ligno domini* and *de sepulcro domini* were the most popular, and in the fourteenth century their numbers equalled that of the two preceding centuries combined.
By the time Jordan became lector of his Order’s studium in Erfurt, the passion had entered the city’s sacred space.

Throughout his work, Jordan graphically portrayed the scenes of the passion.

The *Christus derelictus* is the central image of imitation; the crucified Christ calling out from the cross, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?", forms the *articulus articulorum passionis Christi*. Without this, Jordan avowed, there would have been no *poena* for Christ, and therefore Christ would not have suffered.\(^6\) At this point, Christ’s divinity ceased to support his humanity, and yet the *corpus domini*

\(^6\) "...ipse videns divinitatem in nullo suffragari sensualiti suae in alleviatione poenarum bene conqueri potuit se a deo derelictum. Et haec poena derelictionis fuit maior omnibus poenis suis, immo sine hac, nulla ei fuisset poena. Unde iste articulus potest dici articulus articulorum passionis Christi, quanto sine eo nulla ei fuisset passio." Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 37ra.
remains God.\(^{66}\) When the soldiers pierced the dead Christ’s side, Christ did not suffer since he was already dead, but true blood and water—the signs of life—poured forth from his side.\(^{67}\) The ambivalence of the dead but active Christ—artistically represented in the later Middle Ages by the \textit{imago pietatis}\(^{68}\)—becomes the sinner’s access route to Christ. Jordan exhorted the imitator to enter into Christ’s body

\(^{66}\) See, Art. 59, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 36va-37ra; Art. 63, fol. 40va: "...\textit{corpus illud fuit verus deus}...

\(^{67}\) "...\textit{istud vulnus lateris Christus non senserit cum fuerit mortuum corpus}..." Art. 63, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 40rb: "\textit{Et iste sanguis erat verum et purus sanguis, et aqua vera et pura...et hoc fuit miraculosum, eo modo ut dictum est supra articulo secundo [Art. 2, fol. 4va-b].}" Art. 63, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 40va-b.

\(^{68}\) See, Hans Belting, \textit{The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages. Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion}, trans. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer, (New York, 1990); originally published under the title \textit{Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion}, (Berlin 1981). Belting discusses a Bohemian diptych (now in Karlsruhe) in which the right-hand panel depicts the half-length portrait of the dead Christ, while the opposite panel shows the Virgin holding the infant Jesus (29f). When compared to Italian prototypes, Belting comments, "...we notice that in the Bohemian panel Jesus turns almost imperceptibly toward his mother, and as he does so draws attention to the gaping wound in his chest. The forefinger of his left hand is raised to this spot, making a gesture which only a living person can make. In the Italian examples, this contradiction—the portrayal of a corpse that acts—is unknown. In these pictures the dead Christ is clearly dead, a circumstance which makes his upright posture all the more strange. The Bohemian artist, in contrast, annuls this definitive passivity by allowing the dead man to make a gesture betraying that he is not dead and can therefore not only receive pity, but grant it as well. Jesus begins a subtle dialogue with the viewer who is attuned to this nuance. In this shift of emphasis the whole difference between the Mediterranean and transalpine conception is revealed." Belting, 32-33.
through the wound in his side—*per amorem*—and there be united with Christ's heart. He closed his *Meditationes* with an analogous, but opposite image when he referred to the heart of the *imitator* as the *sepulcrum Christi*. The imitator's heart becomes the tomb of Christ. Jordan made the *imago passionis* in Erfurt an intimately personal image; the true relic *de sepulcro domini* is the heart of the imitator who must guard the dead, but life-giving Christ, which Jordan portrayed as a visual bodily image.

The active nature of the images can also be seen in an event we previously encountered. In 1324, only two years after Jordan began teaching, conflict arose in Erfurt between the citizens and the clergy when the citizens hanged a priest accused of theft. The clergy responded by withholding the sacraments, whereupon the citizens attacked church property. The Archbishop of Mainz came to Erfurt and restored peace. We return to this scene here because the matter was not completely pacified by the Archbishop. Later in the year a motley crowd lead by a man named

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69 "...nos omnem voluntatem nostram conformare debemus voluntati divinae, etiam quod voluntas dei in omnibus et super omnia sic nobis accepta eo quod cor Chirsti vulneratum est amoris vulnere propter nos, quatenus nos per amorem recipititum intrare possimus per ostium lateris ad cor eius, et ibi omnem amorem nostrum ad suum divinum amorem counire, ut sicut ferrum candens cum igne in unum redigatur amorem...". Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 41rb.

70 "...imaginetur homo quasi cor suum sit Christi sepulcrum et in ibi ipsum venerabiliter recondat, reconditum lamentabiliter defleat et diligenter custodiat ne ipsum amittat." Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 43vb.

71 See supra, Introduction, 23f.
Zcinke rose up against an unnamed cleric and despoiled a chapel and its altar. A poem was written commemorating this event and telling of its resolution: because the chapel had been attacked, the *corpus de virgine natum* not only set things straight, but also defused the power of Herr Zcinke—which the poet tells us was purely *ficta*—and protected the said cleric henceforth: *hic et in evum!* The power of the image was the true power, overcoming the false power of the perpetrator. For the popular mind, "...images...had come alive". This is true as well for Jordan’s *imago passionis*.

Active images comprised the economy of the sacred and exerted a power

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72 "Eodem anno spoliata est capella Sacri Fontis supra et infra et omnibus ornamentis altaris; de quo metrista refert:
Fraus cum bisexto Domini regnavit in anno
Milesimo trecentesimo vicesimo quarto,
Quere diem solis et festum Panthaleonis,
In quibus est magna res et violencia facta.
Surrexit quidam Zcinke cognomine nequam
Cum turba multa, sed non de gente beata,
Adversus clerum; quod sit maledictus in evum!
Hicque potestate spoliavit in hac civitate
Quosdam canonicos cappellarumque ministros,
Sed quasi tempestas fuit eius ficta potestas.
Hanc quia cappellam spoliavit et inferiorem
Ad Fontem Sacrum, corpus de virgine natum
Corrigat et clerum custodiat hic et in evum!" *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis Moderna*, 355.


over those who viewed them. "To see", argues Ronnie Hsia, "is to establish contact. For the laity, to behold the sacred was to create a direct bond between themselves and the sources of sanctity." 75 Jordan's imago passionis, a visual image, exerted a power over the imitator by establishing a direct bond between image and imitator, a bond discernable in Jordan's concept of imitation.

To impress upon the imitator the sufferings of Christ, Jordan advocated a moderate flagellation. 76 The central image of imitation, however, is not the Christus patiens, but the Christus derelictus. This contrasts markedly with the imitation of the flagellants who appeared at the gates of cities throughout Germany in 1349.

Designated as a "most pernicious sect" by official religion, 77 Frantisek Graus


76 See, for example, the "Conformatio" section of Article 11, in which Jordan exhorts: "Ad conformandum se isti articulo, poterit homo sibiipsi dare alapam moderatam ad repraesentandam alapam Christi..." Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 12vb.

77 "Eodem tempore [entered under a previous entry of 1348; the Schöppenchronik lists the arrival of the flagellants in 1349] flagellatores diversorum statuum et condicionum discurrunt per diversas terras, inter quos quidam erant sacerdotes et clerici, quidam layci nobiles et plures alii in magno numero, qui flagellabant se publice per ecclesias, cincti linea veste sub cingulo et desuper toti nudi, cantantes canciones ad hoc factas...Hec secta periculosa erat; predicabant enim mirabilia et omnem gradum cleri despiciebant et sacramenta ecclesie aspernabantur; propter quod papa Clemens sectam illam prohibuit et deleuit per suas litteras, quibus eos excommunicari et capi mandavit ubicumque reperientur. Sed et ante huiusmodi mandatum papale dominus Otto archiepiscopus Magdeburgensis ipsos strictissime prohibuerat in terra sua sub optentu corporum atque rerum." Gesta Archiepis. Magd., MGH.SS 14, 437,1-12. See also, Die Magdeburger Schöppenchronik, ed. C. Hegel, in Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, vol. 7: Die
considered the flagellants to be a lay movement. The Kreuzbrüder, as related by
the Magdeburg Schöppenchronik, advocated an imitation of the physically suffering
Christ, and preached the efficacy of their processions as a way of cleaning oneself to
prepare for God's complete forgiveness. The flagellants, as an example of
negative cult, formed a systematic asceticism that served to remove "the barriers
which separate the sacred from the profane", thereby preparing for the positive
cult.

Chroniken der niedersachsischen Städte. Magdeburg, vol. 1, (Göttingen 1869; reprint
Stuttgart, 1962), 204f. The Schöppenchronik gives a more extensive account and
states: "to lesten began dat gemeine volk to murmerende jegen den papen. do vorbod
de bishop van Magdeborch,men schoide se nicht mer tolaten...", Schöppenchronik,
206,19-21.

78 Frantisek Graus, Pest-Geissler-Judenmorde. Das 14. Jahrhundert als Krisenzeit,
(Göttingen, 1987), 56.

79 "wenn se vallen scholden, so sang or mester 'nu hevet up alle juwe hende, dat
god dat grote stervent wende. hevet up all juwe arme, dat sik god over ju vorbarme.
Crist wart gelavet mit gallen: des schulle wi an ein cruze vallen.' wenn dat geschen
was, so stunden se aver mit sange up und slogen sik als vore. wenn se uphoren
wolden, so reip or meister 'gi sunder, vor dat cruze.' so weren ichteswelke, de velen
dweres vor der processien nedder, ichteswelke up den rugge, etlike up den buke,
etlike an de siden: dat waren manslachtige und ebreker und rovere. dar ging denn de
processien over on hen und slogen de mit geislen. so ging denne or hogeste mester
na und sloch jowelkem einen slach und sprak 'broder, stant up, dat di god alle dine
sunde vorgeve.' denn cleideden se sik alle und gingen uppe den market." Schöppenchronik,
205,17-206,3.

80 Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. A Study in
1: "The Negative Cult and its Functions," 299-325; 311-312: "Normally, the negative
cult serves only as an introduction and preparation for the positive cult. But it
sometimes happens that it frees itself from this subordination and passes to the first
place, and that the system of interdicts swells and exaggerates itself to the point of
For Jordan, in contrast, imitation is not based on a cleansing process of the profane to prepare for the sacred, but focuses upon their simultaneous co-existence. Treating Christ’s last words, *Consummatum est*, Jordan set up the familiar relationship between the first Adam, and the second Adam, Christ. This relationship is not chronological or historical, but simultaneous: "Wherefore in the very hour that the first Adam brought death into this world by sinning, the second Adam destroyed death by dying." Imitation, for Jordan, is not "works righteousness", but is in keeping with his Augustinian theology of grace.

The importance of this for what can be called the 'theology of the imitator', is usurping the entire existence. Thus a systematic asceticism is born which is consequently nothing more than a hypertrophy of the negative cult...This [i.e., real asceticism] is what generally takes place at certain critical periods when, for a relatively short time, it is necessary to bring about a grave change of condition in a subject." The negative cult is the preparation for the "positive cult": "In fact, owing to the barrier which separates the sacred from the profane, a man cannot enter into intimate relations with sacred things except after ridding himself of all that is profane in him. He cannot lead a religious life of even a slight intensity unless he commences by withdrawing more or less completely from the temporal life. So the negative cult is in one sense a means in view of an end: it is a condition of access to the positive cult." (309).

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82 See supra, ch. 2.
that the relationship between the imitator and Christ—or more precisely, between the imitator and the *imago passionis*—is one of analogy, an imitative rite, based on the principle of "like produces like."\(^{83}\) "We must die with the dying Christ...if we wish to live with Christ in eternal life."\(^{84}\) Imitative rites are part of the positive cult. Thus Jordan’s concept of imitation had a different function from that of the flagellants—he moved the imitation of Christ from the negative cult to the positive.

The *imago passionis* exerts a power over the imitator by establishing "a radically different order of being," namely, the discursive nature of the imitation: "To be raised to this order and at one with it represents 'salvation'."\(^{85}\) For Jordan, the imitator remains a worldly sinner with Adam, but by the *imitatio imaginis* of the *Christus derelictus*—"in union with the passion of Christ, crying out these words in

\(^{83}\) Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, bk III, ch.3, 351-369; 356. Durkheim explains: "The representation of a being or condition produces this being or condition...The classical example of the magic charm, which is ordinarily given as the typical application of this same precept, is much less significant. The charm is, to a large extent, a simple phenomenon of transfer. The idea of the image is associated in the mind with that of the model; consequently the effects of an action performed upon a statue are transmitted contagiously to the person whose traits it reproduces. The function of the image is for its original what that of a part is for the whole: it is an agent of transmission...In the rites of which we have just been speaking, it [the image] acts by itself and is directly efficacious." Durkheim, 356. Jordan’s *imago passionis* acts "by itself" in transferring its own qualities by means of the *imitatio imaginis*.

\(^{84}\) "Nos debemus commori Christo moriendo, videlicet mundo et peccatis, si cum Christo in aeterna vita vivere voluerimus." Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 39va.

\(^{85}\) Scribner, "Cosmic Order and Daily Life," 2.
complete similarity to Christ, 'My God, My God, why have you forsaken me?' he or she becomes simultaneously one with Christ. This simultaneity is not only a corrective to the imitation of the flagellants, but is also the ambivalent co-existence of the sacred and profane. Jordan transformed the objective imago passionis in Erfurt into a subjective image; the power of the image had not been changed, but channeled.

Jordan's Meditationes were indeed a product of Augustinian spirituality. Yet if the cloister is the only context in which his work is to be interpreted the broader social dimensions are lost. As an Augustinian friar Jordan and his Meditationes de passione Christi must be interpreted within the traditions of his Order. Yet he did not compose his treatise in the solitude of his cell--it is neither a soliloquy nor a mystical vision. The Meditationes stemmed from Jordan's preaching endeavor which was

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86 "...in unione passionum Chisti, clamans in toto simile cum Christo verba haec: Deus, Deus meus, respice in me ut quid dereliquisti me? [Ps. 21,2; Matth. 27,46]"
Article 59, Basel, UB MS B.V. 26 fol. 37rb-37va.

87 According to Aron Gurevich, the ambivalent co-existence of the sacred and the profane are central to the "medieval grotesque": "We should concentrate on the grotesque way of thinking organically inherent in medieval society. It is an essential quality of the medieval world-view, just as integral a feature of man's attitude towards reality as his propensity towards the sacred. Therefore, medieval grotesque is always ambivalent and represents the attempt to apprehend the world in two hypostases--sacred and secular, sublime and base, serious and playful. Bakhtin indicates the enormous significance of grotesque in culture outside the church, in carnival and farce, but he reduced it to the principle of laughter and comedy. By contrast, my material suggests the hypothesis that the grotesque was a style of medieval man's thinking in general, embracing the entire culture, beginning from the lower, folkloric level and continuing up to the level of official church culture. Although I do not propose to bring these aspects completely together and fuse them into one, I nevertheless believe that between them there was much in common." Gurevich, Medieval Popular Culture, 208.
central to his concept of the *religio Augustini*. Whether one views the later Middle Ages as a period of spiritual saturation, as did Huizinga,\(^88\) or as contributing to the emergence of a collective guilt culture, as does Jean Delumeau,\(^89\) fourteenth-century society cultivated a devotion to the Passion as never before, evident in art, literature, and the celebrations of *corpus Christi*.\(^90\) In this light, Jordan's *Meditationes* represent not only mendicant spirituality, but also a common Passion piety in late medieval Germany. Furthermore, they offer us insight into his 'translation' of the *Pater Noster* in his *Expositio Arboris*.

The Power of Images

We are not yet ready to return directly to Jordan's *Expositio*. First we must investigate the source of the images' power. In addition to the efficacy of imitation, what was the basis, for Jordan, of the visual image's potency? To answer this question we must delve into his epistemology, for on the cognitive level we find the

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ontological force behind the ritualized, socio-religious imitation.  

Jordan’s epistemological point of departure is derived from an Aristotelian anthropology. The human organism requires forty-five days gestation; the soul is infused in the body only at the very end. At the time of ‘animation’, the soul is a tabula rasa, impressed with neither knowledge nor virtues. Yet Jordan betrayed his neo-Platonic hand when interpreting the daughters of Zion in the Song of Songs (3:5-11) he claimed:

Zion is a mirror, and signifies the height of divine wisdom. The daughters of Zion are the faithful souls begotten and elected by God to the contemplation of divine wisdom. They are thus rightly called daughters, because they were created by God at the same time as the eternal word according to the ideal reason...Thus, in keeping with this ideal reason, they can be called predestined daughters, betrothed to

91 What follows is not intended to be a complete analysis or portrayal of Jordan’s epistemology and its place and function within his theology, or within the history of cognitive theory. I am trying to bring to the fore fundamental aspects of his view of cognition necessary to illumine his view of images, and consequently both his Meditationes de passione Christi and the Expositio Arboris. A comprehensive treatment of Jordan’s epistemology within the context of his thought would require a separate study. It fills a gap in the understanding of images’ power as discussed by Freedberg. Freedberg did not delve into the epistemological, physiological, and ontological process by which images were seen, focusing on the cognitive and emotional response to viewing images.

92 “...per philosophum in De Animalibus et per beatum Augustinum in libro 83 quaestionum, corpus humanum formatio 45 diebus perficitur, quia 6 diebus est sub forma lactis; postea 9 diebus sub forma sanguinis; 12 aliis diebus solidatur in carne, et ex tunc in 18 diebus sequentibus organizatur, et tunc demum anima infunditur...” Opus Postillarum, sermo 7 A.

93 “Secundo propter animae perfectionem. Anima enim infunditur corpori sicut tabula rasa, in qua nihil est depictum, neque scientia neque virtutes.” Opus Jor, sermo 106, Vat., MS Pal. lat. 448, fol. 181rb.
Christ in eternity.  

Although the soul at birth is a blank slate, it is a fallen blank slate; the blankness in no way implies an original perfection. The two chief faculties of the soul, the will and the reason, are hindered by the effects of the fall, even though the image of God remains. In short, the human soul at birth is both an empty soul and a deformed image of God.  

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94 "Sion interpretatur specula, et signifikat altitudinem divinae sapientiae, cuius filiae sunt animae fideles ad divinae sapientiae contemplationem a deo procreatae et electae, quae bene dicuntur filiae, quia a deo patre simul cum verbo aeterno secundum rationem idealem productae...Quantum ad illam rationem possunt dici filiae in aeternitate praedestinate et Christo desponsatae." Opus Dan (ed. Strassburg, 1484), sermo 19 A; cf. supra, ch. 5. On the role of ideas in medieval epistemology, see, Joseph Owens, C.SS.R., "Faith, ideas, illumination, and experience," in Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg, ass. ed., Eleonore Stump, (Cambridge, 1982), 440-459. Owens briefly touches on the neo-platonic/Augustinian theory of divine ideas and illumination, placing this theory in context of the confrontation with Aristotelian epistemology from William of Auxerre to Thomas Aquinas, and then continues on with Ockham, and concludes with Descartes (the development from Ockham to Descartes is treated in a short paragraph).

95 "...liberi arbitrii dotatione et divinae imaginis insigniatione, quae duo velut duo lineae adhuc remanserant secundum essentiam, vulnerata tamen quo ad naturalia et spoliata quo ad gratuata. Remansit quippe liberum arbitrium, sed depravatum et immunitum, quia peccatum receptit difficiatatem ad bonum et pronitatem ad malum. Prius enim homo per liberum arbitrium poterat peccare et non peccare, sed post potuit peccare et non potuit non peccare. Imago etiam dei remansit in anima post peccatum, sed quasi deformata." Opus Postillarum sermo 7 B. Jordan seems to come close to having adopted a Gnostic or Manachean position when he wrote: "Anima enim pueri carni recenter infusa contrahit ex carnis corruptione caliginem ignorantie in intellectu, putredinem concupiscientie in affectu." Opus Dan (ed. Strassburg, 1484), sermo 270 A. The Augustinian position of a flesh/spirit dichotomy is virtually surpassed by Jordan not only by his adopting the sinfulness of the flesh, but the sinfulness of creation as well by claiming the soul is corrupted at infusion, or closely thereafter. Such a determinination, however, must await a comprehensive study of Jordan's
Jordan compared the soul to a kingdom. In this kingdom three things were necessary: a king to rule the kingdom, counselors to give advice, and servants to serve the king. The king of the human soul is the will, the counselor, the reason, and the senses are the servants. The reason is to consult the eternal laws and keep its sights on the higher things, for in this way it will be illumined and able to give wise counsel. The faculty that performs this function is the higher part of the reason (superior portio). If, however, the reason turns away from what is eternal to what is inferior, it will only be able to give wicked counsel; and this is the lower part of the reason (inferior portio). The senses provide information to the reason, since, Jordan affirmed citing Aristotle, "nothing is in the intellect that was not first in the senses."

If the senses are not on their guard and devolve into sensuality, they could win over the inferior part of the reason, which could then convince the superior part of the reason, which in turn could persuade the king, the will, and thus the individual will fall into sin. "Therefore," Jordan warned, "if you want to find Jesus, you ought to be a wise king, namely, one who rules your household well, that is, one who keeps watch on one's senses."96

96 "Vita enim hominis comparatur regno, in quo constituit dominus tria regno necessaria, scilicet, regem regnum regentem; consiliarium consilia tribuentem; servos regi servientes. Rex autem huius regni est ipsa voluntas sive liberum arbitrium quod pro tanto dicitur liberum, quia ab omni coactione liberum est; dicitur autem voluntas rex in hoc regno quia sicut ad regem pertinet omnia disponere in regno et ei omnia sunt subdita, sic ipsi voluntati omnia sunt subdit quae sunt in vita hominis, sensus et omnes vires...Consiliarius huius regis est ipsa ratio, quae quandoque aspicit superiorea
Two points are to be noted here. First, we find an emphasis on sight and particularly, the sight of the reason. The reason should keep its sights on the higher things and the eternal laws: *ratio...aspicit superiora*. By doing so, the sight, or gaze, of the reason is illumined: *per hunc aspectum illuminatur*. Thus in the fourth of his lectures on the 'Our Father', Jordan associated the eyes with the intellect. The object of the eyes and the reason influences the reason itself. The second point follows the first. Just as the reason is to an extent determined by its object, so are the senses. A sinful act begins in the senses. And for Jordan, as for the Middle Ages in general, the primary sense was the sense of sight.

There are, Jordan told us, three ways in which one sees. First, in certain

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97 "...intellectus assimulatur oculo..." Supra, L4, 255,2.
cases one can see the very essence of a thing, such as when our eyes see light.

Second, one sees through sensible species when the object itself impresses in our sight its image (*similitudo*). In this way we see a rock. The third way is through a mirror, which occurs when the image of a thing places its image, that is, the image of the image, in our sight. 98 When it comes to the sense of sight, with respect to perception our sense is completely passive, a mere receptacle of the images emitted from an object. The object is the active partner. 99 And here we have come to the heart of the matter.

The soul is a *tabula rasa*, but one capable of receiving sensible species, or images, from the external world. The senses are the port holes through which the soul communicates with the external world and through which the external world


99 "...implicantur tria, quae ad quamlibet visionem concurrunt, videlicet, organum, species et objectum. Organum visus sunt oculi cum intentione voluntatis, et haec se tenent ex parte videntis. Species est imago vel similitudo rei visibilis impressa in oculo, quae est ipsa visio et sensus formatus. Objectum est ipsum corpus quod videtur, a quo solo fit illa informatio sensus, quae visio dicitur..." Opus Postillarum, sermo 387 A.
enters the soul.\textsuperscript{100} By entering the soul, the external images exert an influence on, or a power over the soul. The individual is bombarded with external images that enter the soul through the senses. Thus the individual must constantly be on guard to control what images he or she allows in, lest the senses turn to sensuality, and the inferior reason infects the superior reason which then gives wicked council to the king, the will, and the individual falls into sin: "If therefore," Jordan explained,

we desire to preserve innocence, we should keep diligent control over our exterior senses, and most of all we must guard the sense of sight, so that we wish to see nothing except what we are permissibly able to desire...If, therefore, you want to maintain innocence, keep diligent control on your eyes, so that you only see what leads to your salvation...For we are as a castle under siege by a most powerful enemy with most subtle arrows. The windows of this castle are useful to an extent, but if they are not closely guarded they are extremely dangerous, because flaming arrows can often enter through them and thus destroy the entire castle. Thus our eyes, which are as the windows of our bodies, are continually and from all sides besieged by both the fiercest battle and the keenest enemies in the world--demons. If we do not guard our eyes with care and concern, pernicious images (\textit{species}) will enter [our soul]...which will destroy the entire kingdom of our soul."\textsuperscript{101}

\textsuperscript{100} "Portae nostrae sensus nostri sunt, scilicet visus auditus etc. Per hos enim sensus quasi per quidem ostiam anima ad exteriora exit et exteriora intrant ad eam." \textit{Opus Jor}, sermo 185, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 287ra.

\textsuperscript{101} "Si ergo volumus servare innocentiam, habeamus sensuum exteriorum diligentem custodiam. Et primo custodiamus diligenter sensum visus, ut nihil velimus videre nisi quid licite possimus appetere...Si vis ergo servare innocentiam, adhíbeas oculis diligentem custodiam ut non videant nisi quid sit ad salutem tuam...Nam ita est de nobis sicut de uno castro a fortissimis adversariis et subtilissimis sagitariis obsesso, in quo, quamvis fenestrae utiles sint quantum ad aliquid, sunt tamen valde periculosae, nisi bene custodiatur, quia per eas frequenter intrant sagittae ignitae, quibus totum castrum dissipatur. Sic oculi, qui sunt tamquam fenestrae corporis nostri undique et continue obsessi et pugnatia fortissimis et sagacissimis hostibus in
External images exert an ontological power over the soul since they are able to enter it through the senses. The theory of sensible species was the generally accepted theory of vision. No less an academic than Marsilius of Inghen recounted the story of a women accused of adultery after having given birth to a beautiful baby, most dissimilar to its parents. She was aquited because such a picture hung in her room, which impressed its image on her fetus. Likewise, another woman was cleared of such charges when it was discovered that the cause of her delivering a black baby was the image of an Ethiopian she had had in her mind at the time of conception; the power of the image was sufficient to change the color of the baby’s skin.

102 See Tachau, *Vision and Certitude.*

103 "Tertio notandum quod videtur probabile quod in statu ante peccatum fuerat in potestate parentum generare masculum vel feminam sola imaginacione et voluntate. Patet quia corpus omnimode videtur fuisse subiectum anime et erant in natura perfecta et ergo imaginando et volendo determinabant vel determinassent materiam ad sexum quem voluissent. Item imaginatio naturaliter imprimit figuram fetui; ergo hoc magis poterat in statu originali...Item, recitat Hieronymus se legisse in libris Hypocratis quod quedam mulier fuisset suspecta de adulterio, eo quod filium pulcherrimum peperat, utrique parentum dissimilem. Et propter hoc punienda, nisi Hypocras movisset questionem ne forte talis imago esset in cubili eorum depicta. Qua inventa, mulier est a suspitione liberata, quod non fuisset nisi cogitatio de pulchritudine imaginis formam puero impressisset. Item, refert Hieronymus in libro hebraicis questionibus, quod hoc modo Quintilianus liberavit mulierem que peperat ethiopem, quia tempore conceptus, ethiopis habuit imaginationem. Hec ergo videntur facere quod cogitatio matris sive parentum imprimit figuram, colorem, et huiusmodi fetui, et..."
in the later Middle Ages, for the popular mind as well as for the learned, may or may not have been alive, but they were powerful.

We are now in a position to understand more completely the importance for Jordan of keeping the *imago passionis* before the mind's eye. Just as the sense of sight, so the sight of the mind functioned as a sense by which images entered the soul. By always having the passion, and especially the *Christus derelictus* as the

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*hoc potissimum in statu integro, ubi corpus obediens fuerat voluntati.*" Marsilius of Inghen, *Questiones super Quattuor libros Sententiarum*, 2, [d. 17], q. 13, art. 1, Strassburg, 1501 (reprint: Franfurt, 1966), fol. 26Ovb. The stories Marsilius recounted stand in a tradition of similar tales which can be traced back to the third-century BCE and Heliodorus's Greek romance, *Aethiopian Tale about Theagenes and Charicleia*; in varied forms, similar accounts of the power of images on conception were still prevalent in the early 17th century, as seen in Guilio Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla pittura*; see Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 2-8.

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104 "Unde sicut in visione corporali tria concurrunt--organum, obiectum et medium deferens; organum est oculus videns, objectum est res, quae videri debet, medium est lumen vel aer illuminatus--sic in visione spirituali oculi videntes sunt viri contemplativi, res videnda est materia contemplandi, medium deferens vel uniens speciem vel etiam ipsum objectum cum oculo est lumen gratiae vel gloriae." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 388 A.

"...quadruplices oculi quibus videtur Christus, quadruplici visione...Primi oculi in nobis sunt corporales...viderunt ipsum [Christum] per speciem ab ipso Christi corpore naturaliter oculi videntium impressam...secundi oculi videntes Christum sunt spirituales. Hi oculi viderunt Christum sed per speciem infusam scilicet per gratiam et hoc in lumine fidei, et objectum huius visionis est Christus non solum in forma humana sed pro quanto ipse creditur esse filius dei...Tertii oculi sunt intellectuales, quibus deus videtur a contemplativis in lumine thearchico et in hac visione revelantur archana divina animae contemplanti...haec visio est aeternae beatitudinis participatio et divina dulcedinis praegustatio...primae duae visiones fiunt velata facie speciebus corporalibus quantum ad primam, vel speciebus imaginariis quantum ad secundum; haec autem habet fieri per abstractionem a talibus imaginibus in lumine divino per aliquas intelligibiles intentiones...Quarti oculi sunt superintellectuales, his deus videtur in lumine gloriae." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 387 B-E.
object of the mind’s eye, the efficacious and powerful image of the passion entered
the soul and directed the superior portio rationis towards higher things, enabling it to
give wise counsel to the will.105

Such vision was not a natural power. The incorporation of evil images
required no divine aid, but the reverse did not hold. We should recall that when the
superior portio rationis maintains its sight on the eternal law and the higher things, it
is illumined. Central to Jordan’s epistemology was the Augustinian theory of divine
illumination: "In the first place, the Holy Spirit gives life to the intellect," Jordan
explained. "For the intellect without true cognitions is as good as dead, for a thing
deprived of its proper function is said to be dead. The proper function of the
intellect, however, is true cognition, and this cognition of the true comes from the
Holy Spirit...for although some truth is able to be known without the Holy Spirit, this
is nevertheless not free from being mixed with falsehood."106 In other words, 'book

105 Freedberg mistakenly ascribed the importance of vision in meditation for
controlling the imagination to the 17th century and Anonius Sucquet’s Road of Eternal
Life (Freedberg, 184ff): "It is a claim that had never been far from the surface of
thought about imagination, but its particular context, in writers like Sucquet, gives it a
new and trenchant pertinence. If the imagination is unstable and liable to roam, one
must rely on the allurements of form to attract its attention and to halt its free flow.
Once fixed, however momentarily, the restraint thus placed on it may be
progressively reinforced...Naturally there may be other ways of attracting, bridling,
and directing the imagination, but only now [i.e., in the 17th century!] is the primacy
of sense perception in this process fully realized." Freedberg, 186.

106 "Primo enim spiritus sanctus dat vitam intellectui. Intellecctus enim sine veri
cognitione quasi mortuus est, res enim privata propria operatione dicitur mortua.
Propria autem intellectus est cognitioni veri et haec veri cognitioni est ex spiritu
sancto...licet enim verum aliquod posset sciri sine spiritu sancto, hoc non est tamen
learning' is not enough; one must proceed to the spiritual knowledge of divine illumination. In addition, such knowledge must be based on love. In keeping with the Augustinian tradition of theology as *scientia affectiva*, Jordan claimed that, "just as indigested food yields bad humors and thus corrupts the body, so knowledge which is not digested by the ardor of love and transformed into good morals, leads to sin."\(^{107}\) In this light, Jordan's *Meditationes de passione Christi* were not a quasi-mystical treatise for the devout layperson and friar, but part and parcel of his understanding of the Augustinian's *vita contemplativa*--the pursuit to bring the spiritual fruits of contemplation to the people at large through teaching and preaching. Jordan acted as a 'power broker' for the images of the passion already extant in his society. He sought to channel the power of the Passion's images along the lines of the *religio Augustini*, and this on both sides of the cloister's walls.

The Arboreal Image

We are now ready to return to the *Expositio Arboris*, and we can do so with a deeper understanding of Jordan's creation of visual images. The summary of his academic lectures was not a literary moralization or allegory of the Lord's Prayer. It

\[^{107}\] 'Nam sicut cibus indigestus malos humores generat et corpus corruptit, sic scientia, quae non fuerit ardore caritatis digesta et in bonos mores transormata, peccatum inducit." *Opus Dan*, (ed. Strassburg 1484), sermo 7C.
was an attempt to make the prayer efficacious and powerful for the unlearned by
creating a visual image to be kept before the mind's eye as its object. As such, the
prayer exerted a power over the one praying it by emitting images into the soul, just
as the *imago passionis* exerted a power over the meditant. This visual image, one
that was to be more evidently perceived--*evidentius appareat*--was especially designed
for the uneducated, but it was not for them alone. Jordan was clear that this was an
image for all, the simple as well as the learned.

We can summarize our findings in three points. First, with his *Expositio
Arboris* Jordan sought to control the images of the *Pater Noster* that were current in
his society in the same way he did with the *imago Passionis*. As a prayer of the
people, pregnant with meaning, the Our Father was often used in ways that exceeded
orthodox teaching.108 Jordan sought to tap into the social power of the prayer by
attempting to control the images of the prayer. Just as he did with his *Meditationes*,
so did Jordan strive to channel popular religion by ascribing to a 'supply side'
economics of the sacred, for "it should be noted," he clarified, "that the heart of man
is so weak that we are scarcely able to say one *Pater Noster.*"109 By attempting to
control the images of the Our Father with his *Expositio Arboris*, Jordan could hope to
control as well the power of the prayer as it entered the souls of believers. Hence,

108 See supra, n. 12.

109 "Notandum autem quod cor hominis est tam labile quod vix possimus dicere
unum pater noster." *Opus Jor*, sermo 266, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 409vb.
not only the visual image of the Passion, but that of the Lord’s Prayer as well functioned sacramentally.  

Second, with the *Expositio Arboris* we discern a clear distinction in the levels of theological knowledge. Whereas in his lectures in the Erfurt *studium* Jordan presented a discursive analysis and exposition of Matthew 6:9-13, his *Expositio Arboris* created a symbolic visual image. His 'tree of the Our Father' was an attempt to teach and to preach, to pour forth spiritual alms, directed to the simple believer on the most fundamental level of theological knowledge. The distinction Jordan made between reaching his students headed for Paris and the simple and unlearned was cognitive; his translation of the Our Father was based on different approaches to perceptions of truth.

Third, this translation process should not be seen as pure accommodation for the uneducated; even the learned could benefit from the symbolic creation of the visual image. The lectures Jordan gave in the *studium* were designed to yield 'book knowledge' preparatory to university study, as well as the fundamental theological training for the Order’s preachers and teachers. Yet though such knowledge could

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110 "Ich meine also, dass Bilder in der Volksfrömmigkeit als Sakramentalien behandelt wurden, obwohl diese Auffassung nur im Falle des Kruzifix eine Stütze findet." Scribner, "Das Visuelle in der Volksfrömmigkeit," 17. In this light, particularly in context of Jordan’s understanding of the *religio Augustini*, both his *Meditationes de passione Christi* and his *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* (including the *Expositio Arboris*) can be seen as contributing to the phenomenon of monastic piety breaking out of the walls of the cloister; see, Bernd Moeller, "Frömmigkeit in Deutschland um 1500," ARG 56 (1965):15.
lead to *scientia spiritualis*, by creating the visual image Jordan thereby constructed a power source that used properly lead to an improved ontological state of the soul by removing vices and introducing virtues. The exclusion of the vices and the introduction of the virtues of which Jordan spoke were not a literary formula; they were statements of the power of visual images entering the soul. Thus, for Jordan the most basic level of theological knowledge, that of the simple believer, was simultaneously the highest, namely, that of *scientia spiritualis*.

Having discussed the epistemological and ontological background to the *Expositio Arboris*, we must now return to the image of the tree itself. Jordan’s tree, as previously mentioned, did not fit within the accepted categories of the tree of knowledge and the cross of Christ. What then did the image of the tree itself mean to Jordan? What was the religious function of Jordan’s tree of the Our Father in addition to being a visual image?

In his sermons Jordan often employed the image of the tree. Here we find the tree likened to all the virtues: "In the first place, therefore, the soul, or the conscience, into which Christ ought to come, should be adorned with a variety of virtues; for just as plants and trees in a garden, so are the diverse virtues in the soul, of which one tree is faith, another hope, another love, another justice, another prudence, another fortitude, another temperance, and on it goes. These trees are only
planted and maintained by the ultimate gardener."\textsuperscript{111} The virtues are rooted in the soul by Christ, just as trees in a garden. The planting is all important, for the roots determine the tree. Thus, Adam was the root of all humanity.\textsuperscript{112} The roots are the source of the tree, and thus the source of the virtues stem from the roots of love, for God's commandments stem from love "just as branches from the root, streams from a wellhead, rays from the sun, and all heat from fire."\textsuperscript{113} The more firmly and deeply rooted, the higher the tree will be able to grow, and the same is true for humans, whom Jordan compared to a tree. Unless one is deeply rooted, one will dry up. A good tree can only bring forth good fruit, and a bad tree, only bad. Therefore, "every tree that does not bring forth good fruit should be cut down and cast into the fire," (Matth. 7,18-19).\textsuperscript{114} Further, the tree is a symbol of unity. God

\textsuperscript{111} "Primo ergo anima sive conscientia in quam Christus debet venire, debet esse adornata varietate virtutum: sicut enim plantae et arbores in orto ita diversae virtutes in anima, quarum una arbor est fides, alia spes, alia caritas, alia iustitia, alia prudentia, alia fortitudo, alia temperantia et sic de ceteris, quae non plantantur vel servuntur nisi a summo agricola." Opus Jor, sermo 11, Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 21rb.

\textsuperscript{112} "Item patet de radice, quae est totius vigoris in arbore principium, qua corrupta, corrumpitur arbor. Et de primo homini, qui fuit principium totius humanae generationis." Opus Jor, sermo 106, Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 181ra.

\textsuperscript{113} "...nota quod omnia mandata dei ordinantur a caritate sicut rami a radice, rivuli a fonte, radii a sole, omnis calor ab igne." Opus Jor, sermo 120, Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 201vb.

\textsuperscript{114} "...neque potest arbor bona fructus malos facere, neque arbor mala fructus bonos facere. Omnis arbor quae non facit fructum bonum exceditur et in ignem mittetur...homo comparatur arbori propter has proprietates arborum. Primo quia quanto arbor profundius descendit, tanto altius ascendit...Secundo, quia quanto minus dilatatur in ramis inferius, tanto altius ascendit...Tertio quia quanto melius purgatur,
loves unity and thus created unity out of diversity; "from many angels [God created] one heavenly city; from many stars, the firmament; from the multiplicity of elements, the world; from diverse members, the body; from many branches, one tree; from many monks, a monastery; and from many citizens, one city." It was to ensure this unity that Christ became incarnate. Thus, if one desires to receive the Savior, one must bring all one's thoughts and affections into unity with him.  

Jordan’s use of the tree as an image was not an allegorical image of the cross or the tree of knowledge. It was an anagogical image drawn from nature. The exempla he used would have been readily understood by an audience attuned to the agricultural cycles of planting, growth, and harvest. Yet Jordan’s appeal to nature does not imply a naturalism in his thought. The nature of which Jordan spoke is the nature created and immanently maintained by God. This brings us back to Jordan’s ontology. God’s creation took place within the divine reason. There God created the ideals of all being, including the human soul, and from God all creation proceeded. Jordan thus distinguished sharply between the being of a creation and its existence.

\[\text{tanto magis fructificat...Quarto, quia nisi in altum radices habeat, desiccatur et non fert fructum...Quinto, quia ab humore nutritur et ideo sine illo moritur...}\] Opus Jor, sermo 250, Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 388vb-389ra.

\[\text{115 }\text{"Unde quicumque vult salvator ad se venire, debet in se habere unitatem, ut cogitationes et affectiones et omnes motus tendat in unum. Nam deus unitatem diliget et ideo ex multis fecit unum: sicut ex multis angelis unam celestem civitatem; ex multis stellis firmamentum; ex multis elementis mundum; ex multis membris corpus; ex multis ramis arborem; ex multis monachis monasterium; et ex multis civibus, civitatem et sic multum diliget unitatem et ideo ut unitas esse perfecta, voluit incarnari in utero virginali." Opus Jor, sermo 132, Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 216va.}\]
The being of a creation is its essential nature and is contained within a being’s existence, albeit only potentially, "just as," Jordan explained, "the entire tree [is contained] within a simple seed, although it is dissimilar in so far as the tree is in the seed materially. When the form of the seed breaks down, the matter of the seed transforms into the tree." The difference between the seed/tree analogy and the emanation of the divine ideas, is that the existence of created being is not a part of God materially, or as Jordan put it, the relationship is not univocal, but equivocal; creation is not similar to God, but emanates from God. The creation of the tree within the divine mind comes first; then the actual existence of the tree in nature, emanating from God. In nature the tree exists both within the seed and as a tree, but does so bearing an equivocal relationship to the essence of the tree within the divine mind: "For God, the wisest craftsman, did not need something to be guided by an exemplar outside himself, but all things are to be ordered and measured in himself and in his wisdom or word." In other words, the exemplar of the tree resides

116 "Et notandum quod aliud est esse in eius [dei] essentia; aliud in eius noticia; aliud in eius visione. Nam in eius essentia esse, est contineri in ea et in eius infinita simplicitate et simplici infinitate secundum rationes perfectionales. Et hoc secundum modum essentiae in quantum in deo perfectiones omnium generum eminenter et unitive praexsistunt. Sicut tota arbor in simplici grano, licet dissimile sit quo ad hoc quod arbor est in grano materialiter; et forma grani corrupta, transit materia grani in arborem, quod de deo nephas est dicere respectu creaturae; sicut in exemplari et virtute productiva non univoca et simili sed aequivoca et eminenti." Opus Dan (ed. Strassburg 1484), sermo 59A.

117 "Non enim indiget deus sapientissimus artifex ut aliquid extra se exemplari reguletur, sed in seipso et in sua sapientia vel verbo omnia ordinanda et disponenda." Opus Dan (ed. Strassburg 1484), sermo 23B.
within God's reason while individual examples of trees exist in nature.

Here we have finally reached the root of the tree image. A tree in nature tends towards its exemplar within the divine mind; in other words, it tends towards its end. Similarly, the tree of the Lord's prayer tends towards its end. The *Pater Noster* tree was planted by God and rooted in Him; it proceeds from God and is perfected by God. By placing this tree in the heart of the believer, *in medio hominis*, Jordan firmly equated the tree with the soul. The entire purpose of the Lord's Prayer is to lead humans to their end. Just as the natural tree tends towards its exemplar in the divine mind, so does the human soul tend toward its end, its exemplar within the divine mind from whence it came. Thus faithful souls become sons of God, when the created image is transformed into the uncreated image.

Whereas the exemplar of the natural tree exists only in the mind of God, the exemplar of the human soul has been revealed; Christ is the exemplar, as the *Christus*

118 "Omne agens operatur secundum aliquod exemplar, quod patet in deo, natura et arte. Deus enim mundum produxit secundum exemplar quod habet in se ipso...ab exemplo natura, ut dicit Sapientiae, Ex similibus simila producti sequens, scilicet exemplar divinum, id est, earum quae primo producta sunt. Ars imitatur naturam, ut dicit philosophus, idem exemplar naturae ut patet in pictore et sculptore, cuius signum vel scuptura melius indicatur quanto expressius representat ipsam rem naturalem puta equum et similia...una res exemplar est alterius quantum ad esse..." *Opus Jor*, sermo 86, Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 154vb.

119 "Sciendum ergo quod nos nascimur filii dei quatuor modis. Uno modo per gratiae sacramentalem regenerationem. Alio modo per ipsius dei obiectalem cognitionem. Tertio modo per voluntaris in deum totalem transformationem...Quatuor modo nascimur filii dei per imaginis creatae in imaginem increatam superformationem." *Opus Jor*, sermo 45, Vat. Lat. 448, f. 90ra.
patients. Jordan forcefully expressed this with the words opening his *Meditationes de passione Christi*: "Inspice et fac secundum exemplar, quod tibi in monte monstratum est. (Exodus 25:40)." By imitating the Passion, the Christian soul restores the *imago dei* within itself and returns to its exemplar in God and consequently to God: "if we desire the heights of heaven," Jordan exhorted, "we ought to imitate the perfection that God has essentially so that we might have some of it by way of participation." 120 Just as the heart of the *imitator* becomes the tomb of Christ, so within the heart of the believer the tree of the Lord's Prayer is firmly planted, leading the soul back to its origin and end.

The theme of returning to God permeated Jordan's thought. 121 In the *Expositio Arboris* we find another image of the *Pater Noster* in addition to the tree. After affirming that the learned as well as the simple, indeed Christians of all stages, can partake of the fruit from the tree of the Lord's Prayer, Jordan continued by stating that the prayer "is like a river." 122 The river image for Jordan had special significance for he began his *Collectanea* and all three of his major collections of

120 "...si volumus...altitudinem caeli, imitari oportet quod de illa perfectione, quam habet deus essentialiter, habeamus nos aliquid participative." *Opus Dan* (ed. Strassburg 1484), sermo 18B; cf.: "...nam venire ad Christum nihil aliud est quam se eius vitae conformare." ibid, sermo 5C.

121 The return to God is the central theme of Jordan's theology, intimately connected to his understanding of the *adventus domini in mente*--a doctrine Jordan adopted from Henry of Friemar--and hence we can only touch on it here.

122 Supra, EA, 408,1-2.
sermons with references to a river, and particularly the river Jordan. The flow of

123 For the Collectanea, see supra, Introduction, 15, n.9.

"Jordanis ripas alvei sui tempore messis impleverat. Josuae tertio [Ios. 3,15].
Sicut dicit beatus Augustinus in De Consensu Evangelistarum, Inter omnes divinas
auctoritates quae sacris litteris continentur evangelium merito excellit, nec minum quia
sicut dicit Crisostomus super Mattheum, in eo totius perfectionis naturae rationalis
summa continentur. Intendens igitur Christo duce secundum meae tenuitatis modulum
ad exponendam sequendas evangeliorum dominicalium prout leguntur in ecclesia
stilum arripere pro ingressu eiusmodi negotii ad commendationem evangeliorum
apicum verba praemissa assumpsi, Jordanis ripas etc." Opus Postillarum (ed.
Strassburg 1483), Prologus (sermo 1 A).

"Jordanis conversus est retrorsum, Psalmi [Ps. 113,3]. Postquam dei opitulante
gratia completo opere postillarum cum suis sermonibus Jordanis ripulam alvei sui quo
ad illud opus implevit, cogor nunc in Christi caritate mihi praecordialiter dilectiorum
nullatenus refellendis instantiis ad instar Jordanis fluvius retrorsum me convertere, et
ad principium anni a quo usque ad finem iam processeram denuo regredi atque
opusculum sermonum dudum pro me ceptum sed sine ordine dimissum et dispersum
iterato reverti." Opus Jor, sermo 1 (Prologus), Vat., Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 1ra.

"Dan catulus leonis fluet largiter de Basan. Deuteronomii xxxiii [Deut. 33,22].
Transvadato fonte Jor, qui divina largitate in opere sermonum de tempore aquas
salutares profluenter effundit, accedamus ad alterum fontem Dan, qui et ipse donante
dominio fluet largiter in opere de sanctis quid praemianus habemus ut sic duo fontes
similis iuncti Jordanis nomen efficiant, qui ad instar Iordanis fluvii ripae alvei sui in
mentibus legentium, quasi messis tempore largiente domino impleat fructuosa." Opus
Dan (ed. Strassburg 1484), sermo 1.

In the fourteenth century it was required of a new bachelor of theology to
preach on Peter Lombard and the Sentences, based on a chosen scriptural theme.
These academic exercises were the first public performance of the young theologian
and customarily were ordained to exhibit his rhetorical skills, even to the extent that
he was required to use rhymed tetrads. By mid-century such sermons were to include
an allusion to the name of the author. These 'heraldic mystifications' became 'names
games', and Damasus Trapp has identified three general types: one based on a Latin
word in the theme that corresponds to the Latin name of the author; a second based
on the vernacular of the Latin theme corresponding to the vernacular name of the
author; and the third correlating the general meaning of the theme to the author's
name; see, Trapp, "Augustinian Theology in the Fourteenth Century," 269ff.

Regarding the third kind of heraldic mystification, Trapp notes: "This is the case of
the pseudoepigr. MS Paris Nat. lat. 15156 which certainly belongs to Johannes Regis
because the Thema Collationis Principii is: Ipse vero apprehensum sanavit eum Lc.
14. To the medieval mind the general meaning of the Thema evoked the association
the river Jordan represents the two advents of Christ\textsuperscript{124} and separates the infidel from the faithful.\textsuperscript{125} It also portrays the Christian life, signified by the conversions of Paul and Augustine, since the river Jordan takes a winding path and actually flows backwards (\textit{retrorsum}).\textsuperscript{126} Jordan further interpreted the love of God as a river with to the solemn ceremony of a king’s healing the king’s evil by royal touch...‘King’s’, or in this case, ‘du roi’ corresponds to the Latin ‘Regis’ [Johannes REGIS].

"The reader's amusement will have reached by now an intense degree; but I ask him to ponder the following coincidence: the writer who attributed the MS Paris Nat. lat. 15156 wrongly to Gerson also looked for an heraldic mystification under the Thema: Ipse vero apprehensum sanavit eum because he knew it to be hidden somewhere; his wrong attribution came from: Sanavit=Sanatio=Guerison=Gerson!" Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century," 270. Jordan seems to have given his work such a copywrite.

\textsuperscript{124} "Et hic duplex adventus innuitur etiam in origine jordanis fluvii, qui ut dictum est oritur ex libano et secundum Hieronimum habet duos fontes, jor et dan. Prior, quod interpretatur fluvius vel rivus, designatur primus adventus...Per dan, quod interpretatur iudicium, significatur secundus adventus." \textit{Opus Postillarum}, Prologus, sermo 2 C.

\textsuperscript{125} "Jordanis enim fluvius dividit iudeam et arabiam...hoc est regionem fidelium puta iudearum a regione gentilium incredulorum separat. Et revera sacer fluvius evangelicus distinguuit fideles ab infidelibus, quia sola fide evangeli fideles ab incredulis secernuntur, quemadmodum olim in veteri lege circumcisio populum illum ab alis distinguebat." \textit{Opus Postillarum}, Prologus, sermo 1 B.

\textsuperscript{126} "...qualiter Paulus retrorsum conversus intelligitur? Nota quod iste terminus retrorsum aliquando in scriptura ponitur in malo, ut Matthei septimo de quibusdam perversis dicitur, Facti sunt retrorsum et non ante. Aliquando vero in bono ponitur ut hic: \textit{jordanis conversus et retrorsum} [Ps.113,3]. Proprer quod sciendum quod meritum et demeritum nostrum consistit in coversione et aversione...In hoc sensu Paulus, qui totus aversus erat a Christo serviendo in persecutione, conversus erat retrorsum ad Christum fide et dilectione. Sic etiam Augustinus conversus erat retrorsum, qui prius persequebatur ecclesiam et impugnabat sacram scripturam...sed ipse conversus retrorsum vertendo faciem ad lumen clare illuminabatur et ex tunc propugnabat divinas scripturas, quas prius impugnaverat, recte sicut Paulus. Rogemus deum et peccatis nostris a se aversos convertat nos retrorsum ad se per
two fonts, one flowing upwards towards God and one downwards toward one's neighbors. Christ himself is a sort of river, for from Christ flow the gifts of wisdom, forming a 'river' which flows back to Christ and eternal life.

With this additional image of the Pater Noster as a river, Jordan reemphasized the ontological process by which the soul returns to its exemplar. The human soul has its source in God, as a river in its headwaters. Like the river Jordan, the human soul at conversion shifts its course--retrorsum--and flows back towards its source. Just as a seed must be deeply planted, watered and nurtured to sprout and grow into a tree according to its exemplar in the divine mind, so the soul must be firmly and deeply rooted in Christ, the farmer of the soul, in order to grow into its gratiam."

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127 "Haec est enim caritas dei ut mandata eius custodiamus et mandata eius gravia non sunt, Nichil enim exigit ita deus a creatura rationali sicut amorem et hoc mandato nichil est brevius ad retinendum, manifestius ad intelligendum, facilius ad faciendum, delectabilium ad custodiendum, fructuosius ad premium recipiendum, inextasabilium ad puniendum. Iste autem amor fons est habens duos rivulos: unum tendentem sursum. Haec est amor dei. Unum deorsum, sed intendentem per planum, haec est amor proximi." Opus Jor, sermo 120, Vat., Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 201vb-202ra.

128 "Qui biberit aqua, quam ego do, fiat in eo fons aque salientis in vitam aeternam [Ioh. 4,13-14]. Statim ergo ab ipsa et insilit in nos per ipsum et resilit in vitam aeternam. In ipso et in ipsum plenus ergo sapientia, quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia dona sapientiae, quo ad effluxum, quo ad influxum, quo ad reflexum. Omnis ergo sapientia a christo domino est, et cum illo fuit semper et est ante eum." Opus Jor, sermo 46, Vat., Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 92va.

129 "...ipse [Ihesus] seminat omnem semen bonum in orto animae tuae et in cordibus fidelium suorum; ipse omne bonum plantat et rigat manibus sanctorum..." Opus Jor, sermo 189, Vat., Pal. Lat. fol. 298rb-298va; cf.: "Tunc enim ortus
exemplar, by the imitation of Christ, in keeping with its original creation in the divine mind—*simul cum verbo eterno*. The soul is able to grow towards its exemplar ontologically by the infusion of virtues into the blank slate of the soul at birth. Here Jordan’s epistemology and ontology meet: the soul’s *tabula rasa* is given ontological content by the infusion of virtues into the soul, which enter the soul through the eyes, or rather, through the sense of sight which includes the eyes of the body and of the mind. By keeping its sights on the higher things and on the eternal law, the intellect becomes illumined by the Holy Spirit and obtains its proper function, namely, the true cognition of reality. Thereby the soul is elevated towards a higher level of being, making its way back towards its source and its final end, the end to which the entire Lord’s Prayer is directed.

We thus come to recognize ever more clearly the cyclical nature of Jordan’s world view; the seasons of planting and harvest, the ebbs and flows of rivers, ever new births and non-ceasing death. The agricultural cycles gave shape to Jordan’s world and to the world of his audience, the simple folk of Erfurt and Magdeburg who would have had no trouble recognizing the image of the *Pater Noster* tree with its beasts and its birds. When Jordan incorporated his exposition of the Lord’s Prayer

plantationum, id est, rationalis anima, quam ipse deus propria manu plantavit, irrigatur quando per influentiam divinae gratiae virtutum germine fecundatur." *Opus Dan* (ed. Strassburg, 1484), sermo 13D.
into his *Opus Postillarum*, he chose the season of Easter to do so.\(^\text{130}\) Spring in both agricultural time and ecclesiastical time is the time of new growth, and Jordan seized the opportunity to expound the *Pater Noster* as a tree planted in the heart of believers that was to bring forth the fruits of the Holy Spirit.

As an Augustinian friar Jordan’s world was also cyclically organized around the daily divine office. Jordan’s distinction between learned and lay in his *Expositio Arboris* was valid not only with respect to those sitting in the pews of Erfurt’s churches, but also for those in the choir stalls. The charge to bring the spiritual fruits of the *vita contemplativa* to the people at large was central to the *religio Augustini*, but the social division Jordan made here was not that between brother and burgher alone. The daily life within the cloister itself offers us an additional frame of reference for understanding the *Expositio Arboris*.

In the *Liber Vitasfratrum* Jordan advised those brothers who did not know how to sing the canonical hours, or who were unable to do so, to pray the *Pater Noster*.\(^\text{131}\) In the Order’s *Constitutiones* we find further instructions. All brothers begin each liturgical hour by praying the *Pater Noster* silently and crossing

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\(^{130}\) Jordan’s *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, together with the *Expositio Arboris*, are sermons 289-298 of the *Opus Postillarum*. These he included after three sermons designated for the fifth Sunday after Easter (*Dominica Quinta post Pasca*), based on Ioh. 16,23-30. Sermo 299 is *De eadem Dominica*.

\(^{131}\) ”Fratres vero, qui psallere et cantare aut nesciunt, sicut idiotae et illiterati, aut non possunt, sicut senes et valitudinarii, pro horis suis dicant Pater Noster, prout docet Pater noster Augustinus...,“ VF 2,15 (184,123-125).
themselves facing the altar. 132 Lay brothers, that is the illiterati, do so as well.

During Matins, rather than singing the office, they should say twenty five Pater Nosters, concluding each with an Ave Maria. For Lauds, ten Pater Nosters are prescribed as are for Vespers. The other hours are to be performed with seven Pater Nosters. 133 In addition, whereas those ordained are to say three Masses for the deceased brothers, associates, and benefactors of the Order, lay brothers are to say fifty Pater nosters, and for those living, another fifty, while the priests say another three Masses. Upon the death of a Pope, a General of the Order, and any brother, every priest is to say three Masses and the lay brothers fifty Pater nosters. 134

132 "Pulsato itaque ultimo signo, et ad signum Maioris dicto sub silentio Pater noster, Fratres dicant Matutinum de beata Virgine, versi ad altare et crucis signaculo se signantes, quo tam in inchoatione Horarum beatae Virginis quam diei volumus observari." Const. Ratis. 1, 7 (Cendoya, 32).

133 "Fratres Laici, praemisso Pater noster, quod dicere debent sicut Clerici ad omnes Horas, vel flexis genibus vel inclinati profunde reverenter incipiant Matutinum de beata Virgine... Dicant autem pro Matutinis viginti quinque Pater noster, et in fine ciuslibet, excepto ultimo, dicant Ave, Maria, etc.....

"Omni autem tempore, dicant pro Matutinis viginti quinque Pater noster, et pro Laudibus decem...

"Pro qualibet autem Hora de die dicant septem Pater noster, sed pro Vesperis decem..." Const. Ratis. 2,9-11, De officio fratrum illiteratorum et de operibus manuum, (Cendoya, 33-34).

134 "Statuimus etiam, ut quilibet Sacerdos, pro Fratribus, et familiaribus, et beneficiarius defunctis Ordinis nostri, omni anno, incipientes a festo Sancti Michaelis dicat tres Missas...et Frater Laicus quingenta Pater noster..." Const. Ratis. 6,38; "Pro Fratribus quoque familiaribus, propinquis et beneficiarius vivis similiter quilibet Sacerdos dicat tres Missas pro peccatis...et Laicus quingenta Pater noster..." Const. Ratis., 6,39; "Decedente vero Summo Pontifice, quilibet Sacerdos de Ordine dicat tres Missas pro eo...et Frater Laicus quingenta Pater noster..." Const. Ratis. 6, 40; "Pro Generali Priore Ordinis nostri quilibet Frater Sacerdos dicat tres
liturgical life of the Order was demarcated by the level of education, and the Our Father was specifically for the unlettered.

The distinction between learned and lay of the Expositio Arboris was ingrained in the Order's daily routine. The Pater Noster was certainly a prayer for all, but it had special importance for the illiterati, for whom it comprised the divine office. Jordan's accommodation of his theological exposition was his attempt to make known the efficacy of the prayer, even to the uneducated. He wanted to be clear: it is not in the mere repetition of words that the power of the prayer is to be found, but in the devotion of the mind. His Expositio Arboris was the needed translation of the prayer's power for the simple and unlettered. It was this translation process that both simple priests and prospective theologians could learn. It was this translation that was needed to teach the lay brothers of the Order the importance of their divine office.

In providing the Expositio Arboris for his students Jordan not only took his Order as the model, but also his Order's founder. Augustine had taught the laity, the

\[\text{Missas...Frater Laicus quingenta Pater noster...,} \quad \text{Const. Ratis. 6, 41; } \text{Decedente vero aliquo de Fratribus nostris, etiam si sit Novitius vel Conversus, quilibet Sacerdos eiusdem Provinciae dicat pro anima eius tres Missas...et Frater Laicus quingenta Pater noster...}, \quad \text{Const. Ratis. 6, 43 (Cendoya, 40-41).}\]

135 Thus, the lay brothers were prohibited from reading unless they clearly knew how: "Ipsisque Fratribus Laicis inhibemus, ut nisi Psalterium distince legere sciverint, in eo vel libro alio legere non prae sumant. Et si quis contra fecerit, pro qualibet vice tres dies in pane et aqua ieunare cogatur. Et qui docuerit legere, eandum poenam portet. Nec alicui Fratri Laico quantumcumque legere sciverit ullo modo concedatur habere coronam." \text{Const. Ratis. 2, 13 (Cendoya, 34).}

136 Supra, EA, 398,6-7.
simple saints of the original Order, how they were to pray the Our Father.\textsuperscript{137} As an imitator of the Bishop of Hippo, Jordan followed suit. Not only was Augustine \textit{praeeceptor noster}, but he was also the most blessed \textit{plantator} of the Augustinians' religion.\textsuperscript{138} The seeds of this religion Jordan stowed to bring to fruition on both sides of the cloister's walls. The theology contained in Jordan's lectures cannot be classified as simply spiritual teaching or dismissed as typical of late medieval pastoral concerns. Jordan's theology, the theology of the other side of the Augustinian School, was the theological expression of the \textit{religio Augustini}.


\textsuperscript{138} "Beatissimus Pater et sacrae nostrae Religionis plantator Augustinus...," VF 1, 1 (7,9-10).
CONCLUSION

Late medieval Augustinianism has been a central theme of twentieth-century scholarship on the later Middle Ages and Reformation. Heretofore Jordan of Quedlinburg has had no place in the characterizations of Augustine’s heritage. By focusing on his *Expositio Orationis Dominicae*, I have contested this omission. The study of Jordan’s *Expositio* permits a readjustment in the evaluation of the late medieval Augustinian tradition that may be summarized in five points.

1. Jordan’s *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* has revealed the other side of the Augustinian school. As lectures in the Order’s *studium* at Erfurt, Jordan’s text illustrates the level of theology that was more representative of the Order’s theology than were the *Sentences* commentaries of the Order’s *magistri*. The theology of the lectors is therefore crucial to an historical understanding of Augustinian theology in the later Middle Ages. Thus continued intensive work in the manuscripts of late medieval Augustinians is a prerequisite for a renewed portrait of late medieval Augustinianism.

2. The theology of the other side of the Augustinian school was thoroughly Augustinian. Jordan appears as the *lector gratiae*, who advocated a doctrine of predestination that paralleled Gregory of Rimini’s and a doctrine of grace similar to Staupitz’s later reinterpretation of *gratia gratum faciens*. If the term Augustinian is to be defined theologically based on Augustine’s teaching on grace, then not only the Order’s university theologians advocated such an Augustinianism, but also its lectors
in the regional *studia* taught a genuine Augustinian theology.

3. The Augustinian theology of this other side of the Augustinian school was not limited to the doctrines of grace and predestination. It was the theological expression of the *religio Augustini*. The Order was Jordan’s model informing the theology contained within his *Expositio*. He placed theological study squarely in context of the Order’s view of worship, as prescribed by Augustine’s Rule. The Order’s position on poverty found a theological expression in his doctrine of grace. Jordan advocated a contemplative life, the *vita perfectissima*, as the foundation of the Order’s pastoral mission, based on his understanding of Augustine’s example. The *imitatores Augustini* were the *veri sancti*, pouring forth works of mercy, as the city of God making its way to its final end, the return to God. Just as the tree of the Our Father was to take root in the heart of the simple believer, so were the precepts of the Order to germinate in the lives of the brothers, who were to bring the spiritual fruit of contemplation to the people at large. Yet such fruit grew from the branches of a specific type of tree, the Augustinian tree. Augustine was the *plantator* of the Augustinians’ religion.¹ The lectors and masters disseminated this religion in both sides of the Augustinian school.

4. The theology of the Augustinian Order throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was an Order-specific *Frömmigkeitstheologie*. This identification

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¹ "Beatissimus Pater et sacrae nostrae Religionis plantator Augustinus...," VF 1,1, (7,9-10).
becomes apparent only after interpreting the theology of the Order in context of the
*religio Augustini* and noting the importance of the other side of the Augustinian
school. This perspective resolves a putative opposition between theology and
spirituality and reveals the harmony of both sides of the Augustinian school. Thus it
should come as no surprise that Jordan not only combined *vita* and *scientia* in his
emphasis on the need for *scientia spiritualis,* but also stressed the importance of
humility and campaigned against vain curiosity. The historical contours of the
Augustinian school only come into focus when the Order’s educational endeavor is
placed in the framework of the *religio Augustini* which comprises both sides of the

\[2\] See supra, Part Two, ch. 1, 428-431.

\[3\] See supra, Part Two, ch. 1, 429-432.

\[4\] "Ubi nota quod est quaedam curiositas infrustuosa, sicut quando aliquis est
curious videre miracula... Item est aliqua curiositas praesumptuosa, sicut cum aliquis
ex quadam curiositate praesumit scrutari, quae sunt supra se et suam facultatem. Item
quaedam dampnosa, sicut cum aliquis ex curiositate quadam tantum occupatur circa
inutilia, quod retrahitur ab utilibus et necessariis." Opus Jor, sermo 95, Vat., MS
Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 167va-vb. Jordan associated the curious with the presumptuous,
sinners, and those of evil will. In speaking of those excluded from the fruits of the
eucharist, Jordan wrote: "Sed hoc est diligenter considerandum, quod a praedictis
fructibus huius sacramenti excluduntur tria genera hominum. Primi sunt curiosi, qui
contra praeceptum divinum...volunt transcendere terminos fidei in inquisitione
temeraria huius sacramenti et ideo vita gratiae, quae devotis et humilibus in hoc
sacramento confertur, eis vertitur in mortem....Secundi sunt praesumptuosi, quibus
vitae antidotum vertitur in mortis reatum eo quod indigne sumentes iudicium sibi
manducant et bibunt....Tertii sunt peccatores et malivoli, qui cum proposito peccandi
hoc sacramentum percipiunt, quibus illud quo mens ad bonum emollitur in obduratio
convertitur..." Opus Jor, sermo 233, Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 448, fol. 364ra. On the
influence of the campaign against curiosity in the latter Middle Ages, see, Heiko A.
Oberman, *Contra Vanam Curiositatem. Ein Kapitel der Theologie zwischen
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school. The Augustinian school, encompassing all levels within the Order's educational system, was inseparable from the Order's specific way of life, structurally manifested within the mentality of the Order as the self-understanding of the Order's theologians. Jordan stands as witness.

Yet a problem still remains. Even if there was an identifiable Augustinian school in the later Middle Ages in which an Order-specific Frömmigkeitstheologie was cultivated prior to Gerson, this can not be taken as proof that Paltz and/or Staupitz consciously followed this school any more than their lack of adherence demonstrates the school's non-existence. As Hamm has convincingly shown, Gerson, not Jordan, was indeed the inspiration for Paltz. Thus, this study compels a revision of the broader profile of late medieval Augustinianism.

Beginning in the later fourteenth century and continuing to the eve of the Reformation, the Augustinian school declined. This statement may cause surprise since it was precisely at this time that a renewal of religious of observance has been discerned. Nevertheless, in at least three areas a decline of studies within the Augustinian Order is clear.

First, there was a drop in Sentences commentaries composed by fifteenth-

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5 See, Frömmigkeitstheologie, 202.

century Augustinians. Hamm has noted a rapid decline in each traditional type of scholastic question-literature. Thus, whereas in the fourteenth century Thomas of Strassburg, Hugolino of Orvieto, Johannes Klenkok, John of Basel and Angelus Dobelinus produced surviving commentaries on all four books of the Sentences, from fifteenth-century Augustinians only Jacques le Grand and Augustinus Favaroni left extant works on all of Lombard. In addition, there remain extensive commentaries on the first or first two books of Lombard from Gregory of Rimini and Alphonsus Vargus, but in the fifteenth century only William Becchi commented on Book One of the Sentences, although commentaries on Book Four are extant from Andreas de Saxonia, Gottschalk Hollen and a frater Nicholas. On the qualitative side this points to a shift in interests corresponding to Hamm’s portrayal of Frömmigkeitstheologie from epistemological and soteriological questions to issues concerning ecclesiology and the sacraments, suggested as well by the alternative title of Hollen’s commentary: Tractatus de sacramentis. Based on the works that survive, Lombard’s text was apparently of less importance for the fifteenth-century Augustinians than the Apocalypse, on which we have commentaries from Augustinus Favaroni, Bertold of

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7 Hamm, Frömmigkeitstheologie, 179.

8 "So wurde in den letzten Jahrzehnten vor der Reformation kaum noch ein vollständiger Sentenzenkommentar ausgearbeitet. Und auch die Zeit der spekulativ-diskursiven Summen, Quodlibeta oder Quaestiones disputatae neigt sich ihrem Ende zu. Die Vertreter einer rein akademischen, streng scholastischen Theologie treten literarisch fast nicht mehr in Erscheinung..." Hamm, Frömmigkeitstheologie, 179.
Regensburg, Hermanus de Mindelheim and Johannes Zacharie.⁹ This bibliographical data indicates a shift from the traditional scholastic theological literature in the Augustinian Order from the fourteenth century to the fifteenth.¹⁰

If the abatement of Sentences commentaries in the fifteenth century were the only evidence, it would be thin ground for asserting a decline of studies within the Order. However, there is also a decline in the Order’s educational system itself. In the fourteenth century nineteen years of study were required for an Augustinian to attain the doctorate in theology. In the fifteenth century, requirements seem to have changed or simply to have been ignored. Johannes Dorsten, for example, began his theological studies in 1459 and received the doctorate six years later;¹¹ Paltz took only two years to be promoted to the magisterium;¹² and Luther became a doctor of theology only six years after having entered the Order. In short, the required period of study to achieve the doctorate in theology declined.

Moreover, as Hamm has noted, all the leading Augustinian doctors of theology at Erfurt in the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century entered the Order as masters of arts.¹³ Their theological training began simultaneously with

⁹ See supra, Introduction, 82f.
¹⁰ See Hamm, Frömmigkeitstheologie, 179f.
¹¹ Hamm, Frömmigkeitstheologie, 60f.
¹² Hamm, Frömmigkeitstheologie, 51f.
¹³ Hamm, Frömmigkeitstheologie, 59.
their becoming Augustinians. In other words, the Augustinian school's program of indoctrination had minimal influence on the intellectual formation of the very scholars who became its university theologians. The Augustinian theologians at Erfurt had become theologians of the Order before they became seasoned members of the Order. Even if they exhibited dedication towards the Augustinian Observance, they were not products of the Augustinian school. They were adopted sons of the Order who had been reared by other parents before becoming the heirs of the Order's theology at Erfurt. The earlier conscious effort to inculcate the brothers with the religio Augustini from the very beginning of their education played little or no part in the training of these later Augustinians, which leads to the third element of the decline of the Augustinian school.

Closely associated with the decline of Sentences commentaries and the circumvention of the Augustinian school through a lessening of requirements and the quick promotion of 'converts', was a decline in the office of lector. Ypma has noted that during the fifteenth century the title of lector was no longer an exclusively academic title. Rather, there was a growing tendency to confer the lector's title as an honorary reward for service. For the fourteenth century there is ample evidence for the importance of the office of lector. Bypassing the stringent requirements for, and control of, the title by granting the degree as an honorary appellation signifies a

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14 See Hamm, Frömmigkeitstheologie, 59.
break-down in the Augustinian school analogous to the quick promotion of doctors. The lectors were the theological 'watch dogs' of the Order. What were the consequences when the 'watch dogs' became 'show dogs'? With the depreciation of the degree of lector, the masters 'stepped down' to fill the gap as seen in the shift of interests indicated by the extant theological literature and the lessening of requirements for the doctorate. The more practical, broadly disseminated theology that had been in the special domain of the non-university lectors became in the fifteenth century the theology espoused by the magistri.

The decline of the office of lector, the break down of the Order's educational system, and the decrease of Sentences commentaries clearly indicate a decline in the Augustinian school during the fifteenth century that continued into the early sixteenth. Thus, Damasus Trapp was right--the Schola Modernorum died at the hand of the Schism. If Hamm has found no evidence of an Order-specific Augustinian Frömmigkeitstheologie in the aftermath of the Schism with the rise in

16 This conclusion parallels the thesis of Isnard Frank. Frank argued that the identifiable mendicant schools of the earlier fourteenth century gave way in the later Middle Ages in face of the proliferation and regionalization of universities. See, Isard Wilhelm Frank, Die Bettelordensstudia im Gefüge des Spätmittelalterlichen Universitätswesens, Institut für Europäische Geschichte Mainz Vorträge 83, (Stuttgart, 1988).

17 Trapp, "Hiltalinge's Augustinian Quotations," 424; see supra, Introduction, 51.
searches for certitude\textsuperscript{18} exemplified by Paltz's \textit{via securior},\textsuperscript{19} it could be that the bells had already tolled for both sides of the Augustinian school. Thus the decline of the Augustinian school was the counterpart to the rise of observantism, which made the question of what made one an Augustinian give way to the question of who were the more genuine Augustinians.

5. Jordan's \textit{Expositio Orationis Dominicae} necessitates a shift in the discussion of late medieval Augustinianism back to its historical roots, the \textit{religio Augustini}. Historical theologians may continue to debate what was or was not Augustinian in the later Middle Ages and how that relates to Reformation theology, but for the historical Augustinian friar, the \textit{religio Augustini} defined who and what was Augustinian. As Jordan's case demonstrates, the central task of future research will be to reintegrate the Augustinians' life in their cells, in their pulpits, and in their lecterns as the unified expression of Augustine's religion.


\textsuperscript{19} See, Hamm, \textit{Frömmigkeitstheologie}, 247ff.
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