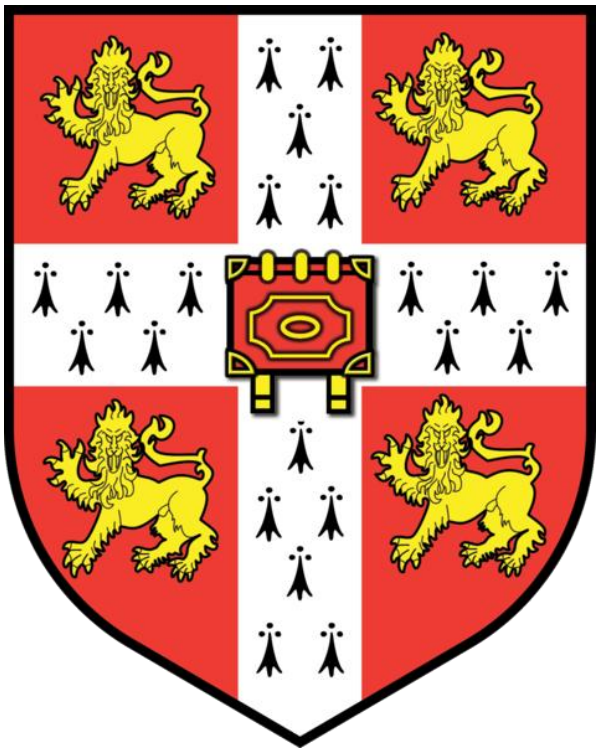
The Passion of Christ in Episcopal and Archidiaconal Sermons, c.1090-c.1210



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September 2024

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for any degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

Word Count: 79,939.

Abstract

This study explores how the passion of Christ was represented in the sermonising of bishops and archdeacons between c.1090-c.1210. At the core of this study are the Latin sermons of six individuals: the bishops Ivo of Chartres (d.1116), Herbert Losinga (d.1119), Geoffrey Babion (d.1158) and Bartholomew of Exeter (d.1184), along with the archdeacons Thomas Agnellus (d.1197) and Peter of Blois (d.1212). Whilst it is a subject of continuous debate, this period witnessed a profound development in the way that medieval Christians conceptualised Christ's passion in literature and art, the key features of which were increased meditation upon, and representation of, his human sufferings and death in what has been termed an 'affective shift'. This period also witnessed the increased production and delivery of sermons, with bishops and archdeacons having written many of the surviving texts. These sermons have, however, been largely overlooked, with the way they conceptualised the passion within them little studied. This thesis positions itself at the juncture between the study of 'episcopal' and 'archidiaconal' sermonising and the devotional 'shift' of the age, by exploring how the passion was represented in these texts and the influences that worked to shape that imagery . In doing so, it highlights the engagement of these sermonisers with the devotional currents of the period in their work, argues for the prominent role of the 'local' in twelfth-century sermonising, and blurs some of the boundaries historians have commonly drawn between various groups and traditions of thought in the twelfth century. In making these arguments this study also identifies, for the first time, the sources upon which several of these preachers drew, and illustrates the use of these sources more fully in a separate appendix.

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Acknowledgements

I wholeheartedly thank Carl Watkins and John Munns for their unfailing support in helping see this project through to completion: I could not have asked for more generous supervisors. Both have been assiduous in their encouragement and have inspired me in my thinking about history, and I shall remember our supervisions at Magdalene College most fondly. My funders at the Arts & Humanities Research Council, who supported my work through the Open-Oxford-Cambridge Doctoral Training Partnership, have been fantastic, and I thank them for facilitating my studies and for their additional grants that enabled my archival work. I also thank King's College for their funding that helped bring this work to completion, and their travel grants that further supported my archival research.

Many others have contributed to the ideas presented in this study. I thank Martin Brett for his company and conversation at Robinson College, along with his generous loan of books, which helped hone some of the ideas expressed in Chapter One especially. Tessa Webber has been a constant help in all manuscript matters, as the succeeding footnotes of this study bear ample witness to. I would further like to thank Moreed Arbabzadah, John Arnold, John Cotts, Katy Cubitt, and Hugh Thomas. I have also been helped along the way by many friendly and obliging archivists and librarians, and express my particular thanks to Clare Arrand, Chris Barker, Adam Crothers, and Clarck Drieshen.

Debts of gratitude are owed to friends both old and new who have helped keep the author going over the past few years, not all of whom I can acknowledge here. Edward Everett has become a firm friend since I arrived at King's to begin this degree, and I thank him for the coffee and conversation that made me feel most welcome at Grasshopper Lodge. I am also incredibly grateful for the friendship of Nina Cnockaert-Guillou, with whom I spent many pleasant walks around Cambridge discussing life, manuscripts, and tea. To Will Hodkinson, whose friendship has spanned our time spent in both York and Cambridge, I also express my warm thanks for his ceaseless generosity, along with Patrick Reeves, who has been a great friend since our years at York studying history together.

My family have been an amazing support in my studies over the course of three degrees, and I thank them all here. In particular, my parents Christine and Charles have been an incredible encouragement and example to me, whilst my grandmother Anne has long been a champion of my studies. I am continually grateful for their love and support.

Finally, I would like to thank my partner, Jess. The years of our relationship have been coterminous with those spent writing this thesis. I shall forever be thankful for her encouragement, patience, humour, love, and unwavering belief in both me and my work amidst my grumblings about near-illegible marginalia and the Patrologia Latina. I could not have done this without you.

P.C.C.

September 2024

List of Abbreviations

ANT – J.K. and James, M.R. (eds. and trans.) *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford, 1993).

CCCM – Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis.

CCSL – Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.

CIC II – Friedberg, A (ed.) *Corpus Iuris Canonici II: Decretalium Collectiones* (Leipzig, 1881).

CS – Camden Society (New Series).

CSEL - Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.

CSO – Camden Society (Old Series).

EEA – English Episcopal Acta.

FEA – Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae.

GCO - *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*. Edited by J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock and G.F. Warner. 8 Volumes. RS (London, 1861-91).

GO – Rusch, A., Froelich, K. and M.T. Gibson (eds.) *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria: Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps* (Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81). 4 Volumes (Turnhout, 1992).

HBS – Henry Bradshaw Society.

LL – *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*. Edited by E. Revell (Oxford, 1993).

ODNB – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

OMT – Oxford Medieval Texts.

P&M – Lottin, O. (ed.) *Psychologie et Morale aux XIIe et XIIIe Siecles*. 6 Volumes (Louvain, 1942-60).

PL – Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus.

PRS – Pipe Roll Society.

RS – Rolls Series.

SAO – *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*. Edited by F.S. Schmitt. 6 Volumes (Edinburgh, 1946-61).

SBO – *Sancti Bernardi Opera*. Edited by J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot and H. Rochais. 8 Volumes (Rome, 1957-77).

SS – Surtees Society.

Note on Translations and Biblical Citations

Unless otherwise stated, all translations in this thesis are my own. With certain texts, like those of the Oxford Medieval Texts series or the edition and translation of Herbert Losinga's sermons, I have made use of existing translations and have not supplied the Latin text in the footnotes, unless necessary to illustrate a particular point. For some of the words in Herbert's sermons I have opted for retranslations and have signalled these accordingly. Biblical quotations follow the text and translation of the Douay-Rheims Bible, in reference to the Vulgate of Weber-Gryson *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgata Versionem* (1969). Allowance is made, however, for the fact our authors drew from variant Biblical texts, and these variants are translated accordingly.

Introduction

Overview of the Project

This is a study of how the passion of Christ was represented in the sermonising of bishops and archdeacons between c.1090-c.1210. Although the subject of ongoing debate as to its details (see below), this period witnessed a profound and lasting shift in the way that medieval Christians conceptualised and communicated with their crucified God. This 'shift' was associated primarily with a particular 'intellectual landscape' broadly corresponding to England and northwestern France: a rather porous 'Normano-Capetian' sphere in which there was a great and fertile exchange of ecclesiastical personnel and their ideas.[1] Within this landscape, prayers were written and diffused from the reformed monasteries of the Benedictines and the Cistercians. These prayers lingered ever more upon the torments of Christ's passion and the afflictions borne by his anguished mother as she beheld her son's broken body. Illuminators and sculptors closed their saviour's eyes in death, whilst their brushes and chisels picked out his contorted limbs and muscles strained upon the cross. Where the Christ of the early Middle Ages had stood triumphant over death, his eyes wide open as he gazed out defiantly from the cross, twelfth-century Christians increasingly saw a human and suffering man in their mind's eye, the folios of their books, or the carvings and crucifixes that filled their places of worship. These changes in how Christ was represented were accompanied by imaginative impulses to relive the events of his passion, transcending time in a process of affective engagement:

> Why, O my soul, were you not there to be pierced by a sword of bitter sorrow when you could not bear the piercing of the side of your Saviour with a lance? Why could you not bear to see the nails violate the hands and feet of your Creator?[2]

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[1] See: J. Barrau, 'From Conquest to Commonwealth: Cross-Channel Circulation of Biblical Culture in the Anglo-Norman World', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXIX*, ed. E.M.C. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2017), 11-26; T. Webber, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Collections in the Late Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, eds. E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (Cambridge, 2006), 109-125; R.W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970, Reprint 1984), 158-180. As regards artistic exchanges, see: P. Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300* (New Haven, 2004), esp. Ch.1 'Canterbury: The Aesthetics of Martyrdom', 3-27 for the later twelfth century and the influence of such French architectural achievements as St Denis and Sens Cathedral upon Canterbury. Also C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800-1200* (New Haven, 1993) for more general observations on the whole period.

[2] Anselm of Canterbury, *Prayer to Christ*, in *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm with the Proslogion* trans. B. Ward (London, 1973), 95. The Latin text and critical edition is printed in *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia* (hereafter *SAO*), ed. F.S. Schmitt, 6 Vols (Edinburgh, 1946-61), iii, 7.

These words are taken from the most prominent representative of this profound shift in emphasis: Anselm (d.1109), first a monk at the Norman abbey of Bec and later archbishop of Canterbury. Anselm lamented in his *Oratio ad Christum* that he could not himself have been present beneath the cross with Mary and John, witnessing Longinus pierce Christ's side and the nails perforate his saviour's hands and feet. His words were, as he explained in the prefaces he sent with his *Orationes sive Meditationes*, to be contemplated at length and used to 'stir up the mind' into a state of prayer.[3] Where the dominant tendency in earlier centuries had been to simply enumerate Christ's sufferings, Anselm sought to pause and reflect deeply on each aspect of Christ's experience in the passion. The enormity of Christ's sacrifice, and the impossibility of adequate recompense, deeply informed Anselm's prayers along with his works of theology: most notably the *Cur Deus homo*, completed around 1098, in which he outlined a theory of the atonement where the devil – who held chief place in early-medieval soteriology – was removed from the picture to place emphasis squarely on the rupture in the relationship between God and humanity.

Alongside this 'affective shift', the twelfth century also witnessed a marked increase in both the composition and preaching of sermons, from pious abbots looking to nourish their monastic brethren with the word of God, schoolmasters addressing their students on doctrinal matters, to heretics travelling from town to town proclaiming their dissident views. Especially prolific in writing and preaching sermons, however, were bishops, who were regarded as the 'successors of the apostles' in spreading the word of God. As the spiritual head of his diocese, preaching formed part of the bishop's pastoral responsibility to instruct and exhort both his flock and subordinates, and he would preach at his cathedral on the great feasts of the liturgical year, at diocesan synods or visitations of his subordinate clergy, at the dedication of churches, and at ecclesiastical councils. Along with the bishop, though less closely associated with the office of preaching, the archdeacon – referred to as the '*oculus episcopi*' – also composed and preached sermons. Archdeacons, who in England were increasingly associated over the course of the twelfth century with particular territorial archdeaconries, were already a feature of diocesan organisation on the Continent but only appeared in England in the wake of the Norman Conquest.[4] The archdeacon's role was to assist his bishop, rooting out clerical vices within the

[3] Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, 89-90, and *SAO*, iii, 3-4.
[4] C.N.L. Brooke, 'The Archdeacon and the Norman Conquest', in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall Presented by her Friends on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday*, eds. D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers (Cambridge, 1985), 1-19; M. Brett, *The English Church Under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), 199-211; F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154* (London, 1979), 134-137; R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), 388-389.

diocese, holding his own archidiaconal court, and gathering tithes and '*consuetudines episcopales*.'[5] Some archdeacons abused their power, and they acquired a reputation for 'local tyranny'; an entrenched view which has been nuanced in recent years to demonstrate the considerable influence the archdeacon held in his locality.[6] The audiences addressed by bishops and archdeacons in their sermonising included subordinate clergy, along with the laity who would gather together at the major feasts of the year and hear a sermon preached.[7] The words of some of these preachers were heard far beyond their dioceses and original contexts, carried across medieval Christendom in hundreds of manuscript copies.

The history of an 'affective shift' in the twelfth century is well-trodden and not without controversy, whilst that of sermonising by bishops and archdeacons has been investigated far less. This study situates itself between the history of this 'affective shift' and the history of sermonising. In doing so it asks how the bishops and archdeacons – amongst the most prolific preachers of the period – represented Christ's passion in this period of profound change, what aims they sought to achieve with their sermons and representations of the passion, and how a closer study of their sermonising should inform our conception of the 'affective shift' as well as the aims pursued, and audiences addressed, through such imagery in 'episcopal' sermonising. But before turning to outline the approach of this study, let us first consider the two historiographical fields underpinning it.

The Historiography of the Twelfth Century 'Affective Shift'

The summary of the affective shift with which we introduced this study owes much to the works of André Wilmart – particularly his *Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévots du Moyen Âge Latin* – and Richard Southern's *The Making of the Middle Ages*. A text which remains both authoritative and influential, *Auteurs Spirituels* was the summation of Wilmart's exhaustive research in the early decades of the twentieth century, in which he set about the monumental task of delineating the genuine devotional works of the Middle Ages after centuries of accretion and misattribution.[8] The Norman abbot John of Fécamp's (d.1078) *Confessio Theologica*, with its tender reflections on Christ's passion, was thus restored to him. A crucially important devotional work that had long

[5] Brett, *English Church*, 205.
[6] Bartlett, *England*, 389; S. Maritt, 'All This I say Against the Rage of Archdeacons Against My Poor Fellow Citizens': Archdeacons' Authority and Identity in Twelfth-Century England', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 102, No.5 (353), Special Issue: Political Culture c.800-c.1200 (2017): 914-932. Quotes from 932.
[7] Of course, if the cathedral was a monastic institution, the audience addressed would also include monks.
[8] A. Wilmart, *Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévots du Moyen Âge Latin* (Paris, 1932, reprint 1972).

circulated under the names of different authors, in the *Confessio* John famously cried out to be wounded like Christ with the 'fiery dart' of his *caritas*; a devotional tenor that can be regarded among the first facets of the 'affective shift'. In the course of Wilmart's endeavours, he also restored the genuine body of Anselm's *Orationes sive Meditationes* which had expanded over the Middle Ages and beyond to include a great many spurious texts. However, as Wilmart explained in prefacing *Auteurs Spirituels*, the doctrines, activity, and interior lives of those who wrote the works he 'rescued from oblivion' could only be treated by him in passing.[9] With the foundations laid, it remained for others to explore those questions. Taking up this mantle, Southern set the tone of succeeding anglophone scholarship in *The Making of the Middle Ages*.[10] Characterising the period as one of transition from 'epic to romance', Southern privileged the writings of Anselm and the great Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153) as epitomising the shift in devotional focus towards Christ's humanity and sufferings, with Anselm's impact described, in the first of two subsequent biographies Southern wrote about him, as 'revolutionary'.[11] The Cistercians were regarded by Southern as the 'chief agents' in turning the 'thin stream of compassion and tenderness' that had appeared in the meditations of the eleventh century, like John of Fécamp's *Confessio*, into the 'flood' that would be cultivated by the mendicants from the thirteenth century and come to dominate later-medieval religious life.[12]

The reformed Benedictines and the Cistercians have thus been accorded a dominant place in the historiography of this period, with their affective meditations on Christ's passion much studied, edited, and translated.[13] Especially important have been Caroline Walker Bynum's studies; particularly the papers collected in *Jesus as Mother*, in which she closely read the imagery of high-medieval spiritual works to explicate the social contexts of their authors.[14] In her work on the twelfth-century Cistercians and their spiritual treatises she drew attention to the repertoire of maternal and 'feminine' imagery that they used to write about, and communicate with, God, including their meditations on the passion which were suffused with such imagery.[15] In

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[9] Ibid, 10.
[10] R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953, reprint 1967), 209-244.
[11] *St Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c.1130* (Cambridge, 1963), 42. Later modified as 'transformational' in *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), 99.
[12] Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, 222.
[13] Among others, see: C. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200* (London, 1972), 139-144; J.H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*: *a Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk, 1979), 8-13; A. Vauchez, *The Spirituality of the Medieval West*, trans. C. Friedlander (Kalamazoo, 1993), 84-86; G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1998), 169-193; T.H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1996), 35-43.
[14] C.W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982).
[15] Ibid, 110-169. First printed as 'Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 70 (1977): 257-284.

conceiving of the crucified Christ, the Cistercians dwelt on the 'milk and honey' that flowed from his pierced side, and the 'honeycomb' of his wounds that they sought to flee into and feed upon. In exploring these images, Bynum argued that they reveal the ambivalence of the Cistercian Order – particularly its abbots – regarding their own authority. Their frequent use of imagery of compassion, nurturing, and union was part of a broader 'feminisation' of God as a compassionate and approachable figure which, in turn, informed Cistercian self-perception in the charge and 'nurturing' of the monks under their rule. What emerges so crucially from Bynum's work is that certain imagery, even with regards to an image as culturally central as the passion, was often informed by more local concerns held by individual authors. Bynum's approaches greatly contributed to Sarah McNamer's work which further addressed 'compassion' as historically contingent by drawing upon the history of emotions, highlighting the 'script-like' nature of devotional texts and their association of compassion as a 'feminine emotion'.[16]

Other important research that has built upon the course charted by Wilmart and Southern includes Thomas Bestul's *Texts of the Passion*, in which he highlighted both the fluidity around the attribution of devotional texts whilst also calling for greater consideration of other devotional works of the period: namely Latin narratives of Christ's passion.[17] Whilst it was Wilmart's aim to rescue devotional texts from the 'oblivion' of misattribution, Bestul questioned whether 'it makes sense to speak of Wilmart's Anselm as the "real" Anselm, in place of the Anselm of the medieval manuscript tradition', whilst also suggesting that our understanding of Bernard of Clairvaux as a devotional author cannot solely derive from his authentic works.[18] Although indebted to the labours of Wilmart and those who followed him, Bestul sought to problematise their work and draw attention to the role that Anselm and Bernard played as 'signifiers' in the devotional currents of the twelfth century and beyond.[19] Circulating prayers and meditations under their names were decisions consciously made by imitators, who associated them with a particular form of devotion and affectivity. As regards our reading of Anselm's prayers in the broader context of his theological works, Giles Gasper's *Anselm of Canterbury and his Theological Inheritance* has also been especially important. Ranging across the whole Anselmian canon, the suffusion of aesthetic categories throughout both Anselm's theological works and the *Orationes sive Meditationes* were elucidated by Gasper, departing from earlier assessments by Southern and Benedicta Ward who downplayed the presence of 'beauty' in the *Orationes sive*

[16] S. McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia, 2010), 1-25.
[17] Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 1-25.
[18] Ibid, 15.
[19] Ibid.

Meditationes.[20] As such, as much as Anselm's prayers took on a life of their own through circulation and imitation, as shown by Bestul, Gasper reminds us of their intricacies in the context of Anselm's entire literary career.

Among the most significant contributions to the Wilmart-Southern narrative has been Rachel Fulton's *From Judgment to Passion*, in which she sought to move beyond Southern's comments that Anselm and Bernard's devotions 'epitomised' the 'affective shift' of the twelfth century to try and explain the catalysts behind it. In Fulton's opinion so widespread a change pointed to a catalyst in the shared conceptual environment of western Christendom. This, she suggested, was the Christian calendar which placed the millennium of Christ's birth and passion in the years 1000 and 1033 respectively. Fulton argued that these millennial anniversaries generated apocalyptic strains of thought that Christ would return to judge humanity from the cross bearing his wounds of reproach before sinners. When those apocalyptic expectations were disappointed, so Fulton argued, the attitude towards the suffering Christ and his wounds changed from fear and awe at the enormity of humanity's debt to one of tenderness and compassion for the saviour's sufferings epitomised in the writings of Anselm.[21] In *Cur Deus homo* and his other works, as we noted earlier, Anselm recognised the scale of humanity's transgression, and therefore Christ's self-sacrifice, was such that the debt owed to God could never be repaid. The only appropriate response on the part of the sinner, therefore, was to approach Christ with tenderness and devotion and to remind him of what he had paid in saving humanity.[22] Anselm's compassionate exclamations imploring for his soul to have been present at Calvary served to powerfully represent this changed response to Christ's crucifixion. Whether one agrees with Fulton's arguments – particularly the weight placed behind millennial apocalypticism as the initial driving force behind the change in conceptualisation – in trying to identify the causes for the shift the scope of her inquiry moved significantly beyond her predecessors.

However, the broad narrative of an 'affective shift' around the twelfth century has not remained entirely unchallenged. Numerous scholars have drawn attention to affective devotions prior to the twelfth century; particularly within the piety of the Anglo-Saxons. The affectivity in their penitential traditions, and their devotions to the cross and crucified Christ in vernacular prayers and poetry like the haunting *Dream of the Rood*, have been much commented on in this

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[20] G.E.M. Gasper, *Anselm of Canterbury and his Theological Inheritance* (Woodbridge, 2004), esp.5-7 and 19-46.
[21] R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York, 2002), 60-141.
[22] Ibid, 175-177.

regard.[23] The 'shift' of the twelfth century has thus been placed within a longer perspective, whilst, at the same time, the particularities 'precursors' have been explicated against what followed them.[24] Old English penitential prayers, for instance, which sought to encourage identification between a penitent and the sufferings of Christ in the passion presented an 'embodied' view of the saviour's sufferings and the sinner's own, compared to the later anguish expressed by Anselm from the depths of his soul.[25]

The very notion of 'affectivity' and its use in describing the changes of this period has also been questioned in recent years. Lauren Mancia, in her recent study *Emotional Monasticism*, explored the writings of John of Fécamp in depth in seeking to separate John's own concept of 'affective piety' from that of the twelfth-century devotional authors among whom his own work so often circulated, and in relation to whom he has often been regarded.[26] Mancia's sensitive reading of John's *Confessio Theologica* against his abbatial role and the broader devotional life of eleventh-century Fécamp drew attention to the particularity of John's affectivity, in which obedience to one's abbot and 'harming to help' through the intense cultivation of inner sorrow were central tenets.[27] Finally the artistic shifts of the period, whilst significant, are also not without complication and nuance. John Munns's *Cross and Culture*, surveying the art of Anglo-Norman England, serves to reinforce the point that we do not witness an uncomplicated and linear transition from representations of *Christus triumphans* to *Christus patiens*, and that even when a representation sought to impress Christ's sufferings they were routinely understood in the context of his resurrection by their contemporary audiences.[28]

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[23] For the *Dream of the Rood* with a facing translation, see: *Old and Middle English: An Anthology* ed. E. Treharne (Oxford, 2000), 108-115.

[24] T.H. Bestul, 'St Anselm and the Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Traditions,' *Annuale Mediaevale*, 18 (1977): 20-41. See also: A.J. Frantzen, 'Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials' *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 22 (2005): 117-128.

[25] For this I am grateful to Katy Cubitt, who provided me with a draft of her forthcoming monograph *Sin and Society: Penance and Penitentials in Tenth and Eleventh-Century England* (Cambridge, forthcoming) in which this subject is discussed in Chapter Five, 'Lay Piety: Penance and Confession'. On Anglo-Saxon pieties and the passion, see also: A. Jorgensen, *Emotional Practice in Old English Literature* (Woodbridge, 2024); K.H. Thomas, *Late Anglo-Saxon Prayer in Practice: Before the Books of Hours* (Boston MA, 2020), esp. Ch.3; F. McCormack, 'Those Bloody Trees: The Affectivity of Christ', in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions: Reading the Heart in Old English Language, Literature, and Culture* (Farnham, 2015), 143-162. For an overview of the cross and crucified Christ as-represented in later Anglo-Saxon art, see B.C. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge, 1990).

[26] L. Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism: Affective Piety in the Eleventh-Century Monastery of John of Fécamp* (Manchester, 2019).

[27] Ibid, *passim*.

[28] J. Munns, *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Norman England* (Woodbridge, 2016). We are also reminded of the importance of this fact by Jennifer O'Reilly. See: J. O'Reilly, 'Early Medieval Text and Image: The Wounded and Exalted Christ,' *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-88): 72-118. Raw's study of the Anglo-Saxon iconography, similarly, highlights that there is no uncomplicated transition from a triumphal to a suffering Christ in the art of the period. See: Raw, *Crucifixion Iconography*, 92. See also the point made by E.M. Ross that despite

The devotional 'shift' of the twelfth century, whilst both profound and lasting, also demands further consideration of its specificities, as with Bynum's close contextualisation of particular images, Bestul's problematisation of 'canon' and the foregrounding of previously neglected works, and Mancias's reconstruction of a specific context for Abbot John's *Confessio Theologica*. With this study, the intention is to consider how these changes in conceptualisation bore upon sermonising, and that of bishops and archdeacons specifically. In *The Making of the Middle Ages*, Southern wrote that it was the mendicants who cultivated the devotional currents of the twelfth century and popularised them in the later Middle Ages.[29] The mendicants were, from the outset, orders of monastic preachers; their 'popularisation' of the 'affective shift' was articulated both through sermons that reached a broader spectrum of Christian society and their imitation of the 'poor Christ' in wandering from town to town.[30] Yet how the shifts of the twelfth century bore upon sermonising within the period itself, and specifically that of the bishops and archdeacons who were, in many cases, preaching for broader spectrums of society, has been curiously neglected. To explain the reasons for this requires a consideration of the historiography on medieval sermons and preaching, as well as that of the twelfth century specifically.

The Historiography of Medieval Sermons and Preaching

In her preface to the important collection of studies in *The Sermon*, Beverley Kienzle outlined the fundamental characteristics of the medieval sermon as 'an essentially oral discourse' which was spoken by a preacher to instruct and exhort an audience on faith and morals and which was based upon a sacred text.[31] Sermons were largely hortatory and didactic, intending to effect some change of behaviour or course of action amongst their audiences.[32] These characteristics are, essentially, those assumed for the majority of texts that are of central consideration for this

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the focus on the 'wounded and bloody Jesus' in late-medieval England, this was tempered against the conception of his divinity. The 'emotionality' sometimes associated with the period should be nuance: *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1997).

[29] Above: 4, n.10. On the preaching of the mendicants, see: D.L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Before 1300* (Oxford, 1985).

[30] Amongst the first recipients of Anselm's *Orationes sive Meditationes* was Countess Matilda of Tuscany (d.1115).

[31] B.M. Kienzle, 'Introduction', in *The Sermon*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, Fasc. 81-83, ed. B.M. Kienzle (Turnhout, 2000), 151. For commentary on the influence of Kienzle's *The Sermon*, see: A.T. Thayer, 'Medieval Sermon Studies Since *The Sermon*: A Deepening and Broadening Field', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 58 (2014): 10-27.

[32] Ibid, 151-158.

study, although in certain instances we shall return to this definition with questions raised by the succeeding chapters and the analysis of particular sermons.

Significant methodological work on the medieval sermon has been carried out for the later Middle Ages, as with the important studies of David D'Avray, Nicole Bériou, and Siegfried Wenzel, whilst the twelfth century has remained comparatively understudied.[33] Part of the reason for this lies with the relative dearth of evidence for the twelfth century to contextualise sermons and preaching compared to the later periods. Thus, by studying the stationers of Paris and the dissemination of vast numbers of 'model sermon collections' D'Avray could argue that mendicant sermons be regarded as a form of 'mass media'; Bériou's own study of Parisian preaching could make ample use of the '*reportationes*' that survive from the thirteenth century, whilst the quantity of Latin sermon collections produced in England between 1350-1450 – the 'golden age of preaching' – allowed Wenzel greater ability to cross-analyse them for a more effective contextualisation. Comparable work for the twelfth century is lacking, although there have been important contributions. The association of the twelfth century with a rise in the production and preaching of sermons owes much, first of all, to Louis Bourgain's 1879 study *La Chaire Française au XIIe Siècle*. Bourgain described, and indeed implied, a period of silence in preaching between the Carolingian age and the twelfth century, before romantically praising the 'legions of preachers' that emerged from the culturally-revitalised milieu of the reformed monastic orders and the schools before using their sermons to explore various aspects of twelfth century society.[34] Bourgain's work inspired other French scholars; notably Jean Longère with his studies of the sermons written by twelfth-century Parisian masters along with his standard work on medieval preaching *La Prédication Médiévale*.[35] Bériou also addressed the evidence for the twelfth century in a notable essay on the twelfth century 'experience of preaching', whilst late-twelfth century Paris, and the works of Maurice de Sully (d.1196) and Peter the Chanter (d.1197), served as her point of departure in studying thirteenth-century preaching in the city.[36] Indeed, as

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[33] D'Avray, *Preaching*, passim; also, his *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching Before 1350* (Oxford, 1994) and 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, eds. N. Bériou, D.L. D'Avray, J.S.C. Riley-Smith and M. Tausche (Spoleto, 1994), 3-29; N. Bériou, *L'avènement des Maîtres de la Parole: La Prédication à Paris au XIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1998); S. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 2005).

[34] L. Bourgain, *La Chaire Française au XIIe Siècle d'après les Manuscrits* (Paris, 1879), 3-4, 271-369.

[35] J. Longère, *Œuvres Oratoires de Maîtres Parisiens au XIIe siècle : Étude Historique et Doctrinale*. 2 Vols. (Paris, 1975); *La Prédication Mediévale* (Paris, 1983).

[36] Bériou, *Les Pouvoirs de l'éloquence : Prédictation et Pastorale dans la Chrétienté Latine (XII-XIII Siècles)* (Geneva, 2024), 31-65. First printed as 'Aux Sources d'une Nouvelle Pastorale: Les Expériences de Prédication du XII siècle', in *La Pastorale della Chiesa in Occidente dall'età Ottoniana al Concilio Lateranense IV: atti della Quindicesima Settimana Internazionale di Studio Mendola, 27-31 Agosto 2001* (Milan, 2004), 325-361; *La Prédication à Paris*, 21-48. On the 'Chanter's circle' and the intellectual currents in Paris at the close of the

regards the preaching of bishops, Maurice – who served as bishop of Paris from 1160 until his death and wrote a collection of model sermons – is one of the better studied bishop-preachers of the twelfth century; especially due to the fact that a number of his homilies were translated into the vernacular, which has generated considerable interest from historians.[37] Other work on the twelfth century has addressed the subject of 'preaching' and its contexts. Important studies by Kienzle and Caroline Muessig have explicated the purposes served by preaching in monasteries,[38] whilst the importance of preaching in crusading spirituality has long been noted since Penny Cole's treatment of the subject.[39]

The interest in the vernacular that we noted as regards twelfth-century sermons extends more broadly. Thus Mark Faulkner, in his recent *New Literary History of the Long Twelfth Century*, provides a valuable treatment of preaching in twelfth-century England, bringing together the evidence from narrative and normative sources to discuss who preached and how they did so.[40] Faulkner's focus, however, lies with texts written in English, following the work of others like Elaine Treharne who have made important contributions to our understanding of the place occupied by English in the twelfth century, and the interest we should take in twelfth-century vernacular compositions.[41] Important though this work undoubtedly is, the result has been an overrepresentation of vernacular sermons and homilies and a neglect of the Latin texts that comprise the bulk of surviving material. For instance, the sermons of one particular bishop-preacher we shall turn to in Chapter Three – Geoffrey Babion (d.1158) – have commanded the interest of Faulkner and several continental scholars because they were translated into the vernacular, whilst the base Latin texts (which as we shall note, circulated in large numbers)

twelfth century, see: J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle* (Princeton, 1970).

[37] J. Longère, *Les Sermons Latins de Maurice de Sully, Éveque de Paris (d.1196): Contribution à l'Histoire de la Tradition Manuscrite* (Dordrecht, 1998); C.A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily, with the Text of Maurice's French Homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS* (Oxford, 1952).

[38] B.M. Kienzle, 'The Twelfth Century Monastic Sermon', in *The Sermon* ed. B.M. Kienzle. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge occidental 81-83 (Turnhout, 2000), 271-323; M. Zier, 'Sermons of the Twelfth-Century Schoolmasters and Canons', in *Ibid*, 325-362. Also: C.A. Muessig, 'What is Medieval Monastic Preaching? An Introduction', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. C.A. Muessig (Leiden, 1998), 3-16.

[39] P.J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Mass: 1991); C. Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom: Holy War and the Crusades* (Oxford, 2004), 126-134; W.J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2013), esp.30-58 for the effect of the Clermont sermon and the inculcation of *imitatio Christi*.

[40] M. Faulkner, *A New Literary History of the Long Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2022), 187-200.

[41] E.M. Treharne, 'The Life and Times of Old English Homilies for the First Sunday in Lent', in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. H. Magennis (Morgantown, 2006), 205-242; *Living Through the Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020-1220* (Oxford, 2012). See also below, 27, n.105.

remain severely understudied.[42] This imbalance motivated Wenzel in studying the Latin sermons of later-medieval England, where a great deal of focus had long been fixed on the vernacular productions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: 'English sermons have been much better served than their Latin siblings – or, perhaps one should say, parents'.[43] Bestul also argued for the close study of Latin texts with regards to devotional literature in *Texts of the Passion*, explaining that:

> Latin works are considered as illustrative, cited to explain or interpret or occasionally to fix the meaning of the vernacular text, which always remains planted steadily in the foreground of attention, and which is always the primary subject requiring elucidation. Critics have rarely sought to engage the meaning of those Latin texts they cite, nor have they often granted them the same complexity and status as the vernacular work they are held to explain.[44]

Studies of twelfth century sermons and preaching, such as there have been, have thus focussed on several areas: vernacular sermons, select Latin compositions (notably the sermons of the Parisian masters) and the contexts of crusade and monastic preaching. Key influences in this study are the arguments made by Wenzel and Bestul with regards to Latin sermons and literature more broadly, in that this study is formed primarily of focussed analyses of the Latin sermons themselves.

The historian seeking to study the Latin sermons of the twelfth century, whilst not enjoying some of the riches of their later-medieval colleagues, is still amply served. The quantity of surviving material is shown by Johannes Baptist Schneyer's formidable *Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*; a nine-volume index of sermon incipits, running to 7,300 pages and listing works written between 1150-1350.[45] A look through the volumes of the *Repertorium* shows bishops and archdeacons produced a considerable number of sermons during

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[42] Faulkner and S. Pelle, 'Worcester, Cathedral Library Q.29, fols.133-37: An Early Middle English Sermon and its Context, *Mediaeval Studies*, 75 (2013): 147-176; Babion's sermons were also adapted into Occitan and Old High German: G. Hasenohr, La Prédication aux Fidéles dans la Première Moitié du XIIe Siècle: l'enseignement des "Sermons Limousins" *Heresis*, 30 (1999): 53-91. For the Old High German set, see N.F. Palmer, 'Die Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten: Untersuchungen und Edition', in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Editionen und Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Kurt Ruh zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. K. Kunze, J.G. Mayer, and B. Schnell (Tuebingen, 1989), 210-244.
[43] Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, xiii.
[44] Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 3.
[45] J.B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*. 9 Volumes (Münster, 1969-80).

the twelfth century, but aside from some more represented figures like Bishop Maurice, their contributions on the whole remain understudied. They demand analysis, however, standing as the bishop and archdeacon did as key figures in their dioceses for both their lay flocks and subordinate clergymen. Famously, in Canon 10 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the bishop's responsibility to preach, as well as the fact that their administrative concerns and other reasons like sickness, attacks from their enemies, and simple lack of education amongst prelates often prevented them doing so, was reflected upon with injunctions that preaching and instruction be deputised to 'suitable men' (*viros idoneos*).[46] What a careful study of the sermons written by bishops and archdeacons reveals is the considerable degree of care taken in their composition in order to carefully shape meaning amongst intended audiences of clerics and laity alike. Indeed, the texts at the core of this thesis, given their 'diocesan' contexts, can in many cases be regarded as 'supra catechetical', to use D'Avray's words; impressing teaching and doctrine that at times went beyond the minimum and instead aspired to greater levels of aesthetic quality and profound instruction.[47] With regards to lay audiences, this greater degree of sophistication may reflect either the 'event' of diocesan preaching or an assumed urban audience, were a sermon preached at the cathedral church, that was perhaps more sophisticated on account of more frequent churchgoing and exposure to the liturgy. If the bishop was considerably burdened by his administrative responsibilities (administrative cares which would also have borne upon archdeacons) to the detriment of his time to write and deliver sermons, studying their sermons reveals some prelates at least were taking considerable effort in shaping their words for a variety of audiences and purposes: a fact which this study's focus upon authorial intention and composition highlights.

The evidence for reconstructing the contexts of 'episcopal' and 'archidiaconal' preaching through the proliferation of customaries, ordinals, cathedral statutes, and visitation records is stronger for the later Middle Ages than the twelfth century, combined with the greater quantity of surviving sermons, but this should not dissuade us from engaging with what evidence there is.[48] The twelfth-century bishop was, as noted, consistently associated with the office of preaching; a fact of which John Ott's recent study *Bishops, Authority, and Community*, although

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[46] Amongst the *Decretals* of Gregory IX in *CIC II*, 192. On *viros idoneos*, see: G. Constable, 'Monasteries, Rural Churches, and the *Cura Animarum* in the Early Middle Ages', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo. Espansione e restistenze* (Spoleto, 1982), 349-389.
[47] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 80-92. On the idea of 'minimum requirements' see: N. Tanner and S. Watson, 'Least of the Laity: The Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian', *The Journal of Medieval History*, 32, Issue 4 (2006): 395-423.
[48] Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, Ch.41 'Bishops as Preachers', 253-277.

focussed more holistically on the bishop's role in high-medieval society, reminds us.[49] Whilst not as closely associated with the office of preaching as the bishop, in his position as the '*oculus episcopi*' the archdeacon was also to be found writing sermons and preaching them. In his *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066-1216* Hugh Thomas has looked to the sermons preached by bishops and archdeacons to their subordinate clergy, whilst Rebecca Springer has also utilised their sermons in her more focussed arguments around the concept of 'prelacy'.[50] Their contributions have served to remind us that these two figures were not uncommonly composing or preaching sermons during this period, as well as highlighting some of the aims they pursued in preaching. However, their sermons and sermonising have largely been considered as just one part of broader assessments of the twelfth-century clergy. The literary qualities of their sermons, the sources that they used in their preaching, and their theological and devotional content have not been studied in depth. As D'Avray wrote in his article on methodology in the study of medieval sermons we must 'distinguish the message, on the one hand, from, on the other the imagery which was there as a means of getting the message over.'[51] This study addresses both the means and the message of sermons by bishops and archdeacons, reflecting on how the 'means' of particular images of Christ's passion served the 'messages' they sought to convey.

Contextual Scope and Author Biographies

At the heart of this study are six figures who wrote their sermons between c.1090-c.1210. They comprise four bishops: Ivo of Chartres (d.1116), Herbert Losinga (d.1119), Geoffrey Babion (d.1158), and Bartholomew of Exeter (d.1184), along with the archdeacons Thomas Agnellus (d.1197) and Peter of Blois (d.1212). They have been chosen based on a number of criteria which we shall address in turn. The first is the 'intellectual geography' in which they moved, broadly corresponding to that we noted earlier: the permeable 'Normano-Capetian' sphere centred around northwestern France and England. This sphere corresponds to that which has long been associated with the 'affective shift', with John's Fécamp, Anselm's Bec, Bernard's Clairvaux, and Aelred's (d.1167) Rievaulx some of the chief names and centres associated with

[49] J.S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority, and Community in Northwestern Europe, c.1050-1150* (Cambridge, 2015), Chapter 8 'Bishops and the Word', 257-282.
[50] H.M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066-1216* (Oxford, 2014), esp. 322-342 for sermons on the training of subordinate clergy; R. Springer, 'Prelacy, Pastoral Care and the Instruction of Subordinates in Late Twelfth-Century England', in *Churches and Education: Studies in Church History 55*, eds. M. Ludlow, C. Methuen and A. Spicer (Cambridge, 2019), 114-128; 'Local Religious Life in England, c.1160-1210', Unpublished DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford (2017).
[51] D'Avray, 'Method', 19.

the devotional developments of the age.[52] As such, drawing the sermons of our bishops and archdeacons from this same intellectual landscape allows us to more profitably analyse the impact of devotional developments on their sermon-writing. The choice to analyse the sermons of bishops and archdeacons, furthermore, invites an assessment of how 'porous' the relationships within this 'intellectual landscape' itself were: namely, between orders and stations like those of abbot and bishop, monk and secular cleric. On the whole the devotional achievements of the period that have been most-studied were written by monastic authors, serving purposes that were more insular, whilst the bishops and archdeacons – largely made up of secular clergy – looked outwards to their responsibilities in the world, and frequently addressed these in their writing. The animosity between monks and the secular clergy is well known, and we shall not detain ourselves in recounting all the details here, but state simply that the focus on these authors allows us to further assess the boundaries between these various groups, their responsibilities, and their self-conceptions.[53] In some instances, as will be shown, our authors were in direct contact and dialogue with some of the period's significant contributors to the reconceptualization of Christ's sufferings in the passion and the development of more affective forms of piety; for instance, John of Fécamp, Bernard of Clairvaux, and the Cistercian abbot and later archbishop of Canterbury Baldwin of Forde (d.1190). In other instances, our authors will be shown to have engaged with the devotional writers of the century at second-hand, through reports of their ideas or access to their texts: for instance, the works of Anselm, Peter Abelard (d.1142), and Arnold of Bonneval (d.c. 1159). This study, then, subverts approaches to the period that have focussed largely upon these authors. Of course, their importance shall be repeatedly acknowledged over the succeeding pages, but they have not been accorded their own extended treatment here in the form of a chapter: even those like Baldwin of Forde who himself served as an archdeacon, bishop, and archbishop.[54] This decision has been

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[52] See above, 1-8.

[53] Thomas, *The Secular Clergy*, 343-364; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1963), 662-678.

[54] Baldwin would indeed have made for a suitable chapter, were we able to date more of his work to the period of his episcopate or archiepiscopate. As it stands, the majority of his sermons and treatises were written during his time at Forde Abbey, making them less pertinent to our interests. However, the influence he and his writings exerted, as will be shown, was considerable. See: C. Holdsworth, 'Baldwin of Forde', in *ODNB*. Accessed 22/09/24: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1164. Holdworth considered that Baldwin's sermon on the cross was the only work that could be attributed later than his time at Forde, but D.N. Bell and J.P. Freeland have shown the text was likely written for the transfer of Waltham to the Augustinians in 1177, three years before Baldwin became bishop of Worcester. See: D.B. Bell and J.P. Freeland, 'The Sermons on Obedience and the Cross', in *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 29 (1994): 241-290. Bell considers only three of Baldwin's works to have likely been written after his time at Forde: Tractates 1, 2, and 12. See: Baldwin of Forde, *Spiritual Tractates I*, trans. D.N. Bell (Kalamazoo, 1986), 'Introduction', 20.

taken from a desire to assess how those with more 'secular' concerns, either in their role as bishop or their position amongst the secular clergy, conceptualised the passion for their audiences compared with the monastic authors most commonly treated.

Other, more practical factors have borne upon the decision to focus on these six authors. A key consideration has been the bearing of 'local concerns' upon the way the passion was conceptualised in sermons. In order to approach this 'local' aspect, the availability of other material to bring into dialogue with sermons has been particularly desirable. Each of our six figures authored at least one other work, with some of the extant sources permitting the establishment of particularly rich contexts in which to interpret their sermons. For instance, Ivo, Herbert, and Peter left to posterity collections of letters which allow us to approach their characters, intellectual concerns, and contacts in order to elucidate more fully the ideas they expressed in their sermonising.[55] For other authors in this study – particularly Geoffrey Babion and Thomas Agnellus – the information we have to construct a biography or contextualise their sermons is scanter, but does not prohibit engagement with their work and identification of their key concerns. The intellectual formation of our respective authors varies, allowing for a consideration of various shaping influences upon their sermonising, whilst they are all unified in their association with an episcopal and archidiaconal context, enabling assessment of their divergences around common points of reference: for instance, audiences of laity or clergy both imagined and actual.

Herbert, for instance, was raised in the Abbey of Fécamp, Geoffrey Babion was originally a 'schoolmaster' (*scholasticus*) in Angers and later lived as a hermit, Bartholomew was trained in canon law, whilst Thomas Agnellus was accorded the title 'master' (*magister*) in the sole surviving copy of his sermons. At points it will be argued that an author's intellectual background or training bore upon their sermonising on the passion, whilst at others it will be suggested that it was superseded on account of other concerns. Thus, their various degrees of rigidity and flexibility, creativity and conservatism, deference to authority and departure in new directions shall be assessed in each chapter, and how these were reflected in, and influenced the sermonising of, each author on the passion. In comparing authors all working in what were primarily 'episcopal' contexts, the intention has also been to chart the relative degree of influence that their *officium* and its attendant responsibilities of pastoral care and clerical oversight bore upon the ways in which they sermonised. For instance, amongst some of our authors we will observe more 'embodied' treatments of the passion where others instead expressed conservatism

[55] On medieval letter collections see: G. Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 17 (Turnhout, 1976).

and wariness, focussing instead on practicality and pedagogy in the images they presented in order to impress moral lessons unambiguously upon their audiences.[56]

Having discussed the factors underpinning the selection of authors at the centre of this study, let us now introduce each in the order they will subsequently appear through Chapters One to Six. The following short biographies introduce each author in broad terms, noting their social backgrounds and education, their episcopal and archidiaconal careers, and where they sit more broadly in the intellectual history of the twelfth century. Brief introductions to their sermon collections will also be provided, whilst extended discussions of them that address issues around dating and provenance will be tackled more fully in the chapters themselves.

Ivo of Chartres (d.1116). Ivo is a figure known to historians of the twelfth century above all for his contributions to canon law in the period before Gratian (fl.1140).[57] With his *Decretum* and influential *Prologus*, Ivo outlined how canon law should be interpreted according to the dictates of 'mercy and justice'. He also wrote a widely-copied collection of letters, which attest both to his position as the principal canon law authority of the day and his sensitivity and concern regarding pastoral matters as bishop. Born near Chartres around 1040, Ivo later moved to Beauvais and joined the newly-founded monastery of St Quentin as its first abbot in 1067. Ivo presided as abbot for over twenty years, modelling the community along the customs of St Martin des Champs in Paris and pursuing a reforming programme.[58] He ruled as abbot until his elevation to the bishopric of Chartres – among the most important seats in France – in 1090; a position in which he remained until his death in 1116. The situation upon Ivo's election was complex. The previous bishop had been deposed by Urban II (d.1099) but continued to act in his former capacity whilst supported by Ivo's metropolitan Richer (d.1096), the archbishop of Sens. In consequence, Ivo was forced to journey to the pope, who consecrated him in November 1090. Whilst there were continued efforts from Richer and his suffragans to hinder Ivo's return, he

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[56] We could here reflect upon the advice given by Peter the Chanter on 'preaching the passion' in his *Verbum Abbreviatum*: PL 205, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1855), col.41: 'Item Apostolus: 'Non veni ad vos in sapientia verbi, non in doctis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in simplicitate sermonis, ne evacuetur crux Christi; ut cum veritas pateat, non requiritur ornatus verborum, ut verbis potius fiat fides, quam veritate passionis, quae, ut gesta est, et ita in simplici sermone narranda est, ne quod credimus attribuatur humanae sapientiae potius verbis quam veritati et gratiae, et ita 'evacuetur crux Christi.'

[57] C. Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge, 2010); Rolker, 'The Age of Reforms: Canon Law in the Century before Gratian', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, eds. A Winroth and J.C. Wei (Cambridge, 2022), 62-78. The biographical information that follows is taken from Rolker, *Canon Law*.

[58] Rolker, *Canon Law*, 8: 'Compared to contemporary and later reform foundations like Springiersbach, Ivo's rule was mild indeed; it decreed neither manual work nor a severe diet. Nonetheless, his rule was strict concerning the basic norms of obedience, *stabilitas loci*, chastity and common property.'

prevailed through support from the pope, King Philip (d.1108), and the count of Chartres. Whilst supported by the king in his struggles around the election, this did not prevent Ivo from publicly condemning Philip's repudiation of his wife Bertha of Holland (d.1094) for Bertrada (d.1117) in a dispute which rumbled on for some fifteen years.[59]

Whilst chiefly praised by both contemporaries and later historians for his canon law collections and letters, Ivo also composed a collection of liturgical sermons and 'sermon-tracts'.[60] Narrowing a date of composition for these works is difficult, but they were certainly written after Ivo's appointment as bishop of Chartres. We shall address the question of date more fully in Chapter One, along with the description above of some of these writings as 'sermon-tracts'. The texts enjoyed great popularity over the course of the twelfth century from an early point onwards and survive in large numbers: over one hundred from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[61] The arguments of Chapter One shall focus on Ivo's sermonising on the passion for a 'tiered' audience; primarily clerical, through diocesan instruction, as well as lay at a further remove. These arguments are supplemented in Appendix I where the manuscript record of Ivo's work is discussed, and pastorally-conscious episcopal users of his Sermon 6 (the focus of Chapter One) suggested.

Herbert Losinga (d.1119) Bishop of East Anglia from 1091-1119, Herbert Losinga hailed from Exmes, southwest Normandy.[62] For some time a monk at the Benedictine abbey of Fécamp, where he rose to eventually hold the position of prior and would have known Abbot John, Herbert was called to England at the behest of William Rufus (d.1100) to assume the abbacy of Ramsey in 1087 or 1088. In 1091 the bishopric of East Anglia became vacant, and Herbert moved to purchase the seat for himself along with the abbacy of New Minster for his father

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[59] For a brief discussion of the relationship between Philip and Bertrada, and a translation of Lambert of Arras's (d.1115) account of Philip's eventual penance, see: D.L. D'Avray, *Dissolving Royal Marriages: A Documentary History, 860-1600* (Cambridge, 2014), 47-49.

[60] Printed in PL 162 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1855), cols.505-610. The *editio princeps* is that of Melchior Hittorp, who printed sermons 1-21 in his *De Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis ac Ministeriis Varii Vetustorum aliquot Ecclesiae Patrum ac scriptorum libri* (Cologne 1568), 465-552. Jean Fronteau added sermons 22-24 in his *Ivonis Carnotensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, ii, 259-308. In reprinting Fronteau, Migne added a twenty-fifth sermon which he had earlier printed with the works of Augustine in PL 39 (Paris, 1845), cols.2158-2159. I thank Martin Brett for supplying me with this information on past printings of Ivo's sermons.

[61] There are over 120 surviving manuscripts containing Ivo's sermons, from complete sets to single attributions, from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is largely taken from a list generously shared by Martin Brett, with additional manuscripts I have identified over the course of researching this thesis. The evidence surveyed is confined largely to England, France, and Germany. The true number of surviving sermons will be considerably higher.

[62] In general, see: J.W. Alexander, 'Herbert of Norwich, 1091-1119: Studies in the History of Norman England', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 6 (1969): 115-232; C. Harper-Bill, 'Herbert de Losinga', in *ODNB*. Accessed 15/07/24: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17025 .

Robert (d.1098). Herbert was widely condemned for his simony – a sin particularly reviled amongst reformers of the period – but praised for later accomplishments during his time as bishop.[63] In line with Norman policy of locating diocesan centres in more populous areas, Herbert transferred the seat of his bishopric from Thetford to Norwich around 1094-5 and began construction of a new cathedral staffed by Benedictine monks.[64] Among the largest structures in western Europe at the time, Herbert's new cathedral was deliberately imposing and intended to rival the great abbey church of Bury St Edmunds where, for some time, the bishops of East Anglia had sought to locate their seat, and against whom they strove to assert their rights.[65] During his time in office Herbert was a prominent figure in the English church, standing on the king's side at the Council of Rockingham (1095) but apparently having generated no ill feeling from Anselm, whose reforming councils he attended and by whom he was chosen to travel to York to negotiate the dispute between the two archiepiscopal sees over primacy. Herbert left to posterity a collection of fifty-nine letters and fourteen sermons for the liturgical year; the latter surviving in a single manuscript.[66] His literary talents were appreciated by his contemporaries, with Henry of Huntingdon (d.1140) praising his kindness and learning and noting the survival of his writings, whilst William of Malmesbury (d.1143) wrote of his 'plentiful eloquence'.[67] In Chapter Two it is argued that Herbert's intended audience with his sermons and imagery of the passion was primarily the monastic brethren of Norwich Cathedral Priory, for whom he took great care in tailoring his imagery and exegesis on the passion to a set of local

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[63] His purchase of the see was memorialised in a series of twelfth-century wall paintings in Norwich Cathedral. See: D. Park, 'Simony and Sanctity: Herbert Losinga, St Wulfstan of Worcester, and Wall Paintings in Norwich Cathedral', in *Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture Presented to Peter E. Lasko*, eds. D. Buckton and T.A. Heslop (London, 1994), 157-170. As Park suggests, Herbert's construction of the cathedral was regarded from an early point as an act of penance for his simony.

[64] B. Dodwell, 'Herbert de Losinga and the Foundation', in *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996* ed. I. Atherton, E. Fernie, C. Harper-Bill and H. Smith (London, 1996), 36-43. Also M.T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066-1307* (Newark, 2014), 84-88.

[65] On this, and Herbert's own claims, see: T. Licence, 'Herbert Losinga's Trip to Rome and the Bishopric of Bury St Edmunds', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXIV*, ed. D.R. Bates (Woodbridge, 2012), 151-168. On the cathedral itself, see: R. Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge, 2005), esp.18-40 for the construction of the cathedral and provision of land.

[66] *S. Herberti de Losinga Epistolae*, CSO, ed. R. Anstruther (Brussels, 1846). Some of the letters are translated in *The Life, Letters and Sermons of Herbert de Losinga* trans. E.M. Goulburn and H. Symonds. 2 Vols (London, 1878). The manuscript is Cambridge University Library MS.li.2.19, and Herbert's sermons run from ff.217r-240v. The other volume of the homiliary is Cambridge University Library MS.Kk.4.13. The two manuscripts form a heavily modified version of the homiliary of Paul the Deacon.

[67] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, OMT, ed. D.E. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), Bk.8 'On Contempt for the World', 611: 'At Norwich Herbert presided, a kind and learned man, whose writings survive'; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum I*, OMT, eds. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), Bk.4, Ch.339: 'So great and so many were his good deeds that he put into the shade the great mass of his past offences, and earned the respect even of the supreme power in Rome not less by his experience in worldly affairs than by his plentiful eloquence and learning.'

concerns as their abbot-bishop, along with members of the local knightly class who patronised his church and, most probably, attended his sermons on the major feasts.

Geoffrey Babion (d.1158) In the words of the French historian Jean-Paul Bonnes Geoffrey Babion was 'un des plus grands prédicateurs du XIIe siècle'.[68] If we are to judge from the surviving number of manuscripts containing his collection of sermons, Geoffrey was one of the greatest preachers of the Middle Ages. In Schneyer's *Repertorium* he included a list of some two hundred surviving manuscripts, showing the particular popularity they enjoyed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[69] Despite the astonishing popularity of Geoffrey's work his sermons remain neglected in comparison to their importance, in part due to the relatively little we know about him beyond his writings. Geoffrey made his first appearance in the historical record as 'master of scholars' at the cathedral of Angers, where he witnessed several documents in the first decade of the century.[70] After 1106 he left Angers and for the next twenty years his movements become more difficult to trace. It appears he spent some time living as a hermit and, between the years 1126-36, founded a number of eremitic communities before later preaching the cause of Pope Innocent II (d.1143) against the antipope Anaclet (d.1138).[71] Around 1131 Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to Geoffrey asking that he emerge from his eremitic solitude in order to direct his preaching talents against Gerard of Angoulême (d.1135) – supporter of Anaclet and usurper bishop of Bordeaux – and in doing so turn the duke of Aquitaine, William X (d.1137), from his support for the schismatics.[72] Geoffrey was successful and received the archbishopric of Bordeaux as his prize in 1136. As will be noted in further detail in Chapter Three, Geoffrey's tenure as archbishop was far from uneventful. Positioned between the Capetian monarchy and his local context in Bordeaux, several of the period's great political and religious currents bore upon his archiepiscopate. Amongst his contemporaries, his name was most associated with a collection of sermons which comprise a liturgical cycle of thirty-four for the *temporale* and

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[68] J-P. Bonnes, 'Un des Plus Grands Prédicateurs du XIIe Siècle: Geoffroy du Loroux, dit Geoffroy Babion', *Revue Benedictine*, 56 (1945/46): 174-215

[69] The collection also continued to be copied right through to the fifteenth century. Schneyer, *Repertorium E-H*, 157-159.

[70] *Cartulaire Noir de la Cathedral d'Angers*, ed. C. Urseau (Paris, 1908), No.81 (1104) and No.115 (1103); *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, B. de Brousillon. 2 Vols. (Paris, 1903), i, No.110 (1104).

[71] The communities were located on the island of Saint-Pierre in the lagoons of the Gironde, at Sablonceaux near Saintes, and at Fontaine-le-Comte near Poitiers.

[72] Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep.125, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* (hereafter *SBO*), eds. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot and H. Rochais. 8 Vols (Rome, 1957-77), vi, 307-308: 'Odor in flore, in fructu sapor requiritur. Odore provocati, carissime frater, olei effusi nominis tui, cupimus et ex fructu operis congoscere te […] Porro autem gratiam habes apud Deum et homines, habes scientiam, habes spiritum libertatis, habes verbum vivum efficax et sale conditum, nec oportet te pro tantis viribus sponsae Christi deesse in tanto discrimine, cum sis amicus sponsi.' It seems that Geoffrey's learning was well known by this point.

sanctorale along with numerous *ad status* pieces and sermons for the dedication of churches.[73] He was also associated with a pioneering commentary on Matthew, notable for its scholastic quality and later used by the Parisian masters Peter Comestor (d.1178) and Peter the Chanter (d.1197); the former attributing it to Geoffrey.[74] The majority of Geoffrey's sermons are found erroneously amongst the bloated *Patrologia Latina* Volume 171 which claims to contain the sermons of Hildebert of Lavardin (d.1133); the majority of which do not, in fact, belong to the bishop of Le Mans.[75] Others are scattered in various nineteenth-century printed volumes, whilst some remain unedited. The sermons, written in clear and simple Latin with a dominant tendency towards moral exegesis, show Geoffrey to have been amongst the most pastorally conscious bishops of his generation. The simplicity of his style echoes the oft-repeated advice of contemporary preaching theory that words be unadorned and clear. This must partly explain the extraordinary popularity of his sermons, in addition to their translation which furthered their pastoral utility. Geoffrey's sermons presuppose a range of audiences both lay and clerical, with *ad status* pieces that were likely delivered at synods as well as many liturgical sermons written, presumably, for preaching at the cathedral church of St Andrew in Bordeaux on the great feasts of the Church calendar. The analysis of his works in Chapter Three illustrates a common practice of explicating the crucifixion for moral lessons, with recurrent strands of imagery deployed before audiences both lay and clerical. Close readings also suggest the careful deployment of imagery for a sensitive local context not overly welcoming to the bishop and his reforming impulses. Noting his death in 1158 the Norman chronicler Robert of Torigni (d.1186) eulogised him as 'a pious man and a distinguished sower of God's word'.[76] The formidable manuscript tradition testifies to Robert's words.

Bartholomew of Exeter (d.1184) Bartholomew was an important figure in the English church during the reign of Henry II (d.1189), serving as bishop of Exeter from 1161 through to his

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[73] The numbering for the sermons here follows that in the appendix to Bonnes's article. See: Bonnes, 'Un des Plus Grands Prédicateurs', 200-205. On the successive versions of the collection, see: Foulon, 'L'exemple d'une Collection'.

[74] The text itself is printed amongst the works of Anselm of Laon (d.1117) in the PL. See: *Ennarationes in Evangelium S. Matthaei*, ed. J.P. Migne in PL 162 (Paris, 1854), cols.1227-1500. For the debate over authorship, see below: Chapter Three, 100, n.59.

[75] On this, see: A. Wilmart, 'Les Sermons d'Hildebert', *Revue Bénédictine*, 47 (1935): 12-51. Others are printed in *Spicilegium Liberianum I*, ed. F. Liverani (Florence, 1863) under the name of Hildebert, whilst others were printed in PL 147 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1853) under the works of Bishop John of Avranches (d.1079).

[76] Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, ed. R. Howlett in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*. RS, 4 Vols (London, 1884-89), iv, 195: 'vir religiosus et verbi Dei seminator egregius'.

death.[77] He was of Norman origin, probably from Millières in the Cotentin. Highly educated in canon law and the liberal arts, it is possible Bartholomew attended the schools of Paris. The poem *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi* (c.1140) listed a 'Bartholomew' amongst the city's masters, noting that he possessed a severity of countenance and sharpness of tongue.[78] Bartholomew was also a member of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury's (d.1161) household for some time and served as archdeacon of Exeter from 1155-61 before his elevation. He was involved in all stages of the Becket quarrel, and following the archbishop's martyrdom he gave a sermon at the reopening of Canterbury Cathedral in 1171.[79] In the latter half of his episcopate, Bartholomew served as a papal judge delegate, commonly alongside Bishop Roger of Worcester (d.1179), with Alexander III (d.1181) hailing the two men as 'the greatest luminaries of the English church'.[80] Bartholomew also authored a number of literary works, for which he was praised by Walter Map (d.1210) who regarded him as 'one of the philosophers of [his] day' and described how his abode was filled with 'all manner of supplies' to facilitate his writing.[81] We shall have cause to suggest the nature of some of those 'supplies' in Chapter Four. As regards the writings themselves, Bartholomew is best known for his *Penitential* which enjoyed considerable popularity during the Middle Ages and has been noted for its practicality and pastoral orientation.[82] He also wrote a treatise against the 'heresy' of astrology and a dialogue against the Jews, both of which were dedicated to his friend Baldwin of Forde whilst the latter was still bishop of Worcester.[83] Bartholomew's sermons are the least studied of his works, although the recent efforts of Rebecca

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[77] A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1937); F. Barlow, 'Bartholomew of Exeter (d.1184)', in *ODNB*. Accessed 16/07/24: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1577

[78] *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi*, in *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. T. Wright (London, 1841), 29: 'Hinc et Bartholomaeus faciem acutus, retor, dialecticus, sermone astutus.'

[79] See the account in Ralph Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. W. Stubbs in *Opera Historica*, RS, 2 Vols (London, 1876), ii, 349.

[80] Gerald of Wales, *Vita Sancti Remigi*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (hereafter *GCO*), eds. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock and G.F. Warner. 8 Volumes. RS (1861-91), vii, 57: 'Fuerunt etiam temporibus duo in Anglia magni nominis episcopi, Bartholomaeus Exoniensis et Rogerus Wigorniensis, ecclesiasticae zelo justitiae non immerito parificandi, religione quoque et honestate praeclari. Erant enim quasi gemina candelabra, Britanniam totam fulgore suae claritatis irradiantia. Unde et papa Alexander tertius duo magna luminaria Anglicanae ecclesiae dicebat hos esse.'

[81] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, OMT, eds. and trans. M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), 37.

[82] R. Meens, *Medieval Penance, 600-1200* (Cambridge, 2014), 205-209.

[83] Bartholomew, *Contra Fatalitatis Errorem*, CCCM 157, ed. D.N. Bell (Turnhout, 1996), 11. It is interesting to note that Bartholomew also stated in the opening letter of commendation to Baldwin that he had 'preached' against astrology: 'Cumque in lumen et consolationem indiuiduum ad tempus comodasset, te pre ceteris specialiter exhortante, cepi contra predictum errorem instanter et publice predicare, et que potius predicanda forent, tecum frequenter deliberando conferre.' On the treatise, see: D. Runciman, 'Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter (d.1184) and the Heresy of Astrology', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 70 (2019): 265-282. The *Dialogus Contra Iudeos* has never been printed and is contained in Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Bodl.482.

Springer and David Runciman have gone some way towards addressing this and demonstrating their value for the historian of the period.[84] The one hundred and twenty-five sermons, following the course of the liturgical year, have, however, never been edited and are contained in Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Bodl.449, which was perhaps bequeathed to the community by Bartholomew himself, whilst another imperfect version is preserved in a later manuscript in Rouen.[85] Like Geoffrey Babion, Bartholomew's sermons indicate a range of intended audiences both lay and clerical. The majority of his sermons discussed in Chapter Four would have been intended for preaching, or reflect preaching he carried out, at Exeter Cathedral on the great feasts of the year. As such, his audience would have been mixed. His use of certain theological and devotional works in his sermons, as will be argued, displays a certain reticence to exploit some of their more 'radical' or 'emotive' elements: a conservative tendency that stemmed from a desire above all for pedagogical clarity and practicality in the education of subordinates and the instruction of his flock.

Thomas Agnellus (d.1197) Thomas Agnellus served as archdeacon of Wells for nearly thirty years from 1168-97.[86] Also known as Thomas of Earley, his family held lands in Berkshire and Somerset and ranked amongst the more prosperous of the knightly class or the lowest rung of the baronage. They had done well in royal service since at least the reign of Henry I (d.1135), and at some stage in his life Thomas entered Henry II's service. Following the death of Robert of Lewes the bishop of Bath in 1166, Thomas was appointed first to a prebend and later the archdeaconry at Wells by the king. Piecing together Thomas's royal service is difficult, but several charters survive which he attested: notably one issued by Henry the Young King (d.1183) between 1170-73. In a letter to Thomas Becket (d.1170) written by one of the archbishop's supporters we also learn that Thomas Agnellus was in Normandy hindering attempts by the papacy to prevent the Young King's coronation.[87] After 1173 Thomas appears to have focussed

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[84] For the first substantial overview of Bartholomew's sermons, see: D. Runciman, 'The Sermons of Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter (1161-1184)' in *Archives d'histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 86 (2019): 63-96. Sermon numbers given in this chapter are according to the list printed on pp.92-96. See also: R. Springer, 'Bartholomew of Exeter's Sermons and the Cultivation of Charity in Twelfth-Century Exeter, *Historical Research*, 92 (2019): 267-287 and 'Prelacy, Pastoral Care and the Instruction of Subordinates', 114-128.

[85] R.W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), 390, n.10; Runciman, 'The Sermons of Bartholomew', 67.

[86] For much of what follows – particularly on Thomas's family and their status – I am most grateful to Hugh M. Thomas and Moreed Arbabzadah, who provided me with information on Thomas and his background from their forthcoming edition of his treatise on Henry the Young King for the Oxford Medieval Texts series. For a brief summary of his office at Wells, see: *FEA VII*, 31-32.

[87] *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury 1162-1170 Volume II*, OMT, ed. A.J. Duggan, (Oxford, 2022), Ep.296, 1251: 'As for the rest, you may know that Thomas, the new archdeacon of Bath, recently came from the king to the archbishop of Rouen, and obtained a delay in the crossing from the

more on his archidiaconal responsibilities. Reginald fitz Jocelin (d.1191) was elevated to the bishopric of Bath in 1173 thanks to the efforts of Henry II, a promotion vehemently opposed by the Young King, and served in that capacity until his death.[88] We learn from a charter issued by Bishop Reginald that he was related to Thomas, referring to the archdeacon as his 'beloved kinsman'.[89] There is evidence to suggest that Thomas was a champion of the chapter at Wells, and welcomed the active patronage of Bishop Reginald which reinvigorated the clerical community, as will be suggested further in Chapter Five. His sermons have never been edited and survive in a single manuscript written in the first half of the thirteenth century – Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Laud Misc. 71 – along with his extraordinary treatise on the Young King, in which he argued that Henry II's rebellious son should be regarded as a *uir sanctus*. In the manuscript Thomas is referred to under the title '*magister*', suggesting he was educated in the schools, but where exactly this was, we cannot know for sure.[90] The sermons are still a much-neglected source, although utilised fruitfully by Hugh Thomas in his work on the secular clergy in England as well as by Springer.[91] Chapter Five, however, will focus on those sermons which have been studied less: his liturgical pieces which, it will be argued, Thomas wrote for delivery to the clerical community at Wells. In contrast to Geoffrey and Bartholomew, but perhaps sharing a similar impulse to Herbert Losinga, Thomas exploited the imagery of the passion more profoundly in his liturgical preaching through carefully-layered and repeated metaphors in order to promote a sense of cohesion and corporate identity amongst the clergy of Wells. This narrower audience and specific set of concerns encouraged him towards a more pointed line of preaching on the passion.

Peter of Blois (d.1212) Ostensibly Thomas's counterpart in the neighbouring archdeaconry of Bath, Peter of Blois seems to have spent the majority of his tenure as archdeacon, a position he held from 1182, as an absentee, and instead delegated his authority to a deputy.[92] Born into a

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bishop of Nevers until the following Sunday. In fact, Thomas publicly proclaimed and many others are daily putting out that the king is coming soon—which is certainly most false.' As noted by Duggan, the author of this letter to Becket conflated Thomas with John Cumin, who served as archdeacon of Bath from 1167-77.

[88] C. Duggan, 'Reginald fitz Jocelin [called Reginald Italus, Reginald Lombardus', in *ODNB*. Accessed 16/07/24: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9613

[89] *EEA X*, ed. F.R. Ramsey, No.91, 66: 'Reginaldus dei gratia Bathon' episcopus carissimo consanguineo Thomae de Erleya archidiacono suo salutem.'

[90] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, f.1r: 'Incipiunt sermones magistri Thome Agnelli Wellensis archidiaconi.'

[91] Thomas, *The Secular Clergy*; Springer, 'The Instruction of Subordinates.'

[92] In general, see J.D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, 2009); R.W. Southern, 'Peter of Blois', in *ODNB*. Accessed 16/07/24: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22012 and his *Medieval Humanism*, 105-132. Also, brief summary for his position at Bath in *FEA VII*, 26.

family of minor nobility near Blois, Peter was first educated at the cathedral school of Tours before a spell at Bologna studying Roman law, where Baldwin of Forde served as his tutor. From 1155-66 Peter turned to theology and moved to Paris, supporting himself by taking pupils who numbered, among others, his future bishop Reginald fitz Jocelin. His endeavours after Paris included service in Sicily as tutor to the twelve-year-old King William II (d.1189) under the regency of his mother Margaret of Navarre (d.1183) before an abrupt return to France and thence England to join the household of Archbishop Richard of Dover (d.1184) as his chancellor and chief letter writer. At Richard's death Peter's old tutor Baldwin assumed the archbishop's throne; a tenure marred by a bitter quarrel between the archbishop and the monks of Christ Church.[93] Baldwin had grand plans to establish a clerical college at Hackington, to the north of Canterbury, which the monks regarded with horror as a blatant encroachment on their rights. The monks hired a renowned lawyer by the name of Pillius to plead their case at the papal curia, whilst Baldwin sent Peter given his past education in Bologna. The archdeacon spent almost a year between 1187-88 pleading Baldwin's case but was soundly beaten. The event marked a new departure for Peter with a keen interest in theological matters following it and characterising the final decades of his life.[94] Peter followed Baldwin to the Holy Land on the Third Crusade, returning to England in autumn 1191 after the archbishop's death at Acre the previous November. His old student Reginald fitz Jocelin was elected to the archbishopric but died soon after in December 1191 to be replaced by Hubert Walter (d.1205), after a long vacancy, in December 1193.[95] At some point between 1199-1202 Peter received the archdeaconry of London, although whether he played a more active role in the life of his chapter there than at Bath is hard to determine.[96]

Peter's letter collections are the works with which he is most associated, having served John Cotts in reconstructing the 'clerical dilemma' of his life of service between Angevin government and the church. The collections were extremely popular in the Middle Ages and survive in some three hundred copies.[97] A prolific author, Peter's other works include a commentary on Job, spiritual works that display a strong Cistercian influence, and a collection of

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[93] On the quarrel, see: J. Barnaby, *Religious Conflict at Canterbury Cathedral in the Late Twelfth Century: The Dispute between the Monks and the Archbishops, 1184-1200* (Woodbridge, 2024).
[94] R.W. Southern, 'Towards an Edition of Peter of Blois's Letter-Collection', *The English Historical Review*, 110, No.438 (September 1995): 925-937.
[95] R.C. Stacey, 'Hubert Walter', in *ODNB*. Accessed 16/07/24: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28633
[96] *EEA XXVI*, ed. D.P. Johnson, lv-lvi. Johnson notes that Peter was never mentioned in any of Bishop William's (d.1221) *acta*. See also: *FEA I*, 10.
[97] Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 4. The collection is printed in PL 207 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1855), cols.1-560, whilst the letters from the final period of Peter's life have been edited in a critical edition: *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois* (hereafter *LL*), ed. E. Revell (Oxford, 1993).

forty-six sermons.[98] The sermons, printed in the nineteenth century along with Peter's letters and other works, are the most neglected aspect of a considerable literary output. In Southern's article on Peter in the *ODNB*, the sermons occupy only his final sentences, which aptly summarise scholarly interest in them: 'It should be added that Peter was also an indefatigable writer of sermons. These too he collected, and they show his total recall of the text of the Bible. But they lack the variety of themes that made his letters famous, and they never had more than a very modest circulation.'[99] The latter is true, for the sermons survive in just three manuscripts, but they also contain material of considerable interest and significance, as we shall argue in Chapter Six.[100] In his sermons, Peter channelled the piety of the Cistercians: especially with regards to the passion in moments of extended focus upon the humanity of Christ and his corporal sufferings. The audience presupposed by Peter's sermons is difficult to narrow; extraneous evidence shows he preached before both clerical and lay listeners. It will be argued, however, that Peter generally held that the words of the liturgy had to 'inflame' the hearts of their listener; an argument he made with reference to the passion. As such, the imagery he consistently cultivated across his sermon collection may have been intended for an audience both lay and clerical. The dating of Peter's sermons, and the evidence provided by the manuscript witnesses for their use, shall also be discussed in greater depth in the course of the chapter in support of the suggestion made above.

Methodological Considerations

Having introduced the six figures at the heart of this study, it remains for us to discuss the methodological considerations to be borne in mind in the chapters that follow before outlining the course of the thesis.

Conveniently enough, these considerations are neatly illustrated by one of our own authors – Peter of Blois – in an epistolary preface which he added to the text of one of his sermons:

> You asked me, dearest brother, to write-up one of my sermons for you which I delivered before the people, and that those things which I put to

[98] Printed *Petri Blesensis Bathoniensis Archidiaconi Opera Omnia*, ed. J.A. Giles. 4 Vols (Oxford, 1847), iv, 1-336. However, of these some twenty-two are spurious. See: Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 234 n.76.
[99] Southern, 'Peter of Blois'; Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 234-236.
[100] The manuscripts are British Library MS Royal 8F xvii, British Library Arundel 322, and Ms. Paris, St.Geneviève 2787. The latter MS has been noted by A. Marx, *The Preaching of the Third Crusade (1187-1192) : The Early University of Paris, Biblical Exegesis, and the Coming Apocalypse* (Leiden, 2024), 95, n.87.

> the laity crudely and tastelessly (as befit their capacity), I take care to translate into Latin. You hope that the material can shine forth (*nitescere*) not only due to the fame of this manner of speech, but from the ebb and flow of the Latin discourse [itself]; because, on account of a certain feature of this idiom, much of the dignity and efficacy (*honoris et efficaciae*) of a sentence proceeds from the words (*ex verbis*), and in this way a sermon flows more agreeably to its end.
>
> Truly, if you think the material of any value, what is the reason you entreat me to pursue it, rather than excuse the inextricable concerns in which I find myself implicated, and my foolishness, against the insistency of your petition? You [have] not so much obtained but extorted this from me, saying that you will pay back the favour only if you have the little treatise (*opusculum*) or else you will either burn or smash to pieces your lectern without the least care! Do not wonder if this exceeds the brevity of a daily sermon (*quotidiani sermonis*), because the dignity of Latin eloquence demands that ideas (*sensus*) which can be treated hastily in vulgar brevity be augmented for the sake of greater depth.[101]

In Peter's preface he discussed the fact that he had originally preached his sermon in the vernacular, and that the text he was forwarding – to this rather unaccommodating recipient threatening to smash their lectern into firewood – was a Latin translation and expansion he wrote up later.[102] This brings us to a key consideration in studying Latin sermons: that we are removed from the manner in which they may actually have been preached if done so originally in

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[101] Peter of Blois, Sermon 65, 298-299: 'Petis a me, carissime frater, ut habitum sermonem ad populum scribendi officio tibi communicem: Et quae laicis satis crude et insipide (sicut eorum capacitatis erat) proposui, in Latinum sermonem studeam transferre. Speras profecto, non solum dicendi celebritate, sed Latinae locutionis volubilitate nitescere posse materiam: quia quadam idiomatis hujus praerogativa, sententiae plurimum honoris et efficaciae ex verbis accedit, et ad finem suum sic commodius sermo decurrit. Verum si materiam ullius putas esse momenti, quid est quod prosecutorem me petis, quin potius inextricabiles curas quibus implicor totus, aut insipientiam meam contra tuae instantiam petitionis excusas? Haec autem a me importunus non tam impetras, quam extorques; mutuum quod rependes officium, si hoc tibi opusculum aut habeas solus, aut lectum [sic lectrum] semel atque neglectum vel igne destruas, vel minutissima decisione dilaceres et disrumpas. Nec miseris si quotidiani sermonis exceditur brevitas, quia ipsa poscit Latini eloquii dignitas, sensus quos vulgari sub brevitate transcurri, uberiori aliquatenus gratia cumulari.'

[102] This is if the preface does, in fact, bear witness to an actual request for Sermon 65 from Peter and that the recipient was not just a literary phantom; part of the classic *topos* of the unwilling author obliging incessant requests for their work.

the vernacular. The sermons of bishops and archdeacons, as we noted earlier, are a valuable source because of the place they occupy between the more learned interests of preachers and the humbler audiences of clergy and laity they were directed at. Their preaching, especially to the laity, would have necessitated translation into the vernacular, and it was a common practice for those who did so to base their preaching on Latin texts.[103] These considerations were noted by Giles Constable who sought to question the overwhelming preservation of sermons – even those directed explicitly towards the laity – in Latin, whilst also considering not just the language of preaching but the broader question of how twelfth-century sermons were 'communicated'.[104] Constable argued that we need to consider, firstly, that the knowledge of Latin possessed by those of more modest learning might have been greater than assumed, and that the gap between 'clerical Latin' and the romance languages was not a gulf. A given preacher's Latin might have echoed the syntax of their 'mother tongue', rendering their meaning more comprehensible to the 'unlettered' if they were preaching in Latin. Whilst an ability to comprehend Latin would have been true for certain words and phrases – the words of the *Pater noster* or *Ave Maria* for instance – the comprehension of entire sermons by those of modest learning would only have been possible if preachers rendered them into the vernacular. In this regard, we must be aware of the limitation between the sense of the Latin words that will be studied in the succeeding chapters, and the ways those words would have been received in the vernacular. As Peter explained in his preface, his sermon was originally preached 'crudely and tastelessly', befitting the 'capacity' of his listeners. Quite how this affected his words we cannot know; they were lost to history as they left Peter's mouth, but we must be continually aware of this. Bériou, working on *reportationes* for Good Friday preaching in thirteenth-century Paris, discussed the presence of particular 'moving' vernacular words inserted into the Latin summaries, with A.S. Lazikani impressing similar observations with regards to early Middle English homilies on the passion.[105]

The second consideration raised by Peter's preface is how we consider separating material that was originally preached, and material added later by an author as they committed their sermon to parchment. Much has been made about this process of sermon-writing in the twelfth century, with the example of Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* much-referenced in discussions of whether or not they were actually preached.[106] Peter's sermon is,

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[103] Faulkner, *A New History*, 187-200.
[104] G. Constable, 'The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century', *Viator*, 25 (1994): 131-152.
[105] N. Beriou, *En quête d'une parole vive : Traces écrites de la prédication (xe-xiiie siècle)* (Paris, 2022), 53-70; A.S. Lazikani, *Cultivating the Heart: Feeling and Emotion in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Religious Texts* (Cardiff, 2015), 50-85.
[106] C. Holdsworth, 'Were the Sermons of St Bernard on the Song of Songs Ever Preached?' in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden, 1998), 295-318.

admittedly, an extreme case. As he explained in his preface, in translating and expanding the sermon it had become an '*opusculum*' which exceeded the brevity of what he termed a 'daily sermon' (*quotidianus sermo*). He was not exaggerating. As preserved, Peter's sermon runs to nearly 10,000 words and is quite clearly far removed from what he originally preached. However, the sermons written by Peter that we shall analyse in Chapter Six seem to correspond with what he would term a 'daily sermon', averaging 1,500 words in length. This is the average length for many of the other sermons considered in this study. Given this length and the simple Latin in which many were written – particularly those of Geoffrey Babion and Bartholomew of Exeter – they may not be all too distant from the words each respective author actually preached, if the Latin texts are the product of a process similar to that outlined by Peter above: of oral preaching later committed to writing. Furthermore, the distance between the written sermon and the words actually preached may have been relatively minimal if the audience was primarily a body of clergy like a cathedral chapter, as with the sermons of Thomas Agnellus. Less has been made of preachers preparing their Latin materials ahead of time, so as to read directly from their books of sermons as they preached. We should of course not underestimate the abilities that medieval people had in committing large amounts of information to memory, with the techniques they used much elucidated by Mary Carruthers.[107] But with many of the sermons we shall analyse in this study, it could just as easily be posited that the Latin texts represent the original compositions of their authors instead of reflections of preaching which were later written down. A bishop or archdeacon might still have needed his book of sermons before him to expound before an audience, and especially so if he were translating them.

Constable also suggested we expand the terms of debate in exploring the 'language of preaching' to consider the performance of preachers, and the use of Latin to rouse audiences. As he wrote: 'Preachers in the Middle Ages were not always as concerned as scholars think they should have been with how much Latin their listeners understood […] the precise understanding of the words of these popular preachers […] was less important than their power to move large congregations'.[108] In this regard, Latin was preached to those who could not necessarily understand it because of its power to move hearers.[109] Part of this observation is important to bear in mind: namely, that twelfth-century preachers placed great emphasis on instruction 'by word and by deed', and sometimes considered the latter to be equally, if not more important, than the former. Geoffrey Babion repeatedly impressed upon his subordinate clergymen the

[107] M.J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. (Cambridge, 2008). 2nd edition.
[108] Constable, 'The Language of Preaching', 139.
[109] Ibid, 151.

importance of preaching to the laity 'by word and deed', whilst an English pontifical of the late-twelfth century described how the bishop himself bore this responsibility, encouraging 'his sermon and preaching [to] be grounded not in the persuasiveness of human knowledge but the exhibition of his spirit and virtue'.[110] Both Geoffrey's words and those of the pontifical, however, pertain more to the broader conduct of the clergy in 'practicing what they preached' throughout their daily lives – what Kienzle terms their 'moral performance' – as opposed to some performative display at the moment of preaching itself through the voice they adopted or the gestures they made, which is Constable's emphasis.[111]

Even if we are limited in our ability to reconstruct the actual delivery of sermons, it is an important consideration; especially in the following chapters when we shall suggest some of the aims our preachers sought to pursue. Take, for instance, the following two descriptions of preacher-bishops sermonising: the first describing Herbert Losinga, the subject of Chapter Two, and the latter Gundulf (d.1108), bishop of Rochester from 1075 until his death. The first account describes a sermon Herbert preached at Ely Cathedral in 1107 on the translation of St Etheldreda, and the latter Gundulf's customary preaching *ad populum* on the Feast of Mary Magdalene:

> As is fitting on such a solemnity a sermon was given to the people. The venerable bishop Herbert – a most eloquent man – roused the people concerning the life, death, and miracles of the blessed virgin, and the wonderful incorruption of her holy body, to cognizance of the highest cheer and joy on account of those things which are done in the tabernacles of the righteous. You would have been hard pressed to find anyone in that multitude who, pierced with heavenly grace, either wished or was even able to keep themself from tears.[112]

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[110] See below, Chapter Three, 104-106. *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, HBS 39 ed. H.A. Wilson. (London, 1910), 75: 'Sit sermo eius et predicatio non in persuasibilibus humane sapientie uerbis . sed in ostensione spiritus et uirtutis.'

[111] B.M. Kienzle, 'Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record', in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden, 2002), 96-98.

[112] *Liber Eliensis*, CS, ed. E.O. Blake, (London, 1962), Bk.2, Ch.144, 229: 'Habito tandem, ut decebat, ad populum de tanta et in tanta sollennitate sermone et venerabili episcopo Herberto, viro eloquentissimo, de vita et obitu et miraculis beate virginis sacrique corporis admirabili incorruptione populum exhortante ad summe jucunditatis et letitie indicium que facte sunt in tabernaculis iustorum, raro quempiam cerneres in tanta multitudine, qui gratia celesti perfusus, a lacrimis se vellet aut valeret cohibere.'

> And what did [Gundulf] do when he gave a sermon to the people? He could not speak for the tears that ceaselessly interrupted him, nor could the audience listening to him do anything other than weep and groan. Where his words failed him, his tears completed the sermon. This happened most frequently on the Feast of the blessed Mary Magdalene, when he gave a sermon to the people about her penitence or tears. In speaking of her penance, he moved the people to repentance themselves, and going over her tears he himself wept and provoked tears among the rest.[113]

In both of these accounts, the two bishops 'moved' their respective audiences in their preaching, with Herbert rousing the assembled crowds at Ely to tears of joy and Gundulf eliciting penitential lamentations from his audiences. In Gundulf's case in particular, his biographer described how it was not just his words that moved the audience but his pious displays of weeping which 'completed the sermon' when 'his words failed him'. In Herbert's case, the emphasis appears to have lain more with his skill as a 'most eloquent man' in expounding St Etheldreda's life as having had the effect that it did upon the crowds at Ely Cathedral. We must be aware in using such accounts, however, of the hagiographic ends they served. The description of Herbert's preaching is taken from the *Liber Eliensis*, and as such its authors sought to demonstrate first and foremost that it was the power of their patron Etheldreda that 'pierced' the crowds 'with heavenly grace', with Bishop Herbert simply a conduit through which that power was communicated. Gundulf's tears in preaching about Mary Magdalene, moreover, were part of a broader pattern of lachrymose displays recounted by his biographer, who sought to impress Gundulf's extraordinary piety upon the readers of his *Vita*.[114] But this awareness should not, however, obscure the fact that the delivery of medieval sermons

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[113] *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester*, ed. R.M. Thomson (Toronto, 1977), Ch.33. 56: 'Quid cum ad populum sermonem faceret? Aliquando interrumpentibus lacrimis loqui et ipse non poterat, nec populus quicquam aliud quam flere uel gemere illum attendens poterat. Cessabant uerba, lacrimae sermonem explebant. Hoc autem maxime fiebant in festiuitate beatae Mariae Magdalenae de eius poenitentia uel lacrimis sermonem ad populum faciebat: loquens quippe de eius poenitentia, populum ad poenitentiam prouocabat, recitans illius lacrimas, lacrimans et ipse caeteros ad lacrimas succendebat.'

[114] W.M. Aird, 'The Tears of Bishop Gundulf: Gender, Religion, and Emotion in the Late Eleventh Century', in *Intersections of Gender, Religion, and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*, eds. C. Beattie and K. Fenton (London, 2011), 62-83. On the broader place of tears as an 'episcopal emotion', see: K. Harvey, 'Episcopal Emotions: Tears in the Life of the Medieval Bishop', *Historical Research*, 87, Issue 238 (2014): 591-610.

would have effected their reception, and that descriptions like these can also be brought into conversation with normative sources.[115]

We also must consider the material and spatial contexts in which preaching took place. Especially pertinent to a study of preaching on the passion, and the performance of sermons, are Sarah Lipton's discussions on the interplay between writing on the passion and artistic representations of the crucifixion.[116] What Lipton's work serves to illustrate is the level of guidance provided by preachers to their audiences in the act of gazing upon the material image of the crucified Christ. Artistic representations were not just prompts to illustrate points in the sermon; what could be regarded as self-evident in their depiction (for instance, the agony of Christ shown by his contorted body and slumped head) could be 'overridden' by a preacher's words which sought to direct the gaze of their audience in different directions. These material representations would also have influenced the words preached by our six authors. Herbert Losinga, for instance, sought to conjure an image of martial prowess and vitality in Christ's crucifixion for his audience on Good Friday. As argued in Chapter Two, the experience of the Good Friday liturgy, and the place occupied by the crucifix within it, would have stood in marked contrast to the bishop's preaching and insistence upon triumph. Similarly, the reading of Thomas Agnellus's sermon for Good Friday pursued in Chapter Five also touches upon these issues, with his richly-layered metaphors and antithetical pairings in his imagery of the passion that sought to both speak to, and diverge from, the proceedings of the day's liturgy, as well as Geoffrey Babion's Palm Sunday preaching. Given the diocesan contexts in which many of our authors were preaching, the material environment of their cathedral churches and the surrounding urban and rural landscapes would have borne upon the reception of their words:

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[115] The widely-circulated treatise on penance *De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia* – composed in the second half of the eleventh century – noted the responsibility preachers bore to wear down hardened hearts and encourage sinners to repentance, whilst Alan of Lille (d.1202) in *De Arte Predicatoria* – composed towards the end of the twelfth century – described the appropriate use of 'moving words which soften hearts and encourage tears. See: *De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia*, ed. J.P. Migne in PL 40 (Paris, 1841), Ch.3, viii, col.1115: 'sed valido Dei clamore et multorum fletu foras a peccato vocabitur. Prius tolletur lapis desuper ab ipso; quia cordis duritiam projiciet ex animo, quam tollent intercessores et praedicatores labore suo'; Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, trans. G.R. Evans (Piscataway NJ, 2010), Ch.1, 22.

[116] S. Lipton, "The Sweet Lean of His Head": Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages', *Speculum*, Vol.80, No.4 (October 2005): 1172-1208, and 'Images in the World: Reading the Crucifixion', in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, ed. M. Rubin (Princeton NJ, 2009), 173-188. Lipton's recent work has looked more broadly at the materiality and 'mundanity' of art and artifice as-discussed in high-medieval sermons. The artistic and aesthetic qualities of stained glass, gothic vaulting, and works of sculpture were not always what preachers drew their audiences towards when referencing art in their preaching. See: '*Ut Artifex*: Art, Artifice, and Instruction in High Medieval Sermons', *The Haskins Society Journal*, Vol.33 (2021): 163-184. Lipton's forthcoming book project - *The Vulgate of Experience: Art and Preaching in the High Middle Ages (1180–1300)* – will explore these matters in detail and enrich our understanding further on the relationship between the high-medieval preachers' words and the material environments in which they delivered their sermons.

wall paintings of the passion narrative, sculpted crucifixes, and preaching crosses would all have contributed to the creation of meaning by our preachers in addition to the framing liturgy beneath which the sermons were delivered, which would also have affected the experience of audiences.[117]

The concern of this study, as noted above, primarily centres upon the intention behind the preaching of our six authors; the delivery of their sermons *to* audiences to inculcate morals and shape their understanding. But their audiences, of course, would also have shaped what our authors sought to present to them: they were not simply passive receptors or 'blank canvases' upon which morals and meaning were uniformly impressed.[118] This 'subversive' aspect to the reception of medieval sermons is also important to bear in mind. Where a preacher placed some devotional emphasis or sought to arrest their audience's attention may not necessarily have registered the desired response from, or enforced the desired point upon, a listener or reader. We are limited in our ability to understand how our six authors actually delivered their own sermons and how they may have been received. However, a close reading of the material and reconstruction of the intellectual contexts in which our preachers were working moves us some way towards bridging the gap between intention and reception, and indeed the attentiveness of our preachers to these matters shall be noted at various points throughout this study.

Having treated the key methodological considerations underpinning this work, it remains to outline how the thesis shall proceed. The six authors and collections of sermons shall be addressed in the order that we introduced them earlier. This approach has been adopted over a thematic treatment (for instance, grouping chapters around 'penitential preaching', 'preaching to subordinates', or 'Good Friday preaching') so as to demonstrate unambiguously the approaches taken by each author; approaches which risk being lost through a thematic structure. This approach also best highlights the literary qualities of the sermons and sermon collections, which again become confused when chronologically and contextually disparate materials are treated together. Whilst patterns do emerge across the respective sermons in this study, as will be noted, the specificities behind the sermonising of each author are significant. A general conclusion is followed by an appendix (Appendix One) in which the manuscript circulation and use of Ivo and

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[117] On some of these matters, and the complexities involved in establishing some of the sensory aspects of medieval Christianity for the laity, see: J.H. Arnold, 'Problems of Sensory History and the Medieval Laity', in *Sensing the Sacred in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, eds. R. MacDonald, E.K.M. Murphy, and E.L. Swan (Abingdon, 2018), 19-38, esp.29-31.

[118] E.J. Campbell, 'The Experience of Listening to Sermons in Late Medieval England', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge (2021); J. Berlioz and M-A. Polo de Beaulieu, 'The Preacher Facing a Reluctant Audience According to the Testimony of Exempla', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, Vol.57 (2013): 16-28. See also reflections by Peter of Blois, Chapter 6, 164.

Geoffrey's sermons is discussed, focussing on the copying and use of their texts in cathedral communities and by 'episcopal' users. In exploring patterns of use and manuscript dissemination, Appendix One serves to demonstrate the various audiences reached by Ivo and Geoffrey in their sermonising on the passion, and the 'multifunctionality' of their sermons which were both read and preached. In discussing two manuscripts in particular, Appendix One also serves to bolster arguments made in Chapter One concerning the audiences Ivo intended to reach with his writing. Appendix Two is comprised of textual comparisons illustrating the sources that Bartholomew of Exeter, Thomas Agnellus, and Peter of Blois drew upon in their respective writings on the passion. Through the comparisons, the use each author made of their sources, their points of convergence, divergence, adaptation, and word-for-word incorporation, are highlighted in support of arguments made in each chapter about their engagement with the period's devotional developments and the objectives of their sermonising on the passion.

Chapter One: Ivo of Chartres's *Sermon 6*

Introduction

Ivo of Chartres is not a figure who has featured prominently in discussions either of the passion and its conceptualisation in the twelfth century, or histories of sermon-writing and preaching. As we noted, his reputation, both amongst his contemporaries and the historians who study him, has been formed largely by his position as the most eminent canon lawyer of his day. For the chronicler Sigebert of Gembloux (d.1112) it was Ivo's letters and *Decretum* that cemented his reputation amongst the most illustrious authors of the age.[1] His sermons were not mentioned by the chronicler, but they did circulate in large numbers over the course of the twelfth century and contributed to reinforcing Ivo's authority in the minds of countless readers (see further discussions in Appendix One). As such, his sermonising on the passion reverberated far beyond the diocese of Chartres and his own pastorate, reaching the ears and eyes of a great many during the twelfth century and beyond. The significant circulation of the sermons thus invites a more thorough consideration of their contents, and the original context in which Ivo wrote them. Unlike the other chapters in this study, here we shall focus predominantly on one of Ivo's sermons – Sermon 6 – also titled *Quare deus natus et passus sit*.[2] This text contains the most significant material for exploring Ivo's sermonising on the passion, and it will be suggested in this chapter that we should also view this text as one of the more significant writings on the incarnation and passion composed around the turn of the twelfth century. But before turning to Sermon 6 specifically, let us briefly discuss Ivo's sermons more broadly and the reasons for their neglect in past scholarship.

As noted, Ivo's sermons have commanded far less attention in and of themselves than his other works; a fact partially borne from a degree of reticence around their authenticity.[3] In Migne's reprinting of Ivo's collected works there are twenty-four sermons attributed to the bishop.[4] One does not find an explicit reference to '*sermones*' in Ivo's correspondence which would help us in proving that he definitely authored sermons. However, there are two likely references to these works in two letters Ivo wrote to Abbot Pontius of Cluny (d.1122), in which he referred to his 'little book' (*libello*) on biblical concordances and his other '*opuscula*'.[5] The

1 Rolker, *Canon Law*, 1-2.
2 Printed in PL 162, cols.562-566.
3 Rolker, *Canon Law*, 25, n.102; R.E. Reynolds, 'Ivonian Opuscula on the Ecclesiastical Officers', in his *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages* (Ashgate, 1999), 311-322.
4 Sermons printed in PL 162, cols.505-610.
5 Ivo, Ep.231 and Ep.262.

'*libello*' can be taken as a likely reference to Ivo's Sermon 5 which treated the concordances between the Old and New Testaments, whilst the '*opuscula*' may refer to Ivo's other sermons: perhaps sermons 1-4 and 6-7 in particular. This group, along with Sermon 5, often circulated independently of sermons 9-24 in the Migne reprinting and appear together in a number of early manuscripts.[6] Close readings of several of these sermons against Ivo's other works have also served to indicate his probable authorship, and indeed this chapter shall further support these observations.[7] That Ivo wrote sermons 9-24 is less certain than that of sermons 1-8 but should not be discounted since other early manuscripts also attributed these texts to him and circulated them with sermons 1-7.[8] Indeed, it may be significant that Reading Abbey possessed a copy of sermons 7-20 in a manuscript written in the middle of the twelfth century.[9] Reading Abbey was founded in 1121 by a party of monks from Cluny who responded to a request by King Henry I to Abbot Pontius – the recipient of Ivo's *opuscula* – that they depart for England and help establish the abbey.[10] A model for this manuscript – Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson A.416 – might well have been a Cluny book that was either brought over by the initial party of monks or sent for at a later point, since the manuscript also contains a great deal of explicitly 'Cluniac' material that might well indicate the mother house as the provenance for Rawlinson A.416 or its model.[11] If the contents of the Reading book correspond with the '*opuscula*' noted in Ivo's letters to Pontius, it may well testify to his authorship of the material in Migne's reprinting.[12] At present, suffice it to say that sermons 1-7 can certainly be attributed to Ivo, whilst the others, although likely written by the bishop, shall be used more cautiously in the succeeding analyses.

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[6] See discussions in Appendix One.
[7] Reynolds, 'Ivonian Opuscula'; Rolker, 'Pastoral Canon Law', 6-9.
[8] See discussions in Appendix One.
[9] Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson A.416. On dating, see: A. Coates, *English Medieval Books: the Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford, 1999), 46-60. I thank Tessa Webber for this latter reference to Coates.
[10] *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, ed. F. Liebermann (Berlin, 1879), *Annales Radingensis*, 10, Anno 1121: 'Petrus prior et VII cum eo fratres rogatu regis Henrici a Pontio abbate Cluniacensi missi in Angliam, associatis sibi nonnullis fratribus de monasterio Sancti Pancratii Cluniacensis ordinis observantiam in monasterio Radingensi noviter tunc a rege fundato incohaverunt 14 kl. Julii.'
[11] Included in the manuscript is John of Cluny's (ca.945) *Vita S. Odonis*, Odilo of Cluny's (d.1049) *Vita S. Maioli*, Peter Damian's (d.1072), *Vita S. Odilonis*, and a *Vita S. Hugonis* for Abbot Hugh (d.1109). Coates also noted that the manuscript may have been 'copied for and perhaps in Reading Abbey', possibly suggesting the manuscript, although intended for Reading, was written elsewhere. Again, might this indicate the mother house? Coates, *English Medieval Books*, note on Plate 7.
[12] We might also bear in mind that sermons 22-24 are included in a manuscript from the monastery of Saint-Père in Chartres itself: Paris, BNF Latin 2711. The part with the sermons, however, dates from the end of the twelfth century. I thank Veronika Drescher for this reference, and information regarding the library of Saint-Père.

Turning to Sermon 6 itself, at some twenty-five hundred words it is longer than the majority of sermons that will be surveyed in this study, as we noted earlier with regards to the fifteen-hundred-word average. Indeed, the question of 'genre', and the description of Sermon 6 as a '*sermo*' is somewhat complicated. Ivo's references to his '*libello*' and '*opuscula*' in the letters to Abbot Pontius suggest that Sermon 6 may fall outside the parameters of what the sermon genre is ordinarily taken to describe.[13] There is no biblical verse at the beginning of the text and no address to the second person or '*dilectissimi*' audience that we shall repeatedly see when turning to the works of other twelfth-century preachers over the course of this study. In his studies of Ivo of Chartres Christof Rolker uses the term 'sermon-tract' in discussing Sermon 6.[14] The term is useful in that it encompasses the fluidity in how Sermon 6 was received by audiences: a fact highlighted in greater depth in Appendix One, where close analysis of some of the manuscript witnesses testify to the multifunctionality of the text. In this chapter, the term 'sermon-tract' will similarly be employed, whilst the text will continue to be referred to as Sermon 6 for ease of reference against Migne's printed edition. As will be suggested later, however, it may well be the case that Ivo originally intended this 'sermon-tract' as an oral discourse.

As made clear by Sermon 6's alternate title *Quare deus natus et passus sit*, Ivo sought to answer the question of why God was born and why he suffered. Rolker has discussed the text in work on Ivo, although largely as part of a broader analysis of the bishop's 'sacramental canon law' and 'pastoral canon law'. For Ivo, as Rolker has shown, the sacraments were of paramount importance, with the bishop having structured his *Decretum* so as to place sacramental matters at the very beginning of the work in a significant departure from tradition.[15] Sermon 6 testifies to the importance of sacramental matters in Ivo's thought, with the incarnation and institution of the sacraments satisfying the demands of 'mercy and justice' in the restoration of fallen humanity. As Rolker notes, Ivo stressed penance in particular as a means of overcoming sin in Sermon 6.[16]

Rolker's discussions and his placement of Sermon 6 in the context of Ivo's 'sacramental canon law' and 'pastoral canon law' have been important, but here we shall examine the text in even greater depth to ask whether Ivo had a more specific set of intentions in writing it. To approach an answer to this question we must more fully appreciate Sermon 6 as a work of literature, and as such, the following discussion will focus on Ivo's choices in language and imagery, the ways he associated certain sets of ideas, and the context of Sermon 6 against the rest

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[13] Kienzle, 'Introduction', 151-159.
[14] Rolker, *Canon Law*; 'Pastoral Canon Law'.
[15] Rolker, *Canon Law*, 180.
[16] Ibid, 190-192.

of Ivo's sermons and sermon-tracts, to explore the purposes he sought to serve in writing it. Rolker highlighted penance as a prominent theme in the text, but this chapter shall suggest that penance, and more specifically the importance of contrition in the process of penance, was the paramount theme and, more importantly, informed the way in which Ivo presented Christ's incarnation and passion in his writing. Closely associated with the importance of penance and contrition, we shall also note the stress that Ivo placed in Sermon 6 on the limit to human knowledge, and that human beings could not fully understand why God was born and why he suffered. The expression of these themes in Sermon 6 were borne from Ivo's pastoral concerns in a period of significant change in both soteriological thinking and the theology of penance, and it is in these two contexts that Sermon 6 must be positioned to understand Ivo's representation of the passion and the purposes he sought to serve in representing it the way he did.

Soteriology and Logical Discussion at the Turn of the Twelfth Century

There were a number of works written around the turn of the twelfth century that specifically treated the question of why God became man, the most radical of which was of course Anselm of Canterbury's *Cur Deus homo*. In explaining his reasons for writing *Cur Deus homo*, Anselm stated that his treatment of the question 'by logical steps' was compelled by the critiques of '*infideles*' regarding the process of atonement, and the desire on the part of his monastic brothers to answer their objections in logical terms.[17] However, as Anselm himself noted, those who sought such explanations were not always learned, and he wrote that even illiterate men asked this question and needed answering.[18] Indeed, earlier in the eleventh century, the famous debate over the nature of the eucharistic species between Lanfranc of Bec (d.1089) and Berengar of Tours (d.1088) was reportedly discussed in the streets by the laity.[19] During this period logical explanations to tenets of the Christian faith were sought with ever greater insistence, and as

[17] Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, *SAO*, ii, Ch.1, 47-48. On the identity of the *infideles*, see: A.S. Abulafia, 'St Anselm and Those Outside the Church', in *Faith and Identity: Christian Political Experience: Papers Read at the Anglo-Polish Colloquium of the British Sub-Commission of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Comparée 9-13 September 1986*, eds. D.M. Loades and K.J. Walsh (Oxford, 1990), 11-37.
[18] Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, *SAO*, ii, 48.
[19] One contemporary, in a letter to Pope Gregory VIII (d.1072), claimed that 'not only clerics and monks, whose role it is to stay mindful of such matters, but even the laity talk amongst themselves in the streets and say that Berengar of Tours, a man of great intellect and profound learning, wants to return again to the teaching which he had renounced when he came to Rome' (*non solum clerici et monachi quorum intentio in talibus inuigilare debet uerum etiam ipsi laici de hoc inter se in plateis confabulentur aiunt enim beringarium quendam turonensem magni ingenii profundeque scientie uirum romam aduenisse qui eam cui quondam abrenuntiauerat sententiam uelit c. iterum renouare*). Taken from the transcription of this letter by M.R. James in his *A Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of the University Library of Aberdeen* (Cambridge, 1932), 36, MS.106.

Richard Southern wrote long ago in sketching the background to Anselm's later theological works the scope of inquiry, both in terms of the questions asked and those who asked them, had significantly broadened in the latter decades of the eleventh century.[20]

These new impulses, however, did not impress themselves upon everyone, and other writers were content in adhering to traditional outlines of the process of redemption inherited from the Fathers. A representative text is the short tract *De Incarnatione Domini et eius Sepultura* written by Bruno of Asti (d.1123), bishop of Segni.[21] Recapitulating what were essentially Augustinian outlines of the process of redemption, Bruno discussed the various reasons why a new man or an angel could not atone for humanity before describing Christ's victory in his incarnation and passion in the ancient terms of deception and trickery of the devil.[22] In one sense Ivo's Sermon 6 can be read in the same vein as texts like Bruno's *De Incarnatione Domini*. Both were, in large part, repackaged excerpts of Patristic, largely Augustinian, wisdom. As will be shown when turning to analyse Sermon 6 in detail, Ivo's text echoed the outline of the redemption presented by Augustine in his *De Doctrina Christiana*.[23] Thus whilst Anselm and his followers were forging ahead with novel discussions of the incarnation and passion, other thinkers like Ivo and Bruno were recapitulating older traditions of thought.[24]

Ivo himself had condemned the conclusions reached about the incarnation through the use of logic by the secular master Roscelin of Compiègne (d.c.1121). What can be ascertained about Roscelin's doctrine, since our knowledge of it derives from hostile responses and arguments that were made against it, is that he held the three persons of the Trinity to be either so separate that they could be reckoned as three Gods, or so united that the Father and Holy Spirit must have become incarnate along with Christ.[25] Roscelin's views were condemned as heresy at the Council of Soissons in 1092 where he recanted his teachings, although he afterwards continued espousing them. Ivo wrote to Roscelin after Soissons and implored him,

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[20] Southern, *Anselm and His Biographer*, 82.
[21] Bruno of Asti, *De Incarnatione Domini et eius Sepultura*, ed. J.P. Migne in in PL 165 (Paris, 1854), cols.1079-1084.
[22] Ibid, 1082.
[23] See below, 42.
[24] In a recent article, the links between the Jewish disputant's arguments in Gilbert Crispin's (d.1117) *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani* and their resolution in Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* has been illuminated, with the disputant in the *Disputatio* having drawn upon Anselm's own attributes of God in the earlier *Proslogion* which Anselm then had to defend in the later *Cur Deus homo*. The '*infideles*' referred to in the *Cur Dcur deus homo* opening chapter were a combination of real challenges from non-Christians and those of Gilbert's Jewish disputant drawing upon Anselm's own earlier discussions. See: D.L. Whidden, 'The *Proslogion*, Gilbert Crispin, and the *Cur Deus homo*' in *Anselm of Canterbury: Communities, Contemporaries, and Criticism* eds. M. Healy-Varley, G.E.M Gasper, and G. Young (Leiden, 2021), 56-70.
[25] On this see Southern, *Anselm and His Biographer*, 79.

quoting from Romans, 'not to be wiser than it behoveth to be wise, but to be wise unto sobriety [Romans 12:3].'[26] The bishop of Chartres did not make it his place to treat with Roscelin on his own terms but sought to impress upon him the limit of human knowledge of the divine, and railed against his presumption: 'armed with human reasonings (*rationibus humanis*) you tried to rend [God's] garment by your infertile eloquence (*infecunda facundia*)'.[27] Others sought to challenge Roscelin by his own terms of reference. Anselm, writing in the preface to his *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi* – written in response to Roscelin's challenges – answered his adversary thus: '[Roscelin] cannot be answered from the authority of holy scripture since he will either not believe it or will interpret it in some perverse sense […] his error must be demonstrated by the very logic upon which he relies to defend himself.'[28]

Ivo's letter condemning Roscelin's logic was, of course, due to the heresy it had led him to espouse. Thus, his words of reprimand sought to impress upon the errant master that he should not continue to pursue explanations through logic because of the error it had led him to. Yet others like Anselm counter-applied logical explanations in grappling with heterodox and heretical opinions, as with the *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi*. Logic, when used correctly, demonstrated the soundness of Christian doctrine, whilst its incorrect application by those like Roscelin was regarded as threatening, as Ivo made clear in his letter. As will be suggested below, however, Ivo's own wariness around the use of logic was not just confined to the heretical conclusions that it could lead some to proffer, but the use of logic more generally, even by those such as Anselm who sought to impress the fact that they were simply explaining through logic what they already held through faith. Sermon 6, as will be shown, provides a notable example of this wariness by Ivo, and it is now time to turn to the text itself.

Medicinal Mercy – Introducing Ivo's Sermon 6

As made clear by the alternate title of Sermon 6, Ivo's concern was to explain why God was born and why he suffered. A scribe responsible for an early French copy of the text summarised its concerns more specifically in the title that they picked out for it in red ink: 'Why God wanted to redeem the human race more through the lowliness of the humanity he assumed than through

[26] Ivo, Ep.7: 'non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem.'
[27] Ibid: 'cujus vestem scindere conabaris rationibus humanis armata, sed tamen infecunda facundia.'
[28] Anselm, *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi*, *SAO*, ii, 11: 'Huic homini non est respondendum auctoritate sacrae scripturae, quia aut ei non credit aut eam perverso senso interpretatur […] Ratione igitur qua se defendere nititur, eius error demonstrandus est,'

his divine power.'[29] The outline of the redemption presented in the sermon-tract, then, regarded the incarnation and passion as the approach taken by God who could have acted otherwise.[30] Ivo began Sermon 6 with God the Father cast as an 'almighty potter' mending the 'broken vessel' of fallen humanity:

> Since the world had been corrupted by sins, both original and actual, the creator of the world, through his secret and wonderful counsel, wished to heal the breach through the mystery of the Incarnate Word. He who by his word could form all things from nothing could reform that which had fallen, for 'he spoke, and they were made, he commanded, and they were created' [Psalm 32:9]. We do not believe his power to be lessened or transformed, 'with whom there is no change nor shadow of alteration' [James 1:17], as if he would be less powerful and wise in reforming [the world] than he had been in forming it. Indeed, the hand of the almighty potter, 'all of whose ways are mercy and truth' [Psalm 24:9], which had raised clay drawn from the ground to the dignity of rational nature, wanted to mend the break to his fragile vessel in such a way that he would not dismiss the sin of man unpunished, since he is just, nor leave it irremediable, for he is merciful.[31]

The opening to Sermon 6 introduces us to a number of Ivo's pet themes which appear in his other works, notably the entwinement of mercy and justice which feature prominently in his canon law *Prologue*.[32] In that text Ivo wrote that it was essentially left to the discretion of the individual how to implement his assembled canons, whether governed by mercy or justice, but

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[29] Lincoln Cathedral Library MS.233, f.38r: 'cur deus magis per humilitatem humanitatis quam per potentiam diuinitatis humanus genus redimere uoluerit'. This manuscript is discussed in further detail in Appendix One.

[30] A difference, then, to Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* in which the Incarnation, through his use of logic, was shown to be essential.

[31] Ivo, Sermon 6, col.562: 'Corruptum peccatis originalibus et actualibus mundum mundi Conditor secreto et mirabili consilio per misterium Verbi incarnati eiusdem mundi lapsum voluit reparare. Qui eo verbo quo potuit de nihilo cuncta creare, potuit que perdita fuerant reformare, 'Ipse namque dixit et facta sunt. Ipse mandavit et creata sunt.' [Psalm 32:9] Hanc eius potentiam non credimus minoratam, non credimus immutatam, 'apud quem non est transmutatio nec vicissitudinis obumbratio' [James 1:17], quo minus esset potens et sapiens in reformando quam fuerat in plasmando. Omnipotentis quippe figuli manus, cuius 'universe vie misericordia et veritas,' [Psalm 24:9] que lutum de terra levatum rationalis nature dignitate sullimaverat, sic voluit ruinam vasis fragilis reformare ut nec peccatum hominis dimitteret impunitum, quia iustus est, nec insanabile, quia misericors est.'

[32] Rolker, *Canon Law*, 165-171.

deferring all to the 'kingdom of charity'. As Ivo explained: 'The church doctor thus interprets or moderates the rules of the Church in such a way that he refers all he teaches to the kingdom of charity; and he does not sin or err in doing so since, looking to the salvation of his neighbours, he aims to achieve the end required by the sacred institutes.'[33] From Ivo's own collection of correspondence he seems repeatedly to have admonished and practised a more merciful approach in his own pastorate.[34] For instance, Ivo wrote to an abbot whose monk had fled their monastery four times and advised him to receive the errant brother again even though it was against the Rule 'because mercy rejoices over justice' [James 2:13].[35]

As such, Ivo explained the redemption as the deliberate choice by God to act mercifully:

> If he only acted justly, whose wisdom 'reacheth from end to end mightily and ordereth all things sweetly' [Wisdom 8:1], he could have charged against the seducer of humankind by his might and restored that 'lost sheep' [Luke 15], returned to the flock, to its lord. But it seems this approach would only have shown to the redeemed the eminence of [God's] virtue and not impressed upon them the medicinal mercy of his love. Nor would it have made clear just how much love the Creator bore for his creation, by whom he expected in turn to be loved, such that wretched man, with grace preceding, could obtain through merit that which was rightly not due to be returned to him.[36]

What mattered in the redemption of humanity, and why God chose to take the approach of acting 'sweetly' (*suaviter*), was that the love expected to be rendered by humanity to their creator, which had been wilfully spurned in the Fall, would be re-animated by his mercy. Acting

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[33] Ivo, *Prologue*, ed. B.C. Brassington as *Ways of Mercy: The Prologue of Ivo of Chartres* (Münster, 2004), 116: 'Quicunque ergo ecclesiasticus doctor ecclesiasticas regulas ita interpretatur aut moderatur ut ad regnum caritatis cuncta que docuerit uel exposuerit, referat nec peccat nec errat cum saluti proximorum consulens ad finem sacris institutionibus debitum peruenire intendat.'

[34] Rolker, *Canon Law*, 169-170.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ivo, Sermon 6, col.562: 'Si tantum iustus esset, cuius sapientia 'attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter' [Wisdom 8:1], potuit sua fortitudine adversus seductorem generis humani contendere, et 'ovem perditam' [Luke 15] ad gregem reductam suo Domino restituere. Sed hoc modo videretur eminentiam tuam sue ostendisse virtutis, non medicinalem misericordiam impendisse redemptis, nec appareret quanta caritate creator creaturam diligebat, a qua se diligendum esse multiplici beneficio expetebat, quatinus miser homo precedente gratia optineret etiam per meritum quod ei male merito rependebatur indebitum.'

through might alone would not have achieved that intention. This desire to elicit love and gratitude for God's kindness in the hearts of individual sinners is the main thrust of Sermon 6.

An especially prevalent use of imagery within Sermon 6 which, again, is witnessed across Ivo's other writings, is that of medical analogy, particularly in his references to Christ as both humanity's physician (*medicus*) and the medicine (*medicina/medicamentum*) for their spiritual sickness. The medical imagery Ivo used, ancient and found in many patristic writings, likely came from Augustine who used such analogies particularly frequently.[37] Indeed, as noted earlier in introducing this chapter, Sermon 6 may be regarded as an expansion of the section of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* in which the bishop of Hippo described the process of redemption and God's presentation of himself both as humanity's medicament and its administrator through Christ.[38] Ivo, likely drawing from this passage in *De Doctrina Christiana*, described how a physician went about their work by healing like with like on some occasions, and at other times applied remedies that were opposite to the condition. For instance, a physician sometimes applied what was moist to what was dry, but also measured the size of a bandage according to the patient's wound when working in a like-for-like manner.[39] This imagery was also used by Ivo in the *Prologue* to explain the theory of discretion between mercy and justice that underpinned his thoughts on the interpretation of canon law, in which he also made reference to the 'fragile vase' of penitents requiring the gentle 'poultice' of mercy applied to them.[40] As we noted in introducing Sermon 6, Ivo's opening words dwelt upon the restoration of the 'fragile vase' of humanity by the 'almighty potter' God.

Thus, in Sermon 6 Ivo described how Christ's assumption of human 'infirmity' healed the 'sick' humanity, an example of the like-for-like medical theory noted above, whilst also

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[37] See R. Arbesmann, 'The Concept of 'Christus Medicus' in St. Augustine', *Traditio*, 10, (1954): 1-28.
[38] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, CCSL 32 ed. J. Martin (Turnhout, 1962), Bk.1, Ch.14, 13-14: 'sic medicina sapientiae per hominis susceptionem nostris est accommodata uulneribus de quibusdam contrariis curans et de quibusdam similibus. Sicut etiam ille, qui medetur uulneri corporis, adhibet quaedam contraria sicut frigidum calido, uel humido siccum uel si quid aliud hujusmodi, adhibet etiam quaedam similia sicut linteolum uel rotundo uulneri rotundum, uel oblongrum oblongo ligaturamque ipsam non eandem membris omnibus, sed similem similibus coaptat, sic sapientia dei hominem curans, se ipsam exhibuit ad sanandum, ipsa medicus, ipsa medicina'.
[39] Ibid; Ivo, Sermon 6, col.563.
[40] Ivo, *Prologue*, 117: 'Sicut enim racio corporalis medicine uel depellere morbos uel curare uulnera salutem seruare uel augere intendit nec medicus contrarius sibi esse uidetur cum pro qualitate uel quantitate egritudinis uel erogantis nunc mordencia nunc molliencia egrotanti medicamina appoint et nunc ferro secat cui fomento subuenire non poterat et e conuerso ei nunc subuenit fomento quem ferro secare non audebat ita spirituales medici doctores uidelicet sancte ecclesie nec a se nec inter se dissenciunt cum illicita prohibent necessaria iubent summa suadent uenialia indulgent cum secundum duriciam cordis delinquencium pro correctione eorum uel cautela ceterorum seueras penitencie leges imponunt uel secundum deuocionem dolencium et resurgere uolencium considerata fragilitate uasis quod portant indulgencie malagma superponunt.'

drawing attention to Christ's work through opposites by 'enriching us through his poverty, raising us up through his humility, healing us with his infirmity and vivifying us through his death.'[41] In one notable image Ivo interwove imagery concerning the dimensions of Christ's cross with his medical analogies, an image which also encompassed a parallel between the disobedience of Adam and the Tree of Knowledge and Christ's obedience on the Tree of the Cross:

> And the very form of the Tree was shaped to the length, breadth, and height of the human body, and upon it the whole body was moved so that the hands were stretched out against the forbidden (*ut manus ad vetitum extenderentur*), and the body upon the cross distended through all its members. All which had been broken (*confractum fuerat*) by the transgression of the forefather [Adam] was steadied by the gentle application of this splint. But in addition to this similar treatment an opposite one was added. For here [on the cross] obedience healed what there [in Paradise] disobedience had corrupted, and what the pleasure of gluttony contaminated there, the torment of the cross reformed here.[42]

With this image Ivo held that the God-man's body, stretched out and broken through all its members, was the appropriate 'splint' to heal the 'break' caused by the Fall, whilst Christ's torment and patience upon the cross also served as an opposing remedy in that his obedience and suffering were the very opposite of the disobedience and delight that motivated the transgression of Adam.

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[41] Ivo, Sermon 6, col.563: 'sua paupertate nos ditans, sua humilitate nos sullevans, sua infirmitate nos sanans, sua morte nos vivificans.'

[42] Ibid, cols.563-564: 'Et ipsa ligni forma longitudini et latitudini, et altitudini humani corporis configurata est quo, sicut totum corpus motum est ut manus ad vetitum extenderentur, ita corpus per omnia membra sua in cruce distenderetur, et totum quod reatu paterni delicti confractum fuerat, hujus emplastri malaxatione consolidaretur. Sed huic medicamento per similia composito admixtum est etiam medicamentum factum per oppositum. Nam hic sanavit obedientia quod ibi corruperat inobedientia. Et quod ibi contaminavit gule obiectamentum, hic reformat crucis tormentum.' I have chosen to translate the word *emplastrum* as 'splint', as this is closer to the image Ivo wants to convey concerning a 'break'. The word, though, can be taken to mean a type of bandage or poultice. The translation of 'so that the hands were stretched out against the forbidden' raises interesting questions as to how *ad vetitum* is best translated. It might be an oblique reference to the *vetitum fructum* of Genesis, linking with the emphases of the rest of the passage. Also, *vetitum* is a canon law term referring to a prohibition, so this might simply be read to suggest Christ's arms were held *ad vetitum* to prohibit their movement.

Continuing from his striking image of the cross and its dimensions, Ivo then moved into an extended treatment of Ephesians 3:18 and the length, depth, breadth, and height of charity referred to by Saint Paul.[43] Augustine had associated the dimensions noted in this passage with the dimensions of the cross; the 'breadth' the crossbeam, the 'length' the section from the crossbeam to the ground, the 'height' the section above the crossbeam upon which Christ's head was held, and the 'depth' the section fixed into the ground.[44]

The readings of each part of the cross pursued by Ivo were largely Augustinian, with the breadth of the cross referring to love for one's neighbour, the length perseverance in labour and through persecution, and the height the eminence of hope.[45] Ivo left his treatment of the depth, however, until slightly later following an exegesis of how Christ embraced the four parts of the world from his cross, fulfilling his prophecy in John 12:32 that when he was lifted from the earth he would draw all things to him.[46]

For Augustine, and other exegetes who followed his analysis of Ephesians and the cross, the depth referred to God's hidden judgments and the sacraments of the Church, the understanding of which was hidden from human beings.[47] Ivo, however, pursued a more pointed interpretation in this same exegetical vein:

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[43] Ephesians 3:18: 'You may be able to comprehend, with all the saints, what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth.'

[44] References made to the *Glossa Ordinaria* (hereafter *GO*) use the facsimile reprint of the *editio princeps* published by Adolf Rusch from 1480-1481, with the reprint edited by K. Froelich and M.T. Gibson (Turnhout, 1992), 4 Vols. For the Augustinian glosses on Ephesians 3:18 see: *GO*, iv, 374: 'latitudo in cruce est transuersum lignum ubi figuntur manus quod ad bona opera pertinet quia ibi manus extenduntur. Longitudo est ab ea parte ligni que ab ipso transuerso ad terram tendit est ab ipso usque ad terram conspicua est ibi corpus crucifigitur est quodammodo stat que statio perseuerantiam significat. Altitudo autem in illo ligno est quod ab eodem transuerso sursum caput usus eminet per quod signatur supernorum expectatio. Profundum uero est in ea parte ligni que non apparet que fixe terre occultatur.'

[45] The reference to the 'eminence of hope' draws on the language of Hebrews 6:19, which does not feature in the set of Augustinian extracts in the *GO*. Ivo, Sermon 6, col.564: 'eminentia spei penetrans usque ad interiora velaminis, ubi visione pacis perfruentur, qui hic a civibus Babyloniae multipliciter exercentur: donec in libertatem gloriae filiorum Dei, a servitude corruptionis hujus liberentur.'

[46] Ibid; John 12:32: 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to myself'.

[47] See: *GO*, iv, 374. For other interpretations in this vein see, amongst many others: Isidore of Seville (d.636), *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, CCSL 113 ed. C.M. Lawson (Turnhout, 1989), Bk.1, Ch.30, 34: 'Per profundum autem, hoc est partem illam ligni quae in terrae abdito defixa latet sed inde consurgit omne quod eminet, inscrutabilia indicantur iudicia dei de quibus occulta eius uoluntate uocatur homo ad participationem tantae gratiae, *alius sic, alius autem sic*'; Haimo of Auxerre (d.855), *Homily LXVIII Feria Sexta Parasceves*, in PL 118 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1852), col.440: 'profunda est etiam in ea parte quae in terra figitur: ibi quippe occulta est, nec videri potest: sed cuncta ejus apparentia et eminentia inde consurgunt, sicut bona nostra de profunditate gratiae Dei, quae comprehendi ac dijudicari non potest, universa procedunt.'; Hrabanus Maurus (d.856), *De Clericorum Institutione*, ed. D. Zimpel (Frankfurt, 1996), Bk.II, Ch.37, 386: 'Per profundum autem, hoc est partem illam ligni, quae in terrae abdito defixa latet, sed

> Returning once more to the dimensions of the cross, its depth (*profunditas*) should be shrewdly attended to because it is a profound mystery in which the talents of many who were said to be knowledgeable fell short in venturing to grasp what they could not comprehend by human logic (*humana ratione*): namely, why the Word co-eternal to God the Father, encompassing all and covering all, confined itself entirely in assuming human nature and yet did not cease to guide, fill, and enclose the entire world; inadequately considering that he prevails to achieve in a lesser form what he could do much more efficaciously in a greater form, since his voice, one and whole, could leave his speaking mouth and reach the ears of many. Let those who anxiously debate concerning this question, 'and having closed the door' [Matthew 6:6], as it were, 'grope about for the wall' [Isaiah 59:10] (*et tanquam clauso ostio ad parietem palpant*), hear the Apostle saying: 'O man, who are you that replies against God?' [Romans 9:20]. Thence let them mellow 'and knock' [Apocalypse 3:20] with piety so they can be shown and understand their creator to be just in condemning and merciful in redeeming and see that what the righteousness of the almighty had justly condemned could not be healed without mercy.[48]

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inde consurgit omne quod eminet, inscrutabilia indicantur iudicia dei, de quibus occulta eius voluntate vocatur homo ad participationem tantae gratiae dei.'; Odilo of Cluny (d.1049), *Sermo XV De Sancta Cruce* in PL 142 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1853), col.1033: 'Profunditas vero est ultima pars crucis, quae in terris defixa non potest videri luce corporea. Sublimitatem credimus esse excellentiam summae et principalis virtutis, quae est fides in Deo et de Deo, sine cujus sinceritate et integritate impossibile est ei placere. Aliter in latitudine bona opera charitatis, in longitudine perseverantiam usque in finem, in altitudine spem coelestium praemiorum, in profundo inscrutabilia judicia Dei possumus intelligere, ut Patrum refert fidelis et amplissime opinata relatio.'

[48] Ivo, Sermon 6, cols.564-565: 'Preterea inter has crucis dimensiones solerter attendenda est crucis profunditas, quia profundum est misterium crucis, in quo multorum qui sapientes videbantur esse ingenia defecerunt, qui hoc ausi sunt reprehendere quod non potuerunt humana ratione comprehendere. Videlicet, cur verbum Deo Patri coeternum, omnia continens, omnia implens, in assumpto homine totum se incluserit, et tamen totum mundum regere, complere et continere non desierit, non satis considerantes quod valet in minori multo magis posse valere in maiori, cum vox una et tota de ore loquentis prodeat, et tota ad multorum hominum aures perveniat. Qui de hac questione scrupulosius disputant, et tanquam 'clauso ostio' [Matthew 6:6] 'ad parietem palpant' [Isaiah 59:10], audiant primum dicentem Apostolum: 'O homo, tu quis es qui respondeas Deo?' [Romans 9:20]. Deinde mitescant, et cum pietate 'pulsent' [Apocalypse 3:20], ut aperiatur eis, et intelligent justum fuisse conditorem in condemnando et misericordem in redimendo, nec potuisse sanari sine miserocirdia, quod juste condemnaverat Omnipotentis justitia.'

Within the exegetical 'depth of the cross' Ivo placed the specific mystery of why God became man, a more pointed interpretation than the inherited tradition of commentary.[49] This decision perhaps betrays a contemporary concern. Ivo's references to those 'called wise' who ventured to answer this question through 'human logic' (*humana ratione*) may be a nod to the contemporary clamouring for logical explanations to why God became man that we noted earlier in this chapter. Indeed, although these first references in the passage quoted above were written by Ivo in the past tense (*qui sapientes dicebantur*), he later mentioned those 'who anxiously debate concerning this question', present tense. It is tempting to consider awareness of the contemporary atmosphere of logic-based discussion concerning God and the redemption behind these words. One particular section from the extract is particularly suggestive in this regard: Ivo's use of Matthew 6:6 and Isaiah 59:10: 'and having closed the door [they] grope about for the wall'. The 'closed door' refers to the inner chamber of the mind, entered into to seek God. It may be significant, in this regard, that the prologue to Anselm's *Proslogion*, his extended philosophical meditation presenting his 'ontological argument' for the existence of God written around 1078, included the same Matthean reference. Anselm wrote: 'Empty a little while for God and rest in him. 'Enter into the chamber' [Matthew 6:6] of your mind and exclude everything except God and the things which help you to look for him, '*and having closed the door*' [Matthew 6:6 – my emphasis] seek him'.[50]

Read against Ivo's use of the Matthean verse, the contrast between his words and Anselm's is rather striking. In Anselm's *Proslogion* he exhorted the reader to withdraw into their mind to prepare themselves to seek out God and attain knowledge of him, the 'unobtainable light' of 1 Timothy 6:16 which he discussed in the prologue.[51] In the rest of the *Proslogion* Anselm then presented his ontological argument concerning God's being, an argument which was a product of 'the grammar and logic of [Anselm's] day applied with an otherwise unknown subtlety'.[52]

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[49] See above, n.47.

[50] Anselm, *Proslogion*, *SAO*, i, 97: 'Vaca aliquantulum Deo, et requiesce aliquantulum in eo. 'Intra in cubiculum' mentis tuae, exclude omnia praeter Deum et quae te iuvent ad quaerendum eum, et 'clauso ostio' quaere eum.'

[51] 1 Timothy 6:16: 'Who only hath immortality, and inhabiteth light inaccessible, whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honour and empire everlasting. Amen.'

[52] Southern, *Anselm: A Portrait*, 128. It should be noted, however, that the prologue to the *Proslogion* is a rather different work of literature than the rest of Anselm's text and can be (and indeed was) regarded as a devotional piece of literature in its own right. On this see: G.R. Evans, 'Mens Devota: The Literary Community of the Devotional Works of John of Fécamp and St. Anselm', *Medium Aevum*, 43, No.2 (1974): 105-115, esp. Evans's note on 111: '[The prologue] may have had a purpose quite separate from its function in relation to the rest of the *Proslogion* which it introduces.'

Ivo's use of the same verse, however, reads as a comment with the opposite effect intended concerning the use of logic. Withdrawal into the 'inner chamber' by those 'who anxiously debate concerning this question' did not lead to illumination of God's workings in the incarnation and passion, but a fumbling about in the dark like the blind men from Isaiah 59:10. There is also a very subtle reference to a particular verse from Apocalypse in the quoted extract here that further supports this interpretation, which is Ivo's advice that the logical questioners 'knock with piety', which is a likely reference to Apocalypse 3:20: 'I stand at the gate and knock.' Amongst the set of glosses to Matthew 6:6 in what would become the *Glossa Ordinaria* is the following exegesis which drew on the quote from Apocalypse: 'I stand at the door and knock [Apocalypse 3:20] (*Sto ad hostium et pulso*): faith opens [the door], and the spirit enters and understands.'[53]

Ivo's own request to those who 'scrupulously dispute' concerning why God became man was for them to 'knock with piety'. The admonishment is similar to the Apocalypse gloss: the door should be knocked upon but then opened by faith, suggesting that Ivo was aware of this particular strand of exegesis. Ivo's point, then, in this part of Sermon 6 was that those who knocked on the door with '*humana ratione*' would open it, enter, close the door, but then stumble about like blind men reaching out at the walls. Those who knocked with piety, on the other hand, and entered the chamber with faith 'could be shown and understand' the justice and mercy of the redemption in the manner Ivo had outlined up until this point in the text through his metaphors and analogies of medicinal mercy and the desire by God to rekindle love for him in the hearts of human beings.

The point Ivo sought to impress, therefore, was that withdrawal into the mind's inner chamber and the application of *humana ratio* to questions of faith did not necessarily provide insight into God's workings. The comment is intriguing and could be a subtle nod to Anselm's *Proslogion* prologue. If Ivo's comments were a subtle critique of Anselm's logical arguments, the latter would of course have protested that he entered the chamber with faith himself, in that his own use of *humana ratio* was to logically explain what he already believed.[54] Anselm had, however, been criticised before for his rational methods, notably by his friend Lanfranc of Bec, then archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he sent his earlier *Monologion* for comment.[55] A wariness by

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[53] *GO*, iv, 24: 'Sto ad hostium et pulso . fides aperit . spiritus intrat et exaudit.'

[54] In the *Proslogion* itself Anselm of course famously described the intellectual activity pursued there as *fides quaerens intellectum*: 'faith seeking understanding' (*fides quaerens intellectum*). See: *SAO*, ii, 94.

[55] Anselm, Ep.68 in *Letters of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*. OMT. ed. and trans. S. Niskanen (Oxford, 2019), 199: 'As regards the things that this little work makes mention of and which your wholesome and wise counsel advises me to weigh more meticulously in the balance of mind and to discuss with men who

Ivo around rational argument used by Anselm, subtly expressed, might therefore be plausible.[56] On the other hand, Ivo's comment may have been directed at bad logicians, those who entered the chamber *only* with reason and were not sufficiently prepared in the way Anselm expressed in the devotional prologue to the *Proslogion*.

In any case, however, Ivo's comment reads as a glance towards the broader contemporary climate of logic-based treatments of the faith, and especially the question of why God became man, that we noted at the beginning of this chapter. Whether the exegesis on the depth of the cross was directed at bad logicians or the use of logic as a whole is debatable, although the general thrust of Ivo's treatise suggests the latter: that what is buried beneath the exegetical ground cannot be understood by humans, and that mercy – by definition – is something incomprehensible which thus animates love. That Ivo was wary not just about bad logic, but its application in general, will be argued as stemming from concern for a particular audience of Sermon 6.

Hardened Hearts and the Softening Cross

Immediately following Ivo's critical comments on logical discussion in his exegesis on the depth of the cross, he turned his attention to the Fall. He focussed in on the words of Genesis 3:12; Adam's reply to God that it was Eve who bade him eat the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge.[57] 'By saying this', Ivo wrote, '[Adam] thought he excused himself and that his creator, who had made the woman who compelled him to sin, was to blame'.[58] This was the reason for the sentence levelled upon humanity: 'If [Adam] had humbly accused himself instead of laying the blame with his creator, he would not have been banished from Paradise'.[59] Herein lay the key

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are learned in holy writ and, where reason fails, to furnish with divine proofs, this I have done to the best of my ability after and before your fatherly and lovable advice.'

[56] The fact that both Anselm and Ivo wrote on the same topic contemporaneously has been noted before, but little commented upon, with the consensus holding that there is no obvious sign of contact with Anselm's ideas in Ivo's work. See: L.K. Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres and the Anglo-Norman Cultural Tradition', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XIII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1990* ed. M. Chibnall (Boydell, 1991), 22-23.

[57] Ivo, Sermon 6, col.565; Genesis 3:12: 'And Adam said: The woman, whom thou gavest me to be my companion, gave me of the tree, and I did eat.'

[58] Ivo Sermon 6, col.565: 'Hec dicendo se putavit excusatum et creatorem conditorem mulieris, que ad peccandum virum traxerat, inculpatum.' Indeed, the interlinear gloss to the *GO* treatment of this verse holds to this interpretation. *GO*, i, 28: 'Not humbly confessing, but proudly excusing himself and placing the blame on the creator of the woman' (*non humiliter confitens sed superbe se excucusans et in auctorem mulieris culpam retorquens).*

[59] Ivo, Sermon 6, col.565: 'Qui si humiliter se accussaset, et in auctorem suum culpam non retorsisset, a paradiso non exsulasset.'

issue as Ivo saw it. Adam was unrepentant, and somebody who was unrepentant and sinned of their own volition could not be restored to their former state without expressing genuine remorse and accountability.[60] The gravity of the crime had to be acknowledged, and an interior change affected. Here the medical imagery returns to the text, with Ivo describing how Christ the divine physician sent preachers, witnesses, legislators, and prophets before his coming to 'prepare the hearts of their listeners for penance'.[61]

The emphasis that contemporaries placed on Adam's contrition, or lack thereof, depended on the particular context in which Genesis 3:12 was referenced and the motivations of a particular author or thinker. In contemporary Laon, for instance, one collection of sentences from Master Anselm's (d.1117) school, in seeking to ascertain whether it was Adam or Eve who committed the greater sin, suggested that Adam's sin was the lesser because he had in fact considered that he could return to God's mercy through repentance.[62] For Ivo, as we have seen, his emphasis was squarely the opposite: Adam's lack of contrition and desire to defer blame to God.

Language concerning softening is a notable feature of the text following Ivo's treatment of Adam's lack of contrition, and this is significant. As we noted earlier in discussing his treatment of the depth of the cross and Ephesians 3:18, Ivo's admonition to those who anxiously debated the question of why God became man was for them to 'mellow and knock with piety' (*mitescant, et cum pietate pulsent*). In discussing Genesis 3:12, Ivo described the remedy for Adam's recalcitrance and inability to recognise his own sin as a medicine suited to the condition 'which would soften the tumour's hardness (*quo duritiam tumoris sic emolliret*), so that having been made soft (*mollefactus*) one could freely release the deadly poison, as the Psalmist says: "Pour out your hearts before him" [Psalm 61:9], that is, remove every foul thing from your

[60] Ibid: 'Non enim conveniens erat ut invitus traheretur ad penitentiam qui spontaneus corruerat in penam, ne itidem ingratus existeret sue reformationi, sicut ingratus exstitererat prime conditioni.'
[61] Ibid: 'misit medicus noster precones et testes suos ante se legislatores et prophetas, qui corda auditorum ad penitentiam prepararent.'
[62] *Sententiae Anselmi* ed. F. Bliemetzrieder in *Anselms von Laon Systematische Sentenzen* (Münster, 1919), i, 62: 'Ne tamen mulierem, quam in solatium acceperat, contristraret, in malo ei consensit, quia putabat et mulieri se posse obtemperare et iterum per penitentiam et misericordiam dei ad ueniam posse resurgere'. For more on Original Sin and its treatment in Anselm's Laon, see: D.O. Lottin, 'Les Théories du Péché Originel au XIIe siècle: L'école d'Anselme de Laon et de Guillaume de Champeaux' *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 11, (January 1939): 17-32. With this said, in the same collection of Laonais sentences the author later referred to Adam's pride in his statement that Eve compelled him to eat the fruit, but the verse received less treatment than in Ivo's work and the author did not suggest that Adam lay blame with God. See: *Sententiae Anselmi*, 66: 'inuentus culpam in ipsum refudit superbe se excusans: mulier quam dedisti mihi, et cetera'.

conscience through confession'.[63] Christ's sacrifice on the cross, his laying down his life for his friends as-per John 15:13, was described by Ivo as having produced a natural reaction amongst men: 'because it is natural that men love those who love them, the world's hardness (*duritia mundi*) was humbled and melted away (*liquefacta*) by [Christ's] display of humility and love such that man could recognise the kindness of his restoration since he was not cognizant of the excellence of his [former] condition'.[64] Finally, Ivo spoke of the virtue of the cross being preached throughout the world and how it 'filled the entire world in its softening embrace' (*malaxatione complexata*).[65]

Such language fits with Ivo's overarching treatment of the redemption as a merciful approach by God, and earlier references to language of softening and mellowing in the text, like the 'gentle application' (*malaxatione*) of the 'splint' of Christ's cross, further demonstrate the effort he took in curating his imagery.[66] For Ivo it was hardness of heart, and the concomitant inability to recognise sin, that had to be eroded through Christ's ministry on earth and his self-sacrifice for his friends upon the cross which 'melted', 'softened', and 'mellowed' this hardness. The emphasis in his writing lies with interior change, on Christ's actions turning the hearts of those on earth to repentance and love for God. Indeed, as Ivo wrote at the beginning of the text, the fact that God became incarnate and suffered a human life and death was so that he could impress upon humanity the 'medicinal mercy' of his love that was intended to inflame their hearts in reciprocal love for him; a love which had been unrequited since the Fall and Adam's uncontrite blame of God for his own sin.

Here, perhaps, we have the answer to Ivo's reticence concerning those clamouring to answer the question of why God became man in all its logical intricacies shown in his exegesis on Ephesians 3:18 and the depth of the cross. Those who 'disputed anxiously' concerning this question were to recognise God's justice in condemning humanity and his mercy in redeeming them, but not venture further than this recognition. Ivo's hortatory 'let them mellow and knock with piety so they can be shown and understand' suggests that he held a logic-based search for answers ran counter to appreciating the mercy and love of God. Such mercy and love were incomprehensible, and a delve too deep into the 'depth of the cross' in attempting to

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[63] Ivo, Sermon 6, col.565: 'quod duritiam tumoris sic emolliret ut mollefactus sponte mortiferum virus effunderet, dicente psalmista: 'Effundite coram illo corda vestra', id est, per confessionem eicite de conscientiis vestris omnia immunda.'

[64] Ibid, col.566: 'quia naturale est ut homines diligentes se diligant, hac humilitate et caritate humiliata est et liquefacta duritia mundi, ut agnosceret beneficium sue reparationis que non agnoverat excellentiam sue conditionis'; John 15:13: 'Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends.'

[65] Ibid, col.566: 'et totum mundum sua malaxatione complexata'

[66] See above, 43.

comprehend the incarnation and passion eroded the efficacy of their wonder to turn human hearts to love for their creator, and thence to contrition and penance. This need to turn hearts to penance was the problem the latter half of Sermon 6 stressed most fully, with Christ's ministry and manner of death portrayed as having a softening effect on those who were hard of heart.

Contrition and the Education of Subordinates

The problem of softening hardened hearts, of inspiring contrition amongst sinners, was an issue to be contended with by priests in Ivo's own day: a period during which contrition was increasingly foregrounded in contemporary discussions of the sacrament of penance.[67] Indeed, Ivo's collection of letters show his own wranglings over the contrition of sinners in a number of instances during his time as bishop of Chartres. As we noted in the introduction, Ivo famously opposed King Philip's illicit union with Bertrada and questioned the sincerity in the king's expressed desire to make amends for his sin. The king sought remission for his sin through gifts of alms whilst at the same time seeking to remain in his relationship with Bertrada. Ivo, in a letter to the king's seneschal, objected to this and regarded the monarch's sins as unforgiven because he was not contrite, arguing that 'somebody who wishes to remain in their sin can by no means buy their way out of it'.[68] In another letter Ivo reinstated a sentence of anathema which had been lifted from an adulterous lord due to his lack of contrition. 'If someone is restrained by the just

[67] In general, see: P. Anciaux, *La Théologie du Sacrement de Pénitence au XIIe Siècle* (Louvain, 1949); B. Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, trans. F. Courtner (New York, 1964), esp.155-165 for discussion of twelfth-century questions around contrition, attrition, and sorrow; A. Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3 (1993), 51-81; for the continued importance of public penance M.C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, 1995); J. Goering, 'The Scholastic Turn (1100-1500): Penitential Theology and Law in the Schools', in *A New History of Penance*, ed. A. Firey (Leiden, 2008), 219-238 Meens, *Medieval Penance*, 190-213; especially important in relation to the arguments presented here is R. Golder, 'The Changing Uses and Developments of Affectivity in the Practice of Confession (12th-13th Centuries)' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge (2023); J.H. Arnold, 'Continuity and Change in the Experience of Confession across the Central Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 55:1 (January 2025), 11-30.

[68] Ivo, Ep.47: 'nulla redemptione vel commutatione quis peccatum suum poterit abolere, quamdiu vult in eo permanere.' On this see also Ivo's *Decretum*, Bk.15, Ch.70: '*De illis qui ex industria peccant, et promittunt sibi quamdam impunitatem peccandi, propter largitionem elemosinarum. Ex concilio Cabillonensi, cap. 36*' Sed nec hoc pretereundum putavimus quod quidam ex industria peccantes, propter elemosinarum largitionem quamdam sibi promittunt impunitatem. Elemosina enim exstinguit peccata, iuxta illud, Ignem ardentem exstinguit aqua, et elemosina exstinguit peccata, sed ea que aut necessitate, aut casu, aut qualibet fiunt fragilitate. Ea vero que ex industria ad cuiuslibet libidinem explendam idcirco fiunt, ut elemosinis redimantur, nequaquam eis redimi possunt, quia qui hoc perpetrant, videntur Deum mercede conducere, ut eis impune peccare liceat. Non ergo quis idcirco peccare debet, ut elemosinam faciat, sed ideo elemosinam facere debet, quia peccavit. Mentem enim et corpus que libido traxit ad culpam, afflictio et contritio debet reducere ad veniam.'

bonds of anathema', he wrote, 'bonds which cannot be released *except with a true change of heart* (my emphasis), but persists in his crime, what is it to remove that sentence of anathema (no matter the renown of the person) but to render oneself a praevaricator?' [69]

With regards to Ivo's broader corpus, Sermon 13 for Lent is particularly illustrative of a desire to stress the importance of contrition, and may further speak to the suggestions we made earlier as to the authorship of this text and the others in the 8-24 range.[70] 'The Prophet admonishes you', the sermon reads, 'how to do penance, saying: 'Be converted to me with all your heart, in fasting, and in weeping, and in mourning, and rend your hearts, and not your garments' [Joel 2:12-13].[71] The heart was to be rent such that 'nothing remains closed up within it which compunction of the heart does not expel and oral confession does not reveal'.[72] In similar terms to the condemnation of Adam defending and excusing his sin in Sermon 6, in Sermon 13 it was outlined that penitents were to humble themselves, confess their wickedness, and not defer the blame for their transgressions on the time of year, fate, the movements of the stars or some other excuse.[73]

Eliciting this 'true change of heart', then, mattered a great deal to Ivo. Eroding hardness of heart, as we have seen, was the primary theme that Ivo sought to stress in Sermon 6, lying behind his characterisation of the softening effects of Christ's ministry and death and his note that attempts to explore the logic of God's redemptive work ran contrary to the effects of God's incomprehensible and medicinal love to erode humanity's hardness of heart.

With such penitential emphases behind Ivo's words in Sermon 6, it is tempting to consider whether the work was specifically targeted at those charged with the 'care of souls'. The frequent use of medical imagery in the text might suggest such a 'priestly' audience, for the association between bodily and spiritual sickness was a well-established feature of penitential writing, in which penitents showed the 'wounds' of their burdened consciences to priestly 'physicians' who sought to cure them with appropriate remedies. The eleventh-century bishop and canonist Burchard of Worms (d.1025) titled his penitential handbook (a text used by Ivo in

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[69] Ivo, Ep.18: 'si enim justo anathematis vinculo est ligatus, cum justa vincula non dissolvat nisi vera cordis conversio eo adhuc permanente in crimine, ad persuasionem quamlibet splendidae personae quid est hoc anathema destruere nisi seipsum praevaricatorem constituere?'
[70] Ivo, Sermon 13, cols.579-581.
[71] Ibid, col.579: 'Quomodo autem penitentiam agere debeatis, Dominus prophetica voce vos admonet, dicens: 'Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in jeiunio et fletu et planctu, et scindite corda vestra, et non vestimenta vestra [Joel 2:12-13]'
[72] Ibid: 'ut intus nihil clausum remaneat quod compunctio cordis non expellat, et oris confessio non aperiat.'
[73] Ibid, col.580.

his own canon law collection) the *Corrector sive Medicus*, explaining that he chose the title 'because it contains many corrections for the body and medicines for the soul'.[74]

Additionally, Ivo's concerns about the use of logic to answer questions regarding the incarnation and passion might be seen as especially relevant to a priestly audience who may have been cognizant of contemporary debates concerning the logic of *cur deus homo* but were, in his opinion, to concern themselves more with knowledge befitting their pastorate. Sermon 6 supplied priestly audiences with an answer to why God was born and why he suffered whilst distinguishing, via exegesis on the 'depth of the cross', between knowledge that was and was not beneficial in achieving the pastoral aim of wearing away hardness of heart within penitents. As we noted in the introduction, the author of the widely-copied *De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia* impressed upon its readers the responsibility that 'intercessors and preachers' bore in eroding hardness of heart amongst penitents.[75] As the author wrote, the sinner 'will be called from his sin by God's strong cry and the weeping of many; first the weight which burdens him shall be removed, and he shall cast away that hardness of heart which the intercessors and preachers work away at through their labour'.[76] Confessors, then, had to be suitably equipped with imagery and explanations to erode the hardness of heart within penitents, and thence have them render their sins in confession. We might here remember Ivo's words in his letter to Roscelin 'not to be wiser than it behoveth to be wise'. What it behoved a *priest* to know was what benefitted him in his pastoral charge: in this case the softening and incomprehensible mercy of the redemption.

We might here, however, posit a tiered filtration of knowledge from Ivo's Sermon 6 to potential priestly audiences. If such humble clerics were unaware of contemporary debates concerning logic and the redemption, their bishops certainly would have been, and perhaps Ivo sought to appeal to these men with his text. Indeed, in Ivo's *Decretum* he wrote of the bishop's responsibility to educate his subordinate clergymen. 'Ignorance is the mother of all errors', Ivo quoted from the canons of the Fifth Council of Toledo, 'and should be avoided as much as possible amongst God's priests who receive the office of teaching the people'.[77] A part of this

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[74] Burchard of Worms, *Decretorum Libri XX* in PL 140 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1854), Bk.19, Ch.1, col.949: 'Liber hic Corrector vocatur et Medicus, quia correctiones corporum et animarum medicinas plene continet'

[75] Pseudo-Augustine, *De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia*, Ch.3, viii, col.1115. For parallels between Ivo's works and the *De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia*, see: Rolker, 'Pastoral Canon Law'.

[76] Ibid: 'sed valido Dei clamore et multorum fletu foras a peccato vocabitur. Prius tolletur lapis desuper ab ipso; quia cordis duritiam projiciet ex animo, quam tollent intercessores et praedicatores labore suo.'

[77] Ivo, *Decretum*, Bk.5, Ch.202: 'Ignorantia mater cunctorum errorum, maxime in sacerdotibus Dei vitanda est, qui docendi officium in populis susceperunt'. In quoting about the bishop's *circuitione* and *synodum* in his *Decretum*, Ivo was drawing from their inclusion in Burchard's own *Decretum* a century earlier (Bk.1, Ch.90) and, before him, their incorporation in Regino of Prum's (d.915) *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis et*

education, and extirpation of ignorance, could be regarded as what it behoved priests to know, and a delineation of what it did not.

Support for this interpretation is lent further credence by the marked difference in character between the first seven of Ivo's 'sermons' and the latter seventeen of the collection, as we noted at the outset of this chapter. The first group, into which Sermon 6 can be placed, are concerned with the signification of the sacraments, sacramentals, church hierarchy, priestly vestments, rituals, and biblical concordances. These texts read more like sermon-tracts whilst the latter seventeen, however, display a markedly different character: they were written quite clearly as liturgical sermons.

A number of the texts in the first group – the first three specifically – were also consistently marked with the rubric '*in synodo habitus*' in the manuscripts, suggesting that at least some of the first group may have been written by Ivo to be delivered before assembled clergymen gathered together at synodal meetings, although Sermon 6 was not one of the texts marked in this way.[78] The subject matter of the first group of sermons themselves suggest such an audience, like Sermon 1 in which Ivo expounded the mysteries of the sacraments and argued that priests ought to learn them lest they be as blind men leading the blind, or Sermon 2 in which he argued priests should live a life of sanctity so that the laity committed to their charge had virtuous models to imitate.[79] Such admonitions would have resonated both with humbler priests themselves, and their superiors charged with educating them with Ivo's texts.

With this said, the medical metaphors, manuscript contexts and thematic context of the sermon-tracts do not of themselves suggest an exclusively priestly or clerical audience that Ivo had in mind in writing Sermon 6. Sickness and death are a universal fact of human life, and as such analogies between bodily and spiritual health were an effective means of rendering the invisible damage sin wrought upon the soul comprehensible to all. For instance, in a letter Ivo addressed to an audience of both the clergy and laity of Chartres, written sometime around 1095 after he returned from the Council of Clermont, he emphasised the necessity for the Peace of God to be implemented and the dire consequences to the spiritual health of those who would look to infringe upon that peace.[80] In the letter Ivo appealed to the direct experience of his audience with his analogies:

Religione Christiana (Bk.2, Ch.1), the latter of which is printed in PL 132 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1853), col.281.

[78] For instance, London British Library Royal MS 6 B VI; Cambridge St John's College MS.D.19; Oxford Bodleian Library Laud Misc.52.

[79] Ivo, Sermon 1, col.505; Sermon 2, col.519. Ivo did however point out that the priest's level of education had no bearing on the efficacy of the sacraments he administered.

[80] Ivo, Ep.44.

> Pay attention brothers. If one of you by turns cut your flesh with a knife, burnt it, or injured yourself in some other way for three days straight and only stopped for four days, surely you would be restrained by your friends and led as though you were a madman to see a physician? How much more, then, should the abuser or murderer of his own soul be firmly bound by Christ's more powerful bonds so that he prevents the death of his soul and gives himself entirely to the works of life![81]

Such analogies, then, were not solely keyed to a priestly audience or those familiar with such imagery from penitential or theological literature. Additionally, those synodal meetings referenced earlier might also have included laypeople if the internal evidence from the canons of Ivo's *Decretum* is anything to go by. In the fifth book of the *Decretum* Ivo described the visitation (*circuitione*) performed by bishops or their subordinate archdeacons or archpriests, and how 'all in the parish of the mother church, except those who are ill, should come to his synod (*ad synodum*)'.[82]

Conclusion

Might Ivo's Sermon 6 have been a text used in the education of subordinates? It is difficult to know, and the suggestions above can only be considered as some possible audiences that Ivo had in mind in penning his tract. Yet that said the evidence does point in this direction, and some of the manuscript contexts discussed in Appendix One shall give us further reason to consider this possibility. It might be possible to regard Sermon 6 as a text intended for an audience at two or three tiers. The first was an audience of humble religious, perhaps priests addressed at a synod,

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[81] Ibid: 'Attendite, fratres, si quis vestrum alternatim carnem suam tribus diebus ferro incideret, vel igni combueret, vel quolibet alio cruciatu affligeret, quatuor vero diebus tantum vacaret, nonne ab amicis ligaretur, nonne tanquam phreneticus ad medicum duceretur? Quanto magis vulnerator animae suae vel interfector fortioribus Christi vinculis esset alligandus, ut a morte animae suae cessaret et incessanter vitae opera daret!' The letter reads rather like a sermon, and it is not surprising that it displays these characteristics as it was likely circulated and read in public. Indeed, in another Reading Abbey manuscript contemporaneous with Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson A.416 noted earlier, Ivo's Ep.10 was included with the rubric '*sermo ad uirgines*'. The MS in question is Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson 376. On the fluidity of the medieval letter, and its relationship with sermons, see: Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*.

[82] Ivo, *Decretum*, Bk.5, Ch.196: 'Ut in circuitione episcopi omnes qui sunt in parocia matricum ecclesiarum, exceptis infirmis, ad synodum ejus uenire debeant.' On the latter point see: S. Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050* (Woodbridge, 2001), 67.

for whom Ivo sought to outline the process of redemption in terms that benefitted them in the administration of penance. Questions of logic and necessity, which eroded the mystery of the process, were pushed to the background and, indeed, discouraged by Ivo in his exegesis on the depth of the cross. For priests, what mattered in the redemptive process was the love and mercy shown by God, how 'softening' it was, its incomprehensibility, and how hardness of heart was worn away through it. Humanity was restored from their death through re-animation of their love for God. Confessors dealing with recalcitrant penitents, too ashamed or proud to confess their transgressions, or desirous to lay blame elsewhere, had an outline of God's loving redemption to be borne in mind when treating with them and eliciting contrition and confession.

For Ivo, the power of contrition was of paramount importance, and we might here return to his exegesis on Genesis 3:12: 'If [Adam] had humbly accused himself instead of laying the blame with his creator, he would not have been banished from Paradise'.[83] The statement is an extraordinary one. In the outline of the Fall presented in Sermon 6, it was Adam's lack of contrition, and not his disobedience in eating the apple, which was the real location of sin and its consequences for humanity. The contrast with Anselm's thought in this respect is marked: for the latter, the disobedience of Adam stole God's 'honour' which absolutely nothing could return apart from the logical necessity of the God-man Christ and his passion. Ivo's statement, by contrast, held that there was a point after Adam's disobedience where all could have been averted: it was his lack of contrition that brought upon him and his progeny the death of sin.

Whether this was the opinion Ivo held outside the leaves of Sermon 6 is debatable. It certainly would have found no favour with a logician. But its deployment in his text impressed in extraordinary terms both the power and importance of contrition and confession, holding that the entire history of salvation stemmed from Adam's hardness of heart and his blame of God. The outline of the redemptive process in Ivo's text was not governed by logic; indeed, he positively discouraged the pursuit of this question by means of it. Questions of choice, not logical necessity, were the real governing themes of Sermon 6: a choice by God to act 'sweetly' to re-animate love, his choice to go about the redemption in a 'softening' manner, and the condemnation of Adam's choice in blaming God instead of contritely examining his own disobedience. Such love by God, who could have acted otherwise, was both wonderful and ineffable: and it was this love, in all its softening and mellowing detail from incarnation to tortuous passion, that Ivo impressed on his readers. With such an outline of the redemptive process, the bishop of Chartres could hope that those thus instructed could animate penitents in

[83] Ivo, Sermon 6, col.565: 'Qui si humiliter se accussaset, et in auctorem suum culpam non retorsisset, a paradiso non exsulasset.'

love and remorse, eroding the shame, pride, and fear that encased their hearts and frustrated their hopes of redemption. This is the context in which Sermon 6 should be understood: a work that both stressed the importance of contrition and, as a work of literature, provided the imagery and exegesis to elicit that contrition from sinners. In turning to our next chapter however, we move from Ivo's 'up to the minute' writing and engagement with contemporary developments in sacramental theology and soteriology to a rather different and what could perhaps be termed more 'insular' set of concerns.

Chapter Two: The Sermons of Herbert Losinga

Introduction

We noted earlier Bishop Herbert Losinga's transfer of his diocesan seat from Thetford to Norwich, and commencement of the magnificent cathedral that still stands there today.[1] As the walls of glistening limestone rose, contemporaries associated the act as one of repentance for Herbert's purchase of the see in 1091. This penitential impulse found its way into the cathedral's foundation charter, in which Herbert included a long preamble recounting and repenting what he termed 'the ignorance of youth' and reflecting on God's perception of the innermost recesses of the heart.[2]

In one notable section of the charter, Herbert drew a parallel between Christ's sacrifice in the passion and his own inability to render a similar sacrifice to atone for his transgressions:

> I repent, but God requires the fruit of penance. What fruit can you render, barren tree, worthy only to be 'cut down and cast into the fire?' [Matthew 7:19] With what tears will you be cleansed, unclean one? What shall you render unto God for all he has rendered unto you? Oh, would that you might drink the 'cup of your salvation' [Psalm 115:13] and, by the shedding of your own blood, reconcile your most forgiving saviour to your infirmity. If you could pay him back, then you ought to; but because you cannot do so in the least, then you should pass this over.[3]

This section of the charter was markedly devotional, and almost personal. In it, the questioner wished ardently (*O utinam*) that Herbert could 'drink the cup' of Psalm 115, which was understood exegetically to refer to Christ's passion, by shedding his own blood as Christ had shed his.[4] When Herbert was asked by the questioner 'What shall you render unto God?', the language was reminiscent of the reproaches that would be spoken aloud during the Good Friday

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[1] See above: Introduction, 17-18.

[2] *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory I*, ed. B. Dodwell, PRS 78 (London, 1974), No.112, 60: 'Infirmitatis et impuritatis proprie conscius ante justum et clementem judicem Deum mores et vitam expono meam ei revelans et confitens inventutis mee ignorantias et scientie prevaricationes anxias, cuius oculis omnia sunt nuda et aperta et cuius sermo pertingens ad divisionem anime et spiritus omnium cordium contemplatur interiora.'

[3] Ibid: 'Ago penitentiam, sed Deus penitentie requirit fructus. Arbor arida 'succisione et igne digna' [Matthew 7:13] quos dabis fructus? Immunda tua quibus mundabis fletibus? Quid retribues Deo tuo pro omnibus que retribuit tibi? O utinam 'salutaris tui calicem' [Psalm 115:13] biberes et tui sanguinis effusione indulgentissimum creatorem tuum infirmitati tue reconciliares. Hoc si posses deberes retribuere, sed quia hoc potes minime debes negligere'.

[4] Psalm 115:13: 'I will take the chalice of salvation; and I will call upon the name of the Lord'.

liturgy; particularly the verses from the prophecy of Micah: 'O my people, what have I done to thee, or in what have I molested thee? Answer thou me […] What shall I offer to the Lord that is worthy? Wherewith shall I kneel before the high God?'[5] Given the succeeding description of Christ's passion in the charter made through reference to Psalm 115, a deliberate echo of the reproaches – understood to be the voice of the crucified Christ – seems to have been Herbert's authorial intention. Christ, then, was the one who questioned Herbert, who portrayed himself as the 'barren tree' and the 'unclean one'.

Christ, as voiced in the charter, wished that Herbert could atone by similar sufferings, but the gulf between the two was impossible to close, the disparity in suffering – were Herbert to 'drink the cup' – of no meaningful comparison. All Herbert could do was reflect on and emphasise the chasm between himself and Christ. In commenting on the devotional tone of the foundation charter, we should of course note that this was a public document, and as such Herbert's expressions of repentance may have been calculated and performative. Herbert's journey to Rome in 1094, in which William of Malmesbury saw a repentant bishop bent on resigning his pallium, [6] has instead been argued by Tom Licence as the motivations of a 'resourceful politician' who sought to save his own skin from Anselm's condemnations of simony whilst also pressing his rights against the abbots of Bury St Edmunds at the Papal Curia.[7] Indeed, Herbert's comments in the charter on his inability to make adequate recompense to the crucified Christ have an Anselmian ring to them, and may have been deliberately keyed in this way, although Anselm was not among those who witnessed the charter. However, these considerations should not entirely efface the sincerity of the language Herbert used, which even Licence was struck by.[8] Such pronouncements could both serve to shore-up his reputation

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[5] Micah 6:3-6.

[6] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum I*, Bk.4, 338-339: 'Yet he repented, and undid the errors of his impetuous youth; for, as his standards rose with age, he set off for Rome and there, having resigned the staff and ring which he had obtained by simony, was allowed by the great mercy of the Holy See to receive them back […] And so Herbert, thus changed, became, as Lucan says of Curio, a hinge and pivot of affairs: he who in this king's time had been the rascally advocate of simony later became its pitiless opponent, and would not permit in others an offence which he had committed long ago in the rashness of youth and now regretted. He never forgot, they say, that remark of Jerome: 'We erred in youth; let us put it right in old age.' Last but not least, who could adequately praise the achievement of a bishop who without great wealth founded such a noble monastery, which leaves nothing to be desired in the majestic beauty of its buildings, the splendour of its decoration, or the religious fervour and all-embracing charity of its monks? It was these actions that comforted him with good hope while still alive, and after death, if faith in repentance is not ill-founded, raised him to the skies.'

[7] Licence, 'Herbert Losinga's Trip to Rome', 151-168.

[8] Ibid, 155: 'Still, if we join with those historians who seek out worldlier motives we risk losing sight of spiritual ones: and it matters that Herbert was a monk of Fécamp, a monastery with a vibrant penitential tradition, and that the rhetoric employed in the charter by which he later moved his cathedral to Norwich exceeds even the normal admissions of sinfulness'.

amongst contemporaries displeased with his simony, as well as express the genuine personal feelings of remorse and reflection on the gulf he had created between himself and Christ.

In beginning this chapter with the penitential imagery in Herbert's charter, the intention has been to throw into relief his preaching on the passion. The most frequent imagery with which Herbert sermonised on the passion was that of a military victory; of Christ as a glorious and triumphal conqueror who vanquished the devil from his cross and ascended gloriously to Heaven with the 'spoils' of souls ransomed from Hell. Language of softening and mellowing, of kindling love and inspiring contrition at the sight of the crucified saviour, which were themes so prominent in Ivo of Chartres Sermon 6, found little expression in Herbert's preaching. Herbert's crucified Christ was, above all, a warrior and an emperor.

To explore why this was the dominant conception of the passion in Herbert's sermons is the aim of this chapter. Unlike the sermons of Ivo which, as suggested, evidence an awareness of, and engagement with, the pastoral, theological, and philosophical developments of the day, Herbert's own pieces read as decidedly 'old fashioned' by contrast. The sermonising on the passion by Herbert also evidences little 'imaginative expression' like the short dialogue from his foundation charter for Norwich Cathedral. There is little pause or meditation on Christ's sufferings in the sermons.

What will be suggested is that Herbert's sermonising on the passion reflects more local concerns. In preaching a warrior Christ, Herbert appealed to the local knightly class both within his community at Norwich Cathedral in the persons of former knights who had taken the monastic habit, as well as those who remained part of the world beyond the cloister walls like the powerful Roger Bigod (d.1107) who witnessed the foundation charter.[9] In making this argument the evidence not only of the sermons themselves but Herbert's surviving correspondence and liturgical sources for religious life at Norwich will be brought to bear in reading his imagery of the passion. But before turning to the sermons themselves, it is first necessary to consider the collection as a whole and when the sermons might have been written.

Before Herbert purchased his position as bishop, he had, as noted in the introduction, served as abbot of Ramsey and, before that, prior of Fécamp.[10] That his sermons, then, were

[9] *Charters of Norwich I*, No.112, 61.
[10] The monks of Bury St Edmunds held that it was not just the East Anglian see that Herbert had procured through simony, but also his position as abbot of Ramsey. They noted this in their interpolations to John of Worcester's *Chronicle*. See: John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, OMT ed. P. McGurk (Oxford, 1998), 314: 'Hoc etiam anno, id est secundo regis Willelmi secundi, Herebertus, prior

written during his tenure as bishop and not whilst at Ramsey or Fécamp requires some brief comment. In the first instance, in his sermon for Ash Wednesday Herbert impressed upon the audience the power the bishop possessed to bind and loose, evidently looking forward to the readmission of penitents on Maundy Thursday.[11] It seems probable that this was a self-reflection on the power that Herbert himself held, and that as such the sermon was written from his perspective as bishop. Additionally, several sermons in the manuscript were specifically ascribed to 'the venerable bishop Herbert' in a hand contemporary with the main body of text.[12]

Beyond the evidence from the manuscript itself, we also noted in the introduction that whilst bishop of Norwich Herbert preached a sermon at Ely Cathedral for the translation of Saint Etheldreda. In addition to this, Herbert reflected on his responsibility as bishop to preach in a letter he wrote to two monks named Otto and William.[13] The two were evidently young members of Herbert's newly-founded community at Norwich, since in other letters Herbert referred to their education and his own participation in it.[14] A part of their education, as was common, involved exposure to classical pagan authors to learn principles of grammar and rhetoric. The two were clearly taken with the secular literature and wrote to Herbert asking whether he would compose some verses (*metrice*) for them.[15] Herbert responded by delineating their relative positions and responsibilities, and between Christian and pagan literature:

> On account of your youth, you are allowed to frolic and play [i.e. amongst the verses of the classical authors] but, given my greying hairs, I am enjoined to meditate on and penetrate the secret and mystical sacraments of scripture. As such I have renounced the poets and their fables, and no longer delight in their buffoonery. It is not a bishop's place to sit on the stage, but to preach in church. He is not to be found amongst the

Fiscamnensis ecclesie de rebus monasterii sui emit abbatiam Ramesiensem, sed post aliquot annos dimisit earn, et emit episcopatum orientalie Anglie mille nongentis libris argenti a rege Willelmo secundo'.

[11] Herbert, Sermon 4, 107: 'The power of the bishop is a weighty thing, but that authority looses those who bind themselves, and binds those who loose themselves'. I have changed the English translation of *potestas* from 'authority' to 'power'.

[12] Sermons 1*,* 2*,* 3*,* and 14 were so marked.

[13] *S. Herberti de Losinga Epistolae*, ed. R. Anstruther. CS (Brussels, 1846), Ep.32, 65-67. On the letters, see: L. Wahlgren-Smith, 'On the Composition of Herbert Losinga's Letter Collection', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 55, (2004): 229-246.

[14] See: Ep.9, Ep.22, Ep.24, Ep.28, Ep.32, Ep.39, Ep.47.

[15] Herbert, Ep.9, 65.

> indecencies of the theatre or cruelties of the circus, but in the law of God and the words of the holy gospels.[16]

Taken together, it seems evident that Herbert composed his sermons whilst he served as bishop, and indeed, he regarded preaching as an important part of his role. The sermons, then, were certainly written after 1091, and it seems reasonable to think that they may have been written after 1100/01 when the cathedral church was consecrated and its charter drawn-up. Who it was that Herbert sought to address with his sermons is another matter, and one that must be considered with each individual text in turn. Christopher Harper-Bill, Herbert's most recent biographer, noted that the sermons 'were probably delivered to a monastic audience', and this seems likely, but it also seems probable that his audiences may have included members of the lay community.[17]As Martin Brett observed, numerous references in the sermons point to mixed audiences; some of which will be discussed in further detail below.[18] Now, however, let us turn to the sermons themselves.

Herbert's Sermons for Palm Sunday & Maundy Thursday

Naturally, the greatest concentration of Herbert's imagery on the passion is to be found in his Passiontide and Eastertide sermons, and it is those texts that will form the dominant focus of this chapter. Let us begin, then, with Herbert's two sermons for Palm Sunday (Sermon 5) and Maundy Thursday (Sermon 6). In the former of the two, the points of exegesis that Herbert sought to impress were thematic staples of Palm Sunday preaching, evidencing his comprehensive command of traditional exegesis. Herbert explained the prefiguration of Christ's sacrifice, and the Eucharistic ritual, in the Paschal Lamb of Exodus 12 whose flesh was to be roasted at the fire and blood spread upon the doorposts. To spread the blood 'on both doorposts' was explained by Herbert as referring to reception of the Eucharist with 'the mouth of the body, but also with that of the heart'; spreading blood on the 'upper door post' was to mark one's mind with 'perpetual remembrance' of the passion; 'the head with the feet and entrails' were eaten in discernment of the godhead, Christ's human nature, and adherence to his

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[16] Herbert, Ep.32, 65-66: 'Vestrae adolescentiae conceditur ludere, et meis prsecipitur canis Scripturarum archana et mistica sacramenta meditari et penetrare. Abrenunciavi poetis et poetarum fabulis, nullisque eorum delector scurrilitatibus. Non est episcopi sedere in scena, sed praedicare in ecclesia; non in theatricas turpitudines, vel circenses crudelitates, sed legem Dei et verba sancti Evangelii'.
[17] C. Harper-Bill, 'Herbert de Losinga', in *ODNB*. Accessed online 29/03/24: https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-17025
[18] Brett, *The English Church*, 116-117.

commandments; and that which could not be understood of his incarnation was burned in the fire of the Holy Ghost like the flesh of the Paschal Lamb that remained in the morning.[19] In preaching these points, Herbert evidently sought to prepare his listeners for reception of the Eucharistic species. His sermon concluded with a traditional note that his audience should not tarry in following the precepts since they did not know whether they would live to see another day.[20]

However, before Herbert's figurative exegesis on Exodus 12 he described Christ's journey to Bethany, interpreted as 'the house of obedience', and thence Jerusalem in showing that Christ 'did not suffer against his will, but of his own accord'.[21] In preaching the obedience of Christ, Herbert further developed the juxtaposing images of humility and triumph in the gospel accounts into an image of Christ as an emperor and a warrior: 'The creator and redeemer of this world sits on these animals, and in this humble guise he who was about to triumph over Satan (*Sathanam triumphaturus*) hastens to the place of battle' (*locum certaminis*).[22] A little later, Herbert discussed the joyful songs sung by the children on Christ's entry to Jerusalem as 'worthy of such an emperor' (*dignus toto imperatore*), whilst Christ's preaching in the Temple was read against his patiently waiting for 'the day of his struggle' (*diem conflictus*).[23] This imagery might naturally have been expected to be preached on Palm Sunday, where the overarching image of Christ was that of a triumphal ruler met with the palms spread in the way and the multitudes singing his praises. But Herbert sought to develop these points even further. Jerusalem was the 'place of battle'; the coming Friday was the 'day of his conflict' in which Christ would 'triumph over Satan'. Obedience was stressed by Herbert in Christ's journey to Jerusalem through his exegesis on Bethany as the *domus obedientiae*, but in his note that Christ 'hastened' (*festinat*) an image of martial prowess – of obedience, but also even gladness and desire to partake of the coming battle – was put before his audience.

In Herbert's Maundy Thursday Sermon 6, he again pursued traditional lines of exegesis; noting Christ's humility in washing the feet of the disciples and how his audience were, similarly, to 'wash their feet' in absolution and penitence before receiving the Eucharistic supper.[24] The

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[19] Herbert, Sermon 5, 127-133.
[20] Ibid, 133.
[21] Ibid, 115-117.
[22] Ibid, 117-119. The word *certamen* could be translated as 'contest', 'battle', 'fight', 'competition', or 'struggle'. Herbert's editors originally translated this word as 'conflict', perhaps to keep line with their translation of *conflictus* several lines later.
[23] Ibid, 118-119. Herbert's editors consistently translate *imperatore* as 'prince', but I have chosen to diverge from this.
[24] Herbert, Sermon 6, 137-145.

audience were to cast their minds back over the preceding Lenten period and discern how they had 'made fat their fasts'.[25] As Herbert explained:

> To resort oftentimes to the holy church, to give attendance at the church's acts of worship, to give food to the poor, to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to comfort the oppressed, to visit the sick, to take the stranger in, these things without a doubt are a high feeding of your abstinence. Whereas, on the other hand, to stir up strifes, to give attendance in suits of law (*interesse negotiis forensibus*), to go beyond his brother, to take away by fraud what is committed to his trust, to accuse the innocent, to give wrong judgment; these things are a worship of Satan, and the death of erring souls. Take breath, we beseech you, and gather up all your strength. Today you shall enter into the holy Church: renounce, therefore, all the pomps and works of Satan.[26]

This preceding extract invites a discussion of the audience Herbert was addressing, and to whom, as a result, the martial characterisations of Christ that we will again turn to were directed. Much of Herbert's hortatory statement applied to the responsibilities incumbent on a community of Benedictine monks. To 'take the stranger in', as well as clothe and feed them, spoke to expectations of hospitality enshrined in Benedict's (d.547) *Rule*.[27] Indeed, a part of the rituals on Maundy Thursday would involve a number of the local poor being invited into the monastery and fed by the community. Herbert's other injunctions seem less specific to a monastic audience, however. His notes that they were to refrain from attending suits of law and not defraud others of possessions committed to them seem irrelevant to a cloistered community who, in theory, held all property in common and were not to meddle in worldly *negotiis*. Similarly, Herbert's praise of 'attendance at the church's acts of worship' seems odd for a community who daily celebrated the round of liturgical offices. These two statements might have been relevant to lay persons who were also present. But with this said monks were also flawed human beings like their lay counterparts beyond the cloister walls, and Herbert knew this. In a letter to a monk named Geoffrey, for instance, Herbert chastised his tardiness in attending church, his talking in

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[25] Ibid, 145.
[26] Ibid, 145-147.
[27] Benedict, *Rule*, ed. and trans. T. Fry (Collegeville Minnesota, 1982), Ch.53.1-2, 73: 'All guests who present themselves are to be welcomed as Christ, for he himself will say: *I was a stranger and you welcomed me* (Matt 25:35). Proper honour must be shown to all, especially to those who share our faith (Gal 6:10) and to pilgrims.'

chapter, and overindulgence in baths and bloodlettings.[28] The praises and condemnations in the sermon may have been relevant, therefore, in maintaining standards within the monastic community; especially given some of the recruits to Norwich that we shall note later in the chapter. As their abbot, as well as their bishop, Herbert was required to correct such vices, and his sermons provided opportunities to do so.

Herbert's note that 'today you shall enter into the holy Church', indicates he was preaching to an audience of penitents who had been ritually expelled on Ash Wednesday, and we might wonder whether laypeople were amongst them. In the mid-thirteenth century, according to Norwich's cathedral customary, the bishop would preach a sermon *ad populum* after meeting the penitents at the church door and inviting them inside.[29] Norwich's own liturgical customs were modelled after those observed at Fécamp, as is evident in comparing the Norwich customary and an ordinal from Fécamp written-up around the turn of the thirteenth century.[30] Herbert was, of course, a former monk of Fécamp, and maintained correspondence with, and great fondness for, his former community.[31] He also wrote to Roger (d.1139), the abbot of Fécamp, and told him that their customs were being observed in Norwich as far as Herbert could recall them, but that he proposed to send two monks to Fécamp to learn them thoroughly, subject to Roger's response.[32] We do not know Roger's reply to this, but the comparison noted above suggests that the *usus et consuetudines* of Fécamp were imported in Herbert's time as bishop,

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[28] Herbert, Ep.16, 31: 'Multorum religione cognovi te tuis reditum negligentiis, at antiquum remeasse torporem: rarus in claustro, continuus in auditoriis, tardus ad ecclesiam, velox in curia, et circumjacentibus plateis frequenter minueris et frequenter banearis'.

[29] *The Customary of the Cathedral Priory of Norwich*, HBS 82, ed. J.B.L. Tolhurst (London, 1948), 81: 'Dehinc fiat sermo ad populum. Si vero defuerit episcopus : non procedat ad ostium conuentus . set soli archidiaconi . prior indutus stola et capa procedet ad altare precedentibus candalabris . fiat sermo ad populum. Finito sermone : canant septem psalmos penitentiales fratres in choro prostrati super formas. Kyrieleyson cum Pater noster cum capitulis suis ut in collectario notantur.'

[30] *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, HBS 111-112, ed. D. Chadd, 2 Vols (London, 1999-2002).

[31] In a letter written to Abbot Roger at Fécamp, Herbert expressed his obedience and love for his former community and how he wished to be seen as a son, since he regarded abbot Roger as a father. See: Herbert, Ep.5, 6-7: 'Ex utero Fiscannensis ecclesie genitus, non indigeo meam vobis commendare obedientiam, cum ejusdem ecclesie nostrum alter sit pater, alter filius; id unum obsecro, ut me ametis sicut pater, et mihi praecipiatis sicut abbas; quoniam et ego vos redamare sicut filius, et vobis desidero obedire sicut monachus.'

[32] Herbert, Ep.34, 68-69: 'Usus et consuetudines Fiscannensis ecclesiae sciatis teneri a fratribus nostris apud Norwicum, in quantum potuimus eas extrahere a Domino Balduino, vel in quantum eas ego ipse possum recolligere; sed, ut vestra experientia novit, sensus divisus ad temporales necessitates minor est ad retinendas hujusmodi ecclesiasticas consuetudines, unde frequenter proposui unum vel duos fratres mittere Fiscannum, qui ipsis discerent rebus, quae nostris fratribus deferenda elegissent. Hoc tamen vestra praesentia et concessione faciendum judicavi. Relinquitur igitur vestrae voluntati quid inde nostrae deprecationi responsura sit'.

though the extent to which they resembled the practices outlined in the later Norwich customary is difficult to know.

The later customary might, then, indicate how Norwich's early-twelfth century Maundy Thursday looked, given the relationship with Fécamp and Herbert's key role in importing their customs. But even so, the Fécamp ordinal has no note concerning a *sermo ad populum* which is, of course, natural since this was an elaboration needed for a cathedral priory. Whether this was Herbert's addition or added at some other point between his episcopate and the making of the later customary, we cannot know. As such, the question of who exactly constituted Herbert's audience should remain open: it would certainly have composed members of his monastic community, but it is likely to have also included members of the laity.

Returning to the text itself, Herbert developed his martial characterisations of the passion introduced in his Palm Sunday preaching even further on Maundy Thursday with an especially striking image:

> Today you shall celebrate the holy supper of your saviour; and tomorrow you shall fasten your eyes upon the glory of the same saviour . Tomorrow will the almighty lord of all things triumph in his chariot of the cross (*curru crucis*), dyed purple with the shedding of his blood, and Satan, bound in chains behind the conqueror, shall thenceforth be expelled from the hearts of the faithful, and his kingdom shall be overthrown forever.[33]

The cross-chariot 'dyed purple' has no immediate biblical type, with the closest being the litter (*ferculum*) with 'the going up of purple' described in Song of Songs 3:9-10.[34] In his commentary on the Song of Songs the fifth-century exegete Apponius regarded Solomon's litter as a type of Christ's cross: 'It seems to me that this *ferculum* should be understood as the cross of our lord Jesus Christ where – although denying it – the Jew was shown that the life of the entire world had been established'.[35] The 'going up of purple' was taken by Apponius to refer both to Christ's 'royalty and divinity' (*regalisque divinitatis*) as well as the blood of the martyrs who imitated him.[36]

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[33] Herbert, Sermon 6, 147.

[34] Song of Songs 3:9-10: 'King Solomon hath made him a litter of the wood of Libanus. The pillars thereof he made of silver, the seat of gold, the going up of purple: the midst he covered with charity for the daughters of Jerusalem.'

[35] Apponius, *In Canticum Canticorum Expositio*, CCSL 19 eds. B. de Vregille and L. Neyrand (Turnhout, 1986), Bk.5, Ch.37, 133: 'Videtur ergo mihi hunc *ferculum* Domini nostril Iesu Christi crucem intelligi, ubi toitus mundi uitam, licet nesciens, Iudaeus imposuisse probatur…'

[36] Ibid, Bk.5, Ch.38, 134: 'In cuius columnis argentis uerum immaculatumque a contagione peccati corpus candescit, et gloriosae animae auri rutilat fulgor, in qua nucusque Dei Sermo *reclinatorium* habere probatur, et *purpureus* regalisque deitatis corruscat *ascensus*. Haec quippe tria in praedicatio ferculo crucis fuisse

In what would become the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the gloss on Solomon's verses referred only to the 'going up of purple' as a prefiguration of Christ's blood and the sacraments, but not to the litter as a type of the cross.[37] Peter Abelard, however, in his own Palm Sunday sermons sent to Heloise (d.1163) and the nuns of the Paraclete in the 1130s, drew explicitly from Apponius and similarly preached on the litter as a figure of Christ's cross, the 'saviour's vehicle' (*uehiculum saluatoris*).[38]

Some of this exegesis finds an echo in Herbert's words; particularly the 'royalty' of the purple blood on the cross-litter. But Herbert's cross was not a *ferculum* but a *currus*; the '*uehiculum*' of a conquering emperor. The sense in Herbert's imagery is different, and a likely source for his description was Ambrose of Milan's (d.397) *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*.[39] In the *Expositio*, Ambrose wrote about Christ's carrying his own cross on the road to Calvary as a 'trophy'.[40] However, he also went on to describe the cross as a chariot, writing: 'Let the triumphal one mount his chariot and ornament it not with branches or wagon trains with their teams of horses – the prizes coveted in worldly warfare – but, from the triumphal gibbet, let him suspend the captives plundered from the world.'[41] Of great significance in Herbert's image of the cross is the change from the relative passivity of the crucified Christ restrained in place, to one of agency with him imagined at the chariot's reins with the vanquished devil dragged behind in humiliation. This also echoes Ambrose's comments in the *Expositio*, in which he presented a subverted description of the traditional Roman *triumphus* ceremony, with the 'prince of the world and his

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esseque, absque iniuria deitatis, nullus rectae fidei dubitabit.'; Ibid, Ch.39, 134: '…per martyria uero gloriam *purpureum* sacrosancti sanguinis exempli sui posteris praebent imitationis *ascensum*.'

[37] *GO*, ii, 714: 'Uel ipse christus ascensus per quem et in ecclesiam et in celum intrat purpureus quia lavit nos in sanguine suo, et nullus ingreditur ecclesiam nisi sacramentis dominice passionis imbutus.'

[38] Peter Abelard, *Sermones*, CCCM 286 ed. L.J. Engels and C. Vande Veire (Brepols, 2020), Sermon 9, 114-115: 'Ferculum hoc loco a ferendo, id est, portando, uehiculum dicitur, quasi lectica potentum uel infirmorum qua molliter deferantur. Ligna Libani duo ligna sunt crucis. Libanus quippe candidatio interpretatur. Ligna itaque crucis ligna sunt candidationis et emundationis nostre, quia in illius uerus immolatus est Agnus cuius sanguine a peccatis mundati sumus […] Hec Domini passio dum per predicatores annuntiatur, quasi quodam ferculo atque uehiculo crucis uerus Salomon per mundum defertur. Crux itaque <ex> duobus lignis composita uehiculum est Saluatoris'; Sermon 10, 120: 'Cum enim dixisset: *Ferculum fecit sibi rex Salomon de lignis Libani*, atque ipsum ferculum quam mirabile fuerit diligenter descripsisset, statim filias Sion egredi hortatur ad ipsum regem in hoc ferculo suo conspiciendum. He uero sunt ipse quas in proximo dixerat filias Hierusalem, cum ait: *Media caritate constrauit propter filias Hierusalem*. Quas tanquam ad conscendendum in ipsum ferculum admonens iubet eas egredi, ut in ipso ferculo rege conspecto eius amore ad eum ascendere nitantur in ipsum eius ferculum, hoc est eius imitatione crucem eius tollendo sicut ipsemet admonet dicens: *Qui uult uenire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me*, hoc est passiones sustinens me imitetur.'

[39] Ambrose of Milan, *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, CCSL 14 eds. M. Adriaen and P.A. Ballerini (Turnhout, 1957).

[40] Ibid, Bk.10, Section 107, 376: Sed iam trophaeum suum uictor adtollat. Crux supra umeros inponitur ut trophaeum, quod, siue Simon siue ipse portauerit, et Christus in homine et homo portauit in Christo.'

[41] Ibid, Section 109, 376: '…currum suum triumphator ascendat nec arborum truncis aut quadriiugis plaustris manubias de mortali hoste quaesitas, sed patibulo triumphali captiua de saeculo spolia suspendat.'

wicked spirits' conquered.[42] The colour of the blood itself in Herbert's sermon – purple – also developed the image of Christ as a conquering *imperator* that he had already introduced in his Palm Sunday preaching. Roman emperors would perform their triumph ceremonies in chariots when returning from successful campaigns with, as Ambrose noted, the 'wagon trains', 'branches' and other paraphernalia associated with the secular ceremony.[43] It appears Herbert was familiar with the ceremony from Ambrose and drew from his imagery, but he may also have known it from his classical reading since in one letter to Fécamp he requested a copy of 'Suetonius' (perhaps the *Lives of the Caesars*) to be made and sent to him since he could not obtain a copy in England.[44] Finally, it might even be possible to see a deliberate emphasis in Herbert's choice of *cruor* as opposed to *sanguis* in describing the 'shedding of [Christ's] blood' upon the cross-chariot. The use of *cruor* could have been intended to emphasise the violent context in which Christ's blood was shed, which would have spoken to the martial imagery, or to show that the 'triumph' of the cross was to be understood as having occurred at or after the point of death, with the coagulated *cruor* staining the wood. With this said, this might be to push the evidence too far since distinctions between the two words, as Bynum has shown, are far from straightforward, and there is no discernible pattern to Herbert's use of both throughout the sermons.[45]

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[42] Ibid, Section 109, 376-377: 'Non hic reuinctis post tergum bracchiis gentes nec excisarum urbium imagines oppidorumque captorum simulacra cernimus aut summissa captorum regum colla miramur, qualis humanorum solet esse species triumphorum, nec uictoriae terminos regionis fine distinctos, sed ouantes populos nationum quaesitos non ad supplicium, sed ad praemium, reges liberis adfectibus adorantes, uoluntariis urbes studiis deditas et in melius reformatas imagines oppidorum, quas non fucus expressit, sed deuotio colorauerit fidei, arma uictoriarumque iura toto orbe currentia, captiuum principem mundi et spiritalia nequitiae quae sunt in caelestibus oboedientia inperio uocis humanae, subditas dominationes uariarumque uirtutum species, non sericis, sed moribus emicantes.'

[43] See: M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge Massachusetts, 2007), esp.107-142. Notably, it was the case that captives would be paraded *ante currum* in actual Roman triumphs.

[44] Herbert, Ep.5, 7: 'Suetonium, quem in Anglia invenire non possum, facite transcribi et transscriptum mittite mihi per Dancardum presbyterum, vel per alium quem volueristis servientem'. Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars* is first found in England in a late-eleventh century manuscript which ended up at Durham Cathedral in the later Middle Ages (Durham Cathedral MS. C III. 18). See: J. Willoughby, 'The Transmission and Circulation of Classical Literature: Libraries and Florilegia', in *The Oxford History of the Reception of Classical Literature: Volume I (800-1558)* ed. R. Copeland (Oxford, 2016), 100.

[45] C.W. Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007), 17-18. Herbert appears to have used the two terms fairly interchangeably. For Herbert's use of *cruor*, see: Sermon 4 (Ash Wednesday), 100: '…in ara crucis suum corpus obtulit holocaustum, et sui effusione cruoris universum redemit mundum'; Sermon 7 (Easter), 180: 'Fratres cibandi sumus corpore domini, suoque cruore potandi' and 188: 'Eadem et de liquore facto cruore Christi asserimus, astruimus et praedicamus'. For his use of *sanguis*, see: Sermon 1 (Christmas), 28: '…suo patri vestram praevaricationem sui sanguinis effusione reconciliaret'; Sermon 2 (Ephiphany), 70-72: 'Venundati eratis diabolo, set precio sui sanguinis redemit vos mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Ihesus'; Sermon 5, 128: 'Quid namque sit sanguis agni, non iam audiendo set bibendo didicistis. Qui sanguis super utrumque postem ponitur, quando non solum ore corporis, set etiam cordis ore hauritur; Sermon 6, 146:

Whilst studded with imperial motifs and a sense of *Romanitas*, Herbert's imagery also drew from a similar imaginative well to that of the Old English *Dream of the Rood* in which the cross itself was depicted as the retainer of the conquering warrior-Christ.[46] As the anonymous poet spoke from the perspective of the cross: 'I trembled when the warrior embraced me; even then I did not dare bow to earth, fall to the corners of the earth, but I had to stand fast […] I raised up the powerful king, the Lord of heaven; I did not dare to bend.[47] The 'gallows of the wicked' became instead the Christ-warrior's retainer in ransoming humanity.[48] In both *The Dream* and Herbert's sermons, there was great emphasis placed on Christ's martial agency. The cross of *The Dream* saw Christ 'hasten with great zeal, as if he wanted to climb up on me', whilst Herbert impressed on Palm Sunday Christ's hastening to 'the place of battle'.[49]

The Liturgy of Good Friday

As Herbert preached on Maundy Thursday, it would be 'tomorrow' (Good Friday) on which his audience would 'fasten their eyes' on the glory of his triumphal Christ vanquishing the devil. No Good Friday sermon survives, however, in Herbert's collection, but we can attempt a reconstruction of how the day's liturgy was conducted against which the Maundy Thursday image of triumph can be situated by utilising the later customary of Norwich and the Fécamp ordinal in addition to the proscriptions in Lanfranc of Bec's *Monastic Constitutions*.

As described in the Norwich customary, the Good Friday liturgy would feature performance of the hours in muted voices.[50] After chapter, the *secretarius* was to prepare the Easter sepulchre in which the cross would later be 'buried' before being raised in triumph on

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'Inchoatur hodie illa dominici corporis et sanguinis cena…'; Sermon 7, 180: 'Tales enim convivas convocat dominus, eisque sui corporis et sanguinis largitur sacramenta…', 190: 'Fiat panis corpus meum et calix sanguis meus et non erunt?', 196: 'Communiter igitur hac corporis et sanguinis Christi corporali commestione utuntur boni, utuntur et mali…', 198: 'At is quidem dominici corporis et sanguinis corporalis et temporalis usus est'.

[46] *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. E. Treharne, 108-115.

[47] Ibid, lines 42-45.

[48] Further levels of complexity are present in the poem, however, in which the paradox of the cross being both Christ's retainer as well as his 'slayer' are explored. See introductory notes by Treharne: Ibid, 108.

[49] See above: 63.

[50] *Norwich Customary*, 87: 'Prima autem et omnes hore diei dicantur sicut heri. Postea septem psalmi ab utroque choro dicantur et letannia mediocri voce'. This was also outlined in Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* for Benedictine houses in England. See: Lanfranc of Bec, *Monastic Constitutions*, OMT, eds. and trans. C.N.L. Brooke and D. Knowles (Oxford, 2002), 60: 'Prime and all other day hours, save Vespers, until Vespers on Saturday, shall be said as on Thursday, save that on Thursday the hymns shall be sung at a high pitch, the psalms intoned, and the antiphons sung, whereas on the other two days all shall be said in a low voice and without modulation.'

Easter Sunday.[51] After nones the cross was prepared upon the altar, and later two priests would stand either side holding each arm of the cross between them and singing *Popule meus*, to which two deacons standing in front of them would reply on bended knee along with the choir, before the cross was moved into position for extended worship.[52] The proceeding imaginatively recreated Christ's lamentations and reproaches from the cross, with the deacons and the audience behind them assuming the role of the crowd at Calvary. The two priests 'holding the cross between them' (*inter se crucem tenentes*) voiced Christ's reproaches and, in their positioning, assumed the role of the two thieves crucified at either side of Jesus. Once moved, the bishop would then 'expose' (*discooperiet*) the cross, saying *Ecce lignum crucis* with the verse *Deus misereatur* before returning to the choir where all would fall to their knees in solemn worship before proceeding in turn to kiss it.[53] The ritual would end with the priest and his ministers taking the cross away for burial in the sepulchre.[54] The Norwich proceedings show their close kinship with arrangements at Fécamp, but with certain roles replaced given the cathedral context and some other minor variations.[55] At Fécamp, for instance, the abbot would 'expose' the cross with his crozier, perhaps in imitation of the piercing lance of Longinus.[56] They also correlate in their essential outline with the proscriptions in Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions*, in which the monks would kiss the feet of the crucified figure in turn and, if there were laity or clerics present, the crucifix would be brought to them in another area for worship.[57] Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* did not however feature proscriptions around the construction of an Easter sepulchre, with Munns having noted the text's specification that a crucifix, and not a cross, was to be used in the day's liturgy.[58]

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[51] *Norwich Customary*, 88.
[52] Ibid, 88-89.
[53] Ibid, 89.
[54] Ibid.
[55] *Fécamp Ordinal*, i, 229-231. It should be noted that the ordinal makes no mention of kissing the crucifix. At Fécamp, also, the two priests do not seem to have had the cross *inter se* in their voicing of the reproaches before the deacons.
[56] Ibid, 231: 'Postquam uero delata fuerit ad locum in quo debet adorari: tunc accedens abbas discooperiens eam baculo suo incipiet a' *Ecce lignum crucis*'.
[57] Lanfranc, *Monastic Constitutions*, 63: 'Carpets shall be laid before the altar, and on these first the lord abbot and the vested ministers shall prostrate themselves; meanwhile others shall approach to take the place of those holding the cross, and then others still, in due order. They shall not lie in adoration for long, but praying briefly and simply, and then each one shall kiss the feet of the crucifix and return to choir. If any clerics or layfolk be there, who wish to adore the cross, this shall be carried to them in another place more suitable for their worship, and if it is borne through the choir the brethren shall do reverence on their knees, not all at once but as the cross is borne by them.'
[58] Munns, *Cross and Culture*, 72.

It is confusing, in this regard, that the Fécamp ordinal outlines the construction of a sepulchre whist also specifying that it was a crucifix that would be venerated on Good Friday.[59] This begs the question as to how the crucifix would have been displayed as 'risen' on Easter Sunday. Perhaps the arrangement made was for the reverse of the crucifix to be displayed before onlookers. The crucified body of Christ could not be shown triumphantly 'risen' on Easter Sunday, but the obverse of the crucifix, perhaps adorned in gold and jewels, or bearing a depiction of Christ in majesty at the centre, could be.

Whilst we cannot get at exactly how Good Friday was celebrated at Herbert's Norwich, the cross-comparison between the later cathedral customary, Fécamp ordinal, and Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* give an approximate view of what would have been the day's essential features. Celebration would be solemn, with muted voices. There would be an imaginative recreation of the scene at Calvary, with the reproaches of Christ from the prophecy of Micah voiced and answered. Either a cross or a crucifix would have been solemnly venerated by the community with much prostration, with the bishop-abbot assuming a central role in proceedings. The rituals may have ended with the solemn burial of the cross or crucifix, but as outlined above this cannot be proved with certainty. The use of a crucifix in the ritual might not, as has been suggested from the reading of the Fécamp ordinal, have precluded 'burial' at Herbert's Norwich despite the omission of this part of the day's liturgy in Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions*.

Whilst glory was not absent from the Good Friday liturgy, it was certainly subsumed beneath the day's solemnities. The day's liturgy stood in some contrast to Herbert's triumphal image of the crucifixion that he told his audience they would witness on Good Friday, with the emperor-Christ triumphing over Satan. Herbert's audience would have heard Christ's bitter reproaches from the cross as they partook in the day's liturgy, the chants of the monks would have been muted, the altars would have been cleared of their adornments, whilst the brothers would eat bitter food and drink at their evening meal in re-enactment of Christ receiving the bitter gall.[60] We might wonder, if it was indeed a crucifix and not a cross at the centre of

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[59] *Fécamp Ordinal*, i, 229: 'Crucifixus debet esse iuxta altare sancte trinitatis philacteriis decenter adornatus et candido pallio coopertus'; 230-231: 'Tunc erunt apud altare sancte Trinitatis duo sacerdotes in casulis. duo quoque diaconi in cappis candidis. Qui accipient crucifixum. diaconi quidem ab inferiori. sacerdotes uero a parte superiori. qui et ipsi cantabunt. *Popule meus*. et versus.' The ordinal goes on to refer to the crucifix as *crucem*, but it is obviously one and the same object.

[60] *Norwich Customary*, 90: 'Finitis vesperis; lauant pedes aqua calida induentes sotulares. Et statim custos ordinis percutiet tabulam ad prandium. Postea accedant ad mensam . omnes utantur pane et sale et aqua usque dum signum acceperint a priore. Altaria permaneant nudata usque sabbato sancto.'; Lanfranc, *Monastic Constitutions*, 65: 'When the Vespers are done, and the board has been sounded, they shall enter the refectory, where they shall eat bread only, with water and uncooked herbs. The food of the brethren shall be cooked as on other days in the kitchen and then given in alms; the accustomed measure of drink

Norwich's Good Friday proceedings, whether the image showed Christ as dead and thereby further impressed the solemnity of the day's liturgy upon the onlookers. In the sights, sounds, and tastes of Good Friday, the monastic brothers at Norwich, and the laity who may also have attended the day's services, would have been confronted with images and experiences in some contrast to the triumph and regal nature of Herbert's crucified Christ preached on Maundy Thursday. In what follows, therefore, we shall explore why it was that Herbert sought to conjure this martial image in the minds of his audience on Good Friday, which stood in such contrast to their experiences of the day's liturgy.

The Devotions of Fécamp & the Knightly Class of East Anglia

As will be remembered, Herbert first entered the monastic life at Fécamp. Fécamp was a centre of paramount importance in the monastic reforms of the eleventh century, with a rich devotional life cultivated during the abbacy of John of Fécamp, as Mancia has recently elucidated in great detail.[61] With John's masterpiece the *Confessio Theologica* at its heart, the monks of Fécamp practiced an affective form of piety in which obedience to one's abbot and 'harming to help' through the intense cultivation of inner sorrow were central tenets.[62] The image of the crucified and suffering Christ played a central part in Abbot John's affective thinking and the devotional experience at Fécamp.[63] In an especially important passage from the *Confessio*, John implored the crucified Christ:

> Through those saving wounds which you suffered on the cross for our salvation and from which flowed the precious and vivifying blood by which we have been redeemed with propitious graciousness … wound this sinful soul of mine for which you were willing even to die; wound it with the fiery and powerful dart of your excessive *caritas*. You are the living

shall likewise be given to the poor. While the community are at their meal, the sacrists and as many priests as may be needed and as have been instructed shall remain in the church to wash all the altars, which shall be washed first with water and then with wine.'; *Fécamp Ordinal*, 232-233: 'Fratres autem post refectionem sedebunt in claustro . nec ibunt potatum more solito . sed sustinebunt usque ad collationem . et tunc habebunt caritatem ex vino . et hoc pricipue propter sacrosanctam communionem . ne cruda esca herbarum et cervisie potus que illo die assumant aliquod incommodum contrahant . vel reuertantur in nauseam.'

61 Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism*, passim.

62 Ibid, 83-115.

63 Although as Mancia has noted, the other two central figures in John's thought as-expressed in the *Confessio Theologica* were Mary Magdalene and Hannah. See: Ibid, 31-34.

> Word of God, efficacious and more piercing than every sharpest sword. You, double-edged sword, cleave my hardness of heart and wound this sinful soul, and pierce more deeply to the inmost parts with your powerful virtue. Give me an abundant source of water and pour into my eyes a true font of tears…[64]

As Mancia noted in her broader discussion of John's 'devotional method' at Fécamp, 'an eleventh-century monk would have been presented with John's emotional devotion in a variety of media'.[65] Novices at Fécamp would have heard the following preached by their abbot during their first day at the monastery:

> Our cross is the fear of the Lord. Therefore, just as someone crucified no longer has the power of moving or turning his own limbs any way in accord with the motion of his own mind, so also ought we to fasten our wills and desires, not according to that which is pleasant to us and delights us at present, but according to the law of the Lord, to the place where that [law] has bound us.[66]

The sermon to novices also dwelt on the desirability of tears.[67] In his youth Herbert would have heard the same sermon preached by Abbot John. Indeed, in one of his later letters as bishop to Fécamp's Abbot Roger, Herbert fervently expressed how he had not forgotten 'the profession which [he] received upon the altar at Fécamp' and how 'neither by the passage of time nor an abundance of riches could it be extinguished in his heart'.[68] As Mancia has suggested, from this first moment the novice monk of Fécamp would have extracted their sense of 'purpose and motivation', and the paradoxical idea expressed in the *Confessio* that 'weeping and pain serve as comfort'.[69]

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[64] John of Fécamp, *Confessio Theologica* in *Un maître de la Vie Spirituelle au XI siècle: Jean de Fécamp*, ed. J. Leclercq and J-P. Bonnes (Paris, 1946), 180-181, quoted and translated by Mancia in *Emotional Monasticism*, 30.
[65] Ibid, 83.
[66] From the Fécamp homiliary, Paris BNF MS.Lat.3776, quoted and translated by Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism*, 84.
[67] Ibid, 84.
[68] Herbert, Ep.34, 69: 'Postremo certissime cognoscite professionem quam super Fiscannense altare feci, et benedictionem quam ex eodem altare accepi, nullis temporibus, nullarum divitiarum affluentiis in corde meo posse extingui; sed quantum promoveor aetate, tantum sum devotior et ferventior in obsequiis et jussionibus vestrae paternitatis'.
[69] Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism*, 84.

It seems curious, in this regard, that these devotional prescriptions and images apparently found no expression in Herbert's sermons. The imagery of crucifying oneself in imitation of Christ which, it should be noted, found broad expression in other sermons of the twelfth century as we shall later see, found no expression at all in Herbert's own preaching. Indeed, we see Herbert at his most 'affective' regarding the passion, as noted earlier, in his penitential preamble to the Norwich foundation charter. He did not utilise the image of the suffering Christ which he would have been constantly exposed to at Fécamp when preaching to his own audience of monks the other side of the Channel. Whilst Herbert evidently felt a keen sense of loyalty and affiliation with his mother house and sought to model his own community in its image, this was only his desire with regards to the liturgical outlines of life at Fécamp. Its affective substance does not appear to have been imported by Herbert to East Anglia.

So why, then, did Herbert not draw from the affective wealth of imagery and exegesis that was part of his daily life, and intellectual formation, at Fécamp? He was keen to import the customs of his former house, and indeed his new cathedral bore the same dedication to the Holy Trinity. The devotional life and affective piety practiced at Fécamp had, however, been cultivated over the course of John's fifty-year abbacy from 1028-78. As Mancia has suggested, novice monks who were told to 'crucify themselves' when joining the monastery would have interiorised this message from John's *Confessio* even more profoundly through Fécamp's liturgical rituals, John's conception of the abbot's role, and the artistic practices of the abbey.[70] Herbert, by contrast, was starting from the ground up with his community of monks at Norwich. In preaching as he did, Herbert may have sought to utilise imagery that was more readily identifiable and comprehensible to his new community of monks.

From the evidence of Herbert's letters and surviving charters, the new community at Norwich may have stood in some contrast to the reformed and disciplined monks of Fécamp. We noted earlier Herbert's letter of rebuke to the monk Geoffrey for his tardiness and lack of discipline, whilst Otto and William had to be repeatedly reminded not to over-indulge in the pagan classics to the detriment of their appreciation for scripture. We also know that some members of the community had formerly lived rather worldly lives. In one charter a deacon named Godwin, after gifting his church at Cressingham to the cathedral, pledged that he would also assume the monastic habit there, but only after the death of his wife Edith.[71] In a letter

[70] Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism*, passim.
[71] *Norwich Charters*, D.1, 57: 'Promitto in predicta ecclesia me accepturum sacre religionis habitum et monachum futurum quando Deus animam meam inspiraverit et quando dominus meus Herbertus episcopus preceperit, defuncta uxore mea Ediva'

addressed to all of the brothers at Norwich Herbert reminded his community that 'Being a monk is a serious thing; it is not simply the black habit [we wear], but humility and obedience, chastity, and the imitation of our saviour's footsteps'.[72] Of particular interest for our purposes, however, was the presence of former knights and noblemen amongst the brothers at Herbert's new cathedral, and the difficulties that this created as they succumbed to the temptations of the world they had renounced.

Our best evidence for this is a long letter that Herbert wrote to a prospective monk named Odo.[73] From the letter it appears Odo made a similar pledge to the deacon Godwin but had got cold feet about entering the community at Norwich when the time came.[74] Herbert sought to reassure Odo by valorising the monastic life in familiar martial imagery:

> In the first days of your warfare weapons will be prepared with which you may be armed for the march and prevail against the hidden snares of your enemies […] My son, the life of your religion is warfare: in the presence of God, and with the angels watching, in the arena of this world we are set forth against cruel and invisible beasts. Take up the shield of obedience, gird yourself with the sword of forbearance, hold forth the lance of foresight with the banner of the Lord's cross bound to it at all times. Step on to the chariot of fortitude (*fortitudinis currum*), with the true charioteer at the reins, and press on to the prize. You are conscripted into the ranks of the victorious emperor, whose immortal kingdom surpasses all mortal kingdoms.[75]

Several of the images Herbert used in his letter find their corollaries in his sermons, particularly that of the chariot and 'true charioteer', who was to be understood as Christ. It should of course be noted that imagery of 'spiritual warfare' was deeply imbued in monastic

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[72] Herbert, Ep.57, 97: 'Maxima res monachatus, sed monachatus non est pulla tunica, sed humilitas et obedientia, castitas et imitatio vestigiorum Salvatoris nostri.'
[73] Herbert, Ep.13, 22-26.
[74] Ibid, 22: 'Conflectere, dilectissime fili, tuae visitationis consolationem quam dum scriberem, non cornu sed in corde calamum intinxi, meis te instruens visceribus quem in visceribus ecclesie norwicensis incorporari concupisco'.
[75] Ibid, 22-23: 'Tuae rudimentis militiae praeparanda sunt arma, quibus et munitus incedas et tuorum hostium latentes insidias evitare pervaleas […] Fili, militia est vestrae religionis vita, et praesente Deo, prospectantibus anfelis, in circo hujus mundi invisibilibus et ideo crudelioribus bestiis exponimur. Arripe clypeum obedientiae, accingere gladio patientiae, vibra providentiae lanceam, sed eam cui insolubiliter alligetur Dominicae crucis vexillum. Ascende fortitudinis currum, et veritate auriga, ad constitutum evola branium [sic bravium]. Ascriptus es militiae victoriosi Imperatoris cujus regnum immortale omnia mortalia extenuat regna.'

identity, in which tonsured *milites* did battle in the name of Christ against spiritual foes.[76] As such, imagery of warfare was not solely keyed to those who had practiced it in their former worldly lives. However, the use of the imagery by Herbert *was* specifically and rhetorically targeted against Odo's desire to return to his former life: his secular knighthood. Odo was reluctant to consign himself to the monastery; he lamented his feasts, sexual freedom, his riches, and the stories that regaled his table. In answering these objections, Herbert impressed upon Odo the superiority of monastic life:

> The wicked tell you their stories (*fabulationes*), but you are supported by the wood of the Lord's passion and shall 'walk upon the asp and the basilisk and shall trample underfoot the lion and the dragon' [Psalm 90:13], and 'a thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but they shall not come nigh to thee' [Psalm 90:7]. You shudder at the regulation of time, but eternity is promised to your expectation. You fear poverty, but Christ calls upon the blessed poor. You praise sumptuous feasts, but 'meat for the belly, and the belly for the meats: God shall destroy both it and them' [1 Corinthians 6:13]. You recall your pleasant lusts, but the apostolic vigour answers the delights of your pleasures that 'he that soweth in the flesh, of the flesh also shall reap corruption, but he that soweth in the spirit, of the spirit shall reap life everlasting' [Galatians 6:8].[77]

Herbert was well aware of Odo's knightly sensibilities, and the allure of his former life, but sought to highlight the shallowness in each of his worldly delights. The songs of his feasting-table were nothing but *fabulationes* told by the wicked (the same description Herbert used in deriding the classics in his letter to Otto and William)[78]; the food that filled his belly would be consumed along with his body; the regulation of his time by the labours of the cloister would be rewarded with eternal life, whilst the lusts he was free to pursue in the world, were he to return to them, would merely bring corruption. In impressing these points, Herbert also sought to appeal to Odo's sense of masculinity in his knightly rank: 'Can you not do what little boys and

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[76] K.A. Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge, 2011), passim.
[77] Herbert, Ep.13, 25: 'Narrant tibi iniqui fabulationes suas, sed tu innixus Dominicae passionis ligno, super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem, et cadent a latere tuo mille et decem millia a dextris tuis, ad te autem non appropinquabunt. Fastidium temporis exhorres, sed tuae expectationi aeternitas repromittitur. Paupertatem times, sed Christus pauperes beatos appellat. Lauta laudas convivia, sed escae ventri et venter escis; peus autem et haec et illas destruet. Jucundarum recordaris libidinum, at tuarum deliciis voluptatum vigor apostolicus respondet : qui seminat in carne, de carne metet corruptionem ; qui autem seminat in spiritu, de spiritu metet vitam aeternam.'
[78] See above, 61-62.

girls can? The virgin Anne spurned the glory of the Roman prefecture and was made a spouse of Christ; your kinsmen and countrymen of distinguished rank flock in droves to don the religious habit, and you choose to ponder the obscenity of your former way of life?'[79] Broader patterns of practice amongst men of Odo's position were also highlighted by Herbert in the latter part of his statement, in which he referenced Odo's *contribules et compatriotae* who were hastening to join monasteries. If the reference to Odo's *contribules et compatriotae* literally meant those in the environs of East Anglia, Herbert's statement might indicate that other men of Odo's rank had entered the community at Norwich already. This would have served as a further inducement for Odo to follow them there, for it was common practice for kin groups to establish themselves at particular monasteries and follow one another there, when the time came.[80] Indeed, another former knight with whom Herbert also encountered difficulties was a certain 'Thurstan', to whom he sent a letter of reprimand.[81] From Herbert's account we learn that Thurstan had gone a step further than Odo, effectively abandoning the community to return to his family lands:

> You shudder away from your [monastic] inheritance, brother Thurstan – delighting instead in transitory riches – and scoff at us in our wattled huts as you live in marble palaces; a fine display of prudence, if only amongst the abundance of your riches you could remember our poverty. We are brothers, but do not seek to disinherit you whenever it is you choose to return from your family's hearth. But make provision for yourself and our expectations. We expect the money earned from your warfare and the profits of your business endeavours.[82]

From the letter we learn that the rigours of life in the monastery were too much for Thurstan, who had returned to his worldly *militia* from which Herbert sought to obtain some recompense. The reference to Thurstan scoffing at the brothers in their 'wattled huts' (*arundinea*

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[79] Herbert, Ep.13, 25-26: 'Non poteris quod pueri possunt et puellae? Anna virgo Romanae praefecturae contempsit gloriam, et facta est sponsa Christi; tui contribules et compatriotae primarii catervatim convolant ad habitum religionis, et tu pristinae conversationis obscenitatem meditaveris?'

[80] Smith, *Monastic Culture*, 41-70; M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (Oxford, 1993), 115-154.

[81] Herbert, Ep.39, 58-59.

[82] Ibid, 58: 'Tuam obhorrens haereditatem, frater Thurstine, peregrinis delectaris divitiis, et nostra arudinea condempnens tuguria, marmoreis habitas in palatiis; elegans tuae prudentiae consilium, si inter tuarum abundantias deliciarum nostrae recorderis paupertatis. Fratres sumus, tuam exhereditatem non quaerimus, paternorum penatibus larum quandoque reddendus es. Provide tibi et nostrae expectationi; tu militia solides, tuaeve negitiationis merces expectamus.'

tuguria) suggests the temporary and uncomfortable living conditions experienced by the community during the building of Herbert's new church.

The 'Benedictinisation' of East Anglia in the years following the Conquest was rapid indeed, with the local baronage establishing 'monasteries designed to secure their salvation and to assert their dominance over the land'.[83] The local knightly class trod the road to salvation both by establishing and endowing their own monastic houses, as well as entering the communities themselves. As such, Herbert's references to the piety of Odo's kin and compatriots speak to the sentiments that Harper-Bill has elucidated amongst the ruling classes in East Anglia.[84] Such piety and support for the monastic life as there was amongst the local knightly class, the realities of worldly renunciation and coenobitic discipline would also have shocked others. If there were indeed other men like Odo and Thurstan amongst the community at Norwich, uneasy about leaving the world and renouncing former markers of self-identity, their bishop's consistent militarisation of Christ's passion could be read as an appeal to the former identities and anxieties borne by his community of 'raw recruits'. To preach abstention and restraint through the images of the suffering Christ Herbert would have interiorised from his years at Fécamp may not have been as rhetorically effective considering his audience in Norwich. Men like Odo and Thurstan were wavering in their vocation; they felt limited and constrained by the rigours of monastic life, as Herbert acknowledged in his letters. To preach an image of extreme restraint, of members 'crucified' in imitation of Christ, to such an audience, may not have had the desired effect. As we noted earlier when discussing Herbert's imagery of the triumphal chariot, the important change was from one of relative passivity in Christ's sufferings and acceptance of them, to one of agency in his triumph over the devil in the cross-chariot. To galvanise former worldly *milites*, the restraint and rigour of monastic life had to be communicated as agency, activity, and valour. In concert with this, the sufferings of Christ were better communicated to such an audience in martial terms; the reproaches, deposition, and solemnity of the Good Friday liturgy around the image of the crucifixion was, Herbert assured his listeners, a triumph and a glorious conquest, for those who might not have easily perceived them as such.

Other contemporary thinkers addressed such issues by different means. Ivo, in his *Decretum*, argued against the hasty adoption of the habit by former knights and suggested that

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[83] C. Harper-Bill, 'Searching for Salvation in Anglo-Norman East Anglia', in *East Anglia's History: Studies in Honour of Norman Scarfe*, eds. C. Harper-Bill, C. Rawcliffe and R.G. Wilson (Woodbridge, 2002), 27-29.
[84] Ibid, and his earlier 'The Piety of the Anglo-Norman Knightly Class', in *Anglo-Norman Studies II*, ed. R.A. Brown (Woodbridge, 1980), 63-77.

they be tested for a period of three years before being allowed to take the habit.[85] Others sought to tailor the imagery and exegesis of the religious life to recruits drawn from the world, as has recently been suggested regarding Honorius Augustodunensis's (d.1140) *Elucidarium*.[86] Herbert acted similarly with his sermons; carefully tuning his imagery to points of reference recognised by former knights amongst his monastic recruits.

With this said, whilst the letters Herbert wrote to Odo and Thurstan, and what they suggest about the presence of former knights at Norwich, is revealing when read against the sermons, we should also consider the broader appeal of Herbert's imagery beyond the cloister walls. The lay nobility who did not assume the habit would also have heard Herbert preach over Passiontide and Eastertide, and we should consider the effects of his sermonising not just in cementing the identities of recruits within the monastery, but in attracting and retaining patronage beyond its walls. The dominant monastic house in the region, and the main rival to Herbert's Norwich, was the abbey of Bury St Edmunds with whom he, and previous bishops of East Anglia, had long quarrelled. With its warrior-saint patron, Bury 'held an obvious appeal for the Norman military aristocracy'.[87] Indeed, Hermann the Archdeacon (d.c.1098) in his *Miracles of St Edmund*, described the martyred king as 'the patron saint of these counties' in recounting the quarrels between the abbey and Bishop Herfast (d.1084).[88] In seeking finances and patronage for his new community, and with Edmund's warrior-king figure looming large over East Anglia, an overt 'militarisation' in Herbert's preaching may also have served to counter the rival abbey in attracting patronage in addition to cultivating an *esprit de corps* within the walls of Norwich Cathedral. Edmund was of course a powerful martyr-king, but Herbert and his monks served an *emperor* Christ in his chariot-cross; an image that also evoked the glamour of '*Romanitas*' to potential patrons or those thinking of taking the habit themselves.

Herbert's strands of exegesis around the crucifixion were completed in the final texts from his Eastertide cycle – those for Easter Sunday and Ascension Day – and it is to those we will now turn.

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[85] Ivo, *Decretum*, Bk.10, Ch.124

[86] See: G. Schmidt, 'From Manual to Best-Seller: The History of Honorius Augustodunensis's Elucidarium', in *Books of Knowledge in Late Medieval Europe: Circulation and Reception of Popular Texts* eds. P. Cermanová and Ž. Václav (Turnhout, 2021), 137-163.

[87] Harper-Bill, 'Searching for Salvation', 28.

[88] Hermann the Archdeacon, *Miracles of St Edmund* in *Hermann the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: Miracles of St Edmund*, OMT, ed. and trans. T. Licence (Oxford, 2019), 73.

As befits a sermon for Easter Sunday, Herbert adopted a triumphal tone in describing how the entire created order rejoiced in the resurrection which superseded the 'mourning and tears' of the passion.[89] The request from the Jewish crowd that Christ come down from the cross and prove his divinity was decried by Herbert, who impressed how Christ was instead 'hiding his power [and] showing forth his long-suffering' upon the cross in 'working out the salvation of men'.[90] The request that Christ refused to oblige was, of course, surpassed by his resurrection and duly celebrated.

The triumphal tone was of course natural for the day's feast, but as we have seen it was also a natural progression from the triumphal and martial imagery that characterised the entire course of Herbert's Passiontide preaching. As such, the military imagery was again used on Easter Sunday by Herbert in casting the minds of his audience back over the preceding days: 'He died therefore of his own accord; he arose again of his own power; he finished his warfare (*suam miliciam*); he got himself a glorious victory; he triumphed over the devil and reconciled to the father the persecutors of the Christian faith.'[91] The greater part of Herbert's sermon dwelt upon the reception of the Eucharist that would take place that day. The audience were reminded of the truth within the substances of bread and wine, and how their transformation into flesh and blood through the spoken word was not impossible since all creation proceeded from the word of God.[92] As we have noted, however, the martial imagery and recollection of Christ's 'warfare' was still emphasised in this sermon, and Herbert evidently wanted his audience to continue bearing the martial analogies and imagery in mind. They then reached their fullest development, and end point, in Herbert's sermon for Ascension Day.

In this final sermon from the Eastertide sequence, Herbert paralleled Christ's ascent into Heaven with his earlier descent in the harrowing of Hell, in which Christ freed the souls of the righteous who had died before his coming.[93] Encapsulated in the words of the Apostle's Creed and drawn in large part from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the harrowing possessed a

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89 Herbert, Sermon 7, 157.
90 Ibid, 157-159.
91 Ibid, 175.
92 Ibid, 181-191.
93 On the harrowing of Hell, see: J.A. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh, 1930) and K. Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007).

great imaginative hold over the Latin Middle Ages in art, literature, and drama.[94] As such, Herbert sought to parallel the dramatic descent of Christ with his later triumphal ascent into Heaven, the climax of his martial imagery that punctuated his entire narrative of the passion:

> God sent his word into the flesh, and the flesh of Christ into the wrestling-ground (*harenam*) of this world, and delivered up that flesh to the venomous enemy, to be tempted, to be scourged, to be crucified, and to be put to death […] Thence that pestilent spirit, moved with envy, ran to the contrivance of his death, and laboured to rob him of his life, whom he was not able to stain with sin. But because no fault was found in him, he deserved no death. Nor was he exposed to any judgment, inasmuch as he was not tied or bound with the chain of any sin. For it is not the judgment, but the cause which makes a man guilty. The author of life is condemned to death, and the harmless one is lifted up on the cross, because he was preparing a remedy for the torments of his faithful ones. He perfects the victory of his warfare (*suae militiae*), and shows forth his calm obedience, even unto the death enjoined to him by God. His body, which was without spot or blemish, is left on the cross, and his soul hastens to Hell; but the word of God, forsaking neither of them, abode with both. Holy angels go before, and the gates of Hell are broken in pieces. A divine light bursts in, and the darkness of the deadly dungeons is enlightened. Satan is bound with bonds which cannot be loosed, and the chains of the saints are broken in sunder.[95]

Herbert again returned to his imagery of Christ's 'warfare' (*militiam*) in describing his obedience and suffering upon the cross, which was then developed through the overtly martial description of the descent drawn from the apocryphal narratives. As recounted in the apocryphal texts, angels preceded Christ in approaching the gates of Hell and demanding entry, before 'the gates of iron were broken in pieces, and the bars of iron were crushed' during Christ's entry and illumination of the darkness.[96] As-described in the descent apocrypha, the angels demanded Christ's entry into Hell through the words of Psalm 23: 'Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be

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[94] For the Gospel of Nicodemus and associated narratives of Christ's descent into Hell, see: *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (hereafter *ANT*) ed. and trans. J.K. Elliott and M.R. James (Oxford, 1993), 165-204.
[95] Herbert, Sermon 8, 233-241.
[96] *ANT*, 188.

ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in'.[97] In Herbert's sermon, after extricating the souls of the righteous, the angels spoke the same words when they arrived at the gates of Heaven:

> An immortal triumph was prepared, and the reproach of the captivity having been wiped away, the captives who had been ransomed went before the chariot of the conqueror (*currum triumphantis*). The heavenly host met them; and the venerable senate of the angels ordered the devout salute; and you can be sure that the holy ghost was in no wise absent from such a solemnity. They shouted as they came along 'Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in' And those who met them answered: 'Who is this King of Glory? The Lord of hosts, he is the King of Glory' [Psalm 23]; and so, the most high potentate and his most blessed army enter today the holy of holies, and are placed in the chiefest places of God's creation.[98]

Herbert thus established a parallel through his use of the same quote from Psalm 23. The same words that were spoken to Hades by the angels were then repeated by them at the final completion of Christ's *miliciam* when he arrived with the ransomed souls and his 'most blessed army' (*beatissimus exercitus*). The parallel would have been recognised by his audience. With regards to the scene itself, Herbert again drew from classical martial imagery. An 'immortal triumph' (*inmortalis triumphus*) was prepared for Christ, the ransomed captives went before his 'chariot', and the 'senate of angels' (*senatus angelorum*) met the 'army' (*exercitus*) at Heaven's gates. Herbert's editors noted his deliberate parallel of the Roman 'triumph' in which victorious emperors would return to the city with their captives before them and the army behind their chariot of triumph.[99] However, as we have noted, this was simply the conclusion of a sustained characterisation by Herbert of the entire history of the passion as warfare and conquest. Indeed, in this vein, we might be able to identify the 'chariot of the conqueror', which the editors associated with the cloud described in Acts, as instead Christ's cross.[100] As Herbert preached in his Maundy Thursday sermon, Christ would triumph over the devil in his 'chariot of the cross' in

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[97] Ibid.

[98] Herbert, Sermon 8, 243-245. Note here that the 'ransomed captives' were described as *preceding* the chariot, in accordance with the classic *triumphus* ritual. See note above: 64, n.47. I have substituted Goulburn and Symonds's translation of '*senatus*' as 'company' as 'senate' to illustrate the *Romanitas* that Herbert was at pains to impress in his sermons.

[99] Herbert, Sermon 8, 242, n.e.

[100] Ibid; Acts 1:9: 'And when he had said these things, while they looked on, he was raised up: and a cloud received him out of their sight.'

an image which similarly drew from the Roman *triumphus* ceremony. In this vein we can regard the *triumphus* at the gates of Heaven as the culmination of Herbert's martial imagery: the instrument of conquest in which Christ battled and triumphed over Satan now preceded the army of angels and ransomed souls as they arrived at the gates of Heaven.

Conclusion

Herbert's sermons, as his previous biographers have stressed, display his comprehensive knowledge of scripture and proclivity to extract moral meanings from their words. Much more can be said, however, about Herbert's abilities as a preacher and his sermons themselves, as the preceding discussion has shown by exploring them through the interpretive lens of his 'passion preaching'. When read against Herbert's preoccupations as bishop and abbot, his intellectual formation at Fécamp, and liturgical proceedings at Norwich, a picture emerges of a bishop attuned to the sensibilities of his immediate audience and desirous to hone his preaching accordingly. His consistent depiction of Christ's salvific work as a martial victory, threaded throughout his preaching from Palm Sunday through to Ascension, was informed by the sensibilities and capacity of his audience of monks, as well as the broader knightly community of East Anglia. No longer in the reformed community of Fécamp with its central image of the crucified and suffering saviour, Herbert's monks would not respond to the image so central to his own monastic youth. For a community composed of converted knights, unruly brothers, and youths invested in the pagan classics, Herbert presented Christ's passion, despoliation of Hell, and ascension into Heaven as a conquest and triumph through a mixture of martial metaphors and classical motifs. This preaching was not just keyed to the monks of Norwich, however, but also the lay ruling classes who may also have attended their bishop's preaching over Passiontide and Eastertide. These men would have identified with the warrior figure of Christ, and perhaps also the glamour of Rome in the classical motifs of chariots, triumphs, senates, and emperors with which Herbert laced his sermonising on the passion. Herbert's own piety and attitude to the suffering Christ cannot be ascertained for sure, but the charter with which we opened this chapter was, perhaps, more the product of the monk of Fécamp than it was the bishop of Norwich. His pious and penitential reflection on the 'chalice of salvation' echoed the hortatory and affective sentiments that informed his earlier life in Abbot John's monastery. With his new community, however, Herbert galvanised his audiences through a different rhetorical approach and a different set of images, emphasising the martial prowess, agency, and triumph of Christ above all else.

But with this said, the search for Herbert's 'true' piety, or the way in which he 'truly' regarded Christ's passion, is perhaps the wrong approach to take. Both the sentiments reflected in the foundation charter, and those of his sermons, were held concurrently. The key factor in assessing each is audience. Herbert perhaps sought to speak to men like Anselm with his penitential protestations in the charter. Anselm's theology of salvation, after all, emphasised the disparity between God and man brought about by sin; of a chasm established which nothing except the incarnation and death of Christ could bridge. Herbert echoed similar sentiments in his foundation charter, emphasising how he could not similarly 'drink' from the chalice Christ drank in shedding his blood and suffering. His concerns in preaching to the monks of his new community, and the lay elite of East Anglia, were markedly different. In addressing these audiences, Herbert stressed the glory, agency, and power of the Christ-emperor in his passion and death, to galvanise the monks within his walls and attract patronage from beyond them. The comparison between both the charter and the sermons demonstrates Herbert's considerable rhetorical skill, and his abilities to calculate the imagery and exegesis on the passion most effective for particular audiences and purposes.

Chapter Three: The Sermons of Geoffrey Babion

Introduction

Captured in both the person and the archiepiscopate of Geoffrey Babion are several of the great political and religious currents of the first half of the twelfth century. As archbishop of Bordeaux Geoffrey played a significant role in increasing Capetian influence in southwest France. He officiated at the marriage between Louis VII (d.1180) and Eleanor of Aquitaine (d.1204) at his cathedral church in 1137 and corresponded closely with the regent Abbot Suger (d.1151) on matters pertaining to Gascony and opposition to Capetian authority during Louis's absence on crusade.[1] A close friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable (d.1156), and Suger, Geoffrey owed his appointment as archbishop, as noted earlier, to his preaching against the supporters of the antipope Anacletus II; notably the usurper archbishop of Bordeaux Gerard of Angoulême. Bishop Gerard's supporters saw Geoffrey as a foreign and hostile instrument of Innocent II, and the fallout from the schismatic influence at Bordeaux was both protracted and bitter. Upon his elevation, Geoffrey sought to reform the canons of Bordeaux by having them adopt the Augustinian rule, which was vehemently opposed, and in 1138 he travelled to Rome to report on the perils afflicting his church. The conflict became so sour that Geoffrey excommunicated the canons and spent the years 1140-45 in exile. During some of these years the archbishop was to be found with the royal entourage in Paris and its environs.[2] In 1144, for instance, he was amongst those who attended the consecration of Suger's beautiful new abbey church of St Denis.[3] It was only through Bernard of Clairvaux's arbitration that the conflict with his clerics was eventually settled with the adoption of the rule and Geoffrey's return to his archiepiscopal seat in 1145.

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[1] See the letters from Geoffrey to Suger printed amongst the latter's correspondence in PL 186 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1854). In Ep.25 (col.1359) Geoffrey wanted to know whether Suger and Raoul of Vermandois (d.1152) would be visiting his lands and, if they were not, he informed them he would report on the *statum terrae*. In Ep.42 (cols.1369-1371) Geoffrey reported to Suger of the encroachment by the viscount of Gabarret on the king's lands. Many of the bishops and nobles of Gascony had gathered at Mansan, including the viscount, where Geoffrey informed him and his men that they would be excommunicated if they did not desist from besieging the city of Dax and despoiling the king's lands. Geoffrey informed Suger that an agreement was made for both sides to present their case, but also told him that the viscount would not long sustain an excommunication and urged the pope to level it against them. He also reported to Suger and Raoul that men and victuals were needed for a fortified tower in Bordeaux and stated that other matters pertaining to the king's men in Aquitaine would be relayed by the messenger himself.

[2] *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. A. Luchaire (Paris, 1885), Nos.117 (Paris, 1143), Nos.127 and 129 (Lorris, 1143).

[3] Suger, *The Book on the Consecration of the Church of Saint-Denis*, Ch.6, 58, in *Selected Works of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis* trans. R. Cusimano and E. Whitmore (Washington, 2018).

Along with the aftereffects of schism, the Gascony of Geoffrey's day had also witnessed recent heresies. Henry the Monk (d.1145), preaching justification by faith, anti-clericalism, and the superfluity of infant baptism, had stopped at Bordeaux as he travelled through the south of France pursued by Bernard.[4] Geoffrey's other powerful friend Peter the Venerable, moreover, lamented the Petrobrusian heresy's impact on Provence and, in prefacing his *Contra Petrobrusianos Hereticos* (c.1139-40), reported alarmingly on its migration to neighbouring Gascony.[5] More broadly in the Gallic church, Peter Abelard and Bernard had recently clashed at the Council of Sens (1141) against a backdrop of communal unrest and anxiety across the country.[6] Bordeaux itself would experience urban troubles between the years 1147-9, during which Geoffrey looked north to the Isle-de-France and his Capetian allies in seeking to quell the disturbances.[7]

Such was the context, both local and national, within which Geoffrey composed and preached many of his sermons.[8] Some seventy sermons can be attributed to Geoffrey, which comprise a liturgical cycle of thirty-four for the *temporale* and *sanctorale* along with *ad status* pieces and sermons written for the dedication of churches. The question of when exactly Geoffrey wrote his sermons requires some brief comment, against which the following arguments will be situated. Evidently the synodal pieces date from the time of Geoffrey's archiepiscopate between 1136-58, speaking in his capacity as archbishop before gatherings of clergy. The intricacies and difficulties in the dating and organisation of the collection have been noted by Jean-Hervé

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[4] Moore, *Origins of Heresy*, 41-46. On Bernard's preaching in Occitania, see: B. Mayne-Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Woodbridge, 2001).
[5] Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos Hereticos*, CCCM 10, ed. J. Fearns (Turnhout, 1968), Ep.1; D. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000-1150)*, trans. G. Robert Edwards (Cornell, 2002).
[6] See: C.J. Mews, 'The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard, and the Fear of Social Upheaval', *Speculum*, Vol.77, No.2 (April 2002): 342-382; W. Verball, 'The Council of Sens Reconsidered: Masters, Monks, or Judges?', *Church History*, Vol.74, No.3 (September 2005): 460-493.
[7] See above, 85, n.1, on Geoffrey's correspondence with Suger and the fortification of the tower in Bordeaux. On the urban troubles in Bordeaux, somewhat shadowy to reconstruct from the little surviving evidence, see: C. Higounet, *Bordeaux Pendant le Haut Moyen Age* (Bordeaux, 1963), 66-67 and 283-288.
[8] The historiography on Geoffrey has largely been Francophone. Most recently, see the several articles by Jean-Hervé Foulon: 'Geoffroy Babion, Écolâtre d'Angers (mort en 1158), L'exemple d'une Collection de Sermons', in *Le Médiéviste Devant Ses Sources: Questions et Méthodes*, eds. C. Carozzi and H. Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence, 2004), 65-97; 'L'anticléricalisme dans la Prédication de Geoffroy Babion, Archevêque de Bordeaux (1136-1158)' in *L'anticléricalisme en France Méridionale*, Cahiers de Fanjaux, Vol.38 (Toulouse, 2003), 41-75; 'Le clerc et Son Image dans la Prédication Synodale de Geoffroy Babion, Archevêque de Bordeaux (1136-1158)' in *Le Clerc Séculier au Moyen Âge*, ed. Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public (Paris, 1993), 45-60. Also: G-M. Oury, 'La Vie Contemplative Menée en Communauté d'après Geoffroi Babion', in *Etudes Ligériennes d'histoire et d'Archéologie édiévales: Mémoires et Exposés Présentés à la Semaine d'études Médiévales de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, 3-10 Juillet 1969*, ed. R. Louis (Paris, 1975), 297-305; Les Sermons de Geoffroi Babion et la Chrétienté Bordelaise (1136-1158)', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 22 (1979): 285-297. The classic study by Bonnes laid the ground for much of this succeeding work. See: 'Un des Plus Grands Prédicateurs' *passim*.

Foulon, who has explored Geoffrey's work in several important articles.[9] Foulon suggests that the liturgical cycle (sermons 1-33) is the oldest part of the collection and hypothesises that Geoffrey may have undertaken two collations of his sermons during his lifetime; the first around the years 1145-7, after his return from exile, and the second towards the end of his life between 1150-8.[10] More precise dates have also been suggested for individual sermons within the collection. For instance, Sermon 41 – which dwelt upon schism and dissension within the Church and the need for unity from the pope right down to the humble priest – has been dated around 1138; the time Geoffrey returned from his trip to Rome *ad limina*.[11] Sermon 47, however, has been dated to his time as *magister scholarum* at Angers Cathedral, as it refers to Urban II's (d.1099) dedication of the Abbey of St Nicholas in Angers in 1096.[12] We must be aware, as such, that certain sermons of Geoffrey's may have been composed before his archiepiscopate and incorporated later, although much of the analysis which follows pertains to how his concerns as bishop expressed themselves in his preaching on the passion.

Geoffrey's sermons show that he preached a great deal on the passion. Foulon has noted his strong preference for Holy Week preaching, his recurrent references to Christ's poverty, and his devotion to the cross.[13] This predilection will be the focus of this chapter, which will seek to place Geoffrey's preaching on the passion in both its local and broader contexts. With regards to Geoffrey's local context, we are fortunate that preceding work has already been undertaken by Foulon and Guy-Marie Oury on the religious sentiments – particularly the anti-clericalism – held by Geoffrey's flock and reflected in his sermons.[14]

As will be shown, whilst Geoffrey's preaching on the passion was multifaceted, patterns emerge in reading the entire collection which suggest particular points of concern. Amongst these was a sense of balance that Geoffrey consistently sought to strike in preaching: between mercy and justice, hope and fear, desperation and presumption, and coercion and free will. The Fall and the redemption of humanity were explained by Geoffrey in terms which both condemned humanity's transgression but limited its responsibility, allowing for the merciful and loving intervention of Christ through his incarnation and passion. This salvation preaching,

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[9] See above, 86, n.8.
[10] Foulon, 'L'exemple d'une Collection', 85.
[11] Ibid, 86.
[12] Ibid. Foulon writes that 'qu'écolatre de la cathédrale, il dut être invite à prêcher pour la fête de la dédicace de l'église abbatiale.' As master of the neighbouring cathedral Geoffrey could certainly have been asked to preach on the dedication feast (perhaps in the year 1106), but we might also consider his invitation to attend at a later date too, perhaps 1146 for the fiftieth anniversary?
[13] Ibid, 88.
[14] See: Foulon, 'L'anticléricalisme', 41-75 and 'Le Clerc et son Image', 45-60.

which will be analysed in the first parts of the chapter, articulated Geoffrey's view of the 'middle path' walked by humanity between hope and fear, and his desire as a preacher to neither drive souls into despair nor inflate them with presumption. With this background established, we will then turn to Geoffrey's preaching on figures from the passion narratives – notably the Good Thief and Simon of Cyrene – in which we again see Geoffrey tackling questions around hope and its limits along with issues of intention and coercion. His preaching on these figures thus accorded with his overarching theology, but it will also be suggested that they served the archbishop's pedagogy especially well in the sensitive context of Bordeaux in and around the quarrel with his clerics and the urban troubles of the later 1140s. In this context the betrayal of Judas was also preached on by Geoffrey, who powerfully compared it to the recent schism and its damaging effects on the church and his own authority. Through these binary images (The Good Thief/Bad Thief; Simon of Cyrene/Christ; Judas/Christ) we witness Geoffrey's pastoral concerns espoused in a precarious local context.

The second part of the chapter will turn to the central image of Christ crucified, in which Geoffrey's overarching concern with the exemplarity and pedagogical utility of the crucifixion, and Christ's 'elective suffering', will be foregrounded against his reflections on preaching and its aims. Whilst punctuated with moments of meditation and reflection on Christ's sufferings Geoffrey's main priority was to 'read' and explicate them for their moralising lessons. Geoffrey was concerned above all with moral standards: amongst his lay listeners, his cathedral clergy whom he sought to reform, and the clergy of his diocese whom he preached to extensively. This 'exemplarity' in Christ's suffering will also be considered against broader questions around 'heresy', both local and national: namely the thought of Peter Abelard and the doctrines of the Petrobrusians.

Geoffrey's Sermonising on the Redemption

To begin, then, let us first address Geoffrey's views of sin and salvation presented in the sermons. The few who have commented on Geoffrey's work have associated his theology with that of Anselm and the *Cur Deus homo* in its broad outlines.[15] Of greater significance, however, are the specific images and rhetorical devices through which Geoffrey preached his view of redemption, which risk being lost through too great a focus on an overarching theology. A chief feature of Geoffrey's preaching on salvation was that the devil had overpowered humanity

[15] Foulon, 'L'exemple d'une Collection', 93; Faulkner and Pelle, 'Worcester, Cathedral Library, Q. 29', 152.

through trickery and fraud. In a passage reminiscent of Ivo's Sermon 6 that we analysed in Chapter One, Geoffrey preached on Christmas Day how God did not want to appear to harm the devil but instead act in all things 'through mercy and justice'. Having taken counsel, God disposed to counter the devil's *fallaciam* by acting in all things prudently and wisely through the incarnate Son.[16] Since there had been a 'great discord' established between God and humanity, it was 'worthy' (*dignum*) that the mediator was both God and man.[17] Geoffrey reiterated these themes in his Sermon 28 for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.[18] There, however, he impressed upon his audience in further detail the reasons why humanity did not forfeit hope of redemption. Two of God's creatures had sinned: the devil and man. However, as Geoffrey explained, 'the devil sinned of his own accord, whilst man sinned through the devil'.[19] The relative lowliness of man was stressed by Geoffrey in impressing this point: 'Because the devil sinned of his own accord he did not merit restoration; especially since he remained of so subtle and spiritual an essence, whilst man, because he was composed of dirt, did not lose the hope of clemency when he was deceived by so crafty a tempter'.[20]

Whilst there were Anselmian elements present within Geoffrey's preaching, the emphases in his sermons also stood at some variance with Anselm's ideas. For instance, Anselm described in *Cur Deus homo* how man was given the commandment to obey God to taunt the devil and show how a creature who was *infirmior* could achieve what the devil had not been able to.[21] In the event, as Anselm explained to Boso, although man 'could easily have achieved this' he 'freely allowed himself to be conquered' despite the fact that no 'force' (*vim*) was levelled against him but only the devil's 'persuasion' (*suasione*).[22] Anselm's discussion of the ease and freedom (*facile et sponte*) with which humanity consented to the devil stands in some contrast to

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[16] Geoffrey, Sermon 3, col.390: 'Acquisierat sibi, fratres, genus humanum astutia diabolicae fraudis. Subdiderat illud suae ditioni per peccatum primi parentis. Dominus vero, justus judex, qui nec adversario aliquid injustum vult irrogare, sed omnia sive per misericordiam, sive per justitiam facere, sic voluit genus humanum per gratiam redimere, ut nec diabolo injuriam videretur inferre. Cum ergo Satanas contra hominem astute egisset per fallaciam, voluit Dominus contra Satanam propter hominem prudenter agere per sapientiam. Tali igitur consilio egit Dominus de humana reparatione'.
[17] Ibid, col.391.
[18] Geoffrey, Sermon 28, cols.683-685.
[19] Ibid, col.683: 'Duae creaturae peccaverant, scilicet, diabolus et homo; sed alius per se, alius per alterum'.
[20] Ibid: 'Quia igitur per se diabolus peccavit, reparari non meruit, praesertim cum tam subtilis et spiritualis essentiae persisteret; homo, quia de limo factus est, cum a tam callido tentatore deceptus fuerit, spem veniae non amisit.'
[21] Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, *SAO*, ii, Bk.1, Ch.22, 90: 'Homo in paradiso sine peccato factus quasi positus est pro deo inter deum et diabolum, ut vinceret diabolum non consentiendo suadenti peccatum, ad excusationem et honorem dei et ad confusionem diaboli, cum ille infirmior in terra non peccaret eodem diabolo suadente, qui fortior in caelo nullo suadente.'
[22] Ibid: 'Et cum hoc facile posset efficere, nulla vi coactus sola se suasione sponte vinci permisit ad voluntatem diaboli et contra voluntatem et honorem dei.'

Geoffrey's redemption preaching, in which humanity's responsibility was lessened through his imagery of man's lowly composition from 'dirt' (*limo*) compared to the devil's makeup of *subtilis et spiritualis essentiae* which allowed him to be 'so cunning a tempter'.

Geoffrey's reflections on humanity's lowliness, and the disparity in power with the devil, were rhetorically keyed to elicit hope amongst his listeners by impressing God's mercy and recognition of their human frailty.[23] An image that Geoffrey referenced in another of his Christmas sermons was that of the 'middle path' to be walked by the Christian between hope and fear. Excess hope led to laxity, whilst excessive fear begat despair.[24] His presentation of God's redemptive work was rhetorically keyed to this general injunction, impressing upon his audience the responsibility that humanity bore at the Fall whilst also reminding them that God recognised the devil's cunning. This idea of balance echoes the kind of penitential considerations that confessors would have to account for, and indeed, these explicit penitential considerations were expressed by Geoffrey in some of his sermons for subordinate clergy. In one of his synodal sermons, for instance, he stressed the importance in administering penances sensitively lest an excessive punishment breed despair or a light punishment beget security.[25] In the same sermon Geoffrey also instructed his priests to consider 'whether [the penitent] sinned of their own free will or did so under compulsion' (*an sponte fecit an coactus*).[26]

This recognition of a power imbalance by Geoffrey should not however obscure his emphasis on personal responsibility for sin, and the differences he outlined in his sermons between coercion and persuasion. In Sermon 11 for Lent, Geoffrey railed against excuses levelled by sinners when confronted with their transgressions by a priest:

> When people are scolded and asked, "Why have you done this?", they say "because the devil made me do it". But surely [the devil] could not have forced them to? He could only *suggest* [my emphasis] to them [that they sin], he could not compel them to. Man could be excused if he only received counsel from the devil and God stayed silent. God, however, cries

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[23] The balance that Geoffrey struck in this regard was considered by Oury as one of the characteristics of his work: 'Les Sermons de Geoffroi Babion', 294: 'Il a le coeur bon, comprehénsif pour la faiblesses humaines; il sait aussi se montrer ferme, jusqu'à une apparente durete parfois…'
[24] Geoffrey, Sermon 1, col.346: 'Spes sine timore praesumptio est; timor sine spe desperatio est. Timor aufert nimiam securitatem, ne nimis adhereat dexterae.'
[25] Geoffrey, Sermon 57, ed. Bonnes, 206: 'Est ergo maxima diligentia discretionis habenda in paenitentia danda, ne nimis debilem per graue pondus opprimat ad desperationem et fortem per leue pondus relaxatur ad securitatem. Est considerandus modus aetatis, fortitudo corporis, leuitas mentis, sexus fragilitas, census possibilitas, paenitentis qualitas, an sponte fecit an coactus.'
[26] Ibid.

> out "Do not sin!" through reason, through the scriptures, and through his preachers. God is on the right, and the devil on the left: man is placed in between them. God persuades him to do good, and his adversary dissuades him, and man consents to the devil. This was worked in the first man, for when Adam was accused by God, he excused himself by shifting the blame onto both the woman and the serpent [Genesis 3:12].[27]

As 'crafty a tempter' as the devil was, he could only suggest sin to an individual. Sinners were not forced into their actions, and the 'right path' presented by the scriptures, reason, and preachers nullified the excuse of coercion.

In conceptualising sin and salvation, Geoffrey preached the sinner walking the middle path of earthly life with the devil at the left and God at the right, and despair on one side and presumption on the other. Whilst God was merciful and just in recognising the disparity in power between man and the devil at the Fall, Geoffrey reminded his audiences that this could not exculpate them entirely from responsibility for their actions in the present. The will to good or evil lay within them, and in this regard, Geoffrey was notably concerned with interior change. The devil could only *encourage* a sinner to evil, whilst in a similar vein he wrote how 'Christ's death shall be the end for some, but for others (*if they wish it* [my emphasis] for Christ's death compels nobody) they will profit from it'.[28]

Figures of the Passion: The Good Thief, Simon of Cyrene, and Judas

Whilst Christ's death 'compelled nobody', Geoffrey could certainly marshal suitable imagery, as one of God's preachers 'crying out' from the right of the path, to keep his audience moving along it towards salvation. One particular figure to whom Geoffrey consistently turned in preaching the passion was the Good Thief described in the Gospel of Luke, who turned to Christ at the point of death and confessed to him.[29] The Good Thief, unnamed in the canonical

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[27] Geoffrey, Sermon 11, col.426: 'Cum enim castigantur aliqui, et dicitur eis: Quare hoc fecistis? respondet: Quia diabolus fecit. Sed nunquid coegit? suadere potuit, cogere non potuit. Si solus diabolus daret consilium, et Deus taeret, haberet homo quod excusare posset. Sed Deus per rationem, per Scripturas, per praedicatores clamat: Nolite peccare. Deus a dextris, diabolus a sinistris; homo in medio constitutus est. Deus qui persuadet facere bonum, adversarius dissuadet; homo autem diabolo consentit. Hoc operatus est in primo homine. Adam enim cum accusaretur a Domino, ipse se excusavit per pulierem, per serpentem'.

[28] Geoffrey, Sermon 15, col.488: '…et tunc mors Christi utrisque erit finitima, et utrisque, si vellent, profutura; mors enim Christi nullum cogit.'

[29] Luke 20:40-43.

gospels but called 'Dismas' in the Gospel of Nicodemus, confronted late-medieval preachers with a number of problems.[30] The thief's greatest virtue – his change of heart *in extremis* – was also an issue for those seeking to strike the right balance between despair of forgiveness and excessive presumption in the delay of penance to the deathbed.[31] As such, his example seems to have been used cautiously by preachers. Indeed, among the six authors at the heart of this study, the Good Thief only makes fleeting appearances in the sermons of Bartholomew of Exeter and Thomas Agnellus.[32] As such, the extent to which Geoffrey made use of the thief's example in his preaching is notable. Preaching preparation for confession in Advent, Geoffrey reminded his audience how, along with Mary Madgalene, 'the thief cried out for mercy, who first had stayed silent' and that they were to profit by his example.[33] In another of Geoffrey's Lenten sermons, the thief's penance was lauded as having turned 'his torment into martyrdom' and allowing he who was 'disinherited from the kingdom' to reign together with Christ.[34] On Good Friday the thief was presented alongside Mary Magdalene and Peter's denial of Christ as worthy examples of penance, to underscore Geoffrey's point that 'there is not a saint who has not sinned, and as such they all sought out confession.'[35] Whilst preached alongside Peter's denial on Good Friday, the thief was also discussed by Geoffrey in his sermon for Pentecost where he contrasted the apostle's fear with the thief's fortitude during the passion.[36] 'Behold [Peter] was pierced by the voice of a woman, and fearing death he denied life', Geoffrey proclaimed, before explaining that 'during that same passion the thief confessed [to Christ]', thus showing how 'he was much stronger than the standard-bearer (*signifer*); the seditious one (*seditiosus*) was stronger than the

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[30] J. Hanska, 'The Figure of the Good Thief and Conversion *in extremis* in Late Medieval Preaching', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 63, Issue 1 (2023): 35-45.
[31] Ibid, 41-42.
[32] Preaching on Easter Sunday, Bartholomew referred to the thief in explaining how Christ's death 'restored Heaven' to humanity. See Bartholomew, Sermon 55, f.42va: 'Enim resurrectionem christi, dilectissimi fratres, quam in his sanctis diebus deuotissime obseruare debemus, infernus frangitur, terra aperitur, celum referatur […] Paradisus quoque hodie et deinceps cunctos quorum iusticia perfecta est uel uenia, suscipit et in eternam beatitudinem reponit. Vnde latroni dicitur 'Hodie mecum eris in paradiso' [Luke 23:43].' Thomas Agnellus referred to the thief briefly in discussing the Harrowing of Hell. See: Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, f.76vb: '. Totam namque ab abel iusto <uel signifero> significatio usque ad latronem concrucifixum christo, captiuam eduxit fidelium captiuitatem, totamque bonorum quam carcerarius inferni iniuste detinentur, reduxit uniuersitatem.' The thief did receive more extended treatment in Thomas's treatise on the death of Henry the Young King, which we shall turn to in Chapter Five, but in an exception which proves the rule: to argue for the sanctity of Henry shown by his deathbed confession and penance, for which the Thief provided a perfect point of reference.
[33] Geoffrey, Sermon 1, col.346: Clamavit veniam latro in cruce, qui prius tacebat.'
[34] Geoffrey, Sermon 9, col.442: 'Non diffusus est latro in cruce; sed poenitens in ipso mortis articulo, vertit meriti sui supplicium in martyrium. O res digna! Poenitentia exhaereditatum a regno facit in regno regnare; et qui peccando longe fuerat, poenitendo appropinquat.'
[35] Geoffrey, Sermon 24, col.832: 'Scitis quam commendabilis est confessio. Non est adeo sanctus qui non peccat, et ideo omnes quaerunt confessionem.'
[36] Geoffrey, Sermon 32, cols.589-592.

apostle.'[37] The contrast between the two was underscored by how Geoffrey described the voice of the portress: it 'pierced' (*percussus*) Peter, prompting his denial, whilst the thief was literally pieced with nails beside Christ but confessed to him.

As noted, in referring to the thief there was a balance to be struck between saving souls from the brink of despair and puffing them up in presumption. This balance was especially important to Geoffrey with his image of the 'middle path' and awareness of the perils presented by both despair and presumption that we noted earlier. In this regard, his extended treatment of the thief in Sermon 15 for Palm Sunday is worth interrogating more fully:

> He said 'Lord, remember me when thou shalt come into thy kingdom', with Christ proclaiming and promising him 'This day thou shalt be with me in paradise' [Luke 23:42-43]. The other thief persisted in his evil ways and died upon the wood without being saved. Oh, how unalike were the values Christ discerned in his midst! Each of the thieves signifies the future judgment in which some shall be damned by the cross and others shall be saved by it. Oh, how different were their paths! One ascended into Heaven whilst the other descended into Hell. Their punishment was similar, but not their reward. That thief serves as an example to sinners lest they despair. He who was at the very point of death gained paradise with a word. Terror shall be upon those who despair, not those who repent, for those who do not do penance shall die in their sins. And then Christ's death shall be the end for some, but for others (if they wish it, for Christ's death compels nobody) they will profit from it.[38]

Some of the 'presumption' the Good Thief risked inspiring was tempered by Geoffrey against that of the Bad Thief who persisted in his ways and died unreconciled. The 'dreaded cross' of the Endtime would be the 'terror' confronting those who, like the Bad Thief, despaired of their sins.

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[37] Ibid, col.590: 'Ecce una voce mulieris percussus, dum mori timuit, vitam negavit. Tunc Petrus negavit in terra, quem in eadem passione latro in cruce confessus est. Itaque fortior fuit latro quam signifer, fortior seditiosus quam Apostolus.'

[38] Geoffrey, Sermon 15, col.488: '…qui ait 'Memento mei, Domine, dum veneris in regnum tuum', praedicente et promittente ipso Christo: 'Hodie mecum eris in paradiso'. Alter vero persistens in nequitia, mortuus est in ligno non salvatus. O qum dissimillia merita Christus in medio discernit! Uterque significat futurum judicium, in quo per crucem quosdam damnaturus, quoasdam salvaturus erit. O quam diversae viae! Alius ascendit in coelum, alius descendit in infernum. Poena consimilis, sed dissimile praemium. Iste est exemplum peccatoribus, ne desperent, qui in ipso mortis articulo, quodam verbo paradisum promuerit. Ille terror desperantibus, et non poenitentibus, qui nolentes poenitere, in peccatis suis sunt mortui; et tunc mors Christi utrisque erit finitima, et utrisque, si vellent, profutura; mors enim Christi nullum cogit.'

Whilst the Good Thief was the *exemplum peccatoribus* throughout Geoffrey's sermons, on this particular Palm Sunday the Bad Thief also served to create a rhetorical balance of hope and despair with Christ, literally, in the middle. The antagonism in their two polarised images could powerfully shape response, and this was Geoffrey's aim.[39] Christ's death did not compel the sinner. Geoffrey's imagery of the two thieves and Christ in their midst aroused hope and fear in the minds of his listeners, encouraging their move forward towards the crucified Christ in penance.

The image of the Good Thief accorded with Geoffrey's broader preaching on sin and salvation: of a merciful God cognizant of human weakness. There 'was not a saint that had not sinned', and the thief was a prime example. The thief turned the *supplicium* of his banditry into the *martyrium* of a saint through his confession, and even exceeded Peter in his adherence to Christ. In reading Geoffrey's references to the thief, it was not so much the moment at which he confessed *in extremis*, as much as his preceding wicked life and the apparent hopelessness of his appeal that Geoffrey sought to impress through his consistent return to the image. In preaching the thief's penance, he appealed to the imperfections of his audience: they were not without hope.[40]

Considering this audience was, in all probability, the clerical community of his cathedral and the laity of Bordeaux assembled at the great feasts around Christmas, Lent, and Eastertide, there was perhaps a local appeal in preaching the thief's penance. Geoffrey's clerics had engaged in a protracted quarrel with him to the point where they had spent seven years excommunicated, whilst the laity apparently sided with the clerics in despising their new bishop. If we are to believe Geoffrey of Auxerre's (d.1188) description of Saint Bernard's arrival at Bordeaux during his preaching campaign against Henry the Monk, 'the hatred of the people for the archbishop was so great that when [we] entered the town [the people] reviled us all, because we were his supporters'.[41] Further violent events would play out in the urban troubles that flared in Bordeaux between 1147-49, as we noted earlier, in which the townspeople violently opposed the Capetian influence foisted upon them by Geoffrey and his patrons. In such a sensitive local context, the thief may well have been a favoured penitential image in Geoffrey's preaching. The archbishop's flock and clerics, for all their misdeeds, were not without hope: they just needed inspiring with

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[39] M.B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (London, 1999), 222.
[40] For Geoffrey, it was only sin against the Holy Spirit that was could be despaired over. See: Sermon 9, col.442.
[41] Moore, *Origins*, 42.

appropriate models. The two thieves indicated the two ways open to Geoffrey's troublesome audiences; those who died excommunicate and unreconciled would, like the Bad Thief, be confronted by the cross of dread, whilst the penitent and reconciled would see in it their 'profit'. In this light it may well be significant that the adjective Geoffrey chose in contrasting the thief with Peter in his Pentecost sermon was *seditiosus*, which can be translated as 'mutinous' or 'quarrelsome', with the root noun *seditio* meaning 'insurrection', 'uprising', 'riot', or 'dissension'. The description was especially appropriate in being preached to quarrelsome clerics as well as an urban population at loggerheads with Geoffrey's authority and Capetian influences. Sermons provided opportunities to address such issues, and the public platform of the great feasts celebrated at the cathedral would have been ideal opportunities for Geoffrey to have done so; perhaps in a preventative manner to 'keep the peace' after his return from exile in 1145. Indeed, according to Bernard's biographer Geoffrey of Auxerre, it was Bernard's *preaching* that eventually pacified the clerics and people of Bordeaux and paved the way for the archbishop's return from exile.[42] It is reasonable to think that the archbishop also took opportunities, in his own sermons, to key his words to the local lay of the land. As such the thief was a suitable model for Geoffrey in preaching penance in a delicate local context, and his image also accorded with his broader balanced thoughts on sin and salvation: of God's mercy and justice, his recognition of human weaknesses alongside individual responsibility, and his conception of the saints and their humanity.

Another figure from the passion narratives whom Geoffrey featured consistently in his preaching was Simon of Cyrene: the man described in the three synoptic gospels as having borne Christ's cross on the road to Calvary.[43] Drawing from Gregory the Great's (d.604) exegesis in his *Homiliae in Evangelia*, Geoffrey preached to his various audiences how Simon represented an imperfect form of religion since he bore the cross under compulsion.[44] An especially notable example of this was Geoffrey's reference to Simon in Sermon 10 for Lent.[45] In this sermon, Geoffrey presented an extended exegesis on Isaiah 5 and the prophet's description of the Lord's vineyard, clearly reflective of the winemaking country of Gascony and his local audience.[46] Lamenting the devastation wrought upon the 'vineyard' of contemporary society, Geoffrey

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[42] Ibid: 'But the living and potent word of God moved them more than those who knew the great complexity and sad history of the affair had dared to hope.'
[43] Matthew 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26.
[44] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, CCSL 141 ed. R. Étaix (Turnhout, 1999), H.32, 280-281. See: Phillips, 'Preaching Self-Torture', 292-294.
[45] Geoffrey, Sermon 10, cols.471-476.
[46] References to wine and winemaking are a recurrent feature of Geoffrey's preaching and demonstrative of his eye for local conditions. See: Oury, 'Les Sermons de Geoffroi Babion', 289.

critiqued its various stations in turn. Priests said one thing but acted another way; lords pursued vendettas and sought to line their purses; judges were corrupt and likened to Judas in 'selling the truth'.[47] In this litany of faults, the imperfect religion of monks was also attacked:

> There is no perfect religion amongst the monks, but they are like Simon of Cyrene who was forced to carry the Lord's cross. He carries the cross but lives on in the world and does not die upon it. He carries the cross, but under compulsion. Monks torture their bodies in a similar way: under compulsion, and without benefit.[48]

Preaching on tithes in another sermon, Geoffrey outlined the threefold division of society between those who prayed, fought, and laboured, before explaining why it was right for the *oratores* to demand their tithes from the labourers and knights.[49] Faith in this division, however, was undermined by the corruption rank within local society. How could monks be considered a worthy element of the tripartite structure, and deserving of their tithes, if their lives were impure? Their prayers, and hence their societal function amongst the *oratores*, was undermined by their laxity. They had to bear *Christ's* cross, not Simon's. In expressing his thoughts regarding Simon and his cross, we again see Geoffrey concerned with interiority and the differences between intention and action current in contemporary thinking. It was not enough that the monks sang their psalms, prayed, and subjected their bodies to onerous punishment unless they did so with the right intention. These societal critiques in Geoffrey's preaching, and their contemporary Bordelais context, have been explored by his previous biographers, and this attack on monks can be read as another instance of this general trend.[50] Geoffrey's oratory echoed contemporary critiques of lay and ecclesiastic institutions, whilst reinforcing their necessity and how the issues were corruptions *within* the institutions as opposed to the institutions themselves. A zealous promoter of monastic establishments both before and during his archiepiscopate, Geoffrey was described affectionately by Peter the Venerable as his proxy abbot concerning Cluniac affairs in

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[47] Geoffrey, Sermon 10, col.472: 'Quid de sacerdotibus? 'Dicunt et non faciunt, et ideo secundum opera eorum nolite facere' [Matthew 23:3]. De quibus et aliis principibus, ait Isaias in persona Domini: 'Principes mei impii, et socii furum; omnes diligunt munera, et sequuntur retributiones' [Isaiah 1:23] ubique venditur Dominus. Quid de falsibus judicibus? De illis ait Dominus per Isaiam: 'Vae qui dicitis bonum malum, et malum bonum, ponentes amarum dulce, et dulce amarum!...Vae qui justificatis impium pro muneribus, et justitiam justi aufertis ab eo' [Isaiah 5:20-23]. Similes sunt Judae qui vendunt veritatem; veritas autem est Deus.'

[48] Ibid: 'In monachis etiam non est perfecta religio, sed sunt similes Simoni Cyrenaeo, quem angariaverunt ut portaret Crucem Domini. Portat crucem, et non moritur, at vivit mundo; portat crucem, sed coactus. Sic monachi macerant corpus suum; sed coacti aliquando, et ideo sine fructu.'

[49] Geoffrey, Sermon 61, ed. F. Liverani in *Spicilegium Liberianum I* (Florence, 1863), 688-690.

[50] Foulon, 'L'anticlericalism'; Oury, 'Les Sermons de Geoffroi Babion'.

southern France.[51] In promoting monastic establishments, and the obligations that the monasteries would level upon lay society as landowners, Geoffrey had to preach critique and reform to justify their position and pacify discontent. The fact the monks bore Simon's cross, then, held implications not just for their own souls, but for the stability of local society and the condition of the 'vineyard' that was dependent upon the balance of the three stations correctly performing their social obligations.

Other images from the passion narratives provided Geoffrey with further opportunities to preach on reforming concerns. In his *ad populum* Sermon 41, which we noted may have been preached in the context of his return from Rome in 1138, Geoffrey treated at length on hierarchy within the church from the pope right the way down to the laity, and the obligations owed to and borne by each group.[52] The recent schism is clearly perceptible beneath his words: he dwelt on the 'storms' that daily brewed within God's church and the greater damage wrought by internal discord as opposed to external strife.[53] In this vein, Geoffrey explained how Christ's garment, which the soldiers cast lots for during his passion, symbolised the indivisible unity of the church.[54] In describing this schismatic suffering at the hands of one's brothers or friends, Geoffrey also preached on Christ's betrayal by Judas in explaining how it was not 'shameful' to similarly forebear such punishment:

> It is not shameful for us to suffer from our brothers what Christ suffered, and nor is it glorious for them to do what Judas did. We do not fear their reproofs by which they lacerate themselves and their lives every day, nor do we dread the cudgels, stones, and swords which they brandish with parricidal words. What can we say of them? They are murderers before God, though they cannot kill unless the Lord allows them to kill. And although we all must die once, they – through their hatred, words, and misdeeds – cut us down every day. But we shall not be moved from the

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[51] Peter the Venerable, Ep.106, in *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable. 2 Vols. (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1967), i, 270: 'Constantinum super quo scripsistis, si hoc utile iudicatis, ad Quartum Leugam reuocate, et de uniuersis Cluniacensibus negotiis non solum ut legatus, sed ut ipse Cluniacensis abbas secure disponite. Nec enim me absentem puto ubi uos estis, neque ubi ego sum, uos absens esse potestis.'

[52] Geoffrey, Sermon 41, cols.792-796.

[53] Ibid, col.795: 'Insurgunt enim quotidie tempestates in Ecclesia Dei, quia vellent quidam ejus unitatem dissipare, et discordias seminando, unionem pacis exstinguere. Aggrediuntur pastores Ecclesiae, ut caput ferientes, membra terrore commoveantur. Nec solum enim ab extrancis patitur Ecclesia, sed etiam a domesticis et fratribus suis; et pejora sunt bella intestina, a quibus non cavetur, quam forinseca, quae praevidentur.'

[54] Ibid, col.794: 'Noluit Dominus scindi vestem suam inconsutilem, quia non patitur Ecclesia violari unitatem.'

> purpose of justice, because the Church's discipline is not to be abandoned because of fear, nor episcopal censure loosed.[55]

With these words, drawn largely from a letter by Cyprian of Carthage (d.258), which powerfully condemned the schismatics and their supporters as imitators of Judas, we might wonder whether Geoffrey also sought to bolster his own authority. Geoffrey's statement that 'it is not shameful for us to suffer at the hands of our brothers' reads almost reflexively and defensively, for to suffer at the hands of one's compatriots would appear weak to some and symptomatic of tenuous authority and a lack of support. Given Geoffrey's quarrel with his clerics, his own position of authority as archbishop had been powerfully undermined to the extent that he had to journey to Rome for support from the pope. In casting the schismatics in the role of Judas, and the supporters of order – namely himself – as the suffering Christ, Geoffrey turned the humiliation into an image of righteous forbearance and *imitatio*. He would not be moved from the established law of the church but would suffer and 'die daily' through the words of his enemies. In preaching this image *ad populum* Geoffrey presented his audience with a stark delineation: schismatics were Christ's killers, whilst those who stood firm against them imitated Christ. The binary image thus presented before his audience was rhetorically powerful and asked of them that they choose a side. For Geoffrey, with his closest allies, powerful though they were, at hundreds of miles distance in Paris, Clairvaux, Cluny, and Rome, his rhetoric was among his most powerful tools in bolstering his own authority and maintaining order in his immediate locale.

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[55] Ibid, col.795: 'Sed nobis non est ignominia pati a fratribus, quod passus est Christus, nec illis gloria est facere quod fecit Judas. Convicia eorum, quibus se et vitam suam quotidie lacerant, non timemus; fustes, et lapides, et gladius, quos verbis parricidalibus jactant, non perhorrescimus. Quid de illis dicemus? Homicidiae apud Deum; necare tamen non possunt, nisi eos Dominus necare permiserit; et cum nobis semel moriendum sit, illi tamen odio et verbis, delictis suis nos quotidie perimunt; nec ideo nos a proposito justitiae movebimur; quia propter timorem ecclesiastica disciplina non est relinquenda, nec sacerdotali [sic sacerdotalis] censura solvenda.'. Cf. Cyprian of Carthage, *Opera Omnia*, CSEL, ed. W. Von Hartel, 3 Vols (Vienna, 1868-71), iii, Ep.59, 668: 'neque nobis ignominia est pati a fratribus quod passus est Christus nec illis gloria est facere quod fecerit Iudas. quae, autem sui elatio est, quae comminantium tumens et inflata et uana iactatio, illic absenti minari, cum hic me habeant in potestate praesentem? conuicia eorum quibus se et uitam suam cotidie lacerant non timemus, fustes et lapides et gladios quos uerbis parricidalibus iactitant non perhorrescimus. quod in illis est, homicidae sunt apud Deum tales. necare tamen non possunt, nisi eis Dominus necare permiserit. et cum nobis semel moriendum sit, illi tamen odio et uerbis et delictis suis cotidie perimunt. Sed non idcirco , frater carissime, reliquenda est ecclesiastica disciplina aut sacerdotalis soluenda...' Translated in: *St Cyprian: Letters 1-81*, ed. and trans. R.B. Donna (Washington, 1964), 173-174. Cyprian was writing encouraging words to Pope Cornelius (d.253) who, like Geoffrey, was similarly facing schismatics and their threats. It is apparent, therefore, why Geoffrey quoted from this source in his sermon. As such, *sacerdotalis censura* has been translated here as 'episcopal censure' since Cyprian's original words to Cornelius were regarding punishments meted out by bishops; clearly analogous to Geoffey's excommunication of the schismatic clergy of Bordeaux Cathedral.

Through the tropes explored above, Geoffrey skilfully keyed his preaching to the sensitive local context of his archiepiscopate and the clergy and laity of Bordeaux. Whilst images like the Penitent Thief and Simon of Cyrene, with their attendant moral interpretations, were long-established, their use by Geoffrey was borne out of local preoccupations beneath an overarching theology of salvation characterised by its capacity and sympathy for human weakness alongside a noted concern for interiority and intention. Through these images Geoffrey addressed both the perils presented to the soul of the individual as well as the wider societal implications of sin and schism. In turning, now, to the next section of this chapter we will address Geoffrey's preaching on Christ and the cross specifically, exploring it against the characteristics of his preaching that we have already identified.

Abelardian Influences? Geoffrey's Sermonising on the Crucified Christ

In one Palm Sunday sermon – Sermon 16 – Geoffrey began by preaching on the words of Hebrews 13:12-13: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, dearest brothers, that he might sanctify his people by his own blood, suffered without the camp: let us therefore go to him without the camp, bearing his reproach.'[56] The sermon, in which Geoffrey explained what it meant to suffer as Christ did 'without the camp', began with an introductory explanation as to why the *beneficium* of Christ's suffering was so worthy of remembrance and 'inflamed' the heart in love (*amor*):

> Although you have already heard the order of our redemption, dearest brothers, this *beneficium* is nonetheless worth commemorating many times over. For as often as this *beneficium* is recalled, the soul is inflamed with that much more love (*amore*) for the benefactor. Therefore, we ought to recollect how much reproach the Lord suffered for us: namely, that he was led to a lowly death and cast out beyond the city like someone vile and contemptible; that he bore his own cross and was crucified between thieves at the place of Calvary; and that he was killed where the guilty had their heads struck off. He seemed to be 'the reproach of men', as David says, 'and the outcast of the people' [Psalms 21:7].[57]

[56] Geoffrey, Sermon 16, col.547: 'Dominus noster Jesus Christus, fratres charissimi, ut sanctificaret per suum sanguinem populum, extra portam passus est: Exeamus igitur ad eum extra castra, improperium ejus portantes.'

[57] Ibid: 'Satis, fratres charissimi, audivistis ordinem redemptionis nostrae; sed dignum est tamen multoties hoc beneficium commemorare. Quanto enim saepius beneficium memoratur, tanto plus in amore benefactoris animus inflammatur. Recordari igitur debemus quantum improperium pro nobis passus est

On reading these words the redemptive theology of Abelard, and notably his thoughts expressed in the *Commentaria in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* (c.1134-38), come to mind with its language of benefits, the benefactor, and the heart kindled in love through Christ's suffering.[58] In explicating Geoffrey's Sermon 16, we shall also approach the question of whether our archbishop knew of Abelard's work and drew some influence from it in his sermonising.

In beginning his sermon with a statement on remembering Christ's passion so as to 'inflame' the heart, Geoffrey's first concern was to justify dwelling on Christ's sufferings. Although the 'order of redemption' had been heard many times over by the audience, they were to hear it again in Geoffrey's sermon since the more it was recalled the more the soul was 'inflamed in love' for Christ. There was a worthiness and necessity to remembering 'how much reproach' (*quantum improperium*) Christ endured, from the indignity of execution beyond the walls of Jerusalem, to the lowliness of bearing his own cross, and the infamy of Calvary where the 'guilty' were customarily beheaded.[59] The language of *beneficium* and the soul *inflammatur in amore* suggest Geoffrey's concern with the suffering in Christ's experiences, and the ability of those sufferings to turn the hearts of his listeners. In this regard, Geoffrey's words parallel Abelard's thoughts about the redemption. Famously and controversially discussing the effects of Christ's passion at section 3.26 of his *Commentaria*, Abelard explained how humanity was 'kindled by so

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Dominus, quia scilicet, cum ad turpem mortem duceretur, quasi vilis et contemptibilis extra civitatem ejectus est, et crucem suam portavit, et inter latrones crucifixus est in loco Calvariae, et ubi rei decollabantur interfectus est, Videbatur enim 'opprobrium hominum', ut ait David, 'et abjectio plebis.'

[58] Peter Abelard, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, ed. and trans. S.R. Cartwright (Washington, 2011); *Opera Theologica I: Commentaria in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos; Apologia Contra Bernardum*, CCCM 11, ed. E.M. Buytaert (Turnhout, 1969); C.J. Mews, *Abelard and Heloise* (Oxford, 2005), 189-192.

[59] Geoffrey's reference to beheading lying behind the etymology of 'Calvary' stood at variance with the common belief that the name derived from the location of Adam's skull, which was commonly depicted in crucifixion iconography beneath the foot of the cross. The same opinion was expressed at greater length in a commentary on Matthew attributed to Geoffrey Babion. See: *Ennarationes in Evangelium S. Matthaei*, in PL 162, Ch.27, col.1485: '*Et venerunt in locum qui dicitur Golgotha*, quod Syrum interpretatur *Calvariae*. Extra urbem quaedam loca sunt, in quibus truncatur capita damnatorum et Calvariae, id est decalvatorum nomen sumpserunt. Ideo etiam ibi crucifixus est Dominus, ut ubi prius erat area damnatorum, ibi erigentur vexilla martyrii, et quomodo pro nobis maledictum crucis factus est, flagellatus et crucifixus, sic pro mundi salute, quasi noxius inter noxios crucifigetur. Si quis autem dicere voluerit, ibi ideo Dominum crucifixum, ut sanguis ipsius super Adae tumultum stillaret, interrogemus eum, quare et alii latrones in eodem crucifixi sunt? Ex quo apparet Calvariam non sepulcrum primi hominis, sed locum significare decollatorum, ut ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundaret gratia Dei. Adam vero sepultum juxta Hebron legimus in libro Jesu Nave.' On the attribution to Geoffrey, see: D. van den Eynde, 'Autour des 'Ennarationes in Evangelium S. Matthaei Attribuées à Geoffroi Babion', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 26 (1959): 50-84. The ascription to Geoffrey was rejected by Beryl Smalley: 'Some Gospel Commentaries of the Early Twelfth Century', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 45 (1978): 147-180. In questioning Smalley's assertions, and suggesting the commentary was indeed written by Geoffrey see the discussions by Emmanuel Bain in his *Église, Richesse, et Pauvreté dans l'Occident Médiéval: l'Exégèse des Évangiles aux XIIe-XIIIe Siècles* (Turnhout, 2014), 407-411.

great a benefit of divine grace' (*accensi beneficio*) and that consequently man 'loves God more because the completed benefit (*completum beneficium*) kindles him in love more than a hoped-for benefit'.[60] This thinking also informed Abelard's own preaching on the passion. In his long Sermon 11 *De Rebus Gestis in Diebus Passionis*, Abelard prefaced his work with an introductory preamble like Geoffrey: 'As the solemnity of the Lord's resurrection and the time of our redemption draws nigh, we are to be frequently edified by sacred exhortations so that we may find ourselves worthy of such benefits (*tantis beneficiis digni reperiamur*) and may be reckoned as participants of the redemption and consorts of the resurrection.'[61] In preaching Christ's redemptive work shorn of 'mystical interpretation', Abelard explained, 'simple devotion' (*deuotionem simplicium*) could be more effectively 'excited' (*excitat*).[62]

The key difference between the two men, thrown into relief through their comparison, was that Geoffrey, despite his introductory statements on 'inflaming the soul in love', was more concerned throughout the rest of Sermon 16 with the moral lessons to be gratefully drawn from Christ's death than the affective impact of the sufferings themselves. As he explained to his audience, Christ's suffering was elective and intended to teach the Christian lessons in how to live. Although the Jews subjected Christ to such torments, Geoffrey explained, '[Christ] wished these things to be done to him' because he wanted to both provide humanity with a way to salvation and inform their lives through the manner of his death. As such, Geoffrey preached, 'it was not without reason that the Lord wished to be crucified rather than stoned or put to death through some other manner of torment.'[63] Exiting 'without the camp' like Christ was to be understood as living beyond the 'camp' of the flesh by denying it, whilst the restraint of Christ's members on the cross was a model for imitation in teaching how the members should likewise be restrained so they could not carry out a wicked deed, and the mind checked so that a person could not even 'think' (*cogitare*) of carrying them out.[64] Those who tarried in their bodily 'camp' and refused to bear the 'reproach of Christ' through their trust in earthly riches and glory would

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[60] Abelard, *Commentary on Romans*, 3.26, 168; *Commentaria*, 3.26, 117-118.
[61] Abelard, Sermon 11, 129: 'Quo magis nostre redemptionis tempus et dominice resurrectionis appropinquat sollemnitas, crebrius edificandi sacris exhortationibus sumus, ut tantis beneficiis digni reperiamur et redemptionis participes simus et resurrectionis consortes.'
[62] Ibid: 'Et quoniam plerumque ipsa rerum gestarum historia deuotionem simplicium excitat magis quam <expositio> mystica, iuuat secundum litteram omni dulcedine refertam, omni pietate plenam, ea qua Dominus his diebus gessit referendo contexere et ad exhortationem nostram in mentem reducere.'
[63] Geoffrey, Sermon 16, col.547: 'Sed cum prava intentione Judaei ita haec fecissent, pius Dominus magna dispensatione hoc fieri voluit. Non enim solum hoc genere mortis voluit redemptionem dare hominibus, sed etiam vitam nostram informare. Non enim sine causa voluit potius crucifigi quam lapidari, vel alio genere supplicii; sed quod aliquid debeat in ejectione et crucifixione intelligi…'
[64] Ibid, cols.547-548.

suffer greatly.[65] Thus, in Geoffrey's presentation of the passion, what kindled the soul *in amore* was partly the consideration of Christ's sufferings, but more the lessons to be appreciatively drawn from the crucified teacher-Christ. In considering the structure of the Palm Sunday sermon, Geoffrey's initial litany of sufferings at the beginning of the piece may have been rhetorically positioned to grasp the attention of his listeners with a brief affective statement at the sermon's outset before his extended moral discussions that formed the core of his exposition. Abelard, by contrast, was more concerned with Christ's actions in and of themselves and their ability to 'excite' human sympathy and love for God. In another of his sermons *De Cruce*, he preached that 'nobody can ignore how great a punishment [Christ's] gibbet was', and asked, 'what is graver than this gibbet, where the entire body is stretched out and fixed in place with nails, so that the one hanging from it is no less tortured by his own sagging weight than from the piercing nails?'[66] When the entire 'sequence of the Lord's passion' (*seriem dominice passionis*) was brought to mind, Abelard concluded that the sufferings Christ endured were worse than his death itself.[67] It was the bare and stark imagery of suffering, meditated on in extended detail, that Abelard sought to foreground in his work: that was what excited 'simple devotion'.

Geoffrey's introductory statement in Sermon 16 is suggestive when compared to Abelard's *Commentaria*, with its references to *beneficium*, *amor*, and the 'kindling' of the soul. Whether Geoffrey knew of Abelard's work, and consequently whether echoes from his thought can be found in his sermons, cannot be said with certainty, but it seems extremely likely he would have known of Abelard's teachings. First, it might be asked whether Geoffrey attended the Council of Sens in 1141; a possibility, given the archbishop's exile from Bordeaux during 1140-45 and his frequent sojourns in Paris during those years with Abbot Suger, one of the major orchestrators of the council, and his friendship with Bernard of Clairvaux.[68] Geoffrey would later attend the Council of Reims in 1148, convened at Bernard's instigation to examine Gilbert of Poitiers's (d.1152) views on the Trinity.[69] We should also note that it was the *Commentaria* that enraged Bernard's secretary, and former disciple of Abelard, Geoffrey of Auxerre, who decried that the master had 'gutted' Christ's redemptive work of its objective

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[65] Ibid, cols.549-551.
[66] Abelard, Sermon 12, 175: 'Pena autem huius quanta sit, nemo est qui possit ignorare […] Quid enim hoc patibulo grauius, ubi totum corpus ita clauis confixum extenditur ut non minus ex pondere suo quam ex ipsa fixura clauorum suspensus crucietur?'
[67] Ibid: 'Ecce seriem dominice passionis, prout memorie occurit, ex euangelicis collegimus scriptis. Que si per singula, ut dictum est, consideremus, ea que mortem precesserunt ipsa morte profecto grauiora uel intolerabiliora fuerunt.'
[68] See above, 85-86.
[69] *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol.14, ed. M. Brial (Paris, 1806), 329.

consequences, leaving behind 'nothing else for us in the sacrifice of the Lord's passion than an example of virtue and an incentive for love'.[70] He agreed that Christ's crucifixion provided an incentive for love and example of virtue, but argued vehemently that without the 'sacrament of redemption' the two were meaningless.[71] As we know, Geoffrey of Auxerre journeyed to Bordeaux with Bernard in 1145 to reconcile Archbishop Geoffrey and his cathedral clergy.[72] Furthermore, Abelard spent the final months of his life under the protection of Geoffrey's friend Peter the Venerable. It has even been suggested that Geoffrey and Abelard may have known one another.[73] For an archbishop with such connections, it seems impossible that Geoffrey would not at least have been exposed to Abelard's ideas, and the conversations surrounding them, at second hand, and as such his statement in Sermon 16 might bear witness to the debates then current around Abelard's teachings in his *Commentaria*.

We should note, of course, that whilst lauding the exemplarity of Christ's death, Geoffrey was not an 'exemplarist' in the way Abelard was charged by his critics.[74] Geoffrey's statement that the soul was inflamed '*that much more*' (*tanto plus*) in love for the benefactor indicates his position: the soul was already kindled by the restoration brought about by Christ,

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[70] Mews, 'The Council of Sens (1141)', 369: "I remember that I once had a teacher…Gutting the price of redemption, he commended nothing else for us in the sacrifice of the Lord's passion than an example of virtue and an incentive for love." See the long report of this attack by Geoffrey in Helinand of Froidmont's (d.1229) *Chronicle*, ed. J.P. Migne in PL 212 (Paris, 1855), Bk.48, col.1035: 'Tria namque specialia nobis in sua passione Christus exhibuit; exemplum virtutis, incentivum amoris, redemptionis sacramentum. Quod tertium evacuanti haeretico nil prodesse caetera poterant. Sine causa enim pro virtute certavit usque ad mortem, patientiae nobis praebens exemplum: et sine causa exhibuit et commendavit hujus immensae dilectionis affectum, si non recipit ab olim jam addicta captivitas copiosae redemptionis effectum. Haec Gaufridus contra Petrum olim magistrum suum fortiter et catholice scribit.'

[71] Ibid (Helinand).

[72] See above: 94.

[73] V. De Angelis, 'I Commenti Medievali alla Tebaide di Stazio: Anselmo di Laon, Goffredo Babione, Ilario d'Orléans', *in Medieval and Renaissance Scholarship. Proceedings of the Second European Science Foundation Workshop on the Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (London, The Warburg Institute, 27-28 November 1992)*, eds. N. Mann, B.M. Olsen (Leiden, 1997), 124-132. We might also reflect, in this regard, on Geoffrey's mention in an Abelardian commentary from the middle of the twelfth century. See: J. Rivière, 'Magister Babio Balbutiens', *Revue du Moyen Âge latin*, 1 (1945): 310. For the Abelardian commentary and the comment about Geoffrey, see: *Commentarius Cantabrigiensis in Epistolas Pauli e Schola Petri Abelardi*, ed. A Landgraf. 4 Vols, (Notre Dame Indiana, 1937-45). The reference to 'magister Babio' appears in the context of a discussion of 2 Corinthians 11:5-6: 'For I suppose that I have done nothing less than the great apostles. For although I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge; but in all things we have been made manifest to you.' See: *Commentarius*, ii, 322: 'Sed modo patiendum non est, cum non melius predicent quam ego. Quia "existimo" etiam "me nichil minus fecisse magnis apostolis", id est illis, quos pro magnis apostolis habetis, id est Petro, Jacobo et Johanne, qui in monte fuerunt cum Domino. Et vere non minus, quia "etsi imperitus sermone", id est etsi non sim multum expeditus in sermone, ea tamen, que scio, melius alios doceo quam, qui est lingue expeditioris. Balbutiens enim sepe melius balbutientem docet quam perplexus philosophus, cui est sermo expeditissimus. Unde magister Babio, cum esset balbutiens, melius tamen docere sciebat quam multi, qui hodie sunt expeditiores.'

[74] On the charges against Abelard, see Cartwright's comments: *Commentary*, 43-51.

with the *tanto plus* achieved through meditation on the exemplary lessons in his elective suffering and death. But if we consider Geoffrey's statement noted earlier in his other Palm Sunday sermon that 'Christ's death compels nobody', and that the sinner would profit from it 'if they wished' (*si vellent*), his thoughts seem to parallel Abelard's 'example of virtue and incentive for love' described by Geoffrey of Auxerre. Perhaps the archbishop found some sympathy for, and even identification with, Abelard's thinking. After all, at his later participation at the Council of Reims, Geoffrey was not afraid to oppose the machinations of his friend Bernard. Geoffrey was recorded to have 'spoken less than the other bishops', at the council 'showing consideration for [Gilbert's] industry' and 'withholding his judgment' on the matter before siding with the cardinals against the abbot.[75]

Whilst there are, then, similarities between the thought of Abelard and Geoffrey, the comparison between the two also demonstrates their differences in approach. Where Geoffrey sought, in a sense, to look 'through' the crucifixion to the moral lessons within the restrained members of Christ and his humiliating death beyond the walls of Jerusalem, Abelard meditated on Christ's raw and suffering humanity in and of itself. Perhaps what Abelard described as 'simple devotion', aroused through unembellished meditation, whilst important to Geoffrey to 'kindle the heart', was secondary to the moralising objectives he sought to impress upon his listeners: the primary responsibilities for a bishop and pastor. In this regard, we benefit from the numerous reflections that Geoffrey made on the practice of preaching and its aims throughout his sermons against which we can situate the suggestions made above on his presentation of the crucified Christ.

Reflections on Preaching in Geoffrey's Sermons

In one of his sermons *ad populum*, Geoffrey stressed the importance of listening to preaching and how the laity 'cannot possess knowledge of God except by frequently hearing his commandments', although it was 'not enough just to listen to them, unless [they held] to them'.[76] For a commandment to be effectively retained, the imagery used in communicating it had to be clear. In interpreting the scriptures, Geoffrey advised his subordinate clergy 'to be as doves';

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[75] *Recueil des Historiens*, xiv, 329: 'Hii et alii plures cum Bernardo praedicta capitula rationibus pariter et Scripturae sacrae testimoniis arguebant, nisi quod praedictus Gaufredus minus caeteris loquebatur, de industria parcens homini, et judicio se reservans, sicut humiliter est confessus, et poenitentiam egit, audiens dominos cardinales, quorum principales favisse reo, et evidenter etiam fovisse constabat, super auditis objectionibus sese promittere judicaturos'.

[76] Geoffrey, Sermon 52, col.821: 'Non enim potestis habere de Deo cognitionem, nisi audiendo mandata eius saepius. Sed non sufficit audire, nisi servemus.'

namely to be 'innocent' and 'simple' in their readings and preaching 'lest they corrupt sound understanding with heretical sentences'.[77] As with Ivo of Chartres's advice in Sermon 6, Geoffrey advised his clerics 'not to know more than it behoveth to know', since scrutiny of the 'divine mysteries' beyond established limits could lead to error.[78] A good indication of what Geoffrey considered these limits to be is provided by another of his sermons *ad sacerdotes* in which he preached on God's creation of the firmament, sun, and moon.[79] The sun represented the 'great doctors' of the church like Augustine, whose teachings were reflected by the moon of 'less knowledgeable priests' in the audience who then illuminated the laity wandering in the 'ignorance' of night through their preaching.[80] The division between day and night also signified the 'capacity' of audiences. 'Humble matters' were to be preached to the 'carnal' (*carnalibus*), whilst 'weighty matters' were preached to the 'spiritual' (*spiritualibus*).[81] With this said, in preaching to assembled clergy on Pentecost, Geoffrey outlined how there was not one way to preach: some people were to be preached to simply, and others more profoundly, in the same way that some erring souls were to be sharply rebuked by priests and others 'won over' through gentle means.[82] An allusion to what these 'gentle means' were appears in another sermon aimed at priests, in which Geoffrey described how sinners were to be 'moved to tears with sweet words'.[83]

Quite what constituted 'simple matters', 'middling matters', and 'weighty matters', and the meanings to 'carnal' audiences or the 'dove-like' interpretation of scripture, cannot be said with certainty. We are not here reading a later-medieval preaching *summa,* but a collection of Geoffrey's statements drawn from multiple sermons, audiences, and contexts. However, when taken in aggregate and compared with the imagery and exegesis on the passion hitherto analysed, along with our reflections on twelfth-century preaching in the introduction to this study, we gain a fair idea of Geoffrey's thought. Geoffrey's emphasis on the exemplarity in Christ's passion

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[77] Geoffrey, Sermon 44, col.766: 'Columbae debent esse, quia innocents et simplices debent esse in consideratione Scripturarum, ne sanum intellectum aliqua haeretica sententia corrumpant.'
[78] Ibid, col.767: 'Sunt enim quidam, qui ultra modum singula perscrutantur, quibus ait Apostolus: 'Non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem [Romans 12:3].'
[79] Geoffrey, Sermon 63, cols.924-926.
[80] Ibid, cols.924-925.
[81] Ibid, col.925.
[82] Geoffrey, Sermon 33, col.595: 'Cum praedicamus, non est praedicationis unus modus habendus; cum corrigimus, non uno modo corrigere debemus. Aliis enim simplicia, aliis mediocria praedicanda sunt. Similiter alius acrius redarguendus, alius acrius blanditiis alliciendus est.'
[83] Geoffrey, Sermon 56, col.917: 'Invitandi sunt peccatores dulcibus verbis ad lacrymas.' The importance of contrition and tears in penance was a matter stressed extensively stressed by Geoffrey, requiring the twofold inspiration of both fear of punishment and love of God. Tears were especially sought after, but if they were not forthcoming then 'inward lamentation' of the soul would suffice, demonstrating once again Geoffrey's concerns with interiority.

reflected his paramount concern with 'simple' interpretation and sound instruction, both through preaching that did not overstep the limits of authority (namely, Patristic wisdom) and exemplary living amongst his clerics whom he admonished to teach 'by word and example'. The image of the crucified Christ as *exemplum* provided both clear moral instruction to the laity on resisting vice, as well as subordinate clergy whose own lives were to serve as *exempla* to their flocks. Christ's human sufferings were noted and preached by Geoffrey – most notably in his preface to Sermon 16 – since they had a role to play in 'kindling the soul', but they were not overrepresented or meditated upon. Geoffrey's preference was to focus on the exemplarity in Christ's death and his 'elective suffering' in choosing death by crucifixion to teach moral lessons.

The approach we have extrapolated from Geoffrey's Palm Sunday Sermon 16 is characteristic of all his preaching on the crucifixion: a desire to 'read' the crucified Christ and draw from his exemplarity. In another sermon for Palm Sunday, directed at monks, Geoffrey presented an extended exegesis on how Christ's crucifixion conquered the bodily senses through which humanity had originally fallen.[84] In dying upon the cross Christ's eyes beheld the lowliness of his punishment, his ears the insults, his mouth tasted the bitter gall, whilst his members were restrained. The image of the cross itself, signed upon the members in moments of weakness, would combat worldly temptations.[85] The memory of Christ's passion was, Geoffrey explained, the 'spiritual key' (*spiritualis clavis*) for resisting sinful impulses, and this 'key' unlocked the way to subdue the senses.[86] In yet another Palm Sunday sermon Geoffrey discussed the fear that Christ showed during the history of the passion in relation to his twofold 'spiritual and natural will'.[87] 'The natural will', Geoffrey preached, 'loves the present life, abhors death, and cherishes prosperity' whilst the spiritual will 'loves heavenly things and does not fear death or hardship'. Christ assumed both wills so as to teach (*doceret*) humanity how they were to be 'held' (*habenda erat*).[88] Thus when Christ remarked that his soul was 'sorrowful unto death' as-per Matthew 26:38, it was an utterance born of his human flesh that was soon conquered by his spiritual will.[89] Likewise, when Christ implored the father 'let this cup pass from me' [Matthew 26:39], it was his

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[84] Geoffrey, Sermon 17, cols.841-845.
[85] Ibid, cols.844-845.
[86] Ibid, col.844: 'Sed super omnia est quaedam spiritualis clavis, qua et omnia debent observari, scilicet, vexillum crucis, memoria passionis Christi. Signum crucis, quoties tentationes mundi occurrunt, fac in membra tua, ut per quam sunt debilitate, signo ejus adhuc refrenetur.'
[87] Geoffrey, Sermon 15, cols.485-491.
[88] Ibid, col.489: 'Duplex voluntas est, una naturalis, et altera spiritualis. Naturalis voluntas est vitam praesentem diligere, mortem abhorrere, prospera amare, quae tamen voluntas non est peccatum, si spirituali consentiat. Spiritualis est coelestia amare, et mortem sive adversitatem non timere. Utramque voluntatem habere voluit, ut doceret quomodo utraque habenda erat.'
[89] Ibid.

human flesh which cried out in fear and went unheard. The fear shown by Christ fortified later martyrs, and Geoffrey explained how 'the head teaches the members that it is no sin to be afraid, but nonetheless that fear is [to be] overcome.'[90] Christ's humanity and fear was dwelt on by Geoffrey, but their exemplarity was the key point for consideration. There was a balance, as with his preface to Sermon 16, between limited meditation on Christ's humanity and sufferings, before extended treatment of their exemplarity and how they 'taught' the individual Christian.

It is possible to see in this treatment of the passion the characteristic balance that Geoffrey displayed throughout his corpus of sermons. Some meditation on the lowliness of Christ's sufferings was weighted against their exemplarity and Christ's choice to bear them. Christ's human fear demonstrated his affinity with humanity and served to comfort Geoffrey's audience, but the archbishop also sought to highlight Christ's subjugation of fear by his spirit. Matters of interiority and contrition were important to Geoffrey, and found expression in his work, but they did not produce extensive treatments of Christ's humanity and sufferings in the passion. This was the preaching of a reforming archbishop acutely aware of the importance of clear moral instruction, and desirous to imprint it unambiguously upon his listeners both lay and clerical. Whilst possibly influenced by some of Abelard's thinking on the 'incitement to love' in Christ's passion, the affectivity in Geoffrey's own work was markedly less pronounced though not entirely absent.

The Petrobrusians and the Cross

A final point for consideration in Geoffrey's preaching on the passion is the contemporary context of Petrobrusian heresy – both real and imagined – in southern France during Geoffrey's archiepiscopate. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Geoffrey's close friend Peter the Venerable feared the influence of the Petrobrusians in Gascony, writing to the dedicatees of his treatise that although they had chased the heresy from Septimania, he 'had heard' (*sicut audiui*) that it had moved 'like a pestilence' into Gascony.[91] Peter wrote his treatise around 1139/40, during the early years of Geoffrey's archiepiscopate and around the time he was forced into exile by his clerics. Among the key 'errors' of the Petrobrusians that Peter sought to refute was their

[90] Ibid, col.490: 'Ecce timet caput, et docet membra non esse peccatum timere; sed tamen timor superatur'.
[91] Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos*, Ep.1, 3: 'Vobis eam mitto, quoniam in partibus uestris aut circa easdem stulta illa et impia heresis more pestis ualide multos interfecit, plures interfecit; sed gratia Dei concitante et adiuuante studia uestra a uestris regionibus sese paululum remouit. Migrauit tamen, sicut audiui, ad loca satis uobis contigua et a Septimania uestra uobis persequentibus expulsa in prouincia Nouempopulana, que uulgo Gasconia uocatur, et in partibus ei adiacentibus sibi foueas preparauit.'

rejection of images of the cross, which they defended by arguing that because the cross caused Christ such suffering it was not worthy of veneration.[92] Given this context, it is important to consider potential bearings upon Geoffrey's sermons and his preaching on the passion specifically.

Geoffrey mentioned heresy a number of times in his sermons, but his use of the term was fairly fluid. Priestly corruption was reckoned as a heresy in one of Geoffrey's synodal sermons, for instance, whilst in another to monks, he conflated heresy with worldly temptation.[93] 'False preachers' were noted and condemned in other sermons, but seemingly from the fear of incorrect scriptural interpretation by his *own* clergy (an important matter, as we noted earlier) as opposed to a reference towards a body of itinerant heretic preachers.[94] The only 'doctrinal' heresy that Geoffrey noted in any of his sermons was the incorrect interpretation of John 12:32: 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to myself.' According to Geoffrey, this 'ancient heresy' was still ensnaring the laity of his own day, who took the verse to mean that when Christ descended to Hell after his crucifixion he returned with *all* souls and not just those of the righteous.[95] Whilst the use of the term 'heresy' by Geoffrey was fairly broad, the importance he placed on preaching as a defence against 'heresy', however defined, was a matter he stressed consistently and repeatedly.[96]

There is no explicit reference to the Petrobrusians or their teachings in any of Geoffrey's sermons, though it could be asked whether we are to read between the lines in some of his work. Discussing their rejection of the image of the cross in *Contra Petrobrusianos*, Peter the Venerable asked, in his 'all or nothing logic':

> If the name is removed from the middle of the cross, where shall mention of the crucified one remain? And if the name of the crucified is taken away, then where shall record of his death or passion remain? And with the memory of his passion and death removed, what hope of salvation will

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92 Ibid, 66-86.

93 Geoffrey, Sermon 57: Sunt enim quidam haeretici qui pro peccatis dimittandis quaerunt pecuniam et cum debeant alligare ouis contritiones, deuorant eam. Quosdam pro pellibus, quosdam pro nummis ab omnibus peccatis absoluunt. De illis quidem potest dici: Peccata populi mei comedunt. Et quia indiscreti sunt sacerdotes praecipitur ne aliquis eorum sine consilio episcopi audeat dare de criminalibus paenitentiam'; Sermon 39, col.898: '…et ita custodes murorum, id est doctores, qui defendunt muros Ecclesiae, et dant illi munimenta praedicatione sua, ne possit a spiritualibus [imo, carnalibus] hominibus vel haereticis quassari…'

94 Geoffrey, Sermon 43, col.785.

95 Geoffrey, Sermon 56, col.916.

96 See, for instance Sermon 39, Sermon 43*,* Sermon 44*,* Sermon 45, Sermon 56.

> be left for the redeemed, given the price of their redemption has been wiped away?[97]

For Peter, the importance of the cross as-image was essential in achieving salvation for those redeemed by Christ actions upon it. If the cross disappeared, then memory of Christ's actions was lost, and salvation hindered. There are two references to the cross as-image in Geoffrey's sermons. The first is in Sermon 16 which we discussed in depth earlier. Following Geoffrey's exegesis on Hebrews 13 and exiting 'without the camp', he explained how 'we manifest a certain type (*quamdam speciem*) of this mystery during this feast' when 'we depart from the city and carry a material cross'; a reference to the Palm Sunday procession.[98] 'Therefore, as we carry the figure', Geoffrey explained, 'let us [also] fulfil the matter in action'.[99] The second reference appears in Geoffrey's sermon for the Feast of the Exaltation. In concluding his oratory, Geoffrey admonished his audience to venerate the image just as the prototype was venerated in Jerusalem:

> All of us should venerate this cross, upon which hung the price of the world. The price is given to us all, *if we wish* (my emphasis) to depart from sin (*vitiis*). Today it is exalted in Jerusalem: let us similarly exalt it in each of our churches, so that it may be our common salvation.[100]

In the first reference, Geoffrey's comments on the Palm Sunday procession supported his preceding exegesis: just as the audience bore the *figuram* beyond the walls of their city they were to fulfil the *opus* of Geoffrey's words through abstinence and compassion for their neighbours. Given Geoffrey's preceding exegesis in this sermon on Simon of Cyrene and Christ, as the audience walked out beyond the walls, imitating the walk to Calvary, Geoffrey sought for them to reflect on which of the two they imitated, and whether they bore the cross freely or under

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[97] Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos*, 112, 67: 'Nam sublato de medio crucis nomine, ubi crucifixi mentio remanebit? Subtracto crucifixi uocabulo, ubi mortis uel passionis recordatio permanebit? Ablata mortis uel passionis memoria, que redemptis spes salutis euacuato redemptionis precio supererit?' On the 'all or nothing' logic, see: Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*.

[98] Geoffrey, Sermon 16, col.549: 'Egimus et de exitu castrorum, et de cruce portanda. Hujus autem mysterii in hac festivitate quamdam speciem repraesentamus. Et enim extra civitatem eximus, crucem materialem portamus.' On a representative view of how the procession may have been conducted, based on evidence from Chartres during the 1190s, see: C. Wright, 'The Palm Sunday Procession in Medieval Chartres', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, eds. R.A. Baltzer and M.E. Fassler (Oxford, 2000), 344-371.

[99] Ibid: 'Sicut ergo figuram gerimus, ita rem opere compleamus.'

[100] Geoffrey, Sermon 28, col.685: 'Hanc igitur crucem debemus omnes venerari, in qua pependit pretium mundi. Datum est pretium pro omnibus nobis, si volumus exire a vitiis. Hodie exaltata est in Jerusalem. Nos similiter exaltemus eam in singulis ecclesiis, ut nobis sit communiter salus…'

compulsion. This imaginative power may even have been furthered by the location Geoffrey preached his sermon. In late-twelfth century Chartres, from which detailed proscriptions for the Palm Sunday procession survive, the bishop delivered his sermon at a church beyond the city walls.[101] We cannot know when or where Geoffrey preached his own sermon, but if he did so in Bordeaux, as seems likely, the monastery of Sainte-Croix a kilometre south of the city walls would perhaps have been appropriate as a substitute 'Calvary', given its dedication, for the clergy and laity re-imagining and traversing the sacred topography of Jerusalem and its environs.[102] In the sermon for the Exaltation, the power of the cross-as-image was also impressed: it was the image and the 'price' that was paid by Christ upon it that were to be embraced 'if [the audience] wished'. The essential function in the image of the cross, and the reason for its veneration, was further underscored in the link Geoffrey made with its prototype: the veneration of the cross in churches reflected the veneration of the True Cross 'exalted today in Jerusalem'. Geoffrey's appeal to the True Cross 'exalted today' perhaps also reflected the imaginative climate of the later 1140s around the Second Crusade, were his sermon composed or preached in this period. His friend Bernard, of course, would vigorously preach the cause of the crusade from 1145. Geoffrey made sure to underscore the importance of the cross as-image in the economy of salvation. He implored his audience that they should venerate the cross in their churches so 'that it may be our common salvation', and we have already noted in great detail the function it served in Geoffrey's consistent references to the exemplarity of Christ's death upon it in the rest of his sermons. In *electing* to die upon the cross rather than through some other means, the crucified teacher-Christ informed Christians of the way they were to live, conquer their sins, and achieve salvation 'if they wished to depart from sin'. With this final note we again see Geoffrey's return to matters around volition. Veneration of the cross was to be carried out 'if [the audience] *wished* to depart from sin'.

Whether these matters can be associated with the Petrobrusians, or Geoffrey's relationship with Peter the Venerable, cannot be easily said. The reference to the procession and exegesis on Hebrews 13 was noted similarly, for instance, in Abelard's Palm Sunday sermon, in which he described the procession 'into the country' to venerate the cross, and the mnemonic benefits for participants 'gazing upon [Christ] crucified for us as if there before our very eyes'.[103]

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[101] Wright, 'The Palm Sunday Procession', 347.

[102] For the location and maps of Bourdeaux in the second half of the twelfth century, see: Higounet, *Bordeaux*, 111 and 113. In 1138 Geoffrey delineated his rights of procuration from the monastery in the context of his return *ad limina* from Rome. See: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Sainte-Croix de Bordeaux*, ed. A. Ducaunnès Duval in *Archives Historiques du departément de la Gironde*, Vol.27 (Bordeaux, 1892), No.39.

[103] Abelard, Sermon 10, 124: 'Quem et nos hodie egressum representamus cum de urbibus uel castellis aut uillis clerus pariter ac populus cum sanctuario crucem adorare procedunt in campo, ipsa uidelicet die qua

As such, whilst Geoffrey's comments on the procession could be read apologetically, as an explanation about the *crux materialis* borne of local wariness around the Petrobrusians in his archdiocese, the opposite was perhaps more likely: that the Palm Sunday procession was important to the laity and clergy of Bordeaux, a fact recognised by their archbishop who opened and then structured much of his sermon around Hebrews 13 to capitalise on reference to the day's ritual and its mnemonic benefits. Similarly, the emphasis in Geoffrey's sermon for the Exaltation on venerating crosses 'in each of our churches' as the 'common salvation' may be read as a hortatory reminder of the utility of the cross, underscored through the collapse between copy and prototype, borne from a similar local wariness around Petrobrusian teachings. But given the day's feast which celebrated the finding of the Cross by Helena (d.330) and its later rescue by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (d.641), reference to the materiality of crosses, and the relic in Jerusalem, were natural points of emphasis and need not denote any particular reference to local opposition.[104] What in fact may be evidenced is local enthusiasm around devotion to the cross, cultivated by Geoffrey through association with the famous relic in Jerusalem.

The broader emphases we have noted around 'elective suffering' and 'exemplarity', are, however, certainly worth reflecting on against the Petrobrusian context. Peter the Venerable's refutations to their challenges pivoted around 'logical' considerations: of the foolishness in punishing objects that were 'without sense', for instance, along with his notes on how Christ 'transformed' the cross, so it was no longer an instrument of torture, as the Petrobrusians protested.[105] Geoffrey's points of emphasis around the utility of the cross were, by contrast, both exceptionally simple and grounded thoroughly in moralising emphases. The crucifixion was *chosen* by Christ to teach lessons: discipline of mind, compassion for neighbour, and the conquest of the bodily senses, for instance. A death by stoning or 'some other manner of torment' would not have benefitted the redeemed. For Geoffrey the cross was to be embraced as 'our common salvation' because of its pedagogical power: recognised and taught by Christ as he chose to hang upon it and die and repeated in Geoffrey's own preaching. The *image* of the cross, as such, was special, and Geoffrey impressed this upon his audience, but whether this emphasis was indeed borne of a local wariness is difficult to know.

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primum in anno dominica recitatur passio. Qua quidem generali fidelium processione tanquam ad Dominum extra portam passum egredientes passionis ipsius nos memores esse profitemur, quasi eum pre oculis crucifixum pro nobis aspicientes.'

[104] On this, see: B. Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*, trans. L. Preedy (Leiden, 2004).

[105] Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 182-185.

Conclusion

The preceding discussion has enriched the commentaries by Geoffrey's previous biographers on the prominent place of the passion in his preaching, placing images and lines of exegesis in view of the collection as a whole as well as the contexts both local and national in which Geoffrey lived, moved, and worked. His preaching on exemplary figures – both good and bad – from the passion narratives accorded with his capacious theology of salvation sympathetic to human frailty. However, they may also have served as exemplary models in a sensitive local context. Whether preaching the thief's penance to elicit hope amongst a *seditiosus* local audience or casting himself and his recent afflictions as a form of *imitatio Christi*, Geoffrey powerfully utilised the passion narratives to present stark delineations and choices to his audience: between hope and despair, penance and reconciliation, coercion and freedom, and betrayal or loyalty. With regards to the central figure of Christ crucified, Geoffrey's extensive preaching on the image reflected, above all, the concerns of a reforming pastor-bishop acutely aware of the importance to clear and simple pedagogy in preaching. Whilst articulating thoughts around interiority, and perhaps receptive to Abelardian debates on the loving example in Christ's death, Geoffrey's dominant tendencies were the extrapolation of 'lessons' from Christ's passion for the regulation of the self and the control of sin amongst both his lay and clerical audiences. Whilst it is indeed notable that Geoffrey preached in a context that was seen by some – notably Peter the Venerable – as a potential den of heretics who rejected the image of the cross, whether Geoffrey's own emphases on the exemplarity to the image spoke to this anxiety must remain an open question. Indeed, Geoffrey was described by one commentator as being a preacher 'more celebrated than truly known and studied'.[106] Whilst we have shed light on some aspects to Geoffrey's preaching and the impulses behind their expression, further work remains to be carried out on this important but enigmatic figure.

[106] Foulon, 'L'exemple d'une Collection'.

Chapter Four: The Sermons of Bartholomew of Exeter

Introduction

Bartholomew of Exeter's sermons are, like Geoffrey Babion's explored in the preceding chapter, testament to his extensive preaching efforts as bishop. However, the sermons have never been printed; a fact which has limited scholarly engagement with them. Thus in Adrian Morey's biography of the bishop he devoted only a few pages to them, but in recent years they have been exploited for what they can tell us of episcopal preaching and pastoral care in the years before the thirteenth century.[1] These recent treatments – most notably David Runciman's overview of the collection – have been most welcome in contextualising Bartholomew's preaching at the diocesan level as well as against the intellectual concerns of his episcopal colleagues in the third quarter of the twelfth century. Yet there are still significant questions that remain to be asked, and points from these recent treatments that require qualification. These discussions have not looked in depth at the imagery of the sermons, their rhetorical qualities, their theological and devotional content, and how these supported Bartholomew's didactic aims. These qualities are most fruitfully analysed against other collections of sermons, and as such their discussion in this comparative study shall enrich our understanding of Bartholomew's sermonising.

Of chief interest here is, of course, Bartholomew's imagery concerning the passion and the influences behind it. This chapter will show Bartholomew's preaching on the passion to have been notably measured. We find no particular dedication or proclivity towards preaching the passion or cross of Christ like that seen in Geoffrey Babion's sermons, although Bartholomew of course did preach upon them at salient points of the year: particularly Passiontide and Eastertide. This observation becomes more significant, however, given that Bartholomew quoted – sometimes extensively – several of the significant theological and devotional works on the passion from the recent past in his sermons. These sources in Bartholomew's writing have not been identified before now, and in identifying them we can see some of the 'supplies' that Walter Map mentioned facilitated Bartholomew's writing.[2] Bartholomew drew from Anselm's *Cur Deus homo*, *De Conceptu Virginali et Peccato Originali*, and the *Orationes sive Meditationes* in his sermons, along with Hugh of St Victor's (d.1141) *De Sacramentis*. The bishop of Exeter also used Ivo of

[1] For the first substantial overview of Bartholomew's sermons, see: Runciman, 'The Sermons of Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter', 63-96. Sermon numbers given in this chapter are according to the list printed on 92-96. See also: R. Springer, 'Bartholomew of Exeter's Sermons and the Cultivation of Charity in Twelfth-Century Exeter, *Historical Research*, 92 (2019): pp.267-287 and 'Prelacy, Pastoral Care and the Instruction of Subordinates', 114-128. Original treatment by Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, 109-112.
[2] See above: Introduction, 21.

Chartres's Sermon 6 – the significance of which we outlined in Chapter One – as well as the sermons of Geoffrey Babion. In identifying some of the sources that Bartholomew used in his preaching, this chapter shall demonstrate something of a 'middle path' that could be walked by contemporaries in relation to the devotional and theological developments of the period. It is demonstrably clear, for instance, that Bartholomew had before him the words of Anselm's *Orationes sive Meditationes* as well as his *Cur Deus homo* in composing his sermons, but their use in his preaching suggests neither rejection nor reticence whilst at the same time demonstrating that he did not embrace and exploit these works wholeheartedly. Whilst devotion to the suffering Christ had become a significant feature of clerical piety by the latter stages of the twelfth century, with Anselm's meditations and their derivatives widely circulated, we must remember that the uptake of such ideas did not always move in one direction. The 'cultural conditions' that would encourage the adoption of ideas and imagery might be present, as with the availability of particular works, but the ways they were actually read and used were predicated upon the intellectual formation of a particular author and the local circumstances in which they lived and worked. As will be shown in Chapter Six when turning to the sermons written by Peter of Blois, he had a great deal of devotional material on the passion before his eyes and utilised it enthusiastically in his own preaching. Contrarily, we may have expected Herbert Losinga, as we noted in Chapter Two, to have expressed the affectivity of Fécamp in his own preaching at Norwich, whereas he in fact took an opposite approach in his triumphal presentation of the passion. Bartholomew's own work lies somewhere between these two poles of response. His sermonising on the passion is at times difficult to interpret, but this is important to highlight for a fuller understanding of the devotional 'shift' of the period and some of the 'shades of grey' we need to introduce into the picture.

Before turning to analyse the sermons, we should note the general characteristics of the collection. Like Geoffrey Babion Bartholomew valued clarity in his preaching. His sermons were short; in general, around a thousand words of unadorned Latin. In his sermons Bartholomew largely pursued moral readings, with a penchant for laying them out before his audience in threefold divisions. At times he also directly questioned his audience, adopting the persona of those who might have sought clarification on some matter. Charity was a dominant theme, preached in the traditional vein as the root of all the other virtues to be expressed in good works and love for one's neighbour, whilst penance was also strongly represented: unsurprising given Bartholomew's authorship of his own *Penitential*.[3] Structurally, the sermons preserved in

[3] Whilst of course a boilerplate theme for a twelfth-century preacher, Rebecca Springer has argued Bartholomew also keyed his preaching on charity to the cultivation of that virtue within twelfth-century

MS.Bodl.449 follow the course of the liturgical year, with a number of dedication sermons also copied into the cycle. As for the audiences, many of the sermons must have been preached at the Cathedral Church of St Peter in Exeter on the great feasts of the year, with mixed audiences drawn from both the laity of Exeter and its environs as well as the cathedral's clerical community. It is these sermons, and especially the Passiontide and Eastertide pieces, that will occupy the greater part of this discussion, but before turning to these we shall first look at Bartholomew's preaching on the redemption in establishing a background to his sermons more explicitly concerned with the cross and crucified Christ, as we did in the previous chapter in discussing the sermons of Geoffrey Babion.

Bartholomew's Sermonising on the Redemption

Bartholomew's preaching on the redemption took inspiration from several different quarters but revolved around a number of recurrent themes. His Sermon 18, for Christmas Day, is in fact Geoffrey's Babion's Sermon 3 copied out near-verbatim but shortened and with an alternative ending added.[4] In that sermon, as we noted in the previous chapter, Geoffrey had preached how God did not want to appear to harm the devil, but instead act through mercy and justice, countering the *fallaciam* by which humanity had been tricked into bondage.[5] Geoffrey's sermon was available at Exeter during Bartholomew's episcopate, in what is now Oxford Merton College MS.241 (See discussion in Appendix One). Similar themes resurface in Bartholomew's other sermons, with further borrowings from contemporary and near-contemporary authors. In Sermon 16, also for Christmas Day, Bartholomew outlined how humanity had injured God by spurning his precepts and placing themselves under the devil's power, whilst the devil injured God by 'deceitfully capturing and violently holding man'.[6] The sermon is, in actual fact, almost word-for-word the section of Hugh of St Victor's *De Sacramentis* titled 'On the case of man as regards God and the devil'.[7] In this section of *De Sacramentis* Hugh described the process of atonement through legalistic imagery, presenting man, God, and the devil as three parties in a

Exeter, with its various confraternities and other charitable institutions. See: Springer, 'The Cultivation of Charity'. The *Penitential* was printed by Morey as an appendix to his study of Bartholomew. See: Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, 175-300.

4 Bartholomew, Sermon 18, ff.13vb-14va.

5 See above: Chapter Three, 89.

6 Bartholomew, Sermon 16, f.12ra: 'hominem et fraudulenter abduxit, et uiolenter tenuit'.

7 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*, trans. R.J. Deferrari (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1951), Bk.1, VIII, Ch.4, 143. For the Latin, see: PL 176 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols.307-309.

lawsuit.[8] Humanity required an 'advocate' (*patronus*) to help free them from the devil's grip: a role which only Christ could assume. Language of 'debts', 'charges', and 'placation' figured prominently in Hugh's writing and, in turn, Bartholomew's sermonising:

> By being born [Christ] paid the debt to the father, and by dying he atoned for the charge (*moriendo reatum expiauit*) […] Christ rendered two things unto humanity, one by being born and the other by dying. By being born he broke the debt of the first man, restoring his damnation by God and placating Him. By dying for man's contempt [of God] he satisfied God, because he freely bore death, which he did not merit.[9]

Further language of what was 'essential', 'necessary' and 'right' featured in Bartholomew's sermonising on the redemption as a consequence of his authorities; a fact especially pronounced in Sermon 43 for the Annunciation.[10] Around one third of this sermon was made up of direct quotations from Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and *De Concepto Virginali et Peccato Originali* woven into Bartholomew's preaching:

> Since it was right that a man make satisfaction for a man's transgression (*culpa hominis*), it was resultingly necessary that the one making satisfaction be either that same man or one of his kind. For neither Adam nor his race could make satisfaction for themselves in any other way. Whence it is written: It was essential (*expediebat*) that he who was going to redeem the human race be born of Adam and Eve, the parents of all.[11]

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[8] For a summary of Hugh's thoughts on atonement as expressed in this section of *De Sacramentis*, see: P. Rorem, *Hugh of St Victor* (Oxford, 2009), 77-80.

[9] Bartholomew, Sermon 16, f.12vb: 'et nascendo patri debitum persoluit, et moriendo reatum expiauit'; f.13ra: 'Christus duo pro homine, alteram nascendo, alteram uero moriendo fecit. Nascendo debitum primi hominis soluit, dampnum deo restaurans, eumque placans. Moriendo pro contemptu hominis: deo satisfecit, quia mortem quam meruit sponte sustinuit'; Hugh, *De Sacramentis*, Bk.1, Part 8, Ch.4, cols.308-309.

[10] Bartholomew, Sermon 43, ff.31ra-31vb.

[11] Ibid, f.31vb: 'Sicut enim rectum est ut pro culpa hominis homo satisfaciat, ita necesse est ut satisfaciens aut idem homo fit aut eiusdem generis. Aliter namque nec adam nec genus eius satisfaceret pro se. Vnde scriptum est Expediebat ut qui redempturus erat genus humanum esset, et nasceretur de adam et eua parentibus omnium'; Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, *SAO*, ii, Bk.2, Ch.8, 103: 'Sicut enim rectum est, ut pro culpa hominis homo satisfaciat, ita necesse est, ut satisfaciens idem sit qui peccator aut eiusdem generis. Aliter namque nec Adam nec genus eius satisfaciet pro se'; *De Conceptu Virginali et Peccato Originali*, *SAO*, ii, Ch.11, 154: 'Sic namque expediebat ut qui redempturus erat genus humanum, esset et nasceretur de patre et matre omnium'.

In these sermons Bartholomew repeated and reconstituted some of the major recent works of soteriology to preach before his audiences gathered for the day's feast. Whilst also using Geoffrey Babion's Sermon 3, Bartholomew did not stress the imbalance in power between man and the devil to the extent that Geoffrey did and which was, indeed, a characteristic of the latter's preaching.[12] Where Geoffrey could be described as more rhetorically sensitive in eliciting hope amongst his audience by contrasting the power imbalance between humanity and the devil, Bartholomew was more measured, outlining what could be termed the 'facts of the case' regarding the breach between God and humanity through his use of Hugh and Anselm's works. As a highly respected canon lawyer, it could be that the legalistic imagery from Anselm and Hugh appealed to a mind as grounded in law – both in theory and practice – as Bartholomew's, and he thus sought to use them in his preaching and pastorate. We may also reflect here on the effectiveness of this imagery before audiences of laity and clergy. Explicating the restoration of God and man through familiar societal imagery of lord-retainer relationships and legal quarrels may, perhaps, have aided the interiorisation of Bartholomew's preaching by his listeners, and this desire for clarity is also reflected in the ways that Bartholomew quoted from Anselm and Hugh's writings. His choice of extracts from their works were very clear; often presented in a 'As x…so y' style which was well suited to use in a sermon. It is, above all, a measured tone that pervades Bartholomew's use of Hugh, Anselm, and Geoffrey. The bishop of Exeter's voice in these sermons was decidedly measured, and it is this measured voice, balanced in its preaching, that also resurfaces in his imagery of the passion itself.

Bartholomew's Sermons for Passiontide and Eastertide

Unlike Geoffrey Babion, imagery of Christ and his cross, or motifs from the passion narratives, do not feature prominently across Bartholomew's collection: they were instead concentrated around Passiontide and Eastertide. A representative text would be Sermon 44, the first of his Palm Sunday sermons.[13] The piece was likely delivered to a mixed audience of both clergy and laity. At the beginning of the sermon Bartholomew preached: 'you who have come together today from diverse parts of the land to this place, this holy church, should understand and remember why it is you have done this', because if they did not know why they had come

[12] See above: Chapter Three, esp.89-90.
[13] Bartholomew, Sermon 44, ff.31vb-32vb.

together he explained that the audience 'did so in vain and without reason'.[14] The reference to the audience journeying from afar speaks to the laity both within Exeter and the surrounding countryside having gathered together at the cathedral on the feast day. Additionally, the note for them to 'understand and remember' (*intelligere et retinere*) why they did so may have been especially keyed towards lay members of the audience. It was not enough for them to come to church for the blessing of palms and the day's celebrations in implicit belief: Bartholomew sought for them to interiorise his preaching and *explicitly* understand why it was that they did so, a rather striking admonition which could speak to the note in the Introduction on 'supra catechetical preaching' in a diocesan context.

In pursuing this aim Bartholomew punctuated his sermon with questions and answers to help his audience *intelligere et retinere*. Thus, there were 'two judgments of God', one made in his passion and the other that would come at the Endtime.[15] The bishop explained to whom and how Christ came in the past, and how and to whom he would return in the future.[16] Asking why God died, he gave the answer that it was 'only out of love for man, not by reason of sin'.[17] There were 'two judgments' made against the devil: one during the Harrowing of Hell, and the other made 'daily' through his expulsion from the heart by baptism, penance, and works of charity.[18] The sufferings of Christ's passion were noted, but almost in passing in a 'matter of fact' sequence: 'first he was betrayed by his disciple, then he was crowned with thorns by the Jews and endured the spit and beatings before finally being fixed to the cross. Like an innocent lamb he

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[14] Ibid, ff.31vb-32ra: 'Karissimi, qui de diuersis huius seculi partibus, ad hunc locum, ad hanc sanctam ecclesiam hodie conuenistis: quare huc aduenistis intelligere ac retinere debeatis . Hoc quippe ratio exigit. Quia si ignoratis cur huc aduenistis in uanum et sine causa a conuenistis. Causam ergo conuentionis cognoscite, et cognitam memoriter recinete.'

[15] Ibid, f.32ra: 'Scitote ergo dilectissimi quia duo sunt iudicia dei. Que ut cognosceretis et in memoriam heretis, hodie ad ecclesiam precipue conuenistis. Primum iudicium factum est in passione Christi, alterum fiet in fine seculi.'

[16] Ibid: 'Ad primum uenit rex celi, rex terre, rex abyssi, id est, Christus, ad secundum quoque idem rex uenturus est. Sed quomodo uenit ad primum? Occultus, mansuetus, iudicandus. Occultus, et humana carne uelatus, uenit. Cui? Bonis, impiis, et diabolo. Bonis ad fidem, impiis ad incredulitatem, diabolo ad mortis suggestionem.'

[17] Ibid, f.32rb: 'Qua ratione? Numquid merito peccati? Absit! Peccatum enim non fecit, sicut testatur petrus 'nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius' [1 Peter 2:22]. Quare? Sola hominum dilectione, non peccati necessitate . Sola caritas est in causa, non peccati necessitas.'

[18] Ibid, f.32rb: 'Hec sunt duo iudicia hominis aduersus diabolum., que Christus in sua fecit passione. Vnum est liberationis, alterum expulsionis. Vnum semel factum est in inferno, alterum fit cotidie in hoc mundo. Primum fecit Christus cum ad inferos descendit, et captiuitatem que ibidem tenebatur liberam eduxit. Vnde ante passionem dixit 'Ego si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me ipsum' [John 12:32]. Omnia traxit, quia de electis apud inferos nullum reliquit. Alterum cotidie facit, de quo ipse ait 'Nunc iudicium est mundi, nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur' [John 12:31]. Diabolus princeps mundi, id est, omnium malorum qui habitant in mundo, de cordibus electorum abundantius post passionem Christi eicitur foras primo per aquam baptismatis, post ea per penitentiam cordis, deinde per opera caritatis.'

bore these things – so abject and grave – for us.'[19] The real rhetorical force in this particular sermon was, in fact, the mirror image of Christ as the terrible judge who would return at the Endtime. Bartholomew powerfully preached on Christ's return and the conflagration of the earth, in which all riches, cities, castles, and churches would be reduced to ashes.[20] He sought for his audience to imagine themselves in the calamity: 'Regarding these things I am saying, brothers, heed not the sound of the words but their effect, and imagine yourselves placed within that great furnace, for that is how you will be examined.'[21]

Bartholomew took a similar approach to Sermon 44 in Sermon 50 for Good Friday.[22] He began by noting that God had gathered them together '*in hunc locum*' for his praise and for their salvation.[23] Bartholomew explained that they were to 'remember [Christ's] sufferings and death which he bore over these days not for his own, but for our transgressions.'[24] The audience were to 'hasten' to Christ's passion not through bodily sufferings but good works, reflecting how Christ hastened along the 'path of charity' in his passion: 'In charity Christ hastened during these days to betrayal; from betrayal to the passion; from the passion to death; from death to resurrection; and from resurrection to ascension'.[25] In similar language to Sermon 44, Bartholomew asked out of what love Christ bore these things which were 'so grave' (*tam grauia*),

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[19] Ibid: 'In qua primum a discipulo est traditus, deinde a iudeis spineam coronam, ludibria et uerbera est perpessus, postremo ligno crucis est affixus. Hec tam abiecta, tam grauia, quasi agnus innocens pro nobis tolerauit.'

[20] Ibid, f.32va: 'Ad secundum autem iudicium quod fiet in fine seculi, uenturus est ipse Christus non occultus, sed manifestus, non mansuetus, sed terribilis, non iudicandus, sed iudicaturus. De die autem terribilis illius iudicii, per prophetam dicitur 'Die illa, die ire calamitatis et miserie, dies tribulationis et angustie et cetera' [Zephaniah 1:15]. In die quippe domini aer iste terre uicinus ab oriente usque in occidentem, ab austro in aquilonem, quousque aquie diluuii ascenderunt : igne replebitur terram quoque concremabit, quousque humana concupiscentia effodit. Vniuersa ciuitatum compositio, munitionum fortitudo, auri et argenti ambitio, ecclesiarum quoque et sacramentorum ornatus, illo conflatorio conflabuntur.'

[21] Ibid: 'Que dico, fratres karissimi, non ut uerborum sonus sed ut rerum effectus attendite, uosque quasi in illa grandi fornace, hac enim examinandi estis : positos existimare .' Indeed, when Bartholomew did depart from his usual unadorned and measured approach in preaching it was often to elicit images of judgment and fear within the minds of his audience.

[22] Bartholomew, Sermon 50, ff.39ra-39vb.

[23] Ibid, f.39ra: 'Fratres quos deus in hunc locum sibi ad laudem uobis autem ad salutem congregauit…'

[24] Ibid: '…recordamini angustiarum eius, recordamini eius mortis quam in his diebus non pro suis sed pro uestris delictis tolerauit.'

[25] Ibid: 'Recordamini et currite ad passionem eius non passibus corporis sed passibus mentis et bone operationis. Currite, inquam, in his diebus quia in eis <cu>rrit Christus, currit necessario et omnis homo. Christus currit per caritatem, diaolus per iniquitatem, homo per necessitatem. Vt reor iam uidetis, quia tres sunt uie uia dei, uia diaboli, uia hominis. Via dei est caritas, uia diaboli iniquitas, uia hominis est necessitas. Per caritatem in his diebus Christus cucurrit ad tradictionem, de traditione ad passione, de passione ad mortem, de morte ad resurrectionem, de resurrectione ad ascensionem.'

answering that it was 'only out of love for man' that he 'hastened' through the events of his passion:

> For he wished to be betrayed and sold into the hands of the wicked, as if the subject of some mean transaction (*uelut uile mancipium*), so he could snatch us from the hand of the ancient enemy. He bore the spit and the flagellations to heal us of sin and its penalty. He bore death, and not just any death but that of the cross – the death of a thief – to vivify us. He rose and ascended that we might rise to virtue and thence beatitude. Hence it is written: 'The entire dispensation of Christ gave thought to us, discharged itself to our use, and deferred nothing unto divine power'.[26]

As with Sermon 44, the sufferings of Christ were preached by Bartholomew. Indeed, Bartholomew's stated aim in this sermon was that the audience remember the *angustiae* borne by Christ: an objective which would also have been supported in the liturgical Good Friday reproaches. But Bartholomew's presentation of Christ's *anguistiae* was again measured and sequential: individual points in Christ's experience were not lingered over but listed. Indeed, the sequence itself ended with the ascension: the sufferings were to be regarded by the audience in view of the entire redemptive 'dispensation of Christ'.

The final line of the quoted extract, however, on the 'entire dispensation of Christ' was not Bartholomew's, but in fact taken from Ivo of Chartres's Sermon 6: the significance of which we noted in Chapter One in discussing Ivo's contritionally-centred imagery of Christ's incarnation and passion.[27] As with Geoffrey Babion's Sermon 3, Ivo's text was also contained in Merton College MS.241 and thus available at Exeter Cathedral (See Appendix One).[28] Notably, then, the emphases in Ivo's sermon around contrition in conceptualising the passion and redemption do not appear to have overly influenced the bishop of Exeter's own preaching. He quoted selectively from Ivo's work, taking his statement that God 'deferred nothing unto divine power' without the accompanying imagery from Sermon 6 that the bishop of Chartres sensitively used in making his argument on the softening, loving, and merciful actions of Christ's passion.

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[26] Ibid: 'Tradi etenim ac uenundari in manus impiorum, uelut uile mancipium uoluit, ut nos de manu hostis antiqui eriperet. Ludibria et flagella pertulit, ut nos a peccato, et peccati pena, sanaret. Mortem tolerauit, nec quamlibet mortem sed mortem crucis, sed mortem latronis, ut nos uiuificaret. Surrexit et ascendit, ut nos resurgeremus ad uirtutem, et de uirtute ascenderemus ab [sic ad] beatutudinem. Hinc scriptum est 'Tota Christi despensatio nobis consuluit, nostre utilitati militauit, et diuine potentie nil contulit."

[27] Ivo of Chartres, Sermon 6, col.563: 'Tota haec dispensatio nostrae utilitati consuluit, nostrae saluti militavit, divinae potentiae nil contulit.'

[28] Oxford Merton College MS.241, ff.57r-59r.

The rest of Bartholomew's sermon instead returned to the two remaining 'paths' journeyed upon by the devil and man in the 'days of the passion', with the devil's incitement of Judas to betrayal and the requirement that man 'co-suffer' to 'co-reign' with Christ through vigils, prayers, and labours.[29] In concluding his sermon, Bartholomew called for his listeners to 'hold the promises of rising and reigning together with Christ before your eyes, and hold them there for the sake of justice whenever a hurtful word pierces you, the commandment of abstinence breaks you, and the severity of bodily discipline wears you down.'[30] The audience were to forebear 'mockery' (*ludibriis*) for their 'works of justice', be 'stripped' (*denudatur*) of their property and 'broken' through corporal sufferings.[31] With the final lines of this sermon we see a more rhetorically sensitive Bartholomew, impressing a level of *imitatio Christi* upon his audience in line with the Good Friday setting. They were to imitate the mockery from the crowds, the stripping of Christ's clothes, his distension upon the cross and the piercing nails though their upright commitment to righteous living. Earlier in this sermon, as part of a discussion in which Bartholomew railed against people who stole from the Church, he preached that they acted against 'the sacrament of their profession', broke 'their vow', and spurned 'the commandment of obedience'.[32] As such, the imitation of Christ that he impressed toward the end of the sermon might have been interpreted against his earlier calls for his audience – namely the clerical element – to adhere to their '*professio*' and '*uotum*'. The records of various legal cases from Bartholomew's episcopate evidence examples of what could be termed 'theft' from the Church that confronted the bishop, for instance the appropriation of churches by Exeter's archdeacons which would have been considered a breach of their '*uotum obedientie*'.[33] Bartholomew's pronouncements towards the end of his sermon, as such, may have been keyed to touch on such issues.

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[29] Bartholomew, Sermon 50, ff.39ra-39vb.

[30] Ibid, f.39vb: 'Karissimi, has promissiones resurgendi cum Christo et conregnandi ante oculos habete quotiens pro iusticia sermo grauis uos transfigit, quotiens preceptum abstinentie frangit, quotiens seueritas discipline corporalis atterit.'

[31] Ibid: 'Alius uero Christo compatitur, qui pro iusticie operibus ludibriis afficitur, rebus propris denudatur, uel molestia corporali frangitur.'

[32] Ibid, f.39rb: **'**Mysterio [sic ministerio] portabat, furto exportabat. Audiat hoc omnis qui res ecclesie ministerio portat, et furto exportat, et ualde pertimescat. Necesse est enim ut timeat, quia iude traditori assimilatur, sicut augustinus testatur dicens 'Qui aliquid de ecclesia furatur, iude perdito assimilatur'. Assimilatur enim in duobus; in sacrilegii uidelicet perpetratione, et in sacrilegii si in eo perseuerauerit damnatione. Karissimi qui res ecclesie sancte res Christi, uel custoditis, uel aduersos proprios illicite habetis: hoc formidate, et ne pro eis damnemini: cauete. Confidenter dico, quod qui eas uel propriam uoluntatem ex deliberatione contra sacramentum sue professionis habet, criminaliter habet, et si sic perseuerat, dampnabiliter habet. Votum namque suum ac propositum frangit, cum et preceptum obedientie preterit et remedium penitentie et correptionis contempnit.'

[33] Both of these examples are taken from the *Liber Extra* or *Decretals of Gregory IX* in *CIC II*, Bk.5, 31,3.

Amongst the more 'devotional' of Bartholomew's sermons on the passion are those he preached at Easter. Naturally, their focus was the glory of the resurrection, but they also contain moments of tenderness and reflection on the death of Christ. In Sermon 51, which Bartholomew began with the admonishment from Colossians 3:1 not to look to temporal goods, he reflected upon the 'three things' that preceded Christ's resurrection and the three that would precede humanity's own.[34] Christ's flagellations, death, and burial came before his resurrection, and in recounting the *flagella* Bartholomew gave his longest treatment of Christ's suffering in the sermon collection: 'He sustained many grave flagellations because he bore the reproofs, the spit, the beatings, the crown of thorns, the reed, the piercing, and the drink of vinegar and gall.'[35] After recounting them, he asked that his audience take a moment of self-reflection: 'Think, my beloved, what man should suffer, and yet God suffered for man.'[36] They were encouraged by Bartholomew to 'co-suffer' in order to reign together with Christ. Christ's death itself was preached as 'that of parricides and thieves', whilst his entombment in rags was contrasted against the wealthy who could not be buried without their finery.[37]

The metaphorical 'flagellations' of worldly temptation were to be borne patiently by the audience, whilst death was to be 'swallowed' like Christ through mortification and crucifixion of the flesh.[38] The image of the tomb was used by Bartholomew to praise retreat from the world and spurn 'the things that are upon the earth' of Colossians 3:1. The Church was Christ's tomb, in which God hid some people and inspired them with a love of solitude away from 'the din of this world'.[39] The audience were encouraged to 'rise from the tomb' in order to show those in the bustle of the world 'their good repute', thereby winning them over to the praise of God. The statement on rising from the 'sepulchre' of the Church to exhibit 'good repute' (*bonam famam*) to those in the world would perhaps indicate a clerical contingent amongst Bartholomew's audience; perhaps encouraged to 'rise' from the tomb of the Church and inspire those committed to their charge by their example and '*bonam famam*'.

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[34] Bartholomew, Sermon 51, ff.39vb-40va.
[35] Ibid, f.39vb: 'Flagella etenim <et> multa ac grauia sustinuit, quia opprobria, sputa, alapas, spineam coronam, harundinis, percussionem, potum fellis et aceti tolerauit.'
[36] Ibid: 'Pensate karissimi que pro se homo pati debet, sed deus tanta pro hominibus passus est.'
[37] Ibid, ff.39vb-40ra: 'Mortem quoque gustauit, non quamlibet, sed ignominiosam, sed uilem, sed illam qua parricide et latrones occidi merebantur. In sepulchro lineis tantum inuolutus pannis panitur, ambitiosam diuitium sepulturam dampnans qui nec in sepulcris carere possunt diuitiis.'
[38] Ibid, f.40ra-b.
[39] Ibid, f.40rb: 'Sepulcrum quo recondimur, tabernaculum dei est, id est, ecclesia catholica. In hac tanquam in tabernaculo uel sepulchro deus alios abscondit, alios sine tecto relinquit. Illos abscondit quibus amorem quietis inspirando a strepitu huius mundi secretum expetere facit.'

Of particular significance for highlighting Bartholomew's 'devotional' voice on Christ's passion is Sermon 53, the third of his eight sermons for Easter, which seems likely to have been delivered to a mixed audience.[40] In opening the sermon Bartholomew described Christ's redemption of his people 'not by the price of silver or gold, but his blood' before referencing the responsory *Surrexit Christus et illuxit populo suo*; perhaps indicating his cathedral as the context for the sermon with the celebration of the Easter liturgy.[41] The beginning of the piece featured an extended treatment of the weeping Mary Magdalene at Christ's tomb, and how the risen Christ sought to alleviate her sorrows over his death. In expanding upon the scene and dialogue between Mary and Christ in John's gospel, Bartholomew interspersed his own words with extracts from Anselm's *Oratio ad Maria Magdalenam* (See Appendix Two):

> The Lord called out to her in a common way, but was not recognised by her, after which he called out in his familiar manner and was immediately recognised. Mary cried out "Oh gentle voice, full of charm and love!" He could not have put it more simply and clearly: "Mary, I know who you are and what you want; behold me, do not weep, behold me; I am he whom you seek." Mary, recognise him who recognises you; love him who bestowed so much upon you and raised your brother from death. "Mary, go to my brothers – I do not now say disciples as I did before my passion – but to my brothers, to my friends, so that their hope which was confounded during the passion may be reformed, and tell them the joy of my resurrection." At once the tears are changed. For they were first borne of sorrow, but afterwards flowed from a heart exulting, and she came

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[40] Bartholomew, Sermon 53, ff.41r-41vb. The possible indication of a mixed or lay audience is suggested by Bartholomew's preaching on Matthew 25:34-36: 'Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in: Naked, and you covered me: sick, and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came to me.' Bartholomew explained how Christ made no mention, in this speech, about living chastely, prayers, fasts, or the offering of sacred hosts which, even though they were still necessary. The force of his statement was on hospitality and works of charity; perhaps pertinent to a lay or mixed audience, with some among the crowd who would not be living chastely or rendering masses unto God. See: f.41vb: 'Ecce in iudicium ueniens dicit 'Venite percipite regnum'. Quare? Quia caste vixistis, ieiunastis, orastis, hostias sacras obtulistis, nulli iniuria fecistis, quamuis hec necessaria sint, nichil tamen horum dict. Quid ergo? Sed percipite regnum quia 'esuriui, et dedisti mihi manducare, quia sitiui, et dedisti mihi bibere, quia hospes fui, nudus, infirmus, et in carcere, ministratis mihi'. However, this could also refer to the obligation of hospitality so important among the canons. See: N. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral as it Was: 1050-1550* (Exeter, 1986), 38.

[41] Ibid.

> rejoicing and announced to the disciples that "I have seen my lord, I have seen my redeemer, and he has spoken to me."
>
> Behold, my beloved, the wonderful dispensation of God. In Paradise the first woman gave the liquor of sin, sorrow, and death to her husband and thence to us. This woman, by contrast, bore the liquor of justice, joy, and life from the Lord's tomb to his disciples, and thence to us.[42]

Through the remainder of the sermon Bartholomew turned to Christ's other appearances following his resurrection, explained why he went forth to Galilee, and admonished his audience to show Christ hospitality, lest they themselves be passed over as 'wanderers' on the day of judgment instead of being counted amongst Christ's friends.[43] Bartholomew's use of the prayer, whilst making for a more devotional and reflective opening to his sermon through use of its dialogue between Christ and Mary, and the reflections on her sorrow and tears, still accorded with his general tone on treating the passion throughout the sermons. In the prayer, Anselm questioned how Christ could have asked Mary why she wept: 'why do you ask her why she weeps? Surely you can see; her heart, the dear life of her soul, is cruelly slain', before reflecting on the violence of Christ's death and the hurt Mary felt in being powerless to prevent it.[44] Mary's grief over Christ's sufferings and death was meditated upon at length by Anselm through his characteristic antitheses, but the more affective imagery and extended reflections did not feature in Bartholomew's sermon. His selections and adaptations from Anselm, whilst acknowledging the Magdalene's sorrow, did not draw more profoundly from the well of imagery in the prayer, in which Anselm presented an extended juxtaposition between Christ's sufferings in the passion and the joy of the resurrection. In Anselm's prayer, Mary's joy was so profound due to the extended reflections on her suffering through the preceding sections of his prayer. Whilst having

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[42] Ibid, ff.41r: 'Postquam dominus eam communi uocabulo uocauit, ex sexu et agnitus non est: uocat uocem consuet<a>, et statim agnitus est, ait enim maria 'O uox delectabilis, o quantum blandimenti, quantum sapuit amoris.' Nec breuis, nec celerius hoc dici potuit. 'Maria scio que sis, maria scio quid uelis, maria ne plores ecce me quem queris'. Maria recognosce a quo recognosceris, maria dilige eum qui tibi multa dimisit, qui fratrem tuum suscitauit. 'Maria uade ad fratres meos non dico discipulos sicut ante passione, sed ad fratres, sed ad amicos, ut spes eorum qui in passione turbati sunt reformetur, et dic eius gaudia mee resurrectionis'. Illico mutate sunt eius lacrime. Namquas dolor prius erupit, eas postmodum cor gaudens effudit, uenit exultans annuntiauit discipulis 'quia uidi dominum, quia uidi redemporem meum, et hec dixit mihi'. Attendite karissimi miram dispensationem dei. Mulier prima <in> paradiso uiro suo ac nobis propinauit potum peccati doloris et mortis. Mulier hec e contrario a sepulchro domini discipulis ac nobis poculum iusticie, gaudii et uite

[43] Ibid.

[44] Anselm, *Prayer to Mary Magdalene*, in *Prayers & Meditations*, trans. Ward, 203, lines 70-74; *SAO*, iii, 65.

the material at hand in composing his own sermon, Bartholomew lessened the affective emphases in adapting Anselm's words for his preaching.

From the preceding sermons we gain a representative view of Bartholomew's preaching on the passion. His sermonising was simply structured, punctuated with questions and answers to support the clear expression of his didactic aims. The individual events of Christ's passion were noted, often sequentially and without extended reflection, as part of this approach. Although the aims that Bartholomew pursued in each of these sermons differed in some regards, the imagery of the passion that he marshalled in each was broadly similar. On occasion he would hone his imagery for a salient moment or local condition, but it was by and large the measured preaching that we noted in his other sermons on the redemption that resurfaced around Passiontide and Eastertide. Christ's death was to be regarded 'in the round' as part of the entire redemptive *dispensatio*; the crucifixion and his sufferings were not privileged for any extended treatment or discussion, despite Bartholomew's acquaintance with, and use of, the sermons of Geoffrey Babion and Ivo of Chartres along with at least some of Anselm's *Orationes sive Meditationes*.[45]

Bartholomew's Intellectual Concerns

The preceding observations have highlighted Bartholomew's approaches in preaching the passion, and the value he placed on clarity in exposition over discursive or meditational elements despite the material he had to hand. Whilst suggestions have been proffered for why certain images may have appealed or presented themselves to Bartholomew, accounting for his general approach is more difficult. An answer does not easily admit itself from what we know of Bartholomew and his intellectual formation or the conditions within his diocese, and as such the following suggestions must remain speculative.

The first observation we shall make concerns Bartholomew's attitude to authorities, as well as the relative value he placed on preaching by word and preaching by example. In his

[45] In addition to Sermon 6, Bartholomew also quoted from Ivo's *Sermo* Sermon 9 for the Feast of the Circumcision in his own sermon for the same feast. See: Bartholomew, Sermon 21, f.16rb: 'Vnde per quendam sapientem dicitur 'Hec mortis similitudo christi, perfecta est peccati abolitio, nouitas uite, obseruatio iusticie'; Ivo, Sermon 9, col.572: 'Haec mortis similitudo, perfecta est peccati abolitio, novitas vitae, observatio justitiae.' Ivo's S9 was not, however, one of the texts in Merton College MS.241, perhaps suggesting another possible avenue by which Bartholomew knew and borrowed from the Ivo's work (See discussions in Appendix One). As regards the *Orationes sive Meditationes*, Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3520 – dating from the beginning of the twelfth century – contains a number of Anselm's works, including Prayers 15 and 17 along with Meditation 3 as-per Schmitt's numbering. See: N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2 Vols (London, 1969-77), ii, 830-831.

Sermon 97 on the four doctors of the Church Bartholomew praised the teachings of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome (d.420), and Gregory, regarding their doctrine as dependable because of their virtue.[46] As he explained: 'they illuminate us with their words of wisdom and encourage us to live better by the example of their holy lives. Let us therefore embrace their teachings'.[47] Throughout his corpus of sermons the Fathers were named explicitly when quoted, whilst contemporaries and near-contemporaries like Anselm, Hugh, and Ivo were introduced with the formula 'it is said by a certain knowledgeable person' (*per quendam sapientem dicitur*). This was not a peculiarity of Bartholomew's preaching. 'Novelty' was generally viewed with suspicion during this period, though attitudes did change over the twelfth century.[48] Faith in the Fathers however was absolute, and their reference by name an indication of the soundness in one's own preaching, whilst the authority of more recent authors was regarded less firmly, resulting in anonymous attribution. This attitude to authorities might also cast light on the way Bartholomew used his sources, with the relatively conservative extractions he made from texts like Ivo's Sermon 6 and Anselm's *Orationes sive Meditationes* in his preaching.

The second observation to be made is related to the first: namely, potential anxiety on Bartholomew's part around incorrect interpretation that could arise from extended reflection on Christ's sufferings in the passion. We should note that there is no direct evidence for this. Indeed, the only text in which Bartholomew dwelt on Christ's sufferings and death, and anxiety around them, was his *Dialogus Contra Iudeos* (c.1180-84); an apologetic treatise in which a disciple and master discussed Jewish objections to the Christian faith and counter-arguments against them.[49] As the disciple of the *Dialogus* told the master: 'Above all else which we believe and confess concerning Christ, there is nothing the Jews detest more than his passion and death, regarding them as unworthy of God and impossible'.[50] The master explained how 'all the *infideles*, but particularly the Jews' insulted God's 'honour' by 'speaking falsely' about his cross, passion, and death.[51] He further explained to the disciple that 'they argue Christ displayed no power (*uirtus*) in those three things [his cross, passion, and death] and that he did nothing mightily, and

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[46] Runciman, 'The Sermons of Bartholomew', 79.
[47] Bartholomew, Sermon 97, f.70vb: 'uerbo sapientie nos illuminant, et exemplo sancte uite ad beneuiuendum informant. Amplectamur ergo eorum doctrinam…'
[48] B. Smalley, 'Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty c.1100-c1250', in *Studies in Church History 12* ed. D. Baker (Cambridge, 1975), 113-131.
[49] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Bodl.482, particularly ff.33rb-36ra 'De passione christi'. It was dedicated to Baldwin of Ford whilst he was bishop of Worcester, 1180-1184.
[50] Bartholomew, *Dialogus Contra Iudeos*, f.33rb: 'Super omnia que de Christo credimus et confitemur, nichil est que iudei magis abhorreant quam passionem eius et mortem, quasi deo indigna et etiam impossibilia'.
[51] Ibid: 'In multitudine uirtutus tue mentientur tibi inimici tui' [Psalm 65:3]. Id est O saluator in eo quo multa fuit fortitudo, id est, uirtus, quamuis tunc occulta, id est, in tua cruce, passione, et morte, inimici tui, id est, omnes infideles maxime a iudei, tibi, id est, quasi ad honorem tuum mentientur.'

this would seem borne out had it not been foretold by many that they would come to pass'.[52] Bartholomew thus concerned himself with demonstrating the 'power' (*uirtus*) of Christ and the 'forceful' (*fortiter*) actions of his passion derided by the *infideles*, marshalling and commenting on relevant Old Testament passages to do so. Explaining how Christ experienced death in the *Dialogus*, it was the 'transitory' and 'brief' nature of it that Bartholomew impressed, and how it was not a 'great obstacle' like that experienced by 'the rest of the dead' (*ceteri mortui*).[53] Emphasis on the *unlikeness* in Christ's experience of death was key to Bartholomew, instead of 'closing the gap' by emphasising his humanity and sufferings. Despite being titled as a dialogue against the Jews, they were also conflated with heretics by Bartholomew at several points during the discussions of the incarnation and passion.[54] The difference in context between Bartholomew's sermons, for preaching to Christian audiences in his diocese, and the *Dialogus*, aimed at countering external objections to the faith, is of course key. In countering the arguments positing the lack of virtue or power in Christ's death, an extended reflection on his human sufferings would obviously not have served Bartholomew's aims. But we might also consider whether this reticence around suffering in the *Dialogus* manifested itself in Bartholomew's generally balanced approach in preaching the passion that we have observed in his corpus of sermons.

Evidence from Bartholomew's Sermon 47 – the longest sermon in the collection at some three thousand words –helps us in approaching this possibility. In the sermon Bartholomew tackled a range of themes, building out of exegesis on the figural representation of Christ as the paschal lamb of Exodus 12. The exegetical vein Bartholomew pursued on 'eating' the lamb and 'spreading its blood' upon the doorposts was largely traditional. To spread blood on 'both doorposts' was, first, to be understood as a reference to Christ's blood spread on the two posts of the cross, and thereafter, a reference to the blood of the Eucharist and correct reception with both 'the mouth of the body, and the mouth of the heart'.[55] Those who received the sacrament

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[52] Ibid: 'christus in hiis nichil uirtutis habuisse, nichil fortiter fecisse contendunt aliquam tamen excusatione habere uiderentur, nisi et hic articulus a multis et expresse fuisset prophetatus'.
[53] Here Bartholomew was commenting on the words of Psalm 109:7 'He shall drink of the torrent in the way' earlier in the *Dialogus*. See: Ibid, f.15vb: 'De torrente', id est, de fluxu mortalitatis mee et de transitoria passione turbulenta, bibit, nascendo, moriendo, et hoc 'in uia', et non in multa mora ut ceteri mortui, sed in transiu breui, quia die tercia resurrexit.'
[54] For instance, f.34ra: 'Qui uere languores nostros et peccata portauit, et pro nobis dolet non putatiue ut et uetus et noua heresis suspicatur, sed uere crucifixus est, uere doluit dicens in euangelio 'Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem' [Matthew 26:38/Mark 14:34]. Et 'nunc anima mea turbata est' [John 12:27].
[55] Bartholomew, Sermon 47, ff.35ra-b.

but did not believe in their heart, or believed but did not receive the sacrament, did so incorrectly and heretically.[56] After exhorting his audience to consume 'the whole lamb', he then preached:

> And let us not overlook anything, but ask whether we can realise these things by our own labours, and if we cannot then let us seize one of our brothers who is close at hand, that is, who is a Catholic, and not a Jew or heretic, and beseech him that he eat the lamb with us, that is, help us to inquire and understand the secrets of the Lord's incarnation, passion, words and commandments, and aid us in perfecting them. And if something remains which we cannot understand, let us burn it up in the fire, i.e., commend it unto the Holy Spirit.[57]

Bartholomew's conflation of Judaism would appear to echo the Church's preoccupations with non-Christians and their perceived threat in the final third of the twelfth century; especially the intellectual climate surrounding the Council of Tours (1163), which Bartholomew himself attended, and the Third Lateran Council (1179).[58] The Cathar heretics, and those who associated with them, were condemned in both councils, and sanction given for secular authorities to act against them by force, whilst pronouncements were made against the Jews at Lateran III concerning their standing in court cases against Christians along with prohibitions to their having Christian servants.[59] Heresy was, indeed, a matter that figured prominently in Bartholomew's *Penitential*.[60] Chapter 96, 'On Schismatics and Heretics', included definitions of the two terms from the Fathers, including Jerome's explanation that all schisms became heresies.[61] Furthermore, the *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum et Orthodoxe Fidei Dogmata*, attributed to our bishop's

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[56] Ibid. Here Bartholomew noted heretics who received the sacrament over and over but did not believe: 'Nam multi sunt qui ita faciunt, qui recipiunt ore et non corde credunt, sicut heretici qui multociens communicant et non credunt'.

[57] Ibid, f.35vb: 'nec quicquam debemus pretermittere, quin inquiramus per nos et impleamus opere, et si per nos non possuimus agere, capiamus unum de fratribus nostris qui prope nos sit, id est, <qui sit> catholicus, non iudeum, non hereticum, et precemur eum ut nobiscum comedat agnum, id est, adiuuet nos ad inquirendum et intelligendum secreta incarnationis domini, et passionis, et secreta uerborum et mandatorum illius, et nos adiuuet ad perficiendum. Et si quid tale remanserit quod non possumus intelligere, comburemus igne, id est, spiritui sancto commendemus.'

[58] On the canons of Lateran III and their distribution, see: D. Summerlin, *The Canons of the Third Lateran Council of 1179: Their Origins and Reception* (Cambridge, 2021).

[59] For Tours see: I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), 140. For the canons of Lateran III, see: *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I: Nicaea I – Lateran V*, ed. and trans. N.P. Tanner (London, 1990), 211-225, esp. 223-225.

[60] Meens, *Medieval Penance*, 207.

[61] Bartholomew, *Penitential*, Ch.96, 260. Jerome's quote may be significant in light of Lateran III and the Church's concern to prevent further schism following the recent past.

close friend Baldwin of Forde (d.1190), has recently been argued as Bartholomew's work; compiled perhaps as some sort of dossier of ancient heresies and conciliar actions against them.[62]

There were no popular heresies in England of the sort witnessed on the Continent during this period.[63] Indeed, in Bartholomew's view the most dangerous 'local' heresy was astrology, which he considered limited to the *litterati* and tackled in his treatise *Contra Fatalitatis Errorem*.[64] Jewish settlement in Bartholomew's diocese, moreover, appears to have been extremely limited during his tenure as bishop.[65] As such, his comment in Sermon 47 instructing his audience not to seek out clarification on Christ's incarnation and passion from heretics and Jews did not so much reflect a genuine possibility that they might do so as it shows Bartholomew to have interiorized the rhetoric of the recent councils and applied it 'to the letter' in his preaching. Indeed, in Morey's biography he noted a certain 'rigidity' in the bishop's interpretation and application of papal and conciliar decrees. For instance, Bartholomew appears to have refused to allow a clerk to advance into sacred orders who was guilty of manslaughter; the clerk having jokingly pushed a companion to the ground who unfortunately fell upon his own knife![66] The bishop was instructed by the pope, who had spoken to the clerk himself, to allow his ordination to proceed, suggesting that Bartholomew was interpreting the law rather harshly and refusing to admit him.[67] Perhaps his preaching reflects these tendencies. In other words, if Bartholomew's exegesis on the lamb quoted above does not reflect a real possibility that his audience might have sought answers about the faith from heretics or Jews, it does reflect

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[62] S. Flanagan, 'Baldwin of Forde, Bartholomew of Exeter and the authorship of the *Liber de Sectis ereticorum et Orthodoxe Fidei Dogmata*', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XLI*, 23-38; *Liber de Sectis Hereticorum et Orthodoxe Fidei Dogmata*, ed. J. Luis Narvaja (Münster, 2008).

[63] The exception being the presence of Cathar heretics in Worcester during the 1160s. See: P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh and the Cathar Mission to England', in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church c.1100-c.1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross* (Woodbridge, 1999), 11-30.

[64] Bartholomew of Exeter, *Contra Fatalitatis Errorem*, CCCM 157 ed. D.N. Bell (Turnhout, 1996); D. Runciman, 'Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter (d.1184) and the Heresy of Astrology', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 70 (2019): 265-282.

[65] There is a reference in the Pipe Rolls to a Jew from Exeter in 1181 paying the king so he would 'assist' or 'maintain' his young sons; indicating a household and at least some presence in the town by the later years of Bartholomew's episcopate. *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-Seventh Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1180-1181*, PRS, 30 (1909), 32: 'Deulesalt Judeus Exonie redd. comp. de .x. *m*. ut Rex manuteneat pueros suos. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.'

[66] *Liber Extra*, v, 12,9: 'Idem Exoniensi Episcopo. Lator praesentium P. clericus nobis *viva voce* proposuit, quod, quum quadam die casu cum quodam clerico luderet, contigit, quod ille proiecit istum ad terram, cuius cultellus, quem ad latus suum habebat, in alterum incidit, et fortuito casu occubuit vulneratus. Ideoque mandamus, quatenus, *rei veritate comperta*, si ita res se habuit, et alia iusta causa non impedit, praedictum P. libere permittas ad sacros ordines promoveri.'

[67] Ibid; Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, 90.

the fears held by the institutional Church and their assiduous repetition by a bishop who closely adhered to the letter of ecclesiastical law and legislation.

It is in this light we may interpret Bartholomew's measured approach in preaching the passion, and his selective quotation from some of the sources he had at his disposal. As he commented in his exegesis on the paschal lamb, his audience were to consume both the 'head' and the 'feet' through belief in both the divinity and humanity of Christ, with belief in the humanity alone condemned through reference, again, to Jews and heretics.[68] The lamb was an important and ancient image for preaching on orthodoxy, and as such it appealed to Bartholomew in light of the Church's contemporary concerns. It may also be the case that the balance between humanity and divinity stressed in his traditional exegesis on the lamb influenced Bartholomew's overall approach to preaching the passion. Cognizant of the Church's broader pronouncements against heresy and Judaism, his preaching did not over-represent the suffering humanity of Christ but toed the line of orthodoxy and covered what he regarded as the necessary bases in his exegesis.

Bartholomew's Friendship with Baldwin of Forde

The preceding sections of this chapter have described and reflected on the 'middle path' charted by Bartholomew in his preaching on the passion and redemption, and how despite some of the material he utilised in his sermonising the image of the suffering Christ and, indeed, imagery of the passion more generally, did not figure prominently in his work. We have explored the reasons for this with regards to Bartholomew's broader intellectual concerns, but here we might also reflect upon his friendship with one of England's most significant devotional writers in the second half of the century: Baldwin of Forde. A consideration of their friendship is pertinent to our discussion given Baldwin's writings on the passion of Christ and the image of the cross in his sermons and spiritual tractates: writings which, as will be shown later in this study, had a profound impact upon one of our other authors.

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[68] Bartholomew, Sermon 47, f.35va: 'Quomodo nos recipere debemus corpus domini, caput et pedes, et intestina agni precepit deus uorare, caput agni diuinitas uerbi, pedes humanitas Christi. Tunc uoramus caput agni et pedes, cum nos fideliter credimus quod ille cuius corpus summus uerus deus est, et homo in una persona et quod caput est, et principium, et finis, sicut ipse dixit ad iohannem 'Ego sum alpha et omega' [Apocalypse 1:8]. Intestina hec sunt occulta eius uerba, et mandata que dixit in euangelio, et in lege que uoramus. Nam uorare est auide comedere, tunc uoramus intestina cum nos uoluntate audimus uerba dei occulta, et intelligimus in quantum possumus adimplemus. Et notandum est quod non precepit comedi unumquodque per se, sed omnia simul quia non debemus credere solam humanitatem Christi sine diuinitate sicut faciunt iudei, et quidam heretici qui purum hominem Christum credunt, et non deum, et isti tales comedunt agni caput sine pedibus.'

Bartholomew's friendship with Baldwin was a close one, and the two men dedicated several of their literary works to one another over the course of their respective careers.[69] Bartholomew had appointed Baldwin to the archdeaconry of Totnes around 1161, in which position he served through to 1170 when he joined the Cistercian abbey of Forde which lay thirty miles east of Exeter.[70] Like Bartholomew, Baldwin was a skilled canonist, and the two would later collaborate as papal judges delegate on various cases. It was during Baldwin's time at Forde, where he eventually became abbot, that he produced the majority of his writings which included notable works on the Eucharist and sermons and tractates on the cross and passion.[71]

Given the close connection between the two men, it is perhaps surprising that there appears to have been little influence exerted by Baldwin on Bartholomew's sermonising on the passion. The main point of convergence between the sermons of Bartholomew and the works of Baldwin regards the latter's eucharistic treatise *De Sacramento Altaris*: a work dedicated to Bartholomew.[72] Some parallels between Bartholomew's preaching and Baldwin's *De Sacramento Altaris* do suggest themselves, but whether they reflect Bartholomew's use of Baldwin's work, or similar approaches independently pursued, is more difficult to ascertain. Among the more revealing parallels is found in Baldwin's discussion of the paschal lamb as a figure of the Eucharist, which features similar points of emphasis to those we noted in Bartholomew's long Sermon 47:

> If there are in a house or gathering a number of simple brothers (*simplices fratres*) who are unable to eat the lamb, (meaning, they are unable to understand this mystery of our faith) let them be encouraged to receive a person who is not outside the fold – namely, not a heretic – but one of their neighbours who is a catholic man possessed of sound learning, from whose guidance they may be able to eat the lamb, that is, perceive the mystery of the lamb according to the piety of true faith.[73]

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[69] Bartholomew dedicated his *Contra Fatalitatis Errorem* and *Dialogus Contra Iudeos* to Baldwin, whilst Baldwin dedicated *De Sacramento Altaris* to Bartholomew.
[70] *FEA X*, 25.
[71] For instance, Tractate 11 amongst the *Spiritual Tractates* edited by D.N. Bell focussed on the various types of 'cross' borne by man, and the crucifixion of the 'old man' (*vetus homo*). See: Baldwin of Forde, Tractate 11 in *Spiritual Tractates*, trans. D.N. Bell. 2 Vols (Kalamazoo, 1986), ii, 91-115. Another of Baldwin's sermons *De Cruce* focussed on the cross and its various 'types'. This sermon will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Six.
[72] Printed with a facing French translation in *Baudoin de Forde Le Sacrement de l'Autel*, eds. and trans. J. Morson and E. de Solms. 2 Vols. (Paris, 1963).
[73] Baldwin of Forde, *De Sacramento Altaris*, Bk.3, Ch.1, 422: 'Aliter: Si qui simplices fratres sunt in una domo vel congregatione, qui non sufficiunt ad vescendum agnum, hoc est qui non sufficiunt hoc fidei

As we noted earlier, in Bartholomew's Sermon 47 he encouraged his audience to 'seize' a person 'near at hand' to aid them in understanding the incarnation and passion, whilst Baldwin wrote here that those unable to understand the secrets of the eucharist should apply to a neighbour of 'sound learning' (*sanam habentem doctrinam*) to help them. It could be possible that Bartholomew was reflecting some of Baldwin's thoughts in his own preaching. Palm Sunday preaching on the paschal lamb did not normally feature an admonishment for the audience to investigate further what they could not immediately grasp, with preachers treading the safer path of simply telling them to leave well alone and 'commend to the fire of the Holy Spirit' what could not be understood.[74] Both Baldwin and Bartholomew, however, posited a sort of 'graded process' to the acquisition of knowledge in their exegesis on the lamb. The '*simplices*' were to seek out someone to help them: in Bartholomew's case, to understand more about the passion and incarnation, and in Baldwin's the 'secret' of the Eucharist. We suggested that Bartholomew's own pronouncements about the lamb were borne from anxiety around non-Christian threats, and this could still be the case even if he drew inspiration from Baldwin's *De Sacramento Altaris*. However, it could also be the case that we should reverse the direction of travel between the two authors and ask whether Baldwin's comments echo Bartholomew's preaching. Baldwin would have heard Bartholomew preach during the eight years he spent as a member of Exeter's cathedral clergy, and if Bartholomew's Sermon 47 predates 1170 then perhaps he later repurposed the bishop's words for the eucharistic focus of *De Sacramento Altaris*.

As regards Baldwin's other literary works, they do not appear to have influenced the preaching of Bartholomew.[75] Of course, it might well be the case that the sermons of Bartholomew's we have discussed were written prior to Baldwin joining Forde and the period of his literary activity in the 1170s. Bartholomew had, after all, been bishop of Exeter for almost a decade by the time Baldwin joined Forde Abbey. However, we might still reflect on the possibility that the sermons were written later, and that even if they were originally delivered in the 1160s their written form, if worked-up into a collection at a later point in Bartholomew's

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nostrae intelligere sacramentum; qui hujusmodi sunt monentur assumere non extraneum, id est hominem haereticum, sed vicinum suum junctum domui suae, hoc est hominem catholicum, sanam habentem doctrinam, quo adjuti sufficiant comedere agnum, hoc est capere secundum pietatem fidei veri Agni sacramentum.'

[74] For instance, Herbert Losinga in Sermon 5, 133: 'That which remains of the Lamb we burn with fire, when what we cannot understand or sift in the mystery of His Incarnation, we in humbleness of mind keep back for the power of the Holy Spirit.'

[75] Amongst Bartholomew's *acta* we note that he gifted his own land in St Martin's Lane, Exeter (which lies just beyond the cathedral precinct) to the monks of Forde so they could build a hostel in which to stay 'either at our invitation or when they visit Exeter of their own volition' (*cum nostra vocatione vel sua voluntate Exon' venerint)*. See: *EEA XI*, No.106, 94.

episcopate, would also have given him scope to incorporate Baldwin's work. What seems to be the case is that Baldwin's spirituality did not overly influence the bishop of Exeter. Whilst the two men had charted similar courses in their early lives, Baldwin struck out in a different direction when he adopted the habit at Forde in 1170, leaving his archdeaconry and life in the secular clergy behind. What stirred Baldwin to take his monastic vows lies beyond what we can know. David Bell suggests that we see in his departure to Forde the virulence of the Becket quarrel having made its mark.[76] Perhaps the decision manifested a devotion that was already latent; the archidiaconal garb having weighed uncomfortably on a more ascetically-oriented soul. As regards his spirituality of the cross and passion, we find Baldwin later preaching the cross of Christ enthusiastically as archbishop of Canterbury and departing for the Holy Land where he would meet his end in 1190. Bartholomew, on the other hand, cuts a decidedly different figure, one who was to the letter, measured, pragmatic, adherent. The Cistercian spirituality that so attracted Baldwin did not impress upon Bartholomew despite their friendship and the ties between Exeter and Forde, and this might also speak to the way Bartholomew preached the passion and used the sources at his disposal. His own piety, such as we can reconstruct from the sermons, ran differently to Baldwin's.

Conclusion

Bartholomew of Exeter's sermons serve to illustrate the complexity in charting the devotional changes of the twelfth century, and the ways they bore upon preachers and preaching. His collection does not evidence a particular devotion to the cross or image of the crucified Christ, whilst at the same time featuring considerable extractions from some of the significant affective and soteriological works of the period. The overall impression from the sermons is a certain exposure to new thinking or access to novel works from the period but used in a conservative manner. The sources Bartholomew used were not fully interiorised in his preaching, and the spirituality of his close friend Baldwin of Forde does not seem to have left its mark on his preaching of the passion. This is not to say that his entire corpus of sermons did not feature rhetorically sensitive elements, for he deployed his imagery more pointedly at salient moments when responding to the day's liturgy or some local concern. But the overall impression from Bartholomew's sermonising on the passion is its relatively muted tone. The passion was neither treated in an affectively heightened manner, nor did imagery of the passion itself feature overly prominently in his corpus of sermons. As we reflected on earlier, part of the reason for this

[76] Baldwin, *Spiritual Tractates*, i, 10.

might lie with Bartholomew's intellectual formation, legalistic thinking, and rather inflexible tendencies. To return to D'Avray's discussions of method in the study of sermons, Bartholomew was perhaps a man less concerned with the 'means' in his preaching in terms of the imagery he used than the 'message' of sound instruction communicated unambiguously. This is not to say that Bartholomew was entirely inflexible or unappreciative of the performative qualities of preaching. For instance, when Canterbury Cathedral was reopened in December 1171, a year after Thomas Becket's murder, Bartholomew was reported to have preached a moving sermon, in which he responded to vengeful cries from the assembled crowds by sermonising on Psalm 93:19: 'According to the multitude of my sorrows, thy comforts have given joy to my soul.'[77] In an amusing anecdote Gerald of Wales (d.1223) also related how Bartholomew preached a sermon during the Council of Westminster (1175) which contained a veiled attack on Richard of Dover (d.1184), the archbishop of Canterbury.[78] Apparently, Bartholomew preached a sermon against 'statues made by the hands of men'; at surface level a condemnation of idolatry, but actually referencing unworthy candidates (evidently as useful as statues!) elevated into positions of power like Richard.[79] Gerald's anecdote suggests how the bishop's rather severe character could be reflected in his preaching, although we might more reasonably regard this as the contribution of Gerald's scurrilous pen than an accurate record of Bartholomew's words.[80] Frank Barlow, however, did conclude his brief biography of the bishop by writing that he 'did not suffer fools and sinners all that gladly'.[81] Indeed, the dominant impression his sermons leave, as we have noted, is that of a pastorally-conscious, upright, and somewhat rigid operator. These characteristics also reflected the way Bartholomew presented and preached Christ's passion, even

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[77] Ralph Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 349: 'E diverso etiam factus est populorum concursus clamantium, et dicentium, "Vindica, Domine, sanguinem qui effusus est." Bartholomaeus Exoniensis episcopus juxta petitionem Cantuariorum Missam sollennem celebraturus, et sermonem habiturus ad populum; ut diebus exactis in doloribus lsetitise Celebris solamen opponeret, sic exorsus est, "Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum consolationes laetificaverunt animam meam."

[78] Gerald of Wales*, Vita Sancti Remigii*, in *GCO*, vii, Ch.28, 58.

[79] Ibid: 'Quoniam enimvero Ricardus ille, tantis in regno personis et tam validis longe non litteratura solum, sed inustriae pariter et naturae dotibus, ut videbatur, inferior, regia potestate praefectus fuerat, tactus utroque sermon subtiliter erat atque notatus. O quot hodie tales in ecclesia statuas erectas videmus, manibus hominum factas, et violentia quadam principum arte fabricatas.'

[80] Indeed, Gerald's description of a public rebuke levelled by Bartholomew against Benedict of Peterborough (d.1193) whilst the latter served as Archbishop Richard's chancellor also speaks to this potential other side to Bartholomew. See: Ibid, 59-60: 'Item incontinenti post sermones, recitante decretal concilii monacho quodam Benedicto nomine, qui tunc cancellarius erat archiepiscopi, et post abbas de Burgo, cum Exoniensis quaedam corrigenda monstraret, et ille obloqueretur et obstreperet, puta qui superciliosus suo modulo et arrogans erat, indignanter ad ipsum sermonem dirigens episcopus, "Minimus," inquit, "gubernator es ad tantam navem regendam, quanta est tota Anglicana ecclesia;" manum ad hoc circumducens, et tot nobiles personas ibi utroque ex latere per ordinem sedentes ostendens. Et sic ad illum verba direxit; pro archiepiscopo tamen dicta satis intelligendum dedit.'

[81] Barlow, 'Bartholomew of Exeter'.

when extracting from the works of Anselm, Ivo, and Geoffrey and also in light of his close friendship with Baldwin.

Chapter Five: The Sermons of Thomas Agnellus

Introduction

The near thirty years of Thomas Agnellus's archdeaconate (c.1168-97) marked a significant chapter in the history of his community at Wells; a chapter which also left its mark on the sermons he wrote and preached to the clerical community and the ways in which he conceptualised the passion in his writing. After the transfer of the episcopal seat to Bath by Bishop John (1088-1122), the church at Wells experienced a period of marked decline. The common buildings and common life nurtured under Bishop Giso (1061-1088) were demolished and undone by John, with the canons forced to live an unreformed and impoverished life in the town. It was not until the accession of Bishop Robert (1136-66) that the community's fortunes began to change, and they again benefitted from active episcopal patronage. Robert's 'ordinances', modelled upon practices at Salisbury, did not restore a fully common life to Wells but outlined the establishment of the deanery, sub-deanery, and precentory, whilst the treasury and succentory – though not noted in the ordinances – were established at Wells before his death.[1] Following Robert's death, the community at Wells – more secure in its corporate identity – began again to express their rights. In 1173 the canons asserted their rights to participate in the election of Thomas's kinsman Bishop Reginald (1174-91), whilst during Reginald's episcopate a short history of the diocese of Somerset – the *Historiola* – was written at Wells, in which Robert's refoundation of the chapter was lauded and the situation under Giso (drawn from a spurious 'autobiography') recounted.[2] An extensive building campaign was also begun by Bishop Reginald, with the church at Wells reconstructed on an imposing new scale, whilst the town itself benefitted from his oversight in defining its status and contributing to its privileges[3]

Such was the context in which Thomas composed the sermons now contained in Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71: the sole manuscript that preserves his literary works. In preaching the passion at Wells, Thomas sought to promote cohesion amongst the clergy through their engagement with, and imitation of, the figure of the crucified Christ. In doing so, Thomas

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[1] On issues with the 'ordinances' of Bishop Robert, see discussion in *FEA VII*, 117-119; For a general history of these events, see: A. Gransden, 'The History of Wells Cathedral c.1090-1547', in *Wells Cathedral: A History*, ed. L.S. Colchester (West Compton House, 1982), 24-27.

[2] *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis* in *Ecclesiastical Documents: Viz. I. A Brief History of the Bishoprick of Somerset from its Foundation to the Year 1174. II. Charters from the Library of Dr. Cox Macro*, ed. J. Hunter. CSO 8 (1839), 9-28.On the dating of the Giso 'autobiography' included in the *Historiola*, and possible association as part of a broader writing campaign that included Robert's 'ordinances', see: S. Keynes, 'Giso, bishop of Wells (1061-88)', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XIX*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1997), 203-271.

[3] C. Duggan, 'Reginald *fitz* Jocelin', in *ODNB*: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9613

returned to the same images and exegesis repeatedly, indicating a sustained attempt to impress a set of interrelated ideas upon his listeners. A particularly favoured cluster of images Thomas used imagined Christ as a crucified 'precentor,' with the audience of the sermons conceived as a 'choir' who 'responded' to Christ by imitating his passion. This idea of collective imitation of the crucified Christ and devotion as a corporate enterprise was especially prevalent in Thomas's preaching, and it will be suggested that his sermons reflects the broader strive for a sense of cohesion amongst the community at Wells in the decades that Thomas served as archdeacon.

Whilst striving for a higher moral standard and corporate unity amongst the clerical community at Wells in his preaching on the passion, Thomas's lines of exegesis also displayed notable sensitivity towards the capacity of his audience to imitate Christ's sufferings; borne from awareness of their 'clerical' station. The ideas that Thomas presented and developed around the relative ability his audience had to imitate the passion is also witnessed in his other literary enterprise: his remarkable treatise on the death of the Young King. In the treatise, which we shall turn to in the latter parts of the chapter, these ideas of imitating the crucified Christ according to one's capacity were pushed to their logical extreme by Thomas in his extraordinary attempt to argue young Henry's sanctity. The treatise thus allows us to place the sermons in a broader comparative perspective; a comparison which suggests that the ideas Thomas expressed in each of his works may have influenced one another.

Before turning to Thomas's sermonising on the passion specifically, however, it is worth briefly pausing to discuss the collection as a whole, its structure, and such previous discussion of the collection as there has been. Thomas prefaced the sermons with an introduction outlining the necessity of preaching, which he structured around the classical *topos* of his own inadequacy to do so.[4] The introduction reads as both a comment upon his own exercise of the preaching office, as well as apology for why he sought to preserve his sermons in their written form. There is no explicit overarching principle behind the organisation of the sermons, although thematic groupings of material are evident: for instance, with clusters of sermons directed to similar audiences or those preached around the same liturgical period. The subjects Thomas addressed in the sermons include the education of subordinate clergy, the malpractice and incontinence of priests, the symbolism of ecclesiastical vestments, and the virtues of his community's patron Saint Andrew among others. It has only been in recent years that the collection has been considered more fully by historians, and this has largely been through engagement with the *ad status* and 'synodal' sermons. These texts have fruitfully served Hugh Thomas in illuminating the

[4] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, ff.1r-1v.

preoccupations of England's secular clergy and their contributions in 'reform' and education during this period, as also noted by Rebecca Springer with reference to the idea of 'prelacy'.[5] Much of the interest in Thomas's sermons has thus been about his preaching to religious subordinates and articulation of 'reforming' concerns.[6] This focus has been natural given the archdeacon's responsibilities as the *oculus episcopi*, in which he would visit subordinate clergy, report on malpractices and seek to address them. The evidence offered by the sermons has thus helped to establish a more detailed picture of the archdeacon and his office. The liturgical sermons however, which are the focus of this chapter, have received comparatively little attention. These texts were delivered in a more focussed setting and to a more stable audience: the clerical community gathered together at the church of St Andrew in Wells. By analysing them, we gain a better understanding of Thomas's position in relation to the clergy of his mother church, and the way he sought to utilise the imagery of Christ's passion in sermonising before that community at a significant moment in its history

A Sermon for St Andrew's Day

In turning, now, to the texts themselves, let us first begin with one of Thomas's sermons for his church's patron, Saint Andrew.[7] That the sermon was intended for preaching on Andrew's feast is evident from the opening line: 'The Lord loved Andrew in the odour of sweetness' – taken from the responsories that would be sung during the day's liturgy.[8] Evidence for the audience being the clerical community at Wells appears most likely from Thomas's note that both he and his listeners 'who are the blessed Andrew's servants should strive to show we are like him according to the little measure (*pro modulo*) of our humility, that we may merit the patronage of him by whose example we are instructed'.[9] The responsory formed the core around which Thomas structured his sermon, in which he presented an extended exegesis of the meaning to the 'odour of sweetness' and why it was that Andrew, of all the apostles, merited this 'privilege'.

[5] Thomas, *Secular Clergy*, passim; Springer, 'Local Religious Life', passim.
[6] 'Reform', as noted by Hugh Thomas, is used here as in his work in reference to a rather fluid and ad-hoc set of concerns shared amongst other secular clergy of the period like Thomas Agnellus. See: Thomas, *Secular Clergy*, pp.18-19.
[7] Oxford Bodleian Library Laud.Misc.71 ff.46va-50va.
[8] Ibid, f.46va: 'Dilexit andream dominus in odorem suauitatis'.
[9] Ibid, f.49rb: 'Nos itaque, karissimi, qui beati Andree serui sumus ei pro modulo nostre humilitatis conformes effici studeamus, ut mereamur promoueri patrocinio cuius informamur exemplo'.

For Thomas, there were three reasons: Andrew's apostolic vocation, his gentleness (*mansuetudo*), and his lengthy passion upon the cross.[10]

In preaching Andrew's cross, Thomas introduced exegesis which recurs throughout his preaching on the passion. By being crucified, Thomas wrote, Andrew 'answered in harmony to his master and precentor in concordance of charity, as in Psalm 87 where it is read "for Maheleth to answer", not only by sharing the same kind of passion [as Christ] but in the correspondence of their prayer', in that Andrew's prayers to be released from the hands of his oppressors and placed back on the cross paralleled Christ imploring his father to forgive his crucifiers.[11] Thomas explained to his audience that to respond appropriately to the 'precentor' Christ was to imitate his passion: a line of exegesis drawn from the Pseudo-Bedan *De Psalmorum Libro Exegesis*, composed around the turn of the twelfth century, which explained the meaning of 'Maheleth' as a 'chorus singing the divine word'.[12] The image of the crucified 'precentor' Christ was one that Thomas consistently deployed; perhaps due to the precentor's prominent position in the clerical community at Wells. If this sermon was addressed to the vicars, for instance, who assumed the liturgical duties at the cathedral, then the image of 'answering Christ' the precentor would have resonated more effectively, as they would have answered their actual precentor in their liturgical chants.[13] However on the feast day of the cathedral's patron, it would also have been likely that the canons would have attended in person to perform the services themselves.

Thomas explained how Andrew was a model imitator of Christ because he suffered not just any martyrdom but a crucifixion, although he was lashed to his own cross with ropes as

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[10] Ibid, f.47ra: 'Trina itaque mihi uidetur est ratio quare in odorem suauitatis dilectus asseratur a domino. Odorem namque primitiauit apostolice uocationis. Odorem et exhibuit specialis mansuetudinis, odorem quoque consumauit diuturne in cruce passionis'.

[11] Ibid, f.48rb: 'Congrue magistro et precentori suo respondit uir iste in concordia caritatis, sicut in titulo psalmo tricesimi tercii legitur "pro melech ad respondendum", non solum in consimili genere passionis, [uerum?] in conformitate orationis.'

[12] Pseudo-Bede, *De Psalmorum Libro Exegesis*, ed. J.P. Migne in PL 93(Paris, 1850): 'Melech interpretatur chorus, divina verba decantans, et quod additur, Ad respondendum, significat organa musica praevenisse, et chorum respondisse solemniter, mystice innuens Domini passionem, quae hoc psalmo cantatur, Ecclesiam concorditer imitari debere […] Maheleth Hebraice, chorus dicitur Graece, et chorus est multitudo concorditer canentium, et ponitur pro concordia. Et est dicere: Proponitur hoc tantum filiis Chorae, pro Core, ad respondendum, ut sit chorus concorditer respondens illi praecentori suo. Qualiter autem sit ei respondendum, Petrus apostolus insinuat dicens: Christus pro nobis passus est, vobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia ejus. Idem quoque Joannes ostendit dicens: Sicut ipse animam posuit pro nobis, ita et nos pro fratribus debemus ponere animas. Et hoc tantum in charitate, quia dicit Apostolus: Et si tradidero corpus meum ita ut ardeam, charitatem autem non habuero, nihil mihi prodest. Huic quippe praecentori sancti martyres principaliter et digne responderunt'; On this text, see: M. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 Vols (Leiden, 1994), i, 162-164.

[13] On the history of the vicars choral at Wells, see: A. Crawford, *The Vicars of Wells: A History of the College of Vicars Choral* (Wells, 2016), esp.1-13 for the earlier period.

opposed to being fixed in place with nails.[14] The audience were to follow Andrew's example in bearing the cross of Christ, but through works of devotion as opposed to the temporal pain suffered by the apostle and his master:

> Christ sustained the reproach of the cross, and Andrew followed the example of the crucified one. It is said by the voice of truth that "He that taketh not up his cross, and followeth me, is not worthy of me" [Matthew 10:38]. It behoves us, therefore, to always be bearers of the cross of Christ, if not in our bodies, then at least in our minds (*si non in corpore, tamen mente)*. If not through temporal pain (*temporalem penam*) then through assiduous devotion to, and memory of, the Lord's passion. Otherwise, we use the image of a false profession (*false professionis*) if we do not follow the institutes and examples of him in whose name we glory.[15]

Imitation of the passion was, for Thomas, not just important at the individual level but essential in the corporate identity of his clerical audience. Without adequate devotion to, and imitation of, the crucified 'precentor Christ' the very 'profession' that the clerics at Wells assumed was a falsehood and hypocrisy. Perhaps the spectre of the disordered past, and the reforms under Robert and Reginald, lent force to Thomas's words in encouraging the clerics to be true imitators of Christ. Even if bodily co-death or co-suffering with the 'crucified one' could not be achieved, devotion to, and memory of, the passion were to be cultivated. These themes were significantly expanded upon in his later Passiontide sermons, in which Thomas dwelt at greater length on why his audience could not literally die together with Christ but were to co-suffer *in mente* through their devotion.

A Sermon for Good Friday

The first of the two Passiontide sermons that we shall discuss was not clearly marked out for any particular feast in the manuscript (as with the rest of Thomas's sermons) and so the occasion for

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[14] That the governor Aegeas sought to prolong Andrew's death by tying him to the cross was rooted in the apocryphal texts that provided the Middle Ages with details of Andrew's martyrdom. See: *ANT*, 231-302.

[15] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, f.49va: 'Christus crucis sustinuit obprobrium, andreas crucifixi secutus est exemplum. Ueritatis uoce dictum est 'Qui non tollit crucem suam et sequatur me, non est me dignus' [Matthew 10:38]. Oportet ergo crucis christi semper simus baiuli, si non in corpore tamen mente. Si non per temporalem penam saltem per assiduam dominice passionis deuotionem et memoriam. Alioquin false professionis ymagine utimur, si cuius nomine gloriamur, eius instituta exempla non sequimur.'

which it was written cannot be identified with certainty. However, given its contents and the fact that the sermon immediately following it was written for Holy Saturday, it was very likely intended for preaching on Good Friday.

At the beginning of the sermon, Thomas drew from the same exegesis on Psalm 87 that he had used in his sermon on St Andrew, but developed it even further with an assemblage of richly layered metaphors:

> Therefore, dearest brothers, because 'Christ suffered for us, leaving an example' [1 Peter 2:21], he ought to be considered as the 'understanding of Eman' [Psalm 87:1], that is, his brother, in that we may follow in his footsteps according to the little measure (*pro modulo*) of our insignificance, and mould ourselves in devotion of his humility. This is what it is 'to respond' [Psalm 87:1]: to imitate the footsteps of his passion. As such, let the choir answer its precentor in harmony, lest [Christ] say to us who have failed in imitating him, with a voice of reproach: "We have piped to you, and you have not danced: we have lamented, and you have not mourned" [Matthew 11:17]. Christ 'piped' for us by informing our lives with the teaching of gospel grace. He 'lamented' from his cross in inviting us to the cross. Let us therefore dance to our precentor's tune, that our lives may profit by his teaching. Let us wail so that our devotional compassion may imitate the lamentations of his cross. Let us sit at the great table spread with dishes bearing the abuses Christ bore – full of injuries, adorned with accusations, and rich in blasphemies – at which the sons of iniquity proffer their wine to the Lord, taken from the jug and [poured] into the chalice of Babylon. They extend their drink to the thirsting saviour. It is 'the gall of dragons and the venom of asps, which is incurable' [Deuteronomy 32:32], and 'from the vineyard of Sodom, whose grapes are of gall and their clusters most bitter' [Ibid]; a vinegar derived from the bitterest grape that withered away wickedly from the vine of the Patriarchs. Whence: 'They gave me gall for my food, and in my thirst, they gave me vinegar to drink' [Psalm 68:22].[16]

[16] Ibid, f.71ra: 'Igitur fratres karissimi quia 'christus passus est pro nobis, reliquens exemplum' [1 Peter 2:21], intellectus eman, id est, fratrem eius esse debet, ut sequamur uestigia eius quatinus pro modulo nostre paruitatis conformemur deuotioni eius humilitatis. Hoc est enim respondere, eius passionis uestigia imitari. Precentiori itaque suo chorus concorditer respondeat, ne nobis ipsum imitari negligentibus

With the Pseudo-Bede's exegesis on Psalm 87 as his foundation, Thomas again had his audience imagine themselves as the choir responding to their crucified 'precentor' Christ, who both 'piped' through his teachings and 'lamented' from his cross as-per Matthew's words. They were to both 'dance and weep' in imitating Christ and his sufferings. The sufferings that Christ bore in the passion were represented as 'dishes' (*ferculis*) served to him at a feasting table (*magnam mensam*), at which Thomas called for his audience to sit with their saviour and partake of the 'food' and 'drink' along with Christ. The language that Thomas used in describing the spread, with the table 'adorned' (*locupletem*) and 'rich' (*opulentem*) with 'accusations and blasphemies', drew its force from the antithetical image of an opulent and hearty household table, richly attended with fare and festivities. This image of the 'great table' and the 'piping precentor' would have contrasted with the actual procedures of the Good Friday liturgy performed at Wells; a contrast which Thomas deliberately sought to put before his audience through his layering of imagery. Whilst we do not know the exact outline of the liturgy at Wells, we can reasonably speculate that the hours would have echoed Sarum usage and the broader norms of the Romano-Frankish liturgy. During the episcopate of Bishop Robert, the clergy of Wells looked to Salisbury for models in resolving disputes and structuring their community, and as such we might also consider the influence of the Sarum liturgy on practices at Wells.[17] According to Sarum usage, the hours would have been sung in near silence, whilst the clerical community would have abstained from food throughout the day before an extremely limited evening meal, if they ate at all.[18] By contrast, at the literary 'feasting-table' of Christ's sufferings imagined in Thomas's sermon there was music and singing, as well as a rich array of dishes. But this 'feast' described by Thomas was an inversion: the clerics sat at the table were to be satiated with Christ's torments. Whilst they abstained corporally and sang mutedly in their worldly rituals of the day, they would dance and eat heartily at the *magnam mensam* of the passion in their mind's eye, absorbing its

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improperando dicat 'Cecinimus uobis et non saltastis, lamentauimus uobis et non planxistis' [Matthew 11:17]. Cecinit siquidem nobis christus euangelice gratie doctrina uitam nostram informando. Lamentauit cruce sua nos ad crucem {inuitando}. Saltemus ergo ad precentoris concentum, ut uita nostra proficiat ipsius doctrina. Plangamus, ut deuotio compassionis crucis eius imite{tur} lamenta. Sedimus ad mensam magnam contumeliarium christi ferculis refertam, iniuriis plenam, calumpniis locupletem, blasphemiis opulentem, in qua propinant domino iniquitatis filii de pleno uase calice babylonio uinum suum, scilicet, 'fel draconum, et uenenum aspidum insanabile' [Deuteronomy 32:32], et 'de uinea sodomorum quorum uua, uua fellis quorum, botri amarissimi' [Deuteronomy 32:32] acetum male degenerans a uino patriarcharum, sicienti porrigunt saluatori. Vnde 'Dederunt in escam meam fel, et in siti mea, potauerunt me aceto' [Psalms 68:22]. Esca christi est hominum salus, et ecclesie imitas ut multi \B/ unus panis, unum corpus simus in christo. In hanc escam imitatis se ipsos ab unitate precidendo, miscuerunt fel amaritudinis et salutem ipsorum sicientem potauerunt acredine ueteri, id est, uetustate peccati. '

[17] See the letters printed in *Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, ed. A. Watkin (Wells, 1941), 87-89.

[18] *Ordinale Sarum sive Directorium Sacerdotum*, ed. W. Cooke and C. Wordsworth, HBS 20 & 22, 2 Volumes (London, 1901), ii, 68: 'Hac die conueniant clerici ad ecclesiam et horas diei sub silencio dicant hoc modo'.

lessons and applying them to their own conduct in answering their 'piping precentor' through imitation of his sufferings.

Thomas's imagery of the feasting table and the precentor-Christ then filtered through the remainder of his sermon: 'Let us bring to mind the things which went before us in our head [i.e. Christ]', Thomas preached, 'so that we may strive to answer our precentor in the concordance of charity'.[19] The audience of the sermon were to think upon and imitate the 'gentleness of Christ's patience, his forbearance of suffering, the devotion of his humility, the lowliness of his passion, and the perfection of his charity'.[20] The virtues of the passion outlined by Thomas were then illustrated in turn with appropriate scriptural passages, before being underscored with the same admonition from the Saint Andrew sermon that they be followed 'otherwise we bear the image of a false profession, if we do not follow the institutes of the one in whose name we glory'.[21] Imitation of the crucified Christ, and the integrity of the clerical 'profession', were again presented together by Thomas.

Some of the lessons Thomas sought to impress were especially relevant to an audience of clerics between the world and the church. For instance, he described how imitating Christ's forbearance in the passion entailed the patient acceptance of 'scourges and tribulations' without 'murmuring against the Lord' or pursuing vendettas.[22] Other admonitions were keyed to elicit greater discipline and devotion from the clerics at Wells. Christ's humility was to be imitated through contempt for the world, renouncing 'one's will' (*proprie uoluntatis*), and self-abasement, whilst the 'lowliness of the passion' was 'responded to' by not attending to the harshness of persecution or worldly pressure but the glory and rewards that lay beyond.[23] Forbearing the

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[19] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, f.71rb: 'Recolamus ergo que precesserunt in capite, ut precentiori nostro in caritatis concordia ualeamus respondere.'
[20] Ibid: 'Ad hoc autem inter cetera diuine dignationis opera spiritualiter nobis attendenda sunt in christo, mansuetudo obedientie, perseuerantia pacientie, deuotio humilitatis, abiectio passionis, perfectio caritatis.'
[21] Ibid, f.71va: 'alioquin false professionis ymagine utimur, si cuius nomine gloriamur, eius instituta non sequimur'
[22] Ibid, f.71vb: 'Pacientie perseuerantiam imitemur, ut sicut christo 'coram todente se sic non aperuit os suum' [Isaiah 53:7], ita in flagellis et tribulationibus non murmaremur contra dominum. Prouocati non reddamus contumeliam, […] non exigamus ultionem. Vnde in leuitico 'Non queres ultionem, nec memor eris [sic in]iurie in ciuium tuorum' [Leviticus 19:18], id est, neminem persequamur libidine uindictie quia inferre ac referre iniuriam mundane est iniquitatis, nemini autem malum pro malo reffere christiane est equanimitatis, omnem itaque impetum aduersitatis uincat paciencia in spiritu fortitudinis.'
[23]Ibid, ff.71vb-72ra: In humilitatis deuotione christi sequamur doctrinam, ut simus mites et corde humiles in sincero scilicet affectu cordis et exercitio bone operationis. Quelibet enim opera nulla sunt, nisi humilitate condiantur. Humilitatis autem formantibus consistit in contemptu exteriorum, in abiectione sui et renunciatione proprie uoluntatis. Qui gloriam mundi querit, qui carnis curam in desideris agit, qui carnis concupiscentias spiritui dominaris sustinet, uere humilitatis uirtute caret. In abiectione passionis sic christo respondeamus, ubi in persecutioni et pressuris non attendamus amaritudinem tormenti, sed

harshness of worldly pressures and spurning its offerings would have been especially pertinent to an audience of secular clerics, no longer living in common as they had in the days of Bishop Giso but scattered about the town of Wells. Indeed, Thomas's statement on renouncing *proprie uoluntatis* in imitation of Christ may have been especially appropriate in trying to promote cohesion amongst the clergy. Though individual and living apart, they were to renounce their own desires and devote themselves to the service of Wells, just as Christ renounced his own will in obedience to the Father. Indeed, in Thomas's sermon for Holy Saturday, which we shall explore in further depth later in this chapter, he expressed the following opinion on the greater value in 'public devotion' as opposed to that of the individual drawn from two sermons by Leo the Great (d.461) which were originally written for preaching during the days of fasting in September. In Leo's original sermons, preached during the years 443-44, he sought to stress how despite the fact that the individual devotions of Christians were effective, 'public' observations carried out in concert with mutual support – like the fasts observed in September – were much more effective:

> What is celebrated by public law (*publica lege*) is holier than that which depends on a private initiative (*priuata institutione*). Devotion is then more effective as well as holier when, in the works of piety, the soul and the understanding of the whole Church is one. Public devotion is to be put before one's own, and a special kind of value recognised where the common care (*cura communis*) watches over us. The knight of the church (*miles ecclesiasticus*) shall fight more securely and successfully, and accomplish his warfare, if he stands in the battleline against the enemy surrounded openly by his brothers. Many people meeting the enemy are in less danger than if they do so individually, for what the courage of not one but many defends cannot easily be wounded.[24]

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gloriam meriti, non angustias tribula \A/ -tionis {sed primum retributionis}, quia non sunt condigne passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam que reuelabitur in nobis.'

[24] Ibid, f.78va: 'Sacratius est quod pub<li>ca lege celebratur, quam quod priuata institutione dependitur. Tunc est efficatior sanctiorque deuotio, quando in operibus pietatis totius ecclesie unus animus et unus est sensus. Publica enim preferenda sunt propriis, et ibi est precipua ratio utilitatis, ubi uigilat cura communis. Tutius et felicius dimicabit miles ecclesiasticus, si fraternis consociatus agminibus palam, contra hostem in acie steterit, et bellum uniuersale conficiat. Minore siquidem discrimine plures confligunt cum hoste quam singuli, quem non sua tamen sed etiam aliorum fortitudo defendit, non facile patet uulneri.' Cf. Leo the Great, *Tractatus LXXXVIII* and *Tractatus LXXXIX*, in *Sancti Leoni Magni Romani Pontificis tractatus septem et nonaginta* ed. A. Chavasse, CCSL 138 (Turnhout, 1973). The translation of Thomas's work has been made, with some adjustments, with reference to *St. Leo the Great: Sermons*, ed. and trans. J.P. Freeland and A.J. Conway (Washington, 1996), Sermo 88, 373, and Sermon 89, 376-377.

From that which we have read of Thomas's preaching on the passion, the adaptation and extraction from Leo's work is understandable. Thomas carefully honed his preaching on Christ's passion to this general tenor, marshalling imagery of the crucified precentor-Christ and the responding 'chorus' to appeal to the sensibilities of his audience and promote cohesion amongst them. Devotions expressed in concert, as Leo explained, were far more effective than those of individuals.

The Chalice of the Passion and the Limits of Imitation

Although high-minded in his aspirations for corporate devotion to, and imitation of, the crucified Christ, Thomas was also pragmatic in his admonitions and cognizant of the abilities and limitations of his audience of clerics. This is shown through his imagery and exegesis on the 'chalice of the passion' (*calix passionis*) of Psalm 115 and Matthew 20. In exhorting his audience to the expression of charity, Thomas outlined how Christ's charity in dying, which he conceded they could not imitate literally, was to be understood by them:

> Just as Christ laid down his life for us, so let us lay down our lives for our brothers: he did so not just for his friends, but for his enemies. We do not follow in the footsteps of Christ, who suffered for us, if we refuse to drink from the chalice which Christ drank on our behalf before at least considering the reason why (*exgigente causa necessaria*). On this point David asked, with the spirit teaching within him, what he should render unto the Lord for all the Lord rendered unto him [Psalm 115:12], and working it out, he said: "I will take the chalice of Salvation" [Psalm 115:13]. David found nothing he could give to the Lord except what the Lord had already given him. What is it, then, to take up 'the chalice of salvation' than to imitate the cross of Jesus, that is, the saviour's passion, which is drunk for eternal salvation? For this reason, it was said to the sons of Zebedee: 'My chalice indeed you shall drink' [Matthew 20:23]. The passion is called a chalice because it is drunk in a measured amount. Whence: 'God does not permit you to be tempted above that which you are able' [1 Corinthians 10:13]. By singing together in this perfection of charity let us respond to

> our precentor, and if we cannot die with him bodily then let us suffer with him in devotion of mind.[25]

Thomas's exegesis on the chalice being drunk *cum mensura*, which can be understood to mean 'in a measured amount', 'in a specified amount', or 'commensurately', shows his recognition of the limitations incumbent upon his audience in imitating the crucified Christ, and a desire to explain how even if they could not 'die with Christ' bodily then they could co-suffer through *deuotio mentis*. Broader exegesis on the chalice and its 'measure' dwelt on God's mercy and desire not to test individuals beyond their limits. Peter Comestor (d.1178), for instance, in the *Historia Scholastica*, wrote that: 'Cassiodorus says in his commentary on the Psalms that the passion is called a 'chalice', because it is drunk in measure (*cum measura*). For 'God is faithful, who does not permit us to be tempted above what we are able' [1 Corinthians 10:13].[26] In explaining this further, Peter described how John the Evangelist bore a form of devotional martyrdom through the passions he experienced in seeing Christ die and also quoted Jerome's opinion that monks practiced a form of martyrdom.[27]

In one of his sermons, although not writing about the *calix passionis*, Comestor addressed the question of capacity in imitating Christ's passion in a notably affective exchange between '*Mater ecclesia*' and her 'sons' who sought to imitate Christ:

> Son: "Tell us, mother, what did Christ leave for us to imitate?" To which their mother says: "I see him arrested in the garden, I see him struck in the princes' hall, I see him spat upon, I see him mocked before the judge, I see

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[25] Ibid, f.72ra-b: 'ut silicet sicut christus pro nobis animam posuit, ita et nos pro fratribus animas ponamus, ipse pro inimicis, nos saltem pro amicis. Christi enim qui passus est pro nobis uestigia non sequimur, si calicem quem ipse pro nobis bibit pro aliis exigente causa necessaria bibere recusamus. Hinc dauid docente spiritu interius quid pro omnibus que retribuit, ei dominus retribuendum esset intelligens 'calicem' inquit 'saluratis accipiam' [Psalm 115:13]. Nichil iste quod domino retribueret inuenit, nisi quod dominus ipse prior retribuit. Calicem salutaris accipere quid est, nisi crucem iesu, id est, sal-\B/-uatoris passionem que in eternam propinatur salutem imitari? Iuxta quod filiis zebedei dicitur 'calicem meum bibetis' [Matthew 20:23]. Passio autem calix dicitur, quia cum mensura bibitur. Unde 'Non permittit deus uos temptari supra id quod potestis' [1 Corinthians 10:13]. In hac caritatis perfectione precentori nostro consonando respondeamus, et si corpore non comorimur, mentis deuotione compatimur.'

[26] Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, ed. J.P. Migne in PL 198 (Paris, 1854), col.1595: 'Cassiodorus super psalmos dicit, calix dicitur passio, quia cum mensura bibitur: 'Fidelis enim Deus, qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus.'

[27] Ibid, cols.1595-1596: 'Est enim calix scyphus, cum quo mensurate distribuitur potus bibentibus. Et secundum hanc distinctionem calicis, et baptismi recte subdidit Dominus: « Calicem quidem meum bibetis, » et tacuit de baptismo. Joannes enim non martyrium, sed passiones multas circa mortem sustinuit. Alii tamen, et calicem, et baptismum pro eodem accipiunt, scilicet pro martyrio. Et dicunt Joannem animo fuisse martyrem, quia animo non defuit martyrium, et in ferventis olei dolium missus est. In hunc modum Hieronymus dicit de monachis: Monachi debent habere puritatem martyrum, siquidem, et ipsi martyres.'

> him whipped with branches, I see him crowned with thorns, I see his body stretched out upon the gibbet of the cross, I see him nailed upon it, I see him pierced with the lance, I see him sealed within the tomb, I see him surrounded by guards. These are the steps of my God; this is the way of Christ. The Christian [must] journey upon it." To which the son replies: "This saying is hard, mother, and who can hear it? [John 6:61]. To which she replies: "Do not fear, my sons, but listen quietly. Now is in fact the best time to follow Christ. That water of contradiction has evaporated, and that torrent from which Christ drunk upon his path has dried up. The father of mercies and the God of consolation has tempered the old way that the martyrs travelled, who stained their feet in blood. If you cannot shed blood, then shed water – there is no excuse not to.[28]

Comestor's statements parallel Thomas's exegesis. Bodily martyrdom and imitation of Christ's passion was not a path open to all but could re-imagined as something else. Pious labours and devotions could substitute the *caritas* Christ showed in dying for his friends. In preaching in this way, Thomas sought to imbue his audience of canons with a sense of corporate pride in their vocation (their *professio*, as he repeatedly noted) and a reminder that Christ's passion could and should be imitated by them. Their imitation of the passion could be practiced as befitted their capacity: they could drink his 'chalice' *cum mensura*.

Through the remainder of the text Thomas pressed-home the implications of his exegesis on the chalice, stressing how 'every action of Christ's is a lesson for the Christian', and that as such, 'from his cross he invited us to the cross; by his sufferings to lamentation; from his pain to penance; and from his death and resurrection he teaches that we the dead may rise from

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[28] Peter Comestor, Sermon 28, in PL 198 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1854), col.1771: "Dic nobis, mater, quae reliquit nobis Christus imitanda?" Ad quem mater: "Vidi eum in horto ligatum, in atro pontifices expalmatum, sputis illutum, in praetorio judicis irrisum, virgis caesum, spinis coronatum, in patibulo crucis toto corpore extensum, clavatum, lancea perforatum, in sepulcro decurionis clausum, custodibus vallatum. Hi sunt ingressus Dei mei: haec est via Christi. Christianus […] per eam." Ad quam filius: "Durus est hic sermo, mater, et quis poterit audire eam? [John 6:61] Difficilis est haec imitatio, et non potero ad eam." Ad quem mater: "Noli timere, fili, sed audi et tace: Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile sequendi Christum. Siccata est aqua illa contradictionis; siccatus est torrens, de quo bibit Christus in via. Primitivam viam martyrum, qui tinxerunt pedem suum in sanguine, temperavit Pater misericordiarum, et Deus totius consolationis. Si non potes fundere sanguinem, saitem funde aquam, in quo tibi nulla est excusatio.' The sermon numbering is according to that in P.H. Tibber, 'The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130-c.1210'. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oxford (1983), 305-316. Work on Comestor's sermons is severely lacking.

[28] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, f.72va.

our sins and the death of the soul'.[29] The cross was to be 'taken up' through prayers, fasts, and abstinence in a twofold conquest of 'the world and the flesh', just as Christ's flesh and the devil were crucified twofold in the passion.[30] The audience were to fasten themselves with nails of abstinence, justice, continence, and fear in this conquest, and were to 'always hang upon [the] cross' fixed with the nails of Christ's precepts.[31] The vices avoided by the 'crucifixion' of each member were largely traditional, but spoke again to a clerical audience between the Church and the world. The mouth was crucified, lest it speak iniquities; the hands, so they did not seek to shed blood, settle scores, or grab at money. The feet were nailed to the cross, so they did not hasten to shed blood or run along 'that wide and spacious path that leads to death', and the eye lest it wander in temptation.[32] Human greed, subjugated through abstinence, atoned for the bitterness of Christ's gall and vinegar, whilst the ears held open to divine praises recompensed the reproaches Christ heard at his passion. The 'five senses' were thus crucified: speech, touch, sight, taste, and hearing.[33] In their own conquest of their senses, Thomas's audience were to internalise that their success in the endeavour served as 'recompense' to Christ's sufferings in the passion, and that through their actions and 'likeness' of his death they would, in turn, rise again with him in the likeness of his resurrection.[34]

The cluster of images that we have observed in Thomas's sermons for St Andrew's day and Good Friday also resurfaced in his sermon for Holy Saturday; the theological content of which will be further treated in the next section. The audience were again urged 'according to the small measure of [their] insignificance' to conform themselves to Christ's example.[35] Psalm 87 and the accompanying strands of exegesis were used yet again by Thomas in discussing imitation of Christ's passion, along with the weeping and dancing of Matthew 11:17, and the 'chalice of salvation'.[36] As with Thomas's preceding sermons, he reinforced the message of *deuotio mentis* in

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[29] Ibid: 'Omnis namque christi actio, christiani est lectio'. Cruce sua nos inuitat ad crucem, doloribus ad lamenta, pena ad penitentiam, morte sua et resurrectione ut peccatis mortui resurgamus a morte anime.'
[30] Ibid, f.72va.
[31] Ibid, ff.72vb-73ra.
[32] Ibid, f.73ra.
[33] As Woolgar notes, lists of 'five senses' were commonplace in the Middle Ages, but they do not always correlate to the modern or standard five. Speech for instance, as here, was reckoned by some as a sense. See: C.M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (Yale, 2006), 5-28
[34] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, ff.73rb-73va.
[35] Ibid, f.77ra: 'Igitur [homini?] quoniam christus passus est pro nobis relinquens exemplum, ut sequamur uestigia eius ipsius pro modulo paruitatis nostre conformari studeamus humilitati.'
[36] Ibid, f.77ra-b: 'Vnde in titulo psalmi lxxxvii <?> legitur 'Pro melech ad respondendum' [Psalm 87:1]. Melech interpretatur chorus, in quo intelligitur concordia caritatis. Sicut ergo christus inestimabili caritate pro nobis factus est obediens usque ad mortem crucis, ita et nos precentori nostro et consonando respondeamus in gratiarum actione et imitatione passionis. Hoc autem fiat in choro, id est, in caritatis concordia, quia nisi informetur caritate, nulla erit responsionis congruentia. 'Si tradidero corpus meum ut ardeam, caritatem autem non habeam, nichil mihi prodest' [1 Corinthians 13:3]. Precentori ergo chorus

'taking up' the chalice: 'What is it to take up the chalice of salvation than to imitate the passion of Jesus? […] Let us therefore take up the chalice of the lord with the prophet, and if we cannot die in the body with Christ we can co-suffer in devotion of mind'.[37] The image of Christ 'raised up' on the cross was used by Thomas to encourage his audience to 'raise [their minds] from every worldly desire and concupiscence', with concupiscence of the flesh, concupiscence of the eye and pride of life as-per 1 John 2:16 preached as a ram battering-down the inner peace of the mind.[38] The crucifixion of the bodily members was again preached as the model of imitation by Thomas, with the audience fastened to the cross with 'nails of charity'.[39]

A Sermon for Holy Saturday and the Theology of the Passion

The preceding sections have highlighted Thomas's keen desire to impress upon his audience of clerics an imitation of Christ's passion through the corporate imagery of collective 'response' to the 'crucified precentor' Christ. This was spurred by the revitalisation of clerical life and 'community spirit' in Wells during the period of Thomas's archiepiscopate. In addition to preaching the imitation of Christ's passion by his community, however, Thomas also sought to inculcate in them a more profound understanding of the reasons behind, and consequences of, his death. The most 'theologically oriented' of Thomas's sermons, in this regard, was that he wrote for Holy Saturday.[40] That this text can be confidently associated with the feast is suggested by the opening words from Hosea 13:14 'O death, I will be thy death; o hell, I will be thy bite':

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concorditer respondeat, ne nobis ipsum imitari negligentius improperet. 'Cecinimus uobis, et non salcastis, lamentauimus uobis, et non planx-\B/-istis' [Matthew 11:17]. Cecinit nobis christus, euangelice doctrine gratie uitam nostram informando. Lamentauit: cruce sua nos ad crucem inuitando. Curramus, itaque, in odore unguentorum sponsi, ut et uita nostra proficiat precentoris doctrina, et deuotio compassionis imitetur lamenta. Hinc dauid, considerans tam ineffabilia redemptionis nostre misteria, ait 'Quid retribuam domino, pro omnibus que retribuit mihi?' [Psalm 115:12].

[37] Ibid, f.77rb: 'Calicem salutaris accipere, quid est nisi iesu passionem imirari? […] Calicem ergo domini cum propheta accipiamus, et si corpore christo non commorimur, mentis deuotione compatiamur.'

[38] Ibid, f.77rb-77va: 'Quicquid enim in mundo est, concupiscentia. Quicuid enim in mundo est, fugiendum est, quia sicut iohannes ait 'aut est concupiscentia carnis, aut eest concupiscentia ooculorum, aut superbia uite' [1 John 2:16]. Hec sunt tria illa fumus sciliciet stillicidium, et mala uxor que hominis interioris quietem conturbant \A/ et crebro in quietudinis ariete mentem pulsant.'

[39] Ibid, f.77va: 'Duobus autem modis crucem iesu portemus, per carnis abstinentiam et per proximi compassionem. Per abstinentiam ieiunemus a uitiis, per compassionem proximorum subueniamus necessitatibus. Ita quoque clauis caritatis cruci christi membra configantur, et distendantur, ne ad actum peccati relaxentur, ne manus plene sint sanguine, nec extendantur ad morticini contactum, aut in cophino seruiant uiciorum, ne pedes ueloces ad effundendum sanguinem, ne per concupiscentiarum illecebras oculi discurrant, ne animus omissis propris, aliena negotia curet. Docemur itaque per manuum in cruce extensionem, quod manus apertas habere debemus ad pauperm non clausas, ut diligant munera sequantur retributiones'

[40] Ibid, ff.73va-78va

one of the antiphons that would be sung on Holy Saturday. Furthermore, the contents of the sermon itself, as with Thomas's preceding sermon for Good Friday, suggest Holy Saturday as the occasion. In the sermon Thomas explored how the 'four types of death' suffered by humanity were destroyed through the passion of Christ, thus responding to the first part of the verse from Hosea 'O death, I will be thy death'. In discussing the second part of the verse 'O hell, I will be thy bite', Thomas preached on the Harrowing of Hell.[41]

Each of the 'four deaths' suffered by humanity was explained by Thomas in turn. 'Bodily death' was the price of humanity's disobedience; the second and third were 'deaths of the soul' through the inheritance of Original Sin and the soul's proclivity towards sin, whilst the fourth type was the twofold death of both body and soul that would occur at the Last Judgment.[42] Thomas then turned to the matter of Christ's passion itself to outline how each death was conquered so that Hosea's words were fulfilled.[43] Christ conquered the 'first death' not only through his resurrection, but when the dead rose with him as well as the righteous Abraham who was 'asleep with his fathers'; a reference to his release by Christ in the Harrowing.[44] The conquest of humanity's second death was achieved in the flow of blood and water from Christ's side at Calvary, preached through the 'types' of Noah's Ark and Adam's rib.[45] The blood and water represented, of course, the sacraments of baptism and eucharist, the result of which was that 'the chirograph through which the ancient enemy held humankind was obliterated: the blemish

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41 On the Harrowing in general see: MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell*, passim, and Tamburr, *Harrowing in Medieval England*, passim.

42 Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, f.73va-b: 'Vnum cum a corporis carcere dissoluitur anima. \B/ Duo autem cum anima adeo deseritur, qui est eius uita. Quartum cum diploide confusionis condempnabitur corpus et anima. Est siquidem mors naturalis, mors peccati origenalis, mors ex actualibus super additis, mors eterna contempnationis. Prima ex inobedientie pena. Secunda ex originali macula. Tercia ex preuaricatione mandatorum. Quarta ex exigentia meritorum.'

43 Ibid, f.75vb: 'Nunc uidendum qualiter mors christi causa mortis extiterit, et mors una quadrifariam extinxerit, ut illud osee impleatur 'O mors ero mors tua'.

44 Ibid, f.75vb: '. Inde est quod fideles qui de hac uita decedunt, non inter mortuos sed inter dormientes numerantur. Unde 'Dormiuit abraham cum patribus suis' et in euangelio 'Multi qui dormierant cum domino surrexerunt' [Matthew 27:52]. On the conflation of the dead that rose at the crucifixion, and the Harrowing, see: Tamburr, *Harrowing in Medieval England*, 17-18.

45 Ibid, f.76ra: Mors secunda, christi morte deleta est, quando stillauit sanguis de ligne uite scilicet quando aperto christi latere nostre [redemptionis?] sacramenta manauerunt: sanguis, scilicet, redemptionis, et aqua baptismatis. Quod prefigurauit hostium in latere arche noe, apertum prodest ingredientia instante diluuio, saluata sunt animalia. Mulier etiam facta de latere uiri dormientis, ecclesie sacramenta presignauit que profluxerunt de latere in morientis quibus obliteratum est cyrographum: per quod hostis antiquis genus detinebat humanum. Origenalis siquidem peccati maculam baptismi unda lauit, per quam sibi diabolus quasi cyrographi deleto, totam successionis humane posteritatem uendicabat. 'Quicumque autem baptisumus in christo iesu, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus ut' [Romans 6:3] ait apostolus'

(*maculam*) of original sin through which the devil claimed the entire posterity of humanity as his own was washed away by baptism, as if by the destruction of the chirograph.'[46]

The image of the *cyrographum* drew from the words of Colossians 2:14: 'Blotting out the handwriting of the decree that was against us, which was contrary to us. And he hath taken the same out of the way, fastening it to the cross.' It was an image that Thomas paralleled in the following description of Christ's crucifixion, in which the devil's *cyrographum* was superseded by the *testamentum* of Christ's crucified body:

> And so, the fourfold death was destroyed by Christ's death. By his death an antidote was procured through which humanity was exempted from the aforementioned types of death. And the privilege of this exemption was sealed by the firm stamp of such authority, and the covenant of our inheritance dictated such that the letters of our redemption were written upon the skin of the crucified Christ in his own blood. And the seal (*sigillum*) of the side wound remains affixed there to this day, against which an image of obedience was impressed: an incorruptible bull (*bulla*) which the saviour's presence forever bears in sight of the Father.[47]

Thomas's image of the 'covenant' written in blood upon Christ's crucified skin is significant, in that it is a notably early example of the metaphor of Christ's body as a document upon which the salvation of humanity was written in his blood.[48] The image began to appear in the later twelfth century as part of a general upsurge in literary metaphors that can be associated with the increasing dominance of literary culture.[49] The image possessed scriptural roots in Hebrews 9:15-18, in which the 'covenant' and 'testator' were discussed by Saint Paul.[50] Thomas's language

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid, ff.76rb-76va: 'Ita morte christi simpla: destructa est mors quadrifaria, per quam procuratum est antidotum, per quod a premissis [generibus?] mortis genus exemptum est humanum. Tanteque auctoritatis firmitate consignatum est exemptionis huius priuilegium, et dictatum hereditatis nostre testamentum, ut in ipsius christi crucifixi menbrana proprio sanguine conscripti sint absolutionis littere maneatque infixum usque hodie sigillum plaga lateris et cui inpressa est ymago obedientie: bulla inputribulis [sic inputribilis] quam semper paterno exhibet conspectui presentia saluatoris.'

[48] In general, see: S. Noonan, 'Bodies of Parchment: Representing the Passion and Reading Manuscripts in Late Medieval England', Unpublished PhD Thesis (St Louis, 2010), esp. 8-10 for early history. Also: M.C. Spalding, *The Middle English Charters of Christ* (Pennsylvania, 1914), although largely focussed on the later-medieval vernacular 'charters' from England.

[49] M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Oxford, 2012). 3rd Edition, *passim*. Of course, documentary culture had long been a feature of clerical communities like Wells.

[50] Hebrews 9:15-18: 'And therefore he is the mediator of the new testament: that by means of his death, for the redemption of those transgressions, which were under the former testament, they that are called may receive the promise of eternal inheritance. For where there is a testament, the death of the testator must of necessity come in. For a testament is of force, after men are dead: otherwise it is as yet of no

echoed that of the Hebrews verse, in that he did not use 'charter' (*carta*) in his passage but the biblical *testamentum*. However, the remainder of the metaphor as-expressed by Thomas drew on extra-biblical language of 'sealing' along with the graphic reference to the writing on Christ's skin in his own blood. Thomas's neighbouring archdeacon Peter of Blois, as will be noted in the succeeding chapter, also used the metaphor in his own writings.[51]

A notable difference in Thomas's image was his description of the 'incorruptible bull' (*bulla inputribilis*) of Christ's side wound. The word *bulla* held specific connotations in medieval Latin. It was used either to describe a papal document – the bull – or referred to the authenticating lead seal fixed to a papal document. That these specifics were not lost on contemporaries is evidenced by a dispute between Abbot Roger of St Augustine's Canterbury (d.1212) with Archbishop Richard, recorded in the chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury (d.1210).[52] The abbot sought to press his rights against the archbishop through documents bearing *bullae* purportedly dating from the time of the abbey's founder Augustine (d.604) and the Gregorian Mission to England .[53] However it was 'well known', Gervase wrote, that bishops or archbishops 'this side of the Alps' did not seal their documents with '*bullas plumbeas*'.[54] The practice was associated especially with the Romans and the papacy. In Thomas's image it was this second meaning – the papal seal – which he expressed in describing how it was forever borne by Christ 'in sight of the Father' on the parchment of his bloodied skin. It might simply be the case that Thomas sought to vary his language, as he had described the side wound as a 'seal' (*sigillum*) earlier in the metaphor and consequently looked for a synonym. But with this said, the use of the term is striking and not witnessed in other variations of the Christ-document image, and it may be possible that it reflected, consciously or subconsciously, contemporary interests in Wells. In the *Historiola* composed in the 1170s, papal confirmations were mentioned by the author,[55] whilst the community also pressed their rights to participate in the election of Bishop Reginald (d.1191) during which they received two papal letters of confirmation from Alexander III (d.1181).[56] It is possible that these recent events exerted an influence on Thomas's writing: in

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strength, whilst the testator liveth. Whereupon neither was the first indeed dedicated without blood.'; Spalding, *Charters of Christ*, 41.

[51] See below: Chapter Six, 187.

[52] Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronicle*, in *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs RS, 2 Vols (London, 1879-80), i, 296-297.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid: 'Fuit etiam notatum, immo notorium et notabile, quod bulla ipsius plumbea fuit, cum non soleant cisalpini praesules vel primates scriptis suis authenticis bullas plumbeas apponere.' Gervase also recorded how the document's Latin also seems to have betrayed forgery, in that it did not read like that of a 'Roman pen'.

[55] *Historiola*, 9-28.

[56] See the discussion by F.M.R. Ramsey in *EEA X*, xxxi-xxxvi.

using *bulla* he underscored the authority and gravity of the Christ-testament through reference to 'incorruptible' papal authority. Whilst Thomas likely knew the distinction like Gervase and the panel of investigators in the St Augustine's dispute, whether this subtlety also registered amongst the clerical audience of the sermon can only be guessed at. They would, however, have appreciated the general force of Thomas's image: the supersession of the ancient *cyrographum* by which they were bound by the devil with the new *testamentum* of the crucified Christ written and sealed with blood.

Having outlined how Christ became the 'death' of death in the first part of his sermon for Holy Saturday, Thomas then approached the second part of Hosea's verse: 'O death, I will be thy bite'. In describing Christ's harrowing of Hell, Thomas impressed upon his audience the immense condescension in Christ's descent, and its effects on those who beheld it and recalled it in the present: 'The mind abhors it; the bowels of piety (*uiscera pietatis*) cannot bear to hear of God in Hell, the author of salvation in the place of punishment, the font of mercy in the place of misery, the Lord of Heaven in the place of torments.'[57] Here Thomas sought to charge his sermon with a moment of reflection and awe. Despite the conquest and triumph of the Harrowing, which were the staples of preaching it – as we noted in Chapter Two with Herbert Losinga's sermon for Ascension Day – as well as its iconographic representation, Thomas sought to pause and have his audience reflect on how abhorrent it was for Christ to have been there. The Christ of the Harrowing was of course a mighty figure. Thomas himself concluded his sermon by describing how 'with his sword drawn [Christ] revealed the way of Paradise to the banished'.[58] But in his preaching he also wanted his audience to reflect on the insult Christ suffered in descending to such a place, with the intent that the precepts of his sermon be more readily and gratefully internalised by his audience. Christ revealed the way to paradise, and Thomas helped his clerics walk along it through his imagery.

Imitation & Capacity: Thomas's Treatise on the Young King

In addition to his preaching for the clergy of Wells, Thomas also wrote a treatise on the death of Henry the Young King, contained in the final folios of the same Laudian manuscript as his sermons.[59] Parts of this treatise were printed as a 'sermon' in the nineteenth century for the Rolls

[57] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, f.76va-b: 'Mens enim abhoret, uiscera pi-\B/-etatis audire non sustinent, deum in inferno, salutis auctorem in penarum loco, fontem misericordie in loco miserie, dominum celorum in loco suppliciorum.'
[58] Ibid, f.76vb: "…et remoto gladio uersatili, paradisi aditum exulibus reserauit.'
[59] Ibid, ff.104v-124r. On the Young King, see: M. Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183* (Yale, 2016).

Series, but as Hugh Thomas and Moreed Arbabzadah have recently noted the printed text contains only 30% of the actual treatise.[60] The text is an extraordinary one, in which the sanctity of the Young King – a rebel, oath breaker, and despoiler of churches – was championed by Thomas through a number of creative arguments. Henry's deathbed penance was recorded by a number of contemporaries, with Roger of Howden (d.1201) providing the fullest account:

> He confessed his sins in the presence of all, and received penance and their absolution, after which he enjoined his companion William Marshal to bear his cross to Jerusalem. Then, after casting off his fine clothes, he put on a hair shirt and, with a rope about his neck, said to the bishops and religious men who were standing around him: "By this rope I hand myself over to you servants of God – a guilty and unworthy sinner – and beg that our lord Jesus Christ who forgave the sins of the thief who confessed to him upon the cross may have mercy upon my unhappy soul through your prayers and his ineffable mercy". And they all responded: "Amen". He then said to them: "Drag me from this bed by the rope and lay me down upon those ashes", which Henry had prepared for himself in advance. They did as he commanded and also placed two great millstones beneath his head and feet.[61]

It was perhaps the nature of his penance that led to reports of miracles during the journey of Henry's body to Rouen for burial, although the attempts at promoting Henry as a *uir sanctus* never flourished into any sustained cult and were condemned by others.[62] The chronicler William

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[60] In what follows I am most grateful to Hugh and Moreed, who generously shared advanced drafts of their forthcoming edition of the treatise for the Oxford Medieval Texts series. Portions of the treatise were originally printed as an appendix to Ralph of Coggeshall's (d.1227) *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS (London, 1875), 265-273.

[61] Roger of Howden, *Chronicle*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 4 Vols (London, 1868-71), ii, 278-279: '…deinde coram omnibus sua confessus peccata, poenitentiam et suorum recepit absolutionem peccatorum, et tradidit Willelmo Marscallo familiari suo crucem suam Jerosolimam deferendam. Deinde depositis mollioribus indumentis, cilicium induit, et ligato fune in collo suo, dixit episcopis et caeteris viris religiosis circumstantibus: "Trado me peccatorem indignum, culpabilem et obnoxium per funem istum vobis ministris Dei, postulans ut Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Qui latroni confitenti in cruce peccata dimisit, per preces vestras et per Suam ineffabilem misericordiam misereatur infelicissimae animae meae." Et responderunt omnes, "Amen." Et ipse ait illis: "Trahite me a lecto isto per hunc funem, et imponite lecto illi cinero," quem sibi praeparaverat; et fecerunt sicut ipse praecepit illis, et apposuerunt capiti et pedibus suis duos lapides magnos quadratos.' For other accounts of the Young King's death and penance, see: Robert of Torigni, 305-306, and *The History of William Marshal*, trans. N. Bryant (Woodbridge, 2016), 99.

[62] Strickland, *The Young King*, 306-326, and especially 313-315 for Thomas's promotion of Henry as a '*vir sanctus*'.

of Newburgh (d.1198) scoffed at reports of healings at his tomb as mere 'rumour' (*famam*) sown by 'liars' who were puffed up by 'desire and vanity'.[63] Thomas's treatise was an extraordinary attempt to argue for Henry's sanctity. The text bears consideration for our purposes, however, for the light which it sheds on Thomas's preaching on the passion that we have already discussed, and how the lines of exegesis that he pursued in preaching to the clerics of Wells also found echoes in his dubious attempts to promote Henry's sanctity.

In one section of Thomas's treatise, he argued at length for why Henry should be considered as a form of martyr.[64] 'We read', Thomas wrote, 'that there are two sorts of martyrdom: one in the body, and the other in the soul'.[65] Henry was not an ideal candidate for a bodily martyrdom, having died of dysentery whilst campaigning in the Limousin with an unfulfilled crusading vow against his record. For Thomas, however, 'spiritual martyrdom' was – conveniently enough – the superior of the two kinds; the 'lesions' that it inflicted were not healed by the passage of time or the death of the body. The Virgin Mary suffered a form of martyrdom, Thomas explained, when the 'sword' pierced her soul at Calvary, as did John the Evangelist as he beheld Christ's sufferings.[66] Mary presented herself as a 'living offering' along with her son, with her own spirit 'fixed upon the gibbet [of the cross] with the nails of compassion'.[67] In developing these arguments, Thomas was in fact drawing heavily from another source: the Benedictine abbot Arnold of Bonneval's (d.c.1159) treatise *De Septem Verbis Domini in Cruce* (See Appendix Two).[68] Arnold was a friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, and one of the abbot's earliest biographers. His *De Septem Verbis* followed the gospel accounts of Christ's passion and the words he spoke from the cross, presenting extended and affective explications of his utterances. Thomas, in this section of his treatise on the Young King, drew from third '*tractatus*' of Arnold's work in which he discussed the words of John 19:26: 'Woman, behold thy son'. In this section of *De Septem Verbis*, Arnold imagined Mary's sufferings as a mother in watching her son die: 'with her gaze fixed upon you she pores over your wounds from her motherly instinct, and although she is not

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[63] William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I Volume I* (London, 1884), Bk.2, 234: 'Denique post mortem ejus, quidam mentiendi libidine atque impudentissima vanitate, famam late sparserunt, quod ad sepulchrum ejus curationes fierent infirmorum, scilicet ut vel causam contra patrem justam habuisse, vel finali poenitentia Deo egrigie placuisse, crederetur.' Indeed, William saw the Young King's demise as part of the 'logic of retribution' in God's actions and 'divine justice'. See: M. Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford, 2017), 89.
[64] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, ff.119va-121va.
[65] Ibid, f.119va: 'Duo namque legimus martyrii genera, unum in corpore et aliud in anima.'
[66] Ibid, ff.119vb-120ra.
[67] Ibid: '…offerabatque cum filio se ipsam hostiam uiuam, clauis compassionis patibulo spiritus confixam.'
[68] Arnold of Bonneval, *De Septem Verbis Domini in Cruce*, ed. J.P. Migne in PL 189 (Paris, 1854), cols.1677-1726. On Arnold, though largely in relation to his role in writing Bernard's *Vita Prima*, see: A.H. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History* (Edinburgh, 1996), 102-118.

unaware of the good your passion shall confer upon the world, she nonetheless co-suffers out of the affection borne by a parent, and her maternal breast tightens under the strain of her sorrow'.[69] As shown in Appendix Two, the imagery that Arnold went on to use in describing Mary's internal sufferings at the foot of the cross were repeated by Thomas so as to forcefully impress the superiority of 'spiritual martyrdom' and, in turn, Henry's sanctity.

Having recounted these affectively-charged examples from Arnold's *De Septem Verbis* and their emphases on imitative 'mental suffering', Thomas then turned his attention to what it meant to 'take up the cross' and how Young Henry bore it:

> We read that to take up the cross of Christ is to imitate his passion. The cross is borne through compassion for one's neighbour and mortification of carnal desires. For he who through the discipline of abstinence extinguishes the fires of desire in his flesh, and lives beyond the flesh, co-crucifies himself by taking up the cross of Christ. In both of these ways the blessed Henry shone forth in martyrdom: zeal for ecclesiastical poverty and the oppression of liberty inflamed him most powerfully. He was pierced with the barb of compassion whenever he saw others glory beneath the weight of undue oppression.[70]

Thomas thus explained how Henry achieved spiritual martyrdom and imitation of the passion through his tearful confession and repentance of his sins, and how although he was not perfect his compassion outweighed his misdeeds.[71] In this way, Thomas argued, 'the bearer of

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[69] Ibid, col.1693: '…et confixis in te oculis, vulnera tua materna pietate considerat. Et, licet non ignoret quid boni conferat mundo passio tua, tamen parentis affectu commoritur, et pectus maternum immanitate doloris arctatur.'

[70] Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Laud. Misc. 71, f.120rb: 'Item legimus quia tollere crucem christi est passionem imitari. Baiulatur autem crux eadem et per proximi compassionem et per carnalium concupiscentiarum mortificationem. Qui enim per abstinentie disciplinam extinctiis desideriorum incendiis in carne preter carnem uiuit, semetipsum crucem christi tollendo concrucifigit. Utroque ergo modo Beatus H martyrium illustrauit, quem ecclesiastice depressionis \B/ zelus libertatis oppressio uehementius urebat, et totiens configebatur acculeo compassionis quotiens alios gloriari uidebat onere indebite oppressionis.'

[71] The Young King's deathbed penance was noted by Roger of Howden, *Chronicle*, ii, 278-279 and Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, 305-306. The men who attended Henry on his deathbed were not identified by the chroniclers, but Thomas described them as 'of the Cistercian and Grammontine orders'. Henry's penance surpassed what the enjoined upon him, Thomas noted. See, Ibid, ff.110va-b: 'Quod etiam non inmerito in stu-\B/-poris admirationem uertere possit audientes cum ei assisterent tam cisterciensis quam grandimontensis ordnis [sic ordinis] uiri religiosi, qui ipsum in tanto uite mortisque discrimine, penitentie et deuotionis monitis studiosius informabant, tanta spiritu interius docente pacientie humilitate et contricionis alacritate habundabat, ut magistrorum disciplinam penitentie lamentis et delictorum

the Lord's cross deserved to shine forth with the glory and honour of a martyr, in which the zeal of his compassion and the devotion of his contrition replaced the sword'.[72] We noted in Thomas's sermons, and particularly that for Good Friday in his extended exegesis on drinking the 'chalice of salvation' *cum mensura*, that if bodily co-death and co-suffering with Christ could not be imitated, they could be replaced by mental co-suffering. It could be possible that lines of exegesis Thomas had already preached in his sermons may have borne on the arguments he constructed in trying to promote Henry's unlikely image as a *uir sanctus*, in which he pushed the logic of interiority in *imitatio Christi* to new levels, as he had done in his sermons.

Henry's unfulfilled crusading vow also presented Thomas with a further opportunity to underscore his prescriptions on imitation through *deuotio mentis* that we have noted throughout his sermons. As Roger of Howden described, the dying Henry implored William Marshal (d.1219) to undertake his crusading vow by proxy.[73] Thomas went further than this, however, in describing how the dying Henry in fact reached Jerusalem and Christ's sepulchre in his mind:

> Breathlessly uttering with all his desire to visit the Lord's sepulchre to expedite his former deeds through pious labour, he sighed with every sincere manner of devotion and, having received the sign of the cross, his journey commenced in as much as his faculties allowed. He began to journey forth by mental sufferings (*mentis passibus*) rather than the feet of his body, and where he could not go in bodily presence he hastened in the heat of desire. And so, from his words, habit, and deed he clearly showed himself to be troubled through conscience of his sin and to lament the abuse of his soul rather than weep over the fires of fever in his weakened body and the torments accompanying his departure from life.[74]

The portrait that Thomas here painted is not found in the other accounts of the Young King's deathbed. Contemporaries did indeed record Henry's extraordinary penance and desire to

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amarissima deploratione transcenderet et tam uerbis precedentem peccati uitam accusantibus quam feruore deuotionis instruentes instrueret, ut bene cum dauid dicere posset 'Super omnes docentes me intellixi' [Psalm 118:99].

[72] Ibid, f.120rb: 'Sic ergo crucis dominice baiulus illustrari meruit gloria et honore martyrii, in quo compassionis zelus et contricionis deuotio suppleuerunt uicem gladii.'

[73] Above: 149 and 150, n.62.

[74] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.71, ff.110vb-111ra: 'Ad sepulcri quoque dominici uisitationem toto anhelans desiderio ob expiendam pio labore commissorum uetustatem, suspirabat et cum omni moda deuotionis sinceritate, signo crucis suscepto, iter arripuit quantumque uires permisere, mentis potius passibus quam corporis pedibus ire cepit, et quo non potuit presentia corporali, curcurrit feruore desiderii. Ex ipsius itaque uerbis, habitu, et opere, poterat manifestius elucere ipsum ma gis peccati conscientia anxiari, et anime contumeliam deplorare, quam febrium ignes corporis dissolutoris et angustias uite exterminatorias plangere.'

fulfil his vow, but the 'mental crusade' undertaken by the dying king *mentis potius passibus quam corporis pedibus* was the contribution of Thomas's pen. Henry visited Jerusalem through his mental sufferings: he did not just offload the burden of crusade to William Marshal but undertook it himself. The 'triumph' of Henry through his *passibus mentis* was then emphasised by Thomas in further detail. He offered the *contriti cordis holocaustum* to God and was crucified in his flesh with the 'nails of compunction' by which he 'fattened his devotion' through an outpouring of tears, in language which was again reminiscent of his earlier comments on the sufferings of John and Mary during the passion.[75]

Henry could not be considered an imitator of Christ's passion through martyrdom or the physical sufferings he would have borne on crusade. For Thomas he was, however, an imitator through his *deuotio mentis*: the 'sufferings' of his contrite repentance and the compassion which, Thomas claimed, he showed throughout his life, proved him a *baiulator crucis*. He achieved through mental devotion what he could not in corporal suffering. Whilst the exegesis of the 'chalice of the passion' and the ability to drink it *cum mensura* were not directly invoked in Thomas's characterisation of the dying Henry, they clearly underpinned his description of his death. Henry drunk the chalice *cum mensura* in his imitation of Christ 'according to his capacity' both as a knightly layman whose life was not perfect, and also as a dying penitent who undertook a crusade of mental sufferings. We can only imagine the contemporary response to Thomas's conflation of Henry's penance with the Virgin's lamentations, given the Young King's sacking of her church at Rocamadour – famed for its miracles – only weeks before his death, although he was also buried at Notre-Dame de Rouen.[76] In Thomas's own view of matters, however, his presentation of the Young King as an imitator of Christ's passion and bearer of his cross was consistent with his broader preaching on the passion and imitation.

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[75] Ibid, f.111ra-b: 'Sic ergo in frixorio positus medullatum offerebat contriti cordis holocaustum, et nunc incendio deuotionis excoquens, nunc lacrimarum salsugine diluens tanquam multis marum rasuris peccati rubiginem abstergebat, nunc autem gemituum medulitus erumpentium singultibus nature fermentate tumorem azimabat, animi que titillationes illusorias deplorando omne predentium concupiscentiarum contritionis incendio debitum flagitabat. Offensarum quoque preteritarum ultroneas suscipiens penarum usuras tormentorum uectigalia maluit, hic spontaneus exsoluere quam ultricis incendii purgatorium expectare. Ex medullate ergo contricionis semine, uirtutum cepit messis multiplicari, et caro crucifixa penitentis, clauis confixa compunctionis, cepit de aduersitate concupiscentia triumphare et me-\B/-ritorum gemma parturie [sic parturire] Ex lacrimarum namque inundatione, quasi ex rore matutino, pinguescebat deuotio, mundabatur intentio, lauabatur mentis fermitate uetusta conspersio.'

[76] Roger, *Chronicle*, ii, 278: 'Rex filius, deficiente sibi pecunia, perrexit ad Sanctam Mariam de Rupe Adamatoris, et decorticavit feretrum Sancti Adamatoris, et thesaurus ecclesiae asportavit.' We could well imagine the connection between Henry's death, and the despoliation of Rocamadour, was made by contemporaries, given some of the miracles associated with the shrine there. See: *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, ed. and trans. M. Bull (Woodbridge, 1999), Bk.3, Ch.11, 188-190. A knight who scoffed at the Virgin's shrine and questioned the sincerity of the monks serving it was paralysed before repenting.

Conclusion

In preaching the passion to the clergy of Wells, Thomas Agnellus displayed a keen awareness of the power behind collective engagement with the figure of the crucified Christ. For Thomas, unless Christ's passion was imitated by his clerics, their very *professio* was nothing but a falsehood. The identity of his audience as clerics was thus closely associated with their correct imitation of Christ's sufferings, in which Thomas pushed the logic behind imitative 'mental devotion' to its limits in repeatedly discoursing on how despite his audience not being able to literally imitate Christ, they could nevertheless 'co-suffer' in their minds. This devotion was stressed as a corporate enterprise by Thomas through recourse to the same cluster of images drawn from the Pseudo-Bede's exegesis on the Psalms, through which he sought to instil cohesion amongst the clerics of Wells, recently galvanised by the active patronage of bishops Robert and Reginald. From his preaching for Holy Saturday, we have also appreciated Thomas's desire to impress the theology of redemption upon his audience in extended detail. A lengthy sermon, the breadth of Thomas's learning is evident throughout and shown especially by his parallels between the devil's *cyrographum* and the *testamentum* of Christ's crucified body; an early and striking expression of a metaphor then emerging in literary treatments of Christ's passion.

The preaching on the passion pursued by Thomas, intended to galvanise his community to greater corporate devotion, may also have informed his dubious attempt to promote the sanctity of the Young King. His use of exegesis on the 'chalice' of the passion that we noted in the sermons, and how it could be 'drunk from' commensurately, lay beneath the surface of his capacious discussion of sanctity and martyrdom in the treatise, in which mental devotions and doleful expressions of piety erased the Young King's misdeeds. This sense of 'capacity' in Thomas's writing on the passion, both as regards young Henry and his preaching to the clergy of Wells, might well speak to his position as a secular cleric. Thomas was a man between the world and the church; his religion, and that of the clergy at Wells, was not that of the monks in their cloistered devotions. His audience were not perfect, and his preaching on the passion made allowance for this, but in stressing collective engagement with the crucified Thomas also approximated the *professio* of his clerics with something closer to a monastic image. Perhaps Thomas had the monks of the diocesan seat at Bath on his mind. Whatever the case, here was an archdeacon engaged with the spiritual developments of the period who harnessed them enthusiastically and creatively for his own purposes. In discussing Thomas's preaching on the passion, this chapter has thus shed significant light on the piety and learning of the twelfth-century archdeacon; a figure who was the subject of contemporary scorn and the butt of many a

joke. This 'spiritual dimension' to the twelfth-century archdeacon shall also be highlighted in the succeeding chapter, in which we shall look to the sermons of Peter of Blois.[77]

[77] On this 'rehabilitation' see: Maritt, 'Archdeacons' Authority and Identity', 916-932.

Chapter Six: The Sermons of Peter of Blois

Introduction

In one of his Lenten sermons Peter of Blois, meditating on the crucifixion, spoke directly to Christ and told him that 'above all other things, Christ Jesus, the passion of your cross makes you lovely (*amabilem*) to us'.[1] It was a sentiment he directly repeated elsewhere in his corpus of sermons.[2] Indeed the focus that Peter placed on Christ and his cross throughout his sermons was intense and figures as one of his collection's defining characteristics. Opportunities to direct exegesis towards the imagery of the crucified Christ and his cross were frequently exploited by Peter, and once pursued they were meditated over at length, often in affective addresses. For Peter it was the crucifixion of Christ that superseded all his other actions in making him 'loveable'; a fact the archdeacon frequently impressed in his sermons. Of all the authors surveyed in this study, Peter's sermonising on the passion, as will be seen, was the most affective.

As we observed at the outset of this study, however, Peter's sermons have received practically no scholarly attention: a fact noted by his most recent biographer John Cotts.[3] To historians the sermons are among the least interesting aspects of Peter's literary output.[4] It is Peter's collections of letters, carefully curated and revised by their author, which have attracted the greatest attention.[5] They paint a picture, as Cotts has demonstrated, of Peter's world between church and court, the sensibilities of those institutions, his personal piety, and his literary tastes and talents. Medieval audiences shared this admiration for Peter's letters, since the collections survive in over three hundred medieval manuscripts.[6] The sermons, by contrast, were nowhere near as popular and survive in just two copies.[7]

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[1] Peter of Blois, Sermon 17, 78: 'Super omnia, Christe Jesu, te nobis amabilem facit passio tuae crucis'.
[2] See Sermon 19, 87: 'Super omnia te nobis amabilem facit, Jesu Christe, crucifixio tua'. See also Peter, *De Amicitia Christiana et de Caritate Dei* in PL 207, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1855), ii, Ch.26, cols.925-926: 'Et quid dulcis quam jugis recordatio dispensationis illius per quem apparuit benignitas et humanitas Salvatoris nostri Dei? Super omnia, Christe Jesu, passio tua nobis te amabilem facit…'
[3] See: Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 234-236. Also: Southern, 'Peter of Blois'.
[4] As Cotts notes, Peter's sermons are derivative in nature: Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 236. Southern's entire note on Peter's sermons, in his *ODNB* entry, was as follows: 'It should be added that Peter was also an indefatigable writer of sermons. These too he collected, and they show his total recall of the text of the Bible. But they lack the variety of themes that made his letters famous, and they never had more than a very modest circulation'
[5] L. Wahlgren-Smith, *The Letter Collections of Peter of Blois: Studies in the Manuscript Tradition* (Gothenburg, 1993).
[6] Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 4.
[7] British Library MS Royal 8F xvii (s. xiii) and British Library Arundel 322 (s. xii$^{4/4}$/xiii$^{1/4}$). I am most grateful to Tessa Webber for her thoughts on the dating of Arundel 322.

It is the concern of this chapter to subvert the common treatment of Peter of Blois, placing the sermons at centre stage, whilst using the letters in a secondary function to illuminate the piety and preaching of this secular cleric. Set against the preceding chapters and their consideration of preaching on the passion in other twelfth-century collections, Peter's own sermons can be more effectively considered in terms of their convergences and divergences. As Cotts himself noted in discussing Peter's sermons, their study has been hampered by the lack of information regarding preaching in the twelfth century.[8] Placement within this study, then, and analysis through the lens of one vein of imagery, will go some way towards addressing this.

It is first necessary to provide a brief overview of the collection itself before turning to its imagery. Peter's collection is comprised of forty-six sermons organised broadly according to the liturgical year.[9] The sermons are relatively short, averaging around one thousand to fifteen hundred words in length.[10] With regards to the date at which they were written, internal evidence from the texts themselves does not offer a confident answer. In British Library MS Royal 8F xvii the sermons appear along with some of Peter's other writings from the very end of the 1180s. From this it seems that the sermons may have been written after 1184, but perhaps into the 1190s.[11] Another surviving manuscript, British Library MS. Arundel 322, can be dated cautiously to the last quarter of the twelfth century or the first quarter of the thirteenth on palaeographical grounds.[12] Arundel 322, which contains Peter's sermons prefaced with one of Jerome's letters was, then, quite possibly made during Peter's own lifetime. The two manuscripts give a rough indication of the time that Peter wrote the sermons: namely, the final part of his career. In the latter stages of his career, in serving as archdeacon of London, preaching formed part of Peter's duties. In a letter he wrote to Peter of Cornwall (d.1221), prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate, written 1200x1210 he spoke at length of his decision to retire from preaching.[13] Peter had been appointed archdeacon of London around 1200,[14] but he had also held the archdeaconry of Bath since 1182.[15] A date after 1200 for the composition of the sermons themselves, therefore, may be

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[8] Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 235.
[9] There are sixty-five sermons printed in the edition by Giles and the PL, but of these some twenty-two are spurious. See: Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 234 n.76. Regardless, for ease of reference the numbering used in the edition by Giles will be retained for ease of reference.
[10] A notable exception to this is Sermon 65 which is some nine thousand words in length. On this sermon, see above: Introduction, 25-28.
[11] I am grateful to John Cotts for his thoughts here on dating the sermons.
[12] Above, 156, n.7.
[13] Peter, Ep.42, *LL*, 194-196.
[14] *FEA I*, 10.
[15] *FEA VII* , 28.

too late. Peter seems to have preached as archdeacon of London, but he may already have written his collection of sermons before that point.[16]

We might ask whether the collection reflects any responsibility Peter felt in his position as archdeacon of Bath. This is difficult to get at, since Peter was an absentee archdeacon of Bath for much of the time, although we do know he performed at least one, albeit fateful, visitation of his archdeaconry. In a letter written to the abbot of St Albans Peter described how he was returning 'from a visitation of my archdeaconry' and sent his attendants ahead of him to Wallingford Priory, a dependant house of St Albans, to request lodgings for the night.[17] The prior insulted Peter's men and refused to accommodate them, prompting the snubbed archdeacon's lengthy letter which railed against the decline of charity in monastic life and the moral decay of Wallingford! Despite his elevation to the archdeaconate, Peter spent much of his time at the Canterbury Curia in service of successive archbishops Richard of Dover and Baldwin of Forde and delegated his duties as archdeacon to a deputy.[18] In the later sections of this chapter, however, when turning to the text of the sermons themselves, we shall return to the question of dating the sermons and the circumstances under which they may have been written, suggesting that they may indeed have reflected responsibilities Peter bore as archdeacon of Bath.

Peter's Concern for 'Affective Impact'

With regards to the character of the sermons themselves, they were relatively short, and they all began with biblical pericopes. The language used within them was emotive and affective. In a number of instances Peter would speak not of, but directly to, the biblical persons whom he was sermonising about, heightening the temporal collapse of past and present associated with performance of the liturgy. As already noted, Peter spoke directly to Christ in his Lenten sermon in telling him how loving his crucifixion was.[19] In Peter's Sermon 7 for the Feast of the Circumcision he implored Mary and Joseph not to offer Christ for circumcision so that his entire flesh could be preserved entire until the passion, whilst in Sermon 9 for Epiphany he spoke with the Magi about their expectations of a king when following the star, and the infant Christ they

[16] Indeed, Peter's letter of 1200x1210 noted that poor eyesight, associated with his old age, was forcing his retirement from preaching. This might be taken as an indication that he preached with his materials before him, but in the same sentence he also noted his 'faulty memory' (*memoria fatiscens*) which could suggest a failing ability to remember his material when preaching. See: Peter, Ep.42, *LL*, 194.
[17] Peter, Ep.29, PL 207, col.98: 'Nuper de archidiaconatus mei visitatione reddibam.'
[18] Southern, 'Peter of Blois'; Peter, Ep.157 in PL 207, cols.450-452.
[19] See above: 161.

would in fact find in Bethlehem.[20] These elements are amongst the distinctive features of Peter's preaching.

Peter evidently cared greatly about the performative nature of his preaching and its ability to move audiences. In his letter of 1200x1210, in which he explained why he was giving up preaching, he reflected gloomily on audiences who thought it was a waste of time to sit listening to a sermon.[21] Others listened but heard in Peter's pronouncements against sin personal attacks against them and mumbled about them amongst themselves whilst he preached.[22] Attentiveness, from two different angles, was Peter's point of reflection in his letter: audiences either did not listen to him or when they did they misconstrued his points. We might wonder, then, whether the performative nature of Peter's preaching was one way of holding the attention of his audiences.

Beyond preaching, Peter considered that the liturgy in general should have a powerful emotive impact. Writing to Pope Innocent III (d.1216) between 1198x1211 concerning the performance of the mass, Peter asked whether he would change the 'scholastic words' of the rite which inspired neither devotion nor contrition amongst onlookers.[23] It was remembrance of Christ's torments during his passion that Peter proposed as the solution: 'let them be [replaced] by affective words burning with the most devout affection such that man's whole interior melts into tears from remembrance of Christ's miseries and torments'.[24] The consumption of Christ's true body in the eucharistic species called for an appropriate 'refreshment' for the soul as well through the right words:

> That affection may burn within us, let us gather up like a bundle of myrrh Christ's innocence, patience, and the bitterness of his passion: in the perforation of his hands and feet, in the reproaches and rough-handling, in addition to the pain of his wounds. I request the words to be composed from these matters, by which we may journey from the altar of bronze to the altar of aromas and thence to the holiest of holies until we are invited

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[20] Peter, Sermon 7, 36-37 and Sermon 9, 46-47.
[21] Peter, Ep.42, *LL*, 195: 'Item a predicationis usu me retrahunt subsannatores verbi dei, qui totam partem diei que expensa est in sermone se omnino perdidisse reputant.'
[22] Ibid: 'Alii libenter intersunt predicationi: hii latitant in angulis et conciliabula sua ibi faciunt, omnia que in sermonibus contra vitia proponuntur de se specialiter dici credunt.'
[23] Peter, Ep.2, *LL*, 14: 'Verba scholastici, que nec multum sapida nec ad devotionem aut contritionis gratiam commotiva sunt, tardabit summus pontifex in melius reformare?'
[24] Ibid: 'verba ponerentur ignita et affectionis devotissime affectiva, ita quod totus homo interior ex recordatione miseriarum et cruciatuum Christi liquesceret in lacrimas…'

> by that mighty word of the canon "Do this in my commemoration" 'Oh how great is the multitude of thy sweetness, Lord, which you hid' [Psalm 30:20] from those who love you! We think sweetly of Christ in heaven, but more sweetly, for my part, of him upon the gibbet. He is more glorious to me with the Father and the Holy Spirit, but I am more grateful for him between thieves and murderers, who was pierced through his hands and feet and lanced in the side.[25]

Writing to the bishop of London Richard Fitzneal (d.1198), Peter returned to similar themes in arguing that the celebrant should imitate Christ and 'crucify himself upon the altar of his heart' and receive the sacrament 'not only in his mouth to redemption, but in his heart to imitation'.[26] Celebration of the mass was, of course, one thing, and preaching another. The sacrament was literally the body of Christ, and much of Peter's writing on imitation in his letter to Bishop Richard was to engender better clerical standards among celebrants, which he felt were lacking.[27] Yet when read against the sermons it does seem that Peter was deeply concerned with affective performance and language, and the power of both to move audiences. Indeed, in one of his Easter sermons, Peter reflected on the tale of Jacob hearing that his son Joseph was alive and in Egypt, which formed the day's reading.[28] He stated that whilst the tale moved some to tears, it had been told so many times over that it had become dull and lost its emotive impact.[29] Additionally he wrote that both he and his audience had heard so much about the Patriarchs over Lent that 'their ears were ringing' and keen to hear something new, whence Peter turned to

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[25] Ibid, 17: 'Ut ergo sancte devotionis affectio fervescat in nobis, innocentiam et patientiam Christi et amaritudinem passionis eius, in perforatione manuum et pedum, in opprobriis et contumeliis super vulnerum dolores adiunctis, quasi in mirre fasciculum colligamus: et ex hiis queso verba formentur quibus ad altare amoratum et ad sancta sanctorum ab altari eneo transeamus, et adhuc forte verbo illo canonis invitamur: 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem'. O quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tue domine, quam abscondisti diligentibus te! Dulciter equidem cogitamus Christum in celo, sed dulcius in patibulo. Gloriosior michi est cum patre et spiritu sancto, sed gratiosior michi inter latrones et homicidas, qui fossus pro me manus et pedes et in latere lanceatus.'

[26] Peter, Ep.123*,* PL 207, col.359.

[27] Ibid, cols.363-364 (After quoting Odilo of Cluny on reflecting on Christ's passion): 'Utinam modernorum sanctitas tanta esset, ut aemulandae virtutis exemplo nobis desiderabilem appetitum sacerdotalis gradus immitteret'.

[28] Peter, Sermon 20, 92; Genesis 45:26-28.

[29] Ibid: 'Multorum viscera saepe concussit et commovit ad lacrymas historia de Joseph: sed historia jam nimis trita est, et prae nimia vetustate multis versa est in taedium'.

preach on Christ's return from death as the 'new Joseph' because, as he explained, 'Jesus tastes sweeter to me than Joseph'.[30]

That Peter crafted his sermons in such a way as to heighten their emotional appeal, particularly with regards to preaching on the passion, seems evident. We also know that Peter did preach, from his letter of 1200x1210, but whether he preached the forty-six sermons of the collection is another matter. One tantalising piece of evidence is offered by the short prologue which Peter added to the final sermon of his collection, delivered '*ad populum*', which we discussed at the outset of this study.[31] As will be remembered, in the prologue Peter explained how he had translated the sermon he originally preached to the laity.[32] Peter also told his correspondent: 'Do not wonder if this exceeds the brevity of a daily sermon (*quotidiani sermonis*), because the dignity of Latin eloquence begs that ideas (*sensus*) which can be treated hastily in vulgar brevity be augmented for the sake of greater depth.'[33] Augment his sermon Peter certainly did: at some nine thousand words it far exceeds the one thousand to fifteen hundred word average of the collection. Since the other shorter sermons of the collection were written in Latin as well, it is clear that the language did not always require augmentation over brevity, and as such it could be asked whether the other sermons of the collection represent what Peter described as *quotidiani sermonis brevitas*.

It appears that Peter did himself preach in the vernacular, and apparently in English. Again, in his letter of 1200x1210 to Peter of Cornwall, he stated that 'although I am a Frenchman I am often required to speak to English people' and drew reference to Joseph speaking through an interpreter whilst he was in Egypt.[34] Peter's plight might not have been quite as bad as Joseph's: he had, after all, been in England for some thirty years, and it seems hard to believe he did not have a working grasp of the language. Rather, his real concern was that

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[30] Ibid: 'Unde et aures nostrae tinniunt: sed longe gratior est novitas quam vetustas. Accedat novus ut veterem redimat: novus Tobias ut veterem illuminet: novus Joseph, immo novus et omnia innovans Jesus, ut veterem Joseph de Aegypto educat. Dulcis mihi sapit Jesus, quam Joseph'.
[31] Above: Introduction, 23-26; Peter, Sermon 65, 298-336.
[32] Ibid, 298-299: 'Et quae laicis satis crude et insipide (Sicut eorum capacitatis erat) proposui, in Latinum sermonem studeam transferre'.
[33] Ibid: 'Nec mireris si quotidiani sermonis exceditur brevitas, quia ipsa poscit Latini eloquii dignitas, sensus quod vulgari sub brevitate transcurri, uberiori aliquatenus gratia cumulari'.
[34] Peter, Ep.42, *LL*, 195: 'Hoc etiam michi adhuc ad excusationem superest, quod cum sim francigena sepe loqui anglicis me oportet. Et Ioseph quidem in Egypto linguam quam non noverat audiebat, ideo quandoque per interpretem loquebatur'; Genesis 42:23. Peter also complained of the same issue concerning language to Bishop Odo of Paris (d.1208). See: Ep.80, *LL*, 337: 'Viginti sex annis in Anglia peregrinans, linguam quam non noveram audivi'. As noted above, this reference to a language 'which I do not know' must surely be rhetorical exaggeration for a man who had, as he states in the same line, been living in England for some twenty-six years.

he was not as proficient in the English language as he was in French or Latin: 'every man speaks more effectively in his native language than he does in a foreign one'.[35] Peter drew attention to 1 Corinthians 14:19 (misattributing it to Hebrews) – 'I would rather speak five words with my understanding than a thousand without understanding' – as pertaining to having his 'sense' not understood by his listeners.[36] It seems that Peter did preach in the vernacular, and in English, but that he was less comfortable doing so: understandable for a man who seems to have taken care in his choice of language and concerned himself with the impact of words and performance.

Narrowing down audiences for Peter's sermons is, then, a difficult task. Cotts noted that it was 'more than likely that Peter preached in Latin, and that his sermons were either composed for and delivered to clerics of his cathedral, or simply written down without ever being delivered'.[37] It seems that at least one of the sermons was a record of an actual preaching event, but as for the rest we cannot be so sure. We shall consider potential audiences in greater depth later in the chapter, however, when explicating Peter's imagery of the passion, the manuscript witnesses to his preaching, and the possible circumstances under which he wrote a number of sermons in the collection.

Peter's Sermons from Christmastide to Lent

Let us now turn to the sermons themselves, and Peter's imagery. The 'loveliness' in Christ's passion and cross, noted earlier, were first treated at length by Peter in Sermon 4, for the Feast of St Andrew.[38] Peter began the sermon by quoting one of the antiphons for Andrew's feast: 'O saving and precious cross, receive the disciple of Christ my master who hung upon you'.[39] The beginning of the piece has Peter discussing the lowliness of humanity and their inability to extricate themselves from their sins without Christ, whilst Andrew was inspired to rise above human lowliness out of love for Christ. The sermon is notable for the number of personal reflections and questions that Peter posed, perhaps to his audience, regarding the horror of Christ's cross and Andrew's ardent desire to die similarly. In one section, for instance, Peter reflected on Andrew's joy in embracing the instrument of his death, writing that 'it seems terrible and horrific to me to seek out and find pleasures in so horrible a yoke as the gibbet of the

[35] Peter, Ep.42, *LL*, 195: 'Omnis autem homo expeditius loquitur in lingua consueta quam insolita'.
[36] Ibid, 195-196: 'Ipse enim dicit 'Malo quinque verba cum sensu loqui quam mille sine sensu', ac si dicat 'Fructuosius michi est unam scire linguam et ea loqui intelligi quam scire plures linguas et eis loqui, meumque sensum ab auditoribus non agnosci'.
[37] Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 235.
[38] Peter, Sermon 4, 18-23.
[39] Ibid, 18: 'Salve crux pretiosa, suscipe discipulum ejus, qui pependit in te, magister meus Christus'.

cross.[40] In another section, Peter addressed the matter of Christ's fear during the history of the passion and the apparent contradiction with Andrew's fortitude and desire to embrace death:

> Christ was also afraid […] and he began to weary and be troubled all the way up to his death. Christ said "My soul is troubled" [John 12:27/Matthew 26:38] and "Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me" [Matthew 26:39]. Andrew cried out "Saving and splendid cross, I come to you secure and joyful: receive the disciple of Christ my master who hung upon you." Surely a disciple is not greater than their master, or a servant their lord? Pay attention, brothers, to the ineffable and inestimable abundance of sweetness, and the exuberance of love, that is in Christ. The physician suffered and became ill together with his patient; 'the hen' was made weak with 'the chicks' [Matthew 23:37] so that the offering could be whole, and the work of consummate mercy fulfilled in Christ. As he suffered for us in the flesh, so he wished to bear the passions of the soul. He felt fear for me, he was troubled for me, he tired for me, he suffered entirely and was entirely compassionate for me. He suffered by co-suffering, so that his fear might be turned into my fortitude, his sadness into my gladness, his tiredness into fervour, his desolation into my consolation, and his disquiet into rest.[41]

Here Peter reflected, perhaps echoing or anticipating questions from perceived or actual audience members, on the apparent difficulty presented by Andrew's brave and cheerful embrace of death when God himself could not. As we noted in Chapter 3, Geoffrey Babion also drew attention to the matter of Christ's fear in the history of the passion through reference to the

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[40] Ibid, 19: 'Mihi quidem misero et infirmo videtur terribile et horrendum in tam horribili furcarum, aut crucis patibulo quaerere, aut quaesitas invenire delicias'.

[41] Ibid, 21: 'Ipse etiam Christus timuit. Ecce plusquam Jonas hic: id est Christus qui coepit taedere et turbari usque ad mortem. Christus dicit: Anima mea turbata est. Et: Pater! si fieri possit transeat a me calix iste. Andreas clamat: Salve crux pretiosa! securus et gaudens ad te venio, suscipe Discipulum ejus qui pependit in te magister meus Christus. Nunquid magistro major est discipulus, aut domino servus? Attendite, fratres, ineffabilem et inaestimabilem abundantium suavitatis, et exuberantiam caritatis in Christo. Compatitur medicus et coinfirmatur infirmo: infirmatur gallina cum pullis: ut plenum fieret holocaustum, ut opus misericordiae consummatae impleretur in Christo: sicut patiebatur pro nobis in carne: sic animae passiones voluit sustinere. Mihi trepidat, mihi turbatur, mihi taedat, mihi toti patitur: et toti compatitur'; Matthew 23:37: 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldest not?'

same verses.[42] In Geoffrey's sermon, however, the matter was treated in shorter order than by Peter. There, it was the exemplary nature of Christ's fear and its conquest that was to be reflected on. As Geoffrey wrote: 'See how the head is afraid and teaches the members that it is no sin to be afraid, but nevertheless that fear is surmounted'.[43] Geoffrey sought to appeal to his audience's humanity in speaking of how natural and human fear was, but still moved quickly to emphasise how they were to aspire to the conquest of fear. The treatment of Christ's fear in Peter's sermon, however, was more extended and personal. In Peter's sermon, it was Christ's experience of fear for Peter, and presumably the individual audience members of the sermon, that was what saved them: 'he suffered by co-suffering, so that his fear might be turned into my fortitude'.[44] The repeated use of the first person – 'he did this for me' – was used to reinforce Peter's point. For him it was not about Christ's conquest of fear, but his feeling it, that was paramount. His treatment of this matter was devotional, tender, and personal, taking what would have been a likely question from his audience and having them instead reflect on Christ's 'inestimable abundance of sweetness' in experiencing fear and trepidation at his passion.

It seems quite possible that this particular sermon was keyed towards an audience of religious, perhaps even a monastic community, in the references to bearing Christ's cross with which Peter concluded the piece. 'If you love the crucified one, brothers', Peter wrote, 'then love the cross of Christ upon which you have fixed yourselves with the nails of humility and obedience'.[45] This might be taken as a reference to obedience under some common rule or vow. However, the audience need not necessarily have been monastic, as we saw with the clerical preaching on the passion espoused by Thomas Agnellus, and the *imitatio* he sought for the clerical community at Wells to aspire towards.[46] Furthermore, Bartholomew of Exeter also impressed a level of *imitatio* upon a mixed audience in one of his Good Friday sermons.[47] Fear, hope and love were reflected in the cross: they were, as Peter wrote, what made it '*amabilem*', and his audience were to bear it willingly and not under compulsion.[48] These were similar admonitions to the pronouncements in Geoffrey's sermons and his preaching on Simon of Cyrene.[49] But for Peter the cross, Christ, and their sweetness were dwelt upon in greater detail:

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[42] See above: Chapter Three, 106-107.
[43] Geoffrey Babion, Sermon 15, col.490: 'Ecce timet caput, et docet membra non esse peccatum timere: sed tamen timor superatur'.
[44] Peter, Sermon 4, 21.
[45] Ibid, 22: 'Si crucifixum diligitis fratres: diligite crucem Christi, cui vos clavis humilitatis et obedientiae affixistis'.
[46] See above: Chapter Five.
[47] See above: Chapter Four, 121.
[48] Peter, Sermon 4, 22.
[49] See above: Chapter Three, 91-93.

the images and actions were not intended merely to instruct but to move his audience. Indeed, as Peter concluded his sermon: 'the person whose heart is not rent in devotion and compassion at the memory of Christ's cross is harder than stone'.[50]

St Andrew's Day was an obvious occasion to dwell at length on Christ's cross, although Peter did give far greater attention to the *magister* and his passion than he did the *discipulus* whose feast was actually celebrated. This was typical of Peter: he took opportunities throughout the liturgical year to look forward to Passiontide through his exegesis and reflection. Thus, in Sermons 7 and 8, preached for the Feast of the Circumcision, Peter drew together the bloodshed of Christ's circumcision and crucifixion: 'from his very cradle and at his mother's breast he began to work out our salvation, tasting the first fruits of his passion'.[51] In the crucifixion 'he paid out the third sacrament of circumcision from his entire body, distended on the cross: then he was not just circumcised, but killed'.[52] Expressing himself through medical analogies, Peter described the Christian body and Christ at its head undergoing various 'incisions' for bloodletting:

> Due to the corruption of our entire body our head (Christ) was marked (*cauteriatum*) and did not refuse to bear the sign of circumcision. He who received this mark of difference instead turned it into a sign for the lancet. And just as he wished to be circumcised for us, so too did he decree to be whipped, crucified, and die for us.[53]

Such anticipation of the passion was heightened by Peter in Sermon 7 in which he adopted the first person, as we noted earlier, by imploring Mary and Joseph not to hand Christ over: 'I beseech (*quaeso*) you, who wish to circumcise your boy, to cease!'.[54] The general theme of the sermon was the importance of obedience and Christ's exemplary demonstration of that virtue, along with his fulfilment of the Law. These were staple themes of preaching on the Feast of the Circumcision, but the emphasis Peter placed on this as the first bloodshed by Christ, his

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[50] Peter, Sermon 4, 23: 'Unde plusquam lapideus est, cujus cor devotione et compassione non scinditur ad memoriam crucis Christi'.
[51] Peter, Sermon 7, 37: 'jam ab ipsis cunabulis negotium nostrae salutis incipiat ab uberibus Matris suae, degustans primitias passionis'.
[52] Peter, Sermon 8, 42: 'tandem sacramentum tertiae circumcisionis explevit toto corpore distensus in cruce: Jam non circumcisus tantummodo, sed occisus'.
[53] Peter, Sermon 7, 38: 'Sic ergo pro totius nostri corruptela caput nostrum hodie cauteriatum est, nec dedignatur signum accipere Circumcisionis: qui positus est in signum contradictionis, in signum ad sagittam. Et sicut pro nobis voluit circumcidi: sic pro nobis decrevit flagellari, crucifigi, et mori'.
[54] Ibid: 'Vos, quaeso, qui puerum vultis circumcidere, cessate a talibus…'

imagery of the crucifixion, and the quasi-devotional tone he adopted in his exclamations, all served to heighten the affective impact of the piece.

Peter's exegesis in the sermons was, indeed, 'cross-centred'. Preaching on Candlemas, for instance, he adopted a similar rhetorical strategy to that noted above, combining quasi-devotional sections with imagery that anticipated the passion. In the persona of Mary, Peter asked Simeon 'What do these offerings have to do with me or my son, who will himself be offered upon the altar of the cross to redeem everyone?'[55] After this, Peter then adopted the first person and spoke *to* Mary to urge her to hand Christ over:

> There will come a time when he is offered neither in the Temple nor Jerusalem, but beyond Jerusalem. There will come a time when he is not offered into the arms of Simeon, but into the arms of the cross. The day will come when he is not redeemed by birds like today but will himself redeem us with his blood. The latter will be the evening sacrifice, but today's is the morning sacrifice. Rejoice in the morning sacrifice, oh mother, because you shall weep in the evening one and its 'sword shall pierce your soul' [Luke 2:35].[56]

Peter evidently found the parallel between the arms of the cross and Simeon's meaningful, as he also used it in his other Candlemas sermon:

> Today he is offered in the temple from his mother's virginal hands, but he will be offered unto the cross by the sacrilegious hands of the Jews. Today he is received into the arms of the righteous Simeon, but it will be when he is received by the arms of the dreaded cross (*dirae crucis*) that his second presentation shall be made.[57]

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[55] Peter, Sermon 12, 57: 'Quid opus est mihi vel filio meo, his oblationibus, qui se oblaturus est in ara crucis ut redimat universos?'

[56] Ibid, 58: 'Erit quando non offeretur in templo, nec in Jerusalem, sed extra Jerusalem. Erit quando non offeretur inter brachia Simeonis, sed inter brachia crucis. Veniet dies, quando non redimetur avibus sicut hodie, sed ipse nos redimet in sanguine suo: […] Illud enim erit sacrificium vespertinum: istud est sacrificium matutinum. Gaudeas mater in sacrificio matutino, quia in vespertino dolebis, et tuam ipsius animam pertransabit gladius…'

[57] Peter, Sermon 11, 52: 'Hodie per manus maternas et virgineas offertur in templo: per manus Judaicas et sacrilegas offerendus in cruce. Hodie suscipiunt eum brachia Simeonis justi, erit quando suscipient eum brachia dirae crucis, et tunc erit secunda processio'.

Throughout the year Peter's audiences were inculcated with imagery concerning Christ and his cross. That Peter chose to place this emphasis was borne first out of the Cistercian spirituality that he so admired and imitated. Indeed, the derivative nature of Peter's spiritual writings, particularly his tract *De Amicitia Christiana* and its debt to Aelred of Rievaulx, have been noted by previous commentators.[58] These influences also permeated Peter's sermons, though his sources have not hitherto been identified. Thus, the first-person admonitions to Mary in his Candlemas sermon noted above mimicked one of Bernard of Clairvaux's Candlemas sermons, in which Bernard also listed the parallels between the two 'offerings' of Christ and the juxtaposition between the arms of Simeon and the arms of the cross (See Appendix Two).[59] Other sermons of Peter's were inspired by Bernard's *Sermones per Annum*, with Bernard's collection serving as a key source of inspiration in Peter's own sermonising (See Appendix Two).[60]

Significantly, Peter also drew from the sermons of Baldwin of Forde (See Appendix Two).[61] In Peter's Lenten Sermon 17 he drew extensively from Baldwin's Sermons 7 (*De Obedientia*) and 8 (*De Cruce*). Badwin wrote Sermon 7 during his abbacy at Forde c.1175-80, whilst it has been suggested that Sermon 8 on the cross was more specifically written to celebrate the transfer of Waltham Abbey to the Augustinians in 1177.[62] In Sermon 17 Peter drew from both of Baldwin's sermons and combined their points of emphasis, preaching an extended treatment of obedience modelled primarily around the image of the crucified Christ.[63] Thus, Peter began his own sermon with a discussion modelled around the opening of Baldwin's Sermon 7, demonstrating how the entire created order was obedient to God: the tides which rose and fell,

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[58] Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 8-9.

[59] Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 3, *SBO*, iv, 342-343: 'Veniet, quando non in templo offeretur, nec inter brachia Simeonis, sed extra civitatem inter brachia crucis. Veniet, quando non redimetur alieno, sed alios redimet sanguine proprio, quia redemptionem eum misit Deus Pater populo suo. Illud erit sacrificium vespertinum, istud est matutinum…'

[60] Compare, for instance, the beginning of Bernard's second sermon for Lent with Peter's Sermon 14 for Lent. Bernard, Sermon 2 in Quadragesima, *SBO*, iv, 359: 'Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in ieiunio, et fletu, et planctu, et scindite corda vestra et non vestimenta vestra' [Joel 2:12-13], ait Dominus omnipotens. Quid sibi vult, dilectissimi, quod praecepit Dominus, ut convertamur ad eum? Ubique enim est, omnia replet, et nihilominus complectitur universa. Qua me vertam, ut convertar ad te, Domine Deus meus? 'Si ascendero in caelum, tu illic es; si descendero in infernum, ades' [Psalm 138:8]. Quid iubes? Quo convertar ad te? Supra, an infra? Ad dexteram, an ad sinistram?'; Peter, *S14*, 64: 'Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in jejunio, et fletu: et scindite corda vestra, et non vestimenta vestra' [Joel 2:12-13]. Scit nos esse aversos a se, qui ad se converti nos admonet. Sed quo convertemur? quocunque me vertam, sive ad dexteram, sive ad sinistram, 'sive ascendam in coelum, sive descendam ad infernum'[Psalm 138:8], Domine, tu ubique es, qui omnia imples: sed converti praecipimur corde, non corpore'.

[61] Baldwin of Forde, *Opera: Sermones, De commendatione Fidei*, CCCM 99, ed. D.N. Bell. (Turnhout, 1991),

[62] Bell and Freeland, 'The Sermons on Obedience and the Cross'.

[63] Peter, Sermon 17, 75-80.

the tress which bore fruit, the winds and the rains.[64] His opening words followed Baldwin's, but departed from his by also introducing the obedience of Christ as well as creation in the first lines of his sermon: 'The highest one first declared how much obedience was owed to him in all things through the creatures he made, and later he himself, the creator of all, demonstrated it through his own actions.' (See Appendix Two).[65]

Peter, following Baldwin, explained the obedience of all creation except for humanity who spurned his commandment.[66] As such the rest of creation, obedient to God, punished humanity in consequence.[67] Having described this, Peter then departed from Baldwin's Sermon 7 in explaining how the son deigned to bear the price for humanity's disobedience.[68] Peter dwelt on the gravity of this price, and the bloody death by which Christ atoned, in extended detail, adopting the voice of Christ himself imploring the father to let him bear humanity's punishment:

> "If you [God the Father] wish for each and every person to suffer, my heart is prepared to suffer. If you want humanity to be scourged, behold, I am prepared to be scourged in their place! Woe to me!"
> Who is not frightened, and who does not tremble at the weight of our iniquity, the redemption of which demanded so high a price? Humanity's damnation was truly a horrid and incurable plague for the son of God to have to die. Oh how damnable was our iniquity, for which Christ shed his blood so many times! He shed his blood in his circumcision, he shed it when he was in agony and when his sweat was as drops of blood falling on the ground, he shed it when he was bound to the pillar and whipped, he shed it from his hands and feet fixed to the cross, he shed it from the many places his head was pierced by the thorns, and he shed it when he was stabbed by the lance. Truly, Christ shed his blood many times. And those who were born of blood, who had polluted the garment of their innocence, washed them in the blood of the lamb.[69]

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[64] Ibid, 75.
[65] Ibid: 'Quanta sit obedientie uirtus prius declarat Altissimus in universis quae ab eo create sunt. Postea in seipso, qui universitatis creator est.'
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid, 75-76.
[68] Ibid, 76.
[69] Ibid, 76: 'Si vis hominem quicquam pati: paratum est cor meum pati. Si vis hominem flagellari: Ecce pro eo in flagella paratus sum. Heu mihi! quis non timeat, quis non contremiscat, attendens pondus iniquitatis nostrae: cujus redemptio tantum pretium exigebat? Vere insanabilis plaga, et horrenda erat

Like Peter's earlier sermons, the blood which Christ shed not just upon the cross but throughout his life were all brought together to impress affectively upon his audience the gravity of Christ's sacrifice, and the extent of his obedience in suffering to bleed so much for humanity.

Through the remainder of Sermon 17 Peter dwelt upon both the horror and the power of the cross in contrasting images of victory and torment, modelled around a section from Baldwin's Sermon 8 (See Appendix Two). A 'tree' whose fruits were once 'horror, ignominy, and fear' instead, once Christ ascended it, brought forth 'peace, honour, happiness, life and glory', and what once served as the punishment for thieves was now borne upon the foreheads of kings, emperors, and popes.[70] It was not necessarily the cross as a model of obedience, in the sense of crucifying members through abstinence, fasting, and vigils as we saw in the sermons of Geoffrey Babion, that Peter sought to impress upon his audience. Rather, it was affective consideration of Christ's suffering that Peter considered important in instilling obedience to God: obedience borne out of gratitude and love. This was among the sermons in which he proclaimed that it was Christ's passion 'above all else' that made him *amabilem*, and he impressed upon his audience that there was nothing the passion of Christ could not heal.[71] As he explained, the cross was the rod of Moses 'which brought forth waters from the rock: it is the cross which draws penitential tears from a heart of stone'.[72]

The greatest testament to Christ's obedience, and the affective highpoint of Sermon 17, was Peter's treatment of the cries made by the crowd in the passion that Christ descend from the cross and prove himself to be the son of God.[73] Adopting the questioning tone that he did in his sermon for St Andrew, Peter asked:

> What should Christ do in between the tears of his mother and those of his disciples weeping and sighing? [What should he do] amidst the insults of those reproaching him saying "He can save others but cannot save himself.

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hominis damnatio, pro qua oportebat Filium Dei mori. O quam damnabilis erat iniquitas nostra, pro qua Christus toties sanguinem suum fundit? Fudit in Circumcisione: fudit quando in agonia factus est, quando sudor ejus erat quasi guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram: fudit, quando ligatus ad stipitem dorsum posuit ad flagella: fudit pedibus et manibus Cruci affixus: fudit spinis in capite multipliciter punctus: fudit et lancea perforatus. Christus equidem ideo sanguinem suum multipliciter fudit: ut hi qui de sanguinibus nati erant, qui stolam innocentiae peccato polluerant, lavarent stolas suas in sanguine agni'.

[70] Ibid, 77-78.

[71] Ibid, 78-79.

[72] Ibid, 79: 'haec est quae aquas de Petra eduxit: quae de corde lapideo poenitentiales lacrymas effluere facit…'

[73] Matthew 27:40: 'And saying: Vah, thou that destroyest the temple of God, and in three days dost rebuild it: save thy own self: if thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross'

> If he is the son of God, let him now descend from the cross and we will believe him" [Matthew 27:42] ?[74]

This would perhaps have been a question about which the audience sought clarity, as with the sermon for St Andrew. Why could Christ not show himself to be the son of God, either to confound those who doubted him or to respond to the very human emotions of his weeping mother at the foot of the cross or his disciples amongst the crowd? Peter's answer was, of course, that Christ was obedient unto death, forgiving the reproaches, not acquiescing to Peter's denial, and remaining to die on the cross.[75] The impact of this was again heightened through Peter's adoption of the first person in the following cries made to Christ on the cross:

> Oh Lord, how great you are to forgive them! The Jews cry out "Crucify him!" but you cry out "Forgive them!". Oh 'how great is the multitude of your sweetness, Lord!' [Psalm 30:20]. Oh, how assured is your mercy for us, Lord! Oh, good Jesus, Oh kindly Jesus, Oh lovely Jesus, Oh desirable Jesus, Oh sweet Jesus, Oh pleasant Jesus, Oh God is love (*amor*), Oh God is charity! (*caritas*).[76]

The exclamative cries to the 'sweet' and 'lovely' Jesus upon the cross, were they ever performed before a crowd, testify to the emphasis that Peter placed on the ability of liturgy and performance to move people, and particularly the reimagining of Christ's torments on the cross to be able to elicit his aim.

Peter, then, was a keen imitator of some of the Cistercian forms of spirituality that had developed over the course of the twelfth century and saw in the sermons of Baldwin and Bernard models from which to draw inspiration in his own preaching. Peter, though, in drawing from his source material, moulded it to his own points of emphasis. Thus, he produced a heightened emphasis on obedience to the cross in his Sermon 17 for Lent, combining material

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[74] Peter, Sermon 17, 79: 'Sed quid faciet Christus inter lacrymas matris suae, et discipulorum dolentium et suspirantium: inter opprobria exprobrantium et dicentium: Alios salvos fecit, seipsum non potest salvum facere: Si Filius Dei est, descendat nunc de cruce, et credimus ei?'

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid: 'O quam multus es ad ignoscendum, Domine. Judaei clamant crucifige, tu clamas ignosce. O quam magna est multitudo dulcedinis tuae, Domine. O quam confirmata est super nos misericordia tua Domine! O bone Jesu, O benigne, O amabilis, O desiderabilis, O suavis, O dulcis, O amor Deus, O caritas Deus!' See also, Peter, *De Charitate Dei et Proximi*, in PL 207, Ch.17, col.913; *De Hierosolymitana Peregrinatione*, col.1058; and Ep.45, *LL*, 208 for use of the same salutations to Jesus. This section from Sermon 17 was likely drawn from Bernard's *Sermo in Feria IV Hebdomadae Sanctae* due to the similarity of the language with Peter's sermon. See Appendix Two.

from Baldwin's two sermons. He departed from Baldwin, however, in emphasising in great detail the 'many times' (*toties*) that Christ shed his blood for humanity, linking back to his cross-centred preaching for Candlemas and the Feast for the Circumcision: the sufferings of the passion were drawn out by Peter across the liturgical year, with Christ tasting their 'first fruits' in his infancy.[77] Indeed, as Peter claimed in his Sermon 12, Christ's human sufferings of thirst and hunger, and those of the nails and lance of the crucifixion, all proceeded from his birth.[78]

Another feature of Peter's sermonising was his anticipation of questions, or his adoption of an inquisitive tone. Thus, he tackled the apparent difficulty presented by Christ's fear and Andrew's fortitude regarding both of their passions. This section of Peter's work, again, drew substantially from Bernard's own sermon on St Andrew in which he preached on the ailing physician-Christ and his presentation as a sick mother hen, along with the discussion of the cross carried in fear, hope and love (See Appendix Two). But the questioning of the apparent difficulty presented by Christ's fear was handled differently by Peter, with some of the depth to Bernard's writing stripped back. Peter tackled the difficulty directly, phrasing the question in simple terms by telling his audience that it surely could not be the case that a disciple was greater than their master, or a servant their lord.[79] The question was asked and answered in the space of some two hundred words, before Peter then turned to proclaim the glories of the cross from Old Testament figures: 'What is the cross except the watchtower of Sion, the tower of David?'[80] Bernard, however, treated the subject at length in some first person addresses to both Christ and his audience, asking whether it would have been better if Christ had stood fearless before his death, but reaching the conclusion that it was greater that he suffered by way of '*affectio cordis*' in addition to '*passio corporis*', with his fear strengthening people, his sadness turning them to joy, and his weariness filling them with zeal.[81] It will be remembered that these antithetical pairings were mimicked by Peter, following Bernard's sermon, but without the preceding questions to Christ.[82] Additionally, Bernard dwelt at length on Luke 22:43 and the angel that came to

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[77] See above: 170.
[78] Peter, Sermon 12, pp.59-60: 'Quia enim Christus sitivit, quod esuriit, quod opprobria, quod clavos, quod lanceam, quod mortem in cruce sustinuit: haec omnia procedunt de nativitate ipsius: haec omnia sunt hujus misericordiae accessio et sequela'.
[79] See above: 168.
[80] Peter, Sermon 4, 21: 'Quid est enim crux, nisi specula Sion, turris David…'
[81] Bernard, Sermon 1 in Natali S. Andreae in *SBO*, v, 431: Quid magnum fuerat, Domine Iesu, si, accedente hora propter quam veneras, intrepidus stares, tamquam qui potestatem habebas ponendi animam tuam, et nemo tollebat eam a te? Aut non longe gloriosius fuit, quando quidem totum propter nos agebatur, ut non modo passio corporis, sed etiam cordis affectio pro nobis faciat, et quos vivificat mors tua, tua nihilominus et trepidatio robustos, et maestitia laetos, et taedium alacres, et turbatio quietos faciat, et desolatio consolatos?'
[82] See above: 168.

strengthen Christ during his agony in the Garden, and the necessity of that strengthening aid.[83] This feature, again, is absent from Peter's work. The question posed by Peter, then, was answered in short order, drawing great inspiration from Bernard's preaching but honing the material down. Perhaps some of the extended points of exegesis in Bernard's works were left from Peter's own sermon out of consideration for his audience. But before going further towards identifying this audience, let us first turn to Peter's Passiontide sermons.

Peter's Sermons for Passiontide

In his Passiontide preaching, Peter further developed his points of emphasis from the preceding feast days of the year. In his Maundy Thursday sermon, for instance, Peter gave voice to some of his opinions regarding the mass which he expressed in both his letters to Innocent III and Richard Fitzneal noted earlier.[84] This was natural, with the penitential season of Lent concluded and the faithful preparing themselves for confession and reception of the Eucharist. Christ's death upon the cross was to be held in their minds as they prepared themselves. Peter had already impressed this message in his preceding sermons, and especially over Lent in Sermon 17 and his repeated notices that it was memory of Christ's passion that brought forth 'penitential tears'. Peter impressed upon the audience of his Maundy Thursday Sermon 18 how they were to look through the exterior kernel of the sacrament to the truth within it, and were to deny 'the eye of human reason' by 'gouging it out' it and following the Holy Spirit in simplicity of faith.[85] If they did not receive the sacrament accordingly, with devotion and reverence, then, Peter claimed, 'they render Christ's passion void and mock the entire working-out of our redemption'.[86]

It was in Sermon 19, however, that Peter gave another extended devotional treatment to Christ's torments upon the cross.[87] In the edition by Giles the sermon is marked out for Maundy Thursday, but it seems possible that the piece was actually intended for Holy Saturday. In British Library MS. Arundel 322, one of the two surviving copies of Peter's sermons, the text is marked 'In uigilia pasche'.[88] Peter began his sermon with the words of Lamentations 4:20: 'The breath of

[83] Luke 22:43: 'And there appeared to him an angel from heaven, strengthening him. And being in agony, he prayed the longer'.
[84] Peter, Sermon 18, 81-85.
[85] Ibid, 83-84.
[86] Ibid, 84: 'Passionem Christi evacuant, totumque negotium nostrae redemptionis irrident…'
[87] Peter, Sermon 19, 85-91.
[88] London British Library MS. Arundel 322, f.31v.

our mouth, Christ the Lord, is taken into our sins: we shall live under thy shadow'.[89] In the first part of the sermon, after noting Old Testament figures of Christ's passion, Peter posited the figure of Christ hanging from the cross and speaking to both him and the audience.[90] In doing so Peter changed the words of Jeremiah 4:18 – 'Thy ways and thy devices have brought these things upon thee' – to stress, in the first person of Christ '*in cruce pendens*', that those devices have brought these things upon 'me'.[91] It might be possible that such a rhetorical strategy was taken, having Christ 'reproach' the audience, to speak to the previous day's framing liturgy, with the Good Friday *improperia*. Peter had Christ speak directly to the audience of the sermon in telling them, in spite of his reproach levelled from the cross, what he would do to save them: 'I shall expose my back to the burden [presumably of carrying the cross?] and the flagellations'.[92]

Again, Peter then adopted a first-person voice in speaking as 'unredeemed man' (*homo non redemptus*) who asked what God had done for him in answer to the reproach, after which he explained to the audience how, with Christ's passion, such ingratitude was now impossible:

> Every trace of ingratitude was wiped away from humanity. Created and unredeemed man said: "Why should I serve my creator? What has he done for me? If he created me, then he also created the oxen and the asses, along with all the rest. What has he done for me? He spoke, and I came into being".
> Now you can no longer say these things, you wicked slave! For you he bore plotters in deeds, and insults in words. He bore the spit, the whips, and the lance, and at length he bore the death of the cross. Now the mouth that speaks [those] iniquities is shut up: the Lord could not have more effectively shown the arguments of love. "Greater love than this", he saith, "no man hath, that a man may lay down his life for his friends" [John 15:13].[93]

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[89] Lamentations 4:20: 'Res. The breath of our mouth, Christ the Lord, is taken in our sins: to whom we said: Under thy shadow we shall live among the Gentiles'. Peter changed the verse from 'thy shadow' to 'his shadow'. Peter, Sermon 19, 85.
[90] Peter, Sermon 19, 85-86.
[91] Ibid, 86: 'Et in cruce pendens poterat dicere homini: Viae tuae et iniquitates tuae fecerunt haec mihi: ut jumentum factus sum apud te'.
[92] Ibid: 'Ponam dorsum ad onera et flegalla'.
[93] Ibid: 'Ablata est ab homine omnis materia ingratitudinis. Dicebat homo creatus et non redemptus: Quare serviam creatori meo? Quid pro me fecit? Se me creavit, creavit boves et asinos, et caetera universa. Quod pro me fecit? Dixit et factus sum. Jam non potes haec dicere, serve nequam. Sustinuit enim pro te insidiatores in factis: exprobratores in verbis: sputa, flagella, lanceam: et ad ultimum mortem

The approach taken by Peter here, as elsewhere in the collection, was to place before the audience two antithetical images. One was Christ who spoke from the cross, knew humanity had brought about his pain, and still offered to suffer on their behalf. The other image was of 'unredeemed man', who was completely ungrateful prior to the passion. The ingratitude was transformed and made 'an impossibility', in Peter's words, due to Christ's sufferings and love. What was emphasised to the audience, and affectively heightened through the first person voices that Peter adopted, was Christ's freely-borne sufferings and how reflection upon them made ingratitude impossible. Indeed, in this sermon Peter again voiced his opinion that 'Above all things, Jesus Christ, your crucifixion makes you lovely to us'.[94] The first-person voice of 'unredeemed man' was perhaps adopted to speak *as* some sinful audience member, preparing to do penance for their sins and receive the sacrament, who might not have been truly contrite of heart. As Peter noted elsewhere, it was memory of Christ's passion that drew forth penitential tears from hearts of stone.[95]

It was necessary that Christ suffer throughout his entire body, Peter emphasised, in order to redeem humanity entirely *(totus homo*), and the only form of death that could suffice was crucifixion. By this form of death Christ suffered in his hands and feet through the nails, his head by the crown of thorns, and his side when he was pierced with the lance.[96] The Christian gloried upon the cross of Christ, and it was to be 'held firmly' within their memory.[97] Peter's intention was firstly to answer questions about why the cross was necessary to bring about redemption. As we have seen in the work of other preachers who dwelt on the *genus mortis* Christ underwent, the general answer was that it provided a model of Christian life, like the exemplary image preached in the works of Geoffrey Babion or the idea that Christ had to conquer the five senses and suffer throughout his entire body. The greater part of Peter's aim, however, as elsewhere, was to move the hearts of audience members in addition to providing them with a didactic image. This is particularly apparent when Peter turned once again to the cries from the crowd that Christ descend from his cross, which he had treated in his earlier Lenten Sermon 17. In this second treatment of the subject, Peter began by laying the charge for Christ's death with

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crucis. Jam obstructum est os loquentium iniqua: nec certiora potuit Dominus argumenta ostendere caritatis. 'Majorem', inquit, 'caritatem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis' [John 15:13].

[94] Ibid, 87: 'Super omnia te nobis amabilem facit, Jesu Christe, crucifixio tua'.

[95] Peter, Sermon 4, 23; Sermon 17, 79.

[96] Ibid: 'Si ad negotium nostrae redemptionis aliud mortis genus elegisset, minus sufficiens videbatur. Hic totus homo redimitur, dolet caput spinis spissum, dolent manus clavis infixae, dolet latus in ligno dure extensusm et lancea perforatum, dolent tibiae, dolent pedes…'

[97] Ibid: 'Et quid tam pium, tam salubre, tam memoriae infigendum sicut crucifixio Christi?'

the Jews in some particularly heightened and hateful language: 'The cruellest Jewish murderers, in fact, that I may speak plainly, God-killers (*deicidiae*), who threw Christ the Lord into sacrilegious hands, were not content with their wickedness that they afflict the Lord on the gibbet of the cross unless he was tormented with insults and assailed with reproaches'.[98] Peter's aside of 'that I might speak plainly' (*ut loquar expressius*) would seem to preserve some comment made during live preaching, as it reads almost as an afterthought, were it not for the fact that a very similar expression is found amongst Bernard's sermons; evidence once again of the influence that Peter drew from the abbot of Clairvaux's sermons.[99]

As with Sermon 17, Peter again drew the audience's notice to Christ's difficulty in seeing his mother weeping, pierced by the sword of Simeon to his right, and his beloved disciple to the left of him, along with Simon Peter's denial and suggestions that it was perhaps better Christ descend from the cross instead of remaining there and showing that he could die.[100] Christ was again addressed in the first person by Peter of Blois: 'You, good Jesus, did not give in to Peter's request'.[101] Christ could not demonstrate his obedience unless he offered himself all the way up to death, and his love would not be aptly demonstrated: 'If you place down your cross before your soul, where then is the love which you preached: "Greater love than this no man hath"? [John 15:13].[102]

Baldwin of Forde and the Hackington Dispute: A Suggestion on the Dating and Purposes of Peter's Sermons

To return again to the date at which Peter wrote his sermons, we noted in the introduction to this chapter that they were composed in the latter stage of his career, after 1184 and perhaps into the 1190s. There are no references within the sermons themselves to external events that help us to place them more accurately, with the letters also providing us with only an approximate view. Having now identified some of Peter's sources, however, it may be possible to date the sermons, or at least some of them, to a more specific period in his life.

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98 Ibid, 89: 'Judaei crudelissimi homicidiae, immo, ut loquar expressius, deicidiae, qui in Christum Dominum manus sacrilegas injecerunt: non sunt ea conteti malitia, ut affligant Dominum in patibulo crucis, nisi contumeliis affligatur, et saturetur opprobriis'. It might also be asked whether this accusation was also included due to speak to the Good Friday liturgy of the preceding day, since the day's liturgy would have included readings from the Gospel of John and prayers to the Jews.
99 For use of the same phrase by Bernard (along with further parallels), see: *SBO*, v, 61
100 Ibid.
101 Ibid: 'Sed et tu, bone Jesu, non acquiescas consilio Petri.'
102 Ibid, 90: 'Si prius deponis crucem quam animam, ubi est caritas quam praedicasti? Majorem hac nemo habet etc'.

It would appear the circulation of Baldwin of Forde's sermons on obedience and the cross was fairly modest, with David Bell having based his editions on two manuscript witnesses for Sermon 7 (*De obedientia*) and only one for Sermon 8 (*De sancta cruce*).[103] In 1180 Gerald of Wales paid a visit to Baldwin, whilst the latter was still bishop of Worcester, at his episcopal palace at Blockley, and there heard Sermon 8 read aloud.[104] It would be reasonable to think that Baldwin took his writings with him from Worcester to Canterbury upon his elevation to the archbishopric in 1184, and indeed a later Canterbury catalogue listed his '*sermones*' amongst other works held at the cathedral, although it did not specify which ones.[105] The note, however, that they were 'from the time of Baldwin' (*de tempore Baldewini*) suggests they were manuscripts contemporary with the archbishop himself.

Peter, then, working in the Canterbury Curia, would have been able to access the two sermons, were they among the *sermones* listed in the catalogue, but also could have obtained them through his friendship with Baldwin: the latter having been his tutor during Peter's days in Bologna studying law. Manuscripts containing Bernard's sermons do not appear in the Christchurch catalogues explicitly until 1524.[106] The abbot of Clairvaux's works were widely circulated however, unlike Baldwin's, so Peter's access to them may have derived from another source, or perhaps he possessed his own copies. The works by Baldwin are the more specific and help us to perhaps place Peter in the orbit of Canterbury when he wrote his own sermons and drew from Baldwin's.

A potential stimulus to Peter's writing of the sermons, and the use that he made of Baldwin's work, may possibly have been the aftermath of the dispute between the monks of Christchurch and Baldwin over the archbishop's attempt to construct a clerical college at Hackington.[107] As we noted earlier, Peter spent the better part of a year between 1187 and 1188 arguing Baldwin's case against the monks of Christchurch at the Papal Curia, during which he was soundly beaten by the monks' lawyer Pillius. Peter later wrote a letter to the monks of Canterbury in which he expressed his extreme repentance for his involvement and opposition to them.[108] He claimed that he had been cheated by King Henry, and so too had Archbishop Baldwin, whom the king 'always sought to hold in relentless strifes', and in explaining himself he

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[103] Bell (ed.), *Sermones,* xii-xiii.
[104] Bell and Freeland, 'The Sermons on Obedience and the Cross', 271-272.
[105] *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, ed. M.R. James (Cambridge, 1903), No.302, 50: 'Epistole de Tempore Baldewini. *In hoc uol. cont.:* Penitenciale Magdalene. Sermones quidam.'
[106] Ibid, No.75, 167 and No.217, 170.
[107] Barnaby, *Religious Conflict*, esp.85-122.
[108] *Epistolae Cantuarienses: the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, from AD 1187 to AD 1199*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS (London, 1865), Bk.2, Epp. 355, 335.

begged the forgiveness of the monks and professed his obedience to them and that they would 'never find him their enemy'.[109] In the letter to Canterbury, the sincerity of which we may well question, Peter expressed an element of frustration with Baldwin, albeit the greater blame lay with King Henry who served as the malign influence on Baldwin and the Hackington affair. In the dossier of letters collected by the monks of Canterbury, Peter's apology was inserted amongst material dating to May 1191.

In another letter, however, written between 1192x1205, Peter presented a markedly different account of the quarrel with the monks.[110] In this letter Peter valorised Baldwin 'of glorious memory', and demonised the objections of the monks to his church:

> The archbishop, who was of the most commendable religion and, furthermore, was preeminent in his holiness, dignity, and wisdom amongst the other pillars of the Cistercian Order, constructed a secular church which certain monks, from an agitation of the soul called – secularly enough – a 'brothel of Venus' and a 'synagogue of Satan'. Their poisonous voice whipped up whoever heard it, even though the church was in fact dedicated to the holy martyrs Stephen and Thomas: the former the first martyr, and the latter the martyred primate.[111]

Peter went on to laud the holiness that Baldwin displayed throughout his life, and his abandoning the archdeaconry of Exeter and its temptations to join the Cistercian 'soldiery' (*militiae*) at Forde. He also described how it was Baldwin's aim to stamp out moral abuses amongst the brothers at Christchurch, and how he sought to resolve the issues within the cloister through both 'his words and his deeds'.[112] In the final parts of his letter, Peter threw the

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[109] Ibid: 'Rex Henricus, qui semper voluit Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum graves et inexorabiles discordias at continuas habere sollicitudines, ut sic semper eum haberet humiliatum et obnoxium sibi, compulit et coegit me pro ipso contra vos, immo Deum, et contra me, octo mensibus, in expensis meis et in continuo vitae periculo, in Romana curia laborare […] Promitto autem et testificor ante Deum, et in eo qui spes et vita mea est, quod vobis aut ecclesiae vestrae aut honori vestro adversarium non videbit me homo et vivet.' The letter is also included in amongst Peter's letters in PL 207, but without the promise that the monks would never find him their enemy. See: Peter, Ep.233 in PL 207, cols.534-535.

[110] Peter, Ep.10, *LL*, 52-62.

[111] Ibid, 53: 'Movet vos quod archiepiscopus, qui approbatissime religionis erat et inter ceteras columnas Cisterciensis ordinis sanctitate, dignitate, et sapientia preminebat, ecclesiam secularium, quam quidam monachi prostibulum Veneris et synagogam Sathane vocant, satis seculariter, quadam perturbatione animi construebat. Et quicquid vos funesta succenseat, ecclesia tamen est sanctorum martyrum Stephani et Thome, martyris primi martyrisque primatis.'

[112] Ibid, 53-54.

construction of the secular college into a broader perspective, stressing that archbishops Becket and Anselm had pursued similar designs and that Baldwin, as such, should not be demonised.[113] It may have been at this moment, in the aftermath of Baldwin's death, freshly returned from the Holy Land, and reflecting on and praising his Cistercian piety and his 'words and deeds' that Peter turned to Baldwin's sermons and drew upon them in writing his own. But with this said, whilst the aftermath of the Hackington affair and Baldwin's death prompted Peter to draw from his sermons, we might ask more generally what encouraged him to write them.

We noted earlier in the chapter that for most of the time Peter held the archidiaconate of Bath he had employed a deputy, spending the greater part of his time at Canterbury in the household of archbishops Richard and Baldwin. A letter Peter wrote to this deputy survives, in which he reminded him of the standards he expected him to meet.[114] His *vicarius* was to bear in mind that his virtuous life was to serve as a model for the laity, and that before he 'taught' with his words he should ensure his deeds matched them.[115] From the letter it would seem that preaching formed part of the responsibilities incumbent on Peter's deputy in Somerset. In what Southern described as Peter's 'decade of failure and doubt' between 1184-94 his old pupil and friend Reginald fitz Jocelin was elected archbishop of Canterbury, in November 1191, but died only a month later. A long vacancy resulted, at the end of which Hubert Walter (d.1205) ascended the archbishop's throne in December 1193. Peter did not obtain quite the same prominence in Hubert's household as he had previously enjoyed under Richard and Baldwin, with Southern positing that during this period he may have had to consider returning to Bath to perform his duties as archdeacon in person. Indeed, during this period Peter also wrote a letter to his bishop Savaric (d.1205) imploring him not to leave the diocese of Bath; perhaps in reference to Savaric's absence negotiating King Richard's (d.1199) ransom.[116] Peter reminded his bishop of his responsibilities as a 'vicar of saint Peter', and described how both the clergy and laity lamented the absence of their 'pastor'.[117] Perhaps Peter also lamented the fact that, with the bishop gone and his position in Canterbury less secure, he would have to attend to diocesan matters in person as the *oculus episcopi*. As such, it could be that Peter turned to writing sermons in anticipation of having to preach them himself in a potential return to his archdeaconry. We

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[113] Ibid, 56-58.
[114] Peter, Ep.157 in PL 207, cols.450-452.
[115] Ibid, cols.451-452: 'Si vis alios regere et docere, prius te ipsum regas et doceas: *Coepit Jesus facere et docere*, [Acts 1:1], prius fac et postea doce. Male doces, si male agens bene loqueris; fortior est enim vox operis, quam vox oris.'
[116] F. Ramsey, 'Savaric (d.1205)', in *ODNB*. Accessed 27/08/24: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24732
[117] Peter, Ep.148, in PL 207, cols.436-439.

know that he later preached as archdeacon of London, as he explained in his letter to Peter of Cornwall, and that he preached to less learned audiences, as the preface to his Sermon 65 indicates.[118]

Alternatively, it could be that the sermons were written for preaching within the episcopal household at Canterbury. Although in a less prominent position than he had hitherto enjoyed, Peter was still a part of the bishop's retinue and continued to serve Archbishop Hubert. In this capacity he also preached the occasional sermon, as Gerald of Wales recorded in an amusing anecdote.[119] It might be that our archdeacon turned to the works of Bernard and Baldwin in the time between Reginald's death and Hubert's succession to the archbishopric; the nearly two years between December 1191 and November 1193. He was moved to write by Baldwin's passing and further motivated, perhaps, by a possible return to Somerset prompted by his less secure position in Canterbury and Bishop Savaric's absence.

That Peter's sermons may well have served his archidiaconal preaching, and the attendant responsibilities to humbler audiences he explained in the letter to his vicar, is suggested by British Library MS. Arundel 322.[120] This manuscript, which quite possibly dates to Peter's own lifetime on a palaeographical basis, suggests his sermons were valued by a practically-minded user. The manuscript is a small pocket-sized volume (see Figs.12-13), which would have been suitable for carrying around. Before the text of Peter's sermons, which comprises the majority of Arundel 322, a letter by Jerome to the priest Paulinus about the scriptures was inserted.[121] In this letter, Jerome explained to Paulinus the responsibilities of the Christian teacher, the necessary 'guides' in the interpretation of scripture, and the presumption of those who sought to teach its secrets without learning how to first: 'the garrulous old woman, the senseless old man, and the verbose fool all presume to butcher [the scriptures] and then teach their lessons to others before learning how to themselves.'[122] Jerome's letter seems to have been carefully chosen as a preface

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[118] See above: 166.
[119] Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 175.
[120] The provenance of this manuscript has not been determined. It was acquired during the sixteenth century by Henry Savile of Banke (d.1617), who in turn acquired it from one John Nettleton. The Nettletons, based in Yorkshire, had acquired a great deal of manuscripts from the region's dissolved monasteries, including volumes from the Cistercian abbeys of Rievaulx and Fountains. This could leave the possibility that Arundel 322, given its Cistercian inflections, had found its way to the north of England before the close of the Middle Ages. See; A.G. Watson, *Medieval Manuscipts in Post-Medieval England* (Abingdon, 2004), IX, 1-91.
[121] Jerome, Ep.53 in *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymii epistulae*, ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna, 1910), 3 Vols, i, 442-465.
[122] Ibid, 453: 'hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc soloecista uerbosus, hanc uniuersi praesumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant.'

for the book of sermons, providing a 'seal of approval' to Peter's interpretation of the scriptures and a reminder of the responsibilities incumbent on the Christian preacher.

At the back of the volume, in a different hand but one still contemporaneous with the main book hand, one finds a collection diagrammatic distinctions of various words. (see Figs.11-12).[123] The diagrammatic notes are all simplistic, and perhaps served either as aids for writing sermons or points of reference for anticipated questions asked of the manuscript's user. For instance, the note-maker wrote the following explanation of the word *infernus* (Hell): '*Infernus* is so called either from the word *infra* (below), because the things which are below are grave; *inferendo* (carrying), because the souls of the wicked are carried there; or *inferiore* (farthest down), because it is located in the heart of the earth.'[124] Other explanations included the words *iustum*, *iugum*, *peccata*, along with notes outlining the reasons for penance and sinning.[125] The notes would seem, perhaps, to have been intended to serve a person catechising those of more modest understanding, which in turn could suggest that Peter's sermons might have served this purpose. This can only remain a speculative suggestion, however, but would correlate with what Peter himself related of his own preaching, with his notes that he preached *ad populum* and, in turn, the suggestion that they might well relate to anticipated archidiaconal obligations he saw looming from Canterbury between 1191 and 1193.

Conclusion – Prospects of Judgment and the Fears of a Secular Cleric

Peter's sermons, then, were deeply imbued with an ardent devotion towards the crucified Christ. He sought to impress upon his audiences the salvific effects of reflection upon him. Before their suffering saviour and such an expression of love, ingratitude was simply impossible. Among the sources Peter drew from in writing his sermons and preaching on the passion were, as the following discussion has shown, Bernard of Clairvaux's liturgical sermons in addition to the sermons of Baldwin of Forde. Peter's admiration for the Cistercian order and their spirituality has of course been noted before, often in a pejorative sense, as derivative, and his use of Bernard and Baldwin's sermons speaks to this broader trend.[126] But as we have noted over the preceding pages, Peter was not simply repeating his Cistercian source material but reconstituting it, reworking it, and pursuing his own lines of emphasis. As Cotts has rightly drawn attention to, the

[123] London British Library MS. Arundel 322, ff.123v-124v.
[124] Ibid, f.123v: Infernus dicitur uel ab: Infra quia infra sunt grauia sunt / Inferendo quia anime malorum ibi inferentur / Inferiore quia in corde terre.'
[125] Ibid, ff.123v-124v.
[126] Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 216.

fact that Peter took an interest in such matters at all given his position is significant. He was, after all, a secular cleric, an archdeacon.

Archdeacons, and secular clerics in general, were the butt of quite a few jokes of the twelfth century that poked fun at the perceived corruption within their ranks, their abuse of rights to hospitality, and their extortion, as opposed to care, for the laity under their charge.[127] Indeed, John of Salisbury (d.1180) quipped that archdeacons were a race of men for whom salvation was impossible, whilst earlier in the century Gilbert of Sempringham's (d.1189) hagiographer described how Gilbert had refused an offer to become an archdeacon since he 'knew of no more apt or handy path to ruin'.[128] We might here remember Peter's spat with the abbot of Wallingford over hospitality, though we do not know who was in the wrong. We can, however, guess reasonably confidently whom contemporaries would have blamed. Peter, as a man deeply embroiled in worldly affairs, was no doubt aware of such mutterings and jokes. He struggled with his place between church and court and sought to highlight how it was best for clergy not to meddle in secular affairs, though he himself continued to play his part within them.[129] To Peter, then, preaching in such affective terms to the crucified Christ; calling out the sweet name of Jesus in pious exclamations; and studding his sermons throughout the year with affective foreshadowing of Christ's bloody death were not what might have been expected of such a character. Those who 'muttered in corners', whom he described in his letter to Peter of Cornwall noted earlier, may also have murmured about the affective substance of Peter's preaching in his archidiaconal garb.

In the first instance, however, no matter what the barbs of his contemporaries may have been, the emphases that Peter placed in his sermons seem to have been borne of his own personal piety towards the crucified Christ; a piety that increased in his old age and, as Cotts noted, was accompanied by his increased reflections on his life and the potential danger his worldly career posed to his soul.[130] At the time Peter wrote the sermons, which seems to have possibly been after 1191, he would have been in his sixties, and it was during this period that he began to write the rest of what might be termed his 'spiritual' works including his tract on

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127 See: Thomas, *Secular Clergy*, 148-150. Also P.J.A. Jones, *Laughter and Power in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 2019), Ch.3, esp.99-100.

128 John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury, Volume 2: The Later Letters, (1163-1180)*, OMT, eds. and trans. W.J. Millor and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1979), Ep.140, 24-25; *The Book of St Gilbert*, OMT, eds. and trans. R. Foreville and G. Keir. (Oxford, 1987), Ch.8, 29.

129 For instance, in his poem *Quod Amicus Suggerit* a courtier and cleric discuss the merits of their relative positions, reflecting Peter's own life, with the conclusion – despite a compelling case from the courtier that would win over the secular-minded – that staying away from courtly service was best for the soul. See Thomas, *Secular Clergy*, 117.

130 Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 217-218.

friendship noted earlier along with other pieces on penance, confession, and eucharistic theology.[131]

During the later part of this period, sometime between 1200x11, we find Peter writing to the monks of Cirencester asking them to pray for him and suggesting the form of prayer he wanted them to use when doing so.[132] Emphasis on prayer to Christ which referred to the sufferings of his passion featured prominently in Peter's request:

> Let the form of your petition be as follows: "I beseech you Jesus Christ, that by that love which you held out to the human race among the torments of death, and among the insults and reproaches of the Jewish people, you free the soul of Peter of Blois from every hidden diabolical temptation"
> […]
> "You have seen my imperfection, and what I had not of mine you paid from yours: surely the covenant of human redemption shall not be rendered void, which was sanctified with the balsam of your precious blood? It was written upon the skin of your crucified body, and on your right-hand side (pieced by the lance's wound) it was ratified as if marked with a seal, the contract of human redemption and the covenant of your mercy".[133]

In another of Peter's later letters, tackling five theological questions of the day, he answered those who questioned the 'merit' of martyrdom, in that if merit stemmed from freely bearing persecution, since violence was done *to* the martyrs then it rendered their martyrdom ineffective.[134] As Peter wrote when turning to Christ's own passion:

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131 Ibid, 214-262.
132 Peter, Ep.45, *LL*, 203-209.
133 Ibid, 207-208: 'Sit ergo forma petitionis vestre: 'Obsecro te Iesu Christe, ut in ea caritate quam habebas erga genus humanum inter angustias mortis, inter opprobria et contumelias Iudaice gentes, liberes animam Petri Blesensis ab omni surreptione diabolice temptationis […] Vidisti imperfectum meum, et quod non habebam de meo solvisti de tuo. Numquid fiet irritum testamentum redemptionis humane, quod pretiosi sanguinis tui balsamo sanctificatum est? Scriptum est in membrana tui corporis crucifixi, atque in latere tuo dextro plaga lancee tamquam sigilli impressione signatum, fedus reconciliationis humane et tue misericordie testamentum'.
134 Peter, Ep.28, *LL*, 128-135.

> What is more efficacious to salvation than that the God of glory and Lord of majesty, the splendour and figure of the substance of God the Father, was held on the post between two thieves and utterly damned murderers, with his hands held out wide to the faithful as if among the saints, and invited sweet embraces? Was there ever a love so fated to man, a pity so freely given, a regard [for man] so astounding, an affection of love so necessary…?
>
> […]
>
> The nails are piercing his hands and feet, with the hammers striking down from above and driving them through the skin and all the way into the cross. They disrupt the flesh, the tendons, his veins and arteries, and his bones and cartilage along with every joint in his hands and feet. There was no suffering like his (*Non erat dolor sicut dolor illius*).[135]

For Peter it was the saving effects of Christ's painful death, both on the grand stage of human salvation as well as with regards to the personal fate of his soul, that loomed large. Thus, the monks of Cirencester were urged to pray for him through reference to Christ who had 'seen his imperfection' and had the terms of human salvation scourged into his skin. But it was also a general emphasis on those sufferings that were to be impressed upon his fellow Christians, as Peter made clear in his letter above in which he dwelt in minute detail on the distension to Christ's body through all the tendons, bones, and cartilage caused by the nails hammered into his hands and feet.

As was noted in the introduction to this chapter, Peter emphasised how important reflection on Christ's sufferings were in the celebration of the Mass, with the *verba scholastici*, in his view, being insufficient to move the hearts of those in the audience. Additionally, as was noted in his letter to the bishop of London, he argued that the celebrant had a moral responsibility to 'crucify themselves' in the rite. Indeed, Peter himself was inducted into the priesthood before 1199.[136]

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[135] Ibid, 130-131: 'Quid efficacius ad salutem quam quod deus glorie et dominus maiestatis, splendor et figura substantie dei patris, stabat stipiti affixus inter duos latrones et dampnatissimos homicidas, extensis manibus usque fideles quasi inter sanctos, et dulcissimos invitabat amplexus? […] In manibus enim eius et pedibus clavorum transfixio malleis desuper ferientibus et adigentibus usque ad interiora crucis cutem corporis, carnem, nervos, venas et arterias, ossa et cartilagines, omnemque compagem pedum et manuum dirumpebant. Non erat dolor, sicut dolor illius'.

[136] Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 233, n.68.

It appears that Peter's thoughts concerning the purpose of the liturgy to move those both celebrating and witnessing it influenced his sermons and the emphases that he placed on the crucified Christ and the affective reflections that permeated his collection. Peter was aware of the issues that preachers faced; an inability to retain the focus of their audiences, or attacks from those in the audience who felt that his pronouncements were unfairly prejudiced. It may be that the affective emphases that Peter placed in his sermons, and his repeated notices of how memory of the passion should be borne in mind, the salvific effects of that memory, its ability to rend hearts of stone to floods of tears, and his graphic descriptions of Christ's torments – which were heightened through his devotional addresses – were a way of quelling some of those attacks by particular audience members.

The spirituality of the Cistercians, and the sermons of Bernard and Baldwin in particular, provided Peter with a wealth of material from which to draw inspiration in communicating these emphases. But he also adapted the material for his own purposes, stripping back some of the more meditative and extended reflection found in their preaching and presenting his own work more directly. A sense of urgency and anxiety concerning the fate of Peter's soul permeated the works written during the later period of his career, peppered with allusions to the crucified Christ and his sufferings. Naturally, it seems, in writing his sermons Peter sought to exhort his audiences with the same imagery that roused his own soul.

Conclusion

This study has highlighted, in the first instance, the fact that bishops and archdeacons actively engaged with the devotional and soteriological developments of the period – both broad and local – in their sermonising, and that we need to pay further attention to their texts in exploring the way these developments were felt and communicated. Though 'episcopal' preaching has remained largely unaddressed in treatments of the period's devotional changes, this study has argued that our authors bear witness to dynamic engagement with them. Their sermons were not just derivative pastiches of inherited commentary, anchored stiflingly to inherited models and the prescriptions of an overarching liturgy. We might here cast our minds back to Peter of Blois's comment in his Sermon 20 that both he and his listeners' 'ears were ringing' from the prescribed texts read customarily over Lent, and that his own focus on Christ's return from death was borne from a desire to strike out upon a new course.[1] Though not articulated by our other authors as explicitly, the preceding chapters have demonstrated the level of independence and originality in their sermonising on the passion. Ivo of Chartres thus addressed contemporary concerns with the issue of contrition and how it was to be provoked within penitents through imagery of Christ's passion; Herbert approached the difficult task of presenting death, suffering, and obedience as vitality, agency, and conquest; whilst Thomas Agnellus explored the nature of *imitatio Christi* and its limits, stressing God's consideration for 'capacity' and pushing this argument to breaking point in his treatise on the Young King.

Sermon collections could, of course, be repetitive and unoriginal in their return to familiar themes and the desire by preachers to inculcate moral expectations and expound accepted dogma. However, in the preceding discussions we have appreciated their literary qualities and the importance that authors attached to the 'means' as well as the 'message' in their sermonising on the passion. We should consider that these texts were, as noted in the Introduction, in many cases 'supra catechetical', and therefore the care taken with certain imagery and the 'quasi-artistic' quality displayed by some of the sermons may be closely aligned with the diocesan contexts in which they were written as well as, more importantly, received.[2] Whilst Geoffrey Babion and Bartholomew of Exeter were both concerned with pedagogy and the clarity of their preaching, their sermons also went beyond what might have been expected as the minimum requirements of a lay audience member given Geoffrey's various motifs drawn from across the passion narratives and Bartholomew's, albeit conservative, extractions from Anselm

[1] See above: Chapter Six, 165-166.
[2] See above: Introduction, 12.

and Hugh of St Victor. Some of the care which has been observed in this sermonising can be explained, perhaps, by the 'event' of episcopal or diocesan preaching, compared to what might have been required at the parish level, encouraging the creation and presentation of more sophisticated sermons and imagery. Indeed, with regards to some of the contexts we have discussed, the mendicants of the thirteenth century would have found the ground well-tilled when arriving to preach their own sermons on the passion in cathedral towns.

With this general trend noted, another important contribution made by this study has been to impress the need for sensitivity towards the local contexts in which sermons were written and preached in the twelfth century, as well as the whims individual preachers in as far as they can be established. This concern for the local on the part of our preachers carried across the entire period which we have addressed, but the extent of this locality and individuality has been underappreciated. Some of the reason for this lies with a focus in scholarship upon sources like the *artes praedicandi* that began to appear at the turn of the thirteenth century, or earlier treatments of preaching by thinkers like Augustine and Gregory the Great. This is not to undervalue the importance of work on these sources, which has assessed changing attitudes to preaching theory as well as helped in bridging the gap between written sermons and their performance. But some of the generalisations inherent in *artes praedicandi*, like preaching the virtues and vices and holding out the binary images of Heaven and Hell, risk homogenising the work of individual authors. Thus, the points of emphasis that Thomas Agnellus employed in preaching the passion were related not just to the revitalisation of clerical life at Wells but his other literary work on the Young King in which he espoused similar themes of 'spiritual martyrdom' and 'capacity'. Many of Geoffrey Babion's lines of exegesis in preaching the passion may have been borne out of concern for the precarious and sensitive context in which he was delivering his sermons. Herbert's emperor-Christ of the passion stemmed from a sensitivity to the cultural baggage of his immediate audiences of monks recruited from the knightly classes of East Anglia and lay members of that class who patronised his new community at Norwich. Peter of Blois, whilst possessing a general and ardent devotion towards the suffering Christ that grew ever more intense during the latter years of his life, seems to have turned to the sermons of Baldwin and Bernard at a specific moment in time: cognizant of a possible return to his archdeaconry and reflecting whimsically on the late archbishop. In this regard, this study has further demonstrated the plurality and locality in twelfth-century religious experience by stressing the disparate treatment of a subject as culturally central as the passion of Christ, even in sources where we might have expected a greater degree of homogeneity.[3] Only by undertaking some of the work

[3] See the conclusions reached by Springer, 'Local Religious Life', 267-277.

'at the coalface' by reading the entire collections and identifying the shaping influences of a local context or the sources upon which a given preacher drew can their divergent treatments of the passion, and their sermon collections as a whole, be fully understood.

In stressing the importance of local context and the sensibilities of a given preacher, it is perhaps ironic that another result of this study has been a certain blurring in the distinctions historians of the twelfth century have drawn between various 'orders' clerical and secular, and the texts these groups produced.[4] The latter half of the study demonstrated this most fully in discussing the sermons of Bartholomew, Thomas, and Peter. Peter's admiration for the Cistercians has long been noted with regards to his other works like *De Amicitia*, through which he imitated Aelred of Rievaulx. But his sermons may not have been another literary enterprise undertaken to satisfy Peter's devotional impulses alone. In identifying and commenting on his use of Bernard and Baldwin's sermons – sermons that were originally composed for 'internal' use by the two Cistercian abbots instructing their brothers in the cloister – in sermons which, we suggested, may have been intended for Peter's preaching in his office as archdeacon, the boundaries between the work of monk and secular cleric, and their respective types of sermons, becomes blurred. In this regard we can also reflect on the ideas expressed by Thomas Agnellus. His imagery of the 'banquet' of sufferings, his employment of the Christ-document metaphor, his references to Christ's pains in the passion as models of obedience, and the 'corporate expression' of devotion by the community at Wells in imitating their crucified 'precentor' have the ring of a monastic kind of piety. Bartholomew's use of Anselm's theological works and the *Orationes sive Meditationes* in his own sermonising also serves to remind us that despite the barbs and objections of seculars like Walter Map and Gerald of Wales, the engagement with and use of monastic models or imagery in supporting the offices of preaching carried out by the secular clergy was more widespread than some of the partisan literature of the age would suggest.[5] Furthermore, the sermons written in more 'secular' contexts could also influence those produced by monks. In a recent translation of the 'Reading-Cluny Collection' of sermons by Aelred of Rievaulx, his translators drew attention to the Cistercian abbot's use of Geoffrey Babion's

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[4] See: C.W. Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula Montana, 1979); Thomas, *The Secular Clergy*, 343-364; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 662-678. We might also think about the disparate treatments of sermons written by monks and canons, with the separate contributions of Zier (sermons of schoolmasters and canons) and Muessig (the monastic sermon) in Kienzle's *The Sermon*, which serve to posit a sense of separation between the two approaches to sermon-writing and preaching.
[5] Indeed, though not discussed in Chapter Four (being extraneous to our key interests) another source used by Bartholomew of Exeter was Bernard of Clairvaux's *De Praecepto et Dispensatione* in his Sermon 45 for Palm Sunday. In discussing obedience, given Palm Sunday exegesis on Christ's departure from Bethany (the 'house of obedience'), Bartholomew used Bernard's text to discuss obedience to one's 'prelates', whilst Bernard's text was concerned with the obedience owed to one's abbot. See: Bartholomew, Sermon 45, f.33ra. Bartholomew extracts from chapters two and nine of *De Praecepto*.

sermons in five of his own.[6] Future work could look to explore the kinship between various collections of twelfth century sermons; an enterprise at present confined largely to the introductions of editions and their scholarly apparatus.

Another concern of this study was to assess chronological developments in the way that the passion was treated in sermonising, and how this might inform our conception of the 'affective shift'. It is possible to see the 'shift' reflected in the sermons of these six authors between c.1090-c.1210, but perhaps only if we strain our eyes. For instance, the martial characterisation of Christ's passion by Herbert, which was drawn from a more ancient well of imagery, stands at one end of this period, whilst the ardent engagement with the suffering Christ in Peter's preaching lies at the other. The sermons of Geoffrey and Bartholomew could be seen to lie somewhere in the middle: evidencing engagement with the image of the suffering Christ and the devotional currents of the period, but not the more enthusiastic adoption of Peter nor the reticence of Herbert. This is also worth noting with regards not only to the nature of the passion imagery a preacher presented, but the frequency with which it intruded in their sermons. To borrow from the title of Bestul's work, these collections were not 'texts of the passion'; they were not compiled with the imagery of Christ's crucifixion and sufferings as their central concern in the way that Latin narratives of the passion or prayer collections were. In a collection like Bartholomew's, for instance, his imagery of the passion and the atonement must be regarded as just one aspect of his preaching which drew from a larger repertoire of images and authorities. Indeed, as we noted, his engagement with the image of the passion was somewhat muted compared to, for instance, Peter of Blois. For Peter, at almost every opportunity he could he turned his exegesis towards the image of the suffering Christ from Advent right the way through the course of the liturgical year, such that we might well regard his sermons as 'texts of the passion' in a way that we cannot regard Bartholomew's. Thomas Agnellus, too, consistently utilised the image of the suffering Christ and repeated the same points of exegesis in multiple sermons, demonstrating that imagery of the suffering saviour served as a natural and preferred means through which to achieve the objectives of his preaching.

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[6] M. Lange and M.L. Dutton, 'Introduction' to Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Liturgical Sermons: The Reading Cluny Collection I, Sermons 85-133*, trans. D. Griggs (Collegeville, Minnesota), xxvii-xxxiv. Interestingly, when reflecting back on Chapter Four and Bartholomew of Exeter, it has also been shown that Aelred quoted large portions from Hugh of St Victor's *De Sacramentis*. See: Lange and Dutton, 'Introduction', xxvi. These observations follow the findings of Gaetano Raciti, who discovered and named the 'Reading-Cluny' collection and edited it for the CCCM series. See: G. Raciti, 'Deux collections de sermons de saint Aelred - une centaine d'inédits - découvertes dans les fonds de Cluny et de Clairvaux', *Collectanea Cisterciansia*, 45 (1983): 165-184. Of course, if we are to explore such borrowings from Geoffrey further, it would be interesting to consider whether Aelred knew that the sermons were Geoffrey's, since in some manuscripts his work travelled under the names of other authors like Augustine.

However, we can only stress these chronological developments so far. First, we have to account for the accidents of survival in any generalisation we may seek to apply to sermon collections and the imagery preachers penned. We know that bishops like the Benedictine Gundulf of Rochester preached, as we noted in reference to his *Vita* in the Introduction, but his sermons have not survived unlike his contemporary Herbert.[7] We can well imagine that the tenor of Gundulf's sermonising, and his imagery of the passion, would contrast markedly with that of Herbert and his warrior-Christ, throwing into starker relief the influence of the local upon Herbert's preaching. We must therefore be aware of the sermons which have not survived, the circumstances which affected those that have, and the potential for distortion posed by these factors if generalisations are pushed too far.

Furthermore, even when interpreting the sermons which have survived, the evidence does not easily constellate into clear patterns. The two authors with the greatest concern for matters of interiority regarding the image of the crucified Christ lie at opposite ends of the century, with Peter's sermons composed at the turn of the thirteenth and Ivo's Sermon 6 written around the turn of the twelfth. Ivo stressed the 'softening', 'melting', and 'mellowing' effects of the cross on hardened hearts; lines of emphasis that Peter also pursued in his own sermons, in which he stressed how it was memory of Christ's passion that drew tears from hearts of stone, albeit the emphasis on sufferings in Peter's work was more pronounced than Ivo's. Additionally, using Herbert, Geoffrey, and Bartholomew as points in a chronological development presents its own set of problems. Herbert, importantly, had his intellectual formation at Fécamp under Abbot John – one of the period's most significant devotional writers – and yet the image of the suffering Christ that figured so prominently in the devotions of Fécamp did not register in his own preaching. The 'cultural conditions' for the uptake and expression of the suffering image of Christ were present, given Herbert's time at Fécamp and later fondness for and desire to implement the customs of his *alma mater*, but local conditions were the key factor in his articulation of a decidedly different set of images and concerns. The affective 'shift' thus did not always move in one direction, even with authors or contexts in which we might have expected an internalisation of certain imagery. The identification of Bartholomew's sources in Chapter Four also serves to highlight this point. The bishop had before him the theological and devotional works of Anselm and used them in his sermons, but his use reads neither as enthusiastic adoption nor outright rejection.

Of course, having made these observations on the 'direction of travel', we may consider whether a collection of sermons like Herbert Losinga's could still have been written towards the

[7] See above: Introduction, 29-30.

close of the twelfth century. Indeed, it could be said that the need to 'reframe' Christ's redemptive work to de-emphasise his sufferings was less pronounced by the century's end. The reformed orders of monks had proliferated over the course of the century, and their writings spread. The visual image of the suffering saviour was found ever more in both public and private places of worship. That Herbert's audience of Benedictine monks had to be roused with a more militant image of Christ, whilst Thomas Agnellus could choose to exhort his audience of secular clerics through imagery of Christ's sufferings towards the century's end, would seem to attest to some chronological development. Yet even in making this observation we must again exercise caution. Was Thomas repeatedly emphasising the sufferings of the passion and impressing a level of *imitatio* upon his clerical audience because these points of emphasis had become more instinctive by the time he was writing or were they, on the contrary, deliberately pursued to support reforming impulses at Wells because they were associated with 'novel' emphases on *imitatio*, imagery of suffering, and devotional metaphor? The arguments forwarded in Chapter Five would suggest the latter. As such, this question of the relative 'normalisation' or 'establishment' of particular imagery of the passion in sermonising over the course of the century requires further treatment of additional authors, the reconstruction of the contexts in which they wrote, and comparisons between their work and those of other preachers during the same period.

It is hoped this study will stimulate further research on twelfth-century sermon collections. As has been demonstrated, through close readings of the collections and their imagery, and identification of the sources upon which preachers drew, there is much to be discovered within them. These discoveries are pertinent not only to further our understanding of the period's devotional changes, but also in addressing broader questions regarding order and identity, deference to authority and the desire for originality, the gaps between performance and written document, and the powerful influence of the local.

Appendix One: Manuscript Contexts for Ivo of Chartres's *Sermon 6* and Geoffrey Babion's Sermons

Introduction

The sermons written by Ivo of Chartres and Geoffrey Babion were amongst the most widely circulated of the twelfth century. As noted at the outset of this study, their respective collections number in the hundreds of surviving manuscripts. Schneyer listed some two hundred manuscripts containing Geoffrey's sermons in his *Repertorium*, whilst I am currently aware of one hundred and twenty manuscripts containing Ivo's work ranging from the complete collection to single sermons.[8] The true number of surviving manuscripts for each author must be considerably higher. As such a general survey of the surviving manuscripts would be impractical to undertake here due to the sheer quantity of material. Therefore, the sample of manuscripts has been limited to those with a definite or possible 'episcopal' or 'cathedral' provenance, having either been owned by bishops, written at and for cathedral communities, or containing evidence that they may have been intended for use by a bishop. Whilst the foregoing chapters have analysed the sermonising of the bishops and archdeacons themselves, here the pervasive influence of Ivo and Geoffrey will be discussed through a survey of several manuscripts to explore how their writings were received and used by others. The manuscripts surveyed are only those that contain the sermons by Ivo and Geoffrey on the passion discussed in Chapters One and Three, with the first part of this appendix treating manuscripts containing Ivo's Sermon 6.

Some Provenanced Manuscripts Containing Ivo's Sermon 6

Ivo's sermon collection began to circulate from an early point. Indeed, Ivo appears to have circulated some of the sermons himself, if we take the *opuscula* noted in his letter to the abbot of Cluny to refer to his sermons.[9] An especially early manuscript of Ivo's sermons is London British Library Royal MS 6 B VI. The manuscript was at Rochester Cathedral before 1124, when it was included in a book list written into the *Textus Roffensis* under the direction of Bishop Ernulf

[8] Schneyer, *Repertorium E-H*, 157-159. There are over 120 surviving manuscripts containing Ivo's sermons, from complete sets to single attributions, from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is largely taken from a list generously shared by Martin Brett, with additional manuscripts I have identified in the course of this research. The evidence surveyed is confined largely to England, France, and Germany. The true number of surviving sermons will be considerably higher.
[9] See above: Chapter One, 34-35.

(d.1124).[10] The early date of this manuscript is most likely attributable to the fact that Ivo and Ernulf knew one another, with Ernulf having echoed Ivo's juridical ideas in his tract *De Incestiis Coniugiis*.[11] Perhaps Ernulf also sought and received Ivo's *opuscula* like Abbot Pontius, although we do not have testimony from Ivo's correspondence to confirm this. The manuscript contains sermons 1-8 by Ivo along with his letters, in addition to works by Ambrose of Milan and Bruno of Asti on the sacraments.[12] Ivo's works are described under the heading of 'sermo', although the layout of the book suggests the texts were not preached but rather that the manuscript was intended for reading and reference. The book is a deluxe product, written in a beautifully neat book hand with historiated initials and the liberal use of red, green, purple and blue ink.

The organisation of material from Ambrose and Ivo's contemporary Bruno of Asti suggest that whoever commissioned the manuscript wanted a reference work with a particular theme: the 'sacraments', perhaps better termed 'mysteries' in this period before their systematisation in Peter Lombard's (d.1160) *Sentences*. It also appears the compiler sought to collate particular 'episcopal' treatments on the Christian mysteries. Bruno of Asti's *De Sacramentis Ecclesiae, Mysteriis atque Ecclesiasticis Ritibus* concerned 'mysteries' and rituals that were pertinent to a bishop: the consecration of churches, the blessing of chrism oil, the meaning of the ashes marked on the heads of penitents in Lent, and the rite of confirmation.[13] The latter half of Bruno's treatise, moreover, discussed episcopal vestments in particular and what they signified.[14] The likely focus of Bruno's work stemmed from its patron Bishop Walter of Maguelone (d.1129), who apparently first conceived of the idea for the treatise whilst he and Bruno sat and read through Exodus together.[15] Ambrose's own *De Sacramentis*, whilst not as narrowly and 'episcopally' focussed as Bruno's work, was the product of a famous bishop of Milan. Ivo's own sermons 1-8 thus fitted well with the other material contained in the Rochester book. His own Sermon 6, as suggested in Chapter One, revolved around the sacrament of penance and the

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[10] M.P. Richards, *Texts and their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory* (Philadelphia, 1988); R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Norman England (c.1066-1130)*, 115.

[11] On the connection between the two, see: P. Cramer, 'Ernulf of Rochester and Early Anglo-Norman Canon Law', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40, No.4 (October 1989): 483-510.

[12] Ambrose of Milan, *De Sacramentis* in PL 16 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1845), cols.409-462. Bruno of Asti, *De Sacramentis Ecclesiae, Mysteriis atque Ecclesiasticis Ritibus*, in PL 165, cols.1089-1110.

[13] Bruno, *De Sacramentis*, cols.1091-1103.

[14] Ibid, cols.1103-1110. For further work on clerical clothing in the Early and High Middle Ages, see: M.C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c.800-1200* (Ithaca, 2014).

[15] Bruno, *De Sacramentis*, cols.1089-1091: 'Dilectissimo fratri GALTERIO, Magalonensi episcopo, Bruno Signiensis episcopus, salutem. Cum Romae quondam in Insula in domo episcopi Portuensis simul essemus; cumque in libro Exodi de tabernaculo testimonii, et de vestibus Aaron, typica quaedam, et magni mysterii significativa legeremus, coepisti mirari tu, coepi mirari et ego, quod aliqua illis similia adhuc in Ecclesia fieri videamus, cum jam vetera transierint, et facta sint omnia nova. Multa enim fiunt in ecclesiarum dedicationibus, multa et in aliis Ecclesiae sacramentis, quae non minus quam illa, sub umbra, et figura fieri videntur. Petisti igitur a me, ut sicut illa exposueram, ita et ista exponere tentarem.'

paramount importance of contrition, whilst the other sermons in the 1-8 grouping were, as noted, concerned above all with the 'mysteries' of the church. The group were focussed on the signification of the 'sacraments', sacramentals, church hierarchy, priestly vestments, rituals, and biblical concordances. The inclusion of Ivo's letters in the Rochester manuscript complemented the sacramental and episcopal focus of the book, showing the workings of a bishop in his own pastorate.

Whilst it cannot be said for certain that this book was commissioned for Bishop Ernulf himself, the internal focus of its contents, the care taken in its production, its inclusion in the book list commissioned by Ernulf, and the relationship between him and Ivo would indicate he had a hand in its production. The evidence from the manuscript suggests that, in this context, Sermon 6 was read as a reference work alongside Ivo's other sermons on the mysteries in addition to Ambrose and Bruno's treatises.

Another manuscript from an English cathedral provenance is Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Bodl.160, written at Canterbury Cathedral in the early twelfth century.[16] It contains Bede's (d.735) *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* and *Nomina Regionum atque Locorum de Actibus Apostolorum* followed by Ivo's sermon-tracts 1-7, with number seven breaking off part way through. In the Canterbury manuscript, sermons 1-4 were titled as 'tracts' (*tractatus*), whilst Sermon 5 on the concordances between the Law and the Gospel was titled 'sermo'.[17] Sermon 6 was not distinctly separated as a text in its own right in the manuscript but instead blends into the preceding text of Sermon 5.[18] Only an illuminated capital 'C' indicates the beginning of the work.[19] The preceding Sermon 5 was sub-divided throughout by the Canterbury illuminators with various coloured initials in purple, blue, and red, and thus Sermon 6 reads almost as another subdivision. Additionally, the text of Sermon 7, in which Ivo contrasted the advent of Christ with his return at the Endtime, was also not distinguished by the Canterbury scribes as a separate text but marked merely with an illuminated initial 'Q'.[20] The reading experience from the Canterbury manuscript, as a result of these decisions, presents sermons 5-7 as an extended treatment, albeit subdivided, with the concordances of the Old and New testament outlined first, followed by Christ's incarnation and passion in Sermon 6, and fulfilled with the contrast of his two advents in Sermon 7. Unlike the Rochester book, MS.Bodl.160 cannot be firmly associated with a bishop or single figure at Canterbury any more than it can the common monastic library. Indeed, the

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16 Gameson, *Manuscripts*, 129.
17 Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Bodl.160, f.70v: 'ITEM EIUSDEM SERMO QUALITER VETERA SACRAMENTA CONVENIANT NOVIS'.
18 Ivo, Sermon 5, cols.535-562.
19 Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Bodl.160, f.86r.
20 Ibid, f.88v; Ivo, Sermon 7, cols.567-568.

organisation of the Ivonian material might suggest the book was created more to be read than preached, with the combination of sermons 5-7 perhaps borne out of a desire for contemplative and extended study.

Similar issues of interpretation confront us with a manuscript written most likely at Durham Cathedral Priory around the same period, now divided into three separate parts between the Bodleian Library and Jesus College Cambridge (See Figs.1-2).[21] A small and portable book measuring 22 x 12.7cm, the manuscript contains Ivo's sermons 1-20, fifty-four of his letters, and his canon law *Prologue* in addition to several patristic texts.[22] The 'Ivonian' focus of material in the manuscript is clear, with the sermons, canon law *Prologue*, and portion of the letters having been brought together in a single volume. In a list of contents written onto folio 1v Sermon 6 was described as 'Sermo De Incarnatione Verbi', followed by sermons 7-20 each marked similarly as 'sermo', whilst another contemporary list on folio 1r described the work as 'sermo de cruce' (See Fig.2).[23] We could ask whether these descriptions meant the texts were intended to be preached, but firm evidence one way or another does not admit itself easily. Perhaps in the scribe's mind, they were intended, or he perceived them to have been, for such use.

There are only a few markings and notes in the manuscript that indicate how it might have been used at Durham. Against the text of Ivo's Sermon 5 on the concordances between the Old and New Testaments are several notes that pertained especially to a person in priestly orders, or with an interest in 'sacerdotal' matters. The notes were made in the margins of the text, with corresponding headings then included in the contents list on folio 1v to aid reference to them: 'What the body of Christ signifies, in three ways'; 'Why the *agnus dei* is said three times'; 'Why *ite missa est* is said at the conclusion of mass'.[24] Another entry on the flyleaf list corresponding to part of Sermon 5 reads: 'On the mystical works and prayers of priests'.[25]

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[21] The manuscripts in question are Jesus College Cambridge MSS.Q.G.4 and Q.G.5 and Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.52. A contents list with the items in the three respective manuscripts was written in a contemporary hand onto the flyleaf of Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.52, ff.1v-2r; f.1r. In the library catalogue of the 'Durham Cantor's Book', Durham Cathedral Library MS B IV 24, f.1r, there is an entry for 'duo paria decretorum ivonis' and 'epistolae ivonis'. Perhaps this is a reference to this manuscript, which contains the *Decretum* prologue and Ivo's letters. The book list was written around the middle of the twelfth century. On dating, see: Gameson, *Manuscripts*, 66.

[22] The prologue is marked as a 'tract without a title' in James's catalogue. See: M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1895), 82.

[23] Above, n.15.

[24] Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Laud.Misc.52, ff.39v-40r.

[25] Ibid: 'De misticis orationibus uel operationibus sacerdotum'. This likely corresponds to a marginal annotation on folio 35v, which reads 'Qualiter'. The remainder of the text has been lost because of post-medieval trimming to the manuscript edges, perhaps for the purposes of rebinding (the three respective manuscripts were divided and bound within the leaves of a twelfth or thirteenth-century psalter).

Perhaps the manuscript was written with a 'sacerdotal audience' in mind; monks at Durham who may also have been ordained, or their abbot-bishop charged with oversight for the care of souls in the diocese. As with the Canterbury manuscript, however, narrowing a definite audience or purpose is difficult.

The manuscript now held at Merton College Oxford, MS.241, as noted in Chapter Four, contains Ivo's Sermon 6 interspersed with the sermons of Geoffrey Babion (See Figs.3-4). Comparable in size to the Durham book, MS.241 has been dated to the years 1125-50 with Exeter Cathedral as its provenance.[26] The volume was originally a considerable miscellany, as indicated by a contemporary contents list (See Fig.3) which notes that it originally contained a verse *Life of Malachi*, 'many sermons', excerpts from Isidore of Seville (d.636) on the virtues, a verse exposition of the mass, an itinerary of Jerusalem and description of the holy places, excerpts from the *Gesta Regum Francorum*, a life of William the Conqueror (d.1087) and accompanying epitaph, the history of Apollonius of Tyre, the *Deeds of the Britons* attributed to the monk Gildas (fl. S.VI), a collection of miracles, and the prophecies of Merlin. Amongst the '*multi sermones*' comprised chiefly of Geoffrey's work were Ivo's Sermons 6-8 and number 15, along with extracts from Defensor of Ligugé's *Liber Scintillarum* (s.VII med-s.VIII med); a Merovingian florilegium composed of scriptural and patristic verses arranged thematically.[27] Ivo's Sermon 6 was placed between Geoffrey's Sermon 18 for Palm Sunday and his own Sermon 7 on the two advents of Christ. Ivo's sermons 6-8 were copied into the book as a bloc, whilst his Sermon 15 for the Purification of Mary was separated from the others. There does not appear to have been an overriding principle of organisation in how the sermons were copied into the manuscript, with the liturgical material from Geoffrey jumbled out of order and interspersed with his synodal and *ad status* pieces in addition to those taken from Ivo's collection. Since Ivo's Sermon 6 was placed in amongst Geoffrey's sermons under the prefatory '*multi sermones*' heading, we might again posit that this was how his text was supposed to be used: as a liturgical sermon. But the haphazard organisation of the sermons, coupled with the great diversity of other material that accompanied them, suggest a book that may have been more suited as a reference work than used for 'live' preaching. Indeed, the presence of extracts from Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum* suggest this was a possible use for the book. The extracts chosen for the Exeter manuscript would have suited a person seeking scriptural verses and authoritative statements for their own

[26] R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College Oxford* (Cambridge, 2009), 183.
[27] Y. Hen, 'Defensor of Ligugé's *Liber Scintillarum* and the Migration of Knowledge', in *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: the Merovingian Kingdoms in a Mediterranean Perspective*, eds. S. Esders, Y. Fox, Y. Hen and L. Sarti (Cambridge, 2019), 218-229.

sermons. For instance, the bloc of chapters 4.18-4.24 from the *Liber* copied into MS. 241 would have been useful in writing sermons around penance.[28] It was suggested in Chapter Four that Bartholomew could have drawn his quotations from Ivo's Sermon 6 and Geoffrey Babion's Sermon 3 from Merton 241 in such a manner; using the book as a reference work in writing sermons as opposed to preaching directly from it himself.[29] In Bartholomew's collection, however, he also quoted from Ivo's Sermon 9; a text which is not found in Merton 241, possibly indicating that his access to Ivo's works derived from another source. Whilst a purpose for Merton 241, and context for Ivo's Sermon 6, can be proffered, whom the book was made for remains elusive. A secular cathedral, whether the book belonged to an individual canon with an eclectic range of interests or was intended for common use by the clerical community and kept in the cathedral's *armarium* cannot be said for sure. Perhaps our best way to view some of these manuscripts is to appreciate their 'multifunctionality'. These books – especially those like Merton College MS.241 – may not have been created with an overarching purpose in mind but were made to serve a variety of roles. The sermons within them may have been used by some to extemporise in live preaching, whilst others may have read and studied them as texts or used them to compile notes for their own sermons as we suggested with regards to Bartholomew of Exeter.

Episcopal Books? Two Anonymous Manuscripts Containing Ivo's Sermon 6

Lincoln Cathedral Library MS.233

Amongst the collections at Lincoln Cathedral is a scruffy and unassuming little book, measuring only 17x11cm and catalogued as MS.233 (See Figs.5-7). It was written, according to R.M. Thomson's catalogue of Lincoln manuscripts, by two French scribes in the early years of the twelfth century.[30] It came to Lincoln as a post-medieval acquisition, having been acquired by the cathedral dean in the seventeenth century.[31] The text of the manuscript is extremely small, and the lines compressed and straining on the eyes. The volume has the appearance and feel of having been made as a 'working book'. It is utilitarian and practical, and perhaps intended to have been carried around. The condition of the book itself suggests this possibility, with the

[28] The respective chapters were 4.18 'De oratione', 4.19 'De conpunctione', 4.20 'De confessione', 4.21 'De penitentia', 4.22 'De elemosina et de ieiunio', 4.23 'De amore mundi', and 4.24 'De timore'.
[29] See above: Chapter Four, 120.
[30] R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge, 1989), 193.
[31] Ibid. The dean in question was the bibliophile Michael Honywood Holland (1597-1681).

leaves extremely worn in areas through successive handling and the illumination, such as there is, faded.

MS.233 contains Ivo's sermons 1-25, a selection of his letters, the pseudo–Augustinian *Dialogus Orosii et Augustini Quaestionum LXV*, an order for consecrating a church, what Thomson described as 'canon law and theological excerpts', another set of Ivo's letters and his canon law *Prologue*, and some notes on penance at the very end of the volume written in a different twelfth-century hand. Ivo's sermons are the texts which open MS.233 and were organised by the compiler as follows: 1-3, 5-6, 22-24, 7-20, 25.[32] Ivo's Sermon 4 on the consecration of a church was separated from the main set and included as a part of the long consecration order under the title 'De consecratione et fit per sacram unctionem crismatis'.[33]

The material selected for MS.233 has a particularly pastoral and practical orientation. The 'canon law and theological excerpts' that run from folios 87v-90v have not hitherto been identified but are in fact, on closer inspection, in large part drawn from the orbit of Master Anselm's school at Laon.[34] The first few folios of sentences focus on excommunication and simony, before proceeding to matters around actual and original sin. The threefold manner in which actual sin occurred according to 'will, action, and custom' was explained, whilst sentences dealing with Adam's cognition in Paradise and the nature of his body were also copied out.[35] On folio 90v, which shows signs of particularly frequent use (See Fig.7), the predominant focus of the collated sentences was marriage, with a marginal annotation reading 'De coniugio' for ease of reference by the manuscript's user.[36] The compiler of the book was clearly at pains to include authoritative and 'up to date' material on theology and canon law from the Laonais sentence collections then circulating.

The inclusion of the *Dialogus Orosii et Augustini* can also be viewed as part of the practical bent of the manuscript. The *Dialogus* was written with the explicit goal of rendering scriptural knowledge easily accessible and comprehensible, as made clear by its preface spoken in the person of Orosius: 'Although many esteemed men, diverse in their style but not in their faith, have written innumerable treatises, it is difficult to read them all, and those which are read are

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[32] Lincoln Cathedral Library MS.233, ff.1r-57v.
[33] The text of Ivo's Sermo IV begins on f.84v; I have not been able to trace the preceding material notes on consecration.
[34] The sentences that I have traced in MS.233 are all printed in *Psychologie et morale au XIIe et XIIIe Siècles* (hereafter *P&M*), v, ed. O. Lottin (Gembloux, 1959).
[35] Lincoln Cathedral Library MS.233, ff.88v-89r. I have traced the following Laonais sentences in Lottin's *P&M*, v, concerning original sin and Adam, all on f.89r: No.40: 'De utilitate casus hominis et angelorum', 37; No.327: 'De cognitione Ade in paradiso', 255; No.41: 'De corpore Ade ante et post peccatum', 256.
[36] Lincoln Cathedral Library Ms.233, f.90v. Among the traced sentences here, see: *P&M*, v, No.410: 'De concubinis', 288.

only understood with effort due to the difficulties in the questions they raise or the grace of their expression'.[37] As 'Orosius' continued to explain in introducing the *Dialogus*, the *probatissimi viri* often left those of more modest understanding in want of the essentials of faith which were lost in the eloquence of their treatises and only accessible to the learned *spirituales viri*: 'It is spiritual men who follow their [i.e. the *probatissimi viri*] eloquence and penetrate their understanding […] we do not equal their wisdom that we might try and understand things the way they can. As such I ask that you answer my inquiry and deign to shine a light on those things which they make obscure [to us]'.[38] Through the course of its sixty-five questions and answers, the *Dialogus* dealt with a range of topics, beginning with the Trinity and proceeding to other matters of faith in a rough order from the works of creation through the Fall and the remainder of the Book of Genesis. The questions asked and answered over the course of the *Dialogus* were all simple. For instance, 'Orosius' asked why Adam and Eve did not die immediately when they ate from the Tree of Knowledge, since God had told them in Genesis 2:17 that 'in what day soever thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die the death'; the explanation being that they died the 'death of the soul'.[39] At another point the questioner asked how Adam could fear death if he had no direct knowledge of a concept of death, with the analogy drawn between Adam and the reader of the *Dialogus* who believed in the resurrection of the body even though they had neither seen it for themselves nor were '*experti*' concerning it.[40]

The physical presentation of Ivo's Sermon 6 may also speak to the desire for clarity and ease of use suggested by MS.233 and its contents. For ease of reference the illuminator of the sermon provided a title that reads as a short summary of the work (See Fig.5): 'Why God wanted to redeem the human race more through the lowliness of the humanity he assumed than through his divine power'.[41] The user of the manuscript was given a summation of the sermon's essentials in the space of a sentence.

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[37] *Dialogus Orosii et Augustini Quaestionum LXV*, in PL 40 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1841), col.731: 'Licet multi et probatissimi viri diverso quidem stilo, sed non diversa fide innumerabilia opuscula ediderint, ita ut difficile sit eorum omnia legere; ea tamen quae leguntur, propter eloquii venustatem et difficilimas quaestionum perplexitates, minime intelliguntur.'

[38] Ibid: 'Sunt enim plane spirituales viri, qui eorum assequuntur eloquium, et penetrant intellectum. Quorum nos dum concupiscentiis satisfacimus, praeclarae eorum scientiae non aequamur, ut eas sicut illi intelligere valeamus. Quapropter quaeso te ut percontanti mihi respondeas, et quae obscuritatem faciunt, elucidare digneris.'

[39] Ibid, col.744: 'Q.XXXII: Cum Deus minetur homini mortem die quo cibum vetitum tetigerit, cur eo die mortuus non fuit? Sic enim scriptura dicit 'In quacumque die comederis ex eo, morte morieris'. Resp: 'Quatuor esse mortes Scriptura sancta evidenter ostendit. Prima mors est animae, quae suum deserit Creatorem: cum enim deserit, peccat.'

[40] Ibid, 'Q.XXXIII: Quomodo poterat timere mortem Adam, quam nullatenus sciebat? Resp: Sicut enim nos scimus resurrectionem, quam nunquam experti sumus, nec vidimus: ita ille sciebat mortem.'

[41] Lincoln Cathedral Library MS.233, f.38r: 'cur deus magis per humilitatem assumptem humanitatis quam per potentiam diuinitatis humanus genus redimere uoluerit'.

It is tempting to consider MS.233 was made for some of the purposes and contexts suggested as having motivated Ivo's writing of Sermon 6 itself, discussed in Chapter One. A small volume, heavily used, full of material both pastoral and practical in manner, it might be the case that the book was used by an itinerant bishop travelling about their diocese in the performance of their duties. The presence of the long order for the consecration of a church suggests this possible 'episcopal' user of the book, since the consecration of a church pertained to the bishop's office. The consecration order in MS.233 began with the bishop's place in the rite, explaining his consecration of the altar with oil in the sign of the cross.[42] The references to excommunication – another prerogative of the bishop – might also speak to the possibility that this was the intended user of the book, along with the *Prologue* to Ivo's collection of canon law which would have complemented the interpretation of the assembled *sententiae* by the manuscript's user who would have referenced them in judging marital issues, simony, and excommunication. The *Dialogus Orosii et Augustini*, along with the Laonais *sententiae*, may also have served such a bishop in the education of subordinate clergy, with the material simply presented and thematically organised for ease of reference against common questions. If this was indeed a working book compiled for the use of a pastorally-conscious bishop, the presence of Ivo's letters within the volume also makes sense, illustrating as they did the day-to-day approach of the famed bishop in his own pastorate. In such a context, Sermon 6 might plausibly have been used for the education of subordinates as suggested in Chapter One: delineating what it 'behoved them to know' of the process of redemption whilst also impressing upon them the paramount importance of contrition in penance. Indeed, if the different hand responsible for the notes at the back of the volume was a user of the book, it may very well have been used in a penitential context. Among the notes were questions pertinent to a confessor in judging what kind of penance to apply, with the scribe noting the importance of establishing all the minute facts about a particular sin in addition to whether the person responsible had either spurned penance before or held their confessor in contempt.[43]

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[42] Ibid, f.83v: 'Post consecrationem altaris et ecclesie per aquam, salem, et cinerem, uinum et hisopum de [?] superius dictum est affertur incensum thuris et oleum sancte unctionis de quo oleo format episcopus signum crucis in medio altaris et super quattuor anglos incipiens antiphonam 'Erexit iacob lapidem in titulum' [Genesis 31:45] clero subsequente 'Quam dilecta tabernacula' [Psalm 83:2] et ungit episcopus altare donec iste psalmus canitur.'

[43] Ibid, f.106r: 'Quis, quid, ubi, per quos, quociens, cur, quomodo, <quando>, si non cessauit peccator peccando post confessionem suam, si fatuum consuluit confessorem, si penitenciam contempsit, si aliquid de penitencia iniuncta omiserit rediens iterum ad confessionem tenetur confiteri omnia delicta sua cum oneribus […] stantiis illorum.'

Vatican Library MS.Lat.reg.223

Written in France between 1150-1200, MS.Lat.Reg.223 poses similar questions to Lincoln Cathedral MS.233.[44] A small and portable volume, measuring some 20x12cm, the text is neater than that of the Lincoln book but similarly utilitarian and unembellished. The contents of the book are as follows: Ivo's sermons 4, 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 (ff.1r-29r), a set of questions and answers on the faith (ff.29r-30r), extracts from the *Formularum Spiritalis Intelligentiae* (ff.30r-32v), extracts from Isidore's *Etymologies* (ff.32v-35v), twenty-eight questions on scripture (ff.35v-41v), a text on the clerical grades (41v), Ivo's sermons 22-24 (ff.42r-46r), and a large collection of sentences that comprises almost half the volume, drawn again primarily from the orbit of Anselm's school at Laon. (46r-97v).

As with the Lincoln book, much of the material contained in Lat.reg.223 can be considered of a pastoral and practical nature. The extracts from the *Formularum*, for instance, were simple allegorical explanations to God's various attributes drawn from the scriptures[45] There were various descriptions of God in the holy books that referred to his eyes, hair, ears and other members.[46] The point was made in the *Formularum* that these references were to be understood correctly as allegorical, and not *carnaliter* like 'heretics'. The extracts from Isidore's *Etymologies* were of a similar ilk to those of the *Formularum*, providing definitions on various points: the angelic hierarchy, the meaning to the words 'God' and 'church', and definitions of the words 'sacrament', 'choir', 'psalter', 'Pentecost' 'Pasch' and so forth.[47]

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[44] I am grateful to Tessa Webber who offered her thoughts on the dating of this manuscript. For description and contents, see: A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, 2 Vols (Rome, 1937-45), i, 529-533.
[45] *Formularum Spiritalis Intelligentiae*, in PL 50, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1846), cols.729-736.
[46] Vatican Library MS.Lat.reg.223, ff.30r-30v: 'Vbicumque autem sacra scriptura sparsim per diuinos libros in deum motus anime seu humana membra describit, id est, caput, capillos, palpebra, et his similia que de eo dicuntur non carnaliter iuxta historiam a recte intelligentibus scienda sunt, sicut a plerisque hereticis carnaliter sapientibus qui deum corporeum atque localem opinantur. Sed spiritualiter <omnia> de eo intelligenda sunt et confitenda. Si quis autem more humano deo inesse credit humana membra, procul dubio in corde suo fabricat ydola'; *Formularum*, col.730: 'Ubicumque autem sacra scriptura sparsim per divinos libros in Deo motus animae seu humana membra describit, id est, caput, capillos, oculos, palpebras, aures et caetera membra sive motus animae, id est, iram, furorem, oblivionem, poenitentiam, recordationem, et alia his similia, non carnaliter juxta historiam a recte intelligentibus scienda sunt, sicut a Judaeis et plerisque haereticis carnaliter sapientibus, qui Deum corporeum atque locale opinantur, sed spiritualia omnia de eo intelligenda et confitenda sunt. Si quid Deo humana membra seu motus animae more humano inesse credit, proculdubio idola fabricat in corde suo'. One difference between the printed version and that in Lat.reg.223 is the reference to Judaism, which is absent in the manuscript, as well as the reference to *motus animae*.
[47] The material appears to have been largely drawn from books 7 (De Deo, angelis et sanctis) and 8 (De ecclesia et sectis). See: Isidore, *Etymologies*, ed. and trans. S.A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and O. Berghof (Cambridge, 2006), 153-190.

What is especially interesting in this manuscript is the set of questions and answers written immediately after the conclusion of Ivo's Sermon 6. The same set of questions are found in a tenth-century manuscript associated with the monasteries of Corbie and St-Germain-des-Pres, alongside baptismal *ordines*, tracts on the mass, penance, and computistical material.[48] How they are to be understood in MS.Reg.lat.223, however, is another matter. They could be interpreted as model questions and answers that would be asked of penitents, like those Burchard of Worms included in his *Corrector*.[49] Burchard outlined how the confessor was to question the penitent 'mildly and coaxingly' (*blande leniterque*) about 'how he believes' (*de fide qualiter credat*).[50] However, the theological knowledge that Burchard expected the penitent to recall was minimal: that they believed in the three persons of God, and that they believed what they sowed in the world they would reap on the day of judgment.[51] Burchard's brief dialogue, or the explicitly theological content, runs for only forty-eight words. The questions and answers in MS.Lat.reg.223, on the other hand, assume a far more sophisticated respondent, running to over a thousand words and requiring far more than creedal affirmation. Where Burchard's interrogator was content to move on once the respondent confirmed '*quod istae tres personae unus Deus sit*', in MS.Lat.reg.223 the interrogator was to ask 'how' (*quomodo*) they believed in each of the respective persons of the Trinity.[52] Take, for instance, the following exchange:

> **I:** How many nativities do you believe the son of God experienced?
>
> **R:** Two.
>
> **I:** Which were they?
>
> **R:** One from his Father outside the bounds of time, and the other in the course of time from his Mother.
>
> **I:** How many substances do you believe the son of God has?
>
> **R:** Two.
>
> **I:** Which ones?
>
> **R:** Divine and human.
>
> **I:** If there are two substances, shouldn't two persons be reckoned?

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[48] A. Staerk, *Les Manuscrits Latins du Ve au XIIIe Siècle Conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg; Description, Textes Inédits, Reproductions Autotypiques* (St Petersburg, 1910), i, No.56, 173-192. The questions were transcribed and printed by Staerk on pages 180-181.

[49] Burchard, *Decretum*, Bk.19, Ch.4, col.950.

[50] Ibid: 'Tunc sacerdos blande leniterque interroget eum primum de fide qualiter credat…'

[51] Ibid: 'Credis in Deum Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum? Respon. Credo. Credis quod istae tres personae unus Deus sit? Respon. Credo. Credis quod in ipsa ista carne in qua nunc es, resurgere habes in die judicii, et recipere sive bonum sive malum quod gessisti? Respon. Credo.'

[52] The qualifier 'how' is used thirteen times in the set of questions.

R: No.

I: How so?

R: For just as the body and soul make one man, but are nevertheless two distinct substances, so Christ was God and man in one, but possessed the distinct substances of his divinity and humanity.[53]

Following the questions on the Trinity that make up the first part of the questions and answers, the latter section tackled the redemption of humanity through Christ, with references to preceding questions that show that the questioner expected lessons learned in the earlier parts of the dialogue to be retained and carried forward to the latter sections. The questioner asked, for instance, 'how could God experience hunger, thirst, be tempted, suffer and descend to hell', with the respondent answering that 'as we have said (*sicut superdiximus*) there were two substances in one person, and as such he experienced hunger, thirst, was tempted, suffered, died and was buried but according to his humanity, not his divinity'.[54]

As with Burchard's brief questions in the *Corrector*, the dialogue concludes by asking whether the respondent believed in the future judgment. However, where Burchard's questions, and those of other penitential interrogations and *ordines*, then proceeded to ask the respondent whether they wished to make amends for their sins (indicating the penitential context), the questions in MS.Lat.reg.223 instead concluded. As such, whilst the penitential context is one possibility for the questions, there may also be others. Their more sophisticated content invites the possibility that they were not intended for lay penitents answering their confessors but were to test the knowledge of subordinate clergy who were expected not only to affirm the 'right' belief but explain it. Whether this could be reckoned as some sort of 'priests' exam', a text which emerged as part of the Carolingians' reforming aspirations, is not clear. There are no references to the priestly *ordo* in the questions, or those matters pertinent not only to what a priest believed but what they were expected to do in their ministry, such as sing mass or bury the dead.[55] Its more sophisticated content, however, invites this possibility.

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[53] Vatican Library MS.Lat.reg.223, f.29v: 'Interrogatus. Quot natiuitates credis in filio dei? R. Duas. Interrogatus. Quas? R. Unam fine tempore de patre . Alteram in tempore de matre. Interrogatus. Quot substantias credis in filio dei? R. Duas. Interrogatus. Quas? R. Diuinam et humanam. Interrogatus. Si due substantie sunt . fiunt similariter due persone? R. Non. Interrogatus. Qumodo? R. Quia sicut anima corpus unus est homo . et tamen una substantia est anime . alia substantia est corporis . ita deus et homo unus est Christus . et tamen alia est substantia deitatis . et alia humanitatis.

[54] Ibid: 'Interrogatus. Et quomodo potuit fieri ut deus esuriret . sitiret . temptaretur . pateretur . et ad inferna descenderet? R. Quia sicut superdiximus duas substantias in una persona . assumpsit ideo esuriuit . sitiuit . temptatus est . passus est . mortuus . atque sepultus . sed humanitate non diuinitate.'

[55] C. Van Rhijn, 'Et hoc considerat episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint itiothae': Carolingian local *correctio* and an unknown priests' exam from the early ninth century', in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the*

Almost half of MS.Lat.reg.223 is comprised of sentences; many of them, as with Lincoln Cathedral MS.233, drawn from the collections associated with the cathedral school at Laon. There does not appear to be a discernible pattern to their distribution in the manuscript. Among those traced from the Laon collections one encounters questions around the punishment of unbaptised infants, marriage between non-Christians, whether the saints answer prayers, whether food is changed in the body, issues around simony, excommunication, and the efficacy of alms rendered by criminals amongst a host of others.[56] Marginal notes, which possibly suggest points of particular interest, appear alongside the sentences only from folio 81v onwards. Again, a particular pattern cannot easily be established from the annotations. One particular annotation reading 'De clerico et monacho', corresponding to a section dealing predominantly with the clergy, might suggest a secular over monastic context to the book, although this cannot be taken as a definite indication.[57] More suggestive, however, is the text on the clerical grades, written in a different hand to the main text and compressed at the foot of folio 41v, which compared moments in Christ's life to each of the grades. This may also indicate a clerical context to the book's user, although monks could also be ordained within the grades.[58] Wilmart's catalogue description for the little text as '*de septem gradibus Christi*' is in fact inaccurate, since there are eight grades listed.[59] In this list, significantly, the bishop was reckoned as an eighth order. Whilst the orders came predominantly to be fixed at seven, some continued to assert that there were eight with the bishop counted among them.[60] It could perhaps be the case that the annotator was

Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong, eds. R. Meens, D. van Espelo, B. van den Hoven van Genderen, J. Raaijmakers, I. van Renswoude, and C. van Rhijn (Manchester, 2016), 162-180.

[56] *P&M*, v, No.46, 42-43 (ff.46r-47r); No.131, 102-103 (f.47r); No.505, 323 (ff.47r-47v); No.36, 35-36 (ff.47v-48r); Nos.492-93, 317-318 (ff.48r-48v); No.476*bis*, 312 (f.48v), and No.435, 298 (ff.48v-49r).

[57] Vatican Library MS.Lat.reg.223, f.93r: '[De clerico et monacho] Item. Alia monachi causa est, alia clericorum, clerici oues pascunt. Ego pascor. Illi de altario uiuint, mihi quas infructuose arboris securis ponitur ad radicem, si munus ad altare non defero. Ieronimus ad nepotianum de uita clericorum. Nunquam uinum redoleas. Ne audias illud philosophi 'Hoc non est osculum porrigere, sed propinare.'

[58] Ibid, f.41v: Quomodo uel ubi dominus omnis gradus ecclesie compleuerit. Hostiarius cum uendentes et ementes de templo eiecit, dicens 'domus mea domus orationis uocabitur' [Matthew 21:13]. Lector ubi librum ysaie accipiens legit 'Spiritus domini super me euangelizare pauperibus misit me' [Luke 4:18]. Exorcista ubi septem demonia de maria magdelena ut dicitur 'eiecit' [Mark 16:9/Luke 8:2]. Acolitus cum dixit 'ego sum lux mundi' [John 8:12]. Subdiaconus ubi in nuptiis aqua in uinum conuertit. Diaconus ubi in cena pedes discipulorum lauit. Sacerdos cum panem benedictum fregit, et fractum discipulis dedit dicens 'Hoc est corpus meum', similiter et calicem dicens 'Hic est sanguis meus'. Episcopus, ubi discipulis manus imponens benedixit.'

[59] Wilmart, *Codices*, i, 532.

[60] Barrow, *The Clergy*, 34-39. See the bishop noted in Honorius Augustodunensis's *Sacramentarium*, Ch.24. Printed in PL 172 ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1854), cols.759-760; A. Wilmart, 'Les Ordres du Christ', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 3 (1923): 305-327. In Wilmart's catalogue entry for MS.Lat.reg.223, he referenced this article and the *episcopus* as an eighth grade, but this was not reflected in the catalogue description.

working in an episcopal context, and thus sought to follow the pattern that there were eight orders with the bishop at the top, but this must also remain a speculative point.

The preceding description has sought to establish the broad context in which Sermon 6 is found in MS.Reg.lat.223. Written immediately before the questions and answers on the faith, in a book of possibly secular clerical origins, and filled with myriad *sententiae* on a host of theological as well as pastoral questions, the book might have been used in a pastoral context, perhaps by an itinerant bishop. Indeed, in the book Ivo's Sermon 4 for the dedication of a church was removed from its usual order and positioned at the beginning of the manuscript. If this was a portable book for use by a bishop on the move, the forward positioning of that text may have been deliberate: the user of the book would not have to thumb through successive folios to find the text.[61]

The pastoral context, and perhaps the education of subordinates that we have argued lay behind Ivo's emphases in Sermon 6, also appear to be reflected in MS.Lat.reg.223. The extracts from the *Formularum* and the sentences provided authoritative, and at times simple, answers on various points of faith and sacred law. The succession of questions and answers immediately after the text of Sermon 6 is perhaps the most suggestive item in the book. The questions might speak to the examination that would take place during penance, or the education of subordinates. As such, the placement of Ivo's Sermon 6 which, as suggested in Chapter One, was concerned above all with correct belief, the limits of knowledge, and contrition in the sacrament of penance, may be significant. In Ivo's outline of the process of redemption, he impressed how important it was not to overstep the limits of knowledge and in doing so erode the wonder and mystery of the incarnation and passion, and their ability to rend human hearts.

Conclusions on the 'Ivonian' Books

The preceding discussion has highlighted some of the contexts in which Ivo's Sermon 6 was found during the twelfth century, and how his text may have been read and used. Some of these texts, most notably the two 'working books' discussed in Section Three, appear to have been used, or intended for use, in some of the contexts Chapter One associated with Sermon 6: the education of subordinates, and the use of the sermon in a pastoral and possibly 'episcopal' context. Other books like the Rochester manuscript, which should almost certainly be associated

[61] Indeed, in general there is little in the way of organisation or 'ease of access' reflected in the way the material is presented in the manuscript, making the location of Sermon 4 on the first folio especially advantageous.

with Bishop Ernulf, suggest the use of Sermon 6 as more of a 'tract' in a context both distinctly episcopal and 'sacramental' given the accompanying works of Bruno of Asti, Ambrose, and Ivo's letters that were copied into that manuscript. The material in the Canterbury, Durham, and Exeter volumes beg the question as to whether they were used in distinctively 'episcopal' contexts, like the education of subordinate clergy or the preaching of sermons at the cathedral for particular feast days. The Durham manuscript, in a sense a 'collected works' of Ivo, hints vaguely at some sacerdotal interest with the marginal annotations that were added against the text of Sermon 5. The markings, as suggested, might indicate the office held by a reader or intended user of the book, either an ordained member of the monastic community at Durham or perhaps the abbot-bishop himself. How the book was in fact used is harder to say: a difficulty which pertains even more with regards to the Canterbury and Exeter volumes. The Canterbury book seems to have been intended more for reference and private reading than preaching, although sermons 5-7 were reckoned under the heading 'sermo' by the scribe. Whether it was ever consulted by a bishop cannot be said for sure. Whilst it is possible the Exeter manuscript served as a point of reference for Bishop Bartholomew in writing his own sermons, it also remains possible that he knew Ivo and Geoffrey's work from another source. Sermon 6, in being counted amongst the Exeter manuscript's '*multi sermones*' of Geoffrey and the extracts from Defensor, may have been understood as a sermon and intended for preaching. The book has the feel, however, of some sort of 'miscellany', perhaps reflective of both the pastoral and scholarly interests of an individual cleric in Exeter.

Despite the difficulties in interpreting some of the manuscripts, all of these examples strongly attest to the popularity of Ivo's sermons generally, and the dissemination of Sermon 6 specifically, whilst showing the different contexts in which the text was presented and would consequently have been understood. The overall impression gained from the manuscript evidence surveyed is one of 'multifunctionality' in how the text was received and used.

Some Provenanced Manuscripts Containing Geoffrey Babion's Sermons

It is no surprise to find collections of Geoffrey Babion's sermons in the libraries of English cathedrals from the twelfth century. One volume that we can place directly in the hands of a bishop is Lincoln Cathedral Library MS.96, a collection largely comprised of Geoffrey's sermons which was given to the cathedral by Bishop Robert de Chesney sometime between his elevation

to the bishopric in 1144 and his death in 1166.[62] The catalogue of Lincoln books which was drawn-up around the middle of the twelfth century by the chancellor Hamo (d.1182) recorded Robert's donation of the book, with MS.96 identified in the catalogue by the opening words of Geoffrey's Sermon 42 '*Homo quidam peregre*'.[63] In total the manuscript contains fifty-seven of Geoffrey's sermons, including the vast majority of those discussed in Chapter Three.[64]

Judging from the physical characteristics of MS.96, it was a book that would have been well suited for use in 'live preaching', perhaps resting on a lectern. The leaves measure 30x19.5cm, comparable to other homiliaries from the same period produced at the cathedral, whilst the text of the sermons themselves was written out in double columns of forty lines.[65] In total there are eighty-seven sermons contained in the book, each beginning with a coloured capital. There are thematic groupings of sermons within the book, with clusters for particular seasons (Christmastide, Lent, Passiontide) and events (the dedication of churches, *ad status* preaching) arranged by the compiler. Whether there was some deeper governing principle to how the material was organised cannot be said for sure. As a whole, whilst there are clusters of closely related sermons, the book does not follow the course of the liturgical year especially closely.

The question presents itself as to how the manuscript may have been used at Lincoln. Was this a book that Bishop Robert might himself have used in preaching on the great feasts of the liturgical year, or *ad status* when addressing subordinate clergy or communities of religious? The size of the book itself, as noted, would have suited use in such a setting placed atop a lectern. Such evidence as can be gleaned from the leaves themselves as to whether this was in fact the case is more difficult to interpret; especially for the sermons of greatest interest to us in exploring imagery of the passion. On some of the folios one finds some very small notes and marks, almost illegible in places. This annotator took a particular interest in Geoffrey's Sermon 40 which was written *ad sanctimoniales*.[66] Marked faintly throughout the sermon are numerous

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[62] D.M. Owen, 'Robert de Chesney (d.1166)', *ODNB*: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5232. Accessed 28/07/24. On Hamo, see: *FEA III*, 15-16.

[63] *GCO*, vii, 169: 'Duo volumina sermonum. Quorum unim sic incipit, *Vidit Jhesus hominem*, et cetera; aliud sic, *Homo quidam peregre*'. The other donations from Robert included Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Gregory's *Registrum*, a Psalter with Gilbert de la Porrée's gloss, Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and a work by Josephus, and Augustine on Psalm 53. Robert's own breviary and collectar were left to his nephew Martin the treasurer. The manuscript of the Lombard's *Sentences* has attracted considerable interest in recent years. See: M.J. Clark, 'Hereford and Lincoln cathedral libraries during the High Middle Ages', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 71 (2020): 502-526.

[64] The sermons not represented in MS.96, but discussed in Chapter Three, are nos. 24, 52, and 61.

[65] The manuscript is similar in size to two modified copies of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* written at, and likely used by, the cathedral: MSS.158 and 142.

[66] Geoffrey, Sermon 40, cols.901-905.

paragrapha, suggesting elements this reader found interesting and sought to portion out.[67] Midway through his sermon, Geoffrey condemned pride amongst nuns and how they should instead imitate the Virgin Mary's humility: 'Some of them become puffed up with pride, either because they are of more noble birth, are wealthier, or more prudent: they do not imitate her, who declared herself 'maid'(*ancilla*) rather than 'lady' (*domina*).[68] The annotator in MS.96 added a mark at the end of this sentence corresponding to a faint marginal note which reads: 'Fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum [illegible word, perhaps '*domini*'] / Ecce ancilla, quia respexit humilitatem ancille'.[69] The words are those of Luke 1:38 and 1:48 on Mary's annunciation. The annotator clearly had an interest in the subject, for the preceding sermon – which is in fact Ivo's Sermon 15 for the Annunciation of Mary – is also similarly marked out with *paragrapha*.[70] This might indicate that the sermons in the book were being read and studied in some instances as opposed to preached. Other marginal notes of the sort clustered around these two sermons are few and far between, and there are frustratingly none for the sermons of Geoffrey's which are of greatest interest to us.

The other evidence which may indicate how MS.96 was used is found on the book's final folio, which contains sermon extracts written out in a chancery hand of the late twelfth century.[71] Though not hitherto identified, the extracts were taken from Ivo's Sermon 8 for Christmas, two of Leo the Great's Christmas homilies, and a Christmas homily by Pseudo-Maximus of Turin.[72] All the extracts are concerned with Christmastide and the process of atonement; particularly the decision by God to act according to justice instead of might in redeeming humanity. Ivo's Sermon 7 is found in MS.96 on folios 12r-12v, whilst the material from Leo and Pseudo-Maximus was taken from elsewhere: perhaps one of Lincoln's modified homiliaries of Paul the Deacon (d.799) used for the Night Office.[73] It could be the case that whoever wrote these notes was drawing from MS.96 and other books at Lincoln to assemble material for their own preaching.[74] All of the extracts taken from Ivo's Sermon 8 and the homilies by Leo and Maximus

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[67] Lincoln Cathedral Library MS.96, ff.86r-86v.
[68] Ibid, 86v: 'Eleuat enim mentes quarundam superbia, uel quia sunt nobiles, uel ditiores, uel prudentiores. He non imitantur illam que se potius profitebatur ancillam quam dominam'.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid, ff.82v-83v.
[71] Ibid, f.116v.
[72] The sermons by Leo are his *tractatus* nos. 22 and 23 as-edited in *Sancti Leoni Magni Romani Pontificis Tractatus Septem et Nonaginta* ed. A. Chavasse, CCSL 138 (Turnhout, 1973), whilst that for Maximus is Homily 10, printed in PL 57, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1847), cols.241-244.
[73] The three patristic sermons are not found in either MS.158 or MS.142. However, the two manuscripts are missing sections: notably their portions for Christmastide.
[74] The relationship between these books will be explored further in my forthcoming 'Sermonisers, Scholars, and Scribes: Two Homiliaries from Lincoln Cathedral Library' which shall appear in *Patristic*

pivot around the theme of God proceeding by justice as opposed to might in the redemption of humanity. For instance, the compiler drew the following from Ivo's Sermon 7: 'His power was wonderful in forming the world, but the humbling of his power in reforming the world was far more wonderful'[75], whilst also taking these words from Leo's Tract 22: 'Although there were many options available for the restoration of humanity, the true mercy of God chose that through which he could best destroy the devil's power, not employing the might of his power but holding to the demands of justice'.[76] We again have an indication that either a user of the manuscript was referencing it for their own sermons, or perhaps extracting material from MS.96 and other homilies at Lincoln for some scholarly purpose.[77] It is frustrating, again, that the notes were not made on Geoffrey's sermons, the texts of chief interest to us here. We could speculate, however, that were the text of Ivo's Sermon 6 also included in MS.96, this compiler working on the end leaf would also have found its arguments appealing and drawn from them, expressing as Sermon 6 does the choice by God to act according to justice and the greater wonder in his 'reforming' actions. Ivo also expressed these ideas in Sermon 7, and they interested this Lincoln compiler who sought to compare them with similar ideas expressed by Leo the Great and Maximus.

Durham Cathedral also possessed a very large collection of Geoffrey's sermons around the middle of the twelfth century, now contained in Jesus College Cambridge MS.Q.B.8 (See Figs.8 and 9). The manuscript is comprised of two parts, both from Durham and both written in the twelfth century. The first part is made up largely of astronomical material and was bound with the part containing Geoffrey's sermons by at least 1395 when they were recorded together in a library list.[78] A later hand in the volume – corresponding to the classification of the book in the 1395 catalogue – described the sermons as works by Augustine with the class mark 'A' (See Fig.8).[79] However, in the Cantor's Book library list there is an entry for '*Sermones G. Babiun*' having belonged to a certain Reginald.[80] Whether this entry in the Cantor's Book refers to

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Sermons in the Middle Ages. Collections, Mediators and the Practice of Compiling, eds. S. Boodts, R. Macchioro, G. Schmidt, I. Denis and E. Furlan (Turnhout, forthcoming 2026).

[75] Lincoln Cathedral Library MS.96, f.116v: 'In plasmando mira potestas, in reformando mirabilior potentis apparuit humilitas'; Ivo, Sermon 8, col.569.

[76] Ibid: 'Verax namque misericordia dei dum ad reparandum humanum genus, ineffabiliter ei multa suppeterent, hanc potissimum consulendi elegit uiam qua ad destruendum opus diaboli, non uirtute uteretur potencie, sed racione iusticie'; Leo the Great, *Tractatus XXII*, 94.

[77] See above: n.68.

[78] *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm*, SS, ed. J. Raine (London, 1838), 75.

[79] Jesus College Cambridge MS.Q.B.8, f.19r: ' .A. Sermones diuersi Augustini […]'. In the catalogue, however, Augustine's name is not noted. See *Catalogi Veteres*, 75: 'A. Sermones diversi cum Tractatu de Planetis.'

[80] *Catalogi Veteres*, 8.

MS.Q.B.8 cannot be said for sure; but the rough dates of both the manuscript itself and the Cantor's Book library list correspond. However, in the later Middle Ages the sermons in MS.Q.B.8 were regarded as those of Augustine by the monks of Durham; a common fate for Geoffrey's sermons in many other manuscripts.

Sixty-four of the sermons in MS.Q.B.8 are certainly Geoffrey's.[81] The manuscript is fairly large, the leaves measuring 19x25.5 cm, whilst the text itself was written out in a beautifully neat hand in double columns. As such, like Lincoln Cathedral MS.96, the book would have been useful for 'live preaching' from a lectern. Around half of the sermons have descriptive rubrics that served to indicate either the topic the sermon addressed or its intended audience for ease of reference by the book's user. Every new sermon was indicated by a coloured initial. The only sermons of Geoffrey's that we explored in Chapter Three that were not included in the Durham book were nos. 52 and 61. As with Lincoln MS.96, an overall principle of organisation in the Durham volume is difficult to discern. There are certainly some thematic groupings evident, with a number of sermons *de sacerdotis* clustered together at the beginning of the book, whilst in other areas a loose alignment with the course of the liturgical year is perceptible. For instance, from folios 39r-48v one finds the following sequence:

> Sermon 70 with the rubric ' SERMO DE ADVENTU DOMINI'
> Sermon 47 with the rubric 'SERMO DE DEDICATIONE'
> Sermon 36 with the rubric 'SERMO DE CONTEMPLATIVIS'
> Sermon 28 with the rubric 'SERMO DE SIGNIFICATIONE CRUCIS'
> Sermon 29 with the rubric 'SERMO DE ROGATIONIBUS'
> Sermon 32 with the rubric 'SERMO DE PENTECOSTEN'
> Sermon 42 with the rubric 'SERMO DE SACERDOTIBUS'
> Sermon 46 with the rubric 'SERMO DE EODEM'
> Sermon 7 with the rubric 'SERMO DE LEPROSO ET PARALITHICO IN DOMINICA PRIMA POST THEOPHANIAM'

[81] There are also two copies of Ivo's Sermon 20 for Pentecost, which are not identified in James's catalogue. Curiously, the copes in this manuscript end part way through at the words 'prout vult', after which a different ending was added. The ending words were taken from Ivo's Ep.19 and reading as follows: 'Sufficere non possumus. Interne quietis suauitatem uix aliquando admittimus. Raro etiam canonicum pensum determinatis horis solvere praevalemus. Vos igitur et caeteri servi Dei, qui velut in portu navigatis, oportet ut nobis orationis manus, quam longe potestis, extendatis, et vobiscum ad optatam requiem perducere studeatis'. Ep.19 can be found in Jesus College MS.Q.G.5, which as noted earlier was also at Durham.

As shown, there are some loose arrangements of material; for instance, the sermons around Rogationtide, the Feast of the Cross (celebrated May 3rd according to the Gallican Rite), and Pentecost were grouped sequentially. The two sermons for priests after the Pentecost sermon might also speak to some thematic grouping, given the understanding that priests were the descendants of the apostles charged with preaching and teaching, thus following in the footsteps of those who received the fire of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The presence of the other sermons dealing with Advent, preaching to monks, the dedication of a church, and Epiphany is harder to explain. As with the Lincoln book, the placement of the sermons in the Durham manuscript seems to have been somewhat arbitrary, although limited effort was made to aid the manuscript's user with the rubrics that were added to certain sermons. The same 'arbitrary' placement of material, as we noted earlier, seems evidenced too in Merton College Oxford MS.241: the book associated with Exeter Cathedral. Geoffrey's sermons, some forty-two in total, were placed out of order, with the liturgical material and *ad status* pieces interspersed. It was suggested earlier that the sermons in that book may have been used for reference, possibly by Bartholomew of Exeter who copied a large portion of Geoffrey's Sermon 3 into his own collection. Though it could have been used for preaching, when compared to books like Lincoln MS.96 and Jesus College Cambridge MS.Q.B.8, the Exeter manuscript seems less practical and more suitable as a book for reference.

The final manuscript we shall discuss here is St John's College Cambridge MS.K.23: another collection of Geoffrey's sermons. M.R. James dated the book to the early years of the twelfth century; a date which we must bring forward to about the middle of the century since he compiled his catalogue in 1913, at a time before it had been established that 'Geoffrey Babion' was the same man as Archbishop Geoffrey of Bordeaux.[82] From the hand, James suggested that this might be a book associated with Canterbury Cathedral (See Fig.10).[83] Measuring 26x17cm, the manuscript is smaller than the Durham and Lincoln books but larger than that from Exeter. Like the Exeter manuscript, the text of the sermons was written out in single columns with illuminated capitals marking out the beginning of each new text. In total the manuscript contains eighty-five sermons (sixty-nine of which are Geoffrey's) which comprise the majority of the volume, with the final folios (73v-78r) containing a text on symbolic meanings to the priest's various stations during mass, extracts from Paschasius's (d.865) *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, extracts from Augustine, the apocryphal 'report of Pilate to Claudius', a note on St Genesius,

[82] M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), 262.
[83] Ibid.

Clement of Rome on the Twelve Fridays, and extracts from the *False Decretals* written in a different hand (beginning *Gaius papa felici episcopo*) dealing with the legal standing of clerics and matters around divorce. On folio 78v are numerous 'scribbles', unidentified. Some of these notes are contemporaneous with the main body of text (See Fig.11), whilst others appear to have been added later. Among them one finds the following: 'Aggrauatur, ordo, locus, peccata, scientia, tempus / Etas, conditio, numerus, mora, copia, causa / Et modus in culpis, honor altus, lucta pusilla'.[84] The notes reflect some penitential interest, impressing the varying factors to be borne in mind when assessing a person's sins and assigning a penance. Beneath this small comment, in the same hand, another note was added: 'Dant crux, lucia, cineres, carismata dya / Vt sit in angaria quarta sequens'.[85] This note refers to the observance of the Ember Days; three days of fasting to be kept during each quarter of the year around the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, St Lucy's, Lent, and Whitsun. Aside from these notes, a later hand wrote out both a syllabic breakdown of 'allelujah' according to the Fathers, and the following set of verses: 'Pontus, terra, polus mihi subditur, hec rego solus / Solus ab eterno creo cuncta creata guberno' (Sea, earth, and sky bend to my will, I alone rule them / I alone created all from eternity, I govern creation).[86] Notably, as a further suggestion to James's comments on the script and the potential Christchurch provenance of K.23, these verses are found in the East Window of Canterbury's Corona Chapel, created in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, above the panel showing Christ in Majesty.[87]

Unlike the Lincoln, Durham, and Exeter books, the sermons as-presented in K.23 closely followed the course of the liturgical year, and largely preserve the layout of the collection as printed in the appendices to Bonnes's article on Geoffrey.[88] This indicates either considerable effort taken on the part of the scribes responsible for making the book in organising their material for liturgical use, or that they preserved the layout of their exemplar closely. Whether

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[84] St John's College Cambridge MS.K.23, f.78v.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] In the Corona Window the words are written thus: PON . TERRA . UBDIAT . REX . [TU?] [ATIENTI?] HOSTIA |SOLVS . AB . ETERNO . CREO . CVNCTA . CREATA . GVBERNO . The first lines do not correspond with the verses in the book, however the portions reading 'UBDIAT' up to 'HOSTIA' have been taken from elsewhere and added into the window. See: B. Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1949), 78: 'The upper panel has an inscription of which one half is defective and has insertions from elsewhere.' The text is found, as-per Rackham's numbering in *The Ancient Glass*, in panel 23 of the window. From the image of Christ in Majesty there flows streams of fire down into panel 21, in which the apostles are shown clutching books gathered together on Pentecost. If the scribe of K.23 may indeed have gazed upon this image, showing as it does the apostles with books in hand about to spread the gospel, perhaps these were appropriate words to scribble into the back of a book of sermons.
[88] Bonnes, 'Un des Plus Grand Prédicateurs', 200-205.

the manuscript was used in preaching to the monastic community by their abbot-bishop, or perhaps broader audiences of clergy and laity gathered at the cathedral around the great feasts of the year, is again difficult to surmise from the evidence of the manuscript alone. The accompanying material from Paschasius and the *False Decretals* displays some interest in sacramental matters and legal proceedings, but as to the use of the sermons they shed little light, and neither do the notes on the final folio. In the close alignment of material in MS.K.23 with the course of the liturgical year, we can surmise that the volume would have been useful in preaching through the seasons. The evidence from the book itself, however, to indicate whether it was indeed used in this way is frustratingly vague.

Conclusions on the Manuscripts of Geoffrey's Sermons

The preceding discussion of the four manuscripts of Geoffrey's sermons first of all demonstrates the speed at which his collection spread from his own archdiocese in Bordeaux to other bishops and cathedral communities. The analysis of four manuscripts of course does not do justice to the popularity of his collection, or the other cathedrals and bishops who collected and used his sermons, but it offers some starting points for further study. A great deal more work is required in trying to assign provenances to surviving copies of the collection, from which we can then begin to look at patterns of use on a broader scale.

As regards the passion imagery contained in Geoffrey's sermons, if manuscripts like Lincoln MS.96 and St John's College Cambridge MS.K.23 were indeed used in preaching, their audiences would have been in an especially strong position to interiorise the imagery and exegesis discussed in Chapter Three, given the recurrence of particular themes that we traced across Geoffrey's entire collection. Isolated sermons of Geoffrey's found their way into many manuscripts, but where large portions of his collection were grouped together – as with those two books – their users would have been able to interiorise his preaching aims and images more fully. Whilst each of Geoffrey's sermons represents its own distinct discourse, he returned to favoured images and points of exegesis throughout his work which would have inculcated certain sets of ideas upon audiences of both listeners and readers. How these ideas were, in fact, received is more difficult to establish from the manuscripts. In some cases, Geoffrey's work was clearly received and valued; the most obvious example being Bartholomew's use of Sermon 3 in his own collection whilst bishop of Exeter, perhaps drawn from Merton College Oxford MS.241. As for the use of the sermons by other bishop preachers, the physical characteristics of individual manuscripts offer some possibilities. The size of Lincoln MS.96 and Jesus College

Cambridge MS.Q.B.8 point to their possible use by preachers, placed upon a lectern, but this does not provide concrete evidence that they were in fact used this way. Much more work needs to be carried out on the manuscripts, looking closely at their physical characteristics, layout, commissioners and/or owners, as well as the other material that the sermons circulated with to establish patterns as to how these books were used. We know that bishops preached during the twelfth century and composed their own collections. More careful study of books like those containing Ivo's Sermon 6 and the collections of Geoffrey Babion would further enrich what we know of their practices in preaching, and how the ideas of these two influential authors were received.

Appendix Two: Sources and Textual Comparisons

Overview

The following commentaries and language comparisons cannot claim to be exhaustive treatments. They are presented here instead to illustrate both what 'devotional sources' some of our authors were using in their work, and how they used those sources, to support the arguments made through Chapters Four, Five, and Six. It is also hoped that an identification of some of the sources used by these authors will provoke greater interest in their respective works and other sermon collections of the period. The comparative tables that follow look at the works of Bartholomew of Exeter, Thomas Agnellus, and Peter of Blois. The largest treatment here is dedicated to Peter's sermons, whose use of Bernard of Clairvaux and Baldwin of Forde's works we discussed in detail over the course of Chapter Six. Comparisons are illustrated with highlighted colours corresponding between the respective columns of text below. The comparisons proceed according to the order of chapters, with Bartholomew treated first, followed by Thomas and finally Peter. The use that Bartholomew of Exeter made of Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* and *De Conceptu Virginali*, in addition to Hugh of St Victor's *De Sacramentis* and Geoffrey's Sermon 3, have not been included here for want of space, given the extensive nature of the borrowings that we noted in Chapter Four.

Below: Bartholomew's use of Anselm's *Oratio ad Mariam Magdalenam* in his Sermon 53 for Easter Sunday is illustrated. As we noted in Chapter Four, Bartholomew's use of Anselm's *Prayer* in his sermon was fairly conservative; his extractions focussed more on the Magdalene's joy at the resurrection than the account of her mourning that constitutes much of Anselm's prayer. However, as shown below, Bartholomew made some interesting adaptations. Notably, Bartholomew had Mary speak the words 'O vox delectabilis, o quantum blandimenti, quantum sapuit amoris' to Christ, whereas in Anselm's *Prayer* they were the words of the one praying reflecting *upon* Christ's voice.

Bartholomew of Exeter, Sermon 53, f.41ra-b

In die resurrectionis sue fratres karissimi, iesus christus dominus noster discipulis suis sepius apparuit. Apparuit sed non iudeis, non scribis, non phariseis qui eum emerant, qui eum flagellauerant, qui eum occiderant. Quibus ergo? Discipulis suis. Populo suo. Suo per electionem. Suo per amorem. Suo per redemptionem. Hunc enim populum ab eterno elegerat. Hunc usque ad mortem dilexerat. Hunc precio non auri, non argenti, sed sui sanguinis a morte eterna red<e>merat. Iccirco dicitur 'Surrexit christus, et illuxit populo suo quem redemit **\B/** ipse sanguine suo' [Antiphon for Easter]. Et recte quid. Quos enim sua passio contristauit, eius resurrectio iure letificare debuit. Primo itaque mari<e> magdalene cum querenti apparuit ad monumentum et ploranti, sicut iohannes in euangelio ostendit dicens 'Maria stabat ad monumentum foris plorans et cetera' usque 'et ego eum tollam' [John 20:11-15].

Anselm of Canterbury, *Oratio 16, SAO*, , iii, 66-67, lines 65-76

Quippe, pia dilectio, nec illam gementem, nec se latentem potest tolerare diutius. Erumpit amantis dulcedo, ut non erumpat flentis amaritudo. Nominat dominus consuetum ancillae nomen, et cognoscit ancilla consuetam domini vocem. Puto vel certe affirmo quia sensit solitam suavitatem, qua vocari consueverat: "MARIA!" O vox delectabilis, o quantum blandimenti, quantum sapuit amoris! Nec brevius nec celerius hoc exprimi potuit; 'Scio quae sis et quid velis, ecce me; ne plores, ecce me, quem quaeris.' Illico mutatae sunt lacrimae. Non enim credo mox esse restrictas. Sed quas contritum cor se torquendo prius exprimebat, eas postmodum cor gaudens exultando effundebat. O quam dissimilia sunt: "Raboni!", et: "Si tu sustulisti eum, dicito mihi!" O quam dissona sunt: "Tulerunt dominum meum, et nescio ubi posuerunt eum", et illud: "Quia vidi dominum, et haec dixit mihi!"

Postquam dominus eam communi uocabulo uocauit, ex sexu et agnitus non est: uocat uocem consuet<a>, et statim agnitus est, ait enim maria ‘O uox delectabilis, o quantum blandimenti, quantum sapuit amoris.’ Nec breuis, nec celerius hoc dici potuit. ‘Maria scio que sis, maria scio quid uelis, maria ne plores ecce me quem queris’ Maria recognosce a quo recognosceris, maria dilige eum qui tibi multa dimisit, qui fratrem tuum suscitauit. ‘Maria uade ad fratres meos non dico discipulos sicut ante passione, sed ad fratres, sed ad amicos, ut spes eorum qui in passione turbati sunt reformetur, et dic eius gaudia mee resurrectionis.’ Illico mutate sunt eius lacrime. Namquas dolor prius erupit, eas postmodum cor gaudens effudit, uenit exultans annuntiauit discipulis ‘quia uidi dominum, quia uidi redemporem meum, ‘et hec dixit mihi’.

Below: Here the use that Thomas Agnellus made of Arnold of Bonneval's *De Septem Verbis Domini in Cruce* in his treatise on the Young King is shown. In drawing from Arnold's work, Thomas outlined the pain of Mary's 'spiritual martyrdom' in watching Christ die. In doing so, he dwelt upon the 'powerful storm' that raged upon her 'inner altar', the 'brine' of the tears she inwardly shed, and her 'maternal love' and the co-offering of her own spirit upon the 'gibbet' of the cross, mirroring Christ. In expressing these arguments, Thomas was closely borrowing from Arnold's treatise, as the comparisons below illustrate. By the time Thomas composed his treatise on the Young King, Arnold's *De Septem Verbis* was sufficiently popular that we need not trouble ourselves too much with how he came to know it. With this said, however, the monks of Reading Abbey possessed a manuscript, dated c.1200, which contains several of Arnold's works including *De Septem Verbis* in addition to a great deal of other Cistercian material. The manuscript is Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 197. Reading Abbey lay just four miles northwest of Earley – Thomas's home and family lands – and the family themselves had dealings with Reading Abbey. See: *Reading Abbey Cartularies* ed. B.R. Kemp (London, 1987), 2 Vols, ii, No.892. 'Thoma de Erleia' (likely Thomas Agnellus's brother) is referenced in a document dated 1204x1220.

Thomas Agnellus, *Treatise on the Young King*, ff.119vb-120ra

Beate quoque uirgini huius martyrii uirtus non defuit, cuius animam totiens doloris gladius transuerberauit. In eius namque pectoris sacrario ignis amaritudinum, tanquam in sartagine frixas, intrinsecus medullas excoquebat et materno affectu filio commemoriens holocaustum medullatum sub conscientie ministerio incendebat. Estuabat in altario interiori irrumpentium exacerbationum tempestas ualida et procellarum urentium salsugo conclusa, offerebatque cum filio se ipsam hostiam uiuam, clauis compassionis patibulo spiritus confixam. Hanc itaque, etsi uitam non finierit in ore gladii, gloriosius tamen illustratam credimus

Arnold of Bonneval, *De Septem Verbis Domini in Cruce*, cols.1693-1696:

Ubi sunt misericordiae tuae antiquae, Domine? Quid differs? Jam venit hora: mater tua coram te est, et Joannes quem diligis. Latroni loqueris, et matri non loqueris? Intuetur te illa in mulieribus benedicta, et confixis in te oculis, vulnera tua materna pietate considerat. Et, licet non ignoret quid boni conferat mundo passio tua, tamen parentis affectu commoritur, et pectus maternum immanitate doloris arctatur. Suspirat intrinsecus, et erumpentes revocat lacrymas, et eo amplius anxietas intumescit, quo prohibetur egredi, et per luctus lamentaque dissolvi. Emergebant quidem aliquando gemitus, sed increpati reprimebantur,

corona martyrii. In illo quoque discipulo, qui prerogatiua dilectionis a Domino singulariter honoratus est, martyrii meritum impleuit iniuria persecutionum, licet nature debitum exoluens ita expers extiterit a dolore passionis. Sic immunis fuerat a corruptione carnis.

revertebanturque in sinum mentis, de quo prodibant, et collidebant se ad invicem introrsus: eratque in anima illa tempestas valida, occurrentibus sibi procellis, et quasi in sartagine frixis medullis ebulliebant amaritudines, quas excoquebat et coagulabat exacerbatio perseverans. Imperabat quippe dolori silentium formido, et ringentium Judaeorum torvi in eam oculi illos turbines suffocabant. Verum illa tantarum procellarum salsuginem ebibebat. Et (quod difficillimum erat) moriebatur, et mori non poterat; et clauso tanti doloris tormento intrinsecus, alium vultum palam exhibebat; nec poterat ex facie colligi crux illa animae et patibulum spiritus, in quo erat hostia viva, beneplacens Deo et medullatum holocaustum: quod cum ipsa incenderet, tantum conscientiae ministerio utebatur ipsaque sine strepitu seipsam mactans, in altario interiori, et ligna et flammas et latices congerebat. Nimirum in tabernaculo illo duo videres altaria, aliud in pectore Mariae, aliud in corpore Christi. Christus carnem, Maria immolabat animam. Optabat quidem ipsa, ad sanguinem animae et carnis suae addere sanguinem, et elevatis in cruce manibus celebrare cum filio sacrificium vespertinum, et cum Domino Jesu corporali morte redemptionis nostrae consummare mysterium; sed hoc solius summi sacerdotis privilegium erat, ut de sanguine munus intra sancta inferret; nec poterat ei consors haec esse cum aliquo dignitas, et in reparatione hominis nulli angelo, nulli homini cum eo fuit, aut esse potuit communis

auctoritas. Cooperabatur tamen plurimum secundum modum suum ad propitiandum Deum ille matris affectus, cum tam propria quam matris vota charitas Christi perferret ad Patrem, cum quod mater peteret, Filius approbaret, Pater donaret. Diligebat Pater Filium, et Filius Patrem; mater vero post utrumque ardebat, unumque erat quod diversa exhibeant officia, quod Pater bonus, quod Filius pius, quod mater sancta intendebat, quod in commune elaborabat dilectio, simulque se complectebantur pietas, et charitas et bonitas, matre supplicante, Filio interpellante, Patre propitiante. Filius ad pectus matris et ubera, Pater ad Filii crucem et vulnera respiciebat.

Below: Here the Cistercian sources that Peter of Blois used in his sermons – namely the sermons of Baldwin of Forde and Bernard of Clairvaux – are illustrated. As demonstrated, Baldwin's sermons were a significant influence upon Peter's own sermonising; especially with regards to Peter's Sermon 17 (which, as noted in Chapter Six, combined elements from Baldwin's sermons 7 and 8 on obedience and the cross). Peter's Sermon 16, as shown below, also closely echoed Baldwin's Sermon 17 which explored the various types of lamentation. As we suggested in Chapter Six, it may have been in the aftermath of the Hackington dispute, and Baldwin's death, that Peter – valorising the learning and piety of Baldwin, and perhaps cognizant of a possible return to Bath to perform his archidiaconal office in person – drew from his sermons in composing his own. As noted in the introduction to this appendix, the comparisons below cannot claim to be exhaustive. A fuller comparison against the sermons of both Baldwin and Bernard will doubtless reveal further borrowings and adaptations made by Peter.

Baldwin of Forde (d.1190) *Sermones*	**Peter of Blois (d.1212) *Sermones***	**Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153) *Sermones***
	Sermon 4, 21: 'Ipse etiam Christus timuit. Ecce plusquam Jonas hic: id est Christus qui coepit taedere et turbari usque ad mortem. Christus dicit: '*Anima mea turbata est.*' [John 12:27]. Et: '*Pater! si fieri possit transeat a me calix iste.*' [Matthew 26:39]. Andreas clamat: "Salve crux pretiosa! securus et gaudens ad te venio, suscipe Discipulum ejus qui pependit in te magister meus Christus." [Antiphon for St Andrew's Day]. Nunquid magistro major est discipulus, aut domino servus? Attendite, fratres, ineffabilem et inaestimabilem abundantium suavitatis, et	**Sermon 1 in Natali S. Andreae, *SBO*, v, 430-431:** 'Unde et triplicem licet considerare gradum: incipientium, proficientium, perfectorum. '*Initium enim sapientiae, timor Domini*' [Psalm 110:10]; medium, spes; caritas, plenitudo. Denique Apostolum audi, quia '*plenitudo legis est caritas*' [Romans 13:10]. Qui initiatur a timore, crucem Christi sustinet patienter; qui proficit in spe, portat libenter; qui consummatur in caritate, amplectitur iam ardenter. Solus iste est qui dicere possit, quia

exuberantiam caritatis in Christo. Compatitur medicus et coinfirmatur infirmo: infirmatur gallina cum pullis: ut plenum fieret holocaustum, ut opus misericordiae consummatae impleretur in Christo: sicut patiebatur pro nobis in carne: sic animae passiones voluit sustinere. Mihi trepidat, mihi turbatur, mihi taedat, mihi toti patitur: et toti compatitur.'

"amator tuus semper fui et desideravi amplecti te." [Antiphon for St Andrew's Day]. Longe est vox ista ab eo qui sustinet quidem, sed optaret omnino, si posset, non venisse in hanc horam. Denique, si non videor temerarius, longe est ab ea voce: '*Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste*' [Matthew 26:39]. Quid enim? Certe super asellum ascenderat, ut ne hic quidem hostibus relinqueretur. Agnosco plane in duce belli pusillanimorum trepidationem, agnosco aegroti vocem in medico, agnosco infirmatam gallinam cum pullis: considero caritatem, stupero miserationem, expavesco dignationem. Misericors Dominus non beati Andreae robustum sibi suscepit affectum, quia '*non est sanis opus medicus, sed male habentibus*' [Matthew 9:12]. Si quem forte dignatio scandalizat, plane meretur audire 'Nonne oculus tuus nequam est, quia ego bonus?' […] Quid magnum fuerat, Domine Iesu, si, accedente hora propter quam veneras, intrepidus stares, tamquam qui potestatem habebas ponendi animam tuam, et

nemo tollebat eam a te? Aut non longe gloriosius fuit, quando quidem totum propter nos agebatur, ut non modo passio corporis, sed etiam cordis affectio pro nobis faciat, et quos vivificat mors tua, tua nihilominus et trepidatio robustos, et maestitia laetos, et taedium alacres, et turbatio quietos faciat, et desolatio consolatos?'

Sermon 12, 58: 'Erit quando non offeretur in templo, nec in Jerusalem, sed extra Jerusalem. Erit quando non offeretur inter brachia Simeonis, sed inter brachia crucis. Veniet dies, quando non redimetur avibus sicut hodie, sed ipse nos redimet in sanguine suo: quia ipsum redemptionem misit Dominus populo suo. Illud enim erit sacrificium vespertinum: istud est sacrificium matutinum. Gaudeas mater in sacrificio matutino, quia in vespertino dolebis, et tuam ipsius animam pertransabit gladius…'

Sermon 3, *SBO*, iv, 342-343: 'Veniet, quando non in templo offeretur, nec inter brachia Simeonis, sed extra civitatem inter brachia crucis. Veniet, quando non redimetur alieno, sed alios redimet sanguine proprio, quia redemptionem eum misit Deus Pater populo suo. Illud erit sacrificium vespertinum, istud est matutinum…'

Sermon 14, 64: '*Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in jejunio, et fletu: et scindite corda vestra, et non vestimenta*

Sermon 2 in Quadragesima, *SBO*, iv, 359: '*Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in ieiunio, et*

vestra' [Joel 2:12-13]. Scit nos esse aversos a se, qui ad se converti nos admonet. Sed quo convertemur? quocunque me vertam, sive ad dexteram, sive ad sinistram, '*sive ascendam in coelum, sive descendam ad infernum*'[Psalm 138:8], Domine, tu ubique es, qui omnia imples: sed converti praecipimur corde, non corpore'.

fletu, et planctu, et scindite corda vestra et non vestimenta vestra' [Joel 2:12-13], ait Dominus omnipotens. Quid sibi vult, dilectissimi, quod praecepit Dominus, ut convertamur ad eum? Ubique enim est, omnia replet, et nihilominus complectitur universa. Qua me vertam, ut convertar ad te, Domine Deus meus? '*Si ascendero in caelum, tu illic es; si descendero in infernum, ades*' [Psalm 138:8]. Quid iubes? Quo convertar ad te? Supra, an infra? Ad dexteram, an ad sinistram?

S17, Section 25, 276-277: 'Hee quattuor cause meroris – prima de timore peccatorum que fecimus; secunda de periculo temptationum quas sustinemus; tercia de pondere tribulationum quo nunc urgemur; quarta de iudicio dampnationis quo terremur – a propheta, sed alio ordine, nobis insinuatur. 'Circumderunt', inquit, 'me dolores mortis; et torrentes iniquitatis conturbauerunt me. Dolores inferni

S16, 71: 'Lugere possumus et debemus bona quae amisimus, et mala quae commisimus: ecce primum testimonium: Pericula quae sentimus, ecce secundum: Tribulationes quibus urgemur, ecce tertium: Terrorem future judicii, ecce quartum. Istam lugendi quadripertitam materiam Psalmista distinguit dicens: '*Circumdederunt me dolores mortis: et torrentes iniquitatis conturbaverunt me. Dolores inferni circumdederunt me: praeoccupaverunt me laquei mortis* [Psalm 17:5-6]. Dolores mortis persequutiones sunt, et pressurae quas

circumdederunt me; preoccupauerunt me laquei mortis [Psalm 17:5-6]. Dolores quippe mortis sunt dolores in morte et ante mortem, qui mortem indesinenter accelerant, et sicut preambuli mortis eam semper annuntiant. Responsum enim mortis habemus in nobis. *Torrentes iniquitatis* [Psalm 17:5] inundantes impetus peccatorum, que sicut torrens in precipitium semper uadunt, et nos secum trahunt.'

S17, Section 10-11, 271-272: 'Prima ergo lugendi causa est de malis commissis et de bonis amissis. Mala que commisimus, quis dinumeret? '*Multiplicate sunt*', inquit, '*iniquitates mee super capillos capitis mei.*' [Psalm 39:13]. Bona que perdidimus, quis item dinumeret? '*Cogitaui*', ait, '*dies antiquos, et annos eternos in mente habui*'. Nam et hos et illos perdidimus: '*dies*', scilicet, '*antiquos*', in quibus conditus fuit Adam bonus et beatus, adeo ut posset nunquam mori; et '*annos patimur*: et sunt quaedam praembula mortis. Responsum enim mortis habemus in nobis. *Torrentes iniquitatis* [Psalm 17:5] sunt impetus peccatorum: dolores inferni per se patent: laquei mortis, tentationes sunt, et retiacula inimici.'

S16, 72: De malis commissis luget propheta: '*Multiplicatae*', inquit, *sunt iniquitates meae super capillos capitis mei*' [Psalm 39:13] De bonis vero omissis admonuit: '*defecerunt in vanitate dies mei*' [Psalm 77:33] '*et anni mei in gemitibus*' [Psalm 30:11]. Si aperiantur **cataractae capitis mei, et effundantur in lacrymas**: si disrumpantur fontes aquarum, ut de abysso cordis mei per lacrymas inundet diluvium aquarum multarum : non potero lugere ad plenum

eternos', quibus donandus erat si non peccasset, ut nunquam posset mori. Hec quidem nos in Adam. At nos in nobis quanta bona preripuimus nobis? Quanta bona potuimus facere, et non fecimus? Quot curricula temporum inaniter consumpsimus? Quam innumerabiles dies nobis male aut nichil agentibus fluxerunt, et in decursum labiles traxerunt? **11:** O ubi estis, fontes aquarum; ubi nunc estis, fontes lacrimarum, ut lugere queam dampna uite mee, et dampna pariter innocentie mee? Vitam aperiantur '*cataracte celi*' desuper; utinam dirumpantur '*fontes abyssi magni*', et inundet diluuium aquarum multarum super terram cordis mei, ut dispereant qui habitant in ea, quia proni sunt omnes sensus mei in mala ab adolescentia mea mala quae feci, dies quos perdidi, qui iniquitatem quasi aquam ab adolescentia mea bibi.[1]

[1] The words in bold 'cataractae capitis mei, et effundantur in lacrimis' from Peter's sermon echo Aelred of Rievaulx's words in *De Speculo Caritatis*, ed. C.H. Talbot in *Opera Ascetica I* eds. A. Hoste, C.H. Talbot, R. Vander Plaetse. CCCM 1 (Turnhout, 1971), Bk.1, 104, 59: 'Rumpantur cataractae miseri capitis, deducant oculi lacrimas per diem et noctem' (Let waterfalls burst forth from your wretched head, and your eyes bring forth tears day and night). It was also used by Peter in his letters. See: Ep.49, 102, 149, 212.

S17, Sections 16-17, 273-274: 'Cum peccata lugens lugeo, et de remedio penitentie consolationem quero, adest et alia lugendi causa de temptationibus immissis, licet non admissis, que undique circumuallant et circumcingunt, ut non appareat ubi exitus pateat. Nam milia temptationum insurgunt in me: alie supra me, alie intra uel infra me, alie circa me, et omnes contra me; et cum una derelinquit, mox alia apprehendit; dum una cedit, altera succedit; et non est pax spiritui meo in medio earum. Nam quod uideo, quod audio, quod ago, quod cogito, quod uolo, quod nolo, quod placet, quod displicet, denique totum quod uiuo, temptatio michi est, sicut scriptum est: '*Temptatio est uita hominis super terram*' [Job 7:1 – Vetus Latina]. **17:** Inter has autem temptationes, tam multas, tam molestas, tam importunas, tam perplexas et inextricabiles, quibus me expedire non possum, sepe uita ipsa michi tedio est; et dum consolationem

Sermon 16, 72-73: Secunda lugendi materia est pressura tentationum, quae nos circumquaque angustiant: aliae supra nos, aliae infra nos, aliae circa nos, et omnes contra nos. In omnibus quae cogitamus. quae agimus, quae dicimus, quas acquirimus, quae amittimus. In omnibus quae placent, quae displicent, quae adjuvant, vel quae nocent: in omnibus tentamur, et affligimur. Denique totum tentatio est, quod sumus, quod vivimus. Sicut legitur: '*Tentatio est vita horainis super terram*' [Job 7:1 – Vetus Latina]. Et hoc est quod beatus Job dicit : '*Homo natus de muliere brevi vivens lerapore repletur multis miseriis*' [Job 14:1]. Revera multae sunt hominis miseriae, qui in miseria nascitur, in miseria nutritur, in miseria consumitur. Miseria sumus intus pleni, foris miseria circumdati. Inter has tentationum angustias, Paulus clamare compellitur: '*Infelix ego homo quis me liberabit a corpore mortis hujus?*' [Romans 7:24]. **Et alibi: '*Supra modum gravati sumus*' [2 Corinthians 1:8]**: ita quod taedeat etiam nos vivere.'

quero, magis eam inuenio in sanctorum infirmitate quam in proprio uirtute. Audio enim Paulum, in medio temptationum in coartatum, ut clamare compellatur: '*Infelix ego homo: quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?*' [Romans 7:24].

S17, Sections 19-20, 274-275: 'Preter mala que uitam nostram maculant, et mala que nos ad culpam temptant, urgent nos alia que culpam purgant. Alia recte dixerim, quia alia sunt genera temptationum quibus resistitur non consentiendo, alia genera passionum et tribulationum quibus exercemur tolerando. Et quamuis in eisdem rebus plerumque temptemur ad culpam et exerceamur per penam, aliud tamen est quod timemus in temptation, aliud quod dolemus in tribulatione. Hic culpa in causa est; illic pena. **20:** Habent autem et hec mala, quibus scilicet tribulamur, tedia sua at lacrymas suas. Testis est Helias, qui proiecit se subter

Sermon 16, 73: 'Sed et Jonas dicit : *Irascor usque ad mortem*' [Jonah 4:9]. Elias etiam inter varias tentationes, et pressuras petivit animae suae ut moreretur: '*Sufficit*, inquit, 'mihi; *tolle animam meam*.' [3 Kings 19:4]. David quoque tentationum pondus profitebatur cum lacrymis dicens: '*In increpationibus propter iniquitatem corripuisti hominem. Exaudi orationem meam, Domine: auribus percipe lacrymas meas*.' [Psalm 38:11-13] Terrere nos potest expectatio futuri judicii, ubi erit in judice severa aequitas, in tortoribus severa et inaudita crudelitas, in poenis intolerabilis, et aeterna anxietas. Et quis poterit sustinere diem adventus ejus: aut quis stabit ad videndum eum? Quis enim habitare poterit cum igne devorante? aut quis habitabit cum ardoribus sempiternis? [Isaiah 33:14]

umbram unius iuniperi, et petiuit anime sue ut moreretur, dicens: '*Sufficit michi: tolle animam meam*' [3 Kings 19:4]. **Testis et Paulus, qui et ipse dicit: '*Supra modum grauati sumus, ita ut tederet nos etiam uiuere*.' [2 Corinthians 1:8]**[2] Testis et Ionas, qui dicit: '*Irascor usque ad mortem*.' [Jonah 4:9]. Et de tediis sic dictum sit. Nam de gemitu uel lacrimis probat, qui dicit: '*Omnis creatura ingemiscit et parturit usque adhuc. Non solum autem illa, sed et nos, primitias Spiritus habentes, et ipsi intra nos gemiscimus*.' [Romans 8:22-23]. Et psalmista: '*A fortitudine manus tue ego defici in increpationibus: propter iniquitatem corripuisti hominem*.' [Psalm 38:11-12]. Et de lacrimis adiungit: '*Exaudi orationem meam, Domine, et deprecationem meam: auribus percipe lacrimas meas*.' [Psalm 38:13].

Section 23, 276: 'Si autem adeo graue est quod nunc urget, ut lacrimas extorqueat, Justus dicit: '*In me, Domine, transierunt irae tuae: et terrores tui conturbaverunt me*.' [Psalm 87:17]. Hoc ultimam ad poenam refertur aeternam. Job etiam dicit : '*Sagittae Domini in me sunt: quarum indignatio ebibit spiritum meum: et terrores militant contra me*.' [Job 6:4]. Quod dicit: '*Sagittae Domini in me sunt*': hoc est '*in me transierunt irae tuae*.' Quod dicit, '*Terrores militant contra me*': hoc est '*terrores tui conturbaverunt me*.' Sunt tamen lacrymae suaves et dulces, quae de future gaudii expectatione procedunt. Unde propheta: '*Posuisti lacrymas meas in conspectus tuo, sicut et in promissione tua*.' [Psalm 55:9] '*Quando veniam, et apparebo ante faciem Domini: fuerunt mihi lacrymae meae panes die ac nocte*.' [Psalm 41:3-4].

[2] 2 Corinthians 1:8 was also used by Peter a few lines before the quoted extract, and is also noted in **bold** in the quoted extract 'S16, 72-73' above beginning *'Secunda lugendi materia est…'*

quanto magis lacrimas eliciat quod in posterum terret? Illud enim eternum est; illud omnino intolerabile. '*Quis*', enim '*poterit habitare cum igne deuorante*', aut, '*quis habitat cum ardoribus sempiternis?*' [Isaiah 33:14]. Quid ergo mirum, si timor iste habeat luctum suum? Quis enim sapiens est, et non desideret extinguere lacrimis ignem inextinguibilem? '*In me transierunt*', inquit iustus, '*Domine ire tue*': hoc ad penam transitoriam que nunc urget; '*et terrores tui conturbuerunt me*': hoc ad eternam que plus terret. Et beatus Iob: '*Sagitte Domini in me sunt*', hoc est: '*In me transierunt ire tue*'; quod dicit: '*terrores militant contra me*', hoc est: '*et terrores tui conturbauerunt me.*'

Sermon 7, Sections 1-3, 105: 'Quantum sit obedientie bonum, et quantum e diuerso inobedientie malum, cotidie intimatur sensibus nostris, suggeritur cordibus nostris, ut non possit homo obedientiam ignorare,

Sermon 17, 75: 'Quanta sit obedientie uirtus prius declarat Altissimus in universis quae ab eo creata sunt. Postea in seipso, qui universitatis creator est. Coleum et terra, mare et omnia quae in eius sunt, eum audiunt, et obediunt voci ejus. Terra ad nutum

quam non licet dissimulare. Cuncta enim que sunt *in celo sursum et in terra deorsum* [Deuteronomy 4:39] lege obedientie et uirtute reguntur, et imposite indictionis regulam amplectuntur et seruant, sicut scriptum est: *Ordinatione tua perseuerat dies, quoniam omnia seruiunt tibi* [Psalm 118:91]. Creatoris uoluntatem illa sentiunt etiam que sentire non possunt; et que non audiunt, *uocem eius audiunt* [John 10:3]; et que ratione donata non sunt, ipsius nutibus rationabiliter obtemperant et fideliter obsecuntur. Venti et mare obediunt ei, [Matthew 8:27] et *ignis, grando, nix, glacies spiritus procellarum que faciunt uerbum eius* [Psalm 148:8]. Iustum quippe est ut faciant uerbum eius quecumque fecit uerbum eius; et uoluntatem ipsius faciant uniuersa que fecit uoluntas ipsius' Sola rationalis creatura se huic uniuersali legi subtraxit; et ab humeris suis obedientie iugum excussit atque reiecit quod reliqua uniuersitas creaturarum pari et inuiolabili ipsius protulit herbam virentem: et lignum pomiferum juxta genus suum, etc, quae longum est dicere. Coeli diviserunt aquas ab aquis, et luminaria susceperunt: sed et luminaria vocata, juxta verbum prophetae, dixerunt: '*Adsumus et luxerunt ei cum jocunditate.*' [Baruch 3:35]. '*Mare et venti obediunt ei.*'[Matthew 8:27]. '*Ignis, grando, nix, glacies, Spiritus procellarum, quae faciunt verbum eius.*' [Psalm 148:8]. Verbum ejus omnia facit: quia verbo ejus facta sunt omnia. Omnia obediunt Altissimo et conserviunt. Sicut scriptum est: '*Ordinatione tua perseverat dies: quoniam omnia serviunt tibi.*' [Psalm 118:91]. Solus homo qui ad hoc spiritualiter creatus erat, ut suo Creatori serviret, servire contemnit: ergo omnis creatura merito insurgebat pro Domino in accusationem et damnationem hominis.'

deuotione custodit. Confunditur itaque ex comparatione omnium rerum humana superbia, et inobedientie nostre uitium totus mundus accusat et detestatur, ut quasi uox omnis creatura sit: "Erubesce, o homo; erubesce, o homo!"

Sermon 8 Section 4, 127: 'Hos fructus apprehendit que in Canticis canticorum dicit: '*Ascendam in palmam, et apprehendam fructus eius*.' [Song of Songs 7:8]. Que est enim hac palma nisi crux uictoriosa? Per hanc nimirum uictus est mundus et princeps huius mundi; per hanc mors destructa est, et qui habebat mortis imperium eterna confusione confusus est'

Sermon 17, 77: 'Et hoc est quod in Canticis sponsae quandoque praedixerat: '*Ascendam in palmam, et apprehendam fructus ejus*.' [Song of Songs 7:8]. Crux christi, sive fides: crucis palma, victoria est. Haec est victoria quae vincit mundum: quae triumphat principem hujus mundi. Plane mors destructa est: et qui habebat mortis imperium, victus et ejectus est'.

Sermon 8, Section 4, 127: 'Crux, supreme uilitatis supplicium et spectantium ludibrium, honoris pariter et uite exterminium, felici commercio pro

Sermon 17, 77: 'Crux quae olim fuerat extremae vilitatis, et exquisitae damnationis supplicium hodie elevata est in magnificentia et gloria. Et de tormentis latronum translata est ad fronts imperatorum et regum: et ad capita summorum pontificum. Multi et

contumelia gloriam nobis recompensat et pro morte uitam

Section 5, 128: 'Quod erat ad contumeliam, translatum est ad gloriam. Adorant imperatores, ubi pendebant latrones. Adorant iusti, ubi patiebatur mali. Supplicium iniquitatis, redemptio est peccatoris.'

Section 6, 128: Huc '*uenite qui laboratis et onerati estis*' [Matthew 11:28], quicumque deliquistis et gratia Dei indigetis'.

admirabiles sunt fructus crucis: '*venite ad eam omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis*' [Matthew 11:28], qui lapsi et confracti, et collisi estis.'

Sermon 8, Section 19, 131: 'Virtus crucis multitudine signorum pulcrius elucescit. Post transitum maris rubri, uenitur in Marath: *nec poterant bibere aquas de Marath, eo quod essent amare* [Exodus 15:23]. *Ostendit* Dominus Moysi *lignum, quod cum misisset in aquas, in dulcedinem verse sunt* [Exodus 15:25]. Intelligite et hic mysterium crucis. Aque amare, lacrime sunt penitentie.

Sermon 17, 78: 'Haec sunt mysteria: haec sunt beneficia crucis: haec est quae eduxit filios Israel de Aegypto, quae nos ab aeterna captivitate redemit. Haec est virga quae devoravit dracones Pharaonis: haec est quae aquas de Petra eduxit: quae de corde lapideo poenitentiales lacrymas effluere facit: haec est quae dulcoravit aquas Marath: quia omnem dolorem suavissimum facit'.

Section 24, 132: 'Si enim per obdurationem cordis nos petra sumus, que uirtus, que potestas, que uirga percussionis aut comminationis aquas salutifere penitentie de corde nostro elicere potest, nisi crux Christi?'

Sermon 8, Sections 7-8, 128-129: 'Crux *principatus est* Christi *super humerum ejus* [Isaiah 9:6], sceptrum imperii, scala celi, clauis paradisi. Crux morsus est inferni, cruciatus diaboli, apertio clausorum, ereptio captiuorum. Crux abolitio est peccati, deletio cyrographi, quod erat contrarium nobis, consumptio mortis, restitutio libertatis. Crux omnia instaurat que in celo, munum reconciliat, pax hominum, gaudium angelorum. **8:** Crux finis miserie, exilii meta, modus huius nostre tribulationis, terminus peregrinationis. Crux fiducia peccatorum, erectio lapsorum, profectus incipientium, consummatio perfectorum. Crux institutio

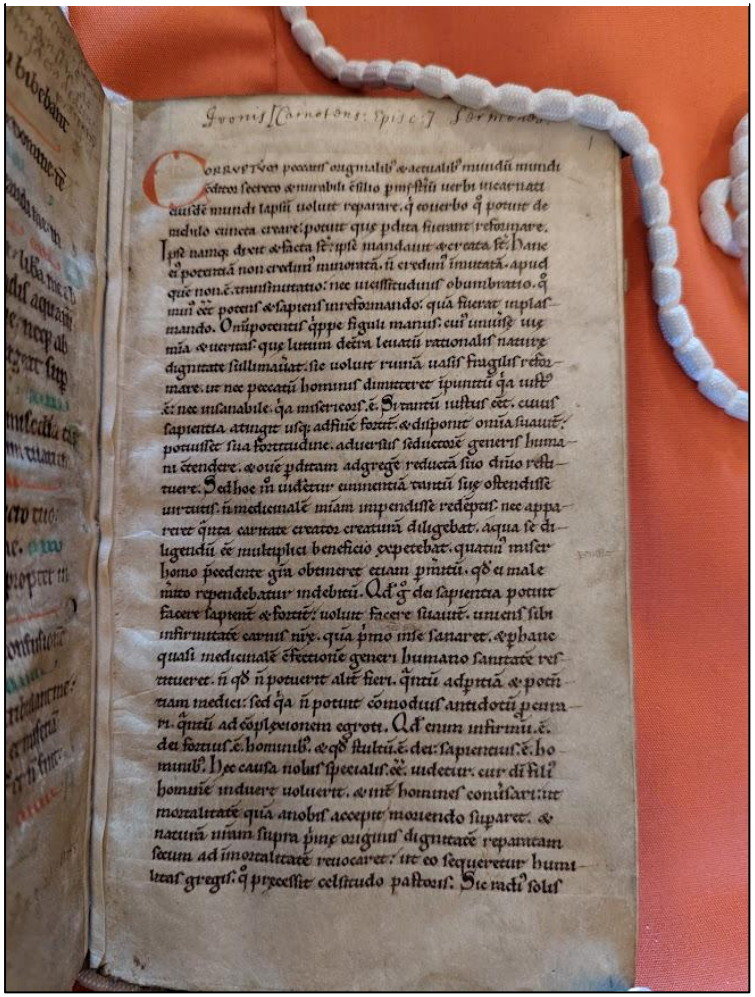
Sermon 17, 78: 'Crux equidem nobis est arca testamenti. Haec est nobis propitiatorium exauditionis, vexillum salutis, titulus sanctitatis. Spes victoriae foedus et arca divinae gratiae, character Christianae militianae, fundamentum fidei, subversio inimici, spolatio inferni, scala coeli, janua paradisi, revelatio lapsorum, clausorum apertio, consolatio afflictorum, tutela corporum, armatura spirituum, salus viventium, vita mortuorum, liberatio captivorum, humilium consolatio, et dejectio superborum, turris Davis, specula Sion, generalis omnium salus, unicum omnium et commune refugium'

religionis, regula districtionis, censura iusticie, austeritas discipline. Crux mortificatio carnis, castigatio corporis, caracter christianae militie, stigma Christi in corpore. Crux gratia pauperum, confusio diuitium, uirtus pugnantium, exprobratio fugientium. Crux testimonium fidei in fronte, munimentum cordis in pectore, armatura fortis contra insidias temptatoris. Crux affectus cordis mitigat, estus temptationum refrigerat, releuat pondus tribulationis, contempnit seuitiam persecutionis. Crux fidei firmamentum, spei fundamentum, incitamentum dilectionis, exemplum emultationis. Crux origo uirtutum, extinctio uitiorum, uetustatis absumptio et ueterum innouatio. Crux tribunal iudicis, statera equitatis, pondus meritorum, distributio premiorum. Crux ferculum Salomonis, ascensus purpureus, reclinatorium pietatis, propiciatorium exauditionis. Crux legis adimpletio, euangelii

sanctio, declaratio figurarum, exibitio
ueritatis'.

Figures

Figure 1: The beginning of Ivo's Sermon 6 in MS.Q.G.5, f.1r. By permission of the Master & Fellows of Jesus College Cambridge



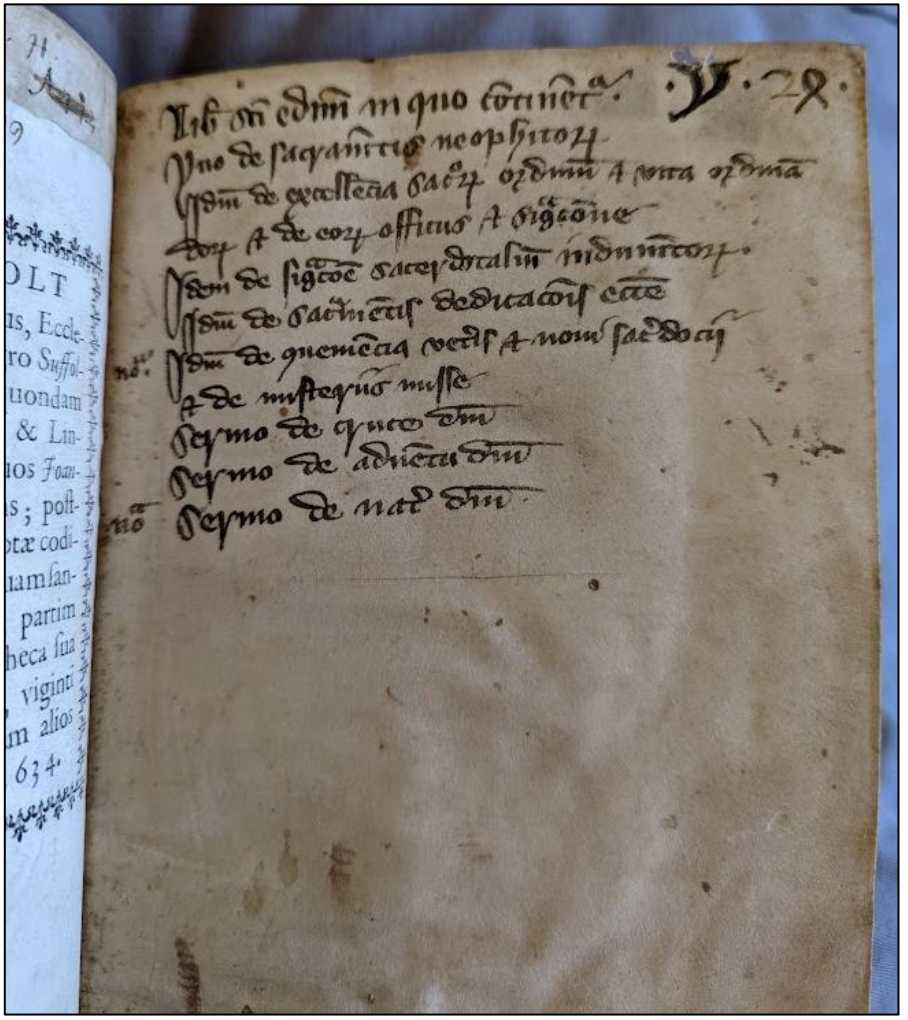


Figure 2: A flyleaf contents list in MS. Laud. Misc. 52. Note item eight 'Sermo de cruce domini' corresponding to Ivo's Sermon 6 in MS.Q.G.5 opposite.

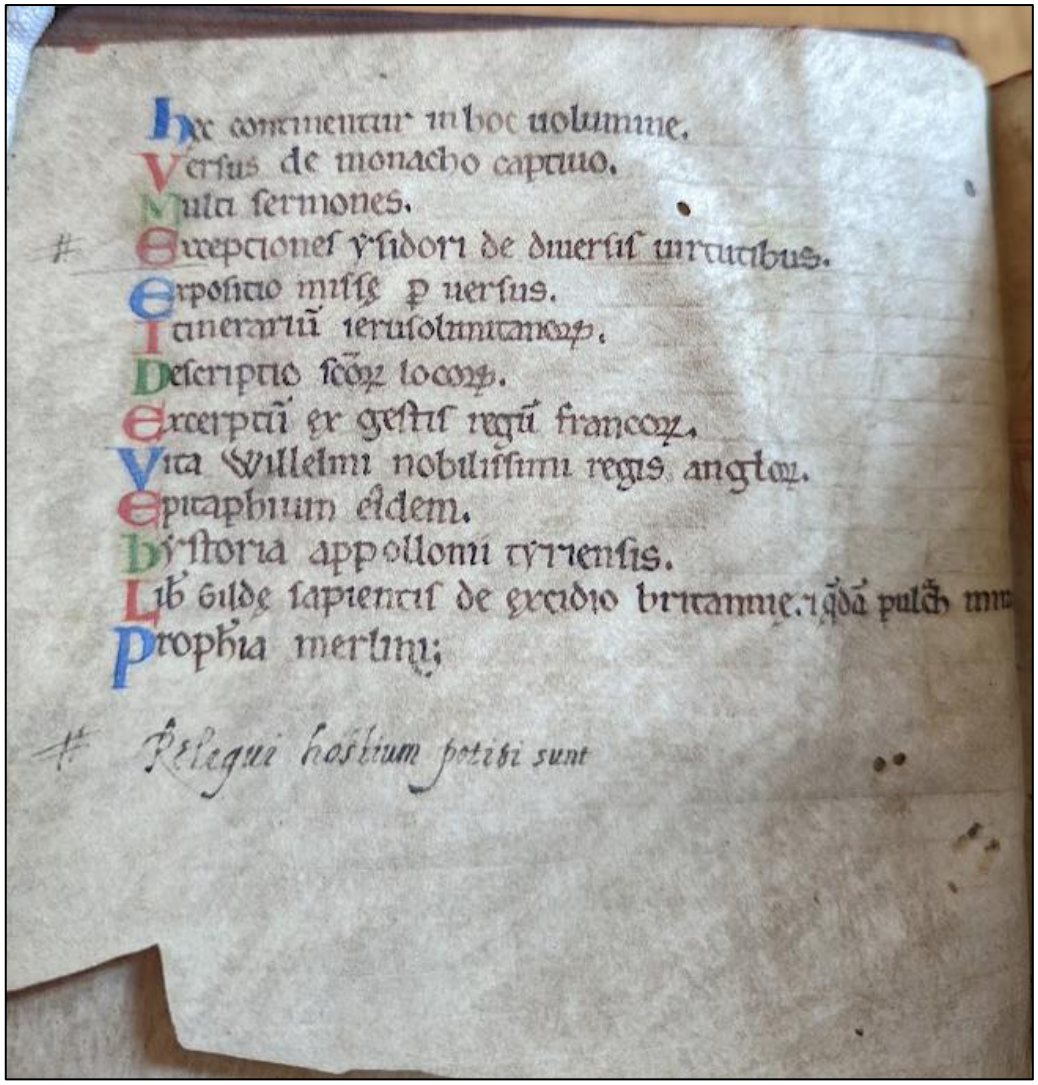


Figure 3: Flyleaf contents list showing the eclectic contents of Merton College Oxford MS. 241, f.1v.

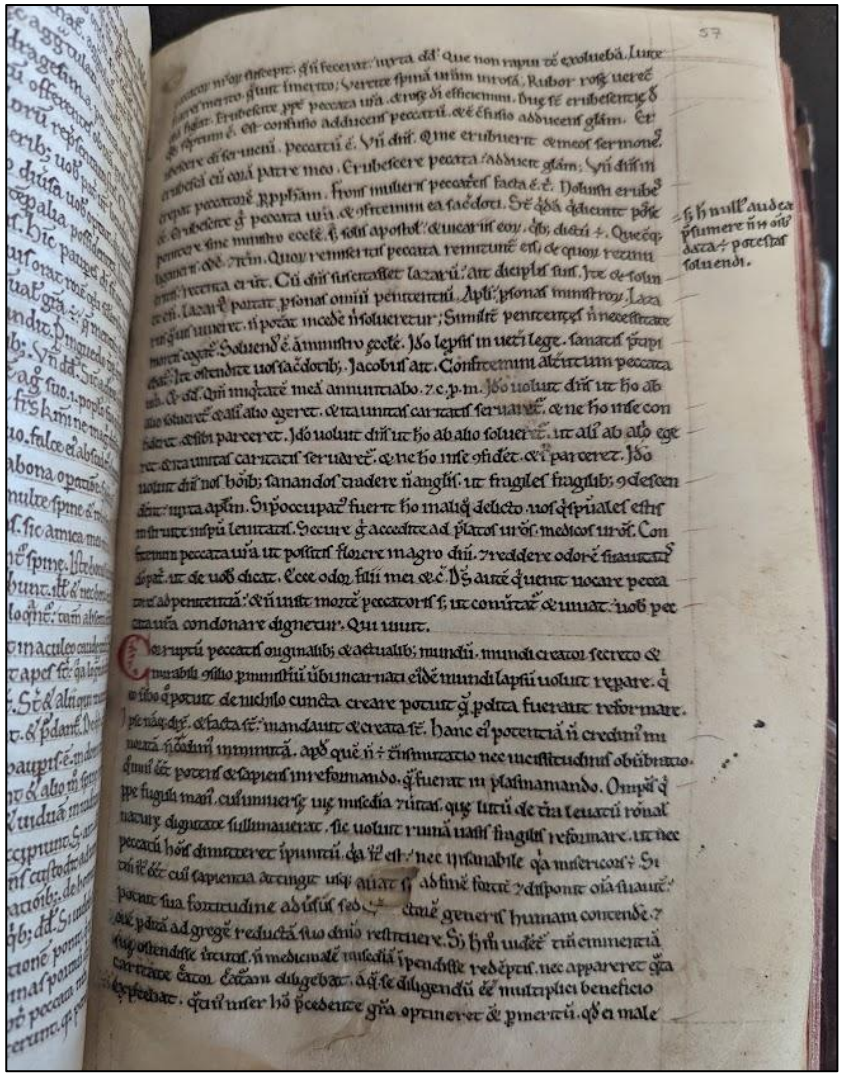


Figure 4: The start of Ivo's Sermon 6, preceded by the end of Geoffrey's Babion's Sermon 18 in Merton College Oxford MS.241, f.57r.

Figure 5: The start of Ivo's Sermon 6, with a long summary title added in cramped red lettering. MS.233, f.38r. Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral.

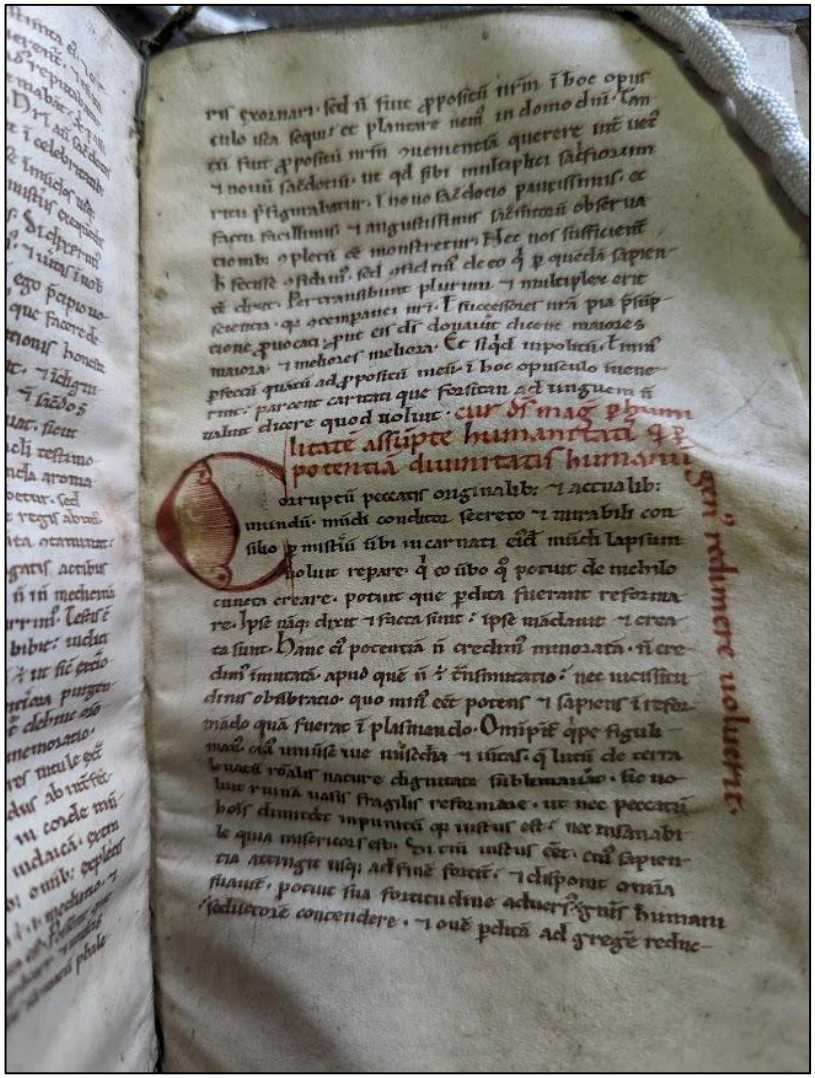
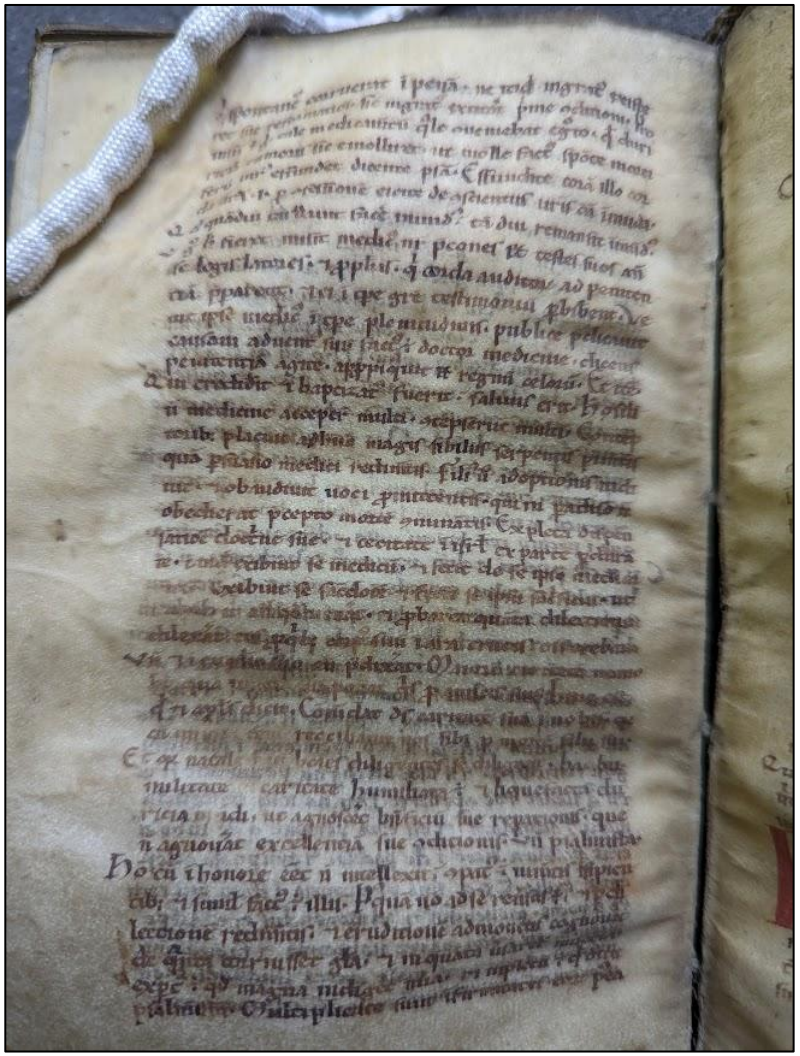


Figure 6: Text from Ivo's Sermon 6, corresponding to that printed in cols.565-566 of the PL edition. Note the level of wear. MS. 233, f.40v. Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral.



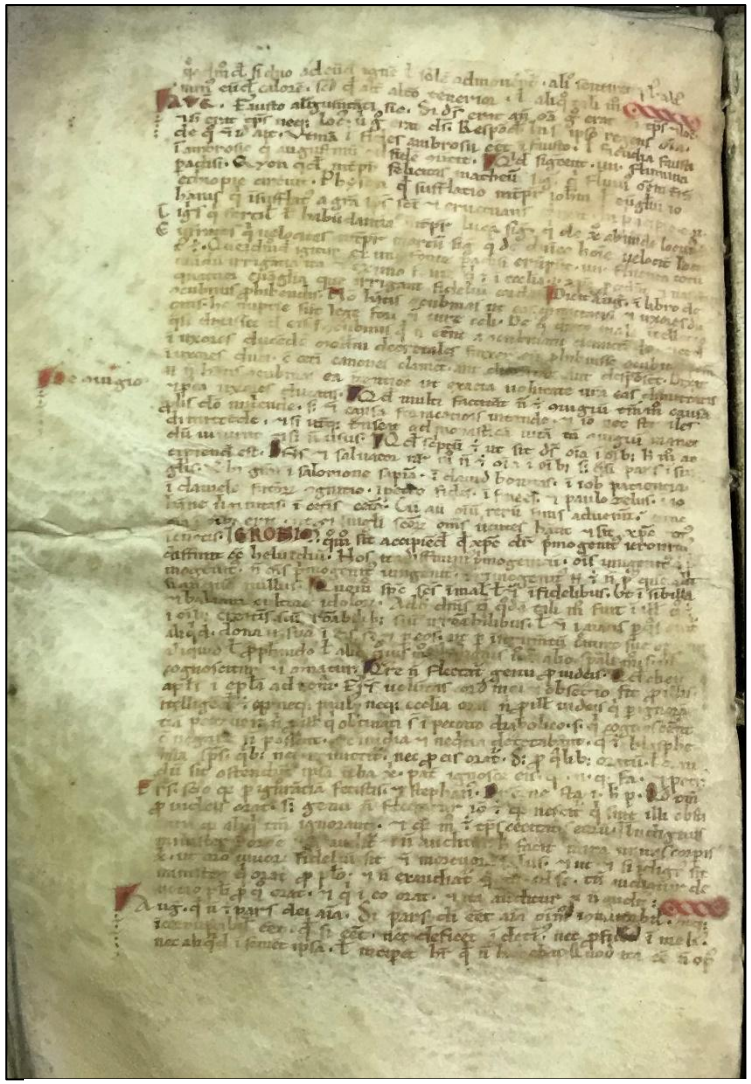


Figure 7: Sentences on marriage. Note the marginal annotation 'De coniugio' and the level of wear to the manuscript. MS.233, f.90v. Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral.

Figure 8: The opening to the sermons in MS.Q.B.8, beginning with Geoffrey Babion's Sermon 41 with the rubric 'De episcopis et unitate ecclesie'. Note the attribution to Augustine and the catalogue mark 'A' at the top of the folio above column B. By permission of the Master & Fellows of Jesus College, Cambridge

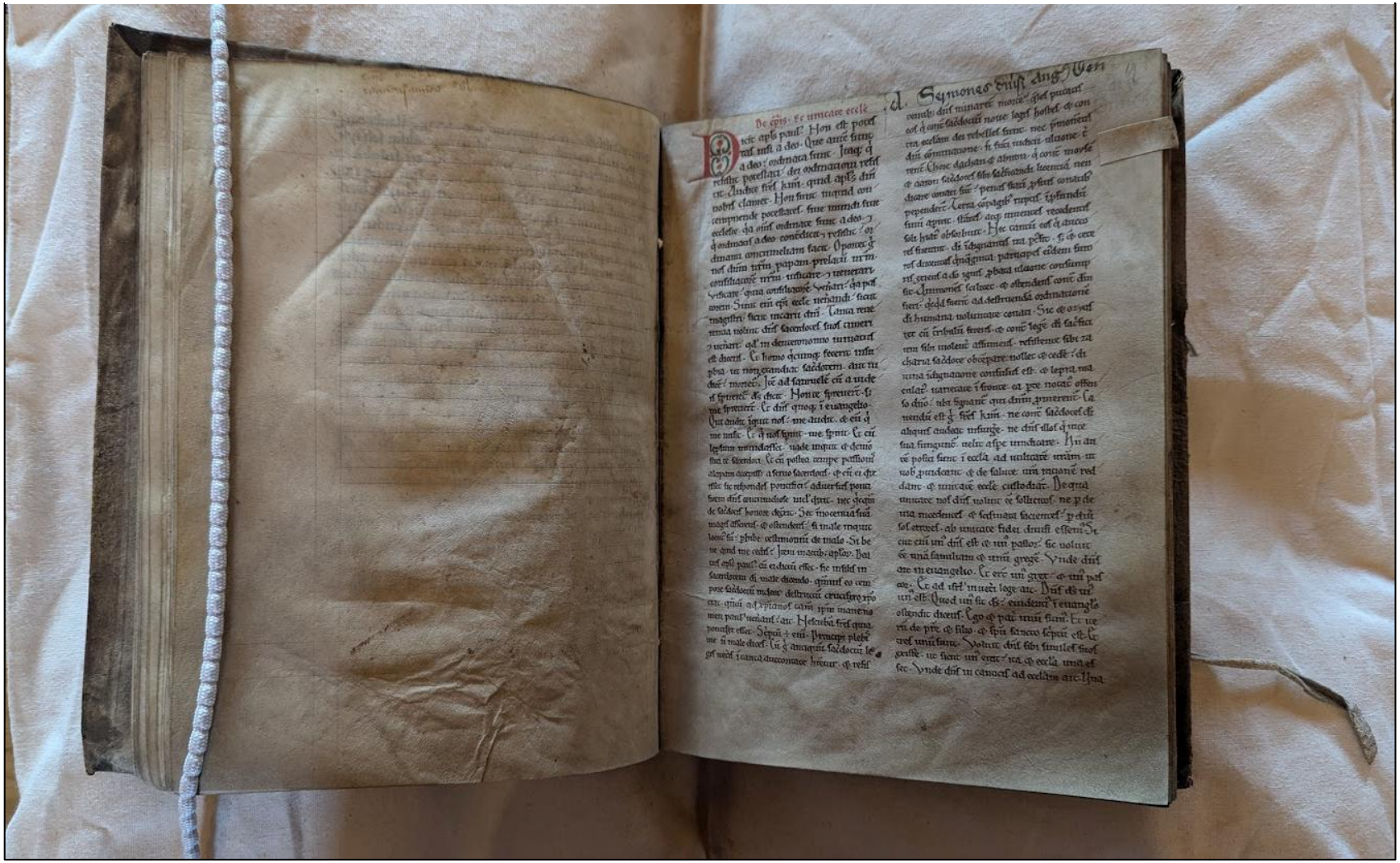
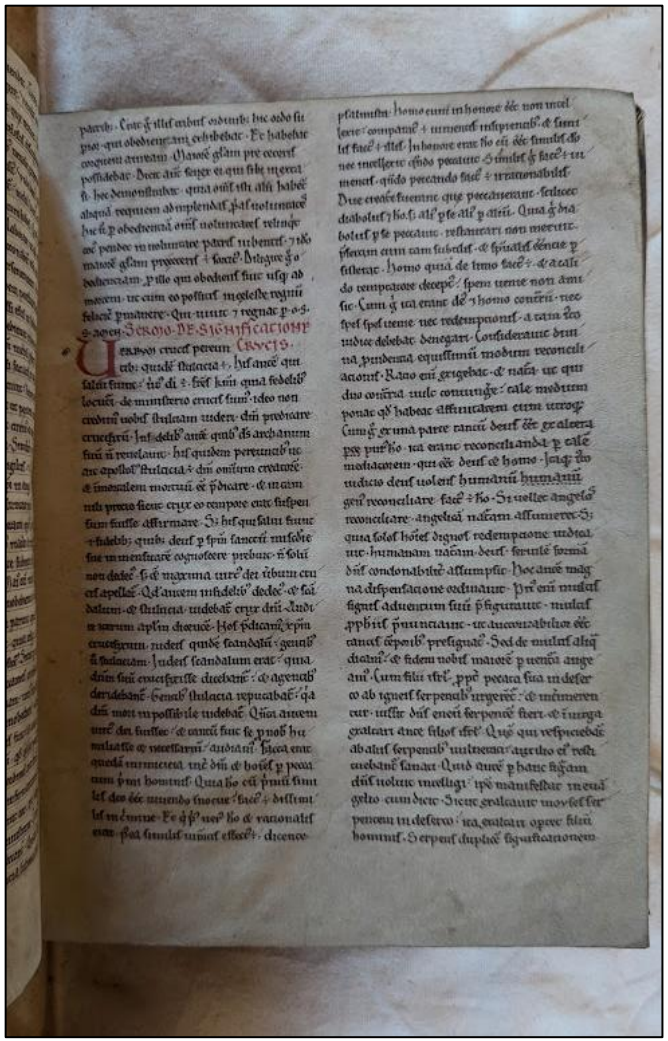


Figure 9: The beginning of Geoffrey's Sermon 28 for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, with the rubric 'Sermo de significatione crucis'. MS.Q.B.8, f.43r. By permission of the Master & Fellows of Jesus College Cambridge.



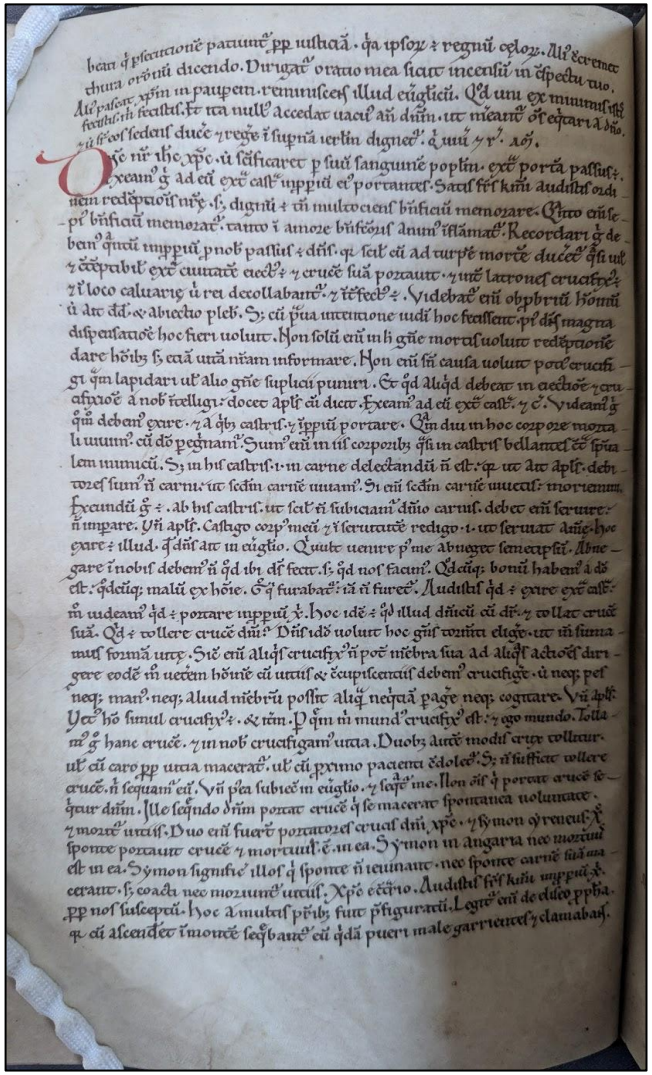


Figure 10: The beginning of Geoffrey's Sermon 16 for Palm Sunday, with its potential 'Abelardian' influences. MS. K.23, f.17v. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

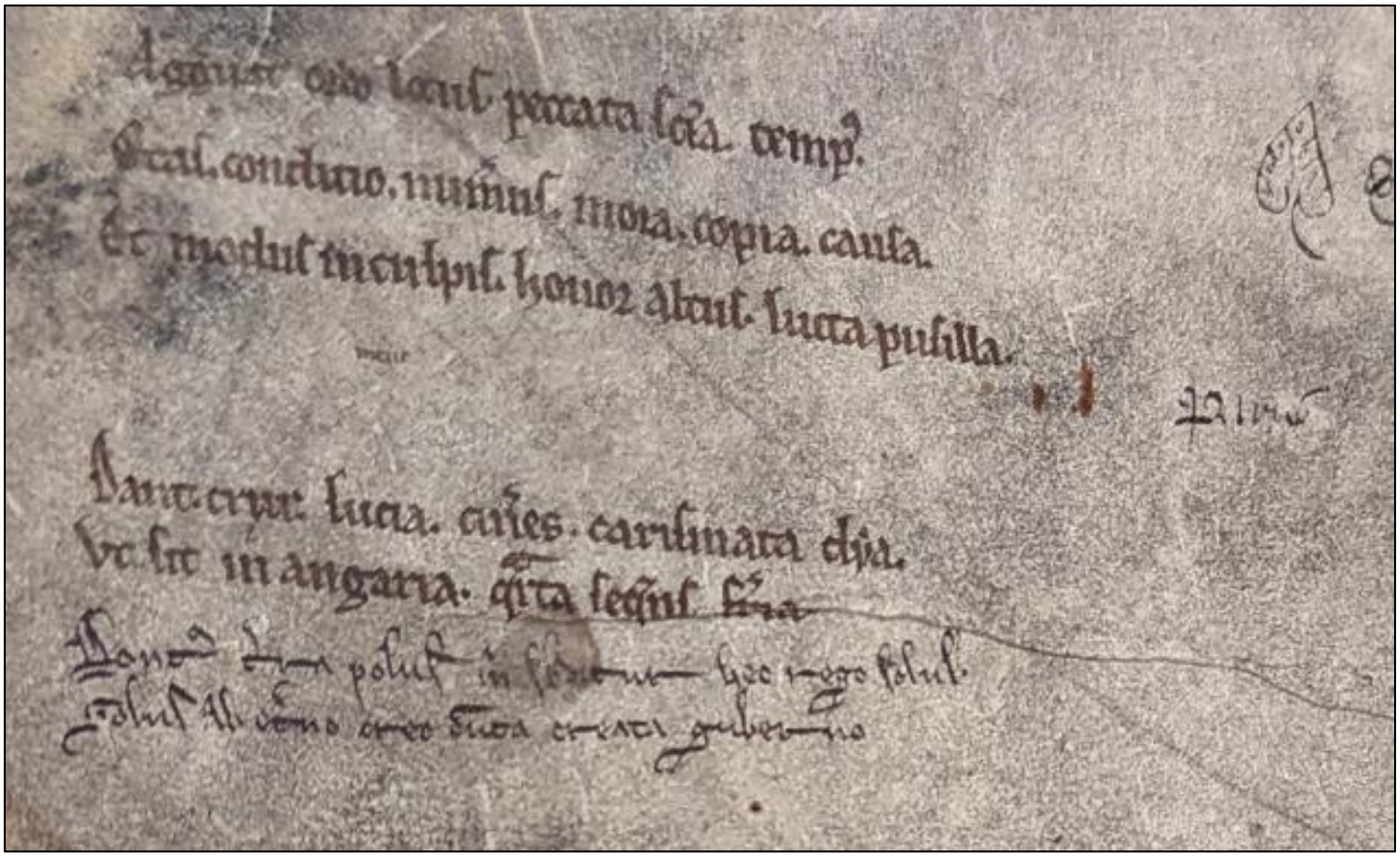


Figure 11: Notes on the penance and the ember days along with a set of later verses at the back of St John's College, Cambridge MS.K.23, f.78v. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

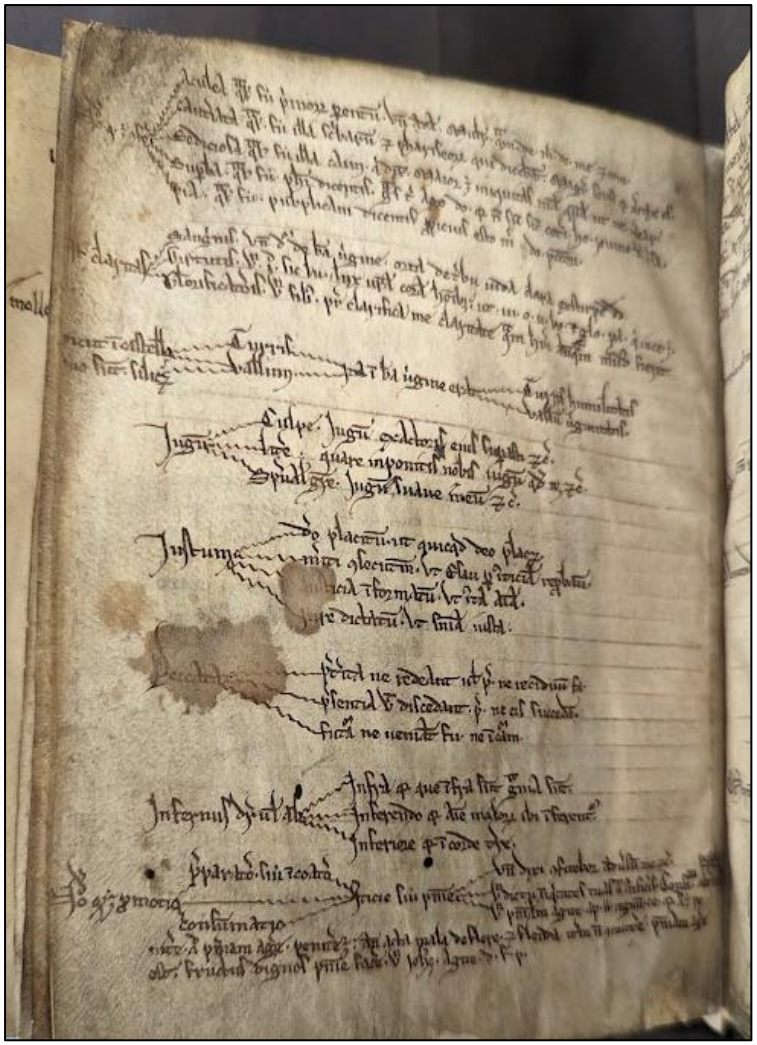
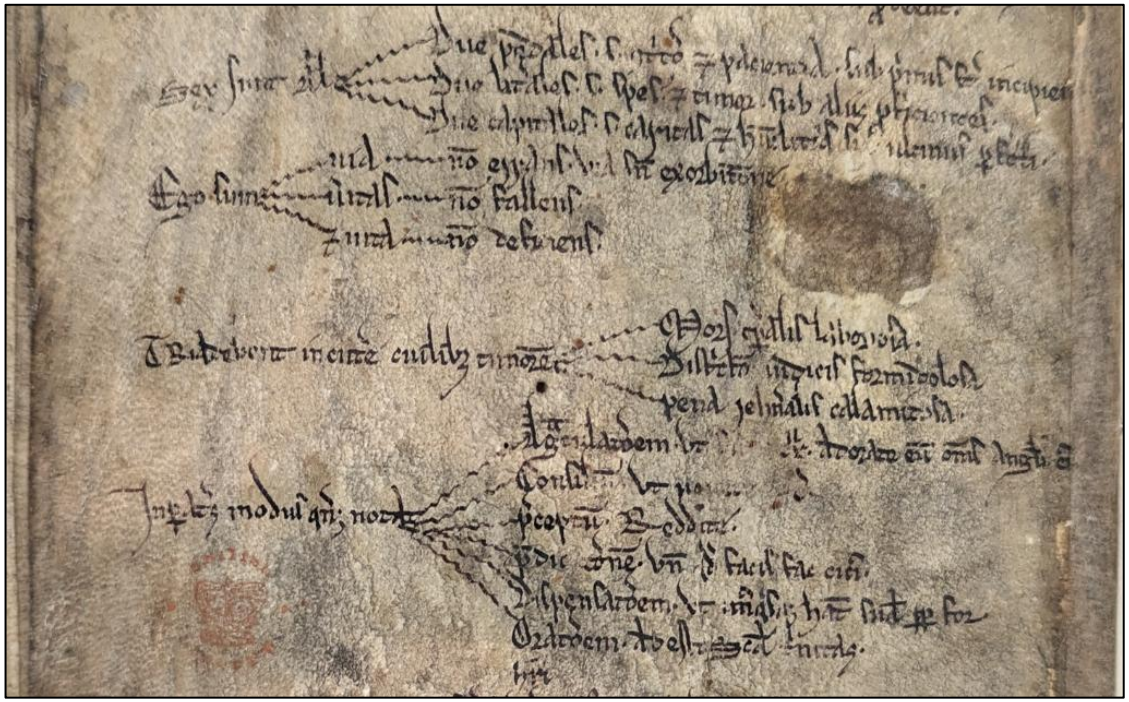


Figure 12: Notes in British Library MS. Arundel 322 – the manuscript containing Peter of Blois's sermons – f.123v. Diagrammatic explanations of various words, with the note on Hell near the bottom.

Figure 13: Enhanced image of notes in British Library MS. Arundel 322 – the manuscript containing Peter of Blois's sermons – f.124v. Diagrammatic explanations to various words. Note the second from top, 'Ego sum uia / ueritas / uita'



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