

THE WORK CALLED *CONGESTA* AND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH THEOLOGY

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Congesta, written about the middle of the fifteenth century in England and only partially preserved, is a massive sermon commentary, originally in five volumes, covering the Sundays of the church year, some feast days and common sermons for saints, and two special occasions (“In Time of Persecution” and “For Religious”). Of the entire cycle only forty-six sermons are extant in two manuscripts (Oxford, Magdalen College MSS 96 and 212). The commentary deals at great length with the Epistle or Gospel lection of the respective Mass. Its anonymous author, probably an English Carthusian, excerpted long passages from over 130 named authors and anonymous works, including Petrus Berchorius, Saint Brigid of Sweden, and the *Imitatio Christi*. The sermons, which are basically moral postillation of the lections and show much concern with the qualities of a good pastor, can be seen as part of the reforming tendencies in the English church marked especially by Thomas Gascoigne. The article describes and discusses the sermon cycle, analyzes the sermon for 23 Trinity, and discusses the structure of the sermons and some of the authors of the later Middle Ages that are quoted or excerpted. An appendix lists the authors and anonymous works quoted in alphabetical order.

It has become customary to speak of a “new emphasis on preaching” in early fifteenth-century England,¹ an emphasis not only on greater frequency of preaching and greater seriousness by preacher and congregation, but also on paying closer attention to the words of scripture instead of pursuing the artifices of the scholastic sermon form. A key figure of this movement was Thomas Gascoigne (1403–1458), well known, among other things, for his impatience with “modern preachers who are more concerned about the form of their sermon, with divisions and verbal concordances, than about preaching what is useful.”² Instead, Gascoigne proposed and presumably used a return to the ancient mode to “declare the subject chosen and to postillate³ or expound the text of Holy Writ in its

¹ For example, Vincent Gillespie, “Chichele’s Church: Vernacular Theology in England after Thomas Arundel,” in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, *Medieval Church Studies* (Turnhout, 2011), 3–42, at 30–31.

² “Modernos praedicatores, quorum labor major est circa formam et modum divisionum et concordancias vocales textuum quam circa declaracionem rerum utilium.” James E. Thorold Rogers, ed., *Loci e Libro veritatum: Passages Selected from Gascoigne’s Theological Dictionary Illustrating the Condition of Church and State, 1403–1458* (Oxford, 1881), 24.

³ “Postillation” is the progressive explanation of or commentary on the verses and phrases of a biblical text.

order,” which “was the mode of preaching among our holy fathers.”⁴ Whether this “new emphasis” amounted to a genuine *return*⁵ to the ancient homiletic form of preaching⁶ is open to question, but Gascoigne’s concerns were certainly shared by his contemporaries and indeed by works written a generation and more before him. One of those contemporary works is a large fifteenth-century collection of Latin sermons named *Congesta*, which calls for closer attention.

The work was written in five elegantly decorated tomes, of which only two are at present known to be extant, both in the Old Library of Magdalen College, Oxford: MS 96 (henceforth referred to as “A”), ending with: “Finitur tertia pars Congestorum a festo Pentecost’ usque ad festum Sancte Anne” (fol. 317r^b); and MS 212 (henceforth referred to as “B”), beginning with “Quinta pars Congestorum a Dominica 18a post Trinitatem vsque ad finem” (fol. 1r^b, top margin; the volume lacks at least one gathering at its end). The complete set would thus have formed a cycle of sermons for the year in their liturgical order. The work is of an enormous length, quotes a large number of “authorities,” and was probably written by a Carthusian.

A is written in two hands of the mid-fifteenth century: a “formal secretary” (fols. 1–80v) and a “loose bastard secretary” (fols. 81–317); B in a single “secretary with some anglicana forms.”⁷ All three scribes have their peculiarities, such as writing *i* for *e* or the reverse (very frequent; for example, *Senica* for *Seneca*); pronunciation spellings, such as *seruus* for *ceruus* (A, 259v^b); occasionally, a qualifying adjective appearing with the wrong gender ending; eyeskips, some

⁴ “Praedicare materias assumptas declarando, et textum scripturae sacrae secundum ordinem textus postillando, seu exponendo, fuit modus praedicandi sanctorum patrum.” Rogers, *Loci e Libro*, 44.

⁵ Paralleling his return to an older form of theology: “Gascoigne was apparently converted to a predominantly patristic theology c. 1432.” R. M. Ball, *Thomas Gascoigne, Libraries and Scholarship*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph 14 (Cambridge, 2006), 1.

⁶ Later medieval *artes praedicandi* were fully aware of such a form and its use by contemporary preachers; see Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi: A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure*, Medieval Academy Books 114 (Toronto, 2015), 45–46. For the use of the older form in actual sermons by John Dygon (1384–after 1449), fifth recluse at Sheen, see Sheila Lindenbaum, “London after Arundel: Learned Rectors and the Stratagems of Orthodox Reform,” in Gillespie and Ghosh, eds., *After Arundel*, 187–208, at 201–2. Dygon begins his sermons with postillation of the text of the lection and then follows the pattern of a scholastic sermon. An example in translation can be found in Siegfried Wenzel, *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation* (Washington, DC, 2008), 166–81.

⁷ The size of the folios is 355 x 255 mm (A) and 360 x 260 mm (B), respectively. Both manuscripts were very briefly described in Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manusciporum qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1852), 2:52 and 93–94. I follow the description in the new, as yet unpublished catalogue of Magdalen College manuscripts prepared by Ralph Hanna, with thanks to Dr. Christine Ferdinand, former college librarian at Magdalen College, and her successor, Dr. David Green, for making the catalogue entries accessible to me and for other services.

corrected, others not; and so on. As pointed out below, occasionally the scribes omitted to indicate the beginning of an excerpt or gave a wrong indication at either its beginning or end.

The sermons preserved in the two extant volumes are briefly these:⁸

A, Magdalen College MS 96:

- [1] Pentecost (T39), fols. 1r^a–12r^b.
- [2] Pentecost Monday (T39/2), fols. 12r^b–24v^a.
- [3] Pentecost Tuesday (T39/3), fols. 24v^a–35v^b.
- [4] Pentecost Wednesday (T39/4), fols. 35v^b–52v^a.
- [5] Trinity (T40), fols. 52v^a–67r^a.
- [6] Corpus Christi (T41/5), fols. 67r^a–86r^b.
- [7] 1 Trinity (T42), fols. 86r^b–110v^b.
- [8] 2 Trinity (T43), fols. 110v^b–132r^b.
- [9] 3 Trinity (T44), fols. 132r^b–154v^a.
- [10] St. John the Baptist, June 24 (S44), fols. 154v^a–170r^a.
- [11] St. Peter, June 29 (S46), fols. 170r^a–190r^a.
- [12] St. Paul, June 29 (S 46), fols. 190r^a–204v^b.
- [13] 4 Trinity (T45), fols. 204v^b–222v^b.
- [14] St. Thomas of Canterbury Translation, July 7 (S46b), fols. 222v^b–234v^a.
- [15] Feast of the Relics (Sunday after S46b), fols. 234v^a–248r^a.
- [16] 5 Trinity (T46), fols. 248r^a–262v^a.
- [17] 6 Trinity (T47), fols. 262v^a–279v^a.
- [18] 7 Trinity (T48), fols. 279v^a–292v^a.
- [19] St. Mary Magdalene, July 22 (S49), fols. 292v^a–308r^b.
- [20] St. James, July 25 (S50), fols. 308r^b–317v^a.⁹

B, Magdalen College MS 212:

- [21] 18 Trinity (T59), fols. 1r^a–14v^b.
- [22] St. Luke, October 18 (S75), fols. 14v^b–24r^a.
- [23] Sts. Simon and Jude, October 28 (S78), fols. 24r^b–34r^a.

⁸ Here and in the following I number the sermons consecutively. The sigla used (T39, etc.) are those established by Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters, für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 43 (Münster, 1969–90), insert, and slightly modified in Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2005), 404–7.

⁹ Notice that despite the *explicit* quoted above, there is no sermon for St. Anne (S50a, July 26) in this volume. Presumably the next volume would have begun with a sermon either for St. Anne or, more likely, for T49.

- [24] 19 Trinity (T60), fols. 34r^a–49v^b.
- [25] All Saints, November 1 (S79), fols. 49v^b–66v^a.
- [26] All Souls, November 2 (S80), fols. 66v^a–77r^a.
- [27] 20 Trinity (T61), fols. 77r^a–90r^a.
- [28] 21 Trinity (T62), fols. 90r^a–102v^b.
- [29] 22 Trinity (T63), fols. 102r^b–118v^a.
- [30] 23 Trinity (T64), fols. 118v^a–127r^b.
- [31] 24 Trinity (T65), fols. 127r^b–132 v^b, 197r^a–199r^b (no text lost).
- [32] St. Catherine, November 25 (S85), fols. 199r^b–206r^b.
- [33] 25 Trinity (T66), fols. 206r^b–217r^a.
- [34] St. Andrew, November 30 (S01), fols. 217r^a–222r^a.
- [35] Dedication of a church 1 (C11), fols. 222r^b–228r^a.
- [36] Dedication of a church 2 (C11), fols. 228r^a–245r^a.
- [37] Defunct 1 (C21), fols. 245r^a–253v^b.
- [38] Defunct 2 (C21), fols. 253v^b–259r^a.
- [39] Defunct 3 (C21), fols. 259r^a–265r^b.
- [40] One Apostle 1 (C02), fols. 265r^b–272v^a.
- [41] One Apostle 2 (C02), fols. 272v^a–278r^b.
- [42] One Martyr (C04), fols. 278r^b–284r^b.
- [43] One Confessor (C06), fols. 284r^b–290r^b.
- [44] One Virgin (C08), fols. 290r^b–297v^a.
- [45] In Time of Persecution (C23?), fols. 297v^a–302r^a.
- [46] For Religious (C14), fols. 302r^a–320v^b, incomplete.

Marginal annotations indicate that the complete work would also have included sermons for the Innocents (S11) and the Invention of the Cross (S33).

It is clear that the collection forms a complex cycle for the entire year, mixing sermons *de tempore* (marked T) and selected sermons *de festis et de sanctis* (marked S) in their regular liturgical order and following these with a number of sermons *de communibus* and for special occasions (marked C). These categories are standard for medieval sermon collections, and there is nothing remarkable in that a writer or collector should have composed or gathered them in this fashion in one comprehensive work. But the individual pieces are extremely lengthy and thereby pose the questions of what exactly these sermons are and what their author may have had in mind in composing them.

Individual sermons vary in length, the shortest occupying just nineteen columns (sermon 45), the longest (7) nearly ninety-eight — in either case presenting far too much material a preacher could be expected to pronounce or an audience to listen to on the given occasion. In other words, these “sermons” are neither actual sermons collected by a preacher or listener, nor were they intended as model sermons composed for other preachers. When authors of model sermons in the

thirteenth and fourteenth century had more material than would fit into a single sermon, they might split it into two or more sermons, so that the individual pieces were of manageable length. Thus, for the Third Sunday of Lent (T21), the regular cycles¹⁰ by Jacobus de Voragine (“Januensis”), Nicholas de Gorran, Simon Boraston, and Robert Rypon, for instance, have two or three sermons each, and Peraldus furnishes as many as five.¹¹ In A, such splitting happens once, where for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul the author has produced two separate pieces, sermons 11 and 12, one for each of the two apostles. But each is very long, and it would appear that their author wanted to devote a separate piece to each of the two apostles celebrated on the same day.

Yet the pieces in A and B are certainly conceived of as sermons. Their connection to a specific liturgical occasion is marked, usually in the top margin and mostly also at the head of the piece. They deal with a scriptural lection, which is either the assigned Gospel or the Epistle from the Mass for the specified day. In addition, they consistently have two parts, a prothema or *antethema*¹² and the main part. Both contain elements that are regularly found in sermons of the period. Thus, the prothema ends with an invitation to pray, and the main part does so similarly with a typical closing formula, such as “quod nobis concedat” or a similar phrase referring back to the immediately preceding matter, as in: “ad beatitudinem celestem, quam nobis annuat qui in celis habitat. Amen.” However, neither the prothemas nor the main parts throughout both A and B are handled in a consistent, uniform manner, and therefore call for more analysis. In order to do so, it may help to summarize one particular sermon. I have chosen sermon 30 (B, 118v^a–127r^b), which is typical of the majority of sermons and of average length.¹³ Parts of the lection are here boldfaced.

Lines: Prothema (235 lines):

- 1 In today’s Epistle, **Be ye followers of me** (Philippians 3:17), the Apostle admonishes some to imitate him. That we must imitate him can be found in the Life of Saint John (16 lines).¹⁴

¹⁰ “Regular cycles,” in contrast to random collections, which gather sermons by one or more authors in no particular liturgical order.

¹¹ See Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sermons of William Peraldus: An Appraisal* (Turnhout, 2017), 39–56.

¹² Thus called in B, at 25r^a. *Antethema* occurs also in A, at 72r^a. The word “thema” is used several times throughout A and B.

¹³ The line numbers in the left column correspond to the text in manuscript B, whose lines are fairly short. The bold-faced texts are parts of the pericope that are postilled. I indicate the length of excerpts only where it exceeds ten lines.

¹⁴ *Historia monachorum* 1 (PL 21:394–95).

- 22 We must imitate not only the apostles but Christ, in five things: in suffering hardships, charity, humility, patience, and perseverance. Paul imitated Christ in these, as is shown in scripture, the *Glossa ordinaria* (twice), and Gregory's *Moralia in Job*.
- 50 A sixth point is added: We must also imitate Christ in preaching, which is sometimes received or done negligently. Bernard. Gregory (26 lines).¹⁵
- 89 Listening to a sermon negligently is as grievous as dropping the Host, as is shown in canon law. Also, the preacher must not cast pearls before swine. Several excerpts from canon law, with quotations from Augustine and Origen (a total of over 37 lines).¹⁶
- 140 In arranging his sermon, the preacher must have regard to five things: his own person or capability, his subject matter, his audience, what the occasion may require, and his fervor.
This is proven with quotes from scripture, Jerome, the Gloss, and Gregory. The preacher must, like a flying fish, be sometimes a fish, sometimes a swallow.
- 191 Let us pray in the beginning that the word of God may be effective in us. Gregory on prayer (23 lines);¹⁷ Jerome; Bede; Augustine.
- 234 Let us then pray that we eliminate rancor from our soul.

Main (1856 lines):

[The thema is: **Then the Pharisees went away and took counsel**, etc., Matthew 22:15–21.]

- 236 **To go away** and fall, according to John 18:6, is sometimes good for some people: The story of the Levite of Judges 19, Berchorius (51 lines).¹⁸
- 292 Or: **Going away** means to abandon faith and all virtue. Biblical passages on faith and doubt.
- 311 Or: **Going away** is to stop doing good work. Aquinas (13 lines).¹⁹
- 326 **Pharisees** means “divided” or “separated.” Many prelates are separated from the bonding unity of the church when they do not stand with the clergy who defend the church and instead counsel to abandon their fight. Canon law. The story of Giraldus Cambrensis about a shifting island that can be stabilized with an arrow of fire.²⁰ *Meditationes piissimae*.²¹ Moral meaning of the arrow of fire, etc.

¹⁵ Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem* 1.2 (PL 76:796–97).

¹⁶ *Decretum* 1.1.94–95; *De cons.* 2.71.22 and 1.67.22; D.1.43.2; in Emil Friedberg, ed., *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879, repr. Graz, 1959), 1:391–92, 1341 and 1312, and 155, respectively.

¹⁷ Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 33.23 (PL 76:700–701).

¹⁸ Berchorius 17.16, on Judg. 19, fol. 73r^b–v^a. Here and in the following I have used the edition of Petrus Berchorius, *Morale Reductorium super totam Bibliam* (Cologne, 1515).

¹⁹ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *In II Sententiarum* 35.1, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Petrus Fiaccadori, vol. 6 (Parma, 1856).

²⁰ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hiberniae* 2.12, in James F. Dimock, ed., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Rolls Series 21.5 (London, 1867), 95.

²¹ *Meditationes piissimae* 9.12 (PL 184:499).

- 404 **Pharisees** also means hypocrites. After discussing hypocrisy and giving several biblical examples, the writer challenges soldiers (*militares*) to “elect a captain and leader who is powerful and brave in the fight, honorable in his life, God-fearing, and an honor to the church and terrible to her enemies.” Similarly, the clergy should pray, give alms, and order processions “for the king and the realm”; and the laity likewise should pray, etc., for the king.
- 443 **Took counsel**, but not the Lord’s counsel, which “stands forever” (Psalm 32:11).
- 449 Or: **Took counsel**: Counselors of nobles often give bad advice. They are like the tail that covers an animal’s most shameful part.
- 468 Or thus: **Took counsel**: Bede in his *Retractions* on the four apostolic councils reported in Acts. Could Peter and the church, in her councils, err? No and yes. Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*; Augustine, *Sermon*; Martin of Poland, *Chronicle*. The case of Pope Liberius and Hilarius of Poitiers: Vincent of Beauvais (19 lines).²² Anselm, *Proslogion* (13 lines).²³
- 554 **How they would catch him in his speech**. Berchorius on the example of the Woman Caught in Adultery (55 lines).²⁴
- 610 Or: **Catch him in his speech**: because man’s tongue slips easily, especially when he swears. Peter Lombard on whether it is lawful to swear an oath (32 lines).²⁵
- 645 People speak so much evil about the clergy because they associate with bad ones.
- 649 Or thus: **That they would catch him in his speech**. People like the Pharisees are caught in their speech, namely, false witnesses and flatterers. Augustine (two quotations, a total of 13 lines).²⁶
- 666 **Master**: Christ is here rightly called “Master” because like a master, when he is not sitting in his chair, he allows people to challenge him.
- 671 **Master, we know**: Their knowledge was not of spiritual matters but worldly ones. Odo on the true gold offered by the Magi (17 lines).²⁷ Cloistered religious must offer the gold of wisdom in the chapter, the incense of prayer in the oratory, and [the myrrh of] bodily mortification in the refectory and dormitory. Augustine.
- 697 **Master, we know that you are truthful**. Truth is of three kinds: (1) the essence of a thing; (2) in a thought or expression, Aristotle in *Peri hermeneias*; and (3) in cult, faith, or religion.

²² See Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 14.23, in *Speculum major* (Douai, 1624), 4:549. The quoted text corresponds to *Legenda aurea*, ed. Johann Georg Theodor Grässe, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1890), 99.

²³ Anselm of Canterbury, *Proslogion* 16, in *Opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (Seckau, Rome, and Edinburgh, 1938–61), 1:112.

²⁴ Berchorius, *Reductorium* 32.4, on John 8, fols. 191v^b–192r^a.

²⁵ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* 3.39.4, in *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. Ignatius Brady, 3rd ed. (Grottaferrata, 1971–81), 2:221–22.

²⁶ Augustine on Pss. 55:6 and 9:24 (PL 36:654 and 126, respectively).

²⁷ Odo of Cheriton, Sermon for Epiphany, Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16506, fol. 142r^b–v^a.

- 728 Christ is called **truthful**, indeed the very Truth, as in Isaiah 59:14. Berchorius (15 lines).²⁸
- 745 Or thus: **Master, we know that you are truthful**: In contrast, the Pharisees are liars. Ambrose on lying, as quoted in canon law. Or else they are flatterers. Peter of Blois on Job (11 lines).²⁹
- 765 Or thus: **Master, we know that you are truthful**. The truth of life, as in Isaiah 38:3: *Remember how I walked before you in truth*. You, the audience, will be like him in clarity.
- 772 Question (*queritur*): Why, in 1 John 3, does Scripture say *When he appears, we will be like him (similes eius)*, but does not say “made like his glorified body, impassible, agile, or subtile”? The answer (*respondeo*) leads to Chrysostom on *Nullus leditur nisi a seipso* (58 lines).³⁰
- 850 **The way of the Lord [you teach in truth]**. This is flattery. A curate who finds his glory in being praised by bad people is most wretched. Canon law (16 lines).³¹
- 868 Or thus: **The way of God**, that is, penance and the commandments. Aquinas: Truth means showing outwardly what one is on the inside (36 lines).³² Truth is like an aqueduct.
- 910 Falsehood attracts more than truth. Exemplum of “Liar and Truth-teller in the land of the apes” (15 lines).³³ Other cases of not being truthful.
- 935 Or thus: **The way of the Lord you teach in truth**. The tongue is created to tell the truth. Lombard on lying (19 lines).³⁴
- 956 **You do not care for any man**: On flatterers. John of Salisbury reproaches them (a total of 54 lines).³⁵ The ancients as well as the Hebrews hated flattery.
- 1030 **You do not regard the person [of men]**. You honor people for their virtue, not for their money. Aquinas on honor being the reward for virtue (24 lines).³⁶

²⁸ Berchorius, *Reductorium* 24.7, on Dan. 8:9 (fol. 154r^a). The quotation ends with Isa. 59:14.

²⁹ Peter of Blois, *Compendium in Job*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. I. A. Giles, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1846), 3:45–46.

³⁰ The quotation agrees with the text of John Chrysostom, *Nemo laeditur nisi a seipso*, as it appears in *Libellus s. Iohannis Chrysostomi, quod nemo laeditur nisi a seipso* (Antwerp, 1536), n.p. It differs from the version printed in PG 52:465–66.

³¹ *Decretum* 83.6 (in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris* [n. 16 above], 1:294).

³² Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2.2.111.1, with quotations from Augustine, Gregory, and Ambrose; in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, ed. De Rubeis et al. (Turin and Rome, 1948), 3:557–58.

³³ See Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, FF Communications 204 (Helsinki, 1969), 29 (no. 304).

³⁴ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* 3.38.3 (2:216–17).

³⁵ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 3.5 and 3.4; in John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. Clemens C. I. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909), 1:183–84 and 177–78.

³⁶ Aquinas, *In III Sententiarum* 9.2.3.

- 1057 Or thus: **You do not regard the person [of men]**. On “accepting the person,” with short quotes from the Gloss, Chrysostom, Haymo, Gregory, and Seneca. Then the quotation *Fear God, honor the king* (*Deum timete, regem honorificate*, 1 Peter 2:17) leads to a distinction between *rex* and *regulus* (with respect to John 4:46), with quotations from Lyra and Haymo (12 lines).³⁷ Every person is a little king, because a small thing in him, that is his reason, rules the whole.
- 1159 **Is it lawful to give tribute**, etc.: This is a trick question posed by the Pharisees. Gorran (17 lines).³⁸ Holcot on three questions posed in scripture that move man’s heart to despise the world (72 lines).³⁹
- 1250 **Show me the coin of the tribute**. The great evil that money⁴⁰ or possessions cause, as exemplified in the Prodigal Son. Peter of Ravenna (three excerpts, a total of 29 lines).⁴¹
- 1281 **They offered him a denarius**. The common denarius signifies our soul. After our death it will be shown to Christ the Judge, whether it bears the image of God or the devil. As in a material denarius four things can be found: its material, weight, image, and inscription, so our soul will be examined with respect to four things.
- 1329 **Show me the coin of the tribute**: that is, the interior man. At the interrogation in the Last Judgment, Christ will ask: **Whose image and inscription is this?**
- 1343 Or thus: **They offered him a denarius**. A denarius can be false for three reasons: in its weight, debased metal, and false image. **Whose image is this?** The three properties are moralized.
- 1362 **Whose image is this?** Every Christian is God’s denarius insofar as he carries his image or mark. God’s image in man is threefold: that of nature, grace, and glorification. The image of the devil is also threefold: original sin, actual sin, and final impenitence. These three destroy God’s image.
- 1446 Christ redeemed fallen man through seven mysteries (conception, incarnation, etc.). Other heptads: the seven seals of Revelation, the Seven Deadly Sins, etc.
- 1537 Why (*si queratur*) are so many people blind while the light of the word of God is being preached?
- 1548 Why we have images. Jerome. Aquinas (33 lines).⁴² Canon law (17 lines).⁴³
- 1610 Or thus: **Whose image is this?** Nothing can harm the person who carries God’s image. Augustine on Psalm 61:12.
- 1628 Or thus: **Whose image is this?** More on the image of Caesar and of God.

³⁷ Haymo, *Homiliae* 136 (PL 118:727).

³⁸ Nicholas of Gorran on Matt. 22:15, in *Commentaria Nicolai Gorrani in quatuor evangelia* (Cologne, 1537), fol. 62v.

³⁹ Robert Holcot, *Sermon* 40, in Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 210, fol. 50r^b–v^b.

⁴⁰ The author takes *census*, “tribute,” to mean “money.”

⁴¹ Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermons* 1–4 (PL 52:185–96).

⁴² Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2.2.94.1–2 (ed. Marietti, 3:477 and 480).

⁴³ *Decretum: De cons.* 3.27–28 (in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris* [n. 16 above], 1:1360).

- 1643 **Render therefore what belongs**, etc. Four kinds of image: that of Christ, whose parts overcome the Seven Deadly Sins (for example, “Respice clauum in pedibus, quo vincitur accidia”); the natural image of God in our soul; the image in a mirror; and the memorial images in church, which are books for the layfolk.
- 1659 Three things are here indicated spiritually: showing the denarius, asking about the inscription, and declaring to whom it is to be given. Gorran (24 lines).⁴⁴
- 1684 An image is created in many different ways: by an impression on wax; by taking away what is superfluous; by applying colors (that is, painting); and by a representation. Odo on Matthew 8:23 (21 lines).⁴⁵ Berchorius on the image of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 2; 104 lines).⁴⁶ Hugh of St. Cher: prelates are likened to idols (19 lines).⁴⁷
- 1863 The two cherubs of Exodus 25:18–21 are not idols to be worshiped.
- 1873 **And the inscription:** As a scribe needs a good and true exemplar, so people need a good example in their prelates, princes, and parents. Complaint at “nowadays” (*in hiis diebus*). Augustine on lying (42 lines).⁴⁸
- 1949 After speaking of the inscription we must turn to prescription. Duns Scotus (17 lines or perhaps more, summarized).⁴⁹
- 1976 **Render to Caesar what belongs to Caesar:** We must render what is owed, first to our neighbor, then to God.
- 1980 **Render what belongs to Caesar**, etc.: Why scripture mentions Caesar before God. Ambrose on Luke and in a sermon (total of 13 lines).⁵⁰
- 1995 Ten things that we must render to our neighbor, enumerated and explained with quotations from Augustine (several) and Ambrose.
- 2067 If we render to God and to our neighbor as has been shown, God will render us a blessed home. Gregory (18 lines).⁵¹
- 2091 Closing: “Ad quam perducat.”

The prothemes or *antethemata* of the 46 sermons are consistently set apart visually, and they normally begin with an enlarged and decorated initial.⁵² They may

⁴⁴ Gorran on Matt. 22:15 (ed. Cologne, 1537, fol. 113r).

⁴⁵ Odo, *Ascendente Iesu in naviculam*, Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16506, fol. 146v^a.

⁴⁶ Berchorius, *Reductorium* 24.2, fol. 149r^a–v^b.

⁴⁷ Hugh of St. Cher on Ps. 134:17, in Hugo de Sancto Caro, *Biblia cum postilla* (Basel, 1498), 2: n.p.

⁴⁸ Augustine, *De mendacio* 15.26–29 (PL 40:506–7).

⁴⁹ Cf. Duns Scotus, *Opera omnia*, 26 vols. (Paris, 1891–95), 18:271, with quotation of civil law.

⁵⁰ Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* (PL 15:1802) and *De sacramentis* 1.2.5 (PL 16:419).

⁵¹ Gregory, *Moralia* 4.36 (PL 75:677).

⁵² There are, however, exceptions, evidently caused by oversight of the scribe or decorator: sermon 5 lacks the initial for its main part (A, 55v^a, blank); so does sermon 9 (A, 135r^b). Sermon 12 also lacks the initial and begins in line (A, 193r^b), a reader having added “Thema sermonis” in the margin. The same is the case with sermon 21 (B, 2v^a,

start in a variety of ways: with words from the thema (as in the sample sermon 30), an authority (sermon 7), a common experience or observation from daily life (sermon 13), and so forth. But they always end with an invitation to pray. The relation between prothema and main part varies to some degree. In most cases the prothema deals with the Epistle and the main part with the Gospel, as is the case in sermon 30. But in sermon 25, on the Sermon on the Mount, the prothema already discusses and moralizes the “mountain” of the Gospel, while its main part then focuses on the beatitudes. Conversely, in sermons 9 and 28, for example, the prothema similarly deals with the Gospel, but the main part focuses on the Epistle reading. The invitation *Oremus*, in the prothemas, often appears midway in their text, and the remainder, to the end of the prothema, is given to a more or less extensive discussion of prayer and related aspects.⁵³

The main part regularly deals with the assigned Gospel or Epistle of the day according to the Use of Sarum, except for some *de communibus* sermons (35–46), whose choice of a thema allowed for greater freedom. It also regularly begins with at least a part of the respective lection (again with a few exceptions, in sermons 6, 15, and 29), and it normally ends with a closing formula, as already stated. Some cases give the impression that the main part may have been intended to fall into two sections, which in the scholastic sermon structure would correspond to the introduction of the thema and its development,⁵⁴ the latter indicated or marked as *processus (sermonis)*. Good examples of this feature can be found in sermons 1, 5, 42, and 45.

What these sermons do *not* have is a *division* of the thema followed by confirmation of its parts and their development by means of distinctions and subdistinctions, or other ways — the essential characteristics of scholastic sermon structure. The author of *Congesta* therefore uses a “new” form of sermon-making that was strongly advocated by Thomas Gascoigne. In this pattern, he very often postulates the lection or pericope of the day, that is, he goes through the biblical text phrase by phrase and comments on it by explaining its moral or spiritual meaning (there is very little extended literal exegesis in these sermons). He frequently offers more than one comment on a given phrase, always introducing it with *vel* (“or”) or *vel sic* (“or thus”), for which examples can be found in the sample sermon analyzed above (sermon 30) at lines 292, 311, 449, 468, and so on. Another good example occurs in sermon 18, on the miracle of feeding the

marginal “Thema”). Again, the main part of sermon 22 begins in line without enlarged initial, following upon “Oremus” (B, 15v^b). In sermon 23, likewise, the main part begins in line, without enlarged initial, following an invitation to pray: “In anathemate [*sic*] fiebat questio” (B, 25r^a). Finally, the last sermon, sermon 46, lacks an enlarged initial but begins with a new line and blank space, “Gustate” (B, 303r^a).

⁵³ For an example, see the summary of sermon 30 at line 191.

⁵⁴ For the structure of a “scholastic sermon” and its various parts see Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi* (n. 6 above).

crowd (Mark 8:5), where at least five different moral meanings of the seven loaves are offered, filling twenty-one columns in the manuscript. Such progressive and alternate moral exegesis of the lection is not the only way in which the author structures his main part. He may also concentrate on just one word of the thema (sermon 3), or explain the phrases of a hymn (sermon 1), or speak of three biblical women called Mary (sermon 19), or launch into a sort of history of religious orders and their ideals (sermon 46).

This basic process of *postillatio* can also be found in late-medieval collections of genuine sermons, such as those perhaps composed by John Dygon and other collections.⁵⁵ What really sets *Congesta* apart is the extraordinary length of its pieces. For example, sermon 30, summarized above, contains roughly 17600 words. In comparison, Dygon's sermons (there is none for this occasion) usually have only 3500 to 4500 words.⁵⁶

A second mark of distinction is the wide range of sources quoted in *Congesta*, which is perhaps its most interesting feature. Its author not only *quotes* but again and again *excerpt*s long sections verbatim from works he identifies. In ideal cases, the excerpts as well as shorter quotations take the form of “*Unde N + work ... Hec ille (+ work)*.” Unfortunately, for the investigating reader, either the author or the scribe frequently omitted the introductory formula, and sometimes the final marker as well, so that short of tracking down the quoted text, one is often unsure how far a quotation extends or, in fact, who is being quoted. Further, there are cases where the scribe or the author himself made an error.⁵⁷ One will thus have to bear such scribal shortcomings in mind when looking for the voice of the author himself, as will be discussed further below.

In his commenting on words or phrases of the lection, the author constantly uses distinctions with numbered items, such as: five things for which to imitate Christ (sermon 30, line 22), three kinds of truth (line 697), four things found in a denarius (line 1281), and so on. But his overall compositional procedure is not that of building a logical grid for a sermon,⁵⁸ as one can find in earlier works and even in Repingdon,⁵⁹ but rather progressing by association. For example, after saying that “Pharisees” means “divided,” the author criticizes members of

⁵⁵ See n. 6 above.

⁵⁶ The figures here given are approximate for comparison.

⁵⁷ For instance, in B at 96r^a the text hand wrote “In Reductorio morali” in the margin, but the extract comes from Nicholas de Lyra, as is correctly noted in the text in B at 96r^p.

⁵⁸ On “logical grid” see Siegfried Wenzel, *Sermons of William Peraldus* (n. 11 above), 24, 44, 55, and 101–56.

⁵⁹ For instance, Repingdon's sermon for T64 has, briefly, the following structure (which amounts to a *divisio textus*): A) Triplex malicia Phariseorum, made up of 1) cordis nequicia, 2) sermonis fraudulencia, and 3) questionis versucia; B) Tria in Christo partim veneranda, partim imitanda, made up of 1) divina sapiencia, 2) detestancia adulationis, with four reasons to avoid flatterers, and 3) confutacio Phariseorum per publicam iusticiam, in a)

the clergy who are *divided* from their more courageous brethren in defending the church (sermon 30, line 326). Another example of this occurs in lines 1159–249 of the same sermon. In dealing with the lection’s “Is it lawful to give tribute?” the author quotes Nicholas de Gorran saying that this is a trick question (*versucia*) and explaining the two horns of the dilemma the Pharisees pose. Gorran, as quoted, ends this with: “Therefore they are saying: ‘Tell us, your disciples who call you master, your friends who are in such doubt and ignorance, *what do you think,*’ etc.”⁶⁰ Then the notion of “question” seemingly led the author to a long passage from a sermon by Robert Holcot that enumerates and explains “three questions among others that move the hearts of devout people to despise the world”⁶¹ — a subject that has little if anything to do with the Gospel text under consideration.

This tendency to progress by association and thereby to digress runs through the entire work and can be quite frustrating for the reader, who together with the author may indeed occasionally lose his way, even if the author always manages to come back to the text he is explaining. Digressions in a sermon were tolerated by late medieval handbooks on preaching,⁶² but here they reach a new height in their length and frequency.

Formal and structural features apart, one can say that the author of *Congesta* is very much concerned with the office of pastors and preachers. This is shown, for example, in sermon 30 when at line 50 he adds a sixth point to the announced five things in which “we” must follow Christ: namely, by avoiding negligence in listening to and in giving the sermon (to line 190). This concern with the clergy — their legitimate entrance and promotion or election, their exemplary way of life, their preaching—and with such abuses as absenteeism, the promotion of the unworthy, and the plurality of benefices, runs through the entire cycle as it has been preserved. Thus, specific features to be observed in preaching, such as those at line 140, recur in sermon 40, both in excerpts from Gregory the Great and in the topic of priests and preaching, and are hardly ever absent from any of the sermons.

ostensio numismatis, b) confessio inscripcionis, and c) iusta diffinicio questionis. See Oxford, Corpus Christi MS 54, fol. 370v^a.

At this point a second distinction appears, with the same terms, which leads to four things in a denarius and further numbered parts, to the end of the sermon. Like this one, Repingdon’s “grids” are complex and are at best hard to follow and at worst confused. On Repingdon’s work see further below.

⁶⁰ “Ideo dicunt: ‘Dic nobis, discipulis tuis, qui te magistrum vocamus; amicis, qui sic commendamus [*sic*]; dubiis, qui sic ignoramus, quid tibi videtur,’” etc., in B at 123v^a, referring to Matt. 22:17.

⁶¹ “Sunt tres questiones inter alias que multa mouent corda deuotorum ad contemptum mundi,” in B at 123v^a, corresponding to Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 210, fol. 50r^b: “In sacra scriptura sunt tres questiones.”

⁶² Cf. Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi* (n. 6 above), 84.

Equally present, if perhaps not as ubiquitously, is the author's concern about the laity. Preaching the word of God is often paired with listening to it, as at lines 50 and 80 of the sample sermon. Similarly, in sermon 24 the prothema speaks of the conditions that a "prelate and preacher" must meet, as well as twelve things he must do to "preach well," to which it then adds seven things that the preacher's audience must do in order to "learn well." Occasionally the author will consider all parts of society, as he does at line 404 of the sample sermon. A very rich passage of this kind appears in sermon 29, where the preacher addresses a long series of social groups with "Tu, X, redde quod debes." The addressees ("X") range from *curatus*, *parochianus*, *princeps*, *latro*, and other sinners, to *religiosus*. In each case we hear about specific obligations, which would make this text a *sermo* or *sermones ad status*. The section includes an address to *coniugatus*, with twelve reasons why a man should love his wife, which then typically leads the author to digress on the marital debt, with excerpts from Augustine, canon law, and Peter Lombard.⁶³

In developing his sermons, the author quotes and excerpts material from a staggering number of sources, most of them clearly identified. I have counted over 130 authors and anonymous works that are cited throughout the extant sermons. Many authors, of course, such as Augustine, Jerome, or Bernard of Clairvaux, appear with a number of different works. It may be the case that the author of *Congesta* copied material from works that collected many quotations, such as the *Catena aurea* of Aquinas or canon law. Of particular interest for the history of theological literature in fifteenth-century England as well as for the identification of the anonymous author are a number of names and titles that date from between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century and call for some further remarks.

Pride of place among them belongs to the French Benedictine Petrus Berchorius or Pierre Bersuire (c. 1290–1362). *Congesta* contains over 150 quotations or rather excerpts from Bersuire's *Reductorium morale* that run from just a few lines to as many as four columns.⁶⁴ In this work Bersuire summarized chapters or stories from Scripture and then offered moral lessons contained in them, usually linking several alternate interpretations with *vel dic* or *aliter*. He also wrote another work called *Dictionarius*, in which he took up "preachable words" (*vocabula predicabilia*) — which range from biblical names to prepositions and exclamations — in alphabetical order and gathered what a preacher might want to know about them and use in his sermons, including distinctions of the

⁶³ Fols. 111r^a–112v^a. It is unclear whether all twelve reasons or only the last (marriage was instituted in paradise) are credited to "Parisiensis." The entire section with such addresses occupies B at 107v^b–114r^b.

⁶⁴ The excerpts agree with Petrus Berchorius, OSB, *Morale Reductorium super totam Bibliam* (Basel, 1515).

respective term.⁶⁵ *Dictionarius* is quoted in *Congesta* at least fifteen times, usually with an indication of the term referred to (“*Dictionarius* in termino X”).⁶⁶ One may speculate that apart from furnishing such material, Bersuire also had a formal influence on the author of *Congesta*, in that the latter consistently links his own alternate moral explanations with *vel sic*.

In providing exegetical material for *Congesta* Berchorius is not alone. Of medieval commentators, Hugh of St. Cher (always referred to as “de Vienna”) appears over seventy times. Less frequently quoted are John of Abbéville (2 quotations), Nicholas of Gorran (43 quotations), Nicholas of Lyra (54 quotations), William of Nottingham (9 quotations), and Odo of Cheriton (40 quotations, mostly from his sermons). Closer to *Congesta*’s own time and place are John Lathbury (one quotation, in sermon 9), Repingdon (one quotation, in sermon 46), John Capgrave (one quotation, in sermon 40), and Henry Cossey (possibly two quotations, in sermons 7 and 32). Of special interest is that *Congesta* also quotes Petrarch at least three times, once referring to his work on the penitential psalms, the other two quotations unidentified. Another curiosity is the work’s quotation from “Wallensis,” with three quotations commenting on the Psalms (sermon 13, twice, and 43, specifying Psalms 1, 16:7, and 17:14).

Next to biblical commentators are systematic theologians. Here Thomas Aquinas outranks all others, with about one hundred references and excerpts,⁶⁷ some of them spanning several parts of an article from his *Summa theologiae*. Henry of Ghent also appears, some eight times, occasionally quoted as “doctor solemnis.” Of the English theologians who were active after Grosseteste⁶⁸ and Fishacre,⁶⁹ Duns Scotus (“doctor subtilis,” over a dozen quotations), Robert Cowton,⁷⁰ Thomas Docking,⁷¹ and Roger Dymock⁷² are quoted, which may be

⁶⁵ For some *Distinctiones* or theological dictionaries from later medieval England, see Siegfried Wenzel, “*Distinctiones* and Sermons: The *Distinctiones Lathbury* (*Alphabetum morale*) and Other Collections in Fourteenth-Century England,” *Mediaeval Studies* 78 (2016): 181–202.

⁶⁶ Petrus Berchorius, OSB, *Dictionarius seu Repertorium Morale*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1589).

⁶⁷ Mostly from his commentary on the *Sentences* and the *Summa theologiae*, but also such others as *Contra Gentiles*, *De perfectione spiritualis vite* (in B at 7r, with a long extract), and *De potestate pape*.

⁶⁸ Always quoted as “Lincolniensis,” with some fifteen quotations or excerpts, from his *Dicta*, epistles, *De decem mandatis*, several sermons, and a work entitled *De viciis*. Sermon 40 contains a long section on his “unjust excommunication” by Pope Innocent IV and his appearance in a vision to the pope two years after his own death (B, 269v^a).

⁶⁹ One quotation in sermon 10, apparently from his no longer extant commentary on the Psalms: “Quales condiciones predicatores habent ... secundum doctorem sereaker [*sic*] in istis duobus versibus: *Celi enarrant dies diei*, etc.” (A, 154v^b).

⁷⁰ Quoted once, from his *On the Sentences* (A, 1r^a).

⁷¹ Docking is quoted multiple times: “De mandato” (B, 89v^a); “super 5 mandato” (B, 218v^a); and “in lectura sua super Deuteronomio” (B, 313v^b).

⁷² Dymock is quoted twice, on the subject of relics (A, 237r^a) and on prayers for the dead (B, 254r^b).

of special interest for the history of theology in later medieval England. *Congesta* also quotes and excerpts from works by Bonaventure (15 quotations),⁷³ often in conjunction with Aquinas.

One of these occurs in sermon 20, in a longer section defending the worship of images. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, this sermon does not explicitly argue against Wyclif's and the Lollards' rejection of image worship. However, Wyclif and his teachings appear elsewhere in *Congesta*. In fact, Wyclif himself is quoted several times in sermon 6, which deals with the Eucharist, especially whether it may or should be celebrated daily, as well as in sermon 17, on the intercession of the saints. In both cases, *Congesta* strongly defends orthodox teaching, with frequent and long quotations from earlier theologians as well as "Walden," that is, Thomas Netter (c. 1370–1430), particularly in sermon 6. Walden appears again in sermon 44, which argues against Wyclif's rejection of clerical celibacy.⁷⁴ Other opponents of Wyclif on the Eucharist quoted here are Walden's teacher, William Woodford,⁷⁵ and Jean Gerson.⁷⁶

Two other "modern" figures whose appearance in *Congesta* is worth mentioning are William Wheatley, whose commentary on Boethius is quoted at least three times,⁷⁷ and Petrus de Candia, elected as Pope Alexander at the Council of Pisa, who is here reported to have spoken to the bishop of Hereford at the Council of Pisa.⁷⁸

Congesta also refers to some of the authors and works that occupied Beryl Smalley's attention in her study of fourteenth-century English friars.⁷⁹ Thus, Alexander Nequam is at one point credited with a work here called "Methologia de fla'ibus gentilium,"⁸⁰ and Lathbury's commentary on Lamentations appears once.⁸¹ More interesting is the fact that *Congesta* contains nearly 60 quotations and excerpts from the writings of Robert Holcot. Three or four of them are from his lectures on the Wisdom of Solomon, the remainder, at least 55, from his sermons. *Congesta* is remarkably consistent in identifying the latter by number or thema and thereby reveals that its author knew of more Holcot sermons than have been preserved in the unique collection of Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 210.

⁷³ From his commentary on the Sentences and his *Breviloquium*, the latter also referred to as "De veritate theologie" and "De veritate sacre scripture." I have not been able to trace a quotation from "Similitudinarius" (A, 257v^a).

⁷⁴ On Walden see further below, 00 and 00.

⁷⁵ From Woodford, on whether the Eucharist is to be celebrated daily (A, 69r^b).

⁷⁶ "Frater Johannes de Gersonno (?) de celebracione misse" (A, 69v^b).

⁷⁷ In A, at 221r^a-v, 277r^a-278r^b, and 289r^b-v^a.

⁷⁸ A, 185v^b.

⁷⁹ Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early XIVth Century* (Oxford, 1960).

⁸⁰ B, 3v^b.

⁸¹ A, 135v^b.

A last group of quotations comes from authors and titles of spiritual or devotional works. These include the *Formula novitiorum* by the Franciscan David of Augsburg, who is not named here (sermon 18); the *Stimulus amoris*, here attributed to Bonaventure (sermon 6); the *Speculum spiritualium*, probably a Carthusian work written in England early in the fifteenth century (sermon 3); and the *Speculum laicorum* (sermon 40).⁸² All these works appear but once, and they are by far outdone by the *Liber revelationum* of Saint Bridget of Sweden, a series of visions in which Christ or his mother teaches spiritual truths.⁸³ This work is quoted, often with lengthy excerpts, at least two dozen times throughout *Congesta*.

As a final observation on these many and varied quotations and excerpts, it should be mentioned that often a reference to a given author or work is soon followed by another to the same. This happens frequently in the surviving text, especially with extracts from Berchorius. This must mean that its author had a given work before him and, as he was copying one passage, remembered another in it that would fit his explanations.

But who might this author have been? The two manuscripts, A and B, give us no name or even a clear hint. Only occasionally do we hear what might be the author's own voice, in a number of statements in the first person singular, such as *dico, non insero, per quam intelligo, suadeo, ut predixi, propter prolixitatem omitto*, even if such cases have to be taken with some care since the verbs may come from a cited source. His voice appears more clearly in such a remark as "ille Augustinus quadam sua Epistola ad Publicolam secundum cotacionem quam vidi Epistola 90."⁸⁴ And even more definite is his use of *Actor* or *Auctor* in several sermons where he takes part in a controversy, such as over the primacy of Peter (sermon 11), and especially in his lengthy discussion of religious orders in sermon 46, where he declares: "All these things I thought should be recited so that all modern religious could see in the mirror of their fathers what they have lost from their observation of the Rule in the sons."⁸⁵

Remarks like this suggest that the author himself was a member of a religious order. He also was undoubtedly a very learned man, as is witnessed by the breadth of the sources for his quotations and excerpts: he was definitely familiar not only with major biblical commentaries but also with significant systematic theologians of the later Middle Ages. He certainly was English, as is shown by his interest in the history of London and, more importantly, in his writing a fairly large number

⁸² See n. 00.

⁸³ Including the *Liber imperatoris celestis ad reges*, quoted in A, 175r^a.

⁸⁴ A, 274v^a. The excerpt is from Augustine, *Ep.* 47.

⁸⁵ "Actor: Hec omnia recitanda putauerim vt moderni religiosi omnes speculari possent in patribus quid de obseruancia regulari amiserunt in filiis" (B, 317v^b).

(over 75 instances) of English words,⁸⁶ phrases,⁸⁷ distinctions,⁸⁸ popular sayings,⁸⁹ and even genuinely macaronic clauses.⁹⁰ His scholarly penchant appears very clearly in several statements indicating the volume in which a particular sermon by Augustine appears⁹¹ and in similar references to other works.⁹² And he was evidently connected with Oxford, as he reveals when, after reporting Grosseteste's excommunication and the pope's dream, he concludes:

These things are contained in a chronicle that is called *Flores historiarum*, in the monastery of Evesham, some 30 miles from Oxford. And you will find this complete history of the unjust excommunication of Lord Lincoln by Pope Innocent IV written at the Friars Minor at Oxford, in a book called *Speculum stultorum* or *laicorum*, or else *Speculum clericorum et laicorum*.⁹³

Curiously, the just quoted remark is echoed by Thomas Gascoigne in two references to what may have been the same book:

Haec [a letter of Innocent IV] reperi in Cronica Eveshamiae, ego magister Thomas Gascoigne, Anglicus natione, Eboracensis diocesis, doctor sacrae Theologiae et cancellarius Oxoniensis universitatis.⁹⁴

And even closer to *Congesta*: "Haec [regarding the bodies of saints Cuthbert and Bede] vidi in Cronica bona Eveshamiae per 30 miliaria ab Oxonia."⁹⁵ Gascoigne, who read and owned many of the works that are quoted in *Congesta*, including Saint Bridget's *Revelations* (which he saw at Syon monastery) and works by

⁸⁶ For example: "rusticus cognoscit animal suum per *mark*" (B, 124r^b). Also frequent are glosses, such as: "terre aquose, anglice *marischgrunde*" (B, 95r^a).

⁸⁷ For example: "*in a molde*" or "*encressyng of synne*" (A, 10r^a and 24v^a).

⁸⁸ For example: "que impediunt ... possunt dici anglice *fernesse, bysynesse, and seknesse*" (A, 13r^b).

⁸⁹ "Prouerbium ... in anglicis: *Hyt is goode to take a soppe for the myste*" (margin: "*thre soppys for the miste*") (A, 52v^a); "vulgare dictum: *Hyt ys a schrewd lyon that / beteth or eteth hys dame*" (A, 135v^{a-b}); perhaps also "*of a old henne wold be a yong peroun*" (A, 136r^a).

⁹⁰ For example: "Iudicium rationis obscuratur *vnscapabully* per passions ... et per *vnscapabull' / peruertyd iudicium*" (B, 283v^{a-b}).

⁹¹ For instance: "Augustinus sermone 18 volumine 2o ... sermone 51 volumine primo" (B, 255v^a); and "Augustinus sermone 87 volumine 3" (B, 282r^b). The texts quoted are from Augustine, *Serm.* 351 and 353, respectively.

⁹² Especially a reference to a prophecy: "Sed hec exposita sunt in propheta libro 8, capitulo xi, Muro, pagina [or paragrapho] 6 ... vt in propheta libro 2o, capitulo 26, Ariete, pagina 2o [*sic*] ... vt Salomone libro 1o, capitulo 22o, Amico, pagina 5" (B, 270v^a).

⁹³ "Hec continentur in cronica que dicitur *Flores historiarum* in monasterio Evesham, per 30 miliaria ab Oxon'. Et plenam historiam istam de excommunicatione iniusta domini Linc' a papa Innocencio 4o videbis scriptam inter fratres minores Oxon' in libro qui intitulum *Speculum stultorum* siue *laicorum*, siue *Speculum clericorum et laicorum*" (B, 269v^a). *Flores historiarum* is the work by Matthew of Paris. The report of Grosseteste's excommunication appears in *Speculum laicorum*, ed. J. Th. Welter (Paris, 1914), 94.

⁹⁴ Rogers, *Loci e Libro* (n. 2 above), 200.

⁹⁵ Rogers, *Loci e Libro*, 223.

Duns Scotus, Henry of Ghent, Ivo of Chartres, and Walter Burley,⁹⁶ was earnestly concerned for a well-educated and morally pure clergy and for the importance of good preaching, and therefore could be thought to have written *Congesta*. However, several features that characterize Gascoigne's best known work, the *Dictionarium theologicum*, speak decisively against his authorship. One is his oft-repeated animus against Reginald Pecok regarding the latter's claim that bishops do not need to preach — of which I find no trace in *Congesta*. Another is Gascoigne's critical view of the scholastic sermon structure, in which “modern preachers,” that is, predominantly the friars, are more concerned “with the form and way of making divisions and verbal agreements ... rather than declaring useful things.”⁹⁷ In contrast, *Congesta* once selectively excerpts a longer passage from *De theoria sive arte praedicandi* by Thomas Waleys, a substantial handbook teaching the scholastic sermon structure.⁹⁸ Gascoigne and *Congesta* further differ stylistically: the former regularly uses “sanctus” with proper names (“sanctus Augustinus,” and so on), whereas the latter has a plain “Augustinus.”⁹⁹ And finally, Gascoigne belonged to the secular clergy, whereas there is a strong probability that the author of *Congesta* was a member of a religious order.

If the latter was indeed the case, what order would he have belonged to? The quotations in *Congesta* allow for several possibilities without being decisive. Thus, the Dominican authors quoted are matched in number by Franciscans. Though Aquinas occurs very frequently, Bonaventure is not far behind him, and the same is true of their later Dominican (Durandus de S. Porciano, Dymock, Holcot, Thomas Waleys) and Franciscan brethren (Cowton, Cossey,

⁹⁶ For his books and readings see R. M. Ball, *Thomas Gascoigne* (n. 5 above). Further, see the fine account by Christina von Nolcken, “Gascoigne [Gascoygne], Thomas,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>. The spade work on Gascoigne done by Winifred A. Pronger has still not been superseded: “Thomas Gascoigne,” *English Historical Review* 53 (1938): 606–69 [Part 1], and 54 (1939): 20–37 [Part 2].

⁹⁷ Rogers, *Loci e Libro*, 24.

⁹⁸ A, 7r^a–v^b (two passages, with a total of 127 lines). In the passages referred to Waleys gives an example of preaching with the help of a syllogism. In *Congesta* the contiguous passages deal with the *fons vivus* of the hymn. See Th.-M. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Paris, 1936), 367–68.

⁹⁹ *Congesta* qualifies an author's name with “egregius doctor,” “venerabilis,” or “sanctus [Thomas]” only occasionally. One might add that Gascoigne and *Congesta* also differ in matters of moral theology. For example, a *lectio* on indulgence(s) that may (or may not) be by Gascoigne and certainly follows the structure he advocates in his *Dictionarium*, argues its points with strong reliance on Augustine rather than on thirteenth-century theologians. See Pronger, “Thomas Gascoigne” [Part 2], 21–23. In contrast, when *Congesta* discusses indulgences in a passage that particularly interested a later reader, its author simply furnishes excerpts from several authors (Hugh of St. Victor, Scotus, Bridget, Bede, Augustine), including a long passage from Franciscus de Mayronis (“De indulgentiis,” in *Sermones de sanctis* [Basel, 1498], fols. 97v^b–100r^a), in *Congesta* (A, 303r^b–304r^b). Gascoigne's *Dictionarium* is still awaiting a critical edition.

Duns Scotus, Lathbury, Woodford). The Carmelites, another order whose members were active in fifteenth-century England, are represented by Thomas Netter (“Walden”), as well as by one Johannes de Rivo Forti, who flourished c. 1400 and is otherwise fairly unknown.¹⁰⁰ In addition, *Congesta* quotes the *Regula Carmelitarum* of Albertus Patriarcha, the founder of that order.¹⁰¹

There is, however, one small detail that brings us closer to the author’s identity. Near the end of the long sermon *Ad religiosos* (46; notice: not *Ad clericos!*), where *Congesta* praises the religious life and speaks of the rules and ideals of many orders, its author says: “About the beginning of the Carthusian Order, as *our fathers* have told us” and reports the story of Saint Bruno.¹⁰² *Patres nostri*, “our fathers,” a phrase not used about any other order, suggests that the author of *Congesta* was a Carthusian. This suggestion would gain strength from the author’s familiarity with the *Speculum spiritualium*, a Carthusian work, and especially with Saint Bridget’s *Revelations*, which was a great favorite with the Bridgettine nuns at Syon, as well as with the Carthusian monks at the recently founded charterhouses at Sheen and London.

What may very well clinch the case for Carthusian authorship are four excerpts from a source I have so far not mentioned. This is the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis, known at the time as *Musica ecclesiastica* and written between 1420 and 1441. The four passages all appear separately in a single sermon (18). They come from books 1, 2, and 3 of the *Imitatio* and total 226 lines in Magdalen College MS 96.¹⁰³ Their form agrees completely with the text edited by Pohl.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the author of *Congesta* quotes from what would to him have been a contemporary work without giving its title or the author’s name¹⁰⁵ — an act quite contrary to his normal procedure.¹⁰⁶ Though the *Imitatio* was immensely popular in later years and centuries, especially in its many vernacular translations, in fifteenth-century England possession of the Latin *Imitatio* was limited to an elite, especially the

¹⁰⁰ Cosme de Villiers de Saint-Étienne, *Bibliotheca carmelitana*, 2 vols. (Orleans, 1752), 2:84. *Congesta* quotes him briefly in A, 15r^a, on intellectual error.

¹⁰¹ B, 317r^b–v^a, from chap. 20 of the *Regula*.

¹⁰² “De incepione Cartusiensis ordinis sicut patres nostri narrauerunt nobis quidam clericus regens actu Parisius in theologia... . Erat autem tunc temporis quidam canonicus Remensis magister in theologia nomine Bruno uel Brunus... . Hec de fundacione ordinis Cartusiensis” (B, 316v^a–317r^a).

¹⁰³ A, at 285v^b–286r^a; 288v^a; 290r^b–v^a; and 291r^a–b. An edition of the four passages will appear in *Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique*.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Hemerken à Kempis, *Opera omnia*, ed. Michael Iosephus Pohl, 2 (Freiburg, 1904).

¹⁰⁵ During its early years the work was also known as *Musica ecclesiastica* and its author was sometimes thought to be Jean Gerson. I have not found either title in the two manuscripts, and Gerson is quoted only as the author of *De celebratione Missae*.

¹⁰⁶ Three of the four excerpts are identified only by a final “Hec ille,” and one lacks even that much.

Carthusian Order and the Bridgettines.¹⁰⁷ David Lovatt, to whom we owe a substantial study of the *Imitatio Christi* in fifteenth-century England, speaks of the “[Carthusian] order’s enthusiasm for the *Imitatio*.”¹⁰⁸ Most early copies of this text do not contain the author’s name,¹⁰⁹ which might explain its absence in *Congesta*. This is also the case with the earliest copy of the Latin text in England, which belonged to, and was in part written by, John Dygon, fifth recluse at the Carthusian priory at Sheen, Sussex.¹¹⁰ Since the neighboring Bridgettine house of Syon owned several copies of the *Musica ecclesiastica*, as well as Bridget’s *Revelationes*, the *Speculum spiritualium*, and the works of Berchorius,¹¹¹ *Congesta* may well have originated in this milieu.

We can therefore see in the author of *Congesta* a man who, in accordance with Carthusian custom, preached “with his hands.”¹¹² Instead of literally preaching and then recording his words, or providing model sermons for others, he collected (*congressit*) a vast amount of material for preachers from his readings and recorded it in these volumes. Collecting such a massive amount of material from a wide range of authorities characterizes not only *Congesta* but other works of the fifteenth century, such as the *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei ecclesiae catholicae*, with its protracted arguments against Wyclif by Thomas Netter (c. 1370–1430),¹¹³ or the encyclopedic compilations made by John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Albans (c. 1392–1465), with such titles as *Granarium*, *Pabularium*, and *Palearium*, titles that suggest collected material.¹¹⁴ It is likewise typical of two

¹⁰⁷ See Roger Lovatt, “The *Imitation of Christ* in Late Medieval England,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (1968): 97–121, esp. 107 and 110.

¹⁰⁸ Lovatt, “*Imitation of Christ*,” 111.

¹⁰⁹ Nikolaus Staubach, “Eine unendliche Geschichte? Der Streit um die Autorschaft der *Imitatio Christi*,” in *Aus dem Winkel in die Welt: Die Bücher des Thomas von Kempen und ihre Schicksale*, ed. Ulrike Bodemann and Nikolaus Staubach, Tradition; Reform; Innovation: Studien zur Modernität des Mittelalters 11 (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 11.

¹¹⁰ Oxford, Magdalen MS 93, fols. 269r–295v. The first part of *De musica ecclesiastica* was copied here in 1438 (fol. 275v).

¹¹¹ Vincent Gillespie, *Syon Abbey: With the Libraries of the Carthusians*, ed. A. I. Doyle, British Medieval Library Catalogues 9 (London, 2001), 228, 248, 256, and 281 (*Musica ecclesiastica*); 797 (*Revelationes*, seven copies); 235 (*Speculum spiritualium*); and 108 (Berchorius). Item 891 in the early fifteenth-century catalogue contains not only the *Musica ecclesiastica* but also Petrarch’s *On the Penitential Psalms* and Gerson’s *De celebracione misse* (281). For some recent work on the *Imitatio Christi*, see Staubach, “Eine unendliche Geschichte?”; and Rudolf Van Dijk, “Die kartäusische Rezeption der *Nachfolge Christi*,” in *Liber Amicorum James Hogg: Kartäuserforschung 1970–2006; Internationale Tagung Kartause Aggsbach 28.8–1.9.2006 Kartause Mauerbach*, ed. Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (Salzburg, 2007), 102–31.

¹¹² *Consuetudines* 28.3 (PL 153:693).

¹¹³ See Anne Hudson, “Netter [Walden], Thomas,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (n. 96 above).

¹¹⁴ See James G. Clark, “Whethamstede [Bostock], John,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

other works written several decades before *Congesta* that are both concerned with sermon-making.

The first is an equally little-studied lecture course on the Gospels for a *de sanctis et festis* cycle of the Church year, preserved in Oxford, Magdalen College MS 156 (henceforth referred to as M), one of the codices bequeathed to the college by John Dygon.¹¹⁵ Its anonymous author had studied at Oxford under William Woodford, OFM, who at the time that M was written was still alive (Woodford died c. 1400). He calls the pieces he writes *omelie*, “homilies,” and consistently begins with a division of the lection from the Mass for the respective day (*divisio textus*), then offers a number of notable things (*notabilia*) contained in the successive phrases of the lection, and finally adds a number of questions about those phrases (*dubia*) and records answers given by previous commentators and occasionally himself. In all this, he quotes and excerpts material from some 130 authors and anonymous works.¹¹⁶

The second work is a cycle of sermons on the Sunday Gospels called *Sermones dominicales*, written by Repyngdon (henceforth referred to as R).¹¹⁷ Whether its author was Philip Repyngdon, the erstwhile follower of Wyclif and later chancellor of Oxford University (1400–1403) and bishop of Lincoln,¹¹⁸ or else, as has been recently argued, John Eyton, also known as “Repyngdon,”¹¹⁹ is of no concern here. The title of R, *Sermones*, appears to be medieval, but it is clearly a misnomer because Repyngdon himself consistently speaks of its pieces as *omelie*, “homilies,” just as does M; and one manuscript in fact calls them “Omelie Repyngton super euangelia dominicalia.”¹²⁰ The difference between *omelie* and (scholastic) *sermones* lies in the form in which they deal with the biblical text to be preached on. “Homilies” comment on, or postillate, the phrases of the entire biblical lection, while “sermons” select a small part of it as their thema, which they then divide into parts that are developed at some length (with or without several introductory elements).¹²¹ The sections in R, called *omelie*, do not contain such characteristic

¹¹⁵ See Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections* (n. 8 above), 112–15.

¹¹⁶ Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 113–14 n. 63.

¹¹⁷ The work has been studied extensively in a dissertation by Simon Forde, “Writings of a Reformer: A Look at Sermon Studies and Bible Studies through Repyngdon’s *Sermones super euangelia dominicalia*” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1985). See also Forde, “New Sermon Evidence for the Spread of Wycliffism,” in Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Greene, and B. Kienzle, eds., *De Ore Domini* (Kalamazoo, 1989), 169–83.

¹¹⁸ Simon Forde, “Repyndon [Repyngton, Repyngdon], Philip,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹¹⁹ Richard Sharpe, “John Eyton Alias Repyngdon and the *Sermones super Euangelia dominicalia* Attributed to Philip Repyngdon,” *Medium Aevum* 83 (2014): 254–65.

¹²⁰ Oxford, Bodleian MS Laud misc. 635, fol. 369r^b (the explicit).

¹²¹ Because of the crucial importance of a chosen thema, the “scholastic sermon” could also be called “thematic sermon,” if by “thematic” one understands the short text on which the sermon was based (i.e., not “topical”). A good, though brief, discussion of the change from

features of a scholastic sermon, except for an occasional closing formula (which could have been added by a scribe). In other words, by their inherent terminology as well as their structure, both R and M follow the ancient structure of “homilies.”

Both also *collect* a vast amount of material for use by preachers. Repingdon himself, in his highly rhetorical prologue, does not say that he is furnishing model sermons but rather that he aims at providing instruction for “understanding the faith of the most blessed Trinity as it is most powerfully contained in the gospel.” To do so, he will not rely on his own knowledge but instead “*collect* thoughtful sayings (*sentencias*) from other holy doctors and faithful postillators.”¹²² What R thus does for the Gospels of a *de tempore* cycle, M does for those of a *de sanctis et de festis* cycle,¹²³ although in a quite different form, namely, that of lectures.

Another characteristic shared by both R and M is their focus on *euangelium*, the gospel. R’s prologue begins with “Euangelice tube comminacio,”¹²⁴ while M constantly speaks of “doctrina euangelica” and of preaching the *euangelium* rather than the more customary *verbum Dei*.¹²⁵

To return to *Congesta*: though it uses the term *sermo* rather than *omelia*,¹²⁶ it agrees with R and M in collecting a vast amount of material, as the analysis above has shown. Like M, it quotes or presents excerpts from some 130 different authors and anonymous works, albeit different ones, for its major sources.¹²⁷ Moreover, like R and M it does not structure the main sections of its pieces

homily to scholastic sermon can be found in Simon Tugwell, “*De huiusmodi sermonibus textitur omnis recta predicatio: Changing Attitudes towards the Word of God*,” in *De l’homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale*, ed. Jacqueline Hamasse and Xavier Hermand (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), 159–68, at 161.

¹²² “Verumtamen de viribus nostris diffidens et de diuine gracie confidens optimo supplemento, ne ignorancie tenebra inuolutum me contingat a Scripture catholica intelligencia exorbitare, decreui pocius aliorum sanctorum doctorum et fidelium postillatorum sentencias [fol. 1r^b] colligere quam mea ingerere inpuidenter, non subtilibus set rudibus me similibus morem gerens” (Oxford, Corpus Christi MS 54, fol. 1r^{a-b}).

¹²³ Hence, M could be called *Omelie super euangelia de sanctis et festis*.

¹²⁴ Oxford, Corpus Christi MS 54, fol. 1r^a.

¹²⁵ Whether this reflects an influence of Wyclif is hard to say. I find no direct mention of Wyclif or his “opinions” in M. For the more customary label “*verbum Dei*,” see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 188, and n. 29 above.

¹²⁶ The rubricator labels the individual pieces “sermones,” consistently in A, occasionally in B; and the texts themselves contain an occasional “sermo” referring to the text of *Congesta*, such as: “Sermo presentis diei stabit in processu sacri ympni ‘Veni creator spiritus’” (A, 3v^a); “In principio sermonis dirigamus oracionem” (A, 87r^a); “pro processu sermonis” (B, 223r^a); and so on. There is no surviving authorial prologue in A or B.

¹²⁷ To single out their most often quoted curious authorities: M relies on the Franciscan John Peter Olivi at least sixty-eight times in seventeen *omelie*, whereas *Congesta* does so on the Benedictine Berchorius at least 150 times in forty-six sermons.

according to the scholastic sermon form but avoids choosing a *thema*, dividing it, and developing its parts, and instead postillates the entire text of the lection.

Thus, *Congesta*, written after the Council of Basel (1438 or 1431, the latest quotation),¹²⁸ can be seen, with the earlier M (before c. 1400) and R (perhaps composed in the 1380s), as part of the “new emphasis” of fifteenth-century preaching in England. Was it ever used as a source by later preachers? I do not know of any quotations of *Congesta* in the sermon collections known to me. But both manuscripts, A and B, contain marginal annotations in a late-medieval hand throughout that range from a simple “N” (for *nota!*) and a vertical line to “*nota processum*” and such topical attention getters as “*nota hec 4 pro episcopis et sacerdotibus*,” “*vocacio simplex*,” and so on.¹²⁹ Thus at least one late-medieval reader profited from it, though to what extent exactly we do not know.

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Keywords: Carthusians, *Congesta*, fifteenth century, *Imitatio Christi*, preaching, sermon cycles, theology

APPENDIX: SOURCES QUOTED IN *CONGESTA*

The following is an alphabetical list of authors and works that are quoted in *Congesta* or, in some cases, are used without identification. The list should be considered provisional: it is by no means a complete record of all quotations and excerpts in *Congesta*. Moreover, some of the authors and works listed may occur within longer excerpts from other authors (for example, Solinus, quoted by Holcot); and conversely, longer excerpts in *Congesta* may quote authorities that are not listed here (for example, Sigebert, quoted in Lyra). If an author or work is discussed in the article above, I have indicated this with a reference to the page (“see above”). Similarly, if an author or work is quoted in the sample sermon 30 as summarized above, I refer to it with “serm. 30:” and the line number of the section where the quote appears. Brackets in this list indicate that names of authors or works are not given in the manuscripts. For further details on quotations from more or less contemporary sources, see the remarks above on 304–307.

¹²⁸ See Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 119, and nn. 11–12 above. I hesitate to assign a terminus *ante quem*, since the date(s) of Gascoigne’s remarks about Pecock is/are uncertain, and this would at best be a weak argument *ex silentio*.

¹²⁹ Other marginalia throughout both A and B are written by the text hand.

- Aesop, *Fabule* (serm. 11)
- Albertus Magnus (serm. 3, 9, and 10)
- Albertus Patriarcha, O.Carm., *Regula* (serm. 46)
- Albumasar (serm. 42)
- Ambrose (serm. 30:745, 1980, and 1995)
- Ambrosius Autpertus (quoted as “Augustinus”), *Libellus de conflictu vitiorum atque virtutum* (serm. 6)
- Anselm, various works (serm. 30:468); *De similitudinibus* (serm. 20); and *Meditaciones* (serm. 21). The scribes seem to have taken the author’s name to be “Anselinus.”
- Aristotle (“Philosophus”), various works (serm. 30:697); also, his *Letter to Alexander* (serm. 29)
- Augustine, many works (serm. 30:89, 191, 468, 649, 671, 1610, 1873, and 1995)
- Avicenna, *De animalibus* (serm. 9)
- Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*
- Basil (serm. 4)
- Beckett, Thomas, *Letters* (serm. 14)
- Bede (serm. 30:191 and 468); also *Exhortaciones* (serm. 1, 12, 38, and 45)
- Benedict, *Regula* (serm. 46)
- Bernard of Clairvaux, various works (serm. 30:50); including *Meditaciones piissimae* (serm. 30:326)
- Bersuire, Pierre, *Reductorium morale* and *Dictionarius* (serm. 30:236, 554, 728, and 1684; and see above, 304–5)
- Bonaventure (see above, 306–7)
- Bridget of Sweden (see above, 307)
- Burley, Walter, *Comments on Aristotle* (serm. 9, 11, and 24)
- Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons* (serm. 3)
- Canon law (serm. 30:89, 326, 745, 850, and 1548)
- Capgrave (“Capgraffe”) (see above, 305)
- Cassian, John, *Collationes; De institutis monachorum* (serm. 13)
- Catholicon* (serm. 122)
- Chronica de religione vera* (serm. 46)
- Chronicles
- Chrysostom, John, *Nullus laeditur nisi a seipso* (serm. 30:772); *Opus imperfectum*

- Cicero, *De amicitia* (serm. 8), *De officiis* (serm. 12)
- Civil law (serm. 9; and 30:1949; and see n. 49)
- Cossey, Henry of (“Costa,” “Costey”) (see above, 305)
- Council of Basel (serm. 6; and see above, 314)
- Cowton, Robert (see above, 305)
- Crisopolitanus, Zacharias, biblical commentary? (serm. 13)
- [David of Augsburg], *Formula novitiorum* (see above, 307)
- De proprietatibus electorum* (serm. 16)
- Dionysius (serm. 10; also, as quoted by Hugh of St. Victor [serm. 6])
- Docking, Thomas (see above, 305)
- Duns Scotus (“Doctor subtilis,” “Scotulus”) (serm. 30:1949; and see above, 305, 309–10)
- Durandus de Sancto Porciano, *On the Sentences* (serm. 6)
- Dymock, Roger (see above, 305)
- Eusebius, *Homelia ad monachos* (serm. 4, 8, and 9); *Historia ecclesiastica* (serm. 20)
- Eustachius (serm. 8)
- Fables, exempla (serm. 30:910)
- Fasciculus morum* (serm. 28)
- Fishaere, Richard (see above, 305)
- FitzRalph (“Armechanus”), *De quaestionibus Armeniorum* (serm. 2, 7, 17?, 37, and 39)
- Francis of Assisi, *Testamentum* and *Regula* (serm. 46)
- Franciscus de Mayronis, *Sermons* (serm. 6 and 19); *On the Sentences* (serm. 6, 38, and 39; and see above, 309)
- Freculphus (serm. 12)
- Fulgentius, *De ornatu civitatis* (serm. 35 and 45; also serm. 15)
- Gerson, Jean (see above, 306, 310–311)
- Gervase of Tilbury, *De otii imperialibus* (serm. 45)
- Giles of Rome (“Egidius”), *De regimine principum* (serm. 7, 17, and 45)
- Giraldus (“Gilbertus”) Cambrensis, general reference (serm. 30:326); *De mirabilibus Hiberniae* (serm. 24)
- Glossa ordinaria* (serm. 30:22, 140, and 1057)
- Gorran, Nicholas of (serm. 30:1159 and 1659; and see above, 305)
- Gregory the Great (serm. 30:22, 50, 140, 191, 1057, and 2067)

- Grosseteste (“Lincolniensis”) (see above, 305, 308)
- Haimo [“Haymo”] of Auxerre (serm. 30:1057)
- Haly, *De iudiciis astrorum* (serm. 2)
- Henry of Ghent (“Doctor solemnis”) (serm. 3, 4, 7?, 11, 17, 33?, and 44)
- Hilarius (serm. 6)
- Hildegard of Bingen (serm. 46)
- Hippocras, *De secretis naturae* (serm. 9 and 17)
- Hippocrates (“Ypo.”), *Aphorisms* (serm. 6)
- Holcot, Robert (serm. 30:1159; and see above, 306, 309)
- Horologium divinae sapientiae* (serm. 40)
- Hugh of St. Victor, *Commentary on Dionysius: Hierarchia caelestis* (serm. 6);
De sacramentis (serm. 15 and 19); and *Didascalicon* (serm. 17)
- Hugh of St. Cher (“de Vienna”) (serm. 30:1684; and see above, 305)
- Innocent III, *Sermones* (serm. 11)
- Isidore, *Etymologiae* and *De summo bono* (serm. 4); and *De officiis* (serm. 46).
- Ivo of Chartres, *Panormia* (serm. 14); and *Letters* (serm. 46)
- Jacobus de Voragine (“Januensis”), *Sermons*
- Jerome, biblical commentaries (serm. 30:140, 191, 1548); *Annotaciones* and
De testamentis 12 patriarcharum (serm. 2)
- Johannes de Rivo Forti (see above, 310)
- John of Abbéville, *On the Gospels* (serm. 8 and 16)
- John Damascene (serm. 4, 6, and 20)
- John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, (serm. 30:956)
- John of Wales (?) (“Wallensis”) (see above, 305)
- Josephus, *Liber antiquitatum* (serm. 12 and 17)
- Juda (?) (serm. 12)
- Lathbury (see above, 305–6, 310)
- Legenda aurea* (serm. 19)
- Leo, Pope, *Sermons* (serm. 12); *Letters* (serm. 46)
- Liber de pomo*, [Ps.-Aristotle] (serm. 7)
- Liber de proprietatibus apum*, [Thomas of Cantimpre] (serm. 25)
- Lucan (serm. 15, as quoted by Holcot)
- Macrobius (serm. 16)
- Martin of Poland, *Chronica Martini* (serm. 11; and 30:468)

- Matthew Paris, *Flores historiarum* (serm. 4, 7, 21, and 40; and see above, 308)
Meditationes piissimae (serm. 30:326)
- Memory verses and proverbs
- Nequam, Alexander (“Necham”), general reference (serm. 38); “Methologia de fla’ibus gentilium” (serm. 21; and see above, 306)
- Nicholas of Lyra (serm. 30:1057; and see above, 305)
- Odo of Cheriton (serm. 30:671 and 1684; see above, 305)
- Odo Tusculanensis, *Commentary* (serm. 29)
- Origen, biblical commentaries (serm. 7, 8, and 30:89, etc.)
- Ovid, [*Ex Ponto*] (serm. 35, 36)
- Pantealis (?) (serm. 20)
- Parisiensis episcopus, “In quodam sermone” (serm. 15)
 [Peter Comestor], *Historia scholastica* (serm. 4 and 21)
- Peter Lombard, *Sentences* (serm. 30:610 and 935)
- Peter of Blois, *Letters and Commentary on Job* (serm. 30:745)
- Petrarch, Francis, *On the Penitential Psalms* (serm. 1; see also serm. 3 and 6)
- Petrus de Candia (see above, 306)
- Petrus de Riga, *Aurora* (serm. 8)
- Petrus de Tarantasia, *On the Sentences* (serm. 44)
- Petrus Ravennensis (i.e., “Chrysologus”), *Sermons* (serm. 30:1250)
- Pliny, *Historia naturalis*
Prophecia (unspecified) (serm. 40)
- Prosper, *De vita contemplativa* (serm. 46)
- [Ps.-Augustine], *Ad fratres in eremo* (serm. 46).
- [Ps.-Bonaventure], *De stimulo amoris* (serm. 6); *Meditationes de vita Christi* (serm. 13)
- [Ps.-Hugh of St. Cher] (“Parisius”), *On Revelation* (serm. 16)
- Ptolemy (“Tholomeus”), *On Astronomy* (serm. 2 and 42)
- Rabanus, biblical commentaries
- Rabisaon (?) (serm. 19)
- Raby Moses (Maimonides), *De duce du’orum* (serm. 5)
- Repingdon (see above, 305)
- Rhazes (“Rasis”), “Sentencie alinosirie” (Almansoris?) (serm. 15)

- Richard of St. Victor, *De statu interioris hominis* (serm. 5); and others (serm. 3 and 16)
- Seneca, *Letters* (serm. 30:1057)
- Solinus (serm. 12, as quoted by Holcot)
- Speculum laicorum* (“Speculum stultorum siue laicorum siue Speculum clericorum et laicorum”) (see above, 307–8)
- Speculum spiritalium* (see above, 307)
- Stephen Langton (“Stephanus de Longo Thoma”) (serm. 21, as quoted by Bersuire)
- [Thomas à Kempis], [*Imitatio Christi*] (see above, 310)
- Thomas Aquinas, various works, including *De potestate papae* (serm. 28; and 30:311, 468, 868, 1030, and 1548; and see above, 304–6, 309)
- Theodocius, *De descriptione universi* (serm. 8)
- Ursus, Aphorisms (serm. 17)
- Valerius Maximus, *De institutis Macelli* (serm. 4; and as quoted by Holcot in serm. 12 and 19)
- Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (serm. 28; and 30:468)
- Virgil, *Georgics* (serm. 27)
- Vitas Patrum*
- Walden (i.e., Thomas Netter) (see above, 306, 310)
- Waleys, Thomas (see above, 309)
- Wheatley (“Wethley”) (see above, 306)
- Willelmus de Conchis, *Commentary on Matthew* (serm. 16)
- Willelmus Durandus, *Rationale divinatorum* (serm. 12)
- William of Auvergne (“Parisiensis”), *De fide et legibus* (serm. 21); *De sacramentis* (serm. 6 and 9)
- William of Nottingham, *Commentary on Unum ex quatuor* (see above, 305)
- William Peraldus (“Parisiensis”), *Summa de vitiis* (serm. 17, 21, 24, and 27)
- William Woodford (“Wodeford”) (see above, 306, 310)
- Wyclif, John, *Triologus* (serm. 6 and 17; also see above, 306)
- Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (serm. 13)