

“All medievalists will rejoice to see the publication of this final volume of the English translation of the sermons of Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx in Yorkshire (1110–1167), a project that has been years in the making. As in the rest of the series, we meet Aelred at home, delivering these talks in the chapter room, surrounded by the monks in his care. Most of these talks were given on the major feast days of the church, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of well-known saints. A few exceptions—two sermons for abbots, two for nuns, three on Edward the Confessor, and one on the martyred St. Katherine—may have been delivered outside the monastery. The inclusion of the recently discovered sermon that Aelred preached for the translation of the relics of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey in 1163 is particularly welcome.”

— Jean Truax

CISTERCIAN FATHERS SERIES: NUMBER EIGHTY-SEVEN

Aelred of Rievaulx

The Liturgical Sermons

The Reading-Cluny Collection, 2 of 2
Sermons 134–182

Translated by
Daniel Griggs

and
A Sermon Upon the Translation of Saint Edward, Confessor
Translated by Tom Licence

Introduction by
Marjory Lange



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Abbreviations

Acta SS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
Ant	Antiphonae
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. Turnhout: Brepols.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols.
CF	Cistercian Fathers series
CO	Corpus Orationum. CCSL 160AH. Turnhout: Brepols, 1993–1994.
CP	Corpus Praefationum. CCSL 161D. Turnhout: Brepols, 1980.
CS	Cistercian Studies series
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Turnhout: Brepols.
CSQ	<i>Cistercian Studies Quarterly</i>
Ep(p)	Epistola(e)
GCS	<i>Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller</i>
Hesbert	René-Jean Hesbert, ed. <i>Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplux</i> . Rome: Herder, 1935.
Hom	Homilia
Hymn	Hymnus
Lit	<i>Litaniae</i> . Enzo Lodi, ed. <i>Enchiridion euchologicum fontium liturgicorum</i> . Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni liturgiche, 1979.
Orat	Oratio

Orat div	<i>Orationes divinae ad repellendas malas cogitationes</i> . Placide Bruylants. <i>Les Oraisons du Missel Romain</i> 2. Louvain: Centre de documentation et d'information liturgiques, Abbaye du Mont César, 1952.
OS	Festivitate Omnium Sanctorum
PL	Patrologia Latina. Ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1841–1855.
PLS	Patrologia Latina Supplement
Proverbia	Hans Walther. <i>Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii ac Recensioris Aevi</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964, 1982.
Resp	Responsoria
Rhetorica	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>
SBOp	Sancti Bernardi Opera. Ed. J. Leclercq, H. M. Rochais, C. H. Talbot. Rome: Cistercienses, 1957–1977.
S(S)	Sermon(es)
SCh	Sources Chrétiennes. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
Seq	Sequentiae
Tract	Tractatus

Works by Authors and Collections

Ambrose

Exp Ev Luc	<i>Expositio Euangelii Lucae</i>
Ex Ps	<i>Expositio psalmi</i>
H	<i>Hymnes</i> . Trans. and ed. Jacques Fontaine, et al. Paris: Cerf, 1992.

Augustine

Doc	<i>De Doctrina Christiana</i>
En in Ps	<i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i>
Gen ad litt	<i>De Genesi ad litteram</i>
In Ep Ioh	<i>In Epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos</i>
Ioann	<i>Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis</i>
Trin	<i>De Trinitate</i>

PsAugustine

Tract Ass *Tractatus de Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis*

Gaufridus Babion

Sanc Ad Sanctimoniales

Bede

Hom II Homiliarum lib. II
 Luc In Luci Evangelium expositio
 Marc In Marci Evangelium expositio

Bernard of Clairvaux

Circ Sermo in circumcissione Domini
 Epi Sermon in Epiphania Domini
 Miss Homiliae super “Missus est” in Laudibus Virginis
 Matris
 PP Sermo in festo SS apostolorum Petri et Pauli
 SC Sermons on the Song of Songs

Boethius

Cons *Philosophiae consolatio*

PsBruno

Exp Heb *Expositio in epistolam ad Hebraeos*

Cicero

Inv *De Inventione*

Clemens Romanus

Ep ad Iac Epistola ad Iacobum, ex Rufini interpretatione

Corpus Orationum

Def Pro defunctis
 Nat Dom In Nativitate Domini
 Pro pace Postcommunio pro pace
 Vig Nat JB Vigilia Nativitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistae

Corpus Praefationum (CP)

Pref Asc	Praefatio Ascensionis
Pref S Maria	Praefatio de S. Maria

Eusebius – Rufinus

Eccl hist	<i>Ecclesiastica Historia</i>
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Glossa Ordinaria

Gal	In Galatas
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Gregory I

Dial II	<i>Dialogues libri II</i>
In Ev	<i>Homilia in Evangelia</i>
In Ez	<i>Homilia in Ezechielem</i>
Mor	<i>Moralia in Iob</i>

*René-Jean Hesbert**Ant*

Agnes	Festo S. Agnetae
And	Festo S. Andreae
Anima	“Anima Mea”
Ass	Assumptione Sanctae Mariae
Ave	“Ave Regina”
Beata	“Beata Dei Genetrix”
Cath P	Festo cathedrae Beati Petri
Com apos	Communi apostolorum
Com conf	Communi unius Confessoris
Com mar	Communi unius martyris
Com virg	Communi virginum
Ded eccl	Dedicatione ecclesiae
Domus	“Haec est domus”
Epi	Epiphania Domini
Exal	“Exaltata es”
Felix	“Felix namque es”
Gen	“Genuit puerpera”
Glor	“Gloriosi principes”
Hod	“Hodie Maria Virgo”

Ioan	“Ioannes Apostolus”
Ioh	Festo St. Iohannes
Iste	“Iste sanctus”
Maior adv	Maior adventu
M Vir	“Maria virgo”
Nat Dom	Nativitate Domini
Nat gl	“Nativitas gloriosae”
Nat JB	In Nativitate et in Decollatione Sancti Ioannis Baptistae
Nat SM	Nativitate Sanctae Mariae
Nat tua	“Nativitas tua”
Oct apos	Octava apostolorum Petri et Pauli
OS	Festo Omnium Sanctorum
Pastor	“Tu es Pastor”
Paul	Fest Sancti Pauli
Pur	Purificatione Sanctae Mariae
Sab	Sabbato sancto
Senex	“Senex puerum”
Mart	Festo Sancti Martini
Mich	Festo Sancti Michaelis
Tota	“Tota pulchra”
Vas	“Tu es Vas”
Vig Mich	Vigiliarum in festivitate Sancti Michaelis die 29 septembre
<i>Resp</i>	<i>Responsoria</i>
Adduxi	“Adduxi vos”
Adorna	“Adorna thalamum”
Adv	Adventu Domini, Dominica IIIa
Ann	Annuntiatione Sanctae Mariae
Ass	Assumptione Sanctae Mariae
Beata	“Beata es Virgo”
Beata M	“Beata Mater”
Cath P	Festo Cathedra Beati Petri
Com con	Communi confessoris
Com virg	Communi virginum
Dere in Quad	“Derelinquit” in Quadragesima
Dom IV Quad	Dominica IV Quadragesimae

Dom in P	Dominica in Palmis
Exal	“Exaltata es”
Heb I Quad	Hebdomada 1a Quadragesimae
Hod	“Hodie Maria Virgo”
Hod nata	“Hodie nata est”
Iste	“Iste sanctus”
Nat Dom	Nativitate Domini
Nat SM	Nativitate Sanctae Mariae
Nut	“Ad nutum”
Orn	“Ornatam”
Pastor	“Tu es Pastor”
Paul	Fest Sancti Pauli
Plat	Plateae
Praecursor	Praecursor Domini
Quae de Sap	“Quae sunt in corde” de Sapientia
S Mart	Festo Sancti Martini
S Mich	Festo Sancti Michaelis
Spec	“Ista est speciosa”
Stirps	“Stirps Iesse”
Vas	“Tu es Vas”
Vidi	“Vidi speciosam”
Vig Cath	Officio vigiliarum in festo Sanctae Catharinae
Vig nat S Ed	Officio vigiliarum in festo Sancti Edwardi die 13 October

Hugh of Saint Victor

Ass	<i>Pro Assumptione Virginis</i> . In <i>L'œuvre</i> .
BMV	<i>De Beatae Mariae Virginitate</i> . In <i>L'œuvre</i> .
De sac	<i>De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei</i>
Egred	<i>Egredietur virga</i> . In <i>L'œuvre</i> .
L'œuvre	<i>L'oeuvre de Hugues de Saint-Victor</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Isidore of Seville

Ety	<i>Etymologiarum sive Originum</i> . Ed. Wallace Martin Lindsay.
Sent	<i>Sententiae</i>

Ivo of Chartres

Ann *In Annuntiatione Beatae Mariae*

Jerome

Ep ad Aug *Epistolae ad Augustinum = Augustine, Ep 75.4*

In Eccl *In Ecclesiasten*

In Hab *In Habacuc*

In Isa *In Isaia (Epitome explanationum in Isaia Beati Hieronymi presbyteri)*. Ed. Roger Gryson. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

In Matt *In Mattheum*

Int nom *Interpretatio Hebraicorum nominum*. CCSL 72.

Tract Ps *Tractatus in Psalmos*

PsJerome

Brev in Pss *Breviarium in Psalmos*

Johannes Diaconus

Vita S Greg *Sancti Gregorii Magni vita*

Josephus

Bello *De bello Iudaico*

Origen

Hom Exod *Homiliae in Exodum*

Hom Gen *Homiliae in Genesim*

Hom Ier *Homiliae in Ieremiam*

Hom Lev *Homiliae in Leviticum*

Hom Luc *Homiliae super Lucam*

Hom Nave *Homiliae in Iesu Nave*

PsOrigen

Hom Gen *Homiliae in Genesim*

Paschasius Radbertus

De Ass *De Assumptione Sanctae Mariae*

Sedulius

Pasc

*Paschalis Carmen**Sulpicius Severus*

Vita S Mart

*Vita Sancti Martini**William of Saint-Thierry*

Brev Com

Brevis commentatio in Cantica

Introduction

Marjory Lange

This volume completes the English translation of Aelred of Rievaulx's liturgical sermons. The first 182 were edited by Gaetano Raciti and published between 1983 and 2012 in three volumes of Brepols Publishers' Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis series (CCCM).¹ The 49 sermons translated below (SS 134–82), comprise the second half of the 98 sermons in the Reading-Cluny Collection of Aelred's sermons,² the first half of which (SS 85–133) appeared in 2021 in Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Liturgical Sermons: The Reading-Cluny Collection*, Volume 4.1. The last sermon translated in the current volume was edited by Peter Jackson from the only manuscript in the Peterborough General Collection (UK), translated by Tom Licence, and published in *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* in 2005. Jackson has persuasively argued that it was the sermon Aelred

¹ Gaetano Raciti's critical editions of the 182 sermons in 5 collections of Aelred's liturgical sermons are published in 3 CCCM volumes: CCCM 2ABC (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983, 2001, 2012). Their English translations appear in 5 volumes: CF 58, 77, 80, 81, 87 (Kalamazoo, MI, and Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2001, 2016, 2018, 2021, 2022).

² For a discussion of the origin and contents of the Reading-Cluny collection, see Gaetano Raciti, Introduction to *Sermones LXXXV–CLXXXII*, ed. Gaetano Raciti, CCCM 2C (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), VII–XIV; Marjory Lange and Marsha Dutton, introduction to *Aelred of Rievaulx, The Liturgical Sermons: The Reading-Cluny Collection*, trans. Daniel Griggs, CF 81 (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2021), xxiii–xxvii.

wrote and preached at the 1163 Westminster translation of Saint Edward the Confessor.³

In all of these sermons Aelred renews the familiar by new ways of interpreting it and by presenting refreshed symbols, metaphoric connections, and clear language. At the same time, from time to time he judiciously recycles particularly powerful or beautiful material.⁴ It seems safe to say that even someone familiar with the rest of Aelred's sermons may be surprised by what is to be found here.

Aelred's Audience

When Aelred preached, his usual audience was the members of his community, gathered in the familiar setting of the monastery's chapter room. For that reason, his liturgical sermons are better referred to as *chapter discourses*, to avoid the implication that they were preached from a pulpit during the liturgy. For the most part, they address Aelred's concerns for his monastic community, rather than those of an audience of secular priests or laypeople.⁵

Basil Pennington explains the setting for these discourses:

In those early days of the Cistercian Order, abbots were expected to speak to their monks in chapter every morning, commenting on the passage of Saint Benedict's *Rule for Monasteries* that had just been read in the chapter house in which the monks assembled immediately after the celebration of the office of Prime in church. In addition, they were required to preach to the whole community, including the lay brothers, on fifteen principal days of the

³ Peter Jackson, "In translacione sancti Edwardi confessoris: The Lost Sermon by Aelred of Rievaulx Found?" CSQ 40, no. 1 (2005): 45–83; sermon ed. Peter Jackson, trans. Tom Licence, 65–83. The translation of this sermon is reprinted here by permission from *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* and from Peter Jackson.

⁴ For a tabulation of the occasions of Aelred's known sermons, see Domenico Pezzini, "The Sermons of Aelred of Rievaulx," in *A Companion to Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167)*, ed. Marsha L. Dutton, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 76 (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2017), 74–76.

⁵ Michael Casey, "An Introduction to Ælred's Chapter Discourses," CSQ 45, no. 3 (2010): 280–81.

liturgical year as well as on the anniversary of the dedication of the monastery's church.⁶

Aelred himself alludes to the chapter room setting of his preaching in one of his late sermons: "We are all fed by a similar corporeal bread in the refectory, and by spiritual bread at the altar, but we shall be separated as we go out from the present chapter" (S 150.9).

Chapter-room preaching offered an intimacy that Fr. Chrysogonus Waddell has explained as intrinsic to much of medieval monastic preaching, intimacy created by both the shared monastic life of the audience and the setting:

Their preaching took place within a closely knit family of brethren who shared the same ideals and enthusiasms and struggles. . . . Chapter room preaching was accordingly conditioned by the immediate milieu, so that even the "loftiest" discourse bore the marks of familiarity and intimacy. The special *cachet* of Cistercian preaching was perhaps encouraged, too, by the fact that, though based on texts drawn from the liturgy of the day, the preaching took place . . . in the chapter room, with the brethren seated shoulder to shoulder in a kind of circle of which the preacher formed a part.⁷

Shoulder to shoulder with the preacher part of the circle—so these discourses can also be referred to as "conferences." As Aelred addresses his community and asks questions of them, he can look around to see how well he is being heard. He can temper his words to the changing conditions of each day.

Aelred speaks often of his solicitude for his brothers' needs. In his *Pastoral Prayer*, he calls on God to assist him in his relationship with his monks: "Grant me a true and upright way of speaking

⁶ Basil Pennington, Introduction to *The Liturgical Sermons: The First Clairvaux Collection, Advent–All Saints*, trans. Theodore Berkeley and Basil Pennington, CF 58 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2001), 13–14 (hereafter CF 58).

⁷ Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Liturgical Dimension of Twelfth-Century Cistercian Preaching," in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn Muessig, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 90 (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1998), 339.

and an eloquence of mouth to build them up in *faith, hope, and love*, in chastity and humility, in patience and obedience, in fervor of spirit and devotion of mind.”⁸ He makes that concern specific to preaching in one sermon: “the one who speaks ought not to reflect so much on what he feels in himself as on what others may feel in themselves. For people listen willingly when what they hear from another they also feel in themselves” (S 33.5).⁹ He opens another sermon by explaining how the preacher prepares for his task and giving some reasons for his occasional failures:

It is no wonder, dear brothers, if today our prayer [*oratio*] does not proceed with the usual sweetness. For, as you know, the usual repose did not come before this sermon [*sermonem*]: prayer did not enliven it, reading did not strengthen it, and meditation did not adorn it. For a sermon to renew the speaker and build up the listener, it is necessary for repose to prepare, reading to build up, meditation to strengthen, and prayer to enlighten the mind of the speaker. You perceive, then, that I am particularly unprepared for this subject today. (S 73.1)¹⁰

He goes on to ask, “Can I raise my eyes, weary and stinging from the care and dust of outer things, to that bright heaven to which the blessed Mother of God climbed in such great splendor today?” (S 73.2). He continues with a powerful and beautifully crafted conference on Mary’s Assumption.

Aelred’s sermon-commentary on the *Prophetic Burdens of Isaiah* contains a thoughtful passage about the preacher’s awareness

⁸ *Oratio pastoralis* 7; *For Your Own People: Aelred’s Pastoral Prayer*, ed. Marsha L. Dutton, trans. Mark DelCogliano, CF 73 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2008), 50–51.

⁹ Aelred of Rievaulx, *Liturgical Sermons: The Second Clairvaux Collection, Sermons 29–46, Christmas to All Saints*, trans. Marie Anne Mayeski, CF 77 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2016), 37 (hereafter CF 77).

¹⁰ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Liturgical Sermons: The Durham and Lincoln Collections, Sermons 47–83*, trans. Kathryn Krug, Lewis White, and the *Catena Scholarium*, CF 80 (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2018), 302 (hereafter CF 80).

of the interaction between himself and his audience, their familiarity with his regular return to the same sermon topics and the same scriptural texts, and his need to respond to some of the consequences of that familiarity:

Because many of you grow bored with the same sermon and the same reading repeated again and again, we need to renew what seems old and familiar, either by adding certain ideas or at least by changing the words. In this way we can rouse the attentiveness that we seek and call the heart back from its useless and vain digressions to what is useful. So the mind that in its boredom had fled the familiar can, after being renewed by the sweetness of a reading or sermon, beneficially return to that from which it had been unconsciously distracted. (Hom 1.6)¹¹

A little later Aelred acknowledges his larger responsibility to his community: “I recognize my obligation to your progress in all respects, because of my office, of course, but mostly because of my affection for you. But necessity also compels me. Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel, especially since I do not doubt that whatever progress I make in spiritual teaching or in understanding of the Scriptures is not so much for me as it is for you, given through me” (Hom 1.10).¹²

The Sermons in This Volume

As a Cistercian abbot, Aelred was required to address his community on defined occasions: “the great liturgical feasts: . . . the First Sunday of Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, all the solemnities of the Virgin Mary (Purification, Annunciation, Nativity, Assumption), John the Baptist,

¹¹ *Homeliae de Oneribus Prophetis Isaiae*, ed. Gaetano Raciti, CCCM 2D (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 25; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Homilies on the Prophetic Burdens of Isaiah*, trans. Lewis White, CF 83 (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2018), 24 (hereafter CF 83).

¹² CCCM 2D:26–27; CF 83:25.

Peter and Paul, All Saints, and the Dedication of the local church.”¹³ The previous volumes of Aelred’s sermons in English translation present almost exclusively discourses designed for these obligatory occasions.¹⁴ The Reading-Cluny Collection, however, is more a homiletic miscellany than are the previous volumes, with a wider range of topics, an array of more fluid techniques, and a greater grace of voice. The collection still follows the liturgical calendar, beginning with the First Sunday of Advent and concluding with three sermons for the Feast of All Saints. But the second half of the collection, which begins with the Nativity of John the Baptist (June 24) contains a surprising number of sermons intended for days other than those requiring abbatial preaching. Two sermons are titled “To Abbots,” one concerns the Feast of Holy Relics, and one, “To Nuns,” is identified as being for the Thursday after the resurrection.

This volume also contains a number of sermons commemorating individual saints ancillary to the calendrical scheme of the core of the book: Saint Gregory the Great (3/12), Saint Martin (11/11), Saint Katherine of Alexandria (11/25), Saint Andrew (11/30), two each on Saint Vincent (1/22) and Saint Mary Magdalene (7/22), and four on Saint Edward the Confessor (1/6; 10/13). Regarding such sermons, Pennington suggests, “We could well imagine a popular abbot being called to preach at popular celebrations in honor of these saints” (CF 58:20, n. 33). Aelred’s style in these sermons, sometimes amounting to exuberance, indicates that he found unusual pleasure in them. None of the earlier collections has such variety or such a large proportion of non-obligatory subject matter.

¹³ See Michael Casey, “An Introduction,” 279. See Danièle Choisselet and Placide Vernet, eds., *Les Ecclesiastica Officia Cisterciens du XIIe siècle*, La Documentation Cistercienne 22 (Reiningue, 1989), 190.

¹⁴ All the collections contain some exceptions, however; for example, three sermons address Priests or Clerics of the Synod, and one is designated for the First Sunday in November (SS 28, 63, 64).

Sermons in this collection incorporate substantial passages from other preachers and church fathers, often without attribution but frequently emended by Aelred, thus making them more characteristic of his own style. Sometimes all or almost all of a sermon is borrowed from another writer; for example, except for the final paragraph, Sermon 164 in this volume is entirely the work of Geoffrey Babion. More often, however, Aelred adopts appropriate or flavorful passages from his sources, inserting them at logical points within his own sermons. Sermon 150 on the Feast of Mary Magdalene, for example, contains examples from Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Bernard of Clairvaux, all inserted without comment. Aelred often claimed to be unlearned,¹⁵ but he was clearly a voracious reader with a good memory—and a good library.¹⁶ He quotes his sources accurately enough that Raciti has been able to identify hundreds of them, so smoothly interwoven with Aelred's own prose that had Raciti not identified them in his edition (many cited marginally in this translation), most could pass unnoticed.

Life as a Battle: Aelred's Use of Job 7:1

Aelred frequently reveals the development of his thinking in his exposition of a particular scriptural text from sermon to sermon. One such passage is Job 7:1, to which he returns ten times in six sermons (13, 26, 123, 140, 177, 178).¹⁷ The verse encapsulates one aspect of Christian experience: life as a battle. In the Vulgate, it reads *Militia est vita hominis super terram et sicut dies mercennarii dies eius*, translated in the Douay-Rheims version as, "The life of man upon earth is a warfare, and his days are like the days of a

¹⁵ See, e.g., *Homilies*, Hom 1.10 (CF 83:25).

¹⁶ For the thirteenth-century catalogue of the Rievaulx library, see David N. Bell, ed., *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 3 (London: The British Library, 1992), 87–140.

¹⁷ Sermons 13 and 123 are essentially identical, with Sermon 13 for the Feast of the Ascension in the First Clairvaux Collection reworked as Sermon 123 in the Reading-Cluny Collection.

The Reading-Cluny Collection

Sermons 134-182

Sermon 134

On the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist

1. **Y**ou shall go to all to which I shall send you; be not afraid!* Who among us can boast† that he himself has accomplished these things! And who among us cannot fear that he himself has promised these things? It was not written about me, *You shall go to all to which I shall send you.** But it was written by me and promised by me that I should go to all things to which my Lord shall send me. These things are *my own vows, which my lips* have specifically pronounced and uttered.* So I, so each and every one of us, committed himself to every obedience. What is a profession of obedience, if not a certain solemn promise that I shall go to all to which the Lord sends me? So it is, Lord, my God, *before many witnesses*.* I have obliged myself by these words, I have pledged myself into these vows.

2. *If I should choose to refuse, then my mouth shall condemn me,** because *I have spoken with my tongue*.* “I shall go to all to which you shall send me.”* If I have confessed, then my hand will help me, because I have extended it to my mouth. In fact, *the slothful person hides his hand under his armpit and will not extend it to his mouth** to accomplish in action what he promised with his mouth. *May you not enter into judgment with your servants** concerning this imperfection. Why do I say, “concerning imperfection”? Transgression is *to vow* and *not give*.* I know that you enter into judgment with your

*Ant in Nat JB
(Hesbert 3:1249);

Jer 1:7, 8

†see Sir 48:4

*Ant in Nat JB
(Hesbert 3:1249);

Jer 1:7

*Ps 65:13-14

*see 1 Tim 6:12

*see Job 9:20

*Ps 38:5

*Ant in Nat JB
(Hesbert 3:1249);

Jer 1:7

*Prov 19:24

*see Ps 142:2

*see Eccl 5:3-4

servants reluctantly, Lord, insofar as you might be compelled. I know that you do not enter if we ourselves, at any rate, do not enter. Let us lift his judgment against us by a certain precedent from the Lord.

3. Let us see what we have promised to the Lord, let us see what we may have overlooked, if our hand has completed *what our lips have uttered*.^{*} And why have your lips uttered, if not because you will go to all to which the Lord shall send you?^{*} See if we do go to all. See if harshness and cheapness do not call you back from executing a command. You have removed nothing in your profession. Investigate whether anything fell out in the execution of your vows! How many today have apostatized from their order because they did not hold this obedience that the Lord recommends when he says, *You shall go to all to which I shall send you*.^{*} Therefore *grief and misfortune in their ways, because they have not learned the way of peace* and obedience.[†]

4. *They eat*, it says, according to Solomon, *the fruit of their own way, and are satiated with their own devices*.^{*} Well does it say, *They are satiated*. For such as these, after they break out from the Order, become wanderers and unstable and wavering in their own devices,^{*} and they feel disgust of sadness concerning them, not the fruit of joy. And they suffer all these disadvantages, because they walk in ways that are not good and go where they wish,^{*} not to where they are sent. But even certain people who do not apostatize from the order of their profession with an obvious separation but persist in it as far as appearances, when they are required to do what they wish, then they comply; when however what they do not wish is required, they refuse. This only is the form of true obedience, that you go to all to which you are sent.^{*}

^{*}see Ps 65:14

^{*}Ant in Nat JB
(Hesbert 3:1249);
Jer 1:7

^{*}Ant in Nat JB
(Hesbert 3:1249);
Jer 1:7
†Rom 3:16-17;
Ps 13:3

^{*}Prov 1:31

^{*}see RB 1.11

^{*}see Isa 65:2

^{*}Ant in Nat JB
(Hesbert 3:1249);
Jer 1:7

5. What is “all”? <To> hardships and adversities, to harsh and mean circumstances. To all things that you shall be sent to, not to what you are sent to by your own will. To all things that you are sent to, not to what you come to by yourself. Actually, *all, as many as have come, are thieves and robbers.** As *many as have come by themselves*, he says, not who were sent by me. Listen, brothers, and understand the virtue of obedience, or, more correctly, of truth. Work does not measure obedience, but the mind.* For the authority of the one who orders must be attended to more than the nature of the work. If you choose useful things to be done, then it is foresight; if you comply with the one who orders, then it is obedience. Therefore Jeremiah, thus John. See how they were sent to insults, how each suffered persecution from an unjust king. The former is tortured, <the latter> is decapitated in prison.* Why, if not because they proceeded to all things to which they were sent, and they spoke what was commanded to them?

*John 10:8

*animus

*Jer 38:4-13;
see Mark 6:25-28

6. *You shall go to all to which I shall send you; be not afraid!** He expressed the form of obedience, and he added the purpose. It is the form of obedience if you omit nothing; it is for the sake of effectiveness if you love. Therefore he says, *Be not afraid*. When he has cast out fear, he induces love. Fear is lazy and icy, love is swift and fervent. And what does blessed Benedict say about obedience? “Then it will be pleasing to God and welcome to human beings, if what is ordered is done not tepidly, not slowly, not with trepidation.”* Therefore tepidness, slowness, trepidation refer to fear; fervor, haste, trust to love. Still, from where, Lord, comes the strength of this flame-bearing love to your prophets, if you do not send *fire from heaven in their bones*,* fire that instructs them, that dissipates the cold of fear? Jeremiah had said

*Ant in Nat JB
(Hesbert 3:1249);
Jer 1:7, 8

*RB 5.14

*Lam 1:13

this concerning himself, and our other Elijah was also able <to say> the same thing as Jeremiah concerning himself.

7. In fact, insofar as it was *the law* of his God in his *heart*,* the fiery law, if you do not believe me, then *believe the works*,* although John himself is a *greater testimony** than works. For the Lord Jesus, who knew what he sent into John's heart, said, *John was a burning and a shining light*.* And because he was the forerunner of the Lord, we ourselves can use that verse of the psalm in his commendation: *A fire shall go before him, and a mighty tempest around him*,* a tempest of unfaithful, common people and a crowd of a wicked generation, that preferred only to *rejoice for the hour*, not in fervor, but *in his light*.* The Holy <Spirit>'s light of knowledge delights with the fervor of charity but also inflames. Therefore, to teach the knowledge that does not puff up but rather edifies in John,* he says that indeed he was a shining light, but he sent him ahead burning.*

*see Ps 36:31
 *see John 10:38
 *see John 5:36
 *John 5:35
 *Ps 96:3; Ps 49:3
 *see John 5:35
 *see 1 Cor 8:1
 *John 5:35

8. The good ardor of charity dissipates fear and swollen pride at the same time. Good ardor of charity was in him that melted and removed from him all stubbornness, carnal concupiscence, avarice, anger, envy, jealousy, slander. And, so that I might conclude the remainder briefly, all depravity and perversity. Good ardor of charity was in him that inflamed and ignited him. For how would a faithless and empty person not fear when sent to such harsh suffering, and how would he not swell with pride, intending to proclaim such a lofty gospel? Others also had the *gift of prophecy*,* but John was *more than a prophet*.†

*see 1 Cor 7:7;
 12:10-11
 †see Luke 7:26;
 see Matt 3:3; see
 Resp "Praecursor"
 in Nat JB
 (Hesbert 4:7420)
 ‡see John 1:29-
 36; see Resp "Hic
 Praecursor" in
 Nat JB (Hesbert
 4:6837)

9. For he was called both *voice* and *prophet*. He *prepared the way for the coming Lord*. He *pointed out* his presence.‡ He immersed the sacred head in

the waters of the Jordan River.* He performed the office of baptizer with the Lord; him whom, baptizing *in Spirit and fire*,* the Lord had made a burning and shining light.* Burning and shining indeed, not for himself but for the bridegroom, whose friend and best man he was.* Shining also not for himself but for the bride. For he knew that he had not received the Spirit to display his own boasting and vanity, but for usefulness to his brother.

*see Matt 3:13-17

*see Matt 3:11

*see John 5:35

*see John 3:29

10. Everyone receives a manifestation of *the Spirit for usefulness*.^{*} Otherwise, how will one be a *friend of the bridegroom*,^{*} if one loves <to shine> not for the bridegroom but rather for oneself? Also, how would one be a friend of the bride, when one does not strive for her to succeed through him, but for himself to excel through her? He is not a friend of the bridegroom or the bride who *seeks his own glory*.^{*} He seeks not freely who seeks secretly; afterward he will be one *who seeks and judges*.^{*} Heal us, Lord, from this flying and returning passion,^{*} and send *fire from above*^{*} into our marrow; may that blazing fire purge the smoke of this insolence.

*see 1 Cor 12:7

*see John 3:29

*John 7:18

*John 8:50

*see Ps 90:6

*see Lam 1:13

11. Happy John, who among sublime gifts seemed unpretentious^{*} and felt not high-minded,[†] merited to be called a *burning and shining light*.[‡] Outwardly he was shining confidently in his word, inwardly anticipated by the flame of love. It is a bad substitution if anyone shines outwardly and yet inwardly just makes smoke. He presents well, but shares badly. He presents well, but he takes away, causing his own soul to shine among others, taking away from God. How often are we extolled concerning the smallest things, and for what good? John, *friend of the bridegroom*,^{*} zealous for the bridegroom, *faithful* to him *in all his house*,^{*} among sublime dignities and privileges of merits, when strengthened he was unwilling

*see 1 Tim 6:17

†*nil sublime
videns, nil sapiens
altum*

‡see Rom 11:20;

see John 5:35

*see John 3:29

*see Heb 3:5;

see Num 12:7

to be extolled; he did not think to be puffed up or to fear.

12. He did not fear the course of his whole life, nor a humble death, a wrongful death, a death given with mockery. For on account of honest and useful rebukes, he provoked the hatred of princes against himself, and he was beheaded in prison. Thus indeed your saint, Lord, did not fear the words of the executioners, but keeping your precepts, he went to all to which you had sent him,* and he said everything that you had entrusted to him. He did not fear the threats of humans, but much more his *heart trembled at your words*,* or rather, it was inflamed.

13. You gave him, Lord, a fiery tongue, *an educated tongue that he might teach* and know whom to support *by word*,* whom to strike with harsh rebukes, whom to call *brood of vipers*,* to whom he should say, *It is not lawful for you to have your brother's wife*,* whom to teach <to be> content with their own pay,* whom to call to *fruits worthy of repentance*, whom to restrain from the swelling pride of Abraham's tribe,* and, from the hardness of stones, to raise some to the good hope of God's children. *God is able*, John says, *to raise up children of Abraham from these stones*.* Therefore rightly *a burning and shining light*,* by vow, by life, by word, thus reforming, thus directing, thus restraining, thus warming the souls of a variety of individual listeners.

14. Let us rejoice, brothers, and let us exult *in his light*,* and in imitation of his obedience, <let us go> not just to some things but *to all*,* not just to pleasant things but to harsh, not *for the hour* in the manner of the Jews but *even to death*.* And if you have not been charged to speak about doctrine in sermons to others, if you have not been sent for the word, but for silence, then do what you were sent for. May you

*see Jer 1:7-8

*see Ps 118:161

*see Isa 50:4;
see Ps 104:22
*Luke 3:7

*Mark 6:18

*see Luke 3:14

*see Luke 3:8

*Luke 3:8

*see John 5:35

*see John 5:35

*see Jer 1:7

*see John 5:35;
see Phil 2:8

not exceed the boundaries of your mandate, because you were also thus sent to speak. Others are sent to speak by word; you are sent to speak by silence. How does a modest silence not speak through you, through whom holy worship is entrusted and speaks in you? Silence, processions, habits, gestures, all parts of a disciplined way of life, commend God in you and you in God, and yet you think that you are silent?

15. David says, *All my bones say: Lord, who is like to you?** Because he says “bones,” then accept mighty works, distinguished works, yet suitably composed to complete one unbroken body of a holy way of life. Speak and exhort in this way, and you shall be efficaciously equipped. In this way, all things that the Lord has commanded you, you shall speak effectively. And if you have been sent, then you may not be silent. Consider that you were likewise <sent> to listen. It is said to you, “may you <not> be silent,” and at the same time, “hear!” Therefore listen and hear what he who for you was made by God into a god* said in you,† what contrary to you, what against your customs. *Be in agreement with your adversary on the way** so he does not condemn you but rather commend you to the judge—so that he does not *hand* you *over* like the guilty party, but rather delivers *the kingdom to God the Father*.*

*Ps 34:10

*see Exod 7:1

†see Ps 84:9

*see Matt 5:25

*see 1 Cor 15:24

16. No fear restrains you from imitation of all this obedience and listening, but by avid desire for obedience, *when you shall have done all these things, then say, We are useless servants; we have done only that which we ought to do.** Therefore may the Lord Jesus Christ, who went eagerly to all things to which he had been sent, * *made for us obedient to the Father unto death*,* by the merits and prayers of his blessed precursor lead us by the way of obedience to the kingdom of life. Amen.

*Luke 17:10

*see Jer 1:7

*Phil 2:8

Sermon 135

On the Solemnity of the Apostles Peter and Paul

1. **S**aul and Jonathan, lovable and handsome in their life: even in death <they were> not divided, swifter than eagles, stronger than lions.* It is not within our ability, nor even within our possibilities, to explain how great is the solemnity of this day. In fact, this solemnity is immense and illustrious, because they whose feast this is are great and illustrious. If, moreover, we were to celebrate individual solemnities for each one of these, one for Peter and one for Paul, you see, we would not be qualified to praise even one. Therefore what shall we say when we celebrate solemnities of such great apostles? We are not at all qualified. Nevertheless, rather like the devout woman who offered *two farthings*,* and like someone else who gave *a cup of cold water*,* let us do what we can; let us offer what we know.

2. What shall we say? Whom shall we put before whom? I am not sure. For great is the apostle Peter; Paul is also great, and Paul not less <than Peter>; perhaps Paul is <even greater> than Peter. Peter, teacher of *circumcision*; Paul, teacher of *un-circumcision*.* Peter, shepherd of the church, and Paul, shepherd of the church. Peter filled Judea with the Gospel <of Christ>.† Paul filled *the whole world from Jerusalem to Illyricum* with the Gospel <of Christ>.‡ This is greater: Peter <is> *prince of the apostles*.# Paul is *a vessel of election*.§ Nevertheless,

*2 Sam 1:23

*see Mark 12:42

*see Matt 10:42

*see Gal 2:7

†see Acts 10:37

‡see Mark 16:15;

see Rom 15:19

#see Ant et Resp
Pastor in Cath P
(Hesbert 3:5207;
4:7787)

§Acts 9:15; see
Ant et Resp Vas
in Paul (Hesbert
3:5211; 4:7789)

Peter <seems> to be superior* in three things: in firmness of faith, in authority of power, in strength or doing of miracles.

**praeexcellere*

3. Peter's firmness of faith is preached everywhere, everywhere put first. For when the Lord asked, as though to others who doubt and stay silent, *Who do people say that I am*,* as a minister and teacher of true faith, Peter said, *You are Christ, the Son of the living God*.† And what did he receive from the Lord? *You are Peter*, he said, *and upon this rock I shall build my church*:* that is, on the firmness of the faith that you confessed, the whole church shall be established. Peter's faith is everywhere present. If at any time it wavered, then it was aroused to be stronger.* By faith he walked upon the waves.* By faith he did many other things.

**Percunctanti enim Domino quem eum dicerent homines*
†Matt 16:13-16

*Matt 16:18

*see Luke 22:31-32

*see Matt 14:29

4. Peter is superior in authority of power. For when he himself was not present, he learned in Spirit about the deceit of Ananias and Saphira, and by his prerogative of power he declared the punishment of death with just a word.* In order to assign this power, the Lord gave to him *the keys of the kingdom of heaven* and bestowed the power of *binding and loosing*.* He excels in the strength of miracles. For who has worked as many mighty deeds as Peter? He is the one whose shadow cured the sick,† whose prayer healed a paralytic,‡ whose word raised the dead,# whose power closes and opens heaven.§ Who therefore is like him? Paul, as I judge.

*see Acts 5:1-11

*see Matt 16:19;
see Resp Pastor
(Hesbert 4:7787)

†see Acts 5:15

‡see Acts 9:33-34

#see Acts 9:40

§see Matt 16:19

5. In fact Peter's faith was Paul's faith, Peter's power Paul's power, Peter's miracles Paul's miracles. In fact, the Lord says not to Peter alone, *The works that I do, you also shall do, and the greater of these you shall do*.* Therefore all things that were assigned to Peter were granted to Paul. We find that Peter said and did many things within the view of Paul, and Paul

*John 14:12

was silent and did nothing. Why? Paul's humility and discretion were so great that [as] the younger, he supposed that he should defer to the elder, *the vessel of election** to the leader. Nevertheless what Peter did within Paul's view, Paul also did with Peter in faith. Just as we said that Peter seems to be superior* to Paul in three ways, so also Paul seems to surpass* Peter in three ways: in knowledge, in labors, in life-style.

*see Acts 9:15

*excellere

*praecellere

6. In knowledge, as he says in the epistle, *I speak as one less wise; I am more. Although I am unskilled in speech, nevertheless not in knowledge.** Paul, while he was not yet old but in his very youth, *was caught up to third heaven.** Therefore let no one despise young people! Look, Solomon obtained a kingdom when twelve years of age.* For God is able to work for a young person as well as an older person. The youth Daniel, or rather the boy, adjudicated between two senior elders.* Joseph as a youth solved a riddle for a king and freed Egypt from plague and famine.* Paul had not yet come to his fifty-third year, in which he was allowed to watch over the Lord's vessels. He had not yet served from his twenty-fifth year to his fifty-third. But in the beginning of his apostleship, still in his very youth, he was made a guardian of the vessels of Christ, that is, of holy souls.* Paul was still a young man *caught up to third heaven.**

*2 Cor 11:23, 6

*2 Cor 12:2, 4

*see 1 Kgs 1:28-30

*see Dan 13:45-62

*see Gen 41:25-57

*see Num 8:24-26

*see 2 Cor 12:2, 4

7. He calls three heavens the heaven of angels, the heaven of archangels, the heaven of the Trinity. Or, three types of vision are received through three heavens, as Augustine says: corporeal vision, spiritual vision, intellectual vision. Moreover, there is a corporeal vision by which material bodies are observed by corporeal means. Spiritual vision [is that] by which a soul or enraptured spirit sees corporeal images of material bodies by dreams or visions. Intel-

lectual vision is strength of mind by which it understands those realities that are seen by spiritual vision. Or, historical, mystical, and moral intelligence are received through three heavens. Paul *was snatched up* to the perfection and sublimity of these heavens. And *he was snatched up into Paradise, and there he heard words that a human being is not allowed to speak*.^{*} To no one has so much ever been revealed as to Paul, not to Peter and not to Andrew. So he says in another place, *Lest the greatness of the revelation should exalt me, <etc.>*.^{*}

^{*}2 Cor 12:4

^{*}see 2 Cor 12:7

8. Paul is superior in sufferings, as he himself testifies: *In many more labors, in prisons more frequently, in lashings above measure, often in danger of death. Five times I have received forty lashings minus one from the Jews*.^{*} It had been established that each transgressor of the law should be judged; he was to be struck with forty blows, so the flogger might spare him if he wished.^{*} However, the jealousy of the Jews so raged against Paul that when five times <he was> judged a transgressor, five times he received forty lashes,^{*} yet never did the flogger spare him except by one lash. The mercy was small and the punishment great.

^{*}see 2 Cor 11:23-24

^{*}see Deut 25:2-3

^{*}2 Cor 11:24

9. And still the apostle added more about his sufferings, saying, *Thrice was I beaten with sticks, once I was stoned, thrice I was shipwrecked. I was in the depth of the sea for a night and a day, in dangers of rivers, in dangers of robbers, in dangers from my own nation, in dangers from the Gentiles, in dangers in the wilderness, in dangers in the city, in dangers from false brethren*, and in many others.^{*} Who has been found similar to this apostle in sufferings? He therefore surpassed Peter and all others in labors, as he himself says: *I have labored more than all*.^{*} And, *I suppose that I have done nothing less than the*

^{*}2 Cor 11:25-26

^{*}1 Cor 15:10

*2 Cor 11:5

great apostles. And likewise, I ought to have been commended by you. I have done nothing less than those who are apostles above measure. For although I am nothing, nevertheless the signs of my apostleship have been done among you in all patience and signs and wonders and mighty deeds.**

*2 Cor 12:11-12

10. Therefore he is a match for Peter, similar to Andrew, equal to John. Because if he labored *more than all,** as he testifies, and to each is rendered according to his labor*—when what is written shall happen, “Behold the person and his works”†—then Paul, who labored more than others, will not receive less than others. Therefore what shall we say? Can it be that Paul is of greater merit, of greater glory than Peter? Far be it from me to say this! Although perhaps he was of greater knowledge, this is not an increase of merit or glory, because sometimes an ignorant simpleton is of more [merit] in the sight of God than a versatile philosopher. For knowledge does not always increase merit, but oftentimes it diminishes it. So Solomon says, *One who adds knowledge adds also sorrow.** And the apostle: *Knowledge puffs up; charity edifies.**

*see 1 Cor 15:10

*see Matt 16:27;

see Prov 12:14

†*Agapha*, logion

38 (Resch 315–16);

see Isa 62:11 (LXX)

*Eccl 1:18

*1 Cor 8:1

11. Peter knew as much as he required. Paul knew <more> (if only more) because he required more, for he was to be heard by many more people. This was not for an increase of merit, but according to the Lord’s command, which Peter would have undertaken if he had been so charged. Likewise if it is a question concerning worldly knowledge, then there is nothing. If however it concerns heavenly knowledge, then Peter had that knowledge than which there is none better, none greater, he whose wisdom was Christ, he whose knowledge was God’s Son. Furthermore, Paul does not even profess something else, saying, *I judge myself to know nothing among*

*you except Christ, and him crucified.** If Paul knew nothing besides Christ and not anything more than Christ, since Peter also knew the same Christ, then Paul did not know more than Peter. Peter and Paul are therefore equals in knowledge, because they are equals in Christ, who is their knowledge.

*1 Cor 2:2

12. In sufferings, Peter and Paul are equally significant. Although in fact Peter suffered not so many lashings or riots in his body, nevertheless he suffered <mentally>, because he suffered compassion for one who had suffered; this suffering is sometimes greater or more severe. He who has suffered in mind and will is truly said to have suffered. So it is said about blessed Peter that he left behind things that he never had, because he abandoned a will for having. *Behold, he says, we have left behind everything and have followed you.** It is said concerning Mary, having suffered with her son on the cross, *And a sword shall pierce your own soul.** For there are two kinds of martyrdom and suffering, one of mind, the other of body. [That] of mind is not less than that of body. Therefore Peter and Paul are equals in sufferings. Similarly equal significance can be inferred from their labor.

*Matt 19:27

*Luke 2:35

13. In way of life, however, Paul seems to be superior, because he calls Peter blameworthy. For it is greater to be one who blames than the one blamed, if the latter is justly blamed and the former bothered to correct himself justly, as he should.* Still, that for which Peter is blamed had not tainted his way of life, nor had it caused sin. For it was not so much what was not permitted, but what was not expedient. For that reason blessed Jerome <says> that Paul did not blame Peter in fact, but rather by “applying a pre-tense.”* Therefore Peter and Paul are equals in lifestyle. For Paul’s rebuke did not pre-judge Peter’s way

**et ille iuste hoc
corrigere satagit
ut debeat;
see Gal 2:11*

*see Jerome,
Ep ad Aug =
Augustine,
Ep 75.4 (CCSL
31A:56–57)

of life: “In fact it is uncertain who is put above whom. Moreover I believe them to be equal in merits” and glory, those whom “the same day, the same place, one persecutor” honored with the glory of martyrdom, as it is written, “The day is kept for merit, the place for glory, the persecutor for virtue.”* By their prayers and merits may we join them in heaven, those whose triumphs on this present day we celebrate on earth. Amen.

*Maximus of
Turin, SS 1.2
(CCSL 23:2–3)

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