

THE SOURCES OF ANDREW SUNESEN'S HEXAEMERON

by

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I INTRODUCTION

In the third book of his Chronicle of the Slavs Arnold of Lübeck gives a rather flattering description of the Danes:

Scientia quoque litterali non parum profecerunt, quia nobiliores terre filios suos non solum ad clerum promovendum, verum etiam secularibus rebus instituendos Parisius mittunt. Ubi litteratura simul et idiomate lingue terre illius imbuti, non solum in artibus, sed etiam in theologia multum invaluerunt. Siquidem propter naturalem lingue celeritatem non solum in argumentis dialecticis subtilis inveniuntur, sed etiam in negotiis ecclesiasticis tractandis boni decretiste sive legiste comprobantur.

In this passage Arnold is probably thinking of Absalon (1128-1201; archbishop of Lund 1178) who is mentioned a little later on, but presumably also of Andrew Sunesen (116?-1228) who had succeeded Absalon in 1202 - only a few years before Arnold wrote (before 1209). Mentioning this event, Arnold, in the fifth book of the same work, characterizes Andrew in this way:

Cui successit domnus Andreas, regalis aule cancellarius, vir literatissimus, nec minori gratia peditus. Erat enim primo iuventutis sue tempore studiis deditus et morum gravitate ornatus. Et cum esset in negotiis regiis continue occupatus, magna tamen abstinencia se constringebat. A qua nec in Romana curia negotiis deditus temperabat, ut omni sexta feria nil gustans crucis dominice baiulus existeret. Ordinatus autem ipsam morum gravitatem non deseruit, humilis et quietus et pudicus et abstinens permansit. Unde emulatione sua plurimos provocavit. Doctrina etiam adeo insistebat, ut nonnullos tam clericos quam laicos divini amoris flamma succenderet, et ipse es candens existens scyntillas verbi Dei ubique spargeret. Avaritiam quoque, que est ydolorum servitus, omnino detestans, nil per vim rapere curabat, sed suis contentus, beatius dare quam accipere docebat.²

From this we learn that Andrew had been a diligent and serious student, but we get no real information on his studies abroad and the sources of

1) *MGH Scriptores* 5, 21 p.147. 2) *Ibid.* p.192.

his scholarship which - in the present study - are our major concern.³

The most valuable testimony on Andrew's scholarly career is given by his contemporary, Saxo Grammaticus, that grandiloquent historian, in the prologue to his *Gesta Danorum*:

Cuius fatis coepti mei metam præcurrentibus, te potissimum, Andrea, penes quem saluberrimus suffragiorum consensus honoris huius successionem sacrorumque summam esse voluit, materiæ ducem auctoremque deposco, obtreactionis livorem, qui maxime conspicuis rebus insultat, tanti cognitoris præsidio frustraturus; cuius fertilissimum scientiæ pectus ac venerabilium doctrinarum abundantia instructum veluti quoddam cælestium opum sacrarium existimandum est. Tu Galliam Italiamque cum Britannia percipiendæ litterarum disciplinæ colligendæque earum copiæ gratia perscrutatus post diutinam peregrinationem splendidissimum externæ scholæ regimen apprehendisti tantumque eius columnen evasisti, ut potius magisterio ornamentum dare quam ab ipso recipere videreris. Hinc ob insignium culmen meritaque virtutum regius epistolaris effectus officium mediocritatis liminibus contentum tantis industriæ operibus exornasti, ut idem postmodum amplissimæ dignitatis viris ad eum quem geris honorem translatus beneficii nomine expetendum relinqueres. Quamobrem Scania tripudio dissultare compertum est, quod pontificem potius a finitimis mutuata sit quam ex indigenis legerit; quippe quæ laudabiliter delectum egit, iucunditatem ex suffragio suo meruit. Itaque cum genere, litteris ingenioque niteas ac plebem fecundissimis doctrinæ stipendiis regas, maximum tibi gregis amorem conciliasti susceptique ministerii partes gloriosæ executionis fiducia ad laudis cumulum perduxisti. Et ne rerum dominium possessione usurpare videreris, amplissimum patrimonium sacris ædibus religiosæ liberalitatis testamento legasti obsitasque curis opes decenter abicere quam earum aviditate et pondere implicari maluisti. Tu item mirificum reverendorum dogmatum opus complexus privatisque curis publicæ religionis officia anteponere avidus pertinentium ad eam rerum solutionem abnuentes salutarium consiliorum doctrina debitis sacrorum obsequiis adegisti veteremque divinarum ædium iniuriam religioso lucri beneficio rependisti. Præterea lascivioris vitæ studiosos intemperantiæque plus æquo viribus indulgentes saluber-

3) The study is an abridged version of a 'prisopgave' submitted to the University of Copenhagen in January 1985. The work was carried out in connection with a new edition of Andrew's *Hexaameron* (ed. S. Ebbesen & L. B. Mortensen, *Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi* XI, 1-2, Copenhagen 1985-1986); see the introduction there for a sketch of Andrew's life with further references. For facilitating my work I am grateful to the Carlsberg Foundation for a scholarship and to Ludvig Wimmers Fond for a liberal grant. I am much indebted to Dr. Sten Ebbesen, without whose encouragement and lavish help in medieval as well as practical matters nothing of this would have been possible. Lic. Phil. Fritz Saaby Pedersen was always very generous in imparting to me pieces of his philological expertise. For further advice my thanks goes to Prof. Birger Munk Olsen, Dr. Jørgen Raasted, Karsten Friis-Jensen, Robert R. Andrews, Jole R. Shackelford, and Inge and Karen Skovgaard-Petersen.

rimæ exhortationis perseverantia ac splendidissimis frugalitatis exemplis ad honestiorem mentis habitum ab enervi mollitudine revocatos dictisne an factis magis instruxeris, dubium reliquisti. Ita quod tuorum nulli prædecessorum obtinere tributum est, solis prudentiæ monitis impetrasti.⁴

Apart from emphasizing Andrew's piety - also described by Arnold - Saxo supplies us with two pieces of information that we must take for granted: 1) Andrew had been studying in France Italy, and England; 2) He had been master in a foreign school. That Andrew in fact held the title 'magister' is confirmed by a letter from Honorius III.⁵ With the words "mirificum reverendorum dogmatum opus" Saxo is probably referring to *Hexaemeron*, but possibly to Andrew's poem on the sacraments as well (now lost).⁶ We have, unfortunately, no means of extracting a reliable chronology from Saxo's words as he seems to have intertwined the thematic and the chronological treatment of Andrew's career.⁷ Even though the composition of his theological writing(s) is mentioned among other events pertaining to the period after 1202, we can draw no certain conclusions as to the dating and background of *Hexaemeron*.

To form a more precise estimate of the intellectual background, interests, and abilities of one of the most influential persons in Scandinavia around 1200, we must approach the imposing poem he has left us - we must consult *Hexaemeron* itself.

The first serious investigation of the work was undertaken by M. Cl. Gertz who did the *editio princeps* less than a hundred years ago (1892). Thus, the biographical study by Müller (1830)⁸ has little to offer, as it concentrates on Andrew's efforts within the ecclesiastical administration and contains only a few remarks on his education and scholarship. These are based on the correspondence between two Frenchmen - Abbot William (settled in Æbelholt, Denmark) and Stephen, abbot of Ste. Geneviève (1128-1203, later bishop of Tournai). On this evidence Müller concludes that Andrew did not attend the school of Stephen, as did his brother Peder Sunesen, and that he arrived in Paris approximately at the time Peder

4) *Gesta Danorum* p.3-4. 5) *DD* 1:6 p.3. "Regere scholam" would be the equivalent of having the title 'magister' or - in full - 'magister regens' (Baldwin (1982) p.144). The expression used by Saxo "scholae regimen" has a parallel in Clarembald of Arras' *Tractatus super librum Boetii De Trinitate*: "Cum regimini scholarum accitus..." (Häring (1965) p.63). 6) The existence of this work is witnessed by Magnus Matthiae in *Catalogus episcoporum Lundensium* ed. Th. Bartholin, Copenhagen 1710 (see Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985a) p.24 7) For a thorough interpretation of this passage and an assessment of the relationship between Saxo and Andrew, see Skovgaard-Petersen (1985). 8) Now superseded by Hørby (1985) and Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985a) pp.29-33.

returned to Denmark (about 1182).⁹

A little more is to be found in Hammerich's study (1865) because he had access to the failed "edition" of *Hexaemeron* prepared by Thorsen in 1860.¹⁰ Based on a few passages of the poem and the list of books Andrew bequeathed to the chapter of Lund (already used by Müller)¹¹ Hammerich pictures the sources of *Hexaemeron* in this way:¹² Andrew was a follower of Peter Lombard and his pupil Peter of Poitiers. In the exegetical parts of *Hexaemeron* he has drawn on Peter Comestor and possibly Hugh of St. Victor. On some issues, however, Andrew departs from these, and, as no immediate model can be found for the structure of the poem, Hammerich is in a position to pass the following judgement: "Andrew's *Hexaëmeron* is an independent work of his own making. Whatever opinion you might hold of it, Andrew has admittedly conceived its plan and carried out the work in his own style."¹³

As stated, the admirable edition by Gertz (1892) provided a firm basis for the study of *Hexaemeron*. As will appear, I shall often return to the shrewd observations made in his commentary, but for the present I shall confine myself to giving a brief sketch of his overview as it is put forward in his introduction.

Regarding Andrew's sojourn abroad Gertz follows Müller: Andrew is supposed to have studied and taught in foreign schools from about 1182 to the beginning of the 1190s, when he is known to have been installed as the Danish king's chancellor.¹⁴ Furthermore Gertz favours the opinion that *Hexaemeron* was composed between Andrew's return from France as an ambassador, working on the case between Philip Augustus and his Danish queen Ingeborg (1196), and his first trip to Estonia with king Waldemar (1206).¹⁵ As to the sources of *Hexaemeron* Gertz makes it clear (in contrast to Hammerich) that Andrew is not drawing directly on any of the church fathers, but quotes them through Peter Lombard and the Biblical Gloss.¹⁶ Thus the real sources of Andrew's poem are to be found exclusively in the 12th century. For the exegetical parts the main source is Peter Comestor's (died 1179) *Historia scolastica*, and for the dogmatic parts Andrew mainly used

9) Müller (1830) p.3-4. 10) The few extant copies of the printed but never issued edition can be found at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. 11) The list is edited in *Lunde Domkapitels Gavebøger* pp.142-146 and reprinted in Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985a) p. 20. 12) Hammerich (1865), especially pp.19-21 & 126-129. 13) "Anders' *Hexaëmeron* er et selvstændigt, hjemmegjort Arbejde. Hvor megen eller liden Værd man end ellers vil tillægge det, han har dog undfanget Tanken hertil og udført den efter egen Smag." *Ibid.* p.129. 14) Gertz (1892) p.I-II. 15) *Ibid.* p.III. 16) *Ibid.* p.VII & XIV; Gertz excerpts Gregory the Great, as excerpts from his commentary on Job are mentioned in the list: "Exceptiones de moralibus Iob".

Peter Lombard's (died 1160) *Sentences*.¹⁷ Among Andrew's contemporaries Gertz draws attention to Peter of Poitiers (died 1205), Peter the Chanter (died 1197), and Alan of Lille (died 1203). On the basis of numerous similarities between *Hexaemeron* and Peter of Poitiers' *Sentences*,¹⁸ Gertz takes it for granted that Andrew frequented this master's lectures in Paris.¹⁹ Probably he also heard Peter the Chanter and Alan, and if not, Gertz contends, he did know their writings.²⁰ The works of these three theologians are not mentioned in the list of Andrew's books. In spite of this Gertz sticks to his claim that Andrew wrote the work in *Denmark* with access only to the books that appear in the list;²¹ but Andrew is allowed also the use of excerpts and notes, and, as Gertz says: "quaedam etiam memoriter (scil. Andream) tenuisse putemus".²² Andrew's heavy dependence on the Lombard is, to Gertz' view, not impaired by the fact that he sometimes deviates from the master's treatment of individual questions - and even discusses some not found in the Lombard:

Nec eam sententiam, qua Andream in his rebus a Lombardo totum pendere pronuntiamus, ideo mutare nos cogi quisquam dixerit, quod res saepius aliter ordinauerit nec pauca ex copiosis Lombardi disputationibus resecuerit; sed ne ob illud quidem hoc facere cogimur, quod in quibusdam a Lombardi discessit sententia quaestionesque propositas aliter soluit, quaedam etiam noua addidit: scilicet ex studiis Parisinis hanc sibi disputandi iudicandique facultatem parauerat, ut non per omnia Magistri uestigiis insistere eisdemque finibus se continere cogeretur, etiamsi hoc plerumque faciebat.²³

In these places, moreover, Andrew imitates Peter of Poitiers' *Sentences* or Hugh of St. Victor's *Summa*.²⁴ On these grounds Gertz disagrees with Hammerich's appraisal of the work, which - though indicative of the author's gifts²⁵ - he considers entirely derivative, a "Lombardus abbreviatus".²⁶

This judgement on the part of Gertz was repeated by Hans Olrik²⁷ and Hal Koch;²⁸ according to the latter Andrew combines rational theology with mystical fervour in his poem. Lehmann (1936), Hägglund (1955), and

17) Gertz (1892) pp.VIII-X; both are found in the list. 18) *Ibid.* p.XVI; many parallels are adduced in Gertz' commentary. 19) *Ibid.* p.X. 20) *Ibid.* pp.IX & XVI-XVII. 21) *Ibid.* pp.XIV-XV. 22) *Ibid.* p.XVI. 23) *Ibid.* pp.XV-XVI. 24) Gertz thought that the latter work was hidden in the list of Andrew's books under the name "Summa Huicionis" (*Ibid.* p.XVI). 25) *Ibid.* p.XXI. 26) *Ibid.* p.XII. 27) Olrik (1902) pp.586-587. 28) Koch (1942) p.144 & (1963) pp.391-394.

Skov (1955) are more precise than Gertz on a few items, but, by and large, build on his results.²⁹ Skov, however, reaches a verdict other than Gertz' "Lombardus abbreviatus" by stressing Andrew's independent selection of material.³⁰ Aksel E. Christensen (1977 & 1983) advances a fresh evaluation of Andrew's political role, but as regards *Hexaameron* he confines himself to giving a summary of Gertz, Koch, and Skov.³¹

If Danish Scholars have been less than lukewarm in their interests in Andrew's learning,³² the voluminous poem has fared even worse outside Denmark. There seems to be only two insignificant references to the work before the appearance of Gertz' edition,³³ and even after the text became available few foreign scholars paid attention to it, viz. Lehmann (1936), Häggglund (1955 & 1985), Perger (1894), Volz (1980), and Freibergs (1981); of these, only the last-mentioned (though erroneous on many points) has anything substantial to offer in connection with the sources of *Hexaameron*.³⁴

In the present study I shall draw heavily on Gertz' results, but, by adducing material not available to him, I shall widen the scope of the discussion and give some new suggestions as to Andrew's place in 12th century literature and scholarship.

Hexaameron is a poem consisting of 8040 hexameters divided into 12 books (or 'Distinctiones', as the only important manuscript R has it).³⁵ Following the author's own instructions we can distinguish two main parts: 1) books I-IX, concerned with the creation and the Fall; 2) books X-XII, dealing with the redemption and the Resurrection. In other words, the first part focuses on Adam and the condition of man after the Fall, the

29) Lehmann (1936) p.21 identifies the "Summa Huicionis" with Huguccio of Pisa's *Summa on Decretum Gratiani* (this suggestion was already made by Müller); Häggglund gives comments on the fifth book of *Hexaameron* and is able to note some deviation from the Lombard (esp. p.225). 30) Skov (1955) esp. pp.310-311; he furthermore draws attention to a Christological question, in which Andrew follows neither the Lombard nor Peter of Poitiers (p.299). 31) Christensen (1977) pp.380-382 & (1983). 32) An exhaustive survey of Danish scholars' work on *Hexaameron* is to be found in Schepeleyn (1985); the sources are collected in Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985a); for an explanation of this lack of enthusiasm, see the suggestions by Ebbesen (1985). 33) In Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Latina*, tom. I, p.90 and in the preface to George Pisidas' *Hexaameron*-commentary (PG 92:1390) both quoting Stephanus' *Notae Ueberiores*. 34) Freibergs (1981) pp.246-254. 35) On R, the manuscript tradition, and a more detailed survey of the contents, see Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985a); References to *Hexaameron* will be given only by verse number.

second on Christ and the Last judgement.

For our purposes, however, it will be more convenient to divide the text systematically. As the work is a conflation of three genres, i.e. didactic poetry, biblical commentary, and dogmatic theology, the disposition of the present inquiry shall be based on the following partition of the text:

1. The two prologues (1-189 & 5894-5929) will be analysed in chapter II "The Didactic Poem", in order to disclose Andrew's express intentions and his use of models within the didactic genre.
2. The commentary on Genesis 1-3 is to be found in the first four books (more precisely in vss. 190-344, 505-781 & 1417-2397);³⁶ furthermore Andrew interprets paragraphs from Exodus in the tenth book (6362-6674) and these will also be commented upon in chapter III, "The Biblical Commentary". I shall attempt to list all texts brought to use by Andrew and give some examples of his working methods; finally I shall compare his *Hexaemeron* with other 12th century commentaries on Genesis 1-3, in order to assign to him a role within that literature.
3. The remaining (and greatest) part of the text (345-504, 781-1416, 2398-5893, 5930-6361 & 6675-8039)³⁷ can be brought under the general heading "Theology"; as will be evident the analysis of the underlying texts of these sections of *Hexaemeron* is a more complicated affair than the two preceding items. This is due in part to the lack of editions of the relevant texts, in part to the nature of the subject. I shall, therefore, treat these sections in the following way. First, I will attempt a survey of the principal theologians working in Paris at the end of the 12th century, and select some of their works as a basis for comparison with Andrew's *Hexaemeron* (IV,1). This comparison, then, will be undertaken in detail only with the following paragraphs of the work: the passages on the fallen angels (391-424), the resurrection (7571-7617), and the twofold will of Christ (7432-7474 & 7505-7509) (IV,2,a-c). These analyses will be the point of departure for a discussion of a

36) The paragraphs on the hierarchy of the angels and the causes of the creation of man (208-226 & 256-330) could be placed under item 3 as well.

37) The concluding verse (8040) is probably an acrostic: "Ad summum finem perductum finio librum", from which Gertz (1892) p.IV extracted: "Andreas Sunonis Filius Pontifex"; see Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985a) pp.33-34.

longer passage; partly by way of Gertz' commentary I have, to this end, chosen the treatise on sin (books VIII & IX, i.e. 4450-5893).³⁸ This will also be illuminating as to Andrew's ordering of the theological matter as a whole (IV,2,d). In the poem there are two highly technical sections, viz. on the Trinity (782-1416) and the Incarnation (book XI, 6675-7298).³⁹ Particularly in the discussion of the latter issue, Andrew departs from the viewpoints of the Lombard and Peter of Poitiers, whence I shall try, in the final section (IV,2,e) to give a brief outline of the historical background of Andrew's stance.

38) E.g. Gertz (1892) p.334: "Ceterum hanc quoque quaestionem aliter tractant PL (the Lombard) et PP (Peter of Poitiers)"; p.336: "sed Andreas multa aliter tractat"; cf. also the commentary on 4866-83 (p.339). 39) Gertz did not comment upon these two treatises (his reasons are given on p.292 and 365). These lacunae in our understanding of Andrew have now been filled in by Ebbesen (in the forthcoming vol. 2 of the new edition (CPhD XI,2, where Gertz' commentary will be reprinted as well) and (1985 & forthc.a+b).

II THE DIDACTIC POEM

The opening prologue to *Hexaemeron* has three parts:

1. (1-31), describes the choice between eternal bliss and eternal punishment.
2. (32-154), where Andrew considers classical poetry, his own poetical abilities, and the suitability of treating theology in verse. This paragraph, in turn, can be divided into three subsections, viz.:
 - a. (32-74): classical poetry is vain and mischievous - youth will be led astray by its superficial charms.
 - b. (75-106): if young people are to learn proper Latin (and that they must), it will be very helpful to offer them - in Latin verses - the teachings of Holy Writ.
 - c. (107-154): Andrew compares his humble Muse with those of the great poets.
3. (155-189) - Invocation of the Muse.

The first paragraph - i.e. the poem as a whole - opens by stating a generally accepted truth, almost in form of a maxim (1-2):

Aeterna vita nihil est felicius usquam,
aeterna morte nihil infelicius.

The rest of part 1 consists of similar simple statements and rhetorical questions. There are few subordinate clauses, a fact that stresses the straightforward sense of these verses, namely - as an extension of the above-mentioned maxim - to point out the "furor" (11) in choosing a life of pleasure (that leads to eternal death) in favour of eternal salvation. This extension is brought about by describing the two conditions in directly contrasting terms, e.g. "mortis dirae poenae" (17) as opposed to "vitae dulcis fructus" (15). The first part of the prologue is concluded by an accumulation of such parallelisms (18-21).

If we now turn to section 2a, we find a slightly more complicated structure. It begins with a rhetorical question: "Vana poetarum figmenta quis ambigat esse?" (32). At first this section seems somewhat disconnected

from the preceding one, but Andrew soon returns to the theme of salvation, inasmuch as we are informed that classical poetry relates things not only useless, but even harmful, so that they might cause perdition. In particular it is liable to harm youth, as things imbibed at an early age tend to last. The message of section 2a thus seems to be rather plain: avoid the classics! Things, however, are not that simple:

haec minus utiliter ingens discenda perorat
 utilitas metri, cuius conquiratur arte
 summi sermonis prolatio recta Latini,
 qua quicumque caret sanna salibusque patebit
 45 mordacis linguae, vel quando loquetur inepte,
 vel quando reprimet linguam formido pudoris.
 O sapor insipidus, via devia, dulcor amarus,
 ars errans, lucrum damnosum, gaudia maesta,
 utilitas nocua, lux caeca, scientia fallens!
 50 O quantum magni deliravere poetae
 per tot inutilia, mortis genetiva perennis,
 ingenti studio vitantes utile metrum

In this section, then, - in contrast to the clear message in section 1 - we are faced with a dilemma: are we to read the poems on account of their formal values or must we reject them because of their moral deficiencies? Stylistically, the quandary is expressed by a more complex sentence-structure (41-46), and by the piling up of oxymora (47-49).

The problem is solved in section 2b, which states the beneficial effects of Holy Scripture (75-76): "Tot morbis sacra posset scriptura mederi, / si depicta metri vernantis floribus esset". Thus, in a double sense, a theological poem would be helpful for youth. The way is now smooth again, as is betrayed by the few subordinations and the parallelism as the dominating figure of speech (as in section 1); to this is added the anaphor: verses 77, 82, 86, 89, & 92 open with "haec" (=sacra scriptura). At the end of this paragraph we have come a full circle to the theme of the first part: eternal salvation. Andrew, then, has stated the purpose of the work and given the reason for choosing the metrical form.

Unexpectedly, Andrew now enters upon the dispute with the classics again (sect. 2c). This time, however, he strikes a much more humble note. True enough, Andrew opens by asserting his inability to surmount the enormous difficulties posed by the subject (the Bible); he will therefore concentrate on "primordia sola" (116, i.e. the Story of the Creation). But as soon as vs. 119 we find Andrew making an apostrophe to the classical poets (and probably to his classicizing contemporaries as well) (119-123):

Ad vestrae, Phoebea chelys, modulamina vocis
 non mea consurgit submissa voce Thalia,
 nec vos grandiloquos ad livorem, sed amorem,
 provocat exsanguie metrum (stilus inde videtur
 nobilior vester, quo plus aret stilus alter;
)

In the subsequent vss. (124-146) this contrast between high and low style is illustrated by means of numerous examples from antiquity. The section finishes off with an admonition that the subject, not the words, are important (147) - a truth our author seems to disregard, employing, as he does, a complex syntax, classical usage, and antique examples. He goes as far as to call his source of inspiration "Thalia" (120), the Muse of comedy and light verse!

'Thalia', of course, is just a metrically convenient form of 'muse', and, if we now turn to part 3 of the prologue, it will be clear who is the true object of his invocation (155): "O Noys alma, Patris quae condidit omnia dextra". 'Noys' is here a paraphrase for 'sapientia', which, in turn, stands for the Word by which God created the world.² In vs. 158 Andrew employs another paraphrase, viz. 'vera Minerva'. The following passage (159-179) serves to make clear that the divine wisdom is identical with the second person of the Trinity, the Son. One of the advantages of invoking the Son in the form of wisdom is that the gender of 'sapientia' allows it to take the place of a muse. As an, admittedly light, counterpoise to the many instances from antiquity adduced in section 2c, we find here an example from the Bible - an example intended to show how God is able to give inspiration just like a muse: the story of the donkey speaking to Bileam.³ The third part - and thus the prologue as a whole - is concluded by a new apostrophe to the Muse and by yet another statement of the theme of the work (as described in section 1) (184-189):

tali compositum compareat arte legenti,
 quod fateatur opus sibi te, Noys alma, favorem
 impendisse stilumque manus duxisse paventis;
 utilitas operis collaudet Pneuma benignum,
 multis hoc opere virtutum munera, multis
 post largiturum caelestis dona salutis.

The prologue in its entirety fulfills its purpose inasmuch as it does

1) For the termini technici of stylistics in this passage ("grandiloquus", "exsanguis") see Friis-Jensen (1985) p.221. 2) Cf. John 1,3. 3) Numbers 22,28.

offer the kind of information we would expect: the theme and subject of the work, its aim, the author's assertion of his inabilities in poetry of this kind and his request for help and inspiration. In my opinion, however, the exordium is not entirely lucid.

In the first place, Andrew is not faithful to his promise that only the extreme beginning of the Bible is to be treated (116-118). The plan of *Hexaemeron* is indeed much more extensive, as the poet himself clearly states in the second prologue at the beginning of the tenth book (5894-5929); there the invocation of the divine wisdom ("Noys alma", 5919) is reiterated with the express claim that the remaining three books will be concerned with the re-creation in Christ - as opposed to the subject of the first nine books, i.e. the Creation and Fall. But, in a strict sense, only the first four books deal with this subject, and thus - it can be argued - the contents of books V-IX are not solidly founded in the prologue.

Secondly, the sudden genuflection to the classical poets (section 2c) seems somewhat out of place - especially when it is taken into account that this very passage, in which Andrew humbly professes the inferiority of his own Muse, is the only part of the entire poem that contains classicizing "exempla" and usage.

Finally, the relationship between "mea....Musa" (107) and the actual source of inspiration invoked (the Word of God) is, apparently, rather disproportionate. In section 2c the 'Muse' must be equivalent to 'poetical ability' or 'style'. But if words really are superficial and of no consequence, why does Andrew address Apollo's crowd at all? These unclear points can - in part - be explained by investigating the models after which Andrew patterned his prologues.

Gertz, in his apparatus of sources, draws attention to some passages found in the classical poets, and in the commentary he quotes a paragraph of Gregory the Great's prologue to *Moralia in Iob* - references to which I shall return. First, we must consider a proposal by J. Pedersen:⁴ by employing the expressions "O Noys alma" and "vera Minerva", Andrew betrays his dependence on Bernardus Silvestris' *Cosmographia*.

The work of Bernard - one of the central figures of Chartrian Platonism - is a prosimetrum on the Creation seen in a philosophical/allegorical

4) Pedersen (1980) pp.53-54 & (1985) p.320; the idea originates with Gertz (1892) p.XVII.

gorical perspective; it was issued in 1147⁵ and thus antedates *Hexaemeron* by half a century. Bernard has dedicated it to another famous Chartrian - Thierry, whose *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* Andrew certainly knew (see chapter III, below). Apart from this, however, the author of *Hexaemeron* displays no interest in the "school of Chartres", and if he knew the *Timaeus*, it is not to be seen in his poem. The only other item to connect Andrew with the Chartrians would be his use of "Noys" to describe the divine wisdom.

Bernard, after a short prose prologue (not used by Andrew), sets out on his enterprise with these hexameters:

Congeris informis adhuc, cum Silva teneret
Sub veteri confusa globo primordia rerum,
Visa deo Natura queri, mentemque profundam
Compellasse Noym: Vite viventis ymago,
Prima, Noys - deus - orta deo, substantia veri,
Consilii tenor eterni, michi vera Minerva:⁶

This opening poem is furthermore concluded by another address to "Noys alma".⁷ In the passage, then, we find two verbal parallels to Andrew's invocation. It is indeed likely that he could have had access to the *Cosmographia*, but, to my mind, the evidence is very weak that it was the model for Andrew's prologue.

In the first place, the *Cosmographia* has no actual prologue, but only a short dedication (in prose), and a dedication is one thing Andrew fails to give. The apostrophe, "Noys alma", in the *Cosmographia* is not an address on the part of the poet to his Muse, but is spoken through Nature. Secondly Andrew, though dealing with the Creation as well, shows no other knowledge of the *Cosmographia*. Finally, and most importantly, the above-mentioned agreements - and many more - are found in the works of two of Andrew's contemporaries, viz. Alan of Lille and John of Hauville.

Alan (1125/30-1203) wrote - apart from a great many theological works - the prosimetrum *De Planctu Naturae*, probably in the decade between 1160 and 1170; in 1182 he issued his most famous piece of writing, the *Anticlaudianus*.

The basic literary model of *De Planctu Naturae* is Boethius' *Consolatio*,

5) Dronke (1978) p.2; for the dating of the below-mentioned didactic poems I follow Wetherbee (1972) p.2. 6) *Cosmographia*, Megacosmus, I 1-6.

7) *Ibid.* I 55.

but it draws on Bernard's *Cosmographia* as well. I shall not go into the work here, as it has no implications for the prologue of *Hexaemeron*; what deserve attention, though, are the close stylistic resemblances between the two works. Some of the poems in *De planctu Naturae* thus abound in accumulations of the same figure of speech, as is the case with the prologue of *Hexaemeron*; one instance of oxymoron forms a striking parallel to vss. 47-49 of Andrew's poem (cited above):

Dulce malum, mala dulcedo, sibi *dulcor amarus*
cuius odor sapidus, *insipidusque sapor*⁸

As I cannot point to other similarities of this type, I do not think that it can be argued that Andrew borrowed these phrases from Alan; at most, we are dealing here with a poetic fashion at the end of the 12th century, as would also appear from Matthew of Vendome's *Ars versificatoria* (about 1175), where piling up such figures of speech is often recommended.

Andrew probably knew *De planctu Naturae*, but it cannot be demonstrated. As regards the prologue, this work of Alan is of little importance. The opposite is true of *Anticlaudianus*, a didactic hexameter-poem in nine books, in which Nature journeys towards God whom she begs to create the perfect man. At the end of the poem this man is put on earth to herald a new golden age.

Anticlaudianus offers a prologue in prose, and a short one in verse. In the prose, Alan attempts to forestall any criticisms by professing his inabilities (again the topos of modesty). In the opening verses he invokes Clio and addresses Apollo in these words:

Fonte tuo sic, Phebe, tuum perfunde poetam
Ut compluta tuo mens arida flumine, germen
Donet, et in fructus concludat germinis usum.⁹

Like Andrew, Alan turns to Apollo - i.e. the classical poets - but for a different reason: he actually wants their help, whereas Andrew gives excuses for not being able to write in their high style. Apollo, however, turns out to be insufficient in the middle of *Anticlaudianus*; when Nature in her quest for God reaches Paradise and beholds Theology, the poet is forced to call upon another inspiration:

8) *De planctu Naturae* IX 8-9. 9) *Anticlaudianus*, Prologus 7-9.

Hactenus insonuit tenui mea Musa susurro,
 Hactenus in fragili lusit mea pagina versu,
 Phebea resonante cheli; sed parva resignans,
 Maiorem nunc tendo liram totumque poetam
 Deponens, usurpo michi nova verba prophete
 Celesti Muse terrenus cedit Apollo.¹⁰

Next, the celestial muse is invoked by the words "Summe parens, aeterne Deus"; to this is added a wealth of predicates aiming not at any one person of the Trinity, but at the deity as such.¹¹ Among these we find "Noys alma" and "Sophia vera",¹² i.e. the expressions Andrew is alleged to have borrowed from Bernard's *Cosmographia*. The fact that the two last-mentioned both give the form "vera Minerva" is not conducive to proof of interdependence: 'Minerva' is a common poetic expression for 'wisdom' or 'reason' used by Alan and Andrew in other contexts as well.¹³ The possibility that Bernard was an influence cannot be totally dismissed, but granted the other similarities between *Hexaameron* and *Anticlaudianus*, I think probability favours Alan as the source of those expressions.

One parallel between the two is the poet's invocation of God as inspiration; another is the existence of a second prologue that marks a break in the poem.¹⁴ In *Anticlaudianus* it indicates the shift from the terrestrial to the celestial stage, in *Hexaameron* it points to the change of subject, i.e. the recreation as opposed to the Creation. Andrew - in contrast to Alan - does not substitute his Muse, a fact that illuminates his humble address to Apollo's crowd (section 2c): at the very beginning he refrains from any imitation of the profane poets, because his poem has an entirely 'celestial', i.e. theological subject. Nor is he claiming, in the second prologue, that a more sublime theme is now to be treated; on the contrary, he persists in his modesty (5916-5919):

Immensis meritis quamvis nec paupere possim
 ingenio quae sufficerent nec digna referre,
 ut non displiceat saltem, quodcumque minutum
 obtulero laudis, ad te, Noys alma, recurro;

The poet's modest means but good intentions are, presumably, to be compared to the poor widow in Luke 21,1-4:

10) *Anticlaudianus* V 265-270. 11) *Ibid.* V 268-305. 12) *Ibid.* V 282-283. 13) E.g. *Hexaameron* 3969: "lectoris Minerva"; cf. *Anticlaudianus* III 15, IV 82 & V 112. 14) The ultimate source of the second invocation is the Vergilian "maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, / maius opus moveo" (*Aen.* VII 43-44).

respiciens autem vidit (Iesus) eos qui mittebant munera sua in gazofilacium divites; vidit autem et quandam viduam *pauperculam* mittentem aera *minuta* duo et dixit "vere dico vobis, quia haec *pauper* plus quam omnes misit; nam omnes hii ex abundanti sibi miserunt in munera Dei, haec autem ex eo quod deest illi omnem victum suum quem habuit misit".

According to Curtius¹⁵ the allusion to this passage was common among poets who dedicated their work to the Lord as did Andrew.

In matters of style *Hexaameron* has great resemblances to the poetical works of Alan, and Andrew seems to have borrowed some compositional ideas from the *Anticlaudianus* as well - not least the second invocation. The scarcity of obvious verbal parallels, however, must lead to the conclusion that *Anticlaudianus* was not the primary model for the prologue of *Hexaameron*.

Another of Andrew's contemporaries ought to be considered. In 1184/85 John of Hauville issued the *Architrenius*,¹⁶ a didactic (or epic, if you like) poem in nine books imitating - among other works - the *Anticlaudianus*. John's work, however, has a much looser structure than Alan's: A man called Architrenius laments the moral standards of this world, and decides to seek out Nature in order to discover the reason why sin is governing the world. On his journey he is brought to all sorts of places, and has many disappointments. The atmosphere gets lighter towards the end of the poem: in the beginning of the sixth book, Architrenius arrives at the fair island Tylon inhabited by wise men from antiquity; by their edifying words he is encouraged, and finally Nature is unveiled; she then gives a lecture on cosmology and astronomy, but in the end she takes care of Architrenius by proposing that he marry Moderantia. The poem closes with their wedding.

Andrew certainly knew this poem, as it can be demonstrated that he has employed some phrases found there, and that an intermediate (or common) source is very unlikely. John writes:

....nec veris adventum percipit Ethnae
gloria, nec crescit Phoebus face, mundus harena,
saecula momento, nimbo mare, linea puncto.¹⁷

This Andrew turns into (5781, 5889-90 & 2654-56):

15) Curtius (1948) p.94. 16) Schmidt (1974) pp.16-17. 17) *Architrenius* I 141-143.

Saecula non crescunt momento, linea puncto.

.....quam iubar umbram,
quam sol excedat radium, quam mundus harenam?

gloria sic laudem semper transcenderet omnem,
ut Phoebus faculam, mare guttam, linea punctum,
caelum tellurem, tellus escedit harenam.

Even if the reeling off of comparisons and the like was fashionable at the time, the close verbal parallels (some at the same position in the metre) make it reasonable to speak of a loan on the part of Andrew. Another obvious instance is *Hexaemeron* 2363: "meta poenarum, non mortis falce, metenda" which is borrowed from John: "sed meta malorum, / mors, sola innumeras curas expellit et una / falce metit".¹⁸

Apart from phrases like the above, Andrew could make little use of *Architrenius* except in the prologue, since John's work, to be sure, treats of entirely different matters. A comparison, then, of the two prologues will show that the instances of classical poetry adduced by Gertz in his apparatus of sources to section 2c can be regarded only as remote models; Andrew's immediate source was the prologue of *Architrenius* that draws - often in a form bearing close resemblance to Andrew's - on the same passages of the classical poets. The only classical example not found in John's work, a loan from Horace (*Ars poetica* 28) - *Hexaemeron* 135 - Andrew probably looked up in Matthew of Vendome's *Ars versificatoria*.¹⁹ In short, like most scholars of his time Andrew presumably had some first-hand knowledge of the Roman poets, but he does not seem to have had them at hand when writing his prologue. A few examples would suffice:²⁰ at vss. 132-133: "Anseris ex strepitu dulcescit cantus oloris, / Pieridumque lyram tenuis vox laudat avenae" Gertz points to two passages from Vergil's *Eclogues*, i.e. "sed argutos inter strepere anser olores" and "silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena".²¹ John employs both of these and combines, as does Andrew, the goose and the lyre: "strepit anxius

18) *Architrenius* V 293-295. 19) *Ars versificatoria* p.117. 20) The most striking verbal parallels between *Architrenius* and *Hexaemeron* are (numbers in brackets refer to Andrew's work; note the many instances from John's prologue (I 1-215)): I 16 (56), I 31-32 (44-46), I 42 (144), I 47 (119)-I 52 (133), I 69 (111), I 74-76 (142-146), I 93 (143), I 142-143 (2654-56 & 5781 & 5889-90), I 145 (102), I 172-174 (5900-01 & 5926-27), I 200-201 (155), II 220 (140), III 54 (140), III 294 (54), IV 29-31 (130-31), V 8-9 (132-33), V 293-295 (2363), VII 76-77 (140). 21) *Bucolica* 9,36 & 1,2.

anser/ Actaeam vicisse lyram".²²

The key argument as to Andrew's use of *Architrenius* is that he uses only those quotations from the classical poets that John gives as well, and, not least, that the similarities between the two poems are more easily explicable in terms of interdependence than of direct use of the same passages. Andrew addresses the Muses of Apollo in this way (119): "Ad vestrae, Phoebæ Chelys, modulamina vocis"; 'Phoebæ chelys' is a rare phrase for 'Apollo's lyre', which you would have to go to Ovid's letter of Sappho to find (vs.181), but John uses the same expression in the same position of the metre: "Ad digitum, Phoebæ chelys..."²³

Of the examples given by Andrew in section 2c, two can be traced back to antiquity only by tortuous paths, i.e. the juxtaposition of the poor Codrus and the wealthy Croesus (140), and a symbolic use of the figures of Apollo and Nestor (145). Both are found in John's poem.²⁴

The prologue of *Architrenius* is a little longer than that of *Hexaemeron*, viz. 215 vss. It also contains an invocation of God as the Muse: "Tu patris es verbum, tu mens, tu dextera..."²⁵ resembling *Hexaemeron* 155: "O Noys alma, Patris quae condidit omnia dextra".

Given these numerous similarities, it is tempting to compare the structure of the two prologues.²⁶ The opening 215 vss. of *Architrenius* consists of seven paragraphs:

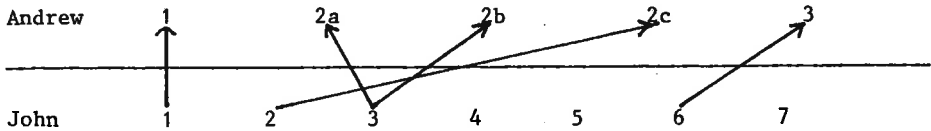
1. (1-40), where a description is given of industry and lethargy. This is the statement of a central theme, as is also the case with the first paragraph of Andrew's prologue, where a similar thematic opposition is introduced.
2. (41-64) gives the topos of modesty; the author's Muse cannot compete with the classical poets. This is matched by *Hexaemeron* 2c.
3. (65-99). Here John justifies his poetry, which, though lacking in formal beauty, does have a serious purpose - a point made by Andrew in paragraphs 2a & 2b.
4. (100-143). On the patron of the poet (Walter of Coutances; Archbishop of Rouen 1184-1207) and his native soil.
5. (144-174). Dedication to Walter.

22) *Architrenius* V 8-9. 23) *Ibid.* I 47. 24) *Ibid.* VII 76-77 & I 155.

25) *Ibid.* I 200. 26) The prose prologue of *Architrenius* gives the mere argument and is not by John.

6. (175-210). Invocation of God, matching the prologue of *Hexaemeron* section 3.
7. (202-215). John anticipates possible envious detractors.

To sum up, Andrew has borrowed all his sections from John, but not brought all John's sections to use; furthermore, he has made some transpositions, as will be clear from this table:



The material in Andrew's prologue that cannot be accounted for by way of John's, consists mostly of rhetorical amplifications; to this must be added some loans from Gregory the Great's epistolary prologue to *Moralia in Iob*. Concerning the healthy effects of Holy Writ, Andrew states (sect. 2b, vss.82-85):

Haec parvos nutrit et magnos roborat; altus
et planus fluvius, in quo barrus natat, agnus
palpitat, occultis doctorum corda stupore
suspendit, rudium manifestis pectora nutrit.

Compare the following passage from Gregory's prologue:

Habet (divinus sermo) in publico unde parvulos nutriat, servat in secreto unde mentes sublimium in admiratione suspendat. Quasi quidam quippe est fluvius, ut ita dixerim, planus et altus, in quo et agnus ambulet et elephas natet.²⁷

This is the immediate source; we know from the list of Andrew's books that he possessed excerpts of Gregory's commentary ("Exceptiones de Moralibus Iob"). The epistolary prologue must have been included in this collection as two other loans can be detected. In paragraph 2 Gregory proclaims the inferiority of his style, but, as he says, he pins his faith on God, who can make even asses eloquent, - cf. *Hexaemeron* vs.183. In paragraph 3 he makes this statement: "...quis nesciat, quod nequaquam vanas poetarum fabulas sequitur,..." This phrasing Andrew borrowed as the opening verse of section 2a (32): "Vana poetarum figmenta quis ambigat esse?"

In his prologue, both as regards general outline and details, Andrew

27) *Moralia in Iob*, Prologus ad Leandrum 4.

followed in the footsteps of John of Hauville; to this he added some points from Gregory the Great. He thus conflated prologues from two genres, - in fact two of which *Hexaemeron* is a composition: the didactic poem and the Biblical commentary. The fact that Andrew leans on contemporary didactic poetry is not revealed by the prologue exclusively: by dedicating nine books to the Creation and the Fall, Andrew imitates *Anticlaudianus* and *Architrenius* - both consisting of nine books; true enough, three further books (on the recreation) are added, and this ordering (9+3) does not seem to have any predecessors; on the other hand, twelve is a well-known epic number, and the notion of marking a *cæsura* (by way of a second prologue) seems to derive from *Anticlaudianus*. As for the contents of the poem - exegetic and theological learning - we are indeed far from the allegorical figures and the progress in knowledge that constitute the action in *Anticlaudianus* and *Architrenius*. And yet in the ordering of his matter, as we shall see, Andrew has made a few efforts to enliven his poem with some sort of "progress".

III THE BIBLICAL COMMENTARY

1 The Literal Sense

As Gertz notes in his commentary, Andrew, in his literal exegesis of Genesis 1-3¹ followed the exposition of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scolastica*.

Peter Comestor (or Manducator) held a chair of theology in Paris until 1169, when he entrusted it to Peter of Poitiers; the office of chancellor at Notre Dame he held until his death in 1179.² His most important work, the *Historia Scolastica*, - a literal exposition of all the books of the Bible - dates from between 1169 & 1173.³ The work was an instant success and was soon to become a text-book in the field. Thus it is the main source of Peter Riga's popular versified Bible from around 1200.⁴ As a guide to Genesis 1-3, the *Historia Scolastica* was the most obvious choice Andrew could make; a few examples will suffice to throw some light on his methods in using it.⁵

Commenting on the creation of animals on the sixth day (Gen. 1,24-25) Comestor gives these expositions:

DE OPERE SEXTAE DIEI. (1) Sexta die ornavit Deus terram - produxit enim terra tria genera animalium, *jumenta*, *reptilia*, *bestias*. (2) Sciens enim Deus hominem per peccatum casurum in poenam laboris ad remedium laboris dedit ei *jumenta*, quasi adjuvamenta ad opus, vel ad esum. (3) Reptilia vero et bestiae sunt ei in exercitium. Reptilium vero sunt tria genera: (a) Trahentia - ut vermes qui se ore trahunt; (b) Serpentina - ut colubri qui vi costarum se rapiunt; (c) Repentia pedibus scilicet ut lacertae et batracae. (4) Dicuntur autem bestiae quasi "vastiae" a vastando, id est laedendo et saeviendo.

(5) Quaeritur de quibusdam minutis animantibus, quae vel ex cadaveribus vel humoribus nasci solent, si tunc orta fuerint. Quorum

1) *Hexaemeron* 190-344, 505-781, 1417-1812, 2089-2194, 2232-2239, 2246-2247, 2253-2266, 2279-2289, 2297-2313, 2322-2378, 2386-2390. 2) N. Iung in *DTC* XII,2,1918. 3) *Ibid* 1919. 4) On the numerous editions of this work, see Beichner's introduction p.XVIIff. 5) I quote Comestor from *PL* 198:1053ff, but deviate on some minor points of punctuation; section-numbers are added in brackets in order to facilitate comparison with Andrew's text.

sex sunt genera: (a) Quaedam enim ex exhalationibus habent esse - ut bibiones, vermes qui ante clepsidram nascuntur, bibiones ex vino, papiliones ex aqua; (b) Quaedam ex corruptione humorum - ut vermes in cisternis; (c) Quaedam ex cadaveribus - ut apes ex juvencis, scarabaei et scabrones (muscae magnae quae sonant ex volatu) nascuntur ex equis; (d) Quaedam ex corruptione lignorum - ut teredines; (e) Quaedam ex herbarum corruptione - ut erucae ex oleribus; (f) Quaedam ex corruptione fructuum - ut gurguliones ex fabis. (6) De his dicitur quia quae sine corruptione nascuntur (ut illa quae exhalationibus) tunc facta sunt; (7) Quae vero ex corruptionibus, post peccatum ex rebus corruptis orta sunt.

(8) Quaeritur quoque de nocivis animantibus si creata sunt nociva, vel primo mitia, post facta sint homini nociva. (9) Dicitur quod ante peccatum hominis fuerunt mitia, sed post peccatum facta sunt nociva homini tribus de causis: propter hominis punitionem, correctionem, instructionem. Punitur enim homo cum laeditur his, vel cum timet laedi quia timor maxima poena est; corrigitur his, cum scit ista sibi accidisse pro peccato suo; instruitur admirando opera Dei magis admirans opera fornicarum quam onera camelorum, vel, cum videt haec minima sibi posse nocere, recordatur fragilitatis suae et humiliatur. (10) Sed diceret quis quod quaedam animalia laedunt alia, quae nec inde puniuntur vel corrigitur vel instruntur. Sed ex his et in his instruitur homo per exemplum. Etiam ad hoc creata sunt ut aliis sint in esum. (11) Sed si iterum dicitur quod etiam in mortuos homines saeviunt; sed et in his instruitur homo, ne aliquod genus mortis horrescat, quia per quoscunque trans-eat meatus nec capillus de capite eius peribit.

(12) Ad hunc modum solet quaeri de herbis et arboribus infructuosis, si etiam in illis diebus orta sint, cum Scriptura non memoret nisi herbas seminales et arbores fructiferas quae modo sunt. Potest dici quia quae modo infructuosa sunt ante peccatum fecerunt fructum aliquem, post peccatum potius nascuntur homini ad laborem quam ad utilitatem. Vel homini propter et post peccatum sunt orta, quia post dictum est homini: *Spinis et tribulos germinabit tibi* Vel quaecunque terris haerent faciunt fructum - id est utilitatem manifestam vel occultam. (13) Quia vero piscibus et avibus dictum est: *Crescite et multiplicamini*, etiam de his intelligendum est licet non sit dictum. Haec est enim communis causa creationis eorum.⁶

This is what Andrew has to say on the same subject (737-767):

Ornatus terrae cessit post ista diei
sextae, quando Deus quaevis animalia terram
sub triplici genere tantum producere fecit;
740 'reptile, iumentum, fera bestia' sunt tria tantum,
quae complectuntur animalia singula sub se.
Casum praesciuit hominis Deus, et quod egeret
auxilio dignusque foret pro crimine poena;
hinc iumenta Deus lapso plasmavit ad esum
745 atque laboris opem, ne, tanti si foret expers

6) *Historia Scolastica*, liber Genesis 8, PL 198:1062B-1063C.

- auxilii, nimia casus grauitate periret.
 Uerum post lapsum sunt cetera facta nociua
 propter tres causas: ut corrigeretur aberrans,
 ut puniretur, et ut instrueretur ab ipsis.
- 750 Punitur, quando uel laeditur aut timet illis
 laedi; corrigitur, quando punitus abhorret
 peccatum, de quo sentit procedere poenam;
 instruitur, cum se non posse resistere muscis
 exiguis uideat et se fragilem probet inde
- 755 et paruum reputet depulsa peste tumoris.
 Vermes, botracae, serpentes atque lacertae
 repunt: ore tamen uermes, pedibusque lacertae
 sicut botracae, serpentes pectore solo.
 Vermes non inter animalia prima fuere,
- 760 quos modo producit solus putredinis humor,
 ut qui cisternae uitio nascuntur apesque,
 gurgulio, tineae, scarabaeus, uespa, teredo;
 at uini uel aquae quos exhalatio gignit,
 quae bibionis, item quae est papilionis origo,
- 765 sexta dies inter animalia prima recepit.
 Ob similem causam plasmandi debet ad ista
 piscibus ac auibus benedictio facta referri.

It is not difficult to recognize Comestor's text beneath this passage, which is totally dependent on it both for its examples and its views. A closer inspection will show, however, that Andrew did not copy out his source carelessly.

In the first place he respected the metrical laws; thus he had to leave out such expressions as "ēx cādāvērībūs", "ēx cōrrūptiōnībūs", and "frāgīlītās". These Andrew substituted with verbal phrases, viz. "Producit... humor" (760), "exhalatio gignit" (763), and "se fragilem probet" (754).⁷ He also made allowances for his didactic purpose. Andrew condenses Peter's expositions and makes some transpositions as well. What has he omitted? In paragraphs 2 and 4 Peter offers some etymological explanations; they are left out by Andrew.⁸ Furthermore he has not made a paraphrase of sections 10 and 11 (on animals harmful to other animals and corpses); 12 is left out because Peter here leaps to Gen. 3,18 ("spinas et tribulos...") whereas Andrew gives this comment in due place (2305-2308).

To pass over some examples and digressions is a common feature of Andrew's use of the *Historia Scolastica*; another is the transposing of material. Having explained that the Biblical "bestias...iumenta...reptile"

7) On Andrew's technique of adaptation of Peter's text, see the thorough study by Friis-Jensen (1985). 8) Not that he shuns etymologies as a matter of principle; cf. 566-570, 690, 1786-1787.

includes all (terrestrial) animals (738-741, not mentioned by Peter), Andrew sets forth four items: (1) Why did God create the draught animals ("iumenta", 742-746)? (2) Why did the other animals turn noxious? (presumably thinking of "bestiae" as well as "reptilia") (747-755). (3) Classification of reptiles (756-758). (4) Which reptiles (and insects) were created on the sixth day, and which are produced naturally? (759-765). This is another ordering of things than Peter's, who classifies the reptiles before pointing at the edifying effects of the existence of noxious animals.

Andrew does not condense that part of Peter's text that treats of human punishment after the Fall, but he leaves out many details of natural history. Two other instances stress Andrew's aim of moral instruction; in vss. 747 & 759 he begins with the conclusion, whereas Peter opens with "Quaeritur de..." (5 & 8). What Andrew, in a technical sense, did to chapter 8 of the *Historia Scolastica* can be seen by listing the sections of that text in the order Andrew used them: 1-2-9-3-7-5bcd-f-6-5a-13. This is no careless treatment of the source.

As stated, Peter Comestor's work is Andrew's main source for the literal exposition,⁹ but apparently he did not find it exhaustive for his purpose. Another example of his methods in applying Peter's information shall be given; in this instance, however, Andrew has made use of other sources as well. Genesis 1,3-5 reads:

Dixitque Deus: "fiat lux" et facta est lux; et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona et divisit lucem ac tenebras appellavitque lucem diem et tenebras noctem.

Peter Comestor gives these comments on the passage:

(1) *Dixitque Deus: "Fiat lux", et facta est lux.* Id est Verbum genuit in quo erat, ut fieret lux, id est tam facile, ut si quis diceret verbo. (2) *Lucem vocat quamdam nubem lucidam illuminantem su-*

9) Andrew is guided by Peter all through the literal exposition of Gen. 1-3; he uses all 24 chapters (vss. of *Hexaemeron* given in brackets): 1 (192 & 200-202), 2 (231-241), 3 (331-344), 4 (513-555), 5-6 (556-597), 6 (598-631, 645-647, 655-663, 674-693, 699-707), 7 (710-711 & 724-731), 8 (737-767 & 2305-2308), 9 (1417-1440), 10 (1441-1465), 11 (1519-1570), 12 (1571-1584, 1588-1589, 1591-1594), 13 (1595-1619), 14 (1620-1639), 15 (1640-1665), 16 (1666-1684, 1704-1711), 16-17 (1685-1689), 17 (1733-1736, 1756-1771), 18 (1780-1800), 19 (1712-1732), 20 (1801-1812), 21 (2089-2116), 22 (2117-2144, 2150-2157), 23 (2158-2194, 2232-2239, 2246-2247, 2253-2266, 2279-2289, 2297-2304, 2309-2313, 2322-2329), 24 (2330-2378, 2386-2390).

periores mundi partes; claritate tamen tenui ut fieri solet diluculo. (3) Et haec (hoc: *PL*) ad modum solis cicumagitata praesentia sui superius hemispherium et inferius vicissim illuminat. (4) Per "fiat" praesentia vel praescientia lucis in Deo intelligitur priusquam fieret; perfecta est essentia eiusdem in actu, scilicet cum prodiit ad esse.

(5) *Et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona*. Id est quae placuerat in praesentia vel praescientia, ut fieret, placuit in essentia, ut maneret. (6) Vel tropice "vidit", id est videre fecit.

(7) *Et divisit lucem et tenebras*. Hic incipit dispositio; et tamen aliquid dicit de creatione quasi cum luce tenebras creavit, id est umbram ex objectione corporum luci, et creatas divisit locorum distantia et qualitate, ut scilicet numquam simul, sed semper e regione diversa hemispheria vicissim sibi vindicarent. (8) Intelligitur etiam hic angelorum facta divisio: Stantes lux, cadentes tenebrae dicti sunt.

(9) *Et appellavit lucem diem*. A "dia" Graeco quod est claritas sicut lux dicitur quia luit, id est purgat tenebras. Tenebras dixit noctem a nocendo, quia nocet oculis ne videant; sicut tenebrae quia tenent oculos, ne videant; sicut tamen dies exortum est a "dia" Graeco, ita nox a "nyctim".¹⁰

On darkness and light Andrew writes (331-344):

'Fiat lux, dixit Deus, et lux facta refulsit'.
 'Dixit', id est: genuit Verbum, per quod fieret lux;
 aut adeo facile, veluti quis diceret, egit;
 per 'fiat' cognosce Deum praescisse futuram
 335 lucem; per 'facta' progressum lucis in actum.
 'Esse bonam vidit lucem', quia facta placebat,
 quae praescita prius placuit. 'Divisit eandem
 a tenebris, lucemque diem noctemque tenebras
 appellavit', id est, imponi talia fecit
 340 nomina; quippe Deus membrorum non habet usum.
 Spirituum simul hic divisio facta probatur,
 et dicti sunt 'lux' stantes 'tenebrae'que cadentes
 inde liquet liquido simul omnes ante creatos
 cum caelo, post divisos cum luce fuisse.

Again, it is obvious how Andrew's condensation makes for lucidity; 331-333 completely matches section (1) of Peter's account; Andrew passes over (2) & (3) but then renders the contents of (4-5) in vss. 334-337. Peter offers two explanations of the Biblical phrase "et divisit lucem ac tenebras"; of these Andrew applies only one (8) which is given at the end of the paragraph (341-44) where it serves as a link to the following digression on the fall of the angels. Before this (337-340) Andrew comments on "appellavitque lucem diem et tenebras noctem"; here he leaves aside the curious etymologies of Peter and gives another explanation: "Imponi

10) *Historia Scolastica*, liber Genesis 3, *PL* 198:1057B-C.

talia fecit / nomina". This is lifted from a "textbook" even more widespread than the *Historia Scolastica*, viz. the Biblical Gloss - *Glossa Ordinaria*. This compilation of patristic and other material was worked out in several stages, the most important steps being taken in the beginning of the 12th century.¹¹ We know for sure (from the list of books)¹² that Andrew possessed a "Pentathecus bene glosatus" and, as will be shown below, that he leaned heavily on it in his allegorical expositions. As a commentary on Gen. 1,5 the Gloss offers: "Sed 'appellavit' id est appellari fecit".¹³ This is, however, the only instance in the literal commentary where Andrew demonstrably gleaned something from the Gloss; further examples may exist, but could be invisible, as the Gloss is one of Peter's chief sources.

Andrew finally gives a reason (340): "quippe Deus membrorum non habet usum", of which he could learn in Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (about 1155).¹⁴ There is no doubt that Andrew owned a copy¹⁵ of this extremely influential textbook of systematic theology. In the opening chapters of the second book the Lombard discusses some questions regarding the Creation; some of his remarks were found useful by Andrew, who borrowed e.g. from this passage where the Lombard quotes Augustine:

...nec sono vocis Deum fuisse locutum. Quia si temporaliter, et mutabiliter; et si corporaliter dicatur sonuisse vox Dei, nec lingua erat qua loqueretur, nec erat quem oporteret audire et intelligere.¹⁶

The second book of the *Sentences*, however, does not offer anything like a comprehensive commentary on Genesis 1-3, but merely deals with some issues suitable for discussion. Andrew's senior contemporary, Peter of Poitiers, makes a statement to that effect in his *Sentences*:

Sed quoniam quedam videntur circa distinctionem operum sex dierum dubitabilia et disputationi accommoda, illa brevi lectione perstringamus.¹⁷

The way Andrew intersperses the Lombard's material among Peter Comestor's

11) Smalley (1952) pp.46-66; the Gloss is edited in PL 113-114, but almost impossible to use; I quote from the 1634-edition. 12) See chapter I above. 13) Vol. 1, marginal gloss, col.10E. 14) On the date see the *Prolegomena* of the SPICILEGIUM BONAVENTURANUM-edition pp.122-129. 15) The list of books include a "Lumbardum in ecclesia inventum". 16) *Sententiae* II,13,6. 17) *Sententiae* II,7 (ed. Moore, Garvin & Dulong, p.34).

expositions displays his command of the relevant "disputabilia".¹⁸

His methods in using the Lombard cover the ground from almost verbatim quotations¹⁹ to very considerable condensations.²⁰ The *Sentences* mostly provide material for minor issues - only in a few instances do they underlie longer passages of *Hexaemeron*. That is true of the description of the angelic hierarchy (208-226):

Angelicum pariter cum caelo condidit agmen
ordinibusque novem distinxit. In ordine primo
210 sunt Seraphin, quibus est intensior ardor amoris;
post Cherubin, quibus implet plena scientia nomen;
inde Throni, Domini statuentes iura, locantur;
quartum spirituum Dominatio nominat agmen;
quintus Principibus cessit caelestibus ordo;
215 inde Potestates, quibus est data magna potestas;
istis subduntur Virtutes, signa gerentes;
quilibet octavi coetus Archangelus extat
(hic regnans Michael animas inducere sanctas
dicitur in caeli paradisum, ianitor atque
220 praepositus, quippe vigilanter ad illa fideles
invitat, per quae mereantur gaudia caeli;
inde Dei populum Michael iuvat, inde Draconem
impugnat, quoniam cohibet molimina saevi
Hostis, ne nobis possit pro velle nocere);
225 nonum postremo numerosus perficit agmen
Angelus, inde minor, quia nuntiat ipse minora.

The verses 209-217 and 225-226 almost form a direct quotation from the Lombard²¹ - a fact also pointed out by Gertz.²² He had more difficulties in identifying the source(s) of the passage on Michael (218-224): none of the three texts from the Bible referred to by Gertz²³ account for the notion of Michael as "praepositus paradisi". In the commentary he furthermore draws attention to some apocryphal texts²⁴ and to Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* XVII,12 and his 34th *Homily on the Gospels*. The notion orig-

18) Direct use of the Lombard seems to be the case in the following instances (references to *Hexaemeron* in brackets): 1,3,2-3 (193-197); 1,4 (256-272); 1,5 (276-278); 1,6 (292-313); 2,1 (208); 2,2 (203-205), 2,6 (364-375); 9,2 (329-330); 9,2,2 (209-217, 225-226); 9,4 (326-328); 9,6 (282-291, 314-320); 9,7 (324-325), 12 (228-241, 252-255); 13,2-3 (505-512); 13,6 (339-340); 13,7 (200-201); 14,9,2 (592-595); 15,1 (716-720); 16,2 (770-778); 17,4 (1772-1775); 18,1,2 (1743-1751); 18,2 (1752-1755); 18,3 (1737-1742); 18,4-6 (1690-1703); 18,7 (1756-1771); 21,7 (279-218); 22,4,8 (368); 24,10-12 (2145-2149). 19) E.g. vss.1752-1755 quoting *Sententiae* II,18,2. 20) E.g. vss.252-255 summing up the contents of the entire twelfth distinction of the sec. book. 21) *Sententiae* II,9,2,2. 22) Gertz (1892) p.284. 23) Apocalypse 12,7 & 20,2 and Daniel 12,1; add to these Judas 9. 24) The Histories of Joseph and Daniel and the Gospel of Nicodemus.

inates with these sources and with the literature on the ascension of Mary,²⁵ but I doubt that these were Andrew's immediate sources. Firstly, several of Andrew's contemporary theologians touch upon the subject in this very context,²⁶ and secondly, the notion of Michael's special assignments was widespread at the time;²⁷ both items are well illustrated by a passage from Martinus:

Item Michael est praepositus paradisi - ita dicit auctoritas. Sed ad quem usum habet praelationem Michael in paradiso ubi omnia sunt pacata, et nulla ibi potest esse transgressio? In via vero necessariae sunt praelationes, ubi multa praesumuntur; sed in futuro omnis praelatio evacuabitur - ut dicit apostolus.

Responsio: Haec praelatio Michaelis non intelligitur regiminis circa alios angelos, sed tutelae et exhortationis circa genus humanum, in quo praefertur ceteris angelis, cum omnibus aliis diligentior sit in tuendo et exhortando genus humanum.²⁸

Like Andrew, Martinus proceeds to speak of the combat between Michael and the dragon:

Quomodo intelligendum sit quaere, quod legitur Michaellem commisisse bellum cum dracone - id est cuius proelii figura pingitur in ecclesia, Michael habens scutum et hastam. Responsio: non intelligitur haec pugna materialis, sed ideo dicitur Michael proeliari cum dracone, quia reluctatur et obsistit diabolo, qui studet et satagit homines irretire peccato. Quod autem Michaellem effigiat armatum ecclesia, fit ad instructionem rudium laicorum, non quia ita sit in signato sicut superficietenus figurat signum. Nimirum pictoribus atque poetis quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.²⁹

We are probably not dealing here with Andrew's source, but Martinus, at least, is conveying the same views as is Andrew by means of "dicitur" (219): the popular beliefs about Michael are, in a strict sense, false, but taken symbolically they make good sense.

In addition to these "independent" verses, several instances occur where Andrew, on his own, fits in a couple of lines in order to join parts together; this is the case in 708-709, 732-733, 1466-1467, & 1517-1518. In his commentary on Genesis 2,7: "Formavit igitur Dominus Deus

25) See the texts in Wenger (1955), esp. pp.258-259. 26) E.g. Martinus (see below) and Praepositinus (Vat.lat. 1174 f.27vb); on these theologians see chapter IV,1 below. 27) Michael weighing the souls and slaying the dragon were popular motifs in Scandinavian art (KLN XI col.624); the 34th Homily of Gregory (on the angels) was translated into Old Norse in the middle of the 12th century (see D. A. Seip in the introduction to CCI XVIII p.25. 28) *Compilatio quaestionum theologiae* f.40ra. 29) *Ibid.*

hominem de limo terrae" etc., Andrew as usual follows Peter Comestor, but he adds an explanation not found in the *Historia scolastica*: man was shaped from earth in order that he might always recall his humble origins and not become haughty (1585-1587); I have not been able to determine the origin of this comment - it could be Andrew's own.

At the end of Andrew's commentary on the moment of creation, the act of creation is divided into four items, i.e. the Aristotelian causes (242-245):

Efficiens causa mundi Pater extitit Auctor,
causaque formalis eius Sapientia, causa
finalis Bonitas; rerum primordia causa
materialis erant, elementa decoris egena.

In the first three causes the Trinity is recognizable, as the Son is characterized by Wisdom and the Holy Spirit by Goodness - a distribution already mentioned in the proem (175-178). Since Abelard³⁰ this was an ordinary way of describing the three Persons, and the combination of these characterizations and the Aristotelian causes is found in several writings of Andrew's contemporaries - not, however, in the Lombard. Peter of Poitiers has something interesting to say on the fourth cause of creation:

Plerumque tamen dicitur causa efficiens, eius sapientia causa formalis, bonitas causa finalis, sed numquam memini me legisse quod sit causa materialis.³¹

Andrew did remember. He had read it in Thierry of Chartres' *Hexaemeron*, or, as it was entitled, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, paragraph 2 of which gives the following explanation:

Mundane igitur substantie cause sunt quatuor: efficiens ut deus formalis ut dei sapientia finalis ut eiusdem benignitas materialis ut quatuor elementa.³²

This Thierry repeats several times in paragraphs 2 and 3. The immediately following passages are evidence that Thierry was the actual source used by Andrew:

A. Non potuit mundus auctore carere caducus
nec potuit mundi sapiens non esse creator,
in cuius fabrica sapientia tanta relucet;

30) See Abelard, *Introductio ad theologiam* 1,7ff. (PL 178:989ff.) 31) *Sententiae* II,12 (ed. Moore, Garvin & Dulong p.69). 32) *Tractatus* 2 p.555.

hic auctor, cuius immensa potentia nescit
 250 crescere vel minui, summe bonus absque veneno
 invidiae, mundum sola bonitate creavit.

Th. Necesse est enim quia mutabilia et caduca sunt mundana eadem habere auctorem. Quia vero rationabiliter et quodam ordine pulcherrimo disposita sunt secundum sapientiam illa esse creata necesse est. Quoniam autem ipse creator iuxta veram rationem nullo indiget sed in semet ipso summum bonum et sufficientiam habet oportet ut ea que creat ex sola benignitate et caritate creet ut scilicet habeat quibus beatitudinem suam more caritatis participet.

Thierry's treatise probably dates from before 1140³³ and contains an interpretation of Genesis 1 from two perspectives, viz. "secundum phisicam et ad litteram" as is stated in the opening paragraph. The literal exposition is of a controversial nature, including, as it does, the notorious identification of Plato's world soul with the Holy Spirit, an identification that was soon to be condemned at the Council of Sens in 1140. Andrew, to be sure, has borrowed material from the first - and less controversial - part of the work only, i.e. the exposition "secundum phisicam". Even this could not be done without problems. In speaking of the elements, Thierry leans on Abelard's rather startling interpretation of the opening words of the Bible: "In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram" - by "heaven and earth" are to be understood the four elements.³⁴ Abelard actually began his *Hexaemeron* by stating this, and Thierry similarly writes: "Ostendit etiam materialem scilicet quatuor elementa que nomine celi et terre appellat".³⁵ Andrew, by contrast, holds on to the traditional line of interpretation, as it is given by the interlinear gloss on the words "caelum et terram": "id est, spiritualement et corporalem creaturam". According to this, 'heaven' signifies the angels (spiritual creatures), 'earth' the four elements (corporal creatures), which, in turn, led Andrew - also quite traditionally - to insert the paragraph on the angelic hierarchy (208-226, quoted above). In the verses preceding those borrowed from Thierry (230-241), Andrew is following Peter Comestor, who also states that the four elements are signified by 'earth'. If you read Andrew's exposé without any knowledge of his sources - and their widely differing views - his evasion of this important dis-

33) Häring (1971) p.47. 34) As is made clear by Freibergs (1981) pp.181-184, Abelard's interpretation was not entirely original; compare also Augustine, *Confessiones* XII,17-20. 35) *Tractatus* 3, p.556.

cussion will hardly be noticed; this is partly due to the fact that he "traps" his readers in verses 239-241, where he introduces the word 'element' in order to merge Comestor's text into Thierry's (paraphrased in verses 242-251). This is how it is done (239-241):

Machina confusa sortitur nomen 'abyssi',
nomen 'aquae', nomen 'terrae', ne plus elemento
uni quam reliquis accommoda forte putetur.

These verses and the expression "primordia rerum" (232, 244), moreover, serve to suggest an explanation of the inexplicable fact that created matter ("terra") is chaotic ("machina confusa") as well as structured as the four elements.

At the end of the commentary on the proper Story of the Creation (Genesis 1) Andrew has another section (1468-1516) that paraphrases a passage from the first part of Thierry's *Tractatus*.³⁶ It is elegantly put, and Andrew, apparently, has had no difficulties with the rather un-theological approach of Thierry's natural philosophy: the six days' work are accounted for without God's intervention, exclusively by the causes laid out in the original creative act. Material change within the six days is brought about by heat and circular motion.

The passages that are based on Thierry's *Tractatus* disclose some important features of Andrew's work and methods: (1) he understood Thierry's text; (2) He chose those sections which would fit into a traditional orthodox exposition. As this, however, required some thinking, we can conclude that (3) Andrew thought it important to include this aspect of Biblical interpretation; (4) Andrew must have held the opinion that the exposition "iuxta physim" (1517) did not rival the one "ad litteram", but rather completed it, as he endeavoured to produce a continuous text from Thierry's and Comestor's material.

One further passage of Andrew's literal exposition must be mentioned, because it cannot have come from Peter Comestor, the Lombard, the Gloss, or Thierry, namely verses 632-644, part of the commentary on the fourth day when God created the sun, the moon, and the stars. Here,

36) That this passage of *Hexaemeron* is based on Thierry's work was pointed out by Freibergs (1981) p.249-251. These paragraphs of the *Tractatus* are paraphrased (references to *Hexaemeron* in brackets): 5 (1468-1471), 6 (1472-1475), 7 (1476-1485), 8 (1486-1493), 10 (1494-1498), 11 (1499-1502), 12 (1503-1508), 14 (1509-1516).

between sections based on Comestor, Andrew inserted a short explanation of the signs of the Zodiac; every sign (except the first) is given one verse each, e.g. 637-640:

Post Leo, principio cuius sol fortius urit.
Virgo, quod ipsius nil gignat tempore tellus.
Exaequat noctem mensurans Libra diei.
Scorpius in fine brumali cuspidē pungit.

Gertz states that Andrew had this common material "ex quovis calendario".³⁷
A possible source would be Helpericus' widespread *Computus* (10th century) which in chapter 2 contains the same explanations.³⁸

2 The Allegorical Senses

The literal exposition is not exhaustive; to reach a proper understanding of the Biblical text, an allegorical exposition must be applied as well. Andrew introduces the subject in the opening verses of the fourth book. As will appear from his words, the subdivisions into the diverse allegorical senses can be made in different ways (1813-1821):

Ponitur historiae fundamentum prius, ut post
ipsius paries queat allegoria levare
1815 moralisque superponi pro tegmine sensus,
aut intellectus hac spiritualis in aede
apponat tectum tamquam sublimior (unde
allegoriae non sic connumeratur ut ante),
interiusque domum moralis sensus adornet:
1820 quatuor hic sacra tota rotis scriptura rotatur,
quas a se partes lector discernet acutus.

We are here offered two possibilities, one system with three, and another with four 'sensus'. The first consists of (1813-1815) the historical, the allegorical, and the moral sense; the second (1816-1821) of the historical, the allegorical, the moral, and the spiritual sense (which in the first system belongs to the allegorical sense). (It will be noted, of course, that 'allegorical' has a general and a special meaning). The divisions into three and four senses were the dominating systems¹ and Andrew, in the opening paragraph of the fourth book, is just summarizing common

37) Gertz (1892) p.XVII. 38) *Liber de Computo* 2 (PL 137:23-24); for this reference I am obliged to F. S. Pedersen, whose 'Stof og form de fire første dage' must be consulted for its rich information on Andrew's relationship to contemporary science. 1) The distinctions, however, were not always the same nor were the definitions waterproof (cf. Lubac (1959) p.129).

knowledge; he does not seem to lean on any single author.²

Andrew ordered his allegorical material in this way. In the first half of the fourth book (1822-2088) he gives all the different kinds of allegorical expositions of Genesis 1-2 (most thoroughly of ch. 1). He then comments on the literal sense of Genesis 3, but intersperses the allegorical expositions (2195-2231, 2240-2245, 2248-2252, 2267-2278, 2290-2296, 2314-2321, 2379-2358). Finally, in the tenth book we meet allegorical interpretations of different passages of the Pentateuch (esp. Exodus, 6362-6674).

Andrew draws on three main sources in his allegorical commentaries, of which Gertz, though unknowingly, mentions two. "*Allegoriae et moralitates super vetus et novum testamentum in uno volumine*" is listed among Sunesen's books. Gertz did not identify this work. It turns out to be *Allegoriae in vetus et novum testamentum* of which the chief part is now attributed to Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173);³ in the *PL* it is printed under the name of Hugh of St. Victor. The second main source is Isidore's *Quaestiones in Genesin*. This is what Gertz said on the sources:

Multa autem similia apud Isidorum in huius "commentariis in Genesim" capp. 1-5 et "allegoriis sacrae scripturae", item apud Hugonem de S. Victore in "allegoriis veteris testamenti" (...) reperiri; (!)⁴

Gertz was also close to identifying the third source. He mentions,⁵ namely, Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* which was heavily used by Andrew's actual source, the *Glossa ordinaria*. The Gloss was also noted by Gertz, but he thought that its impact on *Hexaëmeron* was small.⁶

We find the Gloss listed among Andrew's books as "*Pentathecus bene glossatus et bene correctus*". Isidore's work is not mentioned in the list, but the *Allegoriae* are.

How did Andrew use these sources? In his introductory paragraph he indicates that he has used the division into four senses (1820-1821):

Quatuor his sacra tota rotis scriptura rotatur
quas a se partes lector discernet acutus.

2) Cf. Comestor's prologue to *Historia scolastica* (*PL* 198:1053/1054). The building-image was very common, cf. e.g. Gregory's prologue to *Moralia in Iob* (ch.3). For some neat definitions of the three senses, see Hugh of St. Victor's prologue to *De sacramentis* ch.4 (*PL* 176:184C-185A); Abelard's introduction to *Expositio in Hexaëmeron* (*PL* 178:731D) and Clarembald of Arras in his *Tractatulus* 8 & 45 (Häring (1965) p.229 & 247). 3) Moore (1935) & Nielsen (1982) p.204, n.57. 4) Gertz (1892) p.296. 5) *Ibid.* 6) *Ibid.* p.XV.

The future tense in "discernet" must refer to the subsequent text, and thus, "lector" cannot exclusively mean 'reader of the Bible', but must have the sense of 'the reader of the Bible with this commentary (*Hexaemeron*) in his hand'. This raises a problem. Why does Andrew mention the system with three divisions, when he actually wants to use the one with four?

The answer, I think, is that he uses both. In verses 1873-1874 he explicitly states that the moral expositions that follow make up the roof of the building; those allegories he presents in verses 1822-1872 are of different kinds - some are moral,⁷ some prefigure the church.⁸ The same is true of the verses following the moral exposition, i.e. 1947-2088, though they are mainly of a Christological nature. Andrew's sources have not expressly kept those senses apart that he, in the opening verses, labels 'allegoria', 'sensus moralis', and 'intellectus spiritualis'. The introductory paragraph, therefore, seems to convey an apology: the division into four senses has not been carried through in the material - only the moral sense is explicitly mentioned. The diligent reader must, on his own, draw the distinction between 'allegoria' and 'intellectus spiritualis'.

Let us see, next, if there is any consistency in Andrew's language as regards the allegorical senses. Mostly, the relationship between the obvious and the hidden sense is indicated rather plainly with an 'esse' (1822, 1827 & passim), 'dicere' (2026 & passim), or 'exprimere' (2195, 2396). Furthermore we find 'significare' (1852, 1904, 6400 & passim), 'designare' (1933, 6946 etc.), 'figurare' (1899, 2080, 6402), 'denotare' (1954, 2085), 'signare' (2050, 2273, 6479, 6580), 'repraesentare' (2391), 'notare' (1896, 6363, 6615), and 'typicare' (1714, 5980, 6253, 6254, 6378, 6447, 6591). Of these, only 'typicare' seems to be used in a precise manner: it indicates the relationship between a person (animal or thing) from the Old Testament and Christ or the cross. Andrew also uses the expressions 'figura' (6087, 6088), 'typus' (6088, 6251, 6417, 6423, 6675), 'typicus' ('typice') (2240, 2290, 2314, 6469) and 'mysticus' (3083, 6642). As regards these terms, only 'typus', is used unequivocally of an image of Christ, whereas 'sensus mysticus' as well as 'typicus' have a broader sense.

All this warrants the conclusion that signifying Christ is treated as a special kind of hidden sense, which can be (but is not always)

7) E.g. the fish and the birds (1854ff.). 8) E.g. the moon (1846ff.).

indicated by the words 'typicare'/'typus'.

It is this kind of signification ('intellectus spiritualis') the diligent reader must tell apart from the other hidden meanings, as appears from verses 6468-6471:

Quare, quae iussa sunt historialiter ante
Iudaeis, typicum tantum comedentibus agnum,
debent servare nunc spiritualiter omnes,
qui sacris veri pascuntur carnibus agni.

'Allegory', then, in the strict sense, covers a jumble of meanings, whereas the 'spiritual understanding' refers more precisely to connections between the old and the new Law.

As stated above, Andrew begins by offering the allegorical material (in the broad sense) relating to Genesis 1-2 in verses 1822-1872. His chief source here was the *Allegoriae* by Richard of St. Victor, supplemented here and there with additional information from the Gloss.⁹ As interpretations of "caelum" and "terra", the *Allegoriae* gives these suggestions:

Caelum igitur angeli, terra homines; caelum praelati, terra subjecti;
caelum perfecti, terra imperfecti; caelum contemplativi, terra activi;
caelum spiritus, terra corpus.¹⁰

Some of these Andrew uses in his allegorical exposition (1822-1826), but he is saving the "caelum spiritus, terra corpus" for the moral exposition (1874-1877); in this case, then, he draws the distinction himself. That the *Allegoriae* actually was Andrew's source will appear from the following table of correspondences:

9) E.g. "non faciens fructum" (1828) is lifted from Strabo's gloss: "inutilis (...) et infructuosa" (*Glossa Ord.* Vol.I, marginal gloss col.6D). The contents of verses (1849-1851): "semper habet luna maculam, semperque molestat / ecclesiam poenae vexatio sive reatus; / convenit utrique minui vel crescere semper." are not matched by any passage in the *Allegoriae* or the Gloss. Alexander Neckam (d. 1217), however, states in his *De naturis rerum* (chap. XIV, p.54): "Luna vero, quae citima terris est, et aspectibus humanis familiaris occurrens, maculam in se retinuit, ad denotandum quod quamdiu in statu vitae praesentis currimus, macula aliqua in sancta ecclesia est. Cum autem omnes planetae cum stellis etiam stabunt quasi emeriti, stabilis erit status noster, et non erit aliqua macula in luna materiali, sicut nec in sancta ecclesia." This shows that Andrew did not make up the allegory; as this, however, is the only close correspondence I have been able to find between the two works, I shall not contend that Alexander was Andrew's source. 10) PL 175:635D-636A.

*Allegoriae**Hexaemeron*

I,1	1822-1826
I,2	1834-1837, 1874-1910
I,3	1838-1841
I,4	1842-1853
I,5	1854-1862
I,6	1911-1917, 1940-1946
I,7	1863-1872
I,8	2195-2212

The *Allegoriae* offers only scarce material on Genesis 2 and 3 and Andrew, therefore, proceeds to combine interpretations from the Gloss and Isidore. In the allegorical interpretation of Genesis 2,1-5 (relating of the seventh day and God's rest) the *Allegoriae* are very brief. Andrew writes 79 verses (1947-2025) on that. This is partly due to the fact that all writers of hexameral commentaries made a point of telling that the seven days are an exemplar of the seven ages of the world. This interpretation goes back to Augustine,¹¹ and its influence was so immense that Freibergs has used its presence as a definition of the hexameral genre.¹²

Isidore copied out Augustine, and the former was, probably, Andrew's source.¹³ The material also entered the Gloss (the relevant sections being placed after each day in the Biblical account) through Augustine, Isidore, and Bede. A phrase like "ad otia lenis" (1978) Andrew must have taken from the Gloss,¹⁴ because it does not appear in Isidore's text. Regarding the ages of the world in general, however, I presume that Isidore's account was Andrew's primary model, as is the case with his comment on the tree of knowledge, of which he writes (2085-2088):

Arbitrii medii naturam denotat arbor
in medio posita paradisi; tangere lignum
et de nostra natura turgere vetamur,
ne mala nos doceat in poena culpa tumoris.

Compare Isidore:

Lignum autem scientiae boni et mali, proprium est voluntatis arbitrium
quod in medio nostri est positum ad dignoscendum bonum et malum.¹⁵

The Gloss does not refer to this identification of the tree of knowledge and free will. The following quotation from Augustine is the closest we come:

11) *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I,23. 12) Freibergs (1981) p.5. 13) *Quaestiones in Genesin* II,1-3 (PL 83:213A-215B). 14) Vol.I, marginal gloss, col.28E. 15) *Quaestiones in Genesin* III,4 (PL 83:216C).

Arbor ergo non erat mala, sed scientiae dicta, noscendi bonum et malum; quia post prohibitionem erat in illa transgressio futura, qua homo experiendo disceret, quid esset inter obedientiae bonum et inobedientiae malum; nec de fructu, qui nasceretur inde, positum est nomen, sed de ipsa re, quae transgressionem secuta est.¹⁶

A similar case is Andrew's commentary on Genesis 2,5, where the words "non enim pluerat Dominus Deus super terram, et homo non erat qui operaretur terram" are thus versified and expounded (2031-2034):

Non peccavit homo, quare nec ei pluit imbrem
doctrinae Dominus. Non est operatus homo quid
in terra: nullus in sancta virgine quicquam
est operatus homo;

The Gloss quotes Isidore:

"non enim pluerat Deus super terram", hoc est nondum propheticis vel evangelicis nubibus, imbre verbi emissio animam vivere fecerat; "et homo non erat qui operaretur terram", quia post peccatum homo laborare coepit in terra, necessarias habuit nubes illas, unde virgultum id est anima virebat. Irrigabat eam fons vitae ...¹⁷

Isidore originally wrote:

Unde et adjecit: "Nondum enim pluerat Dominus Deus super terram" quasi aperte diceret: Antequam peccaret anima, nondum nubibus Scripturarum pluviam doctrinae Dominus ad animam irrigandam concesserat; nondum propter hominem, qui est terra, Dominus noster nubem carnis nostrae assumpserat, per quam imbrem sancti Evangelii largissimum infudit.

Quod vero subjunxit: "Et homo non erat, qui operaretur terram", quia nullus homo operatus est in virginem, unde natus est Christus.¹⁸

Andrew seems to have borrowed the phrase "pluviae doctrinae" from this passage, but the conclusive evidence of his direct reliance upon Isidore is that the Gloss leaves out the allegory associating earth with the Holy Virgin.

In the allegories of the fourth book, then, Andrew took as point of departure Richard of St. Victor's *Allegoriae*; next, he turned to Isidore¹⁹ and the Gloss. Some sections draw exclusively on the Gloss; that is the case when Andrew expounds the passage on the four rivers of paradise (1918-1939) - a section Gertz thought was copied from Augustine's *De*

16) Vol.I, marginal gloss, col.71C-72D. 17) *Ibid.* col.63B. 18) *Quaest. in Gen.* II,17-18 (PL 83:215C-16A). 19) Direct use of *Quaest.* is obvious in these cases (verses of *Hexaemeron* in brackets): II,1-11 (1947-1987); II,13 (2001-2002); II,16-18 (2026-2036); III,1 (2037-2040); III,4 (2085-2088); III,5-8 (2041-2063); III,9 (2071-2074); IV,1-2 (2075-2084); V,1-3 (2213-2231); V,5-6 (2248-2252); V,11 (2322-2329); V,14 (2379-2385).

Genesi contra Manichaeos.²⁰ That is only true in part, because some of the material stems from Ambrose's *De Paradiso*²¹ - e.g. the author's distribution of the cardinal virtues among the four rivers. In this case the Gloss turns out to be the immediate source, as it offers exactly the same combination of interpretations as does Andrew.²²

The seven days of creation form a pattern for the seven ages of the world. They find other applications as well. As mentioned above, Andrew devotes 79 verses to the exposition of the seven ages.²³ Verses 2003-2025 give an account of the seven days as a model for the life of Christ. This is not found in any of the three main sources. The seven days correspond to the life of Christ in the following manner:

First day	Birth of Mary
Second day	Her vow of chastity
Third day	The Annunciation
Fourth day	Birth of Christ
Fifth day	Vocation of the apostles
Sixth day	The crucifixion / beginning of the church
Seventh day	The age of grace

For each day Andrew gives a catchword connecting the events of the two columns. The allegory seems to have been based on the fourth day, as we have already been informed (1835, 1842) that the sun is an image of Christ; in this case, then, it signifies his birth.

As already stated, it was a common feature - at this point of an hexameral commentary - to insert a passage on the seven ages of the world; this is done e.g. by Abelard.²⁴ The hexameral literature also offers examples of adding other interpretations of the seven days to the traditional Augustinian one. Arno of Reichersberg (d. 1175) gives no less than four such "septenars"²⁵ in addition to the one of Augustine: the seven virtues, the history of the church, the story of Christ, and the believer's way to God. But Arno does not partition the story of Christ in the same manner as does Andrew:

20) II,10 (PL 34:203-204); Gertz (1892) p.296. 21) III,14-18 (PL 14:296-299) 22) The interlinear and the marginal gloss, Vol.I, col.71-74. 23) The verses 1988-2000 are Andrew's own rhetorical exercise on the subject of Antichrist; the piling up of terms of abuse is no doubt a school-exercise as it could be learnt from Matthew of Vendome. In chapter 52 of *Ars versificatoria* (Faral (1924) p.125-127) he gives a similar scolding of the exemplary rascal Davus. 24) PL 178:771D-773A. 25) Peri (1976) pp.43-44.

First day	The Incarnation
Second day	Profession of the faith
Third day	Vocation of the apostles
Fourth day	The new covenant
Fifth day	Institution of the Eucharist
Sixth day	The death on the cross
Seventh day	The eternal peace of Paradise

In the *Hexaëmeron* of Grosseteste (probably written between 1232-1235)²⁶ we meet several allegorical expositions of the work of the six days. First he gives Augustine's list and then he expounds the six days as the ages of man from birth to death.²⁷ Moreover the six days form the pattern of the believer's six steps towards God - an interpretation that resembles the one given by Arno, but is not quite similar, partly because Grosseteste is not counting the seventh day.²⁸ Finally he enumerates seven psychic properties such as free will, the notion of truth etc.²⁹ None of these systems matches the one given by Andrew, whose list focuses on Mary as well as on Christ. I am inclined to agree with Gertz that Andrew composed this allegory on his own,³⁰ though not without any foundations whatsoever: the first day signifies the birth of Mary ('nativitas Mariae'), celebrated the eighth of September.³¹ The second day, "qua virginitatis honestae / votum firmavit animo sanctissima virgo" (2007-2008) refers to the legend of Joachim and Anna entrusting their daughter to the temple of Jerusalem.³² Next comes the Annunciation (third day) and the birth of Christ is signified by the creation of the sun (fourth day). The fifth day is the vocation of the disciples, and the sixth the crucifixion and the foundation of the church - an allegory already set forth in verses 2056-2059. Finally, the seventh day is the present age of the church and grace. Andrew's allegory, then, is based on the other allegories (fourth and sixth day) as well as on the ecclesiastical festivals.

It sometimes occurred that a Biblical text had no literal sense, i.e. no historical meaning could be read into the passage. An instance of this is offered in the tenth book, which contains a series of allegories, or

26) Introduction to Dales' and Gieben's edition p.xiv. 27) *Hexaëmeron* 8,30 (pp.253-255) & 8,32 (pp.256-257). 28) *Ibid.* 8,33 (pp.257-258). 29) *Ibid.* 8,34 (p.258). 30) Gertz (1892) p.296. 31) *KLNM* XI:357. Vss. 2003-2004: "...qua mundi stella Maria / prodiit in lucem mundi, feliciter orta" compare with the hymn: "Ave praeclara / maris stella, / in lucem gentium / Maria, / divinitus orta". (*AH* 50:313). 32) *KLNM* XI:357-358.

rather typologies, as the hidden sense always relates to Christ or the deliverance offered by him through the church and the sacraments. On the paschal lamb (Exodus 12,3-11) Andrew, among other things, has this to say (6640-6646):

Quis non quamplura censeret frivola verba
historiae, si non de Christo scripta fuissent,
si non sensus eis inclusus mysticus esset?
Quae de paschalis agni lex continet esu,
quomodo praeciperet Dominus, nisi mystica sciret?
Quamvis non vetitus divina lege fuisset,
quis vellet vesci de crudis carnibus agni?

The notion that the paschal lamb prefigures Christ goes back to Paul (Sec. Cor. 5,7), but Andrew's source here is Gregory's 22nd *Homily* 7-9,³³ as pointed out by Gertz.³⁴ The above quotation is no doubt a versification of this:

"Non comedetis ex eo crudum quid, nec coctum aqua". Ecce jam nos ipsa verba historiae ab intellectu historico repellunt. Numquid, fratres carissimi, Israeliticus ille populus in Aegypto constitutus comedere agnum crudum consueverat, ut ei lex dicat: "Non comedetis ex eo crudum quid"?³⁵

A comparison of the two passages reveals how Andrew has given pride of place to the didactic point: a Biblical text like the above not only discloses the value of allegorical exposition but also its indispensability; in this case the text gives no sense whatsoever unless the allegorical interpretation is applied.

As Gregory obviously is the source of much of the material in the tenth book, dealing mostly with Exodus 12, Gertz assumed³⁶ that the item in the list of Andrew's books, "*Exceptiones de Moralibus Iob*", embraced excerpts from the *Homilies* as well. That assumption is not necessary, because the quotation from the *Homilies* is given by the Gloss at Exodus 12,9;³⁷ on a closer analysis it becomes clear that all the instances from Isidore and Gregory correctly adduced by Gertz³⁸ are found in the Gloss at the texts commented on by Andrew, i.e. particularly Exodus 12,3-11. A few examples will suffice. Exodus 12,6 & 8 reads:

33) PL 76:1177D-1181B. 34) Gertz (1892) p.361. 35) PL 76:1179B. 36) Gertz (1892) p.XIV, n.1. 37) Vol.I, col.596. 38) Gertz (1892) pp.359-364 in his commentary on verses 6362-6674.

et servabitis eum usque ad quartamdecimam diem mensis huius immo-
labitque eum universa multitudo filiorum Israhel ad vesperam;

et edent carnes nocte illa assas igni et azymos panes cum lactu-
cis agrestibus.

This is expounded by Andrew (6544-6554):

Azymus hinc panis adiungi debet ad esum:
6545 azymus id panis opus est, quod gloria vana
tamquam fermentum minime corrumpit, et illud,
ut prosit sumpta caro Christi, debet adesse.
Agrestes assunt lactucae, quando reatus
nostros dissolvit contritio cordis amara.
6550 Vespera, qua coepit oblatio, non nisi sexta
est praesens aetas, finis seu vespera mundi.
Nox, in qua carnes assari praecipuntur,
est praesens saeculum, culpa caligine factum
obscurum quasi nox, inspecta luce perenni.

Apart from some transpositions Andrew closely follows the interlinear
gloss, which gives these explanations:

ad vesperam	- quia in fine saeculorum Christus immo- latur
et edent carnes nocte	- huius saeculi, dum adhuc alterutrum con- scientias non videmus
azymos	- sine corruptione vanae gloriae
panes	- bona opera
cum lactucis agrestibus	- fletu et poenitentia peccatorum ³⁹

In the last half of the tenth book Andrew did not limit himself to using
the Gloss at Exodus 12. The very first typology (6362-6364), for instance,
is drawn from the Gloss at Numbers 21,9: "Fecit ergo Moses serpentem
aeneum et posuit pro signo..."; to explain this the Gloss cites Isidore:
"Aeneus serpens in ligno suspenditur quia aes ceteris metallis est dura-
bilis". This Andrew versifies:

Aeneus est serpens Iesus exaltatus; in aere
quod Deus, et quod sit mortalis in angue notatur:
aes durat, mors per serpentem venit in orbem.

39) *Glossa Ordinaria*, Vol.I, col.595-596.

To conclude, Gertz was right in referring to Gregory and Isidore as the main sources of the typologies, but wrong in assuming that Andrew used the same sources for the allegories of the fourth and the tenth book:⁴⁰ in the fourth book he drew on the *Allegoriae*, Isidore's *Quaestiones in Genesin* and *Glossa ordinaria*; whereas he had only the Gloss at hand when writing the allegorical part of the tenth book; the Gloss, in turn, quotes Gregory and Isidore to a great extent, but Andrew also leaned on passages of the Gloss that adduced other authors⁴¹ - and on interlinear explanations of uncertain origin.

3 Comparison with other Hexaemera

Andrew's commentary on the Story of Creation ends with the fourth book, the rest of the poem being occupied with dogmatic theology. Usually such a commentary is signalled by the title 'Hexaemeron', and it would therefore be suitable, at this point, to carry out a comparison of the truly 'hexameral' part of Andrew's poem with other 12th-century Hexaemera. First, a survey of Andrew's sources for his exposition and his adaptation of them might be useful.

For almost all of his exegetical material, Andrew depended on others. Most of it he took from two of the most important textbooks in the field, viz. Peter Comestor's *Historia scolastica* and the Biblical Gloss, *Glossa ordinaria*. In addition he gleaned many details from the relevant sections of another textbook, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. For the allegorical expositions he combined material from the Gloss with Richard of St. Victor's *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum* and Isidore's *Quaestiones in Genesin*. The choice of these sources is not remarkable - indeed, it would have been startling had he not used the three textbooks. The only surprise is Thierry of Chartres' *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*.

This differs from Gertz' views in that it comprises Thierry, *Allegoriae*, and Isidore as sources demonstrably employed by Andrew, and emphasizes the importance of the Gloss as a source of the allegories. Gertz' theory that Andrew composed *Hexaemeron* having access only to those books mentioned in the list thus seems rather dubious, as neither Thierry nor Isidore fig-

40) Gertz (1892) p.354. 41) Verses 6480-6481, for instance, are based on Augustine, quoted by the Gloss at Judges 7,6ff. (Vol.II, col.202).

ures in it; the investigation of the theological sources of *Hexaemeron* (ch. IV below) also raises strong doubts as to the value of Gertz' hypothesis.

Here and there Andrew elaborates a point, but the general tendency in his adaptation of the sources is condensation. In Peter Comestor he shuns digressions on etymologies, discussions of the Hebrew original and the like. He uses only those parts that are immediately pertinent to the Biblical text he is commenting on. From his very selective use of the Lombard and the Gloss it is clear that he was at pains to yield a solid and continuous exposition instead of just versifying the source at hand. This didactic purpose also comes to sight in the way he merges Thierry's material into the text, and also from the fact that he suppresses discussions had in the sources; in some cases, moreover, he gives the conclusion before the pros and cons. All this warrants the view that he was very careful about his ordering of the exegetical material. What were the basic features of this ordering? That can be sorted out only by a comparison with contemporary *Hexaemera*.

Thierry's '*Hexaemeron*' opens with these words:

De septem diebus et sex operum distinctionibus primam Geneseos partem secundum phisicam et ad litteram ego expositurus, inprimis de intentione auctoris et de libri utilitate pauca premittam. Postea vero ad sensum littere hystorialem exponendum veniam ut et allegoricam et moralem lectionemque a sanctis doctoribus aperte execute sunt ex toto pretermittam.¹

And Hugh of Amiens (d. 1164) states at the end of the prologue to his *Hexaëmeron*:

Nunc autem in hoc opusculo nostro magis historiam exquirendo tractamus, quam sensus allegoricos seu morales attingamus. Proinde librum istum ad eum usque locum percurrimus quo nostrum primus a paradiso depositus vallem lacrimarum intravit, culpis implicitus, penis addictus.²

The omission of allegorical expositions is stressed as a notable feature by both authors, which naturally leads to the assumption that allegorical expositions were regarded as a common feature in this literature. Hugh furthermore stresses his unusual inclusion of the Fall, i.e. Genesis 3.

1) *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* 1. 2) *Tractatus in Hexaëmeron* p.236.

The basic traits of the genre will be most easily apprehended from the following table indicating the important hexaemera of the 12th and 13th century.³ Beside author, title, and approximate date, the table gives information as to the form of the treatise: prose/verse (P/V), the chapters of Genesis commented upon (1-3), and of literary and/or allegorical expositions (L/A).

	Author	Title	Date	V/P	Gen.	L/A
1	Guibert of Nogent	<i>Moralia in Genesim</i>	between 1084-1116	P	1(-3)	A
2	Odo of Cambrai	<i>De operibus sex dierum</i>	before 1113	V	1	A
3	?	<i>De opere VI dierum</i> ⁴	beg. of 12th cent.	V	1	L+A
4	?	<i>De opere VI dierum</i> ⁵	beg. of 12th cent.	V	1-3	L+A
5	Honorius of Autun	<i>De Neocosmo</i>	about 1120	P	1(-2)	L
6	Hugh of St. Victor	first part of first book of <i>De Sacramentis</i> ⁶	before 1141	P	1	L+A
7	Thierry of Chartres	<i>Tractatus de sex dierum operibus</i>	before 1140	P	1	L
8	Peter Abelard	<i>Expositio in Hexaëmeron</i>	about 1135	P	1-2(3)	L+A
9	Hugh of Amiens	<i>Tractatus in Hexaëmeron</i>	before 1164	P	1-3	L
10	Arnold of Bonneval	<i>De operibus sex dierum</i>	about 1150	P	1-3	L+A
11	Arno of Reichersberg	<i>Hexaëmeron</i> ⁷	before 1175	P	1	L+A

3) The choice of treatises depends on Freibergs (1981) p.91-277. I only deviate from the titles and dates given there on a few minor points.

4) Not edited, I use Freibergs' description (1981) p.100-103. 5) Similarly, Freibergs (1981) p.104-106. 6) PL 176:187-206. 7) not edited; I follow Peri's account (1976).

	Author	Title	Date	V/P	Gen.	L/A
12	Clarembald of Arras	<i>Tractatulus super librum Genesis</i>	between 1160-1180	P	1	L(+A)
13	?	<i>Expositio in operibus sex dierum super Genesim</i> 8	end of 12th cent.	P	1	L+A
14	?	<i>De operibus sex dierum</i> 9	end of 12th cent.	P	1	L
15	?	<i>Solatium fidelis animae</i> 10	end. of 12th cent.	P	1	A
16	Robert Grosseteste	<i>Hexaëmeron</i>	probably between 1232-1235	P	1-3	L+A
17	Andrew Sunesen	Books 1-4 of <i>Hexaëmeron</i>	probably between 1190-1195 11	V	1-3	L+A

The list, to be sure, does not comprise all commentaries on the Story of Creation composed in the 12th or early 13th century,¹² but no doubt includes the important treatises (the ones of Thierry, Abelard, and Grosseteste) as well as sundry less influential - the sum total of 17 works (including Andrew's) ought to give a fairly good idea of the rules and typical features of this literature.

Thierry's and Hugh of Amiens' expectations of what a reader would expect to find in a treatise entitled 'Hexaëmeron', thus seem to hold good: the majority of the works only comment upon the proper Story of Creation (Genesis 1), and almost all of them include allegorical expositions. (Clarembald's treatise (no.12) was planned to contain allegories, but was never finished.) Andrew's inclusion of much allegorical material, then, is in no way remarkable; it does not betray any peculiar interest on the part

8) Not edited; Freibergs (1981) pp.230-232. 9) Not edited; Freibergs (1981) pp.233-234. 10) Not edited; Freibergs (1981) pp.242-246.

11) On this dating see chapter V below. 12) In particular it would have been interesting to know something about Stephen Langton's now lost *Hexaëmeron* (cf. Glorieux (1933) p.254). The only real information on that work seems to be Leland's assertion that he saw a manuscript entitled so; these are his words: "Scipsit præterea *Hexaëmeron* carmine heroico, quem librum, à Duroverno ad *Isidis Vadum* translatus, in collegio *Cantiano* aliquando inveni" (Leland (1709) Vol.I, p.249).

of Andrew, as has been claimed¹³ - he is merely following the ordinary pattern. His commentary, however, does display two outstanding features: it was written in verse and it is of the most extensive sort, i.e. it comprises Genesis 1-3 and gives exhaustive literary and allegorical expositions.

As regards the poetical form: it was, by any standard, common to turn Biblical/theological material into verse, witness for instance Peter Riga's popular *Aurora* or the numerous versifications of the Lombard's *Sentences* (most of which, however, seem to date from a later period).¹⁴ But judging from the above list it appears that the hexameral literature proper was far from dominated by versifications. No. 2, Odo of Cambrai's *De operibus sex dierum*, is a very short poem composed in disticha, the hexameter paraphrasing the Biblical text and the pentameter offering a moral exposition. The anonymous nos. 3 and 4 are both composed in Leonine verse, 102 and 2240 respectively. Andrew's hexameters - not being Leonine (nor extremely classicizing as those of a Gauthier de Châtillon or a Saxo) seem to claim a unique place within the hexameral genre; they are in fact specimens of another genre, i.e. the philosophical epic poetry from the 1170s and '80s, as I have argued in chapter II above. The epic dimensions of Andrew's *Hexaemeron* are also patterned on those poems, as is its moral/didactic purpose. In this respect, then, Andrew's 'renewal' of the hexameral genre consists in his merging it with the didactic epic.

The extensive nature of Andrew's exegesis has - it can be seen from the table - some predecessors: the anonymous poem (no.4), Abelard, Hugh of Amiens, Arnold of Bonneval, and - the only later writer included - Grosseteste all comment on the 'second' story of creation and the Fall as well, i.e. they give expositions of Genesis 1-3. (No. 1, Guibert of Nogent's work, is a commentary on the entire Genesis, and his inclusion of chapters 2 and 3 cannot, in consequence, be treated as a feature of the genre.) Hugh of Amiens, though, excludes the allegorical material. I shall therefore briefly compare Andrew's ordering of the matter with

13) Christensen (1983) p.210: "Hverken den dialektiske lærdom hos Lombardus: eller hans elev Petrus Pictaviensis, som Sunesen må have kendt, har noget af den billedlige og allegoriske form som karakteriserer *Hexaëmeron*; det ligger stilmæssigt Alanus ab Insulis nærmere." This opinion seems to stem from B. Dalsgaard Larsen (*KLNM* VI:549): "Den firfoldige bibeleksegese (...) er idémæssigt af afgørende betydning for værket." 14) Cf. Stegmüller's catalogue (1947) under the heading "*Petri Lombardi Sententiae metricae redactae*". The phenomenon is given a further description by DeGhellinck (1914).

those works which offer the same extensive exposition, viz. nos. 4, 8, 10, and 16.

The poem *De opere sex dierum* first treats of the literal sense of Genesis 1 and thereafter of the allegorical senses, the ages of the world, the seventh day, the fall of Lucifer, and man as microcosmos.¹⁵ It ends by commenting on Genesis 2-3. Abelard begins by giving a full treatment of the literal sense of Genesis 1; next follows a brief moral exposition¹⁶ and the account of the seven ages of the world.¹⁷ Abelard then proceeds to the commentary on chapter 2, where the text breaks off; 3 was probably to follow, but only the literal exposition of 2 survives (or was ever finished). There is no doubt, however, that Abelard marks the end of a section after the commentary on Genesis 1 by inserting some allegorical explanations - among these the seven ages. Arnold of Bonneval's *De opere sex dierum* has a looser structure, not following the Biblical text verse by verse. A *cæsura* in the work, however, is apparent after the commentary on Genesis 1.¹⁸ Grosseteste, whose *Hexaëmeron* is the most thorough and exhaustive of all the works mentioned here, employs still another method. He comments on Genesis 1-3 verse by verse giving both the literal and the allegorical senses for each.

Andrew's ordering does not conform totally to any of these structures. True enough, he does emphasize the unity of the commentary on Genesis 1 by ending it with the paraphrase of Thierry's physical explanation (from vs. 1467), but he is quite clearly putting in a greater *cæsura* between chapters 1-2 on the one hand and 3 on the other; this is done by giving all the allegories pertaining to chapters 1-2 before even embarking on the literal commentary on chapter 3, with which he, in turn, deals in much the same manner as does Grosseteste: expounding the text in small sections (sometimes almost verse by verse) with both kinds of exposition; Andrew's source basis (and thus his commentary), however, is of a much narrower scope than that of Grosseteste.

As regards the doctrine expressed in Andrew's exposition of Genesis 1-3, there is not much to say but to refer to his sources, on which he is almost totally dependent. It must be stressed again that he relied on widely used orthodox textbooks; he avoids controversial points, a fact

15) Freibergs (1981) p.104. 16) *PL* 178:770C-771D. 17) *Ibid.* 771D-773A.
18) *PL* 189:1534D-1535A.

that underlines his didactical aims. By contemporary standards, though, his text is not particularly easy to handle, and we can by no means speak of it as a popularization.

Nearly all the hexaemera listed above employed - more or less extensively - the Gloss. Apart from that, Andrew's choice of sources can hardly be compared to those works, as the majority of them were composed before the Lombard's *Sentences* and Peter Comestor's *Historia scolastica*; only the anonymous no. 14 also built on the latter work as the main source.

Andrew's knowledge of another work in the list can only be demonstrated in the case of Thierry, and although he does betray some knowledge of the genre in general, it is not necessary to assume that he had immediate access to other treatises.

Andrew cast traditional hexameral material into a didactic/epic form. The really remarkable feature of his poem is that he uses this material as a starting-point for treating dogmatic theology. This possibility seems to have been put to use earlier only by Arno of Reichersberg (no. 11), whose treatise includes long digressions on such subjects as the fall of the angels, the origin of evil, the omnipotence, supreme goodness, and foreknowledge of God, free will, the soul of man, hell, heaven, and the beatific vision.¹⁹ Arno's source for these digressions is his fellow countryman, Rupert of Deutz.²⁰ Since his background is entirely different from Andrew's early Parisian scholasticism, further comparison is pointless.

The idea underlying Andrew's plan - viz. that there is a close connection between the interpretation of Genesis 1-3 and the entire theological system - is, however, far from original. Hugh of St. Victor opens his *De sacramentis* with a hexaemeron (no. 6) and in the prologue he stresses the connection between "opus conditionis" and "opus restaurationis".²¹ This cannot, however, be demonstrated to be the actual source of the idea - in fact Andrew never states it in so many words; rather, it is implied in his ordering of the material, especially the insertion of the treatise on the Trinity at the words of Genesis "faciamus hominem" (770). One of Andrew's senior contemporaries actually states the importance of the cor-

19) Peri (1976) p.13. 20) *Ibid.* pp.58-70. 21) *PL* 176:184-185. For the comparison with Hugh, see further Raasted (1985) p.166-167.

rect interpretation of the Story of Creation in connection with dogmatic issues, viz. Clarembald of Arras. His *Tractatulus* is always transmitted in the manuscripts together with Thierry's *Tractatus* (its chief source), and thus Andrew may have known it. Among other things, Clarembald deals with Christological issues; the importance of the proper interpretation of the opening chapters of Genesis is stressed in a passage, which, no doubt, would have won the approval of Andrew:

Notandum vero est esse tria principia ex quibus sacris scripturis catholica profluit agnitio, scilicet rerum creatio, de qua iam diximus, et sacramenta at virtutes de quibus nisi sciatur quid teneri debeat multae haereses proveniunt quemadmodum ex ignorantia creationis rerum haeresis Euticiana et Nestoriana ortae sunt.²²

22) *Tractatulus* 11, Häring (1965) p.230.

IV THE THEOLOGY

1 Paris Masters of Theology around 1200

Approximately 2/3 of *Hexaemeron* is devoted to dogmatic theology. Before embarking on the source-analysis of these sections¹ (giving rise to more serious problems than the exegetical parts), I shall briefly mention those theologians, whose works are still accessible and may reasonably be suspected of having exerted an influence on Andrew's work. The nine writers mentioned below were all active in Paris in the second half of the 12th century.

Peter Lombard (about 1095-1160), whose *Sententiae* from about 1155 Gertz regarded as Andrew's source par excellence.² There is no doubt that Andrew knew and used this work, as already set forth in chapter III above. All the works about to be mentioned build on this immensely influential textbook.

Peter of Poitiers (about 1130-1205) succeeded Peter Comestor in a chair of theology at Paris in 1169.³ For a short period he had probably - like Comestor - attended the Lombard's lectures.⁴ In 1193 he was appointed chancellor of Paris and he held this office until his death in 1205; as such he was in charge of issuing the 'licentia docendi', but it is doubtful whether he continued his own teaching after 1193.⁵ Between 1168 and 1176 he published the *Sententiae*, presumably before 1170.⁶ The work is dependent on the Lombard's *Sentences*, but it is no commentary on them. The Lombard's work is divided into four books, the first dealing with the doctrine of God and the Trinity, the second with sin, the third with Christ and the virtues, and the fourth with the sacraments and the Day of Judgement. Peter of Poitiers changes that ordering by, for instance, treating the virtues before the Christology. In addition to this struc-

1) I.e. verses 345-504, 781-1416, 2398-5893, 5930-6361, 6675-8039.

2) Gertz (1892) pp.XV-XVI and passim in the commentary. 3) Moore (1936) p.1. 4) *Ibid.* p.3. 5) *Ibid.* pp. 6, 11-12. 6) *Ibid.* pp.39-41.

turing, the high priority given the 'disputabilia' in Peter's work makes it rather different from the one of the Lombard; fewer patristic and scriptural quotations are adduced and dialectic takes pride of place. These characteristic features of Peter's work become very influential as regards the theological literature at the end of the century.⁷ Gertz assumed,⁸ as already mentioned, that Andrew was Peter's pupil. He was well aware that some of Andrew's material must have had an inspiration other than the Lombard, whence he often refers to the relevant chapters of Peter's *Sententiae* in his commentary.

Nothing is known of master Martinus' life,⁹ but his work, *Compilatio quaestionum theologiae*, conduces to the assumption that he was master of theology in Paris in the last decade of the 12th century.¹⁰ As we are led to understand by the title of his book, Martinus was heavily dependent on others. Among those is Peter of Poitiers from whose *Sententiae* long passages are copied out verbatim. Also the structure of Peter's work is imitated by Martinus, who, however, adds some new material into individual questions and discusses altogether new ones. The *Compilatio* furthermore resembles Peter's *Sentences* in its dialectical form.¹¹

The figure of Simon of Tournai emerges slightly clearer from the sources. He lived from about 1130-1201¹² and started to teach in Paris around 1165.¹³ His most important works are *Disputationes* and *Institutiones in sacram paginam*, of which the former is claimed to be the earliest specimen of the later very popular genre, 'quaestiones quodlibetales'.¹⁴ This work reflects the part of the teaching called 'disputatio' (as distinct from 'lectio', i.e. scriptural exegesis).¹⁵ The *Institutiones in sacram paginam* is an unfinished summa, the greater parts of which were

7) Grabmann (1911) p.515. The popularity of the work is also evidenced by Moore's enumeration of 33 surviving manuscripts ((1936) p.27). Gertz' view of Peter as a scholar of no originality is obsolete ((1892) p.X): "(...)Petrus Pictaviensem nominare debemus, Lombardi discipulum sed magistri ingenio longe inferiorem (...)". Heinzmann (1974) regards him as a pioneer (p.246): "Petrus von Poitiers, "des Lombarden treuester Schüler", kommt in dieser Entwicklung theologischer Systembildung eine herausragende Position zu, denn in diesem Punkt erweist er sich als der ungetreueste Schüler seines Meisters, indem er dessen Architektur an zwei Punkten entscheidend abändert." 8) Gertz (1892) p.X. 9) Heinzmann (1964) p.3. 10) *Ibid.* p.4. 11) Grabmann (1911) pp.529-530. There is no edition of the work, but Heinzmann's (1964) table of questions is very useful; I have used ms. Cambridge, St. John's C7, in which the work is on ff.9-146. 12) Introduction to the *Disputationes* by Warichez pp. X and XXXIII. 13) *Ibid.* p.XXXIII. 14) Grabmann (1911) p.543. 15) Warichez' introduction to *Disputationes* p.XLIV; Baldwin (1970) pp.91-101.

written before the *Disputationes*, probably between 1170 and 1175.¹⁶ In its structure Simon's summa resembles Peter of Poitiers' *Sentences*.¹⁷ It may not be quite sound to speak of the pupils of the Lombard and of Gilbert of Poitiers as two separate groups of scholars (they all, for instance, leaned heavily on the Lombard's *Sentences*) - still, if there were any 'Porretans' at the time, Simon of Tournai was one of them: he had first-hand knowledge of Gilbert's works.¹⁸

An important figure among Andrew's contemporaries is Praepositinus of Cremona (1140/50-1210).¹⁹ He had been master in Paris for some time when his services were called upon from Mainz, where he became 'Scolasticus' at the cathedral.²⁰ Finally he succeeded Peter of Poitiers as chancellor in Paris (1206).²¹ Among his works the interest here centers on the theological summa *Qui producit ventos*, presumably finished between 1190 and 1194.²² In this summa we have still another example of the 'heilsgeschichtliche' ordering of material, which was instituted by the Lombard and revised by Peter of Poitiers.

Apart from drawing the attention to Andrew's studies under Peter of Poitiers, Gertz conjectured that Andrew had also attended the lectures of Alan of Lille (1125/30-1203) and Peter the Chanter (1120/30-1197). Alan, whose poetry I dealt with in chapter II, was one of the most renowned teachers at the end of the century. He composed several theological treatises of which the fragmentary summa, *Quoniam homines*, deserves mention in this context. Porretan influence can be traced in this work which has some resemblances to Simon of Tournai's summa; Alan seems to be Simon's source - not vice versa.²³ Glorieux dates the summa to about 1160 because Alan draws on the Lombard's *Sentences* but not on Peter of Poitiers' work with the same title.²⁴ I shall also refer to Alan's *Regulae coelestis iuris* dating from around 1180.²⁵ Peter the Chanter appears as master in Paris probably in 1173.²⁶ In 1183 he was appointed Chanter at Notre-Dame²⁷ - a position he held until his death in 1197. From a Danish point of view it is noteworthy that he was papal legate in the dispute

16) Heinzmann (1967) p.10. 17) Grabmann (1911) p.541. 18) Häring (1965a).

19) Lacombe (1927) pp.5 & 46. 20) *Ibid.* pp.10-13; Angelini (1972) p.2.

21) Lacombe (1927) pp.36-46. 22) Van den Eynde (1951) pp.239-241.

23) This is not, it seems, settled for sure; cf. Nielsen (1982) pp.342-343.

24) Glorieux in the introduction to *Quoniam homines* p.116; the summa, however, has been dated as late as the 1180s; cf. Nielsen (1982) pp.342-343.

25) *Ibid.* 26) Baldwin (1970) p.6. 27) *Ibid.*

between Philip Augustus and his Danish queen Ingeborg; Andrew no doubt met him in this connection.²⁸

Peter wrote the treatise *Verbum abbreviatum* of which the long version is datable to 1191/1192, whereas the short one appeared a little later.²⁹ Of greater interest here, however, is the imposing *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*, because, on a few issues, it deals with the same matter as treated by Andrew in *Hexaemeron*. The text, its transmission and editions in Peter's time is a complicated affair, but it is sufficiently clear that it is posterior to *Verbum abbreviatum*, i.e. to 1191/1192.³⁰ In some manuscripts several smaller treatises are adjoined to the summa, such as the one called *De homine assumpto*, which betrays important similarities with a section of *Hexaemeron*.³¹ Dugauquier dates the treatise later than 1177 and favours an attribution to Peter the Chanter.³² Peter's summa may have had influence on Andrew's (now lost) poem on the sacraments, but this is, of course, guesswork.

The career of Stephen Langton is in many ways similar to the one of Andrew. They both stayed in Paris in the 1180s, they both became archbishops (of Canterbury and Lund respectively) and they both died in 1228. Langton, though, had a much longer sojourn as master in Paris, and he left behind a much bulkier literary opus. He was born probably about 1155 and must have begun to study in the 1170s, as he emerges as a master in the early 1180s.³³ He was active in Paris until 1206 when he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, but due to disputes with the king his actual installment had to wait till 1213.³⁴ His literary opus was immense: it includes sermons,³⁵ Biblical commentaries and commentaries on commentaries such as Peter Comestor's *Historia scolastica*. Langton glossed the entire Bible and provided it with paragraphs.³⁶ His commentary on the Story of Creation offers no striking parallels to Andrew's exposition;

28) Baldwin dates abbot William's letter to Absalon (written in Andrew's name) to 1196, whereas *DD* 1:3,2 pp.538 & 512-513 argues for 1195; Peter is mentioned in the letter as "Praecentor Parisiensis" (*ibid.* p.537). 29) Baldwin (1970) vol.2, p.265; the short version is printed in *PL* 205:23-370. 30) Cf. Dugauquier (1961) p.185. 31) See chapter IV,2,e below; the treatise is printed in the Chanter's *Summa* III,2 b pp.471-499. 32) Dugauquier (1961) pp.437-438. 33) Baldwin (1970) p.25 places his birth in the decade 1155/1165 and his teaching career from the early 1180s (p.26). Roberts (1968) p.1 & (1980) p.4 suggests this chronology: birth about 1155, arrival at Paris about 1170; beginning of teaching career in 1180. 34) Powicke (1928) p.75. On this and Langton's career in general, Powicke's book must be consulted as must Baldwin (1970) pp.25-31. 35) Described by Roberts (1968) & (1980). 36) His exegetical writings are treated by Lacombe & Smalley (1930).

Langton mostly leans on *Glossa ordinaria*, thus presenting much traditional material, e.g. his notion of the four elements: "Nota quod deus primo creavit caelum et materiam quattuor elementorum".³⁶ Nor did Andrew apparently use Langton's commentary on *Historia scolastica*³⁷ or the one on the Lombard's *Sentences*. Two other Langtonian works, in contrast, are of great importance to our understanding of Andrew's poem, viz. the unfinished *Summa*³⁸ and the *Quaestiones*. I shall here focus on the latter work.

The transmission of the *Quaestiones* is even more tangled than the one of Peter the Chanter's *summa*. Apart from a few extracts³⁹ they have not been edited, but the manuscript tradition has been subjected to some thorough research, namely by Lacombe (1929), Lacombe & Landgraf (1929 & 1930), and Gregory (1930 & 1930a). The manuscripts are grouped in three families:⁴⁰

1) Paris BN lat. 16385; Arras 965; Avranches 230; Vat. lat. 4297.

2) Paris BN lat. 14556; Chartres 430.⁴¹

3) Cambridge St. John's College C7.

To this must be added some "stray" questions in mss. Erlangen 353, Paris BN lat. 14526,⁴² and in Langton's commentary on the Lombard's *Magna Glossatura* to be found e.g. in Paris BN lat. 14443.⁴³ Final conclusions on the transmission have not been reached,⁴⁴ but some points are fairly clear: group 1 and 2 share much material (often to the point of identical wording) and both have questions excluded by the other. It is to be noted that manuscripts within one group do not represent mere variants of the same tradition, but are grouped together only on account of a reasonably large amount of common material. I have mainly consulted the Cambridge manuscript, which undoubtedly is the one manuscript that offers the most extensive selection of Langton's questions. The manuscript (presumably produced later than 1214-1216)⁴⁵ has been given a thorough description by Gregory (1930), who shows that an editor had tried (unsuccessfully) to turn a collection of questions into a *summa* by sporadically grouping to-

36) Ms. Paris BN lat. 14414 f.4ra (*De litterali expositione bibliotece*).

37) Ms. Paris BN lat. 14417 f.125rff. 38) The *Summa* has now been edited by Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b); for the similarities between that work and Andrew's *Hexaameron* see this edition and the commentary in part 2 of the new edition of *Hexaameron* (to appear in 1986). 39) Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b). 40) Lacombe & Landgraf (1930) p.115. 41) Antl (1952) pp.162-163 adds to this group 'L' (=Lyell, 42). 42) Lacombe & Landgraf (1929) p.114. 43) Lacombe & Landgraf (1930) p.129ff., where some questions of this ms. are compared to the versions of ms. Paris BN lat. 14556. 44) Cf. Antl (1952) p.165. 45) *Ibid.* p.175.

gether texts on related topics. All this points to sundry 'reportationes' giving rise to different versions of the same question and to various orderings and selections in the different manuscripts.⁴⁶ For comparing the material given in the Cambridge manuscript to the French mss., the list of questions by Lacombe (& Landgraf (1929)) and Gregory (1930a) are important tools.

As regards the dating of Langton's questions we have no exact basis. Even if some can be placed in the middle or at the end of the 1190s,⁴⁷ this cannot be applied uncritically to the questions in general.⁴⁸ Lacombe & Landgraf (1930) give an outline of a theory of composition,⁴⁹ according to which the different versions of the individual questions reflect the various terms of Langton's lectures. There is nothing, then, that debars us from assuming that much of the material reflected in Langton's questions was available - in some form - at the time Andrew stayed in Paris (1180s and early '90s). As Baldwin admonishes us (in relation to Peter the Chanter's *Summa*): "The composition of a specific *quaestio* and its inclusion in a collection were two acts, which could have happened at different times."⁵⁰

Geoffrey of Poitiers was active as a writer after Andrew's departure from Paris, which probably took place in 1194/1195.⁵¹ Not much is known

46) At the present stage of scholarship it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to assess, even in general outlines, the process stretching from oral teachings through students' (master's) notes ('reportationes') to proper 'editions' of these early scholastic theological treatises; the impressive research of Dugauquier into the tradition of Peter the Chanter's *Summa* is so far the only systematic analysis of the phenomenon, but we need much more of the same sort in order to be able to understand the relationship(s) between oral teaching and written questions. For some suggestions see esp. Landgraf (1950). This state of affairs must be borne in mind throughout this chapter. 47) Baldwin (1970) vol.2, p.20, n.138. 48) Antl (1952) p.171 dates the majority of the questions to the period 1200-1206. 49) Lacombe & Landgraf (1930) pp.162-164. 50) Baldwin (1970) vol.2, p.245. 51) We know that he was a diplomat in the Ingeborg-dispute in his capacity as chancellor (1195-1196); it is by no means certain, however, that he returned to Denmark and was appointed chancellor previously to his travel to Rome with abbot William in the diplomatic mission. That he was a 'praepositus' at Roskilde is evidenced by a diploma (DD 1:3,1 p.268): "Can-cellarium nostrum A sancti Lucii prepositum". In DD this letter is dated 1192-1201, but solely on the ground that Andrew is entitled 'chancellor', which cannot otherwise be proved to be the case before 1195. Hence it is equally probable that he was appointed 'praepositus' after he returned from Paris (and the mission) in 1196 - on March 18 that year he is beyond doubt in Denmark (DD 1:3,1 pp.338-340). The view (often repeated) that he re-

of him, but an examination of some passages of his *Summa* betrays his dependence on Langton's *Quaestiones*; from internal evidence it has been shown that he was the Englishman's pupil.⁵² His *Summa* in four books was composed, in all probability, contemporaneously with the sessions of the Lateran council in 1215.⁵³

2 Versified Questions

In this section I shall take some samples of Andrew's questions as they hide in his verses, and compare them to the above-mentioned theologians' treatment of the similar subjects.

a The fallen angels

Andrew deals with angels twice. Firstly, expounding Genesis 1,1 (208ff.), he is led to the subject by means of the traditional interpretation of 'heaven', taken to mean 'heavenly creatures', i.e. angels. As stated above, that paragraph might as well be placed under the heading 'Theology' as under 'Biblical Commentary'; the latter has been chosen because Andrew there borrows from the Lombard, as he does elsewhere in his commentary. There are better reasons to regard the second section on angels (345-504) as a digression from a straightforward Biblical commentary, because Andrew in this draws on theological questions posterior to the Lombard. The digression is brought about by the interpretation of Genesis 1,4, where light and darkness are separated, signifying the separation of the good and evil angels. The digression is structured in this way:

- 1.(345-363): Before the fall. In what state were the angels created?
- 2.(364-390): The fall.
 - a.(364-375): on the arrogance of Lucifer.
 - b.(376-390): many angels fell with him.

turned to Denmark in the early 1190s (most recently Christensen (1983) p.208), in order to become chancellor, thus merely represents one possible solution. Another possibility is that Andrew actually was in France (or Italy) when the dispute began (1194), and that he was regarded as the most fit ambassador in this delicate matter, and was appointed chancellor for that reason. The dispute might thus have induced Andrew to abandon his chair of theology in France (Paris?). 52) Lacombe & Landgraf (1930). 53) Baldwin (1970) p.32.

3.(391-504): After the fall.

- a.(391-401): on the whereabouts of the fallen angels and their punishment before and after the Day of Judgement.
- b.(402-424): do the fallen angels become more and more guilty until the Last Judgement, just as the righteous ones each day progress in their merit?
- c.(425-435): on the twofold power of the fallen angels.
- d.(436-452): do the fallen angels possess virtues such as love and faith?
- e.(453-469): every man has a guardian angel and a tormenting spirit.
- f.(470-480): on the foreknowledge of the angels.
- g.(481-500): on the angels as messengers.
- h.(501-504): Satan is "incentor" but not "immissor".

Let us have a closer look at 3a&b (391-424). In his commentary Gertz refers to the Lombard and Peter of Poitiers as sources, though not without reservation: "ceterum quaedam propria hic Andreas habet".¹ What he was not able to find in the Lombard is question b (402-424): The Lombard, to be sure, does pose the question: "Utrum angeli proficient in merito vel praemio usque ad iudicium",² but he is not discussing the fallen angels in this context. Alan of Lille gives on this point the mere argument of the Lombard's question;³ he adduces the same authorities pro and contra and draws the same conclusion: the righteous angels do progress in knowledge and reward. He does, however carry out a brief comparison with the punishment of Lucifer adducing Matthew 25,41, a text used by the Lombard in a slightly different way.⁴ Simon of Tournai does not deviate substantially from the Lombard.⁵ In these writers, then, we do not find a question with the same contents as the one in *Hexaemeron*. Those contents are:

391-394: the gloomy air is the prison of the fallen angels, of whom the most harmful are located farthest from earth.

395-401: in the prison they are incessantly punished, but they will not be subjected to the full punishment until the Last Judgement, for after that time they will not be relieved by the joy of hurting (mankind).

1) Gertz (1892) p.286. 2) *Sententiae* II,11,2. 3) *Summa Quoniam homines* II,142 (ed. Glorieux pp.279-280). 4) *Sententiae* II,6,3. 5) Heinzmann (1967) pp.44-45 & *Disputationes* 27 (ed. Warichez pp.83-85).

- 402-408: the text "superbia eorum qui te oderunt ascendit semper" (Psalm. 73,23) discloses that the fallen angels constantly deserve punishment. They suffer, however, only their original punishment, because their punishment is the cause of all their subsequent sins - in the same way as the righteous angels constantly deserve reward on account of their original reward.
- 409-411: the reverse is true of man - he merits in this life, and is rewarded in the next. Only Christ was rewarded in this life as well.
- 412-420: after the Day of Judgement the fallen angels will suffer more; evidence for this is the text "quid nobis et tibi Fili Dei venisti huc ante tempus torquere nos?" (Matth. 8,29; the demons ask Jesus). Either: - this also happens for the righteous angels, i.e. their glory and bliss will grow after the Last Judgement (though this does not cause the lower-ranging angels to ascend to a higher place in the hierarchy),
- 421-424: or: - they already enjoy their full reward, whereas God postpones only the punishment of the fallen angels.

Andrew presents his views without any real argumentation. His proof consists in adducing two texts from Scripture - Psalm 73,23 and Matthew 8,29.

Peter of Poitiers is apparently the first to discuss the case of the fallen angels in connection with the question on merit and reward. His question on the righteous angels is to a great extent founded on the above-mentioned passage of the Lombard. The two questions are treated separately, and Peter has inserted between them a further question on the angels' free will.⁶ Peter does not really settle the Lombard's question whether the righteous angels constantly progress in knowledge; by contrast, he does offer a solution of the question of their reward: each day enhances their reward - as the Devil deserves an ever greater punishment (and will get it after the Last Judgement). Peter's argumentation in relation to the latter item is founded on the thesis that the fallen angels are destitute of gifts of grace, and that their natural gifts are corrupted. The question proceeds in this manner:

1. The Devil is not without the gift of love; he loves, for instance, sin and punishment of the unrighteous; thus he always has some consolation in his punishment.
2. The Devil sinned more than Judas, but Judas is already in Hell; thus Lucifer ought to be in even deeper regions of Hell than Judas.

6) *Sententiae* II,4 (ed. Moore, Garvin, Dulong pp.9-20; PL 211:946-951).

3. According to Psalm. 73,23 the arrogance of the Devil is increasing all the time. Each day therefore enhances his punishment (some rational arguments are also adduced here).
4. The Devil becomes ever more sinful; in consequence there is always something not-sinful in him - i.e. something natural.
5. No man can be as evil as the Devil, because man, in contrast to him, can always turn to God again.
6. It is no real consolation for the Devil that we suffer adversities. Whether that is the case for the other fallen angels is dubious.
7. We respond: as the good angels incessantly merit a greater glory, thus the Devil's punishment and guilt is augmented every day and after the Last Judgement he will be punished more severely, as is clear from Matth. 8,29.

Peter's question has many similarities with the one we find in *Hexaemeron*. The most striking resemblance, perhaps, is the inclusion of the same scriptural passages. But there are differences as well. Peter interprets Matthew 8,29 as a statement concerning Lucifer exclusively and does not have anything to say on the other fallen angels, whereas Andrew expounds Matthew's text as having to do with exactly those angels. He also leaves out many items discussed by Peter, and he rushes to the conclusion without adducing any rational arguments. By contrast, Andrew also includes some material not treated by Peter. That is true of the question on the righteous angels' reward before and after the Last Judgement, to which Andrew gives two possible answers. The role of man in relation to merit and reward is touched upon only superficially by Peter - and Christ is not even mentioned in this connection.

Among Langton's questions we also find a discussion of this issue, under the heading "Utrum mali angeli demereantur usque ad diem iudicii"; this question is only found in the Cambridge manuscript.⁷ Langton does not make explicit use of the same passages of Holy Writ as do Andrew and Peter. On the other hand, Langton's question shares with *Hexaemeron* some of the features not found in Peter's text. Firstly, Langton - like Andrew - discusses the righteous and the fallen angels together, in order to treat another question, viz. how man, the angels, and Christ merit and are rewarded. Langton opens (1) by stating that the good angels continuously deserve a greater reward, and that they will receive their full reward

7) Gregory (1930a) p.222. Langton's question on the fallen angels is edited in Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b) pp.165-167; the numbers in brackets refer to the sections of the edition. For comparison, Andrew's text is reproduced there as well (p.167-168).

after the Last Judgement. Similarly the fallen angels will receive the punishment they have accumulated up till then. The emphasis on the close connection between the notions 'praemium'/'meritum' and 'poena'/'culpa' is completely matched by *Hexaemeron* verses 406-408. The subsequent sections in both Langton and Andrew point out exactly how and when man and Christ merit and are rewarded - Langton devotes a full discussion to that (2), Andrew merely gives the conclusion (408-411), on which they agree. In section (3) Langton goes on to discuss the merit of the angels; here we find another trait shared by only Langton and Andrew, viz. the assertion that angels of a lower region do not ascend on account of their merit (= *Hexaemeron* 419-420).

By and large, Andrew's question is much more cognate with the one we find in Langton than with the one of Peter. One of the two above-mentioned scriptural passages may in fact be hiding in Langton's text (1): "et super Psalmum, ubi dicitur (...) poena angelorum reprobtorum augmentabitur". But Matthew 8,29 is not adduced as evidence that the fallen angels must suffer more after the Last Judgement, nor is there any trace of the second possibility given by Andrew (421-424), namely that the righteous angels already enjoy their full reward.

The section of *Hexaemeron* I have summarized above actually begins by discussing the whereabouts of the fallen angels - a discussion very similar to the one found in the Lombard's *Sentences* II,6,2-4. The reason for including this passage, though, is that Praepositinus actually deals with this question immediately before discussing the future prospects of the angels.⁸ Praepositinus' text has two features in common with the one of Andrew. Firstly, the very linking of the two questions. Peter of Poitiers does not find it worthwhile to discuss where the fallen angels stay,⁹ nor does Langton devote a question to that problem. True enough, the Lombard mentions it,¹⁰ and he also informs us that the angels are placed in a hierarchy,¹¹ but he fails to note that the most evil spirits are located farthest from man that he may have some protection. That is only found in Praepositinus and Andrew (393-394).

8) Praepositinus, *Summa Qui producit ventos*, Vat. lat. 1174, f.25rb-25va & Arras 965, f.27va-28rb. 9) *Sententiae* II,4 (ed. Moore, Garvin, Dulong p.16; PL 211:949) 10) *Sententiae* II,6,2. 11) *Ibid.* II,6,6.

The second instance is *Hexaemeron* verses 397-400, where Andrew explains how the fallen angels enjoy some relief in their punishment before the Last Judgement by harming man. This view is not given by Peter. Though he does state something similar to be true of Lucifer, he is not certain as to the evil spirits in general. Nor does Langton comment on this, but Praepositinus does note it.¹² Finally, we find Praepositinus employing Matthew 8,29 in the same way as Andrew, but leaving out Psalm 73,23. As regards the question on merit and reward, however, it is perfectly clear that Andrew shares much more material with Langton than with Praepositinus, who is not even mentioning the role of man and Christ in that connection.

It might be useful to throw a glance at Geoffrey of Poitiers' treatment of the question.¹³ His *Summa* builds to a great extent on Langton's *Quaestiones* and Praepositinus' *Summa*. Even a superficial reading of his question on the fallen angels would disclose his heavy dependence on Praepositinus. Though he professes his disagreement with his masters, he certainly uses the same examples and goes through the same discussion. It is as easy to penetrate into the source basis of Martinus' version of the question in point: he copies out Peter of Poitiers' question and adds a few examples from Langton's.¹⁴

To conclude: Andrew's question points in the direction of Langton as the major source, though not unambiguously. Several reasons may be given for this, but one of the reasons that Andrew's text seems less derivative than Geoffrey's or Martinus' question, no doubt is that he has condensed the material substantially and has reshaped it into verse. Before going further into these problems we must analyse some more questions.

b The Resurrection

The ordinary structuring of the last part of the *summae*, was to treat of Christology, then the sacraments and finally the Day of Judgement and the Resurrection of the dead. As Andrew devoted an entire poem to the doctrine of the sacraments, in *Hexaemeron* he had to link the Christological questions directly with the exposition of the Last Judgement. Exactly how he did this will become clear if we consider the last question on Christ and the first one on the Resurrection of the dead. I shall first give a summary of the contents of these two questions (7571-7617):

12) Ms. Arras 965, f.28ra. 13) *Summa*, Klosterneuburg 299, f.22va.

14) *Compilatio quaestionum theologiae*, Cambridge, St. John's C7, ff.40ra-41rb.

7571-7574: After the resurrection the body of Christ was glorified, i.e. invulnerable etc.

7575-7583: To show that he was in fact resurrected from the dead, Christ made his body tangible. That his body was glorified as well, he revealed by entering the closed house (John 20,26). (An objection is adduced): According to Gregory, all that is tangible also has a transitory existence; hence the body of Christ does not appear to have been glorified when Thomas touched it. (Response): Christ unified qualities that are naturally opposed, in order to edify the faith of the disciples.

7584-7590: He resurrected by virtue of God, because resurrection cannot happen naturally. Events that do not occur by earthly laws ("causae inferiores"), take place by heavenly ones ("causae superiores"), that is to say, they are miracles.

Now follows the second question:

7591-7592: Many things favour the view that the resurrection of the dead will take place miraculously:

7593-7594: The assembling of disjointed limbs is unnatural.

7595-7597: The resurrection is unnatural, because its basis, sin, is so.

7598-7599: The resurrection will not take place without God's intervention ("mandatum"); hence, it is not natural.

7600-7605: It is part of the law of nature that creatures spring from cognate creatures (man from man etc.), but not that men rise from dust. (To this is added): When the bodies are resurrected they will be more natural than now, because destitute of deficiencies.

7606-7615: Augustine asserts that the magicians produced snakes from twigs (Exodus, 7,11) assisted by the Devil; this happened in a natural way, as he reshaped only preexisting matter ("componentia prima") - he was not creating anything. Through the angels God could similarly have the bodies resurrect by way of restructuring matter (i.e. naturally) - but that he will not do. (The conclusion is):

7616-7617: At the Day of Judgement God will intervene and the resurrection will thus take place contrary to the laws of nature - it will occur miraculously.

The Lombard ends the *Sentences* by treating of the Day of Judgement,¹⁵ but he entirely leaves out the above question; nor does he deal with the question of the glorified body of Christ in his sections on Christology in the third book. The same holds good of Peter of Poitiers: there is nothing similar to be found in his Christological chapters (fourth book) or in his

15) *Sententiae* IV,43-50.

finishing chapter on the Last Judgement.¹⁶

The question whether the Resurrection of the dead will take place naturally or miraculously is apparently set forth for the first time by Simon of Tournai in his *Disputationes*, whereas his summa, *Institutiones in sacram paginam*, shows no trace of such a discussion. In the *Disputationes* the question is treated three times - 73,4; 78,2; 98,4,¹⁷ but as the three questions conform in all matters of consequence, I shall confine myself to summarizing the most extensive one - 78,2, which, in fact, is rather brief:

Arguments in favour of natural resurrection:

1. Man, a natural creature, will rise from dust, a natural thing; hence the process will be natural. (!)
2. Augustine states that the magicians produced snakes from twigs. In the same manner, dust can be turned into human beings by recombining "componentia prima"; thus the resurrection is natural.

Argument in favour of miraculous resurrection:

Beings spring from cognate beings but man will rise from dust.

Solution:

Only processes that obey the laws of nature ("secundum solitum cursum naturae") are natural; but now and then God acts beyond nature ("sine ministerio inferioris causae") and only by himself ("sua auctoritate"). This is true of the resurrection. It might, of course, be achieved naturally through the angels (as the demons assisted the magicians), but it will actually take place by a miracle ("solo miraculo"). However, man will become more natural after the resurrection, because he will have no weaknesses.

Simon's question shares many features - even phrasings - with the one of Andrew. That is, to be sure, only true of the question on the Resurrection of the dead, as the other one (on the glorified body of Christ) is passed over by Simon. Among Langton's *Quaestiones* we find both, and they are even connected.¹⁸ His treatment can be divided into four items: (1) Arguments in favour of natural resurrection; the passage includes objections. (2) It is argued that the Resurrection will occur by a miracle. Here ends, in fact, the question promised in the title ("Utrum resurrectio corporum sit naturalis vel miraculosa"). (3) Question on the resurrected body of Christ, similar to the one Andrew places at the end of his Christological section. Both questions give the same conclusions as those of *Hexaemeron*.

16) PL 211:1264-1280. 17) Ed. Warichez pp.210-211, 224-226, 287. 18) Ms. Cambridge, St. John's C7, f.243rb-243vb, ed. by Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b) pp.169-172.

(4) Sundry questions on the Resurrection. This section consists of rather disconnected discussions and gives the impression of being defective 'reportationes' of different subjects discussed in connection with the Resurrection.

In the Cambridge manuscript of Langton's *Quaestiones* we find the question on the glorified body of Christ in a more extensive version ("Qualiter Christus post resurrectionem apparuit")¹⁹ than the one given in section (3) of the question referred to above. If we compare the two versions, we can observe that Langton, in the long one, amplifies the discussions on all major points: more scriptural texts are adduced, a more detailed discussion of Gregory's gloss on Luke 24,39 is given, Bede's glosses are quoted and items belonging to the doctrine of the sacraments are included (the Eucharist). In matters of doctrine, the long version is perfectly in keeping with the short one, but it gives a more detailed and complicated discussion.

Apart from Langton and Andrew, only two other contemporary theologians devote questions to the items in point, viz. Martinus and Geoffrey of Poitiers. Praepositinus does not refer to them in his extremely brief chapter on the Last Judgement.²⁰ Martinus first gives the question on the Resurrection of the dead ("Utrum resurrectio erit naturalis vel miraculosa").²¹ His discussion is no doubt cognate to the one of Langton, but he also sets forth views and examples of his own (or from another source). However, he holds on to the Langtonian conclusion: "Alii dicunt quod resurrectio modo naturalis erit, sed quia in contrarium sentio, eis non respondeo qui militant adversus eorum opinionem".²² After some other questions on the Resurrection he goes on to discuss the resurrected body of Christ,²³ but that question does not offer any striking parallels to the ones given by Langton and Andrew.

Geoffrey also concludes his *Summa* by dealing with the Last Judgement and the Resurrection.²⁴ After some brief preliminaries he opens - like Andrew - with the question: "Quaeritur in primis utrum resurrectio erit miraculosa vel naturalis".²⁵ In his treatment, the presence of Langtonian material is more obvious than in Martinus' similar question. Geoffrey,

19) The long one is in the Cambridge ms. f.325ra-325va and in Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b) p. - . 20) Vat. lat. 1174, f.64rb-64v. 21) *Com-pilatio* ff.138vb-139rb. 22) *Ibid.* f.139rb. 23) *Ibid.* f.140rb-140va. 24) *Summa* f.161rb: "Quaeritur de resurrectione". 25) *Ibid.* 161va.

however, reaches a startling conclusion: "Propter hoc mihi videtur resurrectionis mortuorum fore naturalis, sicut solebant dicere omnes antiqui".²⁶ A little later on, we find the question on the resurrected body of Christ, which is introduced (here as well) with Gregory's gloss on Luke 24,39. It is expounded in the same way as in Langton's *Quaestiones* and in *Hexaemeron*: "(...) sed dicuntur contraria ut nunc, quia in tempore nihil est incorruptibile quod sit palpabile, sed in gloria non est ita".²⁷ Next Geoffrey comments on Bede's glosses,²⁸ just like Langton in his long version; this section follows Langton closely - also in the very wording of the text. Some arguments, however, have been shortened to the point of incomprehensibility; but the reverse is also true: in one instance Geoffrey offers a legible text, where the Cambridge ms. apparently has left out a part of the argument.²⁹ It is sufficiently clear, then, that Geoffrey's question is based on the long version by Langton, in a form very close to the one the Cambridge ms. was copied from, or even identical with it.

What was the basis of Andrew's question? Beginning with the one on the resurrected body of Christ, a comparison of *Hexaemeron* and Langton's questions discloses Andrew's dependence on the short version. The central part of Andrew's question (7575-7583) consists of elements all present in the short version: the Gloss on John 20,19 (=the gloss on Luke 24,39), the mentioning of Thomas' reaction, and finally this phrasing of Langton's: "Responsio: per hoc quod intravit ianuis clausis ostendit corpus glorificatum; per hoc quod palpabile prae-buit, ostendit se verum corpus habuisse". Andrew renders this almost verbatim in *Hexaemeron* verses 7575-7578, and a similar passage is not to be found in Langton's long version. Only one piece of information is shared by *Hexaemeron* and the long version exclusively, viz. that Gregory is the author of the gloss. This slight evidence, however, cannot impair the hypothesis that Andrew actually used the short version; he may have known Gregory to be the author from another source (e.g. a copy of the short version which explicitly stated the name) or he may have known both versions, but chosen the short one for his pur-

26) *Ibid.* f.161vb. 27) *Ibid.* f.162rb. 28) *Ibid.* f.162va. 29) Compare the following passage from Geoffrey's *Summa* with the similar text of Langton (Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b) p.174): "Sicut legitur in legenda beati Silvestri de quodam malefico, qui fantastice apparebat in cuius forma volebat; vel illa forma peregrini erat in ipso corpore Christi; ergo cum illa esset obscura, et corpus Christi obscurum; ita erat clarum et obscurum simul".

poses. Probably also from the short version he got the idea of linking the question with the one on the Resurrection on the dead.

The contents of those verses that link the two questions, though, are not present in Langton's treatment, but in the one of Simon of Tournai. Like Andrew, he is speaking of nature in terms as 'causae inferiores' and of miracles as taking place by 'causae superiores'; these terms, of course, are not unique, but they occur in exactly the same context, and if we take a closer look at the question on the Resurrection of the dead, we will observe that the text of *Hexaemeron* has more in common with Simon's question than with the Langtonian one. True enough, Andrew's conclusion matches the one of Langton who also adduces the Augustinian example (and in that context, "causae seminales") - still, we must turn to Simon to find the argument of the cognate beings and the statement that God, if he chose to do so, could bring about resurrection by natural means (= "per commutanda componentia prima" (7614)). Further similarities are Simon's phrases "sola Dei auctoritate" and "miraculo ex sola Dei auctoritate"³⁰ as compared to verses 7584 & 7616 of *Hexaemeron*: "Ex virtute Dei" and "sed solo faciet homines exsurgere iussu". Finally, Andrew adduces an argument (Resurrection will be unnatural, because sin is unnatural) that cannot be found either in Simon's or in Langton's text.

On these two questions we can conclude: Again Andrew leans on Langtonian material, but that is not his only source. He also employed material stemming from Simon of Tournai (whether through an intermediary source or not). Which "edition" of Langton's *Quaestiones* he had at hand cannot be determined precisely; but a hint may be given by comparing his use of Langton with Geoffrey of Poitiers' similar dependence. When observing that two theologians - Andrew and Geoffrey - draw their material from each of the two versions transmitted in the Cambridge manuscript, I think we can have some confidence that that manuscript is representative of Langton's teaching in many respects both as regards matter and form. The text as found in the Cambridge ms. is, to be sure, not the exact one used by Andrew and

30) Ed. Warichez p.225. Andrew apparently combines Augustine's Gloss on Exodus 7,11-12 (PL 113:203D-204A) with Simon's paraphrase of it; compare *Hexaemeron* 7608-7609: "a quibus est daemon sic componentia prima, / ut virgae fierent colubri, mutare coactus" with Simon's wording (p.225): "Quia ex eisdem primis componentibus ex quibus virga et serpens (...) Diabolus autem novit ordinem mutare, et mutare coactus est arte magica a magis".

Geoffrey but it reflects their working-basis rather well.³¹

This premise granted, we are in a position to assess Andrew's methods in using the Langtonian material. As was shown to be the case with the question on the fallen angels, Andrew, in discussing the Resurrection, is equally condensing his material to a substantial degree - a fact that sometimes renders his text barely legible. On the other hand, he is very clear on the solution of the question, as he actually opens by stating it. He made other pedagogical efforts. He makes for coherence in his poem, and he is surely at pains not to give a mere series of disconnected versified questions. He was faced with the problem of bridging the gap between the subjects of Christology and the Last Judgement. Langton had discussed a Christological question in connection with the Resurrection of the dead; Andrew reverses the order and makes the last Christological question occasion the first one on the Resurrection of the dead. Apparently, he did not consider Langton's material quite exhaustive, as he has intertwined some remarks of Simon of Tournai into his text (possibly through another source) in order to link the two questions. Simon stresses that the miraculous aspect of the Resurrection is caused by God's intervention. Andrew twisted this by speaking of the Resurrection of Christ in the same terms (7584: "Ex virtute Dei surrexit..."), thereby indicating the point of the subsequent question on the Resurrection of the dead.

He employs a similar technique at the end of this question when writing (7616-7617): "Sed solo faciet homines exurgere iussu, / voce tubae, cuius omnes virtute resurgent". Instead of simply concluding that God will intervene, he adds that the coming of the Judgement will be heard by the sound of a trumpet. This addition connects the question with the subsequent one, lifted from the Lombard's chapter on the Last Judgement, which he introduces by mentioning the trumpet.³²

The two passages discussed above (on the fallen angels and the Resurrection) have been chosen for two reasons. One is simply to offer some samples of Andrew's versified questions as compared to their background.

31) The subject of Christ's glorified body is also touched upon in the question "Quomodo corpora glorificata videantur et de dotibus eorum" (Cambridge ms. f.194va-194vb); it is also found in Avranches 230 f.266v; Paris BN lat. 16385 (=S) f.76v; Vat. lat. 4297 f.76rb, and Chartres 430 f.62. The question on the Resurrection of the dead (including the short version of the other one) is also found in Paris BN lat. 14556 (=V) f.208v and Chartres 430 f.85r. Cf. Gregory (1930a), pp.224-225. 32) *Sententiae* IV,43,2.

The other is to give some evidence that the masters of the 1170s and '80s not only discussed problems raised by the Lombard, but posed new questions as well. The examples would furthermore show, I hope, that our Danish author drew on this fresh material, primarily that of Langton, which he then cast into verse. In particular, the passages have been chosen, because they also disclose a development from Peter of Poitiers' *Sentences* (about 1170; the question on the Resurrection of the dead is not even mentioned there) to the 1180s and '90s when Andrew studied and taught.

Apart from the comparatively few questions in *Hexaemeron* that were not treated by the Lombard or Peter of Poitiers, the bulk of the theological material, of course, was already amply discussed by the Lombard. Finally, there are some topics, which hardly deserve the name of questions and on which the later authors (including Andrew) almost copied out the Lombard verbatim: they were non-controversial issues that did not give rise to any further discussion in the schools in the four decades following the Lombard's death. And example of this, is the above-mentioned section of *Hexaemeron* on the coming of the Last Judgement (7618ff.). Most of the topics touched upon in the *Sentences*, however, did bring about further discussion, and that discussion, which must have taken place in the 1180s, is reflected in Andrew's poem. My next example will show that Andrew not only interspersed some new questions into an otherwise strict versification of the Lombard. He also followed fresh material in matters already discussed by the Lombard.³³

c The twofold will of Christ

In the greater part of the third book, the Lombard is concerned with Christological questions. Here he enters upon a discussion on the proper interpretation of Matthew 26,39, i.e. the passage where Christ prays (in Gethsemane): "mi Pater, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste; verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu".³⁴ His will thus seem to be different from that of the Father. Based on Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Bede, and the sixth ecumenical Council, the Lombard states that it is necessary to distinguish two wills of Christ: a human and a divine will, or, as he puts it: "affectus sensualitatis" and "affectus rationis". His

33) Thus Gertz' numerous references to the Lombard, in a manner of speaking, hold good. The Lombard's discussion of an issue *is* the starting-point of Andrew's treatment, though not the immediate one. This is partly true of Peter of Poitiers as well. 34) Cf. Mark 14,35 and Luke 22,42.

divine will, of course, was in concord with the Father's will, but the question then arises:³⁵ Why did he pray? That is not answered unequivocally; the differing opinions of Ambrose and Hilary are related.³⁶ The Lombard himself seems to hold the view that the immediate good for Christ was to escape death, whereas the supreme good was to suffer and die.

Peter of Poitiers widens the scope of the discussion, not by adducing new patristic quotations but by the use of dialectic.³⁷ Like the Lombard, he begins with the distinction between "voluntas secundum rationem" and "secundum sensualitatem".³⁸ He treats of the wills separately in two parts of the question, of which I shall only summarize the first half concerned with the sensuous will.³⁹ Peter states that the discord of will between the Father and the Son is merely apparent, inasmuch as there is an underlying concord: the Father willed that Christ, according to his sensuous will, refuse to die; ergo, Christ refused rightly - i.e. according to his reason. This does not mean, however, that reason was the motive ('motus') for his willing so, but that reason occasioned him to will so according to his sensuous will.⁴⁰ This is actually Peter's solution of the problem. He next questions the prayer itself, whether its underlying 'motus' be meritorious or not.⁴¹ In this connection there is given a quotation of an authority: "omnis Christi actio, nostra fuit lectio". The solution is that the sensuous will of Christ was not meritorious, only the superior rational will was so.⁴²

Two versions of this question can be found in surviving texts of Langton's: a long one in the Cambridge ms. and a short one in Paris BN lat. 14556 (V: f.209va-209vb). The latter, however, offers only a condensation of the arguments found in the long one; hence I shall only discuss the Cambridge version.⁴³

The actual teachings of Langton on this point do not differ from those of the Lombard or of Peter of Poitiers, except for the fact that he gives a more thorough answer to the question of the reason for Christ's prayer: by praying, Christ gave us an example of charity. Aside from this agree-

35) *Sententiae* III,17,2,9. 36) *Ibid.* III,17,3. 37) *PL* 211:1196C-1204A. 38) *Ibid.* 1197A. 39) *Ibid.* 1196C-1199A. 40) *Ibid.* 1197C. 41) *Ibid.* 1197D-1199A. 42) *Ibid.* 1198C. 43) "De duabus voluntatibus in Christo", C ff.230vb-231rb. Edition by Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b) p.178-180. The problem of the two wills of Christ is also mentioned in the question "De primis motibus", C f.231rb-231va.

ment in matters of doctrine, it is obvious that the discussion underlying Langton's question was different. The method is known from Peter of Poitiers' *Sentences*, but it takes another course, partly due to the fact that Langton cites other patristic authorities, and, particularly, employs some of their glosses as points of departure. These features are also found in *Hexaemeron* (7432-7474 & 7505-7509).⁴⁴

As usual, Andrew leaves no doubt as to his views - he begins with the conclusion, which is the traditional one: the sensuous will of Christ was subjected to his rational will (7432-7440). As grounds for this claim, he refers to the allegorical exposition of the animals of Noah's ark (7441-7442), a reference that reveals his dependence on Langton's question. Next, Andrew enters the discussion of the question whether Christ, according to his sensuous will, acted meritoriously (7443-7453); the answer is negative, and it is based on the terms 'actio'/'lectio' as in Peter of Poitiers referred to above (only 'actio' is stated explicitly, 7451). As regards the reason for Christ's prayer, Andrew deviates slightly from Langton by emphasizing that Christ, by means of the prayer, disclosed his human nature (7454-7464); this is restated towards the end (7507).

This question is a good example of Andrew's methods of work and indicates his own notions as to the usefulness of these condensed versified questions. It is obvious, in any case, that he did not envisage them as an instruction in the art of composing questions, since the usual pattern of a question is often blurred to the point of not being recognizable. If we compare the opening conclusion of this question (7432): "Ex ratione mori voluit Iesus" to the closing one (7470-7475): "Ex ratione Iesus voluit se velle cavere / mortem...", it will appear that the latter is much more complex, and dependent on the argument evolved in the course of the question. The latter is in perfect concord with the former, but it is not as pedagogical. In casting this material into didactic verse, Andrew had to decide whether he should leave out the actual discussion and confine himself to summarizing the conclusion only, or he should set forth all the pros and cons. Andrew is prone to settle for the first option, but it is worth noting that he often, in phrasing his conclusions, considers the objections that have been put forward against those conclusions. In other words: he does not disregard totally an argumentational progress in his

44) Reproduced in Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b) pp.181-182.

questions, even if it may sometimes be hard to recognize it as such.

In this case, the progress partly consists in his denial that the immediate, sensuous will underlying Christ's prayer be meritorious - only the prayer itself is so. This view is expressed by Langton as well: "et dicimus quod ex ratione petiit quod voluit sensualitas, et oratio erat meritoria". Again Langton is the chief source and again Andrew leaves out much of the material discussed by Langton. Furthermore there are some items in the question of *Hexaemeron*, which cannot spring from Langton's similar question. Andrew thus several times speaks of the purpose ("finis") of the action (7446-7447 & 7508). This resembles a passage of Simon of Tournai: "Nec voluntas vel petitio est rationabilis ratione precedente ex qua nata sit, nata est enim ex infirmitate; sed ratione subsequente dirigitur in debitum finem, id est in Deum. Dictat enim ratio, qua concipit facere quis vel petere infirmitate provocatus, faciendum vel petendum finaliter propter Deum".⁴⁵ Praepositinus, in his *summa*, only treats of the subject in part, viz.: "Sed transeamus ad illud quod facilius est, utrum scilicet meretur (Christus) omni suo motu, ut illo quo volebat non mori".⁴⁶ Geoffrey follows the lead of Praepositinus in this matter: "Ideo dico cum Praepositino quod simpliciter petiit transferri calicem hunc".⁴⁷

Martinus' question has many features in common with the one of Andrew, which is partly due to the fact that he draws on Simon and Langton as well. Apart from Andrew and Langton, he is thus the only one who refers to the allegorical exposition of the animals in Noah's ark - a trait of the question that, no doubt, originates with Langton. With this question as the only piece of evidence, it would be tempting to regard Martinus as an intermediary source between Langton and Andrew. But that cannot be the case. In Martinus' text there are no arguments in favour of the view that Christ's prayer is meritorious, in contrast to the underlying will.⁴⁸ This, of course, is a minor point, but considering the majority of the theological material (including the questions analysed above), we cannot escape the conclusion that Martinus copied out the bulk of his material from Peter of Poitiers, and of this there is practically no sign in *Hexaemeron*.

45) *Disputationes* 97,2 (ed. Warichez p.282). 46) Vat. lat. 1174 f.54vb.

47) *Summa* Klosterneuburg 299 f.126rb. 48) In a marginal note to Martinus' *Compilatio* we find a remark on the opinion held by Langton and Andrew: "Quidam dicunt quod meruit illo motu Christus singulari praerogativa; alii distinguunt inter motum interiorem sensualitatis et petitionem exprimentem motum illum, et dicunt eum motu illo non meruisse, petitione vero meruisse" (C f.116vb).

d The treatise on sin

Judging by the standards of the Lombard, the following subjects were to be treated in dogmatic theology: God (first book), Creation and sin (second book), Christ and the virtues (third book), and the sacraments and the Last Judgement (fourth book). The Creation, the Incarnation and the Last Judgement are the key points in the History of Salvation, whereas the sacraments, of course, only belong to the period between the two latter points, i.e. in the time of the Church. The Lombard thus treats these subjects in their proper order. The chapters on Trinity, sin, and virtues cannot be fixed in time, God being beyond time and sin and virtue being active forces from Adam to the Day of Judgement (and beyond). In a discussion of dogmatic theology seen in the frame of the History of Salvation, these topics, in principle, can be placed anywhere. I have already mentioned that Peter of Poitiers and his successors treated of the virtues before entering Christology, and thus obtained a juxtaposition of the doctrines of sin and of virtue.

Andrew also made inversions. First of all, he completely omits the subject of the sacraments, to which he devoted another work (now lost). I can only think of "practical" reasons for the omission: even without a discussion of the sacraments, his poem is voluminous enough; by devoting another work to the said topic he could also make things easier for himself, as he would not have had to consult the related subject of canon law simultaneously with dogmatic theology, but could keep the two processes apart. Secondly, in *Hexaemeron* the Trinitarian sections have been interchanged with the first part of the subject of Creation (the angels); that interchangement, as stated, is due to the fact that these sections are occasioned by the literary exposition of Genesis 1,1 ("caelum"), 1,4 ("divisit lucem ac tenebras"), and 1,26 ("faciamus hominem"). Given the peculiar plan of Andrew's to combine a traditional hexaemeron with a theological summa, this transposition is an obvious one.

We have more reason to wonder why he deals with the virtues (books VI-VII) before he treats of the doctrine on sin (books VIII-IX), since all the contemporary theologians who had somehow ordered their material into a summa, imitate the ordering suggested by Peter of Poitiers: the doctrine on sin is placed right after the chapter on the Creation and the Fall, as one would naturally expect. Next follows the description of the virtues. Peter of Poitiers thus deals with sin in the second book in immediate con-

tinuation of the Fall.⁴⁹ The same is true of Alan of Lille, whose *summa Quoniam homines* was planned in three parts, on God, Creation, and re-creation,⁵⁰ but only the first two books survive. A similar principle forms the basis of Martinus' work, but the *Compilatio* has a rather loose structure; most of the issues on sin are discussed in the second book.⁵¹ Praepositinus is very brief on the Creation,⁵² but gives an exhaustive discussion of sin;⁵³ subsequently he deals with the virtues.⁵⁴ Nor does Geoffrey of Poitiers deviate from this ordering.⁵⁵

Why did Andrew abandon the obvious ordering of describing sin after we have heard of the Fall at the end of the fourth book, to give instead a treatise on the status of man and the ten Commandments (fifth book), then the virtues, and finally the treatise on sin in books VIII-IX?

I think this has to do with the didactic form of the poem. It has already been noted that Andrew endeavours to bring about a continuous text on the basis of separate questions: he no doubt wants to emphasize the coherence of the different issues in the way that one subject leads naturally on to the next, thus avoiding too abrupt links between the divers sections. This is, to be sure, an almost impossible task, but Andrew in any case wanted to conceal the "links" as they are stated in the *summae*: "Dictum est de...., nunc dicendum...."

Something similar is valid for the grand scale structure of the poem. By placing the treatise on sin just before the one on Christology, Andrew creates more motion and greater contrasts in the poem. The alternative solution would have been to end the poem like the *summae*, i.e. by "enumerating" all the subjects within theology that have a bearing on our deliverance, such as the virtues, Christ, the Church (the sacraments). The idea of Andrew's composition also seems to have been stressed at the end of the ninth book, where Adam/Christ and the Lord/the Devil are contrasted as a means to lead on to the tenth book, where the Christology is to be dealt with (cf. particularly verses 5869-5874).

As regards the sources of the eighth and ninth book, we are dealing with a situation much similar to the one that is described in the samples above: Stephen Langton's questions are the basis of much of the material, but cannot account for everything. Some of the terms and examples employed by

49) *Sententiae* II, 10-23. 50) The prologue (ed. Glorieux p.120). 51) The questions 11-63 in Heinzmann's list (1964) p.14-23. 52) Vat. lat. 1174 f.28ra-28rb. 53) *Ibid.* ff.28rb-41rb. 54) *Ibid.* f.41rb: "Dictum est de vitiis; de virtutibus nunc dicendum". 55) Sin is treated on ff.27ra-41rb (Klosterneuburg 299).

Andrew must be sought in other writers' treatises. Before going into some of these instances, I shall first supply a list of the questions discussed in books eight and nine. The similar Langtonian questions are juxtaposed in the list; they are often found in more than one version in the Cambridge ms. (C); furthermore, some of them exist in S (Paris BN lat. 16385) and V (Paris BN lat. 14556), but in two cases only have I found it useful to refer to S, when Andrew seems to have lifted some material from these versions which cannot be found in C. In some cases the difference between the versions is so substantial, that it permits to point at the one that most likely served as Andrew's basis (underscored). No underlining implies either (1) no substantial difference between versions or (2) both versions partly match Andrew's question in point.

<i>Hexaemeron</i>	Topic	Langton
4450-4494 & 4532-4558	On the sin of Eve and Adam, and a comparison between them.	
4495-4531	On ignorance as an excuse for sin.	De ignorantia invincibili (296ra-296vb); De ignoran- tia affecata (296vb-297rb).
4559-4595	The consequence of the Fall: original sin.	
4596-4689	On the free will	De libero arbitrio (243vb- 244vb); <u>De libero arbitrio</u> (292va-294va).
4690-4728 & 4766-4865	Whether sinful actions orig- inate with God; three views are listed - the last most extensively (4690-4704; 4705-4728 & 4766-4769; 4770-4865).	Quare omnis actio est a Deo. (215va-215vb); Quod non om- nis actio est a Deo (216ra- 216va); De synderesi (244vb- 245rb).
4729-4765	On grace in connection with morally good actions	
4866-4911	Whether sin is a punishment.	Utrum peccatum sit causa vel poena peccati (199va- 200vb).
4912-4980	Whether sins - once for- given - return.	De reditu peccatorum (222rb- 222vb); Utrum peccata di- missa redeant (300va-300vb); <u>Utrum peccata redeant</u> (S: 84ra-84vb).
4981-5083	On sins against the Holy Spirit.	De peccato in Spiritum Sanc- tum (224ra-224rb).

<i>Hexaemeron</i>	Topic	Langton
5084-5395	On original sin and its transmission through carnal desires.	De originali peccato (174va-175va).
5396-5459 & 5567-5583	On the primary impulses ("primi motus") & link to the following question.	De primis motibus (231rb-231va); De primis motibus (240ra-240va); De <u>primo motu</u> (S: 87rb-87vb).
5460-5566	On forgivable sins ("cul-pae veniales").	Quaeritur utrum veniale peccatum puniatur aeternaliter (301va-301vb); Utrum aliquis pro veniali puniatur aeternaliter (177va-178rb); Utrum veniale habeat reatum (302ra-302rb); Utrum veniale sit aliud quam poenae obnoxietas et qualiter habeat dimitti et utrum veniale habeat reatum (203ra-204ra).
5584-5659	On the will and the action.	Utrum voluntas et actus sint diversa peccata vel idem (235ra-235va); <u>Utrum voluntas et actus sit idem peccatum vel diversa</u> (301ra-301rb).
5660-5784	On will, action, purpose and intention ("voluntas, actio, finis & intentio").	Utrum eventus sequens aggravet peccatum (294va-295ra); (a slightly different version 347ra-347rb).
5785-5855	Sundry cases under this subject, such as mad men's actions etc.	Utrum furiosus peccet (246vb-247rb); Utrum furiosus peccet (264va-265vb); De contemptu (251ra-251vb); De contemptu (298ra-298va); Utrum circumstantia aggravet peccatum et de circumstantiis circa bonum opus (209ra-209vb).
5856-5893	Closing paragraph and link to the tenth book: virtue and sin, Adam and Christ, God and the Devil are contrasted.	De collatione boni et mali (232vb-234ra); Utrum quantum lacunae bonitas sit magis bona quam malitia sit mala (329vb-330va).

As is shown in the list, Langton deals with almost all the questions found in the sections of *Hexaemeron* that are concerned with sin. His and Andrew's discussion of things is often identical, and, to my mind, there are no disagreements in matters of doctrine. But as stated, Langton is not the only source. Two other sources can be identified with certainty: one is - hardly surprising - the Lombard's *Sentences*, the other canon law.

Andrew appears to have had the Lombard at hand all the way through. The paragraph where the sin of Adam and Eve are compared (favourably for the former!), is borrowed directly from the Lombard.⁵⁶ The transition from this section to the discussion of more general issues (free will etc.) points at the reasons why original sin was the consequence of the Fall (4559-4595, original sin as such is treated later on). As source of this paragraph Gertz refers to the Lombard II,22;⁵⁷ another paragraph in point would be II,24,9-12. Three rather long parts of the question on original sin (5084-5126, 5314-5337, 5338-5395) are close parallels to passages in the *Sentences*.⁵⁸ The same holds good of the digression on grace (4729-4765) in the exhaustive discussion of the author of sin.⁵⁹ Questions on absolution are treated by the Lombard as a part of the doctrine of the sacraments in the 21st and 22nd distinctions of the fourth book; from here also Andrew borrowed some material.⁶⁰

The teachings on sin are connected with sacramental doctrine and with canon law. these two fields Andrew almost completely bans from his poem, but in the question on original sin he adds some paragraphs from Gratian's *Decretum*.⁶¹ That Andrew borrowed directly from the Lombard and Gratian is beyond reasonable doubt; some of the parallels listed in the note (61) are striking, and for a student and teacher of theology and canon law both books were indispensable. We are leaving this safe ground when considering parallels to contemporary theological writings, but some indications may be given.

56) *Sententiae* II,22,4. 57) Gertz (1892) p.334. 58) *Sentences* II,30,8-9; II,30,6-7; II,33. 59) *Ibid.* II,26. 60) *Ibid.* IV,22,1 underlying *Hexaemeron* 4975-4980. 61) Here are given the passages in point from the *Decretum* (ed. Friedberg) with references to *Hexaemeron* in brackets: Corp. iur. canon. C.XXXII,qu.II,c.3 (vol.I col.1120) (5259-5271); C.XXXII,qu.IV,c.14 (col.1131) (5256-5258); C.XXXII,qu.IV,c.5 (col.1128-1129) (5247-5255); C.XXXIII,qu.IV,c.6 (col.1248-1249) (5233-5246); C.XXXII,qu.II,c.4 (col.1120-1121) (5200-5211); C.XXXII,qu.II,c.1-2 (col.1119-1120) (5186-5196).

Andrew opens the treatise on sin by discussing the fall of Eve as described in Genesis 3,3 (4450-4455):

Peccatum primum primae matris fuit Evae
omnis peccati radix. Elatio mentis
ex seductoris verbis concepta dolosis,
nec, propter 'forte' dubitatio, poena tumoris,
praecessit culpam, quia non dubitatio, verum
arbitrii data libertas, per 'forte' notatur;

This interpretation of Eve's words "ne forte moriamur" is opposed to the Lombard's exposition: "mulier quasi ambigendo illud dixit",⁶² but also to Andrew's own exposition of the text in the fourth book;⁶³ which is perhaps why Andrew offers an alternative explanation (4456-4457):

vel, quia non cavit fraudem, peccavit, et inde
peccati poena dubitatio iure secuta est.

Whether "forte" indicates doubt or not, it is a fact that Eve displayed arrogance ("elatio mentis") before eating of the apple, but not before listening to the snake. The Lombard only hints at this discussion and Langton omits it altogether. Alan of Lille gives a more extensive account, which resembles the one by Andrew and has a similar conclusion:

Dicendum ergo quod nulla elatio, nulla dubitatio in animo mulieris
praecessit temptationem demonis.⁶⁴

In this matter Alan is followed by Praepositinus. But like Andrew, Praepositinus adds another phrasing of the solution:

Possumus tamen dicere cum magistris nostris quod dubitavit, id est
ad modum dubitantis se habuit.⁶⁵

In Andrew's question on original sin the attention is drawn towards Alan as well. The theory proposed by "some people" that original sin is no punishment ("poena"), but merely a kind of "debt" ("obnoxietas") is rejected (5314-5337). The Lombard also gives this criticism, and he is one of Andrew's sources here.⁶⁶ To criticize these "quidam", however, was common among Andrew's contemporaries, e.g. Praepositinus:

62) *Sententiae* II,21,5,4. 63) Verses 2109-2111; cf. Gertz' commentary p.332. 64) *Summa Quoniam homines* II,158 (ed. Glorieux p.299). 65) *Summa Qui producit ventos* Vat. lat. 1174 f.29ra. 66) *Sententiae* II,30,6,2.

Ad hoc dicunt quidam quod originale peccatum nihil aliud est quam peccatum Adae, et dicunt quod in parvulo nullum est peccatum et ipse tamen reus est, id est poenae obnoxius pro peccato Adae, et hoc dicunt ad similitudinem humanae legis.⁶⁷

The comparison with civil law is not in the Lombard, but Andrew also refers to it (5326-5327). Who were these "quidam"? The editors of the Lombard's *Sentences* refer to Abelard's commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,⁶⁸ but Andrew's contemporaries seem to have had the Porretans in mind. Peter the Chanter thus says:

(...) quia solebant Gilebertini dicere quod originale peccatum in rei veritate non est peccatum, sed quaevis obnoxietas sive conditio privandi visione Dei.⁶⁹

The scribe who entered notes into the Roskilde manuscript of *Hexaameron* - or rather his source - seems to have shared this opinion. In any case he attributes the view to a "Porretan", i.e. Alan; the scholion (at verse 5316) says: "specialis opinio magistri Alani", which is true, inasmuch as we read in Alan's *summa*:

Dicimus ergo quod duo sunt originale peccatum: infirmitas et reatus, id est eterne pene obnoxietas; ita tamen quod utrumque dicitur originale peccatum, alia et alia tamen ratione.⁷⁰

This much of Alan. More parallels with *Hexaameron* can be found in Peter the Chanter's *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*, which is mainly concerned with questions within practical theology, and not with the more speculative ones found in *Hexaameron*. But since the doctrine of the sacraments has some issues in common with the teachings on sin, some of Peter the Chanter's questions are relevant in this context.

A case in point is the question whether forgiven sins return when you repeat your sinful conduct. The Lombard treats of this question within the doctrine of the sacraments,⁷¹ and Andrew discusses it in his treatise on sin (4912-4980). In several respects this question is most closely matched by Langton's (see the list above); as point of departure they both use John 2,11: "qui autem odit fratrem suum, in tenebris est", and

67) Vat. lat. 1174 f.32rb. 68) *Sententiae*, Tom. I pars 2, p.498 referring to Abelard: PL 178:866C & 871A-B. 69) *Summa de sacramentis* III,2 b (1967) p.553. 70) *Summa Quoniam homines* II,173 (ed. Glorieux p.317); the view is also expressed in *Contra haereticos* I,40 (PL 210:345C-346C), to which Gertz refers. 71) *Sententiae* IV,22.

claim that fraternal hate in particular makes the sins return. Langton then introduces a distinction:

Auctoritates ergo, quae dicunt peccata dimissa redire, verum dicunt propter reatus, qui redeunt; et aliae auctoritates, quae dicunt quod peccata dimissa non redeunt, verum dicunt propter maculam illam quae numquam redit, nisi propter actum.⁷²

Andrew no doubt uses this distinction as well, even if the argument is not expressed in *Hexaameron* 4932: "Sic idem redeunt non actus, immo reatus". Peter the Chanter gives a full discussion of the problem, and his question shares many features with Langton's, but not the above distinction. Peter and Andrew, on the other hand, share the following example (4941-4944):

Inde duo peccant aequaliter ex pare causa,
plus tamen ex reditu culparum fit reus alter;
sic, quamvis paria sint vulnera, par quoque causa,
quod duo laedantur pariter, non provenit inde.

In the same context, Peter the Chanter writes:

Verbi gratia: aliquis vulneratus ante in parte aliqua corporis, postea vulneratur in eadem parte. Gravius vulnus infligitur prius vulnerato quam alii, non quia percussio unius sit maior percussione alterius, sed propter vestigium aliquod prioris vulneris.⁷³

In two other passages Andrew sets forth examples which compare best to the form they are given in the Chanter's work, viz. in the question on intention.⁷⁴ A more striking similarity is found in the question whether the faculty of sinning - "potestas peccandi" - and thus the sinful actions, stem from God. In relating this question, Langton - like the Lombard⁷⁵ - states two possible views:

Circa quaestionem de actionibus duplex est opinio: quidam dicunt quod actio mala est a diabolo vel ab homine, et quod diabolus facit ipsam actionem - et illi debent dicere quod aliquid est a diabolo et ab homine. Alii dicunt quod omnis (omnino:C) actio est a deo - etiam actio mala in quantum actio.⁷⁶

72) C f.222rb. 73) *Summa de sacramentis* II (1957) p.33. Peter of Poitiers (PL 211:1069C-D) as well as Martinus (C f.75rb) and Praepositinus (Vat. lat. 1174 f.41rb) give a similar example, but in an unprecise and apparently opposite way. 74) *Hexaameron* 5688-5709 matches *Summa de sacramentis* III,2 b (1967) pp.548-551 (this example is given in a more brief form in Alan of Lille's *Regulae caelestis iuris* 69,3-4 (ed. Häring p.178)). Moreover, vss. 5771-5781 match *Summa de sacramentis*, *ibid.* p.556. 75) *Sententiae* II,44,1,2-3. 76) C f.215va.

Andrew favours the latter view (e.g. 4796), but before reaching this verdict, he summarizes three opinions on the matter:

- 1 (4690-4704): The faculty of sinning is no true faculty; thus it does not originate with God.
- 2 (4705-4728 & 4766-4769): The faculty does come from God, but not the misuse of it.
- 3 (4770-4865): Like sin, the faculty of sinning has a double sense: a) actions deprived of a just purpose - they come from God. b) actions depriving something of a just purpose - they do not come from God.

Since the summary of the third opinion leads on to similar discussions of the action - borrowed from Langton - Andrew seems to favour that opinion. However, Langton does not draw a distinction of three views. Peter the Chanter does:⁷⁷

- 1 Any morally good action comes from God, any morally bad from the Devil or from man.
- 2 Any action comes from God, in so far as it is an action; in so far as it is bad, it comes from man.
- 3 "Nos medio loco procedimus dicentes quod simpliciter omnis actio est a Deo, et hec actio mala est a Deo, quia dignior est substantia actionis quam vitium, et ideo ei potius attribuitur esse a Deo. Unde et hanc concedimus. "Hoc peccatum est a Deo". Sed hoc nomen peccatum, duas habet significationes. Quandoque enim dicitur peccatum actio ipsa deformata; quandoque ipsa deformitas, id est ipsum vitium quod nihil est. Malitia enim et cetera privationes nichil sunt secundum nos, quia si malitia qualitas esset, a Deo esset.

The quoted passage on the third opinion is in perfect keeping with Andrew's similar summary; but the two authors' description of the two first opinions do not match. Still, the partition into three opinions and the summary of the third opinion discloses - in this particular matter - a greater degree of similarity between Andrew and Peter the Chanter, than between Andrew and Langton.

I have tried to set out above the most striking differences between Andrew and Langton in their discussion of sin. To this must be added the usual difference in form, Andrew condensing the material heavily, and sometimes giving the mere conclusions. As an example of the often long and complicated analyses, which underlie the rather short paragraphs of *Hexaemeron*, you may consider the question on the free will. Langton's⁷⁸ and

77) *Summa de sacramentis* III,2 b (1967) pp.535-536. 78) Langton's question "De libero arbitrio" is edited by Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b) pp.182-198. The relevant verses of *Hexaemeron* (4596-4689) are reprinted there as well. The main points in Langton's view of the free will are also sketched in his commentary on the Lombard's *Sentences* II,25 (ed. Landgraf pp.93-95).

Andrew's major tenets on the free will include:

- 1 The free will is not identical with reason, because reason cannot err. The opposite view is referred to by Praepositinus: "Alii dicunt quod liberum arbitrium est ratio, quae discernit inter bonum et malum".⁷⁹ Who those "alii" were I cannot say, but the Lombard does consider the possibility that reason may err.⁸⁰ Alan of Lille even says (of the time after the Fall): "error fuit in ratione".⁸¹ As opposed to this Langton and Andrew hold on to the Socratic stance.
- 2 The free will is not a faculty of the soul in the same way as the other faculties - it is superior to them (4633: "vis quaedam per se") even if intimately connected with the rational faculty. Apart from this, the soul includes to other faculties, viz. "vis concupiscibilis" and "vis irascibilis" - i.e. the psychology originating with Plato.

e Three interpretations of the Incarnation

The treatise on the Incarnation (book XI), like the treatise on the Trinity, were not commented on by Gertz in his edition. Indeed, the subtle distinctions are not easier to understand in Andrew's condensed rendition of them; nor shall I embark on any commentary,¹ but the treatise on the Incarnation cannot be totally disregarded in an analysis of the sources, since Andrew's discussion of this problem differs substantially from the one given by the Lombard and by Peter of Poitiers, i.e. Andrew's main sources according to Gertz.²

The Lombard summarizes and discusses three theories on the Incarnation in the sixth and seventh distinction of the third book. They are to be taken, he claims, as three different lines of interpretation of phrases such as 'Deus factus est homo' and 'Deus est homo'. In particular, they try to make clear, whether phrases of this sort imply that God, at the Incarnation, became 'something' ('aliquid', that he had not been before).³

The first theory has later been called the "homo assumptus-theory" and it goes back to Hugh of St. Victor.⁴ The adherents of this theory claim that a man, consisting of body and soul, at the Incarnation became God, i.e. the person of the Word. They thus interpret the phrases 'Deus factus

79) Vat. lat. 1174 f.30ra. 80) *Sententiae* II,25,6 & II,39,1,1. 81) *Summa Quoniam homines* II,163 (ed. Glorieux p.302). 1) It will be supplied by Ebbesen in *CPhD* XI,2. 2) Gertz (1892) p.365; he also mentions Hugh of St. Victor, who, in fact, is an even more remote source. That Andrew is not entirely dependent on Peter of Poitiers in Christological matters, was pointed out by Skov (1955) p.299 - though on a false basis. 3) *Sententiae* III,6,1,1. 4) Nielsen (1982) p.256.

'homo' and 'homo factus Deus' literally⁵ and as equivalent. Though in this way claiming that God (in Christ) is a human substance (body and soul), they do not concede that he consists of two natures.⁶ At the Incarnation God became something.

The second theory presented by the Lombard,⁷ is known as the "subsistence-theory". Its principal author is Gilbert of Poitiers.⁸ In contrast to the homo assumptus-theory, the man Christ is here seen as consisting of two natures - a divine and a human - and of three substances: soul, body, and divinity. Before the Incarnation Christ was a 'simple' person ('simplex'), i.e. the person of the Word, after the Incarnation he became complex ('composita'). The person, thus, is always the same: before the Incarnation it consisted of one nature, after the Incarnation of two. According to this theory, God, at the Incarnation, became something. 'Deus factus homo' thus means that God began to subsist of and in two natures and three substances, whereas 'homo factus deus' yields a different sense, inasmuch as man does not contribute anything to the essence of the Person.⁹

The third theory - the "habitus-theory" - partly originates with Abelard.¹⁰ The theory derives its name from one of the scriptural texts which is adduced as evidence, Phil. 2,7: "Habitum inventus est ut homo". This theory differs from the two others in its assertion that God did not become something at the Incarnation. The phrase 'Deus factus homo' is to be taken in the sense 'Deus accepit hominem'.¹¹ In this way no identity exists between the notions underlying the subject and the predicate.¹² The Lombard explains this state of affairs by a simile: as man is not changed by putting on a garment, God similarly has "put on" man as a piece of clothes.¹³ To use the predicate 'man' of God, then, is not to say something of his essence, but of his 'habitus' only.¹⁴ In contrast to the other theories, therefore, the habitus-theory escapes the implication that the Incarnation (being a temporal act) has any part in the essential definition of the eternal God.

5) On the 'literal' aspect of the interpretation see Nielsen (1982) p.247.

6) *Sententiae* III,6,2,1. 7) *Ibid.* III,6,3. 8) The Lombard's phrasing of the theory is not very faithful to its author: Nielsen (1982) p.257.

9) *Sententiae* III,7,1,4. On the interpretation of the latter phrase see Nielsen (1982) pp.250-251. 10) *Ibid.* p.260. 11) *Sententiae* III,6,4,3; I have changed the wording slightly. 12) Nielsen (1982) p.253. 13) *Sententiae* III,6,4,1-2; I have expanded the example a little. 14) Nielsen (1982) p.254.

The Lombard does not state clearly which of the three theories is the preferable one, but a close analysis has shown that he favours the habitus-theory.¹⁵ The same is true of his immediate successors in the 1150s and '60s, including Peter of Poitiers.¹⁶

In the 1160s a growing criticism of the habitus-theory appeared.¹⁷ Thus the treatise *Apologia de verbo incarnato*, dating from approximately 1160,¹⁸ has the subtitle: "Objectiones contra eos qui dicunt quod Christus non est aliquid secundum quod homo"; the anonymous author first and foremost finds fault with the habitus-theory, and he also shows himself to be an adherent of the homo assumptus-theory.¹⁹ According to the adversaries of the habitus-theory, its chief flaw seems to have been the minimizing appraisal of Christ's humanity. In the last resort, this view could lead to a sort of docetism.

The reaction against the theory reached a temporary peak when pope Alexander III intervened in 1170. First he wrote to his legate in France, William (archbishop of Sens), next he turned to other French archbishops,²⁰ using these words:

(...) pravam doctrinam, quam adhuc quidam tenent et praedicant, quod Christus, videlicet secundum quod est homo, non est aliquid, penitus abrogare curetis, et Christum sicut perfectum Deum, sic et perfectum ac verum hominem ex anima et corpore secundum quod homo consistentem tenendum et praedicandum praecipiat universis sub interminatione anathematis...²¹

Two features of this passage may here be noticed; firstly, the habitus-theory as such is not condemned, but only its central tenet, viz. that the human aspect of Christ is not something. Secondly, the positive part of the condemnation: "perfectum et verum hominem ex anima et corpore secundum quod homo consistentem..."²² is open for interpretations favourable to each of the remaining two theories. This phrasing is also found in the pope's first letter, which is quoted by John of Cornwall in the introduc-

15) I follow here the careful argumentation set forth by Nielsen (1982) pp. 256-264. Landgraf (1953) p.123 holds the view that the Lombard's own opinion cannot be extracted from his text. 16) Peter of Poitiers discusses the three theories in PL 211:1172B-1179B. Nielsen (1982) gives an account of his dependence on the Lombard in the chapter: "The school of Peter the Lombard" (p.279ff.) 17) *Ibid.* pp.359-360. 18) Cf. Häring's introduction to the edition p.108. 19) *Ibid.* p.107 and *Apologia* 46 (p.129). 20) Nielsen (1982) p.360. 21) PL 200:684D-685A. 22) This phrasing draws on the *Symbolon Athanasianum* ("Quicumque", ed. Denzinger p.19): "perfectus Deus, perfectus homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens".

tion to his *Eulogium ad Alexandrum Papam tertium* from the end of the 1170s.²³ The habitus-theory is rejected in this work as well, and in the same period the pope reiterates his condemnation (1177).²⁴ Like the *Apoloogia* most of the *Eulogium* is concerned with an attack against those who "underestimate" the humanity of Christ, but it also contains an outright exhortation to the pope to canonize the homo assumptus-theory:

(...) hec est petitio mea, ut sicut Romani pontificatus apicem decet generali decreto et in perpetuum valituro Sublimitas Vestra precipiat omnes nos in unum de homine assumpto recta sapere et hoc amplius de assumptione hominis quam de assumptione vestis sentire: quod Deus qui assumpsit est homo qui assumptus est, sicut Deus qui creavit est homo qui creatus est, Deus qui suscitavit et clarificavit est homo qui suscitatus et clarificatus est.²⁵

The wishes of John of Cornwall, however, were not to be fulfilled. Even if the habitus-theory now - for obvious reasons - lacked support, it became a commonplace for the theologians of the 1180s and '90s to relate their arguments on the subject to a summary of the three opinions.²⁶

The eleventh book of *Hexaemeron* is a case in point. After a few preliminaries (6675-6679), Andrew sets out to interpret Phil. 2,7: "habitu inventus est ut homo" (6680-6692). Here he stresses that Christ was a man in all respects but one: he was untouched by sin. That is the proper understanding of Paul's phrase; as 'man' always connotes 'sin', you are forced to say that Christ was "like" ("habitu") a man, and not that he was a man. Some, however, apply a false interpretation of Paul's words (6693-6695):

Nec sic exposita quem dicere littera cogit
hic 'Iesus est homo', quod habitum tantummodo nomen
hoc 'homo', non speciem de Christo praedicet ullam.

In these words Andrew opens the obligatory rejection of the habitus-theory. It is noteworthy that he does not start with the phrase 'Deus factus homo', as did the Lombard, but with 'Christus est homo'.²⁷ The problem is still the same, but the phrase chosen by Andrew occasions him to emphasize the crucial difference between, on the one hand, the habitus-theory, and on the other, the homo assumptus- and the subsistence- theories: according to

23) According to the author himself, it was written shortly before the Lateran Council in 1179 (p.256). 24) Nielsen (1982) p.360. 25) *Eulogium* 21 (p.299). 26) Praepositinus: Vat. lat. 1174 ff.50va-52vb; Langton: C f.323ra; Martinus: C ff.107rb-112ra; Peter the Chanter (?) III,2 b (1967) chap.54: "De homine assumpto" (pp.471-499); Geoffrey of Poitiers: Klosterneuburg 299, ff.114rb-119va. 27) At these verses a scholion says: "'Christus est homo': de hac est multiplex opinio; hic ponit unam".

the habitus-theory, 'man', in the said phrase, does not imply any species; the opposite is true according to the two other theories. In the rejection of the habitus-theory (6680-6775), Andrew also hints at the papal condemnation (6746): "sic vitare student feriens anathema negantes". Whole-hearted defenders of the theory hardly existed at the time Andrew wrote,²⁸ but it was still propounded in the schools as a "possible" theory. In the 1180s it received the label "(Christological) nihilism/nihilianism": 'non aliquid' was substituted with 'nihil'.²⁹

Next, Andrew relates the doctrine of the homo assumptus-theory (6776-6886). It is presented in a more friendly vein (6776-6778):

Dici concedunt alii generaliter omnes
de Christo speciem; sed non modus omnibus idem
est concedendi. Quidam, quod sit duo, tradunt.

The last phrase may include some criticism, since "Quicumque" has a passage that reads: "Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus".³⁰ The adherents of the homo assumptus-theory would not, in fact, assert directly that Christ is two, but merely that he is two substances/two "things" ("res").³¹ Andrew opens by stating the theory (6776-6830), he then raises objections against it (6831-6886). The criticism may sound like this (6866-6870):

Quamvis haec vera sit 'ego sum Conditor orbis',
haec est vera tamen 'ego non sum Conditor orbis',
Messias verba si solus proferat ista.
Ista 'Iesum Iesus assumpsit', proprium quia nomen
congruit utrique, concedi debet ab illis.

'Ego' in the former phrase suppones for the divine person, the Son, begotten of the Father, whereas 'ego' in the latter phrase suppones for the man, born by Mary. So far, the adherents of the homo assumptus-theory agree. But they must also concede the obviously false statement 'Iesus Iesum assumpsit', because 'Iesus', according to their theory, can stand for the divine person (and therefore 'God'), and for the son of Mary (for instance 'homo'); thus, the true statement 'Deus assumpsit hominem' can

28) In his commentary on the *Sentences*, Langton remarks: "Hic (i.e. at the habitus-theory) ponit Magister suam opinionem, quae iam expiravit, et hoc auctoritate decretalis epistole Alexandri, quae precipit dici, quod est aliquid secundum quod homo" (ed. Landgraf p.112). 29) Nielsen (1982) p.359 n.293. 30) Ed. Denzinger p.19. 31) Cf. Nielsen (1982) p.250 n.41 & "De homine assumpto" p.474, where they are called "seminestorians".

be turned into the false one 'Iesus Iesum assumpsit'. This is, according to Andrew, one of the absurd implications of a theory, to which the phrases 'Deus est homo factus' and 'homo est Deus factus' are equivalent (cf. 6969-6970).

In this way we are left with the subsistence-theory, which Andrew praises emphatically (6887-6894):

Tertia succedens sententia, consona sacris
scripturis, vera proponens, falsa refutans,
vitans absurda, firmis rationibus utens,
maio rem meruit sibi conciliare favorem;
Haec est, quod patris aeternus Filius unum
solum permaneat, quamvis inceperit esse
verus homo, constans animato corpore, sacro
Flamine conceptus, de sancta virgine natus.

The exposition of the subsistence-theory, however, does not follow immediately. The verses 6895-6950 deal with another question relating to the Incarnation, viz. about the Holy Spirit, the body, and the soul in their relationship to the Incarnation; this is connected with the three theories, but the true theory itself is presented only in verses 6951-7134 & 7205-7233; the eleventh book is rounded off by some questions (e.g. on the death of Christ) also quite closely connected with the problems of the Incarnation (7234-7298). The idea of interspersing different questions (e.g. those on the infinite names)³² into the exposition of the subsistence-theory, might be to make their solutions appear to be intimately related to the truth of that theory.

Part of the basis of the eleventh book is, not surprisingly, to be found in Langton,³³ who also favours the subsistence-theory. In his presentation of the three theories he expressly states: "Tertiae opinionis veritas habet..."³⁴ - Langton enumerates them in another order than the Lombard, viz. the same as Andrew: habitus-, homo assumptus-, and subsis-

32) *Hexaemeron* 7135-7204; verses 7057-7096 is a digression as well.

33) In the questions: "De homine assumpto et utrum Christus sit duo" (C f.323ra-323va); "Utrum Christus sit filius adoptivus" (C f.323va-323vb); "Utrum Christus fuerit homo in triduo" (C f.251vb-252ra), which is also found in another version: "Utrum Christus fuerit homo in triduo passionis" (C 323vb-324rb); Langton treats of the infinite names (as 'non-homo') in the questions "De hoc nomine 'Deus'", "De infinitatis nominibus in trinitate", and in the *Summa* under the heading "De nominibus infinitatis", to be found respectively in C f.218ra-218rb, C ff.209vb-210rb, C f.154ra-154rb (now edited by Ebbesen & Mortensen (1985b) pp.203-204, 199-203, 87-89). 34) C f.323ra; Landgraf (1953) p.127 n.52 copies out from V: "Tertia opinionis veritas hoc, quod" (?), but V also has "veritas habet" (f.176va).

tence-theory.

We can, however, avail ourselves of another text, that on some points offers more striking parallels to *Hexaemeron* than does Langton. I am speaking of the treatise "De homine assumpto", which is transmitted together with Peter the Chanter's *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis* and likewise edited with it.³⁵ One of the manuscripts attributes it to John of Cornwall;³⁶ Dugauquier thoroughly considers the question of authorship³⁷ and reaches the conclusion that John cannot be the author, whereas probability favours Peter the Chanter himself. The evidence and the arguments presented by Dugauquier appear very convincing, and since he does not distinguish between the homo assumptus-theory and the subsistence-theory,³⁸ he in fact leaves out the best argument to discredit the authorship of John: in the *Eulogium* John advocates - in strong terms - the homo assumptus-theory, which is rejected by the author of "De homine assumpto",³⁹ who explicitly favours the subsistence-theory.⁴⁰ The author knew of Alexander III's letter from 1177⁴¹ and the treatise is presumably to be dated like the Chanter's *Summa*, i.e. the 1180s or early '90s. Apart from the fact that the author yields support to the same theory as Langton and Andrew,⁴² it is noteworthy that he begins the exposition of the habitus-theory in the same way as Andrew: "Est alia opinio quorundam dicentium quod hoc nomen *homo* praedicat habitum".⁴³ The closest verbal parallels between "De homine assumpto" and *Hexaemeron* can be found among the objections against the homo assumptus-theory;⁴⁴ this is for instance true of the above quoted example of the phrase 'Iesus assumpsit Iesum'.⁴⁵ In conclusion we can say that Andrew in all probability had a copy of this treatise at hand when writing the eleventh book.

The way Andrew treated his material on the Incarnation illuminates to some degree the purpose of the whole work. Again he wavers between a full scientific exposition that demands the reader to be on a par with the author - otherwise he could at least have left out the summary of the obviously false theory - and a pedagogical exposition in which the author

35) *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis* III,2 b (1967) pp.471-499.

36) Dugauquier (1961) p.442. 37) *Ibid.* pp.437-480. 38) Cf. *Ibid.* p.467.

39) Peter the Chanter, *Summa* III,2 b pp.474-486. 40) *Ibid.* p.490; cf.

Nielsen (1982) p.283 n.22. 41) Peter the Chanter, *Summa* III,2 b p.488.

42) *Ibid.* p.490: "Tertia opinio probabilior esse videtur". 43) *Ibid.*

p.486. 44) *Ibid.* esp. pp.476-481 as compared to *Hexaemeron* 6837-6886.

45) Peter the Chanter, *Summa* III,2 b p.481.

knows best (evidenced by the progression from the false to the true theory and the several minor questions put into the exposition of the true theory). Even if the eleventh book puts great demands on the reader's knowledge of theological termini technici, I still think that Andrew intended a pedagogical survey of teachings on the Incarnation. The fact that he actually refers to all three theories might be explicable if the situation in Andrew's time was similar to the one described by Hugh of St. Cher some decades later:

Prima opinio (homo assumptus-theory) non sustinetur in scolis nisi per positionem; secunda (subsistence-theory) modo ab omnibus conceditur; tertia (habitus-theory) reprobatur ab omnibus tamquam heretica.⁴⁶

3 The Sources of Andrew's Theology

If we are to draw conclusions from the part of the study presented here in chapter IV, we must distinguish between certain results and hypotheses.

Even if only samples of the text have been scrutinized, we can be certain in rejecting Gertz' theory that the question-material of Peter of Poitiers made up Andrew's main source in addition to the Lombard. Andrew used more recent material, and the pervasive accordance of contents with Stephen Langton's questions is strong evidence that that work was his basis. It is furthermore certain that Andrew did not rely on Langton exclusively; in several instances he draws directly on the Lombard, and for a few passages the same is true of Gratian's *Decretum*.

Furthermore, some items in Andrew's theology have no parallels in the Langtonian material, but are matched by some passages in other theologians' works. In order to determine the actual sources used by Andrew and in order to get some insight into his methods of work, it is important to assess these instances correctly. A correct appraisal, however, presupposes a knowledge as to the form in which this material existed when Andrew wrote the theological sections of *Hexaemeron*. This again presupposes a knowledge of his working-methods, and we have thus already entered the webs of hypotheses.

Granted that the basis of Andrew's work existed in the form of written (prose) texts, we shall consider first two extreme hypotheses:

46) Quoted from Landgraf (1953) p.128.

- 1 Apart from the Lombard and Gratian, Andrew copied out only one source, now lost. This source combined the material of Langton and others precisely in the way we have seen in *Hexaemeron*.
- 2 Andrew used a multitude of sources. He used them in the form also known to us and partially presented in this study. In other words, his main source was Langton's questions, and, secondly, he gleaned some items from Praepositinus, Simon of Tournai, Peter the Chanter, Peter Lombard, and Gratian's *Decretum*.

As appears, the two hypotheses are identical apart from the fact that according to (2), Andrew himself compiled the underlying prose text; according to (1) someone else did so. I think both hypotheses labour under a misconception, namely that the writings at our disposal reflect precisely - in matter as in form - the material at Andrew's disposal. Many writings have been lost, and not just texts which can be reconstructed in a simple way (as in (1)); but more importantly, the two hypotheses disregard the impact of oral teaching and its relationship to the surviving texts (this relationship itself being a complex phenomenon). In this context we must not forget that Andrew was a teacher of theology himself and thus shared much common material with other teachers and students. To take an example: a certain phrasing of a problem may appear to us to have the tag 'Simon of Tournai', because we can locate it only in his writings; it might have been, however, a common expression circulating in the Paris classrooms and thus have entered e.g. *Hexaemeron* in this way, and not through Simon's text in question.

These reservations, however, must not lead to the assumption that we have no means at all to give any hints of Andrew's sources. We do have, partly because our texts, to a great extent, are representative of the teaching of theology in Paris (on account of their numbers and of their authors otherwise known to have been important), partly because interdependences between some texts can be demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt (e.g. Martinus/Peter of Poitiers and Geoffrey of Poitiers/Stephen Langton). All this conduces to setting up the following hypothesis as the most probable:

As the basis for versifying the theological material, Andrew had at his disposal the Lombard's *Sentences* and questions (in written form) originating from the teaching of Stephen Langton. As stressed above (p. 179), we can have some confidence in the questions as they are selected and

transmitted in the Cambridge manuscript. This confidence is partly based on a comparison with Geoffrey of Poitiers' *Summa*, partly on the often very striking parallels between these versions of Langton's questions and passages from *Hexaemeron*. That some parts of the poem display fewer similarities with the relevant Langtonian questions may be due to the fact that we know the question in another 'reportatio' than Andrew did (he may have used several "editions" of one question). Any extreme version of this explanation, however, must be avoided, e.g. that all the texts of Andrew and Langton which do not match, are related all the same, though in a way not visible to us because the actual versions of the texts used by Andrew have been lost (this would be the same reasoning as in hypothesis (1) above). We should rather, I believe, think of oral teaching other than Langton's - Andrew's own as well - when we want to account for those parts of the poem, which, apparently, are not based on surviving Langton-questions but on other theologians' material. It would have been quite extraordinary, had Andrew only followed the lectures of one teacher. As a guess at a second teacher, the present study points in the direction of Peter the Chanter - especially if the treatise "De homine assumpto" is correctly attributed to him (or his entourage). Furthermore it is to be assumed that Andrew employed the Langtonian material in his own teaching, where it may have been turned somewhat in the direction, which we can see it has taken in *Hexaemeron*. In this process Andrew's visits to other teachers / colleagues (e.g. Simon of Tournai and Praepositinus) may have played some part. However this may be, Andrew did order the theological material according to his own plan; this will be treated below in the general conclusion.

V CONCLUSION

Andrew Sunesen's *Hexaemeron* is a unique combination of a commentary on the Story of Creation and a theological summa, turned into didactic verse.

In choosing this form, the author presumably learned from the most famous writer in the tradition of "didactic epic" at the end of the 12th century, Alan of Lille - especially his *Anticlaudianus*. Furthermore, Matthew of Vendôme probably exercised a certain influence; in any case, the same poetical fashions are displayed in *Hexaemeron* and in Matthew's *Ars versificatoria*. As demonstrated in chapter II, the immediate source of Andrew's prologue, to be sure, is to be found in John of Hauville's *Architrenius*. His choice of these models bears witness to his readings in this recent literature; most noteworthy, though, is the fact that, on the one hand, he leaves out the allegorical and classicizing contents of the genre, while, on the other hand, retaining such features as the progression or "action" found in *Anticlaudianus* and *Architrenius*.

For his Biblical exegesis, Andrew made an obvious choice of sources: the Biblical text with *Glossa ordinaria* - the basis of nearly every commentary in Andrew's time; next, the textbook by Peter Comestor, *Historia scolastica*, and the relevant sections of the second book of the Lombard's *Sentences*. He displays some scientific ambitions when using material from Thierry of Chartres' *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*. Finally he employs a "Computus", Isidore's *Quaestiones in Genesin*, and Richard of St. Victor's *Allegoriae in vetus testamentum*.

As regards the summa-part of *Hexaemeron*, the theological teaching of the 1180s and '90s in Paris is reflected very clearly. The Lombard's *Sentences* was the textbook, the obvious starting-point for the discussion of any question. Several passages of *Hexaemeron* draw directly on the Lombard, Andrew probably had the book at hand all through his work. Apart from this "reference book", Andrew's chief source is Stephen Langton's *Quaestiones*. In all probability, the Englishman was Andrew's teacher, and by any standard one of the most influential theologians at the turn of the century.

In addition to these two main sources, a few passages betray dependence on Gratian's *Decretum* and, probably, on another teacher's questions - possibly those of Peter the Chanter; at any rate, the treatise "De homine assumpto" was used by Andrew - it was probably the immediate source of some parts of the eleventh book. Andrew's own teaching must have had some effect, even if slight, on the way he presents the doctrines in *Hexaemeron*. The theology of Alan of Lille seems to be related to Andrew's on a few minor points only; he exercised influence on *Hexaemeron* mostly by way of his poetry. More remarkable resemblances to *Hexaemeron* can be found in some passages of Simon of Tournai, Praepositinus, Martinus, and Peter of Poitiers. The similarities, however, do not seem to be numerous - thus, they might as well be explicable in terms of a common scholarly milieu.

Andrew's choice of sources shows his command of the theological scholarship of his day. So does his method of using them. The transformational process from traditional Biblical commentaries and from fresh disputational material into a textually more fixed form - a hexameter poem - is characterized by two things: condensations and transpositions, both carried out in accordance with Andrew's plan.

Condensation is brought about partly by compressing explanations and argumentations, partly by omitting some digressions and arguments. As has been underlined above, Andrew often found himself having to choose between giving the mere conclusion of a problem and setting forth the entire discussion. His usual procedure seems to have been to state the conclusion at the beginning (in contrast to typical prose questions) but then, in supporting that conclusion, to insert some of the objections and the refutation of those objections in the summary of the conclusion. In a few instances, however, he goes into more extensive summaries of others' opinions, as is the case in the eleventh book; nevertheless he provides the reader with the true solution of the problem at the beginning of the question. Finally there are some issues where he does not settle on one solution and just reports the differing views.

Andrew's own ordering of the material must be considered on two levels. First, it is obvious that he endeavoured to bring about "soft transitions" between two separate questions as they appeared in his sources. His transitions are not all convincing, but more often than not he was successful in inserting some key word of a question at the end of the preceding one. This effort to connect the smaller units of the poem seems to have

been undertaken as part of a greater effort, namely to bring about natural transitions between the larger units of the work. Albeit *Hexaemeron* is a composition of different genres, it was no doubt planned as a unit with an inherent progression of subjects. The most important transpositions of subjects (as compared to the ordering in the sources) are: The insertion of the sections on the angels and the Trinity, which underline the close connection between the exegesis of the Story of Creation and dogmatic theology; Furthermore, the theme of the prologue - the contrasting of perdition and salvation - and the allegories of the fourth book anticipate the subjects of Christology and the Last Judgement of books X-XII; The typologies of the tenth book also point back to the Pentateuch. These are the basic features that link together the two genres - hexameral commentary and theological summa. Within the treatment of each genre, Andrew also made transpositions.

The idea of giving the allegories of Genesis 1-2 first, before expounding the Fall literally, was probably determined by the sources: the allegorical material for chapters 1 & 2 was more extensive and more important. Moreover, this ordering signals that the work is not yet brought to an end; the condition of man after the Fall leads naturally on to the theological questions beginning in the fifth book. The transition would have been hard to establish if the fourth book had ended with the entire allegorical exposition of Genesis 1-3.

The reordering of matter in the summa-part of the work also gives evidence of our author's wish to lend contrasts and impart a unifying "action" to the poem. As stated above, the consequence of following the pattern of the summae would have been that the last half of the poem be taken up by subjects pertaining to the salvation of man: virtues, sacraments, the suffering and death of Christ. The placing of the treatise on sin immediately before the one on Christology stresses the indispensability of the coming of Christ; moreover the contrast Adam/Christ is underlined in this way - and we are reminded that this contrast perfectly matches the one set forth in the prologue as the theme of the work (perdition versus salvation).

On the basis of the present study, we are in a position to reject Gertz' verdict of *Hexaemeron* as a "Lombardus abbreviatus", unless that label be fit for all summae of the period. As stressed above, Andrew's theology can be understood in a proper way, only if it is set against the develop-

ment of theology in the Parisian schools in the 1170s and '80s. Within that development there are, of course, minor and major figures. The latter group includes Peter of Poitiers, Stephen Langton, and Praepositinus; theologians who were all influential in the scholasticism of the early 13th century. Among the minor figures we find Martinus, Geoffrey of Poitiers, and Andrew Sunesen. Their theology is mostly derivative: Martinus copied out Peter of Poitiers, Simon of Tournai and others, Andrew relied on Langton, and Geoffrey on Praepositinus and Langton. *Hexaemeron*, then, is to be juxtaposed with the *summae* of Martinus and Geoffrey of Poitiers. Andrew's choice of the didactic/epic form, of course, marks an important difference from those works - the thematic unity is emphasized at the expense of the dialectical discussions.

Although Gertz was aware of the deviations from the Lombard, he held on to his verdict. But yet there is much wisdom in the words quoted from his introduction (above p.118) with which we can agree - though on different grounds: "...scilicet ex studiis Parisinis hanc sibi disputandi iudicandique facultatem paraverat, ut non per omnia magistri vestigiis insistere eisdemque finibus se continere cogeretur..." We can also agree with Hammerich when he states that Andrew conceived the plan of the work and carried it out in his own style.

As to the date and place of composition, Gertz favoured the possibility that *Hexaemeron* was written between Andrew's arrival in Denmark in 1196 and his first trip to Estonia in 1206, thus claiming that the work was done in Denmark. This need not be a false theory, even if Gertz' hypothesis that all the sources of the work are mentioned in the list of books, is dubious (cf. p.155). Andrew may have had other books at his disposal than those he bequeathed to the chapter of Lund. Gertz' *terminus ante quem* is not demonstrably true, but very likely: it is hard to imagine the archbishop engage himself in reshaping theological teachings by that time 15-20 years old - and all that for an ignorant Scandinavian public. This train of thought, however, can bring the *terminus ante quem* as far back as 1195, at least as regards the bulk of the work. To my mind, the most probable reconstruction of Andrew's early career looks something like this:

At the age of about fifteen he arrived at Paris in approximately 1180.¹

1) That he should have arrived at Paris after the return of his brother, Peder, is mere conjecture; cf. Gertz (1892) p.I.

Here he studied 'artes', possibly under the guidance of Matthew of Vendôme.² Next, he studied theology under Stephen Langton and probably Peter the Chanter as well. Andrew may have obtained the title of 'magister artium' as early as 1186.³ We know for certain that he became master of theology - that must have happened about 1190. According to Saxo (cf. p.115 above) he also visited Italy and England. It is reasonable to assume that he, in the '80s, spent a few years in Bologna studying law; maybe he did this under Huguccio of Pisa.⁴ The trip to England is stranger, but our chronology would benefit from the assumption that it was a brief sojourn. The "foreign school" mentioned by Saxo cannot be located. It was probably in Paris or some other place in France.

It is my opinion that the majority of the work on *Hexaemeron* was carried out in the years between 1190 and 1195. The latter date is the first certain one in the biography of Andrew (cf. p.168n.51). In that year he was commissioned to take care of queen Ingeborg's rights with the assistance of abbot William. There is no evidence to support the common opinion that Andrew had returned to Denmark in the very early 1190s, was appointed chancellor, and then was commissioned to handle the embarrassing royal case. I therefore propose that between 1190 and 1195 he stayed in France, taught in his school, and wrote *Hexaemeron*. This hypothesis, then, offers a rather precise interpretation of Saxo's vague words:

Hinc ob insignium culmen meritaque virtutum regius epistolaris
effectus officium mediocritatis liminibus contentum tantis industriae
operibus exornasti, ut...

His good name and reputation in France and his noble Danish blood must have rendered him the ideal ambassador and negotiator in the Ingeborg case (which Saxo, for obvious reasons, fails to mention). Hence he was appointed chancellor in 1194 or 1195. Andrew no doubt displayed great scholarly abilities and interests, and it is far from certain that he was sent abroad only to return as soon as possible with qualifications for and administrative office at home. His teaching abroad and the demanding verses of *Hexaemeron* (not intended for a Danish public!) point in another direction. His work must have been aimed at students with a good knowledge

2) Cf. Munk Olsen (1985) p.88. 3) Not later than 1186 abbot William writes to Peder Sunesen and asks him to give his regards to "magister Andreas" (DD 1:3,2 p.520), i.e. presumably Andrew Sunesen. 4) Before 1190, when Huguccio was appointed bishop of Ferrara; cf. p.119n.29.

of theology and in need of a brush-up of their Latin prosody.

Today, *Hexaemeron* commands less attention than that other Danish magnum opus from the age, Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*. Andrew's poem, however, is a noble witness to the truth of Arnold of Lübeck's words that the sons of the Danish nobles are to be commended for their sharp wits and their gift for languages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following abbreviations have been used in the notes and the bibliography:

AH	Analecta Hymnica
AHDLM	Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge
CCI	Corpus Codicum Islandicorum
CCL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
DBL	Dansk Biografisk Leksikon
DD	Diplomatarium Danicum
DTC	Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique
KLNM	Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
RTAM	Recherches de Theologie Ancienne et Médiévale

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