

Discovering a Preacher and His Work. First Approaches to Petrus Hispanus' Sermon Collections

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Abstract

The name Petrus Hispanus covers a range of authors on different topics, such as medicine or philosophy. The less studied part of the “corpus petrunicum” concerns a group of three sermon collections discovered in the 1970s by Schneyer and Cruz Pontes.

This article investigates, for the first time, two of these three sermon collections, inquiring into their authorship, their environment of composition and the purpose for which they were written down. In doing so, the figure of a Dominican Preacher, active in Langue d’Oc in the third quarter of the 13th century, emerges.

In the second part of the paper two sermons of each Sunday collection are compared so as to discover not only the main interests of the preacher, but also the different uses for which these collections were written. A kaleidoscopic range of possibilities comes to light, enriching the perspective in which to approach this new material.

Keywords: Medieval preaching; sermons; Dominican Order, Petrus Hispanus

Resumen. *Descubriendo a un Predicador y su Obra. Primeros enfoques a las colecciones de sermones de Petrus Hispanus*

El nombre de Petrus Hispanus cubre un abanico de autores de diferentes temas, tales como la medicina o la filosofía. La parte menos estudiada del «corpus petrunicum» se relaciona con un grupo de tres colecciones de sermones descubiertos en los setenta por Schneyer y Cruz Pontes.

Este artículo investiga, por primera vez, dos de estas tres colecciones, intentando explorar la cuestión de la autoría, su ambiente de composición y el propósito por el que fueron escritos; haciendo esto, emerge la figura del predicador dominico activo en la Provenza en el tercer cuarto del siglo trece.

En la segunda parte de este artículo se comparan dos sermones de cada colección dominical para descubrir no solo las preocupaciones principales del predicador sino además los diferentes usos para los que fueron escritas estas colecciones. Así aparece un caleidoscópico abanico de posibilidades, enriqueciendo la perspectiva sobre el tema gracias a este nuevo material.

Palabras clave: predicación medieval; sermones; Dominicos; Petrus Hispanus

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Among the large amount of works attributed to Petrus Hispanus, who became pope with the name of John XXI, the only Portuguese pope in history (Mazzi-Belli, 1971: 39-87; Petella, 1899: 277-329; Meirinhos, 2000: on line; Grabmann, 1979: 1123-1254; Moreau, 1979: 391-407; Paravicini Bagliani, 2010: 60-61; *Les registres* 1892-1906; Frare, 1958-1959: 64-69), the less studied ones are those pertaining to his activity as a preacher and sermon writer. A selection of sermons, in fact, was attributed to him and entered the “corpus petrinicum” thanks to Schneyer’s sermons *repertorium*, published between 1969 and 1974. Although the German scholar listed two series of sermons for Sunday feasts, no one had, up to now, approached in a systematic way the manuscripts preserving them (Schneyer, 1974: 652-663).

Besides Schneyer, only José Maria da Cruz Pontes (Pontes, 1977: 220-230) and, more recently, José Meirinhos (Meirinhos, 1996: 51-76; Meirinhos, 2011: 19, 105) examined the homiletic material traditionally attributed to an almost unknown Petrus Hispanus, albeit transiently. Although Schneyer in 1974 considered it still possible to identify the preacher with the future pope, a few years later, in 1977, Cruz Pontes refused this attribution. In his essay “À propos d’un centenaire. Une nouvelle monographie sur Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis, le pape Jean XXI (†1277), est-elle nécessaire?” he listed quite accurately a series of authors who, during the 13th century, were called Petrus and came from the Iberian Peninsula, so as to be named “de l’Espagne” (Pontes, 1977: 222-228). In addition, José Meirinhos was able to extend the range of possibilities, identifying in narrative sources at least two other authors with the same name, specifically two Franciscans. In his doctoral thesis and in the ensuing book and essays, the Portuguese scholar repeatedly attempts to distinguish the several authors and their corresponding philosophical works (Meirinhos, 2011: XXIV-XLII; see also D’Ors, 1997, 2001, 2003; Tugwell, 1999, 2006).

Cruz Pontes, however, was certainly the first to grope to establish a more certain attribution to that “frater Petrus de Yspanus Ordinis predicatorum” who delivered at least 156 Sunday sermons (one more than is found in Schneyer’s *Repertorium*) and perhaps another 24 sermons on saints, utterly unknown to the German scholar (Pontes, 1977: 227; see also Meirinhos, 2011: 74).

Moving from the small bibliography reserved to Petrus Hispanus as a preacher and a preliminary study of the manuscripts, the following pages inquire into his environment, the attribution of his works and some of their main features.

As already mentioned, 155 Sunday sermons are attributed to Petrus Hispanus. They are kept in three manuscripts¹. All of them were written between

1. Correctly, José Meirinhos excluded from the list Firenze, BNCF, G. 7. 1464, as no sermon of the two collections is included there. In the list I omit Barcelona, Ripoll. 213, ff. 161r-202ra (cf. Meirinhos, 2011: 20) for it presents a totally different collection. However, it is remarkable that in this manuscript a later hand noted on the left top of a folium: “Opus fratris Petri Insoli Yspani”. A deeper investigation has to be done to establish whether this author is the same preacher of the other two collections.

the end of the 13th and the beginnings of the 14th century and nowadays they are kept in the libraries of Florence, Barcelona and Avignon. The oldest manuscript is the Florentine one (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. E.1.589) and it is the only one containing an attribution of the collection (Orlandi, 1952: 112; Kristeller, 1963: 112; Pomaro, 1980: 331-392; Meirinhos, 2011: 105). At the very beginning of the manuscript, in f. 1ra, a contemporary hand wrote above the line: “Incipiunt sermones dominicales fratris Petri Yspani de Ordine predicatorum, Dominica prima in aduentu”. The scribe is not the same for the rest of the manuscript, as the letters -s-, -a- and -r- show, but he is contemporary to the unknown main copyist. The Florentine manuscript, composed at the end of the 13th century, was intended for the library, i.e. it was among those preaching tools chained in the library of the Convent of Santa Maria Novella (Nebbiai, 2002: 219-270; Frioli, 2005: 301-373; Cinelli, 2016: 288-289), as another contemporary hand writes at the right top of f. 1r². It is a medium sized codex, with decorated capital letters and rubrics, and, even more interesting, some traces of later readers on the margins. It contains the so-called collection one, n° 1 to 55 of Schneyer’s list of sermons (Schneyer, 1974: 652-656), covering the entire liturgical year.

The other two manuscripts do not mention any authorship for the collections they contain. The Avignones copy (Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 597), the most recent one, is an anonymous collection of sermons from at least three authors (Catalogue, 1951: 235). Among them, are some of Petrus Hispanus’ sermons taken from the Florence manuscript³. It is a pocket-sized notebook, with no ordered lines and no decoration. The late 14th-century copyist writes for himself, as the confusions in the texts show. He transcribed just a part of Peter’s collection, basically from the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost, at f. 90rb, up to the end of the year. As with the other sermons, no attribution is reported.

Moving to the third manuscript, Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 120, it is the only one containing Schneyer’s second Sunday collection, preserved on folios 1ra up to 96vb. As in the Avignones case, it does not present an attribution, although those sermons have been identified as Petrus Hispanus’ writings already in the first catalogues (García Villada, 1915, s.v.). Again, it is a library codex, with a good quality of writing, *mise en page* and decoration. Medium-sized, it was written during the first half of the 14th century. From f. 97r to the end of the manuscript, the same hand copied another anonymous collection, which Schneyer did not recognize as Peter’s. The liturgical similarities between the two parts of the manuscript call for further investigation of this second collection.

The last group of sermons, the Sanctoral, is kept in ms. Cremona, Biblioteca Civica, ms. 13. I have not seen this manuscript yet, but Cruz Pontes, the

2. Firenze, BNCF, ms. E.I 589, f. 1rb, above the line: “Conventus sancte Marie Novelle de Florentia”. The Florentine manuscript will be referred to as F in the following pages.
3. Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 597, ff. 43vbis; 99rb-141vb (mutilus).

only scholar having seen it directly, writes that the attribution is noted in an ancient label in parchment, in Gothic Italian writing, almost contemporary to the main corpus of the manuscript. There, the Portuguese scholar could read: “Sermones praedicabiles et quaedam alia / Magistri Petri Hyspani”. However, as he was looking for notices on the pope’s life, Cruz Pontes stated that this collection is “dépourvue d’un réel intérêt” (Pontes, 1977: 227; Meirinhos, 2011: 74-75. Cfr Mazzatinti, 1939: 10-11).

As we can see, the only two manuscripts giving an attribution to the collections they keep are the Florentine and the Cremonese ones, so that we can assume that the first collection on Sunday Feast and the Sanctoral were known to be works by one or even two “Petrus Hispanus”. One of the problems concerning this issue is to understand whether these Petri Hispani, the friar and the *magister*, were the same one or not. The different epithets and origins of the two manuscripts, in fact, may lead us to think of two different authors. However, before knowing the list of saints venerated in Cremona’s sermons, it is completely impossible to say anything on this collection.

Anyway, these two cycles are surely attributed to a Petrus. Compared to them, the second one, for all Sundays of the year, still remains uncertain, for it is unattributed.

Some elements, however, allow us at least to compare sermons in Florence and Barcelona and to recognize either the same author or a common religious background (cfr. Mulchahey, 1998; Gaffuri, 1995: 81-112; Bataillon, 1977: 691-694; Linde, 2016: 260-274). Looking at both collections and checking their *thematata* with the Dominican Missal, we can affirm that both of them are an internal product of the Dominican Order, in a period, around the middle of the 13th century, where the Order’s liturgy was quite established on the basis of the Roman Missal and calendar (O’Carroll, 1974: 79-103; O’Carroll, 1995: 214-227).

For the Florentine collection, a date of composition for the codex, if not for the text, can be ventured. On the contrary, for the Barcelona one this cannot be done. The Italian copy presents a model sermon collection for a leap year, i.e. twenty five Sundays after Pentecost. Crossing codicological data with the table of the feasts, the composer of the collection may have referred to a cycle of sermons suitable to the years 1256 or 1240. Although the latter may seem an extremely early date for such kind of tools, internal evidence suggests it as possible if not even likely. Still, the composition of the manuscript may not be too far from its content. At the lower margin of f. 101ra, in fact, a later hand reports: “Sanctus Thomas de Aquino frater predicator, arduus ingenii dator illustrator”. Thomas’ holiness was celebrated in the Dominican Order well before his solemn canonization and such a formula started to be used very soon after the theologian’s death in 1274⁴. Given this information, it seems possible to reduce the period of composition of the Florentine collection to the second or third quarter of the 13th century, refraining from

4. I am grateful to Dr. Lorenza Tromboni for this information.

establishing the precise year such sermons could have been penned. On the contrary, the Barcelonese collection cannot be fixed with the same accuracy, as it does not present any particular feature in its calendar allowing us to determine the period of composition. A further investigation for common clues between the two collections is thus needed to confirm either the date of the Barcelona version or the common authorship of both.

Such inquiry will take a long time as the Barcelonese sermons deeply rework the Florentine ones, modifying the structure, themes and, allegedly, the audience and purpose.

As for the structure, the Florentine sermons are long, complex, rich in *exempla* and references to contemporary life, while the Barcelonese ones are short, simple, based on the historical sense of Sunday's lectures. While the texts in the first one are rich in internal references, namely to other sermons of the homiletic cycle — sometimes called “processus”⁵ —, those in the latter manuscript are just schemes with no other internal references than the liturgical and scriptural ones. In some cases, this seems to be the result or the prequel of an academic debate considering the entries of some questions and answers always preceded by the word “respondeo”⁶. To answer a question, the scribe often introduces one of his rare quotations from the Church Fathers, largely preferring Gregory the Great. He almost neglects more valued authors, such as Augustine or Bernard, quoted in the Florentine collection. Even when speaking on the Trinitarian mystery, a theme he hugely defends, he does not introduce any Augustinian quotation, although the saint of Hippo was the most common authority in medieval sermons. This feature is common to the two collections, albeit Gregory the Great appearing more frequently in Barcelona.

Concerning the themes of the two collections the results are quite different, for some sermons of the two versions strictly depend on one another, while others do not present common points. To make it clearer, I have tried to compare two feasts taken from two parts of the year. The first one is the very beginning of the collection, the First Sunday of Advent, while the second is the history of Lazarus and the rich Epulon, that is, the First Sunday after Pentecost.

Both collections choose, for their first sermon, the theme *Benedictus qui venit* (Blessed is he that cometh, Mt. 21, 9). The Florentine text is 4 folios long (F, ff. 1ra-2ra), while the Barcelonese one occupies only three columns (B, ff. 1ra-1vb). Both begin by remembering that the same lecture can be used on the Palm Sunday, whereas for such an occasion they prefer the very opening of that chapter of the Gospel and do not comment on this part of it. The two sermons start by saying:

5. For example, f. 12rb: “[...] ut scilicet reddatur quod debet inferioribus et superioribus et paribus, ut dictum est supra in alio processu”; f. 12va: “et de hoc satis habetur in sermone illius dominice [...] et de hoc ultra habetur”.
6. See for example Barcelona, ACA, Ripoll 120 (henceforth referred to as B), f. 60ra: “Vtriusque operator est Dominus. Respondeo: autem quare quosdam pauperes quosdam diuites facit? Est sicut dicit Gregorius, ut probet pauperum patientiam et diutum misericordiam”.

Today's Gospel is sung twice per year, i.e. on Palm Day in the glorious memory of the things that happened on that day, to which all of history adheres, and on the First Sunday of Advent, to excite memory, that is, the flavour and the joy of the soul, having heard in spirit that at the end of this Gospel it is said: "Blessed is that cometh in the name of God". Spiritually, this advent in time agrees to when Christ came and it refers to him who comes⁷.

They continue using the same words for two more sentences. Here they clarify why the same Gospel can be used twice in a year: namely because of a substantial fault in clearness of the Evangelical narration, which can be referred either to the incarnation of God's son in the Virgin's womb or to his forthcoming return. Then, they abandon the explication of the double liturgical occurrence, to focus on the meaning of the present day, when the entire Church modulates its singing voices as if it was attending the Virgin in travail⁸.

From this point onwards, the two sermons separate. The Barcelonese one just provides a simple scheme of the meanings of the periscope of the Gospel, while the Florentine one enlarges its speech and includes other minor sermons. The Barcelona version divides the periscope into two parts: one is for the name of God and the other is for the way Christ came in His name. For the first point, the preacher recalls just the Psalms and Isaiah, before introducing the literal sense of the Gospel⁹. This expedient appears quite often in the manuscript and it marks a rupture between the two collections, for the Florentine one prefers the moral sense of the lecture of the day, with only brief referenc-

7. B, f. 1ra: "Euangelium hodiernum bis cantatur in an<n>o, scilicet in die ramorum in rei tunc geste celebrem memoriam, cui tota ystoria utpote illius diei propria congruit, et in prima dominica aduentus Domini ad excitandam, scilicet fragranciam et spiritus leticiam audito spiritualiter quod in fine euangelii dicitur *benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini*. Hoc enim spiritualiter tempori aduentus consonat ubi Christus uenisse et adueniens dicitur". F, f. 1ra: "Euangelium hodiernum bis in anno cantatur scilicet in die ramorum et in prima dominica Aduentus Domini. Illo itaque die in rei tunc geste celebrem memoriam, cui tota ystoria utpote illius diei propria congruit. In hac autem ad excitandam caritatis fragrantiam et spiritus letitiam. Audito spiritualiter quod in fine euangelii dicitur: *benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini*. Hoc enim spiritualiter tempori aduentus consonat ubi Christus uenisse et adueniens dicitur".
8. B, *ibid.*: "Non enim satis patet de hoc uerbo uenit cuius sit temporis nisi sic uel sic quod dictum est liceat exponere. Venit olim benedictus Dei filius in Virginis uterum uel iam uenit et quasi est in ianuis, ut de Virginis uterum ueniat mundum et est uerbum Ecclesie qui sic modulatur huius temporis cantica ac si simus ante t<h>orum pinture Virginis". F, *ibid.*: "Non enim satis patet de hoc uerbo 'uenit' cuius sit temporis, ut sic uel sic quod dictum est liceat exponere. Venit olim benedictus Dei filius in Virginis uterum, uel iam uenit et quasi est in ianuis ut de uirginis utero ueniat in mundum. Et est uerbum ecclesie que sic modulatur huius temporis cantica ac si simus ante thorum pariture Virginis".
9. B, 1rb-1vb: "Primum est quod est nomen Domini di quo hic agitur. Et Dauid quod nomini Domini est mirabile. Ps: *Domine Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum* etc. et Is. IX (9, 6): et uocabitur nomen eius admirabilis et notandum quod benedictus Christus Dei filius mirabilis cum intribus que possunt notari in litera euangelii [...] Secundum est quomodo Christus uenit in hoc nomine Domini et posset dici quod Dominus Iesus Christus uenit in hoc nomine mirabiliter. Fuit enim mirabilis in conceptione Iere. XXX (31, 22): *nouum faciet Dominus super terram mulier circumdabit uirum*".

es to the historical one. Going back to the sermon, however, the preacher divides the lecture into three parts standing for the clemency that made Jesus go to Jerusalem (and so he comes back to the Palm Sunday), the science (as he could preview his death while entering in the city on a donkey), and finally Christ's power, because he was the Lord of the lords¹⁰. Such a construction reveals its teaching purpose: a threefold scheme, with the explication and the chain of authorities basically taken from the Bible with just one reference to the interlinear Gloss.

The same construction is repeated in the second part of the text, the one on the way Christ came in the name of God, i.e. admirably. Here the preacher recalls the Conception, Nativity, preaching, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, that is, the whole of Jesus' earthly life, to which he adds the Final Judgment with the return of Christ as a judge¹¹. In doing so, he runs even faster than in the first division, just adding one Biblical authority per point. The writing here is abruptly interrupted, and it almost introduces the following Sunday "Erunt signa".

The Florentine parallel sermon is a kind of development of the scheme mentioned above and accentuates even more its didactic purpose. The preacher focused on the spiritual sense of the text, openly leaving the historical one to "those who may wish to preach on the entire Gospel"¹². The basis of the dissertation is taken from the Barcelonese copy, at least in its first part. How-

10. B, ff. 1rb-1va: "[...] in clemencia ibi *cum appropinquaret Iherosolimis* ubi mortem erat passurus et tamen gratis offert se, Ion. IV (4, 2): *scio enim quia tu es Deus clemens et misericors et multe miserationis*; Ps. (129, 7): *apud Dominum misericordia* etc.; item (Ps. 110, 4): *miserator Dominus* etc. Vnde bene dicitur: transisse per montem Oliuetum (cfr. Mt. 21, 1) in quo intelligi misericordia. Vnde dicit Glossa: «Ad sublimitatem misericordie respiciens». Et bene dicit sublimitatem misericordie, nam alicuius non potuit sublimari Christi media. In scientia ibi statim *inuenientis asinam* etc. (Mt. 21, 2) Nihil enim fit in ciuitate quod eum lateat, imo scit omnia. Eccli. XXXIII (17, 13): *uie illorum coram ipso sunt semper*. Non sunt absconse ab oculis ipsius, et infra (Eccli. 17, 16): *omnia opera illorum uelut sol in conspectu Dei*; Heb. IV (4, 13): *omnia nuda et aperta sunt ante oculos eius*. In potentia ibi Dominus in Tim. II (6, 15): *beatus et solus potens rex regum et Dominus dominantium*; Sap. XI (11, 24): *misereris omnium quam omnia potes*. Mt. ultimo (28, 18): *data est mihi omnis potestas in celo et in terra*. Ideo dicitur simpliciter Dominus quia est omnium rerum Dominus".
11. B, f. 1va: "Natiuitate Lc. II (2, 18): *et omnes qui audierunt mirati sunt et de hiis que dicta erant a pastoribus ad predicationem*; Io. VII (7, 15): *ipso mirabantur iudei dicentes: quomodo hic li<t>teras scit cum non didiscit?* et Lc IV (4, 22): *et omnis testimonium illi dabant et mirabantur in uerbis gratie que procedebant de ore eius*. Passione Mc. XX (15, 44): *Pilatus autem mirabatur si iam obisset*. Resurrectione Lc. XXIV (24, 41): *adhuc autem illis non credentibus et mirantibus pre gaudio dixit habetis hec aliquid quod manducetur*. Ascensione At. I (1, 11): *uiri galilei qui statis aspicientes in celum hoc* etc. Spiritus Sancti missione At. II (2, 7): *stupebant autem omnes et mirabantur dicentes: nonne ecce omnes isti qui loquuntur galilei sunt et quomodo nos audiuimus unusquisque linguam* etc. Aduentu etiam ad iudicium Eccli. XLIII (43, 20): *pulcritudinem candoris eius admirabitur oculis*; Ps. (49, 3): *Deus manifeste ueniet ignis in conspectu eius exardescet*. Dicit ergo: *benedictus qui uenit* etc."
12. F, f. 1ra: "Sermo ergo de processu ystorie euagelice, si fortassis alicui de toto euangelio predicare placeat, illo requiratur ubi res gesta recolitur. Nunc autem de eo quod presens tempus spiritualiter respicit procedatur".

ever, the Florentine preacher aims at going deeper into the Gospel, adding not only references to its moral meaning, but also attempting to introduce real life situations, such as conditions of an urban community and of its prelates. Here, for example, he evokes the image of a city ruled by an omniscient king (“nihil enim fit in ciuitate quod eum lateat, immo scit omnia”, f. 1rb) whose power is so strong that no rebellion could rise up (“nam in hac archa pacifica uel pacata fuerunt sine rebellione et contradictione”, *ibid.*). This king is supported by a council of angels (*consiliarii*, f. 1rb), whose role is to refer to the ministers his willingness, that to persevere on goodness (*ne a bono desistamus*), not to stop preaching (*ne desistatis predicando*), to let struggles pass by (*ut contentiosis cedamus*), to be a good example to their flock. The author recalls later the parallel of the two liturgical occasions the Gospel is used for just to explain the spiritual connection of the advent of Christ and his Passion, and above all its role in the government of Jerusalem¹³, which is not only the historical town, but also the community the preacher addresses in his speech. The memory of the two events preludes the horrible advent of the Final Judgement: its arrival summarizes all evangelical history (F, f. 1va). The fear of judgment has to be announced to keep the community in peace, for all its rectors have to remember that they have to keep it as friends and in peace. Each king or powerful man has to stay far from illicit actions, while the subjects must preserve the established order.

At this point, the preacher moves from the civic community to the Church. The latter depends directly on God because he created, fed, enriched and brought it up as his own heir. The action of the Church has to reflect Christ's life, considering that he was born in a time of peace and worked to preserve it¹⁴. Through the Church, Christ is still granting three kinds of peace: the peace of time, which is due to obedient men, that of the soul, given to those who are patient, and the best of all three, that of eternity, which is granted only to poor men, who are the only ones reaching the highest peaks of glory¹⁵.

Recollecting poverty, either spiritual or physical, is an important feature of the Florentine collection. At this point, I can only assume that such sensitiv-

13. F, f. 1va: “Christus ergo Deus est, quem ardentem probat non solum Ierusalem appropinquatio, sed etiam laudum sollempnis exhibitio et receptio. Deus enim frequenter intrauerat, sicut dicit glossa, Ierusalem, sed non rex dictus nec cum tanta festiuitate sicut modo quando ascenderat passurus, quod ideo factum est ut amplius illorum aduersum se excitaret inuidiam quia ita tempus passionis instabat. Ecce quo igne amoris! Quantum desiderium nostre salutis habuerit!”.
14. F, f. 1rb: “[...] Ierusalem, per quam designatur sancta ecclesia cuius ipse (Christus) est rex, qui et pater dicitur triplici ratione: quia nos genuerit [...]; quia nos paterne educauit [...]; lactauit etiam nos et paut uerbo suo et docuit et custodiuit [...]; quia nos ditauit et hereditauit. Thesaurificauit enim filiis”.
15. F, f. 2ra: “Vel aliter dic quod Christus est princeps pacis que triplex est: temporis, que bona est, quam dat obedientibus, unde Is. (48, 18): *si attendisses mandata mea facta fuisset* etc.; peccatoris que melior est, quam dat ipsam diligentibus, unde in Lc. X (10, 46): *si ibi fuerit filius pacis, requiescet super illam*; eternitatis que optima est, quam dat pauperibus, Ps.: *a fructu frumenti et olei sui* etc., scilicet diuites huius seculi, sed dicit pauper spiritu etc.”.

ity may come from the environment of the preacher. As appointed above, this Petrus Hispanus surely teaches and preaches in an urban community. Several traces lead to a context of strong economic activity where poverty and the way to face it had to be a critical task. It is the case of Italian towns, where hospitals, leproseries and other kinds of assistance providers were promoted by municipalities and religious orders, above all by Mendicant ones, this preacher being a member of one of them (cfr. Rusconi, 1981: 977-986; Lindé, 2016: 260-262; Delcorno, 1984:577-587; Lesnick, 1984; Corbari, 2013, just to provide a few titles), but also Provençal ones (cfr. Le Beévec, 2008; Assistance et charité, 1978: passim).

However, admitting that the two collections belong to two different stages of his life, their author could have changed his mind along the years. Looking at the sermon for the first Sunday after Pentecost (Schneyer, 1974: 123/T41, p. 661; B, ff. 60ra-61rb; F, ff. 51rb-51vb), the one on Lazarus, in fact, we notice not only a real difference of structure between the two sermons, with no point in common, but also a divergent approach in each to richness and poverty (on the tradition of this topic see Delcorno, 2014). In the Florentine sermon, Petrus Hispanus essentially focuses on the comparison between the rich man's and the beggar's situation. The preacher summons up the latter's fragility and mortality, while he recalls all the vices of the first to admonish some members of the social body. His speech is *de mortuis pro vivis* (F, f. 51rb: "in hoc euangelio agitur de mortuis pro instruendis uiuis, omnia enim ad nostram doctrina scripta sunt"), for everyone has to die, he says. "You may be rich or poor, as everyone is, but God will make no difference between the king and the beggar¹⁶". This is demonstrated in the Gospel, as neither the rich's parents nor his wealth made any value for the rich¹⁷. Individual life situations make no difference at the final moment — even Christ died next to the thief — for everyone has to die, but not all of us will die in the same way¹⁸. At this point the Florentine preacher writes a very

16. F, f. 51rb: "Primo ponuntur quedam communia, in quibus socii fuerunt, ibi: *homo*, et melius infra, ubi dicitur: factum est autem ut moriretur mendicus. Illa autem sunt duo, scilicet fragilitas et mortalitas, que satis proprie notantur in uerbis istis. Et hec communia sunt omnibus. Et circa hoc peccatum dicit tria, scilicet quod omnes habent necesse mori generaliter, in hoc quod mortuus est diues et pauper. Omnes enim sunt diuites uel pauperes, Ps. (88, 49): *quis est homo qui uiuit et non uidebit mortem*, quasi dicat: nullus. Iob XIII (14, 1): *homo natus de muliere breui uiuens tempore, repletur multis miseris*. Et ita fragilis, Eccle. X (9, 4): *nemo est qui semper uiuat* etc. Hoc autem a Deo omnia sunt communia regi et pauperi, ut impossibile sit euadere aliquem, siue potens siue pauper fuerit".
17. F, *ibid.*: "Exemplum de istis non enim uiuant parentes nec diuitie in quibus abundabat iste, Lc. XII (12, 15): *non in habundantia cuiusquam uita est*. Et subdit exemplum".
18. F, *ibid.*: "Eccle. (Prov. 11, 4): *non proderunt diuitie in die ultionis* (ms. obductionis) etc. Ideo dicitur in Iob de istis duobus (21, 23): *iste moritur robustus est sanus et diues est*. Et sequitur (Iob 21, 25): *et alius moritur in amaritudine anime* etc. Vnde sine male separauerit, ut patet in istis Sap. II (2, 7): *uino pretioso* etc.; Is. (22, 13): *comedamus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur*, quasi dicat: etiam si comedamus, moriemur. Tamen dicunt stulti: bene siue male uixerit, sicut patet in istis similiter. Item Christus et latro mortui sunt, Mt. XXVII. Legitur etiam Eccle. (2, 16): *moritur doctus pariter et indoctus*. Non omnes tamen moriuntur similiter sicut patet ibi (Lc. 16, 22): *et portaretur ab angelis in sinu* etc."

long division on the differences between the death of virtuous men and that of evil ones. He introduces some quotations of certain philosophers, who are not further specified, maybe some of his own contemporaries, as he recalls some sentences by Seneca and by Gregory the Great. His columns abound in *exempla* taken from real life and nature¹⁹.

The rich, whose name is not remembered as a decision of God (F, f. 51vb: “*melius tamen dissimilitudo uite eorum quia alter ignotus fuit Domino, unde nec nominatur. Putruerat enim nomen suum*”), is the image of the new bourgeoisie as it appears also in other contemporary sermon collections. His vices are pride, avarice, vainglory, and his carelessness for death and for the following judgment (F, f. 51vb). One of his greatest faults is accumulating wealth without sharing it, leaving the poor to lie in the open air. Such behaviour thwarts the Evangelical teaching that says: “Go and sell everything you have and give it to the poor”. Moreover, he weakens civic cohesion, creating envy and worsening social disparities. The rich is like contemporary men and women in search of others’ approval through the lavishness of their clothes (elsewhere the preacher sharply attacks this tendency). He is like those vainglorious people who cover themselves with rich stones and vestments, saying they do not do it to be seen, all the while going around town and pretending to bump into someone just to be admired and create disharmony. Among those vicious riches, women are the worst, as usual in this kind of literature. What is new is the reason they will be damned more than men. The preacher admonishes them with particular verve, as his point is their going against nature and God’s will: their clothes are even more expensive than masculine ones, while for their nature women should be more affected by others’ sufferance. Thus, in exhibiting such wealthy clothes, they literally wear the poor’s blood and are worthy of hellfire (F, f. 52ra: “*est uestis uxoris fenerationis, que portat super dorsum sanguinem pauperum erit in combustionem et cibus ignis eternis*”). Nevertheless, excessive attention to appearance and rich vestments condemns all those men and female acting like these women for they misuse God’s gifts²⁰. As the Gospel teaches, one who

19. F, f. 51va: “*Exemplum aliquis uadens ultra mare si deberet morari ibi mille annis non portaret omnia que posset, dum dies est asili*”.

20. F, ff. 51vb- 52ra: “*Vnde dicuntur tria in quibus ostenditur habuisse nimium amorem sui, quia uolebat uestis suauitatem, quod notatur in bisso, quod est sicut dicit glossa: “genus lini mollissimi” [...]; superbiam uite quod notatur ibi: *purpura*. Hoc enim sicut dicit glossa: “non nisi per inanem gloriam costis uestris non facit plus quam alia nec plus durat”, et quod non appetatur nisi ad uanitatem patet, quia inanis gloria est, secundum philosophum: “etiam nullo consciente non festinaret in esse”. [...] Nemo quippe curat ibi pretiosis uestibus indui ubi ab aliis non possit uideri. Mentiuntur ergo illi qui dicunt talis propter uires necessaria, cum eque portent illa uiris absentibus ut presentibus. Immo portant per uillam et quanto uix uenit aliis inuentis indutas. Glossa etiam dicit hic: “Si pretiosarum uestium etc.” Ab hoc debet uir ardere quamlibet mulierem. Exemplum nature. Nam galline, oui, boui et omni generi animalium sufficit quod natura dedit eis homini, ergo autem non sufficit, cum sit dignioris conditionis omnibus illis [...]. (Is. 3, 24) *Erit pro fascia pectorali* etc. Satis est dura comminatio, sed uiderant quam bene decorant mulierem caluitium nec mirum si grauis est ultio. Vestis enim talis Christo aufert animas”.*

sees a naked poor has to stop and cover him. If he does not, he is guilty of murder (F, f. 52rb: “non dare est occidere”). Hence, Lazarus’ death can practically be blamed on the rich: the beggar dies because the rich did not provide him with anything (F, *ibid.*: “unde mors Laçari quasi imputari potest diuiti, dicit enim euangelium: *factum est autem ut moreretur mendicus. Hic diues fecit qui nihil dedit*”). Before God he is damned, for he received many graces without benefiting from any of them, acting in an ungrateful manner. The wealthy man of the Parable displeased God even more because he fed his dogs instead of nourishing the poor. Those who have something and give it to dogs and prostitutes, allowing God’s children to starve, are damned²¹.

The city imagined by Petrus Hispanus, however, provides the poor man with a kind of solace, giving him an abundance of hospitals (F, f. 52va: “diuersa hospitia”) where he can recover, satisfy his hunger, and die in the peace of God. On the contrary, riches of the world will die in sin, as the Evangelical one did. In the urban context the preacher refers to, they will be buried in non-sacred land, without the consolation of Last Rites: having lost any hope of redemption, their bodies will suffer the same disgrace as their souls in Hell²².

The parallel Barcelonese sermon is shorter, as usual, but reveals a different purpose concerning richness and poverty. It focuses on the figure of the rich, almost without addressing the poor’s destiny. The structure changes: while the Florentine text is basically a parallel between both human conditions, here the second member of the Evangelical parable is lost. The sermon begins by explaining that each man is naturally good, as he is created in God’s image. After creation, other gifts mark the difference. The most important among them is the measure of good luck, which operates differently in the poor and in the rich, although they are both created by God²³.

21. F, ff. 52rb-52va: “Semper et ubique bonis abutendo, ibi (Lc. 16, 21): *sed et canes ueniebant* etc. Hoc enim multum displicet Deo dare canibus quod deberet dari pauperibus. Mandatum est enim de proximo non de cane, ut dicitur Eccli. Ideo Mt. XV: *non est bonum sumere panem filiorum et mittere canibus* etc. Terreat tales quod dicitur de isto: tenebat canes et pauperes repellebat. Siquis haberet baiulium qui bona sibi commissa daret canibus uel meretricibus et filios permetteret fame perire, numquid placeret Domino suo?”
22. F, ff. 52va-52vb: “Tertio ponuntur diuersa hospitia ad quem uenit. Ibi (Lc. 16, 22): *et portatur ab angelis in sinum Abrahe. Cum (Lc. 16, 22) mortuus est autem et diues et sepultus est* etc. Hoc cimiterium episcopus non consecrauit, aqua benedicta numquam rigauit, nullus sanctorum unquam intrauit, et quia dictum est supra de morte bonorum, dico quod hic diues est punitus in tribus grauiter, scilicet ardore intollerabili, ibi (Lc. 16, 24): *crucior in hac flamma. Ardor enim ille duos habet socios, scilicet de amisso dolore, unde dicit: uidit a longe bona que amisit, scilicet pauperem epulantem; de futuro timorem. Quanto plus enim numerus dampnatorum habundabit, tanto maius tormentum inremediabili. Non enim potest remedium habere, nec alicuius meritis nec beneficiis, unde (Lc. 16, 26): chaos magnum* etc. Vide glossa. Ineuitabili non potest exire, nec liberator ad eum ire. Vnde necessario habet ibi semper esse. Is. (8, 22): *non poterit aduolare de angustia sua*”.
23. B, ff. 60ra-60rb: “Tria notantur: excellentia nature, ibi (Lc. 16, 1): *homo quidam*, quasi dicat: licet malus esset quantum ad culpam, tamen bonus erat quantum ad naturam, quia factus ad imaginem Dei, Gn. I (1, 26): *faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*. Primum quantum ad naturalia, secundum quantum ad gratuita. Habundantia fortuna, ibi (Lc. 16, 1): *erat diues*. Deus, enim qui sibi dederat bonum nature, dederat etiam

As in other sermons, the preacher creates a sort of academic debate, introducing a series of questions and answers to emulate the debate of a master and his disciples: “Why did God make some people poor and others rich? As Gregory says: to improve the patience of the poor and the rich’s mercy”²⁴. Luxury is not, as in the other sermon, a sin. What makes moneyed men guilty is their susceptibility to the danger of sin, albeit their wealth exposes them more than other people²⁵. They are closer to crime, because they can grow in pride and injustice. They may grow restless, as they can become greedy or misers. And with such behaviour they can lose peace, being worried of their legacy²⁶.

As admonished in the Gospel, they are at risk of not reaching Salvation. However, the preacher specifies that in the Evangelical literal meaning Salvation is not impossible for them. Yet, redemption is difficult as long as worldly riches hinder the spiritual ones. Whilst the rich is meager before God, the beggar may be affluent in what really matters. The list of perils is endowed with other three points. After mentioning the fact that fortune is useless before God, it even worsens human relations in the city. Wealthy people disturb the peace, since they are consumed by envy and cannot peacefully live next to one another²⁷.

The last source of hazard for the wealthy man is his refusal to do penitence, by wearing lavish clothes and by eating and drinking during banned times of the year, and thus wasting God’s gifts²⁸. This is the only passage that

bonum fortune. Fecit enim Deus non solum pauperem, sed etiam diuitem. Pru. XXII (22, 2): *diues et pauper obuiauuerunt sibi*”.

24. B, *ibid.*: “Vtriusque operator est Dominus? Respondeo: autem quare quosdam pauperes quosdam diuites facit? Est sicut dicit Gregorius, ut probet pauperum patientiam et diuitum misericordiam”.
25. B, ff. 60vb-61ra: “Esse ergo diuitem non est malum nisi propter pericula que temporales diuitie impediunt et (omni exp.) est difficultas in saluatione. In hoc periculum incidit iste diues, nam de eo dicitur (Lc. 16, 22): *mortuus est diues* etc.”.
26. B, *ibid.*: “Quartum periculum est defectus (defecta, -a- exp.) finalis utilitatis. Iob XXVII (27, 19): *diues cum dormierit nihil secum efferet*. Ps. (48, 18): *cum interierit sumet omnia*. Item (Ps. 75, 6): *dormierit sompnum suum*. Quintum, turbatio pacis, Gn. XXXV (36, 7) de Iacob et Esau: *erant diuites ualde et simul habitare non poterant nec sustinebat eos terra*. Istit periculis consideratis, patet quod securior est status pauperis quam diuitis, Pru. XXXI (19, 1): *melior est pauper qui ambulat in simplicitate sua, quam diues torquens labia sua et insipiens*”.
27. B, *ibid.*: “Tercium est difficultas saluationis, Mt. XIX (19, 23): *amen dico uobis, quia diues difficile intrabit in regnum celorum*. Nota tamen quod non dicit Dominus quod intrabit, nam contra se diceret qui Habraam diuitem ad regnum introduxit, Gn. XIII. Qui etiam in sinum suum recepit pauperem de quo hodie in euangelio, et illud completum est. Ps. (48, 3): *simul in unum diues et pauper*. Propter hoc non dixit: non intrabit. Respondeo: huius difficultatis est causa, quia diuitie temporales impediunt spirituales. De spiritualibus diuitiis dicitur IICor. VIII (8, 9): *scitis enim gratiam Domini nostri Iesu Christi quem propter uos egenus factus est cum esset diues, ut illius inopia uos diuites essetis*. Nam ante Christi aduentum, humanum genus pauper erat, Gn. XXX (30, 30): *modicum*. Has ergo diuitias temporales impediunt et (omni exp.) est difficultas in saluatione”.
28. B, ff. 61ra-61rb: “Tertium est malitia culpe, ibi (Lc. 16, 19): *qui induebatur purpura* etc. Peccabat enim in hiis duobus in quibus debebat agere penitentiam, in uestitu et uictu. Mt.

recalls the Florentine sermon, even though it is too brief to establish a reciprocal dependence.

In any case, a divergent approach to poverty and richness comes to light. While in the Florentine collection admonitions are strong and punctually refer to a practical, vivid situation, in the Barcelonese one such interest is not present. Maybe the didactic approach of this collection, which can be appreciated in its meticulous explanation of the literal sense of the Gospel, in the simple schematic structure of its sermons and in the question and answer game with fictitious pupils, made it useless to refer to specific occurrences.

At this point of the research, a real answer to all questions the two collections pose is still a desideratum. Is it possible to affirm that the two collections were written by the same author? Some traces make it possible, but the hypothesis of a different kind of connection (for example the model and user attitude) has to be further considered. In addition, various authorities have to be taken into consideration. The first impression, however, is that they both reflect two stages of one preacher's career. Perhaps the Barcelonese sermons can be traced back to an early stage of his teaching activity. The manuscript offers an ordinary model sermon collection for internal use of the Preachers' Order. The simplicity and lack of depth in introducing his themes may point to a young, or at least unexperienced preacher and lecturer. On the contrary, the Florentine copy clearly reflects a later stage of his career. It looks more like the final stage of a cycle of preaching. It proves the preacher's activity in a city where poverty, wealth, even heresy and some theological debates were quite common. This pulpit never reaches the peaks of more famous authors, such as Remigio de' Girolami (Gentili, 2001; Panella, 1979, 1990, 1984) or Giordano da Pisa (Delcorno, 1974, 1975, 2001; Baldassarri, 1993; Serventi, 2006); however, he seems to be addressing a similar audience. In conclusion, he may be a good testimony of common, daily pastoral instruction within the Dominican Order in the age of extraordinary preachers.

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III (1, 6): *erat Iohannes uestitus de pilis camelorum etc.*; Ion. III (3, 7): *homines et iumenta et boues et pecora non gustent quid equam (!) nec pascantur et aquam non bibant et operiantur saccis homines et iumenta et clament ad Dominum in fortitudine*. In hiis duobus docemus agere penitentiam. Diues ergo iste superfluous in uestibus, quia induebatur purpura et bisso, et in cibis, quia epulabatur cotidie splendide".

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