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Florian Wöller • Ueli Zahnd (eds.)

Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology

The Order of Preachers and Its Spheres of Action (1215 – ca. 1600)

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Pseudo-Dionysian Thought in Early Dominican Theology: The Concept of *Ordo* in Guerric of St Quentin's *In Lamentationes*

J. Cornelia Linde

Guerric of Saint Quentin, despite having been an eminent theologian in his own time, has received comparatively little scholarly attention to date. He was a native of Saint Quentin in today's northern France. When he joined the Dominican Order in Paris around the year 1225, he already held the degree of master of arts and quite possibly his doctorate in medicine. After an interlude as *lector* at the Bologna convent around the year 1230, he returned to Paris, where he obtained the degree of doctor of theology. Subsequently, he held one of the two Dominican chairs at the university's faculty of theology for a period of nine years, from 1233 to 1242. Guerric died no more than a couple of years after his regentship had come to an end, some time before 21 August 1245.[1]

Jean-Pierre Torrell has suggested that Guerric's long regentship must have allowed him to influence the next generation of Dominicans in a profound way.[2] While his *Nachleben* among his confrères has yet to be investigated, Gerard of Fracheto (d. 1271) relates in his *Vitae fratrum* that Guerric was allegedly highly esteemed by the contemporary Franciscan theologian William of Middleton.[3]

A large number of Guerric's commentaries on biblical books from his time as regent master in Paris survive.[4] In this article, I shall focus on his commentary on the Book of Lamentations and examine the ideas of *ordo* employed there. In this context, I shall also highlight Guerric's role as an innovator among Dominican theologians, primarily due to his use of the writings of

1 The information on Guerric's life is derived from Torrell, Jean-Pierre: "Guerric de Saint-Quentin et ses Quodlibets. Introduction historique et théologique", in Guerricus de Sancto Quintino: *Quaestiones de quolibet*, ed. Walter H. Principe, intr. Jean-Pierre Torrell, Toronto 2002, pp. 1–177: 3–4. D'Amato, Alfonso: *I domenicani e l'università di Bologna*, Bologna 1988, p. 85, without providing a further reference, notes with regard to Guerric's time at Bologna that chroniclers described him as a man "di grande bontà e sapienza, di profonda umiltà e chiara dottrina." I am grateful to Immanuel Musäus for many helpful comments and the meticulous correction of my article.

2 See Torrell 2002, p. 4. See also Smalley, Beryl: "A Commentary on Isaias by Guerric of Saint-Quentin, O.P.", in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 2: *Letteratura medioevale*, Vatican City 1946, pp. 1–15: p. 1.

3 Gerardus de Fracheto: *Vitae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. B. M. Reichert, Louvain 1896, pp. 274–275. Already Henquinet, F.-M.: "Les écrits du Frère Guerric de Saint-Quentin, O.P.", in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 6 (1934), pp. 184–214, 284–312, and 394–410: 187–188 drew attention to Gerard's statement.

4 For Guerric's works and his reception, see Henquinet 1934; and *id.*: "Notes additionnelles sur les écrits de Guerric de Saint-Quentin", in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 8 (1936), pp. 369–388. Of his many writings, so far only the quodlibetal questions have been critically edited: Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *Quaestiones de quolibet.*

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Ps.-Dionysius.[5] He was among the first Friars Preacher to have drawn on and quoted the Ps.-Areopagite's works, and may thus have contributed to the popularity that the writings enjoyed among later Dominicans.

Guerric's commentary on Lamentations does not, in its transmitted form, have a prologue but starts immediately with the discussion of the first verse. The text survives in two thirteenth-century manuscripts, one held in Paris (MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15604, ff. 329r–335v; hereafter *P*) and one in the monastery of the Augustinian canons at Klosterneuburg (MS Klosterneuburg 929, ff. 11r–61v; hereafter *K*). While the Klosterneuburg codex carries no ascription, the work is attributed to Guerric in the Paris manuscript.[6] The extant text covers merely the first two of the short biblical book's five chapters.

Throughout this text, Guerric makes use of the term *ordo* remarkably often, offering different shades of meaning that warrant closer examination. *Ordo*, charged with positive connotations, was a constitutive element of the universe for early Christian thinkers, and it is beyond doubt that Guerric recognised the importance of *ordo* as a concept within Christian thought. St Augustine devoted an entire treatise, *De ordine*, on the topic.[7] The idea that a strong *ordo* is by definition good is already found in the Church Father's works. In *De natura boni*, he

[5] Throughout this paper, I shall add the prefix 'Pseudo-' to the author's name, so 'Ps.-Dionysius', or 'the Ps.-Areopagite', rather than refer to him merely as 'Dionysius' or 'the Areopagite'. While Guerric, just as his fellow medieval theologians, had no doubt that the texts were written by Dionysius the Areopagite, scholarship has for a long time recognised that he did not author the works.

[6] See Stegmüller, Friedrich: *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 11 vols., Madrid 1950–1980, vol. 2, p. 376, n. 2681, for the ascription to Guerric. Kaeppeli, Thomas M.: *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, 4 vols., Rome 1970–1993, vol. 2, pp. 61–70, does not list the Lamentations commentary among Guerric's works, although he notes that the commentary on Proverbs in *P* has to be attributed to his authorship. For a description of K, see http://manuscripta.at/_scripts/php/newWin4msDescription.php?ID=1174 (accessed 10 March 2025). The text in *K* is superior to that in *P*. All my quotations, therefore, are taken from *K*. When *P* gives the better reading, the variant from *K* is added in brackets. For reasons of legibility, variant readings from *P* are not, as a rule, given. Smalley 1973, p. 15, noted that it is unclear whether the postil on Lamentations in MS Oxford, New College 40, should be ascribed to William of Luxi, OP, or to Guerric of St Quentin, while Henquinet 1934, p. 189, had already argued in favour of William's authorship. It has now been ascribed with certainty to William of Luxi, and the prologue has been edited in Guillelmus de Luxi: *Postilla super Baruch; postilla super Ionam*, ed. Andrew T. Sulavik, Turnhout 2006, pp. 137–140.

[7] Augustinus Hipponensis: *De ordine*, ed. Pius Knöll (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 63), Vienna/Leipzig 1922, pp. 121–185. It was Cicero, influenced by Stoic philosophy, who was the first to analyse the idea of *ordo* in his *De officiis* 1.40; see Michaud-Quantin, Pierre: *Études sur le vocabulaire philosophique du Moyen Âge*, Rome 1970, p. 86. Yet Augustine's *De ordine* was the first systematic treatise concerned with the question of *ordo*; see Oexle, Otto Gerhard: "Deutungsschemata der sozialen Wirklichkeit im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Wissens", in ed. František Graus: *Mentalitäten im Mittelalter. Methodische und inhaltliche Probleme* (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte. Vorträge und Forschungen 35), Sigmaringen 1987, pp. 65–117: 80. Augustine also introduced the notion that it was God who had introduced the universal *ordo*; see Michaud-Quantin 1970, p. 87. See also Augustinus Hipponensis *De ordine* 1.10.28, ed. Knöll, p. 140: "Ordo est [...] per quem aguntur omnia quae Deus constituit."

writes: "However much more regulated, beautiful and ordered everything is, it certainly is just as much better; however much less regulated, beautiful and ordered, that much less good it is."[8]

Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite repeatedly threads ideas of *ordo* into his works, and his notions appear to have had a powerful influence on Guerric's thought.[9] The importance of the Ps.-Dionysian corpus for Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, who were both in Paris by 1245, has been stressed repeatedly in modern scholarship.[10] Its significance for their predecessor Guerric, however, has so far not been emphasised: while Torrell and Principe have shown the influence of Ps.-Dionysius on Guerric's *Quodlibeta*, the potential impact on later Dominicans has not been remarked upon.[11]

One major problem in tracing the use of Ps.-Dionysian writings in Guerric's *In Lamentationes* is that while the Dominican uses the same concepts and ideas surrounding *ordo* as found in the Ps.-Areopagite's works, I have so far been able to identify the use of only very few direct quotations. Instead, it seems that he mainly pilfered Ps.-Dionysian ideas—a process which is not easy to prove conclusively. Yet the fact that Guerric made use of the Ps.-Dionysian corpus can be shown without a shadow of a doubt: he mentions the Ps.-Areopagite by name twice in his commentary on Lamentations, in one instance referring explicitly

8 Augustinus Hipponensis: *De natura boni*, ed. Joseph Zycha (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 25/2), Prague/Vienna/Leipzig 1892, pp. 855–889: 856 (3): "Omnia enim quanto magis moderata, speciosa, ordinata sunt, tanto magis utique bona sunt; quanto autem minus moderata, minus speciosa, minus ordinata sunt, minus bona sunt." For a study of Augustine's concept of *ordo* see Rief, Josef: *Der Ordobegriff des jungen Augustinus* (Abhandlungen zur Moraltheologie 2), Paderborn 1962.

9 For an edition of the Latin translations of his works, see *Dionysiaca. Recueil donnant l'ensemble des traductions latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys l'Aréopage et synopse marquant la valeur de citations presque innombrables allant seules depuis trop longtemps*, ed. Philippe Chevallier, 2 vols., Paris/Bruges 1937–1950. I have not been able to establish which translation was available to Guerric. In this article, I will be quoting the translation of Eriugena as it was available at St Jacques in the thirteenth century; see the next footnote. A further, as of yet barely explored angle that may well turn out to be another obvious line of influence of Ps.-Dionysius's writings on Guerric are the numerous remarks on angels in his *In Lamentationes*. See also Torrell 2002, pp. 68–69, for Guerric's use of Ps.-Dionysius in his discussion of angels in his *Quodlibeta*.

10 See, e.g., Weber, Édouard Henri: "L'apophatisme dionysien chez Albert le Grand et dans son école", in ed. Ysabel de Andia: *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et Occident. Actes du colloque international. Paris, 21–24 septembre 1994*, Paris 1997, pp. 379–403; and Hankey, Wayne John: "Dionysian Hierarchy in Thomas Aquinas: Tradition and Transformation", in ed. Ysabel de Andia: *Denys l'Aréopagite*, pp. 405–438. For a broader study of the reception of Pseudo-Dionysius at the university of Paris, see Dondaine, Hyacinthe François: *Le corpus dionysien de l'université de Paris au XIIIe siècle*, Rome 1953. There (pp. 15–20), Dondaine discusses in detail the thirteenth-century MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17341, formerly of the Dominican convent of St Jacques, which contains the Latin translations of Pseudo-Dionysius by Eriugena and John the Saracen as well as the *Extractio* of Thomas Gallus.

11 Torrell 2002, p. 18, has identified Ps.-Dionysius as part of "le cadre intellectuel dans lequel se meut Guerric." Principe, Guerric's editor, has meticulously identified not just direct quotations but also the intellectual borrowings.

to his *Mystical Theology*.[12] In addition, several other passages suggest that Guerric drew on the Ps.-Areopagite's writings. On the basis of some examples from his work, I shall examine various notions underlying Guerric's understanding of *ordo*. I shall argue that Ps.-Dionysian thought formed a crucial building block for Guerric's conceptualisation of the term. In fact, the Ps.-Areopagite's detailed and repeated references to *ordo* might have drawn Guerric's attention to this concept in the first place.[13]

1. Narrative *Ordo*

One of the ways in which Guerric employs the term *ordo* is to describe a sequence of events narrated in the biblical text. Although this usage of *ordo* is not influenced by Ps.-Dionysius, it still deserves a brief examination. Guerric points out several times that the author of Lamentations follows the correct chronological order in his account. For instance, the Dominican draws attention to the narrative order of Lam 1:7 ("ZAI Recordata est Hierusalem dierum adflictionis suae et praevaricationis omnium desiderabilium suorum quae habuerat a diebus antiquis cum caderet populus eius in manu hostile et non esset auxiliator viderunt eam hostes et deriserunt sabbata eius"/ "Zain. Jerusalem hath remembered the days of her affliction, and prevarication of all her desirable things which she had from the days of old, when her people fell in the enemy's hand, and there was no helper: the enemies have seen her, and have mocked at her sabbaths.")[14] by addressing his audience with the words "nota ordinem".[15] Similarly, for Lam 1:14 ("NUN vigilavit iugum iniquitatum mearum in manu eius convolutae sunt et inpositae collo meo infirmata est virtus mea dedit me Dominus in manu de qua non potero surgere" / "Nun. The yoke of my iniquities hath watched: they are folded together in his hand, and put upon my neck: my strength is weakened: the Lord hath delivered me into a hand, out of which

[12] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 15v: "Aperti sunt oculi eorum: Porte a superiori sunt sublimiores sensus anime a quibus divine inspiraciones illabuntur ad animam que debent semper esse aperte quas beatissimus Dionisius dicit [cf. Ps.-Dionysius: *De caelesti hierarchia*, ed. Philippe Chevallier: *Dionysiaca*, vol. 2, pp. 729–1066: 832?] tronos insuper celestes adventus; 'semper aperte' hoc est hostium;" and *K*, f. 21r-v: "Unde Dyonisius dixit in mistica theologia et in Psalmo [118.81]: 'Defecit in salutare tuum anima mea' et hoc est quod dicitur ibi Beniamin in mentis excessu id est rationi." Guerric is possibly referring to Ps.-Dionysius: *De mystica theologia*, ed. Philippe Chevallier: *Dionysiaca*, vol. 2, pp. 563–602: 589–590: "Sicut et nunc in ipsam super intellectum occidentes caliginem, non brevem sermonem sed sermonis defectum et nominationis inveniemus."

[13] Augustine may well have played an equally important role. However, this study focuses mainly on the influence of Ps.-Dionysius.

[14] All Latin quotations from the Bible are taken from *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber, 4th ed., Stuttgart 1994. All English translations of biblical verses are taken from *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate*, London 2007.

[15] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 22v: "Nota ordinem recordationis, tribulationis, prevaricationis ruine. Primo tribulationis quam presentem habet ibi 'Dierum afflictionis sue'. Secundo causam eius cum dicit 'Prevaricationis'. Tercio statum a quo cecidit ibi et omnium desiderabilium que habuerat a diebus antiquis."

I am not able to rise."), he curtly notes: "Rectus ordo", followed by an explanation why the events are narrated in the correct sequence.[16] In his comments on Lam 2:1 ("ALEPH Quomodo obtexit caligine in furore suo Dominus filiam Sion proiecit de caelo terram inclitam Israhel et non recordatus est scabilli pedum suorum in die furoris sui" / "Aleph. How hath the Lord covered with obscurity the daughter of Sion in his wrath! How hath he cast down from heaven to the earth the glorious one of Israel, and hath not remembered his footstool in the day of his anger!") Guerric remarks: "And he observes *ordo*, since he first says 'covered with obscurity' [Lam 2:1], secondly 'cast down' [Lam 2:2], and the cast down were 'broken' [Lam 2:3]."[17]

While this use of the term *ordo* is not in itself remarkable, Guerric's repeated insistence that the author of the biblical book is following the correct *ordo* of events calls for an explanation. The Dominican is neither the only nor the first exegete to highlight instances of proper chronological sequence in Lamentations. For instance, already Paschasius Radbertus in the ninth century and William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century had found it worthwhile to point out that certain verses of Lamentations portray the correct chronological sequence of events.[18] The reason for this special attention lies, in all likelihood, in the common attribution of Lamentations to the prophet Jeremiah. The Church Father St Jerome, in his commentary on the Book of Jeremiah, stated that the prophets, especially Ezekiel and Jeremiah, did not necessarily narrate events in the correct chronological sequence.[19] Consequently, medieval exegetes—among them Guerric of St Quentin—regarded the fact that Jeremiah followed the correct order of events in Lamentations worth highlighting.

[16] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, ff. 30v–31r: "'Convolute sunt et imposite collo meo': Rectus ordo. Primo 'convolute', post 'imposite collo'."

[17] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 37r: "'Aleph. Quomodo obtexit caligine' et cetera. Hic notatur anime spiritualis destructio. Et observat ordinem, quia primo dicit 'obtexit caligine', secundo 'precipitavit' et precipitatos 'confregit' [*conieci*; *K*: precipitati confringi]."

[18] Paschasius Radbertus: *Expositio in lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque*, 2.5, 2.13, and 3.30, ed. Beda Paulus (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 85), Turnhout 1988, pp. 96, 120, and 190. Guillelmus Malmesburiensis: *Liber super explanationem lamentationum Ieremiae prophetae*, eds. Michael Winterbottom / Rodney M. Thompson (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 244), Turnhout 2011, p. 239 (on Lam 3:37–39): "Ordinate procedit sermo propheticus. Postquam enim exclusit querimoniam eorum qui Deum nimiae seueritatis insimulant, consequenter ineptiam eorum confutat qui diuinam prouidentiam omnino esse negant." William's commentary was of no influence in the later commentary tradition; see *ibid.*, pp. XXVIII–XXIX, for its *Nachleben*. None of the Latin Church Fathers wrote a commentary on Lamentations.

[19] Hieronymus: *In Hieremiam prophetam libri VI* 4.29.3, ed. S. Reiter (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 74), Turnhout 1960, p. 196: "Et notandum quod in prophetis maximeque in Hiezechiele et Hieremia, nequaquam regum et temporum ordo seruetur, sed praepostere, quod iuxta historiam postea factum sit, prius referri et, quod prius gestum sit, postea; aliud est enim historiam, aliud prophetiam scribere."

2. *Ordo*, Contemplation, and the Soul

A second application of *ordo*, this time in a metaphysical context, concerns human contemplation of the divine. Commenting on Lam 2:2 ("BETH praecipitavit Dominus nec pepercit omnia speciosa Iacob destruxit in furore suo munitiones virginis Iuda deiecit in terram polluit regnum et principes eius" / "Beth. The Lord hath cast down headlong, and hath not spared, all that was beautiful in Jacob: he hath destroyed in his wrath the strong holds of the virgin of Juda, and brought them down to the ground: he hath made the kingdom unclean, and the princes thereof."), Guerric writes:

> It is not surprising if the soul, aggrieved because of its unworthiness for contemplation, is often held back. The soul is able to do two things: sometimes it lifts its eye to contemplate upon the eternal things to behold; [and] it often turns to the lower things to be ordered. Therefore, the Lord spares [the soul] when, although he weakens the beam of the intellect aimed at contemplating the eternal things, he soon grants sharpness of the intellect to thrive in ordering the lower things.[20]

According to Guerric, the human soul thus by definition strives to contemplate the divine, *eterna*, which it is, however, unable to comprehend. Instead, it then seeks order in the *inferiora*, things closer to it, on levels below the divine. This is encouraged by God, who grants to the soul the ability of understanding order in spheres other than the divine.

The notion of God obfuscating the human mind in its attempt to understand the divine was by no means new. A noteworthy predecessor was Gregory the Great who expressed the concept in his *Moralia in Iob*, without, however, linking it in any way to a notion of order.[21] The additional aspect expressed by Guerric that God directs the soul to aim for order in lower spheres while it is by nature striving to understand higher things cannot be found in Gregory the Great, nor was it Guerric's own, but he quite possibly derived it from the works of Ps.-Dionysius. In the beginning of his *De divinis nominibus*, the Ps.-Areopagite explains that God only reveals to each according to their capacity and therefore prevents access to the highest levels.[22] Instead, we can know God from the order of all existing things—that is the equivalent to Guerric's *inferiora*—as they were

[20] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 38v: "Non est mirum si plerumque anima propter indignitatem suam agravata contemplationis repellatur. Anima comparationem habet ad duo. Quandoque oculum erigit ad contuenda eterna, plerumque inclinat ad ordinanda inferiora. Dominus itaque parcit quando et si ad eterna contemplanda radium intellectus obtundit, modo ad ordinanda inferiora acumen eius uigere concedit."

[21] Gregorius Magnus: *Moralia in Iob* 16.8.12, ed. M. Adriaen (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 143), 3 vols., Turnhout 1979–1985, vol. 2, p. 805: "Sic se nobis intelligendum praebet ut tamen ipsum nobis radium sui intellectus obnubilet; et rursum sic caligine nos ignorantiae reprimit, ut tamen menti nostrae radiis suae claritatis intermicet quatenus et sublevata quidpiam videat et reverberata contremiscat."

[22] Ps.-Dionysius: *De divinis nominibus*, ed. Philippe Chevallier: *Dionysiaca*, vol. 1, pp. 5–561: 7–17.

created by Him rather than from His own nature.[23] Similar thoughts on divine contemplation and the order of *inferiora* are voiced in Ps.-Dionysius's *De caelesti hierarchia*.[24] Guerric's position coincides so closely with this notion that while he might also have been influenced by Gregory the Great, the crucial input, it seems safe to say, was derived from Ps.-Dionysius.

3. *Ordo* in City and Soul

As in the works of Ps.-Dionysius, Guerric's concept of *ordo* has an intricate relationship with hierarchical structures.[25] The Dominican identifies the conquest of Jerusalem and its gruesome consequences, described so vividly in the Book of Lamentations, as a change away from constituted *ordo*. The reason he regards as responsible for the fall of the city is crucial for establishing what led him to interpret Jerusalem's status as ill-ordered. In his explanation of Lam 1:3 ("Omnes persecutores eius adprehenderunt eam inter angustias" / "All her persecutors have taken her in the midst of straits"), he remarks: "A city is never more justly captured than when there is dissent among the citizens. Thus Jerusalem was captured."[26] This is a straightforward, literal explanation: the city of Jerusalem fell because her citizens did not stand united. Guerric's moral interpretation of the same passage is that the soul has become subject to evil inclinations, *malae affectiones*, because its thoughts are not pure, but rather in opposition to each other.[27] Although he does not explicitly mention *ordo* here, it is clear from a passage which I shall discuss below that social or emotional dissent corrupts the established *ordo*.

Guerric underpins his interpretation that lack of unity among a city's in-

[23] Ps.-Dionysius *De divinis nominibus*, ed. Chevallier, p. 402–403. See also Augustinus Hipponensis: *De civitate Dei* 11.15, eds. Bernhard Dombart/Alfons Kalb (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 47–48), Turnhout 1955, pp. 335–336: "A quo [*sc.* Deo] est omnis modus, omnis species, omnis ordo, sine quibus nihil rerum inveniri vel cogitari potest; quanto magis angelica creatura, quae omnia cetera, quae deus condidit, naturae dignitate praecedit!"

[24] Ps.-Dionysius *De caelesti hierarchia*, ed. Chevallier, pp. 872–875: "Ipsam autem sanctarum Potestatum, aequipotentem divinarum Dominationum et Virtutum, bene ornatam et inconfusam circa divinas susceptiones ordinationem, et ordinatam supermundanae et intellectualis potestatis, non tyrannice in ea quae inferiora sunt potestativis virtutibus precipitatae, sed potenter in divina post bene ordinata reductae et post eam Deiformiter reducentis, et ad potentificam exusiarcham (quantum fas est) assimilatae, et eam (ut possibile angelis) revelantis in bene ornatis per ipsam ordinibus potestativa virtute."

[25] See, most prominently, Ps.-Dionysius *De caelesti hierarchia*, ed. Chevallier, p. 3: "Est quidem ierarchia secundum me ordo divinus." For the connection between hierarchy and *ordo* in Augustine, see Rief 1962, pp. 128–141.

[26] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 14r (*P*, f. 329va): "'Omnes persecutores eius apprehenderunt eam inter angustias.' Numquam [*P*; *K*: Si umquam] melius capitur civitas quam quando dissensio est inter cives. Sic capta fuit Iherusalem."

[27] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 14r (*P*, f. 329va): "Supra dictum est quomodo ipsi anime quondam amici facti sunt inimici et quomodo inter se ipsius anime compugnant cogitationes tunc etiam anima constituta facile a malis affectionibus [*P*; *K*: affectioibus] captivatur."

habitants leads to disruption by contrasting the description of Jerusalem's condition after the conquest with aspects of *ordo* within a united city and society. Building on Lam 1:1 ("ALEPH Quomodo sedit sola civitas plena populo facta est quasi vidua domina gentium princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo" / "Aleph. How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is the mistress of the Gentiles become as a widow: the princes of provinces made tributary!"), he identifies three good and three bad characteristics of both the city and the soul, all derived directly from the verse under discussion. The three positive characteristics are *populositas*, *dominatio*, and *libertas*. Their opposites form the negative aspects: *solitudo*, *viduitas*, and *servitus*. If controlled by reason and orderly conditions, the city is better protected against attacks by the enemy which, if successful, would lead to the negative characteristics. Similarly, the soul is better able to resist temptations by the devil and carnal lust if governed by thoughts of reason and holy desires.[28]

Guerric returns to two of the three characteristics – *dominatio* and *populositas* – later in his work. While in the transmitted text the notion of *libertas* is not brought up again, it is clear that all three positive characteristics in combination are essential for *ordo*. The idea that a lack of population is harmful is broached in the second half of Guerric's *In Lamentationes*. The Dominican, comparing the soul to a flowering garden, insists that *raritas*, here employed as a synonym for *solitudo*, must be avoided and considered unseemly in the soul, in the city, as well as in religious houses.[29] The concept of lordship also plays an important role in Guerric's understanding of *ordo*. In his comments on Lam 1:15 ("SAMECH abstulit omnes magnificos meos Dominus de medio mei vocavit adversum me tempus ut contereret electos meos torcular calcavit Dominus virgini filiae Iuda" / "Samech. The Lord hath taken away all my mighty men out of the midst of me: he hath called against me the time, to destroy my chosen men: the Lord hath trodden the winepress for the virgin of Juda."), he once again identifies

[28] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 12r (*P*, f. 329ra): "Quod dicitur 'Sola civitas et plena populo' et sic tria bona anime enumerat scilicet 'civitas plena populo', 'domina gentium', 'princeps provinciarum'. Tria mala 'sola', 'vidua', 'tributaria'. Tria bona populositas, dominatio, libertas. Tria mala solitudo, viduitas, servitus. Propter rationales motus et ordinatas affectiones civitas populosa securior est contra hostes. Similiter anima rationis cogitationibus et sanctis desideriis ordinata stat fortius contra carnales affectiones Sathaneque suggestiones et mundanas presuras." Ps.-Dionysius *De divinis nominibus*, ed. Chevallier, pp. 390–391, ascribes reason to humans and sets their intellect on a lower level. Augustine's statement "Pax omnium rerum tranquillitas ordinis" (Augustinus Hipponensis *De civitate Dei* 19.13, eds. Dombart/Kalb, p. 679) fits perfectly into the picture of the upheaval of *ordo* that Guerric sees in Lamentations.

[29] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 44r: "Delectatur in lyliis virginum, in rosis martyrum, in violis confessorum. Unde dicitur Cant vi [Cant 6:1]: 'dilectus meus descendit in ortum suum, ut ibi pascatur in ortis et lylia colligat.' Et Ecc. xxxix [Sir 39:17]: 'obaudite me, divini fructus et quasi rose plantate super rivos aquarum fructificate.' Flores quasi lylium date florem et florete in germen. Ortum commendat plantationum ordo, densitas, fecunditas. Sic et animam ordo affectionum et operum. Unde Cant. II [Cant 2:4] 'ordinavit in me caritatem'. Densitas non solum propter virtutum coherentiam quia qui habet unam habet omnis, sed propter bonarum cogitationum et affectionum et operum frequenciam. Raritas enim valde indecens est in orto et in anima, sicut et in civitate raritas habitatorum vel civium et in domo religiosa raritas fratrum."

it as a prerequisite for order in city and soul. Just as a ruler needs to control his subjects, so spiritual and holy motions which "like a king rule over the lower motions" need to order the soul in its works.[30] The concepts of *dominatio* and *libertas* also appear in the works of Ps.-Dionysius. In chapter 8 of *De caelesti hierarchia*, he describes God's *dominatio* as just rule, and stresses the human tendency to emulate it.[31]

4. *Ordo* and Society

Possibly the most remarkable reflections on *ordo* occur in Guerric's comments on Lam. 2:10 ("IOTH sederunt in terra conticuerunt senes filiae Sion conspererunt cinere capita sua accincti sunt ciliciis abiecerunt in terra capita sua virgines Hierusalem" / "Jod. The ancients of the daughter of Sion sit upon the ground, they have held their peace: they have sprinkled their heads with dust, they are girded with haircloth, the virgins of Jerusalem hang down their heads to the ground."). This verse, Guerric notes, portrays a complete reversal of *ordo*. Again, he forges a close connection between citizens, the preservation of *ordo,* and the resulting well-being of the city or *res publica*. In a *res publica*, proper *ordo* would be preserved: the ancients would be seated on chairs rather than having to sit on the ground; also, they would speak and not be silent.[32] The city as portrayed in Lam 2:10, however, is no longer ordered. The upside-down hierarchies after the Babylonian conquest no longer allow Jerusalem to qualify as an example of a *res publica*, a term Guerric employs to denote an exemplary state.

Guerric then proceeds to interpret the verse in light of his own times and his role as regent master at Paris. What is described in Lam 2:10, he argues, is equivalent to the students occupying the seats of the *senes*, that is the mas-

[30] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, ff. 31v–32r: "'Vocavit adversum me tempus ut contereret [*P.* conteret electos meos]': Electi dicuntur vulgariter qui rogati ab aliis separantur ut aliis presint. Unde in Act. [Acts 13:2]: 'Segregate mihi Barnabam et Paulum et de Paulo vas electionis mihi est iste.' Anima igitur in sua re publica regenda habet motus spirituales et sanctos id est a terrenis seperatos quibus inferiores motus quasi rege reguntur et in suis operibus ordinantur."

[31] Ps.-Dionysius *De caelesti hierarchia* 8, ed. Chevallier, pp. 870–872: "Etenim unaquaeque super nos essentiarum cognominatio Dei imitatorias earum significat Deiformes proprietates. Igitur sanctarum Dominationum manifestivam nominationem aestimo declarare absolutam quandam et omni ignominia minorationis liberam anagogen, nullaque tyrannicarum dissimilitudinem ullo modo universaliter eam inclinatam, liberaliter, severam Dominationem, omni minutivae servituti superpositam, non-indigentem subjectionis omnis, et remotam ab universa dissimilitudine et Kyriarchiae incessanter appetentem, et ad illius ipsius naturaliter subsistentis virtutis similitudinem (quantum possibile) et se ipsam et quae post eam sunt optime et speciose conformantem."

[32] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 48r–v: "Duo debentur senibus, prima sedes et primum verbum. Prima sedes: unde Iob xxxix [Job 29:25]: 'Si uoluissem ire ad eos sedebam primus.' Primum verbum: unde ecclesiastici xxxiii [Sir 32:4] 'Loquere et tu maior natu te enim decet' primum verbum. In re igitur publica ordinatum est ita." For the right to the *primum verbum*, see also Benedictus Anianensis: *Concordia regularum*, in PL 103, cols. 713–1380: 663: "Ad primum verbum discussionis senioris sive oeconomi, sive alicujus fratris, venia petenda est, et tandiu in terra prostratus, donec senior discussionem consummaverit."

ters. What is more, the young also arrogate to themselves the right to teach—a domain traditionally reserved for the *senes*. Guerric describes this reversal of structures with the phrase *perturbatio ordinis*, disturbance or confusion of order.[33] This term serves not only to sum up the situation of Jerusalem depicted in Lam 2:10, but also delivers a dire warning to his students via the parallel drawn to the upheaval in the classroom.

Three points are worth highlighting here. First and foremost, that Guerric makes a direct reference to his and his students' world: *iuvenes*, the young men to be identified with students, should not teach—but judging from his words, we can infer that some of them, if not actually teaching, at least thought that they could. Whether, as is possible, Guerric refers to a specific incident, is unclear. Already in 1228, the Dominican General Chapter had decreed that at least four years of study of theology were required before a candidate could become a *doctor*, yet it seems more likely that Guerric inserted this comparison as a response to a particular occurrence.[34] Secondly, it is important to bear in mind that what Guerric describes is not the absence of order, but instead a disturbance of order. Trifling though it might sound, the difference is crucial. Already Augustine insisted in his dialogue *De ordine* that *ordo* has been in existence since creation, and that it is always present, also when evil has influence.[35] In *De divinis nominibus*, Ps.-Dionysius makes a similar case for the ubiquity of order also in the presence of evil.[36] In accordance with these two thinkers, Guerric refers

[33] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 48v: "Ubi autem est perturbatio ordinis, sedent senes in terra et iuvenes sedes occupant seniorum. Senes conticesscunt [*sic*] et iuvenes docere presumunt." The quotation from Sirach to support this statement reads 'stultum' rather the more common 'servos' in both manuscripts: Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 48r: "Unde ecclesiastici [Eccl 10:7]: 'Vidi stultum positum in equis et principes ambulare super terram'."

[34] See *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. Heinrich Denifle, 4 vols., Paris 1889–1897, vol. 1, p. 113, n. 57: "Nullus fiat publicus doctor, nisi per iiii annos ad minus theologiam audierit."

[35] Augustinus Hipponensis *De ordine* 1.6.15, ed. Knöll, pp. 131–132: [Augustinus:] "Quid saltem censes, inquam, ordini esse contrarium? Nihil, ait ille [*sc.* Licentius]. Nam quomodo esse contrarium quidquam potest ei rei quae totum occupavit, totum obtinuit? Quod enim erit ordini contrarium, necesse erit esse praeter ordinem. Nihil autem esse praeter ordinem video. Nihil igitur oportet putare esse contrarium;" *ibid.*, 1.5.14, p. 130: [Licentius:] "Quis neget, Deus magne, inquit, te cuncta ordine administrare? Quam se omnia tenent! Quam ratis successionibus in nodos suos urgentur! Quanta et quam multa facta sunt ut haec loqueremur! Quanta fiunt ut te inveniamus! Unde enim hoc ipsum, nisi ex rerum ordine manat et ducitur, quod evigilamus, quod illum sonum advertisti, quod quaesisti tecum causam, quod tu causam tantillae rei non invenisti. [...] Quare iam, rogo, nemo ex me quaerat cur quidque fiat. Satis est nihil fieri, nihil gigni quod non aliqua causa genuerit ac moverit." For the concept of *perturbatio ordinis*, see also Augustinus Hipponensis *De civitate Dei* 15.22, eds. Dombart/Kalb, pp. 487–488: "Sic enim corporis pulchritudo, a Deo quidem factum, sed temporale carnale infimum bonum, male amatur postposito deo, aeterno interno sempiterno bono, quem ad modum iustitia deserta et aurum amatur ab avaris nullo peccato auri, sed hominis. Ita se habet omnis creatura. Cum enim bona sit, et bene amari potest et male: bene scilicet ordine custodito, male ordine perturbato."

[36] Ps.-Dionysius *De divinis nominibus*, ed. Chevallier, pp. 254–255. See also *ibid.*, p. 822: "Siquidem principium est rerum a quo tam ipsummet esse, quam omnia quae quomodocun-

not to the absence of order, but instead to *perturbatio ordinis*. The third aspect, finally, concerns the idea, implied in Guerric's comments, that established social hierarchy is an intrinsic part of *ordo*. In the description of Jerusalem in Lamentations, this hierarchy has been reversed by setting the *iuvenes* above the *senes*. This connection between hierarchy and *ordo* is found in Ps.-Dionysius's works, too. For instance, in *De caelesti hierarchia* he declares that hierarchy in itself is an *ordo divinus*.[37] Accordingly, when hierarchies are disturbed, it also has a negative impact on *ordo*, as described in Lam 2:10.

Following the literal interpretation of Lam 2:10, Guerric transfers the situation to the moral level of exegesis. Both old and young, he writes, are part of the soul. The old are characterised as wise and mature, adjectives connected to *ratio*. The young, on the other hand, are defined as capricious and foolish, two traits identified with *sensualitas*.[38] In order to illustrate the proper order of the soul, Guerric once more builds on his parallel to contemporary university life: as long as *ratio* is the moving force in the soul, the *senes* sit on the chair of the teacher. They also have the right to speak first as long as prudence of the flesh reigns over inconsiderate moves, and hence are not, contrary to the state described in the discussed verse, silent. The situation depicted in Lam 2:10, however, points to an ill-ordered soul, *anima male ordinata*—Guerric here revives his earlier description of Jerusalem as *male ordinata*—in which the *senes*, embodying reason, are sitting on the ground in silence while listening to the *iuvenes*, that is, to worldly and sensual desires that have taken control over the soul.[39]

que sunt, omne principium, [...] omnis ordo, [...] omnis ratio [...] et cetera quodcunque essendo sunt entia, universa insignit."

37 Ps.-Dionysius *De caelesti hierarchia*, ed. Chevallier, p. 785: "Est quidem hierarchia (secundum me) ordo divinus et scientia et actio, Deiforme (quantum possibile) similans et ad inditas ei divinitus illuminationes proportionaliter in Dei similitudinem ascendens."

38 Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 48r: "In anima quasi in civitate magna sunt senes. Sunt et iuvenes. Senes sunt sapientes et maturi, iuvenes leves et indiscreti. Ad rationem pertinet omnis maturitas et sapientia. Ad sensualitatem levitas et inconstantia."

39 Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 48v: "Qui ergo sunt senes filie Syon nisi motus rationis ordinati? Quid iuvenes nisi vulgus sensualitatis preceps? Senes igitur quasi in cathedra sedent primi quando rationis motus in anima obtinet magistratum. Unde Iob xxix [Job 29:7]: 'Quando procedebam ad portam civitatis in platea parabant cathedram mihi'. Porte civitatis sunt sensus exteriores quibus ad animam fit ingressus. Motus ergo rationis quasi ad civitatis portas procedit quando ad sensuum opera rationes ordinandas intentionem convertit. Cathedra sedes est doctoris. Platea locus patens et manifestus. Cathedra igitur in platea, doctrina manifesta. In platea igitur cathedra paratur quando ad servanda rationis contra vulgus sensualitatis manifestis indiciis aptatur vel platea latitudo vite carnalis unde lata est via que ducit ad mortem. In platea cathedra paratur quando de latitudine vite carnalis sensus ad spirituale magisterium revocatur. Unde bene sequitur [Job 29:8]: 'Videbant me iuvenes et abscondebantur'. Iuvenes absconduntur quando ne levis et indecens et incompositus motus emergat studiose ab anima procuratur. Unde Gen xli [Gen 41:44]: 'Absque imperio tuo non movebit quis pedem vel manum in tota Egypto'. Senes etiam habent primum verbum quando prudentie carnis inconsideratis motibus rationis consilia preferuntur. Unde ecclesiastici xxii [Sir 32:13]: 'Loqui in medio magnatum non presumas et ubi sunt senes non multum loquaris'. In anima autem male ordinata senes sedent in terra et conticescunt. Sedem in cathedra magistrorum sedem in terra discipulorum sedent in

Guerric stresses the connection between *ratio* and *ordo* on the one hand, and *sensualitas* and disturbance of *ordo* on the other hand. As long as *ratio* rules, proper *ordo* is preserved. For this notion, Augustine might well be Guerric's source. In *De ordine*, the Church Father devotes an entire chapter to the antagonism between the senses and *ratio*, arguing that reason is the teacher of the liberal arts that pave the way to God and allow the understanding of the order of things.[40]

My final example comes from Guerric's exposition of Lam 2:15 ("SAMECH plauserunt super te manibus omnes transeuntes per viam sibilaverunt et moverunt caput suum super filiam Hierusalem haecine est urbs dicentes perfecti decoris Gaudium universae terrae" / "Samech. All they that passed by the way have clapped their hands at thee: they have hissed, and wagged their heads at the daughter of Jerusalem, saying: Is this the city of perfect beauty, the joy of all the earth?").[41] Once again, Guerric identifies a reference to civic order. For the final part of the verse, "Is this the city that is called the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth?", he notes that the beauty, *decor*, of a city consists of a good king and a multitude of people that is *bene ordinata*.[42] This implies that beauty does not come without order. A similar idea was already expressed by Ps.-Dionysius. In his work on the *Divine Names*, he remarks that ugliness comes from a loss of order.[43] By implication, this means that an increase in order leads to an increase in beauty, which is the idea expressed by Guerric.

terra dum ad instar discipuli ea que sibi [49r] de appetitu terrenorum a sensualitate suggeruntur audiunt et auditis conquiescunt et hec sunt sibili gregum de quibus Iudicum V [Judg 5:16]: 'Quare habitas inter duos terminos ut audias sibilos gregum?'"

40 See, e.g., Augustinus Hipponensis *De ordine* 2.11.30–34 and 2.16–18, ed. Knöll, pp. 168–172 and 177–181). I have not been able to find a similar passage on the connection of *ratio* and *ordo* in Ps.-Dionysius. In *In Lamentationes*, Guerric appears to have also drawn on Ps.-Augustine's *De spiritu et anima*. I am grateful to Constant Mews for having drawn my attention to this treatise.

41 Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 56v: "Ideo dicitur 'super te' et exponit post 'Moverunt capita sua super filiam Ierusalem'. Capita sunt maiores inter principes tenebrarum, filia Ierusalem anima contemplatam quam quando minores subvertere non sufficiunt tunc quasi capita mouere dicuntur cum in auxilium suum spiritus fortiores et principalia uitia inplorant. Unde Luce XI [Luke 11:24] 'Cum spiritus inmundus' et cetera."

42 Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *In Lamentationes*, *K*, f. 56v: "Tunc adducit vii spiritus nequiores se 'heccine' dicentes 'hec est urbs perfecta decoris gaudium universe terre' decor urbis in bono rege et in multitudine populi bene ordinata consistit. Unde Prover xiiii [Prov 14:28] 'In multitudine populi gloria regis et in paucitate plebis ignominia principis' sic in anima." Guerric here returns to the idea of *populositas* discussed above.

43 Ps.-Dionysius *De divinis nominibus*, ed. Chevallier, p. 290: "Verum nec in corporibus malum est. Foeditas enim et morbus defectus quidam formae est, ordinisque privatio; illud autem non usquequaque malum est, sed minus pulchrum; nam si omnimoda pulchritudinis et formae ordinisque resolutio fiat, ipsum quoque corpus interibit. Quod autem corpus animae non sit causa malitiae, vel ex eo constat, quoniam etiam sine corpore malitia possit alicui adhaerere, ut in daemonibus patet; siquidem id aeque spiritibus atque animabus quam corporibus malum est, si infirmentur, et de bonorum suorum statu deturbentur." *Privatio* here must be understood to mean not a complete removal but a lack of order; otherwise, this passage would be in contradiction to the passage quoted above in which Ps.-Dionysius referred to the *defectus ordinis*.

5. Concluding Remarks

While Guerric does not offer a definition of *ordo* in his Lamentations commentary, some defining characteristics of his understanding of it can be gleaned from the examples discussed above. First, *ordo* comes from God and is always present; secondly, the soul strives for *ordo*; thirdly, there is a strong connection between *ordo* and beauty, reason, and hierarchy. These notions are by no means new, but can already be found in the works of St Augustine and Ps.-Dionysius, and it seems safe to say that these two authors have provided Guerric with his understanding of *ordo*. The concept proved to be of exceptional importance to the Dominican and had considerable significance for his exegesis of Lamentations. This becomes even more obvious when we compare his commentary with other exegetical works on Lamentations. There, references to *ordo* are far less prominent, and are often limited to describing the narrative order also discussed above or to the alphabetic order of the biblical text's acrostic composition. This specific reference to (alphabetic) *ordo* is the one most commonly found in other Lamentations commentaries.[44] Guerric, somewhat surprisingly, does not comment on this specific phenomenon, at least not in the surviving part of his work. Instead, he introduces *ordo* as a far more comprehensive and universal concept. For Guerric, the Book of Lamentations, with its description of the effects of the fall of Jerusalem, depicts the reversal of all proper *ordo* caused by—in the literal sense—the people's disobedience against God and—in the moral sense—the soul's disobedience and focus on base things.

Guerric's *In Lamentationes* is not the only text in which the Dominican engaged with the concept of *ordo*. In one of his quodlibetal questions, discussing the problem of whether *ordo* is in the essence of things or a consequence of essence, Guerric concludes that it is both. Unfortunately, his thoughts on this matter amount to not more than a few lines. He states that *ordo* is a part of *esse*, since *esse* is common to all things. Yet it is also a part of *posse*, for as a consequence of *esse* everything is not only *esse* but also *posse*.[45]

Guerric's statements from the *Quodlibet* and the notion of *ordo* in his *In Lamentationes* agree with each other. The idea voiced in the *Quodlibet* that *ordo* is in the essence of things is also conveyed in Guerric's statements on *ordo* in his biblical commentary which imply that *ordo* is always present. Yet at the same time, as

[44] For some examples see Linde, Cornelia: "*Notandum duas hic litteras, phe et ain, ordine praeposteratas esse*: Rupert of Deutz, Guibert of Nogent and the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Incorrect Order of the Hebrew Alphabet", in *Archa Verbi* 7 (2010), pp. 68–78.

[45] Guerricus de Sancto Quintino *Quaestiones de quolibet*, ed. Principe, p. 193: "Ultimo fuit quaesitum de modo, specie et ordine, utrum sint de essentia rei vel de consequentibus essentiam. Quod de essentia videtur, quia nihil est commune omnibus nisi esse. Haec autem omnibus insunt. Responsio: 'Modus' dicit terminationem, 'species' distinctionem, 'ordo' ordinationem, quae quidem dupliciter sunt: in esse et posse; et in quantum respiciunt esse, sunt de esse, in quantum autem posse, sunt de consequentibus esse. Quod obicitur, 'Nihil est commune omnibus nisi esse', dicimus quod falsum est: in quolibet enim non est solum esse sed etiam posse consequens esse." Guerric addresses an entirely different meaning of *ordo* in a *quaestio* attributed to him by Henquinet 1934, pp. 297 and 304–305 on the sacrament of Holy Orders (*sacramentum ordinis*); MS Assisi, 138, f. 152a–d; and MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15610, f. 243c–244d.

the commentary's phrase *perturbatio ordinis* indicates, *ordo* is subject to potential change and hence a consequence of *esse*, that is, it is also in *posse*.

Guerric was without doubt an innovative theologian. His commentaries on the Song of Songs, Isaiah and Wisdom testify that he introduced novel approaches to the teaching of theology: as pointed out by Alastair Minnis, Guerric may well have been the first theologian to cover the four Aristotelian causes in a preface to an exegetical work on an Old Testament book. To put it simply, these Aristotelian causes seek to answer the questions "who?" (efficient cause), "what?" (material cause), "how?" (formal cause), and "why?" (final cause) with regard to the composition of a book. The subdivision of the efficient cause, i.e. the question as to who authored a book, into a moving and an operating cause—the moving cause, in the case of biblical books, being God—seems to have been Guerric's own contribution.[46]

Minnis notes that Guerric's more famous contemporary and co-regent master, Hugh of Saint-Cher, covered the Aristotelian causes in his commentary on the Gospel of Mark, written between 1230 and 1236. Guerric's commentaries have not been precisely dated yet, but they, too, may stem from the first half of the 1230s. Regardless of whether it was Hugh or Guerric who introduced this type of preface, it appears to have been a genuinely Dominican contribution to the teaching of theology.[47]

Guerric's adaptation of the Aristotelian causes illustrates that he was a scholar who adopted and adapted new ideas and influences. He most likely played an important part in introducing and popularising this type of preface in theological works, and his and Hugh of Saint-Cher's integration of them into their commentaries would no doubt have had a direct impact on contemporary and later Dominican exegesis. For instance, this same type of prologue came to be adopted by Albert the Great, who came to Paris in 1243, so one year after Guerric had finished his regentship, and also by Thomas Aquinas, who arrived there in 1245.[48]

Guerric's past—before he became a theologian he already held an arts degree and was possibly a doctor of medicine—marks him out as a likely candidate to try out new ideas. Despite his influential role and his numerous transmitted works, modern scholarship so far remembers him mostly for an—undeniably

[46] Minnis, Alastair: *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, PA [2]2010, p. 79. Minnis is not explicit as to whether the *duplex causa efficiens* was Guerric's invention, but he does not mention an earlier example. Torrell 2002, p. 11, even speculates that Guerric may have been the first theologian overall to have used this type of preface. On Guerric's commentary on the Song of Songs see Riedlinger, Helmut: *Die Makellosigkeit der Kirche in den lateinischen Hoheliedkommentaren des Mittelalters* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 38/3), Münster 1958, pp. 273–277.

[47] Minnis 2010, p. 78, notes that this type of preface did not became popular among artists until between 1235 and 1245. Torrell 2002, p. 11, states that it was used by artists before it was used by theologians.

[48] See Torrell 2002, p. 11, who refers to Riedlinger 1958, p. 274, n. 4; Riedlinger mentions neither Albert nor Thomas in the footnote cited. Minnis 2010, pp. 79–80; Smalley 1973, p. 8; Torrell, Jean-Pierre: *Saint Thomas Aquinas, I: The Person and His Work*, tr. Robert Royal, Washington, D.C. 1996, pp. 19–22.

important—episode concerning his views of the beatific vision in the context of the 1241 condemnation. As he had propagated views that were condemned in 1241, he had to retract his earlier position.[49] This development gives further testimony to his maverick approach to theology which in this instance was declared unorthodox.

Last but not least, his use of Ps.-Dionysian concepts and ideas marks him out as a thinker who may have influenced Dominican thought more profoundly than has previously been acknowledged. To be sure, Guerric was not the only Friar Preacher of his generation to draw upon Ps.-Dionysius's works. Hugh of Saint-Cher, too, referred to him in the prologue to his commentary on Exodus and quoted him in the long version of his commentary on the Psalms.[50] Yet Guerric's *In Lamentationes*, as well as his *Quodlibeta*, show beyond doubt that the works of Ps.-Dionysius had gained significant traction in Dominican theology already before the order's great luminaries of the next generation, possibly influenced by Guerric, turned their attention to the Ps.-Areopagite's works.

[49] See Torrell 2002, pp. 4–5; Grice, Deborah: *Church, Society and University. The Paris Condemnation of 1241/44*, London/New York 2020, pp. 210–211. For Guerric's take on the beatific vision and his condemnation, see Trottmann, Christian: *La vision béatifique des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 289), Rome 1995, pp. 182–184; *id.:* "Psycho-somatique de la vision béatifique selon Guerric de Saint-Quentin", in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 2 (1994), pp. 203–225; and Dondaine, Hyacinthe François/Guyot, Bertrand-Georges: "Guerric de Saint-Quentin et la condamnation de 1241", in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 44 (1960), pp. 225–242.

[50] See Dahan, Gilbert: "L'exégèse de Hugues. Méthode et herméneutique", in eds. Louis-Jacques Bataillon/Gilbert Dahan/Pierre-Marie Gy: *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263). Bibliste et théologien* (Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 1), Turnhout 2004, pp. 65–99: 72; and Morard, Martin: "Hugues de Saint-Cher, commentateur des Psaumes", in eds. Bataillon/Dahan/Gy: *Hugues de Saint-Cher,* pp. 101–153: 128, n. 120. See also Hankey, Wayne John: "Aquinas, Pseudo-Denys, Proclus and Isaiah vi.6", in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 64 (1997), pp. 59–93: p. 84, who notes that some passages in commentaries attributed to Hugh of St Cher betray Ps.-Dionysian influence.