Anger in Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* and in Five Texts for Preachers

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Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* was the most famous dictionary of quotations in the late Middle Ages. Its main critical expositors, Richard and Mary Rouse, characterized it as one of the most successful reference works for providing medieval preachers with authoritative citations to support the arguments in their sermons.[1] The Rouses highlighted the *florilegium*'s convenient, searchable format, which organized quotations under alphabetically arranged headings. Recently, Chris Nighman, in examining the manual's material, has questioned the Rouses' conclusions about Thomas's original intention, his audience, and even the suitability of his *florilegium* for popular preaching.[2] At stake is the use of the *Manipulus florum* for the study of what teachings were considered preachable and, probably, what was most often preached. In order to test the Rouses' view and Nighman's revision, this study compares the ways in which the same topic, namely, anger (*ira),* is discussed in the *Manipulus florum* and in a sample of widely-circulated Latin thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century reference works that provided elements for the composition of sermons: William Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis,* the *Distinctiones Mauritii,* the *Liber Pharetrae,* Bartholomew of Pisa's *De documenta antiquorum,* and Peter of Limoges's *Tractatus moralis de oculo.* Many widely copied model sermons and even a few transcripts of preached sermons survive, especially those of accomplished preachers. However, the more humble preaching manuals are likely to provide a better indication

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1 Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, x, 7, 87, 160-61, 187-97, 216, 227-29.
2 Nighman, "Commonplaces on Preaching," 38, 44-45.

of commonly preached content than more polished sermons that may never actually have been preached.[3]

Anger has been chosen for comparison because its moral ambiguities invited a variety of responses, not all of which were suited to every audience. As the impulse for harmful thoughts, words, and deeds, *ira* was counted among the capital vices and, as such, was a common element in moral instruction and preaching.[4] Christian moralists also acknowledged that anger had a virtuous form, *ira per zelum*, or zeal for the correction of faults.[5] Determining the limits of licit anger — or whose anger was legitimate — was a pressing moral and social concern. Even as scholastic theologians in the thirteenth century debated the role of anger in moral life as one of the *passiones animae* (passions of the soul), preachers and pastors sought practical guidance in educating and edifying their congregations. They had to choose from among a wide range of classical, early ascetic, patristic, and medieval opinions on anger. In the absence of a single Christian or even clerical opinion on the legitimacy of anger, Christian norms ranged from outright rejection of anger, a legacy of classical moralists and Christian ascetics, to the assertion that anger is a necessary part of a virtuous life, an Aristotelian position promoted in patristic writings and argued most vehemently by Thomas Aquinas. The present comparison of homiletic sources, therefore, will involve contextualizing their teachings within the history of Christian thinking about anger. The compilers' choices about what should be taught or preached with regard to anger, and especially virtuous anger, yield clues to the emotional norms that they considered suitable for their audiences.

The history of emotion offers some insights concerning the audiences for medieval preaching. Current approaches reject older historiographical paradigms, especially Norbert Elias's "civilizing process," that considered medieval people emotionally immature or primitive in their apparent inability to repress passionate impulses.[6]

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3 Campbell, "Franciscan Preaching," 27-29.

4 Wenzel, "Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins."

5 On the historiography of late medieval anger, which is closely tied to that of violence and vengeance, see the essays in Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past*, and Throop and Hyams, eds., *Vengeance in the Middle Ages*. For the theological issues, see Vecchio, "'*Ira mala/ira bona*'," and Casagrande and Vecchio, *Histoire des péchés capitaux*, 93-125. Studies considering the pastoral teachings about wrath, vengeance, or violence include Smail, "Hatred"; Cels, "God's Wrath" and "Interrogating Anger"; Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation*, 43-59; Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*; Thiery, *Polluting the Sacred*; and Wright, "Broken Cups."

6 Elias, *The Civilizing Process*. For critical historiography, see Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions" and "Thinking Historically," and Nagy and Boquet, "Pour un histoire des émotions."

Instead, a major avenue of investigation now acknowledges that every age and every culture has sets of norms for emotions — even, apparently, for violent and uncontrolled outbursts of anger. Drawing on anthropology and cognitive psychology, historians theorize emotions as reflexive habits for evaluating one's situation involving a customary or culturally scripted response. Historians also consider the circumstances that created and changed the dominant sets of emotional norms, termed "emotional regimes" by William Reddy and "emotional communities" by Barbara Rosenwein.[7] Religious discourses influenced medieval emotional norms of such communities, which can be thought of as audiences.

A sermon about anger would have caused attentive medieval audience members to reflect upon their otherwise unreflective emotional responses — in effect, offering something akin to cognitive therapy. The elements of a sermon — pithy and authoritative quotations, concrete imagery, and arresting comparisons — constitute what Reddy termed "emotives": speech acts through which emotional states are performed and sometimes modified. The preacher's explanation of anger connected a person's perceptions, judgements, feelings, and physiological responses to overt actions and to the soul's ultimate destiny. A sermon invited an audience to imagine or practise other feelings that could counter the illegitimate emotion.[8] Emotive messages that were memorable or frequently repeated had a greater potential to be internalized and thus to influence audiences. If such exhortation did not always train audiences to feel anger in a particular way, it at least encouraged them to associate regret, remorse, and penitence with illegitimate feelings. The norms that preachers expounded and the methods of persuasion they applied reveal what they considered appropriate and effective, and an examination of these elements can, thus, help in identifying the audience of a homiletic text.

Thomas of Ireland and the *Manipulus florum*

The *Manipulus florum* was written about 1306 by the secular Parisian scholar Thomas of Ireland (Hibernicus).[9] The Latin *florilegium* consists of almost 6,000 authoritative quotations, mostly patristic but also some classical. Thomas relied heavily on

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7 Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 124-26, 129; Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions," 842-43, and *Emotional Communities*, 20-25.

8 Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 96-110, 320-23.

9 Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 93-95, 106-110. The Rouses rejected the tradition that John of Wales had started the *florilegium*; this possibility has been raised again in Nighman, "Janus Intertextuality Search Engine," §33.

late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Cistercian compilations: his collection is hardly a distillation of the latest scholastic theology.[10] Thomas's innovation was to organize the quotations under 266 alphabetically arranged topic headings with citations and cross-references.[11] The compilation was later recommended by three *artes praedicandi* as a useful reference for constructing sermons.[12] Though few studies have documented its use by preachers, several other compositions are known to have drawn from the *Manipulus florum*.[13] The survival of the collection in almost two hundred manuscripts and forty-eight editions attests to its broad and enduring circulation and, presumably, to its influence on European culture.[14]

The foundational study of the text, Mary and Richard Rouse's *Preaching, Florilegia, and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland*, published in 1979, argued that the *Manipulus florum* is a preeminent example of the tools compiled to aid preachers in composing the thematic 'school sermon,' or *sermo modernus* (modern sermon), that developed during the thirteenth century in response to a new emphasis on preaching.[15] Although these aids were perfected in and diffused from the university environment, the Rouses concluded that there was little substantial difference between preaching to clergy and preaching broadly to the laity, and thus they confidently asserted that the 'school sermon' was "a vehicle for popular preaching" and that it taught "preachers to preach to all the faithful."[16] Sermons and homiletic manuals connected the cloister and the university to the common pulpit.

The ease with which medieval theology was assumed to have trickled down to the masses came to be challenged by social historians who emphasized the wide gulf between the culture of clerical elites and a barely Christian popular religion.[17] David d'Avray's subsequent study of mendicant sermons from thirteenth-century Paris took greater pains to explore the "question of how sermons functioned as a quasi-mass medium" but generally shared the Rouses' conclusion.[18] Model sermon collections

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10 Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, x, 146-47.

11 Such features were also found in reference works for scholars; see Bataillon, "Les instruments de travail," and Rouse and Rouse, "Development of Research Tools."

12 Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 188-95.

13 Nighman, "Commonplaces on Preaching," 38 n. 5. For its use in sermons, see Boyer, "Un témoin précoce."

14 Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, x.

15 On the genre, see Bériou, "Les sermons latins."

16 Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 76-77, quotations at 83 and 84.

17 Van Engen, "Christian Middle Ages," 521-22, 528-32.

18 d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 90-129, at 90.

and preachers' aids seem to have been tools for broadly popular preaching, though particular sermons, or even parts of sermons, might have been considered more suitable for one audience than another.[19]

Although their book focused on the form of preachers' aids and their relationship to the *sermo modernus* rather than on the messages they contain, the Rouses' magisterial codicological analysis encouraged the bourgeoning of sermon studies as a way of investigating medieval culture.[20] The implication of their study is that the *Manipulus florum* should provide a reliable indication of the material that was transmitted from more learned circles to the common pulpits of medieval Europe.

During the production of his digital edition of the text, Nighman raised doubts that Thomas originally intended his *florilegium* for popular preaching, given that Thomas does not address the manual to preachers specifically, in his preface, but mentions only that it provides the sorts of quotations found in sermons and lectures that are useful for personal edification.[21] Further, Nighman notes that the lemma for usury, a favourite topic for popular preaching in Thomas's day, is the shortest in his collection.[22] The material under the entry for *Predicacio*, Nighman argues, would have been better suited for the edification or "self-formation" of "university students [. . .] preparing for a career involving the care of souls" than for guiding active preachers.[23] This is consistent with Declan Lawell's reading of Thomas's only other works, three *opuscula,* that show a keen concern for the discipline of members of the clerical hierarchy rather than for the pastoral needs of the laity.[24]

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19 d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 119, 123, 124, 130. On the debate about the audience and language of Latin sermons, see Muessig, "Preacher, Sermon and Audience," 3-9.

20 Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 65. For subsequent scholarship, see Nighman, "Annotated Bibliography."

21 "Quasdam igitur dictiones notabiliores ac magis communes que sepius in sermonibus uel lectionibus possent occurrere et cum quibus se possit homo in omni materia iuuare, hic secundum alphabeti ordinem more concordanciarum signaui" ("Therefore, I have compiled here, in alphabetical order in the manner of concordances, certain better known and more common topics that very often appear in sermons or lectures and with which a person can improve himself in every way"); Latin text from Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 237; translation from Nighman, "Thomas de Hibernia's Preface." See also Nighman, *The Electronic Manipulus florum Project*, "The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project (www.manipulusflorum.com)," and Nighman, "Commonplaces on Preaching," 40-41.

22 Nighman, "Commonplaces on Preaching," 39.

23 Nighman, "Commonplaces on Preaching," 44-45.

24 Lawell, "Thomas of Ireland."

Wrath in Preachers' Aids

How, then, does the *Manipulus florum*'s material about a preachable topic, namely, anger, compare to that found in other works known to have been used by preachers? The *sermo modernus* usually drew a moral message from a passage or even a word taken from the day's liturgical readings by building up arguments, similes, *exempla*, biblical verses, and authoritative quotations.[25] Model sermons, reflecting the advice of the *artes praedicandi,* often feature an elaborate use of these rhetorical elements.[26] As William H. Campbell argues, more common preaching was simpler but still included similar building blocks.[27] An early fourteenth-century preacher could have turned to a variety of resources for material on wrath. Below, examples of five types of well-circulated preachers' tools — a *summa* on the vices and virtues, a *distinctiones* collection, two *florilegia*, and a moralizing treatise on optics — will be considered in conjunction with the *Manipulus florum*.

   Given the topic, a preacher might have first turned to the tract on wrath in the Dominican William Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* (1236 × 1249), the foremost manual on the vices and virtues, extant in more than 500 manuscripts.[28] There, a preacher would have found loosely organized commonplaces: scriptural passages, arguments, *exempla*, rhymes, concrete imagery, similes, and remedies. Peraldus's analysis is based neither on canon law nor on scholastic psychology: his spiritual theology stresses the soul's struggle with the vice and provides material for exhorting people to resist its dangers.

   The first part uses Peraldus's signature scheme to give reasons for detesting anger, namely, that it displeases God, pleases the Devil, and harms one's neighbour and oneself. Part two explains the divisions of anger. It acknowledges only briefly that there can be a virtuous, zealous anger (treated in greater detail in the tract on

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25 See Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 84-90, and Bériou, "Les sermons latins," 370-80.

26 It is beyond the scope of this study to survey model sermons on wrath, which could have been based on Matt. 5:22, "whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgement." See the method elaborated by Hanska, "Reconstructing the Mental Calendar."

27 Campbell, "Franciscan Preaching," 34-39.

28 William Peraldus, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*. "*De ira*" is the eighth tract in *de vitiis* (2:350-71). For manuscripts, see Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 2:143-47. Richard Newhauser, Siegfried Wenzel, Bridgit K. Balint, and Edwin Craun are preparing an edition. The best overview of the author remains Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut." On the genre, see Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues*. The *Summa* was required reading for Dominican novices; see Mulchahey, "*First the Bow is Bent*," 541. An anecdote by Robert de Sorbon illustrates how even parochial clergy could access the *Summa*; quoted by d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 2-3. Peraldus's model sermons make reference to his *Summa*; d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 107, 127.

justice in the *Summa de virtutibus*, 3.5.2) and differentiates between venially and mortally sinful wrath; most of this section, however, elaborates on six reasons to avoid hatred. The third part treats some of the major sins arising from anger: wars, arson, and homicide. The fourth lists eight remedies for subduing one's own anger and the anger of others.[29]

Peraldus astutely observes that the very desire to ward off or avenge an injury, save face, reassert oneself, or uphold one's honour redounds against and thwarts the wrathful. Throughout the tract on wrath, therefore, Peraldus stresses the foolish, irrational, illogical, and essentially self-defeating nature of vicious anger. Peraldus's emotive rhetoric exhorts audiences to guard against anger by appealing to the same self-interest that is the root of irascibility.

Peraldus's *Summa* profoundly influenced later compilers of alphabetical collections of *distinctiones* used by preachers. Entries in such references 'distinguish' or develop a term, providing definitions, arguments, or similes, with each point being supported with a passage from the Bible or other sources.[30] An entry might form a fairly complete outline for a section of or even an entire sermon. A prime example is the collection by Maurice of Provins (1247/48), a Franciscan lector (instructor).[31] It was published by the stationers at the University of Paris *c*.1275 and again in 1304 and was recommended as a preaching aid alongside the *Manipulus florum* in the *ars praedicandi* of Abbot John of Chalons (1372).[32] Looking up *ira*, a preacher would have found seven short definitions of anger drawn mostly from philosophical authorities, nine reasons for detesting anger, six ways of distinguishing anger, and six remedies against the vice — all material borrowed from Peraldus. Maurice likewise followed Peraldus in noting the distinction between virtuous, venial, and mortal anger and stressed the detestable and self-destructive nature of vicious anger.[33]

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29 The most common, verbal expressions of anger are treated in tract 9, on the Sins of the Tongue.

30 Rouse and Rouse, "Biblical Distinctions" and *Preachers*, 3-42; see also Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*" and "Development of Research Tools," 221-25. See also Bataillon, "Intermédiaires," 215.

31 On Maurice's authorship, see Wilmart, "Un Répertoire," 341-42. For the sixty manuscripts, see Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum*, 3:556-58; Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, no. 0088, p. 22; Newhauser and Bejczy, eds., *Supplement*, no. 0088, p. 33; and Sharpe, *Latin Writers*, 374. This study uses Oxford, Merton College Library, MS 102, s.v. *Ira*, I.82.

32 d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 278, 280; Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 191-92.

33 A similar dependence on Peraldus for this perspective on wrath is found in three other major *distinctiones* collections: the *Summa de abstinentia* (*post* 1249), the Dominican Nicholas of Gorran's *Distinctiones alphabeticae* (*ante* 1280), and Friar Nicholas of Biard's *Distinctiones "Absconditur"* (*ante* 1285); see Cels, "Anger," 204-11.

In excerpting and reordering Peraldus's emotive material, Maurice and other compilers of *distinctiones* tended to separate the motivating vice from the sins that arise from it. As a result, overt, anti-social acts stemming from anger — insult, assault, and murder — are treated separately, leaving the entry on anger to emphasize the hidden, psychological, and spiritual effects of the vice on the individual. This separation may seem like a surprising reversion to the emphasis of early Christian ascetics; living apart from society, they had considered angry thoughts to be obstacles to their private contemplation of the divine, while being less concerned with inter-personal relationships. In contrast, one might expect that a mendicant like Maurice, active in society, would have emphasized the social aspects of the sin, although friars had a reputation for subtle psychological probing.[34] On closer examination, however, it appears that the thirteenth-century compilers adapted the ascetic spiritual imagery to provide concrete and emotive warnings to a broader audience with respect to the sinfulness and dangers of angry thoughts, even before these erupt into overt crimes against others. For example, Peraldus adapted the ascetic image of anger crowding out God's spirit from the human heart, but rather than presenting anger as a distraction from individual meditation, he depicts it as a violent and anti-social offence against God, who is as sure to avenge such "housebreaking" as any mortal patriarch.[35] This and other emotive similes emphasize the psychological and spiritual origin of anti-social sins and also demonstrate how apparently victimless thoughts and feelings can still be sinful.

Whereas Peraldus and Maurice included brief quotations from authorities, the presentation of authoritative quotations was the *raison d'être* for *florilegia*. Although the *Manipulus florum* enjoyed the widest circulation, there were others which preach-ers could turn to. A successful Franciscan precursor, extant in ninety-four manu-scripts, was the *Liber Pharetrae*, which is likely to have been produced before 1261 in Paris by the theologian, paedagogue, and preacher Gilbert of Tournai (1200/10-1284/88).[36] This text enjoyed a broad circulation, thanks again in part to the Paris

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34 The assumption that friars may have addressed personal sinfulness at the expense of communal peace is questioned by Cels, "Reconciling Mendicant and Secular Confessors."

35 Cels, "God's Wrath," 223-24.

36 Gilbert of Tournai, "Liber Pharetrae," which was erroneously attributed to Bonaventure and edited along with his other works; [Gilbert of Tournai], "Liber Pharetrae." See Gilbert of Tournai, *De morte*, 9-10.

stationers.[37] The prologue explains that the purpose of this 'quiver' of quotations is to aid meditation, preaching, and disputation.[38] Entries are thematically arranged in four books: on various persons, on the vices and virtues, on dangers, and on the glories of heaven. The entry on *ira* (book 2, chap. 9) contains twenty-five aphoristic quotations from nine patristic sources. The stress is decidedly on avoiding the dangers of wrath. Zealous anger is only obliquely discussed, by way of warning that even righteous, corrective anger must be reined in by reason lest it lead to sin. Since wrath can cause a desire for vengeance, the remedial quality of forgiveness is stressed, as is silence for avoiding rash speech. Finally, the shamefulness or folly of being quick-tempered is noted. In sum, the text, like the previous sources, tends to encourage ascetic disgust for wrath.

The major Dominican *florilegium*, the *De documenta antiquorum*, was produced by Bartholomew of Pisa (*c.*1262-1347), who also published a successful vernacular version.[39] Like the *Liber Pharetrae*, Bartholomew's *florilegium* is arranged topically, but each topic is presented as logically ordered propositions supported by a sequence of authorities, like a *distinctiones* collection. As Michèle Mulchahey has noted, the arrangement of the text invites meditative reading but also presents ready-made material for preaching.[40] The entry for wrath (distinction 30) consists of ten chapters. These begin with warnings of the vice's dangers, argue that anger can be managed, and provide various practical remedies that culminate in otherworldly considerations. Bartholomew took a particularly practical approach to wrath: most quotations consist of remedies against the individual's anger drawn mostly from Seneca and Gregory. Indeed, of the sixty quotations concerning wrath, thirty are credited to Seneca's *De ira*. They offer not only practical advice but also evoke the Stoic's aversion to the more extreme, passionate expressions of anger, whereas the quotations from Gregory and John Cassian reflect the complementary ascetic analysis of anger.

The four texts surveyed above were written by members of the mendicant orders that dominated the production of homiletic literature. Although some can be associated with an academic milieu, they seem likely to have been intended primarily for common friars engaged in general preaching. Therefore, before considering the

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37 d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 280-81.

38 [Gilbert of Tournai], "Liber Pharetrae," 1.

39 For the twelve manuscripts, see Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 1:166.

40 Mulchahey, *"First the Bow is Bent,"* 454-58. The entry on anger is found in Bartholemew of Pisa, *De documenta antiquorum*, dist. 30, chaps. 1-10 (pp. 191-205).

Manipulus florum, it is useful to examine a homiletic text produced by another secular master, an older contemporary of Thomas from the Sorbonne, Peter of Limoges (d. 1306). In his *Tractatus moralis de oculo* (1275/1276 × 1289), Peter combined his wide-ranging interests in science, medicine, theology, and preaching.[41] He frames his moral instruction within a discussion of perspectivist optics, thus not only moralizing the eye but also presenting optical theory as a method for moral improvement. Preachers eagerly mined such tracts as well as encyclopaedias, saints' lives, and chronicles in the quest for material to enliven their sermons with *exempla* — a strategy especially recommended for popular preaching.[42] Although the *Tractatus* is not a searchable preacher's reference work, Peter, an experienced preacher and collector of sermons, included a wealth of biblical verses, similes, *rationes*, *auctoritates*, and anecdotes. This made the work not only a helpful moral treatise but also a useful resource for preachers and ensured its distribution in more than 260 known copies.

Peter discusses the vice of wrath in chapter 8, distinction 3.[43] The entry is organized in much the same way as one from a *distinctiones* collection and makes seven logically arranged points supported and vividly illustrated by many of the commonplaces, especially ocular metaphors, found in other manuals. Anger agitates the eye of reason. Inner agitation is often visibly and outwardly manifested. Anger impairs rational judgement, and the wrathful tend to punish excessively. One should therefore wait for anger to abate before acting and not allow oneself to be too much affected by what others say or do in the heat of passion. Like other compilers, Peter stresses the dangers and ugliness of anger and briefly echoes Peraldus in warning against the Devil's efforts to blind sinners. Peter does not, however, discuss wrath generally: he includes nothing on anger in thought, word, and deed or on mortal, venial, and virtuous anger. Instead, Peter focuses on the practical needs of his immediate audience, addressed directly throughout his treatise, of prelates and university students preparing for ecclesiastical careers involving correction. Although the entry does not

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41 For background and bibliography, see Newhauser's introduction to Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*. For the Latin text, see Peter of Limoges, *Liber de oculo morali*.

42 Mulchahey, *"First the Bow is Bent,"* 465-72. The suitability of *exempla* for the laity and the uneducated was a common trope, although Stephen of Bourbon noted that they were also useful for instructing the learned. Berlioz and Polo de Beaulieu, "Les prologues." For the extensive literature on *exempla*, see Bremond, Le Goff, and Schmitt, *L'Exemplum*.' Recent studies include Berlioz and Polo de Beaulieu, *Les exempla médiévaux*. For wrath in *exempla* collections, see Cels, "Anger," 212-33.

43 Peter of Limoges, *Moral Treatise*, 82-86.

discuss virtuous anger, the duty to correct seems to be taken for granted. Indeed, chapter 2 recommends that prelates err on the side of mercy rather than justice and avoid hard-heartedness when correcting.[44] The discussion of anger would have been edifying reading, but it also could have served as a ready-made sermon or section for a sermon addressed to clerics, judges, magistrates, or lords. Moreover, Peter's judiciously chosen commonplaces could also have been adapted to a more general audience by clergy with responsibility for the cure of souls.

A preacher would have found a rich variety of commonplaces in these five tools, but they presented a consistent and conservatively negative perspective on anger. They also shared a common strategy against anger. For although they assert that anger can be rationally ruled by the will, they tend to employ the rhetorical tactic of countering anger with other emotions rather than with purely rational argumentation. The cultivation of virtues, to be sure, involves practising certain feelings, such as love and compassion. However, more negative feelings could be marshalled against illegitimate anger. Most commonly, the counter-feelings involve arousing the impulse for self-preservation and self-defence involved with wrath. They warn that anger is, paradoxically, a self-destructive sin, even though it is the impulse to defend or avenge oneself. Anger is foolish and ridiculous; it is regrettable and shameful; it is insane and irrational; its expression is ugly, disgusting, horrifying, and undignified; the passion takes away a person's self-mastery; anger is a threatening attack by the demonic enemy; its results are dangerous, detestable, and fearsome; the irascible should dread God's righteous wrath and the final damnation to suffer Hell-fire, a foretaste of which comes in the form of the heating and flushing that accompanies the passion. Pastoral rhetoric stressing the social exclusion or embarrassment of the irascible attempts to erode the social acceptability of anger and of the impulse to avenge a slight that harms or threatens one's social worth.

The Pastoral Approach to Wrath in Historical Context

The compilers' emphasis on the dangers of wrath followed a very old tradition on the vice, going back to the pagan Stoics and the Desert Fathers, who rejected the utility of anger.[45] The view was synthesized by the monk-pope Gregory the Great, whose exegesis on Job 5:2, "Anger indeed killeth the foolish," was the basis of medieval Christian

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44 Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise*, 8-11.
45 Vecchio, "'*Ira mala/ira bona*'."

exhortation against anger.[46] Gregory explained that the desire to punish, which arises from anger, creates a physiological response that impairs the mind's reason. Anger leads to rash, unjust, and sinful injury of others that pleases the devil. The irascible therefore estrange themselves from God, provoke his just wrath, and ensure their damnation. Gregory's analysis links the psychological perturbation of wrath with its spiritual dangers and with the social harm it causes. His remedies are both practical, such as keeping silent until the passion has cooled, and spiritual, including meditation on Christ's passion and contemplation of one's mortality as a way to brace oneself against assaults, insults, and hardships.

However, Gregory also follows Augustine in mitigating the extreme rejection of anger by the ascetics and Stoics. Although deeply influenced by both strains of thought, Augustine leans towards Aristotle's more positive appraisal of anger as a natural and functional *passio* (passion). Like other Church Fathers, Augustine was a pragmatic bishop; he admitted that there was a virtuous and zealous form of anger, useful for the dutiful correction of faults.[47] This patristic message was passed on by Gregory, along with warnings that care must be taken to prevent even zealous anger from exceeding the bounds of reason.[48] This distinction ensured that subsequent moralists would have to give at least grudging acknowledgement to the existence of a virtuous form of wrath, even if their primary pastoral concern was to discourage anger and its sins.[49]

While the five preachers' manuals surveyed above occasionally concede the possibility of this virtuous anger, their emphasis is on addressing vicious anger. Nor do the homiletic handbooks reflect the scholastic reappraisal of passions, including anger, connected with the recovery of Aristotelian and other ancient texts in the thirteenth century.[50] For moral theologians such as Thomas Aquinas, anger is neither a Stoic's illness of the soul nor an ascetic's bad thought or even a demonic impulse, but it is a functional psychological process that contributes to a moral life when managed by right reason.[51] The moral weight of anger could be determined by considering how

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46 Gregory, *Moralia in Iob*, 143:275-81 (5, 45).

47 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 9.5: vol. 48:254-55.

48 Newhauser, "On Ambiguity."

49 Little, "Anger in Monastic Curses."

50 King, "Emotions."

51 Aquinas left the fullest medieval analysis of the passions in the *Prima secundae* (hereafter Ia-IIae), questions 22 to 48 of the *Summa theologiae*. It treats anger as a passion in qq. 46 to 48. *Secunda secundae*, q. 158 considers anger a sin.

well the passion was moderated in terms of its object and expression. This perspective is apparent in some manuals for confessors, where it helped to distinguish virtuous wrath more clearly from mortally and venially sinful forms.[52]

Nevertheless, compilers of manuals for preachers appeared less concerned with reflecting the academic trends than with reiterating the ascetic condemnation of anger. The authors of preaching tools often came from the academic milieu of the convent school or university, and were hardly insulated from theological developments. In choosing to disseminate the ascetically negative teachings about anger, they may have simply been deferring to the old spiritual masters. The thirteenth-century re-discovery of Seneca's *De ira*, moreover, provided not only a wealth of practical remedies for the eradication of anger but also more anti-anger rhetoric that resonated with the ascetic tradition.[53]

The choices made by compilers also had to be guided by practical considerations, taking into account what they thought appropriate for their audience. The message for a general audience had to be direct and affective rather than subtly intellectual.[54] Exhorting audiences to reject anger, the source of insult, assault, discord, strife, murder, and war, would have been simpler than lecturing them to aim for an Aristotelian golden mean or straying into discussions about the limits of just anger. The four mendicant compilations surveyed above are especially appropriate for such a strategy and presumably responded to the needs of friars appealing to a general audience. Even though Peter of Limoges primarily addressed a clerical audience having, or preparing to be given, authority to correct, he still used essentially the same strategy and warned against angry correction rather than explain zeal for correction. As a result, his material on anger could also be used by his primary audience of prelates and clerical students when they preached to a broader secondary audience.

Ira in the *Manipulus florum*

Having established the pastoral teaching on anger that a preacher would have found in several successful reference works for constructing sermons and contextualized it within the history of theological thinking about the emotion, one can compare

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52 Cels, "Interrogating Anger."
53 Reynolds, "The Younger Seneca."
54 Cf. Burger, "Preaching," 220.

it with the material found in the *Manipulus florum*, beginning with its form and functionality. Its entry for *ira* provides fifty-two quotations and cross-references twenty-six quotations found in sixteen other lemmata.[55] Nighman's edition reveals that not all of Thomas's attributions are accurate and that the 'quotations' are often compilations of various passages or even paraphrases of the original texts, either by Thomas himself or by his intermediate sources. This was not unusual for medieval texts, nor is it likely to have troubled preachers consulting Thomas's dictionary. On the other hand, Thomas's policy of omitting biblical authorities cited by the original texts was less friendly to composers of sermons.[56]

Although, as the Rouses rightly noted, Thomas's innovations made it easy for browsers to find quotations on anger, the manual's usefulness for preachers may have been limited, given that the quotations within the lemma are not presented as a logically ordered discussion. For instance, authors are generally listed in the order in which Thomas found their books shelved in the Sorbonne library,[57] and identical points made by different (or even the same) authorities are not grouped together. Users seeking preaching points or an authority to support their own argument on wrath had to read through all fifty-two quotations and twenty-six cross-references. Regular users may not have found these features too burdensome — the arrangement of the quotations in the *Liber Pharetrae*'s entry is also relatively random — but the logical explanations provided in the other texts surveyed here would have been more convenient for preachers searching for a memorable, ready-made sermon outline or for citations to support a particular point.

In Thomas's entry on wrath, a preacher would certainly have found familiar elements of the *sermo modernus* that also appear in the other reference works, which all provide authoritative quotations. The lemma includes four quotations that could be considered definitions,[58] at least one simile,[59] and one *exemplum*,[60] as well as nine aphorisms that can be regarded as remedies.[61] Given the many quotations

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55 Thomas of Ireland, *Manipulus florum*, s.v. *Ira*. Hereafter, quotations will be identified by their lettered designation in the lemma.

56 For example, *Ira ab*.

57 Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 124.

58 *Ira a*, *an*, *as*, and *az(1)*.

59 *Ira b*.

60 *Ira s*.

61 *Ira d*, *e*, *g*, *ae*, *ai*, *am*, *ay*, *ba*, and *bf*, including admonitions to forgive.

provided by the *Manipulus florum*, it is no surprise that some are also found in the other manuals.[62]

Turning to the lemma's material, what overall teaching on anger would a preacher have found among the quotations concerning *ira* in the *Manipulus florum*? The approximately seventeen quotations warning that vicious anger is dangerous and debasing are analogous to the main teachings found in the five preachers' tools.[63] Five quotations dwell on the involuntary, uncoordinated, ugly, and therefore degrading manifestations of anger in facial expressions and speech — a favourite subject of ancient sages and Christian ascetics which also appears in preachers' tools.[64]

Despite similarities in some of its elements and material, however, the emphasis of the *Manipulus florum* differs strikingly from that of the preachers' manuals. If he was not careful, a preacher borrowing from the lemma would have preached a sermon on anger that would have been out of step with the pastoral message found in other compilations and one not suitable for all audiences. Although a preacher could have found quotations in Thomas's *florilegium* that supported the same pastoral teaching about wrath as can be found in the other compilations, he had to know what to look for and have the patience to select appropriate material.

Not surprisingly for an anthology of patristic authorities, its entry on *Ira* reflects a broader and generally more positive patristic appraisal of wrath and includes substantial discussion (in eight quotations) of virtuous anger, the duty to be zealous, and the challenge of distinguishing licit from illicit expressions of the passion.[65] A strong statement from Ambrose's *On the Duties of the Clergy* illustrates this positive tendency: "be angry where there is fault at which you ought to be angry. For it is impossible for us not to be moved by the indignity of things; otherwise it would be considered not a virtue but apathy and negligence."[66] Thomas, in fact, included three authorities teaching that anger is natural and therefore unavoidable and that its first, reflexive impulse is less grave than voluntary acts.[67] Ten quotations teach that it is

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62 For the *Summa de vitiis*: *Ira c, d*, and *f*; *Liber Pharetrae*, *Ira b, ad* (combining two), *ai*, and *al*; and the *Liber de documentis*: *Ira a, s, u, af*, and *at*.

63 *Ira r, s, t, u, z, ab, ac, ad, ag, ak, ao, ax, bc, bd, be, bg*, and *bh*.

64 *Ira a, s, x, y*, and *af*. On the signs of wrath, see Vecchio, "'*Ira mala/ira bona*'," 48-53.

65 *Ira m, n, ah, al, aq, ar, as*, and *ba*.

66 *Ira m*.

67 On anger's naturalness: *Ira l, o*, and *ap*; on first impulses: *Ira c* and *e*.

possible to restrain angry impulses before they lead to sinful acts or develop into a long-lasting hatred.[68]

Thomas's entry on wrath also employs a mode of discourse which is different from that of the preachers' tools with their emphasis on presenting evocative and affective material for edifying an audience. Although the *Manipulus florum* includes such material as well, it also offers more intellectual arguments intended for the education of its audience by way of quotations that do not rely on affective imagery to arouse feelings that would counteract the vices. For example, *Ira ay* quotes Cassidorus's commentary on Psalm 4:5:

> Because of human frailty we cannot govern our hot emotions, but with the help of God's grace we contain them with the discipline of reason [. . .] for if in our anger we are not restrained by reflecting on the Lord, but happen to be frustrated in our purpose by some unavoidable obstacle, it is quite clear that we bear the guilt of the deed even if we cannot achieve what we desired.[69]

Such arguments often present anger as a mental process that can be understood and managed rationally. Perhaps this is the sort of perspective that one would expect to emerge from the writings of past thinkers; nevertheless, the *Liber Pharetrae* and Bartholomew's *florilegium* include quotations that tend to make a largely affective appeal.

Reconsidering the Purpose and Intended Audience of the *Manipulus florum*

The approach to anger taken in the *Manipulus florum* implies that it was aimed at a different audience and thus had goals different from those of the preachers' tools. Although the other compilations acknowledge the possibility of virtuous anger, they tend to mine the Stoic and ascetic elements of the Christian tradition in order to emphasize the negative and sinful aspects of wrath. This was a practical strategy to bring a broad audience to repentance for sin and to discourage the anti-social sins caused by anger. The *Manipulus florum* presents a more balanced and nuanced patristic view of vicious and virtuous anger, along with practical considerations on discerning the difference between the two kinds. This strategy seems less suitable for a general audience than for an audience comprised of people with authority to correct and the capacity to delve into the ambiguous traditions on anger.

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68   On restraint: *Ira i, l, o, q, ae, am, ap, ay, ba*, and *bh*; on hatred: *b, f, h, at, au*, and *az(2)*.
69   Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms*, 1:76.

In a hierarchical society, almost everyone would have been affected by the legitimization of such corrective zeal: masters and mistresses corrected servants, parents their children, husbands their wives. Indeed, in the absence of a strong state power, 'correction' was everyone's responsibility. That the problem of virtuous lay anger was probably most pressing for princes and nobles is also reflected in the historiography of the emotion, which developed from a focus on anger's function in the resolution of feudal conflicts, although studies of medieval conflict among other social classes have identified norms governing anger, vengeance, and violence.[70] The clergy, however, considered themselves the primary correctors of Christian society. While they were held by Canon Law to higher standards of restraint from rancour and violence, they had the sacred duty to correct sin and also to protect the dignity, personnel, and property of the Church.[71] Thomas emphasizes this duty much more than the other compilers, even Peter of Limoges, by providing quotations concerning zealous anger that were originally addressed to clerics and seem best suited to the clerical corrector of sins, or possibly to responsible laypeople. A preacher seeking to address a broader audience would have had to take great care in selecting material from the *Manipulus florum* — though the lemma's format would not have facilitated this.

Moreover, unlike the other compilers who included only material that was pastorally relevant, Thomas neither avoided nor resolved the ambiguities of anger, which suggests a more sophisticated or learned audience than uneducated clergy, let alone a general lay audience. The wider range of authoritative opinions from the Christian tradition on the moral gravity of anger would have invited deeper consideration of the issue during private reading and would also have benefited students in scholastic debates on the ambiguous traditions regarding the role of the passions in the moral life — topics generally avoided in compilations for preaching. The patristic *florilegium* quotes only a few pagan moralists long considered compatible with Christianity and depends primarily on older Cistercian compilations predating the adoption of Aristotelian teachings by scholastics.[72] Nevertheless, the broad, patristic perspective

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70 See Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 10-13. See also Hanawalt, "Violence in the Domestic Milieu"; Blumenthal, "Defending Their Masters' Honour"; and the essays in Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past*.

71 See, *inter alia*, Jaritz and Marinković, eds., *Violence and the Medieval Clergy*; Thiery, "Plowshares and Swords"; and Butler, "Sacred People, Sacred Spaces."

72 Thomas may have deliberately avoided Aristotle after the Condemnations of 1277; see McEvoy, "Flowers from Ancient Gardens," 71-72.

on wrath offered by the lemma on *Ira* would have resonated with students of Aristotelian anthropology.[73]

Conclusion

This survey of the material included in five preaching tools and the *Manipulus florum* has found that they present overlapping, but differing messages in their entries on wrath. Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis*, the *Distinctiones Mauritii*, the *Liber Pharetrae*, and Bartholomew's *De documenta antiquorum* present the consistent, traditional, and blunt teaching that anger should be avoided because it is dangerous both to others and to the angry person. Their teaching on anger represents the most common view and is presented in a logically uncomplicated and affective manner; thus, there is good reason for considering it the general pastoral approach to anger at the turn of the fourteenth century, suitable for the broadest audience of the Christian faithful. Peter of Limoges's *Tractatus* borrowed this approach to anger when addressing moral concerns of prelates and university students, ensuring that his work would also be useful to other audiences. The lemma for *Ira* in the *Manipulus florum* warns against the viciousness of anger, but it still gives considerable attention to patristic discourses about the naturalness of anger and the necessity of virtuous zeal for the correction of faults, a topic that the corresponding entries in the other manuals treat superficially if at all. Despite Thomas's improvements to make the lemmata within his compilation searchable, the arrangement of quotations within the lemma for *Ira* would not have helped a user navigate its various and sometimes subtle propositions regarding the moral ambiguity of anger — an ambiguity that is left unresolved. These distinctive features raise doubts about the Rouses' assumption that Thomas of Ireland intended his *Manipulus florum* primarily as a general preaching reference. The teachings about anger seem best suited for edifying an audience of ecclesiastics with responsibility to correct the faults of their subordinates. This is consistent with what is known about Thomas's priorities in his other writings. The format of the lemma invites users to read through and ruminate on the illogically arranged quotations before deciding what would be useful to support the argument of their disputation or sermon. This

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73 Thomas used the *Secunda secundae* of Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* for finding useful quotations; Nighman, "Janus Intertextuality Search Engine," §§10, 34-35. In the case of *Ira*, no certain signs of this method can be discerned; Aquinas had discussed anger more fully in Ia-IIae qq. 46-48, and thus IIa-IIae q. 158 seems to have offered Thomas fewer citations to mine.

suggests an academic milieu in which ambiguous elements of the Christian tradition were investigated and where clerical students prepared for an ecclesiastical career, as Nighman has argued. Although many of the quotations would back up the teachings found in the compilations that aided preaching to more general audiences, a user would already need to know what was pastorally appropriate to preach and had to be able to identify and arrange suitable quotations. The entry lacks the features that Peter of Limoges included to make material primarily aimed at clerics adaptable to a lay audience as well. The extent to which the *Manipulus florum* was used by preachers is likely to remain difficult to determine, but its influences on model sermons can now be clarified thanks to Nighman's edition. Meanwhile one should be skeptical of the claim that the *Manipulus florum* represents the mainstream preaching to all the faithful in the late Middle Ages.

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