

The Abbey and Order of St. Victor in the Twelfth Century Context and Bibliography for Readers of Victorine Texts in Translation

Victorine Texts in Translation (VTT) is a ten-volume series published in hardcover by Brepols, the publishers of the Corpus Christianorum and many other scholarly series and works, and in paperback by New City Press, which also has published an English translation of the works of St. Augustine. One volume of the series is appearing each year. Each volume is devoted to a theme and contains works by several Victorine authors. The translations are made by members of the editorial board and by others. Each volume has its own editor(s), indicated below in parentheses.

1. Trinity and Creation (Boyd Taylor Coolman and Dale Coulter)
2. On Love (Hugh Feiss, OSB)
3. Interpretation of Scripture: Theory (Franklin T. Harkins and Frans van Liere)
4. Writings on the Spiritual Life (Christopher P. Evans)
5. Spiritual Formation and Mystical Symbolism (Dale Coulter and Grover Zinn, Jr.)
6. Interpretation of Scripture: Practice (Frans van Liere and Franklin T. Harkins)
7. Christology (Christopher P. Evans)
8. Sermons for the Liturgical Year (Hugh Feiss, OSB)
9. Daily Life at St. Victor (tba)
10. Sacraments (tba)

Editorial Board Victorine Texts in Translation
Boyd Taylor Coolman Dale Coulter Christopher P. Evans Hugh Feiss, OSB Franklin T. Harkins Frans van Liere Grover Zinn, Jr.

These links provide guidance for those who would like to explore the history of the Abbey of St. Victor and the theology of its writers. The aim of these links is to provide direction, not to be exhaustive. Preference is given to works in English. **When works of the Victorines have appeared or will appear in Victorine Texts in Translation, they are indicated in red.** Included are the relevant essays in the festschrift, *Knowledge to Beatitude: St. Victor, Twelfth-Century Scholars, and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Grover A. Zinn, Jr.* Edited by E. Ann Matter and Lesley Smith (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013) to which several of the members of the editorial board of VTT contributed. Readers will note the central importance to Victorine studies of the late Jean Châtillon, Rainer Berndt, SJ (Hugo von Sankt Viktor Institute in Frankfurt), Dominique Poirel (Institut de recherché et d'histoire des texts in Paris), and Patrice Sicard (Canon of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris), and Luc Jocqué (Brepols Publishers, Belgium), who is both our editor and a Victorine scholar. The late Michael Signer was an important influence in the studies of several of the members of the editorial board of VTT.

There are two excellent surveys of scholarly work on the Victorines during the twentieth century:

Châtillon, Jean. De Guillaume de Champeaux à Thomas Gallus: chronique d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale de l'école de Saint-Victor," *Revue du Moyen Âge latin*, 8 (1952) 139-162, 247-272.

Poirel, Dominique. "L'école de Saint-Victor au Moyen Âge: Bilan d'un demi-siècle historiographique," *Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes*, 156 (1998):187-207.

A leading German scholar of the Victorines attempts a characterization of religious and intellectual formation at St. Victor and the fundamental principles of Victorine theology in:

Berndt, Rainer. "Zwischen *sacramentum mundi* und *intellectus fidei*—Grundzüge viktorinischer Theologie," in *Frömmigkeit und Theologie an Chorherrenstiften*, ed. Ulrich Köpf and Sönke Lorenz (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2009), 131–140.

1. The Abbey, Its Founders, Its History, and the Congregation of St. Victor

St. Victor was an abbey and for a while a congregation of abbeys of canons regular who followed the Rule of St. Augustine. Canons regular were clergy who lived in common like monks, but almost always followed the *Rule of St. Augustine*. Their monasteries usually had a customary (book detailing the observances of daily life), and these often drew on monastic (Benedictine/Cistercian) models, so the observances of canons often resembled those of monks. The canons regular have not fared as well as the monastic orders in the post-French Revolution era. The best known congregation of them are the Premonstratensians, also known as the Norbertines after their founder St. Norbert.

1.1 Canons regular

There is no standard, comprehensive history of the canons regular. Two books on them in English (focusing on the British Isles):

Dickinson, John Compton *The Origin of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*. London: SPCK, 1950.

Burton, Janet, and Karen Stöber, eds. *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*. Medieval Church Studies 19. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

1.2 The customary of St. Victor

The customary of St. Victor is available in a critical edition of the Latin text:

Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis. Ed. L. Jocqué and L. Milis. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio medievalis (CCCM) 61. Turnhout: Brepols, 1984.

It is planned to include at least selections from the *Liber ordinis* is VTT9.

Ralf M. W. Stammberger studies in detail the formation program at St. Victor, basing himself primarily on the *Liber ordinis* and two works of Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon* and *De institutione novitorum*:

“‘Via ad ipsum sunt scientia, disciplina, bonitas’: Theorie und Praxis der Bildung in der Abtei Sankt Viktor im zwölften Jahrhundert,” in ‘*Scientia*’ und ‘*Disciplina*’: *Wissenstheorie und Wissenschaftspraxis in 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rainer Berndt, Matthias Lutz-Bachmann, and Ralf M. W. Stammberger, *Erudiri sapientia* 3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002) 91–126,

1.3 The History of the Abbey and Congregation of St. Victor

The Abbey of St. Victor remained in existence until the French Revolution. The congregation of forty or so abbeys that embraced its way of life does not seem to have survived beyond the first century of St. Victor’s existence. The history of the Abbey and Congregation of St. Victor is the object of only one comprehensive study:

Bonnard, Fourier. *Histoire de l’abbaye royale et de l’Ordre des chanoines réguliers de Saint Victor de Paris*. 2 vols. Paris: 1904-1907.

Two collections of articles stemming from conferences on St. Victor help update Bonnard:

L’abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Âge. Ed. Jean Longère. Bibliotheca Victorina 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

L'école de Saint-Victor de Paris: Influence et rayonnement du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne. Ed. Dominique Poirel. Bibliotheca Victorina 22. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

See also,

Clark, William W. "The Twelfth-Century Church of St. Victor in Paris: A New Proposal. *From Knowledge to Beatitude* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2013), pp. 68–85.

1.4 William of Champeaux; Abbot Gilduin and the Founding of St. Victor

St. Victor was founded 1108-1113 by William of Champeaux, archdeacon of Paris and teacher. He became bishop of Châlons-en-Champagne in 1113, but the abbey quickly prospered under the leadership of his successor, Gilduin, who remained in office until 1155. William and Gilduin embraced the ideals of the Gregorian Reform as these pertained to the clergy. The canons regular were to be models of clerical life in community, chaste, detached from personal ambition and wealth, dedicated to preaching.

Important though he clearly was, not just for St. Victor but for the schools of Paris, William of Champeaux remains a somewhat shadowy figure. Some recent articles have clarified his initiative to found St. Victor:

Anne Gondeux, "Guillaume de Champeaux, Joscelin de Soissons, Abélard et Gosvin d'Anchin: étude d'un milieu intellectuel," in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des xi^e et xii^e siècles*, ed. Irène Rosier-Catach, *Studia Artistarum* 26 (Turnout: Brepols, 2011), 3–43,

Charles de Miramon, "Quatre notes biographiques sur Guillaume de Champeaux," *Arts du langage*, 45–82.

Constant Mews, "William of Champeaux, the Foundation of Saint-Victor (Easter, 1111), and the Evolution of Abelard's Early Career," *Arts du langage*, 83–104.

Julian Führer, "L'abbaye de Saint-Victor dans la réforme canoniale," in *L'école de Saint-Victor de Paris: Influence et rayonnement du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne*, ed. Dominique Poirel. Bibliotheca Victorina 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 57–77.

Constant Mews, "Logica in the Service of Philosophy: William of Champeaux and his Influence," in *Schrift. Schreiber, Schenker. Studien zur Abtei Sankt Viktor in Paris und den Viktorinen*, ed. Rainer Berndt, SJ. *Corpus Victorinum. Instrumenta* 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 77–117.

For William of Champeaux's philosophical ideas and writings, which are difficult to disentangle in the maze of twelfth-century collections of sentences, a good source is the article on him in the online *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*:

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/william-champeaux/>

Abbot Gilduin (1113-1155) is thought to have had a very large influence in shaping the life of the Abbey and Congregation, but little is known about him. Recently a work has been discovered and published which, like the *Liber ordinis*, was promulgated at St. Victor during his abbacy:

Jocqué, Luc, and Dominique Poirel, “De Donat à Saint-Victor: un *De accentibus* inédit,” *La tradition vive: Mélanges d’histoire des textes en l’honneur de Louis Holtz*. Ed. Pierre Lardet. *Bibliologia* 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 161-192.

2. Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141)

2.1 Introduction

After considerable debate among scholars, it now seems almost universally agreed that Hugh of St. Victor was from Saxony and that he came to St. Victor sometime around 1115. Until his death twenty-five years later, Hugh of St. Victor taught and wrote at the abbey. His theology and his style left their imprint on the canons who succeeded him as teachers, preachers, and writers at St. Victor, and his theology exerted wide influence beyond the abbey. Hugh like his successors listed below was comfortable and creative in both the traditional, meditative, rhetorically ordered theology of the monastic and Augustinian tradition as well as in the new more dialectical theological styles that emerged in the twelfth century. He left behind a very large repertoire of writings, most of which are listed in the index to a collection of his works prepared under Abbot Gilduin:

De Ghellinck, Joseph. “La table des matières de la première édition des oeuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor,” *Recherches de science religieuse*, 1 (1910): 270–289, 385–306.

Hugh’s works are found in hundreds of manuscripts. These manuscripts have been surveyed in a very useful, if not completely accurate, work:

Goy, Rudolf. *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von Sankt Viktor. Ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte des Mittelalters*. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 14. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1976.

Hugh of St. Victor's works, their editions and translations, are all listed in the abbreviations section of each volume of *Victorine Texts in Translation*. Here it will be enough to mention several of his most important works and then single out English translations that appear in VTT or elsewhere.

2.2 *De sacramentis Christiane fidei* (*On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*)

De sacramentis Christiane fidei is Hugh’s longest and most important theological work. It is found in vol. 176 of Migne’s *Patrologia latina*. This edition has been translated into English and, more recently, into German, and a new Latin edition has been prepared from two early manuscripts by Rainer Berndt, SJ.

Hugonis de Sancto Victore, *De sacramentis Christiane fidei*. Ed. Rainer Berndt, SJ. *Corpus Victorinum. Textus historici* 1. Münster: Aschendorff, 2008,

Hugo von Sankt Viktor, *Über die Heiltümer des christlichen Glaubens*. Tr. Peter Knauer, SJ.; Editor, Rainer Berndt, SJ. *Corpus Victorinum, Schriften* 1. Münster: Aschendorff, 2010.

Hugh of St. Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*. Tr. R. J. Deferrari. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Medieval Academy of America, 1951.

Some selections from *On the Sacraments* appear in VTT2: 253–267, and others are planned for inclusion in later volumes.

VTT1 also contains a translation of a *reportatio*, that is, a student’s notes corrected by Hugh himself, of some of his lectures preliminary to the writing of the *De sacramentis*:

Hugh of St. Victor, *Sentences on Divinity*, VTT1:103–177

2.3 *Didascalicon on the Study of Reading*

Didascalicon on the Study of Reading is a guide to what to read when studying the liberal arts and Sacred Scripture. Long available in a translation by Jerome Taylor (Columbia University Press, 1961) that was based on the critical edition by C. H. Buttimer (Catholic University Press of America, 1939), it is a very good window into the way the Victorines approached learning.

Franklin T. Harkins presents a new translation of the *Didascalicon* in VTT3: 61-201

Further examples of Hugh's theory and practice of exegesis appear in VTT3 and will appear in VTT6:

On Sacred Scripture and Its Interpretation and *The Diligent Examiner*. VTT3: 203–252

Notulae. VTT6

Chronicon, Preface. VTT6

2.4 *On the Ark of Noah; Little Book (libellus) on the design of the Ark*

The *Libellus (Little Book)* describes a very large drawing (whether real or imaginary is debated) of the Ark of Noah (and much else), which served as a tool of spiritual formation, memorization, and instruction. These two texts were edited and studied by Patrice Sicard:

De archa Noe, Libellus de formatione arche. Ed. P. Sicard. CCCM 176. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

Sicard, Patrice. *Diagrammes médiévaux et exégèse visuelle: Le Libellus de formatione arche de Hugues de Saint-Victor*. Bibliotheca Victorina 4. Paris-Turnhout: Brepols, 1993.

Grover Zinn, Jr. has devoted much of his scholarly life to studying Hugh of St. Victor's two treatises on the Ark of Noah. His new translations and explanations of both works will appear in VTT5.

2.5 Writings on the Spiritual Life

Hugh of St. Victor was especially adept at writing short works that wove together biblical commentary, theological reflection, and moral and spiritual teaching—a combination that was to be characteristic of Victorine writers throughout the twelfth century. These works of Hugh are well represented in Victorine Texts in Translation:

On the Three Days. VTT1: 49–102

The Praise of the Bridegroom. VTT2: 113–136

On the Substance of Love. VTT2: 137–148

On the Praise of Charity. VTT2: 149–168

What Truly Should Be Loved. VTT2: 169–182

Soliloquy on the Betrothal-Gift of the Soul. VTT2: 183–232

On the Power of Prayer. VTT4: 315–347

On the Five Sevens. VTT4: 349–368

On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit. VTT4: 369–380

On Meditation. VTT4: 381–394

Explanation on the Canticle on Mary. VTT4: 412–452

2.6 Hugh and Pseudo-Dionysius

Hugh of St. Victor wrote a lengthy commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy*. A critical edition by Dominic Poirel is soon to appear in the CCCM. He has also published a lengthy study:

Des symboles et des anges: Hugues du SV et le réveil dionysien du XIIe siècle Bibliotheca Victorina 23. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

A translation of a small portion of Hugh's *Commentary* appears in

Chase, Steven. *Angelic Spirituality*. Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist, 2002), 187–196.

See also,

Luscombe, David. "The Commentary of Hugh of Saint-Victor on the Celestial Hierarchy, in *Die Dionysius-Rezeption im Mittelalter*, eds. Tzotcho Boiadjev, Georgi Kapriev and Andreas Speer. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 159–171.

2.7 Writings about Hugh of St. Victor

The bibliographies in the various volumes of VTT show how extensively Hugh of St. Victor has been studied. Five recent books provide introductions to his writings and thought:

Coolman, Boyd Taylor. *The Theology of Hugh of Saint Victor: An Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Harkins, Franklin T. *Reading and the Work of Restoration: History and Scripture in the Theology of Hugh of St. Victor*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2009

Poirel, Dominique. *Hugues de Saint-Victor*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1998.

—. "'Alter Augustinus—Der Zweite Augustinus': Hugo von Sankt Viktor und die Väter der Kirche," in *Väter der Kirche: Ecclesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit, Festgabe für Hermann Josef Sieben*, eds. Johannes Arnold, Rainer Berndt, and Ralf M. W. Stammberger (Paderborn: Ferdinand, Schöningh, 2004), 643-668.

Roem, Paul. *Hugh of St. Victor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Sicard, Patrice. *Hugues de Saint-Victor et son école*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1991.

From Knowledge to Beatitude contains several studies of Hugh of St. Victor:

Cahn, Walter. "An Illuminated Manuscript of Writings by Hugh of St. Victor (Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 729)." Pp. 46–67.

Coolman, Boyd Taylor. "'Transgressing [its] measure . . . trespassing the mode and law of its beauty': Sin and the Beauty of the Soul in Hugh of St. Victor." Pp. 186–203.

Harkins, Franklin T. "*Lectio exhortatio debet esse*: Reading as a Way of Life at the Twelfth-Century Abbey of St. Victor." Pp. 103-130.

Poirel, Dominique. "The Spirituality and Theology of Beauty in Hugh of St. Victor." Pp. 247–280.

An article concerned particularly with the *De institutione novitiorum*:

Jaeger, C. Stephen. "Humanism and Ethics at the School of St. Victor in the Early Twelfth Century," *Mediaeval Studies*, 55 (1993): 51-79.

There is a section on Hugh in:

Jaeger, C. Stephen. *The Envy of Angels*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

3. Adam of St. Victor (d. 1140s)

3.1 Sequences

Adam of St. Victor has for centuries been renowned for his sequences. He was precentor at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris by 1107 and transferred to St. Victor around 1133. There are questions about how many sequences of his can be identified, but there is a solid core of about forty that are attributed to him with some certainty. A Latin-English edition of his sequences:

Mousseau, Juliet. *Adam of St. Victor's Sequences: Latin Text and English Translation with Introduction and Notes*. Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations Series. Leuven: Peeters, 2013.

There is a very thorough literary study of Adam's sequences, which includes the Latin texts and French translations of them:

Grosfillier, Jean. *Les Séquences de Adam de Saint-Victor: Étude littéraire (poétique et rhétorique), textes et traductions, commentaires*. Bibliotheca Victorina 20. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

A number of Adam of St. Victor's sequences are translated in Victorine Texts in Translation:

"Mundi renovatio," "Profitentes unitatem," and "Qui procedis ab utroque" in VTT1: 179–194
 "Gratulemur ad festivum" and "Simplex in essentia, in VTT2: 233–243
 "Ave, virgo singularis/Mater" and "Salve mater salatoris/vas, in VTT4: 453–469

3.2 Studies on Adam and his sequences

Margot Fassler has produced influential studies on Adam, clarifying his identity and life and placing his sequences in the context of the Victorines' concern to reform clerical life and ministry by a close study of the melodies to which the sequences were sung:

"Who Was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts." *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984): 233-269.

Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993; repr. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011.

"The Victorine Sequences Revisited, 1993–2009," in *L'école de Saint-Victor de Paris*, 433–458 (she has become more skeptical about attributions of specific sequences to Adam).

Cunnar, Eugene R. "Tropological Rhyme in a Sequence by Adam of St. Victor," *Studies in Philology*, 84 (1987): 394–417.

4. Garnier of St. Victor (d. ca. 1170)

Gregorianum (PL 193:23–462) is a theological dictionary based on the writings of Gregory the Great.

5. Achard of St. Victor (d. 1171)

5.1 Introduction

Achard of St. Victor, who seems to have been an Anglo-Norman, was abbot of St. Victor 1155–1161, and died as bishop of Avranches in 1170/71. He was virtually unknown until the twentieth-century, in which his three major writings were finally published. The longest of these, a collection of fifteen sermons, was edited and discussed in a book-length study by Fr. Jean Châtillon, a professor at l'Institut Catholique in Paris, and the foremost Victorine scholar of the twentieth century. The other two works, of a more philosophical nature, are also available in critical editions. All have been translated into English.

5.2 *De discretione animae, spiritus et mentis*

Ed. G. Morin, “Un traité faussement attribué à Adam de Saint-Victor,” *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters*, BGPTMA, Supplementband 3/1 (1935), 251–62; ed. N. Häring, “Gilbert of Poitiers, Author of the ‘De discretione animae, spiritus et mentis’ commonly attributed to Achard of Saint Victor,” *Mediaeval Studies*, 22 (1960): 148–91;

Tr. H. Feiss, *On the Distinction of Soul, Spirit and Mind*, in Achard of Saint Victor, *Works*, Cistercian Studies 165 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2001), 353–74.

5.3 *Sermons*

Sermons inédits. Ed. J. Châtillon. Paris: Vrin, 1970.

Tr. H. Feiss, *Works*, 59–351.

Several of Achard's sermons have been translated for Victorine Texts in Translation and more will appear in VTT8:

Sermon 5: VTT2: 245–260

Sermon 13: VTT4: 75–129

Additional sermons: VTT8

5.4 *De unitate Dei et pluralitate creaturarum.*

Ed. E. Martineau. Saint-Lambert des Bois: Authentica, 1987.

Tr. H. Feiss, *Works*, 375–480.

5.5 Studies

Châtillon, Jean. *Théologie, spiritualité et métaphysique dans l'oeuvre oratoire d'Achard de Saint-Victor*. Études de philosophie médiévale 58. Paris: J. Vrin, 1969.

Ilkhani, Mohammad. *La philosophie de la création chez Achard de Saint-Victor*. Bruxelles: Ousia, 1991.

David Albertson, “Achard of St. Victor (d. 1171) and the Eclipse of the Arithmetic Model of the Trinity,” *Traditio*, 67 (2012): 101–144.

6. Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173)

6.1 Introduction

After Hugh of St. Victor, Richard is the Victorine who has left behind the largest literary legacy and been the most studied. Richard is said to have been from Scotland (or perhaps Ireland). He was subprior at St. Victor, then prior from 1162 until his death in 1173. During the time he was prior, the abbey was in considerable turmoil under the inept leadership of Abbot Ervisius. Not all of Richard’s large legacy has been critically edited. As he did for Hugh of St. Victor, R. Goy published a survey of the manuscripts of Richard’s works.

Goy, Rudolf. *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke Richards von Sankt Viktor im Mittelalter*, Bibliotheca Victorina, 18. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

Two works that provide an introduction to Richard and his work are:

Châtillon, Jean. “Richard de Saint-Victor,” *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 13 (Paris, 1987): 594–654.

Coulter, Dale. *Per visibilia ad invisibilia: Theological Method in Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173)*. Bibliotheca Victorina 19. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

6.2 Syntheses

Two recent attempts, one short and one long, at a synthesis of Richard’s theology of the spiritual life are:

Bernard McGinn, “The Victorine Ordering of Mysticism,” in *The Growth of Mysticism: Gregory the Great through the 12th Century*. The Presence of God 2 (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 395–418.

Hideki Nakamura, SJ, “*amor invisibilium*”: *Die Liebe im Denken Richards von Sankt Viktor (+1173)*. Corpus Victorinum, Instrumenta 5. Münster: Aschendorff, 2011.

Both of these syntheses concentrate on four of Richard’s most important works:

6.3 *On the Four Degrees of Violent Love.*

De quatuor gradibus violentae caritatis, ed. G. Dumeige, *Ives, Épître à Séverin sur la charité; Richard de Saint-Victor, Les quatre degrés de la violente charité*, Textes philosophiques du Moyen Âge, 3 (Paris: Vrin, 1955), 126–177.

On the Four Degrees of Violent Love, tr. A. Kraebel, VTT2. 261–300

6.4 *The Twelve Patriarchs (also known as The Preparation of the Soul for Contemplation and Benjamin minor).*

De duodecim patriarchis (Benjamin Minor), ed. J. Châtillon, *Les douze patriarches ou Benjamin minor*, SC 419. Paris: Cerf, 1997. [Published after Fr. Châtillon’s death before he could complete a fully critical, annotated edition.]

The Twelve Patriarchs, in Richard of Saint Victor, *The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity*, tr. Grover Zinn, Jr., *Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York: Paulist, 1979), 51–147.

6.5 *The Ark of Moses* (also known as *The Mystical Ark*, or *On Contemplation*, or *Benjamin maior*).

Ed. M.-A. Aris, *Contemplatio: Philosophische Studien zum Traktat Benjamin Maior des Richard von Sankt Viktor. Mit einer verbesserten Edition des Textes*. Fuldaer Studien 6. Frankfurt am Main: Josef Knecht, 1996; ed. and tr. Jean Grosfillier, *L'oeuvre de Richard de Saint-Victor, 1: De contemplation: Benjamin maior*. Sous le Règle de Saint Augustine. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Tr. Grover A. Zinn, Jr, *The Twelve Patriarchs*, 149-343. Tr. Ineke van t'Spijker, Mary Clare Murphy, and Hugh Feiss, OSB, VTT5.

Chase, Steven. *Angelic Wisdom: the Cherubim and the Grace of Contemplation in Richard of St. Victor*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995.

6.6 *On the Trinity*

This is Richard's most studied work; many of the studies are focused on his definition of "person."

De trinitate. Ed. J. Ribailier. Textes philosophiques du Moyen Âge 6. Paris: Vrin, 1958.; ed. G. Salet, *La trinité*, Sources Chrétiennes 67. Paris: Cerf, 1959.

Tr. Christopher P. Evans, VTT1: 209-382. Tr. Ruben Angelici, Richard of St. Victor, *On the Trinity*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011.

De trinitate, Book 3, Tr. Grover A. Zinn, Jr., *The Twelve Patriarchs*, 391-397.

6.7 Other Works of Richard of St. Victor

Richard wrote many other works. Of them, the following appear in Victorine Texts in Translation:

Liber exceptionum (Book of Notes). Excerpts in VTT3: 287–326. (Scriptural interpretation)

Commentary on the Apocalypse. Excerpts in VTT3: 327–370

Tractates on Certain Psalms. VTT4: 131–239 (based on a critical edition by Christopher P. Evans which is to appear in CCCM)

Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. VTT4: 395–411

On the State of the Interior Man. VTT4: 241–314

De Emmanuele. VTT6 (a critique of Andrew of St. Victor's interpretation of Isaiah)

On Difficult Passages in Paul. VTT6

Sermon 4, "Ave Maris Stella." VTT4: 471–482

Sermon 70, On Pentecost. VTT6

Other sermons of Richard will appear in VTT8

6.8 Writings About Richard of St. Victor in *From Knowledge to Beatitude*:

Delano-Smith, Catherine. "Maps and Plans in Medieval Exegesis: Richard of St. Victor's *In visionem Ezechielis*." Pp. 1-45.

Matter, E. Ann. "Heart Calls to Heart: The Importance of the Love between the Lover and the Beloved

in the *Mystical Ark* and *Wachet auf!*” Pp. 384-395.

7. Odo of St. Victor (d. 1173)

Odo was prior of St. Victor, then abbot of Sainte Geneviève, which at the time adopted the Victorine observance. There are sermons and letters attributed to him, but there is no thorough study of their authenticity. See PL 196.1399–1418 and PL 171.186-190, 301, and 307.

8. Andrew of St. Victor (d. 1175)

8.1 Introduction

Andrew of St. Victor was an Anglo-Norman. He was sent to be the first abbot of a Victorine foundation at Wigmore in England in 1148. He resigned in 1155 and returned to St. Victor. In 1161 he was called back to Wigmore. He died in 1175 and was buried in the nave of the new church that the community was then building. Andrew has a special place in the history of medieval exegesis as a resolute practitioner of literal, historical exegesis. His surviving commentaries all concern the Old Testament. His work was brought to scholars’ attention by the investigations of Beryl Smalley. Since then, the majority of his works have appeared in critical editions in the CCCM.

8.2 Works about Andrew of St. Victor

One comprehensive work on Andrew is

Berndt, Rainer. *André de Saint-Victor (+1175) Exégète et théologien*. Bibliotheca Victorina, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

Harkins, Franklin T. “‘Following with unequal step.’ Andrew of St. Victor, the *Glossa ordinaria*, and Compilatory Exegesis in the Northern French Schools of the Twelfth Century,” in *Transforming Relations: Essays on Jews and Christians throughout History in Honor of Michael A. Signer*, ed. Franklin T. Harkins (Notre Dame, IN; University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 150–178.

Van Liere, Frans. “Christ or Antichrist? The Jewish Messiah in Twelfth-Century Christian Eschatology” in *From Knowledge to Beatitude*, 342–357.

—. “Andrew of St. Victor, Jerome, and the Jews: Biblical Scholarship in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” in *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and Thomas E. Burman, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 59–75.

8.3 Translations of Andrew’s works

One of Andrew’s works has been translated from Latin into English:

Andrew of Saint Victor, *Commentary on Samuel and Kings*. Tr. Frans van Liere. Corpus Christianorum in Translation, 3, Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Translations appearing in Victorine Texts in Translation:

Andrew of St. Victor, Prologues to Select Commentaries. VTT3: 269–286
Further texts will be included in VTT6.

9. Walter of St. Victor (d. 1179/1180)

9.1 Introduction

Walter of St. Victor was subprior when Richard was prior and succeeded him in 1173.

9.2 *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae*

Walter first came to the attention of scholars through the work of Palémon Glorieux, who published an unfinished and uncirculated work of Walter's, which he criticized for its hostile tone and poor scholarship. In it Walter attacks teachings of Peter Abelard, Peter Lombard, Peter of Poitiers, and Gilbert of Poitiers.

Glorieux, P. "Le *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae* de Gauthier de Saint-Victor," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 19 (1953): 187–95 (introduction), 195–335 (text);

Glorieux, P. "Mauvaise action et mauvais travail: Le *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae*," *Revue de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 21 (1954): 179–93.

9.3 Sermons

Jean Châtillon carefully studied and eventually published 36 sermons from a Victorine sermon collection that exists in a number of manuscripts. Of the 66 sermons in that collection, twenty-one are explicitly attributed to Walter, and a number of others may be his as well. In them Walter shows himself to be the equal of other Victorine preachers in style and content.

Châtillon, Jean. "Sermons et prédicateurs victorins de la seconde moitié du xiie siècle." *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, (1965): 7–60.

Sermones inediti triginta sex. Ed. Jean Châtillon. CCCM 30. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975.

Several sermons will appear in Victorine Texts in Translation:

Sermon 6: On the Feast of the Purification. VTT4: 529–550

Six or seven of Walter's Sermons will appear in VTT8.

10. Guérin of St. Victor (d.1193?)

Guérin may have been abbot of Sainte Geneviève. He was living among the canons regular of La Châge when he was chosen to succeed Ernus in 1172. He left behind letters (PL 196.1387–1398), and some unpublished sermons and acts. On him, see the article by Jacques Pycke in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 22 (Paris, 1988): 684-696.

11. Godfrey of St. Victor (d. ca. 1195)

11.1 Introduction

Godfrey of St. Victor studied the liberal arts and theology at Paris and then entered the Abbey of St. Victor about 1155–1160. He was assigned for some years to a priory, then returned to the abbey in 1185/1186, where he served as armarius, in which capacity he was responsible for the production and preservation of books, especially those used in the liturgy. He was not a speculative thinker, but a gifted writer. The only book-length study of Godfrey to date is:

Delhaye, Philippe. *Le "Microcosmus" de Godefroy de Saint-Victor. Étude théologique*. Mémoires et travaux publiés par les professeurs des Facultés catholiques de Lille, 56. Lille: Facultés catholiques/Gembloux: J. Ducolot, 1951.

Delhaye's work has been brought up to date and amended by a series of articles in French by Françoise Gasparri. Not all of Godfrey's works have been edited and published, but two that have, the *Microcosmus* and the *Fountain of Philosophy*, show that Godfrey shared Hugh of St. Victor's encyclopedic outlook.

11.2 *Microcosmus*

Microcosmus. Ed. Philippe Delhaye. Mémoires et travaux par les professeurs des Facultés catholiques de Lille, 57. Lille: Facultés catholiques/Gembloux: J. Ducolot, 1951.

Partially (##203–227) translated in VTT2:301–341.

11.3 *Fountain of Philosophy*

Fons philosophiae. Ed. Pierre Michaud-Quantin. Lille: R. Giard, 1956.

The Fountain of Philosophy. Trans. Edward A. Synan. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972. Tr. VTT3: 371–426.

11.4 *Preconium Augustini*

"The *Preconium Augustini* of Godfrey of St. Victor." Ed. Philip Damon. *Mediaeval Studies*, 22 (1960): 92-107.

11.5 Sermons and Hymns

Godfrey prepared collections of 31 of his sermons and a 32nd has been identified. Only a few of these have been edited and published. One of these and two hymns attributed to Godfrey are translated in

VTT4: 483–527. Further sermons of Godfrey's will appear in VTT8.

12. Twelfth-Century Victorines: Specific Topics

Chase, Steven. *Contemplation and Compassion: The Victorine Tradition*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2003.

Coulter, Dale M. "Contemplation as 'Speculation': A Comparison of Boethius, Hugh of St. Victor, and Richard of St. Victor." *From Knowledge to Beatitude*, 204–228.

Feiss, Hugh. "Preaching by Word and Example." *From Knowledge to Beatitude*, 153-186.

Sicard, Patrice. *Théologies victorines. Études d'histoire doctrinale médiévale et contemporaine*. Paris: Parole et Silence, 2008.

Van 't Spijker, Ineke. *Fictions of the Inner Life. Religious Literature and Formation of the Self in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Disputation 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

13. Thomas Gallus (d. 1246)

Thomas was a native of France. He became a member of St. Victor. In 1218/1219 he and two other canons of St. Victor accompanied Cardinal Guala Bicchieri to Vercelli to occupy an abbey that the cardinal was establishing there along with an adjacent hospital. Thomas became prior in 1224 and abbot in 1125. His burial monument in the former abbey church of St. Andrew in Vercelli depicts him with Pseudo-Dionysius, St. Andrew, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Catherine, the patroness of philosophy. Thomas wrote biblical commentaries and studies of the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius. He was friends with Robert Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, and St. Anthony of Padua. Our understanding of his place in the intellectual history of the Abbey of St. Victor will be enhanced by a critical edition of Hugh of St. Victor's *Commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy* by Dominique Poirel, which is soon to appear in the CCCM, and by his lengthy study:

Poirel, Dominique. *Des symboles et des anges: Hugues du SV et le réveil dionysien du XII^e siècle*. Bibliotheca Victorina, 23. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Thomas Gallus' works are gradually appearing in critical editions:

Thomas Gallus, *Explanatio in libros Dionysii*. Ed. Declan Lawell. CCCM 223. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

Thomas Gallus, *Glose super angelica ierarchia. Accedunt indices ad Thomae Galli Opera*. Ed. Declan Lawell. CCCM 223A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

Mystical Theology: The Glosses by Thomas Gallus and the Commentary of Robert Grosseteste on De Mystica Theologia. Ed. and tr. James McEvoy. Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, 3. Leuven: Peeters, 2003. McEvoy provides a bibliography and helpful introduction and conclusion.

English translations are beginning to appear. In addition to McEvoy's bilingual edition, there are:

Extract on the Celestial Hierarchy (selections). In Chase, *Angelic Spirituality*, 217–234.

Prologue to the Third Commentary on the Songs of Songs. In Chase, *Angelic Spirituality*, 235–250.

Declan Lawell has published a number of short editions and articles:

“*Qualiter vita prelatorum conformari debet vite angelice*. A Sermon (1244-1246?) Attributed to Thomas Gallus,” *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 75.2 (2008): 303-336.

“Affective Excess: Ontology and Knowledge in the Thought of Thomas Gallus,” *Dionysius*, 26 (2008): 139-174.

“*Ne de ineffabili penitus taceamus*: Aspects of the Specialized Vocabulary of the Writings of Thomas Gallus,” *Viator* 40.1 (2009): 151-184.

“Thomas Gallus's Method as Dionysian Commentator: A Study of the *Glose super Angelica Ierarchia* (1224), Including Considerations on the Authorship of the *Expositio librorum beati Dionysii*,” *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 76 (2009): 89-117.

“*Spectacula contemplationis*. A Treatise (1244-1246) by Thomas Gallus,” *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 76.2 (2009): 249-285.

“Ecstasy and the Intellectual Dionysianism of Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great,” in *Thomas Aquinas: Ideas, Probing and Questionings*, ed. James McEvoy, Michael Dunne & Julia Hynes (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012).

Boyd Taylor Coolman has written two recent articles on Thomas Gallus:

“Thomas Gallus,” in *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity*, eds. Paul Gavrilyuk and Sarah Coakley (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 140-58.

“The Medieval Affective Dionysian Tradition,” *Modern Theology*, 24.4 (2008): 615-32.

Several works of Thomas Gallus are to appear in forthcoming volumes of VTT, beginning with VTT5.

14. Penitentials

The canons regular of St. Victor had a pastoral ministry to the students in Paris, which included acting as confessors. Members of the community produced two surviving penitentials or guides for confessors:

Peter of Poitiers (d. after 1216). *Summa de Confessione. Compilatio praesens.* Ed. Jean Longère. CCCM 51. Turnhout: Brepols, 1980.

Robert of Flamborough (d. 1234). *Liber poenitentialis: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes.* Ed. J. J. Francis Firth. Studies and Texts 18. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1971.

Passages from these two works will appear in VTT10.

15. In the Victorine Sphere of Influence

15.1 Robert of Melun (d. 1167)

Robert studied in Paris with Hugh of St. Victor and Abelard and then became a teacher there himself, lecturing on both dialectic and theology. John of Salisbury and perhaps Thomas Becket were his students. Coulter, in the “Annotated Chronology of the Twelfth-Century School of St. Victor,” appended to his study of Richard of St. Victor, has Robert studying under Hugh of St. Victor “sometime between 1127 and 1133.” He gives evidence that Richard of St. Victor studied under Robert at St. Victor in the 1150s. He became bishop of Hereford in 1163. Richard of St. Victor and Abbot Ernisius wrote him urging him to support Thomas Becket in the latter’s conflict with Henry II (Richard of St. Victor, *Epistolae*, PL 196.1225A-1226C = St. Thomas Becket, *Ep.* 351, PL 190:687B-688B = *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson [London: Longman, 1877], 5:456-457). Robert’s major works are *Quaestiones de divina pagina*, *Sententiae* (unfinished) and his *Quaestiones de epistolis Pauli*.

A portion of Robert of Melun’s *Sententiae* is introduced and translated in VTT3: 427–478. Passages from his exegetical works will appear in VTT6.

15.2 Maurice de Sully (d. 1196)

Maurice seems to have been born around 1120 to a humble family in the region around Orléans. He arrived in Paris about 1140 and, like Robert of Melun, was influenced by the teaching of Hugh of St. Victor and Abelard. Maurice, though, was more of a humanist than a dialectician, and he had a practical, pastoral bent. He succeeded Peter Lombard as Bishop of Paris in 1160. He oversaw the building of Notre-Dame as his

new cathedral, as part of a reorganization of the pastoral care in his diocese. He left behind Latin sermons addressed to his clergy, as well as a collection of sermons which aimed to serve as models for his clergy when they preached to their people. These exist in both Latin and Old French and are much influenced by Richard of St. Victor's writings. He died at St. Victor.

A number of his Old French sermons will be translated in VTT8.

15.3 Absalom of Springiersbach

Absalom, not to be confused with an abbot of St. Victor by the same name, was sent to Springiersbach as abbot in 1193, and seems to have died there in 1204, although another abbot succeeded him as early as 1196. He has left behind a large collection of sermons which was published in 1534 and reprinted as

Sermones festuales, PL 211.13-294. A number of these will be translated in VTT8.

15.4 William of Aebelholt (d. 1203)

William joined the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris shortly after the community adopted the Victorine *ordo* in 1148. He served at subprior under the first Victorine abbot Odo. He was evidently a champion of strict observance. In 1165 he traveled to Denmark, where he was charged with reforming a community of canons, who later moved to Aebelholt. He became an important figure in the Danish church and died in 1203. In 1224 he was canonized by Pope Honorius III. There survive a *Vita et miracula* and a collection of his letters, and other documents, none of which are available in English.

16. The Thirteenth Century and Beyond

After 1200 St. Victor's importance as a center of theological learning declined, and the history of the abbey after that time has not received much attention from English-speaking scholars. Some idea of the abbey after 1200 can be derived from two studies by Marshall E. Crossnoe:

"Education and the Care of Souls: Pope Gregory IX, the Order of St. Victor, and the University of Paris in 1237," *Mediaeval Studies*, 61 (1999): 137–172.

"Victorine Education, 1206-1419," *Medieval Prosopography*, 22 (2001): 165–180.