

PELAGIAN/ANTI-PELAGIAN PREACHING: (PREDESTINATION, GRACE, AND GOOD WORKS IN THE SERMONS OF JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, OEŠA (d. 1380)

In his classic study, *Amor Dei*, John Burnaby wrote in his preface:

"The years in which this book has been written have been a time in which pride, hatred, and violence have seemed the rulers of this world, and the meditation of an ancient ideal has been too easily oppressed by a sense of futility. St. Augustine stands for the faith that an advancing knowledge and an increasing love of the Eternal God is the only foundation upon which frail men can build the love of one another and learn to live together in peace ... It may be that at long last a broken world will come back to the love of that Beauty which is old, but ever new."¹

If only it were true. Burnaby wrote these lines in 1938. Sixty-five years later, we are still living in a broken world, and Augustine's teaching of Love remains the only remedy for the pride, hatred, and violence that continues to infect and comprise the *saeculum*, regardless of the moralistic and religious rhetoric used for self-justification. Augustine has been forgotten, and rendered mute, and that is, perhaps, precisely why this collection of essays is needed, even though it is other facets of Augustinianism with which we are concerned, namely, the bishop of Hippo's teachings on grace, free will, predestination, and original sin, which also, somehow, are as relevant today, if we only have ears to listen, as they were in the early fifth century when Augustine met Pelagius head-on.

I. Perspectives and Points of Departure: History and Theology

Pelagianism is a misnomer. And the same can be said for the derivatives pseudopelagianism, semi-pelagianism, and the *pelagiani moderni*. All are outgroup terms used rhetorically to condemn the position of one's opponents, once we move beyond the original historical setting of the early fifth through the early sixth century and the condemnations of the Second Council of Orange (529). The most strident campaign against the 'modern Pelagians' of the Middle Ages, launched by Thomas Bradwardine and his *De causa dei contra Pelagianos modernos* of 1344, was based on a theological polemic

¹ JOHN BURNABY, *Amor Dei. A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine* (London, 1938), vii.

that placed virtually the entire Christian tradition under the ban, including Augustine himself. As Adolf von Harnack argued, the battle between Augustinianism and semi-Pelagianism was not a battle for the original teachings of the Church over-against new doctrine – for semi-Pelagianism was, according to Harnack, the position of Tertullian, Ambrose, and Jerome – but it was a fight for a specific interpretation of Augustine over-against Augustine himself,² a position that was elevated to the status of explaining the Reformation by Karl Werner and Theodore Kolde.³ When one looks hard enough, and with the proper lens, one can find Pelagianism, or semi-Pelagianism everywhere, not only in the theology of the later Middle Ages, but also in the teachings of the Christian tradition in its entirety, including Augustine and the Holy Scriptures: witness the epistle of James, that letter of straw as Luther called it. It would not be surprising if the anti-Pelagian zealots, if they were really honest, would also condemn some of the teachings of Jesus himself, though for reasons of ‘good form’ would most likely simply interpret Christ’s exhortations in Pauline fashion. What is at issue is the ‘Gospel according to Paul’, or at least a particular reading thereof. Thus Harnack could suggest that Bradwardine led Church history to Staupitz and Luther, consequently preparing the way for the Reformation and Luther as the ‘father of modern times’, when the pure light of the Gospel had finally shown through once again. Nevertheless, Harnack also asserted that Luther must be seen as a medieval individual, whose theological development cannot be understood if not placed in context of late medieval nominalism, and that the Reformation in no way emerged *ex novo*, but was brought about by social, political, and cultural, as well as by theological, factors.⁴ Harnack was very clear with what he intended. Theologically, or dogmatically, Luther was the harbinger of modernity, standing with Paul and Augustine over-against the entire medie-

² Adolf von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3 vols. (Darmstadt, 1964; reprint of the 4th edition, Tübingen, 1910), III, 241.

³ Theodor KOLDE, *Die deutsche Augustiner-Congregation und Johann von Staupitz. Ein Beitrag zur Ordens und Reformationsgeschichte* (Gotha, 1879); Karl WERNER, *Die Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters. Vol. 3: Der Augustinismus in der Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters* (Wien, 1883); For an overview of scholarship dealing with the issue of late medieval Augustinianism and the emergence of the Reformation, see E.L. SAAK, *High Way to Heaven. The Augustinian Platform Between Reform and Reformation, 1292-1524*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 89 (Leiden, 2002), Appendix A.1, 683-708.

⁴ See Adolf VON HARNACK, „Die Reformation und ihre Voraussetzung“, in Harnack, *Erforschtes und Erlebtes, Reden und Aufsätze IV* (Giessen, 1923), 72-140; cf. *idem*, *Lehrbuch*, III, 808-902.

val tradition, whereas historically, Luther was an individual of his times, a medieval man. It was, perhaps, only Heiko Oberman who was the true successor of Harnack in reformulating, reshaping, correcting, and restating, as well as refuting, Harnack's insights in a hard-fought campaign against the Luther Renaissance, which adopted a theological understanding as the historical reality. Oberman, as Harnack, though in very different terms, held together the theological with the historical, in arguing for the historical impact of theology against social history, and for the historical importance of Luther over-against the Luther Renaissance.⁵ The same perspective must be held up, at

⁵ Heiko A. OBERMAN, *Reformation: Epoche oder Episode?* ARG 68 (1977), 56-109; ID., *Martin Luther. Vorläufer der Reformation, in Verifikationen*. Festschrift für Gerhard Ebeling zum 70. Geburtstag, eds. Eberhard JÜNGEL, Johannes WALLMANN, and Wilfrid WERBECK (Tübingen, 1982), 91-119. Cf. Harnack, *Die Reformation und ihre Voraussetzung*, 72-140: „Der nachtridentinische Katholicismus und Socinianismus sind in vieler Hinsicht modernen Erscheinungen, aber auf ihren religiösen Kern gesehen sind sie es nicht, vielmehr Konsequenzen des mittelalterlichen Christentums. Die Reformation, wie sie sich in dem Christenthum Luther's darstellt, ist dagegen in vieler Hinsicht eine altkatholische, resp. auch eine mittelalterliche Erscheinung, dagegen auf ihren religiösen Kern beurtheilt, ist sie es nicht, vielmehr Wiederherstellung des paulinischen Christenthums im Geiste einer neuen Zeit ... Es ist eine ganz einseitige, ja sträflich abstracte Betrachtung Luther's, die in ihm den Mann der neuen Zeit, den Helden eines heraufsteigenden Zeitalters oder den Schöpfer des modernen Geistes feiert. Will man solche Helden erblicken, so muss man zu Erasmus und Genossen oder zu Männer wie Denck, Franck, Serve und Bruno gehen. In der Peripherie seines Daseins, ja auch in manchen Tiefen seines Wesens, war Luther eine altkatholisch-mittelalterliche Erscheinung ... In jenen Jahren [i.e., 1519-1523] ist Luther über sich selbst erhoben worden und hat die Schranken seiner Eigenart scheinbar überwunden – er ist die Reformation gewesen, sofern sich Alles in ihm zusammenfasste, was die Rückkehr zum paulinischen Christenthum und die Begründung eines neuen Zeitalters zugleich bedeutete. Damals ist auch der Bund zwischen dem Protestantismus und Deutschland geschlossen worden. Gewiss, das evangelische Christenthum ist der Menschheit geschenkt worden, und umgekehrt, der deutsche Geist hat sich auch heute noch lange nicht dem Protestantismus unterworfen.“ Harnack, *Lehrbuch*, III, 809-811. For Harnack, no less than for Oberman, Luther was a medieval individual, but one who assumed a transhistorical impact and relevance. Harnack's own German nationalism, however, comes through in rather chilling terms when he continued the above, published in 1910, with the following: „... dennoch gehören Protestantismus und Deutschthum untrennbar zusammen. Wie die Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert das Deutsche Reich gerettet hat, so ist sie noch immer seine stärkste Kraft, das fortwirkende Princip und das höchste Ziel.“ *Ibid.*, 811. Harnack, however, was never a member of the *Volkspartei* as was Seeberg, and after the war, argued for the establishment of a social democracy, including the democratization of both church and state; see Michael BASSE, *Die dogmengeschichtlichen Konzeptionen Adolf von Harnacks und Reinhold Seeberg*, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 82 (Göttingen, 2001), 257-264. Harnack's “transhistoricizing” Luther ba-

least as a goal, for interpreting the theology of the later Middle Ages, for no one in the later Middle Ages appealed to Pelagius as an authority and it was only the zealots who labeled their opponents as the 'modern Pelagians', a designation that perhaps might have theological validity, but that has no historical content.

There were no Pelagians in the later Middle Ages, and the semi-Pelagians that one can find, were such as adherents of an Augustinianism that can be described as the entire theological tradition of the West. The attempts to explicate what humans can achieve *ex puris naturalibus* were such as attempts to clarify ambiguities inherent in Augustinianism itself, taken in its broadest terms.⁶ Though Pelagianism is a misnomer, the issues involved were, and remain, central: the relationship between grace, free will, predestination, good works, and original sin. As I have argued elsewhere, what Oberman called the

sed on dogmatic, even if not on political, determinations, without keeping the historical Luther clearly in mind, leads to the dangers Oberman saw in the Luther Renaissance and the equating of Luther with the German Geist; see Heiko A. OBERMAN, *The Nationalist Conception of Martin Luther* in OBERMAN, *The Impact of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1994), 69-78. The historical Luther, and thus the imperative to *re-historicize* Luther, Oberman saw as the defense against the "Germanization" of Luther, while still recognizing the inherent, inseparable, to use Harnack's term, nature of the Reformation as a "German event": „Luther als wortgewaltiger Feldprediger im Kriegsrat der Reichsritter oder im Lager der Bauern wäre eine nationale Figur geworden. Reichseinigung unter einem solchen Nationalhelden hätte Deutschland zu Beginn der Neuzeit kurzfristig am meisten genützt. Die Sache der Reformation aber hätte er damit selber preisgegeben. Der deutsche Luther ist für die Selbstfindung der Nation eine schwere Last gewesen. Als Volksheld hat er sich verweigert – eben so ist er deutsches Ereignis geworden.“ OBERMAN, *Luther. Mensch Zwischen Gott und Teufel* (Berlin, 1982), 57. Luther's own views of Germany, his pained lament for Germany, he expressed so forcefully in his letter of 26 March 1542 to Jacob Propst: Germany was ruined, a thing of the past and would never again be what it was, taking confidence in itself, rather than in God, WABR 10.23,3-19; or in Harnack's terms, that the German Spirit had not subjected itself to the Reformation. The historical Luther stands as the necessary correction and contradiction against all attempts to abuse his transhistorical impact. For Harnack, it was the Luther of dogma that could do so; for Oberman, it was only the historical Luther who could do so, who was also the needed correction to a theological Luther, even that of Harnack. Nevertheless, Harnack's view of Luther as a medieval individual, though one who had recovered the Pauline-Augustinian Gospel, was a view Oberman very much shared. For Harnack, see Kurt NOWAK and Otto Gerhard OEXLE, eds., *Adolf von Harnack. Theologie, Historiker, Wissenschaftspolitiker* (Göttingen, 2001).

⁶ For the definition of *ex puris naturalibus*, as well as of other significant terms of late medieval theology, see Heiko A. OBERMAN, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology. Gabriel Biel and late medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, 1963; reprint: Durham, N.C., 1983), 459-476.

'Augustinian Renaissance' of the later Middle Ages, cannot be attributed to a renewed campaign against the 'modern Pelagians'.⁷ The Augustinian hermit, Alfonsus Vargas, for example, knew his Augustine as well as did Gregory of Rimini, and lectured on the *Sentences* of Lombard in Paris in 1344, directly after Gregory. Alfonsus was clear that his confrère, Thomas of Strassburg, had erred in his portrayal of the relationship between predestination and God's foreknowledge of human merit based on free will, though without having labeled Thomas as 'semi-Pelagian'. Indeed, in Alfonsus' treatment of predestination in distinction 41 of the first book of the *Sentences*, the word Pelagianism is not to be found; although Alfonsus once mentioned the *error Pelagii*, he did not relate such to any contemporary challenge of the "modern Pelagians".⁸ This did not, however, prevent him from asserting his interpretation of genuine Augustinian doctrine. Yet this was a debate that was conducted in the realms of university theology, the attempt to defend the doctrines of faith. When we move from the academic theology of the later Middle Ages, and of the late medieval Augustinian Order, to the pastoral theology, the question that presents itself is how can a pastoral theology be effective, that is not itself subject to the condemnation of being 'semi-Pelagian'? Is not all pastoral theology, to a degree, inherently 'semi-Pelagian'? Berndt Hamm, after all, has claimed that the *Frömmigkeitstheologie* of the later Middle Ages, and thus virtually all late medieval theology, should be so described.⁹ Consequently we must await Luther for a purified Augustinianism, or rather, a purified Paulinism, which essentially was the position of both Harnack and Oberman as well. Answers to these questions are perhaps ultimately left to the theologian to answer, but here I can point historically to an attempt to hold together a strongly anti-Pelagian pastoral theology with a pastoral emphasis on moral development, progress, and exhortation, namely, that found in the sermons of the fourteenth-century Augustinian friar, Jordan of Quedlinburg, to whom I turn in attempt to hold together the history and the theology of the questions the doctrines behind the label of Pelagianism presented in the later Middle Ages.

⁷ E.L. SAAK, *The Reception of Augustine in the Later Middle Ages*, in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, ed. Irena Backus, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1997), 1: 367-404.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 396.

⁹ Berndt HAMM, *Frömmigkeitstheologie am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu Johannes von Paltz und seinem Umkreis*, BhTh 65 (Tübingen, 1982), 253ff.

II. Jordan of Quedlinburg and his Sermons

Thanks to the work of Robrecht Lievens in The Netherlands, Jordan of Quedlinburg is a name generally known.¹⁰ Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the scholarship that has been pursued in the rest of Europe, or in the United States. In 1854 Wilhelm Moll argued that Jordan, together with St. Bernard, were the two preachers who exerted the greatest influence on the religious life of The Netherlands in the later Middle Ages.¹¹ Yet, except for the volume edited in 1911 by Johannes Flensburg containing a few selected sermons of Jordan in their low German translation,¹² it was only a century later that Jordan was treated in monographic fashion in Lievens' rich catalogue of Jordan's manuscripts in the Low Countries, published in 1958.¹³ Aside from the work of Walter Baier,¹⁴ which focused more on Ludolph of Saxony than on Jordan, and that of the present author,¹⁵ Jordan, with

¹⁰ Robrecht LIEVENS, *Jordanus van Quedlinburg in de Nederlanden. Een Onderzoek van de Handschriften* (Ghent, 1958).

¹¹ Wilhelm MOLL, *Johannes Brugman en het godsdienstig leven onzer vaderen in de vijftiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1854), 159.

¹² Johannes FLENSBURG, *Die mittelniederdeutschen Predigten des Jordanus von Quedlinburg in Auswahl* (Lund, 1911).

¹³ See note 10 above. Jordan was, however, given brief treatments by the late nineteenth-century German historians of preaching; see R. CRUEL, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879), and A. LINSENMAYER, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland von Karl dem Großen bis zum Ausgang des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1886). Jordan is virtually absent from the most recent survey of German preaching in the Middle Ages, which is also the most comprehensive account since Cruel and Linsenmayer. His name appears a mere five times, all in a single article dealing with sermons employing knowledge of the natural world. He is mentioned as a mere *exemplum* himself, as a name dropped, without information or analysis to improve the state of research of the past one-hundred years; see Elisabeth SCHINAGL-PEITZ, *Naturkundliches Wissen in lateinischen und deutschen Predigten des Spätmittelalters*, in *Die deutsche Predigt im Mittelalter. Internationales Symposium am Fachbereich Germanistik der Freien Universität Berlin von 3.-6. Oktober 1989*, ed. Volker Mertens and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Tübingen, 1992), 285-300. Jordan is further completely missing in Carolyn MUESSIG, ed., *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 90 (Leiden, 1998), even though his sermon collections were frequently copied by Benedictines and Carthusians, thus blurring the boundaries between mendicant and monastic preaching.

¹⁴ Walter BAIER, *Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der 'Vita Christi' des Ludolf von Sachsen. Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zu Leben und Werk Ludolfs und zur Geschichte der Passionstheologie*, 3 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 44, Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg (Salzburg, 1977).

¹⁵ E.L. SAAK, *Religio Augustini: Jordan of Quedlinburg and the Augustinian Tradition in Late Medieval Germany*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Arizona, 1993); ID., "Quilibet Christianus: Saints in Society in the Sermons of Jordan of

few exceptions, such as the articles of Jeremiah Hackett,¹⁶ has been ignored ever since. One small fact should be sufficient to indicate the regrettable extent of this major lacuna: Jordan was the author of more sermons, extant in more manuscripts, than any other member of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine before Martin Luther: 1098 sermons in all, as a minimum.¹⁷

Between the time when he stepped down as Prior Provincial of the Saxon-Thuringian Province of his Order in 1351 and his death in 1380,¹⁸ Jordan, who had begun his career as lector in his Order's *studium generale* in Erfurt, and then later in Magdeburg, composed three major collections of sermons: his *Opus Postillarum*, completed in or shortly after 1365, his *Opus Jor*, or yet another series of *sermones de tempore*, and his *Opus Dan*, or *Sermones de sanctis*. His *Opus Postillarum*, which contains as *sermones* such theological works as Jordan's *Meditationes de Passione Christi*, his *Expositio Orationis Dominice*, his *Tractatus de virtutibus et viciis*, and his *Expositio de Antichristo*, is extant in numerous manuscripts and was published in Strassburg in 1483.¹⁹ His *Opus Jor* is, in contrast, extant in only three

Quedlinburg, OESA, in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Texts et Études du Moyen Âge 5, ed. Beverly MAYNE KIENZLE, with Edith WILKS DOLNIKOWSKI, Rosemary DRAGE HALE, Darleen PRYDS and Anne T. THAYER (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), 317-338; ID., *The Reception of Augustine in the Later Middle Ages*, in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, ed. Irena Backus. 2 vols. (Leiden, 1997), 1: 367-404; ID., "The Creation of Augustinian Identity in the Later Middle Ages." *Aug(L)* 49 (1999), 109-164; 251-286; ID., *High Way to Heaven*.

¹⁶ Jeremiah HACKETT, *The Use of a text quotation from Meister Eckhart by Jordan of Quedlinburg OSA*, in *Proceedings of the Patristic-Medieval and Renaissance Conference 2* (Villanova, 1977), 97-102; ID., "Verbum mentalis conceptio in Meister Eckhart and Jordanus of Quedlinburg. A Text Study," in *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter*, Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für mittelalterliche Philosophie der Société internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, 29 August-3 September 1977, 2 vols. (Berlin/New York, 1979), 2: 1003-1011; ID. *Augustinian Mysticism in Fourteenth-Century Germany: Henry of Friemar and Jordanus of Quedlinburg*, in *Augustine: Mystic and Mystagogue*, ed. Frederick VAN FLETEREN, Joseph C. SCHNAUBELT, OSA, and Joseph REINO (New York, 1994), 439-456.

¹⁷ See E.L. Saak, "Saints in Society," 319.

¹⁸ For an overview of Jordan's biography, see SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 243-267.

¹⁹ For a list of the manuscripts, see Adolar ZUMKELLER, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken* (Würzburg, 1966), nr. 648. Jordan's *Opus Postillarum* was published without pagination or foliation, and will be cited here according to sermo and section.

manuscripts and was never printed,²⁰ whereas his *Opus Dan*, also extant in numerous manuscripts, received six editions, the last being the Paris edition of 1521.²¹ In his *Opus Dan* we find his *Tractatus de articulis fidei* and in his *Opus Jor*, his *Tractatus de filiatione divina*.²² In short, Jordan's sermons cross generic boundaries and are as much theological works as they are collections of model sermons. With the exception of his *sermones de sanctis*, his two other major collections are theological biblical commentaries organized according to the lectionary, and represent the theology of the Augustinian *studia* in an analogous fashion as do commentaries on Lombard that of the universities. They thus are precious sources for evaluating the pastoral theology of the Augustinian *studia*, which had as their primary goal the training of teachers and preachers, for the Order itself, as well as for its society.²³

In his sermons, Jordan did not mention the 'modern Pelagians'. The image of Augustine one finds is that of the founder of the Order of hermits, together with that of the bishop, and doctor of the Church. Augustine was not portrayed as the *malleus hereticorum*, as he had been already by Philip of Harvengt in the twelfth century, and as he was immortalized on the ceiling of the Church of St. Augustine in Mainz, a *Prachtexemplar* of the Baroque. For Jordan, Augustine was the *sapiens architector ecclesiae*, and the Order's *pater et preceptor*.²⁴ With such images, Jordan strove to imitate Augustine in all

²⁰ According to Zumkeller's *Manuskripte*, nr. 643, Jordan's *Opus Jor* is extant in Vatican City, Vat. Bibl. MS. lat. 448, 458 fols., the manuscript I have used, and in the two following manuscripts, though not complete: Berlin, StB MS. Theol. Fol. 293, 304 fols., and Windsheim, Ratsb. MS 7 (20), 298 fols.

²¹ See Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, nr. 641. The editions of the *Opus Dan* were Ulm, s.a., Strassburg, 1481 and 1484, Paris, 1500, 1509, and 1521.

²² The *Tractatus de articulis fidei* is sermo 102. See also Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, ch. 4, n. 231; the *Tractatus de filiatione divina* is sermones 50-52 of the *Opus Jor*, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 97rb-106rb.

²³ See SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, ch. 4.

²⁴ In his *Vita Sancti Augustini* Jordan did mention Augustine having refuted heretics, and explicitly mentions the Pelagians: "Eodem siquidem tempore multe et quasi infinite hereses in Africa pullulabant, Donatiste namque velut sub professione continentium ambulantes erant in ingenti numero per omnes ferre Africanas regiones constituti qui Circumcelliones dicebantur superba audacia homines etiam violenter et cum armis ad suam sectam trahentes. Manichei nichilominus versuta calliditate multos seducebant. Pelagianiste similiter novas hereses publice et per domos disseminare callide conabantur. Felix etiam hereticus, Maxentius, Pascentius, Felicianus, Faustus, Secundinus, Petilianus et multi alii heretici, quod enumerare longum et superfluum esset, doctrinas varias et prophanas in cordibus infirmorum seminabant. Contra quos omnes preclarissimus magister ecclesie et veritatis velut fortissimus athleta pro fidei

aspects of life, and exhorted his confrères to do the same, including in their teaching and preaching. Jordan, as Augustine, was not a systematic theologian, yet central doctrines can be extracted from his sermons that leave no doubt, that even though Pelagianism as such was not an issue for Jordan, when we look behind the label, predestination, grace, good works, and original sin were indeed, to the extent that it would be fitting **to christen Jordan ???**, in echoes of Augustine himself, as his Order's *Lector et Predicator Gratie*.²⁵

III. The Justice of Fighting the Devil: Good Works and the Call to Battle

In Jordan's sermons we do not find discussions of the scholastic formulations *ex puris naturalibus* or the *facere quod in se est*. Yet he is clear when it comes to the progress in the religious life the Christian must make. Drawing on the three stages of Christian life derived originally from Pseudo-Dionysius, Jordan argued that the believer must progress from the state of the *incipientes*, to that of the *proficientes*, reaching finally the state of the *contemplativi*.²⁶ Good works

sinceritate scriptis et dictis continue dimicavit et eos publica disputatione confutavit." JORDANI DE QUEDLINBURG, *Vita Sancti Augustini* 13,7, Paris Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 251, fol. 68^b. Jordan's *Vita* has now been edited in Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 774-810. The edition of Jordan's *Vita* by Cyril Lawrence Smetana, O.S.A. is unfortunately not of sufficient quality to be able to be used for scholarly purposes; see Cyril Lawrence SMETANA, O.S.A., *Life of Saint Augustine by John Capgrave, edited from British Library Additional MS 36704 together with Jordanus of Saxony's Vita s. Augustine* [sic!] from Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 251, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 138 (Toronto, 2001), 75-111. In his *Opus Dan* (*Sermones de sanctis*) (ed. Strassburg, 1484; without foliation or pagination), Jordan treated Augustine in sermons 129-151. Here we find reference to Augustine having refuted heretics (sermo 129B), but the image of Augustine presented is that of "... dux pauperum et religiosorum ... lux doctorum et contemplativorum ... speculum perfectorum et omnium prelatorum ..." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Dan* (ed. Strassburg, 1484), sermo 140A. Neither Pelagius nor the Pelagians or Pelagianism is mentioned anywhere in any of these sermons.

²⁵ See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, ch. 4.

²⁶ "... deus est sicut motor primus, a quo virtus motiva derivatur in animam, sicut a quodam fonte paterno, a quo fluit gratia in animam per quam deus movet liberum arbitrium ad se amandum et virtuose operandum. Hec autem motio dei in anima triplex est secundum triplicem statum: incipientes movet ad culpe compunctionem et peccatorum dolorosam rememorationem; proficientes movet ad profectus spiritualis continuam progressionem; sed contemplativos movet ad divine dulcedinis internum degustationem." Jor. *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 11A (ed. Strassburg, 1483). This three-fold scheme stems from Ps.Dionysius' *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (PG 3, 369-584), yet

and the acquisition of the virtues are what effect the development. For Jordan, as for his Order's theologians from Aegidius Romanus to Martin Luther, the Christian life was a battle against the devil, a *pugna continua*, and good works, as he wrote in his *Opus Jor*, "ought to be placed before all other weapons [used to fight the devil] as the king's standard."²⁷ Works of love reign supreme for the devil fears nothing more than love.²⁸

One can only make progress in the Christian life, and fight the devil, by following God's will, which is revealed most of all in the Ten Commandments. In his *Opus Postillarum* Jordan gave a radical interpretation of the Law. In expositing the parable of the sower of Matthew 13, Jordan inverted the interpretation found in his source, the *Commentary* on Matthew of Jordan's teacher and confrère Albert of Padua. Albert had explained the thirty-fold, sixty-fold, and one hundred-fold yields very traditionally, whereby the first is that of the married, the second, that of the chaste, and the third, that of the virgins; or, the thirty-fold yield is that of the doctors, the sixty-fold, that of the martyrs, and the 100-fold, that of the apostles; or, the thirty fold yield was that of observing the old law, the sixty fold, that of observing the new law, and the hundred fold, that of observing the monastic counsels. Jordan followed Albert for the first interpretation, but inverted the order for the second and third. For Jordan, the apostles yielded a thirty-fold harvest, the martyrs, a sixty-fold, and the doctors a 100 fold, but then he continued. The 100 fold yield Jordan equated with observing the old law, the sixty-fold, with observing the new law,

Jordan most likely took his description of the three-fold stages of the Christian's progress from either Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, *Secunda Secundae* q. 186, art. 1, ad 3; GILES OF ROME, *Tractatus de laudibus divine sapientie*, (ed. Rome, 1555; reprint: Aegidius Romanus, *Opuscula I*, Frankfurt, 1968), fol. 31va; or HENRY OF FRIEMAR, *Tractatus de adventu verbi in mentem*. Markus Wriedt has pointed to this well-known schema in the works of Johann von Staupitz, which Wriedt traces back to Hugh of St. Cher, Johannes Gerson, Dionysius the Carthusian, and Augustinus Favaroni; M. WRIEDT, *Gnade und Erwählung. Eine Untersuchung zu Johann von Staupitz und Martin Luther* (Mainz, 1991), 223.

²⁷ "... diabolus ... fidem, spem, caritatem et bona opera laborat auferre, sed debet quilibet resistere de fide scutum facere, de spe galeam, de caritate lanceam, opera autem debet ponere super omnia arma tamquam regis insignia." Jordan of Quedlinburg, *Opus Jor*, sermo 114, MS Vat. lat. 448, fol. 191^{va}.

²⁸ "Impugnamus autem eum [scil. diabolum] per bona opera, quae sibi sunt a tota specie contraria et maxime per caritatem, quia ut dicit Hugo in Expositione Regulae, 'nihil est quod ipse diabolus tantum timeat quantum caritatis unitatem.' [HUGH OF ST. VICTOR, *Expositio in Regulam Sancti Augustini* 1, PL 176, 883C]." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 437B (ed. Strassburg, 1483).

and the thirty-fold, with observing the counsels. Jordan elevated the observance of the old law, above that of the new.²⁹

When I first read Jordan's treatment of this parable, I thought that it must have been a scribal error that had inverted the exposition. Yet Jordan's interpretation is witnessed in both the manuscript tradition and the printed edition of 1483, so that even if he had intended otherwise, his text speaks clearly. Moreover, there are sufficient theological reasons in Jordan's sermons to defend his claim that the observance of the old law should be placed above that of the new. As already mentioned, Jordan argued that God's will was revealed most of all in the old law, which Christians must follow in their battle against the vicious incursions of Satan. Moreover, Jordan, in keeping with his view of this parable, put forth an equally radical interpretation of justice, of that which makes one just. Jordan was not concerned with how the Christian can find a righteous God, a *via securior* for the Christian to follow,³⁰ but rather with being just and doing that which is just, which he defined as paying what one owes, based on Matthew 18:28, *Redde quod debes*.³¹ All sin, for Jordan, was equated with debt, so that debt was the more encompassing category. When one does not render what one owes, one sins.³² There are four creditors

²⁹ "Notandum autem quod Matthei tertio decimo [Mt. 13:18-23] magis explicite agitur de huiusmodi fructibus ubi dicitur quod alius centesimus, alius sexagesimus, alius trecesimus. Primus est virginum; secundus continentium; tertium coniugatorum. Vel primus est doctorum; secundus martirum; tertius apostolorum. Vel primus datur per observantiam legis veteris; secundus per observantiam legis nove; tertius per observantium consiliorum ... Unde Matthei 19 dicitur: *vos qui reliquistis omnia et secuti estis me, centuplum accipietis* [Mt. 19:29]." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 137G (ed. Strassburg, 1483). Cf.: "Nota quod triplex ponitur fructus istius seminis, scilicet tricesimus, sexagesimus et centesimus. Primus est coniugatorum; secundum continentium; tertius virginum. Vel primus est doctorum; secundus est martirum; tertius apostolorum. Vel primus datur propter observantiam antique legis; secundum propter observantiam nove; tertius propter observantium consiliorum." ALBERT OF PADUA, *Expositio Evangeliorum Dominicalium* (ed. Venice, 1476), fol. I-2^b.

³⁰ Cf. Hamm, *Frömmigkeitstheologie*, 247-303.

³¹ "Introducitur autem hic virtus iustitie cuius est reddere unicuique debitum suum. Et hec est eius propria ratio prout describitur et a philosophis et a iurisperitis." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*, Berlin, StB MS theol. lat. qu. 175, fol. 84^a.

³² "Dicendum quod pro tanto dicuntur peccata debita quia inde peccata contraximus, quia debita non solvimus, id est, quia non fecimus quod debuimus et ob hoc iudici penam debemus. Sicut ergo qui non solvit pecuniam creditori statuto termino dupliciter incurrit debitum ultra debitum pecunie, puta debitum culpe, ex eo quod non solvit per quod offendit creditorem, et debitum pene, quam debet iudici ex eo quod contra iustitiam egit, sic in proposito ex eo quod non facimus debitum nostrum illis

whom the Christian must pay. To God, one owes religion; to oneself, self-governance; to one's neighbor, love, and to the devil, resistance and battle.³³ There is a single standard of justice, defined as paying all one's debts, which more over is the same standard of justice by which Christians will be judged in the final judgement, when Christ will ask one whether one has paid all one's debts. The basis for determining whether one has paid all one's debts is the old law, the God of the Old Testament who demands of his followers strict obedience. This is Jordan's view of justice, and of justification. It is unrelenting and cannot be fulfilled, but it is what he holds up as the standard for all who are in war with the devil, as should, he asserts, every preacher, as well as every confessor in the confessional.³⁴ Fulfilling the old law, good works, and merit, comprise for Jordan the standard of justice the Christian must meet in order to fight the devil, and to achieve justification before God and thus to gain eternal salvation. In his view of justification, Jordan was not semi-Pelagian, but was seemingly thoroughly Pelagian, espousing a doctrine of justification *solis operibus* based on fulfilling the old law, the revealed will of God.

quibus debemus, contrahimus duo mala scilicet peccatum et reatum: peccatum quantum ad culpam; reatum quantum ad penam, que utraque nomine debiti intelliguntur. Ex quo patet quod potius et melius dicitur hic 'debita nostra' quam 'peccata <nostra>', quia plus petimus dicendo *dimitte nobis debita* <nostra>, quia per hoc petimus <nobis> dimissionem culpe et pene, quam si diceremus, 'dimitte nobis peccata nostra', quia nonnunquam dimittitur peccatum quantum ad culpam, remanente reatu quo ad penam. Ulterius quia dictum est quod inde peccata contrahimus quia debita nostra quibus debemus non solvimus, dubitaret aliquis et que debita debeamus." *Ibid.*, fol. 82^b.

³³ "Sciendum quod quaedam debemus deo supra nos, quaedam nobisipsis intra nos, quaedam vero proximis nostris iuxta nos, quaedam etiam diabolo, qui est infra nos." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 436A (ed. Strassburg, 1483); "Postremo videndum quid debemus diabolo, qui infra nos est ipse et satellites eius scilicet peccata et vitia. Et ... debemus ei tria scilicet inimicitiam, resistantiam et pugnam." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 437B (ed. Strassburg, 1483); "Propter quod est sciendum quod aliquid debemus deo, aliquid nobisipsis, et aliquid proximis nostris. Debemus enim deo religionem; nobisipsis debitam gubernationem; proximis mutuam dilectionem." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Expositio Orationis Domini*, Berlin, StB, MS theol. lat. qu. 175, fol. 88^v.

³⁴ "Redde quod debes, Matthei 18 [Mt. 18:28]. Licet haec verba parabolice dicta fuerint a servo debitum a suo converso atrociter extorquente, mystice autem haec verba possunt accipi ut dicenda a summo iudice ad quemlibet hominem in morte vel in iudicio extremo rationem ab ipso iudicialiter exigente ... ad praesens tamen accipi possunt ut dicantur a quolibet praedicatore et doctore vel etiam confessore fideles ad redditionem sui debiti fideliter exhortante dicendo cuilibet redde quod debes." *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 436A (ed. Strassburg, 1483).

Jordan The problem Jordan faced, however, was that left on their own, humans cannot fulfill the law, for they don't even know what it is that they owe. Nevertheless, the absolute standard of justice remains as the call to battle against the devil. It is, however, only by the grace of God that Christians begin to realize precisely what it is that they owe, the extent thereof, and their inability to meet the requirements. Thus they must pray, *Forgive us our debts*, which Jordan associated with the beatitude of weeping. It is only by the grace of God that Christians can even recognize what it is that they owe, a knowledge given, according to Jordan, by the *donum scientie*, and the extent to which they are, on their own, incapable of meeting their debts.³⁵ The grace of God reveals what it is that Christians owe as well as the fact that they cannot pay their debts, and thus they weep, and Christ will console their weeping.³⁶ It is only here that one begins to recognize Jordan's thoroughly Augustinian theology, which appears not so much as one that was the precursor to Luther, as it was one that echoed beforehand that of Calvin. The only way out of the condemnation of the law, God's absolute standard of justice, for Jordan, as for Calvin, was the mercy of God and the doctrine of election and predestination.

³⁵ "Nec etiam possumus esse iusti nisi reddamus cuique debitum suum, sed quid sit illud debitum quod tenemur cuique nescimus nisi per donum scientie." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*, Berlin, StB, MS theol. lat. qu. 175, fol. 84^{ra}.

³⁶ "Unde absque dono scientie opera iustitie facere non possumus, propter quod dicit Isaie 53: *in scientia sua iustificavit multos* [Is. 53:11], et loquitur de Christo cui attribuuntur dona spiritus sancti in ratione meriti, quia propter meritum suum nobis dantur. Unde etiam ipse spiritus sanctus dicitur *spiritus filii*, ad Galatas 4 [Gal. 4:6]. Christus igitur in scientia sua, id est per donum scientie, iustificat, id est, iustos facit multos docendo videlicet eos quid cuique debeant, puta quid deo, quid sibiipsis et quid proximis; et nichilominus que debita peccando contraxerunt. Et quia hec omnia sine dono scientie scire non valemus, ideo in hac petitione spiritum scientie postulamus. Introducitur consequenter hic beatitudo luctus, que secundum Augustinum adaptatur dono scientie per quod scitur de quibus lugendum sit [Aug. de serm.dom. 2,11,38 (129,840-842)], cuius etiam convenientie signum est in natura que idem membrum ordinavit ad visum et ad luctum. Lugendum est autem pro delictis et peccatis tam que commisimus contra deum tam que contra nosmetipsos vel etiam contra proximos nostros. De hoc luctu dicit psalmo: *Quasi lugens et contristatus sic humiliabitur* [Ps. 34:14]. Non solum etiam lugendum est pro peccatis propriis, sed etiam pro alienis quod est maioris perfectionis ... Lugere autem peccata est ipsa odire, itaque surgamus ad destructionem eorum. Est <autem> et alius luctus qui etiam ad hanc beatitudinem pertinet, scilicet lugere pro incolatu presentis miserie et pro dilatione <celestis> glorie. Hoc luctu luxit propheta cum dicebat: *heu michi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est*, etc. [Ps. 119:5]. Huic beatitudini respondet pro premio consolatio, que in hac vita inchoatur, perficitur autem in futura. Dignum est enim ut qui propter deum hic tristatur, ipse a deo consoletur." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*, Berlin, StB, MS theol. lat. qu. 175, fol. 84^{ra-b}.

IV. Grace and Predestination

That humans are not able to fulfill the law on their own, was, for Jordan, the result of the Fall. Original sin had so marred human nature that the sinner, in and of himself, is the daughter of Babylon, the destroyer of the order of nature, the abuser of all creation, of all scripture, and of all grace.³⁷ Humans are captive to sin. "By ourselves we are weak and fragile," Jordan lamented in the sermons comprising his *Meditationes de Passione Christi*, "and devoid of all good, unless we are held by the right hand of God."³⁸ Never certain of his own righteousness, one must "never think himself to be safe from the devil ... man is wretched and fragile, certain of nothing except the death of Christ alone."³⁹ After having detailed the wonders of the state of nature before the Fall in his *Opus Postillarum*, Jordan was clear about the effects of original sin. Echoing Augustine, Jordan assured his audience that, "The free will certainly remains after the fall, but it is depraved and rotten, because with sin came the difficulty to do the good and the propensity to do evil. With his free will before the fall, man was able to sin and able not to sin, but after the fall, man is able to sin and not able not to sin. The image of God in the soul also remains after the fall, but afterwards, it is a deformed image."⁴⁰ After the fall,

³⁷ "Significanter autem anima peccatrix dicitur filia Babilonis et confusionis, quia ipsa est eterna confusione digna, qui totum ordinem divine dispositionis deordinavit. Peccator enim quantum in se est deordinatio est omnium naturarum. Est enim abusus omnium creaturarum, omnium scripturarum, omnium gratiarum, contemnit etiam per peccatum consortium divinarum personarum et ideo omnium deordinator ex verbis merito filia Babilonis, id est, confusionis appellatur." Jordan of Quedlinburg, *Opus Jor*, sermo 84, Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 152^b.

³⁸ "nos ex nobis esse infirmos et fragiles, ac omni bono vacuos, nisi dextera dei nos manu teneat." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Meditationes de Passione Christi*, art. 34, Basel, UB, MS B.V. 26, fol. 23^{va}.

³⁹ "nunquam ... se puteat securus de diabolo ... homo miser et fragilis, certe de nullo nisi solum de morte Christi." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Meditationes de Passione Christi*, Basel, UB, MS B.V. 26, art. 62, fol. 39^{vb}; cf. "... quia enim pena, quam peccator debet sustinere, excedit vires eius, ideo ordinavit deus ex magna misericordia ut pro eo et cum eo primo satisfaciatur meritum passionis Christi, qui per suam passionem non solum mundum redemit sed etiam suum meritum pro peccatoribus satisfaciatur." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Jor*, sermo 104, Vatican City, MS Pal. lat. 448, fol. 180^b; "... ut videlicet petamus eruari a potestate diaboli quia expellatur ab anima nostra ... petamus non confidentes de meritis nostris, sed de sola misericordia dei." Jordan of Quedlinburg, *Opus Jor*, sermo 97, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 171^a.

⁴⁰ "Remansit quippe liberum arbitrium sed depravatum et imminutum, quia per peccatum difficultatem recipit ad bonum et pronitatem ad malum. Prius enim homo per liberum arbitrium poterat peccare et non peccare, sed post potuit peccare et non potuit non peccare. Imago etiam dei remansit in anima post peccatum, sed quasi deformata." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 7B (ed. Strassburg, 1483); cf. Aug. corrept. 12 (936) and civ. 22,30 (863,52-864,73).

Jordan affirmed, humans can only wallow in sin, for without the *auxilium dei*, they are incapable of doing anything else.⁴¹ In replying, perhaps, to the scholastic formula *facientibus quod in se est deus non denegat gratiam*, Jordan asserted that everything one does from oneself, not having been moved by God, *omne quod quis facit ex se ipso, non ex deo motus*, is sin and is nothing at all.⁴²

⁴¹ "... homo enim per se labi in peccatum potest, sed per se surgere non potest sine auxilio gratie dei ..." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Jor*, sermo 131, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 215^{rb}; "Hic cadunt due questiones. Prima, utrum homo possit se preparare ad gratiam sine gratia. Secunda, utrum ex necessitate detur gratia se preparanti ad gratiam. Ad primam respondeo, quod gratia dicitur duplex: uno modo, ipsum habituale donum infusum anime a deo; secundo modo dicitur gratia auxilium dei moventis animam ad bonum. Primo modo accipiendo gratiam preexigitur aliqua preparatio ad eam, quia nulla forma introduci potest nisi in materia disposita. Et hec preparatio paulative, quandoque fit subito, quia ut dicitur Ecclesiastici 1<1>: *facile est in oculis dei honestare pauperem* [Sir. 11:23]. Et in hanc preparationem non potest homo sine gratia, secundo modo dicta. Sed ad istam secundo modo dictam non requiritur aliqua preparatio ex parte hominis quasi preveniens divinum auxilium, scilicet potius quicumque preparatio in homine esse potest, est ex auxilio dei moventis animam ad bonum. Dicitur ergo homo se preparare ad gratiam, scilicet habituales in quantum movetur eius liberum arbitrium a deo per gratiam pre-venientem, que non dicitur donum sed dei auxilium movens animam ad hec preparatoria ... Ad secundam questionem respondeo: quod preparatio hominis ad gratiam potest considerari dupliciter. Uno modo ut a libero arbitrio et sic nullam necessitatem habet ad gratie consecutionem, quia donum gratie excedit omnem pre-parationem virtutis humane. Alio modo potest considerari secundum quod est a deo movente et tunc habet necessitatem ad illud ad quod ordinatur a deo, non quidem coactionis sed infallibilitatis, quia intentio dei deficere non potest. Unde Johannis sexto: *Qui audit a patre meo et didicit, venit ad me* [Io. 6:45]. Sequitur secundum scilicet motus divina per gratiam; hoc significatur per angelum qui movebat aquam. Hic motus dicitur fuisse vel propter sacrificia, que in illa piscina abluebantur vel propter lignum crucis quod in ea dicitur iacuisse a tempore Salomonis usque ad tempus Christi et tunc incepit super nature; sed certum est quod angelus fecit talem motum et ex illa aqua vim sanativam habuerit. Signat autem iste motus aque motum illum, quo deus movet liberum arbitrium per gratiam. Unde sicut aqua illa ex se non habet vim illam sed ex motu angeli, sic actus liberi arbitrii ex se vim merendi non habet, sed movente per gratiam ut dictum est." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Jor*, sermo 99, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 173^{rb}-174^{ra}; "Sed an ista preparatoria preveniant gratiam et an ista possumus sine gratia, dicendum quod gratia dicitur dupliciter. Uno modo dicitur habituale donum, quod est principium operis meritorii. Alio modo dicitur gratia auxilium gratuitum dei interius animam moventis sine bonum propositum inspirantis. Primo modo non oportet presupponere aliquod aliud donum habituale in anima quia sic procederetur in infinitum. Secundo autem modo gratia procedit tale habituale donum, nam sine divino auxilio, quo movetur liberum arbitrium ad bonum, non possumus nos preparare ad gratiam." *Ibid.*, sermo 247, fol. 382^{vb}.

⁴² "... considerandum est quod omne, quod quis facit ex se ipso non ex deo motus, peccatum est et nichil." Jordan of Quedlinburg, *Opus Jor*, sermo 103, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 179^{rb}.

Good works, for Jordan, certainly are possible, but they are so as gifts of God. As he asserted in the *Opus Postillarum*, Jordan viewed good works not as something humans performed or achieved, but as *dona dei* of which humans were to be faithful administrators. "We owe stewardship," Jordan affirmed,

of those goods conceded to us, for God did not give us those goods which we have from Him on account of our merits, or so to say, on account of our beautiful hair, but on account of His own goodness and for His service. For example: Princes and lords concede some goods to their men in the feudal pact so that their men might be able to do some services for them or might pay a certain debt from them. Therefore, the goods which we hold from God are not to be considered given to us from God as our own, but rather for our use so that we might be administrators and stewards of them, rather than our own lords.⁴³

Even though I have not found the exact formulation explicitly in the works of Jordan that was put forth by his younger confrère of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century, Antonius Rampegolus, in his handbook for preachers, his *Figure Bibliorum*, Jordan would certainly have agreed: *sola gratia liberat hominem*.⁴⁴

Justification *sola gratia, ante previsa merita*, was the Augustinians' position from Gregory of Rimini and Alfonsus Vargas, to Jordan and Rampegolus, and with few exceptions, such as Gregory and Hugolino of Orvieto,⁴⁵ was not as such associated with a campaign *contra Pelagianos modernos*.⁴⁶ Grace, for Jordan, was what enabled

⁴³ "... debemus pensionem deo de bonis nobis concessis. Non enim deus dedit nobis bona illa, quae habemus ab eo, propter nostra merita vel secundum modum loquendi, propter nostros pulchros capillos, sed propter suam bonitatem et ad suum servitium. Exemplum de principibus et dominis qui hominibus <suis> concedunt alia bona in foedum ut de ipsis faciant ei cetera servitia vel certam pensionem de eis solvant. Igitur bona, quae tenemus a deo, non reputemus nobis data <a deo> ut propria sed tamquam ad usum concessa ut eorum simus administratores et dispensatores potius quam domini." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 436A (ed. Strassburg, 1483); "... debet omnia bona sua ab eo [scil. deo] recognoscere sicut vassallus infeudatus a domino suo. Quidquid enim boni habemus totum dei est, nec quicquam nobis proprium usurpare vel vindicare possumus nisi peccata." *Ibid.*, sermo 402B (ed. Strassburg, 1483). Similar statements were made by the Augustinians Hermann of Schildesche, Johannes Zachariae, and Johannes von Dorsten. See A. ZUMKELLER, *Erbsünde, Gnade, Rechtfertigung und Verdienst nach der Lehre der Erfurter Augustinertheologen des Spätmittelalters* (Würzburg, 1984), 289, 378.

⁴⁴ "... sola gratia divina liberat hominem." ANTONIUS RAMPEGOLUS, *Figure Bibliorum*, De diabolo, Uppsala, UB, MS 162C, fol. 33^{a-b}; cf. Aug. conf. 8.5.10 (119,8-12); for Rampegolus, see Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 529-535, 594-618.

⁴⁵ See Christoph Burger's contribution to this volume.

⁴⁶ See Saak, "Reception," 396.

the sinner to perform good works and to rise above fallen nature. Grace, all grace, for Jordan, was *gratia infusa*, a gift of God, which Jordan equated with *gratia gratis data*. In effect, Jordan redefined the scholastic *gratia gratum faciens* over a hundred years before Staupitz did so as that grace that makes God pleasing to humans. Thus we pray *Pater Noster*, as a *captatio benevolentie*, not of God's good will, but of our own, for we are already pleasing to God, and we pray for God's kingdom to come, not that we might come to the kingdom, but that the kingdom might come to us. God had sent his son to die for human sin. It was sinful humans who needed to learn not to find a pleasing God, but to recognize the loving father. Yet this could only be effected by grace, and all grace, including the infused gifts of God, was given *gratis*.⁴⁷

Only with the grace of God, could humans perform good works and fight the devil. No one can take confidence in one's works, for no one, from the infant who has lived for only a day, to the just and the saint, is free from sin.⁴⁸ No one can ever pay all that one owes. Thus the saint as well as the sinner must recognize their dependence on God, and be thankful, and humble. Humility, indeed reigns supreme, for Jordan went beyond even his own Order's emphasis on the insufficiency of works to argue for a fourteenth-century version of *simul iustus et peccator*: "And this is the argument: that a humble sinner is better than someone just, but proud, because by the very fact that a sinner humbles himself, he is already no longer a sinner, and the just person, by the very fact that he is proud, is already no longer just."⁴⁹ It is only the humble sinner, who confesses himself as such, who is truly the saint.

⁴⁷ See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, ch. 4.

⁴⁸ "Circa quod considerandum quod nullus, quantumcumque magni meriti, de suis iustitiis presumere debet ... nullus enim scire potest pro certo an opera sua vera sint an iusta; falsa enim iustitia multos decepit ... nostrae iustitiae purae non sunt sed semper habent aliquid macule ... Nemo est absque peccato, nec infans cuius est unius diei vita super terram. Item nec quicumque iusti et sancti sunt sine peccato." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 374B (ed. Strassburg, 1483).

⁴⁹ "Et hic est argumentum: quod melior est peccator humilis quam iustus superbus, quia eo ipso quod peccator se humiliat, iam non est peccator, et iustus eo ipso quod superbit, iam non est iustus." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 376A (ed. Strassburg, 1483); cf.: "In hoc evangelio [Lc. 18:9-14] commendatur virtus orationis et ostenditur quia in qua consistat summa totius humane perfectionis. Et introducitur hic duo homines: unus iustus et alter peccator. Iustus, quia nescivit orare, fuit reprobatus; sed peccator, qui scivit orare, fuit iustificatus." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Jor*, sermo 256, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 396^{rb-va}.

Given Jordan's view of grace, combined with his emphasis on works and the law, one might be tempted to claim that he espoused a theory of justification much as did Gabriel Biel in the fifteenth century, namely, one that was simultaneously by grace alone and by works alone, whose theology, according to Oberman, was semi-Pelagian. Moreover, both Jordan and Biel advocated a dialectic of God's justice and mercy, which Biel placed in the context of the dialectic of God's ordained and absolute power. God's mercy, for Biel, is evidenced by the latter, whereas God's justice is operative within the former; the merciful God bound himself to an ordained order of justice in which the *viator* must do his very best in order to receive the promised infusion of grace. The ordained order, as Oberman described it, "proves to be the 'dome' within which the actual life of the *viator* unfolds."⁵⁰

It is actually, however, the differences between the theology of Biel and that of Jordan that should be stressed. Jordan did not employ the dialectic of God's absolute and ordained powers, and moreover, was thoroughly Augustinian when it came to the issue of predestination. Based on Augustine's two cities, Jordan argued that the saints, the good and the just, "ought to give Christ the greatest thanks because they were called by Christ out of the entire degenerate mob and chosen by grace from the number of the damned."⁵¹ Moreover, if Gregory of Rimini merited the title *tortor infantium*, it is one he could have shared with Jordan. Unbaptized babies Jordan associated with the damned and condemned to hell,⁵² followed closely on their heels by mothers who killed their infants before baptism. In doing so, they

⁵⁰ Oberman, *Harvest*, 176.

⁵¹ "... ut iusti plurimum deo regratiantur quia quod boni sunt non habent a natura sed a divina gratia ... debent ergo iusti Christo plurimas gratias agere quod de massa tota corrupta vocati sunt a Christo et electi per gratiam de numero pereuntium." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Jor*, sermo 72, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 133^b; "... non totum genus humanum damnatur, sed aliqui eliguntur ad salutem qui valde pauci sunt respectu multitudinis damnatorum." *Ibid.*, sermo 248, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 385ⁿ. Jordan's pastoral teaching of predestination, however, is seen in his comment that the statement that one predestined is able to be damned, is true *in sensu diviso*: "Ut in errorem mittantur si fieri potest etiam electi, hoc dicit, quia predestinatio licet sit certa non tamen tollit libertatem arbitrii. Ista enim propositio, 'Predestinatus potest damnari,' falsa est in sensu composito; in sensu diviso, vera est." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 456A (ed. Strassburg, 1483).

⁵² In discussing the effects of Christ's Passion, Jordan lists one as freeing the patriarchs, among others, from limbo, but, then adds: "Damnati autem et pueri non baptizati huius meriti capaces non fuerunt. Ideo tales non liberavit sed in statu suo reliquit." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Jor*, sermo 143, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 234^b.

deprived the angels of great good and sent the souls of their children straight to hell, and they themselves were not far behind. "Oh God," Jordan lamented, "how greatly will they be tortured."⁵³ Many are called, Jordan affirmed, but only few are chosen, the few, the elect, the predestined, who were so *ante prevista merita*.⁵⁴ Thus we come to realize that Jordan's theology was actually the inverse of that of Biel. Whereas for Biel the 'outer realm' signified God's mercy, within which God ordained the 'dome' of justice, for Jordan, the 'outer realm' was equated with God's justice, within which God's mercy was operative for the elect: God's mercy was a subset of God's justice. And here we see again the Augustinian elements of Jordan's theology: the saints are those who have been chosen by Christ from the degenerate mob of the damned, the *massa perditionis*. Jordan's combination of grace and predestination with an emphasis on works and the law, was not that of a semi-Pelagian, but was that of a Calvinist, almost two hundred years before Calvin.

V. The Return to God

Jordan was not in search of the merciful God. He already knew the loving father. The question his theology addresses was once one recognizes God's love revealed in Christ, once one already knows the loving father, now what? How does one live in a world situated on the battle field between God and the devil? In this light, Jordan's doctrine of grace and predestination was a call to arms, in a battle that was fought with works of love. He was Augustinian enough to know well that he preached to a *corpus permixtum* amongst which one found many sinners, who also could be saints. Predestination was the work of God, not a mark of the Church, which was in a corporate battle with the forces of Satan.⁵⁵

Yet we would misunderstand Jordan if we did not recognize what is perhaps the major focus of his theology, and that which distinguishes it from all comparisons with the theology of Luther, or Calvin: Jordan's view of the return to God.⁵⁶ For Jordan, Christians are

⁵³ "Infelices mulieres, que partum impediunt vel suffocant sine baptisate ... quantum bonum angelis auferant ... et quantum maledictionem incurrunt ... O deus quantum cruciabitur, qui puerum non baptizatum interficit et animam ad infernum mittat." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Jor*, sermo 65, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 124^{a-b}.

⁵⁴ See note 51 above.

⁵⁵ See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, ch. 4.

⁵⁶ See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, ch. 5.

not so much *viatores* as they are *peregrini*, resident aliens in the world, making their way back to their homeland. Jordan set forth a Neoplatonic-Augustinian ontology, for which Augustine and Thomas Aquinas were his sources, whereby the human soul progresses in ascending states of being, from the *esse nature*, to the *esse gratie* and finally to the *esse glorie*, which he equated with the Pseudo-Dionysian progression of the *incipientes*, the *proficientes*, and the *perfecti* or *contemplativi*. The infusion of grace is what effects the progression, elevating the soul to a higher level of being.⁵⁷

The justification of the impious, Jordan explained, happens in a single moment with respect to God. However, in the course of nature we find succession, and thus God desires that there be progression, even though God is able to effect justification instantaneously as well, as the thief on the cross proves. In the natural, usual progression, there is first of all the infusion of grace. The movement of the free will towards God comes second, followed, though, by sin, which first must be recognized, and then despised, which then leads to the remission of guilt in contrition, confession, and satisfaction, all of which are designed to show us how great is our sin and blindness.⁵⁸

In three sermons of his *Opus Postillarum* on Luke 17:19, *Rise, and go, for your faith has saved you*, Jordan spelled out the steps by which the soul returns to God.⁵⁹ The human soul is equated with the

⁵⁷ See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, ch. 4.

⁵⁸ "... dicendum quod licet plura requirantur ad iustificationem impii, omnia tamen sunt simul tempore. Sed quia ordine nature unum est prius alio, ideo successive fieri describuntur. Naturali enim ordine in iustificatione impii primum est gratie infusio; secundum, motus liberi arbitrii in deum; tertium, motus liberi arbitrii in peccatum; quartum, remissio culpe, que tamen omnia a deo fiunt uno instanti. Sic in proposito certum est quod deus potuit illum cecum [Mc. 8:22-26] statim uno momento perfecte sanare, sed successive facere voluit ut designaret qualiter nos peccatis obscurati spiritualiter ordine quodam reducatur ad lucem ... quem [scil. cecum] verbo totum simul deus curare poterat, paulatim curat, ut magnitudinem humane cecitatis ostendat, que vix et quasi per gradus ad lucem redeat et gratiam suam nobis indicat, per quam singula perfectionis incrementa adiuvat. Unde licet deus uno instanti possit peccatorem sanum facere, exemplum de latrone, regulariter tamen ad conversionem nostram ex parte nostra plura successive requiruntur videlicet peccati cognitio, peccati displicentia, contritio, confessio, et satisfactio, que nobis sunt successiva, sed deus potest supplere omnia in uno momento. Igitur quando aliqui sic auxilio gratie prevenientis in tantum illustrati fuerint, ut peccata sua saltem in grosso conspiciant ... deinde cetera mala que ex peccato nascunt considerantes demum ad perfectam cognitionem omnium suorum defectuum illuminatione habitualis gratie perducentur quod designat in eo quod post omnium istorum malorum considerationem subiungitur." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 458D (ed. Strassburg, 1483).

⁵⁹ See JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermones 394-395 (ed. Strassburg, 1483); cf. *ibid.*, sermones 458-460.

leper of the Gospel passage due to the defect of original sin, and thus these words are spoken to all, regardless of the state of being, for the *incipientes* are to rise from actual sin; the *proficientes*, from laziness; and the *contemplativi* are to rise from a withdrawn quietude.⁶⁰ In relating the Surge of Luke with that of the Song of Songs 2:10, and the *itinerarium* of Habakkuk 3, Jordan explained that there are nine journeys the soul must take to progress from its origin in God in order to arrive back at its end in God. The first is that of the soul's creation; the second, the soul's conversion; the third, humiliation; the fourth, self-knowledge, the fifth, self-denial; the sixth, self-renunciation; the seventh, the imitation of Christ; the eighth, contemplation; and the ninth, reunion, signified by the *Vade*, whereby Christ says to the soul *vade extra me, vade coram me, vade a me; vade in te; vade extra te; vade a te; vade post me; vade ad me, and vade in me*.⁶¹ Such a return to God was not, for Jordan, a substantive union, which was the heresy of the Free Spirit, against which Jordan had written a treatise now

⁶⁰ "Omnis enim anima propter infectionem peccati originalis leprosa est, sed mundatur per lavacrum baptismi. Sunt autem fideles per baptismum regenerati in triplici differentia. Quidam enim sunt in peccatis actualibus iacentes; alii sunt a bono opere torpentes; tertii sunt quieti contemplationis vacantes. Hos singulos dominus alloquitur in verbis premissis dicens cuilibet secundum statum suum, Surge et vade, ubi duo iubentur. Primo iubetur surgere cum premitit, Surge. Sed quia non sufficit viatori surgere sed oportet eum ambulare, ideo secundo iubetur procedere et ambulare cum adiungitur, et vade. Primo ergo isti iubentur surgere et hoc tripliciter secundum eorum triplicem statum. Surgere inquam a peccatis quantum ad primos; surgere a torpore quantum ad secundos; et surgere a quiete quantum ad tertios." JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 394A (ed. Strassburg, 1483).

⁶¹ "*Vade*. Quia non sufficit deo sponso anime eam surgere nisi etiam vadat, ideo postquam dixit *Surge*, adiunxit et *Vade*. Sic etiam in Canticis ubi dicit *Surge*, addit *propera* [Ct. 2:10], qualiter autem ad iussionem sponsi anima ire et properare debeat. Circa hoc sciendum quod animam ad perfectionem tendentem antequam finem sue peregrinationis attingat, oportet ire novem itinera, ut sic circumitum faciendo demum redeat in suum principium a quo profluxit ... Primum iter anime est in sua creatione, et quantum ad hoc dicit, 'Vade extra me.' Secundum iter est in sua conversatione, et quantum ad hoc dicit, 'Vade coram me.' Tertium iter est in sui humiliatione, et quantum ad hoc dicit, 'Vade a me.' Quartum iter est in sui consideratione, et quantum ad hoc dicit, 'Vade in te.' Quintum iter est in sui abnegatione, et quantum ad hoc dicit, 'Vade extra te.' Sextum iter est in rerum renunciatione, et quantum ad hoc dicit, 'Vade a te.' Septimum iter est in Christi imitatione, et quantum ad hoc dicit, 'Vade post me.' Octavum iter est in dei contemplatione, et quantum ad hoc dicit, 'Vade ad me.' Nonum iter anime est in sui cum deo unione, et quantum ad hoc dicit, 'Vade in me.' Et sic completo circumitu isto anima redit in suum principium." Jordan of Quedlinburg, *Opera Postillarum*, sermo 395A (ed. Strassburg, 1483). Jordan then continues with explications of each of the journeys in this and in the following sermon.

lost.⁶² Humans, as he clarified in his *Tractatus de filiatione divina* of his *Opus Jor*, are to become sons of God not by nature, but by adoption whereby the union is one of love, effected by grace.⁶³ It was only by the redemptive act of Christ that humans can pray, *Abba, pater*.⁶⁴ Jordan's theology of *theosis* was based firmly in his theology of the cross. The Passion of Christ was the Christian's exemplar, which must be followed to return to one's origin and end, union with God. Before that time, the human soul suffers inquietude, even in contemplation, as it continues to fight the battle with Satan, until one finally returns home and is no longer an alien, but is embraced by God on the eighth day, the final Sabbath and image of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, with which Jordan closed his *Opus Postillarum*, when we will finally be at rest, in perfect peace, and when we will perfectly love and praise God, in the end, without end.⁶⁵

VI. Jordan and Late Medieval Theology

It would be easy to view Jordan as a typical example of late medieval, semi-Pelagian, *Frömmigkeitstheologie*, as did essentially Martin Elze in a very superficial reading of Jordan's *Meditationes de Passione Christi*.⁶⁶ Such an interpretation, however, misses the boat.

⁶² Romana GUARIENERI, Il movimento del Libero Spirito. In *Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà* 4 (1965), 351-708; Robert E. LERNER, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*. Berkeley 1972.

⁶³ Sermons 50-52 of Jordan's *Opus Jor* are designated in the Vatican manuscript as a *Tractatus filiatione divina*, Vat. Lat. 448, fol. 97^{ra}-106^{ra}; "Nos vero esse quidem possumus in eis [*scil.* persone Trinitatis] unum, unum tamen cum eis esse non possumus quia unius substantie nos et ipsi non sumus, sic autem in nobis vel nos in illis ut illi unum sunt in natura sua, nos autem unum in nostra. Sunt quippe ipsi in nobis sicut deus in templo, sumus autem nos in illis sicut creatura in creatore suo. Ideo ergo addit in nobis quod unum efficimur fidelissima caritate gratie dei tribuendum esse, non nobis. Ista ergo unio accipienda est secundum conformitatem affectum et transformationem amoris." Jordan of Quedlinburg, *Tractatus de filiatione divina, Opus Jor*, sermo 51, Vat. lat. 448, fol. 101^{ra}.

⁶⁴ "Nos igitur per sanguinem Iesu Christi adoptionis filii effecti confidenter clamamus Abba pater, secundum Apostolum ad Galatas quarto [Gal. 4:6]. Audenter ergo dicere possumus pater noster. JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*, Berlin, StB, MS theol. lat. qu. 175, fol. 73va.

⁶⁵ JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Opus Postillarum*, sermo 460 (ed. Strassburg, 1483); cf. JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG, *Expositio Orationis Dominice*, lectio 2, Berlin, StB MS theol. lat. qu. 175, fol. 75^{va}; Aug. civ. 22,30 (866,145-148).

⁶⁶ Martin ELZE, *Das Verständnis der Passion Jesu im ausgehenden Mittelalter und bei Luther*. In *Geist und Geschichte der Reformation. Festgabe Hanns Rückert zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. SCHOLDER (Berlin, 1966), 127-151.

The original controversy between Augustine and Pelagius *cum suis* concerned pastoral as much as academic theology. At some point, however, the names of the participants became abstracted to signify theological positions, rarefied into the substantive nouns of 'Augustinianism' and 'Pelagianism' existing in the realm of theological debate when pastoral theology was often ignored, though always lurking underneath. Throwing around theological labels to damn one's opponents somehow got away from the pastoral issue of how the Christian is to live a Christian life. The relationship between predestination, grace, and good works, doctrines placed in an order of which Jordan would have approved, was based on how one viewed the effects of the Fall, and the impact of original sin. Jordan was clear: the fall of Adam and Eve had distorted all of creation, and even if free will remained, humans on their own could only wallow in sin, unable to do otherwise. In our portrayals of the theology of the later Middle Ages, that of Jordan should not be overlooked, as it has been for too long. *Sentences* commentaries were wonderful intellectual constructs, but the flesh and blood of theology is to be found in the pastoral theology designed for teaching, in Jordan's terms, what it is exactly that humans owe God in the battle between God and the devil. In the trenches, the labels had little or no meaning; the issues signified by the '-isms' did indeed. One would err if one refrained from describing Jordan's theology as *Frömmigkeitstheologie*, as much as one would, were one to claim it as semi-Pelagian. Jordan knew the lay of the land, and that the Christian lived in the ontological tension of being an alien, caught between the *esse nature* and *esse glorie*, which only the *esse gratie* could bridge, and even so, only partially as long as the battle continued. In such a cosmic conflict, good works were essential, as the weapons to fight the forces of Satan. What distinguished the theology of Jordan from that of his younger confrère, the doctor *operum bonorum*, Martin Luther, was not the issue of Pelagianism or Anti-Pelagianism, but rather the historical context and philosophical presuppositions, not to mention personal style. Times had changed indeed from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century, yet the battle remained, as did the fundamental questions. What Luther had to fight so hard to discover, Jordan already knew: the righteous, loving God, evidenced most of all, most similar to Luther, in Jordan's *theologia crucis*. The question to which Jordan addressed his sermons, was now what? Having realized that the Christian is the adopted son of God, predestined for glory, a member of the eternal city of God, what now in the temporal campaign against the diabolical? Jordan offered a moral answer, though one not without theological implications,

whereas Luther proposed a theological answer, though one not without moral implications. Somehow for both Jordan and Luther, not to mention Calvin, to reduce the issues to the academic realm of substantive adjectives fails to capture the depth and the import of the historical situation. Luther lived in the last days, which for Jordan lay still in the future.⁶⁷ Yet both Augustinian friars were intimately involved in their societies, concerned most of all for the salvation of the souls of their flocks and in preserving the majesty of God and the lordship of Christ.

If the Church is best described by the formula *Ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*, the Pelagian/Anti-Pelagian debate is by the phrase *Questio determinata semper determinanda*. It is an on-going struggle, one that must be answered ever anew, which is every moment. And herein lies the continued relevance of Augustine, for the fifth century, the fourteenth century, and the sixteenth century, no less than for the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; for 412 CE, no less than for 1365 or 1517, or 1938, or 2001. The challenge of Pelagius must never be forgotten, nor dismissed as a heresy long since condemned to oblivion, used only to stigmatize one's adversaries. It must be struggled with ever anew, with ever new answers to the issues it raised, for it penetrates to the very heart of the Christian life, and how one is to live *coram deo*. Such answers were given, which merit remembering not only as historical artifacts, but also in the on-going discussion, in the sermons of Jordan of Quedlinburg, a fourteenth-century Augustinian friar, a son of Augustine, who upheld divine love as the unifying, healing, and salvific factor of the Christian life lived between God and the devil, when it is infinitely difficult to know or to recognize the demarcation of the forces within the *corpus permixtum*, aside from the eternal, Augustinian doctrine of divine love revealed in the cross of Christ. If only Burnaby had been right!

E.L. Saak

⁶⁷ See OBERMAN, *Luther. Mensch Zwischen Gott und Teufel* (Berlin, 1982); Jordan composed sermo 455 of his *Opus Postillarum*, part of three sermons, 455-457 comprising his *Expositio de Antichristo*, in 1365, in which he affirmed the Antichrist had not yet made his appearance.