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St. Bonaventure, St. Francis and Philosophy

ANTON C. PEGIS

I

St. Bonaventure began his career in a very humble way. Approaching the Sentences of Peter Lombard, he remarked that a man might produce a book in four ways: as a copyist, as a compiler, as a commentator, and as an author. At the beginning of the second book of his Commentary, he sets himself down as wishing to be a compiler of his predecessors, to walk in their well-trod and well-proved paths as a simple follower, and not to manufacture new opinions:

Just as in the first book I adhered to the judgments of the Master of the Sentences and to the received opinions of the Masters, and especially of our father and master of good memory, Brother Alexander, so in the following books I shall not depart from their footsteps. For it is not my aim to seek to discover new opinions, but to re-express the commonly received and approved opinions. Nor should anyone think that I have any intention of producing an original piece of writing; for I feel and acknowledge that I am a poor and insignificant compiler.

In the sequel to this text, St. Bonaventure calls attention to some eight doctrinal points on which Peter Lombard was not accepted by the Parisian Masters. In rejecting Peter Lombard, St. Bonaventure concedes that someone might possibly defend him; but he makes this concession only to insist that his father and master of good memory, Brother Alexander, did not uphold him [Peter Lombard] on any of these points, but rather adopted the opposite position. My own intention is to follow especially in his footsteps.

Such a humility is, in point of fact, a program which with the passing of years was to become a battlecry. Not that St. Bonaventure was ever any mere compiler. From the beginning, he lived his traditions too intimately and too intensely merely to repeat them. But his loyalties took on a conservative coloring during the years of the emergence of Aristotelianism, and what had

1 In I Sent., Proem., q. 4, Resp.; ed. minor, p. 12. In addition to the monumental edition of St. Bonaventure's works (Doctoris Servantiae S. Bonaventurae . . . Opera Omnia, 10 vols., Quaracchi, 1882-1902), I shall also use the following smaller editions:
(a) S. Bonaventurae Opera Theologica Selecta, ed. minor, vol. I-IV, Quaracchi, 1934, 1938, 1941, 1949 (contains the Commentary on Peter Lombard's Sentences);
(b) S. Bonaventurae Tria Opuscula, 5th edition, Quaracchi, 1938 (contains the Breviologium, the Itinerarium Mentis in Deum, and the De Reductive Artium ad Theologiae);
(c) S. Bonaventurae Legendae Duae de Vita S. Francisci Seraphici, Quaracchi, 1923;
(d) S. Bonaventurae Collationes in Hexaemeron, ed. F. M. Delorme O.F.M. (Bibliotheca Franciscana Scolastica Medii Aevi VIII, Quaracchi, 1934).

2 In II Sent., Praeclouitio; ed. minor, p. 1.


Canon Van Steenberghen has raised many questions in his extensive work on thirteenth century Aristotelianism and Siger's place in it. The reader of the late Monsignor Grabmann's two volumes on the efforts of the popes of the thirteenth century to promote the Christian assimilation of Aristotle will find a different interpretation of the reaffirmation of the Bull Parens Scientiarum by Pope Urban IV early in 1263: Cf. A. C. Pegis, Traditio, V (1947), 331-32. Concerning a further point, namely, St. Bonaventure's knowledge, use and estimate of Aristotle at the time of his Commentary on the Sentences, the question must remain at best an open one until the many hundreds of Aristotelian quotations and references in the Commentary have been systematically studied.
been originally a decision to follow in the pathway of Alexander of Hales, the Victorines and St. Augustine was bound to become, under the stress of controversy, not only a decision but also a frontier. In a sense, St. Bonaventure had settled in principle the question of the existence of theology and philosophy within the Franciscan Order when, after being elected General, he declared that he had become a follower of St. Francis because the Franciscan life began like the early Church. For, as the Church progressed from simple and untutored fisherman to the age of most illustrious and learned doctors, so did the Order of the Blessed Francis progress. The simple Francis was succeeded, under the pressure of events, by the learned Bonaventure. But was this development, so opposed by the Franciscan Spirituals, in the spirit of the Poverello? How could Francis, he who had preached to the birds, how could he have a son who became a master of theology in the University of Paris? To answer this question we must consider whether St. Bonaventure had an ideal of philosophy and, if so, what it was.

II

According to St. Bonaventure, the Franciscan Order (himself, of course, included) belonged to a lower order of perfection than did St. Francis. There are, be it observed, three orders of contemplation in the Church. For, says Bonaventure, though they all direct themselves towards divine things, yet they differ according as they do so (a) by supplication, (b) by speculation, (c) by ecstasy. The suppliants give themselves to prayer, devotion and the divine praises; such are to be found among the Cistercians, Premonstratentians, Carthusians and Augustinian Canons. The second order adds to the work of prayer the investigation of truth, since you cannot understand the words of Paul unless you have the mind of Paul; such are the Dominicans and the Franciscans, of whom the former are given first to speculation and study and secondly to the devout life (unctio), while the latter are given first to the devout life (unctio) and secondly to speculation. The suppliants correspond to the angelic order of Thrones, while the speculatives correspond to the order of the Cherubim. Above the speculatives are those who are caught up in ecstasy, and correspond to the order of the Seraphim. St. Francis belonged to this ecstatic and seraphic order, in which the Church will be fulfilled. But as to who composed this seraphic order, or whether it was then in existence, this was for St. Bonaventure a very difficult question to answer. Indeed, according to him, it will flourish in the future when Christ has appeared and suffered in his mystical body. In fact, the Seraph who appeared to St. Francis on top of Mount Alverno that memorable morning some two years before his death signified that a seraphic order would correspond to him in the future and after tribulations.

But perhaps the Seraph with six wings taught St. Francis and St. Bonaventure more than this. For Francis had returned from the East with his heart set on martyrdom. And so, on the summit of Alverno, having thrice opened Scripture to the Passion of Christ, he took this as a sign “that, just as he had imitated Christ in the actions of his life, so, before departing from this world, he was to be like Christ in the affliction and sorrows of His Passion.” St. Francis, therefore, in spite of his weakness, girded himself to bear a martyrdom of the flesh for his God. It was then that the six-winged Seraph appeared to him and impressed the stigmata of the Passion on his hands, feet and side; it was then Francis learned, when he beheld the crucified Seraph, that this vision was
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granted to him "so that the friend of Christ might foreknow that he was to be transformed into the likeness of the crucified Christ, not through a martyrdom of the flesh, but by a complete conflagration of his mind."  

Is it fanciful to suggest that a St. Francis who learned, two years before his death, this total devotion of ecstatic love, is not only a father to whom Bonaventure looks back with tenderness, but also an ideal to whom he looks forward? Surely it is on Alverno, under the wings of the Seraph, that Francis and Bonaventure meet; and it is that meeting which marks, at once, the point of contact of Bonaventure with Francis and the point of departure of Bonaventure as a thinker. For through the labor of study, Bonaventure the learned doctor is destined to seek the peace that consumed Francis on Alverno. Study? Yes, the study of the way leading from creatures to God—that perennial Christian theme. Yet it is a devout study, and its goal is the seraphic vision of the crucified Christ. Hence, if St. Bonaventure changed the Franciscan Order into a learned Order, the learning had for its objective the ecstatic contemplation to which Francis had been raised. Had not Francis marvelled, as Bonaventure has told us, at the mystery of a winged Seraph appearing in the image of the crucified Christ? And had he not realized from the death on the Cross portrayed by the Seraph (who, being a pure spirit, was not subject to death) that what God wanted of him was not the death of his body but the all-consuming love of his soul? This point unites the mind of St. Bonaventure as a faithful son of St. Francis, as Minister-General of the Franciscans, no less than as a theologian and a philosopher. If he set "the investigation of truth" as the object of the Franciscan Order, this investigation was to take place within the brilliant and fiery orbit of the wings of that Seraph who had descended so swiftly on Mount Alverno. For what were those wings?  

Here we must read at least a part of the remarkable Prologue of the Itinerarium:

In the beginning I call upon the First Beginning from Whom descend all illuminations as from the Father of lights from Whom is every best gift and every perfect gift (James i, 17). This is the eternal Father upon Whom I shall call through His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that, through the intercession of the most holy Virgin Mary, the Mother of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the intercession of blessed Francis our leader and our father, He may give enlightened eyes (St. Paul, Ephes. i, 18) to our minds to direct our feet in the way of that peace (Luke i, 79) which surpasseth all understanding (St. Paul, Phil. iv, 7).  

This is the peace which our Lord preached and gave. Our father Francis reasserted that preaching. He proclaimed peace at the beginning and at the end in all his preaching; in his every greeting there was a message of desire for peace; and in all his contemplation he yearned for an ecstatic peace, as a citizen of that heavenly Jerusalem. Of this peace, that man of peace, who was peaceable with them that hated peace (Ps. cxix, 7), says: Pray ye for the things that are for the peace of Jerusalem (Ps. cxxi, 6). For he knew that the throne of Solomon rested only in peace, since it is written: His place is in peace: and his abode in Sion (Ps. lxxv, 3).  

Our invocation is, therefore, that God may direct us to the seraphic peace of Jerusalem, the peace that was habitually in the soul of Francis. And now the drama of the seraphic visitation on Alverno:

*Legenda Maior S. Francisci, ibid., ed. minor, p. 139.

And so, following the example of the most blessed Francis, I was seeking that peace with a breathless soul,—I a sinner who, though all unworthy, am the seventh to succeed as Minister-General of the brothers in the place of the blessed father after his death. It was then that, thirty-three years after the saint's death at a divine command, I stopped at Mount Alverno as at a quiet place out of the desire to seek peace of soul. While there, in the course of going through some mental elevations to God, there came to me among other things that miracle which happened in the aforementioned place to blessed Francis himself, namely, the miracle of the vision of the winged Seraph in the likeness of the crucified Christ. I immediately saw, while gazing upon it, that that vision brought out the elevation of father Francis himself in contemplation and the way by which that elevation is reached.

For by those six wings we may rightly understand the elevations of the six illuminations by which the soul is disposed, as by certain grades or steps, to reach peace through the ecstatic excesses of Christian wisdom. Now the way is only through the most burning love of the Crucified, which so transformed Paul into Christ when he was caught up to the third heaven (II Cor. xii, 2) that he said: with Christ I am nailed to the Cross; and I live, now not I, but Christ liveth in me (Gal. iv, 19-20). This most burning love likewise so absorbed the mind of Francis, that his mind revealed itself in its flesh, as he carried the most sacred stigmata of the Passion in his body for two years before his death.

The image of the six Seraphic wings, therefore, suggests the six graded illuminations which begin with creatures and lead us to God Whom no one rightly reaches except through the Crucified. For he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber (Jo. x, 1). But if any man enter in through this door, he shall go in and go out, and shall find pastures (Jo. x, 9). That is why John says in the Apocalypse: Blessed are they that wash their robes in the blood of the Lamb: that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in by the gate into the city (Apoc. xxi, 14). This is as much as to say that there is no entering the heavenly Jerusalem through contemplation unless it be through the blood of the Lamb as through a door. For one is not disposed in any way towards the divine contemplations which lead to excesses of soul except unless one be with Daniel a man of desires (Dan. ix, 23). Now desires are kindled in us in two ways, namely, through the cry of prayer which makes one roar with the groaning of the heart (Ps. xxxvii, 9), and through the brightness of speculation by which the soul turns itself most directly and most strenuously to the rays of light.

Here is St. Bonaventure, therefore, translating the winged Seraph of St. Francis into a ladder leading to ecstatic contemplation, but a contemplation which begins, as did that of St. Francis, with the crucified Christ. The six wings of the Seraph are the six steps of contemplation leading from creatures to God. But he who sets out on the road to the ecstatic contemplation of God (the Itinerarium is a guide on such a journey) must begin with Christ and he must be a man of desire. Now desire is kindled by prayer and speculation. Hence, St. Bonaventure invites his readers to both, but first to prayer. As for speculation, the reader can begin to appreciate its meaning from its association, in the continuation of the Prologue, with speculum or mirror:

And so I first invite the reader to the groaning of prayer through the
crucified Christ through Whose blood we are purged of the uncleanness of sins; and I invite him first to prayer lest perchance he believe that it is enough for him to have reading without holiness, speculation without devotion, investigation without admiration, circumspection without exaltation, industry without piety, knowledge without charity, understanding without humility, study without divine grace, a mirror without divinely inspired wisdom.

To those who have been met by grace, therefore, the humble and the pious, those who have compunction and those who are devout, those who are anointed with the oil of gladness and those who love divine wisdom and who are afire with a desire for it, those who wish to give themselves to magnifying, admiring and even tasting God,—to these I propose the following speculations, with the contention that the mirror that is offered to us from the outside means little or nothing unless the mirror of our mind has been cleansed and polished.

Exercise yourself, therefore, O man of God, on the prodding goad of conscience before you raise your eyes to the rays of wisdom reflected in wisdom's mirrors, lest, from the very vision of the rays, you might possibly fall into a deeper pit of darkness.

Prayer, devotion, admiration and spiritual elevation, on the one hand, and reading, investigation, knowledge and understanding, on the other—these are the requirements for a climb from creatures to God. We must be pure within in order to see (this, clearly, is the meaning of speculation) the rays of wisdom reflected in the mirrors that are things.

The world of St. Bonaventure is thus beginning to take shape. It is a world of illumination, of which the divine Trinity is the source, a world in which man progresses in knowledge according as he turns to the light of God as would a veritable Daniel of burning desires, a world whose one secret is that God Himself is hidden within it. At the conclusion of the *De Reductione Artium*, St. Bonaventure has even given us the formula by which we might best express his position: "So, too, it is clear how broad is the illuminative highway [via illuminativa], and how in every thing, be it a thing sensed or a thing known, God Himself is is hidden within: in omni re, quae sentitur sive quae cognoscitur, interius lateat ipse Deus."12

Let us mark here a first summary. St. Bonaventure's whole effort was directed towards closing the distances which separated him (and his Order) from St. Francis. To him St. Francis was the ecstatic contemplative of Mount Alverno; for it was there that the Poverello saw what Christ wanted of him, namely, not the martyrdom and death of his body, but the total dedication of his soul. Taking as his model, therefore, a Francis raised to seraphic contemplation, St. Bonaventure set himself the task of marking the steps in the illuminative highway leading to the Jerusalem which finally claimed all the life and love of Francis. In this sense, the thought of St. Bonaventure and the ecstatic life of St. Francis are related to one another as two moments of one and the same reality—the highway leading to the heavenly Jerusalem and that celestial city itself. It is this highway to Jerusalem which gives to St. Bonaventure's

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11 The Prologue closes on this devout note: It seemed good to me to divide the tractate into seven chapters, giving the titles in advance for the easier understanding of the things that are to be said. I ask, furthermore, that you weigh the writer's intention rather than his execution, the meaning of his words rather than his unpolished language, the truth rather than the charm, the training of affection rather than the instruction of the intellect. To this end, the development of these speculations should not be run over perfunctorily; it should be mulled over very slowly. (Itinerarium Mentis in Deum, Prologus, 5; ed. minor, pp. 292-93).

12 *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, 26; ed. minor, p. 384.
thought its direction, its economy and its unity. This is literally no pedestrian thought that we are here considering; it is, if the expression be permitted, thought on wings, the wings of prayer, of devout admiration, and—even—of ecstatic soaring over the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem. St. Bonaventure cannot think without gaining spiritual altitude.

The deep bond of continuity between St. Bonaventure and St. Francis, consequently, lies in the seraphic contemplation which the founder of the Franciscans possessed habitually and at which St. Bonaventure aimed. If the forging of this bond required that the Order take a direction which Francis himself had not visualized, that direction was nevertheless toward his achievement; if it meant that St. Bonaventure would have to defend the introduction of learning, indeed, of Aristotle himself into the primal simplicity of Franciscanism, it meant also transforming Aristotle to the point where “the master of those who know” would hardly have recognized his spiritual wings. Aristotelianizing St. Francis (if I may dare use such scandalous language) was possible only because St. Bonaventure aimed also at Franciscanizing Aristotle.

This is the moment to look at the text of St. Bonaventure’s defense of the legitimacy of introducing learning into Franciscan thought. We can then turn to the question of the Franciscanization of philosophy. An unidentified Franciscan master asked his General three questions on poverty, on manual labor and on studies. On this last question, St. Bonaventure began his answer by saying that both he and his zealous son are agreed in disliking curiosities. He has no defense for those who ponder childish writings. But perhaps there are those who are really serious students who yet appear merely curious. Suppose, for example, a man were to devote himself to the writing of the heretics so that, by rejecting them, he would have a better understanding of truth. Such a man would not be curious, he would not be a heretic, he would be a Catholic. When the words of the philosophers are on some occasions particularly helpful in the understanding of truth and the refutation of error, then he who sometimes devotes himself to the philosophers is not departing from the purity of truth, especially since there are many conclusions of faith which could not be reached without the help of the philosophers.

What is more, a severe judgment on this issue would condemn the saints themselves. And what could be more impious than to judge them to have been curious? Consider the case of St. Augustine.

No one describes the nature of time and matter better than St. Augustine does in the investigation and discussion he pursues in the Confessions. No one describes better the coming of forms and the procession of things than he does in A Literal Commentary on Genesis. No one handles better questions concerning the soul and God than he does in the book On the Trinity, nor the nature of the creation of the world than he does in the City of God. In a word: there are few if any things which the Masters have put in their books that you will not find in the books of St. Augustine.

And not only is St. Augustine a test case in defense of the introduction of philosophical studies within the Christian faith, he is also the author of a classic principle on this point:

Read Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, in which he shows that Scripture cannot be understood without a training in the other sciences. Even more, he shows that, just as the children of the Jews carried away with them the possessions of Egypt, so the doctors of theology should carry away with them the teaching of philosophy: sic doctores theologi doctrinam philosophicam.

And it is because this spoiling of the Egyptians has already taken place that
we learn from the saints what we have not learned from the philosophers about the teachings of philosophy. It is in this setting that St. Bonaventure gives us a glimpse of himself:

Nor should you be disturbed that the brothers were in the beginning simple and uncultivated; this fact should rather confirm in you the faith of the Order. I confess before God that this is what made me love the way of life [i.e., the Order] of the blessed Francis most, namely, because it is like the beginning and the perfection of the Church, which first began from simple fishermen and later progressed to most eminent and most accomplished doctors. This is what you will see in the Order of the blessed Francis, so that God might show that it was not discovered by human ingenuity but by Christ. And because the works of Christ do not fail, but progress, it is made clear that this was a divine work, when wise men as well did not disdain to stoop and join the company of simple men.1

Under the patronage of St. Augustine, therefore, and in the name of his work, the entry of philosophy within the simplicity of Franciscan fishermen is assured. Only, having entered, what does it become at the moment of beginning to live within the atmosphere of Franciscan devotion?

III

St. Bonaventure admits the existence of a power of seeing in the soul which is that of an understanding implanted by nature.14 He likewise admits the existence of a philosophy whose function is specifically rational: "Philosophy deals with things, as they exist in nature or in the soul, according to a knowledge which is naturally implanted or even naturally acquired".15 But this scarcely tells us the important story about philosophy. Let us consider, in fact, the examples of Plato and Aristotle.

St. Bonaventure, perhaps regretfully, assigns to Aristotle a considerable role in the origin of a major philosophical error. For, although all philosophers saw that God is the source and the end of things, some of them denied that there were divine exemplars of things. Now, "the leader of such philosophers seems to have been Aristotle, who, both in the beginning and in the end of his Metaphysics, as well as in many other places, reviles the Ideas of Plato. And so he says that God knows only Himself, He does not need the knowledge of any other thing, and He moves as an object of desire and love".16 From this position the followers of Aristotle inferred that God does not know particulars. But the denial of the divine Ideas does not stop here. Since, indeed, God is said not to have in Himself the exemplars of things by which He might know them, He has neither foreknowledge nor providence. And there is even more. In order to avoid saying that the world is run by chance, the Arabian followers of Aristotle said that it was run by necessity. But in a world of necessity there are no future rewards and punishments; certainly Aristotle never spoke of the devil or of a future beatitude.17

This threefold Aristotelian-Arabian error (the suppression of exemplarism, of the divine providence and of the Christian dispensation of rewards and punishments) led to a threefold blindness among these same philosophers. There is first of all the doctrine of the eternity of the world. The Greek Fathers and the Arabian commentators are agreed, according to St. Bonaventure, in attributing this doctrine to Aristotle. You will never find Aristotle saying, he

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13 Cf. the reference in note 5.
14 Coll. in Hexaemeron IV, 1; Opera Omnia V, p. 349.
15 Breviloquium, Prol., III, 2; ed. minor, p. 98.
16 Coll. in Hexaemeron VI, 2; Opera Omnia V, p. 360.
adds, "that the world had an origin or a beginning. Indeed, he attacked Plato who appears to have been the only one who held that time had a beginning."

From this there follows a second blindness, namely, the doctrine of the unity of the intellect. For if the world is eternal it necessarily follows [a] either that there is an infinite number of souls in existence, since there would have been an infinite number of men, or [b] that the soul is corruptible, or [c] that there is a transmigration of souls from body to body, or finally [d] that the intellect is one in all men. This last alternative is the error which "is attributed to Aristotle in Averroes". The third Aristotelian error now follows inevitably. Remove from men an individual intellect, and you take away from them their future life, whether of blessedness or of punishment.

But though he tries to soften Aristotle's guilt in relation to these errors, St. Bonaventure passes with evident pleasure to the consideration of the illumined philosophers who posited the Ideas. They worshipped the one God; they located all good things in a God of most perfect goodness; they posited exemplar virtues, from which descend the cardinal virtues first into our power of knowing, then, through that power, into our affective power and finally into our power of operation. Such was the position of that most noble Plotinus, of the sect of Plato, and of Cicero, of the Academy. These philosophers were truly illumined, and it seems as though they could possess felicity through themselves. But they too remained in darkness because they did not have what we have, namely, the light of faith. For what did these philosophers hold?

Now these outstanding philosophers, though they were thus illumined but lacking faith, held that the cardinal virtues came into our knowledge by emanation. They are first called political because they teach us our deportment in the world; secondly, they are called cleansing, in relation to solitary contemplation; thirdly, they are called the virtues of a cleansed soul, whose purpose is to bring the soul to peace in the Exemplar. They said, therefore, that through these virtues the soul is ordered, cleansed and reformed.

Nevertheless, Plotinus and Cicero remained in darkness because these virtues did not have in them the three operations which they should have. They should direct the soul to its end, they should rectify its affection, they should cure its illness. For Augustine says in the City of God that it is not a true virtue which does not direct the intention to God, the source of reality, that there it may rest in the certain possession of eternity and in perfect peace. Now an eternity that is certain cannot be lost, nor can there be perfect peace unless the soul is reunited to the body (since, being essentially inclined to the body, the soul will never be fully at peace unless its body is restored to it). The philosophers did not know eternity as certain, for they posited all sorts of peregrinations for souls after this life, including periodic returns to this life.

Now, pursues St. Bonaventure, it is a false beatitude that the soul should be in beatitude and then leave it in order to take up again a bodily abode of punishment. Furthermore, Plotinus and Cicero had no better knowledge of perfect peace. They did not know that the world would have an end and that bodies would rise again from the dust they had become. Nor is this surprising. For they investigated things according to the power of reason, and reason cannot arrive at knowing that bodies will rise again, or that the elements, though they have contrary qualities, can be harmonized with one another without any inter-

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19 Ibid. For a Bonaventurean 'apology' for Aristotle's errors, cf. op. cit., VII, 2; Opera Omnia V, p. 365.
They did not therefore relate the soul to eternal life, but placed it in a continuous circulation. In sum, they were ignorant of the faith without which, as Augustine says, the virtues have no power.

Ignorant of the end, they were no more successful in rectifying the affections through these virtues. The four affections (fear, grief, joy and confidence) are not rectified unless they become a holy fear, a just grief, a true joy and a certain confidence. But if, for example, confidence becomes presumption, then the affections have fallen away from their nature. Now the point is that these virtues cannot be rectified through themselves. Confidence or hope is of that which is not seen, namely, the life of blessedness. This life is not given except to those who are worthy of it; and no one is worthy of it unless he have sufficient merit. But merit cannot be acquired through the power of free choice except through the divine condescension, that is to say, through grace.

Ignorant of faith and grace, they were ignorant of man's illness, but not entirely. Evidently you cannot cure an illness unless you know the disease and the cause, as well as the medicine and the doctor. The illumined philosophers knew of the corruption of the affections. But they thought that the disease came to the soul from the body. They thought, in other words, that man's illness had its location in the body, whereas the intellectual soul tended naturally to go, not downwards towards matter, but upward towards the higher realities. In this they were deceived, however, for man's infirmities are to be found in the intellectual part of the soul, and not only in the sensible part. And if a philosopher like Plotinus misread man's intellectual and moral illness, it was because he did not know its cause. Its cause is from a guilt originating with the sin of Adam. Now reason could not tell the philosophers that Adam ate of the fruit of the forbidden tree; the reason could know it by hearing, but for this faith is necessary. Philosophizing without the mediation of Christ, they had no belief in the announcement of His coming by the prophets or in the announcement of His arrival by the Apostles. Hence, not knowing that human illness began with a crime against the majesty of God, they did not know the proper medicine for it; they did not know of the atonement by the God-man. They did not know that the doctor of their illness was the Incarnate Word, and that the medicine for it was the grace of the Holy Spirit. They did not know this because “philosophy cannot reach this doctor and this medicine.”

How much the philosophers did not know! To this St. Bonaventure's reaction is quite typical. He is not concerned with the literal meaning of this inability on the part of philosophy; rather than stress the fact of its limits, he stresses its errors beyond its limits. Why do you glory, he asks, you who do not know through your own knowledge either your infirmity or its cause or its doctor or its medicine? The philosophers, the illumined philosophers, possessed in St. Bonaventure's eyes ‘the wings of ostriches’, for their affections, in the absence of faith, were not cleansed or ordered or rectified. Such is the darkness in which, in spite of their illumination, they fell.\(^2\)

This result is surely paradoxical. Admitting adequately its proper rationality, St. Bonaventure yet seems to blame philosophy for not going whither, even according to him, it cannot go. Aristotle stands condemned because he denied exemplarism; that is a condemnation of a philosopher within philosophy, and St. Bonaventure has a clear right to make it. But Plotinus and Cicero stand condemned because they did not reach what they could not reach, namely, grace, faith and charity. Does philosophy, then, stand condemned simply

because it is incomplete? And is this incompleteness of philosophy part of its nature, or merely a recognition that it has limits beyond which it is not competent? These are awkward questions for the student of St. Bonaventure because the occupation of the Seraphic Doctor is quite different from that of his historian. St. Bonaventure's objective in discussing philosophy in his conferences on the gifts of the Holy Spirit and on the work of the six days, given during the very troubled late 60's of the thirteenth century, has a very specific situation in view. Without intending to condemn reason, nature and philosophy within themselves, he was yet faced by an Averroistic Aristotelianism in which these were, in fact, closed against the supernatural. The Parisian Averroists in the Faculty of Arts were doing the very thing against which St. Bonaventure was vigorously protesting. His strong rhetoric on philosophy and on those who have confidence in it has at least good provocation.  

If he derides the opinions of the philosophers of this world, furthermore, it is only after recognizing the natural and innate light of reason. The gift of science, he writes, is preceded by two others. It is preceded, first of all, by the innate light of reason, and it is preceded, secondly, by the infused light of faith. The innate light he calls "the light of the natural power of judging, or the reason"; and he goes on to say that God impressed the light of the natural power of judging upon the rational creature, and by this he means that God gave to the rational creature both a possible and an agent intellect. Only after having said this does St. Bonaventure distinguish, to the detriment of philosophy, between the brightness or evidence of philosophy and that of theology and the other sciences. 'The brightness of philosophical science is great according to the opinion of worldly men, but it is dim in comparison with the brightness of Christian science. On the other hand, the brightness of theological science seems dim according to the opinion of worldly men, but in truth it is great". But let us observe: it is not the specific nature of philosophy which is disturbing Bonaventure; it is its air of self-sufficiency, the assumption of its disciples that it can give man his final beatitude. Something of what was in his mind on this point may be grasped if we look at some propositions condemned in 1277. Consider:  

That felicity is found in this life, and not in another. That all the good that is possible for men is found in the intellectual virtues. That just as man can be sufficiently ordered as to his intellect and his affection through the intellectual and the moral virtues, of which the Philosopher speaks in the Ethics, so he is sufficiently disposed for eternal felicity. That there are no raptures or visions except through nature.  

To repeat: the problem is not whether St. Bonaventure admits the evidence of philosophy. Philosophical science, he writes, is "nothing other than the certain knowledge of investigatable truth". But this definition of philosophy is for him the beginning of man's ascent in a world of light; for, as he says, he who knows the true content of the philosophical sciences, has at his disposal a great mirror in order to know "that there it nothing in any one of these sciences that does not signify a vestige of the Trinity". That is why philosophy is a way to sciences higher than itself. To consider it a terminus is to suffer the darkness which overtook the otherwise illumined Plotinus and Cicero. St. Bonaventure states his position clearly in the following well-rounded text:  

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The first brightness, namely, that of philosophical science, is great according to the opinion of worldly men; but it is easily eclipsed unless a man defends himself from the head and tail of the dragon. If something is placed between him and the sun of justice, he suffers the eclipse of folly. As Jeremias says, 'every man is made a fool by his own knowledge' (x, 14); that is, it is the occasion not the cause. He who has confidence in philosophical science and on this account prizes himself and considers himself to be superior, such a one is made a fool—that is to say, when he believes that through this science, without any higher light, he can apprehend the Creator. This is much as though a man wanted to see the heavens and the body of the sun by means of candles!

It is certain that rational philosophy is perfected in rhetoric; for there is a threefold division of deliberative science, namely, when a man deliberates about the useful, about the secure and about the honorable, as well as about their opposites, namely, the injurious, the dangerous and the sinful or dishonorable. Now a man cannot know what is useful, what injurious, without the addition of something beyond this science. It is written in the Gospel: "What doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?" (Matt, xvi, 26). For of what worth is it that a man should know many things, if true honorableness is lacking to his soul?

It is likewise certain that through moral science a man cannot know what is useful and what is injurious, except through an addition beyond moral science,—defining moral science as a mode of worship, a form of living and a rule of judging. For who can know the mode of worship (ritum colendi) through natural philosophy?

And grant that a man have the science of nature, and metaphysics, which includes under itself the highest substances; and grant that a man arrive at the point of resting there. This is impossible without falling into error unless a man be aided by the light of faith, so that he may believe God to be triune, most powerful, and most good according to the farthest reach of goodness. If you do not believe this, you are talking madness about God: you attribute to another what is proper to God, you are a blasphemer and an idolator. This would be the same as though a man were to attribute the simplicity of God or the like to another being.

Therefore this science drove the philosophers headlong and confounded them, because they did not have the light of faith. Hence the Apostle says: 'Because that, when they knew God, they have not glorified him as a God, or given thanks; but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened. For, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools' (Rom., i, 21-22). And in the Book of Wisdom it is said: 'For if they were able to know so much as to make a judgment of the world: how did they not more easily find out the lord thereof?' (Sap., xiii, 9).

Philosophical science is a way to the other sciences; but he who wishes to halt in it falls into darkness.  

The issue, therefore, is between philosophy as a terminus and philosophy as a way. Hence, behind St. Bonaventure's critique of philosophy, which was occasioned by the Averroistic halt within philosophy, we must see two further and distinctive Bonaventuran points. The proper location of philosophy as a way

lies within the universe conceived as a hierarchy of light descending from God, and within human life itself conceived as a devout journey leading to the ecstatic contemplation of Francis on Alverno. For it is to be noticed that, though he might join St. Thomas in attacking the rigid and closed physicism of the Averroists, St. Bonaventure is far from agreeing with St. Thomas in giving to philosophy a mode of development inspired by its specific rationality.

It is easy to see what separates St. Bonaventure from the Averroists; it is not easy to put one’s finger on the issue which distinguishes St. Bonaventure from St. Thomas. Indeed the disagreement of the historian suggests extreme caution at this point. Perhaps, however, it would not be wrong to suggest that the world of St. Bonaventure is through and through a trinitarian world, and that the philosophy which is proper within such a world is, even as philosophy, trinitarian in structure and devout in impulse. All creatures, we are told, are either vestiges or images: corporeal creatures are vestiges, while spiritual creatures are images. Now both vestiges and images are a witness to the Trinity, although vestiges are a witness from a distance. The spiritual creature, on the other hand, as an image of God, is a nearer witness to the divine Trinity. Vestige and image together make up what St. Bonaventure calls the book of the creature, which he also considers to be an efficacious witness to the Trinity. He adds, however, that though the book of nature (the book of the creature) was efficacious in the state in which God created nature, since in that state neither was the book obscure nor was the eye of man darkened, nevertheless, through sin man's eye became darkened, the mirror of creation became clouded and obscured, and the ear of his interior understanding became deaf to the testimony of that mirror. That is why the divine providence provided for man the testimony of another book, the Book of Scripture, through the divine revelation.²⁷

It is not difficult to see that the trinitarian story told by the book of nature is better told by the Book of Scripture. What is somewhat more difficult is to see how far this conclusion takes us towards the understanding of St. Bonaventure. Had St. Bonaventure condemned and repudiated philosophy, the work of the historian would be much simpler than it is. Had he accepted and developed philosophy within Christian thought in the manner of St. Thomas, the historian would likewise have a simpler task than he does. In that situation, since it is a fact that St. Bonaventure did not become another St. Thomas, the historian would say that St. Bonaventure was a confused Thomist. Unfortunately for the historian, however, St. Bonaventure never set himself such an ideal. Both he and St. Thomas repudiated Averroism, but they drew different conclusions from these repudiations. The problem for the historian lies at this point, and it is a historical one. It is the problem of understanding St. Bonaventure as he was in himself and in his objectives as a Christian thinker.

St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure were both theologians; neither set out to be a philosopher. But they followed different roads and they formulated theologies of different types. St. Bonaventure became a theologian in the very texture of whose thought knowledge and understanding ministered to devotion and were perfected in it. On the other hand, St. Thomas became a theologian whose personal devoutness lay, not in the expression of his thought, but in the dedication of his thinking. And just as the rationality of philosophy was not lost in St. Thomas by being the instrument of a theologian who set out devoutly to understand the revealed word of God, so it was not lost in St. Bonaventure by the fact of being the instrument of a theologian who set out on a spiritual journey to the heavenly Jerusalem. From this point of view, we must distinguish between philosophy considered in its specific rationality and philosophy considered in terms of the mode of employment it receives in the

²⁷ De Mysterio Trinitatis, Quaest. I, a. 2, Concl.; Opera Omnia V, pp. 54-5.
historical states which men give it. The philosophy of St. Bonaventure is a devout, or devoted, philosophy. This devoutness does not at all diminish its rationality; but it gives to that rationality a historical state of existence, a sympathy, a direction and a language, that distinguish it from the life of reason as we see it at work in the *Summa Theologica*.

What motivates and makes possible St. Bonaventure's distinctive use of philosophy is a doctrine dear to his heart, the doctrine of the divine exemplarism. There were many exemplarisms in the thirteenth century. There was St. Thomas' exemplarism of infinite act. There was Henry of Ghent's exemplarism of eternal and distinct essences in the divine intellect. The Bonaventurean exemplarism, deeply Platonic and Augustinian in inspiration, conceived of creatures as related to God not only as to their Creator but also as to their *Forming Model*. So understood, creatures naturally reveal the Truth Who is their source, in whom they are contained more perfectly than in themselves, and without whose forming light they would have no share in stability and truth. The scarcely hidden nature of any creature, consequently, is the trinitarian light within it, forming and shaping it, and drawing it to its source. That is why the world of St. Bonaventure, being a divine scripture, is made for meditation rather than for investigation. Yet, what am I saying? Investigation has its roots in vestigium. Hence let us rather say that there is a Bonaventurean philosophical investigation of the world, but it is, qua investigation, devout. For St. Bonaventure is seeking, not to discover a God whom he does not know, but to admire and to contemplate and to be united in love to a God who shines forth in all creatures. This admiring search of God in His creatures is a deeply Christian theme which those who are pure philosophers can easily forget. The *Benjamin Major* of Richard of St. Victor is an eminent and even classical example of the devout synthesis and use of knowledge. Nor it it without reason or meaning that St. Bonaventure looks back to the school of St. Victor, and especially to Richard, for his own origins.

Exemplarism and devoutness, in brief, give to the philosophy of St. Bonaventure its distinctive signature. Such a philosophy unites the learned Bonaventure to the simple Francis. Being totally a devout philosophy, it can have for its term, even as philosophy, the contemplation of Francis on Alverno. This ideal of philosophy distinguishes the Seraphic Doctor from the Angelic Doctor. It would be a historical injustice to both not to recognize this fact. That is why, for the student of St. Bonaventure, those two precious tracts, *On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology* and the *Journey of the Soul to God*, are the very pillars of what is unique in his philosophy. St. Bonaventure was being deeply true to his trinitarianism in reducing philosophy to the governance of theology in the first of these tracts; and he was being equally true to the devout inspiration of his thought in locating philosophy as a religious instrument in the ascent of the soul to the ecstatic contemplation of God.

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The point of the present paper has been to insist upon the intimate continuity of St. Bonaventure's doctrine with the St. Francis who substituted the total dedication of his mind for his earlier desire of martyrdom. Hence, this is not the occasion to consider the disagreements among historians of St. Bonaventure's philosophy. One may question in St. Bonaventure the Augustinian doctrine of illumination understood in function of the Platonic notion of participation: the thirteenth century is the battleground of such questioning. One may also question some of the inferences drawn by St. Bonaventure on meeting the *closed* naturalism of the Averroists. But whatever be our questions on St. Bonaventure's philosophy, we cannot doubt or contest its character and coherence as a devout philosophy.

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*De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, nos. 7 and 26; *Opera Omnia* V, pp. 322, 325.
Mary Legends in Italian Manuscripts in the Major Libraries of Italy. Part II.*

SISTER MARY VINCENTINE GRIPKEY S.C.L.

GROUP IV.

1. ANALYSIS OF MANUSCRIPT VATICAN CITY VAT. BARBERINIANO LAT. 4032 AND CORRESPONDING LEGENDS IN MANUSCRIPT FLORENCE BIB. NAZ. MAGLIABECHIANO XXXVIII. 70.

MSS Vatican City Vat. Barberiniano lat. 4032 (Rv'), containing 187 legends, and Florence Bib. Naz. Magliabechiano XXXVIII. 70 (Fn') with 152 are both collections in which the compilers drew from various sources. The compiler of Rv' identifies himself in the prologue:

Qui cominciano alquanti miracoli della gloriosa vergine Maria, gli quali Duccio di Gano da Pisa ha tratto di più volumi e messoli insieme in questo libro in più tempo nella cipta di Firenza a sua laude e a sua riverentia (fol. 11').

Ezio Levi d'Ancona held the conviction that Duccio di Gano is to be identified with Duccius Iohannis sellarius whose name is found in the Registrum Vexilli Draconis Viridis Quarterii Sancti Iohannis de septem Majoribus Artibus et Scriptorum for the year 1381, who met with other citizens to correct the statutes of the Arte degli Speziali on December 29, 1385, and who figures among the ten priors of Florence in 1369, 1375, and 1390. In a letter to this writer, dated December 25, 1939, Levi d'Ancona indicated that workers in leather, frequently residents at the stazione where parchment and manuscripts were sold, were themselves copyists.

However, in the burial records of the Church of Santa Croce, preserved in Ms 44 C (fol. 46) in the Biblioteca Marucellana at Florence, one finds an entry for the wife of Duccio di Gano: Dominae Bartolae uxoris Duccini Ghani. No date is given but her name follows that of others listed in the fourteenth century. Likewise, for the Quarter of Santa Croce there is a record in the Registrum de Quarterio S. Crucis et de Vexillo Bovis Nigri septem Maiorum Artium et Scriptorum that Duccius Iohannis magister cast his vote on February 3, 1381. It would seem reasonable that the latter by profession would be more inclined to engage in literary pursuits than Duccius Iohannis saddler or worker in leather.

Although the Vatican catalogue dates the manuscript as fourteenth century, a date which is accepted by Levi d'Ancona, a study of the watermarks in the paper indicates to this writer that it is of the Quattrocento. The filigranes, a

* Groups I-III of the Mary Legends in Italian manuscripts in the major libraries of Italy were published in volume XIV (1952) of Mediaeval Studies, 9-47. References to Groups I-III are made to this portion of Sister Mary Vincentine's study.
1 For more details concerning this manuscript, cf. Group I of this study, Mediaeval Studies, XIV (1952), 11.
3 Statuti dell'Arte dei medici e speciali (Florence, 1922), p. 325; cf. also the Carte della mercanzia, cod. 202 under the year 1382, no foliation, at the Archivio del Stato, Florence; Raffaele Ciasca, L'arte dei medici e speciali nella storia e nel commercio fiorentino dal secolo xi al xv (Biblioteca storica toscana, IV, Florence, 1887), p. 769.
4 Delizie degli eruditi Toscani XVI, pp. 96 and 166; XVIII, p. 123.
5 Ibid., XVI, p. 159.
7 Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine (Bologna, 1917), p. lxxix.
pincher" and a shears,* correspond to watermarks found in paper manufactured in Italy about the date 1454. The calligraphy is also of the fifteenth. Fols. 11'-123' which present the legends of Duccio di Gano are in the same handwriting as fols. 1-11', giving the life of the Blessed Virgin and fols. 124-138 containing hagiographical tales of saints. According to the prologue, his part of the compilation is restricted to the miracoli della gloriosa vergine Maria. From the character of the deletions, and corrections made, and after a comparison of Rv 3 with manuscripts containing similar legends,\textsuperscript{10} one concludes that Rv 3 is not the original copy of Duccio di Gano but the work of a fifteenth-century copyist who was responsible for the rest of the manuscript.

Comparing Rv 3 with Fn 4, Levi d'Ancona in his introduction to Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine considers Fn 4 to be the work of Duccio di Gano:

E la raccolta di Duccio di Gano da Pisa. Il nome non risulta da questo codice, forse per la costante omissione delle rubriche.\textsuperscript{11}

A mere analysis of the two manuscripts, without making a study of linguistics or style, would cause one to disagree with Levi. The compiler of Fn 4 does not acknowledge his source nor admit like Duccio di Gano that he ha tratto di più volumi. Instead one reads:

Seguirono alquanti miracoli della gloriosa vergine Maria molto grandi in ne' quali si dimostra quanto sia avochata de' pecatori che ricorrono a llei per impetrare misericordia del suo figliolo, sendosi pentiti del loro fallo (fol. 16').

Fn 4 is the work of a compiler who drew only fifty-three of his tales from the first seventy-two in Rv 3. Legends 1-28 in Fn 4 are drawn without omission; nos. 29-41 are chosen more selectively. Then the compiler of Fn 4 goes back and for his nos. 42-53 copies those he has at first rejected. A close examination of the following table will convince one that they are far from being identical; moreover, that the compiler of Fn 4 drew from the collection of Duccio di Gano and not vice versa.

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After no. 53 in Fn 4 the two manuscripts are quite dissimilar. For the last part of his collection, nos. 127-187, Duccio di Gano used the Libro del Naufragio;\textsuperscript{12} for the last part of Fn 4, nos. 104-153, the compiler used the Libro del Cavaliere.\textsuperscript{13}

In Group IV of this study the first seventy-two legends in Rx 3 with the corres-

\textsuperscript{8} C. M. Briquet, Les filigranes, dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600 IV (Rome, 1907), no. 34935, p. 715.
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., II, no. 3066, p. 236.
\textsuperscript{10} Cf. supra, art cit., 29.
\textsuperscript{11} Op. cit., p. lvi. For Fn 4 see Group II, art cit., 30.
\textsuperscript{12} Cf. supra, Group I, art cit., 10.
\textsuperscript{13} Cf. supra, Group III, art cit., 36.
2. THE CONTENT OF EACH LEGEND IN GROUP IV.

1. **Blinded by the Virgin’s Glory.** A scribe is told by an angel that his great desire to behold the Blessed Virgin Mary is to be granted but that he will lose his vision. He peers at her with one eye, and this glimpse so increases his longing to see her more perfectly that he is willing to lose the sight of both eyes. Pleased by his desire, Mary restores his sight.

2. **Orphan Protected.** Both father and mother before dying leave their only daughter in the protection of the Virgin Mary. The girl is miraculously supplied with food and drink, much to the surprise of the neighbours who circulate the report that she is not as penniless as they believed. Hoping to rob her, a youth enters her home but drops dead before he can despoil her of her virtue. At the command of Mary, she touches him and he is brought back to life, repents and enters a monastery. Some time later, the Virgin invites the orphaned girl to enter the joys of heaven.

3. **Mary’s Name in Gold Letters.** A widow’s son is to be hanged. Just as his mother is threatening to take the image of the Christ-Child from the arms of Mary, he appears free.

4. **Astrologer Escapes Death.** An astrologer is imprisoned and sentenced to death. Contrite, he composes verses in praise of the Virgin and promises her never again to invoke the devil in his incantations. He is liberated and perseveres in living a saintly life.

5. **Widow’s Son Released.** A widow’s son is to be hanged. Just as his mother is threatening to take the image of the Christ-Child from the arms of Mary, he appears free.

6. **Broken Vow.** A rich woman vows that she will give her first-born to the service of God, if through the intercession of Mary she is granted a son. She fails to keep her vow and her son dies. She is so repentant that the Virgin resuscitates the son who becomes a monk.

7. **St. Elizabeth’s Dress.** Because of her charity to the poor, Elizabeth of

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18 The six legends have been published by Giovanni Tortoli, *Miracoli della Madonna* (Florence, 1898). Cf. supra, Group I, art. cit., note 17.
20 Giovanni Tortoli, op. cit., no. 1, pp. 11 ff.
21 In the version in Group IV the Virgin does not appear to the cleric on his death-bed, but before he dies, letters of gold issue from his mouth forming the words Ave Maria.
Hungary has no apparel fit to attend a royal wedding. Two maidens sent by the Virgin Mary provide her with a dress of great magnificence for the occasion. *Rv*, fol. 14; *Fn*, fol. 18.

8. **incest.** A Latin version is in *Ms Rome Casanatense* 890 (fol. 50), no. 4.

9. **Mary's Apparel on Fridays.** A nun beholds the Mother of God in magnificent robes, except on Fridays when her dress is of rough and coarse material. Mary explains that is in remembrance of her Son's passion and death. *Rv*, fol. 14; *Fn*, fol. 19.

10. **Composer's Vision.** A devotee of Mary composes hymns in her praise and is honored by an apparition of the Virgin after which he strives to live a more perfect life. *Rv*, fol. 15; *Fn*, fol. 19.

11. **Hand Cured.** Anthony, a Cistercian monk, cannot sleep because of the pain in his hand which was cut while harvesting. Suddenly Mary appears and loosens the bandage. The cure is immediate, and in gratitude he enters an Order especially dedicated to her honor. *Rv*, fol. 15; *Fn*, fol. 19.

12. **Judge Slain in Church.** Cf. Group III, 22; *Rv*, no. 12, fol. 15; *Fn*, no. 13, fol. 19v.

13. **King Richard's Ring.** St. John the Baptist, disguised as a pilgrim, begs alms of Richard of England who, not having money upon his person, gives the saint a ring. Sometime later, London merchants miss their boat at Marseilles because they have stopped to hear Mass. St. John appears to them, shows them an overland route and, when they are in sight of London in a phenomenally short time, requests that they return the ring to the King and warn him to treat it with reverence as it has been worn by the Mother of God. *Rv*, no. 13, fol. 15; *Fn*, no. 12, fol. 19; *Fp*, no. 2, fols. 26r–28r.

14. **Compassionating Image.** In times of adversity an image of Mary darkens and seems to share the sorrow of its owner, a devotee of the Blessed Virgin; contrariwise, it becomes resplendent in times of prosperity. *Rv*, fol. 15; *Fn*, fol. 19v.

15. **Wife in Adultery.** A husband prays that his wife be punished for her sin of adultery. The Virgin tells him not to expect justice but repentance, inasmuch as the wife says the *Ave Maria* 100 times daily. When told this, the wife amends her ways. *Rv*, fol. 16; *Fn*, fol. 20.

16. **Vision of Mary to a Dominican Monk.** A Dominican monk, while praying in a church, is led by an angel into the presence of Mary. Thereafter, he becomes one of the great masters of theology. *Rv*, fol. 16; *Fn*, fol. 20.

17. **Miracle of Pentecostal Tongues.** As Dominican monks intone the *Salve Regina* at their General Chapter held at Montpellier, the Virgin Mary appears in their midst. On the following day, the Vigil of Pentecost, during the singing of the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, tongues of fire descend upon each one present. *Rv*, fol. 16; *Fn*, fol. 20.

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*a* Legend no. 81 in *Rv* corresponds more closely to Group II, 31, art. cit., 33.

*b* A Latin version is in *Ms Rome Casanatense* 890 (fol. 50), no. 4.


*d* A somewhat similar story is told of a peasant by Alfonso el Sabio, *Canticus de Santa Maria* II, ed. by La Real Academia Española (Madrid, 1889), no. 289, 403–4.


*f* Giovanni Tortoli, *op. cit.*, no. 2, pp. 14 ff.

*g* For the usual version of 'Wife and Mistress,' cf. *infra*, Group IV, *Fn*, no. 65.

*h* The incident, told in the letters of Guido Fulcoudius, Bishop of Le Puy and Archbishop of Narbonne in 1259, is said to have happened at the General Chapter held in Montpellier on May 19, 1247; cf. Gerard de Fracheto, *Vitae Fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum necnon chronica ordinis ab anno MCCII usque ad MCCLV I, 7* (4), ed. Fr. B. Maria Reichert O.P. (Rome, 1896), pp. 60–3. See also *Magnum spectum exemplorum*, no. 42, p. 444.
18. **Minstrel Freed from Prison.** While making a pilgrimage to Compostella, the jongleur, William, is put in prison and condemned to death with fourteen others because he has lampooned the King of Castille. He bids his companions to trust in Mary and, as he is singing a new anthem in her honor, he sees a great light appear and a ladder by which he and thirteen who were credulous escape. He and his companions are pardoned by the King, who then puts to death only the one who ridiculed the idea of deliverance through Mary. *Rv*, fol. 17; *Fn*, fol. 20.

19. **Blaspheming Clerk.** Having lost to a Jew in a gambling game, a clerk begins to blaspheme the Virgin Mary and is stricken with madness. *Rv*, fol. 17; *Fn*, fol. 20.

20. **Cure of Reginald.** Reginald, having made a vow to become a Dominican monk, falls ill. Physicians despair of his life, but St. Dominic prays for him and the Virgin Mary appears and anoints him. Restored to health, he takes the habit three days later. *Rv*, fol. 17; *Fn*, fol. 20.

21. **Theiving Rustic.** A peasant, who says many prayers and gives alms in honor of the Mother of God, also steals without making restitution. At his death devils and angels dispute over his soul. Because of his alms, his soul is permitted to return to his body that he may do penance. *Rv*, fol. 17; *Fn*, fol. 21.

22. **King Who Dies as a Monk.** A king has great devotion to the Mother of God who reveals to him the day of his death that he may do penance for his misdeeds. He becomes a monk, and at his death devils claim his soul, but are put to flight by the angels who say that they have come, not for the soul of a king but for that of a monk. *Rv*, fol. 17; *Fn*, fol. 21.

23. **Abess: Bishop Comes Unexpectedly.** Cf. Group III, 62. In this version there is no mention of confidence betrayed. The bishop is so impressed by the miracle that he rears the child. *Rv*, fol. 18; *Fn*, fol. 21.

24. **Monk Promised Beatitude.** A monk's daily recitation of the words, *Benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus*, is rewarded by the apparition of Mary who promises him special blessings in heaven. *Rv*, fol. 18; *Fn*, fol. 21.

25. **Sleeping Monk Awakened.** The chaplain of Narbonne falls asleep while saying his prayers in honor of the Mother of God. She places her hand on his forehead and awakens him. *Rv*, fol. 18; *Fn*, fol. 21.

26. **Devil Put to Flight.** A Canon becomes a Franciscan. As he strives towards greater perfection of life, he is more grievously tempted. On one occasion...
the evil spirit appears to him in a horrible form but disappears immediately upon the invocation of the name of Mary. *Rv*, fol. 18; *Fn*, fol. 21.

27. **Light on the Masthead.** Cf. Group I, 2; *Rv*, fol. 18; *Fn*, fol. 21.

28. **Abbot Freed from Prison.** On his way to Rome Abbot Maiolo is captured by Saracens and imprisoned. He and his companions are freed by Mary who commands him to return to his monastery to celebrate there her Feast of the Assumption. *Rv*, fol. 19; *Fn*, fol. 22.

29. **Painter.** Cf. Groups I, 7 and II, 14; *Rv*, fol. 19.

30. **Counseled to Avoid Blasphemy.** The Virgin Mary appears to a clerk by the name of Peter of Castel-Jaloux and commands him to exhort the other clerks to be faithful in their devotions and to avoid blasphemy, foretelling the complete ruin of a nearby castle because of this sin. She invites him to higher perfection in an Order dedicated to her honor. *Rv*, fol. 19; *Fn*, no. 29, fol. 22.

31. **The Prior of St. Saviour’s in Pavia.** Years after his death, the prior of St. Saviour’s in Pavia appears to a sacristan and tells him that he has been suffering in a place of torment, but that the Virgin Mary, whose Hours he had said, led him into a region of happiness. *Rv*, fol. 19; *Fn*, no. 30, fol. 22.

32. **Charitable Almsman.** Cf. Group I, 19; *Rv*, fol. 19; *Fn*, no. 31, fol. 22.

33. **Thief Sustained.** In this version the man steals to support his family. Cf. Group I, 60; *Rv*, fol. 20; *Fn*, no. 32, fol. 22.

34. **The Priest of One Mass.** Cf. Group I, 63; *Rv*, fol. 20; omitted in *Fn*.

35. **Five Joys.** Cf. Group I, 31; *Rv*, fol. 20; omitted in *Fn*.

36. **Jerome Made Bishop of Pavia.** The clergy and laity of Pavia spend three days in fasting and prayer prior to the election of their bishop. The Virgin Mary appears to a saintly man and requests that her cancelliere, Jerome, be appointed. *Rv*, fol. 21; omitted in *Fn*.

37. **Death from Remorse.** A Paris scholar commits adultery and then remembers that it is Saturday, a day which he has vowed to spend chastely in honor of the Virgin Mary. His contrition is so great that he dies of grief. The next day his companions find a script in his hand in testimony of his eternal salvation. *Rv*, fol. 21; *Fn*, no. 33, fol. 23.

38. **Pope Leo.** This is a brief version of the legend, ‘Severed Hand.’ The Mother of God promises a clerk a benefice of great importance if he will strive to overcome his temptations against chastity. He does so and becomes Pope Leo. When his temptations are renewed, he loses his peace of soul. For this he is scolded by Mary who is said to have led him to the glory of Paradise after

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2 The legend briefly told here is recounted in greater detail as no. 129 in *Rv*, cf. Group I, 2, **art. cit.**, 12.

2 Cf. Group III, 57 with note 100, **art. cit.**, 43; *infra*, Group IV, 104; *V*, *Fr*\*3, no. 16.

2 The legend ‘Painter’ occurs both as nos. 29 and 47 in *Rv*. The compiler of *Fn* omits both versions, but inserts the legend later on as no. 74 in his collection, using a manuscript related to Group II; cf. *supra*, II, 14, **art. cit.**, 32.


2 See also *infra*, *Rp*\*3, no. 56.

2 The compiler of *Fn* inserts the legend as no. 120, using a manuscript related to Group III as his source; cf. III, 21, **art. cit.**, 40.

2 The priest in this version ends his prayer with the thought that he is reminding Mary of her five joys to console her for her grief at beholding the five wounds of Christ; cf. F. Zambrini (ed.), *Dodici conti morali d’anonimo senese* (Scelta di curiosità letterarie, no. 9, Bologna, 1862), no. 5, pp. 20–1. Duccio di Gano repeats this tale, cf. *infra*, no. 96 in *Rv*.

2 The legend of ‘Five Joys’ occurs in *Fn* as no. 72 where the compiler uses Group II, 9, **art. cit.**, 31 as his source.

2 The legend of ‘Five Joys’ occurs in *Rv* as no. 11 where the compiler uses Group II, *art. cit.**, 31 as his source.


2 A Latin version is in Ms Rome Casanatense 890 (fol. 31), no. 12. Levi prints the Latin text as the source of a similar story in *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine*, no. 34, p. cxxxix.

2 Cf. *supra*, Groups III, 38, **art. cit.**, 41, and *infra*, *V*, *Fr*\*3, no. 61.
his death. No mention is made of the amputation of his hand. *Rv*³, fol. 21⁰; omitted in *Fn*⁴.

39. **HOST IN A BEEHIVE.**⁵ A peasant is persuaded by a widow who is a wizard that, if he places the Eucharist in his beehive, all the bees from neighboring hives will be attracted to his and he will become rich. He does so and, returning later to investigate, finds instead of the Host the Virgin Mary holding the Christ-Child in her arms. He confesses his sacrilege to the priest who takes the Host in procession to the Church. A Mass of reparation is said and at the fracture of the Host, the Christ-Child resumes the form of bread and the Virgin disappears. *Rv*³, fol. 21⁰; omitted in *Fn*⁴.

40. **BURIED OUTSIDE THE CHURCHYARD.** Cf. Group III, 14; *Rv*³, fol. 22⁰; omitted in *Fn*⁴.

41. **AVES SEEN AS ROSES.** Cf. Group III, 67; *Rv*³, fol. 22⁰; *Fn*⁴, fol. 27.

42. **CHORISTER KILLED BY A GIRL.**⁶ A youth sings for a girl after which she attempts to force her attentions upon him. Hearing her father's footsteps, she hides him under the bedclothes and smothers him. She has a servant bury the body in an orchard. The mother searches in vain for her son. Some time later the girl's father has guests and one of them begs for a lily of surpassing beauty which is in the orchard. They dig it up and find that it issues from the mouth of the boy who is still living. The mother identifies her son, the girl repents, and all three increase in their devotion to the Mother of God. *Rv*³, fol. 24; *Fn*⁴, no. 43, fol. 28⁰.

43. **FOOD CHANGED TO FLOWERS.⁷** The daughter of a Saracen ruler steals away to a Christian camp and is enthralled with the stories of the miracles of the Virgin Mary. She determines to give alms to the poor in her honor. The king notices that the large quantity of food provided is scarcely sufficient and demands an explanation from the cook who discloses the cause. The next time that the girl takes food, the cook brings her to her father, but the food changes to roses and lilies in his presence. The king with his barons witness the miracle and become Christians. *Rv*³, fol. 25; *Fn*⁴, no. 44, fol. 29.

44. **UNWILLING TO DENY THE TRINITY.⁸** A disobedient boy quits his home in an angry mood and accompanies a stranger on horseback to an unknown mansion

⁴ The compiler inserts the version of the 'Severed Hand' from Group III, 38 as his no. 130, cf. Group III, 38, ibid.

⁵ The earliest extant version of this legend is given by Peter the Venerable and is not Marian, cf. *De Miraculis I.*, 1 (PL 189, 651-3); a few varying details are added by Herbert of Torres, *De Miraculis III.*, 30 (PL 185, 1374-5). Cf. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum IX*, 3, 172-3; Etienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.*, III, no. 128, 193-5; *op. cit.*, 390; Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, no. 44, fol. 29.

⁶ A similar story is told of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, a saint of whom the compiler, Duccio di Gano, is very fond. She is a protagonist in legends nos. 7 and 153, and her life is given in the folios which follow the Marian legends (fols. 122-5). See Holik Barbás, 'La leggenda sulle rose di Sant' Elisabetta d'Ungheria,' *Frate Francesco*, IV (1951), 445-9; J. Klapper, *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters*, no. 73, pp. 57-8; Pelbar, 'Fratelli di Temesvar, Pomerium de SS. Seriones Pomerii de Sanctis,' *Romania*, VII (1951), p. 96.

⁷ See E. Galtier, 'Byzantina,' *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 524-7, where the story of the servant of Mesites corresponds closely to the Italian version. According to Galtier, many variations were introduced into the original tale in the Occident and he adds that 'en cette occasion comme d'ailleurs l'Italienne servit d'intermédiaire,' (ibid., 527). See also Moriz Haupt and Heinrich Hoffmann, *Altdeutsche Blatter II* (Leipzig, 1840), 77. Related to no. 44 are the versions in *Mss British Museum Additional*, 22882 (fol. 224) and *Additional* 11284 (fol. 22), cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 85 (30) and 382 (154). Cf. Johannes Monachus, *Liber de miraculis*, ed. M. Ruber (Sammlung mittelalterlicher Texte, V, Heidelberg, 1919).
where he is asked to do homage to the lord of the castle. He answers that he is a servant of the Blessed Trinity and immediately everything vanishes. When he next enters a church, the crucifix bows to him. *Rv*, fol. 25; *Fn*, no. 45, fol. 29*.

45. **Pirate Granted the Last Sacraments.** Cf. Group III, 71; *Rv*, fol. 27; *Fn*, no. 46, fol. 30*.

46. **The Devil Carries a Pilgrim Home.** In order to honor the Mother of God the knight Martin is most hospitable to a leper who is really the devil in disguise. He makes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and is imprisoned by the Saracens for thirteen years. His wife is about to remarry when the Blessed Virgin commands the devil to carry him back to his home. *Rv*, fol. 28; *Fn*, no. 47, fol. 31.

47. **Painter.** This is the same story as no. 29 in this group except that the devil appears as a youth and the dialogue is given more at length. The compiler of *Fn* omits both nos. 29 and 47. *Rv*, fol. 28*.

48. **Desecration of the Host.** This is a Eucharistic *exemplum* rather than a Mary legend, no mention being made of the Mother of God. Two Jews are foiled in their attempt to renew the passion of Christ on the Host. One is converted; the other dies impenitent. The incident is said to have occurred in 1305. *Rv*, fol. 29; *Fn*, no. 48, fol. 32.

49. **Laborer Prays for Usurer.** A devout laborer stays so long in church that he misses his chance of being hired. A usurer takes pity on him and hires him to pray for him all day. The laborer receives a rich recompense, but is told by an angel in disguise to go back and demand more. After he has delivered this message several times, the usurer follows him and hears the angel say that because of the prayers he is being given thirty days before his death in which to restore ill-gotten gains. The usurer makes full restitution and enriches the laborer for life. *Rv*, fol. 30; *Fn*, no. 49, fol. 32*.

50. **Incest, Parricide and Death from Remorse.** A German, guilty of blasphemy, incest and parricide, happens by chance to hear an outdoor sermon. Touched with compunction, he interrupts the preacher, begging him to hear his confession. The time being inopportune, he is told to wait and soon after is found dead. Reputed among the wicked, he is not given honorable burial until the Mother of God appears to a monk and reveals that the sinner is saved and entitled to be buried properly. *Rv*, fol. 31; *Fn*, no. 50, fol. 33*.

51. **Dainties in a Foul Dish.** A youth in vision is offered by the Virgin Mary dainty food in an unclean dish as a symbol of his *Aves* in a life of sin. *Rv*, fol. 32; *Fn*, no. 51, fol. 34*.

52. **Legend of St. Michael.** This is a non-Marian *exemplum* in which a youth dreams that he is overtaken by a terrible storm and is refused entrance into

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fn 32. Cf. supra, note 32.

fn 33. The story is also told of two Jews of Arli in Ms Florence Bibl. Riccardiana 1290 (*Fn*, fol. 129).

fn 34. Cf. infra, Group V, *Fn*, no. 26. In the *Magnum speculum exemplorum* the employer is an old man (ix, no. 146, pp. 644-5). In Ms British Museum *Additional* 33556 (fol. 34), described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 628 (31), a devout laborer is hired by a burgher to pray for him, but when the laborer receives his pay, he is told by an angel to return the wages inasmuch as he has earned the Kingdom of Heaven.

fn 35. Jacopo Passavanti, *Le specchi della vera penitenza* I (Milan, 1868), p. 133. See also W. L. Heuser, *Dux Moraud,* *Anglia*, XXX (1907), 189-208. Herbert lists many manuscripts on this or similar themes in which the protagonist is usually an incestuous girl, *op. cit.*, III, 259 (72), 432 (23), 463 (34), 518 (130), et passim.

various dwellings, which symbolize purity, humility, patience and perseverance. St. Michael reproves him for his evil life; he amends, only to die soon after. 

53. Ripe Pears. This is a non-Marian exemplum in which a robber, grown old in thievishness, loses his way and, being hungry, picks an unripe pear which almost chokes him. Fifteen days later he passes the same tree, and the sight of the ripened fruit makes him realize that forty years have not been sufficient for him to amend his life. 

54. PRIESTS DOUBTS THE TRANSUBSTANTIATION. A priest begins to doubt the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist and prays to Mary for the return of his faith. On Saturday at the Pater Noster of the Mass the Host disappears and, looking up, he sees Mary holding the Christ-Child in her arms. She explains why her Son has assumed the appearance of bread and wine, deducing long proofs from Scripture. The priest continues his Mass with the Infant before him on the altar but, at the point in the Mass where rubrics demand the breaking of the Host, the Christ-Child resumes the appearance of bread. 

55. DROWNED MONKS SING SALVE REGINA. Cf. Group III, 17; 

56. CHARITABLE ALMSMAN. Cf. Groups I, 19 and IV, 32. In this version the poor man on his death-bed hears the voice of the Mother of God reassuring him. 

57. GIRL NAMED MARY. Cf. Group III, 24; 

58. LAY-BROTHER CELEBRATES THE ASSUMPTION. A Cistercian lay-brother, herding cattle, laments that he cannot join his fellow religious in their celebration of the Feast of the Assumption. In his presence the Virgin Mary and her choir sing the service, an event which is revealed to St. Bernard who alludes to it in his sermon the next day. 

59. 150 AVES DAILY. Cf. Group II, 6; 

60. MARY ASSISTS AT DEATH-BED. Cf. Group III, 12; 

61. ACCUSED UNJUSTLY OF THEFT. Cf. Group III, 23; 


63. DEVIL AS SERVANT. Cf. Groups I, 36; II, 2; III, 2; 

64. PILGRIM’S STAFF. Cf. Group II, 8; 


68. Cisterciensium seu verius ecclesiasticorum annalium, an, 1129, cap. VI, 1, compiled by F. A. Manrique (Lyons, 1642-59), I, pp. 300-1; Idard, op. cit., no. 15, p. 53 and p. 314; Magnum speculum exemplorum, III, no. 37, pp. 207-8. Caesarius of Heisterbach relates the vision of the monk, Bertram, on the Feast of the Assumption in the Dialogus miraculorum VII, 37, ii, 45-6. 

69. The story in Group II, 6, art. cit., 30, is not the source of Rp, no. 59 nor of Fn, no. 36, in which the legend is told on the authority of an abbess of Saintly life. The compiler of Fn inserts the same tale in different words in his no. 70, where it is evident that he is drawing upon manuscripts described in Group II. 

70. The legend is omitted here but inserted later as no. 106 from Group III, 12, art. cit., 38. 

71. See also no. 117 in Fn which the compiler draws from Group III, 23, art. cit., 39. 

72. The legend is inserted later on as no. 149 from Group III, 68, art. cit., 44. 

73. The compiler of Fn inserts the legend as no. 74, using Group II, 2, art. cit., 30, as his source. 

74. Group II, 8, art. cit., 31, presents a somewhat similar version which the compiler of Fn uses for his no. 71.
SISTER MARY VINCENTINE

65. Drowned Monk. Cf. Group I, 18; Rv, fol. 39; Fn', no. 38, fol. 24'.
67. Monks at their Field Work. Cf. Group III, 29; Rv', fol. 40; omitted in Fn'.
68. Hermit Freed from Impure Temptations. Cf. Group III, 56; Rv', fol. 40'; omitted here in Fn'.
69. Hermits Delivered from the Devil. Cf. Group III, 32; Rv', fol. 40'; omitted here in Fn'.
70. Unjust accusation of Adultery. Cf. Group III, 30; Rv', fol. 41; omitted here in Fn'.
71. Bag of Good Deeds. A citizen of Carthage, seeing many die from a pestilence, leaves the city with his wife to do penance. He yields to the temptation of adultery, dies soon afterwards and is buried within the monastery walls. The monks are disturbed by moans from his tomb and find that he is alive. He relates to the saintly Thesalius that after death he was making his way to heaven, the angels paying the toll for his passage from a bag of good deeds, but that just before arriving, his fund of good works was exhausted, and he was dragged by evil spirits to a place of torment. Thanks to the angels who obtained for him another chance, he has been resuscitated to do penance. Rv', fol. 41'; Fn', no. 40, fol. 25.

72. Christ-Child Taught Ave Maria. A noble woman sees an attractive child with his mother in church and asks him if he knows the Ave Maria. He replies in the affirmative but will not say it until she prompts each line. At the words, benedictus fructus ventris, he replies, Io sono esso, and with his mother vanishes. Rv', fol. 43; Fn', no. 41, fols. 26°-27°.

From the first seventy-two legends in Rv the compiler of Fn has drawn fifty-three for his collection. Agreement between the two manuscripts now ceases except in so far as both compilers made use of Group II, independently of each other. An analysis of the rest of Rv follows, and subsequently Fn' is treated as a whole.

Nos. 73-81 in Rv correspond to nos. 21-23, 25-27, 29, 31-32 in Group II.
82. Musa. The Virgin Mary appears to a young girl, Musa, promising to receive her into her company within thirty days if she will abstain from frivolity. The girl dies on the thirtieth day. Rv', fol. 45'.
83. The Hundredfold. Hearing a sermon on the hundredfold with which an act of charity is rewarded, a peasant gives away his cow. He begins to suffer want and is about to kill the preacher when he finds a gold coin with which he buys a hundred cows. Rv', fol. 45'.

84. Desecration of the Host. This is a Eucharist exemplum in which a
female dwarf takes the Eucharist and places it in a hot baking pan. A voice from the Host remonstrates and in terror she buries it in her stable. It is discovered when the animals kneel to adore. Rv, fol. 46.

85. SAINT LO.†† Saint Lo is to be beheaded by the Lombards because he has freed a priest for whom he stood bond. The arm of the executioner is stayed in mid-air until Saint Lo prays to God and to the Virgin Mary that he recover the use of his arm. Many are converted. Rv, fol. 46.

86. CAPTIVE'S CHAINS FALL OFF DURING MASS.†† A knight is imprisoned by the Saracens but eventually escapes, for his bonds become less each time his wife has a Mass said for him. Rv, fol. 46.

87. SAILOR FED BY AN ANGEL.†† A shipwrecked sailor, Varga, is brought bread by an angel and rescued by a passing boat, on the day that Bishop Agatho of Palermo offers Mass for him. Rv, fol. 47.

88. ST. HUMILLIANA.†† This is a non-Marian legend in which Saint Humiliana offers to undergo a sickness for a complaining youth. He is cured and, as she lies stricken, a little child enters and plays at her bedside. She begs that he remain but he replies that she will only be satisfied when she is with him in heaven. Rv, fol. 49.

89. WATER FROM A LEPER'S FEET. The governor of a hospital washes the feet of a leper and, under the inspiration of grace and in the spirit of penance, drinks the water, finding it sweet and delightful to his taste. No reference is made to the Virgin Mary. Rv, fol. 49.

90. ST. BERNARD SERVES THE SICK. St. Bernard, wrapt in ecstasy, is conversing with Christ and Mary when a sick monk asks him to pick up a fallen cane. The saint does so, and his heavenly visitors tell him that this service to the sick is more pleasing to them than his prayerful conversation. Rv, fol. 49.

91. CHRIST AS A LEPER SHOWN HOSPITALITY.†† Robert of Apulia, returning from a hunt, meets a leper who refuses money but asks that he be permitted to mount behind the duke. This he grants and even allows him to occupy his own saddle.

††Saint Lo (Laudus or Lauto) is regarded in the diocese of Coutances (Normandy) as a Saint. ††Gregory the Great, Dialogi IV, 59, p. 320. No. 95 and 97 (Sailor Fed by an Angel) are both in the Dialogues of Gregory; they occur in sequence in MS British Museum Harley 2851 (fol. 107v) and Harley 258 (fol. 40v-41v), cf. Herbert, op. cit., II, 305 (27, 28) and 571 (151, 182).

Gregory the Great, ibid., p. 321. See also A. G. Little (ed.), Liber exemplorum, no. 20, pp. 12-3; Welter (ed.), Speculum laicorum, no. 259, p. 52; Legenda aurea, cap. elixii, p. 735; Johannes Herolt, Promtuarum Disciplinarum exemplum de miraculis beate Marie Virginis, no. 45.

‡‡At this point in Rv the rubrics introduce a sermon from St. Gregory. It is possible that Levi mistook the sermon for a legend; hence, his wrong enumeration of contents, there being 183 legends instead of 184.


*The story of the kindness shown to Christ in the guise of a leper is a common one in medieval collections. Jacques de Vitry tells an exemplum of a woman who lays a leper on her bed and whose husband finds that he has disappeared, leaving a celestial odor behind him (cf. Crane's edition, no. 95, pp. 41-5 with variants on pp. 174-5). In Gregory's homilies on the Gospels there is a story of Martyrius who carries Christ upon his shoulders disguised as a leper or offers Him hospitality as a pilgrim (cf. PL 76, 1183 and 1300). The writer of this legend errs historically. William the Conqueror (d. 1087) was the bastard son, not of Robert of Apulia (d. 1085), but of Robert, Duke of Normandy, by Arletta, the daughter of a Tanner at Falaise. The Duke of Normandy had no other sons.
In spite of the ridicule of his friends, he has the leper given supper and a warm bed. Later the duke and duchess find that he has disappeared, but the sweet odor which pervades the room leads them to suspect the supernatural character of their guest. That night in a dream Christ promises Robert three sons, one of whom will become emperor, the other a king and the other a duke. Duccio di Gano adds that one became Emperor of Constantinople, the other, named William, conquered England and became king, the third was made Duke of Apulia. 

92. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY. An impoverished French knight renounces God but will not deny the Mother of God. His reconciliation with Christ through Mary’s intercession is witnessed by the King of France. 

93-100 in Rv correspond to legends nos. 4, 7, 9-13 in Group II (cf. supra).

101. SUDDEN DEATH OF A BLASPHEMER. A drunkard and gambler blasphemes before a crucifix and is completely paralyzed, except for his tongue, a grace he receives because of his daily prayer to the Blessed Virgin. He dies two days later. 

102. MONKS BY THE SEASHORE. This version is slightly different from that noted in Group I, 30. As the monks stand gossiping, they hear a great wind and in their terror recommend themselves to the protection of the Mother of God. A voice curses the one who has taught them this devotion, for otherwise they, too, would have been carried off with the soul of the Abbot of St. Gall. The monks return and cannot find the body of the abbot who has not lived an exemplary life. 

103. CHRISTIAN DOES NOT REPAY JEW. A Christian borrows 100 florins from a Jew and then falsely swears that he has repaid them. The Jew calls upon an image of Mary to bear witness to the Christian’s perjury, promising to be baptized if she will do so. She inclines her head and the Jew with his family becomes Christian.

104. KNIGHT FREED FROM PRISON. A knight, who has always given a feast for the poor on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is captured by his enemy. He is praying that his sons will continue this custom when Mary appears and requests that he do it instead. 

105. CHRIST-CHILD SEIZED AS PLEDGE. Cf. Group I, 34; Rv, fol. 55.

106. JEW LENDS TO A MERCHANT. A Florentine merchant borrows from a Jew 500 florins with a time limit of eight months. On the day of maturity he places the money in a small boat and sends it adrift with complete trust that it will arrive at its destination. The Jew hides the money and refuses to acknowledge its receipt until the picture of the Virgin Mary, which had been given as surety, gives testimony. 

107. ONE-EYED KNIGHT. Cf. Groups II, 30 and III, 54; Rv, fol. 57.

108. SEVERED HAND. This is fundamentally the same narrative as in Group I,
21, but with the slight difference that Pope Leo is not portrayed as having temptations against chastity after the kissing of his hand. He severs his hand because he no longer enjoys the sweetness of consolation in the saying of his Mass. \textit{Rv}, fol. 57.\textsuperscript{20}

109. \textbf{Girl Named Mary.} This version differs from nos. 37 and 57 in \textit{Rv} (cf. \textit{supra}). Upon finding out that the girl's name is Mary, the young man strikes his head against the wall and dies. The girl, in fear that she will be blamed for his death, prays to the Mother of God and he is resuscitated. \textit{Rv}, fol. 58.

110. \textbf{FISHERMAN SAVED.} A fisherman is in danger of drowning when a terrific wind threatens to capsize his boat. He prays to Mary in whose honor he has always fasted on Saturday, and there is a calm. \textit{Rv}, fol. 58.

111. \textbf{Bloody Dart.}\textsuperscript{21} This is a non-Marian-legend in which an archer, disappointed with his bad luck at dice, shoots at heaven. Three days later the dart falls stained with blood. \textit{Rv}, fol. 58.

112. \textbf{St. Gregory's Love of the Poor.}\textsuperscript{22} As a child St. Gregory is so lavish in almsgiving that his mother forbids it. One day while she is absent, he gives away all her provisions and, upon her return, she accuses him of disobedience. He then leads her to the granary and wine cellar, and she finds more than she had before. \textit{Rv}, fol. 59.


114. \textbf{Christ-Child Seized as Pledge.} Unlike no. 105 in \textit{Rv} (cf. \textit{supra}) the son is to be hanged in punishment for wrong-doing.\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Rv}, fol. 60.

115. \textbf{Rejuvenated Monk.}\textsuperscript{24} An old monk is much concerned because he is unable to practice his former devotions in honor of the Mother of God. He suddenly finds himself young and is unrecognized by his fellow-religious. \textit{Rv}, fol. 60.

116. \textbf{Christ-Child Taken Because Son Becomes a Monk.} A mother has placed her child from infancy in the care of the Virgin. When he enters the Franciscan Order, she at first attempts to remove him from the monastery by force, then is just about to seize the image of the Christ-Child from a statue of Mary, when the Virgin speaks, reprimanding her for her blindness. The mother's chagrin is changed to joy in her son's vocation. \textit{Rv}, fol. 60.

117. \textbf{Resuscitated Girl.}\textsuperscript{25} A young girl, deeply religious, remains alone at home to spend the time in prayer. Her privacy is intruded upon by a young man in her father's service. Seeing that she will not yield to his advances, he beheads her. Coming to his senses, and most contrite, he confesses all to his uncle, a bishop. The girl is restored to life by the Virgin Mary, a circlet of gold marking the wound. The boy becomes a Friar Minor. \textit{Rv}, fol. 60.


120. \textbf{Jewish Boy.} \textit{Mediaeval Studies}, X, 189, no. 52.
121. **Rejected Suitor Becomes Franciscan.** A young girl prays that her rejected suitor will become a Franciscan. He does so. Later she sends for him to be present at her death. The burial rites are being performed when he arrives. The dead girl speaks, telling him of her own glory and foretelling that the Virgin Mary and St. Francis will come for his soul within thirty days. He dies according to her prophecy. *Rv*², fol. 62°.

122. **Four Caskets.** A king’s barons are indignant when he dismounts and shows respect to two friars in patched habits. Later the king makes them choose between four caskets, two of gold and silver, filled with bones and putrefying matter and two of wood, covered with haircloth, but containing precious stones and perfumes. After their ill choice he upbraids them for their love of exterior splendor and their neglect of interior virtue. *Rv*², fol. 63°.

123. **Unworthy Communion.** This is a Eucharistic *exemplum* in which a monk, who has concealed a grievous sin in confession and who has been warned of his unworthiness by St. Bernard, falls dead as the saint gives him the Host. *Rv*³, fol. 64.

124. **Animal Adores the Host.** This is a non-Marian *exemplum* in which a Jew starves a puppy for two days, then offers it a consecrated Host with unconsecrated ones. The animal eats all except the former, before which it kneels. Many Jews are converted. *Rv*³, fol. 64.

Nos. 125–127 correspond to nos. 17, 18, 20 in Group II (cf. supra). Nos. 128–187 agree with the legends in the *Libro del Naufragio* or Group I.

As Duccio di Gano writes in his prologue *ha tratto di più volumi*. *Rv*³ is the one compilation in which the compiler drew from all four Groups analyzed in this study:

2. Nos. 73–81, 93–100, 107, 125–128 correspond to legends in Group II.
3. Nos. 55, 57, 59, 60–63, 67–70, 118–119 agree with tales in the *Libro del Cavaliere* or Group III; nos. 8, 12, 23, 29 (47), 34, 40–41, 45, 113 are similar in subject to legends in this series.
4. Nos. 128–187 are a literal rendering of the legends in Group I, except for no. 184 which is an original version of the 'Virgin Acts as Knight.' Other tales which are on subjects found in Group I are nos. 3, 21, 27, 32–35, 56, 102 and 105.

Nos. 31–36, 65–66 are stories from the *HM* series, a group of legends which constitute the oldest of the Marian collections and make up the first seventeen numbers in the Pez collection. The *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great are the source of nos. 82, 86 and 87. Duccio di Gano also drew freely from the chronicles of various religious Orders: Franciscans figure in nos. 26, 88, 116, 117 and 121; Dominicans in nos. 16, 17 and 20; Cistercians in nos. 11, 41, 55, 58, 67, 90 and 123. Sixteen⁹⁰ of the tales are non-Marian and many of these are Eucharistic.

⁹⁰ This is a non-Marian legend which forms the second half of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat. According to Thomas F. Crane, the earliest European mediaeval version is the *exemplum* of Jacques de Vitry (op. cit., no. 67, pp. 133 ff.) See also F. Liebrecht, 'Die Quellen des Barlaam und Josaphat,' *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, II (1860), 314 ff. Cf. Mss British Museum *Add. 17299* (fol. 13') described by Ward, op. cit., II, 122 (2, 3) and British Museum *Add. 11831* (fol. 67') analyzed by Herbert, op. cit., III, 398 (438). Bonavesin da Riva in his legend, 'De rege qui amplectatur pauperes' tells of the brother who rebukes the king and hears the trumpet of doom sound that night. There is no mention made of the caskets, cf. *Vulgate de Eleemosynis*, no. 6, pp. 462–4, II, 988–1054.

⁹¹ J. T. Welter (ed.), *Speculum laicorum*, no. 269c, p. 55. See also Mss British Museum *Add. 17723* (fol. 68) and *Add. 18351* (fol. 43) as described by Herbert, op. cit., III, 407 (5) and 420 (69).

⁹² See Mss British Museum *Royal 15 D.v.* (fol. 345) in Herbert, op. cit., III, 448 (39).

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exempla. The compiler does not hesitate to tell the same legend twice if he finds it given in more detail in another source. No. 27, 'Light on the Masthead,' is briefly sketched; no. 129 is a much longer version from the Libro del Naufragio. For this reason his compilation is of unequal merit. Some of the legends are summarily told, while others have great vividness of narration and dialogue.

3. ANALYSIS OF UNRELATED LEGENDS IN Fn'

It has already been shown in this study that the compiler of Ms Magliabechiano XXXVIII.70 (Fn') had various sources: 1. Ms Vaticano Barberiniano lat. 4032 (Rv) for nos. 1-53; 2. Group II for nos. 67-97; 3. Group III for nos. 104-152. It remains to describe the tales not included in the above or nos. 54-66, and 98-103.

54. No Death Without Confession. During the siege of a castle, Alberto, one of the defenders, is mortally wounded but miraculously lives until he has confessed — a grace which is attributed to his having fasted on the vigils of the Feast of the Annunciation. Fn', fol. 36.

55. The Lion of St. Jerome. A lion, tamed by St. Jerome, is set to guard the monastery ass and is made to do its work when the ass is stolen. Some time later the thieves stop at the monastery but flee when the lion stalks out to retrieve its charge. Fn', fol. 36.

56. No Drink to a Lazy Monk. A monk who has ceased to rise for Matins reforms, when he sees a fervent monk receiving from Mary a drink from a golden goblet. Fn', fol. 37.

57. Sleeping Monk Shown the Crucified. A monk who makes no endeavor to refrain from sleep during the Office is awakened by Mary and shown the suffering Christ. Fn', fol. 37.

58. Ecstasy During TE DEUM. Cf. Group II, 27; Fn', fol. 37.

59. Unwilling to Deny Mary. A knight is summoned to appear before his lord and is embarrassed to do so in his impoverished condition. The devil appears, promising him great wealth if he will deny God and Mary. He refuses and suddenly finds himself in a position where he can appear at court as honorably as other knights. Fn', fol. 37.

60. Strife for a Rustic's Soul. A peasant, who has been most devout to the Mother of God, lies dying. Angels and devils strive for his soul at his death and, after a brief period in purgatory, he is conducted to heaven by the angels. Fn', fol. 38.

61. Stained Corporal. A youthful priest, named Anselm, while offering Mass in the Church of St. Michael at Chiusa, spills the chalice of wine upon the corporal. Upon his fervent prayer Mary with her angels appears and removes the stain. Fn', fol. 38.

62. Saved from a Shipwreck. A monk, Brother James, leaves his Order and, as captain of a ship, becomes quite rich; however, while acquiring great wealth,

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100 Cf. supra, Group I, 2, art. cit., 12.
101 Cf. supra, Group I, Ms 77-Rc 72, art. cit., 25; Group II, 29 and 33, ibid., 33-4; III, 18, ibid., 39; infra, Group V, Fn'; nos. 45, 46, 47, 73, 77, and 122.
102 The story is told of St. Gerasimus by Johannes Moschos, Pratum spirituale, 107, (PL 74, 172). It is later attributed to St. Jerome, cf. Acta sanctorum, 30 September, p. 661. See also Legenda aurea, cap. 146, pp. 655-6; J. Ulrich, 'Recueil d'exemples en ancien italien,' Romania, XIII (1884), no. 17, 38; Ms British Museum Additional 25531 (fol. 30), a collection of Italian tales and fables, described by Herbert, op. cit., III, 180 (17). It is scarcely a Mary legend; only the final sentence contains a reference to the Virgin: . . . et quelli monaci sempre la groliosa (sic) Vergine Maria ringratiaiano.
103 Cf. supra, Group III, 29, art. cit., 40.
104 Compare with the version of Levi, op. cit., no. 43, pp. 74-5.
105 The present version, no. 58, agrees substantially with no. 81 in Fn' drawn from Group II, 27, art. cit., 33.
106 Villecourt, op. cit., no. 43, p. 58.
107 No. 60 is somewhat similar to 'Landmarks Removed,' cf. supra, Group I, 50, art. cit., 20.
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he never fails to say five Aves daily for his eternal salvation. During a storm at sea his ship is wrecked. He has recourse to prayer and like an arrow he is brought to shore. He returns to his Order. *Ft*, fol. 38v.

63. **Lost Foot Restored.** Mary appears to a devotee in Viviers and with her own hands medicates his wounds and restores the use of his limb. *Ft*, fol. 39r.

64. **Almsgiving Patriarch.** The Patriarch of Constantinople regrets that he has nothing more to give away as alms. In a vision Mary commands him to offer Mass. At the Offertory two angels appear and leave much gold upon the altar, ordering him to give generously, out of love for God to whom belong all things. A short sermon on the hundredfold follows. *Ft*, fol. 39v.

65. **Wife and Mistress.** An injured wife asks the Virgin to avenge her on her husband’s mistress. Mary informs her that she herself must first obtain the forgiveness of God. The wife pardons the sinner who repents. *Ft*, fol. 47v.

66. **Vision of St. Boniface.** On the Feast of All Saints, Boniface is favored with a vision in which he beholds the Mother of God accorded a position at the right hand of her Son, there interceding for sinners. *Ft*, fol. 39r. Nos. 67–97 correspond to legends in Group II (*supra*).

98. **Girl Named Catherine or Mary.** A man makes a resolution never to cause a girl named Catherine or Mary to lose her virginity. On one occasion when he finds that his companion’s name is Catherine, he leaves her, and thanks to a providential storm evades pursuit. *Ft*, fol. 47r.

99. **Blaspheming Dicer.** A gambler blasphemes the name of Mary and is suddenly whisked away and never seen again. *Ft*, fol. 47v.

100. **Jew Lends to Merchant.** Theodosius of Constantinople borrows money from Abraham, a Jew, giving a picture of the Virgin as security. He is still in Alexandria on the date of maturity and places the money and a note in a casket which he sets afloat on the waves, confident that it will arrive safely. The Jew rescues it from the sea but refuses to confess that he has received the money. Whereupon the Christian calls upon the image to speak in testimony of his payment of the debt. The Jew is converted by the miracle. *Ft*, fol. 47v.

101. **Taper Left Behind by an Angel.** Cf. Group I, 35. In this version the wife is prevented by her husband from going to Mass on the Feast of the Purification. She dreams that she is attending a Mass at the Offertory of which she receives a lighted candle and awakens to find it in her hand. The husband is unable to extinguish the flame and at the end of the second day the candle is borne in procession to the church where it immediately goes out. Thereafter he does not oppose her attendance at Mass. *Ft*, fol. 47r.

102. **Christ-Child Seized as Pledge.** A mother loses one of her children and takes the image of the Infant Jesus from the statute of the Madonna, intending to keep it until Mary has restored her child. She is robing the Christ-Child in

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30 Compare no. 64 with the story of St. John the Almoner, *supra*, Group I, 40, art. cit., 18.


32 Alfonso el Sabio tells a similar tale of one who blasphemes the Blessed Sacrament, op. cit., II, no. 238, 351–3.


34 Instead of the traditional name of Theodosius of Constantinople, R. Becker, *Gonzalos de Berceos Milagros und ihre Grundlagen*, p. 53, classifies the different versions. Cf. *supra*, *Ft*, no. 113 (cf. infra, Group V).

35 Cf. Villecourt, op. cit., no. 34, p. 53.
The compiler of *Fn* displays less originality than Duccio di Gano of Pisa who frequently elaborates on his original and introduces a moralizing thought as a conclusion to a legend. He avoids repetition of subject matter more than the compiler of *Ro* and draws less from *exempla* in Franciscan, Dominican or Cistercian chronicles. There are fewer Eucharistic or non-Marian tales in his collection.

**GROUP V.**

**1. MISCELLANEOUS MANUSCRIPTS OF MARY LEGENDS IN ITALIAN.**

In the introduction to *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine* Levi d’Ancona indicates thirty-seven manuscripts containing Mary Legends in Italian. The writer has added four to the list: two already considered in Group I, *Mss Florence Bib. Medicea Laurenziana Ashburnham 546 (FLa*) and Milan Bib. Ambrosiana P 172 sup. (Ma); two of minor importance, *Mss Florence Bib. Riccardiana 1354 (Fr*) and Riccardiana 1676 (Fr*). Of these, only related manuscripts have been analyzed in Groups I to IV, fifteen fully and three partially. This study of the Mary legend in Italian would be incomplete without an analysis of the occasional legends in the manuscripts which remain.

Below to the left are listed the manuscripts yet to be treated; to the right those analyzed in the first four sections of this study.

**BOLOGNA**

Biblioteca Universitaria

*B*—Cod. 158  
*B*—Cod. 2070

**FLORENCE**

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

*Fn*—Cod. II.I.445  
*Fn*—Cod. II.IV.51  
*Fn*—Cod. II.IV.56

*Fn*—Maglb. XXXVIII.110  
*Fn*—Panciatichiano XL  
*Fp*—Palatino XIX  
*Fp*—Palatino LIII (nos. 40-41)  
*Fp*—Palatino LXXIII (nos. 1, 2, 4-9, 19-26, 28-30)

Biblioteca Laurenziana

*FLa*—Ashburnham 394

Biblioteca Riccardiana

*Fp*—Riccardiano 1277, Group III

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1\(^{st}\) Cf. *supra*, Groups I, 34, 43, cit., 17, and III, 47, ibid., 42.  
2\(^{nd}\) Two of the thirty-seven manuscripts cited by Levi are in Latin: *Cod. 292 (S)* and *Cod. 302 (S)* in the library of the Monastery of St. Scholastica at Subiaco. Cf. Levi, op. cit., p. lxxxi. A third manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco at Venice, *Ms Marciano it.v.28. (V)*, contains miraculous events in the life of the Blessed Virgin while she lived on earth and an account of her Assumption into Heaven. As the tales are of a distinctly different category, the manuscripts will not be treated in this study. Cf. Sister Mary Vincentine, ‘A Fifteenth-Century Italian Version of the *Transitus Mariae*,’ *Italica*. XXVIII (1951), 23-7.
2. ANALYSIS OF OCCASIONAL MARY LEGENDS IN MANUSCRIPTS OF GROUP V.

B′—Cod. 158", a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Regia Biblioteca Universitaria at Bologna, contains seven legends which occupy fols. 13-21". Two indicated by Levi are non-Marian.

1. Chaste Wife." This is a variant of the legend, "The Chaste Empress." A
woman of high nobility refuses the advances of her brother-in-law who avenges himself by killing her only child and accusing her of the deed. The credulous husband invites her to accompany him on a trip to Alexandria, intending to kill her secretly. He is dissuaded by her piteous confession of innocence and ties her to a tree instead. The wild beasts do not touch her, and in a vision a beautiful lady tells her to follow a lion as guide and to pick the foliage from a certain tree. She does so and finds that it will cure the sick. The brother-in-law, stricken with an incurable disease, hears of her and begs to be cured. She forces him to confess his misdeeds and is reconciled with her husband whom she persuades to build a monastery and convent into which they retire. B', fol. 13.


4. Girl Named Mary. Cf. Group III, 24; B', fol. 20. In this version the youth dies of remorse and the girl conceals his body under a bed. All the church bells in the city begin to ring and continue to do so until she has made a full confession of the incident and the youth is buried in consecrated ground.

5. Failure to do Penance. This is not a Mary Legend. A count never performs any penance for his misdeeds. One day while banqueting, he vaingloriously counts the number of his subordinates. Soon afterwards he jousters with a black knight, is thrown up into the air and, when his body descends, it disappears and, according to the tale, is whisked off into hell. B', fol. 20°.

6. No Denial of Mary. In this version the knight will not deny the Virgin to obtain riches. He is signaled out by Mary who bows to him and to no other passing her statue. This is told to the bishop who enriches him. B', fol. 21.

7. Death from Contrition. This is a non-Marian legend in which a king confesses to a friar who, in consideration of his penitent’s sad disposition, does not give him a penance. The friar leaves him weeping over his sins and later finds him dead. When he asks for prayers for the king’s soul, a voice answers that he has no need of them. B', fol. 21°.

B°—Cod. 2070° is also a fourteenth-century manuscript in the University Library at Bologna. It contains several exempla which are non-Marian and one only which may be classified as a Mary Legend.

1. Incest. Cf. Group II, 31; B', fol. 21°-22°.

Fn°—Cod. II.II.445° in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence was compiled by Zanobi di Paolo d’Agno Perini in the years 1407 to 1409. It contains the famous Fridolin legend, dated February 4, 1408. Cf. ‘Youth Saved from Death,’ Group I, Ma 81-RC 75; Fn’, fol. 60°-61.

Fn°—Cod. II.IV.51° is the work of the Augustinian monk, Simon da Cascia, who used such sources as the works of Peter Damian, Jacques de Vitry, the
Vita Soenae patrum etc. Levi lists Fn as containing five 'exempli' from the Dialogus miraculorum of Caesarius of Heisterbach. A close examination of the narratives does not permit one to include them in the category of Mary legends. The one for which Levi gives the incipit, Legessi scritto da Cesario che fù uno cherico grande prebendato e calonaco di Parigi . . . , is drawn from the tale in Caesarius which begins: Parisiis in ecclesia sanctae Dei genitrice Mariae canonicus qid nuper obit, . . . It is the story of a canon of Paris who appears after his death to say that he is damned because he did not have a true contrition for his sins. He is a canon of the Church of Notre-Dame, but the Virgin Mary plays no role in the legend.

Fn — Cod. II.IV.56 is a collection of religious exempla and legends of the saints, compiled by Tommaso de' Pulci who began his work, April 15, 1380. Levi notes two tales, but just one is a Mary legend.

1. Suor Dea and Giubideo. Cf. 'Eyes Removed,' Groups II, 24 and III, 13 and 51A. Giubideo's visit to the convent chapel, his love for Sister Dea, his threats because she will not requite his passion, his contrition when she plucks out her eyes which he said inspired his love, are most dramatically told in this version. Fn, fols. 42-46.

Fn — Magliabechiano XXXVIII.110, a fourteenth-century manuscript of Venetian origin, has been edited by Wilhelm Friedmann. Legends, properly Marian, are the following:

7. Suor Dea and Zibideo. Cf. supra, Group V, Fn; Fn, fols. 15-22. 16.

10. Theophilus. Cf. Group I, 43; Fn, fol. 36.


12. Devil as Servant. Group I, Ma 78-Rc 73 where the devil's identity is discovered by his remarks on the age of the moon; Fn, fols. 40-42.

16. Plague at Rome. During a pestilence in Rome Pope Gregory carries in procession the image of the Virgin Mary painted by St. Luke. As the Regina caeli is sung and the image advances, the air becomes purified. At the Tiber an angel is seen to sheathe his sword above the fortification of Crescentius which is thereafter called the Castel San Angelo. Fn, fol. 57.

Fn — Panciatichiano XI is a legendary of the fourteenth century, containing two Marian tales which are also found in Ms Palatino LXXIII (Fn, infra):


2. Prayer of Childless Woman Heard. A very rich woman prays to the Mother of God for a child in the hope that this will keep her husband from

19 Loc. cit.
22 The legend excluded from consideration here is that of 'Vergogna.' It occurs in other manuscripts analyzed in this study but is not noted by Levi, cf. Fn, fols. 57-63 and Fr, fols. 22-4. See also F. Zambriti, Novella d'un barone di Faraone (Lucca, 1853), pp. 1-36; A. D'Ancona, La leggenda di Vergogna (Scelta di curiosità letterarie, 99, Bologna, 1869), pp. 1-60; R. Köhler, 'La leggenda di Vergogna,' Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur, XL (1870), 313-24. Fn likewise contains the story of St. Basil from which the Mary legend, 'Love by Black Art,' originated (cf. supra, Group I, 13 and note 31, art. cit., 13), fols. 187-8.
committing adultery. One night she dreams of a monastery and awakens with the assurance that she will have a son. As an act of gratitude she persuades her husband to build a monastery like to her dream even before her son’s birth and, later at the death of the son, both devote themselves to the service of God. Fn', fols. 86-89; Fp', no. 29, fols. 212-215.

Fp'—Palatino XIX, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, contains thirteen Mary legends. The compiler notes that the dignity of the Blessed Virgin Mary demands that more space be given to her miracles, but because there are no more in the Reginale from which he has copied these, he must include so few:

2. The Jewish Boy. Cf. Group I, 57; Fp', fol. 135'.
8. The Virgin’s Choir. Cf. Group I, 33; Fp', fol. 137'.
13. Theophilus. Cf. Group I, 43; Fp', fols. 139-140.

It is to be noted that all thirteen legends are on subjects found in the Libro del Naufragio or Group I. This agreement occurs in the main details of the narratives, not in the wording of the text.

Fp''—Palatino LIII, a collection of the fifteenth century, contains forty-one Mary legends of which thirty-nine have already been analyzed in Group I. The two tales which remain are as follows:

41. The Virgin’s Ring of Espousal. Cf. Group II, 20; Fp'', fols. 54''-56. The two legends are also found in Ms Riccardiano 1345 (Fr' infra).

Fp'''—Palatino LXXIII is a fifteenth-century manuscript in which the thirty Mary legends occupy fols. 198-219. Legends nos. 3, 10-18, and 27 correspond to Group II, but the compiler selects the others from various sources. The subject matter of the tales is as follows:

1. Virgin Comes to Devil instead of His Victim. Cf. Groups II and III, 1; Fp'', fol. 198.
2. Thief Sustained. Cf. Group I, 60; Fp'', fol. 198'.

23 Levi (loc. cit.) lists twelve but overlooks no. 1, ‘Vision of Judgment.’
24 The legend begins: In una città d'Abrucie in anni domini 628. In the early Greek version of Evagrius Scholasticus the incident is said to have happened during the patriarchate of Menas of Constantinople (536-52), cf. E. Wolter, Der Judenlcnabe (Bibliotheca Normannica, II, Halle, 1879), pp. 28-9.
26 Cf. supra, Group I, note 15, art. cit., 11.

The legend ‘Impersonated by an Angel’ does not properly belong to Group II but is analyzed at the end of this series.

28 It is to be understood that cross-references to summaries in Groups I to IV presuppose an agreement in narrative only; the wording in every case is different.

[34]
5. Leper in Bed. A saintly woman, who has a great repugnance for the sick, overcomes this feeling when she finds that a leper, to whom she has given a bed, miraculously vanishes, leaving behind him a celestial odor. Fp, fol. 199v.

6. Priest of One Mass. This is similar to the legend, 'St. Thomas of Canterbury,' in which the bishop's hairshirt is given as a sign of Mary's intervention (cf. Group I, 72). The name of the bishop is not given. Fp, fol. 200v.


8. The Child and the Abbot. An abbot assumes responsibility for his orphaned nephew. The little five-year-old takes delight in feeding the image of the Christ-Child painted on a wall. One day he is spied upon by a monk who sees the image take the bread and invite the orphan to dine with him. The abbot is told and realizes the significance of these words. He has the child include himself in the invitation. On the day foretold both die a happy death, a prelude to their eternal banquet. Fp, fol. 200.

9. Musa. Cf. Group IV, 82; Fp, fol. 201. The compiler of Fp gives the story on the authority of 'santo Girolamo,' whereas its source is in the Dialogues of Gregory.

For nos. 10-18 cf. Group II, 5-6, 8-12, 14-15.

10. Unwilling to Deny Mary. In this version a rich and youthful merchant enrages the devil because he will not deny Mary in order to win the love of a girl. The evil spirit assumes the young man's form, tries to ruin his reputation and even succeeds in having him accused of murder. The youth goes to confession and the devil becomes powerless. The murdered man suddenly rises and vanishes in stench. Th young man enters a monastery. Fp, fol. 204.

11. Seducer Punished. A young girl in Apulia is led by thoughts of death to reform her life. As she is going to a hermitage to confession, a young man uses flattery and threats to shake her good resolutions. His body, found in pieces, is buried outside the cemetery where his moans at night disturb the caretaker. Fp, fol. 205.


13. Vision of Six Virgins. A girl, devout to Mary, enters a religious Order. She has a vision of six virgins devoted to the service of the Mother of God and understands that she is to be the seventh. She has a happy death. Fp, fol. 207.

14. No Denial of Mary by French Knight. Cf. supra, Group V, Fp, no. 92; Fp, fol. 207.

15. Thief Sustained. Cf. supra, Group V, Fp, no. 2. In this version Mary not only sustains the thief three days, but also intercepts the weapon with which they would pierce his throat. Fp, fol. 208.

16. Reform of Two Youths. Two youths are companions in evil. One reforms and enters an Order dedicated to Mary; the other, visiting him, mocks at him and at the Order. Suddenly the scoffer finds himself stripped naked and outside the hospice. The shame of the punishment brings him to his senses and he joins his companion in his life of reform. Fp, fol. 208.


See Crane's edition of the exempla of Jacques de Vitry, no. 95, pp. 44-5 with variants listed on pp. 174-5.

No. 8 is a variant of the legend 'Bread offered to the Christ-Child' (cf. supra, Group I, 20, art. cit., 14). See Ruth Tryon, 'Miracles of Our Lady in Middle-English Verse,' PMLA, XXXVIII (1923), 386-8; Alfonso el Sabio, op. cit., II, no. 353, pp. 22-3; E. F. Wilson, et al., no. 49, pp. 198-9; infra, Group V, Fp, no. 65.

Dialogi IV, 18, pp. 255 ff.


In the version of Group IV, 49 the laborer stays so long at the Mass that he is too late for the hour of hiring; in Fp he is unable to find any employment and is found by the usurer as he laments his plight before a statue of the Virgin.
29. PRAYER OF CHILDLESS WOMAN HEARD. Cf. supra, Group V, Fn', no. 2; Fp', fol. 212.
30. TWO DEVILS IN PRISON. Cf. supra, Group V, Fn', no. 1; Fp', fol. 215-218.

FLa'—Ashburnham 394" in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence is an anonymous compilation of Venetian origin, having the date October, 1448 on fol. 60. The content of its two Mary legends is as follows:

1. HERMIT OVERCOMES DEVIL'S WILES. The devil, first in the form of a hermit, then as a knight, promises a hermit 500 ducats towards the construction of a monastery if he will be his guide through a forest. The hermit accepts the offer but becomes suspicious when the knight takes a girl on the crop of the horse and later suggests that they share a room in a questionable hostel. There is a scene. The girl cuts her throat and the hermit is accused of the murder. Before he is beheaded, he is permitted to say a short prayer to the Mother of God who inspires him to make the Sign of the Cross over the body of the dead girl who rises and vanishes in stench. FLa', fol. 5.

2. CRUST IN CHRIST'S WOUNDS. Cf. supra, Group I, 77; FLa', fol. 7.

FLa'—Riccardiano 1279" in the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence is a miscellaneous manuscript of the fifteenth century, containing one Mary legend:

1. WIFE RESUSCITATED. Cf. Group I, 80; Fr', fol. 74'.

Fr'—Riccardiano 1290" is a fifteenth-century legendary. Of the ten miracoli listed by Levi only one is Marian:

1. SUOR DEA AND GIUBIDE. Cf. supra, Group V, Fn'; Fr', fol. 189-192.

Fr'—Riccardiano 1345, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, is the work of a Brigittine Nun, who includes in her compilation thirty-six of the legends in the Libro del Naufragio. It is likely that she used Ms Fp' for her nos. 1-38 and the Libro del Cavalieri for others. The content of the seven tales which have not yet been analyzed is as follows:

37. IMPERSONATED BY AN ANGEL. Cf. supra, Group V, Fp', no. 40; II, Rv", no. 21; Fr', fol. 142.
38. THE VIRGIN'S RING OF ESPOUSALS. Cf. Fp', no. 41; Groups II, 20 and III, 45; Fr', fol. 144.
40. YOUTH SAVED FROM DEATH. Cf. Group I, Ma 81-8c 75; Fr', fol. 145'.
41. MOTHER-IN-LAW AND SON-IN-LAW. Cf. Groups II and III, 4; Fr', fol. 146'.
42. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY. Cf. Groups II and III, 5; Fr', fol. 146'.
43. PACT WITH THE DEVIL. Cf. Groups II, 10 and III, 9; Fr', fol. 147.

Fr'—Riccardiano 1661" was compiled in 1371 by Philip, a notary in the house of James de Humilatibus de contrata Sancti Quirici Verone. It contains twenty-two prose legends of which three are strictly Marian:

[36]
18. JEWISH BOY. Cf. Group I, 57; Fr°, fol. 43°.

19. SILENT VIGIL AS PENCE. After an evil life a knight of Navara repents and is given as penance the spending of an entire night in church in silent vigil before an image of Christ and Mary. He is unshaken despite the devil's attempts by various delusions to make him break his silence and leave. Fr°, fol. 45°-46°.

21. MARY AND BRIDEGROOM. Cf. supra, Group V, Fr°, no. 10; Fr°, 47°-48°.

Fr°—Riccardiano 1675, a palimpsest of the fifteenth century, contains 135 legends. The compiler is not a mere copyist. The wording of the text for tales which occur with the greatest frequency in manuscripts considered so far is usually different. Many of the legends are peculiar to Fr°. The content of each legend is as follows:

1. FIGHTING DEVILS WITH A TAPER. A sinner, who has burned a blessed candle daily in honor of the Mother of God, has a vision of judgment. When the devils come to claim his soul, he is permitted to fight them off with a candle. He awakens and makes immediate resolutions to amend his life. Fr°, fol. 1°.

2. THE THIEF-MONK. An abbot reluctantly admits into the monastery a thief, who, as a religious, is most devout to the Virgin Mary and advances rapidly in holiness. Upon his death-bed he has a vision of Mary, standing at the end of the ladder of perfection, ready to welcome him into heaven. Fr°, fol. 1°.

3. GIRL NAMED MARY. In this version a knight on his way to a tournament spares a girl's virginity because her name is Mary and makes it possible for her to enter a convent. He is killed and the Virgin appears to the girl and secures for the knight proper burial. Fr°, fol. 2°.

4. MARY ASSISTS AT DEATH-BED. Cf. Group III, 12; Fr°, fol. 3°.

5. CHARITABLE ALMSMAN. Cf. Groups I, 19, IV, 32 and 56; Fr°, fol. 3°.

6. THE DULLARD HERMIT. A hermit of very little intelligence can say only the Pater and Ave. At death he worries and is shown that his few good deeds are of weighty merit. Fr°, fol. 4°.

7. VISION OF CHRIST. An abbot has a great desire to see Jesus who satisfies her wish. Fr°, fol. 4°.

8. THREE VIRGIN MARTYRS. The Mother of God appears to three virgins, recent converts to Christianity, and encourages them to martyrdom. They are summoned to appear before the Prefect, who attempts to embrace them. Repulsed, he orders their decapitation. Fr°, fol. 5°.

Etienne de Bourbon, Anecdotes historiques, legendes et epoques, no. 37, pp. 48-9; A Jubinal, Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux et autres pieces inedites I (Paris, 1839), pp. 332-3; Casimiro Stolfi (ed.), Corona de monaci compilato da un monaco degli Angeli (Prato, 1862), no. 12, pp. 44-7. See also Rheinold Köhler, 'Die legende von dem Ritter in der Capelle,' Jahrbuch fur romanische und englische Literatur, V (1865), 326-31. Cf. infra, Fr°, no. 67. Related versions may be found in Ms British Museum Royal 7 C 1 (fol. 117), Additional 16589 (fol. 89), Egerton 1117 (fol. 185°), Harley 2851 (fol. 101), Additional 27336 (fol. 37°) as described by Herbert, op. cit., III, 131 (100), 408 (28°), 474 (35°), 504 (11) and 659 (178).


Incomplete rubries for no. 136 and the mutilated state of the last folio of Fr° make impossible the identification of this last tale.


John, the Italian disciple of St. Odo, Abbot of Cluny (879-943) tells in his biography of the Abbot that it was his custom to invoke the Virgin under the title of Mater Misericordiae because she had once presented herself as the Mother of Mercy to a monk who had entered his monastery to expiate a life of thievery by prayer and penance, cf. Sancti Odonis vita, ii, 23 (PL 133, 72). Naligodus, a monk of Cluny, who wrote in the twelfth century gives the same account in abridged form, cf. Sancti Odonis vita, 44 (PL 133, 101-2). Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum historiale XXXIV, 61; C. Neuhaus, Die lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-französischen Adgar'schen Marienlegenden (Aschersleben, 1886-7), pp. 26-8; H. Kjellman, La deuxième collection anglo-normande des miracles, no. 6, pp. 19-23. For the legend 'Mother of Mercy,' cf. E. F. Wilson, op. cit., no. 18, pp. 171-2.

9. **Mystery of the Nativity.** A hermit sets up a small crib in order to meditate better upon the nativity of Christ. As he entones the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, he has a vision of the Madonna and Child. *Fr*, fol. 7.


11. **Nun Visits Holy Land.** A religious is wont to contemplate in spirit the scenes of Christ’s life, sufferings and death. She becomes an abbess and is able to visit Palestine. While at the Holy Sepulcher, she has a keen sense of the presence of the Mother of God accompanying her. *Fr", fol. 8v.

12. **Taper Left Behind by an Angel.** A hermit uses his cloak to sail miraculously over waters. One day he yields to the imperfection of querying why God does not water a field of barley and his mantle sinks. *Fr", fol. 11.

15. **A Miser’s Alms.** A miser is saved because once in his life he gave an alms in Mary’s honor. *Fr", fol. 13.

16. **Robber Saved by Almsgiving.** A woman begs money from a robber in order to get her husband out of prison for debt. Soon after giving it, the robber dies and is saved. *Fr", fol. 13v.

21. **Merchant Saved from Death.** Robbers about to kill a merchant are halted by a vision of Mary. In gratitude he dedicates himself to the service of the sick. *Fr", fol. 21.

22. **Youth Saved from Death.** In this version two servants arouse the hatred of the king towards a youth who serves his table, by saying that the young man complains of his bad breath. The king believes the calumny and sends him to his death at a lime-kiln. Unaware of the plot the youth enters a chapel to honor the Mother of God and falls asleep. During the interval the two servants go to the kiln to make inquiries and are put to death instead. *Fr", fol. 21v.

23. **Refusal to Sin on Saturday.** In honor of the Mother of God a harlot refuses to sin on Saturday. The band of robbers in whose company she finds herself kills her. Her miraculous resuscitation brings about her repentance and that of the robbers. *Fr", fol. 22v.

24. **Could Learn Only AVE MARIA.** Cf. Groups I, 55, II and III, 3; *Fr", fol. 23.

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21 Alfonso el Sabio tells the story of a Moorish woman whose child is resuscitated and who becomes a Christian, op. cit., II, no. 167, pp. 239-40.
22 In the life of St. John the Almoner, one reads of Peter, the toll-collector, who was saved by a loaf which he threw in anger at a beggar, cf. Vitae patrum (PL 73, 356). Cf. Legenda aurea, cap. 27, p. 121; Jacob Ulrich, ‘Recueil d’examles en ancien italien,’ Romania, XIII (1894), no. 7, 32-3; E. A. W. Budge (ed.), *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (London, 1900), no. 86, pp. 305-6.
25. Drowned Monk. Cf. Group I, 18; Fr\(^a\), fol. 23'.
26. Mary Intercepts Weapon. A nobleman escapes death at the hands of his enemies when the Virgin Mary, to whom he has been praying, places her hand before the weapon. In gratitude he becomes a religious. Fr\(^a\), fol. 24.
27. The Priest of One Mass. Cf. Groups I, 63 and III, 27; Fr\(^a\), fol. 25.
29. Mary and Bridegroom. Cf. Groups I, 61 and V. Fp', no. 10; Fr\(^a\), fol. 25'.
31. Apparition of Mary to the Dying. A devotee of Mary is comforted by her on his death-bed. Fr\(^a\), fol. 26'.
32. Mother-in-Law and Son-in-Law. This is the usual version as found in Groups II and III, 4, but localized at Lodi: Fue nel distrito di Lodi, Fr\(^a\), fol. 26'.
33. Apparition of the Dead. A man has promised a priest to appear after death. He does so and informs the priest that both he and his father are saved. Fr\(^a\), fol. 28.
34. Equal in Merit. A devout monk is inspired to ask of God whether anyone is equal to him in merit. Led by the Spirit, he is able to interview his equal and both advance in perfection. Fr\(^a\), fol. 30.
35. Theophilus. Cf. Groups I, 43 and III, 36; Fr\(^a\), fol. 32.
36. Accused Unjustly of Theft. Cf. Groups III, 23 and IV, 61; Fr\(^a\), fol. 33.
37. Robber Converted. A robber is converted by the prayers of his relative, a hermit, who is a devotee of Mary. Fr\(^a\), fol. 34'.
38. Vision of the Punishment of Heresy. A Christian is deceived into accepting heresy but, after a horrible vision of its punishment, he retracts and is saved. Fr\(^a\), fol. 35.
39. Excessive Penance. Excessive austerities on the part of a monk bring about a fatal illness from which he is cured when the Virgin Mary appears and makes him eat a small portion of bread dipped in water. Fr\(^a\), fol. 36'.
40. One Knee. Cf. Group II, 26; Fr\(^a\), fol. 37.
41. A Woman Spared Embarrassment. Humility prompts a woman to pick up the crumbs left on a tablecloth and eat them. One day she is a guest at a wedding feast and her action is noticed. She would have been derided, but the Virgin changes the crumbs in her hand into a Host. Fr\(^a\), fol. 37'.
42. Vision of Hell. A dissolute youth of Montepulciano amends his life after a vision of hell in which he seems to suffer intolerable torments and is freed from them only through the intercession of Mary. Fr\(^a\), fol. 38.
43. Son Freed from Prison. This is a variant of the 'Christ-Child Seized as Pledge,' cf. Group I, 34. In this version the mother prays before a statue of the Madonna but does not take the image of Christ as hostage. Mary appears in the prison and sets the boy free. Fr\(^a\), fol. 39.
44. No Death Without Confession. Although wounded mortally, a knight of Lombardy survives to receive the sacraments—a grace he has merited because of his fasting on the vigils of Marian feasts. Fr\(^a\), fol. 39'.
45. No Death Without Confession. Cf. Group II, 29; Fr\(^a\), fol. 39'.
46. No Death Without Confession. A man who has fasted on the vigils of Marian feasts boasts before his enemies that they will not be able to put him to death until he has confessed. Fr\(^a\), fol. 40.
47. Virgin Acts as Knight. Cf. Group I, M\& Re, note 115; Fr\(^a\), fol. 40.
48. Christ-Child Seized as Pledge. Cf. Group I, 34; Fr\(^a\), fol. 40'.

\(^a\) Cf. infra, Fr\(^a\), no. 135.
\(^b\) Cf. Herbert of Torres, De Miraculis I, 34, II, 44 and III, 9 (PL 185, 1306, 1354 and 1386); Exordium magni ordinis Cisterciensis III, 21 (ibid., 1080).
\(^d\) At this point the handwriting changes and the new scribe misnumbers the legend, miracolo III, and all the tales that follow.
\(^e\) Cf. Group I, Ma T-Rc T2, art. cit., 25; Johannes Herolt. op. cit., no. 55, p. 25.
49. THIEF SUSTAINED. Cf. Group I, 60; Fr, fo. 41.
50. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY. Cf. Group I, 73; Fr, fo. 41 where the legend is localized at Lod.
51. DEVIL AS SERVANT. Cf. Group I, 36; Fr, fo. 42.
52. ABBESS. Cf. Group III, 62; Fr, fo. 43.
53. ST. JOHN DAMASCENE. Cf. Groups I, 44 and III, 65; Fr, fo. 44.
54. ELECTUARY. Cf. Group I, Ma 79-Rc 77; Fr, fo. 45.
55. BEATRICE THE SACRISTAN. Cf. Group I, 75; Fr, fo. 45.
56. HERMITESS DELIVERED FROM DEVIL. Cf. Group III, 28; Fr, fo. 46.
57. FREED FROM TEMPTATIONS. A penitent, tempted by the devil, has recourse to Mary and the evil spirit, blaspheming, departs. Fr, fo. 46.
58. NUN WHO SAW THE WORLD. Before leaving her convent, a nun stops to say the Ave Maria before a statue of Mary and is unable to move from the spot. This occurs twice, but the third night she deliberately omits the prayer, leaves the convent to live a wretched existence and, finally penitent, returns to do penance. Fr, fo. 46.
59. CHILD-PROPHET. A child has a vision of the Mother of God who tells him that he will die in three days. A merchant, hearing this, desires to interview him. Although he is a stranger, the child calls him by name and reveals to him that his soul is very pleasing to the Virgin, who wishes him to give his goods to the poor. The child dies as foretold. Fr, fo. 46.
60. PLAGUE AT ROME. Cf. supra, Group V, no. 16; Fr, fo. 48.
61. SEVERED HAND. Cf. Groups I, 21 and III, 38; Fr, fo. 49.
63. DEMON AS SWINE. Cf. Group I, 49; Fr, fo. 49.
64. THREE COUNSELS IN HUMILITY. Cf. Group II, 32; Fr, fo. 50.
65. BREAD TO THE CHRIST-CHILD. A novice becomes very thin and the novice-master finds that he is giving his portion of bread to an image of the Christ-Child, who speaks to him. Learning that the image has invited the youth to a banquet in Heaven, the novice-master has himself included in the invitation. Fr, fo. 50.
66. BLINDED BY THE VIRGIN’S GLORY. Cf. Group IV, 1; Fr, fo. 51.
67. SILENT VIGIL AS Penance. Cf. supra, Group V, Fr, no. 19; Fr, fo. 52.
68. CHILD RESUSCITATED. A boy thrown by the devil into a boiling cauldron is restored to life by the Virgin. Fr, fo. 54.
69. HOURS SUNG DAILY. Cf. Group I, 3; Fr, fo. 55.
70. GARMENTS OF PRAYERS. In a vision a novice is shown how he has clothed Christ with a garment of Paters and Aves. Fr, fo. 56.
71. VIRGIN COMES TO THE DEVIL INSTEAD OF HIS VICTIM. Cf. Groups I, 29, II and III, 1; Fr, fo. 58.
72. DROWNED SACRISTAN. In this version the sacristan is saved because of the prayers of a friend. Fr, fo. 59.
73. TWO BROTHERS AT ROME. Cf. Group I, 24; Fr, fo. 61.
74. CHILD RESUSCITATED. A child dies as the result of a fall from a bridge but

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**The legend has its source in the Dialogus miraculorum of Caesarius of Heisterbach who says that it occurred in diocese Loedienst in Florentiam, cf. II, 12, i, p. 78.**

**Cf. Groups I, 75, art. cit., 24 and II, 7, ibid., 31.**

**Cf. infra, Fr, no. 117.**

**Cf. supra, Group V, Fr, no. 8; infra, Fr, no. 97.**

**Bonavesina da Riva tells the story of St. Donatus in the Vulgare de eleemosynis, no. 4, pp. 456-60, II, 733-736. See also A. Hilka, Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach, III, no. 54, p. 174; A. Meister, Die Fragmenten der Libri VIII Miraculum des Caesarius von Heisterbach (Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, Supplementheft, 13, Rome, 1901), no. 34, pp. 162-3; Mss British Museum Egerton 1117 (fol. 176°) and Addit. 27236 (fol. 16) described by Ward, op. cit., II, 699 (26) and Herbert, III, 652 (70).**

**Cf. 'Incomplete Garment,' supra, Groups I, Ma 82-Rc 76, art. cit., 26 and III, 50, ibid., 42.**

**For variants, cf. Pez, no. 40, p. 104.**
is raised to life by the Virgin and later becomes a religious. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 62.

75. **No Death Without Confession.** Two men from Monte Ritondo are thrown into a lagoon. Sometime later their fleshless bones float to shore. A priest, passing by, hears their confessions before they die. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 63.

76. **Freed from Prison.** A knight, while making overtures of peace to an enemy who has killed his son, is imprisoned by him. On the Feast of the Assumption he is freed by the Virgin. In view of the miracle his enemy humbly begs his pardon. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 63.

77. **No Death Without Confession.** A man is beheaded and his body thrown into a cistern. He cannot die until a priest comes to hear his confession—a grace granted to him because he has always fasted on Saturdays and the vigils of the Assumption. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 64.

78. **Prayers Offered for a Robber's Soul.** Cf. Group III, 26; Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 65.

79. **Tongue Restored.** Saracens cut off a priest's tongue which is restored by the Virgin. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 66.

80. **Saved from Fire.** Cf. Group III, 51; Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 66.

81. **Painter; Baby Saved.** Cf. Group I, 7 where the two tales are found together. In Fr\textsuperscript{m} the painter is a priest who is decorating the church. He is found miraculously sustained by the bishop who has come to consecrate it. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 67.

82. **Mary's Hand on the Scale.** At the judgment a sinner's good and bad deeds are being weighed. He is saved only because Mary puts her hand on the balance pan with his few good deeds. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 68.

83. **Pilgrim in the Sea.** Cf. Group I, 1; Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 68.

84. **Emperor in the Mine.** Cf. Group I, 9; Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 69.

85. **Child Unhurt.** A child falls from the balcony of a tower and is found uninjured. The miracle is attributed to the father's almsgiving in honor of the Mother of God. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 70.

86. **Son Resuscitated.** A knight is having a church built in honor of the Virgin Mary. An enemy causes his son to be killed by the falling of a wall, but the dead boy is miraculously raised to life. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 71.

87. **Merchant Escapes from Enemies.** A merchant, who has always shown reverence to St. Luke's painting of the Virgin, escapes from his enemies. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 72.

88. **Widow's Son Resuscitated.** A widow's son drowns but is raised to life by the intervention of Mary. Henceforth he dedicates his life to the service of the Virgin. Fr\textsuperscript{m}, fol. 72.

89. **Vision of Pagan Father in Hell.** A pagan, who adores the sun as a god, keeps his daughter in a secluded palace. Upon seeing a strange light in the mountains, the girl investigates and finds that it is the light from an angel, who visits a saintly hermit there. Her father dies and she receives instructions in the Christian faith from the hermit. The devil appears to her, holding a burning taper, saying that it is the soul of her father in glory because of his adoration of the sun. She sends for the hermit. He prays and she is granted a vision of

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\textsuperscript{40} Cf. supra, Group III, 57, art. cit., 43; Group IV, 104. 
\textsuperscript{41} Cf. the tale of the beheaded knight in Group II, 29 and note 38, art. cit., 33; also, Silvano Razzi, op. cit., II, no. 42, p. 143.

\textsuperscript{42} In most versions the priest's tongue is cut out by the Albigensians, cf. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* VII, 23, ii, pp. 31-3; Etienne de Bourbon, op. cit., no. 109, p. 97; Herolt, op. cit., no. 30, p. 15. The term, heretics, without further qualification is used by Alfonso el Sabio, op. cit., II, no. 156, pp. 229-3, and Silvano Razzi, op. cit., III, no. 38, p. 219. For variants, cf. J. Morawski in *Romania*, LXI, 186, note 1 and 381.

\textsuperscript{43} Cf. supra, Group I, 32 and note 59, art. cit., 16. E. A. W. Budge notes that the idea of weighing good and bad deeds is of Egyptian origin, op. cit., p. 272.

\textsuperscript{44} The name of the emperor is not given in Fr\textsuperscript{m}, no. 84.

\textsuperscript{45} Alfonso el Sabio tells of the son of Diego Sanchez of Segovia who falls from a height but is uninjured because the Virgin Mary catches him in her arms, cf. op. cit., II, no. 282, pp. 394-5.
Mary who commands the devil to show her the soul of her father in torment. Fr*9, fol. 74.

90. Julian the Apostate. Cf. Group I, 47; Fr*9, fol. 76.

91. Salvation Through Mary's Intercession. A priest repents of his worldly life and enters a religious Order. After his death he appears to the members of his Community, informing them that he has been saved through the prayers of the Mother of God. Fr*9, fol. 77.

92. Lightning Takes Toll. Every year a monastery loses one of its members by lightning until, after an apparition of the Virgin, the Order begins to observe in a solemn way the feasts of the Mother of God. Fr*9, fol. 77.

93. Vision of Mary. A devotee of the Virgin fasts on the vigils of Marian feasts that she may one day feast with her. She is granted a vision of Mary. Fr*9, fol. 79.

94. Vow of Virginity. When a father attempts to force his daughter to break her vow of virginity and to marry, she is miraculously placed in a state of immobility. Prayers to the Virgin, but not physical force, are alone effective in removing this condition and she is permitted to keep her vow.® Fr*9, fol. 80.

95. King in Bond to the Devil. In order to avenge himself successfully upon a rival, a king gives himself and his family in bond to the devil. The Virgin obtains their freedom from the pact, but the king, not being repentant, is damned. Fr*9, fol. 81.

96. Not Beheaded. Gigone of Perugia is sentenced to be decapitated. Two times the executioner's axe breaks without severing his head. He is released uninjured. It is discovered that at the risk of his life he had saved an image of Mary from being destroyed by fire. Fr*9, fol. 84.

97. Bread to the Christ-Child. In this version an abbot gives alms to a poor woman with two children, both of whom become novices at the monastery. They consume so much bread that the abbot investigates and finds them offering it to the image of the Christ-Child. Some time later they are missing and the novice-master discovers them in a meadow, recreating with Mary and her Son. Upon taking leave of their heavenly companions, they are told by Mary to receive the Last Sacraments the following Sunday. They die an unexpected but happy death on that day.® Fr*9, fol. 85.

98. Gift of Wisdom: Resuscitated Child. A child, who is born after many prayers on the part of parents, is too stupid to learn. Through the intercession of Mary he receives the gift of wisdom. Later the evil spirit throws him into a river, but Mary raises the drowned boy to life. Fr*9, fol. 87.

99. Resuscitated for Confession. A youth, devoted to the Virgin, is reluctant to confess his sins and dies without doing so. He is restored to life for confession. Fr*9, fol. 88.

100. The 'Manekine.' In this version the evil spirit promises the father that he will recover his wealth if he will cut off his daughter's hand. A second time impoverished, the father is promised riches by the devil if he will kill his daughter. She runs away and is met by the Virgin who finds her a refuge in a convent where the abess is sister-in-law to the king. The girl weds the king's son and later a child is born. Her husband sends a message to her, but the evil spirit changes it to an order for her death and that of her son. Her would-be slayers are moved to compassion and let her escape. They confess this to the king's son upon his return and it is the Virgin who conducts the searching party to her hiding place and restores her hand.® Fr*9, fol. 89.

101. Unwilling to Deny Mary. Cf. Group I, 73; Fr*9, fol. 92.

® This story is related of St. Agnes of Assisi in the year 1212. Cf. Chronica XXIV Generalium Ministerorum ordinis Fratrum Minorum in Analecta Franciscana, III, 173-82. 
®® Cf. supra, Group V, Fr* no. 8 and Fr* no. 65.
®®® Cf. supra, Group III, 11, art. cit., 37-8, for the usual version in Italian.
102. **Pirate Converted.** A corsair escapes from a prison fortress through the assistance of Mary, becomes a monk and does penance. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 94°.

103. **Two Youths Converted.** Two dissolute youths chance to hear a sermon which inspires them to amend their lives. A vision of the Virgin strengthens this intention. They become hermits and are saved. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 95°.

104. **Two Youths Converted.** Two dissolute youths chance to hear a sermon which inspires them to amend their lives. A vision of the Virgin strengthens this intention. They become hermits and are saved. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 95°.

105. **City Defended.** A settlement of Christians in Alexandria find their city besieged by Babylonian soldiers who would have massacred all of them, had not the Virgin come to their assistance. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 100°.

106. **Escape from Robbers.** A merchant falls into the hands of wicked highwaymen but escapes with his life through the intercession of Mary. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 99°.

107. **Bleeding Image.** In the city of Lucca a dicer flings a stone at the image of the Virgin which bleeds. A thief who has been robbing her lamp of oil is caught at last. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 102°.

108. **Child Granted to Prayer.** A woman perseveres in prayer for a child, promising to dedicate it to the service of the Mother of God. A little girl is born who later receives a serious head-injury from a fall, said to have been caused by the evil spirit. Mary appears to the girl, reminds her of the promise and cures the wound. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 102°.

109. **Deacon Murders His Bishop.** Cf. Group III, 58; *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 103°.

110. **Two Women Resuscitated.** Two women on a visit to a hermitage drown while crossing a river. They are raised to life by Mary. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 104°.

111. **Visions of Six Virgins.** Cf. *supra*, Group V, *Fr*¹⁻, no. 22; *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 105.

112. **Son Freed from Prison.** The only son of a countess is imprisoned by an enemy, but constant prayers are said for him to the Mother of God and he is freed. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 106°.

113. **Jew Lends to Merchant.** Cf. Group IV, *Fr*¹⁻, no. 100; *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 107, where the amount lent is fifty florins.

114. **Wounds Healed.** A devotee of Mary is mortally wounded by enemies but is healed by the Virgin Mary. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 108°.

115. **Lost Foot Restored.** Cf. Group IV, *Fr*¹⁻, no. 63; *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 108°.

116. **Vision of Mary.** A very religious youth spends a sleepless night in prayer and is rewarded by a vision of the Mother of God. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 109°.

117. **Three Counsels in Humility.** Cf. Groups II, 32 and *supra*, no. 64; *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 109°.

118. **AVES Seen as Roses.** Cf. Group III, 67; *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 109°. In this version robbers steal the young man's horse, while he prays within the church and prepare to assault him. When they see the Virgin, as he says his Ave, they repent of their crime and make a garland for her Son, they are converted.

119. **Celestial Music Heard.** A Franciscan monk delights in using his voice in praise of God and Mary. On a Marian feast he hears the songs of heavenly choirs and at the end a prediction of the day of his death. *Fr*¹⁻, fol. 110°.

120. **No Death Without Confession.** A religious, searching for the dying on a battlefield in Navarra, comes upon a soldier, mortally wounded, who rally for confession—a grace he has confidently expected because he has heard Mass

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every Saturday in honor of the Mother of God. *Fr*°, fol. 111.

121. **Buried Outside the Churchyard.** Cf. Group III, 14; *Fr*°, fol. 111°.

122. **No Death Without Confession.** Cf. Group I, Ma 77–Rec 72; *Fr*°, fol. 111°.

123. **Charitable Almsman.** Cf. Groups I, 19, IV, 32 and 56; *supra*, V, *Fr*°, no. 5; *Fr*°, fol. 112.

124. **Too Severe a Penance.** A bishop, for whom the Virgin made a new hair-shirt, gives a great sinner the penance of making a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James in Galicia. In vain the penitent protests that this is impossible. Mary then intervenes and requests him to tell the bishop about the hair-shirt. The prelate allows him to choose his own penance. *Fr*°, fol. 112°.

125. **Thief Sustained Two Days.** Cf. Group I, 60; *Fr*°, fol. 113.

126. **Permitted to Fast.** A woman, who has fasted on Saturday and is forbidden to do so by her husband, finds herself suddenly enriched. She prefers to be poor in time but rich in eternity. The gold miraculously disappears and the husband withdraws his prohibition. *Fr*°, fol. 113°.

127. **Vision of Judgment.** A sick man in vision sees his good and bad deeds being weighed in a balance. He recommends himself to the Virgin who puts the demons to flight. They leave behind a book containing his evil deeds and idle words. *Fr*°, fol. 114.

128. **Incomplete Garment.** A monk, who was wont to say the *Ave Maria* fervently, loses his spirit of devotion and even desires to leave his Order. The Virgin Mary appears to him, showing him a garment not fully embroidered in gold and encouraging him to persevere. *Fr*°, fol. 114°.

129. **O Intemerata.** Cf. Group III, 68; *Fr*°, fol. 115.

130. **Monks by the Riverside.** Cf. Groups I, 30 and *supra*, V, *Fp*, no. 3; *Fr*°, fol. 115°.


132. **Incest.** Cf. Groups II, 31 and III, 55; *Fr*°, fol. 117.

133. **Two Devils in Prison.** Cf. Groups I, 5 and III, 59; *Fr*°, fol. 118.

134. **Dainties in a Foul Dish.** Cf. Group IV, 51; *Fr*°, fol. 119°.

135. **Jewish Boy.** In this version no mention is made of the boy’s receiving Holy Communion. Rather, the anger of the father is aroused when the child tells him that he has seen in a Christian church a beautiful picture of the Virgin Mary. The boy is thrown into a baker’s oven. His miraculous preservation causes the conversion of many Jews. *Fr*°, fol. 120°.

*Fr*°—Riccardiano 1700° is a fifteenth-century manuscript in an imperfect, mutilated state. Among the hagiographical tales of the first eighteen folios seven can be identified as Mary legends and present versions which differ from the usual stories:

1. **Drowned Sinner.** A very great sinner (neither monk nor sacristan) is drowned but is saved because of the prayer *Salve Regina* which he was able to say before losing consciousness. *Fr*°, fol. 4°–5°.

2. **Drowned Monk.** A monk in great anger yields to a suicidal impulse and drowns himself. He is permitted to return to life at the intercession of Mary

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Footnotes:

26 and III, 50, ibid., 42.
30. See also *supra*, Group IV, 102 with note 86.
33. The next two tales (fol. 6–7) are incomplete but do not seem to be Mary legends.
who shows to Christ the Ave on his tongue, indicative of his repeated efforts to overcome this passion by prayer. Fr\textsuperscript{11}, fols. 7'-10'.

3. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY. Cf. supra, Group V, B', no. 6; Fr\textsuperscript{11}, fol. 13'.

4. DEVILS SHOW HOSPITALITY.\textsuperscript{6} Two friars are traveling during a period of bad weather and pray to the Virgin Mary that they may find a hospice along the way. They are hospitably received at an abbey but become suspicious when they find that the monks do not rise for Matins. The abbot confesses that they are evil spirits whom Mary had commanded to offer hospitality. Fr\textsuperscript{19}, fol. 13'.

5. DEVIL AS SERVANT. Cf. Group I, 36. In this version the devil is in the service of a wicked count. His identity is discovered by two monks. Fr\textsuperscript{15}, fol. 15'.

6. DEVIL AS CONFESSION.\textsuperscript{6} A great sinner, who has always held in great reverence the Mother of God, repents and desires to confess his sins. The devil, disguised as a confessor, puts him off with various excuses but in the end hear his confession. At his death his soul is rescued by Mary from the evil spirits. He is permitted to return to life for proper confession and to do twenty days of penance. Fr\textsuperscript{23}, fols. 17'-18'.

7. SUOR DEA AND GIUBIDEO. Cf. supra, Group V, Fr\textsuperscript{3}, no. 1; Fr\textsuperscript{17}, fols. 55-61.\textsuperscript{a}

Fr\textsuperscript{17}—Riccardiano 1334,\textsuperscript{a} a fourteenth-century manuscript, contains one Mary legend:

1. SUOR DEA AND GIUBIDEO. Cf. supra, Group V, Fr\textsuperscript{3}, no. 1; Fr\textsuperscript{17}, fols. 57'-59.

Fr\textsuperscript{17}

Fr\textsuperscript{13}—Riccardiano 1676,\textsuperscript{a} a manuscript of the fifteenth century, contains one miracle of the Virgin Mary:

1. CHRIST-CHILD SEIZED AS PLEDGE. Cf. Group I, 34; Fr\textsuperscript{13}, fols. 35'-37.

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Fl—Landau 213\textsuperscript{b} which until recently was in the Biblioteca Landau at Florence, is of the fourteenth century and contains one Mary legend:

1. CHRIST-CHILD SEIZED AS PLEDGE. Cf. Group I, 34; Fl, fols. 69'-70.

Rv'

Rv'—Vaticano Int. 5086,\textsuperscript{a} a collection of hagiographical tales, is of the fourteenth century. Four legends pertain to this study:

1. HAND ON THE CONVENT-DOOR. Cf. Groups II, 7 and supra, V, Fr\textsuperscript{9}, no. 130; Rv', fol. 198'.

2. CURED FOR A YEAR. Cf. Group I, Rc, no. 82; Rv', fol. 199.

3. GIOVANNI ACUTO. Cf. Group I, Rc, no. 83;\textsuperscript{a} Rv', fols. 200'-201.

Exempla from Gregory's Dialogues follow. Of the fifteen indicated by Levi\textsuperscript{w} one is a Mary legend.

4. MUSA.\textsuperscript{w} Cf. Groups IV, 82 and V, Fr\textsuperscript{3}, no. 9; Rv', fol. 205'-v.

\textsuperscript{a}The legend on fols. 10'-11' is not Marian. The legend partially told on fol. 11' would seem to be the 'Devil in Service of a Robber-Knight'; however, exact identification is not possible.

\textsuperscript{b}The first part of this legend is missing; the latter part where Mary bows to the knight in recognition of his refusal to deny her is sufficient to identify the tale. Cf. supra, Group V, B', no. 6 and note 5.

\textsuperscript{c}Etienne de Bourbon tells a somewhat similar tale on the authority of Jacques de Vitry, op. cit., no. 78, pp. 73-8. Cf. Ms British Museum Egerton 1117 described by Herbert, op. cit., III, 474-5 (51).

\textsuperscript{d}See Johannes Herolt, op. cit., no. 61, pp. 26-7; Silvano Razzi, op. cit., II, no. 48, pp. 150-1; Ms British Museum Harley 463 (fol. 14'), Harley 268 (fol. 89), Additional 27336 (fol. 5) and Additional 19099 (fol. 246') in Herbert, op. cit., III, 90 (14), 432 (19), 649 (18) and Ward, II, 685 (61).

\textsuperscript{e}On fols. 18'-55 the compiler of Fr\textsuperscript{1} presents legends of St. Francis of Assisi and other saints not pertinent to this study.

\textsuperscript{f}S. Morpurgo, op. cit., I, pp. 412-4.

\textsuperscript{g}Ibid., p. 624.

\textsuperscript{h}Catalogue des livres mss. composant la bibliothèque de M. Horace de Landau II (Florence, 1890), p. 113.

\textsuperscript{i}In a letter to the writer the director of the Biblioteca Landau, T. De Marinis, stated that the Landau manuscripts are being disposed of. He added: 'Le précieux groupe, parmi lequel se trouve le manuscrit qui vous a intéressé, sera déposé par la Ville ou à la Bibliothèque Nationale ou à la Bibliothèque Laurenziana, on ne sait pas encore.'

\textsuperscript{j}Levi, op. cit., pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

\textsuperscript{k}Cf. supra, Group I, note 128, art. cit., 26.


\textsuperscript{m}Dialogi IV, 18, pp. 255 ff.
The analysis of *Fr* completes the study of the legends in miscellaneous manuscripts considered in Group V. *Fr* is of considerable length and the legends in this collection are inferior in style and narrative to any found in Groups I to IV. Many of the details seem to be the compiler’s own fabrication and he presents legends of the same theme with monotonous repetition. The tale, ‘No Death without Confession,’ occurs seven times with little variation (cf. nos. 44-46, 75, 77, 120 and 122). Almost identical in subject matter are the versions of ‘Thief Sus¬"tained’ (cf. nos. 36, 49 and 125), of the ‘Three Counsels of Humility’ (cf. nos. 64 and 117), and of the ‘Charitable Almsman’ (cf. nos. 5 and 123). The compiler of *Fr* cares little about veracity if one judges from his erroneous localization of legends. No. 32, the legend of ‘Mother-in-law and Son-in-law,’ is typical of this. All writers and chroniclers place the miracle at Chivy, near Laon in France. The Italian compiler begins the tale: *Fue nel distritto di Lodi. . . .*

It has been noted that *Fn* listed by Levi does not properly belong to the category of manuscripts containing Mary legends. In regard to *Cod. 292 and 302 (S’ and S”) in the library of the Monastery of St. Scholastica in Subiaco, Levi bases his information upon the *Inventario* of Giuseppe Mazzatinti and incorrectly lists the two Latin manuscripts as written in Italian. They are of interest as possible sources for several legends in the Italian collections.

Two manuscripts of minor importance indicated by Levi were not investigated at first hand. The first is *Ms Rome Bib. Angelica 1893 (Ra),* a miscellany of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, containing accounts of miraculous incidents occurring at Lucca (fols. 117-135), and unrelated to the manuscripts which form the bulk of this study. The second is *Ms Verona Bib. Comunale 1224 (V’),* a fifteenth-century collection with fifty ascetical legends. From Levi’s description of the contents of the manuscript, only one legend is of interest as a Marian tale, that of ‘Giovanni Acuto,’ which is found in two manuscripts analyzed in this study, Rome Casanatense 281 and Vatican City Vat. *Iat. 5086.*

It will be observed that most of the Italian manuscripts containing Mary legends are in Florentine libraries. Of the forty-one, twenty-six are at Florence. With the continuance of research activities in Europe, it is quite possible that scholars interested in Mary legends may ferret out other manuscripts in small, private or monastic libraries. Nevertheless, it is safe to affirm that the bulk of these collections have come to light through the indefatigable efforts of the late Ezio Levi D’Ancona.

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99 The legend is first narrated with localization at Laon by Guibert of Nogent, *De laudc S. Mariæ,* 10 (PL 156, 564-8); by Herman of Tournai, monk of St. John of Laon, *De miraculis S. Mariæ Laudunensis* III, 27 (PL 156, 1008); in the *Auctarium Laudunense* and the *Auctarium Ursicampinum,* appended to the Chronicle of Sigebert of Ghent (PL 160, 359 and 405); by Helinand of Fremond, *Chronicon* (PL 212, 1017).


101 This is particularly true of *Cod. 302 (S’)* which contain twenty legends (fols. 124-9), all of which are to be found in Italian.


103 Cf. supra, *Fr*’, no. 107 and note 68.


106 Cf. supra, Groups I, Rc, no. 83, art. cit., 26, and V, *Rv*’, no. 3.
The Personal Letters Between Abelard and Heloise

J. T. MUCKLE C.S.B.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this edition I am limiting myself to the two intimate and personal letters written by Heloise to Abelard and Abelard’s reply in a spiritual vein to each; I am adding the very beginning of Heloise’s third letter which, except for this paragraph, is not personal but an exposition of the incongruities of the Benedictine Rule when applied to Orders of women, and contains a request that Abelard write an account of the rise of sisterhoods and compose a rule suitable for women.

1. MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts used in this edition are the same nine employed for my edition of the ‘Historia Calamitatum’ in Mediaeval Studies, XII (1950), 163-213. They are:

T... Bibliothèque de Troyes, Ms 802, fols. 18'-35'.
A... Paris, Bib. Nat. Ms lat. 2923, fols. 14'-26'. This manuscript was used by Petrarch and there are a few marginal notes in his hand; I have given them in my notes.
B... Paris, Bib. Nat. Ms lat. 2544, fols. 14'-25'.
R... Bibliothèque de Reims, Ms 872, (J.751), fols. 125'-137'.
D... Bibliothèque de Douai, Ms 797, fols. 328'-328'. This manuscript ends with the words: impendis alienae in the first letter, p. 70.
Y... Oxford, Bodleian Ms Additional C.271, fols. 97'-106'. It breaks off with the words: Hoc saltem uno in the fourth letter, p. 87.
C... Paris, Bib. Nat. Ms nouv. acq. lat. 1873, fols. 136'-171'.
E... Paris, Bib. Nat. Ms lat. 2524, fols. 14'-28'.

For a description and an estimate of these manuscripts, I refer the reader to my Introduction to the edition of the Historia Calamitatum, 163-167. In the edition of this text I have given all the readings, even the corruptions, of Ms Troyes 802 but not unimportant inversions of word order, gemination of consonants and in general most other variations in spelling. I have done the same for Ms B.N. lat. 2923 except that I have not listed the corruptions. For the other manuscripts I have given only a few variants unsupported by another manuscript. To have listed all would have greatly increased the list of variants and would have served no useful purpose. I also give all the readings under the abbreviation Amb. in which the text of d’Amboise differs from mine, and under the letter G, the variants given in the margin of his edition. I have changed the spelling to conform to modern usage, v.g.: e to ae, or oe, cio to tio, etc. These letters have been previously published by d’Amboise, Duchesne, Rawlinson, Orelli (the first four), Cousin and Migne. For a criticism of these editions, see my Introduction loc. cit., 168-171.

2. APPARENT DATE OF COMPOSITION.

These letters followed in sequence after the Historia Calamitatum to which Heloise refers in her first letter. The Historia was composed after Nov. 28(?), 1131, when Pope Innocent II confirmed the possession of the Paraclete by Heloise and her nuns, for that document is referred to in the Historia. Abelard
in that work also refers to the dangers and trials to which he was still exposed as Abbot of St. Gildas. We do not hear of Abelard’s whereabouts again until 1136 when John of Salisbury was studying under him in Paris. Assuming then that the Historia was composed about 1132, these letters were likely composed within two or three years after. There is no indication that a long interval elapsed between any two of the letters, or that the Historia had been written long before Heloise read it.

II. AUTHENTICITY

Within the past century, several writers have questioned the authenticity of these letters. The first was Orelli, who, in his edition of the Historia Calamitatum and of the first four letters, states in his short preface that ‘for many reasons’ which he does not give, he considers that the letters were written shortly after the death of Abelard and Heloise by a monk who was a friend and admirer of both. L. Lalanne, in an article written in 1856, states that the letters both of Abelard and her own were worked over and put in their shape by Heloise. Deutsch in his work Peter Abalard (Leipzig, 1883) p. 43, treats the question in a cursory manner and assumes that all these letters are largely, if not entirely, the work of Abelard. He bases his conclusion on the alleged fact that ostensibly the letters were written primarily for public consumption. E. D. Petrella, in an article published in 1911, argued that the letters were composed after the deaths of Abelard and Heloise, basing his thesis on apparent chronological discrepancies and form of composition. B. Schmeidler has contributed three articles on the question; he holds that Abelard wrote all the letters, that they are a literary fiction. Mlle. Ch. Charrier expands the thesis of Schmeidler and gives some additional interesting material which she, interprets in support of her position. There have been several scholars who have defended the authenticity of the correspondence, the latest of whom is Etienne Gilson, who stoutly maintains that the letters are historical records, although he does not rule out Lalanne’s theory that the present text is a redaction by Heloise of original letters.

In this article, it is my purpose to weigh the evidence already presented for and against the authenticity of these letters, to add some considerations of my own and then to draw the conclusion which the facts so far known to present-day scholarship seem to warrant.

The evidence, alleged or factual, which bears on the question of the authenticity of this correspondence falls under eight heads: (1) evidence of manuscripts; (2) literary tradition; (3) literary form; (4) style; (5) unity of references and thought; (6) alleged historical discrepancies; (7) the character of Abelard’s replies; (8) Heloise of the letters in the light of the history of her time.

1. Evidence of Manuscripts.

The manuscripts which we have give no positive evidence against the

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2 Magistri Petri Abaelardi ... Historia Calamitatum; Heloissae et Abaelardi Epistolae (Turici, 1841).
3 Quelques doutes sur l’autenticité de la correspondance amoureuse d’Héloïse et d’Abelard; La Correspondance littéraire, 1, (1856) 27-33.
4 Sull’ Autenticita delle Lettere d’Abelardo e Eloisa, Rend. Instituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, (1911); 556-67; 606-18.
6 H eloise dans l’histoire et dans la légende (Paris, 1933).
J. T. MUCKLE

authenticity of these letters. The same salutations are found in all in the first hand. The titles, v.g., *Heloissae suae ad ipsum deprecatoria* are not found in all the manuscripts but they are all in *Ms Troyes 802*, the oldest and best, and in the first hand. Of course such titles are evidently the creation of scribes.

On the other hand, it is surprising that the earliest of the manuscripts which we have was written not before the end of the thirteenth century, about one hundred and fifty years after the apparent date of composition. Jean de Meung who translated these letters at about that time certainly had a manuscript. The lack of twelfth and early thirteenth-century manuscripts is all the more surprising since there are earlier manuscripts of other works of Abelard.8 A letter recently discovered bearing the title *Abailardus contra Bernardum* is manifestly twelfth-century.9

2. Literary Tradition

Strange to say, the theme of Abelard and Heloise made very little appeal to the Middle Ages or to the Humanists. There is a stanza in the poem *Metamorphosis Goliæ Episcopi*, formerly attributed to Walter Mapes, the author of the work *de Nugis Curialium*, which manifestly refers to Heloise. It runs as follows:

Nupta quaeerit ubi sit suus Palatinus
cujus totus exitit spiritus divinus
quaeerit cur se substrahat quasi peregrinus
quem ad sua ubera foverat et sinus.10

The poem is supposed to be of the late twelfth century. The author may have known of Heloise through gossip or student songs, but the lines, at any rate, are the earliest Latin document apart from the text itself which portrays Heloise yearning for Abelard.

Jean de Meung translated the *Historia Calamitatum* and these letters into French likely towards the end of the thirteenth century.11 He also introduced the story of Abelard and Heloise with special reference to the objections of the latter to their marriage into the poem *Roman de la Rose*.

Petrarch read and annotated a manuscript containing the *Historia Calamitatum* and the letters.12 There are several lines in the *Ballade des Dames du temps jadis*, composed by François Villon in 1462, which refer to Abelard and Heloise; she is called *très sage Héloïse*13 an apithet likely based on the story in the *Roman de la Rose*.

But we find no further interest in them among writers until the editions of d’Amboise and Duchesme appeared in 1616.14 The numerous fantastic renderings15 in which many fictitious passages were inserted began to appear at the end of the seventeenth century, and were multiplied especially by the Roman ticists in the eighteenth; they picture a legendary Heloise as almost the patron goddess of love—a complete distortion of the Heloise of the Latin text.

Beginning with the eighteenth century numerous translations of the Latin text were made. Few, if any, mediaeval works have been translated into the vernaculars of Western Europe: French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portugese

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11 He died in 1304. His translation of the *Historia Calamitatum* has been edited by Mlle. C. Charrier, *Traduction de la première Épitre de Pierre Abélard Historia Calamita-
12 Paris, Bibl. Nat *Ms lat. 2223*.
14 For the relation between these two editions, see Mediaeval Studies, XII (1950), 168-9.
and English as often as have these letters. The story also became the theme of lyric poets, dramatists and artists.

3. Literary Form.

The literary form of the letters of Heloise and the first two of Abelard indicate that the writers were acquainted with the rules of epistolary correspondence whose development began as early as the end of the eleventh century. This *ars dictaminis* was applied primarily to official, stereotyped, chancery letters. It came to be extended also to special types of letters between individuals, e.g., of one applying for preferment or other favours, of a student writing to his father or mother for money, etc. I have not found any other instance of its covering personal, intimate correspondence such as love letters in the earlier part of the period, although one may suppose it influenced them.

The first sentence of the second letter of Heloise reads as follows:

Miror, unice meus, quod praeter consuetudinem epistolarum immo contra ipsum ordinem naturalem rerum, in ipsa fronte salutationis epistolae me tibi praepone foremipsa, feminam videlicet viro, uxorem marito, ancillam domino, monialam monacho et sacerdoti diaconissam, abbati abbatissam. Rectus quippe ordo est et honestus, ut qui ad superiores vel ad pares scribunt, eorum quibus scribunt nomina suis anteponant. Sin autem ad inferiores, praeecedunt scriptionis ordine qui praeecedunt rerum dignitate.

Here Heloise states that it is against the custom of letter-writing to place the name of the inferior in the salutation before that of the superior. This prescription of the order to be followed in salutations is found in many of the numerous *ars dictaminis*.

Petrella holds that the composition of Heloise's letters conforms with the *Ars dictaminis* as found in treatises composed in Orleans about 1180-1220. He also says that the *Ars dictaminis* written by Alberic, the deacon, in Monte Cassino in the previous century is too complex and extensive especially in relation to private correspondence to be considered the basis of the composition of Heloise's letters. But surely corresponding customs and rules would be found in France at that time. These do not spring up over night. The only rule which Heloise cites is found word for word in Alberic. Is it too much to suppose that it was known and established in France fully fifty years later? While Petrella's thesis would explain the relatively late date of the extant manuscripts of this correspondence, yet it does not appear sufficiently convincing to carry much weight.

Alberic says of the salutation of letters: *Si vero superiores (scribunt) inferioribus, praeponenda sunt nomina mittentium.* St. Bernard (d. 1153) and

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24 For a list of these translations, see Charrier, *op. cit.*, pp. 601 ff., and add Pietro Abelerdo, *Epistolario Completo* by C. Ottaviano (Palermo, 1934). There have been only three English translations worthy of the name, viz., that by Rev. Joseph Berington (London, 1787 with several reprints), that of Henry Bellows (St. Paul, 1922), and that by C. K. Scott Moncrieff (London, 1925). The former omits the most salacious passages of Heloise's letters, and very often paraphrases others. The last is often inexact and sometimes erroneous. The renderings of John Hughes, Rev. H. Mills and Miss Morten are fantastic. Alexander Pope's poem, *Elia* to *Abelard* is based on Hughes' composition.


26 *Rationes Dictandi* a part of a longer work in *Quellen zur Bayerischen und Deutschen Geschichtete*, Band IX (München, 1863), 1 p. 12. But Alberic differs from Heloise in that he puts the letters *inter pares* in the same class as those by inferiors to superiors.

27 Alberic (b. 1008) entered Monte Cassino at the time of Abbot Desiderius. He was also a theologian and attended the synod of Rome in 1079. He had Pope Gelasius II as a student and he himself was made a Cardinal. For his life and works see *Manitius III* pp. 300-5. *Chronica Mon. Casinensis* III. MGH SS VII, p. 728; *De viris illustribus Casin.* 24, 45; PL 173, 1032, 1046.
Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) both adhere to this rule. St. Bernard seldom uses a salutation when writing to an inferior but, when he does so, he always puts his own name first. Peter the Venerable always begins with a salutation. He also follows the same rule of putting his own name first when writing to one in lower rank. It is noteworthy that, in his letter to Heloise, he puts her name first.

But there is another mark of the salutations in these letters which should be observed. Both the three letters of Heloise and the first two of Abelard’s replies go beyond the classical salutem dat and of the still briefer forms of the several centuries preceding the twelfth, and are more prolix and artistically composed, v.g., Heloise begins her first letter:

Domino suo, immo patri; coniugi suo, immo fratri; ancilla sua, immo filia; ipsius uxor, immo soror, Abaelardo Heloisa.\(^\text{21}\)

Abelard begins his first letter:

Heloisae dilectissimae sorori suae in Christo Abaelardus frater eius in ipso.\(^\text{22}\)

These expanded salutations denoting love and esteem, a sentiment of humility on the part of the writer or a blessing upon the person addressed, stem from a development of the art of letter-writing which is exemplified in other collections of letters written at about the same time.

St. Bernard often omits the salutation in letters addressed to those who are not prelates or other persons of dignity. But when he does use salutations, they are expanded usually in one of two ways. First, after the words abbatis vocatus he will add some such phrase as modicum id quod est, v.g.:

Amantissimo Patri et domino Innocentio, Dei gratia summo Pontifici, frater Bernardus Clarae-Vallis vocatus abbas, modicum id quod est.\(^\text{23}\)

Secondly, instead of salutem dat, he will add a spiritual wish or blessing, v.g.:

Speciali amico suo Haimerico, Dei gratia diacono cardinali, et apostolicæ Sedis cancellario, frater Bernardus de Clara-Valle, luce sapientiae et virtutis clarescere.\(^\text{24}\)

Peter the Venerable always begins his letters with a salutation. Like St. Bernard, he usually ends it with a prayer or a blessing, but he also expands it at the beginning by some expression of esteem, v.g.:

Cum dulcidine recolendo, cum honore nominando, domino et Patri Altoni Trecensium episcopo, frater Petrus Cluniacensium humilis abas, se ipsum totum.\(^\text{25}\)

Clear evidence, then, shows that our correspondence was written in accordance with the rules of artistic composition of the time.

4. Style.

The style of both the Historia and these letters is much the same. But that of Heloise’s letters is more compact and involved, as one realizes when he attempts to translate some of the sentences. Her style too is more vivid and forceful than that of the Historia and of Abelard’s letters. Of course the difference of content may account for this in part. The Historia is chiefly a

\(^{21}\) P. 68.

\(^{22}\) P. 72.

\(^{23}\) Ep. 157; PL 182, 315A.

\(^{24}\) Ep. 18; PL 189, 87.

\(^{25}\) Ep. 189; PL 182, 354A.
narrative and the letters of Abelard are in general a reasoned reply to Heloise's impassioned reproaches, reflections and entreaties.

While the Latin of all these texts is grammatically correct, yet one could scarcely call its style finished and artistic. The reason is the repetition so often of sentences constructed in the same way. In this point they resemble the style of St. Gregory's *Moralia* so closely as to make one suspect it was derived from that work.

First of all is the frequent use of the *tanto...quanto* clauses of comparison.

Let us quote a sentence from the *Historia Calamitatum* and from the first letter of Heloise:

> Quod quidem et ipsi, qui inter conscholares nostros praecipui habebantur, *tanto* maiorì sustinebant indignatione, *quanto* posterior habebar aetatis et studii tempore.\(^\text{26}\) Quam ex ipsa statim tituli fronte vestram esse considerans, *tanto* ardentius eam coeci legere, *quanto* scriptorem ipsum carius amplector.\(^\text{27}\)

This construction occurs very frequently in both texts. Let us give some statistics. The page references are to Cousin's edition. The footnotes in PL 178 make the length of page texts very irregular.

**Use of Construction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Number of Times Used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Historia Calamitatum</em></td>
<td>29 times in 34 pages of Cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st letter of Heloise</td>
<td>8 times in 6 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd letter of Heloise</td>
<td>9 times in 6½ pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd letter of Heloise</td>
<td>twice in 14 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st letter of Abelard</td>
<td>3 times in 5 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd letter of Abelard</td>
<td>14 times in 14 pages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Use of construction in some other works of Abelard:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Number of Times Used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>De Origine sanctimonialium:</em></td>
<td>12 times in 31 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Regula sanctimonialium:</em></td>
<td>36 times in 60 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sermon</em> (6) on Sept.:</td>
<td>6 times in 5 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sermon</em> (8) on the Palm:*</td>
<td>11 times in 9 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sermon</em> (12) on the Cross:*</td>
<td>3 times in 5 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sermon</em> (33) on John the Baptist:</td>
<td>14 times in 25 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sic et non:</em></td>
<td>4 times in the first 75 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ethica:</em></td>
<td>twice in the whole treatise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table the following conclusions are evident: (a) Abelard makes frequent use of this construction in other letters and in his sermons; (b) he uses it very little in his doctrinal works; (c) Heloise uses it more often than Abelard even in his letters to her; (d) it is used frequently in the *Historia Calamitatum*; (e) Heloise makes little use of it in her third letter which is largely an exposition of the incongruities of the *Rule of St. Benedict* when applied to nuns. The construction lends itself to use more in impassioned speech than in straight exposition.

This *tanto...quanto* construction is found in all periods of Latin literature, but it is more common in Plautus and Terence than in classical prose. The closer a writer comes to vulgar Latin, usually the more common is the construction. Cicero seldom uses it in his speeches, while it is found, though not often, yet more frequently in his letters. For example, in his letter to Atticus\(^\text{28}\) we find two sentences in the space of ten lines:

> Qua ex re et molestia sane *tanta* affectus *quantum* mihi meus amor summus erga utrumque vestrum afferebatur . . . nec *tantum* intelligebam ei esse

\(^{26}\) *Hist. Calamitatum*, p. 176.

\(^{27}\) *Epistles* I, 17.

\(^{28}\) *P. 68.*
offensionis quantum litterae tuae declararunt nec tantum proficiebam quantum volebam.

St. Jerome makes use of it in his letters but not to a great extent. It is St. Gregory in his *Moralia* who uses this construction especially in his Prefaces with almost the same frequency as is found in the texts under consideration. Sometimes we find a cluster of *quanto . . . tanto* or a variation such as *quo . . . eo*, v.g., in the following consecutive lines:

... *quo magis* aeternum refrigerium quaeritur, *eo magis* conspicitur quam vacue pro vita ista laboratur. Ad praestolantem vero laboriosas noctes subintulit, quia *quo magis* ex termino operis praemium quod assequamur inspicimus, *eo magis* ingemiscimus diu nos nescisse quod quaerimus. Unde et ipsa poenitentis cura vigilanter exprimitur ut laboriosas noctes enumerasse dicetur quia *quanto* verius ad Deum revertimur, *tanto* subtilius labores quos per ignorantiam in hoc mundo pertulimus dolentes pensamus. Nam *quo unicumque* plus dulce fit quod de aeternis desiderat, *eo* el *magis* grave ostenditur ...

Here are five uses of comparative clauses in twelve lines of Migne. Neither Abelard nor Heloise reaches that percentage.

Let us take another peculiarity of style common both to the *Historia Calamitatum* and the letters of Heloise and Abelard, viz., the frequent use of an *ut* clause tacked on at the end of a sentence. Let us take a few consecutive lines from the first letter of Heloise for an illustration:

... *non utique* ab alio, sed a teipso, *ut* qui solus es in causa dolendi, solus sis in gratia consolandi. Solus quippe es qui me contristare, qui me laetificare, seu consolari valeas. Et solus es qui plurimum id mihi debebas, et nunc maxime cum universa quae iusseris in tantum impleverim *ut* cum te in aliquo offendere non possem, meipsam pro iussu tuo perdere sustinerem. Et quod maius est, dictuque mirabile, in tantam versus est amor insaniam *ut* quod solum appetebat hoc ipse sibi sine spe recuperationis auferret. Cum ad tuam statim iussionem tam habitum ipsa quam animum immutarem *ut* te tam corporis mei quam animi unicum possessorem ostenderem . . .;* four times in ten lines.

Again let us give some figures. I find the following instances in:

*Historia Calamitatum* first 70 lines of Migne—14.
First letter of Heloise first 70 lines of Migne—9.
First reply of Peter first 70 lines of Migne—7.
Second letter of Heloise first 70 lines of Migne—15.
Second letter of Peter first 70 lines of Migne—6.
Third letter of Heloise first 70 lines of Migne—7.
Third letter of Peter first 70 lines of Migne—4.
Sermon on The Cross—7 times.

Here we see that the *Historia Calamitatum* and the first two letters of Heloise use the *ut plus subjunctive* construction more frequently.

This construction is found frequently also in Gregory's *Moralia*, especially in continuous passages of exposition. It is not so frequent where he explains a sentence of Job by a few lines. It is found most often in the Prefaces to the various books. The first Chapter of Book V,* for example, containing fifty lines, has nine such uses. Sometimes they go in clusters, v.g.:

At cum bonis hic bene est et malis male, incertum valeit utrum boni

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* Moralia VIII, 8; PL 75, 812B.
* PL 75, 679-680.
* P. 70.
idcirco bona accipiant ut provocati ad alicquid melius crescant an iusto latentique iudicio hic suorum operum remunerationem percipiant ut a praemii vitae sequentis inanescent; et utrum malos idcirco adversa feriant ut ab aeternis suppliciis corrigentia defendant; an hic eorum poena incipiat ut quandoque complenda . . . eos . . . perducat.

Four instances in six lines.

We also find that in the letters of Abelard and Heloise the ut clause is modified by a subordinate clause introduced by a relative. The same construction is found in the Moralia. Let us illustrate this similarity of style. At the beginning of the first letter of Heloise we read:23

Quam ex ipsa statim tituli fronte vestram esse considerans, tanto ardentius eam coepli legere, quanto scriptorem ipsum carius amplector ut cuius rem perdidii, verbis saltem tamquam eius quadem imagine recreer.

Compare this with St. Gregory:

Nescit homo pretium eius, quoniam quisquis iam ratione utitur, tanto altius sub huius sapientiae intellectu se despicit, quanto eiusmodem sapientiae verius interna cognoscit ut indignum se ad hanc pervenisse videat, per quam gratuito agitur ut dignus fiat.

These sentences are exactly parallel in structure: tanto . . . quanto followed by an ut clause which is modified by a subordinate clause introduced by a relative.

Several words, saltem, pensare, quasi recur but not too frequently, especially in the Historia Calamitatum and the first letter of Heloise; quasi is also found once in the first letter of Abelard. These words are also very frequently used in the Moralia of St. Gregory. The word obsecro recurs throughout the correspondence and it is also used to some extent in the other works of Abelard. But in impassioned parts of letters, it would naturally be used by any writer in any age and so its use here has no special significance. St. Jerome's letters were used both by Abelard and Heloise. They could easily have picked it up from him. Of course it is common in Cicero's orations.

We have only two other letters extant of Heloise, one prefixed to the treatise Problematia28 and the other29 to Peter of Cluny. Both are short and do not give sufficient material to base a judgment of her style on them. There is one use of the tanto . . . quanto construction in the first and four instances of the ut and subjunctive in the second. But of course every author makes use of this latter construction. In his sermons, Abelard uses to a limited extent both the ut and subjunctive construction and quasi. In the sermon on the Cross which takes up the space of five columns of Migne,30 he uses ut and the subjunctive seven times and quasi five times. He uses saltem once.

To sum up: There are certain marked characteristics of the style of the Historia Calamitatum and the love letters of Abelard and Heloise, as distinguished from the letters which are really treatises, which run through them much more than in Latin prose texts of the twelfth century in general, but are found in abundance in the Moralia of St. Gregory. All these characteristics are found in the sermons of Abelard.31 They are even more marked in Heloise's first two letters than in Abelard's replies. In other words, Heloise's style in the first two letters more closely resembles that of the Historia Calamitatum than that of Abelard's letters to her. This is partly due, no doubt, to the content of Abelard's replies which more abound in exposition based on quotations and references.

23 P. 68.
24 PL 76, 75A.
26 PL 178, 479 ff.
27 PL 178, 379 ff.
28 PL 178, 677-8.
J. T. MUCKLE

5. Unity of References, Quotations and Thought.

There are several passages in the Historia Calamitatum and the letters of Abelard which not only in thought but in wording closely parallel passages in other works of Abelard. This should cause no surprise, but is just what one should expect.

But there are phrases and quotations found in the letters of Heloise to Abelard which correspond to parallel passages in the works of Abelard.

Heloise in her first letter uses the word pseudo-Apostolorum of the two men mentioned by Abelard in the Historia Calamitatum as maligners; he calls them novi apostoli. The word pseudo-apostoli was well known since it was used by St. Paul, Tertullian, St. Jerome, St. Gregory and by Abelard himself in his Commentary on the Romans.

Heloise uses the phrase siccis oculis. It is also found in Abelard's Sermon on the Passion. Here again the phrase is a commonplace from Horace down. It is used by St. Jerome, and of course Heloise knew both her Horace and St. Jerome. She also says: si omnes taceant, res ipsa clamat. Abelard in Historia Calamitatum says: Quod si ego taceam, res ipsa clamat. Both statements are expansions of Cicero: cum tacent, clamant. Heloise could easily have picked it up from Abelard's use of it. Likely, however, it was one of the numerous sententiae from Cicero which everybody knew.

In her first letter, Heloise says: "Non enim rei effectus, sed efficientis affectus in crimine est. Nec quae fiunt, sed quo animo fiunt aequitas pensat." A similar statement is made in her third letter: Non itaque magnopere quae fiunt, sed quo animo fiat, pensandum est . . . This, of course, is the expression of the doctrine of Abelard on intention as the determinant of morality. It is found in many places in Abelard's works. The passage in Abelard's works whose wording most closely approximates that of Heloise is found in his letter, Institutio sanctimonialium. Nec tam quod fiat quam quo modo vel animo fiat pensandum est. Here the phrase quo animo and the verb pensat are common. Quo animo fiat is very common from the time of Cicero, v.g.: . . . nisi quo animo, quo tempore, qua de causa factum sit, intelligatur. Of course Heloise likely had heard Abelard speak of this doctrine more than once. The Sic et non was written, it seems, ten years before the correspondence, but while the thought is much the same in the passage referred to from this work, the wording is quite different. Did Abelard in his work Institutio sanctimonialium have this passage from Heloise's letter in mind? The similarity of wording is so striking that it does not appear likely that each was written independently of the other.

There is another passage in the second letter of Heloise which presents even greater difficulty: Nulla quidquid meriti apud Deum obtinent quae reprobis aeque ut electis communia sunt. She is speaking of external works. Compare this with Abelard's Ethica: Opera quippe quae, ut praediximus, aequae reprobis ut electis communia sunt . . . The doctrine in these two excerpts is much the same as that in the quotations above. The argument here is that it is not the effectus exterioris operis which makes it good or bad and deserving of reward or punishment with God, but the right or wrong intention of the agent. This doctrine is found also in many places in Abelard's works, but it is in the above

38 P. 68.  
39 PL 178, 470A.  
40 Ep. 39; PL 22, 415.  
41 P. 69.  
42 P. 179.  
43 I in Cat., 3.  
44 P. 72.  
45 PL 178, 223C.  
46 Ethica: PL 178, 652, 653 et passim; Proble-  
47 PL 178, 703; In Epist. ad Rom.: PL 178, 801B; Sic et non; PL 178, 1587BC; Dialogus inter Philos. Jud. et Christ.; PL 178, 1619B.  
48 PL 283D.  
49 De Inv. II, 26.  
50 P. 82.  
51 PL 178, 650B. [55]
quotation that the wording is practically identical with that in the letter of Heloise. Certainly the two passages are related either by common origin or by imitation, one of the other. The Ethica is considered one of the latest of Abelard's works and so composed after Heloise wrote her second letter. Of course we cannot rule out the possibility that the common source is Abelard's mind, that she had heard him state it before the composition of the Ethica. But is it not more likely that the Ethica borrowed from the letter, or that the wording of both is by the same person?

There are several instances where Heloise quotes a text of Scripture or a well-known statement of St. Jerome or St. Augustine to support her argument, which are also quoted by Abelard. This fact is of little importance; one could find repetition of quotations in any two authors of the Middle Ages who are writing on germane subjects.

6. Alleged Historical Discrepancies.

Schmeidler and others who reject the authenticity of the letters hold that Heloise in her first letter flatly contradicts statements of fact made by Abelard in his Historia Calamitatum. Abelard in two passages makes it clear that he had gone to the Oratory, and so had seen Heloise more than once. Schmeidler and others understand two passages in Heloise's first letter as saying he did not see or write to her since her entrance into religious life.

The two pertinent passages from the Historia read as follows:

Illuc itaque reversus, eam cum quibusdam alis de eadem congregacione ipsi adhaerentibus ad praedictum oratorium invitavi. Eoque illis adductis ipsum oratorium cum omnibus ei pertinentibus concessi et donavi . . . 51

Hoc ego saepe apud me pertractando, quantum mihi liceret, sororibus illis providere, et earum curam agere disposueram, et quo me amplius revere-

rentur, corporali quoque praesentia eis invigilare et sic etiam earum necesstitudinibus subvenire. Et cum me nunc frequentior ac maior persecutio filiorum quam olim fratrum affliget, ad eas de aestu huius tempestatis, quasi ad quemdam tranquillitatis portum, recurrerem, atque ibi aliquantulum respirarem . . . 52

In the first of these two passages, Abelard states that he returned to the Oratory and invited Heloise and her followers to occupy it. He does not say whether this invitation was extended by letter or in a personal interview. Also, that after they had been brought there, he turned over to them the Oratory and its possessions. He was likely there when he gave them possession, but he does not expressly say so. In the second passage, he states that as time went on he made repeated visits to Heloise and her nuns now installed in the Oratory; and to such an extent that the tongues of his detractors were set wagging.53

This evidence is confirmed by Abelard in other texts. He tells us that he was present in the Oratory at their recitation of the Office.54 He wrote at Heloise's request a set of sermons for special feasts which apparently were to be read by the Abbess to her community.55 In answer to her request also, he composed a book of hymns and sequences.56 In other words, he gave spiritual instruction and direction to the nuns as a body.

The passages from the first Letter of Heloise which, it has been claimed, flatly contradict all this are as follows:

51 P. 205.
52 P. 209.
53 Cf. the letter of Abelard prefatory to his sermons; PL 178, 379.
54 P. 206.
55 Cf. The Preface to Abelard's Hymni et Sequentiæ; PL 178, 1771.
56 P. 76
J. T. MUCKLE

Unde, non mediocri admiratione nostrae tenera conversationis initia tua iam dudum oblivio movit quod, nec reverentia Dei nec amore nostri nec sanctorum patrum exemplis admonitus, fluctuantes me et iam diutino moerore confectam, vel sermone praesentem, vel epistola absentem consolari tentaveris.

Dic unum, si vales, cur post conversionem nostram, quam tu solus facere decrevisti, in tantam tibi negligentiam atque oblivionem venerim ut nec colloquio praesentis recreer, nec absentis epistola consoler.

Do these texts imply that Abelard had never visited Heloise? It is a question of their meaning.

First of all, Ms Troyes 802 reads conversionis for conversationis. But the latter reading has the authority of all the other manuscripts known to be extant.

The reading of the Troyes manuscript (which in general is the best) can be accounted for by the fact that writers and scribes often use conversio in the sense of conversatio. In the manuscripts of this correspondence, conversio will almost invariably be found as a variant for conversatio. The same thing is true in those of the Benedictine Rule and other ascetical works.

Admiratione is ablative of manner or means; iam dudum with the perfect movit signifies 'long ago;' tentaveris is subjunctive, softening the bluntness of the idea which would have been conveyed by the indicative; the line of demarcation between the indicative and subjunctive is less clearly drawn in Mediaeval Latin than in Classical Latin. The participles fluctuantes, confectam and praesentem agree with me. The sentence would run in English:

The frail beginnings of our religious life were long ago troubled with no little disappointment at your forgetfulness of me: for I was wavering and weighed down with lasting grief but you were not moved by reverence for God, love of me or the precedents of the holy Fathers to try to give me solace either by a talk when I was in your presence or by a letter when we were apart.

Heloise is simply saying that in the beginning of their religious life, she was sorely tried by Abelard's neglect; he neither wrote her any letter of spiritual consolation or direction nor had a talk with her when he saw her. I can see no valid reason for making this apply only to her life at the Paraclete. That was not the beginning of her religious life. Iamdudum could scarcely apply to the comparatively short time elapsing between the cessation of Abelard's visits to the Paraclete and the apparent date of Heloise's letter. Nostrae does not include the other nuns of the Paraclete; the singular me rules that out.

The second passage confirms this interpretation for it is in meaning almost a repetition of the first. Nostram refers both to Heloise and Abelard, as is clear from the first sentence of Abelard's reply:

Quod post nostram a saeculo ad Deum conversionem nondum tibi aliud consolationis vel exhortationis scripserim non negligentiae meae sed tuae ... prudentiae imputandum est.

There is no variant reading in the manuscripts for nostram. Abelard then considered that nostram as used by Heloise referred to both of them. The present tense of recreer and consoler means that the condition still exists. In English it means: "Answer me this one question, if you can: Why is it that ever since our entrance into monastic life which was your decision, not mine,
you have so disregarded and forgotten me that you do not renew my spirit by a private talk (colloquio) when on a visit or console me by letter when you are away?” Heloise here again complains that all during her religious life since their conversion, Abelard has so forgotten her that he has never written a letter of consolation or comforted her by a talk when he saw her.

Does Heloise in these two extracts contradict the statements of Abelard in the Historia Calamitatum and the other documents quoted above? Not at all. Abelard states that he often visited the Oratory to look after his nuns; he attended the recitation of the Office and wrote conferences for them. Heloise does not contradict this but complains only that he would not have a spiritual talk with her when he was at the Oratory or write to her when he was away. In other words, he did not and would not become her individual spiritual director. He would not, as she puts it, be a ‘St. Jerome to Asella’ towards her. His constant purpose clearly stands out in his letters to wean her away from her infatuation for him to a sincere and wholehearted love of God. In view of their past history, he acted as any priest with an ounce of sense would have conducted himself.

Abelard speaks, in his reply to her second letter, of her old and constant complaint about the circumstances of their conversion and entrance into religious life. This, some allege, proves that she had spoken to him on the matter long ago and more than once, and so contradicts the above quotations. Again, we must insist on the meaning of the text. This passage does imply that she had often and of old spoken in complaint on their downfall which had led to their entrance into religious life. That is very possible and likely. Heloise in her interviews likely did introduce the subject more than once and expected Abelard to enter into a discussion of it and try to console her. But since Abelard would not act as her spiritual guide, he would not be drawn into a discussion of her spiritual affairs; Abelard would leave that to her director, which under the circumstances was the proper thing to have done.

Heloise in her first letter writes to Abelard as though he were still abbot of Saint Gildas in charge of his unruly monks. But, some allege, Abelard wrote the Historia Calamitatum after he had fled from his monks. First of all, it is not known just when Abelard gave up his post as Abbot. But towards the close of the Historia Calamitatum he distinctly states he is still Abbot, subject to the persecution of his monks and in danger of their treachery.

In Abelard’s reply to the first letter of Heloise, he says that he has been quick to send her the Psalter which she had requested. But in her first letter she made no such request. Further, it is argued, one could hardly suppose a Benedictine convent in the Middle Ages to be without a Psalter. Heloise could easily have requested it on the occasion of one of his visits. As we have seen above, he wrote the special sermons and the hymns and sequences in response to her request. But surely no one would declare those works spurious because we have no such request mentioned anywhere by Heloise.

But a convent in the Middle Ages would have a Psalter and likely several copies. It was in common use in the Middle Ages in the Office which was recited in choir both by monks and nuns. As stated above, Abelard in this same letter states that he had assisted at the recitation of the Office by the nuns of the Paraclete. Further, Heloise asks Abelard to rearrange the order of the Psalms in their Office so as to avoid repetition in covering the entire Psalter each week. It is certain then that the Paraclete possessed a Psalter.

But does the word Psalterium in this passage necessarily mean the Book of Psalms? In Greek and Latin, it first meant a musical instrument and then a...
song or hymn sung to the accompaniment of this instrument. The term was applied to the Psalms very early; and that was the common meaning of the term in mediaeval Latin; but it had several other uses. It was applied to verses of reproach or satire in the post-classical period. In the later Middle Ages it was a name for the rosary. From the twelfth century, it was used as a name of one hundred and fifty stanzas of praise in honor of some sacred theme. Volume 35 of the Analecta Hymnica is made up of such psalteria such as Psalterium Sanctae Crucis, Psalterium de Passione Domini, Psalterium Iesu, etc. From these uses there could easily have developed what I suggest is the meaning of Psalterium in this letter of Abelard, viz., verses to be chanted alternately.

Abelard says that he is grateful for the prayers of the nuns of the Paraclete for his protection, and for this purpose he hastened to send the Psalter which Heloise had requested. Now the Psalter would not constitute a prayer specially designed for his protection. Abelard closes the letter by citing a versicle and response together with a prayer which the nuns had been saying for him at the end of each Hour of the Breviary. He then adds several versicles and responses followed by another prayer for his protection which they were to say for him. These versicles and responses would be chanted alternately in choir and the prayer sung by the Abbess. This Chant, I submit is what he means when he says at the beginning of the letter that he hastens to send a Psalter. There are then no real discrepancies between the meaning of the text of the Historia Calamitatum and Abelard's letters on the one hand and that of the letters of Heloise.

7. THE CHARACTER OF ABELARD'S REPLIES.

It is noteworthy that in Abelard's reply to Heloise's first letter he makes no reference to some of her most impassioned statements. She had written that the status of concubine appeared to her sweeter than that of wife; that she would prefer to be Abelard's mistress than the wife of Augustus with the world as a dowry.

One would expect that Abelard would have chided her and tried to set her right in regard to such extravagant and sinful dispositions. In his second reply he had tried to make her recognize God's providence and will. But in his first reply, on the contrary, he speaks of her as one upon whom divine grace had bestowed all goods so that by word and example she could teach, comfort and exhort her subjects. He asks her to pray for him, and the most of his first reply is simply a treatise on the efficacy of prayer.

Likewise in her second letter, Heloise states that she is not displeased when the memories of their past deeds so distract her that they possess her even at Mass and in sleep. Abelard in his reply divides her letter into four points but her sinful adherence to sensual memories is not one of them.

It is quite evident that Abelard in his two replies tries to raise Heloise up to a truer love of God. One might expect some word of disapproval of such impassioned and sinful protestations of love.

The only statements in his replies which could be alleged as references to her sensual expressions of love are: (a) where he warns her not to incur the charge flung at Cornelia in Lucan's Pharsalia: Quod defies, illud amasti. Attende, precor, (Abelard goes on) id et erubesce, nisi admissas turpitudines.

Cf. Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche s.v. P. 76.

Cf. P. 76. These prayers would likely be inserted in their Breviary. From the end of the eleventh century the several books which had been required for the recitation of the Office, viz., psalter, antiphonary, books of responses, chapters, collects, hymns, lectionaries—all these came to be compressed into a single volume, the Breviary. Cf. V. Leroquais, Les brevières manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (Paris, 1934), pp. LX ff. et passim.

Cf. Lucan, Pharsalia VIII, 85.
impudentissimas commendes. But in her letters Heloise plainly does approve of her past infidelities with Abelard when she says that she preferred to be his concubine or harlot than his wife, his mistress than the wife of Augustus with the world as a dowry. (b) A little later Abelard writes that he thanks God for having removed from him the heat of passion through his mutilation and adds: Multas adolescentiae tuae maiores animi passiones ex assidua carnis suggestione reservavit ad martyrii coronam. But according to Heloise's own testimony her reliving and longing for the past was not winning any crown but was being sinfully indulged in and forming her real life and character.

8. HELOISE OF THE LETTERS IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORY OF THE TIME.

But there is another problem which has a bearing on the authenticity. It is this: the character and religious spirit of Heloise as expressed in the Historia Calamitatum and in her letters to Abelard is quite at variance with the reputation she enjoyed with persons of renown from the Pope down.

In her first two letters to Abelard, Heloise exhibits a whole-hearted love, devotion and self-surrender which is unsurpassed, so far as I know, in all literary history. Considered on the natural level, there is a beauty and pathos in her persevering, soul-absorbing love, even after years of separation. The story of Heloise and Abelard is really a tragedy, based on the conflict of two opposing forces. Abelard had been the original cause of the mischief by his seduction of Heloise. But after his mutilation and subsequent entrance into religion and Holy Orders, he was a changed man. Heloise ever remained dear to him, but he always kept his love for her in due submission to the higher love of his God and Redeemer, to Whom he was pledged and consecrated. He tries to sublimate the love of Heloise for him up to the level of her faith so that her love for him, while remaining, is according to Christ and in Christ. Heloise, on the other hand, persists in her intense passion with a human, if not carnal, love which finds in him alone its term. The drama consists in the conflict of these two forces as described so vividly in the first four letters, two from Heloise and two from Abelard, which, so far as the letters record it, ends in the first paragraph of the third letter of Heloise in which she submits to the will of Abelard, to write no more of her unbounded love and grief, not because they no longer rend her soul but to escape incurring his displeasure. The final curtain is rung down some ten years later when Abelard, broken and defeated and approaching death, turns his thoughts to Heloise and sends to her his profession of faith which even in his darkest hours he had kept; and the tragedy is sealed when Heloise receives the mortal remains of Abelard, for whom she had pined so many years, and interred them at the Oratory in order that, in compliance with Abelard's last recorded request, she and her nuns might visit his grave and pray for his soul the rest of their days.

Such in bare outline is the tragedy; and, as I have said, viewed from the natural standpoint, the undying love of Heloise is a theme of beauty and pathos which has struck a chord of admiration and sympathy in the hearts of many throughout the succeeding ages from Petrarch, at any rate, to the present day. To one considering the affair as simply human love, Heloise plays the nobler part; Abelard is ungrateful and cruel.

But if we consider Heloise's side of the case from the standpoint of the principles of her faith and of the life to which she was pledged, it takes on a different character. Let us consider the Heloise as the young lover of Abelard and later as a nun, a prioress and finally, as an abbess, as she pictures herself in her own words.

P. 93.

[60]
In the *Historia Calamitatum* and her letters, she is represented as a woman who is so infatuated with Abelard that she is all but beside herself; Abelard is a superman, an ideal, which she worships. She becomes possessed with self-pity, and in her brooding love imagines that she and Abelard are reliving great characters in history. She is Cornelia and he is Pompey. In the ceremony of the reception of the veil, just before going up to the altar, Abelard says that she quotes these verses spoken by Cornelia to Pompey as he landed on Lesbos after his defeat at Pharsalus:

O thalamis indigne meis, hoc iuris habelbat  
In tandem fortuna caput? cur impia nupsi,  
Si miserum factura ful? nunce accipe poenas,  
Sed quas sponte luam.  

Again, in her first letter to Abelard, whom she addresses as “her lord, yes her father; her spouse, yes her brother”, Heloise declares that she had married him and afterwards became a nun, not of her own choice but to obey his will and command. She implores him to write her and return favour for favour. At other times she puts her relations with Abelard on the level of those between St. Jerome and holy women for whom he acted as spiritual guide; she begs Abelard to be a Jerome to her as to a Paula or an Asella.

In the same letter, she describes the depth of her love for Abelard from the beginning which has persevered throughout her life. She did not seek marriage or dowry; but only to conform to his pleasure and will; she goes on:

Et si uxoris nomen sanctius ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper exstitit amicae vocabulum, aut, si non indigneris, concubinae vel scorti.  

That such a sinful disposition still exists is certainly clear from the words, *semper exstitit, indigneras*. She goes on a few lines further:

Deum testem invoco (present), si me Augustus universo praesidens mundo matrimonii honore dignaretur, totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo possidendum, carius mihi et dignius videretur tua dici meretrix quam illius imperatrix.

Here she invokes the Almighty as a witness to her statement that if Augustus offered her the whole world as a dowry in marriage, to her the name of Abelard’s mistress would appear of greater worth and more sublime. Both the language and syntax show that, far from deploring such an attitude, she had it still at the time of writing.

Further on in the same letter she says:

Aeque autem, Deus scit, ad Vulcania loca (note the literary conceit) te properantem praecedere vel sequi pro iussu tuo minime dubitarem. Non enim mecum animus meus, sed tecum erat. Sed et nunc maxime, si tecum non est, nusquam est.  

Heloise at Abelard’s bidding would not hesitate if he so commanded to go before or after him to hell. Her heart has always been Abelard’s and continues to be. Her second letter to Abelard who is addressed as ‘her own after Christ’ contains less of impassioned appeal but is more an estimate of herself in view of her profession and ends with the hope that she may do penance and find at last a refuge in a corner of heaven. But she goes on to say that Abelard and her carnal delights with him are ever in her mind, even in sleep. This causes her...
no worry but she sighs for what she has lost and reenacts in her mind the shameful deeds of the past:

In tantum vero illae, quas pariter exercuimus, amantium voluptates dulces mihi fuerunt, ut nec dislicere mihi, nec vix a memoria labi possint. Quocumque loco me vertam, semper se oculis meis cum suis ingerunt desideris. Nec etiam dormienti sui illusionibus pareuntu, inter ipsa missarum solemnia, ubi purior esse debet oratio, obscura eorum voluptatum phantasmata ita sibi penitus misserrimam captivant animam ut turpitudinibus illiis quam orationi vacem. Quae cum ingemiscere debeam de commissis, suspio potius de amissis. Nec solum quae egimus, sed loca pariter et tempora, in quibus haec egimus, ita tecum nostro infixa sunt animo, ut in ipsis omnia tecum agam, nec dormiems etiam ab his quiescam. Nonnumquam etiam ipso motu corporis animi mei cogitationes domprehenduntur, nec a verbis temperant improvisis.\(^7\)

And just below she goes on:

Castam me praedicant, qui non deprehendunt hypocritam . . . Religiosa hoc tempore iudicior, in quo iam parva pars religionis non est hypocritis . . . In omni autem, Deus scit, vitae meae statu, te magis adhuc offendere quam Deum vereor; tibi placere amplius quam ipsi peto.\(^8\)

Her whole religious life, she says, has been almost entirely a tissue of hypocrisy, not devotion to God. Her entrance into religion was to please Abelard alone and throughout her whole life she was afraid of offending, not God, but him.

Such is the Heloise pictured in the *Historia Calamitatum* and her letters. A woman likely in her early thirties, she had been a nun nearly fifteen years, prioress both at Argenteuil and at the Paraclete, and abbess when she wrote the letters. But abbess as she was, she had without ceasing kept alive her infatuation for Abelard who was now a priest and an abbot. Her whole religious life had been entered into and lived, not from motives of faith, but solely to please him. It was his memory that kept her going on. Her heart was nowhere but with him. No expression of repentance escapes her lips but on the contrary she nurses the infatuation, even though she admits it is eating out the very heart of her spiritual being. She has lived with a false front and played the role of hypocrite so successfully that not even Abelard penetrated it. She tries by every entreaty to get him to enter into a personal correspondence under the guise of spiritual consolation in order that, by his letters, she may feel that she is in his presence.\(^7\)

Now let us look at the Heloise of history, apart from these documents. The material is not plentiful, yet sufficient to warrant some conclusions. As abbess she must have ruled the Paraclete in a highly successful manner. Her convent attracted so many vocations that within a period of some twenty years she established no fewer than six daughter houses\(^7\) which, together with the Oratory, formed 'The Order of the Paraclete'. Many donations of real estate and chattels were made to her house; this we know especially from the Cartulary of the Paraclete which contains twenty-nine documents for the period of her administration, sixteen of which are deeds of gifts, charters of royal and papal confirmations of ownership, etc.\(^7\) The Paraclete came to have quite numerous

\(^6\) Pp. 80-1.
\(^7\) P. 81.

\(^7\) The suggestion might occur to one that the reading of the *Historia Calamitatum* awakened her old love for Abelard and that she reads her renewed love into all her past years in religious life; also that she shows signs of physical and emotional strain which might have characterized her for perhaps the comparatively short time within which she wrote the letters. But the plain meaning of the text does not support such an interpretation.

\(^7\) Enid McLeod, *op. cit.*, p. 216-7 lists them.

\(^7\) Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 211-2 and notes 202, 203. Also Cousin I, pp. 719-728.
possessions and was the recipient of papal and royal favours regarding remission of taxes, protection against marauders and anyone else infringing on its property rights. All this would indicate that the convent was most highly esteemed by the people and the kings of France, as well as by the popes who reigned during her tenure of office.

The text of ten papal bulls regarding the Oratory given in the cartulary are printed in Cousin Omnia Opera Abelardi I, 719-726. Most of them are worded in the customary form of the papal chancery and contain no personal note of approval. However, the Bull of Adrian IV in 1157 has this sentence:

... bonae vestae conversationis odor hortatur iustis postulationibus vestris benignum impertiri consensum, et quae ad utilitatem et quietem vestram pertinent libenti animo adimplere.\(^{60}\)

'The renown of your good religious life' clearly indicates that the Paraclete had a high reputation as a well-ordered religious house.

To build up and to maintain a spirit of piety and religious observance over a period of years, to preside over a religious house where the life attracts enough vocations for six other foundations, one would be strongly inclined to assume, must be the work of a person of sincerity, zeal and holiness and not a self-confessed hypocrite whose heart has all the while been possessed of a spirit of sensuality. There is no other instance in monastic history, so far as I know it, of an abbot or abbess or any other religious superior who so built up and maintained over years a well-ordered religious centre, who was not imbued with sincerity and motivated by the love of God.

There are two other documents which shed some light on the esteem in which Heloise was held. One is a letter\(^ {61} \) of Abelard to St. Bernard in which he says that Heloise had informed him of St. Bernard's visit to the Paraclete. Whether this visit took place before or after the composition of the Historia Calamitatum we do not know. Likely it was before, for Abelard says that he had heard the news on the occasion of a recent visit to the Paraclete to transact some business. Apparently it was a friendly visit, for Abelard says she told him of it \textit{cum summa exultatione}, and this in spite of the fact that Bernard did not approve of the use of the word \textit{supersubstantiale} in their recitation of the Lord's prayer, instead of \textit{quotidianum}.

Now I think that any one who knows the fibre of St. Bernard would readily grant that he, at the time of a friendly visit, held Heloise and her convent in high esteem.

A second document is a reply\(^ {62} \) of Peter the Venerable to a non-extant letter from Heloise right after Abelard's death. In this letter, Peter speaks in the highest terms of her learning and holiness. He also gives a brief sketch of her spiritual development. He says that he remembers that as a youth he had cherished (\textit{dilexisse}) her long ago before she entered religion because of her studies:

I used to hear of you then as a woman who though still entangled in the coils of the world was giving great attention to the knowledge of letters, a rare thing indeed, and also to the pursuit of wisdom though secular; and that neither the pleasures, the trifles or delights of the world could draw you back from your useful purpose of learning the arts.

This is evidently a reference to her early relations with Abelard which would be well known, no doubt, in ecclesiastical circles apart from the text of Historia Calamitatum. But, as Peter goes on, God soon called her by his grace and she

\(^{60}\) Cousin, Petri Abaelardi Opera I, p. 725.

\(^{61}\) PL 189, 305 ff.

\(^{62}\) PL 178, 335 ff.
changed her studies for the better. She chose the Gospel instead of logic, the Apostle for physics, Christ for Plato, the cloister for the Academy, as a woman wholly and truly a philosopher. She erected a precious tabernacle to God in her heart. He compares her to Mary, the sister of Moses, and to Deborah, and then goes on:

by your beginnings you trod upon the head of the old serpent... which by your perseverance through the grace of Almighty God you so ground and crushed that he never dares any more to hiss at you... All this, my very dear sister in Christ, I say not in flattery but as an exhortation that keeping your mind on the great and good work in which some considerable time you have persevered, you be rendered the more anxious to preserve it with caution, to enkindle by word and work alike the holy women who are serving the Lord with you.

And further on Peter says:

Sweet would it be to go on writing to you in this vein for a long time, because your renowned erudition delights me and much more because your piety proclaimed to me by many intrigues me.

He expresses a wish that Marcigny, a Cluniac convent, had her within its walls. He would prefer the wealth of her piety and knowledge to the greatest treasures of kings.

This letter was written likely right after Abelard's death, for its main theme is a description of his last days and holy death. The thought running through the part I have reproduced certainly shows that Peter considered her a true and holy religious. He alludes to her life of pleasure before entering religion, but testifies that from the beginning of her conversion she had led a holy life and by her perseverance had utterly crushed the 'head of the old serpent'. His fulsome expression of his esteem of her holiness is climaxed by saying that he wished his nuns at Marcigny had her with them with her riches of knowledge and piety.

This picture of Heloise does not accord at all with the Heloise of her first two letters to Abelard. Peter considered her an exemplary abbess. Had Peter read those letters? The whole tone of his letter is against such a supposition. Otherwise, how could he say she had chosen Christ and His Gospel and had built a precious tabernacle for Him in her heart? Would he have wished that she were one of his Cluniac nuns? After all, Peter the Venerable was a man of probity, holiness and intelligence. Religious leaders in the Middle Ages were not squeamish, and were quite ready to make due allowance for human weakness, but to say that they would welcome in one of their own convents, as a shining light of religious life, a self-confessed concubine at heart is going a little too far. It just does not make sense.

There are extant also two letters of an Augustinian canon, Hugo Mettelus, to Heloise. The author, as is evidenced by his letter to St. Bernard, was a man who tried to enter the circle of the great or the near-great. The letters are full of flattery and bombast. The one value they have for our purpose is that they show that Heloise was, in his mind, one of the important persons whose acquaintance would be of value for his own prestige.

Several of the early chronicles mention Abelard and describe him and his life and work briefly, but few of them refer to Heloise. But any reference to her represents her as holy and learned, not the Heloise of her letters. The


Hugo, op. cit., p. 312 ff. Hugo later on wrote to the Pope against Abelard, also in a flowery, conceited style. Cf. op. cit., II, p. 331.
first chronicle which refers to Heloise is that attributed to William Godel, which goes to the year 1173. For the year 1137, there is an entry regarding Abelard in which we find the following passage:

Construxit denique Coenobium in territorio Trescassino, in prato quodam ubi legere solitus fuerat, in quo Sanctimoniales plurimas epistolari auctoritate congregavit quod Paraclitum nominavit. Quibus sanctimonialibus quondam uxorem suam religiosam foeminam et litteris tam hebraicis quam latinis adprime eruditam, nomine Heluisam praefecit Abbatissam quae vere ipsius amica, magnam ei post mortem in assiduis precibus fidem conservavit. Quo in loco nunc ambo coram sancto altari honorificentissime sepulti quiescunt.

Here Heloise is called the former wife of Abelard and truly his friend (amicus), who remained so true to him that she constantly prayed for him after his death. Of course, amica could be rendered lover or dear one, but it here carries no connotation of the secret and frustrated love found in the letters of Heloise. She is represented as a religious and learned woman. The entry describes the Heloise of the letter of Peter of Cluny, not that of her letters. Of course, it was written after the death of Heloise, as can be seen. This entry is repeated almost word for word in the Chronicle of Robert of Auxerre, who died in 1212.

There is an interpolated entry in a thirteenth century manuscript which contains the Chronicle of Tours which goes down to 1227. The passage runs as follows:

Haec namque, sicut dicitur, in aegritudine ultima posita praecepit, ut mortua infra (infra?) mariti tumulum poneretur. Et sic eadem defuncta ad tumulum apertum deportata, maritus ejus, qui multis diebus ante eam defunctus fuerat, elevatis brachiis illam recepit, et ita eam amplexatus, brachia sua strinxit.

For Heloise, it is said, in her last illness gave orders that after her death her remains were to be placed within the tomb of her husband. And when her corpse was carried to the opened tomb her husband dead many days before received her with extended arms and embracing her bound his arms about her.

This legend may be a development of the tales of Senator Hilary and his wife, and of the two lovers recorded twice by St. Gregory of Tours.

^[Receuil des Historiens de la France XIII, p. 675.]
^[For information about this manuscript, I am indebted to the work of Enid McLeod already cited. On page 290, and in note 224, she states that the story is also found in one manuscript version of the Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis.]
^[In chapter 42 of his Liber de Gloria Confessorum, PL 71, 564-1, Gregory relates a somewhat similar story. A secular, Hilary of Divion, lived with his wife in sanctity. They had several sons. Hilary's remains, at his death, were placed in a large sepulchre which Hilary had had made large enough for both him and his wife. After a year, the wife died: they took the cover off the tomb to bury her and when she was placed in the tomb Hilary raised his right hand and cast it about her neck. Gregory concludes the story: Quod admirans populus... cognitique quae eis castitas, qui timor in Deum, quae etiam inter ipse dielictio fuisse in saecula, quae se ita amplexi sunt in sepulcro.

In his Historia Francorum I, 42; PL 71, 183-4 and in his Liber de Gloria Confessorum, 32; PL 71, 852, St. Gregory relates that a certain Injuriosus and his wife, each a sole descendent of senatorial families of Auvergne, through a spiritual motive never consummated their marriage. In the second account Gregory says the husband took Holy Orders and the wife became a nun. When his wife died, just before being placed in her sepulchre, she smiled and spoke to her husband. At his death, the husband was placed in a tomb some distance from that of his wife but in the same church. On the morning after his burial, the people were astonished to find their tombs placed side by side. Gregory concludes the story with these words: Hos usque hodie Duos Amantes vocitare loci incolae voluerunt.

In the Vitae Patrum, in chapter 50 of the Vita Sancti Ioannis Eleemosynarii; PL 73, 380C, it is related that St. John was buried in a tomb in which the remains of two holy bishops had been placed. When the tomb was opened to receive St. John's remains, the two bishops moved over to give him
Here we see in this fanciful story the beginning of the legend of Heloise about a century after the supposed date of the composition of the letters. While it is not based on Heloise's letters, yet it is an outgrowth of the spirit of them. It would show that the love of Heloise and Abelard was so intense and lasting that she directed that her remains be buried in the same tomb as Abelard's and that he reached out and clasped the corpse of Heloise in a close embrace. So much for the Chronicles.

Of the poems of popular poetry, it might be well to mention two pieces which have attracted attention. De la Villemarqué in 1839 published a French translation of a Breton popular song entitled Héloïse et Abaylard. Both the authenticity and the supposed date of composition have been severely attacked. Whatever be the date and origin of the poem, it in no way represents the Heloise of her letters, but a sorceress with secret knowledge and power. A Latin poem, attributed to Raoul Tortaire, a contemporary of Abelard, treats of the beauty of Heloise and refers to the mutilation of Abelard, but bears no resemblance to her letters.

The earliest documents, then, which show any trace of the legendary Heloise are the lines from the thirteenth-century interpolation in the Chronicle of Tours and the Metamorphosis Goliæ Episcopi. And the former of these, representing Heloise as yearning for Abelard, may well be based on her first letter, yet it could have arisen from gossip in Paris or from some student song. The entry in the Chronicle may have been inspired by the fact that Peter of Cluny, as he himself tells us, had Abelard's body taken up secretly and borne to the Oratory for burial. This fact was likely well known. Of course, Abelard at the close of his first letter requests Heloise, after his death, to have his remains brought to the Oratory where she and her nuns might be encouraged to pray for him. The entry in the Chronicle might have been written independently of this request of Abelard, but it appears likely that the author of the entry had read it.

III. CONCLUSION

I have tried in this paper to set forth the evidence for or against the authenticity of these letters. From the information furnished by present day scholarship, I do not consider that one can arrive at certitude on this moot question. Perhaps more manuscripts will yet come to light. A critical edition of all Abelard's works with their manuscript tradition may also help to solve the problem.

These letters together with the Historia Calamitatum form a literary unit. They follow each other in logical sequence with no inherent contradictions. Heloise's first letter is occasioned by the Historia and each of the others is a reply to the one preceding it up to the last. The first paragraph of her third letter pictures Heloise as submitting to the will of Abelard not to seek spiritual guidance and direction from him but to limit her letters to particular points of difficulty pertaining to religious life in general. She makes this submission not through internal conviction but to yield to his will.

The only point I find in this correspondence which does not carry out the sequence perfectly is that Abelard makes no reference to some of her impassioned and carnal outbursts. The general tone of his replies is to sublimate...
Heloise’s love for him, to try to intensify her love of God and consecration to Christ. And yet there is no mention, much less a word of chiding or disapproval, of her expressions of a sensual and carnal love which she admits is vitiating her whole religious life. One would expect from Abelard some word of notice and disapproval of such exclamations so contrary to her state.

The manuscripts cast no positive doubt on the authenticity of these letters. The same titles of address are found in all. The headings of the letters, e.g., *Heloissae suae ad ipsum deprecatoria*, while not found in the later manuscripts, are all in *Ms Troyes 802*, the oldest and best, and in the first hand. They are manifestly the creation of scribes. No extant manuscript gives the slightest hint of authorship other than that of Abelard and Heloise. On the other hand, it is surprising that we have no manuscript written before the end of the thirteenth century, whereas there are earlier ones for all of the works of Abelard critically edited so far; and the letter* entitled *Epistola Petri Abailardi contra Bernardum Abbatem* is plainly twelfth-century.

The fact that these letters made practically no appeal to the later Middle Ages, except to Jean de Meung, while remarkable, does not prove that they were unknown to them. Except for Petrarch, the Humanists showed no interest in them either but they were surely accessible to them. The literary form of the letters accords with the principles of epistolary correspondence as found in the *ars dictaminis* of the latter part of the eleventh century on.

The similarities in style present a difficulty. The frequent repetition of the *tanto . . . quanto* construction; of the *ut* with the subjunctive tacked on to the close of a sentence; the fact that these constructions occur so frequently in the first two letters of Heloise and the *Historia Calamitatum*; and the equally frequent use of the same constructions in the *Moralia* of St. Gregory, all these are more easily accounted for if we assume that the first two letters of Heloise, at any rate, are of a later redaction. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that a few statements in the same two letters are expressed in almost the same words in Abelard’s later works.

Then, too, her letters picture Heloise as leading a double life: that of a religious superior bound by vows, and as a woman of sensual mind, serving Abelard and not God, or as she herself puts it, being such a hypocrite as to fool even Abelard himself. On the other hand, Heloise enjoyed a good reputation among the religious leaders of the time from the Pope down and among the people about the Paraclete which was that of a sincere, able and holy religious and a worthy abbess.

In view of the evidence, I am inclined to think that the first two letters of Heloise, at any rate, were worked over and perhaps expanded to some extent. Who was this redactor? It could have been Abelard but, if it was, then the letters were not put into circulation until well after his death. Neither Peter the Venerable nor Pope Adrian IV would have written to Heloise in the vein in which they did, had the letters of Heloise been already in circulation. It is difficult to suppose that it was Heloise. From what we know of her from other sources, she would not have desired to leave such a character sketch of herself as her *monumentum aere perennius*. It is quite possible and I think probable that someone else toward the end of the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century gathered the letters together, rewrote the first two letters of Heloise and put the *Historia Calamitatum* and the letters both of Abelard and Heloise into circulation. But if that be the case, the redactor was no ordinary mortal. No one but a literary genius could have so depicted frustrated love and so fathomed the depths of the heart of a woman infatuated with a man who is beyond her reach as is found in these two letters of Heloise which have so intrigued the minds and hearts of men the last three centuries.

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95 P. 49.
DOMINO suo immo patri, coniugi suo immo fratri, ancilla sua immo filia, ipsius uxor immo soror, Abaelardo Heloisa.

Missam ad amicum pro consolatione epistolam. dilectissime, vestram* ad me forte quidam nuper attulit. Quam ex ipsa statim tituli fronte vestram esse considerans, tanto ardentius eam coepti legere, quanto scriptorem ipsum carius amplector ut, cuius rem perdidi, verbis saltem tamquam eius quadam imagine recreer. Erant memini huius epistolae fere omnia felle et absinthio plena quae scilicet nostrae conversionis miserabilem historiam et tuas, unice, cruces assiduas referebant. Complesti revera in epistola illa quod in exordio eius amico promisisti ut videlicet in comparatione tuarum suas molestias nullas vel parvas reputaret. Ubi quidem expositis prius magistrorum tuorum in te persecutionibus deinde in corpus tuum summae proditionis inuaria ad considdiculorum quoque tuorum Alberici videlicet Remensis et Lotulfi Lombardi execrabilem invidiam et infestationem nimiam stilum contulisti. Quorum quidem suggestionibus quid de glorioso illo theologiae tuae operes quid de te ipso quasi in carcere damnato actum sit non praetermisisti.

Inde ad abbatis tu fractrumque falsorum machinationem accessisti et detractiones illas tibi gravissimas duorum illorum pseudo-apostolorum praedictis apostolorum aemulis in te commotas atque ad scandalum plerisque subortum de nomine Paraclidii oratorio praeter consuetudinem imposito. Denique ad intolerabiles illas et adhuc continuas in te persecutiones crudelissimi scilicet illius exactoris et pessimorum quos filios nominas monachorum profectus miserabilem historiam consummasti.

Quae cum siccis oculis neminem vel legere vel audire posse aestimem. Tanto dolores meos amplius renovarunt, quanto diligentius singula expresserunt et eo magis auxerunt, quo in te adhuc pericula crescere retulisti ut omnes variter de vita tua desperare cogamur et quotidie ultimos illos de nece tua umores trepidantia nostra corda et palpitantia pectora expectent.

Per ipsum itaque qui te sibi adhuc quoquo modo protegit Christum obsecramus quatinus ancillulas ipsius et tuas crebris litteris de his in quibus adhuc fluctus naufragis certificare digeris ut nos saltem quae tibi solae remansimus doloris vel gaudii participes habes. Solent etenim dolenti nonnullam affere consolationem qui condolent et quodlibet onus pluribus impositum levius sustinetur sive defertur. Quod si paululum haec tempestas quieverit, tanto amplius maturandae sunt litterae, quanto sunt iucundiores futurae. De quibuscumque autem nobis scribas, non parvum nobis remedium conferes hoc saltem uno quod te nostri memorem esse monstrabis. Quam iucundae

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1 om. ACUtttY 1 om. suae B Heloyssa ad Petrum ABAELRDM (s.m.) CEY om. Abaelardum C.
2 Heloyssa ABDRIT Heloyssa CEFY.
3 See Mediaeval Studies, XII (1950), 163.
4 om. F.
5 quidem BDRY.
6 om. BDRT.
7 add verba (in margin) A.
8 conversationis BDR.
9 assidue DRY.
10 vitorum BDRY.
11 perditionis A.
12 See Med. Stud., XII (1950), 181, n. 3.
13 Lombardi AFT.
14 sublectionibus BR.
15 quam C. om. Y.
16 add vel B1 scilicet DY.
17 See Appendix, Med. Stud., XII (1950), 212.
18 plurimum BDR.
19 subhortum AT.
20 in tel vitae AT. Amb. Scribes at this period often confuse in te and vitae: several other instances occur in Mss ABRT.
22 aestimemus CEF; illegible correction A.
23 om. ACEF.
24 cuncta F.
25 expectant BCERY.
26 ancillas BRY.
27 om. F.
28 naufragus FvG.
29 particeps A.
30 add tuae E.
31 quibuslibet F.
32 scribis Y.
 vero sint absentium litterae amicorum ipse nos exemplo proprio Seneca\textsuperscript{33} doct ad amicum Lucilium loco sic scribens:

Quod frequentem mihi scribis gracios ago. Nam quo uno modo potes te mihi ostendis. Nunc quam epistolam tuam accipio quin\textsuperscript{31} protinus una simus. Si imaginis nobis amicorum\textsuperscript{33} absentium locundae sunt\textsuperscript{32} quae memoriam renovant et desiderium absentiae falso atque inani solatio levant quanto locundiores sunt litterae quae\textsuperscript{35} amici absentis\textsuperscript{32} veras notas afferunt?

Deo autem gratias quod hoc saltem modo praesentiam tuam nobis reddere nulla invidia\textsuperscript{39} prohiberis, nulla difficultate praepediris,\textsuperscript{42} nulla, obsecro, negligentia retarderis.

Scriptis ad amicum prolixiae\textsuperscript{44} consolationem epistolae et pro adversitatis quidem suis sed\textsuperscript{42} de tuis. Quas videlicet tuas diligenter commemorans cum eiusmod intenderes\textsuperscript{42} consolationi\textsuperscript{44} nostrae plurimum addidisti desolationi et, dum eius mederi vulneribus cuperes, nova quaedam nobis vulnera doloris inflixisti et priora auxisti. Sana, obsecro, ipsa quae fecisti qui quae alii fecerunt curare satagis. Morem quidem amico et socio gessisti\textsuperscript{31} et tam\textsuperscript{41} amicitiae quam societatis debitum persolvisti. Sed maiori te debito\textsuperscript{17} nobis astrinxisti quas non tam amicas quam amicissimas non tam socias quam fillias convenit nominari vel si quod dulcius et sanctius vocabulum potest\textsuperscript{49} excogitari.

Quanto autem debito te erga obligaveris non argumentis non testimoniis indiget\textsuperscript{39} ut quasi dubium comprobetur\textsuperscript{46} et si omnes taceant, res ipsa clamat.\textsuperscript{18} Huius quippe loci tu post Deum solus est fundator, solus huius oratorii constructor, solus huius congregationis aedificator. Nihil hic super alienum expunges, then praepediris,\textsuperscript{40} nulla, obsecro, negligentia retarderis.

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omnia ministrabant necessaria. Et qui de beneficiis vivebant ecclesiasticis nec oblationes facere noverant sed suscipere et qui manus ad suscipientem non ad dandum habuerant hic in oblationibus faciendis prodigi atque importuni fiebant.

Tua itaque vere tua haec est proprie in sancto proposito novella plantatio cuius adhuc teneris maxime plantis frequens ut proficiant necessaria est irrigatio. Satis ex ipsa feminei sexus natura debilis est haec plantatio et infirma etiam si\textsuperscript{4} non esset nova. Unde diligentiorum culturaux exiguit et frequentiorum iuxta illud apostoli: Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit, Deus\textsuperscript{5} autem incrementum dedit. Plantaverat apostolus atque fundaverat in fide per\textsuperscript{6} praedicationis suae doctrinam Corinthios\textsuperscript{7} quibus scriberebat. Rigaverat postmodum eos ipsius apostoli discipulis Apollo sacris exhortationibus et sic eis incrementum virtutum divina largita est gratia. Vitis alienae vineam quam non plantasti in amaritudinem tibi conversam admonitionibus saepe cassis et sacris frustra sermonibus excolis. Quid tuae\textsuperscript{8} debes attende qui sic curam impendis\textsuperscript{9} alienae.

Doces et admones rebellae nec profices. Frustra ante porcos\textsuperscript{10} divini eloquii margaritas spargis. Qui obstinatis tanta impendis quid obedientibus debes considera. Qui tanta hostibus largiris quid filiabus debes meditare. Quo vero omniis patet immoderato amore complexa sum.

Nihil\textsuperscript{11} unquam, Deus scit, in te nisi te requisivi, te pure non tua concupiscens.
J. T. MUCKLE

Non matrimonii foedera, non dotes aliquas expectavi, non denique meas voluptates aut voluntates sed tuas, sicut ipse nosti, adimplere studui. Et si uxoris nomen sanctius ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper exstitiit amicae
cellentiae tuae gloriom minus laederem. Quod et tu ipse tui gratia oblitus
penitus non fuisti in ea quam supra memini ad amicum epistola pro consolatione directa ubi et rationes nonnullas, quibus te a coniugio nostro et infaustis thalamis revocare conabar, exponere non es designatus sed plerisque tacitis quibus amorem coniugio libertatem vinculo praeferebam. Deum testem invoco,
si me Augustus universo praesidens mundo matrimonii honore
totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo possidendum, carius mihi et dignius videretur tua dici meretrix quam illius imperatrix.

Non enim quo quisque ditor sive potentior ideo et melior, fortunae illud est, hoc virtutis. Nec se minime venalem aestimet esse quae libentius diitior quam pauperi nubit et plus in marito sua quam ipsum concupiscit. Certe
quacumque ad nuptias haec concupiscentia ducit, merces ei potius quam
suo, si posset, velle prostituere ditiori sicut inductio ilia Aspasiae philosophae
apud Socraticum Aeschinem cum Xenophonte et uxore eius habita manifeste
convincit. Quam quidem inductionem cum praedicta philosopha ad reconciliandos invicem illos proposuisset tali fine ipsam conclusit:

Quare nisi hoc peregeritis ut neque vir melior neque femina in terris elector sit, profecto semper id quod optimum putabitis esse multo maxime requiritus et ut tu maritus sis quam optimae et haec quam optimo
viro nupta sit.

Sancta profecto haec et plus quam philosophica est sententia ipsius potius sophiae quam philosophiae dicenda. Sanctus hic error et beata fallacia in coniugatis ut perfecta dilectio illa custodiat matrimonii foedera non tam corporem continentia quam animorum pudicitia. At quod error ceteris, veritas mihi manifesta contulerat. Cum quod illae1 videlicet de suis aestimarent
maritis, hoc ego2 de te, hoc mundus universus non tam crederet quam sciret
ut, tanto verior in te meus amor existeret, quanto ab errore longius absisteret.
Quis enim regum aut philosophorum tuam famam exaequare poterat? Quae te
regio aut civitas seu villa videre non aestuabat? Quis te rogo in publicum procedentem conspicere non festinabat ac discedentem collo erecto oculis directis non insectabatur? Quae coniugata, quae virgo non concupiscet
absentem et non exardebat in praesentem? Quae regina vel praepotens femina
gaudiis meis non invidebat vel thalamis? Duo autem fateor tibi specialiter inerant

Heloysa.

1 aut vol. om. CEF.
2 et sic etiam sic et E.
3 om. El tua F.
4 om. E.
5 This confirms the interpretation that
Heloise considered that Abelard wrote the
Historia Calamitatum for a particular person,
and that the epistolary form is not just a
setting.
6 om. BRTY Amb.
7 infaustisque BRY.
8 add decorare (s.m.) Y.
9 praesidendum T Amb.
10 add illa BRY.
11 sequi ACEFT, Amb.
12 om. CE.
13 pro philosophae BR. In Ms A in margin
in Petrarch's hand: require in libro m. Tullii
14 om. Amb.
15 Qua nis CEFY] Quare si with space for
ni Aj Quia ubi Amb.
16 mulier CEF.
17 in terris om. BR] in terra CE.
18 laetior BCEFRT Amb. Ms A reads
elector but the first e is in second hand.
Cicero reads lector.
19 putabar CJC corrupt Y.
20 marito BRY.
21 om. BRY.
22 om. CEF.
23 ipsae CEF.
24 om. F.
25 In Ms A in Petrarch's hand in margin:
De fama Petri, si modo testimonium non
suspectum amor facit.

[ 71 ]
in margin in F: videlicet quam ceteros philosophos minime.

3. exercitio and in margin: videlicet laborem recreans exercitii philosophici F.

4. amator F; videlicet amatoria in margin F.] om. E.

5. In margin in Ms A: muliebriter in Petrarca's hand.


7. tun F; in margin of Ms F: videlicet quod enim bonum corporis vel animi.

8. adhosaecientiam T.


10. efficens A.

11. effectus B.

12. cum Amb.

13. conversationem C.

14. add tua F.

15. epistolis F.

16. consentio corrected to quod sentio A.

17. allis RY] alias B.

18. occasionem E.

19. notis EFY.

20. daxilem CET] corrected to dapsilem (s.m.) A] docilem RY] dixisset B.

21. compleveram EF; with compleam super- script FJ compleam G.

22. praesens BY.

23. quem T.


25. om. F.


27. et A.
dubitarem. Non enim mecum animus sed tecum erat. Sed et nunc maxime si
tecum non est, nusquam est. Esse vero sine te nequaquam potest. Sed ut
tecum bene sit age, obseco. Bene autem tecum fuerit, si te propitium inven-
ert, si gratiam referas pro gratia, modica pro magnis, verba pro rebus. Utinam,
dilecte, tua de me dilectio minus consideret ut sollicitior esset. Sed quo te
amplius nunc securum reddidi, negligentiorem sustineo. Memento, obseco,
quae fecerim et quanta debas attende. Dum tecum carnali frueretur voluptate,
utrum id amore vel libidine agerem incertum pluribus habebatur. Nunc autem
finis indicat quo id inchoaverim principio. Omnes denique mihi
voluptates interdixi ut tuae parerem voluntati. Nihil mihi reservavi nisi sic
tuam nunc praecipue fieri. Quae vero tua sit iniquitas perpense si merenti
amplius persolvis minus, immo nihil penitus praesertim cum parvum sit
quod exigeris et tibi facillimum.

Per ipsum itaque cui te obtulisti Deum te obseco ut quo modo potes tuam
mihi praesentiam reddas, consolationem videlicet mihi aliquam rescribendo,
hoc saltam pacto ut sic recreata divino alacrior vacem obsequio. Cum me ad
turpes olim voluptates expeteres, crebris me epistolis visitabas, frequenti
carminie tuam in ore omnium Heloisam ponebas. Me plateae omnes, me domus
singulae resonabant. Quanto autem rectius me nunc in Deum quam tunc in
libidinem excitares? Perpense, obseco, quae debes, attende quae postulo, et
longam epistolam brevi fine concluso: Vale unice.

II. (Rescriptum ipsius ad ipsam)

Heloisae, dilectissimae sorori suae in Christo, Abaelardus, frater eius in ipso.
Quod post nostram a saeculo ad Deum conversionem nondum tibi aliquid
consolationis vel exhortationis scripserim, non negligentia meae, sed tuae, de
qua semper pluriimum confido, prudentiae imputandum est. Non enim eam
his indigere credidi, cui abundanter quaeacumque necessaria sunt divina gratia
impertivit, ut tam verbis scilicet quam exemplis errantes valeas docere,
puillianimes consolare, tepidos exhortari, sicut et facere iam dudum con-
suevisti cum sub abbatissa prioratum obtineres. Quod si nunc tanta
diligentia tuis provideas filiabus, quanta time sororibus, satis esse credimus ut iam
omnino superfluam doctrinam vel exhortationem nostram arbitremur. Sin
autem humilitati tuae aliter videtur, et in ilius etiam quae ad Deum pertinent
magisterio nostro atque scriptis indiges, super his quae velis scribe mihi ut ad
ipsam rescribam prout mihi Dominus annuerit.

Deo autem gratias, qui gravissimorum et assiduorum periculorum meorum sollicitudinem
vestris cordibus inspirans, afflictionis meae participes vos fecit ut orationum suffragio
vestrarum divina miseratio me protegat et velociter Satanam sub pedibus nostris conterat.

Ad hoc autem praecipue psalterium quod a me sollicite requisisti, soror in
saeculo quondam cara, nunc in Christo carissima, mittere maturavi. In quo

28 numquam BRY. In Ms A. in margin in
Petrarch's hand: amicissime et eleganter.
29 om. CEFR.
30 vero ACFY.
31 enim BRY.
32 add enim BRY.
33 add exegerim Amb. CEF.
34 add A1 CEF.
35 add CEF.
36 temporales Amb. In margin of A in
Petrarch's hand: Feminee.
37 add AEFY.
38 longum A.
39 om. CEF.
40 Quae est rescriptum ad
Petrarch's hand: Heloissam.
41 nundum T.
videlicet pro nostris magnis et multis excessibus et quotidiana periculorum meorum instantia iuge Domino sacrificium immoles orationum.


Attende itaque quanta sit orationis virtus, si quod iubemur oremus, quando id quod orare Prophetam Deum prohibuit, orando tamen obtinuit, et ab eo quod dixerat eum avertit. Cui et alius propheta dicit: "Et cum iratus fueris, misericordiae recordaberis. Audiant id atque advertant principes terreni qui occasione praepositae et edictae justitiae suae obstinat magis quam justi reperuntur, et se remissos videri erubescent, si misericordes fiant, et mendaces si edictum suum mutent, vel quod minus provide statuerunt non impleant, et si verba rebus emendent. Quos quidem recte dixerim Iephtae comparandos qui quod stulte voverat stultus adimplens unicam interfecit. Qui vero eius membrum fieri cupit, "et aliud Psalmista dicit: Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo in Dominum; misericordia, sicut scriptum est, iudicium exaltat, attendens quod alibi Scriptura comminatur: Iudicium sine misericordia in eum qui misericordiam non facit. Quod diligenter ipse Psalmista considerans, ad supplicationem uxoris Nabali Carmeli iuramentum quod ex iustitia fecerat, de viro eius scilicet et ipsius domo delenda per misericordiam cassavit. Orationem itaque iustitiae praetulit et quod vir deliquerat supplicatio uxoris delevit. In quo quidem tibi, soror, exemplum proponitur et securitas datur ut, si huius oratio apud hominem tantum obtinuit, quid apud Deum tua pro me auditur instrueris. Plus quippe Deus qui pater est noster filios diligit quam David feminam supplicantem. Et ille quidem pius et misericors habebatur, sed ipsa pietas et misericordia Deus est. Et quae tunc supplicabat mulier saecularis et laica nec ex sanctae devotionis professione Domino copulata. Quod si ex te minus ad impetrandum sufficias, sanctus qui tecum est tam virgini quam viduarum conventus, quod per te non potes, obtenibit. Cum enim discipulis Veritas dicat: "Ubi duo vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, ibi sum in...

18 add. et CEF.
19 om. CE.
20 om. BR.
21 om. BRY.
22 virorum BR.
23 vel CEFBR.
24 Cf. I Thess. v, 17.
25 Exod. xxxii, 10.
26 Jeremias vii, 16. Hiermias Amb.
27 om. CEF.
28 multis CEF.
29 add ira CEF.
30 exigerent CEF; exigent F.
31 ut RT Amb.
32 quam CE.
medio eorum. Et rursum: Si duo ex vobis consenserint de omni re quam petierint, fiet illud44 a Patre meo, quis non videat quantum apud Deum valeat sanctae congregationis frequens oratio? Si,45 ut Apostolus asserit,46 multum valet47 oratio iusti assidua, quid de multitudine sanctae congregationis specie-randum est?

Nosti, carissima soror, ex homilia48 beati Gregorii XXXVIII quantum suffragium invito seu contradicenti fratris oratio fratrum mature71 attulerit. De quo iam ad extremum ducro, quanta periculi anxietate miserrima eius anima laboraret et quanta desperatione et taedio vitae fratres ab oratione revocaret, quid ibi diligenter scriptum sit tuam minime latet prudentiam.

Atque utinam confidentius te et sanctarum conventum sororum ad orationem invivet ut me scilicet vobis ipse vivum custodiat, per quem, Paulo attestante, mortuos etiam suos de resurrectione mulieres accerperunt. Si enim Veteris et Evangelii Testamenti paginas49 revolvas, invenies maxima resuscitationis50 miracula solis vel maxime feminis exhibita fuisse, pro ipsis51 vel de ipsius facta. Duos quippe mortuos suscitatos ad supplicationes maternas Vetus commemorat Testamentum, per Eliam, scilicet, et ipsius discipulum Elisaeum.

Evangelium vero trium tantum52 mortuorum suscitationem a Domino factam continent quae mulieribus exhibita maxime illud quod supra commemoramus,53 Apostolicum dictum54 rebus ipsis confirmant: Acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos.55 Filium56 quippe viduae ad portam civitatis Naím suscitatum matri reddidit eius compassionem compunctus. Lazarum57 quoque amicum suum ad58 obsecrationem sororum eius,59 Mariae videlicet ac Marthae, suscitavit. Quo60 etiam archisynagogi filiae61 hanc ipsam gratiam ad petitionem patris impendente, mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos accerperunt, cum haec videlicet suscitata propriae de morte receperit corpus, sicut illae corpora suorum. Et paucis quidem intervenientibus haec factae sunt resuscitationes.62 Vitae vero nostrae conservationem multiplex vestrae devotionis oratio facile obtinebit. Quorum63 tam abstinentia quam continentia Deo sacrata, quanto ipsi gratur habetur, tanto ipsum propitiorem inveniet. Et plerique fortassis horum qui suscitati sunt nec fideles exstiterunt, sicut non roganti filium Dominus suscitavit,64 fidelis exstitisse65 legitur. Nos autem invicem non solum fidei colligati66 integritas, verum etiam eiusdem religionis professio sociat.

Ut autem sacrosanctum collegii vestri nunc omittam conventum, in quo plurimarum virginum et viduarum devotionis oratio facile obtinebit. Quorum67 tam abstinentia quam continen-re Deo sacrata, quanto quippe gratus habetur, tanto ipsum propitiorem inveniet. Et plerique forte-sis horum qui suscitati sunt nec fideles exstiterunt, sicut nec vidua praedicta, qui non roganti filium Dominus suscitavit,68 fidelis exstitisse69 legitur. Nos autem invicem non solum fidei colligati70 integritas, verum etiam eiusdem religionis professio societ.

Et rursum:71 Qui inventa mulierem bonam, inventum bonum; et hauriet iucunditatem a Domino. Et iterum:72 Domus73 et divitiae
dantur a parentibus, a Domino autem proprie uxor prudens. Et in Ecclesiastico:  

"Mulieris bona beatus vir. Et post pauca:  

Pars bona, mulier bona.  

Et iuxta auctoritatem Apostolicam:  

Sanctificatus est vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem.

Culis quidem rei experimentum in regno praeclupe nostro, id est, Francorum, divina specialiter exhibuit gratia, cum ad orationem videlicet uxororis magis quam ad sanctorum praedicationem, Clodoveo rege ad fidem Christi converso, regnum sic universum divinis legibus mancipaverunt ut exemplo maxime superiorum ad orationis instantiam inferiores provocarentur. Ad quam quidem instantiam Dominica nos vehementer invitans parabola: Ille, inquit, si perseveraverit pulsans, dico vobis quia si non habet ei eo quod amicus illius sit, propter improbitatem tamen eius surgens habet ei quotquot habet necessarios, etc. Ex hac profecto, ut ita dicam, orationis improbitate, sicut supra memini, Moyes divinae iustitiae severitatem enervavit, et sententiam immutavit.

Nosti, dilectissima, quantum caritatis affectum praesentiae meae conventus olim vester in oratione solitus sit exhibere. Ad expletionem namque quotidianum horarum speciales pro me Domino supplicationem hanc offerrere consuevit ut, responso proprio cum versu eius praemissis et decantatis, preces his et collectam in hunc modum subiungeret. Responsum: Non me derelinquas, nec discedas a me, Domine. Versus:  

In adiutorium meum semper intende, Domine, Preces:  

Salvum fac servum tuum, Deus meus, sperantem in te.  

Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat. Oratio:  

Deus qui per servum tuum ancillulas tuas in nomine tuo dignatus es congregare, te quaesumus ut eum ab omni adversitate protegas et ancillis tuis incolumem reddas. Per Dominum, etc.

Nunc autem absenti mihi, tanto amplius orationum vestrarum opus est suffragio, quanto maioris anxietate periculi constringor. Supplicando itaque postulo, postulando supplico quatuor quinquales praecepue nunc absens experiri quam vera caritas vestra erga absentem exstiterit, singularis videlicet horis expletis, hunc orationis propriae modum adnecetens. Responsum: Ne derelinquas me, Domine, pater et dominator vitae meae ut non corruam in conspeetu adversariorum meorum, ne gaudeat de me inimicus meus. Versus:  

Apprehende arma et scutum, et exsurge in adiutorium mihi ne gaudeat, etc. Preces:  

Salvum fac servum tuum, Deus meus, sperantem in te.  

Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat. Oratio:  

Deus qui per servum tuum ancillulas tuas in nomine tuo dignatus es aggregare, te quaesumus ut eum ab omni adversitate protegas et ancillis tuis incolumem reddas. Per Dominum, etc.

Quod si me Dominus in manus inimicorum tradiderit, scilicet, ut ipsi praevalentes me interficant, aut quocumque casu viam universae carnis absens vobis ingredi, cadaver, obsecro, nostrum ubicumque vel sepultum vel sepultum iacuerit, ad coemeterium vestrum deferri faciatis ubi filiae vestrae, immo...
in Christo soresores, sepulcrum nostrum saepius videntes, ad preces pro me Domino fundendas amplius invitent. Nullum quippe locum animae dolenti de peccatorum suo errore desolatae tibiorem ac salubriorem arbitror quam eum qui vero Paraclito, id est consolatori, proprie consecratus est, et de eius nomine specialiter insignitus. Nec Christianae sepulturae locum rectius apud alios fideles quam apud feminas Christi devotas consistere censeo. Quae de Domini Jesu Christi sepultura sollicitae earn unguentis pretiosis et praevenierunt et subsecutae sunt et circa eius sepulcrum studiose vigilantes et sponsi mortem lacrymabiliter plangentes,* sicut scriptum est: Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur fientes Dominum. Primo ibidem de resurrectione eius angelica apparitione et allocutione sunt consolatae, et statim ipsius resurrectionis gaudia, eo bis eis apparente, percipere meruerunt et manibus contrectare.

Illud autem demum super omnia postulo ut quae nunc de corporis mei periculo nimia sollicitudine laboratis, tunc praecipue de salute animae sollicitae quantum dilexeritis vivum exhibeatis defuncto, orationum vestrarum speciali quodam et proprio suflragio.

Vive, vale, vivantque tuae valeantque soresores.
Vivite, sed Christo; quaeso, mei memores.

III. (Rescriptum ipsius ad ipsum1)2

Unico suo post Christum unica sua in Christo.5

Miro, unice meus, quod praeter consuetudinem epistolarum, immo contra ipsum ordinem naturalem rerum, in ipsa fronte salutationis epistolae me tibi praeponere praesumpsisti, feminam videlicet viro, uxorem marito, ancillam domino, monialem monacho et sacerdoti diaconissam, abbati abbatissam. Rectus quippe ordo est et honestus, ut qui superiores vel ad pares scribunt, eorum quibus scribunt nomina suis anteponant. Sin autem ad inferiores, praecedunt transcriptionis ordine qui praecedunt rerum dignitate.

Illud etiam non parva admiratione suscepsimus quod, quibus consolationis remedium afferre debuisti, desolationem auxisti, et quas mitigare debueras excitasti lacrymas. Quae enim nostrum siccis oculis audire possit, quod circa finem epistolae posuisti, dicens: "Quod si me Dominus in manus inimieorum tradiderit ut me scilicet praevalentes interficiant, etc." O carissime, quo id animo cogitasti, quo id ore dicere sustinuisti? Numquam ancillulas suas adeo Deus obliviscatur ut eas tibi superstites reservet. Numquam nobis illam vitam concedat quae omni genere mortis sit gravior. Te nostras exsequias celebrare, te nostras Deo animas convenit commendare, et quas Deo aggregasti ad ipsum praemittere ut nulla amplius de ipsis perturberis sollicitudine, et tanto laetior nos subsequaris, quanto securior de nostra salute iam fueris. Parce, obsecro, domine, parce huiusmodi dictis, quibus miseras miserrimas facias, et hoc ipsum quod utcumque vivimus ne nobis auferas ante mortem; Sufficit diei mali-
tia sua, et dies illa omnibus, quos inveniet, satis secum sollicitudinis afferet omni amaritudine involuta. "Quid enim" nesses est", inquit Seneca, "mala arcessere, et ante mortem vitam perdere?"

Rogas, unice, ut, quocumque casu absens hanc vitam finieris, ad cimiterium nostrum corpus tuum afferr
camus ut orationum silicet nostrarum ex assidua tui memoria ampliorem assequaris fructum. At vero quomodo
memoriam tui a nobis labi posse suspicaris? Aut quod orationi tempus tunc erit commodum, quando summa perturbatio nihil permettis quietem, cum nec anima rationis sensum, nec lingua sermonis retinet usum, cum mens insana in ipsum, ut ita dicam, Deum magis irata quam pacata, non tam orationibus ipsum placabit quam querimonii irritabit? Flere tunc miseris tantum vacabit,
non orare licebit, et te magis subsequi quam sepelire maturandum erit ut potius et nos consepiendo simus, quam sepelire possimus. Quae, cum in te nostram amiserimus vitam, vivere te recedente nequaquam poterimus. Atque
utinam nec tunc usque possimus. Mortis tuae mentio mors quaedam nobis est. Ipsa autem mortis huius veritas quid, si nos invenerit, futura est? Numquam Deus annuat ut hoc tibi debitum superstites persolvamus, ut hoc tibi patreiocinio subveniamus, quod a te penitus expectamus. In hoc utinam te praecessurae, non secuturae! Parce itaque, obsecro, nobis; parce unicae saltem tuae huiusmodi scilicet supersedendo verbis quibus tamquam gladiis mortis nostras transverteras animas ut quod mortem praevenit ipsa morte gravius sit. Confectus moerore animus quietus non est, nec Deo sincere potest vacare mens perturbationibus occupata. Noli, obsecro, divinum impedire servitium cui nos maxime mancipasti. Omne inevitabile, quod, cum acciderit, moerore maximum secum inferet, ut subito veniat, optandum est ne timore inutili diu ante cruciet, cui nulla succurri providentia potest. Quod et poeta bene considerans Deum deprecatur, dicens:

Sit subitum quodcumque paras; sit caeca futuri
Mens hominum fati: liceat sperare timenti.

Quid autem te amisso sperandum mihi superest? Aut quae in hac peregrinatione causa remanendi, ubi nullum nisi te remedium habeam, et nullum aliud in te nisi hoc ipsum quod vivis, omnibus de te mihi alii voluptatis interdictis, cui nec prae sentia tua concessum est frui ut quandoque mihi reddi valeam? O si fas sit dici crudelum mihi per omnia Deum! O inclementem clementiam! O infortunatam fortunam, quae iam in me universi comuminis sui tele in tantum consumpsit ut, quibus in alios saeviet, iam non habeat; plenam in me pharetram exhausit ut frustra iam alii bella eius formident. Nec, si ei adhuc telum aliquod superesset, locum in me vulneris inveniret. Unum inter tot vulnera metuit ne morte supplicia finiam. Et cum interim re non cesse, interitum tamen quem accelerat tatem. O me miserarum miserrimam, infelicium infelicissimam, quae quanto universis in te feminis praelata sublimiorem obtinui gradum, tanto hinc prostrata gravirem in te et in me pariter perpessa sum casum! Quanto quippe altior ascendens gradus, tanto gravior corruentis casus. Quam mihi nobilium
ac\textsuperscript{30} potentium feminarum fortuna unquam praepone potuit aut aequare? Quam denique adeo deiecit et dolore confecerit potuit? Quam in te\textsuperscript{31} mihi gloriam contulit? Quam in te\textsuperscript{31} mihi ruinam intulit? Quam in te mihi vehemens in utramque partem exstitit nec in bonis nec in\textsuperscript{32} malis modum habuerit? Quae ut me miserrimam omnium faceret, omnibus ante beatiorem effecerat ut, cum qua, per partiendum, tanto me maiora consumuerent lamento, quanto me maiora oppresserant damnna; et tanto maior amissorum succederet dolor, quanto maior possessorum praecesserat amor, et summae voluptatis gaudia summa moeroris terminaret tristitia.

Et ut ex iniuria\textsuperscript{33} maior indignatio surgeret, omnia in nobis aequisitatis iura pariter sunt perversa. Dum enim solliciti amoris gauderi frueremur et, ut turpiore, sed expressiore vocabulo utar, fornicationi vacaremus, divina nobis severitas pepercit. Ut autem illicita licitis correxerimus, et honore coniugii turpitudinem fornicationis operuimus, ira Dominii manum suam super nos vehementer aggravavit, et immaculatum non pertulit forum qui diu ante sustinuerat pollutum. Deprehensum in quovis adulterio virum haec\textsuperscript{34} satis esset ad vindictam poena quam pertulisti. Quod ex adulterio promerentur alii, id tu ex coniugio incurristi per quod iam te omnibus satisfecisses confidebas iniuris.\textsuperscript{35} Quod fornicatoribus sui adulteris, hoc propria uxore tibi contulit, nec cum pristinis vacaremus voluptatibus, sed cum\textsuperscript{36} iam ad tempus segregati castius vivere musmus, te quidem Parisius scholis praesidente, et me ad imperium tuum Argenteoli\textsuperscript{37} cum sanctimonialibus conversante. Divisit itaque sibi nocem adin- vicem\textsuperscript{38} ut tu studiosius scholis, ego liberius orationi sive sacrae lectionis meditationi vacaremus, et\textsuperscript{39} tanto nobis sanctius sanctius, quanto castius degentibus, solus in corpore luisti quod duo pariter commiseramus, Solus in poena fuisti, duo in culpa; et qui minus debueras, totum pertulisti. Quanto enim amplius te pro me humilando satisfeceram, et me pariter et totum genus meum sublimaveras, tanto te minus tamen\textsuperscript{40} apud Deum quam apud illos proditeres oxnum poenae reddideras. O me miseram in tanti sceleris causa progenitam! O summam in viros summos et consuetam feminarum perniciem! Hinc de muliere cavenda scriptum est in Proverbis:\textsuperscript{41} Nunc ergo, fili, audi me, et attende verbis mei. Ne abstrahatur in viis illius mens tua, neque decipiaris semitis eius. Multos enim vulneratos deiecit, et fortissimi quiue interfecti sunt ab ea. Viae inferni dominus eius penetrantes in inferi moris. Et in Ecclesiaste:\textsuperscript{42} Lustravi universa animo meo . . . et inveni amariorem morte mulierem, quae laqueus venatorum est, et sagena cor eius; vincula enim sunt manus eius. Qui placet Deo, effugiat eam. Qui autem peccator est, capietur ab illa.

Prima statim mulier de paradiso virum captivavit\textsuperscript{43} et, quae ei a Domino creata fuerat in auxilium, in summum ei conversa est\textsuperscript{44} exitium. Fortissimam illum Nazaraeum Domini et angelo nuntiante\textsuperscript{45} conceptum Dalila sola superavit, et eum inimicos proditum et oculis privatum ad hoc tandem dolor compulit ut se pariter cum ruina hostium opprimeret. Sapientissimum omnium Salomonem sola quam sibi copulaverat mulier\textsuperscript{46} infatuavit, et in tantam compulit insaniam ut eum quem ad aedificationem sibi templum Dominus elegerat, patre eius David, qui iustus fuerat, in hoc reprobo, ad idololatriam ipsa usque in\textsuperscript{47} finem vitae.

\textsuperscript{30} et FY om. ABCERTY.
\textsuperscript{31} in tel vitae CEY.
\textsuperscript{32} in tel vitae CE.
\textsuperscript{33} om. CEY.
\textsuperscript{34} nimia gratia Y.
\textsuperscript{35} correxerimus T.
\textsuperscript{36} ut CEF.
\textsuperscript{37} hoc BRY.
\textsuperscript{38} miseris BJ vivis R.
\textsuperscript{39} om. BRY.
\textsuperscript{40} Argenteoli CEF.
\textsuperscript{41} abinvicem G.
\textsuperscript{42} ut CE.
\textsuperscript{43} om. BRY.
\textsuperscript{44} VII, 24 ff. The Vulgate reads interiora for inferiours.
\textsuperscript{45} add mi F. Vulgate.
\textsuperscript{46} verba FY.
\textsuperscript{47} vii, 26 ff.
\textsuperscript{48} Genesis iii. 6.
\textsuperscript{49} add in BR.
\textsuperscript{50} Cf. Judges xvi, 17 ff.
\textsuperscript{52} Cf. III Kings xi.
\textsuperscript{53} ad BRY.
deiceret, ipso, quem tam verbis quam scriptis praedicatatem atque docebat, divino cultu derelicto. Iob sanctissimus in uxor e novissimam atque gravissiam sustinuit pungam, quae eum ad maledicendum Deo stimulat. Et callidissimus tentator hoc optime noverat, quod saepius expertus fuerat, virorum videlicet ruinam in uxoris esse facillimam.

Qui denique etiam usque ad nos consuetam extendens malitiam, quem de fornicatione sternere non potuit, de coniugio tentavit; et bono male est usus, qui malo male uti non est permissus. Deo saltem super hoc gratias, quod me ille ut suprapositas feminas in culpam ex consenso non traxit, quam tamen in causam commissae malitiae ex effectu convertit. Sed et si purget animum meum innocentia nec huius reatum seceris consensus incurrat, pecatta tamen multa praecesserunt, quae me penitus immunem ab huibus reatu seceris esse non sinunt. Quod videlicet diu ante carnalium illecebrarum voluptatibus serviens, ipsa tunc merui quod nunc plector, et praecedentium in me peccatorum sequentia merito facta sunt poena; et malis ininitis perversus imputans est exitus.

Atque utinam huius praecipue commissi dignam agere valeam poenitentiam ut poenae illi tuae vulneris illati ex longa saltem poenitentiae contritione vicem quoquo modo recompenesare queam; et quod tu ad horam in corpore pertulisti, ego in omni vita ut iustum est in contritio mentis suscipiam, et hoc tibi saltem modo, si non Deo, satisfaciam. Si enim vere miserrimi mei animi profitear infirmitatem, qua poenitentia Deum placare valeam non invenio, quem super hac semper inuiri summae crudelitatis arguo, et eius dispensatione contraria magis eam ex indignatione offendo, quam de poenitentiae satisfactione mitigo. Quo modo etiam poenitentia peccatorum dicitur, quantacumque sit corporis afflictio, si mens adhuc ipsum pecandi retinet voluntatem, et pristinis aedecderis? Facile quidem est quemlibet confitendo peccata seipsum accusare, aut etiam in exteriori satisfactione corpus affligere. Difficultum vero est a desideriis maximarum voluptatum avellere animum. Unde et merito sanctus Iob cum praemisses: Dimittam adversum me eloquium meum, id est, laxabo linguam, et aperiam os per confessionem in peccatorum meorum accusationem, statim adiunxit: Loquar in amaritudine animae meae. Quod beatus exponens Gregorius:

Sunt, inquit, nonnulli, qui apertis vocibus culpas fatentur, sed tamen in confessione gemere nesciunt, et lugenda gaudentes dicunt. Unde qui culpas suas detestans loquitur, restat, necesse est, ut has in amaritudine animae loquatur, ut haec ipsa amaritudo puniat quidquid lingua per mentis iudicium accusat.

Sed haec quidem amaritudo verae poenitentiae quam rara sit beatus dili-genter attendens Ambrosius:

Facilius, inquit, inveni qui innocentiam servaverunt, quam qui poenitentiam egerunt.

In tantum vero illae, quas pariter exercerimus, amantium voluptates dulces mihi fuerunt ut nec displicere mihi, nec vix a memoria labi possint. Quocumque loco me vertam, semper se oculis meis cum suis ingerunt desideriis. Nec etiam...
dormienti suis illusionibus parcunt. Inter ipsa missarum solemnia, ubi purior esse debet oratio, obscura earum voluptatum phantasmata itaque sibi penitus miserrimam captivant animam ut turpitudinibus illis magis quam orationi vacem. Quae cum ingemiscere debeam de commissis, suspicio potius de amissis. Nec solum quae egimus, sed loca pariter et tempora in quibus haec egimus, ita tecum nostro infixa sunt animo, ut in ipsis omnia tectum agam, nec dormiens etiam ab his quiescam. Nonnumquam etiam ipso motu corporis animi mei cogitationes deprehenduntur, nec a verbis temperant improvisi. O vere me miseram, et illa conquestionis ingemiscentis animae dignissimam. Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius? Utinam et quod sequitur veraciter addere queam: Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Haec te gratia, carissime, praevenit, et ab his tibi stimulis una corporis plagam medendo multas in anima sanavit, et in quo tibi amplius adversari Deus creditur, propitior invenientur, more quidem fidelissimi medici qui non parci dolori ut consulat saluti.

Hoc autem in me stimulos carnis haec incentiva libidinis ipse juvenilis fervor aetatis, et iucundissimam experientiam voluptatum plurimum accedunt, et tanto amplius sua me impugnatione opprimunt, quanto infirmior est natura quam impugnant. Castam me praedicant qui non deprehendunt hypocritam. Munditiam carnis conferunt in virtutem, cum non sit corporis, sed animi virtus. Aliquid laudis apud homines habens, nihil apud Deum mereor, qui cordis et renum probator est, et in abscendito videt. Religiosa hoc tempore iudicor, in quo iam parva pars religionis non est hypocrisi, ubi ille maximis extollitur laudibus, qui humanum non offendit iudicium.

Et hoc fortissime aliquo modo laudibile, et Deo acceptabile quoquo modo videtur, si quis videlicet exterioris operis exemplo quacumque intentione non sit Ecclesiae scandalum, nec iam per ipsum apud infideles nomen Domini blasphemetur, nec apud carnas professiones suae ordo infametur. Atque hoc quoque nonnullum est divinae gratiae donum, ex cuius videlicet munere venit non solum bona facere, sed etiam a malis abstinere. Sed frustra istud praecedit, uesti non succedit, sicut scriptum est: Declina a malo, et fac bonum. Et frustra utrumque geritur quod amore Dei non agit. In omni autem (Deus scit) vitae meae statu, te magis adhucem haec religionis admiratione Deum vereor, tibi placere amplius quam ipsi appeto. Tua me ad religionis habitum iussio, non divina traxit dilectio. Vide quam infelicem, et omnibus miserariiorem cucurri vitam, si tanta hic frustra sustineo, nihil habita remuneratio in futuro. Diu te, sicut et multis, simulatio mea fefellit ut religioni deputares hypocrisi; et ideo nostris te maxime commendans orationibus, quod a te exspecto a me postulas. Noli, obseco, de me tanta praesumere ne mihi cesseris orando subvenire. Noli aestimare sanam ne medicaminis subtrahas gratiam, noli non egentem credere ne differas in necessitate subvenire. Noli valetudinem putare ne prius corruam quam sustentem labentem. Multis facta sui laus noctuit et praesidium quo indigebant abstulit. Per Isaiam Dominus clamat: Popule meus, qui te


Fateor imbecillitatem meam; nolo spe victoriae pugnare^29 ne perdam aliquando victoriam. . . . Quid nesse est certa dimittere, et incerta sectari?^30

IV. (Ipse rursus ad ipsam)^1

Sponsae Christi servus eisdem.

In quatuor, memini, circa quae tota^2 epistolae tuae novissimae summa consistit, offensae tuae commotionem expressisti. Primo quidem super hoc conquereris^3 quod praeter consuetudinem epistolam imposuisti. Postea autem non pateres in te salvitationem quae rescriptum Petri rursus ad Heliossam. Amb.

1 beatam dicunt F.
2 Cf. xiii, 13.
3 consuunt F.
* add faciunt F.
4 universae aetatis F.
5 Ecclesiastes xii, 11.
6 medicinam R1 medicina BTY.
* quidquid T Amb.
* recte RBY.
11 om. BR.
12 etiam Amb.
13 Cf. Prov. xvi, 25; xiv, 12.
14 om. BRY.
* add cor hominis BRY.
16 add facere Y.
17 om. BRY.
18 om. BRY.
19 Cf. Eccli. xi, 30.
* add sua CEF.
10 gratiosior CEF.
11 adiuvo BR.
12 tunc CEF.
13 om. CEF.
14 in te vitae CY.
15 II Cor. xii, 9.
16 II Tim. ii, 5.
17 om. RY.
18 quis R. add non Y.
19 evitare Amb.
20 add est BRY.
21 vitatur BRY.
22 Adversus Vigilantium XVI; PL 23, 367B.
23 repugnare CEF.
24 add vale F.
* om. BCFER rescribit (s. m.) Y quae est rescriptum Petri rursus ad Heliossam. Amb.
26 om. T Amb.
27 conquerens BCFR] consequens T.
28 praeosposui BRY.

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Secundo quod cum vobis consolationis potius remedium afferre debuissem, desolationem auxi, et quas mitigare debueram lacrymas excitavi. Illud ansi libens adiungens: "Quod si me Dominus in manus inimicorum tradiderit ut me praevalentes interficiant, etc." Tertio vero veterem illam et assiduam querelam tuam in Deum adiecisti, de modo videlicet nostrae conversionis ad Deum et crudelitate providitionis illius in me commissae. Denique accusationem tui contra nostram in te laudem opposuisti, non cum supplicatione modica, ne id deinceps praesumerem. Quibus quidem singulis rescribere de decrevi non pro excusatione mea quam pro doctrina vel exhortatione tua, ut eo libenter petitionibus assentias nostris, quo eas rationabilibus factas intellexeris, et tanto me amplius exaudias in tuis, quanto reprehensibilem minus invenies in meis, tantoque amplius verearis contemnere, quanto minus videris dignum reprehensione.

De ipso autem nostrae salutationis, ut dicis, ordine praepostero, iuxta tuum in te laudem attendas. Id enim quod omnibus patet, tu ipsa indicasti ut, cum videlicet ad superiores scribitur, eorum nomina praeponantur. Te vero extunc me superiorem factam intelligas quo Domini mei sponsam Domini mei, etc. —dominam quippe debeo vocare sponsam Domini mei, etc. Felix talium commercium nuptiarum ut homunculi miserii prius uxor nunc in summi regis thalamis summis sublimeris. Nec ex huius honoris privilegio priori tantum modo viro sed quibuscumque servis eiusdem regis praelata. Ne mireris igitur si tarn vivus quam mortuus me vestris praecipue commendem orationibus, cum iure publico constet apud dominos plus eorum sponsas intercedendo posse quam ipsorum familiis, dominas amplius quam servos. In quarum quidem typo regina illa et summi regis sponsa diligenter describatur, cum in psalmos dicitur: Astitit regina a dextris tuis, etc. Ac si aperte dicatur, ista iuncta latere, sponso familiarissime adhaeret et pariter incedit, ceteris omnibus quasi a longe absistentibus vel subsequentibus. De huius excellenter praerogativa sponsa in Canticis exsultans ilia, ut ita dicam, quam Moyses duxit Aethiopissa dicit: Nigra sum, sed formosa filiae Hierusalem. Ideo dixit me rex et introduxit me in cubiculum suum. Et rursum: Nolite considerare quod fusca sim; quia decoloravit me sol. In quibus quidem verbis cum generaliter anima describatur contemplativa quae specialiter sponsa Christi dicitur, expressius tamen ad vos hoc pertinere ipse etiam vester exterior habitus loquitur. Ipsa quippe cultus exterior nigrorum aut vilium indumentorum, instar lugubris vestibus bonarum viduarum mortuos quos dilexerant viros plangentium, vos in hoc mundo, iuxta Apostolum, vere viduas et desolates ostendit.
Ecclesiae sustentandae. De quorum etiam viduarum luctu super occisum earum sponsum Scriptura commemorat dicens: Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur fientes Dominum.

Habet autem Aethiopissa exteriorem in carne nigredinem, et quantum ad exteriora pertinet, ceteris apparet feminis deformior; cum non sit tamen in interioribus dispar sed in plerisque etiam formosior atque candidior, sicut in ossibus seu dentibus. Quorum videlicet dentium candor in ipso etiam commendatur sponso, cum dicitur: Et dentes eius lacte candidiores.

In lectulo meo per noctes quaesivi...
quem diligit anima mea. Ipsa quippe nigredinis deformitas occulturn potius quam manifestum, et secretum magis quam publicum amat. Et quae talis est uxor, secreta potius viri gaudia quam manifesta desiderat et in lecto magis vult sentiri quam in mensa videri. Et frequenter accidit ut nigrarum caro feminarum quanto est in aspectu deformior, tanto sit in tactu suavor; atque ideo earum voluptas secretis gaudiis quam publicis gratior sit et convenientior, et earum virtutibus et utilitatis quam laudibus, qui secretis ostenditur, earum gentium quos se ipse in cubiculum introduxerat, et secretis huius habitationis et morum praedicature concinnior est. Hoc est, qui formosa, diligit; quia nigra, introduxit. Formosa, ut dixi, intus virtutibus quas diligit sponsus; nigra exterius corporalius tribulationum adversitatis.

Quae quidem nigredo, corporalius scilicet tribulationum, facile fidelium mentes ab amore terrenorum avellit et ad aeternae vitae desideria suspendit et saepe a tumultuosa saeculi vita trahit ad secretum contemplationis. Sicut in Paulo illo videlicet nostrae, id est, monachilius vitae primordio actum esse beatus scribit Hieronymus. Haeque quoque abiaciio indumentorum vilium secretum magis quam publicum appetit, et maxima humilitatis est. Maxime namque ad publicum procedere pretiosus provocat cultus quem a nullo apporit nisi ad inanem gloriam et saeculi pompam beatus Gregorius inde convincit: Quod nemo his in occulto se ornat, sed ubi conspicui quidet. Hoc autem praedictum sponsae cubiculum illud est ad quod ipse sponsus in Evangelio invitavit orantem, dicens: Tu autem cum oraveris, intra in cubiculum et clauso ostio, ora Patrem tuum. Ac si diceret: Non in plateis vel publicis locis, sicut hypocrisitas. Cubiculum itaque dicit secretum a tumultibus et aspectu saeculi locum ubi quietius et purius orari possit: quales sunt monasticarum solitudinum secretum ubi claudere ostium iubemur, id est aditus omnes obstruere ne puritas orationis casu aliquo praepediatur et oculus noster infelicem animam deprae- detur.

Cuius quidem consilii immo praecepti divini multos huius habitus nostri contemptores adhuc graviter sustinemus qui, cum divina celebrant officia claustris vel choris eorum reseratis, publicis tarn feminarum quam virorum aspectibus impudenter se ingerunt, et tunc praecipue cum in solemnitatibus pretiosis polluerunt ornamentis, sicut et ipsius quibus se ostentant saeculares homines. Quorum quidem iudicio tanto festivitas habetur celebrior, quanto in exteriori ornatu est ditior et in epulis copiosior. De quorum quidem caecitate miserrima et pauperum Christi religioni penitus contraria tanto est silere honestius quanto loqui turpius. Qui penitus iudaizantes consuetudinem suam sequuntur pro regula, et irritum fecerunt mandatum Dei propter traditiones suas, non quod debeat, sed quod soleat attendentes. Cum, ut beatus etiam meminit Augustinus, Dominus dixerit: Ego sum veritas, non: ego sum consuetudo. Horum orationibus, quae aperte scilicet...
fiunt ostio, qui voluerit se commendet. Vos autem quae in cubiculum coelestis regis ab ipso introductae atque in eius amplexibus quiescentes, clauso semper ostio, quanto familiarius ei adhaeretis, iuxta illud Apostoli: 

Qui adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est, tanto puriorem et efficaciorem habere confidimus orationem et ob hoc vehementius earum efflagitamus opem. Quas etiam tanto devotius pro me faciendas esse credimus, quanto maiore nos invicem caritate colligati sumus.

Quod vero mentione periculi in quo laboro, vel mortis quam timeo, vos commovi, iuxta ipsam factum est exhortationem, immo etiam adiurationem. Sic enim prima, quam ad me direxisti, quodam loco continet epistola: 

Per ipsum itaque qui te sibi adhuc quoquo modo protegit Christum obsecramus quatinus ancillulas ipsius et tuas crebris litteris de his, in quibus adhuc fluctuas, naufragiis certificare digneris ut nos saltem, quae tibi solae remansimis, doloris vel gaudii participes habeas. Solent etenim doleント non-nulium afferre consolationem qui condolent. Et quodlibet onus pluribus impositum levius sustinetur sive defertur.” Quid igitur arguis quod vos anxietatis meae particeps feci, ad quod me adiurando compulisti? Numquid in tanta vitae, qua crucior, desperatione gaudere vos convenit? Nec doloris sociae, sed gaudii tantum, nec flerentibus, sed gaudere cum gaudentibus? Nulla maior verorum et falsorum differentia est amicorum quam quod illi adversitati, isti prosperitati, se sociant.

Quiesce, obseco, ab his dictis, et huiusmodi querimonias compesce quae ab his civis caritatis absistunt longissime. Aut si adhuc in his offenderis, me tamen in tanto periculi posita articulo, et quotidianis desperatione vitae, de salute animae sollicitum convenit esse, et de ipsa, dum licet, providere. Nee tu, si me vere diligentis, hanc exosam providentiam habebis. Quin etiam, si quam de divina erga me misericordia spem haberes, tanto amplius ab huius vitae aerumnas liberari me cuperes, quanto eas conspicis intolerabiles. Certum quippe tibi est quod quisquis ab hac vita me liberet, a maximis poenis eruet. Quas postea incurram incertum est, sed a quantis absolvar dubium non est.

Omnis vita misera iucundum exitum habet, et quicumque aliorum anxietatibus vere compatiuntur et condolent, eas finiri desiderant, et cum damnis etiam suis, si quos anxios vere diligunt, nec tam commoda propria quam illorum inipsis attendunt. Sic diu languentem filium mater etiam morte languardem finire desiderat, quem tolerare ipsa non potest, et eo potius orbari sustinet quam in miseria consortem habere. Et quicumque amici praesentia plurimum oblectatur magis tamen beatam esse vult eius absentiam quam praesentiam miseram, quia quibus subvenire non valet, aerumnas tollere non potest. Tibi vero nec nostra vel etiam misera concessum est frui praesentiam. Nec nisi tuis in me commodis aliud providas, cur me miserrime vivere malis quam felicius mori non video. Quod si nostras pretendi miseras in commoda tua...
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desideras, hostis potius quam amica convinceris. Quod si videri refugis, ab his
obsecro, sicut dixi, quiesce querimoniis.\(^{25}\)

Approbo autem quod reprobas laudem quia in hoc ipso te laudabiliorem
ostendis. Scriptum est\(^{31}\) enim: "Iustus in primordio\(^{25}\) accusator est sui; et:\(^{31}\)
Quis se humiliat, se exaltat.\(^{27}\) Atque utinam sic sit in animo tuo sicut et\(^{29}\) in
scripto! Quod si fuerit, vera est humilitas tua nec\(^{20}\) pro nostris evanuerit\(^{31}\)
verbis. Sed vide, obsecro, ne hoc ipso laudem quaeras quo laudem fugere videris et repromes
illud ore quod appetas corde. De quo ad Eustochium virginem sic inter cetera
beatus scribit\(^{22}\) Hieronymus:

Naturali ducimur malo. Adulatoribus nostris libenter favemus et quamquam
nos respondeamus indignos et callidior rubor ora suffundat, attamen\(^{44}\) ad
laudem suam intrinsecus anima laetatur.

Talem et lascivae calliditatem Galateae Virgilius describit,\(^{45}\) quae quod volebat\(^{26}\)
fugiendo appetebat et, simulatione repulsa,\(^{32}\) amplius in se amantem incitabat:

Et fugit ad salices, inquit, et se cupit ante videri.

Sed ab his etiam verbis te\(^{24}\) temperare\(^{43}\) voluimus ne his, qui te
minus noverint, videaris, ut ait\(^{44}\) Hieronymus: fugiendo gloriam quaerere. Num-
quam te mea laus inhabit sed ad meliora provocabit, et tanto studiosius quae
laudavero amplectere, quanto mihi amplius\(^{42}\) placere satagis. Non est laus
nostra testimonium tibi religionis ut hinc aliquid extollentiae\(^{46}\) sumas. Nec de
commendatione cuiusquam amicis credendum est sicut inimicis de vitupera-
tione.''

Superest tandem ut ad antiquam illam, ut diximus, et assiduam querimoniam
tua veniamus qua\(^{29}\) videlicet de nostrae conversionis\(^{25}\) modo Deum potius
accusare praesumis quam glorificare, ut iustum est, velis. Hanc iamudum
amaritudinem animi tui tarn\(^{51}\) manifesto divinae misericordiae consilio evanuisse
credideram. Quae, quanto tibi periculosior est, corpus tuum pariter et
animam conterens, tanto miserabihor et mihi molestior. Quae cum mihi per omnia
placere, sicut profiteris, studeas, hoc saltern uno ut me non crucies, immo ut
mihi summopere placeas, hanc depone, cum qua mihi non potes placere neque
mecum\(^{52}\) ad beatitudinem pervenire. Sustineois illuc me sine te pergere, quern
etiam\(^{52}\) ad Vulcania profiteris te sequi velle? Hoc\(^{24}\) saltem uno\(^{24}\) religionem

\(^{22}\) add ad tertiam AT Amb.
\(^{23}\) Proverbs xviii, 17.
\(^{24}\) in prim.] prior F Vulgate.
\(^{26}\) om. F Vulgate.
\(^{27}\) excalitatur CEF. Vulgate.
\(^{28}\) om. BCRY Amb.
\(^{29}\) ne T Amb.
\(^{30}\) evanuit F1 evanuerunt BR.
\(^{31}\) nec CEF.
\(^{32}\) Ep. 22, 24; CSEK 54, I, 1, p. 176; PL 22, 410.
\(^{33}\) ac tamen BR] tamen CEF.
\(^{34}\) Eclogues 3, 65.
\(^{35}\) nolobat EP.
\(^{36}\) repulsa BR.
\(^{37}\) quae T] quando B] quam Y.
\(^{38}\) ascendimus T] accedimus A] accedimus BG.
\(^{39}\) imprudentes ABRTY Amb.] in praedictis E] add praedictis F.
\(^{40}\) acedit BR.
\(^{41}\) om. BRT.
\(^{42}\) obtenerare BRT.
\(^{43}\) Cf. Ep. 22, 27; CSEK 54, I, 1, p. 183; PL 22, 413.
\(^{44}\) om. BR.
\(^{45}\) excellentiae ERY.
\(^{46}\) om. A.
\(^{47}\) add ad quartam AT Amb.
\(^{48}\) quia T Amb.
\(^{49}\) conversationis R. add nostrae T.]
\(^{50}\) om. CEF.
\(^{51}\) om. CE.
\(^{52}\) om. CEFY.
\(^{53}\) hoc . . . felicius om. CEF.
\(^{54}\) Ms Y stops here.

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appete ne a me ad Deum, ut credis, properantem dividaris; et tanto libentius, quanto quo veniendum nobis est beatius est, ut tanto scilicet societas nostra sit grator, quanto felicior. Memento quae dixeris. Recordare quae scripseras in hoc videlicet nostrae conversionis modo, quo mihi Deus amplius adversari creditur, propitiorem mihi sicut manifestum est exstitisse. Hoc uno saltem haec eius dispositio tibi placeat quod mihi sit saluberrima immo mihi pariter et tibi, si rationem vis doloris admittat. Nec te tanti boni causam esse doles, ad quod te a Deo maxime creatam esse non dubites. Nec quia id tulerim plangas, nisi cum martyrum passionum ipsiusque Dominicae mortis commoda te contristabunt. Numquid si id mihi luste acidisset, tolerabilius fueres, et minus te offenderet? Profecto si sic fieret, eo modo contingueret quod mihi esset ignominiosius, et inimicis laudabilius, cum illis laudem iustitiae et mihi contemptum acquireret culpa, nec iam quisquam quod actum est accusaret, aut compassionem mei moveretur.

Ut tamen et hoc modo huissu amaritudinem doloris leniasmus, tam iuste quam utiliter id monstrabimus nobis accidisse, et rectius in coniugatos quam in fornicantes ultum Deum fuisse. Nosti post nostri foederationem coniugii, cum Argenteoli cum sanctimonialibus in claustro conversareris, me die quodam privatim ad te visitandum venissem, et quid ibi tunc meae libidinis egerit intemperantia in quadam etiam parte ipsius rectorii, cum quo alias videlicer diverteremus, non haberemus. Nosti, inquam, id impudentissime tunc actum esse in tam reverendo loco et Summae Virginis consecrato. Quod, et si alia cessent flagitia, multo graviore dignum sit ut ulione. Quid pristinae fornicationes et impudentissimas referam pollutiones quae coniugium praecesserunt? Quod summan denique proditionem meam, qua de te ipsa tuum, cum quo asidue in eius domo convivebamus, avunculum tam turpiter seduxi? Nosti postea, et si rationem vis doloris admittas, ne propter te prodideram? Putas ad tantorum criminum ulationem momentanee illius plagae dolorem sufficere? Immo tantis malis tantum debitum esse commodum? Quod si id mihi accidisset, tolerabilius fuisse, et minus te offendisse, si rationem vis doloris admittas. Nec te tanti boni causam esse doles, ut alius mortem te utebatur, quam si se consineret alius illius mortem? Nec ideo quae tu ad te, ut in suo loco, quam si se consineret alius illius mortem?

Nosti etiam, quando te gravidam in meam transmisi patriam, sacro te habitu indutam moniale te finxisses, et tali simulatione tuae, quam nunc habes, religioni irreverenter illusissse. Unde etiam pensa quam convenienter ad hanc religionem divina iustitia, immo gratia traxerit nolentem, cui veritas non esset illud. Et si etiam mortem tuam utebatur, quam si se consineret alius illius mortem?

Quod si divinae in nobis iustitiae nostram velis utilitatem adiungere, non tam iustitiiam quam gratiam Dei quod tunc eget in nobis poteris appellare. Attendite itaque, attendite, carissima, quibus misericordiae saeue retribuit a profundo huissum tam periculosi maris nos Dominus piscaverit et a quanta Charibdis voragine naufragos licet invitum extraxerit ut merito uterque nostrum in illam prorum perere posse videatur vocem: Domino sollicitus est mei. Cogita et recogita quantis ipsi nos periculosi constitueramus et a quantis nos eruerit Dominus

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Nosti quantis turpitudinis immoderata mea libido corpora nostra addixerat ut nulla honestatis vel Dei reverentia in ipsis etiam diebus Dominicae passionis vel quantarumcumque solemnitatum ab huic luti volutabro me revocaret. Sed et te nolentem et, prout poteras, reluctantem et dissuadentem, quae natura infirmior eras, saepius minis ac flagellis ad consensum trahebam. Tanto enim tibi concupiscentiae ardore copulatus eram ut miseras illas et obscenissimas voluptates, quas etiam nominam confundimur, tarn Deo quam mihi ipsi praeponerem; nec iam aliter consulere posse divina videtur pietas, nisi has mihi voluptates sine spe ulla omnino interdiceret. Unde iustissime et clementissime, licet cum summa tua avunculi proditione, ut in multis crescerem, parte illa corporis mei sum immittit in qua libidinis regnum erat et tota huius concupiscientiae causa consistebat ut iuste illud pleceretur membrum quod in nobis commiserat totum et expiraret patiendo quod deliquerat oblectando et ab his me spurcitiis, quibus me totum quasi luto immersam, tantum me pati voluit membro, cuius privatio et animae saluti consuleret, et corpus non deturparet, nec ullam officiorum ministrationem praepedit. Immo ad omnia, quae honeste geruntur, tanto me promptior efficeret, quanto ab huius concupiscentiae iugo maximus amplius liberaret.

Cum itaque membris his vilissimis, quae pro summae turpitudinis exercitio pudenda vocantur, nec proprium sustinent nomen, me divina gratia mundavit potius quam privavit, quid alius egi quam ad puritatem munditiae conservandam sordida removit et vilia? Hanc quidem munditiae puritatem nonnullis sapientium vehementissime appetentes inferre etiam sibi manum audivimus ut hoc a se penitus removerent concupiscentiae flagitiun. Pro quo etiam stimulo carnis auferendo et Apostolus perhibetur Dominum rogasse, nec exauditum esse. In exemplo est magnus ille Christianorum philosophus Origenes qui, ut hoc in se penitus incendium exstingueret, manus sibi inferre veritus non est; ac si illos ad litteram vere beatos intelligeret, qui se ipsos propter regnum castraverunt, et tales illud veraciter implere crederet quod de membris scandalizantibus nos praepicit Dominus ut ea sicut id nobis abscondamus.

Accede et tu, inseparabilis comes, in una gratiarum actione, quae et culpae participes facta es et gratiae. Nam et tuae Dominus non immemor salutis, immo plurimum tuae memori, qui etiam sancto quodam nominis praeasagio te praecipue suam fore praesignavit, cum te videlicet Heloissam id est divinam in suo nomine suo quod est Heloim insignivit; ipse, inquam, clementer dispositum in uno dubius consolatur quos in uno nitebatur exstinguere. Paululum enim antequam hoc accideret, nos indissolubiliter lege sacramenti nuptialis invicem aedececum, cum ipse iam tractaret ad se nos ambos hac occasione convertere. Si enim mihi antea matrimonio non esses copulata, facile in discessu meo a saeculo vel suggestione parentum vel carnalium oblectatione voluptatum saeculo inhaesisses. Vide ergo quantum sollicitus nostri fuerit Dominus, quasi ad magnos aliquos nos reservaret usus, et quasi indignaretur aut doleret illa litteralis scientiae talenta, quae utique nostrum commiserat, ad sui nominis honorem non dispensari; aut quasi etiam de incontinentissimo servulo suo vereretur quod scriptum est: Qui mulieres faciunt etiam apostatae sapientes. Sicut et de sapien
tissimo certum est Salomone. Tuae vero prudentiae talentum quantas quotidie Domino refert usuras, quae multas Domino iam spirituales filias peperisti, me penitus sterili permanente, et in filius perditionis inaniter laborante. O quam detestabile damnum! Quam lamentabile incommodum, si carnalium voluptatum sordibus paucos cum dolore pareres mundo, quae nunc multiplicem prolem cum exsultatione parturis coelo! Nec esses plus quam femina nunc etiam viros transcendis et quae maledictionem Evae in benedictionem vertisti Mariae. O quam indecenter manus illae sacrae, quae nunc etiam divina revolvente volumina, curae muliebris obscentatibus deservirent! Ipse nos a contagiis huius caeni, a voluptatibus huius luti dignatus est erigere, et ad seipsum vi quadam attrahere, qua percussum voluit Paulum convertere, et hoc ipso fortassis exemplo nostro alios quoque litterarum peritos ab hac detrerrere

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16] Abelard says that Origen acted 'minus provide'.
17] Psalms xxxix, 18.
18] Eccl. xxi, 2.
20] corrupt EFR T.
21] = voluptatus BRCT voluptatus Amb.
22] erue G.
23] in quadam sagena F.
25] deterre T.

Non te ad lacrymas aut ad compassionem movet unigenitus Dei innocens pro te et omnibus ab impiissimis comprehensus, distraactus, flagellatus et velata facie illusus et colaphizatus, sputis conspersus, spinis coronatus, et tandem in illo crucis tunc tam ignominioso patibulo inter latrones suspensus atque illo tam horrendo, et exsecrabili genere mortis interfector? Hunc semper, soror, verum tuum et totius Ecclesiae sponsum praesens prae oculis habe, mente gere. Intuere hunc exeuntem ad crucifigendum pro te et bajulantem sibi crucem. Esto de populo et mulieribus quae plangebant et lamentabant eum, sicut Lucas his verbis narrat: Sequebatur autem multa turba populi et mulierum quae plangebant et lamentabant eum. Ad quas quidem benigne conversus, clementer eis praedixit futurum in ultionem suae mortis exitium a quo quidem, si saperent, caverne sibi per hoc possent. Filiae, inquit, Jerusalem, nolite fiere super me sed super vos ipsas flete et super filios vestros. Quoniam ecce venient dies in quibus dicent: Beatae steriles, et ventres qui non genuerunt et ubera quae non lactaverunt. Tunc incipient dicere montibus: Cadite super nos; et collibus: Operite nos. Quia si in viridi ligno haec faciunt, in arido quid fiet!

Patienti sponte pro redemptione tua compatere et super crucifixo pro te compungere, Sepulcro eius mente semper assiste, et cum fidelibus feminis lamentare et luge. De quibus etiam ut iam supra memini scriptum est: Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabant Rentes Dominum. Para cum illis sepulturae eius unguenta, sed meliora, spiritualia quidem, non corporalia; haec enim requirit aromata qui non suscepit illa. Super his toto devotionis affectu compungere. Ad quam quidem compassionis compassionem ipse etiam per Ieremiam fideles adhortatur, dicens: O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor similis sicut dolor mens, id est, si super aliquo patiente ita est per compassionem dolendum, cum ego scilicet solus sine culpa quod aliui deliquerint luam. Ipse autem est via per quam fideles de exsilio transeunt ad patriam, qui etiam crucem, de qua sic clamat, ad hoc nobis erexit scalam. Hic pro te occasus est unigenitus Dei, oblatus est quia voluit. Super hoc uno compatiendo dole, dolendo compatere. Et quod per Zachariam prophetam de animabus devotis praedictum est comple: Plangent, inquit, quasi super unigenitum, et dolebunt super eum ut doleri solet in patri patre.

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morte primogeniti. Vide, soror, quantus sit planctus his qui regem diligunt super morte primogeniti eius et unigeniti. Intuere quo planctu familia, quo moerore tota consumatur curia et, cum ad sponsam unigeniti mortui perveneris, intolerabiles ululatibus eius non sustinibis. Hic tuus, soror, planctus; hic tuus sit ululatus, quae te huic\textsuperscript{29} sponsor felici copulasti matrimonio. Emit te iste non suis, sed seipso. Proprio sanguine emit te et\textsuperscript{30} redemit. Quantum ius in te habeat vide et quam pretiosa sis intuire. Hoc quidem pretium suum Apostolus attendens, et in hoc pretio quantis sit ipse, pro quo ipsum datur, perpendens, et quam\textsuperscript{31} tanta gratiae vicem referat adnectens: Abit mihi, inquit,\textsuperscript{32} gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo. Maior es coelo, maior es mundo, cuius pretium ipse Conditor mundi factus est. Quid in te, rogo, tuam gratiam, quae te huic\textsuperscript{33} sponso felici copulasti matrimonio. Emit te iste non suis, sed seipso. Amor meus, qui utrumque nostrum peccatis involvet,\textsuperscript{34} concupiscientia, non amor dicendus est. Miseras in te meas voluptates plebeam, et hoc erat totum quod amabam. Pro te, inquis, passus sum, et fortissimam verum est, sed magis per te, et hoc ipsum invitum, non amore tui, sed coactione mei, nec ad tuam salutem, sed ad dolorem. Ille\textsuperscript{35} vero salubriter, ille\textsuperscript{36} pro te sponte passus est qui passione sua omnem curam langueret, omnem removet passionem.

In hoc, obsecro, non in me tua tota sit devotio, tota compassio, tota compunctio. Dole\textsuperscript{37} in tam innocentem tantae crudelitatis perpetratam\textsuperscript{38} inquitatem, non iustam in te quam gratiam, immo gratiam. ut dictum est, in utrosque summam. Iniqua enim es, si aequitatem non amas, et iniquissima, si voluntati, immo tantae gratiae Dei scienter\textsuperscript{39} adversa. Plange tuum reparatorem, non eorum corruptorem, non scortatorem, pro te mortuum Dominum, non viventem eum, immo nunc primum de morte vere liberatum. Cave, obsecro, ne quod dixit\textsuperscript{40} Pompeius maerenti Corneliae tibi improaperetur turpissime:

Vivit post\textsuperscript{41} proelia Magnus! Sed fortuna perit. Quod defles, illud amasti.

Attendite precor, id, et erubesce nisi admissas\textsuperscript{42} turpitudines impudentissimae commendes.\textsuperscript{43} Accipe itaque, soror, accipe, quaesum, in te meas voluptates plebeam, et hoc erat totum quod amabam. Pro te, inquis, passus sum, et fortissimam verum est, sed magis per te, et hoc ipsum invitum, non amore tui, sed coactione mei, nec ad tuam salutem, sed ad dolorem. Ille\textsuperscript{44} vero salubriter, ille\textsuperscript{45} pro te sponte passus est qui passione sua omnem curam langueret, omnem removet passionem.

\textsuperscript{29}add vero \textsc{br}.
\textsuperscript{30}ac \textsc{abr}.
\textsuperscript{31} quem \textsc{ar}.
\textsuperscript{32}Gal. vi, 14.
\textsuperscript{33} certaverunt \textsc{br}.
\textsuperscript{34} quarerunt \textsc{br}.
\textsuperscript{35} John xv, 3.
\textsuperscript{36} qui T.
\textsuperscript{37}ipsa enim te veraciter amabit (amabat \textsc{e}) \textsc{cef}.
\textsuperscript{38} involvat \textsc{br} involverat \textsc{cef}.
\textsuperscript{39} ille \ldots salubrifer \textsc{om. cef}.
\textsuperscript{40}add vero \textsc{cef}.

\textsuperscript{41}Dole \ldots adversa \textsc{om. cef}.
\textsuperscript{42}perpetratam T.
\textsuperscript{43}est T.
\textsuperscript{44}Lucan, \textit{Pharsalia} VIII, 84-85.
\textsuperscript{45}Post \ldots Attendite F. (id \textsc{ce}) \textsc{om. cef}.
\textsuperscript{46}amissas \textsc{cef}.
\textsuperscript{47}commendas \textsc{cef}.
\textsuperscript{48}ferit G.
\textsuperscript{49}Vulnere \ldots sanat \textsc{om. cef}.
\textsuperscript{50}pervenit \textsc{br}.
\textsuperscript{51}culpam \textsc{amb}.
\textsuperscript{52}infirmatis \textsc{cef}. 

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Refero Domino et in hoc grates, qui te tunc et a poena liberavit et ad coronam reservavit, et, cum me una corporis mei passione semel ab omni aestu huius concupiscientiae, in qua una totus per immoderatam incontinentiam occupatus eram, refrigeravit ne corruam, multas adolescentiae tuae maiores animi passiones ex assidia carnis suggestione reservavit ad martyrii coronam. Quod licet te audire taedeat et dici prohibeas, veritas tamen id loquitur manifesta. Cui enim superest pugna, superest et corona quia non coronabitur nisi qui legitime certaverit. Mihi vero nulla superest corona quia nulla subest certaminis causa. Deest materia pugnae, cui ablatus est stimulus concupiscientiae.

Aliquid tamen esse aestimo, si, cum hinc nullam percipiam coronam, nonnullam tamen evitam poenam, et dolore unius momentaneae poenae multis fortassis indulgeatur. Scriptum est quippe in huius miserrimae vitae hominibus: Computruerunt iumenta in stercoribus suis. Minus quoque semper est T. Amb. add. semper est T. Amb. semper est T. Amb. add. semper est T. Amb. add. ex tua quod non possum ex oratione propria. Et nunc maxime cum quotidiana periculum aut perturbationum instantia nec vivere me nec orationi sinat vacare, nec illum beatissimam imitari eunuchum potentem in domo Caddacis reginae Aethiopum qui erat super omnes gazas eius et de tam longinquo venerat adorare in Jerusalem. Ad quem revertentem missus est ab angelo Philippus apostolus ut eum converteret ad fidem, quod iam ille meruerat per orationem vel sacrae lectionis assiduitatem. A qua quidem ut nec in via tunc vacaret licet ditissimus et gentilis, magnae divinae dispensationis actum est beneficio ut locum ei Scripturae occurreret qui opportunissimam conversionis eius occasionem apostolo praebaret. Ne quid vero hanc petitionem nostram impediat vel impleri differat, orationem quoque ipsam, quam pro nobis Domino supplices, componere, et mittere tibi maturavi.

Deus, qui ab ipso humanae creationis exordio femina de costa viri formata nuptialis copulae sacramentum maximum sanxisti, quique immensis honoribus vel de desponsata nascendo, vel miracula inchoando nuptias sublimasti, meaeque etiam fragihtatis incontinentiae utcumque tibi placuit olim hoc remedium indulsi; ne despicias ancillulae tuae preces, quas pro meis suis carique mei excessibus in conspectu maiestatis tuae supplex effundo. Ignosce, o benignissime, immo benignitas ipsa; ignosce et tantis criminibus nostris, et ineffabilis misericordiae tuae multitudinem culparum nostrarum immensitas experiatur. Puni, obsecro, in praesenti reos ut parcas in futuro. Puni ad horam ne punias in aeternum. Accipe in servos virgam correctionis, non gladium furoris. Afflige carnem ut conserves animas. Adsis purgator, non ultor, benignus magis quam iustus, pater misericors, non austerus Dominus. Proba nos, Domine, et tenta, sicut de semetipso rogat Propheta. Ac si aperte dicere: Prius vires inspice ac


V. (Item eadem ad eundem)¹

Suo specialiter, sua singulariter.

Ne me forte in aliquo de inobedientia causari queas, verbis etiam immoderati doloris tuae frementos impositum est iussionis ut ab his mihi saltem in scribendo temperem a quibus in sermone non tam difficile quam impossibile est providere. Nihil enim minus in nostra est potestate quam animus eique magis obedire cogimur quam imperare possimur. Unde et cum nos eius affectiones stimulant, nemo earum subitos impulsus ita repulerit ut non in effecta facile prorumpant et se per verba facilius effluant quae promptiores animi passionum sunt notae secundum quod scriptum est: Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur. Revocabo itaque manum a scripto in quibus linguam a verbis temperare non valeo. Utinam sic animus dolentis parere promptus sit quaedammodum dextra scribentis. Aliquod tamen dolori remedium vales conferre, si non hunc omnino possis auferre. Ut enim insertum clavum alius expellit sic cogitatio nova priorem excludit cum alias intentus animus priorum memoriam dimittere cogitur aut intermittere. Tanto vero amplius cogitatio quaelibet animum occupat et ab aliis deducit, quanto quod cogitatur honestius aestimatur et quo intendimus animum magis videtur necessarium.

¹ Cf. I Cor. x, 13.
² potens BRT Amb.
³ add si BR.
⁴ hoc G.
⁵ a se om. CEF) a se semel Amb.
⁶ in mundo] a se invicem CEF.
⁷ spec . . . . nostra om. CF. (domine E).
⁸ in . . . Amen om. CE (s.m.) F.
⁹ Vale . . . . Amen om. ACEF.
¹⁰ om. BCERT] quae est eiusdem Heloissae ad eundem Petrum Amb.
¹¹ Domino T Amb. The s in suo is only partly done in illustration in Ms B and not put in in Ms E.
¹² visionis BR.
¹³ nihil . . . necessarium om. CEF.
¹⁴ om. BR.
¹⁵ om. A.
¹⁶ The statement: verba sunt notae passionum is common in Latin treatises on Logic. It goes back to Aristotle, De Interpretatione 1, which is translated by Boethius, In Librum de Interpretatione, Editio prima; PL 64, 297A: sunt ergo quae in voce earum quae sunt in anima passionum notae.
¹⁷ Matt. xii, 34.
¹⁸ om. Amb.
¹⁹ dextera T Amb.
²⁰ doloris BR] om. T but dolo in margin (s.m.).
²² add hiis expunged A.
Ecrits Monastiques sur la Bible aux XIe—XIIIe Siècles

J. LECLERCQ O.S.B.

Les récentes publications sur l'exégèse médiévale ont surtout traité des écrits issus des milieux scolastiques; elles ont fait peu de part aux ouvrages monastiques. Ceux-ci, pourtant, mériteraient une étude, dont le besoin se fait sentir.1 On sait la place importante que la Bible occupait dans la vie des moines. La célébration de l'office divin et la pratique de la lectio divina exigeaient que les moines comprirent les textes scripturaires;2 il fallait donc qu'ils leur fussent expliqués. Sans doute les bibliothèques des abbayes possédaient-elles les expositiones des Pères. Mais les moines eux-mêmes n'ont-ils pas composé de commentaires originaux? Un inventaire d'ensemble révélerait dans quelle mesure ils l'ont fait; ensuite deviendrait possible une étude sur les caractères de l'exégèse monastique, sur ses sources et son influence. Voici des indications sur quelques textes peu connus.

I. COMMENTAIRES DE LIVRES DIVERS

Les commentaires suivis de toute l'Ecriture ont été rares. L'Hypognosticon de Laurent de Durham (+1154) est un grand poème biblique dans le genre de l'Occupatio de saint Odon de Cluny;1 les manuscrits en sont assez nombreux.3 Mais les commentaires de livres particuliers ou de séries de livres ne manquent pas. Il semble qu'ils aient porté de préférence l'Ancien Testament. Sans doute on en possède quelques-uns sur les livres du Nouveau Testament, comme celui qu'écrivit, dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle, Thierry de Fleury sur les épîtres catholiques.2 Ils ont cependant, le plus souvent, pour objet l'Ancien Testament. Celui que Pierre de Celle a composé sur le livre de Ruth a été signalé ailleurs, sinon édité entièrement.4 Etant abbé de Battle, Odon de Cantorbéry (+1175) a écrit sur l'Ancien Testament des commentaires dont l'authenticité n'a pas encore été examinée de façon décisive; il est au moins un texte qui lui est attribué sans aucun doute: un commentaire sur les Juges.5 Guillaume de

1 We need a general study of the twelfth-century monastic commentators, écrit Beryl Smalley dans la deuxième édition de son livre si utile: The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1952), p. 72, note 2.
2 Témoin, par exemple, ce fragment d'un sermon conservé dans le Ms Lambeth 463 (XIIIe s., Llanthony, chan. râg.), fols. 109-109: Quidam in ruminio psalmorum et in canticis, quae non intelligunt, ex consuetudine uel ex diulcedine soni summe delectatur. Sed talis est contemplatio asini. . . . Sic monachus semper defert exterius cucullam, capam clausam, quae sunt liniamenta Benedicti et Augustini, sed sicut statua carent uita spirituali. La lecture de la Bible était l'un des thèmes de l'iconographie du moine. Par exemple, dans le Ms Cotton Iul. D.VIII (XIIIe s.), fol 42r, un moine, désigné par cette inscription: Frater Johannes de Wallingford quandoque infirmarius est representé, en pleine page, lisant un livre intitulé, Salterium; cette image a été reproduite par M. R. James, The Drawings of Matthew Paris (Walpole Society, XIV, 1925), pl. XX.
3 Ed. A. Swoboda (Leipzig, 1900).
8 Ms Cambridge University Cg.IV.1 (XIVe s.) fols. 61-104: Incipit tractatus Odonis abbatis de Bello in librum regum. . . . Sur ces sermons d'Odon de Cantorbéry, qui ont pour thèmes des textes bibliques, j'ai donné des indications sous le titre: Profession monastique, baptême et pénitence d'après Odon de Cantorbéry, Analecta monastica, II (1953), 124-36. Il existe aussi deux longs
Flay a laissé, lui aussi, un commentaire sur les Juges et quelques autres.

Le commentaire des Proverbes écrit par Richard de Fournneaux (+1131), abbé du monastère bénédictin de Préaux, au diocèse de Lisieux, est conservé dans le manuscrit Bodley 724 (XII° s.); l'auteur ne s'y nomme pas, mais il nomme celui à qui son ouvrage est dédié: Ponce de Cluny. Or nous savons par Orderic Vital que Richard avait dédié à cet abbé un commentaire des Proverbes. Le commentaire, divisé en 15 livres, n'occupe pas moins de 179 feuillets de grand format. Il est suivi, dans le même manuscrit (fols. 179-182), d'une lettre sur une apparente contradiction entre s. Augustin et s. Ambroise au sujet des anges, lettre au début de laquelle se nomme l'abbé de Préaux. Orderic Vital nous apprend que Richard avait composé des commentaires sur la Genèse, l'Ecclesiaste, le Cantique des cantiques et beaucoup d'autres textes. Nous savons du moins que Richard écrivit le commentaire des Proverbes vers la fin de sa vie, comme pour se reposer des soucis que lui causait sa charge abbatiale; voici, en effet, comment il s'exprime dans la lettre dédicatoire et au début de son ouvrage:

_Incipit proemium in Proverbiis Salomonis. Pontio uenerando abbati Cluniensis coenobii, quidam seruus dominicae crucis: ea quae Dei sunt palato cordis gustare, facere, docere et ad morte usque propositae religionis praebula atque ductrice censura rationis identidem perducere._

Consideranti mihi, pater uenerande, quid personae uestrae specialius atque potissimum mittere possem, profecto Prouerbia Salomonis studio proprii stili enucleata et assignata in praesentiarum occurrunt, quatenus id quod per impensas forensium obsequiorum nusquam promeruerim neque, ni fallor, per reliquum aetatis, iam quidem in senium uergentis promeriturus sim, uel lectio praesens mihi satagat impetrare, repraesentans interdum uobis memoriam nominis mei. Ne id autem, quaeso, uos pensetis quod datur, sed a quo datur, quoniam qui dat id quod melius sibi aestimat non utique repulsam pati debet._

Explicit proemium.

_Incipit prologus. Post negotia forensium rerum, item post frequenter strepitus indocilis uulgi, post angores inestimabiles ac intolerabiles curae pastoralis regrediens ad me._

L'Hexameron d'Arnaud, abbé bénédictin de Bonneval de 1144 à 1154, a été publié, sauf une curieuse préface où l'auteur exprime ses idées sur les origines de la littérature sacrée et ses rapports avec la culture profane. En voici le texte:

_Apud Hebraeos ante Moysen nullum Scripturarum divinarum legimus tractatorem, sed neque historiarum uel liberalium diseiplinarum scriptores uel inquisitores in populo illo aliquos fuisse cognoscimus. In libro tamen Numeri, qui a Moyse conscriptus est, idem Moyses de quodam libro bellorum Domini mentionem facit, cum de terminis Moabitarum et Amorrhaeorum transeimte Israel per Arnon, Sehon rex Amorrhaeorum transeunte Israel per Arnon, Sehon rex Amorrhaeorum._

sermons inédits d'Alain de Tewkesbury (d. 1202) dans le Ms Douai 887 (XII°-XIII° s.), fols. 10-7.

_7Dans le Ms Mazarine 771 (XII° s.) fols. 78°-102, il se trouve mêlé aux sermons que j'ai présentés sous le titre: 'Predicateurs bénédictins au XI° et XII° siècles,' Revue Mabillon, XXXIII (1945), 59-65.


_10Maltosque tractatus super obscura Prophanorum problemata allegorice seu tropologic disseruit; loc. cit. Le prologue du commentaire des Proverbes est édité dans Pl. 186, 1357.

_11Le commentaire fut écrit avant 1122, date ou Ponce de Melgueil resigna sa charge d'abbé de Cluny.


_13D'apres le Ms BN lat. 1925, fols. 31r-33v. A Wilmart a édité une courte préface au commentaire du Ps. cxxxi dans Revue Mabillon, XII (1922), 30, note 2.

_14Num. xxxi, 14._
transitum uetuit. Sed libri huius nec apud canonicas nec apud apocryphas scripturas uel auctor uel pagina inueniuntur. Fuisse tamen nonnullos uel apud Chaldaeos qui astronomiae uel apud Aegyptios qui geometriae uel alius disciplinas operam darent, ex eo colligitur quod in omni sapientia Aegyptiorum Moysen acceperimus eruditum. Legimus quoque in epistola Iudaee Enoch septimum ab Adam prophetasse, sed scripturam illam, si forte scriptura fuit, deleuit antiquitas. Longa ante diluuium tempora defluxere: nulla omnino in tot annorum serie relica est scriptura, nisi quod aiunt Tubalcaim musicae fuisse repertorem et organorum regulas scripsisse in duobus columnis, quarum una lateritia, altera lapidea fuit. Audierat enim delendum huius mundi statum confiagratione et cataclismo, et arte sua prouidens, ideo in lapide sculpsit ne aquis dilueretur, ideo in latere ne ignibus solueretur. Sed et Abraham, cum prophetes esset, nulla post se scripturae munimenta reliquit; potius quod ab illo prophetatam est, uel ab Israel, qui filius suis beneficis futura praedixit, uel alii, Moyses complexus est et per ordinem tam facta quam dicta praecedentium patrum digessit. JUNiores tempore tam graecos quam latinos scriptores fuisse dubium non est, cum eo tempore quo Roma condita est iam populus Israel ex Aegypto egressus in terra promotionis annos septingentos et octo habertur, et tempore regis Ezechiae constet Romulum regnasse in Latio, qui Romae conditor fuit. Eodem sane tempore Isaia filius Amos prophetavit, postea uero iam senescence regno Judaico, cum soluta est Judaeeorum captivitas, primum sub Cyro ex parte, deinde ex toto sub Dario, Samius Pythagoras fuit, et non multo post Socrates Atheniensium magister, et post hunc Plato, deinde Aristotiles.

Decursis igitur prioribus spatiis temporum, quae ab Adam usque ad Noe, et a Noe usque ad Abraham, et ab Abraham usque ad Moysen in aliis occupationibus defluxerunt, spiritus Domini repleuit Moysen cum esset in eremo, et quasi in paradisum introducens eum, locutus est ei, intrinsecus ostendens delicias loci, igna fructifera, uirentia gramina, temperiem loci, fontem irrigum, hominem intus inclytum, extra miserum et confusum. Audit sacramentalia flumina de cardinali illo fonte manantia, audit Satanam in serpente homini suadentem mortifica, audit promulgatam in transgressorem exterminii censuram. Audit uel potius uidet Cherubim cum gladio flammae reeditum obstrepetrum proscriptis. Quod primum est, audit Deum, immo reuelatius Deo. Trinitatis differentias assequitur, audit Patrem visibilium et invisibilium originem et fundatorem, Filium creatorem et operatorem, Spiritum Sanctum secundatorem et sanctificatorem, ut habeat per uerbum originem et essentiam, et quamuis essentia et motus et uita ad proprietatem personarum respicient, una tamen uirtute et bonitate manifesta in unitate, nihil diuersum sentiant, ne plures naturas nec plures potestas, sed licet propriae sint efficientiae, una tamen omnipotentia, una uirtute, una divinita, una bonitas, una beatitudo, una aeternitas. Haec fidei fundamenta, cum soli Deo nota essent, cum nemo nosset Patrem nisi Filius, placuit Deo reuelare Moysi ueritatis originem, quius litteris harum rerum distinctiones primo innotuerunt hominibus, ut imbuti fidei, spe proficerent et usque ad caritatis latitudinem profectus agerent. Scripsit igitur in prima Geneseos parte, in capite libri, opera sex dierum, in quibus mysticis et secretis rationibus et aeternitas Dei et sapientia Verbi et benignitas Spiritus Sancti sic intimata est, ut haberet simplicitatis fidei, illuminata per Verbum, ad altitudinem diuinitatis Dei, secundum mensuram sihbi datam, accessibilem introitum, in quo exercitetur donec, ablatum quod ex parte est, in ultimis consummatur. Intimata est in hoc eodem libro angelorum creatione et diaboli casu, licet manifeste non sit ibi harum rerum expressa distinctio.

II. COMMENTAIRES DU CANTIQUE DES CANTIQUES

1. LES COMMENTAIRES DE TYPE MONASTIQUE

Le livre biblique le plus souvent commenté dans les monastères, spécialement au XIIe siècle, est le Cantique des cantiques. Ce texte a été l'occasion d'écrits nombreux qui constituent comme un genre littéraire nouveau: le Cantique y sert de prétexte à des exposés relatifs à la doctrine ou à la vie spirituelle. Le chef-d'œuvre du genre est constitué par les Sermones in Cantica de saint Bernard. Mais il existe d'autres témoins de ce genre. Un ancien catalogue de Rochester...
attribue à Alred de Rievaulx un commentaire du Cantique; ce commentaire pourra-t-il être retrouvé? Le manuscrit Oxford Trinity 19 en contient un qui mériterait d'être examiné. Le manuscrit Vat. lat. 4235 (XIIe-XIIIe s.) en conserve également un (fols. 1-36) dont voici le prologue:

Cum tuae nobilitatis reverentiae luce clarius constat me infra feruentis adolescentiae annos stabilitum non posse carnalis prout expedit contraire, praesertim cum inter clericorum petulantes garritus diutius quam decreet uidear immorari, non absurdim fore deliberaui nouo studii genere

\[ 5 \]

inalidae mentis inertiam releuare. Timenti etiam ne sapientissimi Salomonis sententiae fierem obnoxious, qua subiacere desideris omnis otiosus assurit, hoc opusculo tuae dilectioni promisso uagacitatem lasciuae iuventutis refrenandum providi. Quod quia superna clementia suffragante ad unguem usque perduxi, tuae sanctae dilectioni, quam plurinum constat in Christo reuendarum, ad corrigendum spe deuotionum destinaur.

Percurre igitur legendo quae nobis per cymbalum Sancti Spiritus paternae malestatis sacrosancta archana, ad nostri cordis caliginem detergendam, dulcibus modis sonuerunt. Iure quidem et convenienter Salomonem spiritualem nominavit, qui nos ululat aedulcere resonans sacrosanctae dilectionis

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Christi uidelicet et ecclesiae uenerabile mysterium, Spiritu Sancto dictante declaravit. Declaravit, inquam, Salomon sponsi et sponsae dotalia, cum ipsum Dominum Iesum, qui sponsi nomine intelligitur, pro dilectione, quae sponsa nuncupatur, uulneratum suisse manifeste insinuat, -dicens ipsi ecclesiae in persona hominis in cruce pendentis: Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea sponsa. Ab hoc salutifero uulnere ea dona profluxerunt per quae se sponsa gratulatur subarrhatam et sempiterneae beatitudinis thalamo feliciter collocatat.

Huius etiam ulnneris cruro purpuro caeci illius euangelici iuxta uiam sedentis pariterque mendicantis tenebrae sunt expulsae et aeterni solis radius, nubilo peccatorum recedente, misericorditer est ostensus. Hae sunt ueneranda tuae erga nos dilectionis indicia, Domine Iesu, quibus inamorati nostram euacuimus, quibus nos ad amorem tuae pietatis accendis, quibus etiam, ne inter aerumnas huiss quia deficiamus, ut benignissimus pater caros filios consolaris. Quod quia non nostro merito, sed tua gratuitatem bonitatem fit, laudes

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et gratias quascumque praeeutet tuae creaturae ibi peregrinavit affectus, quam non solum clementem cum non esset condidisti, uerum etiam compassionis ordine cum periisset redimisti, et sicut in his Canticorum canticis exprimitur, usque ad amoris colloquium descendisti.

De quibus Canticis, mi amantissime, a mea pusillitate dilucidatum pro meo posse excipe opusculum, et eo feruore caritatis quo tibi ad corrigendum transmittitur, a tuae dilectionis prudence non spernendo suscipiatur.

Ad commendandam huius libri materiam et intentionem commemorandi sunt alii duo libri Salomonis . . .
Les moines ont parfois exprimé, dans de courtes pièces de vers, leur admiration pour le Cantique des cantiques. Tel de ces poèmes est une sorte de résumé des *Sermones in Cantica* de saint Bernard. Cet écrit de saint Bernard a lui-même provoqué toute une littérature, qui à elle seule exigerait une étude spéciale.

2. LES COMMENTAIRES MARIOLOGIQUES

Le XIIe siècle est l'époque où le Cantique commença d'être interprété au sujet de la Vierge Marie. Deux commentaires de ce genre ont été édités, ceux d'Honorius Augustodunensis (+après 1130) et de Rupert de Deutz (+1135). Les manuscrits nous en livrent un autre, écrit probablement à la demande de l'abbé cistercien Roger de Byland; c'est celui de Guillaume de Newburgh, chanoine régulier; s'il n'est donc pas l'œuvre d'un moine, il était du moins destiné à un public de moines. En voici le début, d'où il ressort que l'auteur croyait être le premier à donner une interprétation mariologique du Cantique.

Crebra mihi iussione tua sanctitas imminet, pater Rogere, de sacro epithalamio in gloriosam Virginem Mariam exponendo, post egregios meiorum labores. Quomodo enim uel in ecclesiis uel in excellentiis meriti animam idem nuptiale carmen intelligi debetat a uiris clarissimis splendide opere olim elaboratum est. Solus autem beatissimus Icronymys, occasio culsumus sermonis, quaedam illius Cantici ad personam gloriosae Virginis et Matris specialiter retulit, et quod omnia que ibidem in sponsam dicuntur in eius ualeant specialiter personam exponi, leui paucorum capitulorum explanatione monstratur. Quod opus magnum et a magnis etiam uiris omissum meae paruitati tua discretione nescio qua ratione dixerit imperandum. Sane si tua dignatio cuperet experiri modicum quid insipientiae meae, uisionem tuam promptus et deuotus exequerer.

Geoffrey d'Auxerre a appliqué à la Vierge deux passages du Cantique.

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3Le prologue, dont le début est donné ici d'après le *Ms Bruxelles 1869* (XII-XIII s.), fol. 1, manque dans l'autre exemplaire connu, le *Ms Cambridge Univ. Gg.14v.;* en revanche, dans ce dernier manuscrit, l'auteur est clairement identifié: fol. 1: *Inc. prol. magistri Willelmi Parui canonici de Newburgh super Cantica canctorum, in primum lugubris considerandum uidetur.* Des extraits du commentaire

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[100]
Les ouvrages révélateurs de l'exégèse monastique du moyen âge ne sont pas seulement les commentaires de livres entiers. Les tendances de cette exégèse apparaissent aussi dans des commentaires partiels. Ceux-ci sont donnés soit dans des sermons, soit sous forme de traités. L'un de ces derniers est conservé dans le manuscrit Lambeth 488; il a pour objet Mt., xv, 21-28. Il est adressé par un moine à un abbé, si l'on en juge par la lettre dédicatoire:

Reuendo patri in Christo omnique honore dignissimo: diu bene uiuere in hoc saeculo et perenniter beate in futuro.

Licet a primo die mihi uestrae dulcedinis honestas innotuit uos semper amauerim, tamen postquam promotus estis in abbatem meis se uisceribus et altius immisit et arctius impressit uestri amor, non quidem propter dignitatis quam indagini saepius occupant Ulsitudinem, sed propter eam quae tanto in potentibus est rarior, tanto debet esse carior humiliatis consummationem. Difficile namque est ut sit humilis animo qui sublimis est loco et sit spiritu modicus qui terrenis rebus est amplius . . .

Sic uos, pater sancte custodiui ut pupillam oculi, quae tamen nigra et parua, sed totius corporis esse lucerna dinoscit. Nigra uero est pupilla quae transeuntem per se visum confortet radium, quia sicut philosophorum eximius Aristotiles ait: Nigredon est color segregatius uisus. Porro nigredo significat humiliatem. Unde in signum humiliatis quidam monachi nigris cucullis, canonici caps, moniales uelis utuntur. Et scimus quod sicut nigredo uisum corporalem, sic humiliatas confortat et fouet mentale . . .

Ex tanto ergo merito est quod in omnibus agendis circumpecte uos agitis et nostri temporis ad hoc utraque manu utimimini pro dextra, dum secundum documentum nostri Legislatoris in Regula, in omnibus operibus uestris providus estis et consideratus, siue secundum Deum, siue secundum saeculum sint.' Hinc est quod uos unice diligo. Et quia amor nescit esse otiosus, quibus possum indicis ostendo, loquens illud poeticon:

quia pauper amabam,  
Cum dare non poteram munera, werta dabam.  

Vobis igitur cui ostium apertum est in caelo, eo quod modicam habeatis uirtute, id est in secreta Sacrae Scripturae liber et facilis patet ingressus quia uirtute habetis humiliatis, quae fecit hominem de se sentire modica, studii mei in diuinis litteris libo primitias, exposituquae quae filiam chananeae demonica matris prece mediante curata dicitur a Domino. In qua saepe nulla plausibilis pictura splendid eloquio, quia non eam fucorum floribus colorare, sed sententiarum fructibus

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1 Par exemple, dans le Ms Lambeth 481, déjà mentionné plus haut, p. 55, note 2, se trouve un commentaire sur l'Evangelie Intruait Jesus in quoddam castellum qui débute ainsi: Cum in hoc euangelio non fiat mentio de beata Virgine, merito quaeritur quare in Assumptione legatur. Ad quod dicendum quod mysterium excellencie b. Virginis in hac lectione praecepte declaratur. Fuit enim castellum in quo Dei Filius intratu, hospitium in quo reclinavit, ut dict Bernardus. Beata Virgo excellentissimum hospitium exhuiit Domino in incarnatione, idio Dominus praeperparuit ei ducilissimum hospitium in assumptione. Item in hospitio duas sorenes Martham et Mariam invenit: per Martham negotium, per Mariam otium designatur. Haec sunt duae uita, actua et contemplatiu . . . (fol. 103). La question posée au début de ce texte est déjà celle à laquelle répondent Honorius Augustodunensis, Sigillium B. Marine (PL 172, 637), et Rosal d'Escures dans l'homelie (PL i58, 644) que lui a restituée A. Wilmart dans Archies d'hist. doctr. et litt. au moyen âge, II (1927), 16-23. C'est dans ce dernier texte (PL 158, 646D-647) et non dans s. Bernard, que se trouvent les idées qui sont ici résumées et attribuées à Bernard; l'homelie de Raoul d'Escures était parfois, dans les manuscrits, attribuée à Bernard, comme dans Ms Luxembourh 119 (XIIe-XIIIe s., Münster, O.S.B.), ou mêlée à ses œuvres, comme dans Ms Tolāde 9.26 (XIIe s.), Luxembourg 49 (XIIIe s., Orval, O. Clst.).

2 XIIIe s., fol. 101-6.


4 Regula s. Benedicti, cap. 64.

5 Ovidius, Ars. am. II, 153-5.

Suit l’expositio." Comme dans le prologue, l’auteur y cite la Règle de saint Benoît, mais également Horace et d’autres gentiles poetae et philosophi. Ce long exposé est divisé en vingt-deux sections, dont chacune porte un titre. A la fin, l’auteur livre son nom et déclare son intention d’écrire d’autres ouvrages si celui-ci est agréé:

Explicit homilia Willelmi de Lafford de muliere chananea . . . Gratulatio auctoris et gratiarum actio de consummatione operis sui. Amen. Iam tandem aliquando, pater sanete, telam pertexui quam olim orditus sum inter tribulationes multas et malas quae me durius et diutius afflixerunt . . . Praeterea quantulcumque sentientiam meam iucundiorem mihi feci, proximis earn communicando, quia uix alicuius boni sine socio est iucunda possessio. Porro omne bonum in commune deductum pulchrius elucescit, et quidem non solum ex eo quod consummatum pulchrius est quodcumque bonum, sed etiam utilius, teste romanae eloquentiae principec, qui in libris De amicitia quodam loco sic ait: Fructus ingenii et uirtutis omnis praestantiae tunc maximus capitur cum in proximum quemque confertur." Unde libellum istum libenter patior publicari, dum tamen correctionis uestrae lima complanatus, honestius proferatur in publicum qui festiuior esse debebit quod uestro nomine consignatus. Post hunc aliquid quod minus proueetos in intelligentia scripturarum prouehere possit curabo conficere, si mihi pacem temporis dementia diuina contulerit . . .

Le manuscrit Bodley 87 (XIIe-XIIIe s.) conserve aussi un prologue dont l’auteur est un abbé nommé Gilbert, qu’il n’est pas facile d’identifier. II n’est même pas certain que le sermon qui suit la citation ne soit le commentaire auquel celui-ci devait servir d’introduction. Du moins cet habile prologue contient-il d’excellentes formules sur l’Ecriture Sainte, qu’on peut sans cesse commenter sans l’épuiser jamais:

Inc.: Egressus Iesu . . . Qui enim Uerbi egrediendi sine . . .

Fol. 102.

Fol. 103.

Voici les premiers: De multitudine laqueorum. Quod nist precedit Dei miseratio non sequitur remuneratio. De diversitate claramorum sine clamanium.

Je n’ai pu identifier ce Guillaume de Lafford. Dans deux chartes du temps du XIIe siècle conservées au British Museum (Ms Harley Ch.56.C.46 et 51.G.15, actes en faveur de l’abbaye cistercienne de Kirkested) est mentionné un Willelmus capellanus de Lafford, en même temps qu’un Radulphus prepositus de Lafford et plusieurs clerici de Lafford. Mais ceux-ci ne semblent pas avoir été moines, comme l’auteur de notre commentaire, auquel celui-ci devait servir d’introduction. Du moins cet habile prologue contient-il d’excellentes formules sur l’Ecriture Sainte, qu’on peut sans cesse commenter sans l’épuiser jamais:

Cistere. (Cologne, 1656), p. 128, attribué à Gilbert de Hoyland un In Matthaeum lib. 1; notre prologue précéderait-il ce commentaire? Dans le manuscrit, il est suivi (fols. 90-4) d’un sermon qui, de fait, a pour thème un passage de s. Matthieu (x, 34 sqq.): Sermo de eodem martyre apud G. editus. Hostium mihi hodie sermonis apertum est magnum et euidens et auditores multi . . . Le premier sermon est adressé à des moines; l’auteur parle de l’entrée en religion, qui sépare l’homme des siens (fols. 92), de ‘la vie commune dont ont fait profession’ ses auditeurs (fols. 93); il dit encore: ‘Praedicatae almei uita certaminis . . . — pensée très cistercienne, comme il ressort des textes que j’ai rassemblés dans Etudes sur s. Bernard, Analecta S. Ord. Cisterciensia IX (1953), 126-7. De Visch attribue aussi à Gilbert de Hoy-
Lusisti utiliter ubertimque in ista iam pridem materia, et nunc superaucuos me iubes in ea labores instaurare. Quidni superaucuos? Verba haec a te sufficierent undemianta sunt, et adhuc tenues, si qui residui sunt, me uis recolligere racemos.19 Ero ergo iuxta Prophetam, sicut congregans in messe20 quod restiterit, et quasi spicas colligens.21 Si tamen colligens et non magis quaerens, sicut apud eundem Prophetam incontinenti legitur: Et erit, inquit, sicut quaerens spicas in ualle.22 Quid enim est quod aut memoriam tuam fugerit, aut non ingenium penetrauerit? Quid est quod aut disputatisiones tuae copiae possit adici, uel cultius diceri? Et praeripuisti quae dicerem, et quae dicta sunt a te ne expectes ut ego accuratiis dicam. Instans tamen, et non raros racemos, sicut cum fuerit finita undemia,23 sed ubertatem plenam deprecis uuarum. Nosti enim quod sacrae uerba Scripturae, cum semel et bis undemianta fuerint, ac si grauida sacris iterum soleant influire sensibus, et quasi prius tacta non essent, ubertim et inebriantem effundant expressa liquorem. Res ista nostrae facultatis non est, post ueterum et modernorum studia, de pertractata materia nouos et plenos sensus eruere. Spiritus ad oboedientiam promptus est, sed inﬁrma24 ad exsequendum scientia. Si quasi per noctem laborans nihil cepero, tibi imputa, in cuius imperio coactus quidem sermons rete laxabo.25 Si nihil cepero, tibi, inquam, imputa, qui totum extraxisti in sagena tua. Et quidem an aliquid sim capturus ignorant, unum autem scio quod in hoc me Iesus ipse capiti et cludit sermone.

* * *

Si l'on en juge d'après ceux qui viennent d'être présentés ici, les écrits monastiques sur la Bible revêtent un caractère personnel; ils ne sont pas issus de l'enseignement théologique d'un maître à ses élèves, mais ils répondent à un besoin spirituel de leur auteur ou de celui qui lui demande d'écrire.26 Ce besoin relève de la piété plus que de la science abstraite. Il s'agit moins de progresser dans l'intelligence de la foi, ou de faire progresser la doctrine de l'Eglise, que d'entretenir en soi le "goût" des réalités surnaturelles.27 On utilise la science,
MAIS LE BUT EST PLUS ÉLEVÉ: LA LECTIO DIVINA CONDUIT À L’ORAISON, À LA CONTEMPLATION, AU POINT DE SE CONFONDRE PARFOIS AVEC ELLES. CET IDÉAL EST CLREMENT FORMULÉ DANS UN OPUSCULE ANONYME DESTINÉ AU MOINE QUAND IL EST ENCORE NOVICE:

SI AD LEGENDUM ACCEDAT, NON QUÆRAT SCIENTIAM, SED SAPOREM. ET ETIUM SACRA SCRIPTURA PUTEUS Iacob ex quo hauriuntur aquae quae in oratione funduntur. Et nota quod non semper ad oratorium sit eundum, sed in ipsa lectione poterit contemplari et orare.23

APPENDICE

NOUVEAUX TEMOIGNAGES SUR ORIGÈNE AU XIIe SIECLE

LES ÉCRITS EXÉGÉTIQUES D’ORIGÈNE ONT EXERCÉ UNE GRANDE INFLUENCE SUR LA LITTÉRATURE MONASTIQUE DU XIIe SIÈCLE. ON ÉTAIT À LA FOIS ATTIRÉ PAR L’ALLÉGORISME GÉNIAL D’ORIGÈNE, ET INQUIT AU SUJET DE SA DOCTRINE SUR CERTAINS POINTS. CETTE ATTITUDE COMPLEXE APPARAÎT EN DE NOMBREUX TÉMOIGNAGES DISPERSES.2 Mais elle s’exprime longuement aussi dans un traité de Siméon de Durham3 dont voici le début:

AETATIS UTRIUSQUE MERITO PATRI UENERANDO HOLDEBERTO, SIMEON SERVUORUM SANCTI CUTHBERTI MINIMUS: OMNIIIM EXPETENDORUM SUMMAM.

SUPER HIS QUAE EX HOMELLIS ORIGENIS UOS AMBIGUA MOURERANT, PRIOR DOMUM REDIENS DESIDERIO UESTRO SATISFACTERE UIGILANTER INSTABAT. CUIUS EGO IMPERIUM OBOEDIENTER PROSEQUENS CATHOLICORUM PATRUM RESOLVENDO OPUSCULA, EORUM SUPER ILLAS QAESTIONES SENTENTIAS PROUT POTERAM DILIGENTER PERQUISIPI, PERQVISITAS IN UNUM UOBIIS TRANSMITENDAS COLLEGI. QUOD SANE NEGOTIUM, ET SI MINUS DESIDERABILITER QUAM DEUS DEBUI, SUM EXSECUTUS, ET UT IUBENTI EXHIBERMER REUERENTIAM, ET AMPLIHeroE UESTRA DILECTIONIS MEREAB EASSE GRAVITAM. EA QUPIPE QUAE DE UOBIIS DULCERE FRAGRAT, ETIAM EOS QUI UOS NON NORUNT IN UESTRI AMOREM BONITATIS FAMA PROUOCAT. ISTE ITAQUE ORIGENES MULTUM, UT BEATUS HIERONYMUS TESTATUR, IN EXONENTDÌS Sanctis Scripturis laborando multa volumna condidit, sed in his multa, licet utilia, licet satisque approbanda disseruerit, quaedam tamen interserit quiu ad catholica fides perniciosa multumque improbanda respuit. Unde beatus Hieronymus a quodam4 Tranquillo consultus qualiter origenes esset legendus, ita per epistolam respondit: Quod dicis multos originem errore deceptos et sanctum filium meum Oceanum illorum insaniae repugnare . . .

Siméon cite encore d’autres témoignages de Jérôme, d’Epiphane, d’Augustin, au sujet d’Origène, puis en vient au texte incriminé: il s’agit du passage de la 1ère homélie sur Ezéchiel où Origène semble dire que Sodome et Gomorre n’ont pu se repentir, afin qu’ayant été chaties en cette vie, les habitants de ces deux villes pussent être pardonnés en l’autre.5 Haec origenis uerba vos arbitror legisse, haec vos in stupore vertisse recolitis . . . pour réfuter cette doctrine, Siméon cite Maxime, Grégoire le Grand, un canon de concile prohibant le suicide, Augustin, Jérôme et Ambroise. Tous ces textes sont invoqués contre les parti¬sans d’une erreur bien déterminée: qui lapsus nituant paentitiantem negare. Il

23 Ms British Museum Burney 309 (XIIIe s.), fol. 27r. L’opuscule (fols. 27v-28r) est intitulé Incipit bona lectio et sub compendio ad monachos noviciorum monachorum pro quo surgitur ad vigilias. Utiae suae tempus per momenta singula debet monachus computare . . .

1 Sous le titre ‘Origène au XIIe siècle,’ Irénikon, XXIV (1951), 425-39, j’ai rassemblé plusieurs de ces témoignages.

2 Préchantre du monastère cathédrale de Durham, O.S.B., mort peu après 1129.


4 Dans le manuscrit: merer.


6 Dans le manuscrit: fraglat.

7 Cf. s. Jérôme, Epist. LXX, 2, PL 22, 603; LXXXIV, 7-8, PL 22, 749-50.

8 Dans le manuscrit: a quo tam.

9 In Ezeh. (traduction de s. Jérôme) I, 2; ed. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1925), p. 322, 10 sq.: inc. Si ueneris ad eos qui puniti sunt . . .

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ne s'agit, on le voit, que d'un texte très particulier d'Origène, et il n'est pas clair qu'Origène, en ce texte, soit responsable de l'erreur qui occasionne le débat.

Un autre moine accordait plus de confiance à Origène, sur un point de doctrine cependant peu sûr: il s'agit de l'auteur, jusqu'à présent non identifié, de la vaste compilation de "miracles" et de "visions" que contient le manuscrit Lambeth 51 (XIII\textsuperscript{e}).

Dans le récit des péripéties de plusieurs âmes après la mort, il insère un développement dont voici la rubrica et le début:\n
\begin{quote}
Mansionem secundum Origenem quas facient animae corporibus exutae ab exitu suo usque ad caelum et ad visionem Dei perueniant.
\end{quote}

Ecce iam superius in proxima uisione, quae uidelicet fuit Eadmundi monachi de Heinesham, satis uidemus quasdam distinctiones et proiectus quosdam esse in reque animarum postquam exierint de poenis purgatorii. Forte has distinctiones et proiectus animarum quiete frumentum post prædictas poenas, tue etiam alias distinctiones et proiectus qui fieri possunt post hanc uitam, dicit Origenes secundum anagogicum intellectum super Numeri esse XLII mansiones et proiectus quos fecerunt filii Israel in desertor, ascendentes de Aegypto usque ad terram promissionis, id est usque ad ipsam terram uisionem, de qua dicitur: \textit{Credo uidere bona Domini in terra uisionem.}

Omnia enim quae continentur in Ueteri Testamento, dicit Origenes mysteria esse futurorum quae erunt post hanc uitam.

Et hoc probat auctoritate Apostoli et aliorum sanctorum.

L'auteur cite encore cinq témoignages d'Origène, chacun précédé de ce titre: \textit{Origenes de mansionibus animarum}; il applique donc aux péripéties de l'âme, et d'une façon que ne justifie pas entièrement le texte d'Origène, ce qui celui-ci avait dit \textit{De mansionibus filiorum Israel.} Mais il ne peut le faire que parce qu'il a d'abord approuvé la méthode allégorique d'Origène.

Plusieurs indices donnent à penser que saint Bernard et les milieux cisterciens ont joué un rôle prépondérant dans le revival originien du XII\textsuperscript{e} siècle. Il semble qu'il y ait une preuve précise de l'influence de saint Bernard dans le fait suivant: l'abbaye de Clairvaux possédait, du commentaire d'Origène sur le Cantique des cantiques, un exemplaire où le texte était expliqué seulement jusqu'à ces mots: \textit{Capite nobis uulpes.} Or à la bibliothèque d'Orval, monastère cistercien fondé en 1132, l'exemplaire d'Origène sur le Cantique se terminait au même endroit. Il en va de même pour l'exemplaire de l'abbaye bénédictine de Liessies, dont nous savons qu'on y fit copier de textes patristiques sur des manuscrits de Clairvaux au temps de saint Bernard. Ces exemples, dont sans doute on pourrait allonger la liste, font supposer que Clairvaux a été un centre de diffusion pour les textes d'Origène.

\begin{addendum}
Dans la seconde moitié du XI\textsuperscript{e} siècle, l'abbé bénédictin d'Ebersberg Willeram (+1084), avait composé une paraphrase en vers du Cantique, dédiée à l'empereur Henri IV (édition sous le nom de Marbode dans A. Beaugendre, \textit{A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace} (Cambridge, 1932), p. 71 et suiv.\footnote{Description détaillée dans M. R. James, \textit{A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace} (Cambridge, 1932), p. 71 et suiv.}

\footnote{Fol. 54C.}

Ps. xxiii, 13. La première main avait écrit: \textit{uidentium.}

\footnote{Ps. xxiii, 13. La première main avait écrit: \textit{uidentium.}}

\footnote{Résumé Origene, \textit{In Num.} (trad. de Rufin) XXVII, 2-3; éd. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 258-60.}

Tel est le titre de l'\textit{Hom XXVII in Num.} dans la traduction de Rufin; éd. cit., p. 235.\footnote{Tel est le titre de l'\textit{Hom XXVII in Num.} dans la traduction de Rufin; éd. cit., p. 235. Cf. \textit{Irrémiçon, art. cit.,} 429-32.}

\footnote{Cf. A. Wilmart, \textit{L'Ancienne bibliothèque de Clairvaux, Mémories de la société académique d'agriculture, des sciences, arts et belles-lettres du Département de l'Aube, LIV} (1917), 159.}

\footnote{Ce manuscrit est actuellement conservé à la Bibliothèque de Luxembourg sous le cote 62.}

\footnote{D'après le catalogue ancien édité par A. Sander, \textit{Bibliotheca bellica manuscripta I} (Lille, 1641), p. 29.}

\footnote{La preuve en est dans la lettre de Philippe de l'Aumône, alors prieur de Clairvaux, à l'abbé de Liessies, que j'ai publiée dans une étude sur 'Les Manuscrits de l'abbaye de Liessies', \textit{Scriptorium, VI} (1952), 51-3.}

Chaucer's Ancient and Biblical World

FRANCIS P. MAGOUN, JR.

FOREWORD

The present paper sets forth in alphabetical order the geographical and ethnic names of the ancient and biblical world as reflected in the writings of Geoffrey Chaucer. The whole may be taken as representative of his knowledge of the subject. Included, too, are the not many names pertaining to what one may call the geography of Greek mythology, also the names of languages. Merely to list concordance-wise a name with its modern equivalent and geographical location, more or less as did Allan H. Gilbert in A Geographical Dictionary of Milton (New Haven, Conn., 1919), useful as this may be, tells the reader little or nothing of how or why, with reference to, or in connection with, what the author of a literary work is using a given name. As in an earlier paper, 'Geographical and Ethnic Names in the Nibelungenlied,' Mediaeval Studies, VII (1945), 85-138, I have tried to make each entry tell a story, speak for itself, as it were. In many cases an analysis of the occurrence of a name itself fails to tell the whole story or give a complete picture of the poet's ideas about the place and its function in his writings. A town or a river may be referred to only once directly by name, yet be alluded to several times as town, cite, or stream, with accompanying observations; such references are quite as significant as the name itself and an analysis of them will add much to the scene or the action. Like the poet of the Nibelungenlied Chaucer often embellishes his story by filling in from imagination details about certain localities, notably Athens and Troy, with talk about streets, buildings, the interior of the same and the like. These details, especially when taken together, add considerably to effects of verisimilitude and give additional life to the narrative. I have made every effort to include such matters and to weave them appropriately into the main fabric of the entry in question. Chaucer's use or application of a very few of the present names extends into the Middle Ages, most conspicuously Rome; I have included an analysis of these mediaeval phases of the names in question.

Within certain limits the present list gives us much information about Chaucer's acquaintance with the ancient world in general; it often reveals misunderstandings and misinformation, while on occasion the treatment of certain matters displays a point of view toward what one would today call classical archaeology which will bring a smile to our more informed faces; for Chaucer tends to picture the material life of the past as identical or all but identical with that of his own day, and a long time, indeed, was to pass before the exact sort of reconstruction of the ancient world, which is today expected by us all and to achieve which Hollywood is ready to spend millions, became anything like possible.

The geographical and ethnic range in this list is considerable and involves Europe, where Greece figures most prominently, North Africa, and the Near East. Many bodies of water are mentioned, some by name, others more usually as see or the like, the latter often identifiable from the context. It would, however, be quite wrong to imagine that Chaucer had any such knowledge of these places and peoples as we today possess or can easily acquire from handbooks. His representation of Helicon, somehow confused with Castalia, is illustrative. To have constructed anything like a correct map of this world would have been impossible for him or for anybody of his time and long after; his notion of the spacial relations involved may well have been much like that of a child of today who is casually versed in classical myth and legend and in stories from the Bible.
Except for a few gross distortions Chaucer's name-forms are generally speaking those used directly from the French of his day (often close to those of modern French) or are taken directly from Latin as Delphicus or Macedo or are closely adapted from Latin by merely dropping a Latin inflectional ending as Mantoan from Mantuanus, Trojan (vs. Old French Troien) from Troianus.

The key-words (and a few variants) are taken from Robinson's Chaucer, as are the line numbers; title-abbreviations are those of the Tatlock-Kennedy Concordance to the Complete Works of Chaucer, whose line-numbers in the case of the Astrolabe and Boethius, as well as the book and line numbers of books 2 and 3 of the Hous of Fame are given parenthetically after Robinson's number. References to the B group of the Canterbury Tales, broken up by Robinson into B₁ and B², are given as in Robinson: the break comes at B 1190 and in the continuous numbering B² lines are preceded by an asterisk, i.e., B *1191 ff. The independent numbering for B² follows this in parentheses and without special designation. Y is everywhere alphabeted in with i.

A

ACHALEOUS, the river Achelous (Lat. Acheloüs), mod. Aspropotamos, rising in Mt. Pindus (mod. Mezzara) and emptying into the Ionian Sea, is in Bo 4, m.7, 1.47 (1605–10) a flod, mentioned in connection with the story of Hercules's successful struggle against the river-god of the same name (cp. also CT B *3296 [2106]).

Chaucer's form would seem, if not accidental, to be based on a Gk type gen. vs. Boethius' Achelous amnis.

ACHEMENYE (Lat. Achaemenia), the Persian (Achaemenian) Empire of the Achaemenides (OPers. Hakhamanishiya), a dynasty at its height in the time of Cyrus and Darius and later kings, would in Bo 5, m.1, 13 (1640–45) seem to refer specifically to the province of Parthia (mod. Khorsan), being mentioned as a contré whose warriors in true or feigned flight would turn on their foes and shoot at them (“Parthian shot”) (I.4–6). It is also the realm in whose rocky highlands (cragges of the roche, 11.2–3; Boethius' rupis Achaemenidae) are wrongly said to rise from a single source (o welle, 1.2) the Euphrates and the Tigris (see Eufrates, Tigris, below).

Chaucer's form is French.

(AEGEAN SEA, THE AEGEAN) (Lat. [Mare] Aegeum), extending eastward from Greece to Asia Minor, is referred to as see in HF 417, LGW 1462, 1470, 1495, 1510, 2178, 2196, 2405, 2419; in 2163 it is described as wilde.

AFRIKE (AUFFRIKE) (Lat. Africa), Africa:

A. Reflecting the original Carthaginian application of the ethnic name Afer, plur. Afri, to the peoples of the area of Carthage (Cartage, below) and/or Libya (Libie, below), hence virtually synonymous with Carthage or Libya. In HF 431 Auffrikes regioun is Libya, in 1.432 it is more closely identified with Dido's faire town (of Carthage). In Bo 2, pr. 6, 1.78 (500–05) men of Affryke are Carthaginians taken prisoners by Marcus Atilius Regulus in the course of the First Punic War. In PF 37 Scipio Africanus (Chaucer's Affrican, etc.) comes to Afrike to meet the Numidian prince Massinissa (see under Cartage) on which occasion (CT B *4314 [3124]) Scipio has a vision portending the fall of Carthage.

B. By extension this name comes to apply to the whole continent and is thus used in HF 1339 (3,249).

Chaucer's form is French, mod. Afrique.

ALCATHOE, Alcathoe (Lat. Alcathoe, -es, f.), citadel of ancient Megara on the Saronic Gulf, now the Gulf of Aegina S of Athens, and chief town of ancient Megaris. It is mentioned with reference to the sege by Minos, legendary king of Crete (LGW 1909), and in LGW 1902, 1923; it is a cité (LGW 1904, 1916) with
strong walles (1903). Other tounes moo mentioned with Alcathoe in LGW 1923 refer to other cities in Greece in general.

Chaucer's form is Latin; the name is based on the personal name Alcathoïs, son of Pelops, legendary founder of Megara.

(AMBRACIAN GULF), (Lat. Sinus Ambracius), mod. Gulf of Arta at the mouth of the Arta (ancient Arachthos) on the NW coast of Greece, is referred to as a see in LGW 634 in connection with the Battle of Actium (mod. Punta), site of the Emperor Octavian's naval victory over Mark Anthony B.C. 31.

ARAB(Y)E (Lat. Arabia), Arabia, the Arabian peninsula, is mentioned in BD 982 to define the legendary phoenix bird, sometimes associated with Arabia Felix. In CT F 110 Arabe (var. Arabye) is the realm of an unnamed thirteenth-century ruler said also to rule Inde (see below).

Chaucer's form is French, mod. Arabie. The form Arabe of CT F 110 is either a scribal error or, more likely, due to confusion with the French form of the ethnic name Arabe 'an Arab.'

ARABYEN, adj. subst., an Arabian, Arab, inhabitant of the Arabian peninsula:
A. Used in CT B *3529 (2339) in a catalog of peoples who in the third century A.D. dared not oppose Queen Zenobia of Palmyra (see Palmyrie, below).
B. In Astr. Pr. 36 (5-11) reference is to Arab scholars of the eighth century A.D.; in Astr. Pt. I, § 10, 1.8 (45-50) arabiens is a plur. adj.
Arabyen, mod. Fr. arabiens as if from Lat. *Arabianus, is based on the regional name Arabia (see Arabye, above).

ARCADYE (Lat. Arcadia), Arcadia, central mountainous province of the Peloponnesus, is mentioned quite incidentally in Bo 3, m. 3, II. 18–19 (1315-20) (Mercurie ... the bridd of Arcadye) with reference to the legendary birth-place of the god Mercurius Cyllenius on Mt Cyllene (see Cilenios, below) in NE Arcadia; the god is spoken of as a bird because of being traditionally figured with wings (ap. the winged god Mercurie, CT A 1385).

Chaucer's form is French, mod. Arcadie.

ARDEA (Lat. Ardea), Ardea, a town 23 m. S of Rome in Latium, capital of Turnus and the tribe of the Rutuli, also said to have been burned by Aeneas; from the ashes of the town the heron (ardea) was said to have been engendered. In LGW 1694 Ardea is mentioned in connection with a siege by the Romans in the reign of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus (regn. 534-10 B.C.). In LGW 1730 it is a place, its walles are mentioned in 1726; the sege is referred to in 1696, 1725, 1758.

Chaucer's form is Latin.

ARDE, ARGON (Lat. Argos sg., more frequently Argi plur.), chief city and district of the peninsula of Argolis in the NE Peloponnesus, mod. Morea. It is mentioned together with Calidoigne (see below) as the realm of Diomedes of the Homeric Age in TC 5,805,934, and as Argon that cité, the city proper, in LGW 2682, answering to Ovid's Heroïdes 14, 34: quies alta per Argos erat, where it is probably poetical for all Greece:

Chaucer's Arge looks back to OFr Arge(s) vs. mod. Argos; Chaucer's Argon represents somehow a Gk acc. of Argos.

ARGEYES, Argives, people of Argos (see Arge, above), are mentioned in TC 5, 1501, where they are said to be ruled by Tydeus, historically the father—in Chaucer wrongly the grandfather—of Diomedes. See also Argyves, below.

ARGON, see Arge, above.

ARGYVES (Lat. Argivus), Argives, people of Argos, poetical for Greeks in general, is mentioned in TC 5, 1509. A sing. form Argyve, as if an "Argive woman," occurs in TC 4, 762 as Chaucer's invented name of Criseyde's mother,
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ASYE (Lat. Asia), Asia, originally probably a name for a town in ancient Lydia (Lyde, below) or for Lydia itself; as extended to include all Asia Minor it is a late Roman term.

A. It is used presumably in this earlier sense of Asia Minor in CT B *1678 (488) to identify an imaginary Christian settlement (a greet cite) with a Jewish quarter (see Jewerye, below) in an unnamed contre (B *1680 [490]).

B. In HF 1339 (3, 249) it refers to the whole continent of Asia, mentioned in connection with Europe and Africa.

Chaucer's form is French (mod. Fr. Asie).

AT(T)HENES, ATHENYS (Lat. Athenae), Athens, chief city of ancient Attica and of the modern kingdom of Greece. It is referred to mostly in the Legend of Ariadne and in the Knight's Tale, often in most general connections, sometimes defining a ruler (duke, governor, king, lord, prince): HF 388 (1, 388), 1228 (3, 138), Anel 46, LGW head (between 1885-86), 1897, 1922, 1944, 2122, end (between 2227-28), 2128, 2361, 2406, 2442, CT A 861, 873, 880, 968, 973, 1023, 1194, 1391, 1395, 1406, 1413, 2098, 2483, 2701, 2964, 2971, F 1369. It is a cite in LGW 1899, 1904, CT A 1066 (noble), 1287, 2188, 2191, 2567 (large), 2574, 2701, 2902; a place in LGW 1915; a town in Bo 5, m. 4, l. 2 (1805-10); LGW 1942, CT A 894, 973, 1628, 2189, 2738, 2829. Athenians are referred to as hem of Athenes in Bo 1, pr. 5, l. 21 (200-05), and LGW 1925, 1940. Though not directly mentioned, the port town of Peiraeeus, some five miles from Athens, is assumed in LGW 2552 (haven of Athenes), 2361, 2509; in 2305-06 it is suggested that the main street (mysterystrete) leads from the city to the harbor, also in CT A 2902, 2904 (strete). Athenes, mentioned in LGW 1965-66, is some kind of slip for Crete.

Within the town is the Stoa or Porch of Zeno (Bo 5, m. 4, ll. 1, 2, 4 [1805-10]), defined as a gate, perhaps in the sense of a "passage way" rather than a "gate." Demophon's palace large is mentioned in LGW 2406, Theseus' palace in CT A 2199 (with a dais), 2494, 2513, 2525 (riche), 2527, with a halie or great hall in A 2521, the king's chambre (A 2525) and a wyndowe (A 2528). The latter is likewise referred to as a court in A 1414, 1430, 1497 (roial), 1504, with a gate (A 1415), and in A 1057 as a castel. Adjacent is Emelye's walled garden (A 1051, 1060 [gardyn wall], 1067, 1099, 1105), referred to as a place in A 1119. Overlooking the garden and built on to the garden wall is the main tour (A 1030, 1056, 1277), and constituting the main keep (dungeon, A 1037) of Theseus' castle was a priso(u)n high up (A 1023, 1055, 1085, 1095, 1107, 1109, 1185, 1206, 1229, 1236, 1237, 1335, 1451, 1468, 1562, 1592, 1735, 1792), in which was a chambre (A 1065, 1071) with a heavily barred window (A 1075-76). In the town is a temple of Isis (HF 1844-45 [3, 754-55]).

Leading out of the town is a highway (A 897: the heighe wey) and in the outskirts a temple of the goddess Clementia (A 928), also lodging for visitors (hostelryes, A 2493). Farther out begin field(es) (A 1508, 1632), the open country of the Attic plain, and a mile or two out (A 1504) is a grove (A 1478, 1481, 1505, 1514, 1635, 2860, 2898) with a brook (A 1693) and a launde or clearing (A 1691, 1696).

The most conspicuous architectural monument of Theseus' Athens is a bowl-type stadium, presumably outside the town-walls, and constructed by Theseus especially for the tournament between Palamon and Arcite. Referred to as a theatre (A 1885, 1901, 2091), a place (A 2585, 2678, 2690), and more often as lystes (A 1884, 2099, 2218, 2545, 2566, 2575, 2662), it is a circular stone structure (A 1889) with a moat (walled of stoon and dyched al withoute, A 1888), 1 mile in circumference, 60 paces high (pas, A 1890), and with rising tiers of seats

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(degrees, A 1890, 1891, 2579) banked to afford the spectator an unobstructed view (A 1892), also called setes in A 2580. The number of rows of seats is not specified; the stadium is said to be ful of degrees, i.e., tiers of seats (A 1890). The full diameter must be thought of as some 560 yards, the height perhaps 150 feet, if one modestly reckons a "pace" as ca 2½ feet. Stadium builders tell me that the playing surface might be reckoned as some 1000 feet in diameter, corresponding to a king-size polo field, and that the edifice might have seated a couple of hundred thousand people. The Colosseum of ancient Rome seated about 45,000; the world's largest stadium in Rio de Janeiro seats 175,000 spectators. About a year was allowed for the construction of the Theseus Bowl (A 1850-51), in which many engineers, craftsmen and artists took part (A 1897-1901) and was done at great cost (A 2090). The Theseus Bowl was not only by all odds the world's biggest stadium but was handsome as well. At the east and west points of the circle were white marble gates, the main entries (A 1893-94, 1909, 2597); above the east entry was a chapel or shrine (oratorie, A 1904-05, 2585) dedicated to Venus; above the west entry one to Mars (A 1906-07, 2581); while on the north side in a touret springing from the outer wall is a third oratory dedicated to Diana (A 1909-12); these are referred to as thise oratories thre in A 1917 and are characterized by elaborate murals. Despite the term temple applied to them in A 1918 (cp. 2663), 2218, 2251-52 (with an altar) (of Venus); 1969, 1982, 2009, 2368, 2407, 2410, 2422, 2425-26 (with an altar) (of Mars); A 2051, 2281 (of Diana), these shrines should not be thought of as "temples" in the sense of Lat. templum but rather as Lat. aedes which by interpretatio christiana is well described by the word oratorie. From his experience as Clerk of the King's Works (1389-90) Chaucer might have learned much about elaborate construction of this sort though he had certainly written up this material or an earlier equivalent much earlier. On Boccacio's account of Teseo's theatre in the Teseida see R. A. Pratt, PMLA, LXII (1947), 100 and notes; on Chaucer's adjustment of Boccacio's treatment of the oratories see Pratt, ibid., 617-18.

Chaucer's form of the name, whence mod. Athens, looks back to OFr Athenes (Lat. Athenas).

(BABILAN), this curious form, perhaps for Babilon, used for "of Babylon the city" or "of the region of Babylonia," "Babylonian," is applied in CT B 63 to Thisbe of ancient legend. The adjective form may be based on the OFr type of the city-name Babilon (n)e "Babylon," by-form of the more usual Babiloigne, below.

BABILOIGNE (Lat. Babylonia), famous Euphrates city of Babylon, is mentioned in connection with more than one period of its history.

A. In CT B *3339 (2149) it is the principal seat (sovereign see) of the empire of Nebuchadrezzar II the Assyrian (regn. 605-562 B.C.), famed for its wealth (BD 1060-61), referring either to the city or the province.

B. In CT B *3374 (2184), *3380 (2190), *3404 (2214), *3424 (2234) it is the kingdom or realm (regn.) of Belshazzar or Balsharazur, son of Nebuchadrezzar and last king of Babylon.

C. In CT D 2082 it is the goal of conquest of Cyrus the Great, who entered the city in 539 B.C.

D. Most references occur in the "Legend of Thisbe" and refer to the legendary period of Queen Semiramis (Sammuramat) and of Pyramus and Thisbe (LGW 706 ff.). Here the outlying region of Babylonia, not mentioned by name, is referred to as a lond (LGW 716, CT B *3397 [2207]), as a (Near-) Eastern country (lond estward, LGW 718), and as a contra (LGW 721).
The city itself is a (noble) toun (LGW 707, 710), a cité (781). Semiramis, widow of King Ninus, had a moat built about the city (let dychen al aboute, 708) and high ramparts built of hard well-baked tiles (walles ful hye of harde tiles wel ybake, 708-09). The unnamed fathers of Pyramus and Thisbe are said to have their estates on an open space (grene, 712) in the city, separated only by a wall (stonewall, 713, wall 737, 750, 754, 756), evidently badly in want of repair, for it has a crack (clyfte, 740 ff.) of long standing which runs from the foundation to the top of the wall. A good deal is told about the outlying countryside. There is open country (feldes, 782, 787), a wood (wode, 806, 822; forest, 842) infested with lions (cp. wilde lyonesse, 805 ff.); King Ninus, legendary eponymous of Nineveh (see Nynyve below), was buried out there (785). There was a cave in the vicinity (811), also a well or spring (welle, 788, 804, 808, 818). The sun is said to set beneath the sea (se, 792) though Babylon was some 500-600 miles east of the Mediterranean.

Chaucer's form looks back to OFr Babiloigne, in turn a normal development of Lat. Babilonia, properly the name of the region.

BABILONIA (Lat.), whose genitive Babilonie is used in LGW 706 head to define Thisbe (Tesbe). See Babiloine, above.

BARBARIE, vaguely the ancient pagan world, throughout which is said (CT F 1452) to be famous Artemisia, wife of Mausolus, king or dynast of Caria (approx. the mod. Turkish prov. of Aydin and Denizli) (d. ca 353 B.C.), on whose death Artemisia built a magnificent tomb, the first "mausoleum."

The name reflects an OFr adaptation of Lat. (terra) barbaria "foreign, barbarous country;" the name is not to be confused geographically with the later-day Barbary, Barbary Coast, and the like.

BETHULIA (Lat. Betylua), Bethulia, a far from certainly identified locality but perhaps to be associated with the town of Shechem or Sichem, later (Flavia) Neapolis, mod. Nab(u)lus (?), in ancient Samaria, corresponding to central Israel. In CT B *3755 (2565) it is a strong cité and a center of Israelitish resistance to the Assyrian Nebuchadrezzar II; in B *2289 (1098) it is a cité, delivered by Judith from the hands of Nebuchadrezzar's general Holofernes.


CALYDOIGNE clearly reflects an OFr Calidoi(g)ne, in turn looking back to non-classical *Calydonia, and thus would mean "region centering on Calydon" (Lat. Calydon), perhaps falsely inferred from Calydonia regna of Ovid's Met. 15, 769, describing the realm of Diomedes in Apulia, Italy, wither he is said to have gone after the fall of Troy. Really intended by Chaucer is, however, the ancient Aetolian town on the lower reaches of the Euenus (now Phidarris); the town gave its name to the Gulf of Calydon (now Gulf of Patras, Patrai). Said to have been founded by Calydon, son of Aetolus, eponymous of Aetolia, it was the royal residence of Oeneus, father of Meleager and Deianira and grandfather of Diomedes. Calydoigne occurs only with a following and Arge (i.e., Argos) to describe in TC 5, 805 the kingdom of Tydeus of Aetolia to which Diomedes is heir (TC 5, 934).

CAMPAYNE, ancient Roman province of Campania, south of Latium, of which the chief city was Capua and famed for its fertility, is mentioned in Bo 1, pr.4, 197 (120-25) as the province of Campayne in connection with measures once taken by Boethius himself in a time of famine. This region is not to be associated with the well-known modern "Campagna" surrounding Rome.
CANANEE, adj. Cananaean, Canaanitic, of or pertaining to the land of Canaan (Lat. Chanaanaeus), is used in CT G 59 in connection with the story of the woman of Canaan (mulier Chanaanaeae, Matth. xv, 22). The adjective looks back to the ancient regional name Canaan, more commonly Land of Canaan (terra Chanaan), generally denoting the low-lying area of Israel west of the Jordan and the Dead Sea.

Canaan, fourth son of Ham, is mentioned in CT I 765.

(THE) CANE (OF GALILEE), Cana (Lat. Cana), a not certainly identified locality in Galilee, mentioned in CT D 11 with reference to the wedding in Cana (John ii, 1). The phrasal formula follows the original in Cana Galilaeae; I do not understand the use of the definite article since there seems to be no other Cana's in the Bible. The locality is either to be identified with mod. Kefr-Kenna ca 4 m. NNE of Nazareth or, perhaps less likely—since there is no spring there—with Khirbet Kana 9 m. N of Nazareth.

CARIBDIS, Charybdis (Lat. Charybdis), legendarily a dangerous whirlpool in later classical times located on the Sicilian side of the Straits of Messina opposite Scylla which was placed on the Italian side. In TC 5, 644 Charybdis threatens, figuratively speaking, to destroy Troilus and his ship (of life); in RR 4713 it is used, as in classical tradition, of anything dangerous or destructive: love is a Caribdis (var. Karibdous) perilous.

CARTAGE, Carthage (Lat. Kartago, -inis), ancient Phoenician colonial city on the north-east coast of Africa near the mod. city of Tunis in the district of Tunis, was founded ca 850 B.C. by refugees from Tyre, lead by Ellis(s)a(r), daughter of King Beleus of Tyre; Elissar is better known by her later epithet “Dido” “the refugee.” After a long and brilliant history Byrsa, the citadel, was dismantled by P. Scipio Africanus in 146 B.C. at the end of the Third Punic War.

Cartage is used to define Dido’s queenship (BD 732, LGW 1283) and as a symbol of great wealth (BD 1062, cp. 1060). It is a cité (LGW 1049, 1051), a town (LGW 1016, CT F 1401), a faire toun (HF 432), noble toun of Cartage (LGW 1008), and as the place to which Venus directs Aeneas (LGW 236, LGW 1000) to seek out the survivors among his shipwrecked comrades (cp. BD 209-10, 220-21, 237-38; LGW 902). The outlying region of Libya is referred to as the contre of Cartage (HF 224); on certain aspects of this Libyan countryside see Affrike, above, and Libie, below. Aeneas takes refuge in the haven (LGW 963), perhaps to be imagined as the ancient military harbor of Cothon. A temple, meeting-place of Aeneas and Dido (cp. Troilus and Criseyde under Troie, below), is featured in LGW 1024, 1036, 1052, 1270; it is large (LGW 1019), and in 1016 where it is referred to as the mayster-temple “main temple,” it is perhaps appropriately to be conceived of historically as the famous temple of Tanit (Phoenician Astarte, Roman Venus), palladium of Cartage.

Dido’s royal paleys (LGW 1096) is luxuriously appointed and has richly hung ball-rooms (LGW 1106: dauncynghe chaunbers ful of paramentes); her apart-ment (chaunbrem) is mentioned in HF 366, Aeneas’ in LGW 1111. One or the other or both these suites of rooms are the site of the action of much of the later part of the story in LGW. There is a court yard (LGW 1194: court) outside the royal palace. Out in the forested countryside (see Libie, below) is a (litel) cave (LGW 1125, 1244), somewhat central to the action of the story and source of court scandal (LGW 1242: wikke fame).

The destruction of Carthage by the Romans is alluded to in CT B *4555 (3365) and in F 1400, the latter with specific reference to the suicide of the wife of Hasdrubal, last-ditch defender of Carthaginian freedom. The impending destruction of the city is portended in PF 44 (cp. 1.37), where Scipio Africanus in 150 B.C. visits Massinissa, king of Numida.
In LGW 1188 se might be imagined historically as the Gulf of Carthage or the Lake of Tunis.

CAUCASUS (KAUKASOUS), the mountain system of the Caucasus (Lat. Caucasus) between the Black and the Caspian Seas, is mentioned in Bo 2, pr. 7, l. 71 (540-45) as a mountaigne which in the time of Cicero (106-43 B.C.) had not yet come under Roman sway. In CT D 1140 it is the mount of Kaukasous, mentioned as a very remote region and used as a figure of great distance (cp. Inde, below). With the use here of montaigne and mount in the singular for a whole mountain-range, cp. OE munt for the Alps and OE mór for the Kjøllene range in Norway.

CHALDEYE, Chaldaea (Lat. Chaldaea), in ancient geography a part of the Assyrian Empire at the head of the Persian Gulf (mod. Iraq), is mentioned in CT B *3347 (2157) as a part of the Assyrian empire of Nebuchadressar (regn. 605-562 B.C.) where no scholar but Daniel could be found to interpret the king's dreams. (Cp. Dan. v, 10-13).

CILERIOS, -US, adj. Cyllenian, of or pertaining to Mt. Cyllene in NE Arcadia (Arcayde, above), legendary birth-place of the god Mercury (Gk. Hermes), whence the adjective also means "of or pertaining to Mercury." It is used for the god in Mars 113, 144, as a substantive "the one of Mt. Cyllene."

CYMERIE, Cimmeria (Lat. Cimmeria), legendary land of the Cimmerians (Lat. Cimmerii); historically the Cimmerians were driven out of their homeland in Thrace (Trace, below) by the Scythians (cp. Scithie, below) a little before the time of Homer and to the region of the Crimea: they are best known from the legendary description in Odessey viii, 1 ff., where they are pictured as living in caves and in perpetual darkness, enshrouded in fog. It is in line with this tradition that a branch of the Lethe (Lete, below) is in HF 73 placed in their country, also thought of as the home of Morpheus, god of sleep.

CIR(R)EA, Lat. Cirr(h)a, properly a town in Phocis on the Gulf of Crisa, mod. Amphissa (off the Gulf of Corinth); inland and some 5 or 6 m. SSW of Mt. Parnassus and Delphi (Delphos, below) was the ancient city of Crisa. By the ancients the name of the more important seaport Cirrha was often substituted for Crisa and it is for Crisa that Chaucer intends his Cirrea. It is mentioned more or less rightly in Anel 17 as not far from Mt. Parnassus (Parnaso, below) and wrongly as near Mt Helicon (Elicon, below) some 25 m. away in Boeotia, whence it is said to be the home of the muse Poly(hy)mnia.

Formally Chaucer's Cirrea seems to show contamination of Lat.Cirrha by the adj. Cirrhaeus "of or pertaining to Cirrha."

CITHE, CITHIA, see SCITHIA, below:

CITHERO(U)N (MOUNT OF), Lat. Cithaeron, -onis m., a mountain range, famous in Greek mythology as sacred to Bacchus and the Muses; now renamed from its pine forests it is called Elatia (Gk elates "silver fir"), separating Boeotia from Megaris and Attica, and on its northern slope is Plataea. In CT A 1936-38 the mountain is said to be represented by a mural in Venus' oratory, located over the east entry of the Theseus Bowl (see under Attenes, above), in A 2223 it is associated with Venus as one whose presence, through her affair with Adonis, cheered the mountain.

Chaucer's form looks back to OFr.

COLCOS, Lat. Colchis, -idis f., in ancient geography a district in Asia Minor at the east end of the Black (Euxine) Sea and just south of the Caucasus (Caucasus, above), corresponds to the lowland area Mingrelia of the Georgian S.S.R. of the Soviet Union. Celebrated in Greek mythology as the home of Medea, the land of the Golden Fleece, and the goal of Jason and his Argonauts, it is so introduced in the Legend of Hypsipyle and Medea. Mentioned in LGW 1580, 1591,
it is said, following Guido delle Colonne (insula), in LGW 1425, 1438 incorrectly to be an yle, correctly (l. 1426) as beyonde Troye, estward in the se (Propontis and Euxine). The quest of the Golden Fleece is referred to as the adventures of Colcos (LGW 1515); in LGW 1593 it is a contré. The capital is Jaconitos (see below). Jason's route from his home in Thessaly (Tessalie, LGW 1461, and below) is reasonably plotted as crossing the Aegean Sea (salte se, se, LGW 1462, 1470, 1495, 1510; see further "Aegean Sea," above), with a stopover on the island of Lemnos (Lemnoun, l. 1463), thence by implication (see above) sailing by the Troad, through the Propontis and east out the Euxine.

Chaucer's Colcos, as other names in this story, derive from Guido delle Colonne's corrupt Colcos.

CORYNTHE, Corinth, Lat. Corinthus, city and small territory of ancient Greece just south of the Isthmus of Corinth with its famous citadel or Acro-Corinth; the modern town of New Corinth, founded in 1858, lies some 3 m. east of the old city. Corinth is mentioned in CT C 604 as the goal of a mission by one Stilbon, on whom see Robinson, p. 831, n. ad loc. Important Corinthians, conceived of as inveterate gamblers, are alle the gretteste . . . of that lond (CT C 607).

Chaucer's and the modern form derive from OFr.

CRETE, Crete (Lat. Creta, Crete), island in the Mediterranean SE of Greece, now Kandia. In LGW 1886, 1894, it defines the kingship of the semi-legendary Minos, king of Crete in a period well before the Trojan War; his wife Pasiphaë is mentioned as queen of Crete in CT D 733; in LGW 2216 it is a contré. In LGW 1805 Minos is said to have a hundred cités stronge and grete, not necessarily all in Crete (cp. his conquest of Athens, etc., ll. 1901 ff.); in his unnamed capital is his court (1949) and a dungeon (tour, 1960) is built on to the same wal (1962, 1971) in which is built a privy (foreyne, 1962; cp. Germ. A'sort and see further Speculum, IX [1934], esp. 314 ff.); this dungeon is the prysoun (1950, 1975, 1997, 2011) of Theseus, prince of Athens. Somehow adjoining or very near Theseus' prison is the Labyrinth (hous, 2012, 2141-42), constructed as a mase (2014) where he slays the Minator (2104, 2142, 2145), in l. 1928 named a man-eating monstre. This latter event is alluded to also in CT A 980.

Chaucer's and the modern form are based on OFr.

DAMYSSENE, formally the adj. Damascene (Lat. Damascen: see NED s.v.), of or pertaining to Damascus, chief town of the Roman province of Syria and of the modern state. In CT B *3197 (2007) it is used for the town of Damascus or perhaps more generally for the area round about the town (mod. Ghutah); Adam is said to have been created in the Feeld of Damyssene "plain of Damascus," answering to a Lat. in agro Damascus.

The adj. is OFr (see NED loc. cit.) and is based on the town-name.

DELPHICUS, Lat. adj. "Delphic," "of or pertaining to Delphi," is used in TC 1, 70 for the sake of rhyme (: thus) and describes Apollo. The Lat. adj. is based on the place-name Delphi (see Delphos, below).

DELPHOS, formally Lat. acc. pl. of Delphi, a site in ancient Phocis ca 5 m. from Cirrha (Cirrea, above) and the Gulf of Crisa at the foot of Mt. Parnassus (Parnaso, below) and seat of the oracle of the Pythian (from Pytho, earlier name of Delphi) or Delphic Apollo, most famous of antiquity. The oracle is mentioned in TC 4, 141, with reference to an occasion in the course of the Trojan War when Calchas visited Delphi on behalf of the Trojans, and in CT F 1077 where the oracle is a temple of the god, which Aurelius promises to visit as a barefoot pilgrim.
EBRAYK, see (H)EBRAYK, below:

EGIPCIEN

A. adj. Egyptian (Lat. Aegyptianus, Fr. égyptien) in CT B 500 qualifies the semi-legendary St Mary of Egypt.

B. sb. an Egyptian, mentioned in CT B *3528 (2338) in a catalog of peoples not brave enough to meet Queen Zenobia of Palmyra (Palymérie, below) in battle.

EGIPT(E), Egypt (Lat. Aegyptus), viewed as forming a part of Asia until the time of Ptolemy I (regn. 311?-285 B.C.), who declared the isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea to be the boundary between the continents of Africa and Asia; since then Egypt has been viewed as forming the NE extremity of Africa. In Chaucer Egypt is mentioned in two main connections:

A. as the site of the Biblical story of Joseph, son of Jacob and Rachel: so in BD 280-81 it defines Joseph and in CT B *4323 (3133) an unidentified Hykson, king of Egypt of the fifteenth-sixteenth dynasties, Pharaoh and Joseph’s friend and patron; both passages have to do with Joseph as an interpreter of dreams (cp. Gen. xli, 25 ff.).

B. in connection with the romantic story of Anthony and Cleopatra (d. 30 B.C.), daughter of Ptolemy Auletes (d. 51 B.C.): so in LGW 581 Egipt is said to have passed under the rule of Cleopatra (regn. 52-49, 48-30 B.C.) after the death of her father, and in LGW 674 it is a land rich in precious stones used by Cleopatra to adorn her shrine. In CT B 500, 501 mention is made of a cave and the desert.

In BD 1207 the ten woundes of Egipte is a rendering of sorts, though wrong, of the so-called dies Aegyptiaci “Egyptian (i.e., unlucky) Days” of mediaeval calendars.

Chaucer’s and the modern form is from OFr. (mod. Egypte).

ELICON(E), formally Mt. Helicon of antiquity (mod. Zagora) a mountain-range in Boeotia some 25 m. SE of Mt. Parnassus (Parnaso, below) and Delphi (Delphos, above), celebrated in antiquity as an abode of the Muses with a temple and grove sacred to them. It is mentioned in HF 521-22, (2, 13-14) correctly as the abode of the Muses while the clere welle “clear spring” might be taken to refer to the famous fountains of Aganippe and Hippocrene (but see below); in TC 3, 1809-10 it is wrongly located on or near Parnassus. In Anel 17 it is on Parnassus and near Cirrha-Crisa. From a practical point of view Helicon as an abode of the Muses has been confused with Castalia or the Castalian Spring (mod. Aio Janni) flowing out of the gorge framed by the cliffs named Phaedriadae, sacred to Apollo and the Muses; on this confusion already found in post-classical authors see Robinson, p. 891, col. 1, n. ad loc.

ELISOS, as if a distortion of the Lat. m. acc. pl. Elysios of Elysii “the Elysian Fields” (in full Elysii Campi), Elysium, mythological abode of good persons and heroes exempt from death. It is mentioned in TC 4, 790, as a final happy refuge of Troilus and Criseyde, and in l. 789 is defined as the feld of pité, on which special and peculiar definition see Robinson, pp. 942-43, n. ad loc.

ENNOYPE, Oenopia (Lat. Oenopia), older name of Aegina, island in the Saronic Gulf, now Gulf of Egina, between Attica and the Peloponnnesus (now Morea), is mentioned in LGW 2155 as a contre and refuge of Thesus, Ariadne, Phaedra, and Theseus’ friendly jailer.

(AD) EPHESIOS, Lat. acc. pl., Ephesians (Lat. Ephesii), natives of Ephesus, commercial town in Ionia (Asia Minor), whose ruins are near the modern village of Ayasuluk (prov. of Izmir), Turkey, are mentioned in CT I 748 with reference to St. Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians (Ephes. v, 5).
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ERMYN, adj. sb., an Armenian, native inhabitant of Armenia, is mentioned in CT B *3528 (2338) as one of a number of nationals who dared not oppose Queen Zenobia of Palmyra (Palmyrie, below) in battle.

Chaucer's form is OFr vs. mod. arménien and is based on the regional name Ermony, below.

ERMONY, Armenia (Lat. Armenia), classical name of Hebrew Ararat, a country extending between the shore of Lake Van, the upper Euphrates (Euphrates, below), and Media (Mede, below), is used, probably fancifully, in Anel 72 to define the queenship of Anelida, who resides in a toun there.

Chaucer's form is based on OFr Ermenie (mod. Arménie) which in OFr is also used for the land of the Saracens. The native name was Biana, mod. Armenian Van.

EST-SEE is mentioned in TC 5, 1109 implicity as the first body of water to be warmed by the rising sun and would appear to be thought of as east of Troy.

In this respect the passage may be compared with the ninth or early tenth-century Germano-Latin Waltharius, l. 1189: Taprobane clarum videt insula solem (Taprobane [i.e., Ceylon] is already seeing the bright sun), this observation being made as the first rays of dawn are striking Mt Olympus. Hence, Est-see would seem quite possibly, indeed not unlikely and/or despite Guido, to refer to the Indian Ocean rather than some vague, actually non-existent, body of water lying east of Troy as is urged by Robert A. Pratt, 'A Geographical Problem in Troilus and Criseyde,' Mod. Lang. Notes, LXI (1946), 541-43.

ETHNA, Etna, the largest volcano of Europe (Lat. Aetna), rising on the east coast of Sicily. In Bo 2, m. 5, 1. 35 (480-85) and pr. 6, 1. 8 (485-90) it is the mountaigne of Ethna; in the first instance its fyer is said to burn as does human greed, in the second its flaumbe, when the latter surges up, does more damage than wicked men do. In CT E 2230 the volcano is mentioned in connection with the rape of Proserpina by the underworld god Pluto.

Chaucer’s form is Latin with a decorative, silent h.

EUFRATES, the great Mesopotamian river Euphrates (Lat. Euphrates, Turk. Frat su) whose main stream (north branch) rises in Dumlu Dagh (ancient Taurus range) NNW of Erzerum (ancient Theodosiopolis). In Bo 5, m. 1, ll. 1, 7 (1640-45, 1645-50), it is said wrongly to rise from a common source with the Tigris (Tygris, below); it is then said to separate from the Tigris (ll. 7-8), later and correctly said to unite with the latter in a mighty stream (ll. 8-9, 15); the juncture of the two rivers is just below Korna.

The strait is mentioned twice in Bo 2, m. 1, ll. 3-4 (290-95), where it is boylynge, while the immediately following gloss, where it is an arm of the see, speaks of the characteristic changes in the course of the current. Chaucer’s form is OFr.

EUROPE, Europe (Lat. Europa) is mentioned in HF 1339 (3, 249) and CT B 161 with reference to the whole European continent.

The name, first recorded in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo and first used with the modern distinction between Europe and Asia by Aeschylus, was probably transmitted to the Greeks from the east, perhaps from Assyria.

Chaucer’s and the mod. form are French.

(EUXINE or BLACK SEA) (Lat. Euonnus Pontus) is referred to as the se in LGW 1426 at the east end of which (estward in the se) is the district of Colchis (Colcos, above). The outspoken modern name describes its fogs and its inhospitable character.
FAY(E)RYE, essentially the land or home of fays (OFr fae, mod. fée) or supernatural beings possessed of miraculous powers, is used to designate:

A. the underworld of antiquity of which Pluto is king in CT E 2227, 2234, and Proserpina a queene (E 2316).

B. in a less definite sense in CT F 96 as the or an underworld from which Sir Gawain might conceivably return to earth.

C. an enchanted land or contré, yet on this earth, in which Sir Thopas finds himself in CT B *1992 (802). In CT B *1991 (801) it is a secret place (pryvé woon), ruled by an elfin queen (elf-queen, B *1989 [799]), in B *2004 (814) called the queene of F.

Chaucer's form is OFr fae(i)rie, mod. féerie; see NED under “faerie,” “fairy, A.I.”

FEMENYE, as if Lat. *Feminia “land of women,” is used specifically of the legendary land of the Amazons, female warriors whose queen Hippolyta, wedded to Theseus, and her sister Emelye (in ancient legend Antiope) are brought back by Theseus to Athens. Hippolyta’s realm (regne of Feménye) is mentioned in CT A 866, 877 where it is equated with Scythia (Scithia, below); the people are Amazones (CT A 880).

In the OFr romances Femenie is thought of as a land beyond the Red Sea, with Saracen associations, and Chaucer may have thought of it thus, if indeed he gave the matter any thought at all. In antiquity the land of the Amazons was thought of as bordering the river Thermus, now the Terme çayi, flowing into the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) just east of the Turkish city of of Tçar-çembe.

The geography here could scarcely be more confused. Chaucer’s form is OFr.

FLEGETOUN, the Phlegethon, mythological river of the Greek underworld, flowing with fire instead of water. In TC 3, 1600, it is the fiery flood of helle, mentioned as a place from which Troilus’ soul has been saved.

Chaucer’s form is OFr.

FRYGIUS, Lat. adj. (Lat. Phrygius), Phrygian, pertaining to the ancient country of Phrygia in central and northern Asia Minor, of varying boundaries but at times including the Troad. In BD 1070 it is used to define Dares, supporter of Troy in the war against the Greeks and suppositious author of the epitomized account of the war from the Trojan point of view: de Excidio Troiae.

G

GALGOPHEYE, a distortion of Gargaphia (Lat. Gargaphia, -phie), valley in Boeotia sacred to Diana, with a fountain of the same name where Actaeon was turned into a stag and was torn to pieces by hounds. In CT A 2626 it is mentioned as vale inhabited by fierce mother-tigresses.

GALILEE, Galilee (Lat. Galilaea), in Roman times the northernmost province of Palestine, is used in CT D 11 to identify Cana (Cane, above). The Sea of Galilee is referred to as the see in CT A 698 with reference to Matth. xiv, 29.

GAWLE, formally Gaul (Lat. Gallia), in antiquity an area answering in part to modern France. In CT F 1411 the folk of Gawle refers not to the ancient Gauls of Caesar but to an eastward migrating splinter group, more properly referred to as Galatians (Lat. Galatiae) or Gallograeci, which invaded Asia Minor in 278-277 B.C. and in 276 sacked the Carian city of Miletus (Melesie, below).

The form is OFr, mod. Gaule.

GAZAN, Gaza (Lat. Gaza, mod. Arabic Ghazzehe), one of the chief towns
of the Philistines in Palestine (mod. Syria), is mentioned in CT B *3237 (2047) in connection with the story of Sampson (Judges 13–16); it is a cité (B *3238 [2048]) or town (B *3239 [2049]) with gates (B *3239 [2049]) and a nearby hill (B *3241 [2051]). The great stone temple is mentioned in B *3272 (2082), *3275 (2085), 3279 (2089) with pillars (pilers, B *3274 [2084]), destroyed by Sampson; Sampson's prison is in a cave (B *3263 [2073]) and he is set to work at a hand-mill (querme, B *3264 [2074]).

The form Gazan is perhaps based on Lat. acc. Gazam of Judges xvi, 1, and despite the var. Gaza would seem to be Chaucer's form.

GYSEN, a distortion long antedating Chaucer of Gyndes (Lat. Gyndes, acc. -es), now Diala or Kerkah (?), tributary of the Tigris (Tigrys, below), which joins the latter below the site of Baghdad, is mentioned in CT D 2080 in connection with Cyrus' futile and angry gesture of "destroying" the river by diverting it into 360 rivulets and thus drying it up, a story derived from Lucius Annaeus Seneca's dialogue De Ira III, 21, § 3.

The Gyndes river (acc. Gynden) appears wrongly as Gygem or Gigen in all manuscripts of Seneca's work, as if somehow associated with King Gyges of Lydia! and was first put right by Erasmus. Chaucer's copy of Seneca all but surely had Gysen for Gynden of the modern standard editions of Seneca.

GOTHES, Ostrogoths (Lat. Goti, Gothi) is mentioned in Bo 1, pr. 4, l. 82 (115–20) to define the kingship of Theoderic, sole ruler of Italy A.D. 493–526.

Chaucer's form with an ornamental and doubtless silent h (cp. Shakespeare's pun of "goats" and "Gotes" in AYL III, iii, 9), derives from French; the modern pronunciation with a false "th" is late (see NED s.v. "Goth").

GREECE, ancient Greece, referred to in general in TC 1, 609; LGW 2271; CT A 962 (perhaps as opposed to Thebes) F. 1444. It is mentioned as distinct from Thebes in Anel. 53 (cp. CT A 962), as the country of Penelope in BD 1081, as the home-land of Danaus (wrongly for Aegyptus) in LGW 2562, as the land of the Academia or Academe of Plato near Athens and of the Eleatic School of Zeno in Elea (Lat. Velia, mod. Castellamare della Brucia, prov. Campania, Italy), this latter locality bringing the definition of Greece to include Magna Graecia (Bo 1, pr. 1, l. 74 [30–35]). In LGW 1886 Grece appears as a variant for Crete, apparently wrongly. Grece the contré of CT B *3847 (2657) embraces Macedonia (Macedoyne, below), kingdom of Alexander the Great.

In TC 5, 924, Diomedes would rather serve Criseyde than be king of twelve Greece's (Greces twelve), and the folk of Greece of TC 5, 123, is equivalent to Grekes (ep. 1. Greek, below), while the See of Greece of CT B 464 is one of Chaucer's terms for the Mediterranean, q.v., below.

Chaucer's and the modern form look back to OFr Grece.

(1) GRE(E)K, sb.
1. A native of ancient Greece and, unless otherwise noted, a Greek opponent of the Trojans in the siege of Troy (Troie, below): BD 1167, LGW Prol. G 275; CT D 744 (ancient Greeks in general); CT A 2899, 2951, 2959, 2969 (Athenians); HF 1479 (3, 399); TC 1, 57, 73, 135, 137, 148, 477, 483, 553, 578, 802, 1046, 1075; 2, 154, 194, 198, 511; 3, 544; 4, 30, 34, 57 (var.), 65, 82, 176, 332, 1343, 1363 (var.), 1411 (var.), 1466, 1473, 1486; 5, 118, 125, 141, 638, 861, 893, 918, 960, 970, 1000, 1465, 1481, 1756, 1801; LGW 931.
2. Used attributively to describe a person as of Greek origin: BD 667; HF 152; CT B *4418 (3228).

Chaucer's and the modern form may well look back to OE Grécas "Greeks" vs. the more normal OE Crécas.

(2) GRE(E)K, GRE(E) C, adj.
1. Pertaining to a native of ancient Greece as in TC 2, 1112; Astr. Prol. l. 35.

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2. Used absolutely for the language of ancient Greece, Greek studies in general, in Bo 2, pr. 2, 1. 81, (315-20); 3, pr. 12, 1. 212 (1110-15); 4, pr. 6, 1. 283 (1515-20); 5, pr. 2, 1. 53 (1660-65); Astr. Prol. 1. 36 (5-11), Pt. 1, § 21, 1. 60 (100-08).

Chaucer's and the modern form may look back to the substantive (1. Greek, above), also influenced by OFr grec.

GREKISSH, -YSSH, GRYKKYSSH, adj. 1. Of or pertaining to ancient Greece or the Greeks, Greeks, Grecian, Greekish (archaic): Bo 4, m. 7, 1. 10 (1595-600).


This now archaic adj. looks back to OE greccisc “Greek” vs. the more normal OE créccisc. Cp. Troiannysh, below.

H

(H)EBRAYK, adj. Hebrew (Lat. Hebraicus), Israelitish, Jewish. In Ct B 489 it defines peple and refers to the Hebrews of the time of Moses (Exod. xiv, 21-31); in HF 1433 (3,343) it defines the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37-ca 95); in Ct B *1750 (560) the Hebrayk peple, apostrophized by Satan, are residents of the Jewish quarter (Jewerie, below) in an unidentified town in Asia Minor. The language (Ebreiv) is mentioned in Astr. Prol. 37 (5-11). See further Jew, below.

Chaucer's form is adapted from the Lat. Hebraicus.

HELLE (OE hell), Hades, Orcus, the pagan underworld of shades, is in Chaucer ruled by Pluto who is also king of fairyland (Ct E 2227: Fayerye). In most instances Helle refers to the Christian hell, even in such works pretending to a pagan background as TC. It is mentioned in Ct A 1200, B *3292 (2102); BD 589; HF 72, 441, 445, 1310 (3,420); PF 32; Bo 3, m. 12, ll. 21, 31, 35, 56, 63, 73 (1120-45); TC 1, 786, 859; 2, 105, 436; 3, 592, 1600; 4, 1540, 1554, 1698; 5, 212, 1532; LGW Prol. F 514, G 502, F 516, G 504, F 553, 1104(?). The pagan Hades is referred to as Pluto's derke regioun (Ct A 2082 and regne (A 2299) which is derk and lowe (“deep”) and under ground (F 1075). In TC 4, 790, it is alluded to as ther Pluto regneth. On various features and characteristics of this Helle see the late Theodore Spencer, ‘Chaucer’s Hell,’ Speculum, II (1927), 177-200.

For other underworld localities see Flethegon, Lete, Stix.

(HELLESrompt), “Sea of Helle” (Lat. Hellespontus), mod. Dardanelles, is referred to in TC 4, 1549, as the se into which the Simois (Symois, below) flows.

Chaucer’s and the mod. form seem to be based on the Latin.

HERMUS, Hermus (Lat. Hermus), mod. Sarabat, in antiquity known as a gold-bearing river in Aeolis (Aeolia), Asia Minor, flowing into the Gulf of Smyrna (cp. PMLA, XLII [1927], 670-72). In Bo 3, m. 10, l. 15 (960-65) it is mentioned along with the Indus and Tagus as a source of wealth; rede brinke (l. 16) refers to gold-bearing gravel.

Chaucer’s form is Latin.

I

ILIO(U)N, (Lat. Ilium), in antiquity a poetical name for Troy (Troie, below) whose citadel was Pergama (neut. plur.) or Pergamum (sg.). Among mediæval writers Pergamum was supplanted as the name of the citadel by Ilium and is so used by Chaucer. It is mentioned in HF 158, LGW 936, CT B 289, B *4546 (3356). It is described as the chief donjon (dongeoun) of Troy in LGW 937, similarly as a noble tour (LGW 936) and evidently as a castel in HF 163. The pairing of Troie and of Ilyoun in BD 1248 suggests that Chaucer may have thought of Ilium as an enclave, a town within Troy.
Chaucer's form looks back to OFr Ilioun; the whole name is based on Illus. son of Tros, legendary eponymous of Troy.

INDE, India, answering essentially to mod. India and Pakistan (Lat. India), etymologically the region of the river Indus of Pakistan (Indus, below), is chiefly mentioned as symbolic of a remote and distant place, somewhere far off (cp. Caucasus, above): so in RR 624; BD 889; Bo 3, m. 5, l. 6 (740-45) (a contré); TC 5,971; CT C 722, D 824. It is used twice to describe tigers: Bo 4, m. 3, l. 17 (1315-20); CT E 1199. It is a realm of a legendary or imaginary king Demetrius (CT A 2156) and of an unnamed thirteenth-century ruler said also to rule Arabia (CT F 110); in Mars 246 it is a source of precious stones (so Nibelungenlied 403. 1). It is twice mentioned with reference to the supposed scene of the missionary activities of the apostle St Thomas (shrine at Mylapur, Madras): CT D 1980 (Thomas lyf of Inde), E 1230.

Chaucer's form is based on OFr Inde vs. mod. Fr. les Indes.

INDUS, Lat., the Indus (Sanskrit Sindh), the great river of Pakistan and source of the name "India" (Inde, above), rises in the Himalayas of Tibet and flows into the Arabian Sea. It is mentioned in Bo 3, m. 10, l. 16 (965-70) as a source of precious stones (cp. Mars 246) and is said (l. 17) to be next the hote partie of the world, perhaps with reference to the fact that it enters the Arabian Sea only a little north of the Tropic of Cancer.

ISRAEL, (kingdom of) Israel (Lat. Israel), the people descended from Jacob, called Israel ("he that strives with God", Gen. xxxii, 28), the Jewish or Hebrew people; cp. Jewerie, below. In CT B *3250 (2060) Sampson is said to have the rule of Israel, in B *3342 (2152) Nebuchadrezzar has male children of the royal blood of Israel castrated; in LGW 1880 it is a lond, vaguely Palestine, and is mentioned in connection with the woman of Samaria (Samaritan, below).

YTACUS, Lat. adj.-sb., the Ithacan (Lat. Ithacus), is used for Ulysses in Bo. 4, m. 7, l. 20 (1600-05). Cp. Narcice, below.

ITALY(L)E, Italy, the Italian peninsula (Lat. Italia) is mentioned in connection with three quite different periods of Italian history:

A. Most of Chaucer's references are to various phases of Aeneas' voyage from Troy via Carthage (HF 187, 196, 298, 430, 433; LGW 952, 1329), his arrival (HF 147, 452 cp. Lawyne, below), and the presaged conquest (LGW 1298 and cp. Ardea, above).

B. In CT B 441 Ytaille is the goal of Constance's ordeal when she is launched from Syria; the period is the late sixth century in the reign of Ælla, first king of Deira (later part of Northumbria, England), regn. A.D. 560-88.

C. The other references are to Italy of Chaucer's own time. In CT B *3650 (2460) the grete poete of Ytaille is Dante, while in E 33 Petrarch is said to illumine all Italy with his poetry. The Clerk's Tale begins in the district of Saluzzo (Saluces) in the west of Italy (CT E 57). There is delicious food in the Italy of Chaucer's day (CT E 266, 1714), and the country is referred to in a general way in CT E 1132, 1178, 1511.

JACONITOS is mentioned in LGW 1590 as the capital of the district of Colchis (Colcos, above); in l. 1589 it is a cyté, in 1591 the mayster-town or capital, ruled by Oetes (l. 1593). Medea lives here and her halle is mentioned in l. 1602. Historically the chief coastal town of Colchis was Dioscurias, mod. Sukhum Kaleh.

Chaucer's name derives from Guido delle Colonne's Iaconites . . . caput regni pro sua magnitudine constituata, urbs valda pulcra, etc.; the present form may well be a scribal error for Jaconites.
MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

JERUSALEM, Jerusalem (Lat. Hierosolyma, n. pl. later Hierusalem, Jerusalem, n.), ancient capital of Palestine, the Holy City, is mentioned in three quite different connections:

A. The city in Biblical times. In CT B *3337 (2147) it is a cité, twice conquered by Nebuchadrezzar whose son Belshazzar in B *3386 (2196) uses vessels taken by his father from the Temple (B *3338 [2148]). In B *3786 (2596) Antiochus threatens vengeance on the city.

B. A goal of mediaeval pilgrims. It is mentioned in CT A 463, D 495. In RR 554 the reference is general, Jerusalem being one terminus of a long distance, chosen probably, however, because of its familiarity to pilgrims.

C. With the adj. celestial it refers to the "holy city, new Jerusalem" of Apoc. xxi, 2, in CT I 51, 80; in I 588 it is the cité of a great Kyng.

The name is often pronounced trisyllabically (Jer’salem); for a similarly reduced pronunciation cp. Icel. Jórsalir (m.pl.) with popular adaptation of -salem to Icel.-salir "dwellings," common in placenames.

JEW (JUE), Jew (OFr giu), a person of Hebrew race (originally of the kingdom of Judah), an Israelite; cp. (H)ebrail c, above.

A. With reference to the ancient Hebrews in CT C 351, 364 (an unidentified "holy Jew," perhaps Jacob), E 2277 (Solomon), B *3782-83 (2592-93) (Maccabean Jews of II Macc. 9); HF 1434 (3.344) (Jewes gestes, i.e., Flavius Josephus’ Antiquitates). The reference in CT B *1749 (559) is very general.

B. With reference to the Jews as slayers of Christ: CT C 475- I 590-95, 595-600, 660-65, 885-90.

C. With reference to Asia Minor Jews of the Christian era as perpetrators of ritual murder: CT B *1755 (565), *1760 (570), *1763 (573), *1789 (599), *1791 (601), 1810 (620), 1819 (629), 1875 (685).

D. With reference to mediaeval European Jews as skilled armorers: CT B *2054 (864).

Chaucer’s form, whence mod. “Jew,” is of the older French type, later replaced by juif (see NED s.v. “Jew”); both French types look back to Lat. Iudaes, in turn looking back ultimately to the patriarch Judah and the powerful tribe descended from the latter.

JEWERYE (JUERIE), Jewry (OFr. Juerie, mod. Juiverie):

A. The land of the Jews, Judaea, here all Palestine: HF 1436 (3, 346) with reference to Flavius Josephus’ Antiquitates.

B. A district of a town inhabited by Jews, a Jewish quarter but not a ghetto, first established in Venice in 1516: CT B *1679 (489), *1741 (551), *1782 (592).

K, see C

L

LACEDOMYE, LACIDOMYE, Lacedaemonia (late Lat. Lacedaemia, class. Lat. Lacedaemo(n), -onis, f.), south-eastern division of the Peleponnesus (mod. Morea) centering on the town of Lacedaemon or Sparta, in antiquity also called Laconia; the region and town appear in the late non-classical form Lacedae-minia. The region is mentioned in CT C 605 as the source of a mission to Corinth and in F 1380 as the home of fifty virgins claimed of the Lacedaemonians by their western neighbors of Messene or Messenia (Mecene, below). In C 1610 the region is referred to as a conté.

Chaucer’s form would seem to be a reduction of sorts via OFr of the late form Lacedaemonia.

LATYN, adj. and sb., Latin (Lat. Latinus), adj based on Latium, the portion of ancient Italy which included Rome.

A. adj. 1. Of or pertaining to Latium or the ancient Latins or Romans:

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HF 1438 (3, 393) (the Latyn poete, Virgile), Astr Prol. 32-42 (20-24) (Latyn folk).

2. Pertaining to the language of the ancient Latins or Romans: Astr., Pt. 1, ch. 21, § 61 (100-08) (Latyn tongue).

B. absol. and as sb. The language of the Latins or ancient Romans: the Latin language CT A 638, B 519, 1190, *1713 (523), *4355 (3165), C 344, F 1174, I 865-70, 870-75; Anel 10; TC 2, 14; Astr. Prol. 32-42, 62 (5-11, 11-15).

Chaucer's form is from OFr.

LAVYNE, ancient city of Lavinium (Lat. Lavinium) in Latium, Italy, now Pratica (prov. Lazio), near the coast and 15 m. south of Rome, defines in HF 148 the coastal region (strondes of Lavyne) where Aeneas first landed on reaching Italy (cp. Itaylle A, above).

The town-name is based on the personal name Lavinia, daughter of Latinus and wife of Aeneas.

LEMNOUS, Lemnos (Lat. Lemnos, -us), mod. Lemno (Ital. Stalimeni), island in the Aegean (salte se, LGW 1462, 1510; se 1470, 1495), in antiquity thought of as the abode of Vulcan (Hephaestus), is mentioned in LGW 1463 as the home of Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas and queen of Lemnos at the time of the Argonautic Expedition. It is an yle (LGW 1463, 1466) with a coast-line characterized by cliffs (clyves, clif, 1470, 1497); Hypsipyle has a castel (1507) where she takes Jason and his Argonauts.

Chaucer's Lemnous would seem to OFr. and as if based on a Lat. Lemno, -onem.

LETE, the Lethe mythological river of the ancient Greek underworld (Lat. Lethe, -es, f.), is in HF 71-72 a flood of Helle unswete ("unpleasant"); one branch (strem, 1.71), flowing into the land of the Cimmerians (Cymerie, above), is the river on whose bank Morpheus, god of sleep, resides.

LIBIE, Libya (Lat. Libya), in ancient geography North Africa west and exclusive of Egypt, also known in Carthaginian terminology as Africa (see Affrike, above), was later applied to Cyrenaica. In this latter, more general sense the shore or coasts (strondes of Libye) are mentioned in Bo 4, m. 7, 1.56 (1610-15) as where Hercules slew a huge giant Antaeus, similarly in a reference to the desert of Lybye (HF 488) as comparable to the imaginary sandy waste in which the dreamer finds himself.

More often Libie (==Affrike, above) refers to Dido’s realm, centering on Carthage: so in the cases of the reyne of Libie (LGW 922), the lond of Libie (1123), and Libie (959), where Aeneas arrives after his storm-tossed voyage from Troy and takes refuge in the haven mentioned under Cartage, above. In this same application it is a contré (HF 241, LGW 990), a reame (LGW 1281), to be defined as either of Africa, Carthage, or Libya, a regioun (LGW 995). In the country out around Carthage is a forest (LGW 981) teeming with game, including lions (see Marmoryke, Pene, below).

Chaucer’s form is OFr.

LYDE, Lydia (Lat. Lydia), a country in ancient Asia Minor corresponding approximately to the Turkish province of Saruehan with Sardis (mod. Salihly) as its capital and legendary homeland of the Etruscans. It is used to define the kingship of Croesus, fabulously rich successor of Alyattes in 560 B.C.: kyng of Lyde (HF 105, CT B *3917 [2727]), of Lyde kyng (CT B *4328 [3138]).

Chaucer’s form is OFr.

LYDIENS, sb. plur., Lydians inhabitants of the region of Lydia (Lyde, above), is used in Bo 2, pr. 2, l. 65 (310-15) to define the kingship of Croesus.

Chaucer’s form is OFr (mod. lydien) and, as if from Lat. *Lydianus, is based on the regional name Lydia.
MACEDO, Lat. n. sg., a Macedonian, inhabitant of Macedon (see Macedoyne, below), in HF 915 (2, 407) identifies Alexander the Great and as in the case of the Lat. adj. Delphicus (above) is used for reasons of rhyme (: Scipio). Cp. also Tyro, below.

MACEDOYNE, MACEDONYE, Macedonia, Macedon (Lat. Macedonia), a region of varying limits north of the Aegean Sea between Thessaly (Tessalie, below) and Thrace (Trace, below), homeland of the Macedones (see Macedo, above), is in BD 1062 (cp. 1060) thought of as a region of great wealth and in CT B *3846 (2856) identifies as father of Alexander the Great Phillip under whom Macedonia first became powerful. In CT F 1435 oon of Macedoyne stands for “a Macedonian.”

Chaucer’s forms look back on the one hand to the semi-learned OFr Macedonie, on the other to the more popular type Macedoine (mod. Fr. Macedoine), familiar in Mod. English as a culinary term to describe a mixture of cut up fruits or vegetables.

MARMORYKE, Marmarica (Lat. Marmarica), in ancient geography a region on the north coast of Africa between Egypt and Cyrenaica, the eastern part of Barca or Benghasi, is in Bo 4, m. 3, l. 13 (1310-15) a contre in which there are lions; for other North African lions see Libie, above, and Pene, below.

Chaucer’s form is OFr.

MANTOAN (Lat. Mantuanus), Mantuan, pertaining to Mantua (mod. Mantova, prov. Mantova), ancient Etruscan city of Gallia Transpadana built on an island in the Mincio. In LGW 924 it is used to describe Virgil, whose birthplace at Andes was near Mantua where he later long resided.

Mantoan (for Mantuan) is a more or less learned adaptation of the Lat. adj.; cp. Theban, Tholosan, Trojan, below.

MECENE, Messene or Messenia (Lat. Messene, -es, f.) is a district and town in the SW Peloponnesus, whose people, hem of Mecene, are mentioned in CT F 1379 in connection with a mission to neighboring Lacedaemon (Lacedomye, above).

MEDES, the Medes (Lat. Medi), people of ancient Media in NW Iran, here viewed as united with the Persians (Perces, below), are mentioned in CT B *3425 (2235) together with the Persians as a people who will take over the Assyrian kingdom centering on Babylon (Babiloine, above), ruled by Belshazzar, son of Nebuchadrezzar.

Chaucer’s form is OFr, based on Lat. acc. pl. Medos.

(MEDITERRANEAN SEA), generally speaking the sea which separates Europe from Africa and extends from Palestine to the Strait of Gibraltar (Pileer of Hercules, below), is in RR 2748, BD 140, CT A 59 the Gre(e)te Se(e); in CT B 464 the See of Greece. Elsewhere it is a se, occasionally with the conventional epithet salte: BD 67, 69, 208; HF 238, 255; Bo 4, m. 3, l. 3 (1310-15); LGW 950, 953, 958, 1048, 1188, 1278; CT B 445.

MELESIE, Miletus (Lat. Miletus), mod. Palatia (?), a town in ancient Caria (Asia Minor) on the Latmic Gulf nr. the mouth of the Maeander river (mod. Mendere su), is mentioned in CT F 1409 in connection with the sack of the town in 276 B.C. by the Gauls (Gaule, above).

Chaucer’s form is OFr (mod. Milet) and as if from a Lat. *Miletia.

NARICE, Mt. Neritos (Lat. Neritos, -us) on the small Ionian island of Ithaca (popularly Thiaki, see Ythacus, above), home of Ulysses, hence poetically here
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for the island itself. In Bo 4, m. 1. 2 (1310-15) it is a contre of which Ulysses is duc.

The Latin caption to Chaucer's version of Boethius' meter reads "Vela Naricii duds" for "Neriti duds" of Boethius; on this slightly corrupted form (with the common confusion of t and c) of the Lat. adj. Neritius "pertaining to Neritos, Ithacan" Chaucer has based his form of the name.

(NAXOS, older DIA), mod. Naxia, Axia, Aegean island of the Cyclades, not named directly, is referred to as an yle and as the place where Arildade, daughter of King Minos of Crete, was abandoned by Theseus of Athens (HF 416, LGW 2163, 2167). In HF 417 it is desert (uninhabited) and CT B 68 bareyne (desolate), in LGW 2168 it is a lond, in LGW 2189 the shore (stronde) is mentioned, also caves (holwe rokkes, 2193) and a cliff (rokke, 2195).

NAZARENUS, Lat. adj., Nazarene, of or pertaining to Nazareth, mod. En-Nasira, a town of Palestine and home of the parents of Jesus Christ and place of Jesus' early childhood. It is mentioned in CT I, 283 (John xix, 19) to define Jesus disparagingly; in I 288 the name is etymologized "flourishing" (see Robinson p. 876 n. ad loc.)

NYNEVE(E), Nineveh, long the capital of ancient Assyria, on the east bank of the upper Tigris (Tigrys, below), is mentioned in BD 1063 (cp. I. 1060) as representative of great wealth, and in CT G 974, along with Rome, Alexandria in Egypt, and Troy, as a very large city. In CT B 487 it is referred to as the site of Jonah's delivery to dry land from the stomach of a fish (Jon, ii, 1, 10). Mosul (Iraq) is across the river from the ancient sites.

O

OCCIAN, in antiquity the sea or waters surrounding the known world of Europe, Africa, and Asia (Lat. Oceanus), is in effect the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea. It is mentioned in Bo 4, m. 6, ll. 15-16 (1550-55) as the see of the Occian and the See, in ll. 13-14 it is the Westrene See, said to be where the stars set; so, too, in Bo 4, m. 5, l. 7 (1430-35). In CT B 505 oure Occian refers to the Atlantic Ocean between the Strait of Gibraltar and England; in B 506 oure wilde see may refer to the English Channel. It is see in Bo 3, m. 5, l. 7 (740-45) with reference to the North Atlantic where Tyle (see below) is located.

OREB, Mt. Oreb or Horeb, is in the Bible the less usual designation of Mt Sinai (Synay, below); originally two different mountains may have been intended. In CT D 1891 it is a mount and is mentioned in connection with Elijah's fast of forty days and forty nights (1 Kings xix, 8).

ORKADES, the Orcades (Lat. Orcaes), the Orkneys, Orkney Islands (Icel. Orkneyjar), co. of Orkney, Scotland, a group name including at present 29 inhabited islands, are mentioned in TC 5, 971, as one terminus of a long distance; cp. Caucasus, Inde, above.

The ancient name is based on a Celtic ethnic name "Orcoi "the Boars" or directly from an Old Celtic substantive reflected in Old Irish ore "(young) pig" from a fancied resemblance of these low-lying islands to a herd of swine. In Viking times this name was reformed by the Norwegians on the basis of ON orken "grey seal" and eyjar "islands."

P

PALYMERIE, Palmyra (Lat. Palmira, -ira), in antiquity a city and great trading-center, was situated on an oasis 150 m. east of Damascus (Damyssene, above) and in the late third century A.D. especially flourished under the Palmyrene prince Odaenathus (dux Orientis, d. A.D. 267) and under his relict, Queen Zenobia, enjoyed a state of formal independence of Rome. It is the Tadmor of 2 Chron. viii, 4 (probably an error for Tamar) and is still so known
among the Arabs. It is mentioned in CT B *3437 (2247) with reference to Queen Zenobia; in B *3545 (2355) it is a lond, in B *3518 (2328) as "realms" (regnes), while in B *3462 (2272) it is a contré.

Chaucer’s form, based on OFr, shows the development of a parasitic vowel (y) between the l and m.

PARNASO, PERNASO (HIL, MOUNT OF), Mount Parnassus, mod. Luakura (Lat. Parnassus), a mountain-range, mainly in Phocis, was viewed as holy and with Delphi (Delphos, above) as a home of the Muses (see Elicone, above). In this latter connection it is mentioned in HF 521 (2, 13), Anel 16 (with particular reference to Polyhymnia), TC 3, 1810 (In Hil Pernaso) and CT F 721 (Mount of Pernaso).

Chaucer’s form looks back to Ital. Parnaso.

PARTHES, Parthians (Lat. Parthi), a Scythian people of Parthia (Lat. Parthia, mod. Kohistan “highlands,” applied to several districts west of the Indus), formed the nucleus of the later great Parthian Empire, often at war with Rome; their history is much involved with that of the Medes and the Persians. They are mentioned in Bo 2, pr. 7, l. 73 (540-45) as a people who in the time of Cicero (106-43 B.C.) feared Rome; in CT C 622 there is mention of an unidentified kyng of Parthes who gives a present of gaming dice to one Demetrius of uncertain identity and in a perhaps purely legendary situation.

PATHMOS (Lat. Patmos, -us, f.), mod. Patmo or Patino, was in Roman times a place of exile, to which St John the Evangelist was sent and where he is said to have written the Apocalypse (Revelations); in this connection it is mentioned in CT B *1773 (583).

Chaucer’s spelling shows an ornamental, silent h.

PENE, Punic land, Carthage (Lat. Poenus, a Phoenician, Carthaginian) is mentioned in Bo 3, m. 2, l. 10 (655-60) as the contré of Pene with reference to tame Libyan or Carthaginian lions (cp. LGW 1214); for more North African lions see Libie, Marmoryke, above.

Through a French intermediary the form would seem to be based on the Latin ethnic name Poeni “Carthaginians.”

PERCES, Persians, inhabitants of the empire of ancient Persia, mod. Iran (Lat. Persae pl. “Persians, also sg. Perses, -ae), are mentioned in CT B*3425 (2235) in conjunction with the Medes (above).

The form is OFr., based on Lat. acc. pl. Persas.

PERCIEN, adj. and sb.

A. adj. Persian, of or pertaining to the ancient empire of Persia (Iran) (cp. Perses, above), in CT D 2079 defines Cyrus the Great (d. 529 B.C.), founder of the Persian Empire.

B. sb. pl. Persiens “Persians” are mentioned in CT B *3438 (2248) and *3536 (2346) as nationals familiar with Queen Zenobia of Palmyrie (above) and her sons, of royal Persian descent.

In Bo 2, pr. 2, l. 73 (310-15) Percyens, appearing in the phrase kyng of Percyens (from Fr le roi de Perse), is an error for Perses or Perseus III of Macedonia, defeated by the Romans in B.C. 186.

Percien from OFr looks back to Lat. Persianus, based on Lat. Persia (see Perse, above).

PERNASO, see PARNASO, above.

PHILIPENSES, Lat. nom. plur. adj., Philippians, citizens of Philippi (Lat. Philippi), city of Macedonia (Macedoine, above) 73 m. ENE of Saloniki, is mentioned in CT I 598 with reference to St Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians (Phil. ii, 10).

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PHILISTIENS, Philistines (late Lat. Philistinii), natives of Philistaea whose chief town was Gaza (Gazan, above), are referred to in CT B *3238 (2048) as unsuccessful defender of Gaza, that cité, in the same line; they are a people of uncertain origin who occupied the south-west part of Palestine.

The form is OFr; cp. ME and mod. English “Philistian,” NED s.v.

PILEER (OF HERCULES), the Pillars of Hercules (Lat. Herculis Columnae), mentioned in CT B *3308 (2118) as set up by Hercules, refer in ancient geography to the two promontories between which is the Strait of Gibraltar; one of the two “pillars” or promontories was Calpe in Hispania Baetica (mod. Rock of Gibraltar), the other Abyla, a mountain spur on the North African side of the Strait. As an outlet to the Atlantic the Strait was thought of as marking one of the “ends” of the earth. On this and on the suggestion of a similar “pillar” in the East, see Robinson, p. 854, n. ad loc.

RAVENNE, Ravenna (Lat. Ravenna), in antiquity a sea-port of Gallia Transpadana, now chief city of the prov. of Ravenna, Italy, was in Boethius’s day the chief city of Theodoric the Ostrogoth (in later legend his chief city came to be Verona [Berne]); in Bo 1, pr. 4, l. 136 (130-35) it is a cité and is mentioned as a place from which Boethius’ adversaries Opulio and Gaudentius fled.

Chaucer’s form is OFr.

(The)REDE SEE, the Red Sea (Lat. Mare Rubrum), a narrow sea separating the coast of Arabia and Egypt, is mentioned in Bo 3, m. 3, l. 6 (685-90) as a source of precious stones; in CT B 490 it is alluded to as see with reference to Exod. xiii-xiv.

RODOPEYA, -PEYE, a mountain range in Thrace, now the Despoto Dagh (Lat. Rhodope, -es), is in the Legend of Phyllis obviously thought of as a region and city (lond, LGW 2423, 2427, 2434) where Demophon rests up (l. 2437) after an arduous sea-voyage from Troy; later, when able to walk again, he proceeds to the court (l. 2440), presumably in the city of Rodopeya. The queen of the country (l. 2424) is Phyllis, in l. 2498 of Rodopeye.

The form Rodopeye, Latinized as Rodopeya, is based on the Lat. adj.-type Rhodopeius “a Rhodopeian,” poetically used for “Thracian.”

ROMAN (ROMEYN), adj. and sb.

A. adj. pertaining to Rome, ancient and mediæval (cp. Rome, below) and its inhabitants: CT B 954, *3526 (2336) (defining Galien), LGW 1812. Stories of ancient Rome are referred to loosely as (olde) Romayn gestes in CT B 1126, E 2284.

B. sb. sing. and pl., an inhabitant of Rome, ancient and medieval: (1) in sing. in BD 1084 (defining Livy). CT D 647 (defining P. Sempronius Sophus). F 1404, Bo 2, pr. 7, l. 79 (545-50); (2) in the plur. in CT B 291, 394, *2178 (988), *2629 (1439), *3551 (2361) (defining Aurelian), B *4555 (3365), F 1401, G 121, LGW G 275, 627, 630, 1695, 1812.

Chaucer’s forms are based on Lat. Romanus and OFr. romein, respectively.

ROME (Lat. Roma).

A. Rome of classical antiquity, cut through by the river Tiber (Tybre, below), is mentioned as the center or symbol of the Roman kingdom, republic or empire, or as early Christian Rome in CT B 3 *3866 (2676); BD 1063; LGW 584, 595, 1710, 1712; Bo 2, pr. 7, l. 72 (540-45). Rome identifies or defines kings of ancient Rome (LGW 1680-81), consuls (Bo 2, pr. 2, l. 72 [310-15]; 3, pr. 4, l. 13 [690-95]), Julius Caesar (CT B 3 *3867 [2677]), “lordes” (Caesar and Pompey, Astr Pt. i, § 10, ll. 9-11 [45-50], Pompey (CT B 3 *3879 [2689]), and the late emperor Claudius II (CT B *3525 [2335]). The Roman commonwealth is
the commune of R. (Bo 2, pr. 7, l. 68 [540-45]) and the praetorship the provosty of R. (Bo 3, pr. 4, l. 90 [710-75]). It is referred to as cité of R. in Bo 2, pr. 6, ll. 18-19 (485-90) and Bo 2, m. 6, l. 4 (515-20) and in CT B *4590-61 (3370-71); town of R. in LGW 586, 591, 1861; CT G 361; Rome town in LGW F 257 (G 211), 1691, 1869. The poss. sg. Romes (HF 1504 [3, 414]) refers to the glorious past that was Rome's, the Lat. gen. sg. Rome (= Romea) to Lucretia (LGW Legend of Lucrece, head and end). It is referred to merely as town in CT G 173, LGW 1727, 1867, and implicitly in CT C 118 (here cp. Gower, CA vii, 5131: at Rome). Rome and the surrounding region, the Roman Campagna is implied in lond and region in CT C 113, 122. In CT G 975 it is a symbol of greatness.

The Capitol (Capitolium, Lat. Capitolium) is mentioned in CT B *3893 (2703), *3895 (2705); the Appian Way (Lat. Via Appia), as if a place, in CT G 172; the Catacombs (Seintes Buryeles) in G 186, referred to as a place in G 183; the cathedral church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere (Chirche of Seint Cecilee) mentioned in G 550, is said to have been built on the site of the house of Valerian and Cecilia (G 514, 550, and implicitly in G 141-42, 218-19). The house of Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus and Lucretia is mentioned in LGW 1713, 1716, 1778, and described passim; according to more orthodox tradition it was in the Sabine town of Collatia near Rome.

B. The Rome of Boethius (ca 475-525) during the reign of Theoderic the Ostrogoth is mentioned in Bo 1, pr. 4, l. 189 (145-50), Bo 2, pr. 7, l. 80 (540-50); in Bo 1, pr. 4, l. 265 (160-65) it is the cité of R., and in Bo 1, pr. 4, ll. 102-11 (120-25) it defines two contemporary consuls.

In the Man of Law's Tale, placed in the following century, it defines a strete (CT B 1103) and the lodgings (in) of Eella, first king of Deira (later part of Northumbria, England), regn. 560-588 A.D.

C. Medieval Rome, often thought of as a pilgrimage center and the seat of the Papal Court is mentioned in HF 1930 (3, 840); RR 1093; CT F 231; in CT B 156, 309 it defines a late sixth-century emperor. It is the town of R. in CT B 1148 and is referred to merely as town in B 310. It is the goal of pilgrims in TC 2, 36; Astr Pref. l. 47 (5-11), and in CT A 465 and B 995 it is Rome town. It is identified with the Papal Court in RR 7190 (cp. l. 7198); CT A 671, 687, E 737, and implicitly in B 991 (cp. l. 992).

Chaucer's form is based on OFr.

ROMEYN, see ROMAN

S

SAMARITAN, sb. a Samaritan (late Lat. Samaritanus), a native or inhabitant of Samaria, a district of Palestine (Lat. Samaritis), named for its chief town, anciently the capital of the kingdom of Israel, is used in CT D 16, 22, specifically of the woman of Samaria (John iv, 7-18).

Chaucer's form is a learned adaptation of the Lat. adj.

SCITHIA, CITHIA, CITHIA, formally the land of the Scythians (Lat. Scytha, -ae m., Scythes, -ae, m., mostly in the plural), Scythia, was among the ancients a vaguely and fluctuatingly defined region, at times at least, roughly corresponding to the Russian steppe between the Carpathian mountains and the river Don. Whatever notions Chaucer may have had about the geography—and vague indeed they must have been—his use of the name obviously derives from Statius' Thebaid XII, 519 ff., where Scythia is associated with Lake Maeotis (l. 527), now the Sea of Azov. For Chaucer Scythia was identical with his Femenye (above), the land of the Amazons in NE Turkey. The geography makes utter nonsense.

The country is referred to as Scithia in CT A 887 and in A 882 and Anel 36-37 (Cithia) defines the queen, Hippolyta. The Scythians, i.e., Amazons, are

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described as the *aspre* folk of Cithe in *Aenel* 23, based on *Thebaid* XII, 519-20.

The forms *(S)cithia are Latin, while Cithe (mod. Fr. Scythie) is OFr.

(SEA OF GALILEE), is referred to as the see in CT A 698 in connection with the miracle of St. Peter's walking over its waters to Jesus (*Matth*. xiv, 29). See further Galilee, above.

SEREYENS, sb. pl. Chinese (Lat. Seres, -um), whose contre is mentioned in Bo 2, m. 5, l. 12 (475-80) as a source of fine wool (*bryhte* ["clean, white"] sleeves).

Chaucer's form has almost certainly been influenced (by misunderstanding?) with "Syrian," cp. *Syriens*, below.

SYMOIS, the Simois (Lat. Simois), mod. Turk. Dümber su, a small river in the Troad, tributary of the ancient Scamander, mod. Medere cayi, which flows into the Dardanelles, is in TC 4, 1548, incorrectly said to cut through Troy.

Chaucer's form is Latin.

SYNAY, Mt. Sinai (in the Bible alternately but less commonly known as Horeb or Oreb), the mountain which gives its name to the Sinaitic peninsula, projecting into the Red Sea between the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Akaba, is in TC D 1887 a *mountaigne* (var. mount) and is mentioned in connection with Moses' fast of forty days and forty nights (*Exod*. xxxiv 28). See also Oreb, above.

SYRIEN, adj. Chinese (or Syrian?) is used in Bo 2, m. 5, l. 14 (475-80) to define a contre, a land producing white wool (*white fleeses*). See Seryens, above, and Surryen, below.

SYSILE, the island of Sicily (Lat. Sicilia), originally a settlement of the Ligurian tribe of the Siculi, driven from their home on the Tiber (*Tybre*, below), is mentioned in Bo 3, pr. 5, l. 26 (725-30) in connection with the well-known story of Dionysius the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse, and the so-called sword of Damocles (II. 28-30).

Chaucer's form is OFr. (mod. Fr. la Sicile).

STIX, lit. the Styx, river of the Greek underworld (Lat. Styx, -yges, -ygos) by which the gods swore, is in TC 4, 1540 the put ("pit") of *helle* and viewed as a place of torment, perhaps meant for Hades as a whole; on this medieval conception of the Styx see *Speculum*, II (1927), 180-181.

Chaucer's form is Latin.

SURYE, Syria (Lat. Syria, also Siria, Suria), a land in SW Asia Minor on the Mediterranean, under Graeco-Roman administration essentially the valley of the Orintes, and corresponding territorially at least in part to the modern state of the same name, is mentioned in CT B 134, 173, 177, 279, 387, 441, 955, 1108 as of the late sixth century; in B 177 et passim it is ruled by a Mohamedan sultan (sowdan).

Chaucer's form is OFr.

SURRYEN (-IEN), adj. and sb. a Syrian, native or inhabitant of Syria (Surrye, above).

A. In CT B *3529 (2339) it is used of Syrians of the third century A.D. as one of a number of peoples who did not dare meet Queen Zenobia of Palmyra (*Palmerie*, above) in battle.

B. In CT B 394, 435, 963 it is used of sixth-century Syrians of the time of Ælla, first king of Deira (later part of Northumbria, England), *regn*. 560-88; in B 153 it is used adjectival.

Chaucer's form is OFr (mod. syrien), looking back to a late Lat. *Syrianus.

TAGUS, the Tagus (Lat. Tagus, Span. Tejo, Port. Tejo), largest river of the
Iberian peninsula, rises in Mt Muela de San Juan in Spain and, flowing past Toledo, forms the boundary between Spain and Portugal and empties into the Bay of Lisbon. In *Bo* 3, m. 10, l. 13 (960-65) it is mentioned, along with the *Hermus* (above) and *Indus* (above), as a river noted for its gold-yielding gravel (*goldene gravelis*).

Chaucer’s form is Latin.

TESSALIE, see T(H)ESSALIE, below:

THEBAN, adj. (Lat. *Thebanus*), pertaining to 1 Thebes (below), Theban, usually with reference to the two noble kinsmen, Palamon and/or Arcite: *Anel* 85, 210, *TC* A 2515, 2526, *F* 1432, 1434.

Sb., inhabitant of 1 Thebes: *Anel* 60, *TC* A 1877, 2570, 2623, 2829, 2882, 2974.

Chaucer’s form is directly adapted from Latin.

1 THEBES (Lat. *Thebae*), chief city of the ancient Greek state of Boeotia, situated ca 35 m. NE of Athenes (above), is in Chaucer essentially thought of as in the time of the legendary King Creon and the wars of the “Seven.” It is mentioned often in connection with some person or event of the wars of the Seven and especially frequently in the Knight’s Tale: *TC* 5, 937, 1486, 1490; *LGW* F 421 (G409); *CA* A 933, 967, 983, 986, 1002, 1203, 1283, 1331, 1355, 1383, 1483, 1548, 1798, 1880, 2658, D 741, 746, E 1716, 1721, H 116. In *CA* A 939, 1544, B 289 it is *T. the cítê*; *Anel* 66, *TC* A 1510, E 1721, H 117 it is a cítê, and a toun in *Anel* 68, 70, 72, *TC* 5, 1510, *CA* A 936, 1548. Its ramparts (wall, valles) are mentioned in *CA* A 990, 1331 (waste), 1880 (wyde), and the same, i.e., the “seven-gated” wall of the legendary king Amphion, is mentioned in *CT* H 117 (walled the cítê). There is a temple of Mars (Anel 355-56).

Outside the town is a feeld or open country (*CA* A 984, 1003).

In *Anel* 53 Thebes, presumably standing for Boeotia, is contrasted to the rest of Greece; Boeotia is also implied in contré of *CA* A 1004, 1383.

In *TC* 5, 602, hem of Thebes stands for Thebans sb. (above).

The war of the “Seven” is specifically referred to in *TC* 2, 107 (assege), *CA* A 937 (seege), B 200 (strif); the town is said to have been burned (*TC* 5, 1510) and afterward was desolat and bare (*Anel* 62). Statius’ *Thebaid*, dealing with this subject, is alluded to in *HF* 1460 (3, 370), *Anel* 10 (storie in Latyn; cp. l. 21); *TC* 2, 83-84 (geste of the seege of Thebes, and cp. 2, 108), 100 (romaunce), and though wrongly, in *CA* A 2294 (“Stace of Thebes”) where the source is in fact Boccaccio’s *Teseida*.

The broche of Thebes, described at length in *Mars* 245-62, actually refers to a bracelet made by Vulcan-Haephestus to bring misfortune on Harmonia, daughter of Mars and Venus, and subsequent owners. The story is told in Statius’ *Thebaid* II, 265 ff. It was worn inauspiciously by Argia on the occasion of her marriage to Polynices of Thebes.

Chaucer’s form is OF T(h)ebes (mod. Thebes), in turn based on Lat. acc. pl. Thébass.

2 THEBES (Lat. *Thebae*), Greek name of the ancient Egyptian city of Wesi, later. Ne “the city,” on the Nile some 400 m. above its mouth, was the ancient capital of Upper Egypt on whose site Kamak and Luxor now stand. The Greeks seem to have applied the name of 1 Thebes to the Egyptian site because of some fancied resemblance, perhaps the numerous gates common to both. It is mentioned in *CA* A 1472 to define nercotikes and opie . . . fyn, on whose traditional association with the Egyptian city see O.F. Emerson, “Chaucer’s ‘Opie of Thebes Fyn,’ Modern Philology XVII (1919-20), 287-91.

T(H)ESSALIE, Thessaly (Lat. *Thessalia*), NE division of Greece, south of Macedonia (Macedoine, above), with Larissa its chief city, is mentioned as the
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kingdom of Pelleus and home of Jason in LGW 1396, 1461, 1533, 1619, 1654; in LGW 1651 it is referred to as hom. It is Pelleus’ regne (LGW 1401), a lond (1403), a region (1412), a contre (1461) and in CT B *3869 (2679) the scene of Julius Caesar’s attack on Pompey.

Chaucer’s form is OFr.

THOLOSAN (Lat. Tolosanus), adj., of or pertaining to Toulouse (Lat. Tolosa), dept. Haute-Garonne, France, Tolosan, was in antiquity a city in Gallia Narbonensis. In HF 1460 (3, 370) it is applied wrongly to the Neapolitan poet Publius Papinus Statius (A.D. 45-96), an error Chaucer may have picked up from Dante.

Chaucer’s form with ornamental, silent h, is adapted from Latin; cp Mantoan, above.

TYBRE, the central Italian river Tiber (Lat. Tiberis, Ital. Tevere) which rises in the Tuscan Apennines, cuts through Rome, crosses the Roman Campagna, and enters the Mediterranean (Tyrrhenian) Sea at Ostia. It is mentioned in CT B *3666 (2476) as a river in which the Emperor Nero liked to fish with nets of thread of gold.

Chaucer’s form is the semi-learned OFr (and mod. Fr.) Tibre vs. popular OFr Tevere, Toivre, forms found also in ME.

TIGRYS, the Tigris (Lat. Tigris), with the Euphrates the lesser of two great rivers of Mesopotamia, is in Bo 5, m. 1, ll. 1-2 (1640-45) wrongly said to rise from a common source with the Euphrates (Eufrates, above). The Tigris is the Hiddekel of Gen. ii, 14, Dan. x, 4.

Chaucer’s form answers to the Lat. type T(h)yle, preferred until the time of the Renaissance.

TYRENE, adj. Tyrrhenian, Etruscan, Etrurian (Lat. Tyrrhenius), referring to that part of the Mediterranean lying between the Italian mainland and the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, is used in Bo 3, m. 8, l.10 (795-800) to define the Tiber (watir that highte Tyrene) as a river flowing into the Tyrrhenian Sea (cp. flumen Tyrrhenium, Aen. 7, 663). This watir (NED s.v. 12c) has foordes convenient for huntsmen. Then are dealt with certain fine things to be got from the see (pearls, tender fish, sea-urchins) which presumably is the Tyrrhenian Sea proper (cp. Tyrrhena vada, Aen. 1, 67).

Chaucer’s form through OFr represents an adaptation of the Lat. adj. Tyrius “of, pertaining to Tyre” in Boethius (Tyrio . . . veneno).

TYRO, a Tyrian, man of Tyre (Lat. Tyrus, -i f. Tyre), is used in CT B 81 in the combination Tyro Appollonius to refer to the novelist Apollonius of Tyre.

**TRACE, Thrace (Lat. *Thracia, Threcia*),** in antiquity an area in northern Greece, in the course of history of fluctuating boundaries and centering on the mountain range of Rhodope (*Rodopeya,-peye*, above) and the river Hebrus, rising in Mt. Haemus and flowing into the Thracian Sea, mod. Maritza (?) was in Chaucer's time under Turkish sway.

It is mentioned as being reached from Athens by rowing in *LGW* 2308-09 (cp. 1. 2361, *from Athenes in a barge*). It is the homeland of Phyllis, daughter of King Sithon of Thrace (*HF* 391), also is a *lond* (*LGW* 2423, 2427, 2434), reached by Demophon from Troy be sea (se: ll. 2405, 2419). In Bo 3, m. 12, l. 4 (1115-20) it is the home of Orpheus (*poete of Trace*), and in *LGW* 2244 Tereus, kinsman of Mars and husband of Procone, is lord of the land. The worship of Mars and the *grete temple* are alluded to in *Anel* 1-4 (*Trace, l. 2*) and in *CT A* 1972. Among the supporters of Palamon is Lycurgus, the *grete king of Trace* (*CT A* 2129), legendary king of the Thracian tribe of the Edones (cp. Statius' *Thebaid* IV, 386; VII, 180); the latter's garb and his fondness for hunting lion and deer (*CT A* 2137-50) are in keeping with other descriptions of the region (*contré, A* 2137). The wildness of the country and its unfriendly climate are emphasized in *Anel* 2 (*frosty,contré*), *CT A* 1973 (*colde, frosty regioun*), while the forbidding countryside is pictured in murals in the oratory of Mars (*CT A* 1975-94). In the Legend of Philomela (*LGW* 2310-12, 2362) something is made of a forest and dark cave, and in *CT A* 1639-42 Thrace is a land where the lion and the bear are hunted.

In two situations Thrace has untraditionally been confused with or substituted for Thessaly (*Tessalie*, above): in *HF* 1572 (3, 482), 1585 (3, 495, *a contré*), 1789 (3, 699) it is the home of Aeolus, god of the winds, who lives and rules there as king; traditionally Aeolus' home was in the Lipari Islands, between Italy and Sicily; here there is confusion with Aeolus, a king in Thessaly and grandson of Deucalion (cp. Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 585). Again in *LGW* F 432 (G 422) Alcestis is spoken of as *whilom queue of Trace*, whereas her husband Admetus was king of Pelasgis, a district of Thessaly (Thessalia Pelasgiotis) with his residence in Pherae, now Velestino.

Chaucer's form is OFr. *TROIANYSSH, adj.* Trojan and equivalent to *Troian* A, above, is used in *HF* 201 to define "blood," i.e., "lineage, race." It is formed from *Troian*, above, with the OE suffix *-isc, ME -ish.* Cp. *Grekyssh*, above.

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(Turk. "place of fortress"), Biga, villayet of Canakkale (— Dardanelles, ancient Hellespont), Turkey. Hisarlik lies some 3-4 m. in from the west end of the Dardanelles and in the fork above the juncture of the Dümbererek su (Symois, above) and the Mendere çayı (Maeander) or Pinarbasi çayı (Scamander), the latter flowing into the Dardanelles east of the promintory of Yenesehir (Lat. Sigevum). Essentially because of its prominence in TC, Troie is by far the most frequently used geographical name in Chaucer and the one about which most is told. In TC many invented details are supplied and it is clear that Chaucer pictured Troy as much like his own London; see Medieval Studies, VII (1945), 96-97, 133-35, for a similar treatment of Etzeln burc and Worms by the author of the Nibelungenlied.

"In Troy, there lies the scene,"
Shakespeare, TC, Prol. I. 1.

Troy is often mentioned as the scene of the Graeco-Trojan war and especially in TC as the place in which persons involved in the war find themselves (assege, sege, were); it is the place from which they come, to which they go, and the like: CT A 2833, B 288, *4419 (3229), F 210, 1446; BD 1066, 1120; Bo 4, m. 7, ll. 4-5 (1595-1600); TC 1, 59 (to Troie wardes, 68, 74, 76, 119; 2, 644; 3, 357, 1441, 1452; 4, 77, 91, 93, 119, 140, 336, 533, 661, 1307, 1343, 1441, 1549, 1558, 1630; 5, 28, 45, 91, 197, 393, 426, 609, 616, 729, 765, 779, 874, 912, 916, 960, 1380, 1546, 1662. It is occasionally Troie town: TC 4, 30; 5, 768, 856, 969, 1006, 1469, also town of Troie in TC 2, 139, 748, 881; 3, 874; 4, 126, 204-05. In TC it is often alluded to merely as town: 1, 64, 75, 86, 141, 136, 558, 1076; 2, 199, 378, 379, 737 (noble town), 1416; 3, 383, 570, 577, 1772, 1782; 4, 62, 79, 112, 118, 121, 126 (var.), 192, 204, 209,401, 531, 547, 553, 585, 1340, 1380, 1386; 5, 5, 400, 429, 563, 677, 990, 1154; less usually as a cite: Troies cite (TC 1, 100), Troye the cite (LGW 2404), or merely cite in TC 1, 59, 129, 149; 2, 1146; 4, 685, 1205, 1479; 5, 906; LGW 937. Thrice it is a place: TC 5, 245, 710, 956. In TC 1, 2, 609; 3, 791, 1715; 4, 276, Troie identifies the Trojan royal dynasty, in CT F 548 it identifies Paris, in CF F 306 the siege, in BD 1247-48 and Bo 4, m. 7, ll. 4-5 (1595-1600) the destruction of the city, and twice the history of the legend of the city: BD 326 and LGW 1153-54 (cp. Trojan gestes under Trojan, above). Troye contre (HF 146) and contre (LGW 938, 1279) is the surrounding district of the Troad, also referred to as the land in HF 172, LGW 1026. A plural form, thousand Troyes, is used in TC 2, 977 (cp. Greces twelve of TC 5, 924). It is implied though wrongly that the Symois (above) flows through the town (cp. se of TC 4, 1548-49). Its size is stressed in CT G 975.

Troie is also used in several locutions for the adj. Trojan/Troien: so blood of Troie "Trojan lineage" (TC 5, 600, and cp. Troianyssche blood of HF 201; folk of T. (TC 1, 138, 160; 4, 48, 55, 122; 5, 93, 119, 856 (folk of T. toun), 883; LGW 1151: they (hem) of Troie (TC 1, 135, 136, 148, 150 [var.])

The ramparts (wal, walles) of Troy are mentioned in CT B 288 and in TC 4, 121, 1482; 5, 733, 1145; in TC 5, 668, 1112, 1194 the town-walls are wide enough to walk along. Town-gates are likewise noted: TC 2, 615, and in TC 5, 32, 603, 1138, 1140, 1178, 1192 the gate (sg. and pl.) in question is that by which Criseyde leaves the Greek camp. The gate of TC 2, 617-18 is that named for Dardanus, legendary ancestor of the Trojan race, whose name survives in the modern name Dardanelles. The town is marked by high towers and conspicuous buildings from which the Greek camp is visible (TC 5, 729).

In antiquity the citadel of Troy was Pergama (neut. pl.) or Pergamum (neut. sg.); among medieval writers this was supplanted by Ilium, Chaucer's Ilio(u)n, above, not mentioned in TC though elsewhere: noble tour of Ylioun (LGW 936), also in HF 158, CT B 289, *4546 (3356); castel (HF 163) seems to refer to Ilium, also described as the chief donjon (dongeoun) of Troy (LGW 937). The pairing
of Troie and of Ilyoun in BD 1248 suggests that Chaucer may have thought of Ilium as an enclave, a town within Troy.

Of the lay-out of the interior of the town little is told, but several scattered architectural monuments are featured, though nothing is said of their relative positions. There are many temples (TC 3, 383); one in 3, 540-46 is dedicated to Apollo; special emphasis is given to the temple containing the image of Pallas, the Palladium (Palladion) of TC 1, 162, 185 (large), 267, 317, 323, 363; 5, 566, the portal (dore) to which is mentioned in TC 1, 180. Another temple is mentioned in BD 1068, while in TC 5, 564-81 various sites (places) are mentioned cursorily. A marble statue of Niobe weeping for her children is mentioned in TC 1, 699-700 and is alluded to later in TC 1, 759. A House of Parliament is clearly assumed, though only the parliamentary assembly is actually mentioned (TC 4, 143, 148 [place], 211, 217, 218, 344, 558-59, 664, 1297). The wooden horse, introduced into the town by Sinon, is mentioned in CT F 209. Prominent as the setting of much of the action are the residences of Criscape, Deiphebus, Pandarus, Sarpedon, and Troilus; these Chaucer must have pictured as resembling the dwellings of the wealthy and the great of fourteenth-century London.

Criscape’s residence is a paleys (paleis) in TC 2, 76, 1094, 1252 (to paleis ward); 5, 522, 525, 540, 542, 546; a hous in 1, 127; 2, 437, 1461; 3, 1581, 4, 823; 5, 528, 541, 575; a place in 2, 1013; 3, 218; 4, 1685; 5, 534; it is apostrophized in 5, 540-53, where it is a shrine (5, 553). It is on a strete (2, 1015, 1186, 1248 and implicitly so in 3, 1782) with a house across the street (2, 1188, 1189), and is apparently thought of as somewhat outside, or on the outskirts of the town (cp. 2, 1146: the cité which that stondeth yondre). At the back of her house is a large gardyn (2, 814, 819, 1114, 1117), also called a yard (2, 820); this back-yard is laid out with shaded and sanded walks (aleyes) along which are newly placed benches (2, 820, 822) and is reached from the palace by a set of steps (steyre, 2, 813 and implied in 2, 1117), leading down from the ground-floor room (chaumbre, 2, 1117). Downstairs is also a halle for dining and assembly (2, 1170 ff.; 4, 732), also a parlour or living-room (2, 82) presumably smaller than the great hall, with a floor paved with flags, tiles or mosaic (paved, 2, 82). Upstairs is a small room or boudoir (closet, 2, 599, 1215), Criscape’s bedroom (chaumbre, 4, 732-33, 1701, and perhaps 2, 1173), and a living-room with some sort of bay-window (2, 1186, 1192, and cp. 2, 1015), evidently handsomely furnished (2, 1228-29 and cp. 4, 1380). In 5, 531, 534 the place has been closed up and the doors and windows boarded.

Deiphebus’ residence is a hous (2, 1514, 1540); its existence is implied in 2, 1364 (a certeyn place), 1402, 1438, 1480. Like Criscape’s it has a yard (herber greene, 2, 1705; gardyn, 3, 221) connected with the building by steps (steire: 2, 1705; 3, 205, implied in 3, 191). The grete chaumbre (2, 1712) would be the great hall, off which is a small room (chaumbre: 2, 1646, implied in 2, 1725 [inward]).

Pandarus’ residence is a hous (3, 195, 560, 635). A dining-room is implied in 3, 607; on the same floor with this appear to be sleeping quarters (cp. yonder: 3, 663). This is all on the ground floor, if one accepts the existence of the drain (goter: 3, 787) between the house and outside mentioned by Pandarus; that Troilus did not enter through it is immaterial. The arrangement of bedrooms is of moment in connection with the intrigue here at issue. The accompanying schematic diagram may well not represent the spatial arrangement pictured by Chaucer—if he had any precise ground plan in mind—but it does not conflict with the action of the persons involved.
For a time Troilus is kept shut up in a little room (a) with a window on the street (stewe: 3, 601), connected by a secret door (e) of some sort (trappe: 3, 741; secré trappe-doore: 3, 759) opening into Criseyde's room (b) (chaumbre: 3, 676; closet: 3, 687), the door of which, perhaps opening on a corridor, is mentioned in 3, 684, 745, 748. Pandarus' bedroom (c) or apartment (litel closet: 3, 663; hous: 3, 664; chaumbre: 3, 788) would appear to be across the corridor (cp. yonder: 3, 663; right overthwart: 3, 685) and farther down it,

A Part of Pandarus' Palace

i.e., farther out or away from the center of the building (cp. outer: 3, 664, almost as if a wing). Likewise, on Pandarus' side of the corridor (cp. 3, 664-65) and somehow across from Criseyde's room (overthwart: 3, 684-85) is (d) a myddel chaumbre (3, 666) where her maids or ladies-in-waiting are put up. Some servants sleep (f) just outside her door (3, 745), evidently left ajar during the night and quietly closed by Pandarus after he enters Criseyde's room by way of Troilus' stewe through the secret door (3, 748-49).

Sarpedon's country-place is said to be a mile from Troilus' palace (5, 403); there Troilus and Pandarus spend a week (5, 434-500).

Troilus' residence is a paleys in 1, 324; 2, 933, 1537; 3, 1529, 1534 (real p.); 5, 201, 512-13. In 5, 527 it seems to be viewed as a little out of town, as is Criseyde's palace, above. It has a gardyn (2, 508; 3, 1738) with a spring (welle: 2, 508) presumably forming a pool. Of the interior one hears chiefly of Troilus' bedroom (chaumbre: 1, 358, 547; 2, 556, 935; 4, 220, 354; 5, 202, 292) with door, window, and walls mentioned in 4, 232-33, 244, 352; here Troilus spends a good fair bit of his time and commonly in bed. In 5, 514 chaumbre refers to a dining-room (cp. 5, 518).

Priam's court, unimportant in the action of the poem, is mentioned in 4, 1392-93.

Little is told of the environs of Troy. Out toward the Greek camp which is visible from Troy (cp. 5, 730) runs a long valeye (5, 67, actually mistranslating Boccaccio's vallo "rampart"). Some of the surrounding country is thought of as wooded (5, 1144) and accessible from the besieged town (4, 1521 ff.) despite Diomedes' statement that the Trojans in prison ben (5, 883-84). Somewhere between Troy and the Greek camp is a feld or piece of open country (1, 1074; 2, 195) where fighting goes on except in time of truce.

The war and the siege, forming a somewhat dominating backdrop to the poem
is referred to as assege (1, 464; 2, 107); assegeden (1, 60); sege (2, 123; 4, 1480), and as werre (2, 868(?); 3, 1772; 4, 547; 5, 855). In CT F 306 it is the grete sege of Troie.

Chaucer's form of the name is OFr.

TROYEN, see TROIAN

V

VERONE, Verona (Lat. Verona) on the Adige (Germ. Etsch), prov. of Verona, in antiquity in Gallia Transpadana, is in Bo 1, pr. 4, l. 235 (155-60) a cité where Boethius defended one Albyn (l. 239), probably Decius Albinus.

Chaucer's form is OFr.; on this name see further Mediaeval Studies, VII (1945), 91-92, under "Berne."

VISEVUS, Vesuvius (Lat. Vesuvius, Vesevus, Vesaevus), celebrated volcano in the ancient province of Campania (Campayne, above), rising from the eastern border of the Bay of Naples, is in Bo 1, m. 4, ll. 8-10 (90-95) called an unstable mountaigne with reference to its eruptions; Boethius probably knew directly of those of A.D. 472 and 512. The further description in ll. 10-11: that writhith out thruw his broke ne chemeneyes (= lateral vents or fumaroles) smokynge fires (= characteristic emission of vapor) is accurately descriptive.

Chaucer's Visevus looks back to the collateral Lat. Vesevus, here used by Boethius.
Essence and *Esse* According to Jean Quidort

AMBROSE J. HEINIAN C.P.P.S.

Since the publication of his *Correctorium Corruptorii* in 1941, and of his *De Potestate Regia et Papali* in 1942, the name of Jean Quidort has appeared more and more frequently in studies of medieval thought. Historians recognize him as a defender of St. Thomas against the attack of William de la Mare and as an important political thinker. But Quidort, as Grabmann has pointed out,

was also interested in his own right in many philosophical and philosophico-theological questions, especially in problems of metaphysics and of the psychology of knowledge. It is the purpose of this paper to study one of these problems, the relation of essence and *esse* as developed in the second question of his *Lectura super Libros Sententiarum*.

Quidort's argument, at this point, is placed in the historical setting of the last part of the thirteenth century. By a judicious choice and alignment of opponents, he gradually reduces the problem to a position which, he believes, makes his own solution the only possible one. Indeed, his solution, when he finally presents it, is nothing more than a conclusion from the many criticisms he has given. We will follow him as he leads us along the paths which he considers erring and allow him to point out the difficulties and errors he finds.

Jean opens his discussion with a presentation of the view most radically opposed to his own. Some, he tells us, maintain that while reason distinguishes between *esse* and essence in creatures, they are one and the same reality. This one reality is signified in two distinct modes: esse signifying it after the manner of an act; essence, after the manner of a habit. In the same way reason distinguishes between light and the act of illuminating, between wisdom and the act of the wise man, although these distinctions have no counterpart in the world of reality.

There can be little doubt that Jean is here giving a contemporary summary of the position of Siger of Brabant. In his *Quaestiones in Metaphysicam*, Siger tells us that *esse* pertains to the essence of created things. As a result, *res* and *ens* (thing and being) signify but one intention. In explaining this teaching, Siger enumerates three types of names that are convertible when applied to a supposit. Two names are convertible when they signify the same essence in the same way; synonyms are of this type. Other names are convertible although one signifies the essence while the other signifies something added to this essence. These are convertible when the extension of their signification in the supposit is equal, even though the formal aspect expressed is diverse. Thus man

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4. The text of the *Lectura* will be quoted according to Ms 2165 of the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (fol. 85°v-85°r) with corrections from Ms 885 of the Bibliothèque Mazarine (fol. 41rv-41rv) and Ms B III, 13 of the Universitätsbibliothek in Basel (fol. 85°r-v).
5. Fol. 80rv: Quidam dicunt quod sunt (sc. esse et essentia in rebus creatis) idem realiter, sed different secundum rationem solum vel secundum modum significandi, quia essentia id quod significat, significat per modum habitus, esse vero per modum actus. Unde dicunt quod different sicut lucet et lucere, sapientia et sapere.
and risible are convertible: man is risible. Finally, there are convertible names which signify the same essence and extend equally in their signification to that essence, but in such a way that the essence primarily apprehended is the same in each instance, although apprehended in diverse modes: in one instance, after the manner of an act; in the other, after the manner of a habit. It is thus that the mind apprehends the act of running (currere) on the one hand and the running (cursus) on the other; the act of living (vivere) on the one hand and the living (animatum) on the other. Thing (res) and being (ens) belong in this latter category. They are not synonymous terms, nor do they signify distinct intentions, as do man and risible. Thing and being (res and ens) signify but one intention, being signifying it after the manner of an act; thing, after the manner of a habit. 7

As Father Maurer has pointed out, there seems to be no distinction between being (ens) and existing (esse) in the text of Siger. Whatever can be said of the relation between ens and res is equally true of the relation between esse and essence. It seems, therefore, that it is the mind of Siger that esse and essence, while not synonymous, express one and the same intentio. They differ only in this that in the first case the mind apprehends its object per modum actus; in the second, per modum habitus: the position presented by Quidort. 8

Another opinion distinguishes between corporeal beings and spiritual beings, admitting that there is a real distinction between esse and essence in the former, but denying such a distinction in the latter. Thus in the mathematical order there is a real distinction between a magnitude and its esse; in the order of nature, between water and its esse; but an angel and its esse are really identical. 9

The examples cited by Quidort are drawn from the De Anima of Aristotle as translated by William of Moerbeke: Quoniam autem alius est magnitudo et magnitudinis esse, et aqua et aquae esse, et sic in multis aliis, non autem in omnibus. 10 In his first Quodlibet 11 Jean cites this text of the De Anima, interprets it in the sense presented here in the Lectura, and assigns not only the text but also his interpretation to Aristotle. It is therefore possible that in the present instance Jean is also giving his own interpretation of the Aristotelian text. But it seems more probable that he is referring to a contemporary thinker who interpreted Aristotle in the same way and adopted the doctrine of the Stagirite, so interpreted, as his own. Such a position was not novel in the late

1 Quaestiones in Metaphysicam, loc. cit.: Ad hoc intelligendum quod tria sunt genera nominum quae convertuntur in suppositis, tamen diversimodo. Quaedam sunt nominata quae significant eandem essentiam et eodem modo, sicut nomina synonyma ut Marcus Tullius. Isto modo ens et res nec significant nec convertuntur, quia tunc unum non certificaret reliquum. Secundo, quando unum significat essentiam, aliud autem non significat essentiam, sed additum essentiae. Convertunt tamen in suppositis quia se extendunt ad aequalitatem suppositorum ut homo et risibile, quorum intellectus formalis diversi sunt. Tertium est genus nominum homo et risibile, quorum intellectus extendunt ad aequalitatem suppositorum ut convertuntur tamen in suppositis quia se significat essentiam, sed additum essentiae.

9 Fol. 80*: Essentia id quod significat, significat per modum habitus, esse vero per modum actus.
10 Ibid.: Alii dicunt quod alius est judicium de essentia et esse in corporalibus, et alius in spiritualibus, quia in corporalibus, seu mathematicis sine naturalibus, different realiter essentia et esse. Unde in mathematicis alius est magnitudo et magnitudinis esse; et in naturalibus, aqua et aquae esse. Sed in spiritualibus sunt idem, seu in separatia a materia. Unde idem est angelus et angelus esse.
12 Ms Paris, B.N. lat. 14572, fol. 1r*: Unde in tertio de Anima dicit (Philosophus) quod alius est magnitudo et magnitudinis esse, et alius aqua et aquae esse, quia in omnibus mathematicis et naturalibus differt esse et essentia, sed non in substantiis separatia. Sed in eis idem est caro et carnis esse, id est, substantia separata est seipsa quia est suum esse.
thirteenth century. In some anonymous *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Metaphysicam* which must have been written toward the end of the thirteenth century, we read that *esse* is related to essence in six different ways, the relation varying according to the being in which *esse* is found; according to the kind of *esse*, that is whether universal or particular; and according to the way in which *esse* is considered, that is whether without or within the intellect. Among these relationships we find the following: in simple substances *esse* and essence, when considered outside the intellect, are not really distinct; in composite substances, however, particular *esse*, considered in the same way, is really distinct from essence. This, or a similar opinion, may well be that to which Quidort refers.

Jean is content to present these two opinions without comment. They are of such a nature that if his criticisms of the the positions that follow are valid, he will not only be answering the opponents criticized, but will *a fortiori* overthrow the thinking so far presented.

Accordingly, Jean proceeds immediately to the most important of the positions against which he wishes to argue, a position which he characterizes as a *solemnis opinio*. According to this opinion, creaturely *esse* is never really distinct from the essence of the creature. Nevertheless, *esse* does add something to essence: a certain relationship to God, or to the *principium a quo*. This relationship, however, is not something really added to essence; it is only that by reason of which *esse* is said to belong to (*accidit*) the essence. This, or a similar opinion, may well be that to which Siger of Brabant. The distinction between *esse* and essence is greater than that which Siger finds between two non-synonymous expressions of one and the same *intentio*. The difficulties that follow from holding that there is only a distinction of reason between *esse* and essence are recognized. If *esse* and essence differ only in reason, essence and *esse* are essentially the same; and when two things are essentially the same, one cannot be understood in conjunction with the opposite of the other. But a created essence can be understood as not existing; essence can be understood in conjunction with *non-esse*.

To avoid this difficulty, a new kind of distinction is introduced: a distinction that is median between the real distinction and the distinction of reason, namely the intentional distinction. It is characteristic of those things which differ intentionally that one can be understood without the other or in conjunction with the opposite of the other, even though they are not really distinct from one another. Thus there is an intentional distinction between man and animal, for animal can be understood without man’s being understood, and even with the opposite of man, that is, the irrational: an irrational animal is possible. In the same way the intentional distinction is the magic key which will open the door to my understanding a creaturely essence without at the same time understanding
its esse, as well as to my understanding of a creaturely essence that does not exist.15

Undoubtedly we are in the presence of the famous intentional distinction of Henry of Ghent. Jean at no time distinguishes between esse essentiae and esse existentiae as Henry does. Nevertheless, over and above the fact that he calls this teaching a solemnis opinio, Jean’s presentation fits the teaching of the Doctor Solemnis in all details.

Henry tells us that the creature has a different mode of existing (modus essendi) than the creator. The very name creature indicates a nature, a thing belonging to one of the predicaments, that of itself does not have actual existing, but only a natural aptitude for its reception. It may receive this esse either from a natural agent which from preceding matter produces a form in act which was previously present only potentially, or from a supernatural agent producing the thing from nothing. In this latter case the esse was present not in the potency of matter but only in the potency of the efficient cause. Therefore esse belongs to a creature, not by reason of its nature, but only because it is the effect of its efficient cause, especially of the first efficient cause.16

There are certain things, Henry continues, which by their very essence are the cause of another and thus will always be a cause. Such a being cannot not be and is therefore higher in the order of causality than those that are caused. It gives esse to a thing after absolute non-esse; this giving is called creation. Of itself, what is caused is not; in relation to its cause, it is. But since what belongs to a thing of itself is prior essentially, though not temporally, to what it receives from another, created esse is posterior to created essence by an essential posteriority. Whether a creature has actual esse from eternity or not, its esse is a received esse; created essence does not have actual esse unless it receive it from an extrinsic agent. Creaturally esse differs, therefore, from essence: esse is one aspect (ratio) of a thing; essence another. This is true not only of the esse existentiae but also of the esse essentiae.17 Although esse, whether esse existentiae or esse essentiae adds nothing real over and above the essence of a creature, the intentio of essence is in no way the intentio of esse.18

15 Fol. 80v: Verumtamen, ut evitentur quaedam incoueniencia quae videntur includi in ista positione quia sic essentia jam non possit intelligi cum opposito essendi, quia quae sunt per essentiam idem, unum non potest intelligi cum opposito alterius, et multa talia; dicunt positores istius positionis quod, licet essentia et esse sint idem secundum rem, differunt tamen plus quam secundum rationem, quia differunt intensione. Dicunt enim quod aliqua inventuntur differe tripliciter; quaedam enim differuntiae, sicut illa quorum essentiae sunt diversae, sicut substantia et accidenta; quaedam vero ratione, ut forma et actus quia forma dicitur per comparationem ad materiam, actus vero per comparationem ad potentiam vel ad opus; quaedam vero intensione, ut homo et animal, quia hoc genus, illud vero species. Et isto modo, ut dicunt, differunt essentia et esse. Et inde est quod, quia illa quae differunt intensione unum potest intelligi sine alio, immo etiam cum opposito alterius, sicut animal potest intelligi non intellecto homine et etiam cum opposito hominis vel sub opposito quia sub irrationali,ideo dicitur quod essentia potest intelligi non intellecto esse vel sub opposito essendi, sedicet sub non esse.

16 Summa II, 21, 4, 6; ed. Ferrara, 1466, p. 322: Et nota quod istum verbum modum essendi alter habet creatura, alter creator. Creatura enim nomine suo dicit naturam et rem aliquit praedicamenti quae de se et ratione sua non habet esse in effectu, sed quae solummodo per agens nata est recipere esse tale, et hoc vel per agens naturale ex materia praecedente producendo formam de potentia in actum, vel per agens supernaturalis producendo rem de nihilo, quae primo esse non habit in potentia materiae sed solum in potentia potentissimis. Us sic nulli creato ex natura sua quantumcumque formalis conveniunt esse in actu, sed solummodo in quantum est effectus suae causa efficiens et maxime praeire a qua etiam esse partic epit suae essentiae.


18 Summa II, 21, 4, 6; ed. cit., pp. 322-3: Postquam autem hoc ipse est, tum cum aliquam ex rebus per essentiam suam fuerit causa esse alterius rei, profecto semper erit causa. Res ergo hulmosmodi omnibus causatis est dignior in causalitate, eo quod absolute prohibet rem non esse. Et haec est intentio quae quod sapientes vocatur creatio, quod est dare rei esse post non esse absolute. Causatum enim quantum est in se est ut non sit; quantum vero ad causam suam esse ei ut sit. Quod adeo est rei ex seipsa apud intellectum prius est per essentiam, non
The distinction of *intentio* lies in this, that a thing is an essence by reason of its relation to God as its eternal exemplar; an existent, by reason of its relation to God as its efficient cause in time. *Esse* is not something added to the essence of the thing, for the essence in so far as it is an effect of the creator has *esse* formally within itself: God, in causing the essence, gives to it *esse* as its proper act.  

Quidort rejects this opinion in its entirety: *Deficit in se, et in suo exemplo, et in sua distinctione.* Henry, he contends, errored at the very beginning of his argument, when he maintained that *esse* adds to essence only a relationship to an efficient principle, and that this is not a real addition. When a new relationship is added to anything, something absolute, the foundation of that relationship, must be added to at least one term of the relation. Now it is true that a relationship is set up between God and a creature by the fact that the creature is the effect of the divine agency. But this relationship begins to be, and it must have a foundation that begins to be, either in the creature or in God. Moreover, this foundation must be something real and absolute. It is impossible that it be found in God, for it is impossible that anything real and absolute be added to God. It can be found only in the creature. Since a creature is related to God precisely by the fact that it receives its *esse* from God, it is *esse* that is the real foundation of the relation. *Esse* is not a relation to God but the real and absolute foundation of the creature's relation to God.
Moreover, one cannot put the relation between esse and essence on a par with the relation between genus and specific difference. It is true that essence can be understood without at the same time understanding esse; it can even be understood as not existing. But this fact argues to a real distinction rather than to an intentional distinction. Whatever can be understood without another is really distinct from that other. While it is true that animal can be understood as rational or irrational, the animal that can be so understood is not the genus of man. The animal that is man cannot be understood as irrational. In the present instance, however, it is the very same essence that can be understood as existing or as not existing.20

Turning to the intentional distinction itself, Quidort is ready to admit that there is such a distinction. It has its application, for instance, when one is speaking of the relation of a whole to its part, a genus to its species; in general, where one thing is included in the understanding of another, as the word itself (in - tenere) implies. In such cases, according to Quidort, there is neither a real distinction nor a pure distinction of reason, but one midway between the two. But an intentional distinction so understood is not applicable to the relation between esse and essence.21

The only other valid use of the intentional distinction is found where one distinguishes by intention. Thus one distinguishes man from animal, man indicating the species; animal, the genus. But even a pure distinction of reason is intentional in this sense; this is not the distinction that Henry seeks.22

Therefore there is no sense in which the distinction between esse and essence can be called intentional. But Quidort admits that he is not the first to see the difficulties in the position of the Doctor Solemnis. Others had tried to correct his teaching by distinguishing esse in its relation to the essence and in its relation to the supposit. According to this opinion esse is really distinct from essence, but not from the supposit. It is argued, by the proponents of this theory, that as the specific difference limits the genus to a species, so esse limits the essence to the supposit; and as rational differs from animal but does not differ from man, so esse differs from essence, but not from the supposit.23

intelligi sub privatione et etiam cum opposito privationis quia sub forma, idem materia est essentialiter distincta ab utroque, a privatione et a forma. Cum ergo essentia possit intelligi sub opposito essentialiter, aportet ipsum ab esse distinctam esse essentialiter. Nee valeat quod adducunt de animali et homine, quod quia differunt intentione idea animal potest intelligi cum opposito hominis; animal tamen quod est homo nunquam potest intelligi homini non intellecto. Non sic est de essentia et esse. Immo etiam eadem essentia numero potest intelligi sub esse et sub opposito essendi. Une possim intelligere Sortem esse, et possim intelligere Sortem non esse.

20Fol. 81*: Item deficit positio tertio in distinctione, quia bene verum est quod distinetio bona est in se, sed non est ad propositum. Verum enim est quod quaeam differunt solum secundum rationem, ut illa quae sic se habent ut quidquid continetur in uno contineatur in alio, sicut Marcus Tullius, homo, animal rationale mortale. Aliis differunt secundum rem, sicut ulla in quorum uno nihil continetur quod continetur in alio, sicut homo et anima. Aliis autem intentione, ita quod intendto non sit eadem dicio sed duae, scilicet proposito cum suo casuali, id est in 'in', 'tener' et 'teneri', quod unum continentur ab altero sicut pars et totum, genus et species, quae non differunt totaliter secundum rem, nec solum secundum rationem, sed in hoc quod est continere et contineri; quia, si consideretur genus quantum ad id quod actualiter in se includit, et species similiter quantum ad id quod includit actualiter, species continent genus et adhuc aliquid amplius, quoniam differunt quantum speciificum. E contrario autem est si consideretur genus quantum ad id quod habitualliter continet, quia sic continent omnes species sub se. Sed tune illud membrum intentione differre non esset ad propositum eorum, quia sic non dicunt ipsi esse et essentia differre.24

Ibid.: Si autem accipiatur intentione differre prout intentio est una dictio, sic adhuc verum est quod quaeam differrent intentione, sicue homin et animal, quia hoc est genus et illud species. Sed adhuc sic non esset ad propositum, quia ulla quae ponunt differre secundum rationem etiam differre intentione, quia hoc est definitio, animal rationale mortale, et illud est definitio, scilicet homo. Unde adhuc illa distinction non multum facit pro eis.

21Fol. 81*: Item aliqui alii voluerunt corrigere istam positionem. Unde dixerunt quod esse potest comparari ad ipsam essentialem vel quidditatem absolute, vel potest comparari ad suppositum. Si ad essentialem, sic dicunt quod differt ab essentia quia quid propter rationem absoluam ipsum essentiae. Si ad suppositum, sic non differt sed est idem, ut dicunt, quia sicut rationale
In locating this position we must seek for a thinker who is willing to follow Henry of Ghent in some respects but is, at the same time, his critic. Can we see here a reference to Richard of Middleton? In speaking of the relation between essence and esse in the angels, Richard writes that to a great extent he agrees with those who say that actual esse adds nothing absolute beyond the essence of the angel, but only a real relation to Him Who gives esse. This seems to be the position of Henry. Their argument, Richard admits, is cogent, for it rests upon the distinction between substance and accident. Now a substance naturally exists in itself; an accident naturally exists in another, but not as a part: an accident cannot exist of itself except by miracle. If, therefore, actual esse were something absolute and other than the essence of the angel, it would be an accident of the essence, for it would not naturally exist in itself but in the essence. This, however, is impossible, for esse is more actual than essence, its subject, whereas no accident can be more actual than its subject.

Moreover, Aristotle taught that an accident makes a substance to be this or that, but it does not make it to be simply. If then esse were an accident of the angelic essence, the esse proper to it would not make the angel simply to be. Esse, therefore, is not an accident; beyond the essence of the angel esse adds only a relation to God in so far as He gives that esse. Esse is not an absolute; it is only a relation. Essence, however, is an absolute. Since an absolute cannot be equated with what is only a relation, the esse of a creature cannot be said to be the essence. Now a relation, although not something absolute, is nevertheless something. Therefore we must grant that there is a real composition of esse and essence in the angel and in every creature.

Both Richard and Henry maintain that beyond essence esse adds only a relation to the efficient cause of esse. Richard, however, rejects Henry’s conclusion that the distinction between esse and essence is only intentional; for Richard, it is a real distinction. But in what does this real distinction consist? At another place, Richard tells us that what is signified by essence is an absolute; esse, however, signifies the essence plus a certain relation to the same essence. Esse is the substance in so far as it subsists in itself. It is true that esse signifies the essence, but only in so far as essence is a part of what esse signifies, for esse is a composite of essence and a relation. It follows that it is incorrect to say that the esse of a creature is its essence, for no composite can be predicated of one of its parts. Therefore esse is the subsistent whole,
essence plus a relation to God, or as Quidort puts it, the supposit. There is a real distinction between esse and essence, but not between esse and the supposit.

Quidort is even less pleased with this teaching than with that of Henry, for, he argues, if esse were related to the supposit as the specific difference is related to the species, then just as man cannot be irrational so also the supposit could not not be. This conclusion is manifestly false. Moreover, since esse is the act of the supposit, the supposit supposes rather than constitutes esse.29

All of these attempts to explain the relation between esse and essence as less than a real distinction have failed. Esse is not essence; it is added to essence. Positively, Quidort offers three arguments for his position. First of all, God is the efficient cause of creatures; He makes them to be. But if esse is not really distinct from essence, creation is impossible, for what belongs to the essence of a thing cannot come to it from an extrinsic agent. Man is not made to be man, but he is made to be.30

Moreover, what belongs to a thing by its essence belongs to it of necessity. Therefore even though we were to grant that God could create a being whose esse is not really distinct from its essence, we would have to maintain that that creature is a necessary product of the divine efficiency. The identification of esse and essence in a creature is a denial of the freedom of God’s creative activity.31

Finally, what is essential to a being cannot be separated from it. If, then, esse were not really distinct from essence, no creature could cease to be. The real distinction is but a necessary consequence of the creaturely status of the things that God has made.32

On the basis of this real distinction, Quidort reaches some interesting conclusions concerning esse. Esse has a formal principle, a formal cause; this formal cause of esse, however, is not the substantial form of the composite. Form gives esse to the composite, but that esse is not esse as such, but rather this or that esse. The substantial form may be considered either as form or as formal cause. It is the form of matter, for it informs matter; it is not, however, the formal cause of matter, for it does not make matter to be matter. Of the composite it is the formal cause, and it is to the composite that it gives esse: it makes a man to be a man, a donkey to be a donkey, etc. But the form cannot be said to be the form nor the formal cause of esse; it does not inform esse,

esse substantiae creatae non dicat aliquid absolutum super essentiam substantiae culus est esse, si tamen haec non sit recipienda: essentia substantiae creatae est suum esse. Quare essentia nominat quod nominat mode absolutissimo; esse autem substantiale actualis existentiae nominat ipsum essentiam et quandam relationem cum ea. . . Dicit ergo esse actualis existentiae ipsum substantiam ut est substrata in se ipsa vel ut est substrantia se ipsam. Quod ergo dicit essentia absolute, dicit esse actualis ipsum cum quadrum relatione ad seipsam ut ad suppositum. Et ha cum dico essentiae legis: essentia substantiae creatae est suum esse, praedicatur compositum ex essentia et illa relatione, sive sit rei sive rationis, de ipsa essentia absolute dicta. Et sic quadrandom praedicat compositum de altera parte. Tali ergo praedicatio non est recipienda.

29 Ibid.: Et ideo dico quod esse est accidens creaturae per illum modum per quem illud quod advenit allicui dicitur esse accidens. Et differt realiter ab essentia creaturae, quia si non different et esset essentiali iter idem tunc nunquam creatura aliqua produceretur a Deo, quia illud quod inest rei essentialiter convenit el nullo auctore. Unde homo est homo nullo auctore, ipsa quod semper homo fuit homo. Etsi homo non sit, homo est homo.

30 Ibid.: Unde etiam, ut dicunt, nullo auctore sigillum est sigillum. Sed sigillum est sigillum de necessitate. Et sic Deus in esse nihil produceret, et dato quod produceret, non produceret per voluntatem, sed per necessitatem.

31 Ibid.: Item quod convenit allicui essentiiali non potest ab eo separari. Unde secundum quod dicitur in libro Posteriorum triangulo non existente adhuc triangulus habet tres angulos. Si ergo esse esset idem realiter cum ipsa essentia creaturae, nunc quam creatura posset amittere esse, sicut creatura non posset amittere quin sit creatura; quod manifeste appareat falsum esse.
nor does it make esse to be esse. The formal principle of esse is entity; the efficient principle, God alone:

Convenienter dicitur quod forma dat esse. Dico quod hoc pro tanto dicitur quia dat hoc esse, ut hominem et hujusmodi. Unde advertendum quod forma dicitur alicuius forma, alicuius vero formalis causa, alicuius vero neutrum. Respectu enim materiae dicitur forma quia ipsum informat; non tamen causa formalis quia non dat materia quod sit materia, sed quod sit homo. Unde dicit Avicenna scilicet quod forma non est nisi materiae. Dicitur autem causa formalis respectu compositi cui dat esse ut esse hominem vel esse asinum et hujusmodi. Respectu vero esse, nec est forma nec causa formalis, sed entitas est formale principium essendi; Deus vero effectivum, ut dictum est.\textsuperscript{20}

In his first Quodlibet, Quidort reaches an even more startling conclusion: God can produce esse without essence:

Deus potest producere aliquid quod non est determinatae naturae tam ex parte materiae quam ex parte esse, quia materia, cum non sit determinata ad genus nec speciem nisi per formam, si detur ei esse per amorem, quod credo Deum posse facere, absque forma per quam praedeterminetur ad quidditatem hominis vel asini, per formam, scilicet, hujus vel illius, erit materia illa nec in genere nec in specie, quia nihil per esse reponitur in genere vel specie sed per formam; et sic materia erit ens, sed non aliquid ens. Et hoc dico possibile si essentia differt ab esse realiter, sicut credo. Similiter dico de esse quod est, secundum se, indeterminatum ad genus et speciem licet sit actus existentium in genere. Unde reductur ad genus et ad speciem rei cujus est. Deus igitur potest creare illud esse quod est aliud ab essentia et potest sibi conferre esse per se vel entitatem, et sic ertz separatum ab essentia; sed non secundum quod esse vel actus, sed secundum id quod est, potest ab essentia separari virtute divina.\textsuperscript{21}

We note that Quidort bases his argument upon the real distinction between esse and essence, and the doctrine that entity, which he here identifies with esse per se, is the formal cause of the esse of a creature. Since esse is really distinct from essence, God could create esse without essence. The esse so created would be the act of existing-things-in-general (actus existentium in genere). God could effect this by creating esse in separation from essence and conferring upon it entity or esse per se. The esse so created would not be esse as act, but as quiddity (secundum id quod est), although Quidort does call it the act of existing-things-in-general.

Quidort seems to be saying that there is a quidditative aspect to creaturely esse. Esse as act is, apparently, entity or esse per se, the formal or actual principle of that esse as that which is correlative to essence; quidditative esse or esse secundum id quod est is the material principle. The composite of these two elements is the esse that is distinguished from essence. God is its efficient cause. He can effect it either in union with or in separation from essence. In the first case the result is the act of an individual being; in the latter, the act of existing-things-in-general.

Such is Jean Quidort's teaching concerning the esse of creatures. Against the attacks of William de la Mare, he had been an ardent defender of St. Thomas. But here, in philosophy's basic quest, he departs far from the Angelic Doctor. To be sure, he insists with St. Thomas upon the real distinction between esse and essence in created beings, but how far removed is his quidditative esse

\textsuperscript{20} Fol. 81v.  
\textsuperscript{21} Quod. I, 7; Ms Paris, B.N. lat. 14572, fol. 3r.
from that act of existing so magnificently described by Aquinas; from the actuality of every act; from the perfection of every perfection!\textsuperscript{33}

\textit{De Potentia} VII, 2, ad 9: Hoc quod dico esse est inter omnia perfectissimum: quod ex hoc patet quia actus est semper perfectior potentia. Quaelibet autem forma signata non intelligitur in actu nisi per hoc quod esse ponitur. Nam humanitas vel igneitas potest considerari ut in potentia materiae existens, vel ut in virtute agentis, aut etiam in intellectu: sed hoc quod dico esse est actualitas omnium actuum, et propter hoc est perfectio omnium perfectionum.
Concerning the Accessibility of Arabic Influences to the Earliest Provençal Troubadours.*

A. J. DENOMY C.S.B.

I

In the south of France, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, are found altars, circular and rectangular, with moulded, raised borders which give the appearance of basins. One such is found at Capestang, executed in the reign of Charles the Simple, i.e. at the extreme end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, two in the Church of Notre Dame at Quarante consecrated in 982, one at the Cathedral of Rodez done during the bishopric of Deusdedit (961-1004) and at the Cathedral of Gerona consecrated in 1038. Others are of the eleventh century and are located at St. Sernin at Toulouse and at St. Pierre le Vieux at Cluny. These altars are related in material, form and in type of ornamentation. Paul Deschamps has shown that the marble from which they are constructed was quarried in the Department of Herault, possibly at Arles-sur-Tech and Béat, both Cluniac estates, or more likely at Saint-Pons-de-Thomière, another Cluniac centre which provided the white grey-veined material. He is inclined to locate the workshop from which these altars emerged within the Cluniac monastery itself.

What is of interest in these altars is the ornamentation more or less common to them. Between the edge and hollow runs a band on which are sculptured semi-circular lobes opening in towards the centre of the table, framing the basin-like centre. On the bands and between them and the basin about the lobes are motifs that are similar in character: horseshoe arcs, delicate flower-work and lozenges. In the opinion of Deschamps these witness a style of art that shows remarkable relationship to Spanish Moorish sculpture. There are, for example, numerous analogies between these motifs and the decoration of leaves on capitals and archstones of various monuments of Muslim art in Spain of the same period. Puig y Cadalfalch points out no less striking analogies between these altar decorations and those of the Beatus manuscripts, especially that of Ashburnham done in 926 at the monastery of Saint-Michel d'Escalada. The inference is that the same workshop was responsible for the production of these altars and that sculptors made use of themes of Arabic origin transmitted to them by a Mozarabic manuscript for their ornamentation. The inference is

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6 Raymond Rey links the technique employed in the formation of these altars to some of the oldest sculptures preserved in Saint-Sernin at Toulouse (consecrated 1096) and in the cloister of Moissac (before 1100). It is his opinion that the same marble-workers were responsible for the altar and the seven panels preserved in the deambulatory at Saint Sernin. Cf. L’Art roman et ses origines (Paris, 1945), pp. 399-71 and op. cit., p. 26.
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too that these altars, scattered over a region comprised within Toulouse, Montpellier and Gerona, were the product of Cluniac artists and artisans or were directed by them. We know the name of one of these artists; it is Bernard Gilduir. His name appears on the altar table at St. Sernin at Toulouse consecrated in 1086 by Urban II. And that is not a Muslim name. In miniature this is a picture of what was transpiring in art and architecture in the south of France before and at the time of the earliest troubadours: the infiltration of Spanish Moorish influence. It was a process that was to continue and to reach its zenith during the twelfth century and to spread from the west and south into the north of France. The effect of that infiltration was not great but it is unmistakable: a number of themes drawn from miniatures, ivories and coffrets and translated onto statues, capitals and tympana; a few picturesque architectural motifs brought from Muslim Spain to ornament the relatively simpler and more severe details of churches and monasteries: the horseshoe and trefoiled arch, polylobed arcs, cornices with rolled undersides, alternate and polychromed key arches, framed portals and ornamented tympana. Lambert has shown the contribution made by the ribbed cupola, ultimately derived from the Great Mosque at Cordova and seen in churches in Spain, towards the rise of the pointed arch in the Romanesque architecture of Southern France.

Within the limits of time allowed for this paper, the instances of definite Muslim influence on the art and architecture of Southern France must be few and selective. They will be confined to the late eleventh and to the early decades of the twelfth century because it is within that period that lies the formation of the idea of Courtly Love and the poetic activity of the earliest troubadours: Guillaume IX, Corcamon, Marcabru, Bernard de Ventadour and so on. Dating French and Spanish monuments of this period is a hazardous undertaking even for the expert and I am well aware of the lack of unanimity that exists between the archeologists who have been called—somewhat ironically—the proponents of French orthodoxy and those historians of art who have attempted to overthrow their established chronology. Hence, in illustrating briefly the fact that there are monuments in Southern France that betray Arabic influence before and at the time of the earliest troubadours, I shall select only those churches and monasteries the dates of which are a matter of general agreement or whose dates have been assigned by competent authority and as such generally accepted.

At Cluny, in the triforium of the surviving transept of the abbatial church (begun in 1088, consecrated in 1095 and completed in 1112), each of the circular arches is edged with a series of touching semi-circles which form a scallop about the arch itself. Such semi-circular lobes edging arch or window are a Muslim motif prominent in their great Mosques. The arches of the triforium at Charté-sur-Loire (consecrated in 1107) are decorated on the same principle except that they are polylobed, that is the little semi-circles are no longer sculptured in the stone about the arch but are component parts of the arch itself; the arches are made of these touching semi-circles rather than decorated by them. At Moissac, a Cluniac monastery, the portal of the church is polylobed and the sculptured figures on each side of the porch are set under trefoiled arches.

8 Henri Terrasse enumerates and groups conveniently the Hispano-Moorish motifs which appear in the art and architecture of southern France; L'Art hispano-mauresque des origines au XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1932), pp. 438-49.
8 Emile Mâle, Art et artistes, p. 48.
8 Emile Mâle, Art et artistes, p. 85.
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The great door of Cluny, as reconstructed from fragments (ca. 1115) was semi-circular in shape and enclosed within a rectangular frame. It was set after the fashion of an Arab arrabba with a line of arcading about it, joined to it by a frieze of sculptured roundels. As in Muslim monuments, especially at Cordova, the horizontal band of the frame formed an exact tangent to the door itself.

At Vézelay, the south side and nave vaults were begun in 1089. Their cross arches are emphasized by alternating blocks of brown and white local stone. These give a particoloured decoration the model of which is to be sought in Muslim buildings. The oriental effect is heightened by the use of tie rods.

In the cloister of Moissac is an inscription that shows that it was in construction in 1100 and that the pier sculptures were executed in that year. On the abacus of a pillar and framing its ornamentation is an inscription in soufic characters, awkwardly carved by an artist ignorant of their meaning. Their presence argues an artist who had been in contact with the Muslim world. That contact is heightened by the capitals with their sharply etched lace-like net work and palm leaves that recall Andalusian ivories. Similar decoration of capitals inspired by Moorish design are found at St. Guilhem-le-Desert whose choir dates from 1076.

The old Romanesque basilica of Saint Front at Périgueux was consecrated in 1047, completed in 1077 and restored after a fire in 1120. Before its restoration, in the steeple below the cornices were peculiarly formed modillions some of which are still preserved in the local Museum. They are brackets or corbels that received the secondary thrust of pillars descending from the cornices. In profile they have the appearance of superimposed and rolled leaves; from the front they look like horizontal flute-like cylindrical scrolls. They are perhaps one of the most striking features of Muslim architecture common in Arabic and Mozarabic buildings. At St. Sernin at Toulouse, these modillions are decorated with animal and human figures. Such modillions are prominent in the apse of Notre Dame du Port at Clermont where they support the cornices of the apse and chapel. This church, characterized by trefoiled arches in the tribunes of the nave and by a series of little cupolas in the form of eight-petalled flowers between the modillions and the cornices that recall those in the chapel of the mihrab at Cordova, was still in the process of building in 1185. Emile Mâle is of the opinion, based on the findings of excavations, that the present church is but a copy of the old cathedral before which Urban II preached the Crusades and that this imitation of Muslim art and architecture characterized the original building of the eleventh century.

Most of these themes and motifs of Moorish origin appear in the cathedral of Le Puy. The relationship between Le Puy and Muslim Spain was a close and continuous one beginning with the mid-tenth century. In recent years a heap of Arabian coins was discovered there among which was a French coin struck in the tenth century and pierced through as though to be hung as an ornament in the necklace of a Muslim woman. Emile Mâle points to a statement made by a Dominican to an unnamed Archbishop of Lyons and recorded

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by Vincent of Beauvais to the effect that the Saracens were wont to come from
the West to lay their offerings at the feet of Our Lady of Puy that she might
preserve them from thunderbolts and from storms.27

At Le Puy are a group of buildings that evidence this close relationship: the
Cathedral with its polychrome façade, horseshoe arches, modillions with rolled
undersides, its portals of sculptured wooden doors bordered with an inscription
in soufïc characters, its transept in white and black and its cloister with key-
stone arches in alternate white and black stone; the Temple of Diana, originally
the chapel of the old hospital, with its polylobed arches; the chapel of Saint-
Michel d'Aiguilhe with its trefoiled arches.28 It is true that the steeple and the
façade of the Cathedral, the cloister except for the southern galley, the portal
and the steeple of the chapel are of the mid- and late twelfth century. In his
monumental study, Ahmad Fikry is inclined to view the artistic details of this
homogenous group not as a superficially superimposed assemblage of motifs
borrowed from Spain and distributed here and there, but as the considered
result of a mature plan and spirit. For him that plan and spirit were initiated
by Peter II, bishop of Le Puy (1050-73), on his return from Compostella in
1063. The man who put that plan into practice was an architect, possibly a fellow
pilgrim of the bishop, a master of the art of his own native province and open
to suggestions and sensitive to lessons to be derived from distant models.29

These are a few instances of certain Muslim influence on the art and archi-
tecture of Southern France before and at the time of the earliest troubadours.
Emile Mâle has said of these motifs and themes: ce ne sont, on le voit, que
quelques ornements.30 Even these few details are unmistakable evidence of the
force and fecundity of Moorish influence and of the intimate and fruitful contact
between Muslim Spain and Christian France in the realm of art and architec-
ture at the end of the eleventh and at the beginning of the twelfth century.

These contacts were made by Crusader, by Cluny and by the Pilgrimage of
St. James of Compostella. Organized crusades from France into Spain began
as early as 1018 and until 1120, roughly the period that concerns us, some twenty
such expeditions were undertaken by French chivalry. During that time
thousands of armed men crossed the Pyrenees to protect the precarious interests
of Northern Spain and to effect the expulsion of the Moors. It was with the aid
of French knights and their men-at-arms that the Reconquest attained its
first successes and that Toledo was recaptured in 1085. As Spanish Islam began
to yield and its frontiers to recede, Andalusia and the greater part of Castile
became largely Christian. By the late eleventh century, a part of France was put
in definite contact with the north of Spain, the domain of Hispano-Moorish art.31

From the last quarter of the eleventh century, it was Cluny and its order which
was the soul of these Crusades and assured them of continuity and organization.32
The work of the Cluniac monks was of paramount importance in the reorganiza-
tion of the Church in reconquered territory. From Cluny and Cluniac monas-
teries, during the abbacies of Odilon and Hugh, at the invitation of Ferdinand I
(1035-65) and his successor Alfonso VI, monks came to rebuild and establish

27 Speculum morale, chapter entitled De sacrilegio locali, pointed out by Mâle, ibid.,
pp. 64-5.
28 Emile Mâle, Art et artistes, pp. 63. Cf. Ahmad Fikry, L'Art roman du Puy et les
influences islamiques (Paris, 1934), where these monuments and their debt to Moorish
influence are studied in minute detail.
29 Ahmad Fikry, op. cit., pp. 281-3.
30 Emile Mâle, Art et artistes, p. 88.
31 For a survey of these crusades and their varying fortunes, cf. P. Boissonnade, De Nouveau sur le Chanson de Roland (Paris, 1923),
pp. 3-66. Ramón Menéndez Pidal takes exception to the exaggerated claims made by
Boissonnade and depreciates the importance of these crusades in freeing Spain from the
Arabs and in emancipating Spain from pagan oppression, cf. España del Cid, tr. Harold
Sunderland, The Cid and His Spain (London, 1934), pp. 458-61. A reexamination of
the question is made by Marcelin Defournears, Les Frangais en Espagne aux XI
et XIIe siècles (Paris, 1949), ch. I, 'Les Croisades d'Espagne. La France et la recon-
32 Cf. Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 11; Defournears, op. cit., p. 159 ff. [ 150 ]
monasteries, to reform a clergy that had fallen low in sanctity, discipline and letters, to found dependent priories of their own that grew rapidly in power and influence.\textsuperscript{34} Through the churches and abbeys they constructed they contributed to the propagation of Romanesque art and architecture and enriched them with motifs borrowed from Spanish Christian and Muslim art and architecture. They were the channels through which such motifs were brought back to be adapted to their own projects in their own land.\textsuperscript{34}

Simultaneously with the Crusades and as early, if not earlier, there was yet another movement into Northern Spain and back again. Every year thousands of pilgrims made their way along the southern roads to reach their goal, St. James of Compostella. The zenith of the popularity of this pilgrimage was the early years of the twelfth century which saw the elevation of Compostella to the dignity of a metropolitan see rivalling Toledo, and the culmination of the work of Diego Gelmirez its archbishop, seconded by Cluny, to make St. James universally recognized as a centre of pilgrimage rivalling Rome, Jerusalem and Ephesus.\textsuperscript{33} Even before its Golden Age, for a century and a half, Compostella had exerted its attraction to pilgrims. As early as the mid-tenth century, the first pilgrims had crossed the Pyrenees into Galicia. As the Moors were pushed back, the popularity of the Pilgrimage grew under the agency and instrumentality of Cluny. Charters and chronicles preserve the names of famous men, lay and ecclesiastic, who journeyed there in the tenth and eleventh centuries.\textsuperscript{33} By the time of Ferdinand I (1033-65) the Pilgrimage was well established.

Walking along the single road, the camino frances, that leads from Jaca and Puerta la Reina to end at Compostella, the Christian pilgrim and traveller encountered the Mozarabs and their churches and monasteries.\textsuperscript{37} They would see there evidence of Arabic art and architecture. One has only to place the map of that road over a map of Northern Spain marked with localities of Mozarabic interest to be aware of it.\textsuperscript{35} The Mozarabs were Spanish Christians who after the conquest of Spain by the Mohammedans, lived in intimate contact with their conquerors, began to assimilate their manner of life, their language, their customs and culture, a process which continued in varying degree until the Reconquest and the expulsion of the Arabs. Their art and architecture adapted certain Moorish features to their traditional art and architecture.\textsuperscript{39} The results are marked by certain features that have come to be accepted as elements of their style: the modillion with 'rolled' underside, semi-circular and trefoiled arches, polylobed arcs, just the features that have been enumerated in Southern France. Muslim influence too pervaded the appurtenances of worship: crucifixes, candelabras, ivories and manuscripts.\textsuperscript{40}

These were some of the memories added to those of Toledo and Cordova that the pilgrim and traveller, the knight and monk, the noble and the artisan, the poet and artist brought back to France on their return. Pilgrims and travellers do not journey but one way; they return to their homes and bring back with


\textsuperscript{35} Cf. Joan Evans, The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny pp. 150-1. For a list of Cluniac houses in Spain of this period, cf. ibid., pp. 46-7. For a list of Cluniac houses a-building in France at the time of Abbot Hugh, cf. Joan Evans, Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{36} Cf. Defourneaux, op. cit., pp. 69-79.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., pp. 85-7.

\textsuperscript{38} On the Mozarabs and their history, cf. Francesco Javier Simonet, Historia de los Mozárabes de España (Madrid, 1903). In Andalusia, the Mozarabs were allowed freedom of religion on condition of their recognition of Muslim authority and the payment of a small annual poll-tax, op. cit., chs. III and IV.

\textsuperscript{39} Cf. the map made by M. Gómez-Moreno, Iglesias mozárabes (Madrid, 1919), pp. 396-7. Cf. also J. Puig y Cadafalch, Le Premier art roman, pp. 35-6.

them the memories of novel ideas they have heard and novel things they have seen. The work of Male, Kingsley Porter has shown that these memories of Moorish and Mozarabic art and architecture were not distributed haphazardly but spread through the south of France along the four great pilgrimage routes that traversed it and which have been described by the Guide des pèlerins, the first tourist guide-book known to history. In the West and South of France, motifs inspired by Muslim art and architecture are encountered along three great roads: from Le Puy through Conques to Moissac; from Vézelay to Limoges and Périgueux; from Orleans to Bordeaux through Tours, Poitiers and Saintes. These three roads met at Ostabat and crossed the Pyrenees by the Pass of Roncaveaux. In the East, there was but one road, that from Arles to Toulouse which crossed the mountains at Somport. From along these roads these elements of Moorish art and architecture spread quickly through Limousin, through Auvergne and into the North of France especially under the agency of Cluny.

It is along these four roads that lead through Southern France to join the camino francés that leads to Compostella that are found certain large churches that have come to be known as the Pilgrimage type, similar as they are to each other in size, conception and construction: St. Martin of Tours, St. Martial of Limoges, both of which have disappeared, St. Foy of Conques and St. Sernin of Toulouse. These churches have in common a number of architectural traits, functional in character for they were destined as stopping places on the route to Compostella and as pilgrimage spots in their own right in virtue of their possession of precious relics. In Compostella itself is the great Basilica of St. James which presents analogus architectural charcteristics and which reproduces these pilgrimage churches almost detail for detail. Whereas churches of this type were relatively numerous in France, St. James is unique among the churches on the Spanish part of the road. The connection between St. James of Compostella and these pilgrimage churches has been a matter of sharp dispute among archaeologists. The traditional teaching has been that St. Martin of Tours, St. Sernin of Toulouse are prior to St. James and served it as models, and that Toulouse was the generating center of Romanesque sculpture. The researches and studies of Kingsley Porter and Manuel Gómez-Moreno, on the other hand, lead to quite different conclusions: St. James is not a weak imitation of French models erected on Spanish soil; it is a new and original creation, far in advance of its age, a new development of a type derived from France and perhaps from northern Auvergne. Their conclusion is that St. James was the model from which, directly or indirectly, was derived the majority of the great Romanesque churches of the twelfth century.

The difference in opinion is largely a matter of chronology and interpretation of documents. The difficulty of an absolute solution rests on the fact that St. 

43 Emile Mâle, L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France, pp. 299-300.
45 Compostella was the model from which, directly or indirectly, was derived the majority of the great Romanesque churches of the XII century, Romanesque Sculpture I, p. 194; Although so widely separated graphically from its model, St. Sernin reproduces the architecture of Santiago detail for detail with the most amazing exactitude, ibid., p. 172. In a review of Mâle's Art religieux, Kingsley Porter reiterated his position that 'the type of church which became distinctive of the pilgrimage centers was created in Spain at Santiago,' Spain or Toulouse? and Other Questions,' Art Bulletin, VII (1924), 12.
46 Paul Deschamps upholds the orthodox position against Kingsley Porter, 'Notes sur la sculpture romane en Languedoc et dans le Nord de l’Espagne,' Bulletin monumental, LXXXII (1923), 318 ff. Georges Gaillard attacked Kingsley Porter's and Gómez-Moreno's position in 'Commencements de l’art roman en Espagne,' Bulletin hispanique, XXXVII (1935), 294 ff. His conclusion is that 'il faudra bien reconnaître, en fin de
Martial of Limoges, St. Foy of Conques, St. Sernin of Toulouse are almost contemporaneous with St. James of Compostella, all built between 1080-1130.*

During the fifty years that elapsed between the undertaking and the completion of these monuments, there was ample time for an interchange of influences in both directions. That reciprocal influence in art and architecture between the South of France and Muslim Spain was effected during the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century through two agencies: the pilgrims and the pilgrimage on the one hand, and the Cluniac monks who were mainly instrumental in organizing and popularizing it on the other. As Gaillard has said: "Sans les pèlerinages l'art roman ne serait pas sans doute ce qu'il est et n'aurait pas, en tout cas, l'extension qu'il a."

II.

Some years ago, 1945 to be exact, a theory was advanced that would explain the origin of the troubadour conception of fin’ Amors, the characteristic of Courtly Love. This was a singular conception of love completely foreign to the religious, moral and cultural atmosphere in which it first appeared, a type of sexual love that remained wholly a love of desire to be fanned, inflamed and intensified by every physical solace short of intercourse, but which was, nevertheless, the font and origin of natural worth and virtue. Such a concept was a specialized one, alien to human nature, to the thought and letters of Western Europe prior to its appearance in the lyrics of the first troubadours. It was pointed out, at the time, that were a theory of human love similar to that of the troubadours to be found, were such a conception prior to theirs and accessible to them, then it was a fair assumption and inference that some sort of relationship must exist between the teaching of the troubadours and the prior doctrine.

Now there does exist in Avicenna’s mystical writings and especially in his Treatise on Love a doctrine of human love that coincides in every particular with the fin’ Amors of the troubadours. This tract forms a part of Al-Icharat wal tanbihat, the last in date of his writings, his philosophical will and testament as it were, the systematic and explicit exposition of his theory of the spiritual life. There, as in the lyrics of the troubadours, it is taught that pure love consists in the union of heart and mind of lovers rather than of their bodies, that desire for intercourse arises from the animal nature of man and is to be eschewed as gross and impure. Like theirs, the troubadours pure love allows tender signs of mutual affection, the use of the senses of sight and touch, as effecting an ever closer and more intimate union of heart and mind; like theirs, pure love is the source of nobility, progress in virtue and refinement; like theirs, pure love is amoral in the sense that it is divorced from religious and legal grounds; like theirs, the morality of love lies in its furtherance or detraction of man in worth and nobility of character; like theirs, the pursuit of pure love is incumbent on every man who is wise, noble and learned.

This doctrine of pure love, so similar to that of the troubadours, was available to them soon after 1037, the date of Avicenna’s death. Thus a teaching of pure love that was novel in the history of Arabian mysticism is prior in chronology to the lyrics of the earliest troubadours that embody a conception of love novel in Western letters. Whether it was accessible to the troubadours, whether it...
did reach them directly or indirectly, is quite another question, and it is just on the question of accessibility that hinges for a great many the acceptance or non-acceptance of that theory of origins. Those who are loath to accept it demand evidence of direct contact between the troubadours and Arabian philosophy and mysticism, with Avicenna and his treatises. Some demand a manuscript tradition, a tradition that is not forthcoming. The whole of Avicenna's work was unknown in the West until Dominicus Gundissalinus working with John of Seville under the patronage of Raymond I, Archbishop of Toledo (1126-51), introduced his works in translation to the Western world. Even among the philosophical works then translated, there is no mention of his Treatise on Love and there is no trace of Latin manuscripts of it. It lies in the realm of possibility but hardly of probability that Latin documents of the nature to satisfy will ever be unearthed.

It is perhaps not unfair to demand that positive proof be adduced before such a theory of dependence be accepted. On the other hand, the absence of tangible evidence of transmission should not invalidate the evident dependence of the characteristic of Courtly Love on Muslim mystical thought and teaching. It does devolve, however, on those who hold the theory of the Arabic origins of Courtly Love to pierce the Iron Curtain of the Pyrenees that hangs as an apparently impenetrable barrier in matters literary before manuscript evidence precludes any doubt of Arabic influence. They must bridge the chasm, so to speak, that lies between Muslim Spain and the South of France of the earliest troubadours with planks formed of evidence of palpable influence of Arabian thought and ideas upon the lyrics of the troubadours.

One of the most evident of these planks is the notion of Jovens to which the troubadours ascribed a technical meaning quite foreign to the literal and etymological meaning. They represented Jovens first as an active principle engendering out of Amors, the font and origin of virtue and worth, the sum total of virtues comprised under proeza. Jovens was equated to purity in love, as conceived by the troubadours, and with liberality. It was destroyed by false love or lust and by avarice and lack of largesse. Secondly, they conceived of Jovens as an association or brotherhood of those who were endowed with or who pursued the quality of Jovens, those who practiced pure love, liberality and who eschewed false, impure love and niggardliness.

It is obvious that the Latin etymons cannot supply the meanings, abstract and concrete, of Jovens as used by the troubadours. This is to be found in Arabic in the meaning of futuwwa as used by the Muslim mystics, the Sufi, and by Avicenna exactly in the chapter of his Treatise on Love dealing with his conception of the nature of pure love. From the tenth century to the twelfth there existed among the Arabs an ethical ideal they called futuwwa, the basic meaning of which was youth (fata). It was a Sufi ideal which had its genesis in the pre-Islamic fata of Old Arabia. Sufism assimilated the virtues of the latter—excessive liberality, unreserved surety for anyone bound to him by family or legal tie, virile bravery—to its own basic virtue of altrusism. Thereby it created an ideal of its own whose constituent elements were a lofty sense of honor, unbreakable fidelity, excessive hospitality and purity of life. Moreover, Sufism transformed the Fityan clubs of the old cultural centers of Arabia into Futuwwa corporations which made the ideal of futuwwa their own.


52 Alex. J. Denomy, 'Jovens: the Notion of Youth among the Troubadours, its Meaning and Source,' Mediaeval Studies, XI (1949), 1-22.

53 Tr. Fackenheim, Mediaeval Studies VII, 211 and 218; Cf. 'Jovens: the Notion of Youth among the Troubadours,' p. 14.
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The two concepts, the Islamic futuwwa and the troubadour Jovens, in both the abstract and concrete sense, are practically identical in every detail, so much so that it is possible to substitute the Arabian futuwwa for the Provençal Jovens and arrive at the identical meaning the troubadours intended to convey. Among the troubadours, Jovens is a specialized concept in the sense that it has nothing to do with the idea conveyed etymologically. That concept of Jovens was extant previously to them in the futuwwa ideal of the Arabs. It could have come to them only from Muslim sources.

Courtly love is wholly unconcerned with Christian morality and in that sense it is neither moral or immoral; it is amoral, that is completely divorced from the Christian concept of the morality of sexual love. No Christian teaching could ever give rise to the troubadour conception of sexual love; paganism, while recognizing the delights of sensual desire and indulgence, did not recognize the dogma that carnal desires, fanned by sensual delights, ennobled man. The conception that such love ennobles is to be found in Arabian philosophy and in the mystical writings of Avicenna.54

Before Avicenna, Muslim mysticism had distinguished sharply between the animal and rational souls of man. Love of external beauty, the love of man for woman for example, had remained an activity of the lower animal soul, an obstacle and impediment to the soul’s ascent to the divine, spiritual beauty. It was to be suppressed and mortified. Avicenna was the first among Muslim mystics to assign to the animal soul of man a contributory share, a role of partnership in this ascent, whereby sexual love served as an aid in approaching spiritual beauty. Desire for union with external beauty, with the beloved, therefore, is more than a yearning for voluptuous pleasure; it becomes a means of furthering the rational soul along its journey to the Supreme Good. The conditions demanded in this alliance of the lower and rational souls are the submission of the former to the latter on the one hand, and the domination of the rational soul over the animal soul on the other.

For Avicenna, then, the morality of human love rests entirely on the free exercise of the rational soul whereby man is furthered along towards union with the absolute Good. That love is pure, a source of nobility and progress in virtue, which brings man nearer to the source of all virtue. That love is impure and a vice which harms the rational soul and impairs its exercise because of the domination over it of the animal soul and its desires. Among the Arabs, corporal, carnal pleasure in this life is taught by religious law and revealed by Mohammed. Therefore, the pleasures that arise from kissing and embracing, from the use of the senses of sight and touch are quite legitimate on religious and legal grounds, the more so since they are instruments that tend to effect an ever closer union of heart and soul in which pure love consists. Those actions, therefore, are not blameworthy unless they lead to actions and feelings that belong to the animal soul alone.

For Avicenna and the Muslim mystic, as for the troubadour, the morality of sexual love rests not on religious and legal grounds but just on whether it tends to ennable man or to degrade him, whether it tends to make him increase in merit and worth or to reduce him to the level of the animal. For Avicenna and the Muslim mystic as for the troubadours, that love is pure and true, the source of nobility and progress in virtue which is based on the freedom of the rational soul of man from solely carnal, ephemeral delights. That love is impure and false which is grounded on the subjection of man’s heart and mind to sensual,.

fleeting indulgence. For the troubadours there was to be found in Avicenna and Muslim mysticism a norm of morality that they made for their own, a norm unavailable and unknown elsewhere.

For the Christian, the morality of sexual love rests on his status as a supernatural creature with a supernatural end. Whatever therefore in that love tends to avert him from that end which is eternal beatitude in the contemplation of God is immoral; whatever in that love tends to further him towards that end is moral and good. For the courtly lover, the morality of sexual love rests on his status as a rational creature with a natural end. Whatever tends to avert him from that end which is progress towards natural worth and virtue is immoral; whatever tends to further him towards that end is moral and good. The chasm that lies between Courtly Love and the Christian morality of sexual love is immediately apparent. No Christian teaching could ever give rise to such a conception of sexual love with all its implicit sensual desires and delights as the source of natural good and virtue. Not even perverted and bad Christians could fail to recognize its sinfulness even though they practiced it. How, then, could men as troubadours conceive of love as the source of good which as Christians they knew to be sinful and immoral?

The only reasonable basis for the acceptance of Courtly Love with all its implications while remaining Christians is the doctrine of the so-called ‘double-truth,’ itself a product of the conflict between philosophy and theology among the Arabian philosophers. The doctrine of the double truth is simply the expression of the factual divorce of Revelation from reason. It holds that reason is independent of faith, that philosophical truth is quite other than religious truth, and that there is no contradiction between them provided they be kept separate. Man can be regarded on the one hand as a rational, natural creature subject only to the laws of nature and the conclusions of reason; on the other hand, he is a supernatural child of God by grace with a supernatural end and subject to divine authority. Therefore the philosopher can and does speak otherwise than as a Christian; he accepts as necessary the results of philosophic speculation but as a Christian he believes as true what Revelation teaches. That doctrine is heretical and its adherents, the Latin Averroists, were condemned at Paris in 1277 on the grounds that they held ‘those things may be true according to philosophy but not according to faith just as if there were two contradictory truths’. It is significant that the De Amore libri tres of Andreas Capellanus, the text-book of Courtly Love, was condemned at the same time and on exactly the same ground.

We know whence the Latin Averroists derived their characteristic doctrine. It was the result of the introduction into the Latin world of the works of Aristotle as commented upon by Averroes about the year 1230. But the De Amore which teaches the same separatism in the sphere of the morality of human love was written some forty or fifty years before the advent of these commentaries and the troubadours were writing their lyrics which maintained the same norm of morality as did Andreas a century or more before. Identity of effect argues identity of cause. The troubadours and Andreas Capellanus must have been acquainted with the attitude of mind engendered among the Arabian philosophers when confronted with the problem of how to think as philosophers and how to believe as followers of Mahomet. The teaching of Averroes is but the definitive form of an attitude common to Arabian philosophers in regard to theology that had existed from the very beginning of Islam: the cleavage between its theology and philosophy. It has been implicit in the attitude of certain philosophers, predecessors of Averroes. In much the same

\[\text{Cf. The Heresy of Courtly Love, pp. 32 ff.}\]
\[\text{Cf. ibid., pp. 39–47.}\]
\[\text{Alex J. Denomy, ‘The De Amore of Andreas Capellanus and the Condemnation of}\]
\[\text{1277,’ Mediaeval Studies, X (1948), 107–49.}\]
\[\text{Cf. The Heresy of Courtly Love, pp. 47–9.}\]
\[\text{Cf. also M. M. Anawati, ‘Un cas typique d’ esotérisme avicennien,’ La Revue du Caire,}\]
fashion as Averroes, his predecessors had looked upon Aristotle and Plato as philosophy itself, productive of absolute truth to be accepted as necessary in the face of the revelations they held to be true. Thus if the teaching of these predecessors, among whom was Avicenna, was to reach the Christian Latin world of the time of the troubadours and later on of Andreas, the same effects on their way of thinking would be as evident as Averroes was upon the later Latin world. There is no evidence save in the attitude of the troubadours towards Courty Love and the De Amore of Andreas. There the effects of such an attitude are as visible as they were later on in Latin Averroism. Only thus could the troubadours have conceived on rational grounds and in the face of the tenets of their faith of a doctrine that sexual love is the font of virtue and the beatitude of this life. Only thus could they maintain a heresy that taught that a thing might be necessary according to faith, that sexual love with its licit, approved carnal delights might be the origin of good and worth according to the necessary conclusions of natural reason, but sinful and evil according to the laws of God and His Church.

III.

On the formal side as opposed to the contents of their poetry, Ribera had pointed out in 1912 that Guillaume IX's post-Crusade poems were very similar in structure to popular Arabian poetry developed in Spain at the beginning of the tenth century. A. R. Nykl and O. J. Tuulio have brought technical proof to bear in the face of the opposition of Rodrigues Lapa and the less violent of Appel and Jeanroy that Guillaume and Marcabru, who had both been to Spain, could have and actually did imitate the melody and rhyme of the Andalusian zagal and muwassaha. Ramón Menéndez Pidal has shown fairly conclusively that the coincidence of the metrical forms of the popular Arabian types and the lyrics of the first troubadours is not a fortuitous one but a result of the deliberate adaptation of Andalusian models. One can say in safety that even if the similarity of the two be not established in a way absolutely convincing to all that there is at the very least a parentage there that cannot be explained by classical and mediaeval Latin verse form and that can be demonstrated satisfactorily as having its origin in prior Arabian verse.

Those who are loath to recognize these influences and to accept the theory of Arabic origins of Courtly Love view as too general to be satisfying the various channels by which Avicenna's doctrine and associated Arabic traditions might have reached the earliest troubadours: pilgrimage roads and crusade routes, communications established by the Cluniacs, Christianized Arabs etc.,

XXVII (1951), Milienaire d' Avicenne, 68-94.
24 Jullán Ribera y Tarragó, 'El Cancionero de Aben Guzman,' Discurso leído en la real Academia española, 1912, reprinted in Disertaciones y opusclos (Madrid, 1928), pp. 3 ff., especially pp. 68 ff. Cf. also La Musica de la Cantiga (Madrid, 1922), pp. 71 ff. A. R. Nykl has pointed out that Ribera gave new impulse to the attention called by von Hammer-Purgstall, Fauriel, Amari and von Schack to the strophic similarities between the muwashshaha and zagal and troubadour poetry, Speculum, XXVI (1951), 184.
22 Rodrigues Lapa, Das Origens de la poesie lyrique em Portugal (Lisbon, 1929), pp. 33-40, and Licoes de literatura portuguesa; época medieval (Lisbon, 1934), pp. 28-34.
so well enumerated and described by Heyd, Nykl and Asín Palacios. But it was just by these same routes that Arabian sculpture and art travelled to the South of France to influence there the art and architecture of the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Emile Bertaux had concluded: “Pour la sculpture romane, il n’y a pas d’Pyrenées.” The road open to architects, to artists and to sculptors was not closed to poets, to men of letters. The channels by which artistic forms and motifs reached southern France to be etched and molded and incorporated in monasteries, churches and abbeys were not closed to the literary and philosophical influences embodied in the content and form of the lyrics of the troubadours.

Historians of art and architecture are concerned about the channels through which Arabian art and architecture reached the south of France. Their concern does not invalidate its existence in the monuments they study. They are in agreement on the existence of specific Islamic motifs and themes in Southern France of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries if not on their extent. For them it is a question of just how little or how great Arabian influence was. There are specific instances of Arabian influence in the form and content of the lyrics of the troubadours. The historians of literature should be concerned how they got there but our concern should not invalidate the existence of these influences. How they got there is of secondary and relative importance. What is of primary importance is that these influences are written in the verse of the troubadours just as surely as the Islamic motifs and themes are written in stone in the monuments of southern France at the very time and before the activity of the troubadours. To rephrase Gaillard: “Without Arabian influence, Courtly Love and the troubadour lyric would not be what they are; in any case, they would not have the bent that they have.”

The Similarity Between Certain Questions of Peter of Auvergne’s Commentary on the Metaphysics and the Anonymous Commentary on the Physics Attributed to Siger of Brabant

WILLIAM DUNPHY

In investigating Peter of Auvergne’s doctrine of causality as found in his Quaestiones in Metaphysicam, several of the Questions were found to be similar in both doctrine and literary structure to certain Questions of the anonymous Commentary on the Physics attributed to Siger of Brabant. This latter work has been the subject of part of the historical controversy occasioned by the discovery of Ms Munich Cl 9559. It is not our intention to enter that controversy. However, a study of these doctrinal and literary similarities might be of assistance to those historians seeking to determine definitively the authorship of the anonymous Commentary on the Physics which is contained in Ms Munich Cl 9559.

One important similarity is to be found in a doctrine of the twofold division of efficient causes. The Aristotelian notion of an efficient cause as a principle whence the motion of its effect, failed to account for any production of the being of that effect in the eyes of those philosophers holding a doctrine of creation. Thus, philosophers as Avicenna and St. Thomas Aquinas distinguished between efficient causes which act through motion and those which act without motion, producing the very being of their effects. Peter of Auvergne, while not alone in proposing a twofold division of efficient causes, yet appears to be the first to call explicit attention to the duality. Thus, Peter crystalized the division in a pair of compact formulae, modeled after the Aristotelian formula for a moving cause, namely, an efficient cause which is a principle whence the motion and an efficient cause which is a principle whence the being of its effects (unde principium motus and unde principium esse).

However, these supposedly unique formulae appear in the anonymous Commentary on the Physics, in a context similar to the one in which Peter formulates the division. In each case the question asked is substantially the same, namely, whether there are efficient causes among those beings which are separated from matter and motion. A related question concerning a twofold end corresponding to the twofold efficient cause, while treated

1 Peter of Auvergne, referred to by Tolu-meo of Lucca as fidelissimus discipulus Sancti Thomae, taught in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Paris ca. 1273-1290, and later in the Faculty of Theology from 1296-1302. Named Bishop of Clermont in 1302, he died in 1304. His Commentary on the Metaphysics, like the rest of his numerous Aristotelian commentaries, was written while teaching in the Faculty of Arts. We possess seven manuscripts of the work, which is still unedited except for a few Questions included in doctoral dissertations at the University of Toronto.

2 Siger de Brabant, Questions sur la Physique d’Aristote, ed. Philippe Delhaye, (Louvain, 1941).


5 See Avicenna, Metaphysics VI, 1; ed. Venice, 1508, fol. 91r; St. Thomas, In VI Meta., lect 3, n. 1207; ed. Cathala-Spiazzi, (Turin, 1950).

6 In Book III, Question 3 of his Commentary on the Metaphysics, Peter asks, Utrum in immobilitus sit causa activa; Book II, Question 12 of the Commentary on the Physics asks, Utrum in separatis a materia sit efficacia; ed. cit., p. 98.
separately by Peter of Auvergne, is incorporated into the Question on efficient causes by the anonymous author.

The first two objections in each Question are similar. The first of these stresses the Aristotelian notion of efficient causality, namely that of an originative source of motion. Since there is no motion among immobile and immaterial beings, there is no efficient causality there either:

**Peter of Auvergne**

(ob. 1) *In quibus non inventur motus, nec unde principium motus. Sed in immobiles non inventur motus, ut dicit etiam nomen ‘immobiles’. Ergo in eis non inventur unde principium motus. Sed unde principium motus est causa activa. Quare, etc.*

The second objections in each Question point out the reciprocal relationships between active and passive principles. Where there is no passive principle, correspondingly there is no active principle. Since a passive principle entails mobility and matter, and, therefore, is not to be found among immobile and immaterial beings, there is likewise no active or efficient principle among them:

(ob. 2) *Item, activum dicitur ad passivum relative, et agens ad patiens, ut patet Quinto Metaphysicae. In quibus ergo non reperitur principium passivum, nec activum. Sed in immobiles non reperitur principium passivum, quia tale de se est mobile et subjectum motus. Quare nec in eis erit principium activum.*

There is no third objection in Peter's Question corresponding to that of the Commentary on the Physics. Since Peter treats this matter in a subsequent Question, we shall compare their doctrines following the comparison of the present Questions.

The arguments *in oppositum* or *contra* are not alike, however. While Peter gives two arguments for the presence of efficient causes among immobile beings based on the nature of demonstration, our anonymous author uses an argument which reappears in the body of his Question, namely, that an efficient cause gives being (*esse*). Since some immobile and immaterial beings receive their being (*esse*) from another, they must have an efficient cause.

In both works, the answer to the original query is prefaced by a twofold division of efficient causes, with Avicenna cited as its source:

**Intelligendum, sicut Avicenna dicit, principium efficiens vel causa est**

**Et dicendum secundum Avicennam, quod nomen efficientis duobus modis**

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*The texts of Peter that appear in this article are transcribed from Ms Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 16158 (P), and corrected from Ms Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana Ottobonianus 1145 (O). The reader will have to accept this choice on faith, but it is based on a study and evaluation of all seven extant manuscripts as part of my doctoral dissertation. The above text is to be found in P, fol. 182v; O, fol. 10v.*


*P. fol. 182v; O, fol. 10v.*


*P. fol. 182v; O, fol. 10v.*

*Ed. cit., p. 99.*
illud per quod acquiritur esse alii discrete ab ipso, ita ut agentis, secundum intentionem agentis, non sit recipiens illius esse. In quantum autem est illud per quod acquiritur esse alii, ipsum convenit cum forma, cujus proprium est dare esse. In quantum vero efficiens alius est ab eo cui est causa esse, differt efficiens a forma. Forma enim secundum essentiam non est alius ab eo cujus est forma. Item efficiens acquirit esse non cuicumque, sed discrete ab ipso. Nam idem sibi non est causa in aliquo genere causalitatis. Aliquid autem est principium acquirendi esse alii per motum, sicut contingit in naturalibus, et universalter in transmutationibus. Aliquid etiam principium est acquirendi esse alii per simplicem educationem et emanationem, sicut contingit in immobilibus et immaterialibus. Efficiens vero primo modo dicitum, quod agit mediante motu, dicitur unde principium motus, sed secundo modo dicitur unde principium esse. Primum efficiens usitatur in naturalibus, secundum autem in mathematicis et divinis.

Peter of Auvregne then answers the question in great detail, distinguishing between those beings separate from matter and motion in concept only, i.e., the mathematicals, and those beings separate from matter and motion both in concept and being (esse), i.e., the separate substances. Efficient causes unde principium esse are found in both, while in a sense, efficient causes unde principium motus are found among the separate substances in that they have a power of moving mobile things.

The anonymous author, however, after establishing the twofold division of efficient causes, simply states the answer to the question, namely, that the efficient cause which gives being (esse) is found among immaterial beings. He follows this statement with an explanation of Aristotle’s apparent denial of efficient causality among mobile beings. The efficient cause unde principium motus, while not prior in nature, is yet better known by us, and is primarily signified by the name ‘efficient cause.’ Thus, in denying efficient causality among immaterial beings, Aristotle was referring only to the unde principium motus. On this same point, Peter of Auvergne is content to remark that Aristotle intended that there be no motion among the immobiles since there was no efficient cause in the sense of an unde principium motus, but only as an unde principium esse. However, in the following question, which asks whether there is an end or final cause for immobile beings, Peter makes a similar observation on the way in which we know each type of efficient cause. Since the cause of motion is more manifest to us than the cause of being, we first call ‘agent’ the originative source of motion rather
Intelligendum est ulterius, quod causa agens dicatur duobus modis praedictis. Modus ille, secundum quem dicitur agens ut unde princicpium motus, magis manifestus est nobis; et hoc ideo quia causa motus magis est manifesta quam causa esse. Unde per prius dicitur agens de agente ut est principium motus quam de agente ut est principium esse. Unde et Commentator super Tertio Caeli et Mundi, dicit quod in separatis a materia non invenitur agens nisi secundum transsumptionem. Unde et nomen primo impositum est principio activo motus.

Sed quia efficiens unde principium motus est nobis notius, licet non sit prius, tamen illud primo significatur per nomen, unde et Aristoteles semper definiebat efficiens ipsum quia unde principium motus, quia illud notius est. . . . Propter quod dicit Commentator Super Librum De Caelo et Mundo, quod in separatia a materia non est efficienct, nisi secundum transsumptionem: loquimur enim de efficiente secondum quod ei primo imponitur nomen, et hoc est unde principium motus.

Peter of Auvergne feels that the objections denying efficient causality among immobile beings have been sufficiently answered in his determination of the Question, and remarks only that they are valid as applied to that efficient cause which is an unde principium motus, especially with respect to mathematicalis. The Commentary on the Physics, however, devotes separate answers to the objections, but with the same end result, namely, that while there is no efficient cause unde principium motus among immaterial beings, there is an efficient cause unde principium esse.

The third objection found in the above Question of the Commentary on the Physics states that among those beings in which there is no end, there is also no efficient cause, since every agent acts for an end. But Aristotle says that the good, and, therefore, an end, is not to be found among immobiles. The two-fold division of efficient causes answers this objection. Since, the anonymous author writes, agent and end are proportioned, there is a twofold division of ends corresponding to the division of efficient causes, namely, an end which is the terminus of a change or motion, e.g., a form, and an end which is the terminus of a giving of being, e.g., an operation which is an end of the faculty operating. The same division of ends is found in Peter’s answer to the Question, whether there is an end for immobile beings:

Intelligendum quod finis proportionatur principio activo vel causae agenti. . . . quare secundum quod agens dicitur, sic et finis. Agens autem dupliciter dicitur; quoddam enim est activum esse, et quoddam activum motus. Et ideo similiter dicendum est de fine, quod quidam est finis qui est terminus in esse, et quidam est terminus motus. Et finis primo modo proportionatur agenti unde est unde principium esse.
An instance of both doctrinal and literary similarity appears between Book I, Question 24 of the Commentary on the Physics, and Book VII, Question 19 of the Commentary on the Metaphysics. The anonymous author inquires *Utrum contingat aliquid fieri ex nihilo*. There are three objections presenting a negative answer to the query. The first of these is based on the connotation of the preposition *ex*. Since it points to a material cause or subject, if something were to come-to-be from nothing, then nothing would be the subject or material cause of something, which, the objection adds, is impossible.

The second objection states that to come-to-be is to be-changed. Since every change requires a subject of change, nothing cannot come-to-be or be changed. A third objection also points out the necessity of a subject for everything that comes-to-be.

There are also three objections contained in the Question *Utrum ex non ente simpliciter possit aliquid fieri*, asked by Peter of Auvergne. The first and third of these are substantially the same as, respectively, the third and first objections mentioned above. The second objections in each Question, however, are different. Here are the texts of the two similar arguments:

**Peter of Auvergne**

(Ob. 1) *Illud ex quo fit aliquid per accidens reductur ad aliquid ex quo fit aliquid per se, quia omne per accidens reductur ad per se. Sed ex opposito fit aliquid per accidens. Non enim per se nigrum fit ex non nigrum, quia tunc ipsum maneret in eo. Illud enim ex quo fit aliquid per se est pars ejus quod fit, et manet in eo. Cum ergo ens sit oppositum non enti, ex non ente fit ens solum per accidens. Quare cum omne per accidens reductur ad per se, oporet ponere aliuum a non ente ex quo fiat ipsum ens per se. Istud autem aliuum a non ente non est nisi ens. Quare ex ente fit aliquid per se et non ex non ente.*

(Ob. 3) *Item, illud ex quo fit aliquid est materia illi, quia haec praepospositio ‘ex’ importat habitudinem causae materialis. Si ergo ex non ente fit aliquid ens, non ens esset materia entis. Hoc autem falsum est. Ergo et primum.*

**Commentary on the Physics**

(Ob. 3) *Item, contrarium per se non fit ex contrario; quia illud ex quo fit aliquid debet manere in utroque termino transmutationis, ut dicit Aristoteles; sed contrarium non manet in utroque extremo; quare secundum accidens fit aliquid ex contrario. Sed omne secundum accidens reductur ad per se. Quare in isto subjecto est ponere aliquid ex quo per se fit. Sed hoc non est nisi subjectum. Quare omne quod fit, fit ex subjecto. Quare etc.*

The argument in opposition to these objections is the same in each work. Everything which comes-to-be, comes-to-be from not being that which it comes-to-be, otherwise there would be no need of it coming to be that. If, therefore, something comes-to-be absolutely, it must have come-to-be from absolute non-being:

**Oppositum arguitur: unumquodque fit ex eo quod non est illud quod fit, quia si sit, tunc idem esset et non**

**Contra: omne quod fit, fit ex non ente eo quod fit: aliter enim esset antequam generaretur. Si igitur aliquid**

\[163\]
et esset, fieret et non fieret. Si igitur fit aliquid ens simpliciter, tunc fiet ex eo quod est non ens simpliciter. Quare ex non ente simpliciter contingit aliquid fieri.25

The organization of the body of each Question follows similar lines, with, however, Peter of Auvergne giving a fuller treatment of each point. The answers to the Questions develop from two accepted propositions. The first proposition is that every being whatsoever proceeds from one First Cause. The second is that the First Agent is of infinite power in acting:

Intelligendum quod necessarium est dicere secundum intentionem etiam philosophorum, quod aliquid fiat ex non ente simpliciter. Et hoc quidem manifestum est, si supponamus duo, quae videntur determinata ex praeecedentibus. Quorum primum est quod omnia qualitercumque entia entia procedunt ab uno principio primo. . . . Secundum autem est quod supponendum est, videlicet quod primum sit infinitae virtutis non tantum in movendo . . . sed in agendo et in vigore.27

Starting from the first proposition, let there be given some being which comes-to-be. Now, it comes-to-be either from being or non-being. If from non-being, then something comes-to-be from non-being, which is what we sought to prove. If, however, that being which comes-to-be is said to come-to-be from being, the question is still open. This latter being, since it is other than the First Being, and thus proceeds from it, comes-to-be either from being or non-being. Since it is not fitting to proceed to infinity in a causal series, as Aristotle proves in the second book of his *Metaphysics,*28 we cannot pursue our inquiry through an infinity of beings other than the First, proceeding from other beings. We must arrive at a being which comes-to-be from absolute non-being:

. . . Accipiamus ergo aliquid quod fit. Illud vel fit ex aliquo non ente statim, vel ex ente: si ex non ente, proposi-tum habetur; si autem ex ente, puta ex materia, manifestum est illam materiam non esse primum principium. Materia enim non facit aliquid, sed solum ex ipsa fit aliquid. Et si non est principium primum, manifestum est quod est aliquid ab eo. Si igitur omnia alia a Primo procedunt ab ipso, tunc materia procedit in esse a Primo. Quare aut fit ex ente aut ex non ente: si ex non ente, habetur propositum; si autem ex ente, illud erit contentum a Primo et causatur

Tunc ex primo concludetur pro-positum, quia, accipiamus aliquid ens productum a Primo: aut ergo ex ente, aut non ente. Si ex ente, tunc, cum illud sit aliquid a Primo, erit productum a Primo: aut ergo ex ente, aut ex non ente; et sic semper vel erit procedere in infinitum, quod est inconveniens in causis, ut probatum est *Secundo Metaphysicae*, vel erit stare in aliquo quod productur a Primo ex non ente simpliciter.29
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ab eo. Aut ergo ex ente aut ex non
ente. Si ex ente, fiet eadem quaestio
quae prius, et sic vel procedetur in
infinitum in causis materialibus, quod
improbatum est Secundo hujus, vel
erit ponere quod contingit aliquid
fieri ex non ente simpliciter.\[^{81}\]

The same conclusion may be reached starting from the second of the two
accepted propositions, namely, that the First Agent is of infinite power in acting.
Now, the greater the power of some agent to act, the more remote is the
potency from which it can produce its effect. For example, consider some hot
object warming up something that is cold. The hotter that object is, the colder
the thing can be which it heats. Accordingly, the more some agent has the
power to act, the greater can be the indisposition and opposition of that which it
effects. If, therefore, there is some agent of infinite power, it could produce its
effect from that which is infinitely distant from itself, namely, absolute non-
being:

Item, hoc declaratur ex secundo
supposito. Quanto enim aliquod agens
est majoris virtutis in agendo, tanto
ex remotioni potentia potest effectum
suum producere. Si enim calidum
calefacit frigidum, quanto magis cali-
dum fuerit, tanto magis frigidum
potest calefacere, ita ut secundum
additionem virtutis generativae calidi-
tatis potest fieri additio ad virtutem
remotivam frigidi. Quanto enim agens
fuerit majoris potentiae in agendo,
tanto patiens indispositum et contra-
rarium poterit alterare ad suam
naturam. Si ergo sit aliquod agens
quod est infinitae virtutis, cujus
proportio ad omnem aliam virtutem
nulla est, tunc poterit producere
effectum suum ex eo quod in infinitum
distat ab eo, ex quo aliud agens pro-
ducit effectum suum. Quod autem
sic in infinitum distat, non est nisi
simpliciter non ens. Quare manifestum
est quod ex non ente simpliciter
poterit primum agens aliquod ens
simpliciter producere.\[^{83}\]

Both authors are careful here to point out that such a production of being
from non-being by the First Agent is not a motion or change, for both motion
and change require a pre-existent subject. This production is rather a giving
of being, involving no change or motion, and thus no pre-existent subject,
and was called 'creation' by some philosophers. Note that the twofold division
of efficient causes is again mentioned in the Commentary on the Physics, with
Avicenna cited as its source:

Sed est intelligendum quod ista
\[^{28}\]

Verumtamen talis factio motus non
\[^{23}\]

\[^{23}\] Ed. cit., p. 54.
factio non est transmutatio seu mutatio, quia in omni motu et mutatione oportet aliquid se habere aliter nunc quam prius. Hoc enim dicimus mutari. Sed in tali factione non est aliquid ens quod aliter se habet nunc quam prius, quia nec factum nec faciens nec illud ex quo. Quare ista factio non est motus vel mutatio.

Et hoc declaratur ex alio. In omni motu oportet esse subjectum aliquod. Est enim motus actus entis in potentia secundum quod hujusmodi. Huic autem factioni, quia aliquid fit ex non ente simpliciter, non praesexistit subjectum aliquod, et hujusmodi factio non est transmutatio, sed est absolute productio totius substantiae entis a primo principio cujuslibet entis. Et talem productionem quidam philosophorum creationem nominabant.

The Commentary on the Physics then proceeds to answer the objections, beginning with a discussion of the various ways in which the preposition ex is understood, thereby answering the first objection which had linked ex with material causality. It swiftly disposes of the second and third objections by recalling that the coming-to-be of something from nothing is not a motion or change. Peter of Auvergne, on the other hand, prefaces his answers to the objections with a discussion of the various meanings of the preposition ex, after which he treats the objections at great length. For present purposes, we shall compare only Peter's discussion of the preposition ex, together with his answer to the objection which posed that particular difficulty, and the similar answer given to that objection by the anonymous author:

Tertio est intelligendum quod haec praepositio 'ex' ut patet ex Quinto hujus, aliquando dicit habitudinem causae materialis puta si dicamus quod 'ex aere fit statua', aliquando habitudinem causae efficientis sicut si diceremus quod 'lis fit ex convitio', aliquando vero habitudinem contrarii putam quod 'ex nigro fit album', aliquando etiam habitudinem secundum ordinem ut cum dicimus quod 'ex mane fit meridies.' Cum autem dicitur 'ex non ente aliquid fieri,' ly 'ex' importat ibi ordinem tantum ut sit sensus 'ex non ente fit ens,' idest, aliquid post non esse habet esse vel fit ens. . . .

Ad rationem, cum dicitur primo quod 'ex' denotat habitudinem causae materialis, dicendum quod 'ex aliquo' multipliciter dicitur, ut patet ex Secundo et Quinto Metaphysicæ. Quaedam enim dicuntur fieri ex aliquo sicut ex materia, ut lateres ex luto, quaedam sicut ex efficiente, ut lis ex convitio, et multis aliis modis: quaedam enim dicuntur fieri ex aliquo quia primo aliud, ut dicitmus quod meridies fit ex mane. Et sic sumitur 'ex aliquo' hic, quia aliquid fit ex nihil, non quia ex materia sed quia primo non ens est ens, sine aliqua mutatione.
A further example of similarity between the Commentary on the Physics and the Commentary on the Metaphysics is found where each proves the existence of a first principle. The unmistakable influence on both by the quinque viae of St. Thomas Aquinas is readily apparent. Each uses the substance of the two objections found in the Thomistic article, with their order, however, reversed by Peter. While St. Thomas uses the scriptural text of Exodus iii, 14: Ego sum qui sum, for his argument contra, Peter of Auvergne utilizes the fourth and fifth, and the anonymous author the fourth only of the viae of St. Thomas. Proofs similar to the first three “ways” of the Thomistic text, namely, the proofs from motion, efficient causes, the possible and the necessary, make up the body of each Question. It should be noted, however, that their statements of the proofs and their answers to the objections are treated independently by each author.

There are many other similarities in doctrine which appear in different contexts in the two works under comparison. For example, each work contains an argument of Simplicius to show that each of the heavenly bodies has its own efficient principle of motion besides the Prime Mover who causes this motion as a final cause:

Peter of Auvergne

Dico quod praeter motorem separatum qui movet in ratione finis, est ponere alium motorem qui movet in ratione agentis, quoniam primum movens, qui movet in ratione appetibilis et intelligibilis, non movet nisi in quantum amat et cognitum. Quare oportet aliquid aliud esse amans et intelligans, et per consequens movens, quod quidem movet in ratione amantis et desiderantis. Hoc autem dicitus esse motorem alium a motore separatum. Quare necesse est ponere istos duos motores. Et hanc rationem tangit Simplicius super primum De Caelo.

Commentary on the Physics

Dico quod primus motor duplex est. Quidem enim est qui movet in ratione amati et desiderati, et sic dicimus quod primum movens movet caelum, sicut appareat ex Duodecimo Metaphysicae. Et quia amatum et desideratum non movet nisi quia est aliquid movens in ratione amantis et desiderantis, ideo necesse est esse aliud movens quod movet quia amans et desiderans, et hoc dicit Simplicius.

Both authors distinguish between accidentally and essentially ordered causal series and describe them in somewhat similar terms:

26 P. fol. 236rb; O. fol. 37rb.
27 Commentary on the Metaphysics XII, 6; P. fol. 258rb. (P stops abruptly in the midst of this Question); O. fol. 48rb. Commentary on the Physics VIII, 4; ed. cit., pp. 193-195.
28 See St. Thomas, Summa Theologiae I, 2, 3.
30 Comm. on the Meta. XII, 11; O. fol. 50rb.
Peter of Auvergne

Causas essentialiter ordinatas in quibus semper causa posterior virtutem movendi accipit a causa priori, ut homo virtutem generandi accipit a sole, sol autem virtutem movendi accipit a quodam alio movente ipsum. Unde causae agentes essentialiter ordinatae ad generationem hujus hominis sunt homo et sol, et si quidem sit aliud movens ipsum... Causae autem accidentaliter ordinatae sunt quarum secunda virtutem qua operatur non accipit a prima, sed accidit causae posteriori quod ipsam praecessit alia....

In conclusion, it is our hope that this presentation of some of the doctrinal and literary similarities between the anonymous Commentary on the Physics and Peter of Auvergne's Commentary on the Metaphysics, limited as it was to the doctrine of causality, may yet shed some light on the identity of the anonymous author for those historians qualified to make that decision.

"Comm. on the Physics VIII, 24; ed. cit., p. 228."
"Comm. on the Meta. II, 18; P, fols. 174"
Bibliographia Gotica

A Bibliography of Writings on the Gothic Language

First Supplement
Corrections and Additions to the Middle of 1953

FERNAND MOSSÉ

FOREWORD

WHEN this bibliography was published in Mediaeval Studies XII (1950), it was my intention to keep it up to date by means of supplements issued, if possible, every four or five years. This first supplement affords, moreover, an opportunity to fill in omissions and correct errors which are bound to creep into a work of this sort.

In view of future supplements, I shall be very grateful to all those who will send me copies of their publications or reprints of their articles bearing on the subject. Only a minimum of cooperation can make a bibliography such as this possible, the more so since, in the present state of international relations, books and periodicals, in particular those published in Eastern Europe, are not always easily accessible.

In the course of a thorough review published in AfdA, Professor Karl Kurt Klein, to whom I am indebted for many useful observations and corrections, expressed the regret that this bibliography did not include more than it actually does. May I point out that, as the sub-title clearly states, this was meant to be a bibliography of writings on the Gothic language and nothing else. It had never been my purpose to make it a bibliography of everything written about the Goths. Works dealing with archeology, history or literature have been entered only in so far as they seem to me to throw light on linguistic problems, or because they are of general interest and authoritative and cannot be ignored by linguists.

This supplement could not have been possible, had I not enjoyed the generous help of a number of scholars. Among these special thanks are due to the following: Professor W. H. Bennett (Univ. of Notre Dame), Professor J. H. Brouwer (Groningen), Professor G. Eis (Munich), Professor K. K. Klein (Innsbruck), Professor F. P. Magoun, Jr. (Harvard), Professor K. Malone (Johns Hopkins), Dr. E. Polomé (Brussels), Dr. F. G. Ryder (Norwich, Vermont), and Professor Vachek (Bratislava).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Add:
BzN .............Beiträge zur Namenforschung.
JTS .............Journal of Theological Studies.
RBPh .............Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire.
RiP .............Research in Progress (published yearly in PMLA).

I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rev.: Lang XXVII (1951) 185-196 (W. H. Bennett); AfdA LXVI (1952) 1-7 (K. K. Klein).

[ 169 ]
III. ORIGINS OF GOTHIC PHILOLOGY


33.1. RHENFERDIUS, Jacobus, Epistola ad amicum, de origine et significatione vocis 'Atta'. Frankquerae apud Johannem Gyselaar, 1688, 8p. [Etymological conjectures]

42.1. BURMANN, P., Sylloges epistolærum a viris illustribus scriptarum. Leidiae, 1717. [Vol. III, 768-773, letters from Jan van Vliet to Heinsius showing his acquaintance with Gothic]

IV. GENERAL SURVEYS

71.1. HERVAS Y PANDURO, Lorenzo, Catálogo de las linguas de las naciones conocidas, y numeración, división, y clases de estas según la diversidad de sus idiomos y dialectos. Madrid. 6 vol. 1800-1805. [Vol. III, pp. 82-94 on the Goths and Gothic]


77.1. WIENER, Leo, Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents. Cambridge, Mass., 1915, LXI + 224p. [worthless; views Gothic as a later form of Germanic contaminated by Low Latin and Arabic! Pp. XXXIII-LXI on the Bible and Skeireins]

Rev.: JEGph XV (1916) 293-304 (pp. 299-304 by L. Bloomfield).


V. THE GOTHS

A. ETHNOGRAPHY


(Goten in der Ostseeheimat, Ostgoten in SüdRussland, Krimgoten, Westgoten in Siebenbürgen, Ostgoten in Pannonien, Ostgoten in Italien, Westgoten in Spanien, Gepiden)

[With a rich bibliography of recent works and articles on the subject]


B. HISTORY

3) The Goths in Eastern Europe
(Cf. also No. 332)
[Summarizes and re-interprets research tending to prove, against Karsten, the possibility of direct neighborly contacts between Goths and Finns during the early Christian centuries]
120.3. EIS, Gerhard, ‘Eine Nachricht über die Goten in Russland’, IF, LX (1949) 86-89.
[In Moschovia a book by Paulus Jovius, Basel, 1561, 17-18]
[Argues that Cyril became acquainted with W.’s Bible in Crimea and that rusiški means “Germanic” and therefore “Gothic”]

C. ORIGINAL HOME

(Uppsala dissertation)

D. THE GOTHS AND CHRISTIANITY

(Reden u. Aufsätze zum nord. Gedanken, 10)
(Reden u. Aufsätze zum nord. Gedanken, 24)
['Zwischen Forschung und historischer Belletristik']
137.5. SCHMIDT, K. D., Die Bekehrung der Ostgermanen zum Christentum (Der ostgermanische Arianismus). Göttingen, 1939, IX + 442p.
(Die Bekehrung der Germanen zum Christentum, I)

E. THE NAME OF THE GOTHS

138.1. MÜLLENHOFF, K., ‘Gothini in vererbte Namen bei Tacitus,’ ZfdA IX (1833) 243-244.
140. Add: Rev.: LB 1894, 249.
[Pp. 111-113 on the name of the Goths]
VI. WULFILA
A. BIOGRAPHY

1) Life and activities

[A novel]

170.1. HASHAGEN, Justus, Wulfila. 'Gelbe Hefte, XVIII (1941-42), 11ff.
170.2. KLEIN, Karl Kurt, 'Die Dissertatio Maximini als Quelle der Wulfilabiographie,' ZfdA LXXXIII (1952) 239-271.
170.3. KLEIN, Karl Kurt, 'Der Auxentiusbrief als Quelle der Wulfilabio-

2) Date of his death

176. Add: definitely 382.

3) Wulfila's seal

180. Read: GARDTHAUSEN

4) His name

183.1. KLEIN, Karl Kurt, 'Der name Wulfilas,' ZvS LXX (1952) 154-176.
[After a thorough examination concludes that Wulfila is the genuine Gothic

B. DOGMATIC POSITION

193. After epistula, add de Fide Vita et Obitu Wulfilae im Zusammenhang der
Dissertatio Maximini contra Ambrosium hrsg.

193.1. SALTET, Louis, 'Un texte nouveau. La Dissertatio Maximini contra
Ambrosium,' Bull. de Litt. Ecclésiastique publié par l'Inst. Catholique de Toulouse
II (1900) 118-129.
198.1. PFEILSCHIFTER G., 'Kein neues Werk des Wulfila,' Festschrift zu
Knöpfers 60. Geburtstag, 192-224.
[Refutes No. 196 and denies attribution to Wulfila of St. Saba's Life which he

204.1. CAPELLE, D. B., 'La lettre d'Auxence sur Ulfilas,' Revue Bénédictine
XXXIV (1922) 224-233.
[Errors due to Maximin and not to Auxence]

VII. COLLECTIVE EDITIONS

Rev., add VCA XVII (1908) 479-482; Frankf. Ztg. 23 June 1909.

VIII. THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE CODEX ARGENTEUS
A. HISTORY

216. To at the time add: according to the unpublished 3rd part of L. B.
BUSSER, Utkast till Beskrivning om Upsala (Part I 1773, part II 1769)

D. SEPARATE EDITIONS

257.1. SIEVERS, Ed., Deutsche Sagenversdichtungen des IX-XI Jhs, nebst
[PP. 164-173 Text of Mt v, 8; v, 15-vi, 32; vii, 12-vii, 27 according to Schall-
alyse]
FERNAND MOSSÉ

IX. THE GOTHIC BIBLE : THE PALIMPSESTS

B. THE CODICES AMBROSIANI

1) Editions


X. GREEK ORIGINAL

A. RECONSTRUCTION


B. LATIN INFLUENCE ON WULFILA’S TRANSLATION

293.1. SCHADE, 'Zu Ulfilas gotische Bibelübersetzung,' WMB III (1875) 159-160.
[Did Wulfila use a Latin version?]

XI. THE SKEIREINS

A. EDITIONS

316. Add: 1263-1281
[Important; new readings]
316.1. BEER, A., 'Skeireins dflo Wulfilovo?' 23. Ročni zpráva v Ceskych Budejovicich (1907) 1-11
[Was the Skeireins written by Wulfila?]

XII. RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS

B. SPECIAL STUDIES

I) The Pietroassa Ring

[Refutation of No. 337]

XIII. OTHER REMNANTS

3. THE SALZBURG-VIENNA MANUSCRIPT

(Cf. also No. 622)

Fa. ASSUMED GOTHIC TEXTS

376.1. KLUGE, Fr., 'Ein neues gotisches Sprachdenkmal?' Bunte Blätter, Freiburg, 1908, pp. 160-164.
(=Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung vom 16. Januar 1897)
[Popular article on the Reichenau glosses which may contain Gothic words]

G. APPENDIX: MODERN COMPOSITIONS

377. Read: witubnjis

XIV. TEXTUAL EMENDATIONS AND REMARKS

B. JOHN


E. THE EPISTLES

466.1. 2 Cor xi, 25. HØST, G., NTS, XV (1949) 411-412.
457. Read: 234-235 and add:
[On the marginal gloss sugnis]
458. Read: 234.

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MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

XV. CRIMEAN GOTIC

A. BUSBECQ’S LETTERS: EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS


B. REPORTS AND STUDIES

483.1. PHILIPPSON, ERNST, ‘Eine missverstandene Nachricht über die Krimgoten,’ PMLA LVIII (1943) 564-565.
[Argues that the four lines recorded by Busbecq are indeed Gothic and not Turkish as had been assumed hitherto; offers a translation after a discussion of the textual problems]

XVI. GRAMMAR: GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE

B. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF THE GERNANIC LANGUAGES

1) General
504.1. MÜLLENHOFF, Karl, Deutsche Altertumskunde. 5 vol., new ed. by M. ROEDIGER, Berlin, 1890-1920
508. Add to the rev.: VCA XIV (1905) 446-448.
(Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen, hrsg. von A. Leitzmann, 18)
2) Special Studies
528.1. WREDE, Ferd., ‘Westgermanisch und Ingwäonischt,’ ZfdMa XIX (1924) [Influence of Gothic on High German]
529.1. SPRINGER, Otto, “German and West Germanic,” GR XVI (1941) 3-20. [Criticism of Wrede’s theory, No. 528.1]
529.2. SCHWARZ, Ernst, Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen, Studien zur Ausgliederung der germanischen Sprachen. Berne-Munich, 1951, 277p., 16 fig. (Bibliotheca Germanica, 2)
Rev.: Nieder. Mitt. VII (1951) 69-70 (E. Rooth); Afda LXVI (1952) 45-52 (H. Kuhn); RBPb XXXI (1953) 112-121 (E. Polomé); JEGPh LII (1953) 242-249 (E. A. Philippson).
(First ed.: 1942)
Rev.: AfPD LVII (1943) 119 ff. (E. Rooth); Niederdeutsche Mitteil. II (1946) 163-172 (C. A. Althin), cf. Maurer’s reply, ibid. IV (1948) 82-85 with Althin’s final remarks, ibid. 85-86; DLZ 1943, 253-263 (J. Werner); Afda LXIII (1944) 4-13 (H. Kuhn); ZfrPh 1950, 216-218 (W. Ranke).
529.4 ROMPELMAN, T. A. ‘Form und Funktion des Präteritums in Germanischen,’ Neoph XXXVII (1953) 67-83.

XVII. GRAMMARS, HANDBOOKS

545. Read: Formlære . . . Læsestykker
548. Replace by the following: BRAUNE, Wilh., Gotische Grammatik mit einigen Læsestücken und Wortverzeichnis. Halle, 1880, VI+117p. (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte, I)

2nd to 4th: only slight changes
5th and 6th: add Greek text after Bernhardt
7th on: Greek text after Streitberg
8th and 9th: slight corrections
10th on: revised by K. Helm, with IE equivalents in phonology and morphology
11th to 14th: only slight corrections

556. Add to the rev.: VCA XIX (1910) 170-174.
559. Add to the rev.: VCA XVII (1908) 192-195.
(Universitetska Biblioteka, No. 205)
[Orthodox Gothic Grammar in Bulgarian with reading selections with Greek text and a German translation to the same]

APPENDIX
READERS AND PRIMERS

567. Read: The first to use in transliteration q, ψ (for ψ) and a single symbol for hu.
(Altdeutsche Uebungstexte, Bd. I)
(Sprachwissenschaftliche Studienbücher)

XVIII. COLLECTIVE ARTICLES ON GRAMMATICAL POINTS

[Rev. of Nos. 555, 556 and 1237]
613.2. STURTEVANT, A.M. ‘Comments on Certain Gothic Irregularities,’ GR XXVII (1952) 50-55.

XIX. ALPHABET, SCRIPT AND PRONUNCIATION

A. ALPHABET AND SCRIPT

[P. 100 ‘Gothic 2’; p. 102 ‘Maeso Gothic’ preceded by the Wulfilian Oratio Dominica—the last font is evidently an adaptation of alphabet No. 34 of P. s. FOURNTER, Manuel, II, 205; the second is in a style not unlike that of Junius’s letters]
621.1 GRIMM, W.C., Ueber deutsche Runen. Göttingen, 1821
[Ch. III: Gotische Schrift des Ulfilas, pp. 38-52]

gotischen Buchstaben.

651.1 MAGOUN, F. P. Jr., 'On Writing and Printing Gothic, II,' Spec. XXII
(1947) 621-625.

652.1 AKINIAN, P. N., 'Der Ursprung des gotischen Alphabets. Ist der
Erfinder Wulfila, Chorbischof der Goten, oder Maschtotz, Chorbischof der
Armenier? Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Frage.' Handes Amsorya LXII (1948)
321-341, 449-496.
[In Armenian, with summary in German 441-443, 631-632]

652.2. AKINIAN, P. N., 'Das Fortleben des gotischen Alphabets in Runen-
schriften "Futhark" entziffert als ein armenischer Spruch.' Handes Amsorya
LXII (1948) 497-508.
[In Armenian, with summary in German 633-638]

652.3. GUTENBRUNNER, Siegfried, 'Ueber den Ursprung des gotischen
Alphabets,' PBB LXXII (1950) 500-508.
[Argues that Wulfila's alphabet may have been derived from preceding
attempts at some Gothic alphabet derived from Latin-Greek on Runic-Greek
models. This would explain why, at a further remove, the runic characters
had no longer anything heathen in them for Wulfila]

652.4. BOUDAERT, Joseph, 'Oorsprong en vorming van het gotisch alphabet,'
RBPH XXVIII (1950) 423-437.
[Considers the Gothic alphabet to have been made on the model of the Greek
cursive]

B. PRONUNCIATION


2) Special studies

661.1 WIGET, W., 'Altgermanische Lautuntersuchungen,' Acta et Commen-
tationes Dorpatensis, 1921, 11, 3.
[on ai and au]

664.1. RUZICKA, Jozef, 'Die Vokalquantität im Gotischen,' Recueil linguistique
de Bratislava I (1948) 151 ff.
[ai, au in saian, stauida represent short vowels, the neutralization of the
quantity correlation taking place in Gothic before a heterosyllabic vowel]

666.1. PENZEL, Herbert, 'Orthography and Phonemes in Wulfila's Gothic,'
JEGPh XLIX (1950) 217-230.
[Internal consistency of orthography points to uniform values for ai and au]

XX. PHONOLOGY

A. GENERAL

1) Collective and general studies

677.1. JOOS, M., 'Statistical Studies in Gothic Phonology,' Univ. of Wisconsin
Summaries of Doctoral Diss. VI (1942) 305-307.

701.1. SCHERER, W., Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache. Berlin, 1868.
[Pp. 113-121 discusses the phonetic value of ai and au in inflexional syllables]

B. VOCALISM

735.1. BENNETT, W. H., 'The Earliest Germanic Umlauts and the Gothic
Migrations,' Lang XXVIII (1952) 339-342.

C. CONSONANTISM

1) Detailed Treatment.

741.1. CULMANN, F. W., Versuch einer Erklärung der gotischen Wörter
welche mit q anlauten nebst Beleuchtung gewisser Grundsätze der neuen
Sprachforschung. Leipzig, 1871, 64p.
750.1. HENCH, A., 'Gotisch gup,' PBB XXI (1896) 562-568.  
[The abbreviation gha should be expanded guđa]
763.1. JANKO, J., 'Vom Lautwert des gotischen h.' Prager Deutsche Studien, VIII (1908) 59-70.  
[Was still a spirant]
781.1. SOMMER, Ferdinand, 'Zum Zahlwort,' MSB 1950, 7, 100p.
785.1. HØST, Gerd, Zum Vernerschen Gesetz im Gotischen, NTS XV (1949) 410-411.
785.2. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic ld <PG. *ld or *†d?' GR XXVIII (1953) 55-56.  
[PG. *†d did not yield Gothic ld directly but through the intermediate stage *ld]

2) The Verscharfung
795. Read: van COETSEM
[Discusses van Coetsem's article]
[Chap. 4, pp. 36-46, 'Lengthened /w/ and /y/ in the Gmc. Dialects', is an attempt to show that it is a reflex of a following laryngeal]
Rev.: RBPh XXXI (1953) 537-544 (E. Polome)

XXI. MORPHOLOGY
A. GENERAL STUDIES
B. THE NOUN
1) Substantives
   c) Vocalic stems
813.1. ROSS, Alan S. C., 'A Gothic-Oscan Parallel,' Archivum Linguisticum II (1950) 140-143.
   [Masculine o-stems which have been "attracted" into the i-declension]
   e) Consonantal Stems
821.1. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Wiljan for wilja τὸ θῆλημα.' GR XXVII (1952) 50.
   [Tries to account for this scribal inaccuracy]
2) The Cases
   f) Plural—Genitive
   [Explains its appearance in the Gothic genitive plural as due to the motive of distinguishing between masc. and fem. on the analogy of the prehistoric instrumental singular]
   [Assumes that the spelling -ē interpreted as an -i must have spread from the i-stems where it was historically justified]
846.2. BAZELL, C. E., 'Morphological Must-nots,' Ingiliz Filolojisi Dergisi III (1952) 112-113.
   [Criticism of the preceeding assumption]
4. Adjectives
   a) General
   

   6. Numerals

   7) Pronouns
   a) Personal Pronouns
   

   b) Other Pronouns

   c. THE VERBS

   3) Weak Verbs
   921.1. GOETTSCH, Charles, ‘Ablaut-relations in Gothic, Old High German and Middle High German,’ MPh V (1908) 569-616, VI (1908) 229-256.
   921.2. PISANI, V., ‘Sul verbo debole in gotico,’ AGI XXXIV (1942) 16-20.

   5) Preterite-Present Verbs
   944.1. STURTEVANT, A. M., ‘Ogs, Subjunctive Form in Imperative Function,’ GR XXVII (1952) 52.
   [Discusses Hirt’s views]

   6) Inflection
   (Akadem. nauk SSSR)
   [Origin of verbal structure in Gothic]

   XXII. WORD FORMATION

   B. DERIVATION

   2) Special Studies

   994. Read: -assus.

   [On Goth. framstet, etc.]

   [Derived from a u-stem adjective of the hardus type with a mixture of i/ja-forms]

   [Formation and semantic development]

   [Assumes with Braune, as against Streitberg, the existence of a substantive *frum(s)]

   [Preserves the original IE conditions, as in Lat. sene-x: sen-ior, versus the normal Gmc. pattern of the type handu-g-s: handu-g-oz-a*: *handu-g-ošt-s]

[Assumes that in -stodjan the -ja-suffix had probably an iterative or frequentative force]

c. COMPOSITION

   (University of Michigan)
1027.3. STURTEVANT, A. M., *unpa-pliuhan “to flee away from, escape”*, *GR* XXVII (1952) 53-55.
   [Contrasts the stressed prefix unpa- with the unstressed und- from the semantic point of view]

XXIII. SYNTAX

b. THE ELEMENTS

1) The Substantive
d) Absolute Constructions

1061. *Add*:
   [=‘Absolutni nominativ v gotoštině’ *CMF* I (1911) 24-46]

e) Cases after Prepositions

   [On works of Mourek]

2) Adjective
b) Comparative

   (Palaestra 91)

3) The Pronouns

   [On the verb without pronoun-subject]

5) The Verb
c) Reflexive Verbs

   [Origins of reflexive constructions according to Gothic material]

d) Aspect

Add below: Cf. No. 1303.


f) Moods: The Optative

   [Influence of the main clause on the mood used in the subordinate]
The Participles

1129.1. BEHAGHEL, Otto, 'Sa qimands-sa qimanda,' PBB XL (1915) 522-524. [Discusses Sommer’s point of view and considers that rhythm accounts for the choice of either form]

k) Reaction

Add below: Cf. No. 1090.1.

D. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

1) General Studies

1153.1. BENVENISTE, Emile, 'La conjonction ei dans la syntaxe gotique,' BSL XLVII. 1 (1951) 52-56. [Maintains that ei is always a conjunction]

3) Subordination

1172. Read: CMF II (1912)

XXIV. TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND STYLE

1199.1. EHRISMANN G., [Review of No. 305] ZfdPh XXXVIII (1906) 382-395.

1199.2. BEER, A., 'Wulfila překladatil,' VCA XVII (1908) 47-51. [Wulfila as a translator]


1218. Add to the rev.; Medium Aevum XII (1943) 84-91 (C. L. Wrenn); JTS XLI (1940) 303-305 (Souter).


XXVI. ETYMOLOGY

C. RECENT ETYMOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS SINCE 1938

1253.1. MEZGER F., 'Nachgehen und Wissen; got.lais: leipan?' GR XIV (1939) 215-218. [Cites phonological and semantic parallels in favor of such a connection]

1256.1. MEZGER, F., 'Two etymologies: 2. Gothic frastim,' Lang XIX (1943) 262-263.

1258.1. MEZGER, F., 'Gothic gabaurjopus,' Lang XXI (1945) 97-98.

1262.01. SZEMERENYI, O., 'Latin Gerundive and Other nd-Formations.' Trans.Phil.Soc. 1950 169-179. [Against connecting Goth. apn ‘year’ with Lat. annus]

1262.1. KRETSCHEMER, Paul, 'Der Name des Elefanten', Anzeiger der öster-

1262.2. BOUMAN, A. C., 'Een drietal Etymologieën,' Neoph XXXV (1951) 238-241. [Proposes a new etymology of aibr: δορόν Mt v, 23]

1262.3. BRÜCH, J., 'Got.kaupatjan “ohrfeigen”', ZfdA LXXXIII (1951) 103-107.

1262.4. BRÜCH, J., 'Die Herkunft des Wortes kaufen,' ZfdA LXXXIII (1951) 92-103.

XVII. VOCABULARY

A. GENERAL

C. SEMANTICS

1. Semantic word groups

1274. Read ἱθὼς

1275.1. BAETKE, W., Das Heilige im Germanischen. Tübingen, 1942.
[237p. 80-90 Goth.weihs, pp. 135-137 Goth.*hailages]

[Assumes that in Wulfila's time *diwan was an archaic verb that lent a poetical coloring to the participial formations denoting the spiritual conception of 'death' and 'immortality'.]

3. Synonyms

1304.1. JOHANNISSON, T., 'Got. andhruskan och andsitan. Ett misskänt synonympar,' Studier i nordisk Filologi XXXIX (1949) 1–19.

D. PROPER NAMES

2. Gothic Proper Names

(Akad.d.Wiss.in Wien,Phil.-Hist. KL, Denkschriften, LX, 3 und LXXII, 2).
Rev.: BphW XXXIX (1919) 123–129; WKPh XXXVI (1919) 385–388; Germania (Korresp.-Blatt) III (1919) 63ff.; see also No. 1325.1. below.

[Additions to No. 1324.1; see also No. 1406 and 1407]

[Of Gothic origin]

[Compares ἰρὸθλος, the nickname given by the Vandals to the Goths with ON. troll].

E. LOAN-WORDS

1. Foreign Loan-words in Gothic
   b) Greek

1339.1. BEER, A., 'Háipno-haipno,' VCA XVII (1908) 43–47.
[On loan-words in Gothic]

1345. Read: daupjan.

   d) Other Sources

[Assumes that the Mediterranean name of the ‘oil’, Goth alew, was brought by Illyrian merchants to Scandinavia in 3–2 cent. B.C.]

1362.2. HOOPS, J., Geschichte des Oelbaums. Heidelberg, 1944.
(Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist.Kl., 1942-43, 3)
[Includes a full discussion of Gothic alew]
Rev.: ASNS CLXXXV 1948, 104–107 (Horn).

2. Gothic Loan-words in other Languages
   a) German

(Thurionista, Beiheft 4 = Mitteldeutsche Studien, Heft 2)
[1. Angelsächsisch, Althochdeutsch, Gotisch, pp. 3–42]
MEDIAEVAL STUDIES


[Vol. II, pp. 385-389: 'Gotisch und Deutsch']

b) Romance

General


French

(II: Des origines gothiques de la langue francaise; III: Onomatographie)

[Confuses Gothic with Germanic]

Rumanian

Add below: Cf. No. 1378.

c) Balto-slavic

1401.01. EKBLOM, R., 'Ortnamns vittnesbord om svenskarnas tidiga förbindelser med slaver och balter,' UUA 1942, 9, 149-178.

[Assumes that Lith.Gudas was not borrowed from Gothic, but much later on, in Viking times, from some Swedish dialect]

[Chapt. V: Gothic loan-words in Slavic, pp. 49-73]


1401.3. VAILLANT, André, 'Slave gvozdii “forêt”, gvozdii “clou”,' RevEtSlaves XXVII (1951) 140-142.

f) Indian Languages

Add below: See also 1325.1, pp. 72-73.

XXVIII. APPENDIX

Readers containing Gothic excerpts

[Ulfila, 22-39]

XXIX. WORKS IN PROGRESS OR NOT YET PUBLISHED

(Alphabetical order of authors)

BEELEER, Madison, S., 'Gothic and the other Germanic Languages'.
[The traditional tripartite classification of the Germanic languages has been subjected to much criticism in recent years in the writings of Frings, Schwarz, Maurer, Bach et al. Many no longer accept a “West-Germanic” unity. The character of the interrelationship of Gothic to its sister dialects is here re-examined and the results presented of a detailed survey of its vocabulary]

BENNERT, William, H., Edition of Skeireins based on new readings of MS.
BENNERT, William, H., Gothic Grammar.

FLOST, Gerd, Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den gotischen Sprachdenkmälern.

[182]
SCHERER, Philip, 'The Problem of Aspect in Gothic'.
SCHERER, Philip, 'Gothic Equivalents of Church Slavic non-past,' (Paper presented, Chicago Meeting of Ling. Society, 1950) [Cf. Lang XXVII, No. 1 suppl., p. 16]

INDEX OF AUTHORS

P.323 Read GARDTHAUSEN. S.v. HELM, add 548. S.v. HEYNE, add 208.
Read KISCH, Alex., 293, 367; KISCH, Gustav, 1358, 1377.
P.323 S.v. MOSSE, read 1101. Add VOGT, Fr., 193; WILHELM, Fr., 575.
P.324 Read STIERHIELM. S.v. VOGT, add 193.
S.v. WREDE add 208.

INDEX TO THE SUPPLEMENT

ADELUNG, J. C., 71.2
AKINIAN, P. N., 628.1, 628.2
ALTHEIM, Fr., 59.1
BAETKE, W., 1275.1
BAZELL, C. E., 846.1, 845.1
BECH, G., 900.1
BEER, A., 316.1, 1065.1, 1114.1, 1139.1
BEHAGHEL, O., 129.1
BENNETT, W. H., 735.1
BER, A., 1358, 1377.
P.323 S.v. MOSSE, read 1101.
Add VOGT, Fr., 193; WILHELM, Fr., 575.
P.324 Read STIERHIELM. S.v. WREDE add 208.

SALTET, L., 193.1
SCHADE, O., 293.1
SCHERER, W., 701.1
SCHMIDT, K. D., 127.5
SCHMIDT, L., 1284.1
SCHWARZ, E., 821, 529.2
SENN, A., 120.1
SEIVER, O., 257.1
SMAL-STOCKI, R., 1401.1
SOMMER, F., 781.1
SPANIA, F., 681.1
SPRINGER, O., 529.1
STROH, Fr., 137.1
STURTEVANT, A. M., 613.1
STURTEVANT, A. M., 613.1, 616.1, 785.2, 796.1, 821.1, 821.2, 923.1, 944.1, 1015.3, 1015.4, 1015.5, 1015.6, 1027.3, 1253.1
SZADROWSKI, M., 580.1
SZEMERENYI, O., 1262.01

TARELLI, C. C., 292.2, 391.1
VAILLANT, A., 1401.2, 1401.3
VASMER, M., 1283.1
VATER, J. S., 71.2
WAGNER, R., 1077.1
WEBER, Ed., 137.1
WINTER, L., 77.1, 77.2
WIGET, W., 661.1
WREDE, E., 528.1
WRENN, C. L., 144.1

[ 183 ]
Four Old French Versions of the Fifteen Signs Before the Judgment.

WILLIAM W. HEIST

The four texts here edited from photostatic copies of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale have not, so far as I can discover, been previously printed, though they were noted as long ago as 1879, when Georg Nölle cited them in his dissertation on the legend of the Fifteen Signs. Nölle does not seem to have seen these texts, though he had some information, not entirely accurate, about them. I have previously given a brief description and classification of the four versions in my study of the legend.

Since I have not myself seen the entire manuscripts containing these texts, but only reproductions of the pages on which the texts occur, I am unable to say much about the manuscripts beyond what is available in catalogue descriptions. But since each of the texts is clearly marked with an incipit and an explicit, I can confirm the catalogue information that each of them was plainly regarded as a separate and independent piece, though one of them, from Ms fr. 1181, is followed by another poem in the same meter and dealing with material also associated with death, the resurrection and the judgment.

This text, indeed, belongs to a version that has appeared in print in association with that following poem and with other related material, though only in fragmentary form outside of very early books and chapbooks. It is essentially the same as that in a chapbook published at Troyes in 1728 and long sold under the title of La Grande Danse macabre . . . Avec le Débat du corps et de l'âme . . . la Vie du mauvais Antechrist, Les Quinze-signes du Jugement. Charles Nisard describes this chapbook and prints the text of the Fifteen Signs, but with major ellipses.

It is important to remember, in reading Nisard's account of this chapbook and texts that he associates with it, that he does not distinguish clearly between the material and the form in which it appears. He indicates that the matter of La Grande Danse macabre, etc. is largely the same as that printed by Antoine Vérand in 1492 in L'Art de bien vivre et de bienmourir; and this seems to be true so far as the collection in one volume of various moral and eschatological materials is concerned. At least, the titles of the various parts are approximately the same. But Vérand's book is in prose, as is the book entitled Signes précédens le grant jugement de notre redempteur Jesu Christ, which is in fact reprinted from Vérand and begins with part of Vérand's section entitled La Vie du mauvais Antichrist. The woodcuts of this later book are also copied from Vérand's illustrations, some of them being reversed from left to right through failure of the artist to make the necessary reversal on his block when copying from the print.

Other accounts of early or popular printed collections of eschatological matter, but insufficiently detailed to indicate whether or not any of them are identical with the Troyes chapbook or with Vérand, have been given by other writers.

1 'Die Legende von den fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Gericht,' Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, VI, 412-476.
2 The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday (East Lansing, 1932), pp. 142-143, 172-173, 176-177.
4 The Bibliothèque Nationale has two copies; I have consulted that numbered D 852. Vérand's book, with some variation in the matter included, was reprinted several times during the decade.
5 (Paris, ca. 1500); this is catalogued as D 4722 of the Bibliothèque Nationale.
6 Gustav Grau, Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des Jüngsten Gerichtes. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, XXXI, Halle, 1908, p.
A more thorough and detailed description, however, exists in Massmann’s Literatur der Todtentänze, which, although it is primarily concerned with La Grant Danse macabre and its development, does list a number of printed collections which include the Fifteen Signs, from one of which Massmann quotes enough to show that we have the poem of Ms Bibl. Nat. fr. 1181 printed at least as early as 1528. Another printing, this one of Lyon, 1499, is described on its title page, which Massmann reprints, as Le tout composé en ryme française et accompagné de figures, and is therefore probably the same. The absence of complete printed or other systematic catalogues for anonymous printed works has made it impossible for me to find most of these books in the libraries of Paris, if indeed they exist there—Massmann indicates that many of them do not, or did not when he made his compilation, but must be looked for in various libraries of Germany, Austria and England, a number of them private libraries, most of which are doubtless no longer in existence. But the printing of the rhymed version in 1499 and the existence of the present manuscript version, which is of about the same time, seems to point to the redaction of Vérard’s collection into French verse sometime in the last decade of the fifteenth century. The rhymed version perhaps displaced the prose upon which it was based and continued to enjoy some popularity into the eighteenth century, probably with some decline in the social scale of its readers.

The chapbook version printed by Nisard, and better represented in Ms fr. 1181, belongs to the Voragine type, though this fact is somewhat obscured in Nisard’s text by his omissions. It is a rather free rendering of the version in the Legenda aurea, the freedom appearing to be only such as was necessitated by the plan of assigning one eight-line stanza to each sign.

Of the other three texts printed here, those from Ms fr. 19397 and fr. 17177 are close renditions of well-known Latin forms of the legend. That from Ms fr. 19397 is, indeed, clearly a direct translation from the Legenda aurea and bears many indications of the actual phrasing of the Latin original. The poem from Ms fr. 17177 is not quite so close in its phraseology to its Latin original, which occurs in the Collectanea sive flores formerly attributed to Bede. But it is about as close to the Pseudo-Bedan original as is easily compatible with translation into French octosyllabic couplets, and it is not unlikely that it, too, was rendered directly from a Latin text. A slight expansion, in the form of a comment on the Judgment, has been added at the end, but this does not seem to be especially characteristic of any description of the Judgment commonly appended to the legend of the Fifteen Signs in other versions and was no doubt added by the poet from the general stock of Christian tradition.

The remaining text, that from Ms fr. 15212, likewise remains close to a well-known type of the legend, that which has usually been called simply the Old French type. This form of the legend is typified by an Anglo-Norman poem that follows the twelfth-century mystery play Adam in the Tours manuscript and has several times been printed by editors of the play either as a part of it (as by Luzarche and Pallustre) or as an appendix to it (as by Grass). The present text appears at first sight to be a reasonably close paraphrase in prose of this poem. Slight deviations of our text from the type are the reversal of Signs 7 and 8; the addition in Sign 8 (=Sign 7 of the typical form) of a battle of the trees that grow upside down, an addition no doubt patterned after the battle of the stones in Sign 13; and the omission of any mention of men hiding under the mountains in Sign 13. All these deviations from the main


7 (Leipzig, 1840), pp. 91-109.

"Or so I believe, on the basis of the rhymes and other such internal evidence."
type are simple and unsuggestive of any line of descent beyond the Norman poem.

But one detail in Sign 11 does suggest an original that would seem to have been a common ancestor of the Anglo-Norman poem with its descendants on the one hand and of the present text on the other. In the Norman poem, on the eleventh day the winds shake the earth, the newly dead are blown about (a detail sometimes omitted, as in our present text), and the rainbow descends and drives the devils, who have broken out of hell and invaded the earth as a part of the sign of the tenth day, back into hell. Among the many fantastic and not very easily explicable signs of the Old French type of the legend, this behavior of the rainbow does not attract particular notice; and one is at first inclined to attribute it, along with other details, to the fertile and undisciplined imagination of the Norman poet. But, as I have been able to show in my study of the legend, most of these details must instead be explained as due to misunderstanding and to the use of unexpected sources rather than to deliberate invention. Hence, when in the present text we find not the arc-en-ciel but 1i archanges descending from heaven and driving the devils back into hell, it seems likely that one of the minor puzzles of the Norman poem and its descendants is to be explained as a simple textual corruption.

There is more evidence than mere intrinsic plausibility that archanges is the older and better reading in this passage. It is, of course, possible that the author of our prose piece has himself made the correction from "rainbow" to "archangel," in conformity perhaps with Rev. xii: 7-9. But even if he has done so, and if this text does not in fact go back to an earlier source than the Norman poem, it seems certain that he was restoring a reading that was actually the true one, from which the poem had deviated. For the tradition of the battle between the angels and the devils is an old one, and it appears not only in the canonical book of Revelation but in a work that I believe I have demonstrated, in the earlier study mentioned above, stands at the head of the legend of the Fifteen Signs. This is the apocryphal Apocalypse of Thomas, which we possess in various Latin forms, in three Old English homilies, and in a tenth-century Irish poem that has generally been treated as a part of the Saltair na Rann, though it is actually a separate work connected with the Saltair only by the accident of following the longer poem in the chief manuscript representing it. The Old French type of the Fifteen Signs very clearly reflects, in its signs for the tenth and eleventh days, the events of the sixth sign of the Apocalypse of Thomas, as presented, for example, in the seventh of the Old English collection known as the Blickling Homilies, where it is described as follows:

Before the third hour, from the four ends of the earth all the world will be filled with accursed spirits, who will endeavor to take great spoil of men's souls, as Antichrist previously did. And when he comes, he will threaten to send the souls of those who will not obey him into eternal punishment. Then at last he will himself be driven into everlasting woe. St. Michael will come with a heavenly host of holy spirits and will slay all those accursed folk and drive them into the abyss of hell for disobeying God and for their wickedness.

These events are distributed over two days in the version in Saltair na Rann, which is a peculiarly important text, since it seems to be the chief direct source of the legend of the Fifteen Signs. On the Sunday before Doomsday the devils break out of hell and fill the world; and on Monday, the traditional Day of Doom in Ireland, hosts of angels descend to do battle with them and drive them...
back into hell. The Old French type of the Fifteen Signs therefore agrees with *Saltair na Rann* in the number and order of days on which these events take place, though it differs in not making them a part of the events of Doomsday itself and the preceding day.

*Ms fr.* 1181 of the Bibliothèque Nationale is said to date from the end of the fifteenth century and hence is about contemporary with Antoine Vérard’s *Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir*. About a third of folio 135, on which the following text begins, is torn away, as is about half of the preceding page. Another religious poem, described as *Complainte de l’âme damnée,* in octosyllabic couplets, precedes *Les Quinze Signes du jugement final*, which is followed by *La Danse macabre aux hommes*. All are written in the same cursive hand. Practically all but the first two lines of the second stanza are missing as the result of the tear, and a good deal of the third and fourth stanzas. I have made a few conjectural restorations in the most obvious places but have not tried to see how far I could go in that direction. For the general sense of the mutilated stanzas, see Nisard’s chapbook text, which I reprint as an appendix.

**II

LES QUINZE SIGNES DU JUGEMENT FINAL

Au temps que Dieu jugier vouldra,
Comme témoigne le scripture,
Quinze signes demonstrera,
Telz qu’on les peut voir en painture.

Premier, la mer outre mesure
S’eslieuera sur tous les mons;
Comme vng mur hault et en droitecture
Se tiendra, comme nous lisons.

Apres, pour le signe second,

10 La mer se lairra tresbucher . [fol. 135’]

....................

....................

....................

....................

.............. omoner

.............. ourra.

.............. amer

........... [gr]ans poissons

........... dessus la mer

20 ....... gecteront en grans sons

. [per]cer les secrez parfons

. [enten]dera seullement

. ter donques nous deuons

. ....... destroit jugement.

25 [Le quar]t signe moul[ ] perilleux

[D’une est] range guise sera:

. ....... feu grant et merueilleux

. ....... et toute eauue ardera

. ....... mme tout deuorera

30 ....... poissons mettra a mort

tout seul n'en eschappera
En ce jour ne doubte il a tort
Du quint signe moulte me merueille:

Gouettes de roseee vermeilles
Comme sang; puis se assambleront
Les oiseaux et tous jusseront,
Sans jamais boire ne mangier,
Car l'ire de Dieu doubteront;

Pecheurs seront en grant danger.

Le sixiesme iert d'estrange guise
Et rempli de griefue douleur:
Arbres, chasteaulx, maisons, eglise,
Tous trebucheront a ce jour.

Adonc du firmament majoour
Chierra foudre, tempeste, orage.

Le septiesme de tel nature

Sera que soubz le firmament
Ne aura pierre tant soit dure
Qui ne se fende claremement.
Puis hurteront tant fierement
Que toutes grans guerres feront;

Nul ne scet que Dieu seulement
La grant noyse qu'elles feront.

Le signe huitiesme pour voir,
La terre tant fort tramblera
Que nient viuant n'ara pouoir
D'estre sur piez, mes conuiendra
Tout homme et beste qui sera
Lors du haut au bas trebucher;
Adonc vng chacun serchera
Lieu en terre pour soy cacher.

Au neufuesme s'eslieront
Les vens en sy grant quantite
Que les mons et vaulx tumberont:
Tout mettront a equalite.
Et pour vous dire verite
La terre sera toute vnie;
Des mons la superfluite
Sera en pouldre convuertie.

Au dixiesme ystront les gens hors
Qui s'estoient misses en terre

Et seront de leurs sens dehors,
Sans parler et sans rien enquerrer.
Esbahys seront pour la guerre
Qui brief mettra tout a declin.
Et on fait mettre peine d'acquerre

La gloire qui dure sans fin.
L’onziesme jour, les os des gens
Qui du siecle sont trespassez [fol. 137’]
Seront tous sur les monumens,
Qui seront ouuers et cassez.
Yles seront tous amassez,
Sans qu’ilz puissent resusciter,
Pour les biens et les maulx passez
Deuant le grant Juge compter.

Le douziesme jour, les planettes
Et les estoilles ou ciel posees
Chierront, et apperont comettes,
Merueilleuses et enflammes.
Toutes bestes lors assemblees
Seront, sans mengier et sans boire;
Telz crys feront et telz huees
Que de samblable n’est memoire.

Le treziesme fait adoubter;
Car tout ce qui sera viuant
Mourra ce jour sans respiter,
Homme, ne femme, ne enfant,
Adfin que tout, petit et grant,
Ressuscite communement
Et briefment soient comparant
Deuant Dieu a son jugement.

Le quatorziesme merueilleux
Et dur pardessus tous sera; [fol. 137’]
Car a ce jour tant perilleux
Le ciel et la terre ardera:
Feu flambant tout consommera
Les elemens, et bas et hault;
Chascune chose doubtera
La sentence Dieu qu’il ne fault.

Le quinziesme jour, tout pour vray,
Terre et ciel renouuelleront.
Puis incontinant, sans delay,
Les mors, qui suscitez seront,
De toutes pars s’assembleront
Pour venir oir la sentence
Du Juge que tant doubteront:
Pas ne doit rire qui y pense.

Quant deuant Dieu bons et mauuais
Seront au jugement venuz,
Les bons auront pour leurs bien faiz
Joye sans fin ou ciel la sus.
Les mauuais yront ou palus
D’enfer en torment pardurable.
Or prions dont au bon Jhesus
Que ce jour nous soit profitabl
Amen.
Les Quinze Signes du Jugement

[Sa]iunt Jérome raconte comme il a trouvée es liures des Hebrews quinze signes qui prédécesseront le jour du grand jugement de Dieu. Mais il n’a pas mis si ilz viendront continuellement l’un après l’autre, ou s’il y aura aucune interposition.

Le premier signe sera que la mer se eslieuera quarante couldees sur la hauteur des montaignes, estant comme vng mur.

Le second signe, elle descendra si bas que a grant paine la verra on.

Le tiers, les balaines et autres grands poissons apporront sur la mer et donneront mugissements qui yront jusques au ciel, lesquelz Dieu seulement entendra.

Le quart, ardra la mer et l’eau.

Le cinquiesme, les arbres et les herbes donneront rouse eau comme sang. Et comme dient aucuns, a ce jour se assembleront tous les oiseaux aux champs, chacun en son especie et ordre, et ne beuront ne mengeront pour la grant paour qu’ilz [fol. 107r] auront du jugement a venir.

Le sixiesme signe, cherront tous les edifices et se lieueront fouldres de feu de la region de souleil couchant contre le firmament, et impetueusement courront jusques au souleil leuant.

Le septiesme, les pierres se rompront les vnes contre les autres en quatre pieces, et chacune piece rompra l’autre; et nul ne entendra leur son seulement Dieu.

Le huitiesme, il sera general tremblement de terre par tout le monde, si grant que nul homme ne nulle beste ne se saura droir tenir mais seront tous prosternex et couchez a terre.

Le neufiesme, la terre sera toute eau, et les roches et montaignes seront reduites en pouder.

Le dixiesme, les hommes ystront hors des cauernes et yront comme forcees et ne pourront parler l’un a l’autre.

Le vnziesme, se eslieueront les oss des mors sur les sepulcres et tous les sepulcres depuis orient jusques en occident [fol. 107r] se ouurront affin que ilz puissent vvider dehors.

Le douziesme, cherront les estoilles. Ce jour icy, ainsi que on dit, viendront toutes les bestes aux champs mugissant, sans boire et sans manger.

Le treiziesme, mourront tous les hommes qui lorcz viuront, affin qu’ilz soient ressuscites aucques les autres mors.

Le quatorziesme signe, ardront le ciel et aussi la terre.

Le quinziesme et dernier signe, sera fait vng nouueau ciel et nouuelle terre et ressusciterons tous en corps et en ame; et les bons yront en paradis en corps glorieux et en ame aussi, ou est joye san fin. Et les mauvais reprouuez et mauldiz peccheurs yront aucques les enemmys qui les entraineront ou parfond puiz d’enfer, ou ilz seront a tous iours en tourmens, en criz, en hullemens, en tremblement de dens tres horribles; et la y aura tourmens selon la qualite et quantite des pecchez. Et est assauoir que les culpa-[fol. 108r] bles d’un mesmo pecche ensemble seront tourmentez et luz: comme vng ourgueilleux aucques vng ourgueilleux, vng luxurieux aucques vng luxurieux, et ainsi des autres; et les paines et tourmens des meschans dampez renouuelleront de jour en jour. Dieu, par sa grace, nous veielle preserver et garder de celle horrible pugnicion, et nous doint si bien viure en ce mortel exil que nous puissions a ce tres esp[o]ntable iour du jugement comparoir deuant sa glorieuse face en estat de grace, affin que nous puissions estre colloquez a sa dextre en la joye
pardonnable. Que nous vveille octroyez celui qui regne en eternite pardonnable. Amen.

Obsecro maiores, mediocres, atque minores
Vt michi parcatis si deffectum videatis.
Detur pro pena scriptoris Ave Maria.
C.g.

IV.

Ms fr. 17177 is a large parchment manuscript of the thirteenth century, and the pages I have seen are written in a very neat book hand. The poem on the Fifteen Signs begins in the second column of fol. 281r, being preceded by a stanzaic poem containing popular proverbial matter, Les Proverbes au vilaine, and followed by a short poem in praise of women, evidently added by another hand to fill up the second column of 281v. On fol. 282r, originally following the Fifteen Signs and written in the same hand, is what appears to be a table of contents to the Moralités des philosophes of Alart de Cambrai, which occurs on fols. 182-221 of the manuscript.11

CI COMMENCENT LES .XV. SINGNES: EN ROUMANS.

Sains Geroymes si nous descrit
Si comme il le trueue en escrit
Des Hebrius, qui le nos assingne,
Que en .xv. iours .xv. singnes
5 "Avenront merueilleusement
Deuant le jour dou jugement.
Le premier iour, s’esleuera
La mers, qui si haute sera;
Par desor les montaignes toutes

Aura de haut .xl. coutes;
Aussi comme .I. mur sera l’onde
Et toutes les ialues dou monde
Le secont iour descenderont
Et si embas se meteront
15 "Qu’a paines iert il homs qui viue
Qui l’yaue voie de la riue.
Au tiers seront si faitelement
Com furent au commencement.
Au q[u]art iour seront, ce me samble,

Poisson et bestes tout ensemble
De la mer sus les ialues cleres;
A voiz crueuses et ameres
Mout merueilleusement brairont
Et aussi com torel muiront,

Mais nus homs fors Dieu ne set mie
Que ceste chose senefie.
Au cinquime iour arderont
Les ialues toutes qui seront
Des le lieu dont uienent et naissent

Duqu’au lieu ou estre se laissent.
Au .vi. aubres et herbes toutes
Le sanc uermall a grosses goutes
Geteront en lieu de rousee

Ausi comme a la matinee  
35 Q[u]ant on voit la rouese espandre  
As arbres et a l'erbe rendre.  
Au septime communement  
Trestout li edefiement  
Qui sont si belement estruit  
40 Seront crauente et destruit,  
Que n'i demorra, par saint Pierre,  
Si com dit Dieux, pierre sor pierre.  
[fol. 281', col. 1]  
Mais cil qui font ses grans maisons  
Ne pensent pas a ces raisons:  
45 Amcois cuident que touz iourz soient  
Et que jamais finer ne doient.  
L'uitisme l'une a l'autre pierre  
Se combatront et feront guerre  
Tant que seront toutes brisies,  
50 Chascune pierre en iij. parties;  
L'une partie encontre l'autre  
Se combatront ausi com viautre.  
Au neueuisme iour crollera  
La terre toute et mouuera,  
55 Si que des le iour en enca  
Que li siecles en commenca  
Ne fu tiex mouemenz omques  
De terre com sera adomques.  
Li disimes, val et montaignes  
Seront couvertes em plaigens;  
La terre onnie iert par le mont  
Que ni aura ne val ne mont.  
A l'onzime iour isteront  
Hors des quauernes ou seront  
60 Tuit cil qui seront a sse iour  
Amont et aual sanz seiour,  
Con gent qui seront malsene,  
Corront apres com forsene;  
Li .i. a l'autre .i. seul mot dire  
70 Ne porront, si seront plain d'iere.  
Au douzime dou ciel cheoir  
Porront cil qui seront veoir  
Et les signes et les estoyles  
Ardaz clerz comme chandoiles.  
75 Au tresime s'asambleront  
Tuit li os des mors qui seront  
Et leueront duqua la bouche  
Des sepucres ou l'en les couche.  
Ne ne se mouront autrement  
80 Deuant le iour dou jugement.  
Au quatorzime, c'est la somme,  
Morront trestuit, et fame et home,  
Por ce que de mort, ce me samble,  
Resusciteront tuit ensamble.  
85 Au ior apres, ou tanz quinzime,  
Duqu'au fonz d'enfer en abisme  
Ardera trestoute la terre:
Or de la coistre,\textsuperscript{12} or de la guerre, \textsuperscript{[fol. 281\textsuperscript{*}, col. 2]}
Ja la terre n’iert si espars;
\begin{align*}
90 & \text{Toute ne soit brui et arse;} \\
& \text{Et puis apres son iugement} \\
& \text{Tenra li dox Dieix qui ne ment.} \\
& \text{La uerra chascuns tout affait} \\
& \text{Les max que chascuns aura fait} \\
95 & \text{De quoy confes ne sera mie} \\
& \text{Ne repentanz en ceste vie.} \\
& \text{Trestout apert ia n’en douton}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
100 & \text{He: laz! qui osera venir} \\
& \text{A ce grief iugement tenir} \\
& \text{A ce que m’auez oy dire?} \\
& \text{Je dout que chacuns n’en puist rire.} \\
105 & \text{De quan que Dieus en terre a mis} \\
& \text{De gent a il mout peu d’amis,} \\
& \text{Car .m. tanz ia mains bonte} \\
& \text{Que ne uous ay deuant conte.} \\
& \text{Mais or prions a Dieu le Pere} \\
& \text{Qu’il nous gart de la grant misere} \\
& \text{Ou tuit cil seront tormente} \\
& \text{Qui n’auront fait sa volente.}
\end{align*}

\textbf{Explicit.}

\textit{Ms fr. 15212 contains two long works by the Renclus de Moiliens and two sets of Miracles of Our Lady in verse, according to Omont’s catalogue, besides a number of shorter pieces, of which the Fifteen Signs occupies fols. 156\textsuperscript{t}-166\textsuperscript{t}. The manuscript dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century and is written in a quite legible book hand.}

\textit{Chi commenchent li quinse signe qui auenront deuan le jugement. Et com-
ment Nostre Sires jugera les boins et les mauvais.}

\textit{Or escoutes communalment, comment Nostre Sires reprent toute creature qu’il a faites et fourmees a se sanlance et a l’image de le Sainte Trinite; que nous nous desnaturons quant nous ne l’amons de tout no cuer, de toute no ame, et de toute no force. Oisel, bestes, poisson font cou qu’il doiuent a leur creator. Li solaus, li lune, les estelles, li airs, li cieus, et li firmamens rendent cou qu’il doiuent a nostre Signeur. Et li hons, qui tout cou voit, se desnature et pert l’iretage de paradis dont il estoit drois hoirs; dont li apostles dist: Qui est de Diu, il oit volentiers parler de Diu. Et pour ciaus qui volentiers oent le parole de Diu, et volentiers le metent a oeure, voel ie dire et raconter les .xv. signes par le tesmoiug des prophetes et des patriarches a qui li Sains \textsuperscript{[fol. 156\textsuperscript{t}]}
Espris le reuela, et par le tesmoiug de Diu que li ewangeliste anoncent. Car il n’est nus en cest siecle, se il bien pensoit au destroit jugement, qu’il n’eust le cuer tout a Nostre Signour, et que pour tout l’or du monde ne feroit mie vn pechiet mortel.}

\textsuperscript{12} Apparently a rare word, not listed by Godefroy. \textit{La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, Dic-
tionnaire historique de l’ancien langage fran-
çois,} edd. L. Favre and M. Pajot (Niort, n.d.), s. v., says it means “field,” and specifically “battlefield,” citing a passage from Ph. Mouskes describing the battle of Roncevaux.

\textsuperscript{13} Three lines illegible in copy.
Nostre Sires fera signes deuant le jugement. Li premiers signes si ert qu’il plouuera plueue sanglente dont toute li terre ert arrousee. Li enfant qui seront dedens les ventres de leu mere erieront: “Vrais Dix omnipotens, merci! Nous ne querriemes ia naistre; et plus kier ariemes que nous ne fuissiemes onques, que nous veissons le iour de vostre ire.” Che sera li premiers signes.

Li secons signes sera plus crueus: car du ciel querront les estoiles. Cou ert vne tres grant meruelle: car eles iront courant en abisme et seront aussi noires comme carbon qui si estoient luissans. He, dous Ih’c Crist! Que ferons nous qui sommes enuolepe de plusieurs pechies?

Li tiers signes ert meruilleus et plains de tres grans peurs. Car li solaus que vous vees, que si est clers et si biaus, sera si noirs que nus airemens destempires, si qu’on ne verra nule goute a cel iour. He, biaus Sire Dix! Que feront cil qui ont fait tant de peciet? Iamais ioie n’aront.

Li quars signes ert moult espoentables. Car li lune, qui tant est bele, sera muee en sane et fera samblant de dolour et se desseuerra du ciel, et s’en ira courant vers le mer pour eskiuer le iour de l’ire Nostre Signeur. He, Dix! Ke feront li pekeur de qui vous n’aures merci?

Li quins signes sera mout oribles. Car trestoutes les mues bestes hauceront les testes aussi com s’eles vaussissent plaindre a Diu et erieront et braieront et mout douteront le iour de l’ire Nostre Signeur; et li vne braiera plus fort c’ore ne feroient cent. Toute riens ert en tristeece. He, Dix! Ce dist Salemons: “Comme il doiuient estre dolent, cil qui dampne seront apres le jugement!”


Li septimes sera crueus: deuant cestui n’ert iamais nus teus. Car li mers istera de sen canal et courra par tout le monde. Et ce nous dist Moyes. Et li mers vaurra aler au ciel, et vaurra entrer ens, mais non pora; ins reuenra a son canal. “He, Dix!” dist S’. Augustins, “Com cil doiuient estre en grant destrece qui t’auront courcie deuant cel iour!”

Li witimes ert meruilleus. Car li arbre qui seront keii redrecront les racines contretemont et s’entrecombrent" si fort que toute terre crollera. He, dous Dix! Que feront pekeur et pekeresses a cel iour?

Li noeuimes ert mout diuers: de tous les signes ert mout crueus. Car li tout flueue parleront et diront, “Sauueres de le tout le monde, merci!” Et ce nous dist S’. Augustins, que pekeur et peceresses seront malbailli a cel iour.

Li dousime sera tant fieres, que n’est nus sains tant soit de grant saintee plains qu’il n’ai paour a cel iour et de cel signe. Car adont trambleront li cerubin, li seraphin, les vertus du ciel, et li apostle; ne nus n’osera vn seul mot dire de le grant paour qu’il aront. Car il verront le ciel partir et le terre braire angousseusement. Et cri(a), “Vrais Dix omnipotens, merci!” Lors aront clarte cil d’infer. Mais mout seront espoente: S’. Pols li apostles le dist. Or escoutes que li anemi diront: “Sire Pere, qui nous fesis, qui le ciel nous tolis, que nous perdimes par no folie: Sire, aies merci de ces poures creatures qui endurent l’angoisse d’infer.” Mais nient ne leur vaurroit.


La dousime ert de tel maniere que n’est nus si durs cuers qui ne l’eist

14 Before correction, s’entrecombratront.
15 Ms qui.
16 Before correction, apostole.
17 Li anemi repeated in Ms.
18 Ms le.
19 Ms qui.
tourke, et qui ne doie auoir compassion de lui meismes, et qui ne deoust
suerir Ihu Crist et le douce verge Marie gracieuse. Li cieus sera reclos arriere
dira, "Toute riens doit finer." He, las! Que feront cil qui ont le oribles
pecies fais? Dolant en seront; mais c'ert a tart.

Li tresimes ert mout sauages. Car cil qui seurent les langages, che fu
Japhes, li fix Noe, et Abrehams ne porolent mie le moitille dire de le grant doleur
que Nostre Sires mousretra a cel iour et a cel signe. Car toutes les pierres qui
son desous le ciel et [ci-]desous^6 desusse en abisme commenceront vne si
tres grant bataille que cuers ne le poroit penser ne langue dire. De cest signe
dist Job en sen liure, que toute creature ert adont finee.

Del quatorsime signe dirai: pour tous les autres ert a cremir. Car adont
verront tempeste de noif et de gresil et d'orages. Adont verront effoudre et
escliste^2 et tourbillon, et les nues^2 qui courront feront vne grant ose et
ieront vers le mer courant et mout douteront le destroit jugement.

Li quinsimes signes ert mout crueus. [fol. 158^]\) Ce sera li consommations de
tous les autres. Li cieus, li terre, li mers, li airs, et toutes creatures arderont
et iorton a nient, aussi qu'eles furent au commencement de nient faites. Adont
refera Nostre Sires nouel ciel et nouele tere.

Adont apelera Nostre Sires les .iiij. euangelistes et lor dira, "Ales se semonnes
toutes creatures humaines, et boins et maluais, et dites qu'il viegnent au
jugement le Roy des rois, le Signeur des signeurs, le Createur de toutes coses,
qui en son puimg tient toutes coses." Adont iorton li .iiij. euangeliste as .iiij.
corons du monde et soneront cascuns se buisine et diront, "Venes au jugement
le Roy des rois, le Signeur des signeurs, le Sauueur de toutes coses." Adont
seront les vois ois par tout le monde. Adont ressusciteront tout li mort qui
onces furent ne qui adont seront, et reprendra cascuns son cors; et ert cascuns
en l'aage de .xxxij. ans; et seront tout assanle v Val de Josaphat.

Adont venira li Rois des rois, Ihu Cri, au jugement. Il i venra comme
empereres de tout le monde. Car il amenra auoec lui les angles et les arch-
angles, les trones, les dominations, les cerubins, les scaraphyns, les vertus, et
les poestes. Et si amenra [fol. 159\) se douce glorieuse mere, le douce viergene
Marie gracieuse, qui plus resplendira a .c. doubles que li solaus. Si aura auoec
li .ix. m. viellars, et si seront li prophete et li patriarche. Si tenront li cerubin
et li seraphin le crois Nostre Signeur Ihu Crist, qui plus reluira clere a .c.
doubles que li solaus. Si tenront li autre les claus qu'il eiint parmi les pies,
et parmi les mains, et le lance dont il fu couronnes.

Tout cil qui onques furent, ne qui iamais seront, seront deuant lui assamble
en .iiij. ordenes. Li juste seront plus cler .vij. fies que li solaus. Li dampe
seront plus noir qu'airemens destempres, et ara cascuns des dampes sen
pecet escrit en sen front, et le ve[r]ara\) on tout apertement. Li premiers
ordenes n'ert nient jugies et s'ert sauues. Li secons ert jugies et sauues. Li
tiers n'ert nient jugies et si ert dampes. Li i quars ert jugies et dampes.

Or prendons garde au premier ordene, qui n'ert pas jugies et si ert sauues. Saues vous quels il ert? Ce seront li martir, li apostle, li confes, et les saintes
vierges. A ciaus dira Nostre Sires: "Vous qui ensiuests\) ens v siècle mi et
mes commandemens par le martir [fol. 159\) de vos cors et par l'amour que
vous eüstes a mi et me douce mere glorieuse, et fesistes mes commandemens,
venes seoir jouste moi, apostle, martir, confes, viergenes, si iugeres auoec moi
les .xii. nations du monde."

Li secons ert et jugies et sauues. Che seront li preudomme et les preude

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femmes qui volentiers aront oie le parole de Dieu, et qui aront vescu en grasse. A ciaus et a celes dira Nostre Sires: "Li mien fil et les mienes filles, quant i'eie faim, vous me donnastes a mangier; j'eie soif, vous me donnastes a boire; je fui nus, vous me reuestistes. Vous emplisistes\textsuperscript{2} tous mes commandemens. Venes en le ioie qui toudis duerra tant que Dix ert Dix, sans fin."

Li tiers si n'ert nient jugies et si ert dampnes. Ce seront li Sarrasin, et li Turc et li Persant. De chiaus dist S. Paus: "Cil qui sans loy et sans commandement ont vescu en cel siecle terrijen et pekieron sans loy et jugement periront."

Li quars ordenes, qui ert et iugies et dampnes: che seront li pariur et li foy mentie. li escumenijet, li hayneus, li enuieus, et li omecide, li mesdisant, li ireus, li accideus, li glouton, li tauerneur, li luxurious, li mourdreur, li laron, tout li malualis et les maluaises. A ciaus dira Nostre Sires: "Quant i'eie faim, vous ne me donnastes mie a mangier. Quant i'eie [fol. 160\textsuperscript{r}] soif, vous ne me donnastes mie a boire. Quant ie fui nus, vous ne me reuestistes mie."

Adont respondirent\textsuperscript{3} li dampne: "Sire, quant te veismes nous et nu et poure et besoigneus?" Nostres Sires respondi[ra]: "Cou que vous eiissies fait vn de mes poures, cou eiissies vous fait a mi."

Adont tramberont tout, et saint et saintes, pour le paour de l'ire Nostre Signeur. Ne nus ni osera mot sonner, ne angels ne archangels. Adont dira Nostre Sires as maluais: "Ales, maleureus," dira il, "en infer en fu parmanable auoec les diables a tous iours sans fin." Adont aront li dampne si parfaite doleur qu'il estrainderont les dens si fort ensanle de cou qu'il aront o'i le sentense Nostre Signeur; et plus grant mal fera a leur cuer qu'estre\textsuperscript{4} cent ans en infer.

La aront il .vij. tourmens, quant il seront tout enferme en infer. Li premiers tormens qui ert en infer, cou eert vns fus si tres grans que toutes les yawes ki sont v monde ne l'estainderoient mie. Li fus de no maison n'est fors qu'oiunteure en regret. Li secons tormens si ert vne froideure si tres grans que qui prenderoit tout le monde, se fust fus, se le mesist en cele froideure, si deuenroit il tantost gelee. De ces .ij. tourmens de le caleur et de le froideure parla Dix en l'evangile la v il dist: "En infer ara plaignement et estraignement et reskinement de dens." Li tiers tormens si ert vers qui ia ne morront, qui viuent v fu d'infer aussi comme li poissons en l'iauve. De cele vermine parla Job: "Li vermine qui les maleureus mangera, jamais ne li fus qui les ardera jamais n'estaindera."

Li quars tormens, c'ert vne pueurs si tres grans que bouce ne poroit pas dire. De cele pueur parla Ysaies, la ou il dist: "Les jumens purront en leu ordures." K'apele il jumens? Ciaus et celes qui viuent comme bestes, qui ne quierent fors boire et mangier, et le volente de la car. Li quins tormens, c'ert vns batemens aussi comme martiaus fait sour le fer sour l'enplume quant il est bien caus et bien boillans. Ensi seront batu de dolereus tormens cil qui seront en infer. Li sisimes ert li confusions et le desperance des pekeurs que de trestous les pechies que cascuns ara fait, cascuns ert tormentes selonc cou. Li septimes tormens, c'ert tenebres parmanables qui nient plus c'uns ours voit goute quant il est awules et il ne set v il va: nient plus ne verront jamais cil goute qui en ynfer descenderont. Che nous tesmoigne S'. Job, v il dist: "En infer ert li terre plaine de caitiuete et de tenebres ou nus ne ver[r]a\textsuperscript{5} signeries; ains i ara tous iours doleurs et passion parmanable." Or sachies qu'en infer aront li pekere ces .vij. tourmens. Vraiment che ert li cartre Nostre Signeur v il consentira estre chiaius qui malement l'aront serui en cel siecle. Et Dix nous deffenge de la aler, et nous doinist faire se sainte volente. Amen.

\textsuperscript{2} Ms Vous a emplisistis.
\textsuperscript{3} Ms respondirent.
\textsuperscript{4} Followed by que cancelled.
\textsuperscript{5} Ms venra, perhaps correctly.
Or reuemoys a no materre. Nostres Sires emmerra ses amis tous en paradis. La auront il si grant ioie de veir le Sainte Trinite: le Pere, le Fil, et le Saint Espirit, vn Diu en trois personnes; et de veoir le tres douce verge Marie gracieuse vestue et aournee de si grant glore, et comment ele est seruie d'angles et d'arcangles, et comment cascuns et cascune seront seru de si grant glore que se tout cil qui onques furent ne qui jamais seront estoient .m. tans plus sage que Salemons ne fu, ne saroient il mie dire ne comprendre le meneur ioie qui ert en paradis. He! dous Ihesus, lumiere nient ne defalans; tres sains, tres dignes, tres purs! Se i'auoie cent mile cuers et cent mile bouces, ne poroi-ge mie dire ne penser le centisme partie de le joie ne de le glore que vous donnes a vos amis en paradis. Et cele ioie et cele glore nous voelle otroijer Ille qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.

VI. APPENDIX


Premier, la mer outre mesure
S’élèvera outres les monts,
Comme un mur, haut en droiture . . . .
Apres ce signe, le second:
La mer se verra trébucher
En abime si très-profond,
Comme s’elle vouloit trémuuser . . . .
Le tiers sera dur et amer,
Car baleines et grands poissons
S’apparoiront dessus la mer . . . .
Le quart signe moulit perilleux,
En déguise étrange sera,
Car par feu grand et merveilleux
La mer et l’Océan ardra . . . .
Du quint signe sortiront merveilles;
Les arbres, les herbes sueront,
Cottes (sic) et roses vermeilles
Comme sang . . . .
Le sixième sera d’étrange guise . . . .
Arbres, châteaux, maisons, église,
Trébucheront tout en un jour . . . .
Le septième est de telle nature,
Que lors dessous le firmament,
N’y aura pierre tant soit dure
Qui ne se fonde promptement . . . .
Au huitième signe . . . .
Tant fort la terre tremblera,
Que rien vivant n’aura pouvoir
D’être sur pieds . . . .
Adonc un chacun cherchera
Lieu pour en terre se musser.
Au neuvième s’élèveront
Les vents en grande quantité,
Que les monts et vaux tomberont,
Mettant tout à égalité . . . .
Au dixième sortiront les morts . . . .
L'onzième jour les os des gens
Qui du siècle sont trépassés,
Seront sur tout les monuments
Qui seront ouverts et cassés . . . .
Le douzième jour les planètes,
Et les étoiles au ciel posées,
Tomberont, et paroîtront comètes
Merveilleusement enflammées . . . .
Le treizième est à douter,
Car tous ceux qui seront vivans
Mourront souvent sans respirer . . . .
Le quatorzième merveilleux
Et dont par-dessus tout sera,
Car à ce jour très-périlleux
Et le ciel et la terre ardra . . . .
Le quinzième pour tous vivans,
Terre et ciel renouvelleront,
Puis incontinent, sans délai,
Tous humains ressusciteront,
De toutes parts s'assembleront
Pour venir ouïr la sentence
Du juge qui tant douteront;
Point ne doit rire qui y pense.
I. Note sur le Revelabile selon Cajétan

Le premier article de la Somme de théologie de saint Thomas d’Aquin demande s’il était nécessaire qu’il y eût, outre les disciplines philosophiques, une autre doctrine. La réponse est affirmative. Au corps de l’article, cette doctrine est qualifiée de doctrine “sacrée”: sacra doctrina. D’innombrables controverses se sont développées, touchant le sens de cette formule. Dans le passé: Cajétan, Banez, Jean de Saint-Thomas, Gonet, Billuart et beaucoup d’autres en ont discuté le sens; ces controverses ne sont pas closes et bien qu’elles ne soient pas faites que de désaccords, elles vivent de ce qu’elles en contiennent. Il y aurait quelque naïveté à prétendre y mettre un terme; ce ne serait pas dans la nature des choses. Mais il n’est peut-être pas absolument vain de souhaiter qu’on en limite l’objet à ses dimensions réelles. Celles-ci, comme toujours, se mesurent à la question précise posée par saint Thomas dans l’article en question. C’est par rapport à elle seule que doivent se définir les termes de sa réponse. Assurément, il est légitime, utile, parfois même indispensable de savoir quel sens il leur donne en d’autres textes, pourvu toutefois qu’on se souvienne que, la question n’étant plus la même, les mêmes termes peuvent alors appeler des connotations nouvelles qui, compatibles avec les précédentes, n’avaient pas nécessairement à intervenir dans la première question. Nous espérons faire voir que, parmi les difficultés soulevées à propos de ce premier article, une au moins n’est pas nécessaire et que les solutions qu’on en propose, justes ou non en elles-mêmes, obscurcissent le problème au lieu de l’éclairer.

Supposant que le lecteur a le texte de la Somme sous les yeux, ou du moins sous la main, nous rappellerons simplement l’économie générale de ce premier article. Deux objections nient qu’un autre enseignement soit nécessaire, outre les disciplines philosophiques. En effet: (1) l’Ecriture nous déconseille de scruter ce qui nous dépasse; or ce qui est à portée de la raison est suffisamment enseigné par les disciplines philosophiques; un autre enseignement que le leur est donc superflu; (2) un enseignement ne peut porter que sur l’être (puisqu’on ne peut savoir que le vrai, qui est convertible avec l’être); or les disciplines philosophiques traitent de tous les êtres, y compris Dieu; c’est même pourquoi il y a une partie de la philosophie que l’on nomme “théologie”, ou “science divine”; il n’était donc pas nécessaire d’avoir un autre enseignement que celui des sciences philosophiques. Ce second argument évoque à l’imagination de l’historien les propositions que Tempier condamnera en 1277, touchant la suffisance de la philosophie en vue de la fin dernière de l’homme; sans nier que saint Thomas ait pu songer à quelques précurseurs de la doctrine, notons que le Commentaire sur les Sentences, antérieur à la Somme, renvoie sur ce point à Denys, dont ce n’est pas ici le lieu d’examiner le texte, mais que l’on tiendra difficilement pour un avant-coureur de l’aversoisme. Il s’agit simplement...


2 Eccli. iii, 22.

3 Metaph. E. I, 1026a 19.

4 Epistola ad Polycarpum, 2.

5 Sent., ProL qu. 1, ad 1°.
ment de savoir si la connaissance théologique de Dieu, dont parle Denys, est de même nature que celle dont avait parlé Aristote.

Le *Sed contra*, emprunté de saint Paul, répond que la révélation de l’Ecriture est tout entière “utile” pour nourrir l’homme à la justice: *Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis* est *ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum ad justitiam*. Or la révélation de l’Ecriture n’appartient pas aux disciplines philosophiques; il était donc utile qu’en dehors des disciplines philosophiques, il y eût un autre savoir, inspiré de Dieu. Le latin ne traduit pas exactement le grec du texte paulinien, mais le sens n’en est aucunement altéré. L’original dit: “Toute l’Ecriture est inspirée de Dieu et utile pour nourrir l’homme à la justice . . . ,” etc. L’important est que le mot “utile” figure dans les deux textes et que Thomas l’ait conservé. En effet, la question est de savoir si une doctrine divine était “nécessaire,” et le *Sed contra* répond qu’elle est “utile.” ce qui n’empêchera pas le *Respondeo* de conclure qu’elle est “nécessaire.” Il ne s’agit pas d’une inadvertence. En effet, on va le voir, son utilité en vue d’une certaine fin, puisqu’en vue de cette fin elle est irremplaçable, est précisément ce qui fait sa nécessité.

On ne saurait souligner ce point trop fortement. Thomas d’Aquin cherche l’unité de la théologie dans la convenance, qui peut aller jusqu’à la nécessité pratique, des moyens employés par Dieu en vue d’assurer la fin de la révélation. Parmi les vérités révélées, il pourra s’en trouver d’espèces différentes, mais puisque toutes seront nécessaires en vue de la même fin, elles appartiendront toutes à la théologie comme relevant pareillement de la révélation. Les difficultés vont naître du fait que, moins intéressé à la cause finale qu’à la cause formelle, Cajétan va hésiter à inclure de droit égal, au sein de la théologie, des vérités révélées qui exigent une révélation divine pour être connues et des vérités révélées qui, au moins en théorie, pourraient être connues de tous les hommes par les seules ressources de leur raison naturelle. Le lecteur de Cajétan se trouve dès lors en difficulté. En effet, tout ce que dit son commentaire sur la distinction de deux ordres de vérités révélées, les unes dont la nature même exige révélation pour être connues, les autres qui, en droit sinon en fait, pourraient être connues sans révélation, est authentiquement thomiste, mais il en fait un usage dont on peut douter qu’il soit thomiste, car Cajétan va tendre à séparer ce que saint Thomas a distingué pour le mieux unir.

Le corps de l’article est clair. Il commence par affirmer qu’un enseignement suivant la révélation divine était nécessaire au salut humain: *necessarium fuit ad humanam salutem*. Tout lecteur de saint Thomas insétera ici le commentaire classique de Cajétan sur le double sens de *necessarium*, qui se prend en deux acceptions: *simpliciter et ad finem; hic sumitur secundo modo*. Rien de plus juste. La distinction remonte à Aristote. En vue de ce que Cajétan tentera bientôt d’en faire sortir, rappelons-en le sens. Aristote distingue entre le nécessaire pour vivre, et le nécessaire pour vivre bien; par exemple: manger est nécessaire à la vie et à l’être, prendre un remède est nécessaire au bien être. Retenons de cette distinction que la nécessité de la doctrine sacrée est telle un vue d’un certain bien; mais notons surtout la manière dont Thomas d’Aquin formule sa réponse: *necessarium fuit ad humanam salutem . . . . necessarium fuit homini . . . . etc.,—toutes expressions suggérant qu’il s’agit ici de l’homme en général. Cette généralité du problème est essentielle à l’intelligence de la réponse. Dieu pouvait créer le genre humain sans vouloir le sauver, mais supposant qu’il ait voulu le sauver, il devenait alors “nécessaire” qu’une doctrine divinement inspirée fût ajoutée à la philosophie afin de rendre possible le salut de l’homme. La démonstration de l’insuffisance de la philos-

*If Tim. iii, 16.*

*Metaph. D, 5, 1015a 20-6.*

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ophie en vue de salut va se tenir tout entière à l'intérieur de cette donnée initiale: la possibilité du salut de l'homme en général.

La démonstration se fait en deux temps. Premièrement, la révélation des vérités nécessaires au salut qui dépassent les prises de la raison naturelle de l'homme, était nécessaire pour qu'il pût atteindre la fin à laquelle Dieu l'appelait. La proposition est quasi évidente; certains moyens nécessaires au salut étant naturellement inconnaisables à la raison humaine, il fallait qu'ils fussent révélés. Deuxièmement, même la révélation de celles des vérités nécessaires au salut qui sont accessibles à la raison naturelle était nécessaire: necessarium fuit hominem instrui revelatione divina. Les raisons de cette nécessité sont bien connues: sans la révélation, ces connaissances naturelles nécessaires au salut ne seraient sues que de peu d'hommes, après un long temps d'études et mêlées de beaucoup d'erreurs: a paucis et post longum tempus et cum admixture multorum errorum. Ici commencent les difficultés.

On s'est demandé si l'énumération était cumulative. Sont-ce les mêmes pauci, qui ne parviennent à ces vérités que post longum tempus et encore cum admixture multorum errorum? Ou bien s'agit-il seulement de certains d'entre eux? La lettre du texte ne permet guère le doute; le et deux fois répété ne peut signifier que: peu d'hommes, et ceux-ci après un long temps, et en outre mêlées à beaucoup d'erreurs. Mais le sens lui-même impose cette interprétation. Il est parfaitement certain que, selon la doctrine constante d'Aristote, reprise par saint Thomas, l'étude des questions métaphysiques vient la dernière, avec l'éthique, et qu'elle requiert de auditeurs beaucoup plus avancés en âge que nous ne semblons le croire aujourd'hui. Pour tous les hommes, sans exception, la connaissance de ces vérités ne pourrait être que tardive. Or, l'âge de la mort étant inconnu pour tous, la révélation de telles vérités est évidemment nécessaire à l'homme en général. Il ne s'agit donc pas seulement de résoudre le problème pour le genre humain en général (non sufficit humano generi), mais encore pour tous et à tout âge: omnibus facilis aditus ad salutem secundum quodcumque tempus. Cette règle ne souffrant aucune exception, il importe peu de savoir si aucun philosophe n'a jamais pu, ou ne pourra jamais, connaître ces vérités sans aucun mélange d'erreur. Un texte étrangement prudent de saint Thomas sur ce point, qui est une réponse moins précise que l'observation, note que, même sur un sujet susceptible de démonstration philosophique tel que l'unité de Dieu, les philosophes ont commis beaucoup d'erreurs. Il s'agit, notons-le, d'un article de foi: Credo in unum Deum . . . Thomas ne nie pas que le Philosophe ait démontré qu'il n'y a qu'un Dieu; il n'affirme plus qu'Aristote l'ait fait; il observe seulement: multa per fidem tenemus de Deo, quae naturalis ratione investigare philosophe non potuerunt: puta, circa providentiam ejus, et omnipotentiam, et quod ipse solus sit coelendus, quae omnia
trompes: après de longues études, isti in naturae lapsae viribus humanis; ergo . . .; si tarn magno et excellenti ingenio viri tin fut manicheen pendant neuf ans: Ergo gravissimos errores inciderunt; saint Augustin, même Platon et Aristote se sont ibid. necessaria homini, non potest haberi in statu naturales de ipso Deo quae quidem sunt brevi tempore acquisita circa veritates salutaires: Et denique distincta cognoscere, de facto, atteindre sans erreur des

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inaccessibles à la raison naturelle) sumitur necessarium primo modo, in secunda (vérités accessibles à la raison naturelle), secundo modo. Rien, dans le texte de saint Thomas, n’appelle cette distinction. Il ne s’agit pas des conditions requises pour qu’il y ait foi, mais de celles qui le sont pour que le salut de l’homme en général soit possible. Cette possibilité requiert la révélation de deux ordres de vérités formellement distincts, mais du point de vue de la cause finale, dont il s’agit ici, leur distinction formelle n’entraîne aucune différence. Il n’y a donc pas lieu, comme fait Cajétan dans le même passage, de nommer les premières revelabilia et les deuxième demonstrabilia. Saint Thomas lui-même ne le fait pas, et on ne voit pas pourquoi il le ferait; puisque toutes ces vérités ont été révélées par Dieu, il faut bien que toutes soient révélables. La notion de revelabilia, que Cajétan emprunte à un autre contexte, n’est pas requise directement par celui-ci. Dans le présent article, Thomas s’emploie au contraire à faire voir que, démontrables ou non, toutes ces vérités devaient être révélées parce qu’il est nécessaire qu’elles soient crues; c’est cette nécessité qui, du point de vue du problème posé, et par conséquent de la cause finale, les inclut toutes dans une même classe, celle des vérités dont la révélation était nécessaire en vue du salut.

Cajétan déplace par sa distinction l’axe de la doctrine qu’il commente; il divise du point de vue de la cause formelle ce que Thomas d’Aquin s’efforce précisément d’unir du point de vue de la cause finale. Il transpose, et la transposition qu’il opère en prépare d’autres dont ses successeurs prendront la responsabilité. Ces demonstrabilia, subrepticement introduits dans la Somme en contradistinction avec les revelabilia, vont tendre à sortir de la doctrine sacrée pour constituer une théologie naturelle d’un nouveau genre: naturelle parce qu’elle fait partie intégrante de la métaphysique comme celle des païens, mais spontanément d’accord avec la foi chrétienne comme celle des théologiens chrétiens. Il est vain de se demander ce que saint Thomas eût pensé de la manière dont Cajétan interprétait cet article de la Somme. de quel droit lui prêterions-nous nos propres pensées? D’autre part, il est difficile d’imaginer que Cajétan lui-même n’ait pas eu conscience de l’infléchissement qu’il imposait à la doctrine de la Somme sur ce point. Il ne commet ni contre-sens ni faux sens; il modifie dans un sens défini et constant, qui n’est pas celui de saint Thomas d’Aquin. Tout l’effort de la Somme en ce point tendait à faire voir que la révélation des deux ordres de vérités était pareillement nécessaire au salut de l’homme: l’effort de Cajétan veut faire voir que ces deux ordres de vérités révélées ne sont pas de même nature. D’une part, on hésite à penser que, commentateur, Cajétan veuille délibérément nous engager dans une voie différente de celle du texte qu’il commente; d’autre part, si l’on distingue avec lui les demonstrabilia des revelabilia, il faut nier que les démonstrables puissent être aussi des révélables au sens plein du terme. Il ne reste alors d’autre choix que de tenir les démonstrables en marge de la théologie, ou de les y inclure et d’en ruiner l’unité.

On est hanté par ce problème en abordant le commentaire de Cajétan sur le troisième article de la première question: “Si la doctrine sacrée est une science une.” Il est extraordinaire à quel point les commentateurs de saint Thomas se sont facilement contentés sur ce point dont l’importance en notre temps est devenue capitale. La portée du problème était pourtant claire dans l’esprit de saint Thomas lui-même. Au moment de commencer l’exposé d’une théologie qui ferait sans cesse appel aux ressources de la philosophie, de la grammaire, du droit et pratiquement de toutes les sciences ou disciplines naturelles pour éclaircir le sens de la révélation chrétienne, saint Thomas se demandait comment ce mélange de révélation et de philosophie pourrait conserver une unité quelcon-
que. Se demander si la théologie ainsi entendue peut être une science "une", c'était précisément se poser cette question.

La difficulté est évidemment pour le théologien d'intégrer de la philosophie à la doctrine sacrée sans s'exposer au reproche de rompre l'unité de l'objet dont traite cette doctrine. Bien entendu, saint Thomas maintiendra intacte la distinction entre ce que Cajéton devait nommer les démonstrables (même s'il se trouve que Dieu les ait révélés) et les révélables qui ne peuvent être connus que par révélation; pourtant, sauf erreur de notre part, même ce que Cajéton nommera les *demonstrabilia* est inclus par saint Thomas dans les *revelabilia*. Démontrable ou non, tout ce que Dieu a révélé est du révélable. Ce qui fait de la notion thomiste de révélable la clef du problème, c'est précisément que la raison formelle en est assez générale pour englober dans sa compréhension celles des vérités révélées qui sont de soi accessibles à la raison naturelle et celles qui, en cette vie du moins, l'excèdent irrémédiablement.

On ne voit pas d'abord ce qui pouvait générer Cajéton dans une telle notion, et, à vrai dire, ses difficultés semblent avoir été psychologiques plutôt que logiques. La position de saint Thomas est d'un réalisme des plus concrets: de soi connais-sable ou non, tout ce que Dieu a jugé nécessaire de révéler à l'homme en vue de son salut appartient de plein droit à doctrine sacrée et par conséquent à la théologie. Tout cela est du révélable. Pour un esprit abstrait comme celui de Cajéton, il y avait quelque chose d'incomplètement intelligible dans cette libre décision d'un Dieu révélant du naturellement connais-sable afin de rendre possible le salut de tous, y compris même ceux dont la métaphysique excède les ressources intellectuelles. La seule manière de rétablir en sa perfection un ordre formel compromis par les libertés initiales de la finalité pratique—car comment déduire les décisions de la volonté divine?—est de renvoyer le démontrable à la philosophie où il est chez lui de plein droit.

Tel est, si nous ne nous trompons, le sens de l'opération discrètement effectuée par Cajéton dans son commentaire au premier article. Nous n'oserions affirmer absolument que le *revelabile*, sur la raison formelle duquel Cajéton fonde l'unité de la théologie dans son commentaire à I, 1, 3, n'est plus exactement celui de saint Thomas, mais nous pouvons encore moins nous empêcher de penser que tel est en effet le cas. Peut-être la démonstration de cette thèse est elle de soi impossible. Quand un commentateur manipule un texte pour l'accorder à d'autres fins que celles de son auteur, la preuve de ses intentions intimes est au moins fort difficile à faire. On ne peut qu'inviter le lecteur à tenter lui-même l'expérience après l'avoir averti du problème.

Car enfin pourquoi consulte-t-on Cajéton sur ce point, sinon pour éclaircir le sens d'un passage qui ne doit rien avoir de plus mystérieux que les autres textes de la *Somme* et sur lequel pourtant beaucoup de commentateurs semblent rester hésitants? Il n'a d'autre défaut que d'être trop clair pour ceux que son sens obvieux ne satisfait pas. "La doctrine sacrée peut, tout en étant une *una existens* considérer ce dont traitent les diverses sciences philosophiqués sous une raison unique, savoir, en tant qu'elles sont révélables par Dieu, de sorte qu'ainsi la doctrine sacrée soit comme une impression de la science divine qui, une et simple, s'étend à toutes choses." En effet, toute la première question de la *Somme* fonde l'unité de la théologie sur sa transcendance divine, source d'inclusions qui ne sont jamais des additions ni des juxtapositions pures et simples. Elle est Sagesse et elle l'est en un sens qui n'appartient qu'à elle. Dans le cas présent, cette transcendance est ce qui lui permet, *una existens*, d'inclure éminemment tout le savoir philosophique dont le théologien peut faire usage pour promouvoir l'œuvre de la rédemption. Cette extraordinaire doctrine qui inclut l'enseignement des sciences philosophiques, dans la mesure où le théologien en fait usage, parmi

16 Ibid.

17 I, 1, 6.
les divinitus revelabilia, qu'en dit Cajétan? Rien. Ce commentateur, que de bons maîtres nous ont accoutumé à tenir pour l'interprète par excellence de la lettre thomiste, s'étend ici à l'aide sur la distinction, excellente en elle-même, entre la raison formelle d'objet qua et la raison formelle d'objet sub qua; il défend la notion de révélable, telle que lui-même l'entend, contre les objections plutôt vives qu'Albert le Grand avait déjà dirigées contre elle; il la défend encore contre la critique plus tardive de Pierre Aurille; en ce sens, Cajétan est bien fondé à dire qu'il maintient la lettre même de la doctrine:

"Et hoc est quod in littera dictur, dum ratio quare theologia sit una scientia, assignatur ex unitate rationis formalis sub qua, seu object et objectum, idest luminis divinae revelationis; omnia enim dicatur considerari in theologia inquantum sunt divinitus revelabilia. Et sic patet vis et sensus rationis allatae in littera.

Tout ceci est vrai, et c'était bien là ce qu'il fallait répondre à Maître Albert mais il n'en reste pas moins vrai que le révélable, ou la revelabilitas dont Cajétan entreprend la défense est celui même qu'en son commentaire à I, 1, 1, il distinguait avec soin du "démonstrable." On ne peut donc s'empêcher de se demander si le commentateur n'est pas plus engagé dans l'œuvre de nous conduire dans ses propres voies que soucieux de nous ouvrir celles de son maître. Ses intentions nous échapperont toujours, mais des interprètes non moins qualifiés que Cajétan ont exprimé déjà des doutes sur la fidélité de son interprétation en ce point. On agirait peut-être sagement an averissant les débutants auxquels on recommande le recours à son commentaire qu'ils ne doivent pas toujours s'attendre à y retrouver les positions authentiques de saint Thomas. En fait, la lecture de Cajétan accroît parfois les difficultés plutôt qu'elle ne les allège. Il faut d'abord comprendre le texte de la Somme; il faut ensuite comprendre le texte du commentaire, souvent plus difficile que celui de la Somme; il faut enfin se livrer à une

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enquête toujours très délicate pour s’assurer si ce que Cajétan se propose de nous faire comprendre est sa propre pensée ou celle de saint Thomas. Ne pas arriver, malgré la bonne volonté qu’on y met, à retrouver la doctrine de la Somme dans celle du plus célèbre de ses commentaires ne prouve pas nécessairement que l’on soit dans l’erreur.

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II. Sir Degare: ll. 992-997

IN HIS study of Sir Degare, George Patterson Faust describes this Middle English poem of around a thousand lines as a “Breton lay in exactly the same sense that Chaucer’s Franklin’s Tale is one. As an imitation, and as that alone, can it be placed in the same category with the poems of Marie de France.” On careful study, in fact, certain features of the Breton lay are prominent throughout Sir Degare. Though lacking the familiar prologue and epilogue, the story is set in Brittany, and the ideals of conduct which it represents are courtly. Details which suggest fairyland—especially the ravishing knight—suggest as well such non-realistic lays as Guigemar, Lansal, and Yonec of Marie de France. Degare’s name is formally derived to agree in style with Lai le Fraisne, Bisclavret, Laostic and Chievrejuveil (ll. 252-56). Yet, as convincing as these features appear, they could easily be imitated for any of several reasons, especially to trade on the popularity of the Breton lay or to employ for a political reason a literary form associated with British tradition. Sir Degare, this note will attempt to show, can be better understood as an imitation coming after the floruit of the Breton lay (1160-1225) if an historical reference which it makes is clearly explained.

When the narrative reaches a climax, it sets aside all earlier methods of identifying characters and names the hero’s opponent by means of the distinctive coat of arms which he bears on his shield. When Degare meets his father in a Sohrab and Rustem combat, he sees him as

a dougth knight

Vpon a stede, god and list,
In armes pat were riche and sur,
Wig be sscheld of asur
And þre bor-heuedes þerin,
Wel ipainted wig gold fin. (ll. 992-97)

Although a shield charged with three boars’ heads may signify only a fierce warrior, the combination of its details is too striking to be unintended: 1) a shield in an azure field; 2) the three boars’ heads 3) in gold. This description, unlike others in Libeaus Desconus, Octovian and Sir Thopas, to which Kolbing long ago called attention, is so sufficiently detailed as to allow a positive identification of the family to which the arms belong: the Gurdons or Gordons. In May of 1266, we know, Sir Adam de Gordon (d. 1306) engaged in a single combat which in many respects resembles that described in Sir Degare. Still fighting the war on the side of the baronial faction, he ravaged, along with others of the disinherited, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Hampshire. Then, when

the Lord Edward marched against him and his followers, he faced Sir Adam in single combat, seriously wounded him and presently repaired with his prisoner to Windsor Castle. Such, the usual historical version of the encounter (DNB, VII, 436: VIII, 795-96), is supported, in fact, by the annals of Dunstable and by the chronicler Wykes. Yet another version of the combat circulated widely. This, the more dramatic of the two, records that the fighting was interrupted when the Lord Edward, impressed with his opponent's valor, suddenly and mercifully restored him to a position of trust. Trivet tells clearly what happened in the wood of Alton, Hampshire:

Cujus vires et probitatem ex fama cognitas cupiens Edwardus experiri, cum in manu forti supervenisset eadem se ad pugnam paranti, praecepsit suis, ne quis inter eos impediret singularare certamen. Congressi itaque mutuos ictus ingeminant; parique sorte, neutro cedente alteri, diutius dimicant. Delectatus tandem Edwardus militis virtute et animo, inter pugnandum consulti ei ut se redderet, vitam pollicens et fortunam. Cui miles adquiescens, abjectis armis se illico reddidit, quem eadem nocte Gildfordiam Edwardus transmisit, reginae matris cum recommendatione supplici praesentandum, quem postea hereditati restitutum, Edwardus semper carum habuit atque fidum.

This version differs further by naming Guildford, and not Windsor, as the place to which the warriors then turned. At the castle of Guildford, as Rishanger also notes, they met the Queen Mother, Eleanor of Province, to whom Edward recommended continued leniency toward Sir Adam.

In the historic ballad “Prince Edward and Adam Gordon,” printed in Thomas Evans’ *Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative* (1784), and intended here as a striking analogue, the happy ending is preserved. The drama of the “poetical” version of the incident appears as the Lord Edward pauses in combat to say:

Adam, they valour charms my soule,
I ever love the brave;
And tho I feare not thy dread sword
Thy honour I would save. (II. 85-88)

He offers his opponent friendship or continued combat:

Nowe, Adam, take thy lasting choice,
Thy prince awaits thy word:
Accept, brave man, my smile or frowne,
My friendship or my sword. (II. 109-12)

With this version and that in Trivet, Sir Degare offers certain points of agreement. In the narrative lay, a Sohrab and Rustem story reaches its climax in the single combat between the knight and his son. The knight bears arms which we have identified as those of Sir Adam de Gordon. He fights until he notices his son’s sword with a broken point, and this sword he left years before with Degare’s mother after ravishing her. Matching the sword and broken point, which he has kept with him for twenty years, he faints with joy on discovery of his son. As in the account in Trivet and Rishanger, the younger warrior then takes the older to the castle where his mother lies:

“Ac zif hit youre wille were,
To mi moder we wende ifere;
For she is in gret mourning.” (II. 1070-72)
The arms on Degare’s shield, however, little resemble the three lions passant guardant or associated with the Lord Edward:

\[\text{A sscheld he kest aboute his swere Pat was of armes riche and dere, Wij þre maldenes heuedes of siluer brigt, Wij þrounes of gold preciuous of sigt.} \]

(II. 1018-21)

In fact, in thirteenth-century rolls of arms no exact counterpart of this shield can be found. The assumption which we must make is that the author of Sir Degare first allowed the crowns to appear as a badge of royalty but dropped the lions as unsuited to the theme of conciliation—between Edward as heir-apparent and Sir Adam de Gordon, a symbol of anti-royalist feeling after the death of Sir Simon de Montfort and the battle of Evesham. By this time the royal lions had suffered enough through the bestiary etymology of the partisan Battle of Lewes (1264?): leo-pardus, “a cross-breeding of lion and pard, of courage and deceit.” Although lions traditionally symbolize mercy as well—according to Alexander Neckham, parcere subjectis scit nobilis ira leonis”—still mercy could be better conveyed by maidens in white, three in all to correspond to the three lions, and would fittingly characterize the Lord Edward as heir-apparent, who early saw in mercy the only means of uniting a nation torn by a long, bloody civil war. The chronicler Wykes, in describing the submission of John de Vesci in the same year 1266, extols Edward cuius inaestimabilis et universa semper contra transgressores extitit misericordia (p. 198). This attitude, in turn, must have been based on a realistic view of Edward’s prospects, which Bishop Stubbs summarizes:

Earl Simon and his companions had perished, but the great end of their work had been achieved; they had made it impossible for a king again to rule as John had ruled, and as Henry had tried to rule. They had drawn out a plan of reform in the laws which Henry himself had accepted after their death, although he had struggled against it and evaded it whilst they lived; for most of the articles which had been forced upon him at Oxford in 1258 and at Westminster in 1259 he had re-enacted in the great statute of Marlborough, in 1267 (p. 212).

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III. The Formation of the Marriage Bond According to the Summa Parisiensis

The main lines of the evolution of the doctrine concerning the formation of the marriage bond in the middle of the twelfth century are well known. Shortly after 1140 Gratian in his Decretum distinguishes between the matrimonium initiatum which is the desponsatio and the matrimonium ratum which requires in addition the consummation of the matrimonium initiatum. The first is more than a simple promise to marry, an engagement; it is the placing of the matrimonial consent so that the copula which follows is not a simple fornication.


but results in an indissoluble marriage portraying the sacramental symbolism. For the sake of convenience this doctrine is referred to as the copula theory, or the theory of the School of Bologna. About ten years later Peter Lombard in his Sentences proposes what is called the consensual theory or the theory of the School of Paris. He distinguishes two kinds of desponsatio, one per verba de futuro, the other per verba de praesenti. The first is a simple promise to marry, an engagement; the second is a real marriage, ratum and indissoluble, without any need of being consummated.

The adherents of these two divergent theories, the exact position of each and the contribution made by them toward the evolution of the final doctrine, crystallized chiefly by the legislation of Pope Alexander III, have not been the object of such close study. This is particularly true for those authors whose works still remain unpublished.

Among those canonists who are usually considered to have belonged to the school of decretists following the teaching of the School of Bologna is to be found the anonymous author of the Summa Parisiensis. This has resulted primarily from the fact that scholars have relied exclusively upon a few passages published by Maassen and especially by Schulte. Now that we have a complete edition of the early Summa, probably about 1160, it seems advisable to make a more thorough investigation of the problem.

It is to be noted first of all that the author has not expressly treated the question of the formation of marriage because his work contains no commentary on the Causa 27 where Gratian had handled the problem. Consequently we are obliged to look for his views in various other passages incidentally thrown into his explanations of other texts of the Decretum.

Early in the work is found the most frequently quoted text on our question. The author reports the opposition between what he calls the custom of the Galliean Church and that of the Church of Rome:

Invenitur quaedam consuetudo quae aliter hodie in Francia, aliter in ecclesia Romana observatur. Si enim aliquis aliquam verbis de praesenti desponsaverit et benedictionem cum ea sacerdotalem susceperit sed antequam eam cognoscat ab alio desponsata carnaliter cognita fuerit, ecclesia Franciae cogit eam redire ad primum, sed non ecclesia Romana. Et adhuc quid sit melius ignoratur.

As the last sentence of this text indicates, no official legislative solution has as yet been given to the question but, as we shall see, this does not prevent the author later taking up a definite position on the point.

Further on, dealing with clerical marriage, he sets forth the doctrine of both Gratian and the Lombard on the formation of marriage and already shows some preference for the teaching of the second:

Alibi vero ex his Gratianus argumentatur in XXVII Causa quia inter sponsos non est conjugium, quoniam si conjugium esset, qui sponsam post mortem sponsi duceret esset maritus viduae. Sed qui tales duxit auctoritate hujus decreti promovetur; quare primum non fuit uxor. Sed ecclesia Francorum judicat quod si facta desponsatio verbis praesentis temporis, i.e. 'Ego accipio te in meam' et econsumo, exinde est matrimonium ratum. Unde etsi alii desponsata carnaliter adjungatur, cogitur redire ad primum qui eam [non] cognovit. Sic ergo matrimonium fuit. Sic ergo clericus qui eam duxerit, promovendus non est, quod tamen hoc decreto conceditur. Respondit autem Magister Petrus Lombardus in Sententis suis ad illud

2 LeBras, art. cit., col. 2155; Esmein, op cit., p. 138; Dauvillier, op cit., p. 14; Freisen, op cit., p. 185. See also Joyce, op cit., p. 63, note 1.


4 Ibid., p. XXXI ff.

5 D. I, c. 11; ed. cit., p. 11.
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Gratiani: Dicimus quod ista fuit desponsata verbis de futuro, nec fuit ibi consensus de praesenti. Contra quem videtur esse quod dicitur in hoc capitulo 'Velata' (cap. 20.), sed sic exponi potest, i.e. pallio sponsi cooperta. Posset tamen concedi quod fuisset desponsatio, nec sequitur illud Gratiani, quia ad hoc quod dimissa ab uno, si ducta fuerit ab alio, impediat ordines, non sufficit ut fuisset uxor alterius, sed etiam ut ab eo carnaliter cognita. Haec ergo distinctio Gratiani quae hic ponitur conveniens est, licet post non convenienter argumentatur ex his.

It is however toward the end of his work, commenting upon some of the other Causae dealing with marriage, that we find clear indications of the views of the author on the problem. He affirms that there is an indissoluble marriage as soon as a present consent has been given providing the persons are not prevented by some impediment from contracting a legitimate marriage:

Statim enim ex quo consensus expressus per verba praesentis temporis, est conjugium, quacumque de causa contrahatur, dum tamen sint personae legitimae ad contrahendum.

The same is true for a clandestine desponsatio, even though such unions are forbidden:

Clandestina itaque desponsatio quia [non] habet perpetuam causam prohibitionis, sed magis ad majorem cautelam prohibitur, si forte fiat, dissolvit non debet, sed si forte utriusque confessione comprobarit fuerit, simul manere debent. Statim enim ex eo quod aliquis alicui promisit per verba praesentis temporis se ducturum eam in conjugem, matrimonium est perfectum et ratum. Sed ne dare tur alterutri facultas reclamandi clandestina celebrata desponsatione, idcirco prohibitum ne fiat, ne forte ex divortio, sive ille alteram ducet vel illa alteri nuberet, adulterii crimem incurreret.

The author insists upon the consent as the one essential element and explains this consent espousing the teaching of Peter Lombard:

[Si] enim omnia desinunt quae in decreto postea enumerantur, sed consensus adsit, nihilominus est matrimonium, sed non legitimum, ut vis fiat in verbo, hoc est non per legem impletum. Si forte aliquis alicui promiserit jure-jurando se ducturum eam in conjugem, cogendus est deinceps eam tenere. Augustinus contra videtur assere. Dicit enim, licet aliquis fidem det alicui, non tamen idem cogendus est eam retinere. Solutio: Si dixerimus auctoritatem Augustini constitutioni Novellarum praeposere, non est absurdum. Vel dicamus quoniam constitutio illa loquitur de eo qui jure-jurando per verba praesentis temporis promittit alicui se eam ducturum; Augustinus vero de eo qui per verba futuri temporis jure-jurando religione interposita promittit alicui se ducturum eam.

Children are unable to contract marriage because they are incapable of professing a matrimonial consent:

Infantes etenim qui ratione carent matrimonium contrahere non possunt, quia vero nec consentire. Ubi autem consensus non est, non est matrimonium, sicut in capitolo illo habetur 'Ubi non est' (cap. 1).

If matrimonial consent is not freely given, the party is not obliged to carry out the marriage, but once freely given, force may be employed to compel him to do so:

\[ \text{\footnotesize * D. 34, c. 19; ibid., pp. 33-4.} \]
\[ \text{\footnotesize \footnotesize * C. 30, q. 5, c. 1; ibid., p. 237.} \]
\[ \text{\footnotesize ** C. 32, q. 2, pr.; ibid., p. 241.} \]
\[ \text{\footnotesize ** C. 30, q. 2, pr.; ibid., p. 235.} \]

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Si autem ab initio desponsationi consentiat, postea autem dissentiat, verberibus etiam cogenda est eum habere cui desponsa est.\textsuperscript{11}

Not only does our canonist accept the Gallican theory but he is at pains to reject categorically the teaching of the School of Bologna and the distinction of Gratian between the *matrimonium initiatum* and the *matrimonium consummatum*:

Istud decretum canonicae scripturae obviare videtur et idcirco omnino reprobatur. Magistri tamen Boloniensis illud salvare volentes dicunt decretum istud loqui de initiato conjugio, non autem consummato, ut in eo casu qui continere non potest, nubat in Domino, si mulier infirmitate corrupta viro-debitum persolvere non poterit. Sed sicut frequentius dictum, [si in] contrahendo legitimae fuerint personae, quantumcumque deinceps contingat horribile, nullomodo potest pri ori tori fides violari.\textsuperscript{12}

Again, discussing the case where a second marriage has been contracted because the first husband is believed dead, it is stated:

Magistri [Boloniensis] tamen, non simpliciter sed cum distinctione, pristina conjugia redintegranda esse asserunt. Dicunt enim si forte initiatum [non] consummatum fuerit, prius conjugium redintegrandum non esse. Si autem initiatum fuerit consummatum, uxorem viro esse asserunt. Sed sine omni distinctione dicimus uxorem a viro suo separandum et priori restituendum si initiuit sit conjugium per verba praesentis temporis.\textsuperscript{13}

Attempting a concordance of two texts, the first affirming that putting away one's wife and marrying another is adultery, and the second stating that a man may to avoid incontinence put away a wife who is incapable of rendering the debitum and marry another, the author says that the second text is apocryphal. He then presents the solution of the Bolognese School and finally his own.

Magistri tamen concedentes illud abusivum sonare dicunt quoniam de matrimonio initiato, non autem consummato decretum illud loquitur, ut in eo casu licite dimittit vir uxorem et uxor virum. Sed nos dicimus statim matrimonium esse initiatum, consummatum et ratum ex quo fit consensus expressus per verba praesentis temporis si contrahentes in contrahendo legitimae fuerint personae. Quidquid enim post contingat quantumcumque horribile, excepta causa fornicationis, matrimonium non dissolvitur, ut in sequenti capitulio [et] alibi ostenditur.\textsuperscript{14}

The canonist always emphasizes that in order that the consent be effective it is required that the persons be capable of marriage or, in our terminology, that there exist no diriment impediment:

Ex hoc decreto confirmatur opinio eorum qui dicunt nullomodo, nullo casu nisi fornicationis interveniente causa, ab invicem aliquos separare non posse si in contrahendo legitimae fuerint personae.\textsuperscript{15}

If the *impossibilitas coeundi* follows the marriage, si in contrahendo legitimae personae fuerint, nullomodo dissolvitur.\textsuperscript{16}

I believe the simple presentation of these texts is sufficient evidence of the fact that the author of the *Summa Parisiensis* is neither content with simply reporting the two divergent theories of his time nor is he a follower of the...
Master whose work he is commenting upon. On the contrary, he is a strong supporter of the teaching of Peter Lombard and of the general views of the School of Paris on the question of the formation of the marriage bond."

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IV. A Hitherto Unknown Commentary on Boethius' De Hebdomadibus
Written by Clarenbaldus of Arras

In the introduction to his edition of Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy and Opuscula Sera, R. Peiper notes: Nescio utrum Clarenbaldi an alius sit tractatus super B. de trinitate qui est in codice S. Omeri n. 142, 2 s. XII qui sic incipit: "Cum regimini scholarum accitus ab episcopo Laudunensi etc." It seems that Peiper was the first to draw attention to a thirteenth-century manuscript of Clarenbaldus' commentary or tractatus on Boethius' De Trinitate in the library of Valenciennes, though he does not seem to have known another (fourteenth-century) handwritten copy of the same work at Balliol College, Oxford, which Cardinal Pitra had intended to publish in the Spicilegium Solesmense. Unfortunately, W. Jansen who finally edited the treatise in 1926 was much less careful than R. Peiper and thus deprived himself of the third, oldest and best manuscript known to this date. Without examining the manuscript of St. Omer and obviously misled by its incipit, Jansen discarded Peiper's reference to the manuscripts of Valenciennes and St. Omer with the categorical, though false, statement: Beide Kommentare sind nicht identisch. As a matter of fact, they are identical with the exception of the introduction from which we learn that Clarenbaldus directed the School of Laon when many claustrales began urging him to write a tractatus on the Boethian De Trinitate. They kept complaining to him about the difficulty of the glosae written sermone perplexo et stilo involuto by the Bishop of Poitiers. The introduction or prologus, as it is called in a marginal note, begins on folio 31 and reads as follows:

Cum regimini scholarum accitus ab episcope Laudunensi, qui nunc urbi praesidet, in philosophiae laribus anhelanter obversarer, die quadam pauculis mecum assumptis sociis ad coenobium Sancti Vicentii archivium ecclesiae inspecturus egressus sum. Ubi ab abbate coenobii quaestio mihi proposita est, quo nam modo in faciem protoplasti Creator vitae spiraculum inspirasset. Quam quaestionem cum, ut abbati videbatur, sufficienter expedissem, oh, inquit, utinam tarn vehemens ad perscrutationem divinae scripturae fore velles quam ad ethicorum, videlicet Aristotelis et Boethii, documenta per sistis intentus. Cumque subridens Aristotelem paganum, Boethium vero christianae fidei ex ipsius scriptis validum assertorem intimassem, laetatus valde abbas obnixe me adjurare coepit, quatenus ipsi super Boethii de Trinitate asserta tractatum aliquem traderem. Quam abbatis voluntatem fortasse negligentiae tradidissem, si non postea multorum claustralium postulationes apud me invaluissent conquerentium de difficultate glosarum episcopi Pictavensis, quis ille sermone perplexo et stilo involuto super

Thus the argument for the Parisian origin of our Summa can be considerably strengthened. See ed. cit., p. XVII and especially the first two lines of p. XIX.

Leipzig, Teubner, 1871.

Ibid., p. L. Cf. Catal. Gén. III (Paris, 1861), p. 78. The manuscript belonged to the Abbaye de Saint-Bertin and was written in the twelfth century. The treatise begins on fol. 31v, ends with Deo gratias on fol. 77v, and is immediately followed by an introduction to a commentary on Boethius, De Hebdomadibus beginning with the words: Eam logicae partem quae dialectica dicitur. The explicit on fol. 92r reads: Si cui autem aliter videtur, si tamen bene, nullum bonum criminalum. Both commentaries are without any indication of the author.

W. Jansen, Der Kommentar des Clarenbaldus von Arras zu Boethius De Trinitate (Breslau, 1926), p. 2.

Jansen, p. 2.
Boethii scripta de Trinitate reliquit. Concurrentibus itaque praedicti abbatis aliorumque religioni deditoris sacris postulationibus eaxm quaestionem, quam contra Arianos de Trinitate personarum et unitate divinae substantiae Symmacho Boethius evolvit, exponere conatus sum, non quo mei viribus ingenii considerem sed ut doctorum Theodorici Britonis et Hugonis de Sancto Victore, apud quos in hoc opere vehementem operam dedi, lectiones imitarer.

Te ergo, dilecte mi amice, Odo, inspectorem atque judicem mei laboris constituuo consisus quod, si in aliquo exorbitaverim, tu justus corripies me in misericordia et increpabis me. Nullius adulatoris oleum impinguet caput meum. Quod forte facesse fieret si imperito artium et theologiae judicium istud committerem, cum eo honore indigius ad hujusmodi judicium se gloriaretur electum. In te autem omnis mihi abest metus quoniam vera amicitia omnem fugat adulationem et artium theologiaeque peritiam perspicacem promittit judicem, ut, si qua corrigenda videantur, emendes, quae vero catholice dicta sunt, commendes.

Necque enim haec duo facilia factu sunt quoniam, cum sit una vera fallaciae carens doctrina, quinque illi obsistunt fucatae fallacessque doctrinae et tamen veritatis ejus colore se nitere mentiuntur. Prima earum sterilis appellatur, secunda involucrum frivoli, tertia vulgaris opinio, quarta prava expositionis, quinta amphibologia. Et primae quidem duae verum docent sed inutiliter. Reliquae vero falsitatis argui possunt. Est autem sterilis doctrinam quae integritatem rei propositae non prosequitur ut si quis docturus omnibus esse in Deo dicat hoc esse omnium scire Deum. Et ad hujusmodi quidem doctrinam qualelibet anus prompta esse potest et facilis. Involucrum autem frivoli est, cum quis nomen philosophi falsus adeptus ad operimentum inscientiae verba quaerit majora sesquipedalibus, cum res in se parva leviter possit dici ut qui volens diciere corporis intellatum sine posteriori corporis forma non appareste in materia dixit reginam non esse in thalamo sine comitante pedissequa. Et ita quidem involvit frivolum, ut in Parnasso somniasse videatur. Vulgaris opinio est quam adhuc hodie multi veritatem in artibus perspicientes, tacitam tamen veritatem, suis auditoribus propinant, ut quamplurimos sibi parent auditores quales olim Stoici fuisset perhibentur ut qui quod Deus omnium providet, ex necessitate evenire omnium asserebant. Hoc enim facile vulgo poterat persuaderi. Temeraria sive prava expositio est ut cum quis se esse lapidem concedit eo quod in supremo genere cum lapide conveniat dieens sensum non verba spectari oportere. Amphibolum est cum quis suis sermonibus multiplices significationes inserit, ut cum multis concordare in sua sententia videatur.

Vera autem et imitanda doctrina est quae sibi cavet, ne aliquam ex his quinque vitiosis intermiscat. Non igitur haec dogmatum genera internoscere cuivis facile est. Ideoque tuae cautelae dijudicandum opus istud supposui.

Then follows the text, published by W. Jansen, beginning with the words: *Tria sunt quae hominum vitam...* From the word obversarer at the beginning of the prologue one may be inclined to gather that Clarenbaldus wrote this treatise after leaving Laon, but the remark exponere conatus sum indicates that he wrote the prologue after the completion of his work, when he decided to submit it to a friend and competent judge by the name of Odo. Hence the treatise itself was probably composed at Laon, while the prologue was written somewhere else, most likely at Arras. We know that Clarenbaldus did not write the work before the death of St. Bernard on August 20, 1153, and his remark that the Bishop of Poitiers "left behind" (reliquit) some glosses on Boethius' *De Trinitate* points to a date after Gilbert's death on September 4, 1154. Historical records show that Clarenbaldus was a praepositus in Arras at least from 1152-1156. In 1160,

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2 Jansen, p. 9.
he was succeeded by Roger I (1160-1170), but the name Clarenbaldus is again recorded after the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury on December 29, 1170, since an Archdeacon of Arras, called Clarenbaldus, donated some relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury to a convent at Bapaume near Arras. Although the name Clarenbaldus was by no means uncommon at the time, we can safely identify both the praepositus and the archidiaconus of Arras with the magister of Laon. It is possible that Clarenbaldus presided over the school of Laon before becoming a praepositus, i.e., before 1152 at the latest. If so, he would have been “summoned” (accitus) to his directorship by Walter of St. Maurice, Bishop of Laon from 1151-1155, still living when the prologue was written. This would mean that he directed the school for no longer than one year, that he returned to Arras in 1152 (at the latest) and wrote his commentary after St. Bernard’s death in 1153. Certainly his prologue was written after Gilbert’s death in 1154. As praepositus, however, Clarenbaldus was engaged in administrative rather than scholarly activities which the extant records confirm. Hence it is much more probable, if not certain, that the Bishop who summoned him to Laon was Gautier II of Mortagne (1155-1174), a noted scholar and writer whom John of Salisbury singles out as the leader of a group professing a new doctrine on the notio (universals). Since Clarenbaldus holds the same view, it is quite understandable that Bishop Gautier called upon him to head the once famous centre of learning, the school of Laon. This would well explain why Clarenbaldus was succeeded by Roger I (1160-1170). The abbot of St. Vincent to whom the prologue refers must have been Walter who headed the community from 1156-1174. We do not know how long Clarenbaldus taught philosophy at Laon and there is no evidence to prove that he ever taught at Arras. Even after his return to Arras at an unknown date, he could still be called magister, as he is called in both manuscripts used by Jansen. On his return, most likely under Bishop Andreas I of Paris (1161-1173), he was promoted to the dignity of archidiaconus at Arras which accounts for the title archidiaconus attrebatensis. It is safe to assume that Clarenbaldus “beloved friend” was Odo of Ourscamp who died in 1171 and was well known as the author of theological Quaestiones. This would explain why Clarenbaldus devotes several pages to the exposition of the Quaestio and its significance in the scholastic method. We can, therefore, conclude with probability that Clarenbaldus wrote his treatise during his teaching career at Laon, not earlier than 1156 when he is last recorded as praepositus. It is more probable that he did not start his directorship before 1160...
when he was succeeded by Roger I. He left Laon before the death of his friend Odo in 1171. Hence he most likely composed his work between 1160-1170.  

Hitherto Clarenbaldus has only been known as the author of a treatise on Boethius, *De Trinitate*. However, the manuscript of St. Omer which Jansen failed to examine contains a commentary on Boethius, *De Hebdomadibus*, written by the same meticulous scribe and composed by the same author after the completion of the commentary whose date we have just tried to establish. There is ample evidence to prove this assertion.

Shortly after some introductory remarks on the methods of demonstration, the author of the commentary on *De Hebdomadibus* observes: *In expositione superioris quaestione pro captu ingenii nostri de QUAESTIONE multa diximus et tam auctoritatibus quam rationibus asserta de ipso communiterimus. Quapropter ab illo TRACTATU ea, si cui placet, requirenda esse censeramus.* This remark is occasioned by Boethius’ use of the word *quaestio* in both *De Trinitate* and *De Hebdomadibus*, but the author of the second commentary does not wish to repeat the exposition given in a previous tractate. This *expositio* is found in Clarenbaldus’ *De Trinitate* where Aristotle and Boethius provide the auctoritates to corroborate the author’s rationes.  

The anonymous author of *Librum hunc*, parts of which have been edited by Jansen, must be ruled out because he does not mention the matter. It may be noted in passing that Clarenbaldus did not use the commentary *Librum hunc*, as Jansen claims, but a commentary preserved in *Ms Paris, B. N. lat. 14489*.  

A manuscript now preserved at Oxford (Bodl. Lyell 49, fols. 81 ff.) which also escaped Jansen’s attention ascribes *Librum hunc* to Peter Heliae.  

Whoever the author of *Librum hunc* may be, he is not Thierry of Chartres as Jansen believed.

It was previously stated that Clarenbaldus held a special view on the notiones. The commentator of *De Hebdomadibus* states: *Ab his autem rebus, quae in existentia actus sui sortitae sunt veritatem, notiones quaedam ab animo abscaletur, sed ab imperitis creaturae esse existimantur. Quod nequaquam verum est. Omnis enim creatura actus subsistit. Accidentia autem, qua notiones dicuntur, mentis tantum recepactulo colliguntur.*  

The author maintains that Priscian, Cicero, “Augustine” and Boethius support his doctrine that only substances exist in reality. Then he goes on to say: *Et nos quidem haec supra quaestione de unitate divinae substantiae et personarum Trinitate diligenter explicavimus et quod ea verum esse habere perhibentur eo quod, si actus veritate ita essent ut changeable Good which we call God. Then he observes: *Mentiuntur igitur nequiter et impie qui stultissimam nuper hanc sibi haereticam cudere coeperunt haec mutabilia semper et ab aeterno fluctuasse nulloque regi Deo Creatore neque exordium a Deo aliquod sumpsisse ... Quam tamen haeresim nonnisi sub obliquitate insinuationis audi doscis persuadere sed mulierum auribus delicatarum et laeuis ... persuadere non veretur.*

*Ms St. Omer 185, fol. 78r.*

*Jansen*, pp. 33º·35º.

*Parts of this commentary are transcribed in J. M. Parent, *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres* (Paris-Ottawa, 1938), pp. 180-205.* I intend to prove in a separate study that the author is Thierry of Chartres.

*The manuscript belonged to Admont (No. 382), was written in the twelfth century and is listed by M. Manitius, *Gesch. der Lit. des Mittelalters III* (München, 1931), p. 186. R. W. Hunt, *The Lyell Bequest,* Bodl. Library Record, III (1950), 76, attributes the work to Thierry of Chartres.*

*Ms St. Omer 145, fol. 79r.*
mathematica consideratio ea extra materiam perpendit, verum esse haberent et perpetuum, cum nihil materiae deberent.\textsuperscript{21}

To this corresponds what Clarenbaldus writes in his treatise on the Trinity: Quicquid enim in materia est, si extra materiam esset ut mathematicus intellectus illud a subjecto abstrahit, verum esse haberet et perpetuum. Secundum hujusmodi ergo esse hic idem philosophus in secundo Arithmeticae prologo sapientiam definitiv...\textsuperscript{22} He explains his position "diligently" on a later occasion where he lists five different opinions on the meaning of the Aristotelian categories.\textsuperscript{23} His own opinion, the fourth of them, is not stated very clearly,\textsuperscript{24} but as favourable to his thesis he cites "Augustine" and Themistius as quoted in the same source.\textsuperscript{25} He then explains the different terminology used by various authors, including Hugh of St. Victor, and declares that Cicero supports "Augustine": Unde Tullius in Topiscs, quae ad Cajum Trebatium scriptis, consonam beati Augustini descriptionem: Notio est, inquit, ex ante percepta forma impressa menti cognitio.\textsuperscript{26} Commenting on De Hebdomadibus, the author may have realized that the description was not a literal quotation. He offers another passage from the same source which he introduces in the same fashion: Cicero quoque in Topiscs ad Cajum Trebatium: Duo, inquit, sunt definitionum genera...cognitionem definias.\textsuperscript{26} He also cites a different text from "Augustine" which he introduces with a sentence reminiscent of Macrobius: In medium producatur beati Augustini super hac ipsa re auctoritas, tam fallere quam falli nescat: Cum in his...accidens nominari voluerunt.\textsuperscript{26} The author, who had previously quoted Priscian,\textsuperscript{28} now claims that Pythagoras, whom he had never mentioned before, differs from Priscian, Cicero, "Augustine" and Boethius. He then adds a long text from Boethius in support of "Augustine": Quem imitatus in secundo Arithmeticae prologo Boethius: Esse, inquit, dicimus, quae nec...vere proprieque es dicuntur.\textsuperscript{26} But we do not learn on what authority Pythagoras is presented as opposed to their opinion.\textsuperscript{26} In his treatise on the Trinity, Clarenbaldus mentions him once as the originator of the Greek word Philosophos\textsuperscript{29} and omits his name in discussing the notio.

The comparison proves that the author of both commentaries was a versatile scholar who did not indulge in sterile repetitions and plagiarisms. Yet it is quite apparent that one and the same commentator wrote these passages, though in commenting on De Hebdomadibus he treats with greater precision and clarity what he had "diligently explained" in a previous tractate.

He refers to this work once again when he discusses the process of "mathematical abstraction" by means of which the mind separates from matter what is actually inseparable: Proprietas enim eorum est, quae mathematicus in sui veritate pertractat, extra materiam considerari. De hujusmodi autem in quaestione de sancta Trinitate plura diximus. In his tractate on the Trinity, Clarenbaldus enlarges on this point twice,\textsuperscript{30} though it must be admitted that any commentator of the Boethian De Trinitate would have something to say on the process of abstraction. The reference may still serve as circumstantial evidence which points to Clarenbaldus as the same author of both works.
An examination of the author's terminology leads to the same results. Clarenbaldus distinguishes four faculties of the soul, the highest of which is called *intellectibilitas.*\(^{34}\) Jansen holds that only Clarenbaldus uses this expression,\(^ {36}\) since it is not found in *Librum hunc.* Although this not quite accurate,\(^ {36}\) it will not surprise us to meet the term in the commentary on *De Hebdomadibus,* where we are told that certain principia per se nota "almost require the capacity of the *intellectibilitas*."\(^ {37}\) Both authors use the expression *possibilitas definita* which is not found in *Librum hunc.*\(^ {38}\) Clarenbaldus writes: *Quartus modus universitatis est possibilitas definita, hoc est eadem materia, sed alter intellecto.*\(^ {38}\) The commentary on *De Hebdomadibus* explains the fourth rule as follows: *Id quod est, hoc est in possibilitate definita subsistens...*\(^ {40}\) The author assumes that the reader understands the expression. Both commentaries have in common a number of rare terms, phrases and sentences which betray the same author. Both speak of *artium professores, heimarmene,*\(^ {43}\) *necessitas absoluta,*\(^ {43}\) *Deus aeternitas est,*\(^ {44}\) They speak of God as *enitias simplex or primordialis* and of divine Providence as *fatum.*\(^ {46}\)

We have seen that Clarenbaldus acknowledges his debt to Thierry of Chartres and Hugh of St. Victor in his prologue. He does so again in his treatise on the Trinity or simply refers to *doctores mei.*\(^ {47}\) The commentator of *De Hebdomadibus* did not need to repeat their names and tells us that "my teachers" taught that the word *enuntiatio* in Boethius must be understood complexive: *Et secundum quidem meos doctores enuntiationis vocabulum hoc loco complexive legendum esse.*\(^ {48}\) To offer us an example as to how to distinguish such a noun from a collective noun he declares: *Omnes homines Laudunenses populus unus sunt. Nullus tamen Laudunensium hominum collectionis nomen sortitur.*\(^ {49}\) It is hard to imagine that an author writing at Arras would choose Laon to illustrate a statement. At the end of *De Hebdomadibus* we find a second reference to the author's teachers: *Et hoc quidem modo tam mihi quam meis doctibus visum est.*\(^ {50}\)

In both works we are confronted with the same method. It is typical of Clarenbaldus to cite the complete text he intends to explain. As a rule, the text either precedes or follows the exposition and only rarely does he weave a Boethian sentence into his own explanation after the manner of Gilbert of Poitiers. Occasionally he omits a passage. The same method is adopted by the author commenting on *De Hebdomadibus,* though he is less meticulous in quoting Sacred Scripture than in citing philosophical authors. Thus de declares: *Omne enim subsistens ex illa forma (God), ut etiam testatur Apostolus, esse caput quia ex ea omnia et per eam omnia et in ea omnia.* One may even suspect that he wrote: *Quod factum est in ipsa vita erat, though ipsa was corrected to ipso.*\(^ {62}\) He appears as a cheerful sort of scholar who probably expected the reader, si forte aliquid erit,\(^ {62}\) to overlook such liberties and to proceed: *Eja, quod sequitur breviter percurramus.*\(^ {63}\)
When we compare the auctoritates used in both commentaries, it must be kept in mind that they deal with an entirely different subject matter. Worth mentioning are two texts from Galen's Tegni or Ars parva in the commentary on De Hebdomadibus. It is quite understandable that Galen is not mentioned in Clarenbaldus' tractate on the Trinity. In De Hebdomadibus there are several references to Aristotle's Prior Analytics, likewise not mentioned in the previous work. We also meet Pseudo-Dionysius and learn that God is adeo simplex, ut magis videatur, ut beatus Dionysius in Hierarchia commemorat, ad nihil accedere quam ad aliquid. This text occurs neither in Clarenbaldus' work on the Trinity nor in Librum hunc. It goes back to the unpublished work of his teacher Thierry of Chartres who writes: Quod autem Deus non sit ens, aperte dicit Dionysius in Hierarchia dieens quod Deus potius accedit ad nihil quam ad aliquid. The commentator of De Hebdomadibus speaks of the divine nature quae est inexcogitabilis sic et immoblis spiritus est, nisi forte cum Epicuro demetari volens dicat ante tempus inane fuisset cum atomis. Speaking of Epicurus in his work on the Trinity Clarenbaldus makes a similar accusation: Unde ex intermundiis, hoc est ex inani et atomis, nullo curante, nullo id agentis, mentitus est tō pān, i.e., hoc omne concrevisse. We need not repeat the author's treatment of the notio where the same auctoritates serve to confirm the same doctrine, although the choice of texts varies to some extent. Even such variations may well serve to prove our point in view of the author's assumption that the reader would know his previous commentary. We may finally mention a definition of elementum for which no source is given. It is defined as simpia et minima pars compositi corporis and is either directly derived from the Pantegni of Constantinus or from the Philosophia mundi of William of Conches.

There is one very remarkable difference between the two commentaries. It is well known and again confirmed by our prologue that Clarenbaldus wrote his Tractatus super Boethii de Trinitate to oblige the claustrales who considered Gilbert too obscure and involved. Of theological interest is his opinion on the numerical distinction of the three divine Persons. He holds that Gilbert's book was condemned at Rheims (1148) precisely because Gilbert taught a numerical distinction: Ex hoc loco episcopi Pictaviensis error ortus esse videtur, ut tres personas numero differentes esse assereret . . . Ergo nec numero tres personae inter se different. Whatever reasons he offers to reject Gilbert's teaching, he claims that “our teachers” shared his view. Gilbert and his school saw a veiled Sabellianism in this denial. Much more significant is the fact that Clarenbaldus does not accuse Gilbert of teaching that the divinitas is a separate form. One might still expect some criticism of Gilbert's doctrine in the commentary of De Hebdomadibus. But not a word is said against the Bishop of Poitiers, although there is no denying that the author had seen Gilbert’s commentary on the same work. The main reason for this silence may be found in the philosophical nature of De Hebdomadibus and in the fact that Gilbert's commentary was not controversial.

To enable future students of Clarenbaldus’ Commentary on Boethius, De Trinitate to have ready access to the variants found in the manuscript of St. Omer, Bibl. publ. 142, I submit the following list noting the pages and lines in

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24 Ibid., fols. 78r, 86v.
25 Ibid., fols. 78v, 81r.
26 Ibid., fol. 82v.
27 Ms Paris, B.N. lat. 14489, fol. 41v.
28 Ms St. Omer 142, fol. 82r.
29 Ed. Jansen, p. 58r.
30 Ms St. Omer 142, fol. 81v.
31 Philos. mundi, I, 21; PL 172, 48D.
33 Ed. Jansen, p 77r. Cf. p. 51r.
34 Ed. Jansen, pp. 45v f.
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Jansen's edition. The commentary begins on fol. 32v and is followed by the commentary on De Hebdomadibus on fol. 77r.

P. 25p
1 soluta: solvere.
12 philosophi: philosophi.

p. 27p
1igitur: enim.
2 eteque: om.
10 quantitates: fol. 33r.
14 actus: actui.
18 illae: om.

p. 28p
1 significatio: fol. 33r.
2 actus: auctum.
2 rationabilem: rationem.
2 distinguere: discernere.
22 doctores: doctorem.
24 Gillebertus: Gisleber-}

P. 26p
1 illud unde est: id, unde
1 illud est.
2 Ergo ex hoc: fol. 34r.
3 nobis: breviter nobis.
32 caelestis: cælestis.
33 illud unde est: id, unde
3 sphaerae.

p. 30p
1 inventum: fol. 34r.
2 theologiae: theologice.
3 verum esset: verum esse.
5 et: om.

p. 31p
2 Verum: fol. 35r.
3 accidentium: tamen ac-
3 accidentium.
5 scilicet: om.
6 huic: huic (s)cript: vel huic).

P. 32p
1 erit: erit Pater.
2 Nunc autem, ubi in
2 captet: fol. 36r.
3 desiderantibus: des-
3iderant.

p. 33p
1 circumscription: circum-
1 circumscription: circum-
2 alia: alia.
3 nota: satis nota.
9 loquendi: fol. 38r.

p. 34p
2 qua: et.
11 ad: om.
12 Sed: fol. 37r.
13 habeant: habent.
17 subjecit: subjejicit.

p. 35p
1 mundus: mundus aeter-
1 mundus: mundus aeter-
2 nus: quaerit: quaeret.
7 alia: altera.
7 asseritur: vere asseri-
7 asseritur: vere asseri-

13 excogitata: excogitanda.
15 obulit: fol. 37r.
17 jactantia: jactatone.
16 si: fol. 38r.
3 sibi: sibi traditis.
3 id est aëre: id est ut
3 aëri.
3 accommodata: commodo-
3 accommodata: commodo-

p. 37p
1 et: etiam.
2 nostri: nostri; vo-
3 nostri: nostri; vo-
3 ob: vobis.
5 sumamus: hinc sumam-
10 sumamus: hinc sumam-
11 Liber . . . incorp: om.
12 ejusdem: fol. 38r.
13 primo: primum.
14 superstitiosum: super-
15 stitionem.
16 juxta: fol. 40r.
32 sperand-
32 sperand-
34 pervenerimus: perven-
34 pervenerimus: perven-

p. 40p
3 et: etiam.
4 imperiti: eorum imper-
4 imperiti: eorum imper-
5 regularem: regulus.
10 conservari: servari.
11 universalis: fol. 40r.
12 postet: debet.
16 praedictae: personae
dictae.
17 igitur: fol. 41r.
17 Ciceronem: et Ciceron-
17 Ciceronem: et Ciceron-
nem.

p. 42p
1 et: etiam.
2 Ciceronem: et Ciceron-
2 Ciceronem: et Ciceron-
nem.

p. 45p
8 hominis: homines.
11 (ut) in actus: ut actus.
15 cum: quomiam cum.
17 mathematice: mathematico-
17 inaugur: etiam.

p. 46p
5 sum enim eadem: neque
5 sum enim eadem: neque
3 neque: queant.
4 praedicetur plurimis: praedici-
4 praedicetur plurimis: praedici-
5 prae dicetur, Posse mus au-
5 prae dicetur, Posse mus au-

5 continenter: conse-
5 continenter: conse-

5 quidem quomodo: qui-
5 quidem quomodo: qui-
5 dein modo, quomodo.
16 aeri.
16 qualitatis: fol. 42r.
16 allique: ceterique.

p. 47p
2 de, om.
3 prima et secunda: prima vel secunda.
5 (est): est; sanctus: om.
8 Praedictae: praedicatis.

p. 48p
2 autem: vero.
2 rationalis: rationalius.
3 omnimira: omnino mira.
3 haec: hoc; pertinente:
3 pertinente.
3 didici: fol. 43r.
8 adjungat: subjungat.

p. 49p
8 enim: enim omnis.
5 binarius: fol. 44r.
8 et: tune; tunc.

p. 50p
2 quot: quid.
3 qui: om.
2 Deinde: Deinceps.
3 posset: potest.
3 enim: om.
5 vel: fol. 45r.
5 genere: genere vel
specie vel numero.

p. 51p
2 animal: animalis.
2 autem: enim.
2 simul: scilicet.
2 dixeris: om.
2 occurrit: occurrit.

p. 52p
8 substantia: subjec-
8 substantia: subjec-

10 producxit sed simul et
10 producxit sed simul et

p. 52
* quoniam dubitari: quoniam ab indocitis dubitari.
 15 personarum: om.
 17 solis: fol. 47*.
 19 possibile sit: possibile non sit.
 20 unus: sunt unus.
 21 a naturalibus: a naturalibus.
 24 intelligi: intellectu capi.
 p. 53
* specie; speciei.
 23 in: fol. 47*.
 25 vel quovis: vel alio quovis.
 p. 54
* aliquam: fol. 48*.
 26 et: ut.
 28 partim: fol. 45*; materia et: materia a.
 p. 55
* aqua: aquae.
 27 idem: om.
 29 Spiritus: Spiritus Dei.
 31 et: etiam.
 33 terram: terra.
 35 materia: fol. 49*.
 36 idcirco esse: idcirco in motu esse.
 p. 56
* mutabilitas: fol. 49*.
 36 rationabilis: rationis.
 38 Deum: fol. 50*.
 p. 58
* inductionem: diductionem.
 39 quia: quia est.
 41 Deo: Deo sunt.
 42 est et: est; vere: nomine.
 44 a naturalibus: a naturis.
 46 unus: sunt unus.
 p. 59
* quae: qua; dictur nec: dictur ipsumque aen as non.
 47 quoddam: fol. 51*.
 p. 60
* subsistit: om.
 48 sit: est; vere: nomine.
 50 modis: modis esse.
 52 similiter: simul.
 54 si: fol. 51*.
 p. 61
* in: fol. 52*.
 56 nihil: nihil.
 58 hoc: id.
 p. 62
* simul: simile.
 59 appellat: nominat.
 61 materia: natura.
 63 suum: fol. 52*.
 p. 63
* edem: earumdem.
 66 Pater: Pater est.
 68 nec: fol. 53*.
 71 diximus: diximus supra.
 73 nec: sed.
 75 aere: aere.
 77 kata ton: katakon; ipsum: ipsum.
 79 constat: constet.
 p. 64
* vel anima: vel solum anima.
 80 sive: fol. 53*.
 p. 65
* continuatione quam: continuatione quasi quasis containatus et sese containentibus causius administratur. Sic enim publica in re causae rerum con nexae sunt ut si ad divinam praetritionem referantur in tempum aeternum continuatione quam.
 96 intelligi: fol. 54*.
 98 et: ac.
 100 parte: partem.
 102 exemplum: exempli.
 105 Gillebertus: Gilletberg.
 107 obscuritatem: fol. 54*; liberatque: laboratque.
 p. 66
* pulchræ: pulchre.
 116 naturale: naturalis.
 119 ferior: fol. 55*.
 121 albus: homo albus.
 p. 67
* enim: enim esset.
 130 extra praeter.
 132 in: fol. 53*.
 134 loco: loco philosophum.
 p. 68
* quibus: quibus esse.
* quae: fol. 56*.
* esse: in eo esse.
 143 enim: unum enim.
 145 ratione: ratione substantiae.
 p. 69
* alia: fol. 56*.
 154 idcirco: ideo.
 156 sequatur: sequitur.
 160 sit: sicut.
 p. 70
* si quoque: sieque.
 170 quodve: quidve.
 p. 71
* cum: quo.
 180 utrum: est, utrum.
 192 haec: om.
 p. 72
* in: fol. 53*.
 202 subjectum: fol. 57*.
 212 haec: om.
 222 utrum: est, utrum.
 233 in unum: numeri.
 243 vero: fol. 57*.
 250 cum: quod.
 p. 73
* causa, et si: tametsi.
 260 hoc quoque: hocque.
 270 sequitur: sequitur.
 280 Est itaque: Estgue.
 290 et: fol. 58*.
 300 commoda sequens litterae suscipit et sine nodo sibi aduentit quae est: si advertemus ad res numerable ad non ad ipsum numerum. Quod vero ait... quippe: fol. 59*.
 313 trinam: ternam.
 p. 74
* aliquod aliorum: aliquid aliorum.
 323 naturalium: naturaliter; ex: fol. 59*.
 333 debet: debeat.
 p. 75
* ait: fol. 60*.
 343 est Deus: una sunt deltas et unum nomen de illis tertio repetitur cum dicitur Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus sanctus est Deus. Verbi: ubi.
 353 anima: terna.
 363 Arianus: Arianus, ut dictum est, quod est: quod simplex et.
 373 majestatis: fol. 60*.
 383 verum: numerum.
 393 sit: fol. 61*.
 403 metravitt: metravitt.
 p. 76
* concessione: confessione.
 413 qualem: qualis.
 423 loco: fol. 61*.
 433 rebus: erroribus.
 443 quod: qui; substantiis: subsistentis.
 453 negatur: negatur ab eis.
 463 dici: fol. 63*.
 473 illis:ipsis.
 483 sint: sunt.
 493 eos: se.
 503 quemadmodum: ut.
 513 praedicturum: dicturum.
 523 quodve: quidve.
 p. 79
* praedicturum: dicturum.
 533 nume: quod; quodanum:
 543 inquantum sunt.
 553 sit: fol. 61*.
 563 autem: vero.
 573 anima: animo.
 583 Aristotelem: mentem Aristotelis.
 p. 81
* notionis: notionis.
 593 ostensione: fol. 63*.
 603 est: ea.
 613 possit: possit.
 623 nec nec: nunc... nonc.
 p. 82
* nihil: fol. 64*.
 633 sed: est.
 643 sed: est.
 653 sed: est.
 663 est spatiosum: est et quod secundum ipsam modificationem suscipit spatiosum.
 673 quod... suscipit: om.
V. A Frequency Word-Count of Anglo-Saxon Poetry

Counts to determine the relative frequency of words in their occurrence in writing or in speech is a recent development in the study of languages and literature. Since Friedrich Kaeding completed his monumental word-count of German literature at the close of the last century, a long series of such studies has been published. Each of these frequency-counts has been made to serve a particular need. The purpose of Kaeding’s count was to aid the teachers of short-hand and typing. A number of the more recent counts of English words in the United States and Canada have served as aids to teachers of reading and spelling. Several were undertaken to aid the teaching

1 Häufigkeitswörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (Berlin, 1897-8).

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of foreign languages and basic vocabulary lists were formulated from the results of these frequency-counts of many thousands of words.\(^3\)

With the new interest in languages resulting from closer cultural and economic relations with Europe, Asia and South America, new methods were evolved to speed the teaching of a reading knowledge of foreign languages. One of these methods has been the use of frequency-word-counts to determine the most "useful" words of a language, and the development of a "basic" vocabulary of such words. But these word-counts have served other purposes than the development of a basic spelling list, or a vocabulary list for a foreign language. One count of spoken conversation proved useful in designing telephone circuits. Professor George Zipf has used word-counts in English, Latin and Chinese in a series of philological studies.\(^4\) And anthropologists have made use of word-counts in the investigation of cultural developments within a nation.

Among the techniques evolved by teachers of modern foreign languages is drilling the students in a basic vocabulary of words which will infallibly occur most frequently in their reading in the language. An exhaustive word-count of a wide selection of writings in the language is the first step in the formulation of such a list. To determine what words such a basic vocabulary should include to be useful to a student of Anglo-Saxon poetry, a word-count of the corpus of the poetry was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Francis P. Magoun Jr. of Harvard University.

Although introductory courses in Anglo-Saxon are required for advanced work in English in most universities in the western world, and despite the fact that the interest of almost all students of Anglo-Saxon is ultimately literary and only rarely philological or historical, the teaching of these beginners' courses has been primarily linguistic, including the study of grammar, the memorizing of paradigms, the translation of miscellaneous prose items, and finally some poetry. As a result in many cases—and the small number who take advanced courses in Anglo-Saxon literature confirms this—the beginning student fails to learn the language well enough to read it with ease or pleasure.

By the use of techniques found so successful in the teaching of modern languages, it is possible for the teacher of Anglo-Saxon poetry to introduce his beginners' class to the poetry in the space of a single semester. During this rather short time he can give his students the essentials of grammar, introduce them to a representative sampling of the finest poetry and drill them in a knowledge of the first thousand most frequently used words, which will cover approximately ninety per cent of all the running words in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

In putting into practice the method of instruction outlined above, the teacher of Anglo-Saxon is in a more difficult position than the instructor in a modern language. The latter has at his disposal a large and growing collection of beginner's text-books, books in which the vocabulary is based on the frequency-lists of Morgan in German, West and Bond in French, Buchanan in Spanish, etc. The teacher is certain that by drilling on the vocabulary in these texts the student is actually learning the most frequently used, hence the most useful, words in the language. But there are and can be no such text-books of Anglo-Saxon poetry, for it would be impossible to find or to invent formulas whereby one could introduce vocabulary even approximately according to the frequency, real or relative, of the poetical vocabulary. In these circumstances the only

Gates, New Methods in Primary Reading (New York, 1928).

\(^3\) E.g. R. C. Eldridge, Six Thousand Common English Words, Their Frequencies and What Can Be Done with Them (Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1911); V. A. C. Henmon, French Word Book (Madison, 1924); Milton A. Buchanan, A Graded Spanish Word-Book (Toronto, 1927); Bayard Q. Morgan, German Frequency Word-Book (New York, 1928).

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means of developing a vocabulary has been to make the student memorize the meaning of each word as it occurs in the text. The testing in this case is done on the basis of the texts read in a class. College students can easily write out a modern English translation for an Anglo-Saxon text which they have studied; but in most cases this is a memorized translation recalled by the sight of the original. The ability to translate in that fashion has no “carry-over” value. The student knows the words, but exclusively in that context. Such a knowledge cannot be of great value in further reading in the literature.

An alternative to this, a method which has proved successful in introductory courses in modern foreign languages, is the preparation of a list of the words that have been demonstrated as the most frequent in occurrence. When these words, ranked according to their relative frequency—the number determined by the length of the course and the ability of the students—are memorized out of context, the student is in command of his most useful tool.

In a living language with its continually expanding vocabulary it is not possible to be absolutely exact in determining the words most frequently used, at least beyond the first thousand words or so. Another factor making an accurate frequency-count impossible in a living language is that of “range;” that is, the consideration of the varied types of writing included in the count. Obviously the frequency of many words will vary in different kinds of writing, and no count can give a representation of all the types that would be proportionally perfect.

But in Anglo-Saxon poetry, neither of these difficulties, the expanding of the literature or the problem of determining “range”, present themselves in a word count, because we are dealing with a discrete body of writing of just 30,271 lines of verse-pairs. A frequency-count of Anglo-Saxon poetry can be made accurate to within a fraction of one per cent.

When the student knows the most useful English equivalent, or in some cases equivalents, of the one thousand most frequently used words on the list, he has a command of nearly ninety per cent of the total running words occurring in the poetry. This knowledge, plus the rudiments of grammar and the practice in translation, is the work of one semester, and assures the ability to read the poetry. By the end of the second semester, with the memorization of a thousand more words and further reading, the student will have a command of nearly ninety-six per cent of the total vocabulary.

These lists present the results of a count of the running words in the complete corpus of Anglo-Saxon poetry as edited in the five volumes of the Krapp-Dobbie Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, Klaeber’s Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg (3rd. ed.), and A. S. Cook’s Judith. These total 30,271 lines of Anglo-Saxon verse, and 168,496 running words (exclusive of proper names), which are reduced by grammatical and semantic analysis to 8,157 different words, not including Latin words and textual cruxes.

In preparing the lists each word, including numerals and proper names, was copied on a separate slip of paper as often as it occurred. The slips were then sorted under the main dictionary entry and counted. This process involved the combining of all the grammatical forms of a word under the main dictionary entry. The result is thus a lexical list with the words arranged in order of frequency.

After some thought it was decided not to sort out the different meanings of words with identical forms; e.g., sælan, “tie” and sælan “happen.” There were two reasons for this: first, the inevitable inaccuracies that would result, since the English equivalent was not recorded on the slip with the Anglo-Saxon word; and secondly, since the list is designed as an aid to learning, it is more logical to give sælan a position in the list determined by the combined frequency of both its meanings, and have the student learn the two English equivalents.

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The count has been limited to the poetry as it is generally acknowledged that although the prose has interest for the theologian, historian, linguist and antiquarian, the poetry is the main object of interest for the student of belles-lettres. And most of the beginners’ classes in Anglo-Saxon are made up of students whose primary interest is literature.

The 8,157 lexical units have been divided into three lists. List I includes “parent-words,” i.e., words that are not compounds or could not be further reduced or included under another parent-word. These are listed in order of frequency. List II is made up of all words compounded with the more common prefixes and suffixes. List III includes compound-words strictly so-called; i.e., words made up of an adjective-noun or a noun-noun combination.

The list of “parent-words” then includes words that are not compounds, but which are the basic words of other compounds, and words that are compounds but whose basic element does not occur as a “parent-word” in the poetry; e.g., un-slów. The frequency of each of the words in Lists II and III has been added to the frequency of the “parent-word” in list I.

It is inevitable that in a work of this kind there will be inaccuracies. These arise from the nature of the material itself and from the limitations of the persons or person making the count. The principal source of error in the material is the fact that the Anglo-Saxon texts used do not employ a normalized orthography. The limitation in the human element is the failure to make the correct grammatical or semantic analysis of a given word as it occurred in the mass of words subjected to the count. Wherever possible, the count has been checked with C. M. W. Grein’s *Sprachsatz der Angelsachsischen Dichter,* although even here the check could not be perfect since that work is based on editions other than those used in the count, and often the words were glossed differently. Fortunately these inaccuracies occur for the most part in words of one or two occurrences in the whole of the poetry, and do not affect the position of relative frequency given the words on the list.

A serious deficiency in the published texts and generally used dictionaries of Anglo-Saxon poetry is the preservation of the irregular spelling of the manuscripts. The wide divergencies among the scribes can only be of interest to the linguist and he has many editions at his disposal to serve his need. But for the beginning student as well as for the advanced student of the literature the continual shifts in spelling are a barrier, at first to learning the language, and later to appreciating the poetry. In the frequency-lists based on the word-count, the spellings have been normalized on the basis of Early West Saxon and in all essentials agrees with the spelling in Fernand Holthausen’s *Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1934).

The frequency-lists described above which are the product of the word-count are not as they stand of great value to the teacher of Anglo-Saxon. List I does present parent-words in order of frequency, and included in the frequency assigned to each word is the number of occurrences of that parent-word in all of its compounds. But for full utilization of the material in the lists, all the cognates and derivatives of the parent-word should be grouped under a head-word, and a “credit-number” assigned to the word-group. This further grouping has been done in collaboration with Professor F. P. Magoun Jr. of Harvard. The grouped-frequency list that is the result has been issued in a trial edition which may be obtained from Professor Magoun, Department of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In the course of making the word-count some statistics of interest to language teachers was obtained. First of all, the vocabulary of 8,157 different words is fairly limited. This approximates the vocabulary of about 9,000 words in the

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Homeric poems. More interesting is the large percentage of compounds in this vocabulary. Of the 8,157 different words, 4,884—nearly sixty per cent—are compounds. Of these, 1,398, seventeen percent, are compounds with common prefixes and suffixes; 3,486, forty-three per cent, are noun-noun or adjective-noun compounds. Only 3,275 words, forty per cent, are “parent-words.” These “parent” words are the core of the Anglo-Saxon poetic vocabulary. These figures testify to the highly synthetic nature of the diction of Anglo-Saxon poetry, with well over half of the words being compounds.

The other interesting set of figures indicates the value of learning the words which are highest on the frequency list. They show that a relatively small number of words near the top of the list make up a large percentage of the total number of running words. The percentages are based on the total of 168,496 running words, exclusive of proper names, in the poetry.

For the sake of comparison the percentage figures of a similar count made by Professor Einar Haugen in two Old Norse sagas have been added.²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>occurrences</th>
<th>percentage of total</th>
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<tr>
<td>First 10 words</td>
<td>43,196</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First 25</td>
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<td>33.3</td>
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<td>84,620</td>
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<tr>
<td>First 1000</td>
<td>150,481</td>
<td>89.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through the frequency of 4</td>
<td>160,843</td>
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</table>

JOHN F. MADDEN

VI. Thomas of York on the Efficacy of Secondary Causes

The influence of Thomas of York upon medieval thought and his relationship to the various doctrinal currents of the thirteenth century are difficult to assess, since the edition of his primary work, the Sapientiale, is incomplete.¹

However, an historical note is not out of place, for it may serve to locate this Franciscan author among certain of his contemporaries, notably St. Thomas Aquinas. The particular point of comparison concerns their respective solutions to the problem of the efficacy of secondary agents.²

Thomas of York prefaces this discussion with an examination of the proposition that God is necessarily the first efficient cause of every other cause and of every effect:

¹Norwegian Word Studies II (Madison, 1942), p. 165.
²Thomas of York was a member of the English province of the Franciscan Order. What little is known of his life comes from the correspondence of his friend and confrere, Adam Marsh. Two facts of his scholastic career are certain: that he incepted in Theology at Oxford in 1253, and that he was the sixth regent of the Franciscan Studium at Cambridge. The probable date of his death is 1260. Thomas is chiefly remembered as the author of the Sapientiale, of which Books I - V have been edited as dissertations in the University of Toronto. These editions are based on the three extant manuscripts of this work: Ms V; Vat. lat. 5301; Ms R: Vat. lat. 6771, and Ms F: cod. Conv. sopp. A.6437. All citations in this article are to Ms F, which has been considered as basic for these unpublished editions.


The setting for this discussion in the Sapientiale is chiefly Book III, chapters 11 and 12.
Causatum omne causam habeat, et omne factum factorem, et omnis factor
unus post unum reductur ad factorem primum tamquam ad agentem et
efficientem principalem, tunc sequitur necessario quod ipse est efficiens
omnia et causarum et causatorum, utpote causa prima plus influens in
causata omnia quam causae secundariae.

Consequently, the first principle of being cannot be the efficient cause of some
and not of other effects. In other words God’s causality extends uniformly
throughout the entire hierarchy of being.

In the light of this conception of the first efficient cause, Thomas proposes to
answer the question of the causal efficacy of secondary agents:

An in omni actione non tantum creationis, sed etiam eductionis sit ipse
primus immediate agens, an in alia actione agat per medium?

Almost immediately he notes that some, aliquí, have held that even in every
natural activity the only efficient agent is God. The creature is but an occasion
for the First Cause to induce forms into matter.

It will be recalled that St. Thomas Aquinas discusses this same problem in
the Contra Gentiles:

Ex hoc autem quidam occasionem errandi sumpserunt putantes quod nulla
creatura habet aliquam actionem in productione effectuum naturalium, ita
scilicet quod ignis non calefacit, sed Deus causat calorem praesente igne.
Et similiter dicunt in omnibus aliis effectibus naturalibus . . .

In the same passage, however, St. Thomas clearly identifies the quidam who
held this view: Quidam etiam loquentes in lege Maurorum . . .

But this text cannot serve as a point of comparison, for Thomas of York surely
does not identify the aliquí with any Moslem group. On the contrary he notes
that they are Christians:

Istam autem sui opinionem confirmare voluerunt per sermones sapientium
Christianorum, per quos videtur quod inductio formarum naturalium in
materia attribuatur solummodo actioni creatoris . . .

As an instance of the texts cited by his opponents, he quotes a passage from
St. Augustine:

Ipse operatione qua usque nunc operatur, facit ut numeros suos explicit
semina et a latentibus in formas visibles evolvant, volens una cum hoc,
quod neque mater neque pater in generatione est, sed qui incrementum dat
Deus.

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des Égarés, I, Part. 65; tr. S. Munk, I (Paris,
1566-68), pp. 317-8; cf. Liber de Causis 1; ed.
R. Steele, Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri
3 Sapientiale III, 11, fol. 149: Et cum hoc
ita sit, volo te scire quod principium non est
agens et efficientis aliquidum, et aliquorum
non.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid: Et jam fuerunt aliqui qui posuerunt
ipsem immediate agere omni et non posuerunt
creaturam agentem in alia actione
naturali, sed tantum occasionem qua per
actionem primi forma natura inducetur
in materia.
6 St. Thomas, Contra Gentiles III, 69; ed.
Thomas, also discusses this same question in
relation to Avicenna and Avicebron. Cf. E.
Gilson, Pourquoi Saint Thomas a critiqué
Saint Augustin, Archives d’histoire doctrinale et
7 Ibid. Cf. St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei
XXII, 24; PL 41, 788; Nec qui concumbit
nec qui seminat, est aliquid, sed qui format
Deus; nec mater, quae conceptum portat et
partum nutrit, est aliquid, sed qui incrementum
dat Deus. Ipsa namque operatione, qua
usque nunc operatur, facit ut numeros suos
St Thomas, however, discusses the same question in another context. In the second book of the Scriptum, the Angelic Doctor asks this question: *Utrum aliquid aliud a Deo efficat aliquam rem?* It is the hypothesis of A. Masnovo that William of Auvergne is St. Thomas's opponent. On the assumption that this hypothesis is true, there is an interesting parallel here between the opposition of St. Thomas Aquinas and of Thomas of York to William.

Now it is certain that William of Auvergne is Thomas of York's opponent. The citations that he gives invite us to look to William:

Volunt creatorem intimiorem esse omni creaturae quam ipsum sibi. Et propter hoc necesse est quod interciptatur tamquam agens inter omnem creaturam agentem et actum. Amplius solus ipse ingredi videtur perfecte operari in creatura. Praeterea sufficiens principium actionis est ipse creator; quare in genere actionis non admittit socium.

One does not need to search far in the texts of William to discover passages that substantiate this view. One text from the *De Universo* is especially striking:

Creator vero uniuque creatorum proximus est et praestantissimus, immo etiam intimus, et hoc apparere tibi potest per abstractionem seu spoliationem conditionum omnium atque formarum accidentalium . . . Quapropter remanebit et esse suum et entitas quasi intimum indumentum ipsius, et velut interula, qua primo induit ipsum creator; et cum ipsum esse et entitatem ei detraxeris, erunt ei detractae omnes causae essendi et adminiculo excepto solo creatore. Quare manifestum est quod omnium adminiculorum et adjumentorum essendi primus est creator et intimum.

A somewhat parallel passage is also found in the *De Trinitate*:

Exemplum autem hujus est ut quemadmodum anima est vita corporis sic omnium esse Deus intelligatur . . . Sicut etiam anima imprimit est vita spirituum, deinde nervorum est carnis et ossum, sic Deus priorum prius esse deinde per illa aliorum . . . Et quemadmodum si una anima esset multorum corporum, nihilominus salva esset multitudo corporum, sic una essentia altissima quae Deus est unum esse omnium, scilicet quo sunt.

These and other texts from William accurately identify the position which Thomas of York describes.

Now in these texts William of Auvergne's purpose is to prove against Avicenna that God is present to all creatures. This is shown to mean that, as their Creator, God is most intimately present to all creatures. In contrast to the necessitarian world of Avicenna, wherein the First Cause is removed from its effects to the same extent that unity and multiplicity are incompatible, William has a First Cause Who is more intimately present to things than they are to themselves. Far from removing unity from things, William makes God present to all.

explicent semina et a quibusdam latentibus atque invisibilibus involucris in formas visibilium hujus quo aspicimus decoris evolvant.


15 *Sapientiae* III, 11, fol. 149v.


17 William of Auvergne, *De Trinitate*, 7; vol. 2, supplement p. 86b.
Thus, against some of the Arabians, William insists upon a God omnipotent, free and immediately present to things, a creating God to Whom all things owe their existence. The Creator is near to every creature, most intimately present free and immediately present to things, a creating God to Whom all things owe their basic reality of each thing, God Himself. Therefore of all the aids and supports of being, the first and most intimate support is God.

But in his desire to oppose the necessitarianism of Avicenna, William not only affirms that God is the sole indispensable cause of every effect, but even the only properly unique cause. In speaking of his adversaries, William says that they remove natures and things from God’s governance and ordinance. However, for him it is indubitably true that the power of natures is the will of the Creator alone. He alone is the law and principle of all motion and natural change. Since all perfections of being flow from the first source of being, created natures serve only as certain media or windows through which these perfections descend from the First Cause. Thus one cannot speak of these natures as causes without using the term cause in an improper manner.

Thus William can say that the Creator is the cause of natures and natural movements; but the media, that is the natures themselves, are only causes ad sensum. The Creator alone is a cause ad rationem et veritatem. Outside of God, then, there is no other cause at all; everything else is but a window through which passes, as does light, the divine causality. Nor does this passage imply any change on the part of the window. The window does not partake in any manner of the flow of causality; it remains what it is unaltered.

Finally, if one were to ask William why he attributes the function of causality to God alone, he would reply:

Nullo modo enim possibile est ut det esse quod ipsum recipit, det dico de se; si vero dat et non se neque de suo tunc via est acquirendi esse aliiis, non dator; et nuntius quodammodo deferens esse, praecipue si ad hoc recipit...
In his answer to William of Auvergne, Thomas of York is quite ready to agree that God is more intimate to creatures than creatures are to themselves, because through His essence, presence, and power He supports creatures in the very being that they have. Thomas, however, disagrees as to the mode of intimacy. He points out that this intimacy of the Creator to the creature is comparable to the priority that a first cause in any series has over all of its subsequent effects, whether secondary causes or not. Here Thomas has in mind the first proposition of the Liber de Causis: Omnis causa primaria plus est influens super causatum suum quam causa universalis secunda.25

Though Thomas of York is in accord with William’s effort to show that the Creator through His essence, presence, and power is the support of creatures in the being that they possess, he objects to making this intimacy of God to creatures mean that the activities of creatures are in reality the activities of the Creator. This alternative would imply two conclusions: first, that since the Creator is the prime source of act, He needs no co-actors, to use St. Augustine’s term.26 Second, that as source of act, God alone is the immediate source of every activity, even that of substantial change.27

To the first implication, Thomas of York replies in a twofold way. First of all, he indicates that there is some truth to the contention that to attribute to the Creator the creation of potency and to creatures the production of acts is derogatory to the Creator, if it means that the Creator is excluded from the acts which creatures produce. But since the Creator is immediate to all the activities of creatures in virtue of the influence He exercises over all effects as the First Cause, the dignity of the Creator as well as the causal activities of creatures can both be preserved.28

In the second instance, Thomas notes the apparent objection of St. Augustine, that the predicament of action is properly attributed to God alone;29 consequently some may conclude from this that activity cannot be truly predicated of creatures. Thomas, however, does not interpret St. Augustine in this manner. Rather, he says that St. Augustine did not wish to deny the production of acts to creatures, but that he was speaking of the nature of act which alone can be truly predicated of the Creator. God alone is truly in act by His very nature, whereas all creatures are in act to the extent that they have, from another, the power to be agents.30

Thomas is equally opposed to William’s second conclusion that God is the source of every act because He alone enters into the very essence of the creature. To interpret this penetratio Creatoris, thus, is to exclude creatures from all

26 Cf. Sapientiale III, 12, fol. 150v. Cf. St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei XVI, 5; PL 41, 483 and De Genesi ad Litteram V, 18; PL 34, 334.
27 Cf. Sapientiale III, 12, fol. 151r: Quod autem dictum est solum creatorem ingredi essentiam creaturae, si intelligatur penetratio quae est . . . per actionem ad quam sequitur substantiae transmutationis, falsum est.
28 Ibid: . . . hoc non debet movere tum efficiendum; nam non negare per hoc actionem in creaturis, sed quod de natura sicut de primo dicebit, quin ipse est agens per se ipsum . . . Omnia autem alia ab ipso habent quod agunt, sicut patet in reductione omnium agentium vel efficientium ad unum primum efficientium.

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causal activity. But this involves a denial of the reality of substantial change, which Thomas considers to be manifestly false. If, however, this penetratio Creatoris means the activity which is creation, Thomas will accept it as true.30

This second interpretation prevents Thomas from accepting William’s alternative that God is the unique cause with all that this implies. Since Thomas understands substantial change to mean that there is a power which joins every composite, and which endures in the composite itself, generation is a real act of a creature. It is the bringing forth of an individual of a species through the reduction of the potency of matter to act by that which is already in act.31

Substantial change verifies the peculiar relationship of potency and act, namely, that the differences found in effects reflect an intrinsic difference in the causes which produce them, as Averroes says: Illud quod est in potentia fit in actu ab illo, quod est sui generis aut suae speciei in actu.32 Thus causes and effects are related to one another as potency and act are related. And just as that which is reduced to act demands a reductive act of either the same genus or species, so too, that an effect actually be, it must be produced by a cause of the same genus or species as itself.33

But the Liber de Causis says that the First Cause is related to all of its effects in the same way,34 and, as it is outside every genus, the First Cause cannot be the immediate cause of the reduction of effects from potency to act. Thus Thomas is able to uphold the reality of substantial change. At the same time he admits the efficacy of the First Cause over its effects as the sustainer of the being that they have and of the causal activity that they exercise.35

The opposition of St. Thomas Aquinas to William of Auvergne is especially striking in the text cited by A. Masnovo,36 and this text affords several points of comparison with the opposition of Thomas of York. In the solution to the question: Utrum aliquod aliud a Deo efficiat aliquam rem, St. Thomas records three opinions on the question. The first is that which is of concern here:

Respondeo dicendum quod circa hanc quaestionem sunt tres positiones. Quadrum una est quod Deus immediate operetur omnia, ita quod nihil aliud est causa aliquis rei: adeo quod dicunt quod ignis non calefacit sed Deus; nec manus movetur sed Deus causat ejus motum, et sic de aliis. Sed haec positio stulta est; quia ordinem tollit universi, et proprium operationem a rebus, et destruit judgment sensum.37

This is clearly a stulta positio for St. Thomas because its assertion involves the denial of substantial change and the destruction of the proper order of things. To point out that this view is unsuitable St. Thomas, as did Thomas of York, clarifies the notion of generation. In generation there is a similarity in

30Ibid: Quod autem dictum est solum creatorem ingredi essentiam creaturae, si intelligatur penetratio quae est per actionem quae est creatio, verum est. Si per actionem ad quam sequitur substantiae transmutatio, falsum est.
31Ibid: ... quod virtus est in omnibus mixtis miscibilia conjungens et retinens. Hae autem virtus mota per vim coelestem sibi connativam movetur. Hoc autem fit per motum coeli, et ita virtus coeli movens penetrat per vim sibi connativam, et est principium transmutations per hanc viam. Hoc enim sufficit ad transmutationem per quam est speciei, quae in potentia in materia in actum producit; et haec est generatio.
32Averroes, In VII Meta.; Aristotelis Stagiritae Opera. Averrois Cordubensis in Haec IPSI Commentaria VIII (Venice, 1562-76), t.c. 31, fol. 180k.
33Cf. Sapientiale III, 11, fol. 150*: ... quod exit de potentia ad actum, habet extractorem sui generis cum eo, id est extractia; alioquin quidlibet extraheret quodlibet vel ad minus causalis essent extractio, nec esset convenientia inter extrahentem et extractum in forma.
35Sapientiale III, 12, fol. 150*: ... quamvis creator sit inferior creaturae quam aliqui alii per praesentiam, essentiam et potentiam qua supputat eam in esse, tamen non oportet quod sit inferior in ratione qua est agens, nisi sicut causa prior est inferior per influentiam.
37St. Thomas, Scriptum Super Libros Sententiarum II, 1, 1, 4; ed. cit., I, p. 294. It
species between the generative agent and that which is generated; thus only man can generate man. Though the first in the order of created being stems directly from God's creative act, yet there is substantial change, which is the product of second causes. And then St. Thomas adds:

Horum tamen causa etiam Deus est magis intime in eis operans quam aliae caussae moventes; quia ipse est dans esse rebus. Causae autem aliae sunt quasi determinantes illud esse. Nullius enim rei totum esse ab aliqua creatura prinicpium sumit, cum materia a Deo solum sit; esse autem est magis intimum cuilibet rei quam ea per quae esse determinatur; unde et remanet, illis remotis, ut in libro De Causis, prop. 1, dicitur. Unde operatio Creatoris magis pertingit ad intima rei quam operatio causarum secundarum; et ideo hoc quod creatum est causa alii creaturae, non excludit quin Deus immediate in rebus omnibus operetur, inquantum virtus sua est sicut medium conjungens virtutem cujuslibet causae secundae cum suo effectu; non enim virtus alicujus creaturae posset in effectum, nisi per virtutem Creatoris, a quo est omnis virtus, et virtutis conservatio, et ordo ad effectum; quia, ut in libro De Causis, ibid., dicitur, causalitas causae secundae finaliter est per causalitatem causae primae.88

In this text St. Thomas wishes to uphold the intimacy of the Creator to creatures, and yet at the same time to safeguard the efficacy of secondary agents. On this issue St. Thomas Aquinas and Thomas of York are in agreement, and their agreement is based on the same reasoning. Both are aware of the reality of substantial change and understand it as a transmission of species in the same sense that Averroes understood it: Illud quod est in potentia fit in actu ab illo, quod est sui generis aut suae speciei in actu.39 William's conclusion that God is the unique cause and the resultant denial of all secondary causality is foreign to St. Thomas and to Thomas of York. William's failure to distinguish the meaning of the intimacy of the Creator to his creatures is at the root of his denial of the efficacy of secondary causes.

St. Thomas and Thomas of York perceived this error. Both of them agree that second causes are truly causes because of their dependency in being on the First Cause. As a consequence, both can admit the intimacy of the Creator to creatures as the source and support of their being without denying all causal activity to creatures. Both St. Thomas and Thomas of York instead understand this intimacy of the Creator to His creatures in the light of the first proposition of the Liber de Causis: Omnis causa primaria plus est influens super causatum suum quam causa universalis secunda.40 In other words, God operates immediately in creatures and is therefore most intimate to them. His power is the means which joins every second cause with its effects, for all secondary causality is dependent upon the causality of the First Cause.41

As has been seen, Thomas of York is closely related to St. Thomas in this discussion, and is to this extent removed from St. Bonaventure, his fellow Franciscan. Not that St. Bonaventure wishes to deny secondary causality, but rather that for him secondary efficient causes bestow on their effects not being, but a mode of being.42 Thus St. Bonaventure says:

should be noted that this text closely parallels the one already cited from the Contra Gentiles III, 69, where St. Thomas's opponents are explicitly the Ash'arites, that sect of the Motecallemin previously criticized by Maimonides; cf. Le Guide des Egares, ed. cit., I, p. 273-95. Their position is best illustrated in Gilson's cryptic formula: Leur seule réponse à la question: pourquoi les choses se passent comme elles se passent, c'est que Dieu l'a voulu ainsi. E. Gilson, op. cit., I, p. 16. There is a striking similarity between this position and that of William of Auvergne: cf. supra n. 20: Sed hoc indubitabiliter verum est quod potestas naturam sola volunatis est conditoris . . . .

39 Averroes, op. cit.; ed. cit., VIII, t.c. 31, fol. 180k.
40 Liber de Causis I; ed. cit., XII, p. 161.
However, the accord between St. Thomas and Thomas of York quickly dissolves. As will be seen in a later article, Thomas of York, despite his strong plea for the preservation of secondary efficient causality, ultimately comes over to William's position. This is so, because for him the senses are not causes in knowledge but occasions only. When Thomas of York admits occasionalism in knowledge, he is diametrically opposed to St. Thomas. The significance of St. Thomas's position lies in the fact that it implies an acceptance of two opposed theories of the real, involving a decision concerning natural operations, and especially concerning knowledge, the noblest of these operations.

Thomas of York, on the one hand, wishes to uphold secondary efficient causality, but on the other cannot bring himself to accept this on the level of knowledge. It is difficult to assign the exact reason or reasons for this contradictory position. Perhaps it is a result of the method which has inspired the Sapientiale, namely, the concordance of natural and Christian wisdom.

On this score, Thomas of York probably viewed the problem of knowledge in the traditional Augustinian manner, that is, from the standpoint of divine illumination. Since the representatives of natural wisdom, Aristotle and the other philosophers, were not aware of original sin, they could not be aware of a higher mode of human knowing than knowledge through the senses. And thus Thomas says of Aristotle:

> Et propter hoc non est mirum si multiplex sit error Aristotelis in processu, cum sic erret qui <errat> principali principio seu fundamento.

The choice that Thomas of York makes in this problem is indicative of his failure to grasp in an adequate way the very Aristotelian natures that he had previously defended. His choice is in sharp contrast to that of St. Thomas Aquinas on the same issue. The alternative positions, for example, of Alexander of Hales and William of Auvergne were, for St. Thomas, ultimately reducible to the same basic position. For despite Alexander's defense of the human agent intellect, he could not maintain this and at the same time remain faithful to the Augustinian doctrine of illumination. To attempt this was tantamount to agreeing with William of Auvergne that God alone is sufficient to account for the illumination of the intellect. For as Gilson has expressed St. Thomas's view:

> Pour saint Thomas . . . Ou bien cette illumination se réduit au don que Dieu nous fait d'un intellect agent avec la lumière naturelle qui lui est propre, ou bien cette lumière naturelle de l'intellect agent ne suffit pas à soi-même et alors, qu'on le veuille ou non, l'illumination divine que l'augustinisme lui ajoute revient à faire de Dieu notre intellect agent.

Unlike St. Thomas, Thomas of York does not seem to recognize the contradictory nature of such a position. Though adamant in his refusal to accept William of Auvergne's view of nature, especially on the level of substantial change, to the extent that he accepts the Augustinian doctrine of illumination, Thomas of

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43 St. Bonaventure, *II Sent.*, 7, 2, 1, ad 6m; *Opera Omnia* II (Quaracchi, 1882), p. 199.
44 Cf. *Sapientiale* III, 24, fol. 169r; Jam enim tetigi tibi supra, in hoc capitulo, aliquantulum sensus se habet ad intellectum sicut occasionem quidem praestans, non ut causans.
46 *Sapientiale* III, 24, fol. 169r.
47 Cf. E. Gilson, op. cit., p. 111.
48 Ibid.
York denies the efficacy of the natural and, wittingly or not, subscribes to the very position that he has so vigorously attacked.

THE letter presented below attracted my attention in the course of an examination of the unpublished canonical collection contained in Ms Vat. lat. 3830. This text, to the best of my knowledge, is not only hitherto unpublished but without previous public notice of any kind. It has a two-fold claim to the interest of historians: (1) as a significant document on the spirit of Latin and Greek relations, both ecclesiastical and civil, at a time, as I judge, very close to the critical events of 1054 and in a region in many respects the most important meeting-place of Latin and Greek influence and interests, South Italy; and (2) for the clear affinity it bears to the eleventh-century reform literature on the heresy of simony, the validity of the ministrations of simonists and the role of civil authority (in this instance, that of the Byzantine emperor) in the prosecution of a reform of ecclesiastical life. The dossier for each of these fields of study is not so rich that any new items can be overlooked and the present document I consider to be of singular import and interest for both. For this reason I have thought it opportune to publish the text itself, together with these introductory remarks, with the hope that others may be able to clear up what to me remains obscure and to supplement, correct or confirm my present views on its date, identification and relation to other items in the literature of the early reform. With these matters agreed upon, the document may take its proper place among the source materials available for the historians of the eleventh-century reform and Latin-Byzantine relations.

1. The collection of Ms Vat. lat. 3830, preserved only in this single exemplar, is relatively well known, at least among the historians of Canon law. Although the collection itself has never been published, almost all its contents are published elsewhere. The approximate dates of 1025-1050 given for its compilation in Italy by P. Fournier are generally accepted and I am unaware of any new evidence on its date since his examination of the manuscript. There is nothing, however, in the collection itself to favor the earlier date and some things against it. The presence of excerpts from Burchard’s Decretum in the body of the collection, already noted by Fournier and C. G. Mor, argues for the later date. Otto Meyer, in the most careful study to date on the spread and influence of Burchard based on the manuscript tradition, places the coming of the Decretum to Italy shortly after 1050. Whatever revision may come here, there is nothing to indicate that the date may ultimately be pushed back as early as 1025. Furthermore, there is a text of Gregory VII of 1078 in the collection, not previously avanti la Riforma Gregoriana', Studi Gregoriani I (Rome, 1947), 203; A. Stickler, 'Historic turza canonici latini I (Turin, 1890), p. 154.

2. Loc. cit.

3. Loc. cit.


noted, and, although this is probably an addition to the original contents, it indicates that the collection was still "active" in the later years. Finally, the whole tone and temper of the contents accord better with the later rather than with the earlier time. There is notably not only a marked opposition to simoniacal practices, but an organization of materials, which presupposes a stage of development not evident before the mid-century mark. Consequently, I am inclined to put the time of compilation after 1050. The text of our letter is in the first and principal hand and it is much more likely that its dating will ultimately throw light on the date of the collection itself than that the still uncertain date of the collection will help fix a terminus ante quem for the composition of the letter.

2. The recuperation of power in South Italy was part of the great restoration under the Macedonian dynasty (887-1057) and the high point of Byzantine influence and prestige in Italy was reached in the last years of Basil II under the catepan Basil Bojoannes (1018-1028). Calabria, originally a duchy of the theme of Sicily, was ruled from 900 on by a strategos, with residence at Reggio, although the legal fiction of the "Theme of Sicily" was maintained after the de facto loss of the island to the Saracens. The rest of Byzantine Italy was comprised in a second theme to the eastward (Theme of Lombardy, or Italy), with its chief seat at Bari, which was also the usual residence of the catepan, or supreme governor.

Now the spirited exhortation for the exercise of imperial authority to eradicate simony implies, not only recognition of Byzantine prestige, but also reliance on an effective political power. Despite a progressive decline of both after 1028, especially after the Normans in 1042 assumed control of the anti-imperial insurrection, the conquest of Calabria, carried on through the fifties by Robert Guiscard, was not secured until the final fall of Reggio in 1060 and the departure of its last strategos. The year before this, however, had already taken place the momentous reversal of papal policy in the Treaty of Melfi, whereby Pope Nicholas II recognized the new Norman states and conferred on Robert and Richard of Capua the investiture of the old Byzantine dominions. From the point of view of the political situation in South Italy I think that 1059 can be taken as an absolute terminus ante quem for our letter.

3. If the identification of the addressee were possible, it would, of course, be decisive for dating the text. The reading is plain: Caelfitus . . . calabris assignato sancto karl., but I am at a loss to interpret what the scribe meant by his 'karl'. As I see it, Karolo makes no sense in the context and I find no name in the limited lists of high officials available to me that might apply. In any case, I think it more likely to be the title of an office than a proper name. The letter is clearly addressed to an exalted dignitary, perhaps even to the highest civil officer. What strange things could happen to these unfamiliar terms in contemporary Western circles may be seen in what the Burgundian, Raoul Glaber, does with catepanus, the supreme governor of both themes. Within the theme the highest

5065. Greg. VII, Reg. V, Epist. 14a, 15-16 (MGH, Epist. sel. II, 2, pp. 372 ff.). Friedberg (ad C. 13, qu. 6, c. 4) erroneously refers this text to a later synod (CIC L, col. 750).
7 Gay, op. cit., pp. 432 ff.
11 C. du Cange, Glossarium med. et inf. lat. II (1937), p. 220, s. v. catepanus provides a list. Calocyrus (Calochirus, Kalokyros) Delphinas was prominent in late tenth cent. (cf. Lupus Prot., Chron. ad. a. 982; PL 125, 130). But more likely names such as Charalampius, Charilaus, Charilas, Charillus do not appear.
12 Hist. III, 1: Tune enim imperator Basilius sancti imperii CPLiani præcepsit cidadam sutrapae seu, illi qui cognominatur Catanopli, eo sicillicet quod juxta mare inhabitet, etc. (PL 142, 645D). Cf. also Leo Marsican., Chron. casin. II, 51 (PL 173, 645B).
official was the strategos and among those directly under him, as chief of military administration, was the kartularius of the theme. This comes very close and the difficulty that a subordinate officer should be addressed in the terms of our letter might be solved by a more detailed knowledge of actual conditions at this time. All these major officials were directly appointed from Constantinople by the emperor, so that in this respect the address is not only formally but literally correct. The use of sanctus for an office or real entity (sanctus imperator, s. imperium) was current usage but, it would seem, not for a living person. I am not certain that Calabrians is to be taken exclusively for the inhabitants of that region and does not include all subjects under Byzantine dominion. Caellitus was not simply a laudatory formality, but was an expression of the belief that human agents, by appointment or elections, were executors of the heavenly disposition of man’s affairs.

4. Although one might wish that the sender’s profession of humility had permitted more, we may be grateful at least for his self-designation as francigena. If he was following Italian usage, he meant simply that he was a foreigner from beyond the Alps; it is more likely that he wished to disclose his native stock. Now both Burgundians and Lorrainers from reformed monastic circles were in contact with South Italy from ca. 950, when pilgrims, like Abbot Odo of Cluny and Abbot John of Gorze (near Metz), went on from Rome and Montecassino, to Monte Gargano, near Siponto, and the regions of Apulia and Campania. These contacts were not isolated, but continued through the century and were frequent under the Ottos. However, the climax of this long association and influence in Italy from these Northern monastic centers of reform, came with the advent of Leo IX (1049-1054), native of Alsace and bishop of Toul, in Lorraine, who brought with him an ample personnel from the land of his adoption. At the same time a less felicitous climax was reached in Latin-Byzantine relations with the excommunication of Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople. From the point of view of the politico-ecclesiastical situation the terminus ante quem may be reduced to 1054. After that event and the antagonisms and changes of policy it entailed, a message in the terms of our text is hardly conceivable.

There is a moment, nevertheless, on the eve of these events, when a combination of circumstances creates a most favorable setting for such a message. In the first place, from the very beginning of his pontificate Leo IX was concerned and in personal contact with South Italy. The plight of the victims of Norman depredations moved him and his policy was conceived on the basis of a close cooperation between Byzantine and Latin imperial power in opposition to the marauding Normans. These hopes were not abandoned even after the disaster of the Norman victory at Civitella in 1053 June. The pope’s letter of 1054 Jan.,

16 Cf. R. Glaber, quoted in note 13 supra.
18 Cf. the texts quoted in note 1 of the edited text infra.
21 A. Fliche, La réforme grégorienne I (Spicileg. S. Lovanien., études et doc., VI, Louvain, 1924), pp. 152 f., lists these Lorrainers.
22 Cf. II, 3 infra.
24 Jaffe post 4298a.
to Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus, explains that the Normans overcame him as he sought out a meeting with the emperor’s faithful gloriosus dux et magister Argyros (the last leader of prominence of Byzantine Italy) and that he awaits daily for aid from Emperor Henry III. He appeals for a foedus pacis et amicitiae between the two emperors. The letter is marked by the greatest benevolence toward Constantine, who is still considered the ruler of the South and whose help is asked for the recuperation of the patrimonia of the Roman see in tuae ditionis partibus. Nor is a note of confidence in the future lacking when Pope Leo protests: ab hac nostrata intentione liberandae Christianitatis non deficiemus.

Furthermore, this renewal of interest in the Byzantine South and the reopening of communications with Constantinople come at a time when the ideas commonly considered typical of the reform centers of the North were about to attain the peak of their fortunes in the peninsula, and especially at Rome. That the mood of our letter corresponds admirably to this interlude of amicability and confident expectation at the highest level is, to my mind, quite patent. How well it fits in with the expression of these reform ideas at about this same time may best be shown by a glance at its contents in relation to some contemporary items.

II.

1. There are three classical items in the early reform literature, which immediately invite comparison with our letter on the subject of simony. These items are: (1) The anonymous De ordinando pontifice auctor Gallicus (1048); (2) the anonymous Epistola Widonis; and (3) Cardinal Humbert’s Libri III adversus simoniacos (ca. 1054-1058). F. Pelster advanced the opinion that Humbert was the author of (1), but this has been rejected as impossible by Anton Michel. Michel himself claims (2) for Humbert and suggests Henry I of France as addressee and 1054/55 for the date. However (3) alone belongs to Humbert beyond all doubt, which is difficult to dispel entirely for items that circulated anonymously and for the identification of which internal criteria must be relied upon exclusively. In any case, the first thing to be established in the present instance, so it seems to me, is the fact of a close relationship between our letter and these other items, which belong to the decade 1048-1058. This I have undertaken to do by including in my notes an indication of parallel places for citations, arguments and expressions. If all these pieces are not to be accepted ultimately as products of a single mind, they can at least be shown to bear many marks of a similar mentality. To make this much clear is to advance a step nearer to determining the origins of our text.

2. Now the very fact that the three items mentioned above are either certainly Humbert’s, as in the case of (3), or have been attributed to Humbert in recent scholarship, as in the case of (1) and (2), renders inevitable a consideration of Humbert as the possible author of our letter.

The parallels indicated for the Adversus simoniacos alone are enough to establish a very close relationship. Especially significant in this regard is the three-fold classification of all those entirely outside the Church (paganus, Iudaeus,
hereticus), which would appear to have been invented by Humbert, and by whom it is ingeniously elaborated in *Adversus simoniacos* II, 46. Similarly, the distinction of *heretici* and *male viventes catholici*, taken over from Isidore of Seville, and the insistence on the inclusion of the simoniaci in the former category are characteristic features of Humbert's argumentation. The thought is consistently more fully developed in the major work, but the affinity is inescapable.

I have not undertaken to examine all the writings now attributed to Humbert, largely through the scholarly efforts of Anton Michel, although I do not misestimate the utility of a comprehensive comparison of style especially for its confirmatory value. I have fixed attention primarily on these items known to all by reason of their prominence in the history of the reformers' attack on simony in order to show that our letter belongs to this same period. In so doing I have simply reported the course of my own investigation and I consider this point to be established with certainty. I also believe that a good case can be made for Humbert's authorship on the grounds of common sources and arguments, and characteristic thought development. In this instance the conjecture finds unusual support, to my mind, in a set of external circumstances, which present a peculiar historical opportunity for his writing of this letter.

3. Humbert, monk of Moyenmoutier in the diocese of Toul, was closely associated with Bruno (later Leo IX) during his episcopate at Toul and served him in the capacity of a secretary as early as 1030-1040. Bruno was designated for the Roman see in 1048 Dec., arrived in Italy 1049 Jan. and was consecrated in Rome Feb. 12. Humbert, we now know, came to Rome at this same time and the intimate association continued. The new pope went to Montecassino and Monte Gargano in March, the first of many subsequent journeys to the South, and was in Rome for a synod, April 9-15, where action against simony was initiated. Humbert probably drew up the synodal decree. In 1050 Feb.-April, Leo was again in the South (Capua, Salerno, Melfi, Benevento, Siponto) and, back in Rome, presided over a synod May 2, where Humbert signed a bull of canonization as 'Archbishop of Sicily.' How long before this he was named for this novel office, or whether he had already accompanied Leo to the South, we do not know. At this date he probably had not yet been created cardinal. In 1051 he undertook a papal mission to Benevento, in the account of which he is first mentioned as cardinal bishop. He undoubtedly had a hand in the negotiations with Argyros, leader of the Byzantine forces, this same year and was certainly with Pope Leo on the expedition that met defeat at Civitella in 1053. Thus Humbert was in Italy for one year without any title and, whatever the pope's plans were for a Sicily still in Saracen hands and never renounced by Constantinople, his first official promotion gave Humbert an ex officio interest, as it were, in the Byzantine South. He was in personal contact with the South in 1051 at the latest, and probably earlier; and this personal experience was continued later. Thus from the point of view of time, place and interest the opportunity was certainly there.

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77 See note 25 of the edited text infra.
79 See note 26 of the edited text infra.
80 Michel, *Die Anfänge des Kardinals Humbert bei Bischof Bruno von Toul (Leo IX)*, *Studia Greg. III*, 305, provides a list of these writings with references to the proofs of authorship.
81 Michel, *Die Sentenzen*, p. 127, lists Humbert's chief mediaeval literary resources (*Hilfsmittel*).
Humbert's testimony, in *Adversus simoniaocos* III, 8-10, on the better condition of the Church in the Eastern Empire with respect to simony is well known. Latin witnesses in such matters at this time were rare. In the light of his experience in South Italy, this testimony has also been considered to be probably pertinent for the dioceses in Italy under the patriarch of Constantinople. In another chapter (III, 7), however, Humbert comments on the increase of simony in the West down to the times of Henry III and includes: *per totam Italiam.* Perhaps he meant this literally to embrace even the regions outside the rule of the Western emperor. In any case, I do not think that his later testimony (1058) militates against accepting him as the author of our letter on simony in the Byzantine provinces of South Italy.

4. The plea to a civil official for the exercise of imperial authority is also entirely consistent with Humbert's conception of the relation of secular power (*regnum*) to ecclesiastical authority (*sacerdotium*). In the present state of the Church their relation may be likened to that of soul and body:

Ex quibus sicut praeminet anima et praecipit, sic sacerdotalis dignitas regali, utputa caelestis terrestri . . . sacerdotium tanquam anima praemoneat quae sunt agenda; regnum deinde tanquam caput sui corporis omnibus membris praeminet et ea quo expedit praecedat. Sicut enim regum est ecclesiasticos sequi, sic laicum quoque regos suos ad utilitatem ecclesiae et patriae; sic ab una earum potestate populus doceri, ab altera debet regi, quam neutra populum inconsiderate sequi.

Or again, the relationship is illustrated by the respective functions of members of the human body:

*Est enim clericalis ordo in ecclesia praecipuus tanquam in capite oculi . . .
Est et laicalis potestas tanquam pectus et brachia ad obediendum et defendendum ecclesiam valida et exerta.*

And for rulers like the two emperors, Henry III and Constantine Monomachus, who corresponded, in Humbert's view, to such a conception in the fulfillment of their office, he has only the highest praise.

Similarly the request for the intervention of civil authority in rooting out the clerical crime of simony is consistent with Humbert's clearly expressed ideas on the role of secular rulers with respect to evasive or indifferent churchmen in the prosecution of ecclesiastical reform:

*Habet enim ecclesia suas leges, suos iudices, quibus . . . corrigantur culpae praepositorum et ministrorum eius. Quas si ecclesiastici dissimulant aut minime curant, demum saeculares principes et fideles laici pro defensione et recuperatione, quam matri suae ecclesiae debent, necesse est insistant eosque oportune importune conveniant et moneant, ne destructoribus ecclesiarum Dei et indisciplinatis tacendo et dissimulando faveant, sed secum reformandum eius suos canones exurgant.*

If these ideas are not peculiar to Humbert and were undoubtedly shared by many of his contemporaries, no one expressed them more clearly and fully at this time. The fact that he is accepted, without any dissent to my knowledge, as the author of the so-called *Epist. Widonis*, addressed to a prince who fell far short of these ideas and ideals of a secular ruler, is also to be considered
in weighing the reasons for his authorship of this anonymous message\(^\text{a}\) to a
civil dignitary on the subject of simony within his jurisdiction. For Humbert,
to maintain silence with a knowledge of these evils was to incur the guilt of an
accomplice and in conscience a terrible crime.

5. My own present conclusions may be summed up as follows. I consider it
certain that our letter belongs to the stage of development of the anti-simoniacl
attack represented by the De ordinando pontifice and the so-called Epist.
Widonis.\(^{b}\) I also consider it certain that it originated in the atmosphere of
amicability and renewed interest in Byzantine Italy during the pontificate of
Leo IX. Hence I would date the letter 1050/1054.

That Humbert of Moyenmoutier, later Archbishop of Sicily and Cardinal-
Bishop of Silva Candida, was the anonymous Francigena, whose customary zeal
and personal interest and experience in South Italy prompted him to write the
letter, I consider to have a high degree of probability.

6. In publishing the text I have kept emendations at a minimum. The diph¬
thongs æ and æ are consistently replaced by e with cedilla in the script, but I
have not followed this, e.g., for ecclesias. If the notes contain more references
than is customary, it is because I have judged this a convenient way to suggest
pertinent material for a judgment on the text itself. My intention has been to
explore a problem rather than to present a definitive opinion. For this reason,
too, I have not inserted the name of Humbert, but give the text as it appears in
the collection, without number, rubric or inscription of any kind. If Humbert
is to be recognized as author, that must await a peritorum in re consensus.
In the meantime, what is here sacrificed to future perfection may be compensated
in some measure by present utility.

\(\text{J. Joseph Ryan}
St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass.

\(\text{Vatican Library, Ms Vaticanus lat. 3830, Fol. 17'-19'}.\)

Caelitus\(^{1}\) per sancti Constantinopolitani imperatoris ma-
(fol. 17 v) iestatem
Calabris assignato sancto karl.,\(^{2}\) quidam franciscanae catholicus fidem per vilitatem
carens nomine, recubans pulverem salutationemque divina pietate circa humanam
necessitudinem, ut condecet, exhibens.

Multimodas\(^{3}\) omnipotenti Deo gratias referens, congratularer non ad modicum,
sed de unius solummodo incommodissimi ac etiam turpissimi sceleris, qui sub
vestro dominio agitur, foeditate\(^{4}\) tristatus sum, cuius iniquitas, ut ipsa veritas ait,
in tantum est gravissimum, ut neque in presenti neque in futuro remittatur. Nam

\(\text{\(a\) Cf. Mirbt, Die Publizistik, pp. 86 ff., on anonymity as a characteristic tendency of}
the controversialists.}

\(\text{\(b\) Cf. Fliche, La réforme gréc. I, pp. 119 f.; L. Saltet, Les réordinations (Études d'his-
des dogmes et d'ancienne litt. ecclé., Paris, 1907), pp. 119 ff.; A. Schebler, Die Reordina-
tionen in der "alkatholischen" Kirche (Kanon. Studien u. Texte, X, Bonn, 1956),
pp. 218 ff.}

\(\text{\(c\) Caelitus . . . exhibens. Cf. Greg. VII, Reg. I, 29a, Henry IV to Gregory: Vigilantissimo . . .}
p. Gregorio apostolica dignitate caelitus
insignito Henricus . . . debiti fidelissimus
fidelissimam exhibitionem (MGH, Epist. sel.
III, 5): Inde est, quod reges saeculi et principes
ecclesiae Dei tutores et defensores assignati,
releto officio desuper sibi commissum, gladium,
qui non munisini Dei et vindices in via omni
operantem malum ostentant, sine causa portant
. . . (p. 204, 16).}

\(\text{\(d\) kar<tu>l<ario>? Cf. Introd. I, 3. The l is barred in the script.}

\(\text{\(e\) Multimodas . . . referens. Cf. Formulae Augienses (Reichenau) Collectio C: 'Formulae
epistolares' (ante 850), n. 3: Multimodas
gratularem laudes v. refero sanctitati (MGH,
Leges V: Formulae, p. 365); and a twelfth-
century example in Epist. Guarini abb. s.
Victoris, Card. John of Naples to G. (PL 196,
1394). This is another possible trace of use
of a formulary.}

\(\text{\(f\) Cf. Greg. VII, Reg. I, 29a, Henry IV to Gregory: Vigilantissimo . . .}
pp. Gregorio apostolica dignitate caelitus
insignito Henricus . . . debiti fidelissimus
fidelissimam exhibitionem (MGH, Epist. sel.
III, 5): Inde est, quod reges saeculi et principes
ecclesiae Dei tutores et defensores assignati,
releto officio desuper sibi commissum, gladium,
qui non munisini Dei et vindices in via omni
operantem malum ostentant, sine causa portant
. . . (p. 204, 16).}

\(\text{\(g\) Matth. xii, 32. Cf. De ordin. pont.: quia
ex evangelica veritate, qui contra Sp. s.
aliquid dixerit, testante scriptura, neque in
hoc seculo neque in futuro remissum (p. 11, 36); Epist. Ps.-Widonis: ne ultra
—quod abit— in Sp. s. peccare neque hic
peccare in futuro seculo remittatur (p. 4, 14).}
peccare in Filium remitteretur, in Spiritum autem sanctum non. Sed ne desperatiae absorbeat, peccata nostra ipse in cruce pendens deluvit, in quo est remissio omnium peccatorum, qui iuravit: Vivo ego, nolo mortem peccatoris sed ut convertatur et vitat. Sed dicendum est de quo crimen dixeram. Furtur simoniae heresis, quae specialiter contra Spiritum sanctum de eiusdem Spiritus donorum venalitate accusatur sanctae ecclesiae puritatem sordissimam cupiditatis fece polluere, per vestras provincias lassciva et secura volare et passim simplices Christi cribulae uncis unguulis eviscerare ac nullo imperialis potestatis obstacle abigi. Quod non leni sponsa Christi ecclesia deflet dolore, dum natos, quos fidem peperit Christum, heresi depredato captivos duci videt, et duris demonum vinculis nexus actenst christianos nunc simoniaeos vocitari. Haec omnia aguntur, dum ambitione quaeruntur et per pecuniam ecclesiasticae dignitatis iura mercantur. Nam nemo sanctorum ecclesiasticorum dominium (fol. 18) unquam ambitvit aut pecunia optimuit. Sed ne quasi inania ducere videar, ipsius domini Christi, cuius nos filios esse gaudeamus, auctoritatatem ad medium ducam. Ait enim de pastoribus loquens: Ego sum hostium, per me si quis introiterit salvabitur et regrediatur et pascua inveniet; qui autem ascendet alio la ter est et latro. Fur non venit nisi ut <furetur et> mactet et perdatur. Ecce introuenti per Christum et salutus et observationem et victus promitterit. Aliunde autem ascendenti furturn et latrocinium et occisionem et perditionem imputatur. Quid aptius, quid clarius? Nam ecclesiae hostium Christum esse nullus qui legit ignorat. Introire autem illa per hostium, ovium et pastor-<um>. Aliunde autem ascendere solummodo hereticorum. Sed oves et pastores salutem et observationem et victum quaerunt. Heretici autem furturn et latrocinium, occasionem et perditionem exercet, et hoc ideo quia non per Christum plane introierunt sed per heresin superbe ascenderunt. Quisquis enim dignus est ecclesiasticum honorem non spontaneum sed invitus intrare dicitur. Quisquis autem indignus, etiam repulsus se ingerit et pro ambitione honoris praemium est ecclesiastico honore non spontaneus sed invitus intrare ducitur. Quisquis ...
unicuique iuxta opera sua. Certe si unicuique iuxta opus redditur, qui per simonia ac herem dominum optinet ecclesiasticum, cum Simone mago, quem nullum catholicus infernum traditum dubitat, condemnavit. Sed ne forte aliquis simplex excusetur, quid sit simonia ac heresis exponatur. Simonia ac heresis est ad imitationem Simonis pecuniam pro adipiscendo ecclesiasticum honorem proferre, vel dare, vel accipere, vel credere se tale faciendum posse fieri sacerdotem. Quod ut verius credatur, liber actuum apostolorum adhibetur, in quo legitur quod Simon magus, postquam baptismum accepit, apostolo Petro pecuniam proditulit, ut ei manus imponens ecclesiasticae censurae locum per sancti Spiritus donum tribueret. Cui statim apostolus, quia indignum erat et impossibile, anathemat et anathematis ab ecclesia deiecerunt. Ideoque et insignis papa Gregorius hanc heresim magno Dei fervore succensus, primo apud Romam postremo apud Galliam, divino ene percssit, et, interposito anathematis muro, a sancta ecclesia separavit. Unde colligi probabiliter potest, quod nullus in hac heresim manens catholicus extat. Quod si non catholicus profecto aut paganus aut Judaeus aut hereticus. Sed hereticum non contingit nisi de male credere. Catholica quidem ecclesia sicut male viventes in se, ut testatur Isidorus, tolerat, sic a male credentem exterminat. Male credere autem simonia ac heresim est ad imitatiunem simonia ac heresim, quum nonnisi sanctis et humilibus datur, promissa pecunia se habere confidunt, quod omnino est impossible, testa ipso Deo per hos prophetae: *Super quern requiescit spiritus mens nisi super humilem et quietem et trementem verba mea?* Velle manere qui elevati ad terrenum honorem et honorati, ab hominibus cupit. Argumentum autem asserentibus hereticum non esse, quum omnino data pecunia sub aliqua figura ecclesiasticum honorem acquirit, istud potest sufficere. Si ambiendo ecclesiasticis privilegi jure, proferre pecuniam heresis est de nomine Simonia ac heresim, constat eum qui profert hereticum esse. Igitur hereticus est, qui pro ecclesiasticis honoribus pecuniam profert. Quod si solummodo proferre hereticum facit, quid putas facit etiam dare? Simon enim a quo haec heresis initium sumpsit, qui et ab apostolo pro huiuscemodi criminis est damnatus, de nullo nisi de cogitare et proferre est reprehensus. Sed quid plura? Si diligenti otio intus series Veneris ac Novi Testamenti scrutabitur, saepe numero haec pestis divina ulitona percussa videbitur. Quippe quae solummodo ad superbia et vanam gloriam et cupiditatem et fucum omnis malignitatis antiqui hostis

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21. *The phrase 'christianae religionis et nominis dignitatem' appears in 3 Ps.-Isidorian decretales: Anaclet. I, 3 (ed. Hinschius, p. 68); Eutician. c. 8 (p. 212); Felix II c. 12, n. 10 (p. 495).*
27. Isa. xi, 2; lxvi, 2.
calliditate mundum perdens inventa est. Unde quisquis intellegit et divinam mortalibis concessam gratiam perdere non (fol. 19r) optat, fiendo et dolendo assiduis precibus divinum pulset auxilium, ut tam crudelis meretrix, quae tam occulte omnem christiani nominis\(^{30}\) extinguit laborem, divina pellatur potentia, ne tanta honor christiano nomine et opere acquisitus vilissima et momentanea ambitione Christi cultoribus defraudetur, quia, ut beatus Augustinus ait:\(^{31}\) 

Nulla helmosina, nullum beneficium, nec etiam pro nomine Christi martyrium hereticum iuvat, nisi ante finem huius vitae redintegratus et incorporatus fuerit sanctae ecclesiae.

Igitur per omnipotentiissimam divinitatis clementiam, vestrae excellentiae suppliciter obsecro magnificentiam, ut vestra pervigili cura ab omni quam iudicatis provincia, tam pestifera\(^{33}\) ablicatur infirmitas, ne venenoso\(^{33}\) deprehensa toxico nigrescens a Deo dedignetur ecclesia, sed potius omni puritate nitens, non habens, maculam aut, rugam,\(^{34}\) Christi sortita thoro iugi permaneat foedere.

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\(^{30}\) See note 21 supra.

\(^{31}\) Fulgentius Ruspens., De fide ad Petrum c. 39 (PL 65, 704). *Epist.* Ps.-Widonis (p. 5) is the only contemporary use of this text to my knowledge. Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* II, 21 (tit.) ‘De eo quod non prosit symoniacis qualiscumque eorum helemosyna.’

\(^{32}\) Cf. *Epist.*-Widonis in note 28 supra.


\(^{34}\) Cf. *Ephes.* v, 21.
A Latin Dialogue on the Doctrine of Gilbert of Poitiers

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THE following Dialogue between Everardus and Ratius debating the case of Gilbert of Poitiers confronts us with the kind of problems which often surround this literary genre. The discussion between the Cistercian Everardus and the Greek Ratius is, without doubt, the best analysis of Gilbert's doctrine discovered to date; yet there are good reasons to believe that both disputants are fictitious despite the vivid, sometimes highly dramatic or humorous incidents designed to create an atmosphere of reality. If we possessed only the Dialogue, it might never occur to us to wonder why the author took pains to record a debate in which he was defeated by his Greek opponent, or why a Greek should display such versatility in classical Latin learning and such a mediocre knowledge of Greek authors.

However, the Dialogue belongs to a group of three works found in the following order: a letter by Everardus to Pope Urban III (1185-1187), our Dialogue composed during the reign of Pope Celestine III (1191-1198), and a letter to Everardus in which both previous works are examined. The letter to Pope Urban III deals with some trinitarian and christological questions controverted in the twelfth century; regarding the trinitarian problems, the writer insinuates that, among other points of doctrine, the Pope should define the statement: Paternitas non est Deus. Coming from a Cistercian monk, the suggestion that the Pope should side with the Porretani is no less puzzling than the fact that the burden of his argument is copied verbatim from Gilbert's commentary on Boethius, De Trinitate, though Gilbert's name is not mentioned. It cannot be accidental that the Greek Ratius cites the same long passages from his truly prodigious memory, because he also repeats the insertions made by the writer of the letter. It may be accidental that both the letter to Urban and the Dialogue contain two identical texts from St. Isidore and St. Basil respectively, but the fact that the conclusions drawn from both agree almost verbatim proves again that the Cistercian Everardus and the

1 The Dialogue, preserved in Ms Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 259, fols. 229'-240', was discovered and described by J. Leclercq who published some excerpts in 'Textes sur Saint Bernard et Gilbert de la Porree', Mediaeval Studies XIV (1952), 116-127, with a list of the numerous marginal notes which may serve as an index. Since they hardly belong to the original work, they are omitted in this edition.

2 Though he was supposedly very versatile in 'Latin, Greek and Hebrew,' he quotes his Greek authors according to then currently known Latin translations. Thus he cites Pseudo-Dionysius according to the ninth-century translations of Scottus Erigena and Hilduin. His text from St. Basil is derived from a letter and not, as he states, from a book of St. Basil on the Trinity. It was probably translated by Burgundio and is also found in the letter to Urban III (fol. 228'v) preceding the Dialogue. His 'Athanasius' is the unknown author of the Symbolum 'Quicumque'. To explain the meaning of the Greek theos he has no better authority than Isidore of Seville. He knows the Aristotelian Logica vetus and the Sophistici elenchi of the Logica nova, but only the Timeaeus of Plato. Porphyry is quoted on one occasion.

A sentence from the Ars perna or Tegni of Galen, likewise available in Latin, reveals the author's interest in medical studies which had become fashionable in the second half of the twelfth century. Probably for a similar reason, he was familiar with Gratian's Decretum. His use of the Latin Fathers is surpassed in number by his quotations from classical Latin authors such as Horace, Vergil, Ovid, Cicero, Terence, Persius and Juvenal. Of the Latin Fathers Hilary, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory and Isidore are quoted, but the emphasis is on Boethius as commented on by Gilbert and St. Bernard. Priscian provides the starting point of the debate on the grammatical and logical premises in Gilbert's trinitarian doctrine, while the Disticha Catonis and a number of popular proverbs contrast sharply with some very critical observations on the praelati of the Church and the merits of monastic life as opposed to the pursuit of wisdom. Finally, he does not mention any contemporary theologians, except his summus philosophus Gilbert, but he seems to have known the Regulae theologicae of Alan of Lille.

3 Compare fols. 228'v and 233'ra.

4 Compare fols. 228'v and 233'ra.
Greek Ratius are one and the same person. In other words, at least Ratius is not what he pretends to be. He was not born in Athens, he had no library there, no mother by the name of Ratio Atheniensis, no sister Sophia, no servants called Byrria and Davus, no uncle by the name of Sosias, who is kicked by a horse with the happy result that the Dialogue can be prolonged and who, although a servant, takes up the debate with equal skill when Ratius is tired. The letter to Everardus seems to confirm his fictitious character by the remark: Satisfaciat ad hoc Ratius tuus, immo ratio tua.5

Everardus, supposedly a Cistercian, appears to be confused in his dual role when he remarks to Sosias: Audio te novisse doctrinam doctoris nostri.6 A Cistercian calling Gilbert ‘our doctor’ or admitting that “the Blessed Bernard says insultingly ...”7 reveals signs of very doubtful loyalty which are hardly covered up by his attempts to tone down the Greek’s criticism of St. Bernard’s attitude to, and remarks against, Gilbert. He does raise vigorous objections to some points of doctrine but only to end up by acknowledging his defeat.

The question whether the letter to Everardus is authentic or fictitious is more difficult to answer. The writer feels that some statements in the Dialogue need further clarification, and he advances a few suggestions on the proper method of distinguishing the divine Persons. Having read the letter to Urban, he requests an explanation of two patristic texts which seem to conflict with the doctrine on the Hypostatic Union expounded in the letter. Fictitious or not, this letter to Everardus invites a reply, which strengthens the impression created by the Dialogue that all the solutions were not considered final.

The author of the Dialogue was an ardent Porretanus, yet prudent enough to examine the conflict between St. Bernard and the learned Bishop of Poitiers by introducing a Cistercian monk to defend St. Bernard’s cause and a Greek admirer of Gilbert to represent the opponent. Everardus may be the author’s real name or a pseudonym. He knows the background of Gilbert’s doctrine so well that we may believe his claim to have studied under Gilbert at Chartres and Poitiers, though this assumption is somehow weakened by the fact that his epitaph gives the wrong month for Gilbert’s death, since he died in November (1154) and not during the time of the aquarius (January or February). According to the address of the second letter, he was “once a doctor egregius” who at a later date became a “humble disciple of Christ”.8 If we suppose that he was only fifteen years old when he studied under Gilbert at Chartres, i.e., not later than 1140, he must have been at least close to seventy years old when he composed the Dialogue. In his younger years he also studied law and medicine. He tells us that he spent some time as clericus in the entourage of Cardinal Hyacinth who became Pope Celestine III in 1191.

His personal knowledge of the Pope’s gentle disposition may have encouraged him to venture a Dialogue on so delicate a subject. At the same time he was supported by a strong current of opinion favourable to Gilbert which explains that, about the year 1189, Geoffrey, St. Bernard’s secretary at the Council of Rheims, was asked to send a report on the Council of Rheims (1148) to the Cardinal of Albano.9 Several excellent works had been published in which Gilbert’s teaching was more or less openly approved.10 None of them went to the root of the controversy with the thoroughness of Everardus and Ratius. Although

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5 Fol. 241rb.
6 Fol. 239rb.
7 Fol. 237vb.
8 Fol. 240vb.
9 Libellus 1 and 13; PL 185, 587B and 595A.
10 Cf. Liber de homousion et homousion, Ms Cambridge, Univ. Lib., II, iv, 27, fols. 1-129r, whose author remarks: teste preceper- tore nostro Giselberto Pictaviensi episcopo (fol. 29r). Better known is the Liber de diversitate naturae et personae (fols. 130-177 of the same manuscript) whose author refers to Gilbert as quidam in omni philosophia perepicciacissimus, in theologia catholicae fidei peritissimus (fol. 155r). The collection of patristic texts in Ms Rome, Vat. Lat. 561, fols. 171r-292r was written at . . . Magister Giselle- berti veritas et innocencia cognoscatur (fol. 175vb) and was based on an earlier collection made for the same purpose. The Liber de
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an analysis of their discussion will be the subject of a separate study, it may be noted here that the Dialogue clarifies the meaning of many statements which were attributed to Gilbert, but were never properly explained. For that reason the Dialogue is an extremely valuable document for the history of twelfth-century theology.

DIALOGUS RATII ET EVERARDI

Suo suus pulsanti vel leniter, licet non leviter, aperiri. Saepe et multum mihi cogitante vel leniter, licet non leviter, aperiri. Saepe et multum mihi cogitanti de caelesti norma et forma vivendi monachis proposita et de quorundam animorum cervice indomita, de scala Jacob ad caelum erecta per humilitatem ascendentis et de ejusdem scalae descensione propter elationem, semel supervenit meus Ratus Atheniensis, vir virilis animi, apprinse in omni facultate eruditissimus qui more suo jocose sic mihi inquit: "Frater Everarde, studiis accingere tarde. Nescio quid tecum grave cornicaris inepte." Ad quem erecto capite: "Rati, optato advenisti sed non optato inceptisti, utpote a calumnia. Nam non cornicor inepte sed meditor apte."

R(atius)—Meditaris quidem sed in meditatione tua non exardescit ignis qui tam cito in modico commoveris verbo quod tamen in <229*> meliorem interpretandum est partem. Non a jurgio sed a joco incepti, ut te quasi desidere a desidia excitarem, licet meliora sint verbera amici quam uberam inimici.6

E(verardus)—Esto. Per me sint omnia protinus alba.

R.—Te volo esse tantum, licet difficillimum sit a consuetudine jocunda recedere. Tamen ne nimis applices animum tuum studio, qui propter studium totus fere exsiccatus exinanitionem jam patet, ut videtur, spasmum. Est autem, ut nosti, spasmus contractio nervorum voluntarium motum impediens. Nam ut noster in Tegni ait Galienus: Omnis animi affectio praeter gaudium desiccat.1

E.—Aut prodesse vohint aut delectare poetae aut simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitae.8 Et haec affectio, quae adjacent tali studio partit gaudium animo. Ideo non desiccat. Cum itaque sim monachus et non poeta, tamen prodesse vellem, si possem, vel mihi. Ideoque placet mihi delectari in jucunda consuetudine et gaudere in dicendo idonea regularis vitae. Et si secundum Galienum nihil amplius studium, licet sit jocundissimum, est quam desiccativum, igitur et ipsum gaudium desiccat.8

R.—Sciebam oportere me loqui tibi circumspecte, qui cavillator semper es ad opponendum paratus. Dico itaque quod alius est studium, i.e., vehemens animi applicatio ad aliquid agendum,8 aliud quod inde sequitur gaudium. Plus vero illud desiccat quam istud deletantia humectet.8

E.—Quid nos impliues solvendo de studio quod potius solvas in familiari facto Apostolorum de quibus legitur: Ibatis Apostoli gaudentes a concilio quia digni habiti sunt pro Christo contumeliam pati.6 Et illud Apostoli: In tribulatione gaudentes.11 Et illud Psalmistae quod monachorum debet esse: Quomodo dilexi legem tuam, Domine, tota die meditatio mea est.12 Ecce gaudium ex contumelia, gaudium ex tribulatione. Dilectio est soror laetitiae ex diuturna legis divinae meditatione. Quid dicam? Desiccant ista, scilicet flagellatio, tribulatio, meditatio?

Pera philosophia in Ms Grenoble 290 (1085), fols. 3-111, may also be mentioned, but the author betrays too much animosity and reveals too little solid learning to be classed with the others.

1 Cf. Rule of St. Benedict, chapt. 7.
2 Persius, Sat. V, 12.
3 Cf. Ps. xxxviii, 4.
4 Marg. proverbium.
5 Persius, Sat. I, 110.
7 Horace, Ars Poetica, 333.
9 Acts v, 41.
10 Rom. xii, 12.
11 Ps. cxviii, 97.
Et si desiccant et minantur ethicam vel morbum, desistendum propter hoc? Quid censes?
R.—Non mihi consilium nimis morari circa patulum orbem et tibi quaerenti patentem. Sed potius ediscaris mihi quid cogitabas adeo intente jam pridem me superveniente.
E.—Cogitavi dies antiquos et annos aeternos in mente habui.24
R.—Bene. Sed circa quid articulasti animum tuum tunc, cum forte hujus versus immemor fuisti?
E.—Dicam tibi a te cupiens erudiri qui saepius in Areopago eruditor sedisti.
R.—Dic.
E.—Dicam. Sed non est mora libera mihi quia campana ad vespertinum vocat me officium. Et anxior, quia hospes es, tuum veritus abscessum.
R.—Ne timeas. Bene et plene tum poteris prosequi propositum ante meum discessum. Vade itaque et cito redi. (Ego itaque abiens apud me dicebam: "Dicam huic hospiti ea quae mente antea volvebam. Dicam equidem, nam ipse conscius est eorum quae apud claustrales cujusvis ordinis et habitus aguntur. Dicam, non causa diffamandi alios sed in dubio me confirmandi. Nam ecce praesto est noster Ratus.")
R.—Dic, Everarde, si quid habes.
E.—Habeo aliquid adversum te quod me appellas simplici nomine, cum regula nostra jubeat aliquid adjici nominis cujuslibet monachi.
R.—Istud regulare dicas fratribus, non mihi. Ne autem detineas dies vana loquendo euntem, quod dicturus es, die cito.
E.—Patienter audio te arguentem me vanitatis. Quaero igitur a te, unde tanta sit dissonantia inter regularem et conventualem monachorum institutionem et cotidianam conventicularem quorumdam conversationem quod et exprimunt per indiscretum, murmuriosum, sussuroneum et contumeliosum sermonem; et unde tanta discordia inter suam professionem sanctam et habitum exteriorum et habitum mentis interiorum. Unde beatus Bernardus alt: Tepe-scimus processu temporis a servore religionis et nostrae conversationis. Paulatim refrigescit caritas. Abundat iniquitas, ut consumamur carne qui spiritu ceparimus. Timorem Domini derelinquimus. Religiosam omittimus sollicitudinem. Verbosi, curiosi, faceti etiam detractores et murmuratores, vacantes nugis, fugitantes laboris et disciplinae, quoties sine nota id latet quasi vero confestim sit sine nota. Quid tantis repulsam obstaculis gratiam Dei nobis deesse miramur?
R.—Numquid ego monachus sum, ut judicem de moribus monachorum? Tractent fabrilia fabri.26
E.—Es monachus verus quidem mentis virtute, licet non habitus professione, et peritus quemvis cujusvis ordinis in suo ordine instruere. Responde igitur.
R.—Respondeo breviter: Caelum, non animum, mutat qui trans mare currit.29
E.—Satis dictum est sapienti dictum apertius.30
R.—Non addam, nisi addideris.
E.—Morem geris gentis tuae sed non tuis, ut rogatus non dicas, injussus numquam desistas.31

—Cf. Horace, Ars poetica, 132.
—Ps. lxvii, 6.
—Ovid, Met. I, 683.
—Sermon de Amant. III, 9: PL 183, 397B.
—Serm. in Cant. Cant. LXIII, 4: PL 182.
—Terence, Phorm., 541.
—Horace, Sat. I, 3, 2.
R.—Nunc tetigisti Rhodium in convivio. Tamen ede de proposito si quid habes.
E.—Praecepit beatus Benedictus, ne ea quae quis audiaret in saeculo referret in claustro. Sed quovis adveniente vel abbatu vel monacho conventiculum fit, circumsecedet a monachi, de visis et auditis in saeculo, de rumoribus vagis, de principibus terrarum, de praelatis ecclesiarum quae stia. Hospite igitur referente conticent et se continent omnes intenti, quia ora tenent. Quod si quis moveret verbum de divinis operibus sanctorumve scripturis, statim insurgeret in eum. Quaestionator, disputator, quasi malefactor judicaretur, cum nusquam legatur inhibitus ab aliquo sanctorum patrum quaestiones fieri theologiae vel de bonis moribus et de eis disputari.
R.—Paucis respondeo. Si linguam audires barbaricam, licet de Deo vel de necessariis utriusque vitae resonantem, placeretne tibi audire nonulla?
E.—Non.
E.—Satis, ex parte tamen, assentio verbis tuis. Nam hac consuetudine inductus quidam monachus, nomine Hugo, tria objecit mihi displicentia, licet gestu et habitu videretur religiosissimus, scientia et moribus multum commendatus.
Praelatorum quidam etiam sibi putant sufficere ad salutem, si boni sint in se et ad oculos hominum, non attendentes fines sacerdotes Heli, scilicet de Silo. Nec ruminant illud dictum Job: Pes fut cludo et oculus caeco. Et ab infanti a mea crevir misericordia. Causam etiam nesciebam diligentissime investigabam. Ecce habes hic in operibus Job misericordiam et judicii, quae vult Dominus sibi decantari. Igitur non sufficit aliqui praelato in se esse optimum, nisi subito exactissimam verbi et exempli adhibuerint diligentiam. Inde Dominus toties Petro:

22 Terence, Eun., 420.
23 Rule of St. Benedict, chapt. 67.
24 Cicero, De Fin. V. 25, 74.
27 Cf. Num. xxiii, 7; Acts xiii, 11 and v, 1 ff.
28 Job xxix, 15 f.
Petre, amas me? Pasce, pasce, pasce, non dico te sed agnos, sed oves meas. Propiter ergo presumpstuosam sanctitatis confidentiam tam praebatur quam subditorum, praecipe clausrualum, ait Propheta: Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem mi live a dextris tuis. Reputo igitur peccatores saeculi sed humiles, sua peccata cotidiana et horrentres et punientes, multum felices, te vero, frater Everarde, et tibi similes, de vana religione intumescentes, miseros.

E.—Benedictus sit sermo oris tui, quia nec mihi amico in conclavi parcis.


E.—Dicam, si cum praemissis et haec celaveris. Nolo omnia omnibus publicari.

R.—Numquam hoc prudenti dicas, ut celer sermonem celandum quem solus audis. Nam apud eum eumul est. Perge ergo securos in veritatis relatione, quia veritas liberabit te, licet apud omnes fere veritas olim et obsequium amicos pariatur.

E.—Loquebar de quibusdam ad me attinentibus cum abbate Monasteriens, inter quae cum dicerem me fuisse clericum in Francia domini Hyacinthi, nunc Papae, affuit praebatus Hugo dicens: "Nunc id scimus." Adject nullos invitos ad Deo trahiti, probans hic sic: "Nam ad hoc, ut homo trahatur, exigitur libertas arbitrii et ita voluntas." Me autem affirmante infinitis trahiti nolentes et invitos, adject verum verum: "Expediret isti, ut minus opinaretur se scire quam opinetur.

R.—Et tu ad haec quid, <230">qui ad hujusmodi oppositionis argumenta soles instantias libenter, et impatienter quandoque, afferre?

E.—Hoc solum ego: "Expediret isti plura scire quam sciat." Et ille: "Verum est.

R.—Si sic humiliter respondisses, melius tuacuisse.

E.—Foristan. Sed indignabar ab ignoto tunc talia mihi objici et ipsum de opinionis meae occultis tam secure, ne dicam presumpte, judicare.

R.—Forte ex modo loquendi tuo arrogantiam sibi perpendere visum fuit vel aliquis forsan de te aliqvid sinistri sibi sagesserat, unde promptior ad judicium prosiliit. Sed postea quid?

E.—Sicut et tu, et ipse debuit a me audita vel de me in meliorem partem interpretari, quia erant communia.


R.—Non oportet, ut me inungas quia sum homo patiens. Utinam tu ita esses mitis et humilis.

E.—Ex quo patientiae mentionem fecisti, quia a fratribus ad hanc habendam saepae moneor, hanc mihi imprimis definiar.

R.—Tu magister es et hanc ignoras? Vel ad tentandum me facis?

E.—Non, sed ad sciendum quia in Graeca et Latina, Hebraea quoque peritissimus es lingua.


29 Cf. John xxv, 15 ff.
30 Ps. xc, 7.
31 Persius, Sat. III, 30.
32 John viii, 3.
33 Terence, And., 68.
34 Vergil, Aen. II, 49.

E.—Videtur mihi quod descritio patentionae quam ponis reprehensibilis sit in duobus.

R.—Quibus?

E.—Cum patientia passio sit genere, cur in ejus definitione ponis repressionem quae actio genere est? Nec videtur dicendum vindictae sed irae. —— Quid me torvo inspiciis lumine?25 De facili videris moveri, ne dicam irasci, qui te patientem dixeras.

R.—Tertius e coelo cecidit Cato, scilicet tu.

E.—Ejice derisorem et exibunt cum eo iurgia sua. Summe a te deridendus, quia reprehendo reprehendenda?

R.—Proba te reprehendere reprehendenda.

E.—Libenter. Salva tamen pace tua.

R.—Utiam tua pax tibi esset, immo te salvaret.

E.—Amen.

R.—Proba.

E.—Patientia passio genere est.

R.—Sic.

E.—Igitur in ejus definitione genus ipsius ponendum est. Ideo non actio genere.


38 Ep. I, 15, 53 f.
39 Ovid, Met. IX, 27.
40 Juvenal, Sat. II, 40.
41 De Arith. I, 3; PL 63, 1083D. Cf. Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1276B.
42 Categoriae II; PL 64, 291C.
44 Aristotle, Categoriae III; PL 64, 245D.
E.—Trita teris.


E.—Quia vindicta virtus est tempore noto. Nam, ut ait Tullius: \[42\] *Vindicatio species virtutis est.* Omnès enim leges et omnia jura permittuntur vi repelli in continentem cum modéramine incolpatae tutelae.

R.—Haec regula juris fori, non poli est, quae dicit: si *aufert tibi tunicam, relinque ei et pallium, et si percusserit te in maxillam, praebé ei et aliam.* \[43\] Inde est quod Dominus reprehendit Petrum gladio percutientem zelo, non officio, dicens: *Converté gládium in vaginam;* \[44\] ostendit plus quam XII angelorum \[45\] legiones se posse habere ad defensionem suam et vindictam sed ipsum oportere exemplum omnis patientiae et humilitatis praebere. Ergo ibi patientia fuit repressio vindictae, non irae. Licetque cuivís irasci de vitio proximí ob injuriam sibi vel alií illatam, quia hoc est naturae. Sed non licet privatae personae sed vindicare, et practique monacho. Igitur virtus est reprimere manum, et si non usquequaque animum. Vindicta autem nec verbo nec materiali instrumento est exercénda, nec etiam signo, nisi judici ex officio, in quo vitium est patientia, si vindicta pro injuria alteri illata fuerit requisita.

E.—Licetne sibi suam vindicare iuriam ex officio?

R.—Judex publica persona est et contumelia sibi illata redundat in plures. Igitur licet ei vindicare auctoritate officii—cum qui in ipso, sibi est caput, sunt laesi—si qui laesit subditus sit. Si autem alii, recurrencem est ad ipsum qui principatur reo. Nam actor forum rei debet sequi.

E.—Potestne per procuratorem suum praelatus causam suam agere, cui non potest interesse?

R.—Non in tribunalí aliquis per procuratorem poterit litigare, i.e., causam causae reddere praetore illustré, quando conveniunt vel conveniuntur in crime injuriarum ut Codice *De Injuriis* et Causa III, quaestione IX nisi. \[46\] Sed causam absentiae per procuratorem <231" suum potest allegare. In civili per quemlibet procuratorem poterit intendere et excipere. Immo tenentur sacerdotes et episcopi procuratorem habere ut Causa V, quaestione III *qua* et Causa III, quaestione IX. \[47\]

E.—Et si injuriae sibi illatae judex solus sit conscius, quid aget?

R.—Aut hoc novit per confessionem aut aliter. Si per confessionem, injuncta paenitentia nihil addet, quia etsi noverit eum peccasse sciat peccatum ejus sec texisse. Quod si aliter noverit et non sit qui accuset, ipse accuset in Synodo, si sit persona ecclesiastica, vel, si forensis, in foro si probare possit. Sin autem taceat et privatum ipso ut convertatur erubescens, ut XV, quaestione V *Presbyter,* \[48\] abstineat, sed non in publico, ne scandalizetur.

E.—Quis judicabit in causa in qua judex accuset?


E.—Mane si potes. Inclinatur enim dies.

R.—Non permanebam hic.

E.—Vado tecum usque ad portam. Scias autem quod infectum est, quo pro detinei te: causa disputationis habitae de patientia.

R.—Quid hoc fuit? \[49\]

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42 Cf. Cicero, *De Invent.* II, 22.
44 *Matth.* xxvi, 53.
45 *Ms.* Apostolorum.
46 Gratian, *Decretum* C. 3, qu. 9, dictum post c. 18.
48 Ibid. C. 15, qu. 5, c. 2.
49 marg. Hic incipit principale propositum controversiae habitae inter beatum Bernardum et magistrum Gillebertum.
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E.—Praefatus monachus, nomine Hugo, sequenti die opinionem suam retractans, me praesente, quaeavivit a me causam dicti magistri Gilleberti Pictavensis episcopi negantis Deum esse essentiam vel deitatem suam et caetera in hunc modum.


E.—Non miror sed tristor, quia audio Sosiam tuum de contractione cruris conquerentem.

R.—Sosia, cur maeres?

S(osias).—Equus tuus fregit mihi crus.

R.—Cur vel quomodo?

S.—Recalcitravit. Quem cum baculo vellem cohibere impatiens crusi mihi fregit.


D(avus)—Domine mi, expectanda tibi est dies XVa, si vis Sosiam habere socium in via.

R.—Audis, Everarde?

E.—Audio dolens de servo, gaudens de mora.

R.—Nunc igitur facto plus et scleratus eodem es. Redeamus ad hospitium.


R.—Mirabilis es putans hominem perturbatae mentis vacare solutioni tanta quaestionis.

E.—Philosophus es. Scio te non frangi adversis nec extolli prosperis.

R.—Verum est quod non frangor. Sed naturae patienti compatrior. Improbitate tua me vinces. Nam bene nosti illud Virgilii: Labor improbus omnia vincit.51

E.—Sede.

R.—Sedeo libens, captus loci amoenitate, quoniam visum est pratum praeterfluente commendabile flumine; fusum est declive montis cum umbra grata imminentis silvae.

E.—Audi campanam. Quid meditaris? Festina, quia mora non est mihi libera.52

R.—Subit mihi memoria illius summii viri et acutissimi philosophi Gilleberti, jocunda quidem, sed in hoc nimis superbi, quia humanam plus justo contempsit laudem et gloriam. Est quod nobis condescendere capacitati pluriem tam in legendo quam in scribendo minus studiosos ita submovit, ut sibi videtur contumeliam divinae scripturae vel etiam humanae philosophiae irrogare, qui talibus <231*> hominem monstris non agnoscentia haec potius quam proculcanda project indignosque eos judicavit vel ad ea audienda vel legenda, qui vel callidi livore vel ignavi segnitie intellectu capere ea nequerrunt.53

De ipso igitur constanter audeo praesumere quod summorum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum mentem philosophorum, scilicet Euclidis, Aristotelis, Platonis, Boethii et Tullii plene intellectu assecutus sit et orthodoxorum Patrum scientiam

50 The names Byrria, Sosias, Davus are derived from the works of Terence.

51 Georg. I, 146.

52 Marg. Commendatio magistri Gilleberti.

53 Cf. Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1259D.
et fidem tam Graecorum, scilicet Basilii, Eusebii et Dionysii, quam Latinorum, scilicet Augustini, Hilarii, Gregorii, plene apprehendit et, si verbis audacia detur, in subtilate altius caput omnibus extulit. Cujus dicta ita inveniuntur per pelagus authenticorum dispersa librorum, ut in philosophia et sacra scriptura exercitato non tam sua inventa quam auctoribus furtim subtracta videantur. Qui etsi paucas scripsit, si quis ea duce Spiritu intellectus perlegerit, peritior in omni facultate haec intelligendo efficitur quam si omnem aliorum percurreret paginam. Cujus scripta omnia et subtiliter ab eo excogitata, quia mundum fere totum propter ipsius sequitatem tum propter livoris calliditatem eis indignum judicavit, in bibliotheca mea Athenis sunt recondita, divitiis Croesi mihi gratiora.

E.—Audivi quia auditor ipsius fuisti.


E.—Rati, irrationalibiler fieri noli. Nam iste fletus nec tibi nec ipsi utilis est. Sed potius insiste pro anima ipsius orationi et eleemosynae.

R.—Non est opus, frater, ut quis pro eo laboraret qui a secretis Dei in palatio caeli esse creditur. Nec quo e reddidit luceo, sed et nobis et toti mundo ejus doctrina indigno. Ipse enim fuit fons irriguus cui nullus communicavit alienus, et in modico etiam grex suus.

E.—Cum ab antiquo mihi fueris dilectus, propter dictionem illius magni ex dilecto factus es mihi amplius praecordialis et individuus. Accingere ergo ad solutionem praemissae quaestionis mihi ab amico factae, scilicet quae fuerit causa negandi Deum esse suam essentiam, sapientiam, et deinceps, quae sancti Patres et orthodoxi affirmant.

E.—Amen.

R.—Orandum est imprimis divinum auxilium, sine quo rite nullum funditur exordium. Implorandus est igitur Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, ut det mihi intellectum hujus quaestionis et solutionem sane et digne investigandi et fidem catholicam perscrutandi.


54 Ovid. Met. I, 175.
56 Ms. novum.
57 Gilbert died on Nov. 26, 1154, not in January or February as implied in aquariorum.
58 This saying is generally quoted in the form: Charitas est fons cui non communicat alienus. Cf. Sent. III, 31, 1; ed. Quaracchi (1916), p. 690. Robert Pulleyn, Sent. V, 37; PL 186, 860A.
59 Marg. Si vis festinare ad quaestionum solutiones, hic incipe, ceteris praetermissis. 1Is. xi, 2.
60 Horace, Ep. I, 17, 50.
E.—Esto ut libet.¹

R.—Nomen ali et ex alio et propter aliud impositum est: <231”> Alii, i.e.,
rei corporeae vel incorporeae ut hoc nomen 'homo' rei, quae homo est, impositum
est ex alio, qua ex humanitate hominis, propter aliud, i.e. propter intellectum de
homin, sua humanitate mediente, constituendum. Unde Priscianus:¹ Proprium
est nominis significare substantiam cum qualitate. Idem habes in nominis
descriptione: Nomen est pars orationis, quae unicumque subjectorum corporum
seu rerum propria vel communem distribuit qualitatem. Et nota quod
cuiqueque aliquod nomen impositum est, illud 'substantia nominis' dicitur. Nec
tamen simpliciter 'substantia' dicitur. Dicitur et 'suppositum locutioni'. 'Quali-
tas' autem nominis vocatur omnis forma vel proprietas, a qua nomen imponitur
quae mediante res mente concipitur, sive simpliciter sit qualitas sive non: ut
'scriptor', hoc nomen, rei quae scribit est impositum ab actione scribendi, quae
genere actio non qualitas est, sed qualitas hujus nominis 'scriptor'.

Quod vero propter intellectum constitutendum vel interpretandum voces
significativa sunt inventae, testatur Priscianus in libro Constructionum² sic
dicens: Omnis constructio, quam Graeci syntaxin vocant, ad intellectum vocis
reddenda est. Idem affirmat Aristoteles in libro Perihermeneia³ sic: Eα quae
sumt in voce, sunt notae passionum quae sunt in anima. De verbo dicit Prisci-
anus:¹ Proprium est verbi significare agere vel pati. Actio enim verbi dicitur
uidquid ex institutione significat, sive sit actio ut 'seco', sive passio ut 'metuo',
sive qualitates genere ut 'albeo', et sic deinceps praeter verbum quod passionem
significat. Item verborum alii adjectivum ut 'sedeo', alii substantivum ut
'sum, existo', alii vocativum ut 'vocor'.⁶ Adjectivum adjectivam significat
qualitatem ut 'albeo' quam copulat substantiae de qua est sermo ut 'Petrus doct'.
Substantivum, quod significat essentiam quam copulat ut 'sum' vel 'Paulus
est homo'. Vocativum, quod vocationem, i.e., in generali proprimum significat
qualitatem quam copulat ut 'Paulus vocatur Paulus'. Item verborum alii
transitivum, i.e., collativum unius personae ad alteram ut 'Paulus videt Petrum',
alii non ut 'Paulus tacet'. At transitivum ex vi transitionis, i.e., collationis,
requisit unum obliquum ut 'Paulus amat Petrum'; quandoque duos ut 'Paulus
docet populum fidem', primum ex vi transitionis, secundum ex natura verbi;
quandoque tres ut 'fertur Paulum docere populum fidem', primum ratione
personae, secundum ex vi transitionis, tertium ex natura verbi.

At cum substantivum verbum infinitum significat substantiam, i.e., essentiam,
cum personaliter ponitur, exigit nominativum ad determinandam confusionem
suae significatio: nominativum, inquam, vel proprii nominis ut 'Paulus est
Paulus' vel communis, et hoc vel substantivum ut 'Plato est homo' vel adjectivum ut
'Paulus est Apostolus'. Item determinatur confusa significatio vocativi verbi
adjectione proprii nominis tantum vel appellativi appropriati ut 'Paulus vocatur
Paulus' vel 'vocatur Apostolus'.

E.—Domine, quo vadis? Nam, ut videtur, nimis evagaris.

R.—Docendus viam viatorem doces? Rudes theologus rudimenta ad theol-
ogiam audire non potes?

E.—Perge. Audio.

R.—Audi. Notandum igitur utilem esse hanc verborum distinctionem et vim,
nam quaedam locutiones intelliguntur miraculose et vere, si attendatur ea
distinctio ut si adjectivorum verborum attendant substantiva constructio ut in
verbo Isaiae est videre dicentis: Ecce virgo concipiet etc.² Nam si personaliter hoc
nomen 'virgo' construistur cum hoc verbo 'concipiet', vera quidem locutio sed non

¹ Marg. De nominis causa: unde, cur et ad
quid sit impositum.
² Institut. II, iv, 18; ed. Keil (Leipzig, 1855),
p. 55.
⁴ De Interpret. I; PL 64, 237A.
⁵ Cf. Institut. II, iv, 18 and VIII, i, 1; ed.
Keil, pp. 55 and 369.
⁶ Institut. VIII, x, 51; ed. Keil, p. 414.
⁷ Is. vii, 14.

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miracula. Nam et nunc infinitae virgines sunt concepturae et pariturae. Sed si idem nomen substantive construatur cum verbo, et hoc <231" ex parte appositi, vera locutio est et miraculosa ut sit sensus: Ecce concipiet virgo et pariet virgo, i.e. pariens virgo. Item, Deus genuit Deum. Se Deum vel alium Deum? Neutrum est verum, si transitie intelligatur construi verbum cum obliquis his, scilicet se Deum vel alium Deum. At si cum hoc accusativo alium construatur transitive, cum hoc accusativo Deum substantive, vera est locutio, ut sit sensus: Deus alium, i.e., Filium, genuit Deum. Similiter in Genesi: Abraham tres vidit et unum adoravit, i.e., tres adoravit unum. In moralibus exemplariter est videre idem ut: 'Te monachum feci', hoc falsum. 'Te feci monachum,' hoc verum. Et 'hunc militem fecisti', falsum. 'Hunc fecisti militem,' hoc verum. In theologia multa et alia invenies tali consideratione indigentia.

Ad distinctionem nominum redeo. Nominum itaque aliiud concretivum, aliiud mathematicum. Concretivum: quod concretius significat substantiam et substantiae formam ut 'album' et 'homo'. Album enim significat rem, quae alba est, et albedinem rei. Unde Priscianus: Album dicitur ab albedine.22 Mathematicum est quasi abstractivum quia significat formam quasi a subjecto abstractam ut 'albedo'. Non autem forma a subjecto abstractur, sed nullo habito respectu ad subjectum quadam vi mentalis a subjecto abstracta concipitur. Notandum quod nomen in oratione proprie positum significat id de quo est sermo. Quod in grammatica dicitur substantia nominis vel persona vel suppositum. Verbum vero ex officio significat appositi.23 In logica vero nomen dicitur significare subjectum ex officio. Unde nomen est subjectus terminus propositionis et verbum est praedicatus. Nam significat appositi, i.e., rem praedicatum. Unde Aristoteles:24 Verbum est nota eorum quae de altero dicuntur. Attendite quod nomen quandoque significat id cui impositum est, et hoc proprium, ut 'homo est animal'; quandoque id ob quo impositum est, et hoc inoproprium, ut de eo fiat sermo ut 'homo est species', 'homo est assumptus a Verbo', i.e., humanitas. Sicut enim intelligendum est quando fit sermo de homine assumpto, i.e., de humanitate. Aliter enim intelligendo fit lapsus vel in Eutychianam vel Nestorianam haeresin. Unde Aristoteles: Album est accidens, triangulum est species figurae.V Materiale impositum est nomen quando per nomen fit sermo de seipso ut 'homo est nomen commune et substantivum, album commune et adjectivum'. Item attendendum: quod nomen sumptum, i.e., concretivum, significat pro qualitate, idem principale significat pro substantia. Ut 'homo' humanitatem significat pro qualitate quam hoc nomen 'humanitas' significat pro substantia. Unde cum dicitur Petrus est homo, sensus est: Petrus est humanitate. Et praedicatur in prima propositione humanitas Petri, i.e., propositi et non proponendi. Eadem vero humanitas subjicitur locutioni, cum dicitur 'humanitas est in Petro'. Sicut enim hoc nomen 'homo' est appellativum hominum, ita hoc nomen 'humanitas' humanitatum. Et sicut 'album' est appellativum alborum, ita 'albedo' albedinum. Similiter sicut hoc nomen 'Deus' est appellativum deorum, sic et 'deitas' deitatum.

E.—Noli dicere deitatum, cum una sola sit deitas.
R.—Cito a promisso silentio resillis. Recordare hujus prophetici: Ego dixi, dii estis.13
E.—Procede.
R.—Itaque nomen abstractivum, i.e., mathematicum significat formas proprie, i.e., appellat, prout intelliguntur abstractae a subjecto. Sed pro qualitate significat

10 De Interpret. I; PL 64, 306B.
12 Ms oppositum.
effectum earum, ut cum dicitur ‘albedo est color’, i.e., albedo facit coloratum.
E.—Igitur concretivum et mathematicum, a quo sumitur, diversa significat.
R.—Sic est.
E.—Igitur non idem, cum sententia magistri fucrit, quod idem significarent.
E.—Omnium opinatissima sententia est, quod hac propositione1 ‘albedo est albedo’ praedicatur species specialissima de praedicamento qualitatis, et hoc ‘albedo est color’ genus subalternum. Omnis autem albedo est qualitas, genus generalissimum. Igitur genera et species praedicantur de suis individuis in quibus ea sunt.
R.—Cave quid dicas, cum sis monachus. Praesumitur enim, si monachus, quod veridicus. Ideoque cavendum sibi, ne labatur in verbo.
E.—Verum dixi.
R.—Non est omnium sententia, quia non est mea. Et, ut noster ait Aristoteles, quolibet proferente contrarium opinioni stultum est sollicitum esse.17
E.—Dic ergo quod sentis.
R.—Audisti superius me dixisse omnia genera et species in primo contineri praedicamento. Sed in allis praedicamentis inveniri generalissima et specialissima. Unde eadem forma habet et specialem et generalem effectum ut albedo facit album (et iste effectus ejus est specialis, immo specialissimus), eadem facit coloratum (et iste generalis), facit quale (et iste generalissimus). Igitur omnes albedines sunt hoc universale album, omnes albedines et aliis colores hoc universale coloratum, omnes albedines et aliae qualitates hoc universale quale. Unde Aristoteles noster describens ab effectu qualitatem ait: Qualitas est secundum quam quales dicimur,18 quasi qualitatis genus, i.e., esse, est facere quale. Sicut enim substantia quaelibet habet esse a forma substantiali, specie scilicet vel genere, ut homo habet esse humanitate et ideo hac specie ‘homo’ et hoc genere ‘animal’, sic albedo habet esse suo effectu, quo desinente et ipsa desinit esse.
E.—Adsum tres monachi. Intercident tuae orationis continuationem, nisi caute amoveris eos.
R.—Non tam noviter adveni. Sed properate ad portam, antequam recedant quos ibi vidi. (Tunc ait: Eamus illuc quam citius ante discessum peregrinorum.)
E.—Non decet talem ac tantum virum citra veritatem aliquid pronuntiare quals et quantus tu es.
R.—Considera diligenter amotionis cautelam. Non invenies eos mendacii falsitate deceptos, verum cautia illusione illusos.
R.—Pergam. Tu sileas. — Cum sint tres species speculativae: naturalis, mathematica et theologica — Naturalis in motu inabstracta:19 nostra enim corpora sicut omnia alia creatae moventur sex speciebus motuum, scilicet generatio, corruptione, augmento, diminutione, alteratione, secundum locum locum mutatione.20

17 Ms praepositione.
18 Cf. Poster, Analyt. I, 3; PL 64, 715B.
19 Cf. Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1270C.
20 Cf. Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 240A.
21 Cf. Poster, Analyt. I, 3; PL 64, 715B.
22 Boethius, De Trinitate, 2; ed. Peiper. p. 152.
23 Aristotele, Categ. IV; PL 64, 289B. Gilbert. Contra Eut.; PL 64, 1387C.
Sed a corpore abstrahi non possunt formae. Mathematica sine motu inabstracta. Haec enim formas speculatur sine materia ac per hoc sine motu.\(^{22}\) Quae quia immutabilem sui sortiuntur existentiam, mathematice consideratae, vocantur ‘essentiae’. Quae formae, cum in materia sint, ab ea separari non possunt. Theologicâ sine motu abstracta atque separabilis. Nam Deus substantia et materia et motu caret,\(^{23}\) i.e., nec Deus nec ejus essentia potest esse materia. Neque enim ea, qua ipse est, essentia, quae Graece dicitur usia, potest non esse simplex. Neque in eo eadem essentiae adesse aliquid potest, quo ipse sit. Non enim Deus vere simplex esset, si vel ejus essentia constaret ex multis\(^{22}\) vel eadem adessent formae in illo, quarum vel ipse vere esset vel ejus essentia ratione diceretur subjecta materia.\(^{22}\) <232>\(^{22}\)

Cum igitur, ut praemissum est, tres sint species speculativa: naturalis, mathematica et theologicâ, in naturalibus rationaliter, scilicet ut posito nomine quo id, quo est et id, quod est, significatur, philosophus ea vi mentis qua concreta reri debet, diligenter attendat quid proprie sibi vel id quo est vel id quod est concretionis consortio exigat et quid ceterarum locis speculacionum communiciet. In mathematicis vero, ubi inabstracta\(^{22}\) aliter quam sint, i.e., abstractim attenduntur, oportebit eum versari disciplinaliter, ut cum ea quae, nisi subsistentibus insint, omnino non sunt, separatim ab eis conceperit, sic eorum propria ad disciplinam faciendum attendat, ut convenientes sibi cum ea essentia specificationibus ratione ad ipsam minime contrahat. In mathematicis enim dicitur homo ‘species generis’, i.e., animalis aut corporis ut ‘homo est animal, homo est corpus’. In mathematicis vero non generis sed individuorum dicetur species homo. Itaque naturalis concretionis proprietate dicetur genus de specie praedicari. Mathematicae vero abstractionis proprietate non genus sed generis genus de ea, quae non generis sed individuorum tantum species est, vere et consequenter praedicari conceditur,\(^{22}\) ut ‘socratitas est humanitas, est animalitas, est corporalitas.

In divinis vero, quae non modo disciplina verum etiam re ipsa abstracta sunt, intellectualiter versari oportebit, i.e., ex propriis theologorum rationibus illa conciperi, non ex naturaliter concretorum aut disciplinaliter abstractorum proprietatibus judicaret.\(^{22}\) Divina autem dico, quae circa sanctitatem attendatur, non ea, quae ad bonos mores, scilicet ad merita vel praemia pertinent, nisi praemium voces ipsum Creatorem.

E.—Siste gradum\(^{28}\) Noli lapidoso currere campo.

R.—Plana est via qua incedo et nobis et nostris satis trita. At non cuivis hominum contingit ad ire Corinthum.\(^{28}\) Verum cum in via virtuti sit nulla via,\(^{28}\) tu, cum aliquando sis habitus pro virtuoso, i.e., prudente, quia prudentia cardinals est virtus, cur viam quia incepto judicas lapidosam?

E.—Quia quod superius asseruisti in distinctione facultatum vel est falsum vel minus planum, immo non est intelligibile.

R.—Ne dicas simpliciter quod secundum quid proponendum est. Non enim ideo est minus intelligibile, quia tibi non est intelligibile. Tamen propone quod tibi videtur falsum vel nimis obscursum. Esse potest forte quod, cum brevis esse laborem, obscurus fiam.\(^{28}\)

E.—Estne eadem species generis et individuorum? Quid est ergo quod tuus ait Aristoteles\(^{28}\) omnia superiora de inferioribus praedicari et omnis intellectus universali ex particularibus surgit? Quod si ita est, immo quia ita est, cur

\(^{22}\) Boethius, De Trinitate, 2; od. Peiper, p. 152.
\(^{23}\) Ibid.
\(^{24}\) multis essentis: according to Gilbert (PL 64, 1268A) and the Ep. ad Urbanum (fol. 228\(^{23}\))
\(^{25}\) Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1268A.
\(^{26}\) Ms abstracta.
\(^{27}\) Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1268BC.
\(^{28}\) Ibid.; PL 64, 1268C. Cf. Ep. ad Urbanum (fol. 228\(^{28}\)).
\(^{29}\) Ovid, Her. XIII, 102.
\(^{30}\) Horace, Ep. I, 17, 36.
\(^{31}\) Ovid, Met. XIV, 113.
\(^{32}\) Horace, Ars poetica, 25.
\(^{33}\) Cf. Categ. I; PL 64, 169 ff.
dicis in naturalibus homo est species generis, i.e., animalis, in mathematicis non
generis sed individuorum species est homo? Nam haec species specialissima
‘homo’ praedicatur de suis individuis, quae ideo universaliter subjecitur suo
generi, ut cum dicitur ‘Socrates est homo, Plato est homo, Cicero est homo’ et sic
de singulis. Cum homo sit animal, omnis homo est animal.

R.—Noster Aristoteles ait: ‘Oportet discendem credere.’

E.—Et cum fides sit ex auditu, quaero quis credet quod audiendi non intellexit?

R.—Cogis me duo commissere officia, scilicet docendi et disserendi.

E.—Unde, quia causa fit discendi.

R.—Igitur disce, sed ira cadat naso, rugosaque sauna.” Cum in naturali
facultate hoc nomine ‘homo’ concretive significetur res, quae homo est, et forma,
qua homo est, secundum naturalis concretionis proprietatem homo est species
animalis, quia homo est animal. At cum dicitur ‘homo est species animalis’, fit
sermo de qualitate hujus nominis ‘homo’, i.e., de humanitate concretae significata.
Sed de ejus effectu fit sermo, cum dicitur quod homo est species individuorum
eodem nomine quo superius, imprropriissima usurpatione, cum impropre etiam
ipsa qualitas supponatur nomine quo ipsa apponenda significatur. Multi imprroprius
effectus ejus qualitatis, qui eo nomine nullo modo significatur, sed hoc <232”h>
nomine ‘humanitas’. Igitur humanitas, significata hoc nomine ‘homo’ pro qualitate,
est species generis, i.e., animalis, quae ut significatur hoc nomine dividit hoc
genus animalis, cum dicitur ‘animalium aliud homo, aliud non-homo’. Sed non
eadem humanitas, immo effectus ejus, qui pro qualitate significatur hoc nomine
‘humanitas’, est species individuorum et praedicatur de eis, cum dicitur ‘socratitas
humanitas’, ‘platonitas est humanitas’ et sic de singulis, quae individua ibi
subjiciuntur mediantibus effectibus suis.

Planum est ergo, quomodo haec propositio ‘homo est species animalis’ exemplum
faciat naturalis speculationis et quomodo constituat exemplum concretionis, quia
ista locutione ‘homo’ est species animalis’ hoc genus animal de hac specie ‘homo’
praedicari inventur et sic rebus ipsius speciei composita intelligitur. Hae vero
locutione ‘homo est species individuorum’ non datur intelligi, quid cu componatur,
sed quae forma cui effectui supponatur. Et sic exemplum est mathematicae
abstractionis, quia proprietates mathematicae non genus prae dicari sed generis
genus, i.e., non id quod est genus sed id quo est genus, non de eo quod est species
sed de eo quod est species, i.e., effectum de effectu assignare ut hic ‘humanitas
est animalitas’. Specie enim individuorum, non simpliciter specie, fit subjectio.
Et de eo quod est humanitas praedicatur genus animalilitatis, non animalis, i.e.,
effectus qui pro qualitate hoc nomine ‘animalitas’ significatur. Qui effectus ‘genus
generis’ dicitur quadam similitudine, quia sicut esse cujuslibet rei ‘genus’ ejus
appellatur, (sicut cum dicitur cujus generis res sit, i.e., cujus subsistentiae) ita,
inquam, effectus formae cujuslibet ‘genus’ ejus dicitur, quia ipsa non habet
aliud esse nisi effectum suum, quia forma non ex alterius formae habitu sed ex
suo effectu esse sortitur. In hujusmodi ergo mathematicis philosophum oportet
versari disciplinaliter, i.e., propter disciplinam faciendam de his, quae actu
inabstracta sunt, abstractionem fingere, non autem inseparabili separare, sed
sic abstractis nomina abstractionum convenientia accommodare velut haec
‘humanitas’, ‘albedo’ et similia.—Habes plus quaestionis nunc?

E.—Habeo. Sed nunc supersedeo.


E.—Cras, aliis euntibus ad laborem, hue redi apparatus.

R.—Tuus Tullius in Rhetoricis27 jubet vitari apparatus et tu mones me venire
apparatum.

R.—Orator quidem apparatus est vitandus ut vitium, doctori vero quaestiones

solvere studenti non ita sed gloriosum. Quod enim ex improviso in quaestionibus videre est difficile, ut tuus in Elenchi ait Aristoteles, per vacationem est facile. At inglorium est oratori praemeditatum accedere sicut minus potentem objectibus adversarii arguta adversari incontinenti.

R.—Bene concordes auctores diversos in diversis facultatibus diversa, non adversa, afferentes. Sed me cras hic expectes, verum juxta scriptorium tuum in pomerio. Immutatio, immo innovatio, lunae immutabit statum constitutionis aerea, ideoque cavendum ut caveatur aeria in tempore tecti vicinitate.

E.—Etenim ista. (Mane facto, loco adeo determinato Ratus rationable semper rationcinans. Ad quem ego: “Benedicite.”)

R.—Dominus benedicit et de se nos benedicere faciat.

E.—Amen.

R.—Ecce intertemporis aeres plumosius a me praevisa in sero et ideo cauta. Subeamus igitur quod praesto est tectum omni pariete destitutum, ideoque non domus, sed synedra vel exedra vocandum.

E.—Libenter inquirerem, si vacaret respondere, quo prognostico sero in sereno tempore praenoveris futuram, immo nunc praesentem, aeris intemperiem.

R.—Vis ergo, ut geram morem Latinorum qui, cum intendat de principali docere eo omissi incidenti inciderunt ut quendam <232> magnum sua audivi et aliorum opinione dicentem interdocendo “Et quia facit mentio de oculo, videamus quid sit oculus.” Incepit itaque ibi tractare de varietate humorum et tunicarum ipsius oculi. Ille autem novit physicam accuratius quam grammaticam quam docebat. Similiter et quidam de tuis Prioribus in Capitulo docens de Deo ait: Deus in solis et nudis et puris intellectibus concipitur. Quae verba sunt Porphyrii de generibus et speciebus ratiocinantis et utrum sint aut non sint disquirentis. Pro eo autem quod dicturus erat ‘vel non sint’, ponit hoc exemplum: vel in solis et nudis et puris consistant intellectibus etc. Itaque praelatus ille, ut videtur, aliquando logicam didicisse volens videri aliquid magnus de Deo dicere verbis Porphyrii abutens dixit Deus non esse, nisi forte vim fecerit verbis suum sensum eis imponendo. Quod faciunt stulti quos gloria vexat inanis, quos vester tangit Horatius dicens: Et forte cypressum sci simulare. Vis ergo, ut sic faciam legem prognosticam Virgilii in Georgicis positam? Et ibi invenies, quae a me quaeris, nec rusticos nec aves caeli latere. Unde Virgilius de rusticis prognosticantibus ait ibi sic: Numquam imprudentibus irum iobuit, i.e., valde prudentibus. Sic enim exponit Priscianus ostendendo ‘in’ in compositione quandoque esse augmentativum.

E.—Hoc dicendo potuisses aliquid boni dixisse.

R.—Bona quidem sunt quae dixi, sed fortasse non erat his locus. Enimvero, si excessi, tibi imputa. At memor esto in doctrina tua Satyrici dicentis: Tractent fabrilia fabri, theologica theologi propria facultatis illius, de qua loqueris, non ad illam extendens facultatem interserendo tuae oratione, quae minime ad rem pertinent, licet a suo auctore posita suo loco sint lucida, ne audias Satyricum tuam arrogiam comiter et urbane reprehendentem: Purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter assuitur pannus. Sed singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decenter, nisi forte in aliquibus quaestoris solutione indigae alterius facultatis juvenine. Unde Boethius, volens construere singularitatem diviniae essentiae et pluralitatem personarum, id ostendit diversis diversarum facultatum rationibus: theologicae divinitatis simplicitatem, naturalibus numerabilem personarum diversitatem.

E.—Bene in tua digressione instruxisti praedicatorem disertum atque philosophicum doctorem.

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R.—Unde mihi carbo, ut notem quod aliquid tibi placet?
E.—Quam invitus accedis ad principale solvendum.
R.—Si scires transferre alius quod alicubi dictum est, tibi quaestionis solutio
constaret principalis illius, scilicet qua quaerabas, quare a magistro Gilleberto
asserturn sit 'Deus non est deitas'.
E.—Tu, qui novisti transferre, transfer et transferendo confer.
R.—Cupio quodcumque necesse est.—In naturalibus sunt X praedicamenta
quaesitio si quis ad divinam verterit praedicationem cuncta mutantur.\footnote{Boethius, \textit{De Trinitate}, 4; ed. Peiper, p. 156. Cf. \textit{Ep. ad Urbanum} (fol. 223\textsuperscript{b}).}
Translatio enim fit vocabulorum a naturali facultate ad theologiam. Igitur, secundum
Augustinum et Boethium, ea quae sunt de praedicamento substantiae vel qualitatis
vel quantitatis, relata ad divinam praedicationem, divinam praedicant essentiam.
Unde his terminis 'Deus, magnus, justus' idem de Deo praedicatur, ut cum
dicitur 'Deus est magnus', 'Deus est justus', 'Deus est Deus', divina essentia his
tribus propositionibus praedicatur. Primorum igitur trium praedicamentorum
praedicamenta dicta de Deo sic praedicantur de eo ut aliquid eum esse demon-
strent. Cetera vero VII praedicamentorum praedicamenta dicta de Deo, ut ait
Boethius,\footnote{Cf. Gilbert, \textit{De Trinitate}; PL 64, 1292D.} sic praedicantur de eo, non ut eum aliquid esse demonstrant, sed ut
ei aliquid extrinsecus quodammodo affigant. Non ergo potest dici relativam
\textit{praedicationem rei}, de qua dicitur, aliquid addeere vel minuere vel
mutare. Non enim in eo, quod est, esse constituit sed in eo, quod est in compara-
tione aliquo modo ad alium se habere.

Cum ergo sint praedicandi modi in naturalibus X, in theologicos tantum duo:
unus ad se, alter ad alium. Ille vero qui est ad se, pertinent ad substantiam. Ille
velo qui est ad alium, pertinent ad relationem. Cum autem relativis hic ipsum sit
esse ad alium quodammodo se habere, manifestum est nihil, quod ad se praedicatur,
praedicari ad alium. Igitur nulla relatio est divina essentia. Et ita nec paternitas
nec filiatione est divina essentia. Hoc idem probat magnus Basilius in libro quem
adjicere et idem confiteri. Commune est deitas. Proprium est paternitas. Quibus
copulatis necessis est personam confici, quae est Deus Pater. Unde dicitur:
'Credo in Deum Patrem.' Igitur cum paternitas sit proprium unius personae,
deitas commune trium, cum nullum proprium unius commune sit trium, nulla
unus est ac perinde simplex est, quia non in eo aliquid accidentis est. Sed quod est et quod
in ipso est, essentialiter est excepto quod relative ad quacumcumque personam est.
Inde concludi potest quod relatio, quae Deus est Pater, refertur ad personam\footnote{Cf. \textit{Ep. ad Urbanum} (fol. 223\textsuperscript{b}).} ut Deus Pater ad Deum Filium. Essentia non est.}

Enimvero probando hoc regarguendus jure videor, cum idem sit hoc probare
ac quod album non est nigrum ostendere. Qui autem inde dubitat, non tantum
poena sed sensu indiget, quamvis quidam dicant paternitatem, filiationem esse
Deum. Qui in \textit{Deum blasphemi, illos de ipso profitentur errores quorum nomina
differtent; qui, ut its dicam, haericorum catholici in Sabellii, Donati, Pelagii
et aliorum hujusmodi pestilentum verba jurari eorum nomina, eo quod publicis
edictis damnati nocuntur, cum catholicis detestantur, ut cum blasphemiarum
causis sint justae damnabiles, blasphemorum detestatione potenter indemnes.}\footnote{Cf. Ep. ad Urbanum (fol. 223\textsuperscript{b}).}
Homines sine ratione rationatores, sine doctrina doctores, artium ignari, nimirum
a via veritatis exorbitant et ideo pro vero falsum et eiconus reputant. Et quod
bonum est, malum judicant. Communia artibus appropriant, et propria communi-
cant. Et vim verborum ignorantes tamen de significacionibus eorum judicare

\footnote{Boethius, \textit{De Trinitate}, 4; ed. Peiper, p. 156. Cf. \textit{Ep. ad Urbanum} (fol. 223\textsuperscript{b}).}
\footnote{Gilbert, \textit{Prologus}; ed. Grabmann, p. 419.}

praesumunt. Et quae de Trinitate personarum et de unitate essentiae earum praedicantur, confundunt. Omnia vocabula de Deo dicta essentiam praedicare autumnant, nec discernentes nec aliquando dicentes quod nominum de Deo praedicatorum quaedam significant essentiam ut 'Deus', quaedam relationem ut 'Pater'.

At significantium relationem, aliqua significant relationem addictam essentiae ut 'auctor' et 'principium' quae sicut ipsa essentia de tribus dicuntur indifferenter et singulariter; aliqua significant personalem relationem ut 'Filius' et 'Pater'; aliqua significant non essentiam, non relationem, sed rationem vel essentiae vel personis accommodam: essentiae ut 'singularis', 'eadem' et similia; personis ut 'personalis', 'pluralis' et similia. Ideoque sic est distinguendum circa praedicationem essentiae et personarum. Nam eorum quae de Deo praedicantur, alia dicuntur secundum se, alia secundum aliud. Secundum se, qualiter ipsa essentia vel secundum eam aliquid praedicatur: ipsa essentia ut 'Deus est Deus, bonus, justus, magnus'; secundum eam aliquid ut 'semper esse'. Sed eorum quae secundum essentiam praedicantur, alia per se ut 'Deus semper est' vel 'ubi est' vel 'operatur' vel 'idem est'. Ad aliud ut 'Deus est auctor, principium', quae auctoritas et principalitas sicut ipsa essentia indifferenter et singulariter <233> de tribus dicuntur. Nam et unusquisque illorum trium et omnes simil simul sunt creatorum omnium unus auctor, unum principium. Quam auctoritatis et principalitatis indifferentiam ex usiis ipsorum, secundum quam de ipsis praedicatur, indifferentia esse putamus.

Item, de qualibet persona aliquid praedicatur secundum se, aliquid ad aliud: per se secundum personam, non secundum essentiam, ut hoc nomen 'persona'; ad aliud ut 'Pater, Filius'. Unde et secundum personalitatis rationem quae, proprietatum secuta differentiam, de unaquaque personarum non relative sed per se hoc nomine 'persona' praedicatur, minime est illa indifferentia, ut et unusquisque per se et illi tres sint una persona. Et ita personalitas non singulariter de illis collectis sed pluraliter dictur propter proprietatem (scilicet quibus personae a se invicem aliae sunt) diversitatem ut 'auctor, principium', quae auctoritas et principalitas indifferenter et singulariter<br>de tribus dicuntur. Nam et unusquisque illorum trium et omnes simil simul sunt creatorum omnium unus auctor, unum principium. Quam auctoritatis et principalitatis indifferentiam ex usiis ipsorum, secundum quam de ipsis praedicatur, indifferentia esse putamus.

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Cf. Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1297C. 
Ibid.; PL 64, 1297D. 
Ibid. 
Boethius, De Trinitate, 6; ed. Peiper, p. 162. 
Cf. Gilbert, De Trinitate. 
Marg. Immo videtur sumptum de Homilia XVI super illud Job XXIV in primo: Ab omnipotentae non sunt ab condonate temporae. Deus hoc est quod habet (Gregory, Moral. XVI, 54; PL 75, 1147B). Et ab Isidoro libro VII Etymologiarum, ut supra dictum est. 
De Fide et symbolo, 3, 20; PL 40, 193. 
Sent. I, 8, 8; ed. cit., p. 64. 
De Trinitate XV, 16, 28; PL 42, 1080.
In De substantia, i.e., in Deo qui est substantia, ut intransitive intelligatur (ut creatura salis, i.e., creatura quae est sal), nihil est quod non sit substantia, i.e., nihil est esse Dei quod non sit substantia. Quasi: Ne attendas quod aliquid accidat Deo, quod sit ejus substantia ut paternitas, filiatio vel processio, quod ab alioq minus docto credi possit. Et quod ita Augustinus intellexerit evidentior ostenditicens: Quidquid ibi intelligi potest, substantia est, i.e., quidquid ibi intelligi potest esse rei, substantia est. Quod evidentiouis exponens ait: Sic habetur in natura etc. Ergo auctoritas, inducta per te, est contra te qua intendis probare quod proprietates personae sit persona.

E.—Ad placitum exponis, non meum sed tuum. Sed contra te auctoritas plane dicit: In personis proprietatis, in essentia unitas et in majestate adoretur aequalitas. Et alla auctoritas, Hieronymus: Non solum nomina, sed nominum proprietates, i.e., personas, consistimur.


E.—Audio quod dicis. Sed de auctoritate Hilarii quid sentis, hac scilicet: Nativitas Filii nihil esse potest nisi natura unde nascitur Filius.

R.—Ut videtur, non admittis in theologia tropos rhetorum, cum plena sit tropis, quos Augustinus in libro De Doctrina Christianae non excludit. In auctoritate Hilarii est tropus, i.e., color qui dicitur circuitio attribuens proprietati ipsius rei, quod est proprium ipsi rei. Ut quod proprium fuit Scipionis, attribuit Tullius providentiae Scipionis ut Providentia Scipionis opes Carthaginis fregit pro Scipio et Carthago. Similiter Apostolus ait: Apparuit benignitas Dei et Salvatoris nostri etc., i.e, Deus et Salvator benignus. Et hoc fit saepe, cum praedicamentum redditur causae. Nam quia providentia Scipionis causa fuit deletionis Carthaginis, attribuitur providentiae quod providi fuit et benignitati quod benigni. Similiter et Hilarius hoc tropo est usus dicens: Nativitas Filii nihil potest esse, etc., i.e., natus Filius nihil potest esse nisi natura unde nascitur Filius, i.e., illius nature, cujus est ille, unde nascitur Filius.

Et attende quod nomen mathematicum saepe ponitur in designatione sumpti, ut praemissum est. Unde non mireris si etiam inveneris 'paternitas', hoc nomen possum pro hoc nomine 'Pater' ut in cotidiano usu scribentes patri spirituali dicimus: Paternetatem tuam deprecamus, i.e., te patrem. Unde cum in quadam praefatione in Missa cantatur: In personis proprietatis, in essentia unitas adoretur,
non est verum quod proprietas personarum adoretur, quia nulla est proprietas
earum. Nec in essentia est unitas sed in uno. Et est sensus: tres personae
proprietatibus distinctae, unum tamen in essentia, i.e., unius essentiae, adorantur.
Igitur sit tibi satisfactum de quaestione circa proprietates personarum habita.

E.—Utcumque procede ad explanationem principalis propositi.

R.—Omnium summorum concordat in hoc sententia theologorum quod omnia,
quia de Deo dicuntur per figuram, ut testatur Isidorus in VII libro, ei accommo-
dantur per translationem, non secundum substantiae proprietatem. Unde et hoc
nomen ‘Deus’, de quo minus videtur, non proprius sed translativo ei convenit.
Nam Graece Deus theos dicitur, i.e., timor, quod eum colentibus sit timor. Igitur
cum Deo proprius sit ineffabilis, verius Deus etiam Deus esse negatur quam
affirmetur, si nominis proprietas attendatur. Ergo et jure deitas esse negabitur.
Item, cum solus Deus sit vere simplex, propter omnimodam simplicitatem suam
ei nihil inesse potest. Igitur cum nulla proprie vel forma sit in Deo, non potest
ab aliqua forma aliquod nomen sibi imponi proprii. Nam quia forma in eo non
est, intellectu pleno capi non potest quia, quidquid intelligitur, forma mediante,
intellectu concipitur. Unde dictur Deus incomprehensibilis, ideoque menti
invisibilis. Unde auctoritas: Invisibili soli Deo. Unde Chalcidius de hyle loquens
in Commento super Platonem ait: Sicut tenebrae videntur non videndo et
silentium auditur non audiendo, sic hyle, i.e., primordialis materia intelligitur
non intelligendo, quippe omni forma caret.

Eodem modo, omni forma cum Deus careat, de eodem idem vere dici potest.
Igitur Deus nec justitia nec sapientia nec essentia, quae in ipso sit, intelligi
potest. Igitur nec convenienter ipse dicitur sapientia vel essentia, quae in eo sit.
Hoc idem manifeste declarat divinus et summus in Hierarchia Dionysius sic
dicens: Affirmationes in divinis incom pactae, negationes verae. Cum enim dicitur
‘Petrus est homo’, id de quo est sermo Petrus est, cujus humanitas <233”>
sua ostenditur inesse secundum praemissam de significationibus omnibus doctrin-
nam. Itaque ostenditur ibi componi sua humanitas Petro mediante verbo sub-
stantivo. Unde ibi est compositio formae ad subjectum, ideoque compago. Est
igitur illa affirmatio compacta, qua forma praedicati ostendit et affirmat
compingi rei termini subjecti; et negatio ejus incompacta, scilicet ‘Petrus non
est homo’, quia disjungi ostenditur sua humanitas a Petro. Et falsa est negatio.
Sed cum dicitur ‘Deus est Deus’, ‘Deus est justus’, ‘Deus est magnus’, his
propositionibus secundum rei veritatem non ostenditur vere componi aliqua
forma Deo, scilicet vel deitas vel justitia vel magnitudo, cum nulla isticum insit
ei. Nec ideo sic dicitur, ut aliqua praemissarum formarum Deo inhaerere affirmetur
sed ut manifestetur causa dicti, hujus scilicet ‘Deus est Deus’, i.e., causa timoris
hominibus. Vel secundum alios Deus interpretatur ‘videns’. Est videns, i.e. causa
videndi. Est justus, i.e. causa justitiae. Est magnus, i.e., causa magnitudinis.
Igitur his propositionibus non ostenditur veri nominis compositio formae ad
subjectum, quia ubicumque compositio, ibi compositorum et ita plurium
coadunatio, immo compago, circa quam compositionem, ut ait Aristoteles, veritas
falstasque consistit.

Ergo praemissae affirmationes incom pactae sunt, i.e., componentes sunt formam
ad subjectum, ut aliud sit ibi suppositum, aliud appositum, quod componatur
supposito mediante verbo substantivo. Itaque negationes verae. Verius, immo

2 Etymolog. VII, i, 5.
3 I Tim. i, 17.
{Cf. Chalcidius, In Timaeum Platonis

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veracissime secundum proprietatem dicendi, sed non existendi, 'Deus non est Deus, Deus non est justus, non est magnus', dicitur. Eodem modo 'Deus non est deitas, non est justitia, non est magnitudo' et ita 'Deus non est essentia', igitur multo minus 'sua essentia'. Cum enim 'suum' sit pronomen possessivum, aliquid significat ut possessorem in hac locutione positum, aliquid ut possessionem. Igitur aut ibi diversitas possessoris et possessionis vere notatur aut falso aut figurative. Si vere, igiur alii est ibi Deus designatus ut possessor, aliiud essentia sua. Si falso vel figurate, utroque excluso, rectius vere negatur: Deus est essentia sua, quam falso vel figurative affirmetur. Igitur potius negandum Deum esse essentiam vel misericordiam quam falso vel figurative affirmatum. Igitur potius negandum Deum esse essentiam vel misericordiam quam falso vel figurative affirmatum, cum nugatio videatur implicita. Implicatur enim quod, cum sit essentia, sit sua, cum non habeat essentiam vel misericordiam in se. Nam Gregorius in Moralibus et Hylarius et Boethius id plane et plene affirmant. Ait enim Gregorius: 'Misericordia dicitur a misero corde' Unde quia Deus non habet miserum cor, Deus non habet misericordiam. Igitur non est misericors. Igitur multo minus est misericordia. Item, Hilarus dicit: 'Deus non habet divinitatem.' Habet enim nonnisi ex compositione est. Igitur ubi non est compositionis, nec alterum habetur ab altero. Unde etiam in mathematicis habitum quodammodo conformamus disciplinalemiter, sicut diciimus, quia ibi nullum compositionis est, quia non est ibi, quid cui componatur. Nam omnis forma informis est. Nec est succundam facere mathesim ut cum dicitur 'albedo est color', quia quod subjicitur nullius materia, i.e., subjectum esse potest. Forma enim est. Sed id quod praedicatur, nisi disciplinalemiter dicatur effectus praedicari, nihil in rerum est natura. Ex quo igitur 'Deus non habet divinitatem', igitur nec dictatem, igitur nec essentiam. Igitur ejus non est essentia. Nec est ergo essentia.


Intellectus tamen pro ratione et ratio pro intellectuu ponitur, quia nec sensibillus nec imaginationibus praeeunctibus excitatur ibi intellectus ad aliquid concipienium sicut in naturali speculatione ostensum est. Nec propter disciplinam constituendum cogitatur conformativa speculatione abstractio, sed intellectualiter, i.e., veritate intelligendi percipluuntur ea quae vere abstracta sunt ab his, quorum sunt, ut ideae et divina essentia. Quae quidem vere de eis, quorum est essentia, i.e., de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto praedicatur singularis, scilicet de tribus, ut in eis est. Nesc mirum, scilicet aliam esse rationem praedicandi ipsam quam aliquid illarum subsistentiarum quae sunt in eis quorum sunt. In naturalibus enim ratio praedicandi assignanda est, quod una et eadem singularis existentia vel subsistentia in pluribus esse non potest. Et ideo de numero diversis non potest praedicari. Quidquid enim singularis inest, singularis est. Ubi autem subsistentia tallis est, quod non inest, sed actu, non disciplinaler, abstracta est, nihil prohibit unam singularem de pluribus praedicari.

Sic ergo patet quod catholicus vera theologorum ratione proprie conclutus:

8 Gregory, Mor. XX, xxxii, 63; PL 76, 175B.
9 Cf. De Trinitate VIII, 43; PL 10, 269.
10 De Trinitate, 2; ed. Peiper, p. 152. The work does not deal with Nestorius and Eutyches.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Johannitus is known as the author of the Isagog in artem parvam Galeni. The abbreviation may stand for magister Bartholomeus who taught at the medical school of Salerno and corresponded with Peter the Venerable (d. 1156).
14 Cf. Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1262AB.
Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum singularitate essentiae esse unum Deum. Quod autem divinitas vere abstracta sit, inde patet quod non habet cui insit. Deus enim non potest ei esse subjecta materia, i.e. subjectum. Ideo ait, ut praemissum est, Hilarius: Deus non habet divinitatem. Cum ea ipse sit, non est ipse divinitas. Item, si divinitas est Deus, igitur Pater et Filius vel Spiritus sanctus vel uteque duum vel quilibet trium. At si Pater est, ipsa generans est; si Filius est, genita est. Igitur quae generat, dignatur. Quod Sabellianam sapit haeresim.  
Qui Sabellius, cum unam eandemque substantiam individuam rationalis naturae esse Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum assereret, inde conclusit unam personam esse Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, locum ad descriptionem sumendo. Qui ergo antecedens admittunt, videant qua ratione consequens negant, licet in antecedentis assertione omnium opinio concordet, exceptis paucis quos Jupiter aequus amavit.  
E.—Negas tu unum Deum esse sanctam Trinitatem qui negas unam personam esse Trinitatem?  
E.—Placet quod dicis. Si quid tamen adhuc habes rationis ad idem probandum, adducas.  
Admisit tamen humanae vocis obsequium et verbis nostris in laude sua gaudere nos voluit. Et hoc ideo quia Boethius ait, ejus quod est esse nullum est esse, his verbis: Ipsum esse nullo modo aliquo participaret.  
Et hoc tam in naturalibus quam theologicis verum est. Nam nulla substantia habet aliquad in se quo possit esse ut forma specialis vel generalis ut humanitas vel animalitas. Item, Deus, cum ipse sit substantia omnia, i.e., non participat aliquo ut sit vel qualis vel quantus, quia nihil habet in se quo sit. Igitur cum nomen detur ex forma, nullo modo potest habere proprium nomen. Itaque nec ‘Deus’ nec ‘deitas’ est proprium nomen Dei, licet videatur quod hoc nomen ‘Deus’ a ‘deitate’ impositum sit.  
E.—Cum una sit deitas, quae est essentia trium, nonne potest nomen connune illis tribus ab illa forma communi imponi? Et ita videtur quod Deus possit aptari nomen sicut ali alii rei, licet non proprium. Sed et secundum rationem, cum cullibet personae aliquid convenit quod non alii, videtur ex propria qualitate ejus sibi proprium nomen imponi posse.  
R.—Si hoc dixeris, mors mihi est. Si autem illud, non effugiam manus tuas.  

15 This seems to be an objection to the use of the Boethian definition in the doctrine on the trinitarian Persons.  
16 Cf. De Trinitate VIII, 22; PL 10, 252C.  
17 Cf. De Trinitate VIII, 26; PL 10, 255B.  
18 According to Otto of Freising (Gesta Friderici I, 59; MGH SS XX, 379), Pope Eugene III censured this distinction.  
19 De Doctrina christ. I, 6, 6; PL 34, 21.  
20 De Hebdomadibus; ed. Peiper, p. 159.  
21 Cf. Gilbert, De Hebdomadibus; PL 64, 1319A.  
22 Cf. Dan. xiii, 22.

R.—Nunc scio quod non est hic hospes ab hospite tutus. Cedo. Vim facis mihi. Unde competit mihi adversum te actio unde vi. Quid rides?

E.—Rideo de cautela Graecorum.

R.—Qua?

E.—Vis ut tecum disputem de jure, in quo peritus es, ut sic possis solutionem quaestionis propositae cautius declinare, quam vel ignoras vel mihi invides. Ideoque dixisti tibi competere adversum me, quae minime tibi competeret.

R.—Proba.

E.—Libenter. Recuperandae possessionis gratia alicui dejecto de fundi vel aedium possessione: unde vi interdictum proponitur per quod idem, qui dejectit, possessionem cum sua causa, i.e., utilitate, restituere dejecto cogitur. Sed tu dejectus a me ab hujusmodi possessione non es. Egitur praedictum non competit tibi adversum me interdictum.

R.—Dicitur scientia nobis possessio qua, quando in habitum est versata, ‘fundi’ nomine censetur quam vi, i.e., tua importunitate, a me extorsisti et ita me quodammodo a fundi possessione dejectisti? Igitur revera competit mihi adversum te praemissum interdictum.

E.—Quo teneo nodto mutantem Protea vultus? Solve igitur praemissam quaestionem, omissa incidenti de jure.

R.—Tenes memoriter Deum mente incomprehensibilem et ejusdem essentiam minime intelligibilem? Vis igitur nomen imponere illi rei, quam mente non comprehendis, a forma quam non intelligis.

E.—Quidni? Nonne chimaerae vel hircocervo nomen impono, quae natura esse non permissit?


R.—Isidorus bene dicit. Nec nos negamus. Sed nomina illa Deo attribuuntur ex causis potius efficiendi quam ex proprietatibus quae Deo insunt. Unde expositio, ut idem auctor ait, satis indicat quid velint intelligi. Quod autem ita sit, ut dixi, audii nostrum Dionysium Areopagitam27 ea quae de Deo dixi eleganter ostendentem. Ait enim: Atilquando dissimilibus manifestationibus ab ipsis eloquis supermundane laudatur divina natura infinita, invisibilis, incomprensibilis, ex quibus non quid est sed quid non est significatur. Hoc enim, ut aestimo, potentius

23 Ovid, Met. I, 144.
24 Ms quos.
26 Etymolog. VII, i, 2.
27 Cael. Hier., 2; PL 122, 1041BC.

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est in ipso, ex quo non quid est sed quid non est significatur, et expressum in ipsa potius, i.e., efficacius, et magis proprium Dei natura. Quoniam qui dicit quod non est, dicit quod alium modo de Deo potest intelligi. Quo autem dictum de eo quod est, dicit quod nullo modo potest comprehendi. Igitur potentius est et excellentius quantum ad veritatis expressionem dicere quod non est Deus quam quod est. Ignoramus enim superessentialem ipsius et et invisibilem et ineffabilem infinitatem. Quod enim infinitum est, ab humana scientia aestimari non potest. Quod quia ineffabile est, non dicitur. Et quia invisibile est, non cognoscitur. Et quia superessentiale est, non comprehenditur.

De Deo igitur mens humana ah'quid capere potest, ipsum non potest. Nec idcirco tamen falsum aestimandum est quod de ipso dicetur, quoniam de ipso tantum est et non ipse quod dicetur. Neque vanum quod de ipso cogitatur, quoniam de ipso est et non ipse est hoc quod cogitat, quoniam verum dicetur et veritas cogitatur, quae sic ducit ad ipsum, quamvis sublimius et excellentius consistat in ipso.

E.—Licet satis dilucidasse videris obscuritatem Dionysii, movet me quiddam a te dictum, scilicet Deum non posse dici, non posse menti alicujus intimari. Quomodo praedicatur ergo et creditur? Et quomodo se filiis Israel voluit innotesci per hoc quod ait Moysi: *Die filiis Israel, Qui est, misit me ad vos?* R—Hoc mecum facit quod dicis. Nam infinitus sic, i.e., infinite et confuse quoquo modo, immo nullo modo, innotescere voluit per verbum essentiale et infinitum, cui soli convenit esse.


E.—At tu prossequere. Et, si potes, solve.

R.—Sequitur ergo in praemissa auctoritate, si bene memini, hoc: *Dicitur hoc nomen ‘ineffabile’, non quia fari non potest, sed quia finiri sensu et intellectu humano non potest, i.e., id ad quod significandum est assumptum neque sensu capi neque intellectu defini potest. Ergo ex quo intellectu capi non potest <234sup> significatio ejus, non est hoc nomen signum rei, quam menti alcuicous significet. Igitur illud nomen intellectum alcuicous rei non constituit. Igitur a proprietate nominum cadit, quae idea sunt inventa, ut intellectum de rebus constituant. Unde Aristoteles:* Nomen est pars orationis significativa ad placitum. Et alibi: *Voces sunt notae passionum, i.e., affectionum quae sunt in anima. Cum igitur haec vox quae dicitur ‘tetragrammaton’ non est nota alcuicous conceptus mensis, non est proprium nomen Dei vel alterius. Unde etiam auctoritas bene adjungit: quia de Deo, i.e., de Deo cujus nomen esse asseritur, nihil digni dici potest, ineffabile est,* non nominans sed nominatum. Nam non reperitur forma, quae

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26 Ibid.; PL 122, 1041C.  
29 Ex. iii, 4.  
30 Horace. Ars poetica, 97.  
31 Etymolog. VII, i, 16.  
32 De Interpret. I and II; PL 64, 301C and 405A.  
33 Etymolog. VII, i, 16.
digne possit de eo praedicari. Igitur a forma aliqua sibi non potest nomen proprium vel appellativum digne coaptari. Unde etiam gentilis philosophus ait, scilicet Plato: "Quem tam difficile est invenire quam inventum digne profari?"

E.—Revera nunc primo mihi satisfecisti. Sed repetes quod proposueras de his duobus nominibus 'Deus', 'deitas'. Probatum vero teneo quod neutrum est proprium nomen Dei.


Itaque hoc nomen 'Deus' a prima institutione est concretivum, cujus mathematicum est hoc nomen 'deitas'. Sed translatum ad Creatorem, imaginarii non proprie significat concretionem quia, ut praemissum est, in Deo nullius formae concretio est. Ergo nec intellectu ab eo potest fieri mathematica abstractio. Fit tamen imaginarii. Unde dicitur imaginarii deitas esse in Deo quia, ut ait Boethius, omne simplicius esse suum et id quod est unum habet.

E.—Si esse suum et id quod est unum habet, igitur aliud esse est ejus esse. Sed omne simplicius est esse. Igitur ejus, quod est esse, aliud est esse.

R.—Audi qualiter intelligendum quod sic dicunt. In solis theologici exemplar potest haec regula. Omnia naturalia non modo creata sed etiam concreta sunt composita. Mathematica vero, etsi nec re nec proportione dicitur habere quo sint vel aliquid sint, aliqua tamen eorum ex sua rationis partibus constant ut illa, quae ex communibus tam innatis quam extrinsecus affixis colligitur, primarum substantiarum plena proprietates et ea subsistentia specialis, quae ex generibus et eorum potentias constat. Horum quaecumque et omnium aliorum quae, quoniam hujusmodi partes non habent, simpliciae vocantur, effectus est <235" multiplex. Deus vero, ut saepius est praemissum, omnino simplicius est. Nam quoniam non habemus ibi cognatos, quibus de ipso loquamur, sermones, a naturalibus ad ipsum verba transsumimus dicentes 'in Deo est essentia, qua ipse est, et potentia, qua potens est, et sapientia, qua sapiens est' et hujusmodi. Nec tamen cogitamus ab essentia, qua illum esse praedicamus, potenti cum sapientiam ejus, quibus quasi aliud eum dicitur de quo omnino nec scimus nec scire

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25 Cf. Alan of Lille, Reg. theol. XVII: PL 10, 633B.

26 Cf. Claudianus, De Statu animae I, 3; CSEL 11, 26. See also Alan of Lille, Reg. theol. XXI: PL 210, 613B. Claudianus in libro De Animae: Dicitur Deus poenitente, non passionis affectu sed consequentis effectu. Negative autem dicitur Deus subtrahere gratiam vel inducere aliquem. Unde auctoritas dicit Deum indurare cor Pharaonis, non impertiendo malitiam sed non apponendo gratiam.

27 Cf. Alan of Lille, Reg. theol. XXVI: PL 210, 633B.

28 De Hebdomadibus; ed. Peiper, p. 169.

29 Ms simplicium (instead of the original simplicia vocantur).
possumus quid sit, ulla ratione diversas. Et tanta in illo est sub hac horum nominum diversitate, non dico rerum unio, sed rei singularis et simplicis et individuae unitas, ut de eo vere dicatur non modo 'Deus est, Deus est potens, Deus est sapiens' verum etiam 'Deus est ipsa essentia, Deus est ipsa potentia, Deus est ipsa sapientia' et hujusmodi. Ipsa enim solus, quidquid est juxta hujusmodi nominum diversitatem et unius munieris ejus quod est Spiritus sanctus usum diverso nostro, vere est in eo quod est et ipsum quod est."

E.—Sicut ignorans Caiphas prophetavit, ita et tu.

R.—Quomodo?

E.—Probare proposueras 'Deus non est essentia'. Et ignoranter contrarium probasti.


Redditur ergo prae dicamentum causae, cum dicitur 'Deus est sapiens' et. Sed redditur prae dicamentum inhaerentiae cum dicitur 'Petrus est sapiens'. Habe simile. Dicitur stella clara, dicitur albedo clara. Stella dicitur clara habens in se claritatem; albedo clara, i.e., causa claritatis. Dicitur etiam linea longa et lineatum longum: sed linea causaest longa quia causa est longitudinis. Sed lineatum vere est longum quia in se effectum et participium habet longitudinis. Utroque est veritas et similitudo dicendi, sed dissimilitudo existendi.

E.—Quid est ergo 'solus Deus vere est, sed Petrus vere est et Deus causalter est'?


E.—Cras redi.


His inter me et amicum meum actis, adest nunc nuntius significans magnae auctoritatris praetacum adesse. Fratres igitur de hospitio, dira novitate perculsi, festinat piscatibus auditum sed dirum insinuare rumorem. Capiuntur piscis

"Gilbert, De Hebdomadibus; PL 64, 1320BD.

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parvi et magni. Sed inter eos capi voluit piscis authenticus tantae auctoritatis ventre dignus. Vivus est aspectui tanti patris et pastui oblatus, ut prius delectaretur oculis et sic suavior excitaretur appetitus siqure devotior praeparearetur admirabili lucio ventris tumulos, non sine aromatum mixtura tumulando. Adfuit forte noster Ratius et attendens diligentiam praelati diligenter piscem attendentis et sollerter inquirentis, utrum potius frustra secaretur aut integer elixaretur aut certe condimento aromatum ventri ejus inculce assaretur. At domestici sui ipsum incathedratum circumstantes diversi diversa sentiunt. Quaeestiones propositas sollertre solvent et caventes, ne a sententia domini sui in aliquo dissentiant. Tunc Ratius, visu et auditu recreatus, ait mihi: "Everarde, Everarde. Hae quaestiones circa lucium, immo de lucio, propositae tuae quaestioni sunt dissimiles qua quærebes: qua ratione diceretur Deus solus vere esse et Deus causaliter esse et Petrus vere esse."

E.—O discretissime, quantum studium tuum semper diversum fuit a studio praelati, cujus animus intentus est patinis, immo semper est in patinis, tuus semper in disciplinis. Suus quaerit quid bene sapiat palato corporis, tuus quid bene sapiat palato mentis. Hac igitur curiositate omissa gulae, sis curiosus circa solutionem quaestionis theologicæ nunc ad memoriam tibi reductæ.

R.—Si satiari posses tuus animus, facerem quod horiæs.

E.—Cibus, bone Rati, quem mihi apponis, talis est qui edentem reddit adhuc esurientem. Et potus, quem propinas, bibentem reddit magis adhuc sitiens. Publ non gravet te, si esuriens quaerat avide sibi cibum et sitiens potum.

R.—Instantia improbitatis tuae vincit me quia, ut tuus ait Virgilius, labor improbus omnia vincit.1 Nota ergo quod solus Deus vere esse dicitur, quia solus immutabilem sortitur essentiam. Et tamen alia de causa causaliter dicitur esse, quia ipse solus suprema causa est omnium entium. Petrus esse dicitur vere quia essentia sibi componitur vere, i.e., rationis veritate, forma substantiali ei assistente. Habin igitur qualiter intelligendum quod solus Deus vere esse dicitur et qualiter, quia causaliter, et tamen Petrus vere esse perhibetur, sed alter quam Deus.

E.—Crede mihi. Numquam sic homo locutus est.2 Intelligis tamen quod sic dicitur 'solus Deus bonus est et tamen Petrus' sic intelligendum est 'solus Deus vere est et tamen Petrus'? 

R.—Sic.

E.—Regredere igitur ad principale.

R.—Tot sunt interposita, quod vix principale recolere potest memoria. Recolo dictum superius quod hoc nomen 'Deus' in naturali facultate a prima institutione est concretivum et hoc nomen 'deitas' mathematicum. Utrumque igitur, translatum ad theologiam, cadit a sua significacione prima. Nam cum in Deo non sit vera concretio, nec ibi vera est formæ abstractio. Sed cum hoc nomen 'Deus' rem, de qua est sermo, signifcent pro substantia, i.e., pro persona, et deitatem pro qualitate, i.e., essentiam, et hoc nomen 'deitas' deitatem significat pro substantia et effectum ejus pro qualitate. At, sicut praemissum est, nomen ex duplici significatione duplex sortitur officium, scilicet supponendi et apponendi, et duplicem in propositione locum, scilicet ut sit subjectus terminus et praedicatus. Cum ergo dicitur 'homo est homo' et 'Deus est <235> Deus', in eo quod hoc nomen 'homo' est subjectus terminus subjicit locutioni rem, quae est homo. Et in eo quod est praedicatus terminus praedicat et apponit rem, qua est homo, i.e., humanitatem. Sic et hoc nomen 'Deus'. Sed hoc nomen 'humanitas' et hoc nomen 'deitas', cum dicitur 'humanitas est humanitas', 'deitas est deitas', utrumque, quando est subjectus terminus, subjicit locutioni qualitatem nominis hujus vel 'homo' vel 'Deus', i.e., humanitatem vel deitatem. Sed cum est praedici-

1 Vergil, Georg. I, 146.

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catus terminus, significat praedicando et apponendo effectum utriusque proprietatis. Et est sensus: 'humanitas est humanitas', i.e., res, quae est humanitas, est humanitas, i.e., facit hominem; et 'deitas est deitas', i.e., res, quae est deitas, facit Deum. Et est sensus: facit hominem esse hominem humanitas; et Deum esse Deum deitas facit.

Nam hoc nomen 'Deus' et hoc nomen 'deitas', translata a naturali facultate ad theologiam, eundem modum retinent significandi, etsi non eandem significationem in theologia quam haberunt in naturalibus. Sicut verum est 'homo est homo', et non potest esse verum 'homo est humanitas', sic est verum 'Deus est Deus', sed non potest esse verum 'Deus est deitas'. Nam sicut homo humanitate non facit hominem esse hominem, sic Deus deitate non facit Deum esse Deum.3 Talis enim secundum mathesim essentiam rerum minus facit Deus non est deitas. Aliquando vero in scripturis sanctorum reperitur 'Deus est deitas' et 'Filius est sapientia Patris', sed et causa praemissa est et alia assignari potest causa dicti. Cum enim in naturalibus Davus dicitur ipsum scelus, non mirum si Deus dicatur virtus. Item, alibi in Terentio4 dicitur: Tu, quantus quantus es, totus sapientia es. Sī enim de alicui, qui non modo est sapiens sed etiam coloratus et magnus et multa hujusmodi, ex sapientia praebetur omnibus abundatia dicitur 'Tu, quantus quantus es, totum contingent in se sapientia sola, multo proprius Deus dicatur ipsa sapientia et alius nominibus ut est 'Deus est sua divinitas, sua sapientia', cui diversa non conferuntur ut sit. Et hoc ideo a nostro philosopho dici solet, ut esset evidentia distinctio inter essentiam Dei et personam. Concretivo enim nomine hoc, scilicet 'Deus', pro supposito significatur persona, ut cum dicitur 'Deus est Deus' pro qualitate essentia, quae ibi praedicatur. Eodem modo 'Deus est Pater', 'Deus est Filius', 'Deus est Spiritus sanctus'. Talia enim in his propositionibus sunt subjecta qualia praedicata admittunt.5 Paternitas enim et filiatio, quae ibi praedicatur, de eodem et secundum idem praedicari non possunt, ut ille sit illius Pater cujus est Filius, quod esset si Deus esset Pater Fili et ejusdem Patris idem Deus Filius esset. Cum igitur hoc nomen 'Deus' ibi positum confuse significet et ita indefinitive personam subiciat, sed determinate et finite ratione propositi, licet non proponendi, ideo nomini confuso characterica adjiciuntur nomina ut dicatur 'Deus generans est Pater, Deus genitus est Filius, Deus procedens ex utroque est utriusque Spiritus sanctus'. Nec magister concessit simpliciter converti hanc: 'Trinitas est Deus', sicut nec hanc: 'quilibet trium est homo'. Ait enim ex concessione huius 'Deus est Trinitas' conclaudi hanc 'Deus qui est Pater est Filius'. Sed ex hac 'Deus generans est Deus qui est Pater', ergo Deus generans est Filius. Ex hoc igitur sequitur confusio personarum, quam jubet Athanasius <235> vitare sicut divisionem substantiae. Sic enim in Symbolo6 dicit: Neque confundentes personas ut Patripassiani neque substantiam separantes ut Ariani.

Sed dicunt quidam hoc propositione 'Deus est Trinitas' fieri mentionem de divina essentia ut hoc nomen 'Deus' in qualitatem faciet. Et sicut ista est vera 'essentia divina est Trinitas' ita et haec 'Deus est Trinitas'. Utamque igitur magister negavit. Et haec una causarum quapropter Deus negatur esse essentia et veritas et similia: propter inconvenientia et haeresim damnatam, quae inde sequitur, si haec 'Trinitas est essentia' et ejus simplex conversa concedatur, licet apud sanctos patres hujusmodi locutiones saepe inveniatur. Sed alia est per-

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3 Ms sic Deus deitate non facit esse Deum.
fectio locutionis secundum syntaxim, alia secundum lexim, alia secundum resim.\textsuperscript{8} Haec enim perfecta est secundum syntaxim, i.e., secundum grammaticam perfectionem: 'Alba chimaera sedet', sed imperfecta quia falsum implicans et affirmans secundum lexim, i.e., secundum perfectionem logicam quae attenditur secundum veritatem et falsitatem intellectus, quam non attendit perfectio grammatica quae consistit in congrua dictionum ordinacione. Sed haec: 'Alba sedet chimaera' perfecta est perfectione reseos, cujus potius est ornatum locutionis attendere quam veritatem et falsitatem. Quem ornatum ille attendit qui in ecclesia dicendam hanc praeationem instituit: \textit{in personis proprietas, in essentia unitas, et in majestate adoretur aequalitas}.\textsuperscript{9} Secundum lexim nihil est falsius, secundum resim nihil verius, cujus est potius attendere quid de quo dicitur propter quid quam quid de quo simpliciter.

Item, dicunt\textsuperscript{10} quidam, cum Deus simplex sit, cujus simplicitatem dicunt significari hoc nomine 'deitas': \textit{Quidquid est Deus, est deitas}. Videntur itaque asserere synonymiam in hujusmodi nominibus. Quod si ita est, cum Deus sit Pater, ut concedunt, deitas generat et eodem modo, quia secundum eos est Filius, generatur. Ex hoc, ut praemissum, est Sabelliana haeresis. Omnes ergo hujusmodi locutiones recipimus, scilicet 'Deus est deitas' et 'Deus Trinitas' et converso \textit{in personis adoratur proprietas et in essentia unitas et in majestate aequalitas}, attendentes potius ut sancti viri et litteratissimi scriptores antiqui quid de quo secundum quid dicat, et hoc secundum resim, quam quid de quo secundum lexim. Sed si forte ventum esset ad discussionem veritatis quae attenditur secundum resim, non concederetur haec propositio: \textit{Adoratur in personis proprietas} quia secundum veritatem non est aliqua in personis proprietas. Nec, si esset, personarum proprietas sed personae proprietati subjectae essent adorandae. Et sic de similibus est judicandum.—Videturne tibi, frater Everarde, disputatum satis super haec quaestione, utrum Deus sit deitas, sit sua essentia?

E.—Sufficierenter et sat satis rationabiliter et, ut verum fatear, non est quid refragari debeat. Restat tamen, ut respondeas argumentis et rationi beati Bernardi qui nunc est vere et juste in catalogo sanctorum, cujus assertioni auctoritatem addidit spectata et approbata sanctitas fere a cunctis.

R.—Nota unicuique artifici in sua facultate credendum ut logico in logica, geometrae in geometria, et fabro in fabrateria, et theologo in theologia. Sed iste sanctus de quo est sermo, nullius artis artifex inventus, in artibus exercitatus parum, in quaestionibus theologiae nihil, in moralibus vero theologicos multum. Inde est quod de quaestionibus artium vel theologiae tantum non ei quantum exercitato credendum quia, ut dicitur, juvenis <236\textsuperscript{a}> a studio artium prudenter indocet recessit in qua aetate ad theologiam audiendam non ad aliquem theologiae doctorem accessit. Sed de morali facultate plurimum est ipsi credendum in qua multum viguit, ut in scriptis suis moralibus innotuit. Nam quod de fonte Spiritus sancti plene haustit in \textit{sermonibus super Cantica Cantorum} conscriptis, per mellifluum et subtile et exornatum ipsius eloquium apparuit.

E.—Cave quid dicas dicendo ipsi non esse tantum in theologa credendum quantum credi debet in ea exercitato plurimum. Hoc est improbabile et opinioni religiosorum contrarium et manifeste falsum. Nam quomodo subtilitatem theologiae ignoraret qui scientem omnia scivit, cum quo unus spiritus fuit, cum Dominus de eo et similibus in Evangelio dixerit: \textit{Quaecumque audivi a Patre meo, nota fici vobis}.\textsuperscript{11}

R.—Iterum ad disputationem ventum est. Vis probare mihi quod, quia Veritas

\textsuperscript{8} Cf. Gilbert, \textit{Contra Eutychem}; PL 64, 1383A.  
\textsuperscript{9} Praefatio in festo Trinitatis.  
\textsuperscript{10} Ms dicit.  
\textsuperscript{11} John xv, 15.

E.—Hoc ego non credo, scilicet quod aliquis tantum sciverit quantum Christus.

R.—Ad quid ergo inductae sunt auctoritates tuae?

E.—Hoc Boethius ait: "Qui homo vel qui Deus est, refertur ad substantiam qua est Deus." Et magister evidentius adhuc determinans ait: "non quae est Deus."

E.—Bone Rati, nisi rationabiliter apertiis dixeris, nec est intelligibile quid ambo in hoc senserint.

R.—Acquiescam tuae petitatione, quoniam justa, utiliss et honesta est. Justa est, quoniam justum est docere indocuem scire desiderarem. Utiliss est, quoniam

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12 Cf. Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1281A.
14 I Cor. xiii, 7.
15 De Trinitate, 4; ed. Peiper, p. 157.
16 Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1290B.
inutile talia ignorare quorum scientia ad salutem spectat. Honestas est, quoniam decet scire quis conflatentium de hoc involucro verborum melius senserit et uter illorum duorum magnum verius Boethii mentem attigerit.

Boethius decem modos praedicandi in naturalibus distinctit quos ad duos modos theologiae redegit. Omnis enim theologica praedicatio vel secundum se est, ut illorum quae in tribus praemissis naturalibus continentur praedicamentis, vel secundum aliud, ut eorum quae sunt praedicamentorum septem posteriorum. Sic ergo praedicatio alia est, qua\textsuperscript{17} vere inhaerens inhaerere praedicatur\textsuperscript{18} ut trium primorum praedicabilia praedicamentorum, scilicet substantia, qualitas, quantitas. Alia quae, quamvis secundum formam inhaerentium fiat, tamen tamen e exterioribus datur, ut ex ea nihil alicui inhaerere intelligatur ut ad aliquid, quando, ubi, etc. Cujus praedicationis differentia sic internoscitur ut in his exemplis: qui est homo ut Plato vel Cicero vel Trypho vel qui est Deus ut Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus. Quod dicitur illorum quilibet esse homo et istorum quilibet esse Deus, referitur ad substantiam, non quae est, sed quae est homo vel Deus, i.e., non referitur ad substantiam sed ad substantiam. Non enim substantiae tantum sed etiam substantiae appellatur substantia, eo quod utraque accidentibus, diversis tamen rationibus, substantia. Substans ergo est substantia, non qua aliqua  rerum est aliquid (nihil enim substantiae est aliquid), sed est illa substantia, quae est aliud. Substantia vero est substantia, non cui quid innitatur quo ipsa aliquid sit, sed qua solum substantiae est aliquid, i.e., est homo vel Deus ut quilibet illorum praenominatorum.\textsuperscript{19} Ex calumnia hujusmodi verborum magistri verba Boethii exponens manifestum est argumentus magistrum Gillebertum in artibus non fuisset exercitatos. Nam si naturalem facultatem novissent, inter substantiam subjectam et substantiam subjecti discernere scivissent, i.e., inter substantias et substantias; si moralem, cum moralis facultatis sit pars theologica, scirent utique, cum dicitur ‘Pater est Deus’, quod in hac propositione praedicatur hoc termino ‘Deus’ essentia, i.e., substantia, i.e., usia divina, non substantia, i.e., non substantias. Et etsi si novissent rationalem facultatem, non ignorassent hunc terminum ‘subsistens’ duo significare ut quodlibet nomen, ut praemissum est, scilicet substantiam et qualitatem.\textsuperscript{20} Hoc enim nomen ‘subsistens’ significat rem omnem, quae substantia est, pro substantia; et substantialem formam quae est subsistentia omnium substantiarum, i.e., generalissimum primi praedicamenti pro qualitate. Dicitur ergo substantia Cicero et Plato et <236> quodlibet alius substantia. Dicitur et substantia quaelibet substantia, i.e., substantialis forma ut humanitas. Sed in theologica substantia dicitur quaelibet persona, i.e., Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus. Et dicitur substantia essentia quae est communis tribus personas, i.e., usia divina. Cum dicitur Plato, Cicero, Trypho est homo, ‘homo’ iste terminus referitur, i.e., pertinet ibi, i.e., ponitur ibi, ad significandam humanitatem, i.e., substantiam qua quilibet illorum trium est homo. Nam sicut nomen habet duplicem significationem, scilicet substantiae subjectae, i.e., rei quae est substantia et qua non est substantia, et substantiae subjecti. i.e., substantialis formae, i.e., substantiae qua est homo et quae non est homo, ibi iste terminus ‘homo’ habet duplex officium, i.e., subiiciendi rem locutioni et praedicandi rem quae ostenditur inhaerere rei de qua est sermo. Eodem modo cum dicitur ‘Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus sanctus est Deus’, hoc nomen ‘Deus’ referitur ibi ad substantiam, i.e., ibi ponitur ad significandam divinam essentiam. i.e., usiam quae Latine hoc nomine ‘substantia’ significatur, qua usia quilibet illorum trium est substantia, i.e., Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus. Sed non referitur ibi ad substantiam quae est Deus, i.e., non ponitur ibi ad significandam substantiam quae est Deus, i.e., ad significandam personam, sed essentiam, quia

\textsuperscript{17} Ms quae.
\textsuperscript{18} Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1290B.
\textsuperscript{19} Gilbert, ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} cf. Gilbert, De Trinitate; PL 64, 1279D.
ponitur ibi ad significandum substantiam non subsistens, appositum non sup-
positum, formam non materiam, usiam non personam. — Habes igitur quam
rationalis calumnia praedicto verbo fuerit irrogata.

E.—Parcius haec. Parcius propter sanctum virum. Videtur tamen ut dicis
sic posse intelligi auctoritas Boethii.

R.—Videturne tibi accusatio adversus magistrum provenisse ex ignorantia
artium? Unde Papa Eugenius: Quomodo judicabimus quod non intelligentius?
Loquitur enim iste homo Deo, non hominibus. De magistro Ioquens Eugenius
haec ait.

E.—Hujus controversiae inter praenominatos magnae opinionis viros habitae
causa fuit confusa significatio hujus nominis ‘substantia’. At tu qui Graecus es,
aperti et apertius edoce, si in aequipollenti hujus nominis ‘substantia’ sit tanta
confusio apud Graecos.

R.—Non est. Nam quod Latinus vocat substantiam, i.e., substans accidenti-
bus, i.e., rem quae est substantia, Graecus vocat hypostasis. Et quod hi
substantiam, i.e., substantiam, illi usiosim, i.e., substantialem formam. Et quod
in theologicos Latinus dicit divinam substantiam, Graecus vocat usiam. Igitur et
quod hic personam sonat, ille prospom. Ergo haec tria nomina apud Graecos
hypostasis, usiosis, usia, aequipollent huc nominii ‘substantia’ apud vos.

E.—Adhuc restat tibi parum addendum sufficientiae solutionis.

R.—Quid?

E.—Respondere objectis a beato Bernardo in libro De Consideratione, quae
videntur facere contra hoc, scilicet Deus non est deitas.

R.—Quid dicam? Nihil ibi posium recolo digno nodo. Magis enim est
persuasorium, qua en ducitur, quam assertioni contrarium. Non est argu-
mentatio sed quaedam ornata persuasio contra quodam. At quia vir talia inducens
magnae fuit auctoritatis et sanctitatis, rectus ac timens Deum, suas rationes
magistro contrarias inducet et earum instantias. Iste est modus opponendi
sancti patroni tui: Quid est Deus? Quo nihil melius cogitari potest. Si approbas,
non potest assertiarius esse aliquid quo Deus sit et quod Deus non sit. Hoc enim
sine dubio melius. Quomodo non melius Deo, si Deus non est, quod Deo ut
sit? Huic respondeo instar posse in Creatore et creatione. Nam quomodo
creatio non est melior Creatore, si Creator non est, quaet creatore ut sit
Creator? Similiter instantia est in incomprehensibili et in incomprehensibilite,
et in ingenio et <236°> in ingenitura, et in indeclinabili et in indeclinabilitate,
et in allis infinitis, de infinito et infinititate, nisi forte mundi creationem, a qua
Deus Creator est, dicat esse Deum.

Item sic beatus Bernardus: Negas, iniquium, Deum habere divinitatem? Non.
Sed quod habet, hoc est. Negas divinitatem Deum esse? Non. Sed non alla quam
quae ipse est. At si tu aliam invenisti, adjuve me Trinitas Deus. Adversus illam
tota me contumacia erigo. Idem potest objici de Creatore et creatione. Item,
beatus Bernardus: Multa dicuntur esse in Deo, et quidem sane catholique,
sed multa unum. Alloquin si diversa putemus, non Trinitatem habitemus, sed
centenitatem. Hac ipse. Ad haec ego: Cum de Deo praedicentur relationes
ut paternitas et creatio, rationes ut personalitas et indifferentia et diversitas
personalis, et essentia ut deitas, beatus Bernardus inter haec non distinguens
haec omnia dicit Deum esse. Inde est ut ctiam ipse Pater dieatur ab eo esse
paterinitas et unus unitas et aeternus aeternitas. Et conversim et codem modo
in allis omnibus, quae de Deo quamumque ratione praedicantur. At Boethius
scribens Johanni Romano diacono de iatis specialiter, quae his nominibus,
selicet 'Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus' praedicantur, ostendit illa et de diversis

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praedicari\textsuperscript{28} et esse diversa non solum a se invicem verum etiam ab essentia quae diversis nominibus una de eisdem dicitur, de quibus illa diversa, salva Dei simplicitate, praedicantur,\textsuperscript{27} etiam centenitate exclusa.

E.—Boethium non audeo arguere erroris nec beatum Bernardum, cujus laus ubique praecomputatur de summa theologa. De quo vere praedicatur quod plura didicerit orando quam disputando et plura sub fago quam in disputationis areopago. De tot disputatoribus tuis tam nominatis, tam exercitatis, ostende mihi vel unum, cujus tam praeclara, tam gloriosa extant opuscula sicut hujus viri sancti.

R.—Nescio quid comparationis ingerit tam frequens commendatio a te facta de beato Bernardo, ac si darens intelligi me contra id quod dicis vel alicui dicere vel opinari. Probabile enim hoc est, quia id omnibus vel pluribus sapientibus notis atque praecipuis in religione videtur. Igitur absit quod aliter sentiam. Nec si aliquid sensit aliter de dictis magistris quam magister vel quam debut, quod non dico, sed eis quos ipse, abundans charitate omnia credit, creditit in delatione magistri fuisse veraces, quia ipso garruliores sed non facundiores illius accusationes praeumptores, cujus non fuerunt intellectores. Mirandum est vero quod, omnibus litteratisimis Franciae viris viris episcopum in scriptis suis commendantibus, ausu temerario quidam monachi in accusatione tanti doctoris prosiliere, excepta et salva auctoritate sancti Bernardi per omnia. Nolo itaque, quod tu vel alius dicat me in hac parte alicui adversus contra scripturum vel dictum sancti viri. Non est ita. Non enim sedeo Gilleberti defensor nec viri sancti accusator, sed relator auctoritatis utriusque. Sic de me sentias.

Objicit adhuc sanctus de magistro et suis loquens: Non multa, inquit, sed unam tantum divinitatem, quae omnia illa sunt, Deo, ut sit, conferre asserimus. Asseritis ergo, etsi non multiplicem, duplicem Deum. Et non ad merum simplex pervenistis ut id quod melius cogitari non potest. Tam non est simplex quod vel uni obnoxium fuerit formae quam nec virgo vel uni cognita viro.\textsuperscript{29} Hactenus beatus Bernardus. Ad haec ego, salva auctoritate sua: Hoc magister numquam excogitavit quod duplex esset, cum ipse, ut praemissum, evidentissime et subtilissime probet Deum omnimoda simplicitate esse simplicem. Nec asseruit Deum obnoxium alicui formae, cui ut materia subsit. Hoc enim esset expositioni, quam super hunc locum Boethii facit, contrarium. Ait enim, ut superius dictum est: In theologicis versari oportet intellectualiter.

Post etiam rhetoricum beatus Bernardus utitur argumento hoc modo: Deus non partibus constat ut corpus, non effectibus distat ut anima, non formis substat ut omne quod factum est, sed neque forma, ut ipsis visum est. Magna laus videlicet Deo, ut se ab informitate vendicit, forma una esse contentum. Hoc est dicere cetera pluribus, Deum nonnisi uni, debere quod est. Quid? Cujus beneficio sunt quae sunt? Ipse se pro esse suo alteri beneficio inclinabit? Laus iala, ut vulgo dicitur, blasphemiam valet. An non pluris est nullo egere quam uno?\textsuperscript{29} Haec sanctus. Ad haec, salva auctoritate ejus, haec possunt dici: In hac ratiocinatione, immo in hoc sermone, asserit beatus Bernardus visum fuisse magistro Deum substare formae et quod Deus inclinet alteri beneficio se pro suo esse, i.e., humiliet. Ad haec valde dubius respondeo. Nefas enim est assere hunc sanctum alicui contra veritatem magistris dictis vel scriptis imponere. At in episcopi scriptis vel dictis nihil potest inveniri, unde sensus hic elici possit. At cum sanctus concedat divinitate Deum esse Deum, quod Deus inclinet se alteri pro suo esse potest sancto objici et eodem modo dixisse quod ipse obijic alteri. Dicit autem sanctus sic: Deus ipse sibi forma, ipse sibi essentia.\textsuperscript{30} Ad haec ego: Si Deus, et Pater. Sed si Pater, igitur et Filius vel

\textsuperscript{28} Ms Patri.
\textsuperscript{27} Gilbert, De Praedicatione; PL 64, 1303A.
\textsuperscript{29} De Consid. V, 7, 16; PL 182, 797C.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.; PL 182, 797D-798A.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.; PL 182, 798A.

Ponit etiam auctoritatem Boethii dicendo et per hoc quod dixerat probando: *Hoc vere est unum, in quo nullus est numerus, nullum in eo alius praeter id quod est.*\(^{22}\) Sic invenio ab ipso auctoritatis positam continentem litteram 'quod', ut ipse eam in libro suo De Consideratione ponit. Sed procub dubio non est 'quod' nominativus, sed 'quo' ablativus. Igitur exemplar, in quo sanctus hoc legit, fuit liber mendosus aut scriptoris vitium. Hanc auctoritatem magister sic exponit: *Hoc vere et tale unum, in quo nullus est essentiarum numerus, quia in eo nullum alius potest esse praeter quam id unum, quo solo est. Vere. Non est enim a divinitate alius, quod Deus sit, nec est unde divinitas ipsa sit, nisi quod ea Deus est.*\(^{22}\) Addit Bernardus de auctoritate: *Non enim subjectum fieri potest. Forma enim est.*\(^{22}\) Sed non declarat. Magister autem declarat sic: Neque enim, quod juxta principalem suam essentiam in se aliquid habent, subjectum fieri potest. Quare? *Est enim forma. Et quod per hoc Boethius recte probaverit illud non posse subjectum esse, per se nota mathematicorum propositione declaraticens: Formae enim subjectae esse non possunt.*\(^{22}\) Hic etiam habes quod episcopus negat cum Boethio Deum non substare formae, quia forma est. Quod sanctus, ut videtur, affirmat episcopum asseruisse.

Ponit etiam pater monachorum unam clausulam de Trinitate et unitate sic: *Dicamus itaque tres, sed non ad praejudicium unitatis. Dicamus unum, sed non ad confusionem Trinitatis. Neque enim nomina vacua sunt neque absque significatia cassae voces. Quaerit quis quomodo hoc possit esse. Sufficiat et tenere sic esse atque hoc non ratione perspicuum, nec tamen opinioni ambugium sed fidei persuasum. Sacramentum hoc magnum est et quidem venerandum, non scrutinandum, quomodo pluralitas in unitate aut ipsa in pluralitate. Scrutari hoc temeritas est. Credere pietas est. Nosse vita aeterna est.*\(^{22}\) Haec ego audientem vehementer obstupesco. Ipse\(^{22}\) enim multum laboravit et laborando disputavit quod Deus esset sua essentia et qualis unitas in Trinitate et Trinitas in unitate, et quod Deus simplex esset et sicut personae ipsae sunt Deus sic et proprietates personales sunt Dei. Et adduxit auctoritatem Boethii ad probandum quod ipse Deus sibi forma, sibi essentia. Nec ignoravit quin Boethius Trinitatem personarum naturalibus rationibus probaret atque singularitatem essentiae theologicis contra diversos haereticos, Nestorium scilicet et Eutychem, quorum Nestorius juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturalum, alter ver...
hoc est quod aliquoties dixi: Quidam claustrales litterati, sed in scholis minime exercitati, qualiter in libris orthodoxorum patrum inveniunt, in libris suis transcribunt, sed qualiter intelligendum sit, nec sciant nec inquirere a scientibus solliciti sunt quia, quod ipsi nesciunt qui sancti sunt, peccatores scire minime credunt.

E.—Si verbis audacia dare tur, dicere mihi videri melius in hac parte Beatus Bernardus sensisse quam te vel magistrum tuum.


E.—Bonum est mihi, quia meritorium, patienter audire me vocari stultum, dum per hoc eligar a Deo meo. Nam stultos hujus mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat fortia. Nos igitur stulti secundum hoc simus, vos autem fortiter sapientes.

R.—Ne digrediaris. Sed ostende quod proposueras.


At tuus, ut ais, philosophus e contra audenter asseruit et veraciter docuit et se scire et probare testatus fuit, quomodo sit una essentia trium personarum et tres personae unius essentiae. Ergo ipse plus de Deo comprehendit quam aliis homines vel angeli, quod noster Abbas, vere theologus, se nescire ut ceteri perhibuit, humilibus consentiens et humiliter. Si enim aliquis hoc sciret, non solum scien vel sapiens sed etiam beatus esset. Unde Johannes Evangelista loquens ad Patrem ait: "Haec est enim vita aeterna ut cognoscant te Deum et quem misisti Jesum Christum." Et noster sanctus in quadam dicit homelia: Sapiens est, cui quaeque res sapient prout sunt, cui in se sapientia prout est sapit. Is non modo sapiens sed beatus est. Hoc enim est videre Deum sicuti est. Quomodo tuus magister scivit quod nec angeli ad plenum sciant, quia nec Deus nec Trinitatem plene comprehensit? Hoc igitur edoce et hanc quaestionem solve. Et eris mihi magnus Apollo.

R.—Solutio praemissa est.

E.—Cum haec quaestio nunc primo tibi facta sit, quomodo et ubi ejus solutio praecessit?

R.—Ibi ubi dictum est: quia ineffabiles est, non dicitur; quia invisibilis est, non cognoscitur; quia superessentialis est, non comprehenditur. De ipso tamen mens humana aliquid capere potest, ipsum capere non potest. Et lingua humana

Sed hic tropus attenditur rhetorum, cum rerum proprietas pro eis, quorum est proprietas, ponitur ut pluralitas personarum pro pluribus personis et unitas pro uno, ut sit sensus: pluralitatem esse in unitate, i.e., plures, scilicet personas, esse unum. Est igitur elocutio vera sed locutio falsa, cum dicitur 'pluralitas est in unitate'. Accipienda enim verba sunt non ex sensu quem faciunt sed ex quo fiunt.

E.—Miro te, prudentem virum, dicere: Hoc scitur, cum potius persuasum vix credatur, cum fides dicatur esse supra opinionem <237> et citra scientiam.45


E.—Cave, ne ab animo elabatur quod inceptas, scilicet respondere correctionis expositionis magistri postae a beato abbate. Cum enim Boethius diceret: Si dicimus Pater Deus, Filius Deus, Spiritus sanctus Deus, Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus unus Deus est. Si igitur eorum una divinitas una substantia est, licet Dei nomen de divinitate substantialiter praedicari. Ita praedicatur: Pater veritas est, Filius veritas est, Spiritus sanctus veritas est. Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus non tres veritates sed una veritas est.48 Quod magister sic exposuit: i.e., unus verus.49 At beatus Bernardus insulterant ait: Noster commentator melius dixisset 'i.e., veritas'.50 Quasi: si auctor dixisset 'verus', commentator melius sic exposuisse: 'i.e., veritas', quam contra. Dilucida igitur, cum episcopus sic exposuerit et qua de causa sanctus episcopum sic experimtorem reprehenderit.

R.—Ab initio omnium talium data est solutio quaestionum, ubi distinctum est inter significationem concretivi nominis et mathematici. Nomine enim concreti subjicitur locutioni res, cui nomen est impositum mediante proprietate a qua impositum est. Nam hoc nomine 'album' diciatur de re, quae alba est, quod ipsa sit corpus, quae mediante albedine, a qua nomen impositum est, locutioni subjicitur. Sed eadem albedo eodem nomine praedicatur, cum dicitur 'corpus est album'. Ebi enim albedo praedicatur. Praedicari enim est aliquid suo subjecto inhaerere ostendi ut corpus est album. Hic enim ostenditur albedo corporis inhaerere. Sed albedo quae nomine concreti subjicitur, nomine mathematico imposito locutioni subjicitur mediante effectu suo, a quo hoc idem nomen est impositum, ut dicatur 'albedo est albedo'. Et eodem nomine effectus albedo praedicatur. Est enim sensum: 'albedo est albedo', i.e., albedo facit

44 Cf. Gilbert, De Praedicatione; PL 64, 1309A-1310C.
45 Summa Sent. I, 1; PL 176, 43. Nicholas of Amiens, De Artic. fidei, II; PL 210, 601D.
46 Vergil, Ec. III, 15.
47 Cf. Liber XXIV philosophorum, xxiii; ed. Cl. Baeumker, Beiträge XXV (1927), 213.
48 Utsum Pater etc.; ed. Peiper, p. 165.
49 De Praedicatione; PL 64, 1307C.
50 Cf. Serm. in Cant. Canticorum LXXX, 8; PL 183, 1170B.

Igitur locutio vera est, cum dicitur 'Deus est verus', sed falsa cum dicitur 'Deus est veritas'. Sed locutio vera est, cum dicitur 'Deus est verus'. Causa igitur consequentis praedicationis ostendendae corrigendo et impromptetatem praedicandi ad proprietatem reducendo exponit magister sic auctoritatem Boethii hanc: Deus est veritas, i.e., verus sed quod Deus esse verus dicatur, causa haec est quod veritas virtutem humanis inserit mentibus, sicut 'justus' dicitur quia justum facit hominem justificando.

E.—Multum miror, cum sis vir prudens, quare tantum laboras in expositione hujus auctoritatis Deus est veritas, dicens locutionem falsam sed elocutionem veram. Intelligo enim, ut asseris, ibi facere veritatem tropum coloris rhetorici, cum ibi ponatur nomen principale pro sumpto, mathematicum pro concretivo, scilicet hoc nomen 'veritas' pro hoc nomine 'verus'. At Boethius probat Deum esse tantum unum et vere simplicem per hoc quod in eo nullus est numerus, quia nullum in eo est alius praeter quam id quod est. Neequ enim subjectum fieri potest. Forma enim quae vere forma est neque imago est et quae esse ipsum est et ex qua esse est. Formae enim subjectae esse non possunt. Ad quod opponit sic: Si hoc nomen 'forma' est nomen principale, i.e., mathematicum, ut hoc nomen 'essentia' vel hoc nomen 'deitas' vel hoc nomen 'veritas', cur hoc nomen a magistro conceditur et recipitur et per hoc tant a Boethio quam ab ipso probatur Deum non substrare formae et ita simplicem esse? Cur religia mathematica non conceduntur de Deo praedicari? Si concedendum videtur 'Deus est forma', ita concedendum videtur 'Deus est essentia'; et si unum propri, et religium; et si unum vere, et religium, cum dictionibus his ideam de Deo dicatur. At si nec unum illorum, nec aliud. At cum hoc nomen 'forma' de Deo dicitur ad aliud probandum, nequaquam de Deo inducetur nisi de ipso propri idcirco.

Item, si Deus est essentia sua et ipse non est eadem essentia sua et tam ipse quam essentia sua est aliquid, quis tam diversa conjuxit? Verum si non sunt diversa, cum utrumque illorum sit, unum est alterum. Itaque Deus est essentia sua. Item, cum dicas 'Deus est veritas' ex sensu hujus propositionis Boethii dixisse, scilicet 'Deus est verus', et eodem modo et veritas, et essentia eodem modo, de Deo dicitur, quid aliud est Deum esse essentia vel veritate quam seipso esse, cum hoc idem Augustinus, Boethius et beat us Bernardus dicit, licet more Graecorum, ne dicam brutorum, non rerum sed rationum inexpectorum, hoc superius opposueris. Item, si Deus est forma et haec propositio vera est secundum resim et non secundum lexim, et haec similiter 'Deus est deitas'. Cum beat us Bernardus hanc affirmet 'Deus est veritas' et magister Gillebertus eadem admittat in oratoria facultate, unde controversia fuit inter eos, cum secundum te et tuam expositionem inveniantur idem dixisse sive in eodem sive in diverso genere orandi? Item, cum Deus vere simplicis sit et nomen mathematicum magis accedat ad simplicitatem quam concretivum, proprius videtur

23 Ms veritas.
25 Ms mores.
26 Boethius, De Cons. phil. III, prosa 10; CSEL 67, 68.
de Deo dici 'Deus est veritas' quam 'Deus est verus', ut praemissum videtur.


E.—Quia in admirabili genere causae versaris, pulchre et boii oratoris more a ridiculo exordiris. Nec, ut mihi videtur, quaesita quaero sed dictis tuis oppono. Si quid habes, redde. Si non, sile.

R.—Quod habeo, tibi do. Sed illud satyricum quod mihi, quia meis, oblatrasti, tibi et tuis relinquo quia id Cicero vitium vulgare appellat. Est enim inter exordia vulgaria ponendum. Objicies de hoc nomine 'forma' quod, cum proprie vel vere dicatur de Deo, cur reliqua mathematica ut 'veritas' et 'essentia' quae sunt ejusdem significatiis, eodem modo non dicantur de Deo. Respondeo quod nullum nomen proprie vel vere de Deo dicitur. Igitur nec hoc nomen 'forma'. Non enim vere Deus est forma. Non enim ibi veritas est dictionis, etsi sit ibi veritas dicentis. Nam cum dicitur 'Deus est Deus' vel 'verus', verus est hic dicens et veritas in hoc dicente est. Sed non est ibi veritas dictionis, i.e., enuntiatio. Non enim ibi est compositum deitatis ad Deum vel veritatis, quae significatue har propositione 'Deus est Deus' vel 'Deus est verus'. Non enim eodem modo verum dico dicendo 'Deus est Deus' et 'homo est albus'. In hac enim 'homo est albus' ostenditur albedo inesse homini quae ei componitur. Sed hac propositione 'Deus est Deus' notatur quidem compositio quae ibi non est, nam non deitas componitur Deo, et tamen dicens verum dicit quia, qualiter potest, suum explanat intellectum. At cum Boethius dicit 'Deus est forma', subjungens 'qui vere forma est neque imago est et quaes esse ipsum est et ex qua esse est', ibi causam dicendi assignat, non proprietatem existendae.

Magister etiam Gillebertus asserit quod ita sit ut dixi, sic exponens: Oportebit ipsam formam inspicere quae vere forma est, haec ait Boethius de Deo loquens ac si Boethius dicit: Multa sunt quae vocantur formae ut corporum figurae et alia quae iussubstantiis creatione vel concretione fiunt quibus id, cui insunt, aut alicuius esset aut liquide esse doctrinae ordine demonstratur. Sed haec omnia praeeabant sua principia, ex quibus aliqua ratione deducuntur aut ad ilia spectant. Ideoque mutata ab alio nuncupatione potius quam ratione veritate 'formae' nominabantur. Essentia vero, quae principium est, omnia creatae praecedit, illis omnibus ut 'esse' dicantur impertiens et a nullo alio, ut ipsa sit, sumens. Ideoque vero nomine forma est neque imago est. Et cum de ea quis loquens dicit 'essentia est', sic debet intelligi: Essentia est illa res quae est ipsum esse, i.e., quae non ab alio mutua hanc dictionem et ex qua est esse, i.e., quae ceteris omnibus eandem quam extrinsecus participatione communicat. Non enim de quolibet suae essentiae proprietate dicitur 'esse', sed ab eo qui non aliena sed sua essentia proprie est, ad illud quod creatum ab ipso forma alicuius est et ad ipsam creatam formam et denique ad omnia quae de ipsius vere dicantur, quoniam ex eo tamquam ex principio sunt, dictio ista transmutit, ut de unoquaque divinae formae participatione recte dicitur 'esse'. Quod non omnino a naturalibus subsistentium esse ex forma est. Nam et in naturalibus subsistentium esse ex forma est. De quocumque enim subsistente dicitur 'esse', formae quam in se habet participatione dicitur. Homo enim forma substantiali est ut est animal, corpus, etc.

Habe igitur, ut praemissum. Cum dicitur 'Deus vere forma est, quae ipsum esse est et ex qua esse est', causa dicendi assignatur, non proprietas essendi, i.e., ante enim quam Deus esse alicuius creature vis esset, Deus erat in se immutabiliter et aeternaliter et verum esse. Sed tunc nullius. Et haec ad primum tuae questionis membrum dicta sufficiat.

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*Ovid, Met. II, 721.*

*Acts iii, 6.*

*Ad C. Herennium I, 7, 11.*

*Om. in Ms.*

*De Trinitate, 2; ed. Peiper, p. 152.*

*De Trinitate; PL 64, 1268D-1269A.*

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Quod autem secundo objicis ideo proprie dici formam de Deo, quia per hoc probatur quod Deus vere simplex sit, dico hoc non esse necessarium. Non enim per proprie dicta tantum fides semper alciui fit ut hic: Ponatur in quaestione, utrum omnis virtus sit bona. Quod sic probatur: Omne justum est bonum. Sed omnis virtus est justa. Igitur omnis virtus est bona. Ecce probas duas propositiones: Omne justum est bonum et omnis virtus est justa. Probatur haec: Omnis virtus est bona, licet impropiè ‘justa’ virtus esse dicatur. Id enim tantum proprie ‘justum’ dicitur quod justitiae est subjectum. Virtus vero non est justa a participatione, nec dicitur, sed ab effectu, quia eum in quo virtus est justum facit.


* Gilbert, Prologus; ed. Grabmann, p. 419. In point of time, it is the second prologue.
* Supple: negavit.
* Cf. Meginhard of Fulda, De Fide; ed. A.
Quarto membro tuae quaestiones sic respondendum accipe. In hoc inter magistrum et beatum Bernardum fuit controversia quod beatus Bernardus dixit hanc esse magis propriam 'Deus est veritas vel deitas vel justitia' quam hanc 'Deus est verus vel Deus vel justus', quod non esse verum multis modis superius ostensum est. Quod igitur in oratorio generi orandi, i.e., loquendi, episcopus verum esse judicavit, vester Abbas in omni loquendi generi et facultate recipiendum approbabat. Quod ideo sic esse assueruit quia visum est ei, quod magis divinae simplicitati congruat nomen mathematicum quam concretivum, scilicet hoc nomen 'veritas' quam hoc nomen 'verus', vel 'deitas' quam 'Deus', cum utrique eorum secundum grammaticorum syntaxim proprum aequo sit significare substantiam et qualitatem. Sicut enim hoc nomen 'album' significat rem, quae alba est, et albedinem rei, sic hoc nomen 'Deus' significat rem, quae Deus est, et deitatem rei. Et sicut hoc nomen 'albedo' significat pro substantia rem, quae albedo est, et effectum albedinis pro qualitate, ita hoc nomen 'deitas' significat rem, quae est deitas, pro substantia et effectum ejus pro qualitate cujus esse est ea Deum esse Deum. Itaque hoc nomine 'Deus' deitas praedicatur ut cum dicitur 'Deus est Deus'. Hoc nomine 'deitas' effectus praedicatur ut cum dicitur 'deitas est deitas'. Nec magis congruit simplicitati semper mathematicum nomen quam concretivum ut hoc nomen 'creatio' quam hoc nomen 'creator'. Diversa igitur qualitas orandi peperit interpretationis illius phantasiam. Quod enim secundum resim tantum judicavit episcopus Pictavensis verum, secundum lexim et resim Abbas Clarevallensis judicavit accipiendum. Quod enim unus tropice dictum putavit, alter proprae. — Utrum satisfactum sit, responde.

E.—Sic in eo quo paene.

R.—Habes causas dictorum a magistro notabilium, scilicet horum quod his propositionibus 'Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus sanctus est Deus' substantia praedicatur, non qua est, sed qua est Deus. Item, cur dicatur Deus non esse deitas. Item, quod paternitas non est Deus. Item, et causam hujus expositionis veritas, i.e., verus. Satis igitur factum reor esse tibi super inquisitis. Sciaseque me jam lassatum esse. Laboravi enim te quaerentem sustinens. — Utrum satisfactum sit, responde.

E.—Sic in eo quo paene.

R.—Habes causas dictorum a magistro notabilium, scilicet horum quod his propositionibus 'Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus sanctus est Deus' substantia praedicatur, non qua est, sed qua est Deus. Item, cur dicatur Deus non esse deitas. Item, quod paternitas non est Deus. Item, et causam hujus expositionis veritas, i.e., verus. Satis igitur factum reor esse tibi super inquisitis. Sciase que me jam lassatum esse. Laboravi enim te quaerentem sustinens. Igitur me ad mea fata remitte. Vado. Vale. Ne plus dubites audita tenere.

E.—Noli abire. Adhuc modicum tibi restat viae.

R.—Immo multum quia ferme ducentorum dierum.

E.—Intelligo non itineris sed laboris incepti.

R.—Quid?

E.—Solutio scilicet hujus: utrum aliquid sit coaeternum Deo quod non est Deus, utpote hoc enuntiabile 'Deum esse' et similium; et utrum hoc enuntiabile sit veri nominis enuntiabile et hujusmodi propositorum de Deo.


R.—Quomodo?


Hahn, (Bibliothek der Symbole, Breslau, 1897), p. 360. Augustine, De Haeresibus LII; PL 42, 39.

1 Proverb.
2 Vergil, Georg. III, 539
larga et delicata recalcitracionem equinam in te convertit. Factus enim ab hac es, ut mihi videtur, sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus qui, omissis negotiis tuis, cum Gallo gannis hic de Gallorum nugis. Sed hae nugae tua seria turbant.

R.—Ne quidquam conqueraris de fame equorum, quia Conversi de eis satis sunt solliciti. Quin etiam nimis audacter sed acriter in dominum tuum inverheris. Verum. Quid facies domini, audent cum talia serviri?

E.—Ecce experimentum hic habes verbi Salomonis hujus, scilicet qui servum suum delicatam nutrit, sentiet eum contumacem.


R.—Sosias adest. Sosias, adhuc imitaris Jacob claudicando?

S.—Claudico quidem sed non sum luctatus cum angelo sed cum equo tuo, qui jam non indiget freno.

R.—Estne tibi crus solidum?

S.—Non est sed consolidatum.

R.—Poteris equitare?

S.—Potero de naturali aptitudine sed non de facultate. Nam equus, qui vix se feret, quomodo me ferret?

R.—Quid est quod audio? Laborant ita fame equorum hospitum?

S.—Prima nocte vel secunda ut multum adventantium equi sunt equi hospitum. Postmodum non judicatur hospitum sed hostium, nisi forte sint magnatum quorum auctoritas timor, non caritas obsequium, facit eis necessaria abunde administrari.

R.—Eamus ergo.

E.—Quid? Infectam relinques petitionem meam de solvenda quaestione proposita?


R.—Idem ait rumoribus credi oportere. Tamen mos famulorum quandoque divitum est abundanter administrari exigere pabula eisquis de alieno quam de suo. Et ut proverbialiter dicitur: Non bene fur per furam capitur.

E.—Vado locuturus nuntio. Sosias vero solvet tibi propositam quaestionem qui sedatum habet cerebrum nec cogitando nec loquendo fatigatum ut ego.

E.—Nunc certe vilem me reputas et illitteratum qui dicis laicum mihi quaestionem soluturam.


S.—Vis ut doceam indignantem Minervam?
E.—Audiam te libenter quia audio te novisse doctrinam doctoris nostri.

S.—Veritas sic describitur: Veritas est ratio substantiae rei. Res est ut Petrus. Substantia ejus est quaelibet forma secundum quam habit esse alicuius modi vel secundum quam est ad alicuium. Substantia large accipitur. Non enim attenditur tantum secundum primum praedicamentum in quo tantum substantiae, i.e., substantiales formae continentur. Sed extenditur usque ad omnia decem praedicamentorum praedicabilia. Substantialis autem forma facit rem esse alicuius ut humanitas Petri facit ipsum hominem. Albedo facit ipsum esse alicuius modi, quia album. Paternitas facit ipsum se ad alicuium habere, i.e., patrem filii. Et sic cetera percurre praedicamenta. Est ergo Petrus humanitate homo, albedine albus, paternitate pater. Sed et humanitati adest compositio qua componitur subjecto, i.e., Petro. Et illa dicitur ratio substantiae rei, i.e., ratio, immo compositio, conjungens duo extrema, i.e., formam et subjectum, quod secundum Hilarium dicitur veritas.° Nam illa compositio sive compago praedicati ad subjectum non est in numero rerum naturalium sed de praedicabilibus rationalis facultatis, ut illa quinque de quibus tractat Porphyrius dicens: Cum sit necessarium Menanti


* Cf. De Trinitate V, 3ff., PL 10, 131 fl.  
° Boethius, In Isag. Porph. comm. II, 7; CSEL 48, 16.  
°° Boethius, In Categ. Arist. I; PL 64, 163C.  
°°° De Interpretatione I; PL 64, 414C and 415C.
dicitur 'Petrus est homo', circa humanitatem Petri et ipsum attenditur compositio. Item, cum dicitur 'Petrus non est lapis', circa divisionem attenditur veritas. Item, cum dicitur 'Petrus est lapis', circa haec composita attenditur falsitas. Nam quia ostenduntur componit quae vere divisa sunt, inde est falsitas, i.e., falsa compositio. At cum dicitur 'Petrus non est lapis', quia ea quae vere divisa sunt vere divisa esse ostenduntur, inde est veritas, quae non est compositionis sed divisionis.

E.—Cum dixeris compositionem formae ad subjectum esse veritatem et hic cum dicitur 'Petrus non est lapis' non ostendatur compositio formae sed divisio, videtur quod non solum compositio sit veritas sed divisioni.

S.—Bene inquiris et subtiliter. Inde summus philosophus noster, Pictavensem episcopum dico, vere dixit: Omnis affirmativa propositio aliquid significat verum et omnis negativa aliquid significat falsum, quia omnis affirmativa, cum praedicatum significat componit subjecto, sive componatur sive non, quod significat, significat verum ut sit substantiva constructio. Aequae enim significat verum quod significat 'Petrus est lapis' sicut haec 'Petrus est homo' ratione significandi, quia formam praedicati significat componer subjecto. At si componatur, dicti esse judicatur verum; si non, judicatur falsus. Et ideo propositio falsa est quia significat verum quod est falsum. Item, omnis negativa aliquid significat falsum, quia significat praedicatum dividit a subjecto, sive dividatur sive non. Quod si dividatur, quia significat falsum quod ejus affirmativa significat verum, ideo aliquid falsum significat. Si autem non dividatur et dividi significat, manifeste falsum significat. Igitur haec propositio 'Petrus non est lapis' non est vera, quia sit compositiva formae praedicati subjecto sed quia negando significat id, quod ejus contradictoria falsa significat verum, cum illud sit falsum. Ob illius igitur compositionis false affirmatam significacionem judicatur veras.

E.—Subtiliter dicis, sed minus intelligibiliter.

S.—Non est in medico semper reveletur ut aegrum. Si non potes videre quod dico, tibi imputa, non mihi. Sed hoc scias utiliter quod circa naturaliter composita, formam dico et subjectum, attenditur ratio quae est veritas. Circa eadem fallaciter composita attenditur falsitas, i.e., ratio. Item, circa divisa naturaliter attenditur divisionis veritas, non tamen veri nominis ita sicut circa composita. Circa eadem falsa composita <2399> attenditur falsitas, quae nihil in rerum natura est. Unde vera dicuntur esse, falsa autem non. Verbi causa: ostende formam componi ei, cujus est, ut nivi albedinem. Habes veritatem. Compone illi, cujus non est, ut corvo albedinem. Habes falsitatem. Unde sicut judicatur verus in dicendo, qui formam attribuit ei cujus est, sic falsus qui attribuit ei cujus non est. Item, sicut falsus qui dividit ab eo cujus est, sic verus qui dividit ab eo cujus non est. De hac veritate sic ait Hieronymus: Veritas naturae ratio quidem est, secundum quam dicitur verus aer et vera aqua et vera scientia, qua haec substantiae veritas comprehendiur, falsitas ejus absintia, et falsa scientia quae hanc sub veritas capacit obtentu.

Est et alia veritas, scilicet moralis, quae virtus est, quae fit officio conservandae pacis et officio divinae laudis. Ex his enim veritas-virtus 'veritas' dicitur et falsitas, si hoc fine vel officio, quantum in nomine est, cogitatio ejus sermoque privet dicitur et 'vitium'. Hac igitur virgite quis 'verus' dicitur, etiam cum de rerum substantia fallitum; et hoc vitio 'falsus', etiamsi de ea non fallitum. Ex hac finis et officio ratione Apostolus, proposita sua considerans, mutationis quae videtur removet levitatem. Quae prorsus levitas nulla est, si eodem fine et eodem officio, quod proposuerat se venturum, remanit. Hac igitur veritate homo verus est qui, etsi dicat falsum, tamen putat esse verum. Non tamen est verus veritate, quae est ratio naturae, sed veritate virtutis, quae est habitus mentis bene constitutae.

\[2399\] Cf. Gilbert, Contra Eutychem; PL 64. 414C and 415C. 11 Cf. In Tit. 1, 2; PL 26, 593B.
E.—Cum ergo Deus sit simplex, ut tuus asseruit et disseruit amicus, nulla forma ei inest. Ergo nulla ei compositio. Ergo ratio compositionis non comitatur aliquam formam in eo. Ergo nec deitatem. Ergo Deus non est verus Deus secundum quod ostendisti. Quid taces? Quid me inspicis?

S.—Tu es rota praecurrens. Et factis in claustro rota quinta quod addita plaustra, si bene te novi. Conclusio tua vera est secundum naturalem philosophum, sed non secundum theologicum. Hoc nomen enim 'Deus', sicut cetera, Deo convenit per causam. Deus enim dicitur a theos secundum quosdam sive a theoro quod est videre quia omnia nuda et aperta sunt oculis ejus. Ideo per causam Deus dicitur quasi verus Deus, non ideo dicitur quod Deus sit deitate, quae ei insit, et veritate ei addicte verus, quia non est ibi compositio deitatis ad Deum, quia non est ibi materia cui forma ostendatur componi. Sed quia ipse causa omnis veritatis, i.e., omnis compositionis, i.e., rationis naturae et veritatis-virtutis et exterioris et interioris visionis, i.e., corporalis et spiritualis visionis, idee 'verus Deus' dicitur. Nam, ut ait Augustinus super Johannem: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, omnia, scilicet omnis materia, omnis forma, omnis compago. Ipsa enim suprema ratio naturae est quae res conservat in suo esse. Unde Ambrosius: Rerum tenax vigor et vigens tenor. Tenet enim formam in subjecto cui componit eam, quo tenaci tenore res permanet in suo esse. Ideoque de se congrue dicit: Ego sum veritas, i.e., suprema ratio substantiae rei, i.e., compositio. Inde ait Augustinus: Ubi inveni veritatem, ibi inveni Deum meum. Sed non fuit nec est aliquid aeternum nec Deo coaeternum, quia non est ejusdem naturae vel rationis cujus est Deus. Sicut nec haec propositioni 'albedo est albedo' significat aliquid verum quod de genere sit verorum. Non enim ibi ostenditur fieri compositio. Sed et haec veritas mathematica dicitur. Est igitur veritas alia ethica, alia logica, alia mathematica, alia theologica. Ethica qua homo dicitur verax veritate virtutis; logica qua quis verus homo dicitur veritate naturae; mathematica qua dicitur compositio formae ad subjectum vera vel scientia vera; theologica qua Deus dicitur verus.

Sed ecce Ratus adest.

R.—Frater Everarde, est soluta quaestio tua?

E.—Est utique plene et plane, sed nec leviter nec breviter. Sed beneficium solutionis obfuscavit maleficio insultationis dicendo quod facerem in claustro rota quinta quod addita plaustra.


15 Isidore, Etymol. VII, i, 5. Johannes Scottus, De Divisione naturae I, 12; PL 122, 452C.
16 Hebrr, iv, 13.
18 Breviarium: hymnus ad Nonam.
19 John xiv, 6.
20 Confessiones X, 24, 35.
21 John i, 5 and 9.
22 Ms plene.
23 Cf. Disticha Catonis m, 6; ed. M. Boas (Amsterdam, 1952), p. 159.
S.—Revera serio dixi.
R.—Cur?
S.—Quia oneri est claustro.
R.—Quomodo?
R.—Frater Everardus humilitatem Christi imitatus est qui, cum esset liber, factus est servus magis eligens partem Mariae quam Marthae.
S.—Idem Parisius facere potuisset. Sed in hoc videtur incredulus, quasi Deus in nullo loco nisi in claustro vellet vel posset gratiam misericordiae sibi conferre, cum non sit ex meritis praemium gloriae.
E.—Sicut praemium gloriae non est ex meritis, ita non est sine meritis sed cum meritis. Sed unde David: Cum sancto sanctus eris et cum innocente innocens eris, ex hoc: cum electo electus eris in caelo.\(^{27}\) Consequens propheticum rellinquo Sosiae qui <240> mavult in saeculo morari cum perversis saecularibus quam in claustro cum sanctis claustralibus. Igitur Sosias si novissime dicta et extreme tacuisset, non Sosias sed Sophia mihi fuisset. Sed forte dissimulatrici loquitur volens admoerner monachi.
S.—Adhaereum ordine invento, immo praecepto in paradiso, non instituto in monte Cassino vel in Cistercio. Et non obliviscar communionis doctrinae et beneficientiae operum misericordiae. Ut Paulus ait: Talibus enim hostis procedet.\(^{28}\) Nam ut ait Augustinus in libro De Doctrina Christiana: Charitas quae sibi homines nodo unitatis astringit, non haberet additum refundendorum et quasi miserendorum animorum, si homines per homines discerent nihil.\(^{29}\) Inde est quod est majus vinculum dilectionis et frequentior praeventio honoris et mutui exhibitionis obsequii inter scholares quam inter claustrales.
E.—Multum commendas scholarium doctrinam et morum honestatem. Vis ut ego probem tibi quod, quanto aliquis claustralis alio sive claustrali sive saeculari litterato est melior, tanto est doctior?
S.—Vis recurrere ad Pauli auctoritatem: Eligit stulta hujus mundi Deus ut fortia confundat?\(^{30}\) Nolo haec tria audire sed abire.
E.—Nolo hoc dicere. Sed quod dixi, evidenter ostendam, ni refugis.\(^{31}\)
R.—Sosia, modicum audiamus monachum, cujus in scholis fuit consuetudo improbabile proponere et probabilia ad ea probanda inducere.
S.—Dicat ergo. Timeo tamen ne tootis pariat et nascatur ridiculum mus.\(^{32}\)
R.—Dic, Everarde, dic.
E.—Quanto quis peritioris discipulus doctoris fuerit et amplius quovis alio ejus doctrinam intellexerit et memoriae et exercitia commendaverit, tanto doctior alio erit. Concedis?

\(^{24}\) Boethius, De Hebdomadibus; ed. Peiper, 169.
\(^{26}\) De Consid. II, 13, 22; PL 132, 756.
\(^{27}\) Ps. xvii, 26.
\(^{28}\) Heb. xiii, 16.
\(^{29}\) De Doctrina Christiana, Prologus, 6; PL 34, 18.
\(^{30}\) 1 Cor. i, 27.
\(^{31}\) Vergil, Georg. I, 117.
\(^{32}\) Horace, Ars Poetica, 139.
S.—Concede.

E.—Sed doctor peritissimus fuit Jesus Christus. Et ejus doctrina quam plus commendavit et docuit haec fuit, cum dixit: *Discite a me, quia mitis et humilis sum corde.* 33 Doctrina igitur ejus fuit mansuetudo et humilitas. Ergo si quis hanc doctrinam melius noverit et exercuerit, tanto alius doctor erit, quia tanto alius erit melior, et non solum in hoc saeculo sed in futuro. Igitur cum ita sit, immo quia est, quomodo commendabilior est vita scholariam quam claustralium, quorum ordinata cohibetur disciplina non tantum manus sed et lingua et animus? Qui in schola Christi existentes dicunt cum David: *Quoniam non cognovi litteraturam, introibo in potentiam Domini. Domine memorabo nominis tui solius.* 34 Scientes itaque quod scientia sizarum inflat et charitas aedificat, 35 a Domino conditam virtute petunt scientiam orantes: *Domine, bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me.* 36 Sic agendum esse docet Jacob dicens: *Si quis indiget sapiencia, petat a Domino, et dabut sibi afluenter.* 37 Unde beatus Bernardus: *Sapiens est qui quaee res prout sunt sapiunt et ipsa sapienia in se sapit prout ipsa. Et non solum sapiens est sed etiam beatus.* Nempe hoc est videire Deum facie ad faciem. 38


E.—Nec dico. Sed bona quae dico sunt opera virtutum, licet non sint virtutes operum de quibus judicatum boni homines esse. Occulta enim judicare non est hominis sed Numinis. Ea vero quae vos duo deseruistis de quaestionibus, si scripsero, gravia forte nimirum videbuntur quaerenti, amice.

R.—Ad haec respondere verbis Augustini dicentis in libro De Doctrina christianae sic: Illis qui haec, quae scribimus, non intelligunt, hoc dico: *ita me non esse reprehendendum quia haec non intelligunt, tamquam si lumam veterem vel novam sidusve aliquod minime clarum vellet videre quod ego intento digito demonstrarem, illis autem nec ad ipsum digitum meum videndum sufficiens esset acies oculorum, non propterea mihi succensere deberent.* 40 — Mi Everarde, vale. Et quid Sosias dixerit, ne attendas. Experts et sibi placita commendat et ea sola, non tamen solis, nimirum pueriliter, ne dicam stulte, miratur. Tibi potius utramque viam vivendi experto credendum est. Et quantum lumen solis praecellit quantaecumque facis, tantum antecellit vita religiosi et discreti clausalis vitam etiam boni

33 Matth. xi, 29.
34 Ps. 1xx, 10f.
35 f. Cor. viii, 1.
36 Ps. cxvili, 66.
37 Jac. i, 5.
38 Serm. de diversis XVIII, 1; PL 183, 587D.
39 Proverb.
40 De Doctrina christ., prol., 3; PL 34, 16.
saecularis. Nam vita nostra multis vitis est obvoluta. Et sicut equus incedens sine freno plus discurret obliquando et viam tritam deserendo sic omnis actus noster obliquatur plus actu vestro qui ordine regitur.

At, ut salva pace tua dixerim, multum erratur in claustris quod negligitur plus debito: moderamen discretionis in rebus administrandis. Et nimis amatores estis cujuscumque consuetudinis vestrae sive scriptae sive in usum redactae, spiritualia evangelica praecepta et beati Benedicti regularia dispensantes vel negligentes, scilicet de pauperum et hospitum receptione, de possessionis augmentatione et retentione, et de talento multiplicando, de scandalo fratrum vitando, de personis corripiendis et corrigendis, de colatura culcis, de translutione cameli, et de acceptance personarum et de absoluzione non-subditorum, de largitione eleemosyna in <240"/> via discipulo interdictione licet fame vel frigore egeno deficientis, de superfluitate equorum, aedificiorum et agrorum, de desiderio vitae et mortis timore, de allatorum immoderata coram judice saeculari repetitione, etiam cum lite. At cum discretio mater virtutum sit, circa haec universitas vestra minus discreta videtur: assimulata in multis diffidentiae filiis. Et cum paupertas sit humilitas et humilitas custos omnium virtutum, cur ita sollicite paupertatem fugis, qui tanto operis paupertatem fingitis et commendatis, qui humilitatem vestram extollitis?

E.—Claustralibus haec cur imputas?

R.—Quia discreti talia non reprehendunt nec se murum pro domo Domini ponunt. At si Johannes Baptista tam fuisset amator pacis et timidos offensae majoris ut claustuales sunt, justitiae pro defensione gladio non succubuisset. At, frater Everarde, vale. Constans esto. Videbis enim auxilium Domini super te.

E.—Mi Sosia cum avunculo vale.

R.—Vale, frater Everarde, vale. Si rediero, habebis me comitem, non ducem, in investigatione quaestionum trium facultatum, quas proposuisti tractare.