

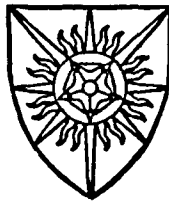
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ANALECTA DVBLINENSIA

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THREE MEDIEVAL LATIN TEXTS IN THE LIBRARY
OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

edited by
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The University of Virginia



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**To Philip Ian Colker
This Book Is Dedicated**

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Preface

OVER the past decade I have been privileged to work on the re-cataloging of the medieval Latin manuscripts at Trinity College Dublin. In the course of this effort, I came upon three unpublished medieval Latin texts that were of outstanding literary merit: a vigorous dialogue about the hypocrisy of sinful monks, which provides valuable insights into the psychology of monks who have strayed from the monastic ideal; a series of letters which reveal internal politics at the monastery of St Albans and narrate the sufferings of a student persecuted by his jealous teacher; and a collection of mainly realistic and often racy stories which derive much of their language from Petronius—the collection also contains critical descriptions of various segments of medieval society.

Through *Analecta Dublinensia* I wish to share with the reader these three remarkable texts, each of which, when generally known, should attain the status of a medieval classic. I transcribed them directly from the Dublin manuscripts; in the case of the letters, I depended upon an extremely clear microfilm for my collation of the Hereford manuscript, which is probably a copy of the Dublin manuscript. To provide ease of citation I divide the Latin texts into sections, marked by numbers inserted in square brackets. As closely as possible I adhere to the orthography, but not to the capitalization or punctuation, of the Dublin manuscripts. Square brackets in the texts are used to set off scribal errors which should be disregarded, whereas angular brackets enclose my editorial additions.

There remains the pleasant duty to thank the authorities of Trinity College Dublin and of Hereford Cathedral who have permitted the use of their manuscripts, and to name gratefully the sources of the generous grants which enabled me to carry on the cataloging at Trinity College Dublin: Trinity Trust, the University of Dublin Fund, the University of Virginia, the American Philosophical Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. I am indebted, for very helpful comments, to Paul Meyvaert, Executive Secretary of the Mediaeval Academy of America, to Giles Constable, Professor of History at Harvard University, and to William O'Sullivan, Keeper of Manuscripts at Trinity College, Dublin.

Marvin L. Colker

1 CONTRA RELIGIONIS SIMVLATORES

Introduction

THE first text in *Analecta Dublinensia* is an unpublished and apparently unknown work with the full manuscript title of *Tractatus Beati Gregorii Pape Contra Religionis Simulatores*, found in Trinity College Dublin MS 97 (B.3.5).¹ The work is cast in the form of a dialogue and is directed against hypocrisy in monastic life.²

The participants in the dialogue are given the names of Romanus, who is a wayward monk, and Gregory. Romanus regards himself as saintly [3],³ but among other faults, he hates to obey his superiors [9, 13] and indulges in romantic fantasies to escape the discomforts of his existence [4–7]. Gregory regards Romanus as a hypocrite [11] and succeeds in getting him to admit that his life is a horrible obscenity [31]. In the course of the satiric dialogue Gregory assails the evils of contemporary monks, including gluttony [43, 64–78], garrulousness [41, 43], practicing medicine [46–48], and singing with a high-pitched voice [45].

Who is the author of this spirited dialogue? The incipit assigns it to a “beatus Gregorius papa” who is evidently also the speaker Gregory in the dialogue. “Beatus Gregorius papa” without further qualification instantly suggests Gregory the Great (pope, 590–604). In fact, “Gregorius” alone or accompanied only by “papa” and/or “beatus” regularly stands in medieval manuscripts for Gregory I,⁴ who wrote dialogues about Italian saints in which he was a speaker.⁵ More than

1. I find no trace of the work anywhere, and the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, has no record of the *initium*.
2. The *Dialogus Contra Hypocrisim* assigned to Poggio and printed by O. Gratus in his *Appendix Ad Fasciculum Rerum Expetendarum Et Fugiendarum*, 2 (London, 1690), 571–583, bears no relationship to the earlier dialogue apart from the general theme. An English summary of this earlier work follows the Introduction.
3. The bracketed numbers refer to the sections of the text.
4. For example, in Oxford Balliol MSS 14, 15, 280A (cf. R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* [Oxford, 1963], pp. 10–11, 296) and in Oxford Lyell MSS 4, 8 (cf. Albinia De la Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library Oxford by James P. R. Lyell* [Oxford, 1971], pp. 6, 356).
5. The *Dialogi* of Gregory I are edited by U. Moricca in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1924).

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one Romanus appears in Gregory I's correspondence.⁶ But the attribution in the incipit seems fictional, and the use of the name Romanus in the dialogue against hypocrisy may have been inspired by the monk Romanus who figures in Gregory the Great's account of St Benedict (*Dialogi Miraculorum* 2.1).⁷

The potentially autobiographic elements in the dialogue are elusive: Gregory describes an exceptionally fat monk whom he saw [44], reports his acquaintance with an ignorant monk who practiced medicine [48], discusses an encounter with a disagreeable brother [53], declares that he himself read many books and heard innumerable stories about saints [64], and records his presence in a monastery where a pig was all too magnificently served as part of a lavish meal [73].

Another person named in the dialogue is St Benedict [66], but he could have been mentioned by any writer after the sixth century. On the other hand, the attention to fancy foods [73, 76] suggests the great abbeys of the later Middle Ages and therefore a later date.⁸ Indeed the work appears to have originated in the twelfth or thirteenth century (the manuscript is of the late thirteenth century). Bernard of Clairvaux's censure of monastic gluttony,⁹ Gerald of Wales's antipathy toward monastic involvement with medicine,¹⁰ John of Salisbury's disapproval of religious hypocrisy,¹¹ and the typical twelfth-century interest in the theory of friendship¹² are all compatible with the spiritual climate in which the dialogue was produced.

One might, at first, interpret "Circumspicio namque mendicantium innumerum populum" [63] as intending to contrast the Benedictines with the mendicant friars, in which case the work would appear to have been composed about the middle of the thirteenth century, after the friars had become established. But what follows in [63] proves that the Latin statement merely aims to

6. But none of these men is clearly a monk: see the Index Personarum et Locorum for Gregory's *Registrum*, ed. L. M. Hartmann, MGH Epistolae 2, 1 (1893), 506.

7. Ed. Moricca, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–78.

8. Cf. David Knowles, "Essays in Monastic History, 1066–1216: VII, The Diet of Black Monks," *The Downside Review* 52 (1934), 279–288, and idem, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd ed., Cambridge, Eng., 1966), pp. 460, 463, 465.

9. *Apologia* 20–21 (PL 182:908–911).

10. *Speculum Ecclesiae* 3.9, in Gerald's *Opera*, 4, ed. J. S. Brewer (RS; London, 1873), 173–174. See text below, section 46, note a.

11. *Policraticus* 7.21, ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 (Oxford, 1909), 190–201.

12. The dialogue discusses the nature of friendship in section 16. Cf. Christopher Brooke, *The Twelfth Century* (London, 1969), p. 89. For a bibliography on medieval theories about friendship see Adele Fiske, "Paradisus Homo Amicus," *Speculum* 40 (1965), 436–437, n. 3, and John Conley, "The Doctrine of Friendship in *Everyman*," *Speculum* 44 (1969), 374, n. 1. See also J. Leclercq, "L'amitié dans les lettres au moyen âge," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 1 (1945), 391–410, and R. Gelsomino, "S. Bernardo di Chiaravalle e il *De Amicitia* di Cicerone," *Analecta Monastica* 5 (1958), 180–186.

contrast the wealth of monks with the poverty of the genuinely indigent. Phrases such as "inopiae mendicancium fraterne compassionis optentu" [67], "uera compassione confratrum mendicorum mouemini" [76], and "compassione mendicancium" [77] occur in contexts that suggest nothing more than references to beggars in general. The subject of compassion for the poor is first raised by Romanus [67], and Gregory comments upon this theme afterward [76, 77].

Whoever wrote the dialogue was fond of rhetoric. His lively Latinity, scarcely influenced by classical authors, is generally correct by medieval standards. However, he does use the ablative of means with the preposition *a* in three instances: "a tribus equis . . . uix traheretur" [44], "a uoce tonos frangentes" [45], "a flammis penas luere" [73]. And he employs *noceo* with an accusative direct object in section 62 (*te nocere*). Particularly rare words are *urisiones* [38], *exabunde* [49], *relictacione* [74], as well as *cyrothecas* [77] in the sense of a certain edible delicacy.

Transcribed by a single late thirteenth-century hand, the dialogue is preserved in double columns of 48 lines on folios 227^v–238^v (11 × 7¾ inches) of Trinity College Dublin codex 97 (B.3.5).¹³ The piece stands after Hugh of St Victor's *De Institutione Nouitiorum* (folios 219–227) and before Pope Innocent III's *De Miseria Humanae Conditionis* (folios 241–252). Between the dialogue and Innocent's work there is an intrusion in a fourteenth-century hand (on folios 239–240, which had been left blank; 240^v remains blank) with Pope Benedict XII's constitution "Super apostatis reuocandis," here dated at Avignon, 17 June 1335 ("Pastor bonus diligens operosus . . ."). The entire codex consists of 276 leaves, offering in different hands of the thirteenth century a variety of theological and moral works, with sets of *regulae* for religious a conspicuous ingredient: The Rule of St Benedict, the Second Rule of St Francis, a *Regula Anachoretarum*,¹⁴ the Victorine *Liber Ordinis*, the commentaries of Hugh of St Victor and Richard of St Victor on the Rule of St Augustine,¹⁵ Isidore's *Synonyma*, Prosper of Aquitaine's *Sententiae Ex Operibus S. Augustini*, Pope

13. The codex is described by: H. Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica* 2, 3 (Vienna, 1896), 50–51, no. 3308; T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1900), p. 12; L. Olier, ed., "Regulae Tres Recluserum Et Eremitarum Angliae Saec. XIII–XIV," *Antonianum* 3 (1928), 152–154; J. G. Smyly, ed., *Urbanus Magnus Danielis Becclesiensis* (Dublin, 1939), pp. vii–viii; Aubrey Gwynn, "The Early History of St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 84 (1954), 27–31; W. Hawkes, in *Reportorium Novum* 2 (1958), 62–64; M. L. Colker, "Richard of St. Victor and the Anonymous of Bridlington," *Traditio* 18 (1962), 186–188.

14. Ed. Olier, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–183. Olier also used the Dublin codex for his text of some supplementary material presenting admonitions of a Robert to a Hugo the anchorite (*ibid.*, pp. 183–190).

15. Richard's commentary ed. M. L. Colker, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–227, on the basis of Codex 97.

Innocent III's *De Miseria Humanae Conditionis*, Daniel of Beccle's *Urbanus*,¹⁶ Serlo of Wilton's proverbs,¹⁷ and the regulations of St Thomas' Abbey, Dublin.¹⁸

The codex belonged to St Thomas' of Dublin, a Victorine abbey, and was probably written there. In addition to the inclusion of the regulations of the abbey, there is a memorandum of 6 July 1478 concerning the repair of the monastery church.¹⁹ Three times in the codex the note *per me Henricum Duff* appears.²⁰ Henry Duff, the last abbot of the institution, surrendered the monastery to the English king on 25 July 1538. Subsequently the book came into the possession of Archbishop James Ussher, and it bears the shelfmark HHH 52, which goes back to his period. Codices that belonged to Ussher formed the original manuscript collection of Trinity College Dublin.²¹

The edition retains the scribe's orthographic inconsistencies: cf. *proch* [25, 63], while elsewhere *proth* is used throughout, *Euncium et redeuntium* [25], *sequiturum* [31] and *sequuntur* [32], *Necgligere* and *negligit* [47]. In the critical apparatus, D^c denotes uncertainty as to which hand in D, the Dublin manuscript, made the correction.

16. Ed. Smyly, *op. cit.*, with use of Codex 97.

17. Ed. A. C. Friend, in *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954), 179–218, with use of Codex 97; likewise ed. J. Öberg (Stockholm, 1965), using the codex.

18. On fol. 148 these regulations have a clear reference to St Thomas' Abbey which has hitherto been overlooked: "Prohibetur etiam eis ne in festo sancti Thome martyris noui patroni nostri aliquod opus seruille faciant in domibus suis sed infra septa domorum suarum diem istum obseruent tanquam festium." On the history of St Thomas' Abbey, Dublin, see William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* 6 (London, 1830), 1140–1141; Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, ed. P. F. Moran, 2 (Dublin, 1876), 30–55; Gwynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–35; L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 1 (Mâcon, 1935), 1003; Aubrey Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), pp. 154, 172.

19. See Colker, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 187–188.

21. See William O'Sullivan, "Ussher as a Collector of Manuscripts," *Hermathena* 88 (1956), 34–58, and T. C. Barnard, "The Purchase of Archbishop Ussher's Library in 1657," *Long Room* 4 (1971), 9–14.

Summary

[1] *Gregorius*: What is your way of life in the monastic profession? Either your conduct should set us an example or you should take example from us.

[2] *Romanus*: Do you have doubts about my religious life? I live as a pauper, sing psalms, pray, and disturb no one. I am bound to my monastery like a prisoner in jail. [3] In fact, I excel in saintly wisdom and discretion to the point that I am surprised that our elders do not consult me about private and public matters. And since I have such virtues, should you not regard me as one of the ancient holy fathers? Indeed I am amazed that God has not favored me like other saints.

[4] *Gregorius*: When you engage in divine praises, do you concentrate or do you still turn to troublesome thoughts?

Romanus: At such times I indulge in pleasant thoughts, which range the entire world. I think of castles, towns, monasteries, woods, vineyards, crowds of girls, groups of men, wars, rivers, seas. [5] Often while I am thinking in a religious vein, I fancy that I have discovered treasures, enriched by which I construct massive buildings; then, at the request of the clergy and because of the clamor of the people and pressure from the ruler, I unwillingly become bishop. In this post I humble the proud and exalt the weak. My fame spreads throughout the world, and I perform many miracles, even raising the dead. [6] I also dream of storming cities and castles and of becoming king. Subsequently I choose a most beautiful girl as a wife for myself, now emperor, and beget by her children whom I make kings, consuls, and princes. Later I see some of them ill or dead, my dear wife dead, myself grown old, and then my funeral. Sometimes I envision myself as a most renowned logician or lawyer or grammarian or physician or philosopher or hermit or monk or workman or miner or boxer. [7] It is thus by sweet dreaming that my toil is diminished and my discomfort removed.

Gregorius: Do you see no sin in all these things?

Romanus: Little or none, since I hurt no one and am able by such dreaming to bear more easily the toils of an uncomfortable way of life.

[8] *Gregorius*: Do you pretend to have no faults?

[9] *Romanus*: I admit that I have faults. I gladly listen to false stories. I detract from the credit due to certain people. I complain that so little is provided

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for us from the great possessions of our monastery. I answer harshly those that injure me, and sometimes I use insulting language. I am indiscreet in blaming others, and I rebuke those who resist my assertions. I judge my superiors. I do not always avoid over-eating and drunkenness. I laugh without restraint, and I force others to laugh. I hate to show obedience, so I circumvent our superiors openly and clandestinely. Still, I know that other monks do these things and far worse.

[10] *Gregorius*: Oh the madness of an insane head! It is not more difficult for God to punish countless persons than two or three. By disobedience you are not fulfilling what you promised to God that you would do. [11] You are indeed one who practices hypocrisy and are altogether detestable. You wish to live in luxury. You dream of sacking cities, but one cannot plunder without murder, just as one cannot lust for women without fornication—even the thought of a crime is not a light matter. [12] Furthermore, you are guilty of sacrilege. To take away from superiors the obedience due them is equivalent to stealing from God.

[13] *Romanus*: I would gladly obey persons who are better and more learned than myself, but I have contempt for those of lesser sanctity and knowledge. Why should I follow those to whom I could give advice?

[14] *Gregorius*: Christ obeyed his poor father, a laborer, and his ragged mother. If such behavior is good enough for the king of heaven, why is it not good enough for you? [16] Oh admirable wisdom of God, who benefits both the simple and the sage—if all men were simple, there would be no hierarchy, and if all men were wise, no one would need the help of another. Without such dependence, there would be little love. Thus God created both levels of men. [20–21] Obedience proved beneficial in a multitude of cases throughout the Bible and produced all kinds of wonders.

[22] All actions are good, bad, or between good and bad. A person must perform good acts, must avoid the bad, and at the bidding of his superior, must perform the in-between acts. [23] In contrast with the blessings brought by obedience, all kinds of miseries have been the consequence of disobedience.

[25] Confession and penance are important too. How many people wearing the religious habit do not confess their sins twice a year, but are susceptible to the illusions of demons and willingly receive the fantasies induced by impure thoughts! In fact, your mind is so polluted by unclean spirits coming and going that anyone should prefer this spectacle to theatrical presentations.

[28] You wonder why God has not given you the gift of revelations about the future. God does not dwell in the foul nest of demons. [29] You have spoken about the burdens of your way of life, but Christ's yoke is pleasant and his reward is hundredfold.

[31] *Romanus*: You have truly and sufficiently laid bare the horrendous obscenity of my life.

[33] I remember that a wealthy man gave up his rich and beautiful wife, children, estates, palaces, servants, and friends for Christ without regret (to my astonishment). But others who despised wealth and embraced the religious life were later overwhelmed by toil and returned to their former way of life. Still others, restrained from returning only by sense of shame, pursue the honors of high position.

[34–35] *Gregorius*: Those who covet gain are never satisfied but want ever more, whereas the just man requires only what is enough for him.

[36] Consider too the afflictions of secular life: a wife constantly irritating, desire for enlarging one's estates, worry (without remedy) concerning children, anxiety about thefts, fear of adversity in time of prosperity, and despair in times of adversity.

[38] Think of the early martyrs who resisted the urgings of wives, children, relatives, and friends in order to devote themselves to Christ, and think of those who were tortured to death rather than abandoning their belief.

[40] *Romanus*: Since you mentioned hypocrisy, tell me about the different kinds of hypocrites in religious life.

[41] *Gregorius*: In religious life the bad persons are those who are disobedient, insulting to their fellows, rebellious to all, gluttonous while despising the food set before them, eager for flashy clothes, and envious, and who detract from the qualities of good men. Such evil persons are haughty and vain. They are lazy about performing virtuous works but quick to perform perverse acts. They return evil for good and exchange what is bad for what is sevenfold worse. They sow discord and engage in wrangling. They sleep during the sacred chants and spiritual discussions but are sleepless late at night when false stories are told. They report names of regions, location of lands, provisions of laws, customs of cities, changes in the succession of kings, the extent of rivers, proverbs of farmers, problems of the ancients, and results of wars. They know and repeat all the gossip a thousand times without tedium. They laugh without self-control and love scurrilous words. They judge good men by suspicion alone and are triumphant when they find a way to injure an innocent. Whatever is holy but has not been established according to their own thinking, they regard as inane.

[43] If a vein has become numb in the finger of one of these evil-doers or if his stomach has become more swollen than usual because of over-eating or if his head pains a little from excessive drink or from loquacious chattering about trifles, he immediately runs groaning and wailing to the infirmary. There he dines on fowl and quadrupeds, to which he applies seasonings, and he drinks spiced drinks in frequent quantity. So it is that those who could be healed by

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fasting sometimes actually become sick because of indulgence. In the infirmary, one will find not psalmody or prayer, but baseless stories and ceaseless verbal nonsense. Some monks eat, three times a day or more, a multiplicity of courses with the result that their stomachs swell like wombs. These monks should be called bulls, not men.

[44] I saw a monk whose stomach had grown so large because of his gluttony that it hung below his knees. Excessive sweat forced him to tie a towel around his stomach to avoid putrefaction. He would travel on a chair that could scarcely be drawn by three horses or two pairs of oxen.

[45] Other monks have high-pitched voices and sing sacred chants in an effeminate manner. Like the silly performances of mimes, the singing of these brothers arouses not compunction but wantonness in their hearers.

[46] Still other monks are not ashamed to profess themselves physicians even if they do not know the names of the most famous herbs, and they promise without hesitation to cure diseases which physicians of utmost integrity do not dare to treat. Such monks often kill in their ignorance. Feeling pulses, they deceptively tell a patient that death or health is in the offing. They inspect the urine not only of males but of females. Where can one find religion in a young woman's consultation of a young monk about the secret diseases of her private parts? [47] Even if he is holy and chaste, think of what happened to King David.

[48] Holy men complain that with all their duties they do not have enough time for themselves, and by contrast, young men, still raw about religion, travel the nearby region and look after bodies, not their own souls. I knew a monk who did not know the difference between *casus rectus* and *casus obliquus*, but he journeyed over the entire province with his laxatives, treating, or rather exterminating, it. As the proverb says, he sold the yokels a bladder instead of a lantern.

[49] Let us consider further the types of hypocrites in religion. There are those who torture the flesh with fasts and vigils to win the favor of men, those who study sacred scripture to fortify themselves with brilliant words and weighty thoughts in order to appear more learned than others, and those who do works of charity with concern only for the human eye—whatever is not noticed they regard as wasted. Some speak falsely that they have done miracles and have seen heavenly secrets. If you talk with these “holy” people, they raise their eyes, stretch forth their hands, and sigh as if they had penetrated frequently, by trances, the secrets of inner contemplation.

[50] Some monks, in order to demonstrate their own zeal, attack any brethren who err in the slightest way. [51] Other monks show themselves so holy in every way that you would think that you had blessed Anthony and great Macharius as companions.

[52] Should you injure a hypocrite with a word or disclose his hypocrisy, he is aroused with anger. His brow furrows, his eyebrows are raised, his eyes harden, his face inflames. He stutters, talks with his fingers, stamps, and curses, unmindful of his former sanctity.

[53] In a monastery where I stayed some days, I saw a brother of this sort. Chided by an elder, the hypocrite hurled words at him which it is not right to repeat and declared that he would not remain in the monastery. The next day, when the hypocrite was sitting in silence within the monastery, I made a sign for him to speak with me. He was indignant that I had called him from his contemplation and indicated by a sign that he would not talk to me. One of the brothers of the monastery poked fun at the man who, having descended to hell the day before, was suddenly carried off to heaven.

[54] Very cunning hypocrites, wishing to appear holier than the rest of the monks, practice an immoderate rigor that goes beyond the regulations of their monastery. [55] Hypocrites pursuing personal ambition seek the favor of the brothers with gifts. [56] Hypocrites who are unable to bear hearing one of their fellow-monks praised, dreading that someone else may get the honor which they themselves covet, say: "So-and-so whom you praise is a good man, but it is strange that he is avaricious" or "it is strange that he is indiscreet."

[57] I shall say nothing about those who have bishops as patrons and accuse innocent brothers to these men. Hypocrites who rule their subjects with austerity are not fathers but masters, not teachers but tyrants.

[58] Of simoniac, or rather demoniac, depravity, I can only say that those who have it are lacking in sweetness, joy, and glory.

[59] Luke-warm monks delight in clothes, food, drink, and sleep. The stomach seething with undigested food craves the sweetness of drink, and the combination of food and drink requires sleep; the presence of all three induces lust. [60] Not the king of Babylon but the prince of cooks destroyed the walls of Jerusalem. The stomach extinguishes all the virtues of the soul. [62] The name monk and your habit give the impression that you are devout, but your fat stomach and fondness for delicate food indicate pleasure of the flesh.

[63] Indeed we wish to be called paupers of Jesus, and we do not know the miseries of poverty. In the monastic profession you will scarcely find a thin man. We have the reputation for poverty; paupers have the reality. We, unlike them, have estates and money.

[64] Re-reading the lives of holy men, you will discover that they were lean and bloodless—believe me, for I have read many books and heard innumerable *exempla* about saints, and I have nowhere found fat relics. The saints feared desires of the flesh and ate half-raw and unsalted vegetables; we often eat the fat of meat. They knew no seasoning; we commonly use pepper and cumin. Very

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rarely, on account of illness, a few saints took watered wine; we drink unmixed wine at slight excuse. [65] We gulp down whatever land, sea, and air produce. [66] How can we be said to mortify our flesh when we take five or six courses today because it is a feast day and nine courses or more tomorrow because we are going to commemorate the death of Saint Benedict? Surely the sound of those who are singing psalms will be interrupted by belches.

[68] *Romanus*: Is it wrong that many delicacies be served so that an infirm person in the group may eat according to the state of his health and the left-overs can be delivered to the beggars?

Gregorius: Oh what a champion of Epicurus you are! The earlier church fathers did not approve of serving a great variety of culinary delights. Why do you put near a healthy young man the most carefully prepared dainties which encourage lust? [69] Food and drink have ruined many who were untouched by other faults. Think of Lot. What compels bishops, abbots, and those of lesser rank to fornicate if not the heap of multiform delicacies and spices in their stomachs? Thinned by fasting, a stomach meditates not women but food, not lust but sleep.

[70] Remember that food ruined our first parents, Adam and Eve.

[72] Have we not avoided the tumult of people, ornamentation in clothes, and cohabitation with women to be safe from the enticements of the world? In many monasteries the food is such that no one would miss a marriage banquet or royal feast.

[73] I was in a monastery where after many delicacies, half of which would have sufficed the frugal, finally a pig on a large stake was carried by servants before the faces of the admiring and smiling brothers. The pig, stuffed with fowl and pepper, was presented upright like a living walking creature, complete (except for the hair which was shaven off) with tail and ears. A device conveying a variety of dainties was in the pig's mouth. Indeed the animal would have been suitable for a royal wedding. Soon the master cook carved the animal. A table of religious men became a butcher-shop. At the order of the superior, the cook distributed portions of the meat, the monks ate, and nothing but bones were left.

[74] In another monastery a monk, son of a rustic, had four lavish courses in a preliminary tasting before the common meal, and he was about to have five or more courses with the other monks in the next hour. But because he did not get the fried eggs which he desired—or perhaps he had seen others eating them—he went out of his mind, raging more than a tigress deprived of her cubs. He rose from the table and begged his companions to avenge the injury. Nor did he end his frenzy until he deposed the cellarer. Yet this same man, when he was living in his father's home, dined on bread and half-raw vegetables. Now he

scorns the foods which he could not even name before, much less eat. Formerly he walked half-naked; now as a monk, or rather demoniac, he demands a horse, a strong servant, and fancy clothes. [75] This rustic and innumerable others, who perhaps more out of necessity than out of religion have entered the monastic way of life, are friendly to their stomachs and remote from God.

[76] This culinary madness has reached the stage that adulterous mixtures are produced. Quadrupeds are stuffed with fowls, fowls are stuffed with quadrupeds, fish are stuffed with birds, birds are stuffed with fish. Who can enumerate the many kinds of fried dishes and other superstitions? The art of cooks, acquired at great cost, is such that a clever boy may more easily learn *grammatica* than perfect skill in cookery.

If you are moved with pity for beggars, why do you need fancy foods for them? Bread, ordinary drink, and vegetables are enough—meat or fish they consider special. Blessed poverty knows not your flagons, meat pies, and other treats, whose number is infinite. Truly you send the poorer food to the beggars while you eat the delicacies and scarcely allow any traces of them to remain.

[78] It is clear, then, that the multiplicity of foods is intended for gluttony and not for relieving the hunger of beggars. Unless they who regard their stomach as God should quickly come to their senses with compunction, they themselves will be food for the insatiable flames of hell.

INCIPIT TRACTATVS BEATI GREGORII PAPE CONTRA

RELIGIONIS SIMVLATORES

[1] Gregorius: Dic, queso te, frater, in domo dei^a qualiter conuersaris.

Romanus: Cur queris quod ipse uides?

Gregorius: Dic tamen ut tam ex operibus quam ex uerbis esse tuum ceteris innotescat.

Romanus: Interim sancte et religiose uiuere michi uideor.

Gregorius: Verba pauca respondisti,¹ set hiis paucis multa opera sunt necessaria. Narra ergo, si placet, quibus confisus operibus sanctitatem tibi audeas arrogare quatinus si nunc bona sunt que agis, nobis desidiosis bene uiuendi prebeas exemplum;^b si aliter, uel modo per nos religionis sumas exemplum.

[2] Romanus: Miror te prudentem uirum de religione mea² unquam dubitasse cum me uideas habitum religionis et nomen deuote gestare et deuocius uita et moribus³ implere. Vides adeo me pauperem ut in propriis nec etiam obolum habeam. Vides in nocturnis diurnisue laudibus domini una cum ceteris psallentem, nonnumquam orantem, sepius legentem, nullum concucientem, a nullo quicquam uiolencia aut furto rapientem, litibus publicis periuriis fraudibus non uacantem. Preterea cum stare libet, sedeo; cum sedere, sto; cum ieiunare, manduco; cum manducare, uelim nolim, ieiuno. Ad refectionem ueniens, non sepe usque crapulam commedo nec sepius ebrius fio. Cum dormire uellem, uigilo; cum uigilare, dormio; fari desiderans, silere compellor.^a In capitulo coram cunctis pro paruis aut nullis culpis prostratus ueniam postulo;^b iuste aut iniuste iniuriatus nec mutire audeo.^{4/c} Et quod grauius est, minoribus coequari, equalibus uniri, maioribus reuerenciam, prelati obedienciam non abnuo. Proinde intra septa unius paruissimi claustris, nusquam ire permissus, assidue sedeo, cuius criminoso in carcere^d uinculis astricto similis; immo ille multo me liberior, cui et loqui et cogitare quicquid libet impune licet.

1. respondisti *D.* 2. m(ea in ras. *D*² ut uid.) *D.* 3. morbus *D* (i ss. *D*²). 4. audio *D.*

[3] Et ut paucis omnia concludam, quid religionis quid sanctitatis quid sapientie quid discrecionis in aliis uides quod in me florere et cotidianis incrementis ceteros anteire non uides? Vnde satis miror seniores nostros de priuatis et publicis negociis me inconsulto quicquam uelle statuere, cum etiam de incertis astucius consulere et cetera quanto sanctius tanto melius ordinare non ignorem. Set homines minus docti, aut inuidia tabescentes aut simplicitate decepti, quantum nostra sapientia errori eorum preiudicet non attendunt. Quid plura? Cum tot uirtutum insignia michi adesse uideas, me unum de antiquis patribus sanctis cur dubitas? Omnipotenti igitur tot uirtutum holocausta cotidie immolans, apud me, nec⁵ mirum, sepius obstupesco, quare (me) sicut ceteros sanctos suaui ymbre lacrimarum non superfundat cum et illis futura reuelasset⁶ et per ineffabiles theorias⁷ admirabili suauitate non numquam refecisse non dubito?

[4] Gregorius: Nimium, frater, properas, et que nondum promeruisti postulas. Verum quia exteriora opera tua acute dinumerando extulisti tanto preconio, que tamen ypocritis et sanctis communia esse solent, ne taceas, queso te, et interiora cordis tui quia ex pondere cogitationum et intencionis augetur sepe et leuigatur uirtus operis. Narra ergo, si placet, si in laudibus diuinis immobilis mente persistis an adhuc molestias diuersas cogitationum pateris.

Romanus: Dilectabilius quidem cogitationum tunc maxime pastor⁸ tunc totum mundum circueo. Vrbes castella uillas monasteria saltus predia lucos uineas prata, recessuum amenitates, puellarum choros, conuentus hominum, exercitus⁹ militum, concrepitu bellorum, concursus populorum, flumina maria et cetera omnia mente perlustro. Tunc ceterorum uicia ad memoriam reduco, et illorum sompnolenciam yprocrisim ingluuiem odia dissensiones inuidiam iram rancorem indignaciones adulaciones mendacia, fabulosas uanitates, risum subsannationes detractones curiositates ambiciones et omnes omnino negligencias apud me, ut dignum est actu, redarguo.

[5] Sepe etiam dum religiosius cogito, immensos thesauros reperio, ex quorum habundancia locupletatus,¹⁰ basilicas (fol. 228) multas et edificia permaxima construo et ibidem conuentus magnos religiosorum fratrum colligo, quibus doctor egregius, utpote sapientia et generositate prepollens, preesse iam gratulor. Hinc autem petente clero ac clamante populo, cogente principe, ad episcopatum inuitus et multum renuens trahi uideor, et iam gloriosus pontifex in cathedra residens subiectis admiranda predico, superbos humilio, humiles exalto,^a contradicentes reuincio, bene agentes collaudo, lapsis manum porrigo, stantibus cautelam persuadeo, condolentibus condoleo, cum gaudentibus gaudeo,^b multa pauperibus errogo, et quicquid pontificalis¹¹ apex exigit magnifice compleo. Hinc uero tot uirtutum insigniis preditus et in toto orbe nomina-

5. ne D (corr. D¹). 6. reuelasse D. 7. theoricas D. 8. pascor D. 9. sic D.

10. locupleta(tus in ras. D² ut uid.) D. 11. poncifialis D (pr. i in e ut uid. D¹).

tissimus,¹² miracula multa facio, mortuos suscito, leprosos mundo, infirmos curo, et iam me alterum martyrum¹³ esse exulto.

[6] Non numquam uero, quod minus ad religionem pertinet, Sampsonis fortitudinem, Absalonis¹⁴ pulcritudinem, Salomonis sapienciam michi affore¹⁵ desidero, et hiis insignitus, electorum militum¹⁶ collecta [a] multitudine regnum cuiuslibet inuado, urbes¹⁷ castella expugno, capta diruo, noua edifico, et tandem multis laboribus subiugatis ceruicibus omnium, apicem tocius regni adeptus, purpura et ostro indutus, agmine principum circumdatus, diademate septro ceterisque regii cultus¹⁸ insigniis¹⁹ redimitus, tanti honoris in solio rex magnificus sedeo. Proinde ex toto orbe electam uirginem, omnium pulcherri-
mam, tanto imperatori dignam michi desponso, et cum ea dies pubertatis mee in bonis duco, ex ipsa filios genero, et iam adultos alios reges alios consules alios principes statuo. Verumptamen hiis tamque iocundis tamque dulcibus bonis repente, proth dolor, succedit lamentabilis et mesta meditacio cum alios infir-
mantes, alios mortuos, dilectam quoque coniugem et me ipsum senescere et tandem efferri gemebundus aspicio. Sepius eciam alia longe a se diuersa mente pertractans, aliquando nominatissimum dialecticum,²⁰ sepe causidicum, non nunquam gramaticum, nunc medicum nunc philosophum nunc anachoritam nunc monachum nunc fabrum nunc mimum nunc pugilem uel quemuis homi-
nem me esse uideo. Set quid de paucis moror cum nil eorum fere que cor huma-
num attingere solent²¹ intactum relinquo?

[7] Gregorius: Valde inaniter laboras.

Romanus: Laborem sane non sencio quia cum pro uoluntate multiformis animi dulcibus dulciora succedunt, et labor minuitur et fastidium tollitur.

Gregorius: An hiis omnibus peccatum nullum esse putas?

Romanus: Peccatum quoque aut nullum aut paruum esse spero quia ex hiis nullum ledo et animum meum satis delectabiliter recreo. Quomodo et durissimos labores huius fastidiose conuersacionis potest tollerare corpus si uel ex hiis non recreetur animus?

Gregorius: Si in hiis animus recreetur, ergo in hiis delectari uidetur.

Romanus: Profecto in hiis maxime delectatur quia hinc omnis accidia aut expellitur aut leuius tolleratur.

[8] Gregorius: Nunc, si placet, predicta omnia summatim recenseamus, et ne forte in eis aliqua crimina sint, subtilius perspiciamus. Priuatus enim amor, equo libramine carens, crimina sua sepe aut nulla aut parua fallaciter asserere

12. nominatissimis *D*. 13. martyr4um *D*. 14. absalomonis *D* (mo *del.*).

15. abfore *D* (b *eras. in f*). 16. militum: militum insignia *D* (insignia *del.*).

17. urbes: (fort. u *ex a D*¹) *D*. 18. cultus: cultus insignibus regii cultus *D* (insignibus . . . cultus *del.*). 19. insignitus *D* (t *exp.*, u *exp. in i*). 20. dilecticum *D* (in dialecticum *D*¹).

21. solet *D*.

nititur. Vnde multis expedit ut eorum uita ab aliis discucienda uideatur²² ne cum uirtutibus²³ uicia aut pro uirtute uicium principetur.

Romanus: Nescio quid sinistrum de sanctitate mea iam suspicari uideris, qui tanto opere et actus nostros et cogitationes iam tibi reuelatas adhuc recensere satagis.

Gregorius: Absit a me omnis ficta suspicio quia quicquid michi in te displicuerit tui ipsius probabitur iudicio.

Romanus: Quere ergo quicquid uis et repete quantum cupis ut auditis uirtutibus nostris amici congaudeant et inuidi contabescant.

Gregorius:²⁴ Noli, frater, noli de te ipso facile²⁵ precipitem sententiam dare, set audi quid sapiens dixerit. "Est" inquit "uia que uidetur²⁶ homini recta: nouissima autem illius ducunt ad mortem."^a Verum omnibus remotis ambagibus, ut ad priora redeamus, quid est quod cum opera tua dinumerares, bona tanta uelocitate²⁷ recensuisti, mala autem (fol. 228^v) omnino tacuisti: an quia nulla erant, quod nefas est credere, [aut desipere]; aut hucusque latebant, quod utique est miserabiliter desipere,²⁸ an fortassis ypocritarum more nitebaris obtegere?

[9] Romanus:²⁹ Cur michi peccata conaris ingerere, cui, ut supradixi, etsi libeat³⁰ peccare, non liceat? Pauca tamen et eadem minima aliquando committo quia libenter uanas fabulas audio et uicissim libentius recenseo; ceterisque detrahentibus et ipse detraho contra impericiam eorum qui³¹ res nostras exteriores tractant; susurrando cum aliis murmuro, et cur de tanta possessione nobis tam parua ministrantur conqueror; iniuriantibus michi durius respondeo, et eorum exigente contumacia usque ad conuicia linguam relaxo. Indiscrete alios etiam reprehendo, assercionibus meis renitentes impericie³² arguo, prelatos meos etiam ob irreuerenciam et indiscrecionem plus equo iudico. Crapulam ebrietatem non semper fugio. Cachinnando ridens et alios ridere compello. Verbis scurilibus,³³ incessu, gestu, oculorum petulancia exemplum leuitatis aliis fio. Laudatores meos collaudo, uituperantibus uiriliter resisto, et ne quid de³⁴ sanctitatis mee fama depereat uehementer formido. Indoctioribus obediencie famulatum exhibere grauior, et cum ea que michi displicent imperantur, aut manifeste aut clandestinis³⁵ suasionibus ne ea faciam prelatos nostros circumuenio. Hec sunt et alia huiusmodi, in quibus frequenter excedo, set quia eadem fere ab omnibus factitantur,³⁶ uenialia³⁷ fore puto tum³⁸ maxime quia alios plura et multo grauiora committere uideo.

22. uidetur *D* (corr. *D*²). 23. fort. uttutibus *D* (corr. *D*²).

24. Gregorius *om. D* (mg. *D*²). 25. fac(l'e in *ras. D*²) *D*. 26. uidetur: uidetur uia *D* (uia *exp.*). 27. uelocitate: bis *D* (alt. *del.*). 28. desinere *D* (corr. *D*²).

29. Romanus: Gregorius *D* (corr. *D*²). 30. libea *D* (t ss. *D*¹). 31. qui *om. D* (mg. *D*²).

32. impericie: impericie mee *D* (mee *exp.*). 33. scurilibus *D*. 34. de *om. D* (ss. *D*²).

35. clandestinis *D*. 36. factitan(tur in *ras. D*² ut *uid.*) *D*. 37. (u in *ras. D*² ut *uid.*) enialia *D*. 38. fort. cum *D*.

[10] Gregorius:³⁹ O insani capitis demencia! Numquid ex multitudine delinquencium aut ex comparacione maiorum criminum leuior fiet pena minorum excessuum? Absit. Non enim deo⁴⁰ difficilius est ex auctoritate punire infinitos quam tres uel duos. Denique cum multa sint que pauca dixeris, si qua in eis forte criminalia sint perscrutemur. Ceteris uero omissis que ob sui simplicitatem animam merito necant, pauca de pluribus repetamus. Libenter aliis detrachere, prelatos iniuste iudicare, obedienciam te inuitum exhibere dixisti. Detractio autem ex odio uel inuidia aut ex utroque fieri solet: si ex odio, profecto homicida es testante Iohanne, qui ait: “Qui odit fratrem suum homicida est”;^a si ex inuidia, que putredo ossium^b id est peremptrix,⁴¹ ut ita dixerim, etiam maximarum uirtutum est et causa gehennalium ignium, quantum hic quoque delinquas ipse uides, scriptum namque est: “Per inuidiam dyaboli intrauit mors in orbem terrarum.”^c Proinde quia obedienciam prelatis tuis te exhibiturum coram deo promiseris et eis reniteris aut corporaliter tantum exhibes quod reus uoti tui tenearis satis perspicis. Iudicans quoque iniuste iudices tuos, uidelicet prelatos tuos, quorum uelanda uelare iuberis,^d quos etiam uicarios Christi non ignoras, quantum hic quoque pecces tu ipse scis. Taceo de murmure et huiusmodi, quod deo displicet, et satis euidenter ostendit, qui filios Israel, quos in manu ualida de Egypto eduxit,^e in⁴² deserto tamen atrociter, quia murmurauerunt, per serpentes strauit.^f Vide utrum cum hiis uiciis uirtutum insignia conregnare possint.

[11] Romanus:⁴³ O me⁴⁴ miserum quantis uirtutibus hodie me spoliis, ostendens grauia que huc usque credidi leuissima aut prope nulla peccata.

Gregorius:⁴⁵ Ego quidem te non exspolio, set esse nudum te ipso iudice ostendo. Verumptamen quia hec perpauca et leuia sunt ad comparacionem eorum que in te esse te ipso reuelante cognoui, ut absque ulla ambiguitate te miserum flagiciosum atque facinorosum cognoscas, ad interiora tua mentem aduerte. De cogitacionibus nempe a⁴⁶ me requisitus⁴⁷ in ipsis diuinis officiis, psalmorum hymnorum spreta dulcedine respondisti multiplicem mundi uarietatem mente te lustrare,⁴⁸ fratres tuos fortassis innocuos de ypocrisi inuidia detraccione et aliis innumeris apud te redarguere. In quantum tumeas quantumcumque de sanctitate tibi applaudas nulli sapienti permittitur ignorare, qui uelut sanctior, set, ut uerum fateor, nequior ceteris, de occultis audes⁴⁹ iudicare, et deo iudicium suum auferens. In hoc ipso uerus ypocrita. Cum aliis psallens exteriora uideris sacrificare deo, set profecto animam tuam prostituis polluendam immun-dorum spirituum collegio. Religiosius etiam, ut dixisti, cogitans de inuentis thesauris, unde basilicas construere et magnis multitudinibus religiosorum fratrum merito sanctitatis preesse exoptans, ad episcopatum solenniter rapiendus,

39. Gregorius: Romanus *D* (corr. *D*²). 40. deo *om. D* (mg. *D*²).

41. peremptrix *D* (corr. *D*^c). 42. (i in *ras. D*² ut uid.)n *D*. 43. Romanus: Gregorius *D* (corr. *D*²). 44. O me: in *ras. D*². 45. Gregorius: Romanus *D* (corr. *D*²). 46. ad *D* (d *eras*). 47. requisitus / *D* (aliquid *eras*). 48. te lustrare: in *ras. D*². 49. audeas *D* (alt. a *exp*).

subiectos docere et miraculis (fol. 229) corruscare satagis. O quanta superbia! Malus bonis, sordidus mundis, tumidus⁵⁰ quietis, ypocrita sanctis patrocinari affectas. Quod autem hominibus preesse appetis, superbia est dampnabilis; quod prelati tuis et melioribus, omnino detestabilis. In quo principem totius malicie dyabolum imitari, immo quodam modo supergredi, uideris. Ille quippe meliori equari, tu autem melioribus preesse cupis. Ille uni, tu autem multis. Ille primo sanctus, speciosus, cunctis admirabilis. Tu uero mente tabidus, turpissimus, omnibus horribilis. Ille seductus sue dignitatis nimio splendore, tu seducere cupis sola uirtutum simulacione. Denique amplius debacando, pulcritudine sapientia fortitudine cunctis mortalibus preminens, regnum cuiusuis inuadere, urbes diruere,⁵¹ uxorem ducere, in luxu uiuere desideras. In quibus quantorum criminum reus aput districtum iudicem tenearis a quouis indocto potest animaduerti⁵² cum regnum debellari, urbes dirui⁵³ non possint absque multorum nece, mulier uero a religioso concupisci non possit absque fornicacione. Et ne forte apud te dicas "Leuia sunt crimina que sola cogitacione⁵⁴ committuntur," audi Christum protestantem: "De corde exeunt" inquit "furta homicidia," etc., "et sunt que coinquant hominem."^a Et Dauid "Decidant" ait "a cogitationibus suis; secundum multitudinem impietatum eorum ex pelle eos, quoniam irriterunt te, domine."^{55/b} Vides sane prauitatem cogitationum multitudinem impietatum uocari, uides inde dominum irritari.⁵⁶ Et alibi scriptum legis: "Peruerse cogitaciones separant a deo."^c Et ne tibi detur occasio tergiuersandi hec non esse que a deo separant,⁵⁷ memento que superius dixeris, te nichil intactum relinquere quod cor humanum attingere soleat, et ibidem animum recreari et te ualde in hiis⁵⁸ delectari⁵⁹ meministi. Denique aut nulla sunt aut rara que non prius commutantur cogitacione quam foris prodeant in opere.

[12] Et ut tandem te tibi flagiciosum ostendam sumpta aliunde⁶⁰ parabola, paucis responde. Dic, oro te, si oblatam sponte deo pecuniam coram sacerdotibus postea aut uiolencia aut furto dirriperes, cuius criminis reus esses.

Romanus: Profecto sacrilegii.

Gregorius: Quid si illa preciosissima esset?

Romanus: Quantum illa melior tantum impietas sacrilegii maior.

Gregorius: Recte utique iudicasti.

Romanus: Quorsum ista?

Gregorius: Exspecta, tu uideris. Recordaris, frater, quod in presencia multorum nullo cogente te totum, animam scilicet et corpus, deo⁶¹ optuleris, prelati tuis obedienciam promiseris.

50. timidus D. 51. di/ruere D (littera eras.). 52. animaduerti D. 53. di/ruui D (r ? eras.).

54. cogitacione D (corr. D²). 55. mul . . . domine om. D (mg. D²). 56. (irr in ras. D²) itari D.

57. sperant D. 58. hii D (corr. D²). 59. delect(a in ras. D²) ri D. 60. aluū ut uid, D (corr. D²). 61. de D (corr. D²).

Romanus: Bene.

Gregorius: Scio siquidem quia prelati tuis obedire grauabaris,⁶² et eos aut manifeste aut clanculo circumuenire, ne ea que ipsi precipiebant faceres, confessus es. Quid est ergo obedienciam prepositis uel clam uel palam, quantaui adhibita calliditate, negare nisi uel furto uel rapina ab eis quibus ut⁶³ iumentum te dedicasti⁶⁴ tam miserabiliter quam criminaliter surripere? Proinde quia simulata sanctitate animam tuam deo furaris et itidem multiplicatis sceleribus dyabolo prosternis, tanto ceteris furibus es nequior quanto res quam furaris aliis est prestancior. O nefandum et sacrilegum furtum ubi non pecunia mox peritura set anima in eternum uictura⁶⁵ diripitur, ubi templum dei, sedes dei, ymago dei a⁶⁶ deo creatore tollitur et dyabolo corruptori sternitur.

[13] Romanus: Ego quidem melioribus ac doctioribus libens obedirem: nunc uero hiis obedire cogor quibus nec uita sanctior et scientia longe inferior, unde hec contemptum, illa indignacionem merito sustinet. Quis enim a ceco illuminari, ab indocto se posse doceri nisi cecus pariter et indoctus creditur? Cur autem eius sequar imperium cui et uite sue ducatum et multo utilius noui dare consilium?^a Que lex, que sanctio iubet ut fatuitatem sobrietas, errorem ueritas sequatur?

Gregorius: O palliata superbia! O sepulcrum dealbatum, exterius politum, set intus pollutum, exterius artificiose nitore uerborum depictum, interius reptilibus multis et fetore nimio plenum.^b Adhuc in prelatos sacrilego ore seuiens, uirus tumoris tui euomis, adhuc indoctior stultos, deterior fatuos, falsus erroneos⁶⁷ appellare non desinis. Dic tum, equali saltem obedires?⁶⁸

[14] Romanus: Ego cur equali obedirem quoniam⁶⁹ quidem qui preest dignitate preire iure debet uirtutum operacione?⁷⁰

Gregorius: Non recolis, miser, quia dei filius, patri utique coequalis per omnia, factus est obediens non usque ad le(fol. 229^v)uia set usque ad turpissimam mortem. Denique idem dominus et creator omnium sapiencia patris non regibus non principibus set fabro pauperi et pannose uirgini propter te obediuit. Cur igitur, cum sis puluis et cinis, non obedias homini, cum uideas celorum regem, sempiternam deitatem, lucem ineffabilem, deum omnium artificem fabro obsequentem, ad nutum unius uirguncule ea que gessit in puero dirigentem? “Erat” inquit euangelista “subditus illis Christus,”^a utique Marie et Ioseph. O dignacio omni laude dignissima, o humilitas omni admiracione prosequenda. Altissimus humillimo, inmensus paruo, excelsus infimo, doctissimus fatuo, nobilissimus rustico, dominus seruo, rex regum fabro obsequi non dedignatur. Ecce legem, ecce exemplum habes quod indigniori, quod indoctiori obedire

62. grauab'is D. 63. ut/ D (i eras.). 64. dedicesti ut uid. D. 65. uita D (corr. D¹). 66. a om. D (mg. D^c). 67. eroneos D (corr. fort. D¹). 68. obedire D (corr. fort. D²). 69. qm D. 70. operone D.

debeas, non ab homine sumptum set a creatore tuo sanctitum. Potuit enim illis dicere Christus: "Ego sum qui angelos in celo doceo et scienciam in terra hominibus dispenso" uel "ego sum qui celos creauis, qui aerem mare et aridam, et quecunque in eis sunt solo imperio creauis; ego sum cui omnis sublimitas inclinatur, cui omne genu flectitur,^b cui omnis potestas subiecta famulatur; ego sum, inquam, causa et uerum esse omnium rerum, qui si uel ad momentum ab earum regimine cessarem, mox in nichilum, unde facta sunt, omnia redire cogerentur; ego sum qui singulari uirtute a fine usque ad finem fortiter attingo et mea sapiencia omnia suauiter dispono,^c cui humana sapiencia comparata iure fatuitas^d uocatur: obtemperare michi obedire uos oportet." Hec utique ipsa ueritas, et alia multa preconia de se ueraciter potuit dicere. Verumptamen maluit obediendo superbiam nostram contere, contumaciam cordis nostri frangere ut qui per inobedienciam a paradisi gaudiis in miserias huius peregrinacionis^e decidimus, per obedienciam eciam indignioribus exhibitam, pristinam dignitatem, immo multo ampliorem quanto hic uiliores tanto ibi sublimiores recuperaremus.

[15] Alioquin que erat huius subieccionis necessitas aut tante humilitatis utilitas ut sapiens et uera sapiencia, que nequaquam poterat falli, a nullo doceri, in nullo labi, tam pauperibus obediret, tam humilibus humiliter obtemperaret, nisi hec ipso opere proclamaret: "Qui uult ad patriam securus redire,⁷¹ necesse est etiam indignioribus obedienciam deuotus exhibere"? O felix obediencia que perpetuam mortem uitat et uitam perhennem comparat: beata utique que ad tempus subiecta ut in eternum dominetur, modicum conculcata⁷² ut perhenniter principetur; beata, inquam, que momentanea uilitate sempiternam emit claritatem, humilitate breuissima immortalem prouidet celsitudinem. Hec de facinoroso iustum, de flagicioso efficit sanctum. Hec de tenebroso lucidum, de turpissimo reddit pulcherrimum, hec de mancipio dyaboli dei filium et, ut plus dicam, de homine parit deum.⁷³ "Ergo"⁷⁴ inquit "dii estis" et cetera.^a Ipsa⁷⁵ enim de ydiota astutum, de fatuo efficit doctum. "Quomodo?" inquires. Audi, sunt multi simplicioris ingenii quibus ad ambulandum in uia dei^b sua sciencia minus sufficit, set sub sapientis cuiuspiam arbitrio se religantes, per ipsum discunt quantum deferant deo quidue debeant proximo. Ecce iam promerentur per humilem obedienciam quod minus assecuti sunt per naturam.

[16] Ecce illa sapiencia, que in uno erat minus utilis, in ydiotis obedientibus facta est utilior quia communis. Vnde fit ut hii per obedienciam proficiant ex humilitate, iste uero ex commissi sibi talenti erogacione.^a O admiranda diuine dispensacio equitatis, que indoctis ex sua simplicitate prouentum et sapientibus ex sua ipsorum industria uberrimum largitur fructum. Si enim omnes essent⁷⁶

71. /redire D (p. *eras*).

72. conculcata D (*corr.* D²). 73. deum *om.* D (*mg.* D²). 74. Ego D. 75. Ipsa: Ipsa est D (*est del.*). 76. essent *om.* D (*mg.* D²).

simplices, fortassis inter eos ordo nullus; quod si omnes sapientes, dum alius alio non indigeret, amor minimus. Quapropter diuina sapiencia, utilius humane societati prouidens et consulens, alios sapientes alios simplices condidit ut⁷⁷ officium debitum discreciō et uirtus obediencie haberent⁷⁸ et mutua caritas uberius caperet incrementum. Porro cum nobiles ignobilioribus, sapientes indoctoribus obsequantur, tanto obediencia illa subiectis fructuosior⁷⁹ fiet quanto ex humilitate fit deuocior. Quocirca superbis prepositis grauissimum imminet iudicium dum pro honore sibi exhibito tumescunt aut quod nequius est (fol. 230) a subiectis uiolenter exigunt; humiles uero prelati, dum nequaquam suum set domini honorem et subiectorum querunt prouectum, securi exspectant illud beati serui euge nouissimum.^b

[17] Vis adhuc plenius nosse quantum uirtus obediencie placeat deo, non illius que⁸⁰ uerbotenus aut exterius opere in ypocrisi promitur set que ex humili deuocione exhibetur?

Romanus: Audire quidem tante uirtutis laudem bonis bonum esse et utile scio, set quia sepe ei aduersatus sum, quanto sepius preconia eius audio tanto alcius proprie conscius superbie gemere compellor. Verumptamen quia ex uerbis tuis me compungi ad penitentiam sencio et alios animari posse ad tante uirtutis iocundissimum fructum per te non ambigo, que cepisti obnixius exple quatinus uirtutis cognita mercede subiectus quisque ad obediendum fiat alacrior, peruersus autem aut omnino respiscat aut saltem reddatur micior.

[18] Gregorius: Attende ergo quid propheta, immo deus per prophetam, de laude ipsius nobis intimauerit. "Malo" inquit "obedienciam quam sacrificium."^a Multa quidem sunt sacrificia que ex fine suo perpensa maxima⁸¹ iure censerentur. Magnum enim sacrificium est uoluptatem carnis luxumque seculi uigore mentis calcare, nulli inuidere, nemini nocere, nichil perperam agere, non frangi aduersis, non extolli prosperis, carnem crebris uigiliis cotidianis ieiuniis macerare, animum illesum a uiciis custodire, utrumque assiduis oracionibus^b et frequenti ymbre lacrimarum deo immolare, uerbum uite ignorantibus ministrare, peccantem corrigere, nichil quod dari debeat proximo negare, omnia transitoria parui pendere, se ipsum martyrio sponte tradere. Hec, inquam, maxima sunt. Verumptamen hiis omnibus a domino prefertur obediencia. Sine⁸² hac quippe illa nichil prosunt quia quicquid utilitatis, quicquid ponderis habent ab ista accipiunt.

[19] Audi preterea quas sodales irremotas hec, de qua nunc agitur, obediencia habeat. Mentem namque, quam uera obediencia possidet, prudencia fortitudo iusticia temperancia, quatuor hec contra aduersancium uniuersos impetus undique iminentes quadrant; mansuetudo preterea humilitas pudicia fides spes

77. ut om. D (ss. fort. D²). 78. haberent: in ras. D². 79. fructuo D (corr. fort. D²). 80. qui D. 81. maxim(a in ras. D²) D. 82. Sin ut uid. D (corr. D²).

ceterarumque⁸³ uirtutum species eam inhabitant, dulcemque armoniam in odorem suauitatis^a in penetralibus obedientis anime concorditer cantant, sicut scriptum est: "In cimbaliis bene sonantibus laudate dominum."^b Dum enim fortitudo prudencie, temperancia iusticie, humilitas pudicie, alieque ceteris pro inuicem, uelut bene sonancia cimbala eas modulancia⁸⁴ pro concordi diuersitate operum tanquam impulsu digitorum, concinunt,^c quid aliud quam suauem iubilationis ymnum deo reddunt, rectoremque suum spiritum sanctum, concordie amatorem et obediencie consecratorem, mansorem sibi perpetuo iure adquirunt, postremo quia⁸⁵ non solum uirtus uerum eciam uirtutum omnium iocundissima merces nequaquam in ullo absque obediencia potuit esse aut unquam esse potest. Vnde patenter colligitur prorsus omni priuari uirtute quisquis ei obstinate renititur. Tanta enim est obediencie uirtus ut nemo absque ea deo unquam placuit.

[20] Hec namque Abel meliora queque deo offerre,^a hec Enoch cum deo ambulare docuit;^b hec Noe in diluuiio, ceteris pereuntibus, tante posteritatis patrem futurum illesum seruauit.^c Per hanc Abraham incendia Caldeorum euasit^d terramque Chananeorum in hereditatem^e et filium in senectute accepit^f quoniam secundum dei preceptum inmolare paratus^g multarum gentium pater,^h et quod mirabilius est, creatoris sui procreator iam tunc signanter expressus diuinis obtemperando mandatis huius prerogatiue preconia fideique tante principatum obtinuit. Per hanc in Egypto Ioseph incentiua libidinis uicit; unde Egyptiis prepositus patrem⁸⁶ fratresque suos a famis periculo liberauit.ⁱ Per hanc Moyses perfidos Egypcios amarissimis plagis perculit spoliauit, trucesque suos filios Israel ex eorum spoliis ditauit, cunctisque congregatis sicco uestigio mare transiit, quo in loco undis redeuntibus uniuersos hostes suos, qui eos persequabantur, submersit.^j Hinc in deserto amaras aquas dulcorauit.^k Hinc in monte cum domino secretum colloquium habuit.^l Hinc legem^m figuramque tabernaculi,ⁿ quod postmodum in typum future ecclesie opere digessit, accepit. Hinc fero(fol. 230^v)cissimos reges prostrauit.^o Hinc ex petra fontem produxit.^p Hinc populus dei domini ducem pro⁸⁷ manna mirificauit^q ceteraque beneficia habere promeruit. Hinc Iosue Iordanis alueum siccauit,^r populumque dei in terram sibi promissam introducens, reges illius peremit,^s solem in celo fixit,^t gentes exterminauit,^u tribubus⁸⁸ Israel hereditatem in funiculo diuisit.^v Quid de Samuele, quid de Dauid Ezechia Hozia dicam? Qui quia diuinis obtemperauere preceptis, uictores, ceteri uero hinc resiliens sepe uicti fuere.

[21] Postremo per obedienciam donata est libertas captiuis, lumen cecis, sanitas egris, patria proscriptis, uita mortuis, uenia reis, spes desperatis, leticia

83. ceterarum *D* (corr. *D*²). 84. modulan(cia in *ras.* *D*²) *D*.

85. que ut uid. *D* (corr. *D*²). 86. patre(m in *ras.* *D*²) *D*. 87. pro om. *D* (mg. *D*²).

88. (t in *ras.* fort. *D*²)ribubus *D*

mestis, salus miseris cum ille magni consilii angelus,^a indeficiens fons luminis, de sinu patris prodiens, tenebras nostras illuminauit, atque ex patris imperio morte sua mortem nostram mortificauit, hostem antiquum triumphauit, et ad hereditatem suam captiuam captiuitatem reduxit.^b Illa preterea uirgo admirabilis, uas mundissimum, spiritus sancti sacrarium, post deum miseris singulare propiciatorium, per obedienciam deum castissima genuit, uirgo peperit, et post partum mente et corpore uirgo permansit.^c Proinde beatissimus apostolorum chorus,^d domino obsequens ut multitudinem fidelium predicando colligeret, mundum parauit, iudicium⁸⁹ minas bestias cruces⁹⁰ ungulas et ceterarum penarum genera nequaquam expauit set usque ad mortem fideliter decertauit. Hinc quoque gloriosus martyrum exercitus^{91/d} ad martyrii palmam letus cucurrit. Hinc iustorum omnium ueneranda multitudo sorte beatorum angelorum numerari promeruit. Denique in illa felici beatitudine et beata felicitate, quam pro sua magnitudine nec oculus uidit nec auris audiuit et pro altitudine in cor hominis non ascendit,^e quid aliud facturi sunt sancti nisi ut creatorem suum et se scincera⁹² caritate diligentes illi per omnia et in omnibus obediant, illi indesinenter obtemperent? Iure igitur ceteris uirtutibus preferitur. Quare usu cessante hec nec in illa requie beata uel ad momentum a caritate disiungitur. Hic uero seruit, ibi regnat; hic sponte laborat ut ibi gaudeat.

[22] Romanus: Quoniam quidem uirtutem obediencie maxime appetendam esse liquido monstrasti, dic, queso te, utrum in omnibus obtemperandum sit prepositis, presertim cum illi multa utilia prohibere et rursus nonnulla peruersa precipere possint.

Gregorius: Tria sunt que summopere distinguere nos oportet quo⁹³ in quibus deo uel in quibus hominibus obtemperandum sit palam fiat. Alia igitur sunt tantum bona, alia mala tantum, cetera media. Et bona tantum quidem sunt ut fides spes caritas et horum similia. Mala uero tantum sunt furtum adulterium et cetera que numquam bene fieri possunt. Media autem ut est legere sedere aut stare loqui aut silere et alia huiusmodi, que ad utrumque se habencia et bene et male sepe fiunt.^a De primis autem duobus sic Christus discipulis suis precepit: “Estote prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbe.”^b Prudentes uero ut que bona tantum sunt nec pro illis⁹⁴ tormentis umquam relinquatis set pro ipsis usque ad mortem uiriliter decertetis; que autem mala tantum nullis suasionibus, nullis preceptis, nullis minis, nullis terroribus nullatenus admittatis. Patet igitur in hiis non hominum mandata set domini instituta tantum obseruanda. In mediis autem non nostrum set presidentis arbitrium exspectare oportet, que tamen ita indifferencia sunt ut postquam a prepositis iussa fuerunt, obtemperantibus fiant tantum bona, contradicentibus dampnabilia, prohibita⁹⁵ quidem

89. iudicium *conici potest*. 90. truces *conici potest*.

91. *sic D*. 92. *sic D*. 93. q⁹ *D*. 94. illis *D* (*corr. D²*). 95. hibita *D* (*corr. D^c*).

presumentibus omnino detestabilia. Quod in primo parente admissum non tam uerbis quam rebus ipsis, heu miseri, cotidie experimur, et profecto ante interdictum comedere de fructu illo,^c cum dominus omnia ualde bona creasset,^d non est credibile fuisse malum, uerum post prohibitionem, adeo detestabile factum est ut et sibi et posteris suis pene foret inexplabile delictum.^e

[23] O quam detestabilis inobediencia, ex qua nobis profluxerunt uniuersa presencia mala et adhuc, nisi precauerimus,⁹⁶ imminet multo grauiora, et quam amabilis obediencia, per quam reddita sunt nobis prioribus bonis multo meliora. Illa de die in noctem deiecit, hec de tenebris ad lucem reuexit. Illa de regno in exilium, hec de exilio reduxit ad celum. Illa de serenitate in hoc (fol. 231) mare tempestuosum detrusit, hec ad tranquillitatis portum conduxit. Illa mortem amaram propinauit, hec uitam dulcem nobis donauit. Illa attulit nobis miseriam, hec misericordiam; illa laborem, hec requiem; illa ignominiam, hec gloriam; illa infernum, hec paradysum; illa tristiciam, hec leticiam; illa mutabilitatem, hec eternitatem; illa bonorum omnium inopiam, hec omnium deliciarum copiam; illa famem sitim nuditatem, hec omnium horum aufert eciam necessitatem; illa falsitatem, hec ueritatem; illa errorem, hec industriam; illa fatuitatem, hec sapientiam; illa impuritatem, hec pudiciam; illa iniquitatem, hec iusticiam; illa odium, hec amorem; illa fetorem cenosum, hec odorem suauem; illa pusillanimitatem, hec fortitudinem; illa sollicitudinem, hec securitatem; illa superbiam, hec humilitatem; illa inuidiam, hec fraternitatem et⁹⁷ prouentus iocunditatem. Illa quoque insensata elementa⁹⁸ laboriose seruituti subiecit, hec quandoque ab omni labore ea liberabit. Illa omnia turbauit, hec uniuersa pacificabit. Proinde illa primam parentem Euam multis doloribus addixit, hec beatam matrem domini Mariam super choros omnium angelorum euexit.^a Illa sustinuit nobis hostem infestum, hec nobis contulit fratrem domini; illa dyabolum inpu gnatorem, hec omnipotentem adiutorem. Porro quia illa semel admissa uniuersa hec mala ingessit, quid exspectamus miseri qui forte singulis momentis et sperata negligimus et presumimus prohibita?⁹⁹ Et profecto si innumera facinora nostra et morsum illius pomi simpliciter attendentes comparemus, illa multo grauiora uidebimus. Quis enim non leuius iudicet, si tantum actus attendamus, illicitum cibum semel attingere quam detestabilem fornicacionem furtum homicidium sepius iterare? Quanta fuerit illa in parentibus nostris inobediencia uel quanto superbie fastu¹⁰⁰ prodierit nunc reuoluere nichil mea interest, dum nullatenus ambigo inobedientibus summam dampnacionem, resipiscentibus uero saluacionem affuturam.

[24] Romanus: Maximum quidem, ut uideo, peccatum est inobedientem esse deo, uerum utrum graue delictum sit non obedire prepositis scire cupio.

96. precauemus *D* (*corr. D^c*). 97. et *om. D* (*mg. fort. D²*). 98. elementa: *bis D* (*alt. del.*).

99. prohibita *om. D* (*mg. D²*). 100. faustu *D*.

Gregorius: Dic, queso, cum prepositis obedias, aut propter ipsos aut propter deum hoc facis?

Romanus: Vtique si recte hoc facio, non propter ipsos set propter deum ipsis obedio.

Gregorius: Quia igitur non propter ipsos set propter deum illis obsequeris qui in hoc dumtaxat uicem dei gerunt, dic, rogo te, cum eis reniteris, cui aduersaris?

Romanus: Et quod sequitur proferre horrendum est, et negare non ualeo quia deo aduersor et resisto.¹⁰¹ Set, ue michi misero, tociens et imperata contempsi et prohibita presumpsi. Verumptamen ea omnia crebra confessione et psalmorum assiduitate posse cito deleri putabam.

[25] Gregorius: Confitentibus quidem et uere penitentibus relaxari peccata nullus fidelium ambigit. Alioquin qui uerbotenens confitentur et eadem repetunt deum offendunt et culpam augment, non minuunt.

O quam multi in ecclesia habitum religionis induunt qui nec bis in anno, proch dolor, crimina sua presencia uel preterita plangunt;^a set de nomine solo et de professione sibi blandientes et solis labiis diuina cantica depromentes cor suum polluendum tot illusionibus euncium et redeuntium¹⁰² demonum¹⁰³ substernunt quot nefandorum cogitatum fantasias uolentes recipiunt. Quibus dominus exprobrat dicens: “Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me.”^b Quod in te manifestissime agnoui, cuius miseram mentem immundi spiritus, alternatim illudentes, ita polluunt ut cuius attendenti hec spectacula theatralibus ludis merito preferat.

[26] O quam detestabilis confessio tua, qui cum uoce sola crimina tua confitebaris, in eisdem forte tunc mente delectabar et nec decetero corrigi nitebaris. Denique quod in psalmorum decantacione, obstinate uiuendo et obstinatius cogitando, non ueniam set culpam promerearis manifestum est. Ibi quippe dicis: “Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum,” etc.^a O quam detestabiliter deo mentiris, qui nimia elatus superbia, ceteros despiciens, honores¹⁰⁴ ambis, et perfidis nequior melioribus preesse cupis. Heu miser, quando per falsitatem uenies ad ueritatem aut quando per mendacium pertinges ad deum? Profecto non numquam homines per uerba fallere potes, set numquid deum? Qui sicut (fol. 231^v) neminem fallere potest sic a nullo falli possibile est. Ei namque omnia nuda et aperta sunt,^b eciam quecumque futura sunt. Porro quod ibi sequitur attentius aduerte: “Si non humiliter senciebam,” etc.^c Quod est aliis uerbis dicere: si humilis in corde modo non fui, pereat anima mea sicut infans qui a lacte matris ablactatus perit. O infelix, non animaduertis quia ubi uitam querere

101. quia . . . resisto *om. D (mg. D³)*.

102. redeunt(ium *in ras. fort. D²) D*. 103. demonum: *in ras. fort. D²*. 104. honoris *D (corr. D^c)*.

debueras eternam, adquiris mortem, et ubi salutem te promereri putabas, summam incurras dampnationem, qui pro benedictione tibi imprecaris maledictionem.^d Et profecto nisi cicius resipiscas, fiet quod precaris, quia opera tua et cor immundum nequaquam discordant a uerbis tuis. Multis preterea in locis aut deo mentiris aut tibi ipsi maledicis, ut ibi: "Humiliatus sum usquequaque,"^e et "Elegi abiectus esse in domo dei mei," etc.^f O quam uerius poteras dixisse: "Elegi potius superbire in prostibulo¹⁰⁵ immundi spiritus quam humiliari in domo dei."

[27] Porro uix aut numquam inuenies psalmum, si sollicitus attendas, in quo aut non menciaris deo aut tibi non aduersaris in aliquo quamdiu talis eris. Fortassis dices quia in psalmis non tua uox est set tocius ecclesie et ideo nec deo mentiris nec tibi mala imprecaris. Ad quod ego: Et si uox ecclesie sit, cum tu non sis membrum, omnia illa predicta mala absque dubio incurris. Denique cum religiosum te fingis et contra regulam sanctorum uiuis, tanto es deterior quanto magis ceteros, immo te ipsum, fallens, absque re speciem sanctitatis pretendis. Absit a me ut ypocritam membrum ecclesie iudicem, quem quouis scurro quodam modo deteriorem non ignorem.

[28] Proth nefas, paulo ante conquerebaris quare omnipotens, cui, ut tibi uidetur, multa uirtutum holocausta iugiter immolabas, suauis ymbre lacrimarum non te exilaret,¹⁰⁶ cur de futuris te, tanquam bene de se meritum, non precoderet. Verum que societas lucis ad tenebras? Que coniunctio Christi ad Belial?^a O miraculum, putasne quod summa mundicia immundum frequentet prostibulum? Putasne quod sincere claritatis purissima lux in teterrimum requiescat domicilium? Putasne quod deus,¹⁰⁷ tocius suauitatis iocundissimus dulcor, in spurcissimum hospitetur demonum nidum, in quo uidelicet solum uiget uiciorum appetitus, et adeo regat affectus ut idcirco absit fortassis effectus quia prophanis operibus deest locus? Absit. Vnde sapiens ait: "Spiritus sanctus effugiet fictum, nec habitat in corpore subdito peccatis."^b

[29] Porro illam sacrilegam blasphemiam, quam suadente dyabolo contra ueritatem tua falsitas, contra iusticiam tua protulit iniquitas, tacere non possum. Dixisti enim durissimos labores sancte conuersacionis non posse pati corpus nisi ex prauitate cogitationum recreetur animus. O prudentem uirum, immo ypocritam blasphemum, Christus proprio ore clamat: "Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam uos, iugum enim meum suaue est et onus meum leue."^a Christus igitur ad se uenientibus laborem et onus inportabile seculi aufert et iocundissimam refectionem spondet, et tu econtra durissimam asserere niteris sanctam religionem. Christus iugum suaue, quod non ledat set ad regnum suauiter ducat, et onus, quod non oneret set portantem feliciter portet, repro-

105. prostibulo *D* (*alt. r exp.*). 106. exilaret=exhilaret. 107. deus *om. D* (*ss. D²*).

mittit, et tua perfidia sancte religionis suauissimum cibum fastidit. “Centuplum” inquit Christus “hic accipietis.”^b Proth¹⁰⁸ scelus, omnipotens sequentibus se centuplam mercedem daturum se hic pollicetur, et tua impietas hinc resiliens uiciorum fece spurcissima delectatur. Quare hec, nisi sicut quia scriptum est “Abhominatio est pietas impio”?^c Et abhominatur¹⁰⁹ quippe omnem escam spiritualem anima tua, fastidiens sanctarum deliciarum suauitatem, et aproinquauit, immo male sopita iacuit, pene infra ipsas portas mortis? Intus nimirum habes immundum spiritum, omnium immundiciarum labe gaudentem, et quia nequaquam ei reniteris, incensorem pateris et impulsorem.

[30] Porro si ymaginem¹¹⁰ creatoris tui tibi assignatam^a illesam seruasses, nefandarum profecto cogitationum profanum scelus uiciorumque fecem turpissimam tanquam mortem infestissimam exhorruisses, sanctarumque uirtutum suauem fructum cumulare satagens, Christi preterea crucem non in (fol. 232) angaria set cum summa exultatione baiulare consuesceres.^b Vnde manifestissima ratione colligitur quia hii qui templum dei^c efficiuntur sanctis meditationibus assidue pascuntur, cotidianis uirtutum incrementis ac desiderio celestium gaudiorum intus aluntur, quorum obtentu exterius ad omne opus pietatis prompti redduntur, atque caritatis igne succensi nonnullos segnes et inuicem uerbis et exemplis incendunt pariter et incenduntur. At hii quorum misere mentes ab immundo hoste suffocantur in spurciciis profanorum cogitatum iugiter immorantur, ac iusticie mandata detestantes ad omnem impietatem, prout subegerit presidens aduersarius si ualuerit,¹¹¹ proni raptantur et¹¹² bonos quosque clam uel palam, quantum possunt, peruertere nituntur.

[31] Romanus: Quoniam quidem horrendam obscenitatem uite mee, que me huc usque magna ex parte latuerat, tam ueraciter quam sufficienter denudasti, illam Christi promissionem quam sequentibus se centuplum in hoc seculo daturum se spondet,^a queso te, exponas, quam si ueram esse monstrare poteris, omnino uana omnia et caduca me relicturum et Christum deinceps sequiturum ne dubites. Extreme enim esset demencie quempiam presencium bonorum inopiam pati et post hec ligatis manibus et pedibus in tenebras exteriores^b perhennibus adici penis et¹¹³ non potius cencies¹¹⁴ tantum hic quam pro Christo quis reliquerit possidere et feliciter in hac uita uiuere et post huius uite finem cum beatis angelis in perpetuum regnare.

[32] Gregorius: Et si nulla ratio huius rei demonstrande nobis adesset, credere debueras saltem Veritati, que et proprio ore hoc spondet.

Romanus: Assentire quidem absque assercione ualide rationis nequaquam possem si¹¹⁵ grauissimos uiros, qui relictis omnibus Christum perfecte

108. Proth *D*. 109. abhominabitur *D* (bi *del.*). 110. /ymaginem *D* (s *eras.*).

111. ualuerunt *D* (n *exp. in i*). 112. et *om. D* (mg. *D*²). 113. et *om. D* (ss. *D*²).

114. cenciens *D* (alt. n *exp.*). 115. nisi *D* (ni *exp.*).

sequuntur, uehementer exultantes, centuplum iam et eo amplius accepisse non agnouissem. Si Christus utique in hoc eos fefellisset, de ceteris promissionibus desperantes, ad ea que prius reliquerant profecto cicius redire festinarent. Nunc autem nescio quem mire suauitatis dulcorem penes se habentes, non solum pristina non affectant uerum honores dignitates pecunias maiores quam prius habuerant omnino refugiunt. Verumtamen si quid aliud maius non amarent, hec gratanter acciperent.

[33] Memini siquidem uirum quendam ualde locupletem uxorem speciosam, decoros filios, filiarum cara pignora, amplissima predia, ambiciosa palatia, auri et argenti magnam copiam, iumentorum ac boum armenta plurima omniumque ceterorum pecorum greges¹¹⁶ multos, promptuaria plena, seruos et ancillas, uariam multamque suppellectilem, cognatos et amicos, ac cetera que diuitum ambicio studiose appetit, pro Christo reliquisse ac deinceps cotidianis ieiuniis, crebris uigiliis, oracionibus assiduus,^a fame siti nuditate adeo corpus suum attenuasse ut exesis carnibus sola cutis ossibus herere uideretur.^b Qui requisitus a multis an uellet, relictis tam erumpnose et tam districte austeritatis duris cruciatibus, ad priores diuicias, in quibus magnifice floruerat, redire, iure iurando respondit eciam si cencies duplicarentur, nequaquam uelle uel ad momentum animo assentire, quasi uehementer doleret deliciis illis et uoluptatibus uanis operam dando tempus¹¹⁷ uariarum deliciarum et suauissime iocunditatis in miseris illis erumpnis penitus insaciabilibus consumpsisse. Hiis eciam, unde magis obstupui, annexuit dicens: "Quanto" inquit "maiora promitteres tanto difficilius ab hoc iocundissimo labore et ditissima paupertate diuelleres." Vidi quoque nichilominus et alios maximas diuicias eodem ardore contempsisse atque sub habitu religionis in sanctis laboribus diu sudasse, tandemque labore uicti¹¹⁸ et tedio, ad ea que reliquerant redeunt, solito ardencius incubuisse; alios solo pudore retentos honorum dignitates ambire, multiplicandis pecuniis causis agendis obstinatius incumbere.

[34] Et quoniam dicturus es, ut estimo, quod ille qui in paupertate sua adeo gloriabatur centuplum iam habet, unde iam acceperit assigna manifeste, queso, si potes. De ceteris eciam itidem quero abs te si iam centuplum acceperunt, cur ad (fol. 232^v) priorem inopiam redire uoluerunt, aut si non acceperint, cur a deo, qui eciam inmeritis multa largitur, fraudati sunt.

Gregorius: De hiis siquidem que requiris me cicius satisfacturum tibi deo adiuuante spero. Verumptamen hiis que dicturus sum esto attentius. Primum igitur animaduerte quid diuites cupidi in hoc mundo ambiunt et quid¹¹⁹ sancti uiri de rebus transitoriis querunt. Vtrique sane ad unum finem tendunt in rebus huius mundi, set utrorumque desideria in hiis expleri nequeunt. Desiderant

116. gregis *D* (corr. *D*¹ ut uid.).

117. tempus *D* (u eras. in r). 118. ui(cti in ras. *D*²) *D*. 119. quod *D* (corr. *D*²).

quippe utrique pro uoluntate sua sufficienciam. Iusti autem quod nature sufficiat, uictum scilicet et uestimentum, tantum appetunt, et si plus eis tribuas, tanquam noxium ac superfluum, quantum in eis est, respuunt; cupidi uero quanto plus habent tanto in augendis pecuniis plus ardent. Vnde manifestum est quia is¹²⁰ de quo primum quesisti, cuius insaciabilis ingluuies dum facibus auaricie estuaret in tantis diuiciis quas supra memorasti, eciam si cencies multiplicarentur, inopie magnam paciebatur angustiam, in hoc tantillo quod natura querit ad deum conuersus plenam possidebat¹²¹ sufficienciam.

[35] Et ut facilius intelligas que dico, per similitudinem melius intimabo: Statuamus hic duos homines, quorum alter uno pane saciatur, alius uero consumptis centum adhuc esuriem patiatur. Siquis igitur huius miseram ingluuiem qui quotuis consumptis panibus adhuc esurit ita saturaret ut uno pane saturari posset, nonne centuplum se accepisse et cencies beaciorem¹²² se fore merito proclamaret? Sic nimirum Christum querentibus hec sola que natura querit ad uotum sufficiunt; cupidi uero, spretis legibus nature, in augendis pecuniis miseris¹²³ insatiabiliter inardescunt, et quod insanius est, in ipsis diuitiis esuriunt, unde psalmista: “Melius est modicum iusto s(uper) d(iuicias) p(eccatorum) m(ultas)”^a et alibi “Diuites eguerunt et esurierunt,” etc.^b Vides itaque diuites huius mundi esurientes et egentes et iustos etiam in modica porcione locupletes et nullo bono fraudatos. Compara ergo egestosam¹²⁴ esuriem diuitum et omne bonum iustorum, et inuenies utique in iustis plus quam centuplum.

[36] Denique quantis molestiis is de quo agitur primum atrebatur uide. Hinc namque uxoris sollicitudo iugiter uexabat. Hinc insaciabilis dilatandorum¹²⁵ cupido prediorum angebat. Hinc auri et argenti fames inexplibilis per fas atque nefas^a captiuum trahebat. Hinc filiorum edax cura absque remedio cruciabat. Hinc fraudes furta rapinam semper metuebat,¹²⁶ bonos eque ut malos suspectos habebat, in prosperis aduersa formidabat, in aduersis funditus desperabat. Hinc inuidia torquebat, ira inflammabat, superbia suffocabat, uanitas inflabat. Et quid per singula numerando curram, quia undique et omnibus miser erat, quem tanta illecebra uanitatum et enormis multitudo uiciorum illexerat? Deo sibi¹²⁷ miserante ab hiis omnibus quibus antea captiuus tenebatur colla mentis excussit, ac saciata priore ingluuie ingenuam libertatem pariter et integram sanitatem recepit. Cum igitur horrendae multitudini tot miseriarum dulcis flagrantia sanctorum uirtutum succedit cumque pro paucis fictis amicis, quos non caritas set sola spes questus sibi adiunxerat, iustorum omnium gratiam accipit, hic quoque habes centuplum, si bene attendis. Conuersus itaque ad

120. hiis *D* (hi eras.). 121. possideat *D* (corr. *D*⁴). 122. post beaciorem: se betatorem et littera incerta *D* (del.). 123. miseri malim. 124. egestuosam *D*. 125. dilatando *D* (corr. *D*²). 126. metuebat / *D* (fort. a eras.). 127. sibi: in ras. *D*².

deum, non tantum centum set milies mille et eo amplius amicos recepit, qui prius fortassis nec duos¹²⁸ habuit. Hoc autem mali¹²⁹ ad cumulum sue confusionis habent proprium ut et sibi inuicem inimici sint et nullum iustorum amicum habeant quia gubernatori seu creatori suo, cui cuncta subiecta sunt, aduersantur; iusti uero et hic iam sanctorum omnium amore et gracia potiuntur et ab impiis plerumque amantur pariter et timentur.

[37] Quorum plerique ad consolacionem suam in presenti tantum pignus future beatitudinis non numquam accipiunt quod in excessu mentis rapti tanto lumine illustrantur, tanta flagrantia mire suauitatis resperguntur, tanta dulcedine melliflue iocunditatis reficiuntur, tanta exuberancia celestium (fol. 233) gaudiorum replentur ut non, dicam, lingua eloqui set nec cor, nisi cum ad ipsum redierit, ualeat uel ex parte meditari. Mens namque extra se, immo ultra omnem creaturam dilatata, in quadam amplitudine immensitatis attollitur atque ibi in tanto ardore diuini amoris accenditur ut ad se redire compulsa uehementer doleat et ad id redire festinans cum gemitu et lacrimosis suspiriis se cruciet si forte quod amisit recuperare uel sero ualeat. Et licet hoc inenarrabile gaudium sit momentaneum, quantum tamen creator creaturis est melior tantum huius dulcedinis gustus omni gaudio rerum labencium est iocundior. Vnde psalmista, quia sepius gustauerat, "Quam suavis dominus," exclamans aiebat "quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tue,"^a et alibi "Quid enim michi est in celo et a te q(uid) u(olui) s(uper) t(erra)?"^b Quantum uero ad ea¹³⁰ que aliquando gustauerat festinaret manifeste alibi docet dicens: "Quemad(modum) d(esiderat) c(eruus) ad f(ontes) a(qua)rum," etc.,^c et alibi "Sitiuit anima mea ad deum f(ortem)," etc.^d Quid uero illuc ueniens se habiturum speraret commemorat uerbis quibus potest: "Inebriabuntur" inquit "ab ubertate domus tue," etc.^e O quam sobria ebrietas que rationem non euertit set illuminat, non deprimit mentem in infimis set sursum eleuat, et quam iocundus potus huius uoluptatis quo caro iam moritura non inpinguatur set anima in eternum uictura saginatur.

[38] Hac siquidem beatissima ebrietate sobrie ebrii sancti martyres fuere, quibus intentabantur omnium penarum dira supplitia cruces lamina¹³¹ eculei, ardentes sartagines, ungule, sudescandentes, crates gladii bestie uincula carceres exilia proscriptio obprobria urisiones uerbera, oculorum effossiones, membrorum precisiones, et cetera omnia quecumque tyrannorum seu demencia, immo demonum in eis seu iencium, astuta malicia excogitare ualebat. Hinc quippe amate¹³² uxores, dilecti filii, cognati et amici, flentes et eiulantes^a atque una uoce cum inmensis gemitibus et crebris suspiriis obstantes et deprecantes ne se desererent, ne eos perpetue miserie et desolacioni traderent, ut uel solo uerbo

128. duos: dios et i

supra i (totum uerbum exp.) duos D. 129. malum D (eras, in mali).

130. e(a in ras. fort. D²) D. 131. lamine D. 132. amate: amate dil D (dil exp.).

Christum negarent iugiter adhortabantur. Hinc ab ipsis persecutoribus aurum et argentum uestes pecunia, multa ampla predia, principum amicicie,¹³³ si uel semel ydolis ymmolassent, offerrebantur; si minus, inauditis suppliciis diucius torti uexarentur. Quibus spretis ad gloriosum tropheum martyrii¹³⁴ tanquam ad sollennes epulas intrepidi accurrerunt.¹³⁵ Que, rogo, erat in eorum mentibus uis diuini amoris que lamentantium mulierum blandimenta, natorum lacrimosa suspiria, amicorum omnium lacrimarum flumina, auri et argenti ac prediorum oblata munera uincebat superabat spernebat? Profecto centupliciter illis omnibus maior, omni affectu carnali dulcior, que non solum illa respuere uerum ad agonem martyrii ut ad Christum uelocius properarent cogebat festinare. Et hic quoque centuplum accipe.

[39] Et quoniam dominicam oracionem, qua amicus¹³⁶ uerus in hoc seculo centuplum se daturum (promisit),^a sine preiudicio melioris sentencie succinte¹³⁷ exposuimus, deinceps ad eos sermonem uertamus de quibus nichilominus quesieras cur ad pristinam miseriam suam qui centuplum habebant redire uoluerunt et si non acceperunt, cur a domino fraudati sunt. Ad quod itaque facilis patet responsio. Aut enim aliquo leuitatis impulsu aut humane laudis fauore habitum nomenque religionis sumpserunt, aut diuini amoris obtentu mundum prius relinquentes, postmodum callido temptatori, qui semper fugitiuos suos circuit querens ut deuoret,^b locum dantes, adeo profanis eius consiliis seducti adqueuerunt ut, secundum quod scriptum est, eorum nouissima peiora fierent prioribus.^c Quorum hii qui ad seculum rediere hic iam humano iudicio dominantur et in futuro penis eternis crudelissime mulctabuntur; hii uero qui¹³⁸ solo habitu retento in¹³⁹ Egyptum,¹⁴⁰ ut scriptum est, corde reuersi sunt^d quique non ex humili consciencia¹⁴¹ set tantum ad oculum deo seruiunt et in hiis que foris agunt non deum remuneratorem set humanum fauorem¹⁴² querentes aliqua transitoria ambiunt, duplo deteriores fiunt. Vnde constat quia aut¹⁴³ non propter deum seculum relinquentes iuste¹⁴⁴ centuplum non acceperunt^e aut iam ex parte (fol. 233^v) acceptum male cauti minime seruauerunt.

[40] Romanus: Quoniam exigente causa de ypocritis mencio sese ingessit, dic, queso te, quot sunt¹⁴⁵ genera prauorum sub habitu religionis degencium, aut que eorum uicia qualiterue agnosci ipsi ualeant, nisi molestum sit, diligentius aperi.

Gregorius: Quod postulas certe opus est inportunum, et multis fore ingra-

133. amicie *D* (corr. *D*²). 134. marty(rii in *ras. D*²) *D*. 135. accurrer(ūt in *ras. D*²) *D*. 136. amic(us in *ras. D*²) *D*. 137. sic *D*. 138. qui om. *D* (ss. *D*²). 139. retento in: re *D* (corr. *D*²). 140. Egyptum: egyptum qui retento *D* (qui retento *del.*). 141. consciencia *D*. 142. fauoremque *D* (que *exp.*). 143. aut om. *D* (mg. *D*²). 144. iust(e in *ras. D*²) *D*. 145. sunt om. *D* (ss. *D*²).

tum non ambigo. Verumptamen, ut uerbis apostoli utar, si adhuc hominibus placerem, Christi seruus non essem,^a et sicut in psalmis legitur, "Qui hominibus placent confu(s) sunt,"¹⁴⁶ etc.^b Ipso adiuuante, cui omne uicium displicet, quod poscis aggrediar, sciens utique illum fore de numero malorum cui ingrata fuerit inprobatio uiciorum.

[41] Igitur sub habitu religionis degentes reprobi, alii¹⁴⁷ aperte sunt mali, alii ypocrite, alii tepidi. Set aperte quidem¹⁴⁸ mali spiritualibus patribus sunt inobedientes, sociis contumaces, omnibus rebelles, uentri et gule studentes, cibos appositos fastidientes,¹⁴⁹ lauciores et delicatiores procaciter querentes, uestium nitorem appetentes, inuidia¹⁵⁰ tabescentes,¹⁵¹ bonis detrahentes, malis fauentes, superbia elati, uanitate tumidi, ad bona opera desides et pigri, ad peruersa uero precipites et prompti; pro bonis mala, pro malis iuste irrogatis septemplex deteriora reddere parati; ex blanda ammonicione deteriores, ex increpatione obstinatiores fiunt, discordiam seminantes, litibus uacantes, concordiam dissipantes, unitatem fratrum scindentes, in diuinis canticis et spiritualibus colloquiis dormitantes, usque ad mediam noctem et eo amplius in uanitatis inanum fabularum¹⁵² insompnes. Hii nomina regionum, situs terrarum, statuta legum, mores ciuitatum, consilia principum, mutaciones regum, sanctita consiliorum, ambitus fluminum, proueria rusticorum, problemata ueterum, euentus bellorum,^a hii rumores norunt omnium, narrant, et milies eadem repetentes nullum paciuntur fastidium. Hii in risu cachinnant, in disceptationibus clamitant. Hii mendacia continuant,¹⁵³ noua semper exoptant, uetera queque reprobant, uerba scurilia¹⁵⁴ amant, bonos ex sola suspicione iudicant, se modis quibus possunt exaltant, ceteros humiliant, ueritatem impugnant, et quicquid eis placuerit bonum autumant, et quicquid ex sententia sua statutum non fuerit tanquam inane putant scindendumque uelocius, quamuis sanctum sit, existimant. Et qui de salute animarum suarum tractare debuerant rebus exterioribus tractandis uehementer inhiant. Si quem innocentem¹⁵⁵ proteruitate sua ledere¹⁵⁶ nouerunt, letantes triumphant; si quem obprobriis infamare, tripuant, sicut scriptum est de ipsis: "Letantur cum male fecerint et exultant in rebus pessimis."^b

[42] Hiis sollicitudo quies, requies inquietudo; hiis pena silencium, summa uoluptas litigium; hiis¹⁵⁷ priuata utilitas pro magno, communis autem pro nichilo; hiis cura anime nulla, corporis uero quam maxima; hiis pro caritate odium, pro ueritate mendacium, pro humilitate superbia, pro rectitudine iusticie iniusticia; hiis pro pudore impudicia, pro sobrietate uecordia, pro pietate

146. confusi sunt *om. D (mg. D²)*. 147. alii *om. D (ss. D²)*.

148. quid(e *in ras. D²)m D*. 149. fastidientes *D*. 150. /nuidia *D*. 151. tabescē *D (corr. D²)*.

152. fabular *D (corr. D²)*. 153. continant *D (corr. D²)*. 154. scurilia *D*.

155. inn(o *in ras. D²)cent(ē in ras. D²) D*. 156. ledere *om. D (ss. D²)*. 157. hiis: *in ras. D²*.

inclemencia, pro honestate irreuerencia, pro mansuetudine furor, pro benignitate rancor; hiis pro fortitudine pusillanimitas, pro sapientia temeritas; hiis prorsus pro sancta meditatione immunda cogitacio, pro operibus iusticie profanacio; hiis pro dulcedine amaritudo, pro compassione indignacio, pro uerbo consolacionis inproperium, pro uirtute quoduis inest uicium; hiis pro frugalitate prodigalitas, pro equitate iniquitas.

[43] Hii sane, si forte in minimo articulo uena obstupuerit, aut stomachus ob indigestam crapulam plus solito intumuerit, seu caput ex nimio potu uel ex multa garrulitate nugarum uel modicum doluerit, domum infirmorum confestim ingementes et queruli, tanquam iam morituri, petunt, ibique altitium ac quadripedum carnibus multiplicatis, ferculis cocorum arte digestis salsamentorumque generibus prout queque expetunt decenter adhibitis accurate¹⁵⁸ uescuntur ac pigmentorum crebris potacionibus inebriantur, et qui ex ieunio sanari potuerant ex nimia ingurgitatione quandoque (fol. 234) miseri uere infirmantur. Ibi uero pro psalmodia uanitas fabularum, pro oratione inane susurrum, pro spirituali collatione assiduitas nugarum; pro compunctione, si parum conualuerint, consuetus usus iocorum; si uero diucius torqueantur, pro graciaram actione murmur in deum. Horum siquidem aliqui ter aut eo amplius in die ferculorum multiplicitate adeo ingurgitantur ut crescente¹⁵⁹ in inensum utero non iam homines set tauri pingues merito uocentur.

[44] Vidi sane monachum, a seculis inauditum, cuius uenter in tantam inmensitatem ex nimia uoracitate excreuerat ut pars non¹⁶⁰ modica illius ob onus¹⁶¹ enormiter extensa cute infra genua penderet. Circa quem miserum uentrem, uel potius, ut ita dicam, inmanissimum uentrem cotidie recencia lintheamina circum ligabantur propter sudorem nimium iugiter manantem, qui nisi assidue tergeretur, infelicem molem illam putrefaciendo cicius corrumperet. Qui, si qua necessitas eum ire quoquam¹⁶² urgeret, non dico equo sedere aut propriis pedibus progredi uerum in lectica noua a tribus equis aut duobus boum paribus longius uix traheretur. Et iusto quidem dei iudicio factum est ut qui in edendo nunquam modum nature tenuit contra naturam, huic pene addictus et perpetue adiciendus, sibi oneri et ceteris horrori non iam homo set abhominacio fieret.^a O infelicem hominem, escam iam uermibus futurum, qui sibi tanta de gluciendo congegit, quorum superhabundancia sibi ablata multis sufficeret et ipse in specie hominis sanus et incolumis manere posset. Et profecto credibile est illum aput inferos multis suppliciis plectendum qui multorum deglutiuit sumptus pauperum. O infelicem aluum, cuius refectio destructionem et nimis indultum nutrimentum terribile parit incrementum. O detestabilis ingluuius, que non

158. acurate *D* (corr. *D*²). 159. crescente/ *D* (m uel in *eras*). 160. non om. *D* (mg. *D*²).

161. onu(s in *ras*. *D*²) *D*. 162. quiquam *D* (corr. *D*²).

solum uirtutes omnes adimit uerum eciam naturam hominis et speciem tollit.

[45] Alios autem uideas muliercularum more, proth pudor, tremula uoce diuina cantica modulantes, a uoce effeminata semitonos frangentes ut inter neumata in ecclesia psallentium et Latinas uoces timpanistiarum uix discernas.¹⁶³ Proth dolor, que ad edificacionem audiencium ex intimo affectu cordis maturitate uirili depromi oportuit, nunc tanquam ludicra mimorum¹⁶⁴ non compuncconem set lasciuam audientibus pariunt.

[46] Alii, eciam si forte notissimarum herbarum uel pauca barbara nomina non norunt, medicos se profiteri non erubescunt, et morbos quos probatissimi medicorum curare aut non audent aut nesciunt mederi aut subuenire incuntanter¹⁶⁵ promittunt.^a Verumptamen sepe calidis¹⁶⁶ ualitudinibus calida et frigidis frigida medicamenta medicando admouentes, utpote tocius nature morborum ac remediorum ignari, prius sui, homicide hominem plerumque interficiunt. Porro non solum uirorum uerum eciam mulierum urinam ex more, proth pudor, inspiciunt, et ex pulsu palpitantis uene mortem iam affuturam aut salutem propinquam mencies, egrotantem fallunt. Que, rogo, est hec religio, aut potius insana obstinacio, ut iuuenem monachum mulier iuuenula de secretis uerendarum partium morbis sola solum consulat et ignem, ut dici solet, leuibis stipulis capramque oleribus admoueat?

[47] Set fortassis dices: "Custus et sanctus est." Esto. Et sanctus Dauid profecto uisa muliere miserabiliter cecidit, et sapiens Salomon¹⁶⁷ per frequentiam mulierum a deo apostatauit. Licet enim cum mulieribus sepius colloquendo et earum membra attrectando uicerit libidinis ardorem, non tamen repressit infamiam propter facem. Hostis enim noster, eciam si seruos Christi subuere non potest, infamare tamen ex quacumque occasione per ministros suos numquam cessat. Necgligere famam non minimum peccatum est teste apostolo, qui ait: "Qui negligit famam suam (in)credulis est."^a Ve miseri qui relicta anime nostre cura medendis corporibus insistimus, et dum carnis morbos curare contendimus, anime nostre uulnera mortifera infligimus.

[48] Ve, inquam, miseri qui ad hoc huc uenimus ut nostra et populi peccata, quorum beneficiis susten(fol. 234^v)tamur, plangeremus, nunc uero, et uoti nostri et professionis immemores, muliercularum secretos thalamos de morbis turpissimis consulendi perscrutamur. Conqueruntur uiri sancti quod cum toto ambitu mentis in sui cura uigilant, nondum sibi sufficiunt. Et ego crediderim iuuenes, adhuc rudes et fortassis religionis expertes, uiciniam peragrand¹⁶⁸ et morbos corporum curare et anime curam sufficienter gerere? Absit. Noui siquidem monachum quid inter rectum et obliquum casum seu inter ipsa uerba¹⁶⁹

163. dicernas *D* (corr. *D*²).

164. mi(morum in *ras*. *D*²) *D*. 165. incunta(— *supra* a *D*²)t(=er *D*²) *D*.

166. callidis *D* (*pr*. 1 *exp*.). 167. salamon *D*. 168. peragando *D*. 169. uerb(a in *ras*. *D*²) *D*.

distaret penitus ignorantem,¹⁷⁰ qui agrestium herbarum pulueres melle confectos, additoque succo quarundam radicum qui uentrem cito soluit, per ampullas et pixides multas digesserat, et hiis suffarcinatus¹⁷¹ theodoricon¹⁷² magnum, gera fortissimum,^a et ceteras quasque potiones se habere, totam prouinciam medendo uel potius perimendo peragraturus,¹⁷³ iactitabat, atque insipientibus¹⁷⁴ uesicam, ut dici solet, pro lanterna uendens. Illectus aut philargiria aut sola curiositate, ab immundo spiritu illus illudebat. Hic, nempe totius mathesis expertus, pro remedio dolorem, pro salute sepe mortem propinabat.

[49] Hec nimirum mala que nunc digesta sunt et alia multa per negligenciam indiscretorum pastorum sepius contingunt quia ob iniuriam eorum oues exabunde patent morsibus luporum.^a Ipsi igitur pastoribus ascribuntur subiectionum peccata que per indultam remissionem ipsi committunt.

Verumptamen quia istorum mala, eciam me tacente, satis per se nota sunt, ad simulatorum facinus¹⁷⁵ sermonem uertamus. Est igitur genus hominum ualde perniciosum et ad cognoscendum difficile, qui ypocrite, id est simulators, notantur. Speciem namque sanctitatis multifariam exterius pretendunt, set interius omni uirtute uacui sunt. Hii quippe ieiuniis uigiliis carnem suam macerant^b ut inde non deum¹⁷⁶ remuneratorem¹⁷⁷ set hominum fauorem aucupentur. Vnde saluator "Exterminant" inquit "facies suas ut uideantur ab hominibus ieiunantes."^c Hii in angulis platearum ut ab hominibus uideantur solis labiis deum orant^d set mente uagabunda noxia queque uersant. Hii lectioni sacre scripture inuigilant, non ut dulcedinem illius corde hauriant, set ut nitore uerborum et pondere grauium sententiarum muniti ceteris doctiores appareant. Hii operibus misericordie insistent, set in hiis omnibus humanum oculum querunt.^e Denique quicquid boni nemine sciente egerunt, id totum perditum putant.¹⁷⁸ Vnde si forte secrecius quicquam dignum memoria fecerint, id narrare eciam non curantibus uelocius satagunt. Fecisse eciam insignia uirtutum multa celestiumque secretorum quedam archana se uidisse ac superni¹⁷⁹ nectaris fragrantiam se sepius sensisse menciuntur. Sermonem ad aliquos facturi tanto nitore exquisiti leporis utuntur ut Augustinum non desideres nec requiras Ieronimum,¹⁸⁰ in quo non conpuncionis aut correpcionis fructum set plausum desiderant audientium. Si uero cum eis de spiritualibus conferas, sursum erectis luminibus ad celum supplices manus tendentes et ab intimis suspiria longa trahentes, ineffabilia quedam celestium secretorum fari gestiunt, et in ipso conamine, tanquam in excessu mentis, uerbis deficientes, intime contemplationis archana se penetrasse frequenter intelligi uolunt.

170. ig(norantem in ras. D²) D. 171. suffarcina D (corr. D²). 172. theodorcio D. 173. peragaturus D. 174. insipientibus: in insipientibus D (pr. in exp). 175. fascinus D (s exp.). 176. ut . . . deum: (u in ras. D²) t in (de in ras. D²) no(sup^a o D²) (deum supra ras. D²) D. 177. remu/atorem D (sup^a u ss. D²). 178. putant om. D (mg. D²). 179. (sup in ras. D²) jerni D. 180. (ieron in ras. D²) jimu(sup^a u D²) D.

[50] Nonnulli,¹⁸¹ quia scriptum esse norunt “Iustus in¹⁸² inicio accusator est sui,”^a in confessione sua falso se humiliant, uiciisque sue perfidie intus obtegentes, leuia queque peccata tanquam criminalia falsis gemitibus plangunt ut ad eos quibus negligencias suas confitentur magni meriti et pene iam perfecti habeantur; quippe qui leuissima queque ita plangunt impossibile est eos maioribus culpis obligari.

Quidam eciam exterioribus obseruanciis tantum attenti sunt ut in ornatu uestium, in motu membrorum, et in ceteris omnibus, prout religionis honestas exterior dictauerit, nichil quod reprehendas in eis inuenias, immo quod multum laudes si exteriora tantum (fol. 235) attendas, tanquam ex ipso gestu corporis proclamant: “Ecce exhibitu quem exterius uidetis animaduertite sanctitatem quam aliter uidere non potestis.” Qui quidem, si quempiam forte ex incuria aut per negligenciam uel semel in minimis deliquisse perceperint,¹⁸³ et penes se infelicem et coram omnibus, tanquam zelo iusticie succensi^b set reuera malicie liuore tabidi, inordinatum penitus et regule contemptorem durius obiurgantes protestantur.

[51] Alii uero, benignitatem paciencie simulantes, delinquentes fratres non dico durius corrigere uerum nec leuiter quidem ammonere presumunt ne forte gratiam eorum in¹⁸⁴ aliquo ledant, participes utique futuri delictorum, qui cum possent corrigere, noluerunt. Alii quoque tante perfectionis tanteque mundicie se iam esse iactitant ut non solum mala non faciant uerum nec immundam cogitacionem usque ad delectacionem admittant. Oracionibus¹⁸⁵ uacantes, uigiliis pernactantes, sacre scripture studentes, operibus bonis insistentes, contemplacione¹⁸⁶ suspensos, facundia diuine legis eruditos, delicta queque perosos, religionis cura honoratissimos, in negligentes zelo iusticie accensos quid amplius restat nisi sanctos credas beatumque Antonium ac magnum Macharium te habere socios gaudeas?

[52] Verumptamen quia scriptum est “Aurum fornax et uirum temptacio probat,”^a si quempiam illorum uel uerbo leseris aut fame illius derogando simulacionem forte compertam aliis denudaueris, tanta ira mox corripitur ut iam ex ouina pelle prodiens lupo, qui diu latuit, manifestus appareat, ex patenti uulnere dirum uirus latentis fetoris foris erumpat: frons quippe rugatur, supercilia eriguntur, oculi exasperantur, facies ignescit, lingua in loquendo se prepedi; digito loquitur, pede terit;^b totus in furorem conuersus ac tocius pristinae sanctitatis uel potius uersute simultatis immemor, usque ad maledicciones et conuicia linguam resoluens, uerbum nequicie parit qui sub pretextu sanctitatis tacentem concrepat iniquitatem; sicque¹⁸⁷ fit ut quem prius credebas

181. Nonnulli:

Nonnulli uolunt *D* (uolunt *del.*). 182. in *om. D* (ss. *D*²). 183. ceperint *D*. 184. eorum in: eorum *D* (*corr. D*²). 185. admittant oracionibus *om. D* (*mg. D*²). 186. contemplacione/ *D* (*fort. m. eras.*). 187. que *om. D* (ss. *D*²).

aurum, a fornace prodiens plumbum uilissimum ac semiustum uideas.

[53] In monasterio siquidem quodam, quo per aliquot dies mansi, fratrem huiusmodi uidi, qui a seniore suo satis modeste increpatus quia non minimum deliquerat, mox in ipsum correptorem uerba, que repetere fas non est, insaniendo contorsit, tantaque demencia exagitatus est ut in monasterio se non amplius mansurum iureiurando protestaretur. Quem postera die ad priorem simulacionem reuersum cuiusdam necessarii negotii causa, in claustro tempore silencii residentem, ut mos est, signo ut mecum loqueretur poposci, at ipse, terribiliter me respiciens quod scilicet¹⁸⁸ a diuine contemplacionis inmenso lumine ad uanitatem hominum reuocare tantum uirum presumerem, uix tandem gembundus cum nimia indignacione se mecum loqui non posse signo indicauit. Quod quidam ex fratribus illius monasterii, fictionis eius non ignarus, uidens miserum hominem derisit,¹⁸⁹ et quem pridie debacantem et ad infernum descendisse compererat, tam subito ad celum raptum fuisse, utpote in hiis assuetum, credere non potuit.

[54] Mos quippe nimis astutorum ypocritarum est post iracundie sue furorem preter statuta monasterii sui religionis inmoderatum rigorem subito accipere, putantes miseri se ceteris sanctiores posse uideri si ceteros in aliquo supergressi fuerint. Verumptamen utrimque¹⁹⁰ uirtutum limitem transcendent et sue prauitatis errorem sectantes, non de uiciis ad uirtutes ascendunt set de manifesta impietate ad occultam impietatem prouunt.

[55] Porro ypocritarum genera duo sunt: alii nempe, nulla sciencia litterarum¹⁹¹ nulla industria rerum exteriorum suffulti, quia ad dignitatis honorem se posse ascendere diffidunt, hominum laudem ambiunt; alii autem, quia in litteris se sciolos uel in tractandis possessionibus uel fortassis in utroque se promptulos putant, tota mentis intencione ad culmen honoris inhiant. Et horum quidem alii, cum summa astucia fratrum gratiam appetentes, pueris¹⁹² fratribus munuscula, iuuenibus uero exennia,¹⁹³ ceteris autem maturioris¹⁹⁴ etatis, (fol. 235^v) cum feruentibus de caritate, cum abstinentibus de parsimonia,¹⁹⁵ cum mansuetis de humilitate, cum benignis de remissione, prout quemque uelle intelligunt, disserentes blanda queque conferunt uerba ut, uidelicet cum tempus affuerit, unanimi electione ad concupitum honorem ualeant conscendere. Alii autem, in quadam arte superbie consistentes, cuiquam blandiri dedignantur, set in rigore sue distraccionis quo nemini in corripiendo parcut¹⁹⁶ confidentes, quorundam tanquam scienciorum¹⁹⁷ amicitiam et familiaritatem appetunt, quorum suffragio ad concupitum culmen honoris promouentur. Quid ceteri

188. scilicet: scilicet me *D* (me *del.*).

189. risit *D* (corr. *D*²). 190. inque *D* (corr. *D*²). 191. litt('arum in *ras.* *D*²) *D*.

192. pueris: pueris tamen *D* (tamen *del.*). 193. exennia=xenia. 194. matitatoris *D* (corr. fort. *D*²). 195. parsimonica *D* (c *exp.*). 196. par(cunt in *ras.* *D*²) *D*.

197. sciorum *D* (corr. *D*²).

uelint, utpote pro eorum iudicio irreligiosi et negligentes, minime curant.

[56] Denique et¹⁹⁸ qui benignitatem mansuetudinis et qui rigorem ordinis simulant, si quempiam uere religiosum ab aliis laudari amari honorari uiderint, timentes ne forte unanimi consensu fratrum ad honorem quem ipsi ambiunt promoueat¹⁹⁹, inuidia tabescunt, omnibusque actibus eius studiose insidiantur si quid²⁰⁰ in eo quod criminari possunt inueniant; et cum coram ipsis ab aliis laudatur, quia palam culpae eum nequeunt, subdole laudant: “Bonus” inquit “est quem laudatis, set tamen mirum est quod auarus aut indiscretus est,” seu aliud huiusmodi uicium depromentes, quo in eo regnante uera utique religio non possit conregnare. O uere miseri quos non solum propria iniquitas set aliena torquet felicitas.

[57] Taceo de hiis qui²⁰¹ propter manifestam impietatem suae simulationis aut nullos aut rarissimos fautores habentes, apud episcopos seu quosque²⁰² potentes innoxios fratres suos tanquam regule suae contemptores aut ordinis sui preuicatores accusaturi, eorundem potencium amiciciam familiarem zelum religionis simulantes adulando appetunt, quorum ope atque consilio contra uoluntatem fratrum, pro nefas, ad honorem prioratus eligantur, immo contra diuinae maiestatis assensum intrudantur. Quid ergo facient in loco regiminis nequiter electi et nequius intrusi nisi, quod iure sequitur, in cathedra pestilencie residentes^a uiuant nequissimi? Hii nimirum sunt qui uiolenta²⁰³ dominatione premunt, qui ouile Christi dissipant^b et destruunt. Quicquid dixerint, auctoritatem putant; quicquid libuerit, licitum existimant. Qui cum austeritate subiectis imperant ac pietatis uiscera^c nescientes: non patres set domini, non doctores set tyranni, non custodes animarum set peremptores, imperatores non ministri seruorum dei recte uocantur.

[58] Porro de hiis silere melius fore puto quam parum dicere qui symoniaca impietate uel potius demoniaca prauitate subacti, largicione pecunie seu cuiuslibet obsequii exhibicione, ad desideratum gradum honoris, immo ad teterrimum carcerem mortem, quae illis ultro uentura erat, emunt, et ut grauius torqueantur premium conferunt. O miseri et infelices qui pro breuissima gloria perpetuam ignominiam, pro modica suauitate eternum fetorem, pro momentanea iocunditate cruciatum comparant perhennem. Set quid dico gloriam suauitatem et iocunditatem cum profecto nil horum uere habentes, set ut scriptum est, “contricione dupplici contriti,”^a et hic in pura consciencia et in perpetuum intollerabili plectentur pena? Hactenus de ypocritis.

[59] Tepidorum sane multifariam obstinacionem ad plenum euoluere aut impossibile aut nimis difficile fore puto quia tot eorum prauitates quot demonum

198. et om. *D* (ss. *D*²). 199. promoueat^{ur} *D* (n exp.).

200. siqd *D* (corr. *D*²). 201. qui: qui loquam *D* (loquam exp.). 202. quo *D* (corr. *D*²).

203. uolenta *D* (corr. *D*²).

uersucie, quorum fallaciis ab ardore diuini amoris tepescentes iugiter illuduntur. Alii, quippe munde²⁰⁴ uestis mundiciam²⁰⁵ exterius plus equo appetentes, immundicie sordes interius nutriunt, et dum cultui corporis nimium insistent, sanctum anime ornatum miseri perdunt; alii uero, desideriis gule uentrisque tantum adtenti, non nature frugalitati set sue ingluuiei consulentes, uariarum deliciis escarum cotidie uesci, multarum dulcedine potionum inebriari, immoderato sompno satiari appetunt. Venter igitur, indigestis cibis exestuans, nimii potus expetit dulcedinem, que duo iuncta sompnum immanem, tria autem hec libidinis ardorem, quibus consensus adhibitus plerumque parit casum miserabilem, sicut scriptum est: “Parturit iniusticiam, concepit dolorem, et p[er]perit iniquitatem.”^{206/a} Carnis nimirum uoluptas, cibi ac potus sompni que nimietate fota, ardorem libidinis (fol. 236) parturit, ardor autem carnis consensum concipit, consensus uero, dum locum inuenerit, iniquitatem non numquam parit. Et alibi: “Homo cum in honore,” etc.^b

[60] Intellectum siquidem sue condicionis, qua peditus ratione ad imaginem sui conditoris creatus est,^a corpori nimis indulgens homo perdidit dum tanquam iumentum petulans spreto tanto honore per fas atque nephas^b tam miserabiliter quam insipienter ruit. Denique non rex ille Babilonius qui Ierusalem obsedit cepit captiuauit^c set princeps cocorum muros eius destruxit, quia uenter, cui instantia cocorum deseruit, anime uirtutes exterminat omnes aut²⁰⁷ perimit. Vnde apostolus “Sedit” inquit “populus manducare et bibere, et surrexerunt ludere.”^d Vides ergo quia ex uoluptate edendi et bibendi sequitur turpitudine exicialis ludi. Verumptamen quoniam ipsa libido, eciam in carnis titillacione, statim omnibus turpis est, ne incentiuis carnalibus succumbant crapula et ebrietate adhuc dormitantes tepidi dominum non numquam supplicant, similes utique homini insano qui cum domui sue ardentes faces admouerit, ne ipsa comburatur incassum sane dominum deprecatur. Quid enim aliud est carni, que semper spiritui aduersatur,^e fomento lasciuie nimis indulgere quam domui faces²⁰⁸ ardentes admouere?

[61] Quis enim hostem suum aduersum se pugnaturum²⁰⁹ armauerit et se uictorem fore crediderit?²¹⁰ Si enim aduersarium tuum debellare cupis, duo necessaria sunt, ut et illi uires quantum potes adimas et te armis undique instanter munias. Alioquin nisi fortiter pro te egeris, frustra deum inuocas, quem numquam deses propicium habere mereberis. Vis audire militem sapienter pugnantem et propterea triumphantem? “Castigo” inquit apostolus “corpus meum et in seruitutem redigo ne forte cum aliis predicauerim, ipse reprobus efficiar.”^a Paulus, quem dominus uas electionis^b uocauerat, gencium doc-

204. mude *D* (corr. *D*²). 205. mdiciam *D* (corr. *D*²).

206. in. *D* (in ini. *D*²). 207. aut: aut in *D* (in exp.). 208. fascet *D* (pr. s exp.).

209. pūgnaturum *D*. 210. credidit *D* (corr. *D*²).

to^c elegerat, euangelium suum nemine docente reuelante²¹¹ spiritu sancto repleuerat, uirtutibus innumeris armauerat, ieiuniis uigiliis oracionibus carnem suam edomans spiritui seruire coge^bat, et tu, omnium istorum fortassis expers, in calore iuuentutis et forte ex cenoso usu uiciorum nuper exemptus, carnis curam in desideriis eius edendo et bibendo facis et ipsam debellare posse confidis. "Non coronabitur" inquit idem apostolus "nisi qui legitime certauerit."^d Legittima quidem in certamine congregientium²¹² pugna est ut hosti tuo demere satagas quicquid te potest nocere et quicquid te contra ipsum pugnantem iuuare potest instant^r adquiras. Audi item alium strenue pugnando²¹³ nichilominus triumphantem: "Humiliaui" inquit "animam meam in ieiunio, et oracio mea in sinu meo conuertitur."^e Quod est aliis uerbis dicere: ex humilitate abstinentie utilis facta est michi oracio mea ad optinendum triumphum uictorie.

[62] Denique apostolus "Vidua" inquit "que in deliciis est uiuens mortua est."^a Si igitur uidua, deliciose²¹⁴ uiuens corpore, illa exicali morte qua anima misera deo moritur mortua est, quid de te religioso²¹⁵ dicendum putas qui iure iurando mundo et uoluptatibus eius abrenuntiasti, te prorsus abnegasti, apostolicam uitam, euangelicam perfeccionem, crucem quoque Christi baiulandam ipsum sequi^b uerbo scripto coram multis testibus iurasti,^c si in molicie uestium et si in deliciis commessacionibus et delicatis potacionibus,^d si denique in uanis ludicris²¹⁶ et noxiis confabulationibus uerseris? Profecto quanto maiora nouisti que soluere negligis, tanto uiuens mundo mortuus deo artiora supplicia morte eterna sustinebis. Vbi namque tot uoluptates carnis confluunt, cruciatus utique spontanei esse non possunt. Nomen, professio tua, habitus exterior crucem predicant; ceterum facies delibuta, pinguis uenter, uictus delicatior, inepciarum usus frequencior non crucis mortificationem set carnis uoluptatem te sectari significant.

[63] Pauperes Christi dici uolumus, et paupertatis angustias omnino ignoramus. Circumspicio namque mendicantium innumerum populum et in eis inuenio pinguem nullum, in uestra autem professione uix quemquam reperies macilentum. Nos autem solum paupertatis nomen, illi rem tenent; illi uictus inopiam, uestitus angustiam, nos neutrum;²¹⁷ nos hominum salutationes, laudes, prediorum ac pecunie multas possessiones, illi omnium horum sunt expertes. Et utinam illis foret spontanea paupertas et nobis in deliciis nostris inuita uoluptas, utrisque sane liceret (fol. 236^v) sperare regnum, licet illis foret fortassis uberius premium. Nunc, proch dolor, et multis ipsorum sua paupertas ualde est ingrata et nonnullis nostrum nostra habundancia gratissima.

[64] Denique relegendis sanctorum uitas et conuersaciones inuenies eos fame

211. reuelan(te in ras. D²) D.

212. (con in ras. D²) gredientium D. 213. pūgnando D. 214. delicios(e in ras. fort. D²) D.

215. religioso om. D (mg. D²). 216. ludicricis D (tert. i exp.). 217. neuturum D (alt. u exp.).

siti spontanea nuditate uigiliis attritos fuisse macilentos²¹⁸ et exangues; michi crede, multos codices legi et innumera sanctorum exempla audiui, et nusquam pingues reliquias reperi. Illi nimirum uirtutes de proprio labore adquisiere; nos desidiosi et pingues de uirtutibus uacui disputamus. Illi toto conamine sursum tendebant; nos a proposito nostro recedentes²¹⁹ sponte deorsum trahimur. Illi uniuersa seculi desideria fugiebant; nos ea sequimur. Illi ad uirtutes instanter anelabant;²²⁰ nos ad uicia prolabimur. Illi perhennia tantum gaudia desiderabant; nos fugitiua amplectimur. Illi deum siciebant, nos mundum. Illi ueritatem sectabantur, nos mendacium. Illi caritatem, nos odium. Illi colloquium spirituale, nos iurgium. Illi laborem, nos ocium. Illi iugem parsymoniam, nos delicatum edulium. Illi uigilias, nos sompnum. Illi molliciem uestium detestabantur, nos cilicium. Illi in semicrudis oleribus aut insulsis leguminibus reuerbantur uoluptatis desiderium, nos in adipe carniū^a et delicatis piscibus sepe patimur fastidium. Multi ipsorum nullum nouerant condimentum; nobis autem iam uilescit piper ac ciminum.^b Rarissime propter infirmitatem pauci sumebant adaquatum uinum;^c nos pro paruo ducimus simplex uini poculum. Nonnulli eorum parce libabant laticis haustum; nos inmodice sumimus nectaris potum. Illi pacis concordiam sectabantur, nos discidium. Illi fraternam benignitatem, nos improprium. Illi denique anime curam gerebant, nos corporis. Illi uoluntates spiritus, nos carnis.

[65] Quid est hoc? Quicquid mare nutrit ad edendum, quicquid terra creat, quicquid per aerem uolat uoluptuose inglutimus, et crucem Christi portare autumamus. O iocunda crux sub qua caro nequaquam atteritur, et o suavis cruciatus per quem cutis attracta non rugatur set tumescente pinguedine tota nitidior redditur. Hanc profecto crucem totus mundus libens portat aut portare desiderat. Hanc utique Christus, qui cum diues esset, pauper pro nobis adeo factus est ut diceret “Genua mea infirmata sunt,” etc.,^a non²²¹ sensit. Hanc sancta posteritas eius ad nos usque ignorauit. Propterea sane necesse²²² est ut noue religionis noui commentatores nouamque crucem baiulantes, nouum Christum, qui nobis²²³ nouam requiem repromittat^b ad quam per uoluntatem carnis ueniatur,²²⁴ inueniēmus, aut certe cum illo diuite qui quia cotidie splendide epulabatur, in inferno sepultus est,^c consepeliendi, perpetuo a Lazaro,²²⁵ ni cicius respiscamus, stillam aque aut (a) digitis uerorum pauperum, qui in sinu Abrahe quiescunt,^d frustra imploremus.

[66] Quonam²²⁶ modo carnem nostram mortificare dicimur qui hodie, quia dies²²⁷ festus est, quinque aut sex fercula insumentes, cras,²²⁸ quia transitum beati Benedicti celebraturi sumus,^a nouem aut decem uel amplius degluciemus?^b

218. macilentes *D*. 219. recidentes *D* (*corr. fort. D*¹).

220. /anelabant *D* (*h eras.*). 221. (n in *ras. D*²)on *D*. 222. necesse: in *ras. D*².

223. uobis *D*. 224. uenitur *D* (*corr. D*²). 225. lazaro: in *ras. D*². 226. Quo non *D*.

227. dieses *D* (*corr. D*¹). 228. cras: horas *D* (*h eras., o eras. in c.*).

Ve miseri, lecturi et audituri sumus qualiter iste sanctus, cuius sequi uestigia iurauimus, per parsimonie²²⁹ abstinentiam carnem domans, spiritum roborans deo placuit, et nos deliciosarum escarum ac mellitorum potuum officiosam congeriem curiosi tanquam ei deferentes²³⁰ set, ut uerum fatear, castrimargie nostre consulentes preparamus. Tum sane non delectat set potius offendit uox psallencium, quam frequens ructus prodiens non de inanitate uentris set de crapula indigeste cruditalis intercipit.

[67] Romanus: Manifeste inuectioni tue, qua nos irreligiosos ingluuiosos-que frustra niteris asserere, paucis respondere cogor, et ea que tu uicia opinaris in escis ego uirtutem discrecionis et amorem fraterne compassionis fore monstrare conabor. A lacu siquidem miserie et a luto fecis^a ad tutissimum monasteriorum portum non solum humiles uerum nobiliores multi confugientes, quia illicita multa se commisisse recolunt, ieiuniis ac uigiliis et continuis oracionibus se macerando^b plerumque adeo infirmantur ut nisi delicatis (fol. 237) multisque cibis pro uarietate ualitudinum releuentur, aut murmurare, quod summopere uitandum, aut ad priorem conuersacionem redire, quod omnino detestabile est, cogentur. Cum igitur ex munificencia summi largitoris multis habundemus, nonne summum discrecionis moderamen fore credis ut seruis²³¹ Christi multa²³² et deliciosa queque ministrentur ut ex multis infirmus quislibet pro ualitudine ac uoluntate sua quolibet uestatur, cetera uero fraterne compassionis optentu²³³ inopie mendicancium uel pocius Christo sacrificium gratum offerentibus largiatur? Denique quis te cogit uel ex singulis comedere uel ex duobus aut tribus ferculis ultra quam necesse est insumere? Nonne magne uirtutis est indicium que cupias uidere et desiderio puritatis concupita non attingere?

[68] Gregorius: O noue discrecionis laudabilem uirum uel pocius noxie supersticionis assertorem Epycurum. Hanc profecto discrecionis normam, immo castrimargie enormitatem, sancte institutionis moderator mitissimus ac plenus spiritu omnium sanctorum beatus ignorauit Benedictus,^a qui ob multorum infirmitatem discipulis suis duo pulmentaria tantum, addito et fructu si habundaret, tanquam ceteris patribus micior, indulsit.^b Hanc sanctus Basilius Ieronimus ceterique cenobiorum fundatores peritissimi nescierunt; beatus denique Augustinus, clericorum uitam instituens ac perfeccionis apostolice sollers imitator, non equaliter omnibus dandum set, sicut in Actibus Apostolorum legitur, prout cuique opus est summopere precipit.^c Cur enim apponis iuueni sano et incolumi accuratissimas delicias, quarum [detestabilis uel] delectabilis usus, odor suauissimus, dulcis gustus incautum²³⁴ iuuenem ad desiderium sui alliciat,²³⁵ allecto-

229. parsimone *D*

(*corr. D^c*). 230. d(e in *ras. fort. D¹*)ferentes *D*. 231. seruus *D* (*alt. u exp. in i*).

232. multa/ *D* (m *eras.*). 233. optentu/ *D* (i *eras.*). 234. incautum: incaptum uel

incautum *D* (incaptum uel *del.*). 235. allicitat *D*.

que noxii ardoris fomitem nutriat, ac profane libidinis aculeos acuat, tandemque lapsu miserabili minus prouidum, nisi diuinum presto sit auxilium, deiciat?

[69] Quid enim necesse est uidere contra quod, ne illud tangam, pugnandum est cum summo labore? Si tetigero cicius, crediderim me uictum quam uictorem fore. Nonne satius est esse securum quam in discrimine dubii certaminis trepidare sollicitum? Multos sane, quos maiora crimina deicere non poterant, cibi potusque nimis indulta saturitas mox prostrauit. Quid enim illius patriarche qui solus in illo examine tam districti discriminis iustus repertus est uerenda nudauit?^a Quid Loth, in Sodomis iustum, in monte incestu detestabili cum filiabus miscuit? Nonne ebrietatis insaniam? Quid proinde Sodomitas inaudito supplicio, qui nouo genere fedissime turpitudinis in se exarserant, multauit?^{236/b} Nonne panis saturitas? Et hoc²³⁷ quoque tempore episcopos abbates ac ceteros inferioris ordinis, quorum casus cotidie plangimus passim, quid²³⁸ fornicari cogit, nisi multiforium deliciarum ac pigmentorum ingesta²³⁹ aluo congeries? Alioquin, si corpora sua castigassent et in seruitutem redigissent,^c reprobi²⁴⁰ utique non fierent. Ieiuniis siquidem ac uigiliis crebrisque oracionibus attenuatus^d uenter non mulierem set cibum, non libidinem set sompnum meditatur.

[70] Porro nonne cibi innoxii illicito uisu a paradysi gaudiis in tenebrosam conuallem ploracionis^a detrusi, laboriose peregrinacionis longa dispendia, proth dolor, inuiti tollerantes exulamus? Inquam,²⁴¹ prima parens nostra, uetiti cibi illecta pulcritudine, secum²⁴² quos nondum genuerat terribili data sententia perimens detrusit, sicut scriptum est: “Vidit” inquit “mulier quod bonum esset lignum²⁴³ ad uescendum et pulcrum oculis aspectuque delectabile, et tulit de fructu illius et comedit deditque uiro suo. Qui comederunt, et aperti sunt oculi amborum, cumque cognouissent se esse nudos, consuerunt folia ficus, et fecerunt sibi perizomata.”^{244/b} Forte si desiderabilem eius pulcritudinem non uidissent, eius esum non concupiscerent, neque sibi ac tam numerose posteritati sue tot misérias mater²⁴⁵ noxia, proth dolor, non indixisset. Si igitur illi primi parentes, in tanto honore conditi, in tanta beatitudine consttuti ut²⁴⁶ confabulacione (fol. 237^v) et presencia quodam modo diuine maiestatis fruerentur, contempto tam recenti obedientie precepto ob unius semel aspecti desiderabilem fructus pulcritudinem, ab illa gloriosa iocunditate ad horrendam nuditatem subito delapsi sunt ut qui prius nichil pudendum uidebant, postmodum iam titillante carnis ardore, hac pena multati confusique,²⁴⁷ ob contendas ueren-

236. multauit *D* (corr. *D*²). 237. Et hoc: *in ras.* *D*⁴. 238. (q *in ras.* *D*²) uid *D*. 239. ingesto *D*. 240. (r *in ras.* *D*²) reprobi *D*. 241. inquam: quod *D* (corr. *D*²). 242. / secum *D* (et *eras.*). 243. lig *D* (m ss. *D*¹). 244. p(e *in ras.* *D*² ut uid.)rizomata *D*. 245. mater: m et littera incerta *D* (corr. *D*²). 246. ut: *supra ras.* *D*². 247. confusique *D* (b exp.).

das partes suas ad uilissima ficus folia current,^c quantum nobis infelicibus pertimescendum uitandumque ne ea que ad concupiscenciam carnis explendam allitiant uidere seu tangere presumamus, qui illam paradysi beatam felicitatem nec sompnare quidem nec gustare nouimus quique in peccatis concepti^d multiplicandis iniquitatibus ab utero iugiter insedimus?

[71] Quid ergo casus ex illo noxii cibi uisu prodiens, quo²⁴⁸ omnes presentem quamplures, heu miseri, perhennem mortem contrahunt, signat nisi ut non solum crimina uerum criminum quoque occasiones summopere deuitemus? "Intrauit" inquit propheta "mors per fenestras nostras,"^a et psalmista "Qui exaltas me" inquit "de portis," etc.^b Porte etenim nostre quinque sensus corporis sunt, qui per prauas delectaciones inimicis aperta porta mortis, piis uero studiis patescentes aditus nobis fiunt superne uisionis.

[72] Proinde nonne propterea tumultus populorum, ornatum uestium, contubernia mulierum, et cetera hiis similia declinauimus ne blandientis²⁴⁹ mundi illecebris irretiremur?²⁵⁰ Quid namque proderit furta, rapinas, mulierum amplexus²⁵¹ deuittasse si in ebrietatibus et commessacionibus^a deuictus²⁵² hostis noster poterit triumphare? Illa siquidem timore hominum committere non audemus, in hiis uero, quia nemini commedere et bibere prohibetur, sepiissime scientes delinquimus, unde manifeste sequitur quia et ea agere liberet si impune liceret. Si ergo ea, ob quorum pertinacem importunitatem mundum reliquimus, hic quoque reperiemus, nonne festinatius hinc transmigrandum, et ubi iugiter frugal parsymonia teneatur, persistendum?²⁵³ Nonne sacius est castrimargiam fugere quam hic ab eadem uinci et a uia sanctorum alienari, demum a flammis ultricibus eternas penas luere? Asinus siquidem noster, si lasciuiet, duplicato labore, paleis est pascendus; si uero lacescat, ne omnino succumbat, eciam ordeo est releuandus.²⁵⁴ Verumptamen in cenobiis multis, quorum usibus possessio-num copia ad uotum habundat, tot cibi fratribus iugiter apponuntur ut quispiam, quantumuis²⁵⁵ delicatus, hiis admissus, nupciarum conuiuia regumque epulas non desideret.

[73] In cenobio siquidem quodam aliquando affui, quo in loco intra prandendum,²⁵⁶ post multimodas delitiarum amminstraciones, quarum utique frugalibus pars media sufficere debuisset, tandem porcus,^a ante ora mirantium atque inuicem subridentium super magnum²⁵⁷ asserem ceruicibus ministrorum deuectus, contritis carnibus altitium^{257a} cum multo pipere farsitus, super pedes erectus, uiuo euntique simillimus, cui abasis tantum pilis nec cauda nec auris

248. quo/ D (s ut uid. eras.).

249. blandimentis D (m exp.). 250. irretimmur D (corr. D^c). 251. amplexus D.

252. fort. deuictis D (corr. D² ut uid.). 253. persistendum om. D (mg. D²).

254. reuelandu(s in ras. D²) D. 255. (quan in ras. D²) tumuis D. 256. prandendum D.

257. magnuai ut uid. D (corr. D¹). 257a. altilium D.

deerat, ore quoque machinam²⁵⁸ quandam, deliciarum multifaria uarietate cocorum arte digestam, perferens, qui sane regalibus nupciis superstitiosus uideri potuisset, ad maiorem mensam ante patrem monasterii delatus ponitur. Cuius ex precepto accersitus cocorum magister mox affuit, areptoque cultro primum machinam illam deinde porcum diuisit, atque de mensa religiosorum macellum faciens lixarum,²⁵⁹ iubente prelato per singulas mensas singulis fratribus singulas ministrationes misit, uentresque prelibatis plenos deliciis hinc rei nouitate hinc cibi iocunda suauitate electus²⁶⁰ porcus farsitus farsit,²⁶¹ et qui sufficere conuiuio potuisset, cunctis audius deuorantibus, preter ossa statim nusquam comparuit, nec de reliquiis eius mendicus quispiam gaudere potuit.

[74] In alio quoque monasterio frater quidam, cuiusdam rustici filius, moribus et uita reprobis, regule professionique sue contrarius[que] degit, qui cum in pregustatione ante prandium commune,^a minutus quippe pre die fuerat, quatuor²⁶² lautissima fercula haberet, sequenti hora (fol. 238) cum aliis quinque aut²⁶³ amplius insumpturus, quia frixa oua, que forte tantus concupierat aut alios habuisse uiderat, non habuit, amens effectus, orbata tygride seuior,^b concitus a mensa surgit, et quos amicos uentris nouerat congregans, ut sibi de illata iniuria ad ulciscendum auxilium ferant obtestando deprecatur. Quid plura? Quia ibi plures sibi consimiles reperit, se miserum se infelicem clamitans, ceterosque omnes sollicitans, non prius finem furori suo imposuit quam fratrem illum qui cellario preerat ab officio suo deposuit. Proth scelus horrendum, qui in paterna domo pane ordeaceo, olere semicrudo, ac uilissimis pultibus, fame ut dici solet barbatus, urgente inopia parce uescebatur, nunc habitas delicias, quas quidem prius nec nominare seu cogitare necdum gustare nouerat, fastidit, et quas non habet tanquam ex debito procaciter expetit, quique nec uehiculum, utique uilissimum iumentum, habuit uixque cui pro cibo seruiret reperit resarcitisque semicinciis seminudus prius incessit, nunc monachus uel potius demoniacus factus est. Inaniter ambulanti equum, famulum strenuum, ornatum uestimentum sollicitus exposcit, atque seculum reliquisse, crucem Christi se portare, proth scelus, dicere presumit. O miraculum. Hic de labore ad requiem, de seruitute ad libertatem, de angustissima paupertate ad deliciarum congeriem, de abstinentia²⁶⁴ ad ingluuiem ascendit, et de carnis mortificatione ac seculi relitacatione blanditur, seque religiosum dici infelix non ueretur.

[75] Quid sane hiis illusoribus dicam? Que²⁶⁵ obprobria hiis obiciam non inuenio, set pro huiusmodi gemere compellor. Ecce, frater, ob indiscrecionem, quam discrecionis nomine prius uelare satagebas, ex occasione infirmorum male

258. machinam *D* (*alt. n exp.*).

259. li(x in ras. *D*²)arum *D*. 260. fort. electos *D*. 261. farsiuat *D*. 262. quatuatuor *D* (tua *del.*). 263. aut: aut alius *D* (alius *exp.*). 264. de abstinentia *om. D* (*mg. D*²).

265. que *D*.

presumpta licencia, dum escarum delicie cunctis indiscrete porriguntur, rusticus iste et innumeri alii, qui fortassis magis necessitate quam religionis²⁶⁶ obtentu ad ecclesiam conuenerunt, inpinguati et elati, quanto uentri amiciores²⁶⁷ tanto a deo remotiores effecti sunt. Vnde fit ut hii qui a deliciis uenientes, iocunda uarietate ciborum illecti, parsimoniam quam sectandam deuouerunt tenere non ualeant, et pauperes ytidem, qui nichilominus tenendam iurauere, detestentur. O quam fraudulenta discrecio, per quam pauper inpinguatus inflatur, per quam diues ad uoluptuosam ingluuiem, quam abiurauerat, reuocatur. Hec sane est confusio ordinis, fomes corporis, mors anime, uita carnis; hec religioni aduersa, parsymonie²⁶⁸ contraria, pudicie²⁶⁹ hostis, sobrietati inimica; hec sensum peruertit, rationem tollit, mentem uulnerat, intellectum excludit. Per hanc quicquid uenter esurit, guttur appetit, cor uanum meditatur, palato suauius sapit deglutimus.

[76] Adeo sane huius letifere pestis uesania²⁷⁰ rabies inualuit ut in coquinis nostris ciborum externe species permixtionesque adulterine sepiissime efficiantur cum ex uolatilibus quadrupedia, ex quadrupedibus uolatilia,^a seu ex auibuscum piscibus aues farciuntur.^b Frixurarum autem ceterarumque superstitionum quis enumerare sufficiat multimoda genera? Tanta siquidem in hiis cocorum, magno precio conductorum, uiget astucia ut quislibet puer ingeniosus facilius grammaticae disciplinam quam perfectam coquine periciam apprehendat.

[77] Porro tue fraudis inane figmentum, quo compassione mendicantium²⁷¹ uobis multa ac preciosa queque ministrari censebas ut scilicet uestra habundancia illorum inopie subueniret, quis non derideat?²⁷² Si enim uera confratrum mendicorum compassione mouemini, cur tantum in irritamentis gule expenditis, cur rerum species odores saporibus naturasque ab aliis in alias transfunditis? Hiis sane sufficiunt panis potus communis olera legumina; carnes uero aut pisces pro summis habent deliciis. Beata siquidem sancte paupertatis simplicitas lagena²⁷³ uestra, arthrocreas^{274/a} cyrothecas adulationes²⁷⁵ et cetera gule blandimenta, quorum infinitus est numerus, quia utique magis luxuriosorum epule sunt, penitus nescit. Cibos quos omnipotens simplices creauit simpliciter sumere consuevit; escarum adulteria barbarasque permixtiones non didicit. O quanti pauperes sustentari possent ex sumptibus quos in huiusmodi deliciis consumitis. Denique mendicis uiliora queque transmittentes delicatiora adeo deuoratis ut de²⁷⁶ fragmentis²⁷⁷ reliquiarum uestrarum sepius apparere uix²⁷⁸ ulla uestigia²⁷⁹ patia(fol. 238^v)mini.

266. religionis D. 267. amiciores D. 268. parsymoni(e in ras. D') D.

269. pudicie D. 270. uesana conici potest. 271. mendicantium D. 272. rideat D (corr. D²).

273. lagana D. 274. archocreas D. 275. adulationes: fort. olim glossa ad blandimenta.

276. de om. D (ss. D²). 277. fragmentis D. 278. uix: uix eorum D (eorum del.).

279. uestia D.

[78] Vnde liquido patet quod escarum uariam molicionem iocundamque multiplicitatem, quarum non minus species quam suauitas degustantem demulcet, non propter reficiendam mendicorum esuriem set propter explendam uestram ingluuiem tanto opere explere satagitis. Cesset igitur tandem eorum subdola excusatio quorum deus uenter est, quorum gloria in confusione ipsorum perpetua, et^{280/a} nisi cicius²⁸¹ compuncti resipiscant, ipsi insatiabilibus gehenne flammis esca futuri, a quibus nos erripere dignetur²⁸² Iesus, dei filius, qui cum patre, etc. Explicit.²⁸³

280. et *om. D* (ss. *D*²). 281. nisi cicius: incicius *D* (*corr. D*²).

282. dignetur: dignetur a quibus *D*² (a quibus *del.*). 283. ipsi . . . Explicit *om. D* (*add. D*²).

Notes

[1]

- a. Cf. 2 Esdr. 6.10.
- b. *Regula S. Benedicti* 73.7 (ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 [1960], 165): "Nobis autem desidiosis et male uiuentibus atque negligentibus rubur confusionis est."

[2]

- a. Cf. the Anselmian *De Humanis Moribus* 77 (ed. R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, *Memorials of St. Anselm, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi* I [London, 1969], p. 68): "Sed cum ordinis difficultas cogit eum vigilare cum vellet dormire, esurire cum vellet edere, sitire cum vellet bibere, tacere cum vellet loqui, legere vel cantare cum vellet quiescere, sedere cum vellet stare vel ambulare, aut stare vel ambulare cum vellet sedere, iniurias multas sustinere, propriam voluntatem ex toto deserere, 'Me miserum' inquit, 'hunc habitum quare suscepi?' "
- b. Cf. Cassian, *De Institutis Coenobiorum* 4.16 (ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17 [1888], 57): "cunctisque in synaxi fratribus congregatis tamdiu prostratus in terram ueniam postulabit."
- c. Cf. Cassian, *Inst.* 4.17, p. 58: "nullus ne muttire quidem audeat praeter eum, qui suae decaniae praeest."
- d. For the usual medieval view which interpreted favorably the monastery as a kind of prison see G. Penco, "Monasterium-Carcer," *Studia Monastica* 8 (1966), 133-143, and J. Leclercq, "Le cloître est-il une prison?," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 47 (1971), 407-420.

[5]

- a. Cf. Lc. 1.52.
- b. Cf. Rom. 12.15.

[8]

- a. Prou. 16.25.

[10]

- a. 1 Io. 3.15.
- b. Prou. 14.30.
- c. Sap. 2.24.
- d. Cf. Gen. 9.22-25.
- e. Exod. 13.14, 16.
- f. Num. 21.5-6.

[11]

- a. Matth. 15.19-20.
- b. Ps. 5.11.
- c. Sap. 1.3.

[13]

- a. a ceco . . . consilium: cf. Matth. 15.14.
- b. O sepulcrum . . . plenum: cf. Matth. 23.27.

[14]

- a. Cf. Lc. 2.51.
- b. Rom. 14.11.
- c. Sap. 8.1.
- d. 1 Cor. 3.19.
- e. Cf. Gen. 3.23–24.

[15]

- a. Gen. 3.5.
- b. Cf. Deut. 26.17, Ios. 22.5, and elsewhere in Bible.

[16]

- a. Cf. Matth. 25.14–30.
- b. Matth. 25.21, 23 and Lc. 19.17.

[18]

- a. 1 Reg. 15.22 (cf. Eccles. 4.17).
- b. Cf. sections 33, 49, 67, 69.

[19]

- a. Cf. Exod. 29.41, and elsewhere in Bible.
- b. Ps. 150.5.
- c. Cf. Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem* 1.8.8–9 (PL 76:858) and *Moralia* 30.12 (PL 76:530). See Paul Meyvaert, "Diversity within Unity, A Gregorian Theme," *Heythrop Journal* 4 (1963), 141–162.

[20]

- a. Gen. 4.4.
- b. Gen. 5.22.
- c. Noe . . . servauit: Gen. 6–10.
- d. 2 Esdr. 9.7 (cf. Gen. 12.1).
- e. Gen. 15.18–21.
- f. Gen. 21.1–7.
- g. Gen. 22.
- h. Gen. 17.5.
- i. in Egypto . . . liberauit: Gen. 39–45.
- j. Moyses . . . submersit: Exod. 7–14.
- k. Exod. 15.23–25.
- l. Exod. 19–24.
- m. Exod. 19–20.
- n. Exod. 26.
- o. Cf. Exod. 23.23, 27.
- p. Exod. 17.6.
- q. Gen. 16.
- r. Ios. 5.1.
- s. Ios. 6–12.
- t. Ios. 10.12–13.
- u. Ios. 6–11.
- v. Ios. 14–19.

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[21]

- a. regni consilii angelus: cf. introit antiphon of Christmas, third mass.
- b. Ephes. 4.8.
- c. Leo Magnus, *De Natiuitate Domini Sermo* 2.1 (PL 54:195), used in the liturgy: "diuina potestate subnixum est quod uirgo conceperit, quod uirgo pepererit, et uirgo permanserit."
- d. apostolorum chorus, gloriosus martyrum exercitus: from *Te Deum*: "Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus . . . Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus."
- e. 1 Cor. 2.9.

[22]

- a. Cf. Cicero, *De Fin.* 3.17.58.
- b. Matth. 10.16.
- c. Gen. 2.17.
- d. Gen. 1.31.
- e. Cf. Gen. 3.

[23]

- a. Mariam . . . euexit: cf. the first antiphon at first nocturn (also the similar verse and response) on 15 August (Assumption of the Virgin): "Exaltata est sancta dei genetrix super choros angelorum."

[25]

- a. Monks were expected to confess frequently. Thus, for example, the *Liber Consuetudinum Monachorum Eyneshamiae* 114 (ed. A. Gransden, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 2 [Siegburg, 1963], 78) stresses: "Monachi tam senes quam iuuenes, tam sani quam infirmi frequencius ad confessionem pergant." And the *Regularis Concordia* 22 (ed. Thomas Symons [Nelson's Medieval Classics: London, 1953], p. 18) requires confession every Sunday: ". . . dominicis diebus omni tempore ante Tertiam agantur, ita tamen ut fratrum unusquisque suae conscientiae reatum patri spirituali uel eius, si absens fuerit, uicario per humilem reuelet confessionem."
- b. Matth. 15.8.

[26]

- a. Ps. 130.1.
- b. Heb. 4.13.
- c. Ps. 130.2.
- d. Cf. 2 Esdr. 13.2.
- e. Ps. 118.107.
- f. Ps. 83.11.

[28]

- a. 2 Cor. 6.15.
- b. Sap. 1.5, 4.

[29]

- a. Matth. 11.28-30.
- b. Matth. 19.29.
- c. Cf. Eccli. 13.24: "Abominatio est superbo humilitas."

[30]

- a. Gen. 1.27.
- b. Cf. Lc. 14.27.

- c. 1 Esd. 6.7, 1 Cor. 3.16, and elsewhere in Bible.

[31]

- a. Matth. 19.29.
- b. Matth. 8.12, 22.13, 25.30.

[33]

- a. Cf. section 18, note b; cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini* 26 (ed. C. Halm, CSEL 1 [1866], 136; ed. J. Fontaines, *Sources chrétiennes* 133 [Paris, 1967], 312).
- b. Cf. Thren. 4.8.

[35]

- a. Ps. 36.16.
- b. Ps. 33.11.

[36]

- a. Parallel in section 60.

[37]

- a. Pss. 33.9, 85.5, 99.5; Ps. 30.20.
- b. Ps. 72.25.
- c. Ps. 41.2.
- d. Ps. 41.3.
- e. Ps. 35.9.

[38]

- a. Mar. 5.38.

[39]

- a. Matth. 19.29.
- b. 1 Pet. 5.8.
- c. Matth. 12.45 (cf. *ib.* 27.64); Lc. 11.26.
- d. Act. 7.39.
- e. Cf. Matth. 19.29.

[40]

- a. Gal. 1.10.
- b. Ps. 52.6.

[41]

- a. Much of this catalogue makes one think of the investigations of chroniclers like Matthew Paris (*ca.* 1190–1259).
- b. Prou. 2.14.

[44]

- a. Cf. Ps. 21.7.

[46]

- a. About the practice of medicine by medieval monks cf. my *Introd.* at n. 10; see David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd ed., Cambridge, Eng., 1966), pp. 516–518.

[47]

- a. The expression does not appear in the Vulgate or in the fictitious Pauline correspondence with Seneca, ed. C. W. Barlow (Horn, Austria, 1938).

56 CONTRA RELIGIONIS SIMVLATORES

[48]

- a. Both medicines were purgatives: see R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965), pp. 226, 483.

[49]

- a. Cf. Matth. 10.16.
- b. Cf. section 18, note b.
- c. Matth. 6.16.
- d. Matth. 6.5.
- e. Cf. Ephes. 6.6.

[50]

- a. Prou. 18.17.
- b. Cf. Ps. 78.5.

[52]

- a. Cf. Prou. 27.21, Sap. 3.6, Deut. 33.8, Tob. 12.13.
- b. Prou. 6.13.

[57]

- a. Ps. 1.1.
- b. Cf. Ezech. 34.12.
- c. Cf. Col. 3.12.

[58]

- a. Cf. Ierem. 17.18.

[59]

- a. Ps. 7.15.
- b. Ps. 48.13, 21.

[60]

- a. Gen. 1.27, Col. 3.10.
- b. Cf. section 36, note a.
- c. 4 Reg. 24, Dan. 1.1–2.
- d. Exod. 32.6, 1 Cor. 10.7.
- e. Gal. 5.17.

[61]

- a. 1 Cor. 9.27.
- b. Act. 9.15.
- c. 1 Tim. 2.7.
- d. 2 Tim. 2.5.
- e. Ps. 34.13.

[62]

- a. 1 Tim. 5.6.
- b. Lc. 14.27.
- c. The passage is probably echoing a monastic profession-formula.
- d. Concerning monastic food and drink see especially David Knowles, "Essays in Monastic History, 1066–1216: VII, The Diet of Black Monks," *The Downside Review* 52 (1934), 275–290, and idem, *Monastic Order*, pp. 456–466.

[64]

- a. For instances of the eating of meat by monks see Knowles, "Diet of Black Monks," pp. 282–289, and idem, *Monastic Order*, pp. 458–462.
- b. People in the later Middle Ages liked strongly seasoned food. Cinammon soup, for example, became a favorite food. See T. Austin, ed., *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books*, EETS 91 (London, 1888), viii–x.
- c. Cf. 1 Tim. 5.23.

[65]

- a. Ps. 108.24.
- b. Matth. 11.29.
- c. Lc. 16.19–22.
- d. Lc. 16.20–25.

[66]

- a. The feast day of St Benedict (died *ca.* 547) is 21 March.
- b. Whereas the usual secular meal in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries would have consisted of four or five courses, the black monks may have commonly enjoyed ten or thirteen, and as many as sixteen courses may have been consumed at Christ Church, Canterbury, on a major feast day: see Knowles, "Diet of Black Monks," pp. 280–282, and *Monastic Order*, pp. 463–464.

[67]

- a. Ps. 39.3.
- b. Cf. section 18, note b.

[68]

- a. plenus . . . Benedictus: cf. Gregory, *Dialogi Miraculorum* 2.8 (ed. U. Moricca [Rome, 1924], p. 93): "vir dei Benedictus . . . spiritu iustorum omnium plenus fuit." And cf. fourth antiphon for vespers on feast of St Benedict.
- b. *Regula S. Benedicti* 39.1, 3 (CSEL 75: 99).
- c. Act. 2.45; *Regula S. Augustini* (Praeceptum) 1.3–5 (ed. L. Verheijen, *Le règle de saint Augustin* 1 [Paris, 1967], 418–419).

[69]

- a. Gen. 9.22.
- b. Loth . . . multauit: Gen. 19.
- c. Cf. 1 Cor. 9.27.
- d. Cf. section 18, note b.

[70]

- a. Cf. Ps. 83.7.
- b. Vidit . . . perizomata: Gen. 3.6–7.
- c. Gen. 3.7.
- d. Ps. 50.7.

[71]

- a. Ierem. 9.21.
- b. Ps. 9.15.

[72]

- a. Rom. 13.13.

[73]

- a. Likewise Abbot Faricius of Abingdon gave choice pork ("optimum frustum carnis porcinae") to two monks: see *Chronicon Monasterii De Abingdon* 2, ed. Joseph Stevenson, RS (London, 1858), p. 287.

[74]

- a. The *Regula S. Benedicti* 35.12, 38.10, 37.2–3 (CSEL 75:94, 99, 97) provides for servers, cooks, the readers, the aged and children to anticipate the general eating.
- b. Juven. 6.270.

[76]

- a. Petronius, *Satyricon* 69–70, 74, speaks of similar feats by cook Daedalus.
- b. The *Liber De Coquina* 2.20–22 (ed. Marianne Mulon, "Deux traités inédits d'art culinaire médiéval," Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610)*, année 1968 [1971], 403–404) offers several recipes "de gallina implenda." Like the *Liber De Coquina*, the *Tractatus De Modo Preparandi Et Condiendi Omnia Cibaria* was composed at least as early as the fourteenth century. In the introduction of the latter work (ed. Mulon, *ibid.*, p. 380), the compiler declares that he gathered recipes from various sources including the courts of abbots: "... diuersa circuiui mundi climata, et commoratus fui ac moram contraxi in diuersis curiis et famosis, scilicet militum, abbatum . . . , in quibus de ferculis uariis delicatis conficiendis multos plurimos uidi." About medieval cook books see especially Marianne Mulon, "Les premières recettes médiévales," *Cahiers des annales* 28 (1970), 236–240.

[77]

- a. *Artocreae* are also mentioned as monastic food in the *De Obedientiariis Abendonae*, ed. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 392. Cf. Knowles, "Diet of Black Monks," p. 288, n. 1.

[78]

- a. Philipp. 3.19.

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2 EPISTOLAE AD AMICVM
AND THREE POEMS

Hoc op' exercitius obliuiscit accipe lectur
Incipe papies. nullo signis habet:
Epla prima ad aristotem.

**UOCTRE
QVENTER**
VACANS OTIOSCAP
TYRA TUE VILECTI
OMIS AMALIO COLLE
GISSEAY: TANDEAY

amoris tantis studio mu

rat' & grā tue reuerentie ea condicione
ad rescribendum p uirib; animū reueren
tam & redamanter induit. Quatin' in re
scriptuonib; nris discretiois inuirtu con
fidel' si quid utilitatis afferant. atq; ofir
mes auctoritate correctionis tue supposita.
Ne uidelicet unbecilliora ppter leuitate
pondē careant. & sublimiorib; scriptis fu
mositatis. a consensu in uale reddant. & par
tib; Hamq; sepius euenit. quod cū scripta
aliqui auctoritatis sententia non p pen
dentel ingenii uelocitate discurrunt: utro
lo pocupati conamine. nichil sensu pa
pini. limosof tantū oculos arboris in uala
decoratatione decanem? Sic q; scripturar
edificia & sententiarū compaginationes
offendunt: ut nec sciant qd ius missa
contineant. nec q fidemul qualitatē qn
titatisq; p portione. exerceat lecta qd ru
minant. putam' u nichil extraneū nich
abfurdū in ee. cū possum' in breui legen
do totam paginā oculoꝝ leuitate pcurre
si: laet' interius uelatu cortice sumen. hinc
enī scripturē modū & formā diuersitatis
ihonestatē insignē. Quatin' qui ex dō
ra recte tractauerit. philosophico docu
mento possit intrāus grana referta col
ligere. Ex uno sepe eodēq; studio scripta
diuersa conapit: si p digressiones &
multiplicationes nru suppositarū ead
scriptura finit' ingentib; diuersis & plib;
Opponit & lectorē subale ut habeat sensū

& uale. Nec in pmiss oculorū itab' cū occurrit
pagina fastidiat: si usq; ad intellectū memo
riale legendi assiduitat. & animi firma p
ceptio frequē resolutione pducatur. Erit. it.
tunc placens & mera & fidatio. qn & inspec
tor lecta cognouerit & lectoris animū fide
le & prudentē blanda & recta uerbor col
latione scripta pbauerint. Dulcis quidē &
fidelis erit lectio. si fuerit recta in explana
tione litterarū genuatio. & in sententiarū
ponderositate discretio. Delectabilis etiā
lectionis audicio: cū & auditoris beniuo
los habebim'. & pulcra pnnuntiatione uer
borū & parciū distinctione accentos compa
bim' & doctes. Iam scripturē sensu accomo
dant. ut ingeniosa & structione obscuriora
que fuerint: mentis indagatione apti uideant.
Hic an difficultatis obstitit. si ad plenū qe
tione cura satagatur rationis iure sube
gerit. O' nro g' grē benignitatis tue trac
tatis ittegral' in partes eplārū uarietate
distinctus. ut tue defensionis supposito & dis
cipline tue correctione firmatus. qd n au
debat ppter resistētia liba fronte pcedat.
in publicum. Quāq; noueri aliq' sibi sua
estimatione p'at. q pot' iusta d'p'are qm pra
ua corrigē consueuerunt. Ad hoc enī tur
bato capite impudenter accedunt. hac sim
plicitate uidelicet. ut cum fructuosū aliqd
opari non possint. falsis oppositionib; qd
dam simile confici neruosa de puatione
uideant. Q' cū modū ueri. nichil recti p
tulerint. illoꝝ nob declinandū ab itine. ut
ne participemus murtio. detestandū eoꝝ
de reorū. consortiū. Tuus itaq; studis epla
rū mearū suppono iudiciū: ut si qndo
maliquib; fuerit offensio. uoluntatis tue
auctor ai ope fabricat' obsequio. Hoc aū
solū a te impetare dehido. ut tui memo
ris in memor n' existas. Val.

atq; pulcrū & familiare tue frui
tatis. recepisse mandatu: qd & am
mū saluat & consolationis medicamentū

Introduction

THE second text in *Analecta Dublinensia* is an unpublished collection of thirty twelfth-century letters found in Trinity College Dublin MS 184 (B.2.17) and Hereford Cathedral MS P.i.15. Three poems, likewise unpublished, follow the letters in the Dublin codex, and they were probably composed by the epistolographer.¹

Both the Dublin and the Hereford manuscripts give the first letter in the collection the title of *Epistola Ad Amicum*. Something of the nature of the collection is indicated by the fact that the author calls it a *tractatus* [5]. He states that he wrote the thirty letters and assembled them for publication [5, 200–201]. They include a letter in the form of a response to the author (Ep. 8, *Rescriptio Patris*) that has to be reckoned as one of the thirty; so apparently it was produced by the author himself rather than by his putative correspondent. It is very much in the style of the other letters.

The author was fond of inserting original verses into his letters, and the three poems that follow the thirty letters in the Dublin manuscript are probably to be attributed to him. The authorship of the fragment about the selection of superiors (Appendix A) is less certain. This piece comes at the end of the third poem and was left unfinished by the scribe, although he had plenty of blank space on folio 160 to write more. The relationship, if any, between the fragment and the collection of letters and poems is unclear. As for the poems, each seems to be directed to a different recipient. Poem C could well have been intended for the same audience as the letters. Poem A addresses a former student who had been a lustful drunkard, and poem B is directed to a renegade monk who is questing for gold and living with a mistress.

1. Hans Walther, *Initia Carminum Ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959), no. 10176, records from Schenkl (see below, n. 28) the *initium* of the first poem, but not of the other two. An English summary of the letters and poems follows the Introduction. The poems are all apparently epistles too.

In 1953 Jean Leclercq briefly called attention to the letters in his “Écrits spirituels d’Elmer de Cantorbéry,” *Studia Anselmiana* 31 (1953), 46–47, n. 4. He rightly disavowed the possibility that Elmer of Canterbury was the author of the letters, which had been suggested by A. T. Bannister, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library* (Hereford, 1927), p. 112. There is nothing in the letters to link them with Elmer. Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, also observes that the letters have a “caractère très littéraire” and “mériteront une étude spéciale.”

The letters are an interesting example of the medieval epistolary genre.² Not only does the author call his work a *tractatus*, but also the individual letters lack the usual epistolary forms, especially salutations. Other symptoms of the artistic, literary quality of the letters are the poetic intrusions and closes, the prominent use of direct quotations (which, as in Ep. 10, appear to be rhetorical inventions), a strongly moralistic flavor, the artificial division of the story of Benedict into three letters (Epp. 18–20), the *Rescriptio Patris* (Ep. 8) written in the name of the addressee by the author of the collection, and the story of the pilgrim to Jerusalem whose last activities are reported, even though he and all of his companions succumbed when their ship sank (Ep. 16).

Both at the beginning and at the end of the work the author mentions the practice of *uarietas*, a characteristic of the genre intended to serve the principle that variety is the refreshment of man (“epistolarum uarietate distinctus” [5]; “rei enim uariatio hominis est recreatio” [203]). The author fulfills this requirement by strewing his composition with anecdotes, verses, moralizations, sermonettes, rhetorical descriptions and characterizations. The desire to entertain, to give moral exhortation and to provide a stylistic model must have been the primary motivation in preparing the collection of letters [200–201]. Historical precision was sacrificed for the sake of literary art. Fiction and fact are mixed,³ and the style is stilted and artificial rather than spontaneous.

As a result of these characteristics, held in common with other medieval epistolary collections, the letters in the Dublin manuscript require care when one examines them for historical information. They are not easy to date and are often imprecise about people and events. The author himself declares that he is deliberately suppressing his name and that of the recipient [26, 204], and he announces the suppression of other personal names as well [19, 28, 34].

Consequently the exact identity of the author cannot be established, but there are some clues. He was undoubtedly a monk [47; B, lines 41–42] and may have been associated with the guest-house of his monastery in an official capacity [119; 136; C, lines 3–11]. He was at St Albans, or near it, when Abbot Geoffrey de Gorham died [49].⁴ He had seen Geoffrey only the week before,

2. Concerning the characteristics of the medieval epistolary genre see Giles Constable, ed., *The Letters of Peter the Venerable* 2, Harvard Historical Studies 78 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 1–12, with important bibliography on pp. 4–12; Jean Leclercq, “Le genre épistolaire au moyen âge,” *Revue du moyen âge latin* 2 (1946), 63–70, and “Lettres de S. Bernard: Histoire ou littérature?” *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 12 (1971), 1–74, with valuable bibliography on pp. 12–16. See also Natalis Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistolas Apud Gallicos Medii Aevi Scriptores Rhetoresque* (Paris, 1880).

3. Leclercq, “Écrits spirituels,” p. 47, n. 4, calls the present collection “lettres fictives.”

4. Concerning Abbot Geoffrey see Matthew Paris, *Vitae Viginti Trium Sancti Albani Abbatum* (or, *Gesta Abbatum*), ed. W. Wats in Paris’ *Opera* (Paris, 1644), pp. 35–41, = Thomas Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, 1

and he laments the death of the abbot [50]: “Quare illum tanquam furatum *nobis* et latenter ab hac luce subtractum lugeamus.” The *nobis* can be interpreted as meaning the writer and his fellow monks at St Albans, although the word might also be understood to mean only the writer and his addressee. In all likelihood, however, the author was a monk of St Albans, for he certainly knows about the internal politics of the abbey and is emotionally involved in them (Ep. 10). It is not really significant that he was unnoticed by Matthew Paris, a passionate devotee of St Albans who became a monk there in 1217. At any rate, the letters were compiled probably not very long after the death of Abbot Geoffrey (26 February 1146).⁵

The author says that he wrote at the request of a friend [200–201], to whom he offered the work for correction and protection [5]. At least some of the letters may be responses to communications from this friend (cf. [1]), and all but one of the thirty letters (Ep. 8) are addressed to him.

A portrait of the real or fictitious addressee can be formed from scattered references in the letters. Like the author, he was a monk [6, 9, 12] and a friend of Geoffrey de Gorham [49, 55]. The addressee had a sister [198] and a troublesome adopted son who was devoured by a bear while the youth was hunting (Epp. 7–8). The addressee was, or had been, a teacher [145, 155] and apparently had taught the author [27], who not only refers to him as *pater* [32, 102, 200] or *paternitas* [27, 31, 51, 103], but also mentions his *auctoritas* [16, 78, 115, 118] and his *sanctitas* and *altitudo* [85]. Though the two men had been reared together [21], the author confesses his presumption in writing as an equal to his friend [15], seemingly a man of higher standing in religious life. This friend dared to reject an invitation or summons to appear at the royal court [194], a gesture which pleased the author [195].

(RS; London, 1867), 72–106; William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* 2 (London, 1819), 184–185; VCH: Hertfordshire, 4 (London, 1914), 374–375; DNB 7 (1950), 1011–1012; W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., ser. 3, no. 33, vol. 3 (Göttingen, 1952), 128–130, 166–168, 261; O. Pächt, et al., *The St. Albans Psalter*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 25 (London, 1960), pp. 5, 28; David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd ed., Cambridge, Eng., 1966), pp. 187–188; David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales 940–1216* (Cambridge, Eng., 1972), p. 67.

Geoffrey was abbot of St Albans from 1119 to 1146. Paris' account of Geoffrey and his immediate successors was copied by Walsingham: see Riley, *op. cit.*, p. x, and Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, Eng., 1958), p. 182.

5. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 2 (RS; London, 1874), 178; Paris, *Vitae Abbatum*, p. 41, = Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum*, p. 96. In view of the “*totius Anglie primatem*” applied to Archbishop Theobald in Ep. 10 [65], cf. the statement of Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (New York, 1969), p. 192, that the frequency of the title “*totius Anglie primas*” greatly declined in Theobald's own charters after 1150.

But not everyone approved of the addressee. His successes drew the contempt of the envious. They regarded him as simple and unworldly [22], and there were those who hungered for news of a disaster to him [19]. One enemy accused him to the bishop [25] and tore up a letter that was evidently of some special significance [22]. The same enemy of the author's friend countered his *sermones* with false teaching and stirred "our companions" to rebellion [23]. The author even speaks of "our faction" (*nostrae parti*) and says, "I always feared that an enemy might corrupt the spirit of our faction and destroy us" [21, 19].

In other words, the author informs the reader of the collection that the cause of his addressee is his own cause and stresses repeatedly their friendship [15, 18, 21, 27, 118, 133, 138, 199].⁶ The addressee functions as a kind of alter ego for the author by sharing his concerns and by exhibiting the desirable qualities to which the author aspires. The influence of the author's idealized friend has been felt in teaching the author to be more discreet [164], so that he is able to assume guilt in writing a letter of reconciliation to a third person [193]. Among the qualities that the author admires in his friend are his excellence in expression [6, 7, 10, 13, 115], his monastic way of life [8–12], his brilliant mind which is capable of penetrating ambiguities [115], and his devotion to meditation, reading and teaching [48, 116].

The author describes himself as differing from his correspondent primarily in temperament. During their early days at school, the author engaged in play and frivolity, while his friend was serious and busy with teaching and writing [11]. The author is tempestuous [24, 26, 32, 164, 180], given to using his fists to settle controversies [32]. He regards himself as irascible, rash and impetuous, sometimes to the point of being unable to govern himself [26, 164]. In contrast his friend is described as a gentle man who loves everyone and despises no one [15]. He brushes away grievances that others would take to heart [23] and likes to make peace between enemies [193]. In short, the friend is described in such a way as to merit frequent use of the appellations *sanctitas tua* and *sanctitas uestra* [14, 27, 34, 41, 42, 112, 131].

Because of these differences, the author allows himself to express hostility toward some of his friend's associates [22–23, 179–180, 182],⁷ an emotion which would be foreign to the addressee himself. Among those singled out is a wrong-doing servant of the addressee [182], and the author is suspicious of servants in general (Ep. 25).

6. In letters 3, 4, 11 and 29 the author theorizes on the nature of friendship. Such discussions were popular in the twelfth century. See above, *Contra Religionis Simulatores*, Introduction, n. 12.

7. In poem C the author expresses hostility toward Sergius. This Sergius had been commended to the author by the addressee of the poem, who in all likelihood is also the addressee of the letters.

The reader may decide whether the author succeeds in drawing a credible portrait of a real correspondent, whose visits were pleasurably anticipated [48, 55, 187] and with whom were exchanged more messages than are preserved [6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 21–22, 24, 33, 135, 154, 193]. Anyway, there is no doubt that the author was interested in the people he encountered, and the collection provides a colorful portrait gallery of twelfth-century characters, like the drunken visitor (Ep. 6), the dying demoniac (Ep. 12), the boorish glutton (Ep. 15) and the persecuted student (Epp. 18–19). If the epistolographer was an official in the guest-house of his monastery, he would have had plentiful opportunity to observe his characters and to hear gossip and stories, such as the one about the pilgrims whose ship sank on the way to Jerusalem and the one about the miracle of St James (Epp. 12, 16).⁸

Apart from the literary merit of the author's observations of twelfth-century life, the collection is interesting for the discussion of the events at St Albans following the death of Abbot Geoffrey de Gorham. Some of the author's statements are corroborated by Matthew Paris: the fact that Geoffrey was kind to the poor [54, 61],⁹ the fact that he founded a nunnery [54],¹⁰ and the fact that Abbot Robert de Gorham was a nephew of Geoffrey and a man of learning [69].¹¹

But it is evident that the author and Matthew Paris represent conflicting parties concerning Alchinus, a claimant to the abbacy. In Ep. 10 the author is bitter about Prior Alchinus, who is "nequam nec priorem sed peiorem" [56], whereas Paris favorably portrays the prior as a "uirum commendabilem"¹² and "uirum uitae uenerabilem."¹³ Other variations between the two accounts are likewise striking. Matthew Paris says nothing about Alchinus' having been prior under Abbot Geoffrey, about a faction backing the prior, about his support from Rome, about the participation of the archbishop of Canterbury in the

8. If the writer was a monk at St Albans, he would have had a particularly good opportunity for contact with many diverse people: cf. Vaughan, *op. cit.*, p. 11, "... the cloister at St Albans was by no means secluded . . . One wonders if it is right to use the term 'the outside world' in reference to a monastery like St Albans, which was in many ways at the very heart of affairs."

9. Paris, *Vitae Abbatum*, pp. 37–38, = Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum*, pp. 82–83.

10. Paris, *Vitae*, p. 37, = Walsingham, *Gesta*, pp. 80–81. Ep. 9 also reports that Abbot Geoffrey sustained twenty-four anchorites. Concerning the hermits associated with St Albans, see C. H. Talbot, ed., *The Life of Christina of Markyate, a Twelfth Century Recluse* (Oxford, 1959); idem, "Christina of Markyate: A Monastic Narrative of the Twelfth Century," *Essays and Studies*, n. s. 15 (1962), 13–26; H. Dauphin, "L'érémisme en Angleterre aux xi^e et xii^e siècles," in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli xi e xii*, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore: *Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali* 4 (Milan, 1965), 295–300.

11. Paris, *Vitae*, p. 42, = Walsingham, *Gesta*, pp. 110–111.

12. Paris, *Vitae*, p. 41, = Walsingham, *Gesta*, p. 107.

13. Paris, *Vitae*, p. 42, = Walsingham, *Gesta*, p. 109.

dispute, or about royal intervention and the nullification of Alchinus' abbacy.¹⁴ In fact Matthew Paris does not say that there was any contention about the abbacy after Geoffrey's death.

The letters, however, do not report that Alchinus was prior under Abbot Ralph, who according to Paris persecuted Alchinus unjustly until he joined another monastery.¹⁵ The letters do not mention Ralph at all, although Paris records him as Geoffrey's immediate successor through a unanimous election.¹⁶ What Ep. 10 states is that the king visited the monastery after Geoffrey's death and named Robert de Gorham as abbot, a choice which the monks accepted [68–71]. The king in question must have been Stephen, who visited St Albans both in connection with the election of Ralph and later in connection with the election of Robert.¹⁷ The archbishop of Canterbury throughout this time was Theobald of Bec (1139–1161).

Can it be that King Stephen's decision was changed after Ep. 10 had already been written, and that Robert became abbot only five years later? Or is Matthew Paris' account simply untrustworthy?¹⁸ On the other hand, the events may have been manipulated by the author of the letters, both for partisan reasons and for literary effect. It is necessary to keep in mind the artificial, rhetorical nature of the epistolary genre.

Letter 12, describing a miracle in which St James saves a hanged man, deserves particular attention because it provides another twelfth-century narrative for comparison with the famous text of the story in the Codex Calixtinus.¹⁹ There are remarkable differences between the two versions. The Codex Calixtinus includes these details omitted in letter 12: the event is dated 1090, the pilgrims are Germans, the crime occurs at Toulouse. According to the letter, the evil host first tried unsuccessfully to murder the rich pilgrim [90], and no mention occurs that the host got the pilgrims intoxicated, as in the Liber Calixtinus. The father's pilgrimage lasts a year [98], not thirty-six days as the Codex Calixtinus relates, and the townspeople do not hang the malefactor, but

14. See Ep. 10.

15. Paris, *Vitae*, pp. 41–42, = Walsingham, *Gesta*, pp. 107–110. Concerning Abbot Ralph and Abbot Robert de Gorham see Knowles, Brooke, London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 67.

16. Paris, *Vitae*, p. 41, = Walsingham, *Gesta*, p. 106.

17. Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, pp. 178, 187.

18. Vaughan, *op. cit.*, p. 134: "Owing to his occasional indulgence in unscrupulous falsification Matthew can never be relied on in his treatment of historical material . . . His sporadic tampering with documentary sources, and misuse of historical material, as well as his many errors, make him basically unreliable as a historical source." See Vaughan, pp. 37–38, on Paris' blunders.

19. *Liber Sancti Iacobi* (Codex Calixtinus) 2.5, ed. W. M. Whitehill, 1 (Santiago de Compostella, 1944), 267–268. Cf. F. C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum* (Helsinki, 1969), nos. 2236, 3796.

burn him and his house [101]. For ease of comparison the text of the Codex Calixtinus is reproduced in Appendix B.²⁰

Letters 18–20, tracing the career of a certain Benedict, offer a memorable picture of an ill-dressed, ill-fed medieval student in France [147–149]. Benedict is persecuted by a jealous teacher, who resorts to the use of a wax image of the youth to torture him [150–151].²¹ The teacher also tries to lessen Benedict's favor with "magistrum uniuersalem T." [140].

Whom is the author referring to as Master T.? Perhaps, and only perhaps, he meant Thierry of Chartres, already a *scholarum magister* in 1121, chancellor of Chartres from 1141 to about 1150, and author of the *Heptateuchon* on the liberal arts.²² More likely he had in mind Gilbertus Anglicus, an Englishman by birth who was known as "Uniuersalis."²³ Gilbert taught at Auxerre before he became bishop of London (1128–1134). If this identification is correct, either the author or a copyist changed the initial "G." to a "T."

Benedict became a chaplain to papal legate A. after his abbot was deposed [162]. The same expression, "abbate iam deposito," occurs in letter 9 [68] in connection with the overthrow of Alchinus at St Albans. If Benedict was a monk at St Albans and became chaplain to a papal legate after Alchinus' downfall, the legate would have to be John Paparo, who was in England in 1150:²⁴ once again the initial must have been changed. The pope who was friendly to Benedict [162] would have to be Eugenius III. Yet, there is really no clear-cut evidence to link Benedict to St Albans, and if the initial "A." is to be taken seriously, the legate in question should be Anselm of S. Sabas (1115–1119) or Alberic of Ostia (1138/1139).²⁵

20. Appendix B presents Whitehill's text (cf. n. 19) with several emendations of my own as indicated there.
21. The use of wax images for supposedly torturing human victims was known to the Middle Ages: e.g., *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 102, ed. H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), pp. 428–431, and Odo Rigaldus, *Registrum Visitationum*, entry for iii kl. Dec. 1260, ed. T. Bonnin (Rouen, 1852), p. 379.
22. Concerning Thierry of Chartres see M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 3 (Munich, 1931), 198–202, and especially A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge*, Mémoires de la société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir 11 (Chartres, 1895), pp. 169–172, 220–239, 317–318.
23. The title is not discussed in F. Pelster, "Die Ehrentitel der scholastischen Lehrer des Mittelalters," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 103 (1922), 37–56, or in P. Lehmann, "Mittelalterliche Beinamen und Ehrentitel," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 49 (1929), 215–239. Concerning Gilbertus Anglicus see B. Smalley, "Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128–34), and the Problem of the 'Glossa Ordinaria'," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 7 (1935), 237. "Universalis" was likewise applied, but apparently by late tradition, to Alan of Lille (ca. 1128–1202): see W. H. Cornog, *The Anticlaudian of Alain de Lille* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 22.
24. H. Tillmann, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in England bis zur Beendigung der Legation Gualas (1218)* (Bonn, 1926), pp. 52, 155.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25, 38–41.

The style of the letters is also a matter of interest. It is obvious that the author had a penchant for both prose and verse. His letters often break into dactylic hexameters or elegaic couplets—accentual eight-syllable trochaic verse also appears [173]—and he frequently closes a letter with verse. Several striking irregularities may be found in his poems (although the possibility of scribal responsibility ever lurks): A, line 8; A, 14; B, 69; C, 17. These lines are metrically lawless, as is line 55 in poem B, unless one runs together the *ia* of *sotialis* by synizesis (cf. *ea* in *Detineamus* [48]). Some vowels, as in *Gūla* [123], alter quantity.

The author's Latinity was partially influenced by classical poets (Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal) as well as by the Vulgate, and he has undeniably been a student of Horace's *Ars Poetica*.²⁶ His prose style is sonorous, stilted, and occasionally bombastic, with a fondness for ponderous rare words like *decorticatione* [2], *rationabilitatis* [170] and *sesquipedant* [185]. Certainly the total effect is one of artificial elegance. Nevertheless, the language is often rhythmic and colorful, and occasionally even dramatic, as in the letters about St Albans (Epp. 9–10) and about Benedict (Epp. 18–20).

The author's vocabulary shows a fondness for words ending in some form of *-iuus*, such as *precogitatie* [58], *significatie* [115] and *suppositiua* [141]. A few non-deponent verbs are treated as deponent, and vice versa: e.g., *assisterer* [120], *cruciat* (A, line 57), *euomerer* [123]; and *fabularet* [34], *uagarent* [62], *philosofaret* [161]. The author employs some archaic infinitives: e.g., *medicari* [30], *uindicari* [180].

Also noteworthy are the use of the nominative as the subject of an infinitive in indirect discourse [110, at n. 21] and the use of *ut* with the indicative in a purpose clause [188, at n. 9]. Attention should be called to *sedet hospicio* [35], impersonal use of *impedit* [87] and intransitive use of *fregit* [127]. If in the following instances *hospicium* is meant as "guest-house" rather than as "hospitality", then the accusative with a preposition is conspicuously absent: *pernoctandi gratia hospicio uenit* [119], *"conuiuandi gratia inuitantur hospicio"* [136]. In contrast see *"uenit ad hospitium"* (C, line 7).

The letters, the three poems (A, B and C, as I designate them) and the fragment about superiors²⁷ are preserved in Trinity College Dublin codex 184 (B.2.17), which has among its 160 leaves (11-1/8 x 8 inches) texts in English hands of the twelfth century.²⁸ The *Epistolae*, in double columns of 43 lines,

26. See the notes to the texts of the letters and poems.

27. The Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, has no record of this piece (published here as Appendix A).

28. Concerning the codex see T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin and London, 1900), p. 25; H. Schenkl, *Bibliotheca*

together with the three poems and the fragment, stand last in the codex (folios 143–160). They are preceded by Hildebert's letters (folios 95–134^v) and by verses of Hildebert and his school (folios 135–142^v). Elsewhere the codex contains letters of Ivo of Chartres (folios 8–93) and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum* (folios 93^v–94^v). The *Epistolae Ad Amicum*, the three poems and the fragment were executed in the second half of the twelfth century: the letters and poems are possibly by one scribe, using a current style of penmanship in the latter half of his copying; the fragment is by a different scribe.

The codex once belonged to the monastery of St Peter in Gloucester, then to Thomas Cranmer and subsequently to John Lumley. James Ussher, whose manuscripts were acquired by Trinity College Dublin about 1660, obtained the codex from the Royal Library through his friend Patrick Young, librarian of the royal collection.²⁹

The thirty letters, without the poems and the piece about superiors, likewise appear in Hereford Cathedral codex P.i.15 on folios 123–146^v (8½ x 6½ inches), in an English hand of the second half of the twelfth century.³⁰ The letters are copied with thirty lines to the page. Among the book's x + 166 leaves are also letters of Ivo of Chartres (folios 1–122^v), letters of Gilbert Foliot (folios 147–154^v) and a collection of poems by Hildebert (folios 155–162^v). The codex belonged to the Franciscan house of Hereford.

A. B. Scott, who examined carefully the Hereford text of Hildebert's poems, concluded that while the Dublin and Hereford manuscripts were of approximately the same age, the Hereford text was copied from the Dublin manuscript.³¹ It is probably likewise true that the text of the *Epistolae Ad Amicum* in the Hereford manuscript (H) was copied from the Dublin manuscript (D). D and H share many corruptions, and generally, where there is a divergence between the two texts, H offers the inferior reading. This is not invariably so, since

Patrum Latinorum Britannica 2, 3 (Vienna, 1896), p. 50, no. 3307; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), p. 92; A. B. Scott, "The Poems of Hildebert of Le Mans: A New Examination of the Canon," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968), 44; A. B. Scott, ed., *Hildeberti Cenomannensis Episcopi Carmina Minora* (Leipzig, 1969), p. viii.

29. See Sears Jayne and F. R. Johnson, *The Lumley Library* (London, 1956), pp. 80, 304; William O'Sullivan, "Ussher as a Collector of Manuscripts," *Hermathena* 88 (1956), 38; T. C. Barnard, "The Purchase of Archbishop Ussher's Library in 1657," *Long Room* 4 (1971), 9–14.

30. Concerning the Hereford codex see Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 3, 2 (1898), 25, no. 4194; Bannister, *op. cit.* (above, n. 1), pp. 111–112; Ker, *op. cit.*, p. 100; A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters* (Cambridge, Eng., 1965), pp. 26, 28, 58; Scott, "Poems of Hildebert," p. 46; Scott in his edition of Hildebert's *Carmina Minora*, p. x.

31. Scott, ed., *Hildebert's Carmina Minora*, p. xv.

chance and emendation make it possible for a copyist to effect some improvements. Several poor readings in H can be explained by supposing that its scribe sometimes misunderstood D:

[164], at note 5, agendis: agend' D, agendum H

[178], at note 13, uiuit: uiū D, uiuum H

[202], at note 19, incrementum: increm̄t[—] D, incrementer H

At the corresponding location where a patch of parchment with writing on it dropped off at the bottom of folio 158 in D (traces of paste may still be seen), MS H does not preserve the words missing in D, but offers a continuous faulty text. It would seem therefore that the patch had already fallen off before the scribe of H began to transcribe and that he was unaware of its absence. Another small amount of text, probably carried on a patch, has been lost from the foot of folio 158^v in D, but H is not affected since it does not contain the three poems that follow the thirty letters in D.

In the critical apparatus D^c indicates uncertainty as to which hand in D was responsible for a given correction. In the notes, *Luc.* denotes Lucan and not Luke (*Lc.*). *Sprichw.* refers to Hans Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters*, 6 volumes (Göttingen, 1963–1969).

Summary

I

Having often thought about your writing, I finally and reluctantly decided to send you my writing in return, for I desire your corrections. Indeed it is important to read everything carefully and to notice the form and manner of each text. A reader should not dash over a page but read through it again and again with firm perception and frequent pondering until the content is brought thoroughly into the memory. I am sending you this collection of letters, divided into three parts, so that the work, strengthened by your defense and correction, may become public.

II

Your friendly and pleasing message has restored my unhappy spirit. So excellently composed was the letter that reading it three and four times was not sufficient: I read it almost daily. In your letter you spoke about inscrutable divinity. To me it is granted to believe in Him; to you, who pursue wisdom, it is granted to speak about Him. Divinity is close to you, for virginity is near to God.

Alas, how pain afflicts my spirit when I see the gifts of your faith. Though I am your close friend, I am distant from you in endowment. I see no merit in myself but am confident that your loving-kindness will supply the good that has been lacking in me. For while we were among the scholars, you would comfort me if I was saddened or was occupied with public concerns. Both then and now, unlike you, I am easily disturbed and readily inclined toward trouble.

Indeed you lived by divine inspiration. And when the rest of us played and did frivolous things, you used to write or teach. After you completed your schooling, you withdrew from earthly delights, and you have constantly been intent on prayer or reading. No one has been granted to speak more usefully or more sweetly about God than yourself. Your letter was both pleasant and instructive.

III

May your help never decrease, and may I never feel your wrath. I write to you as if to an equal, which is an act of presumption, but comradely love is responsible. You hold no one in contempt, no one inferior to yourself. I am aware of your friendship in both adversity and prosperity, and I regard myself as fortunate both in having entered into your friendship and in retaining it.

IV

Yesterday, when we were occupied by many chores, a man whose name had better be omitted came from your area in full haste (something unusual). The people standing nearby were astounded at the man's sudden arrival, and some hoped beyond hope that a mishap had befallen you. They pondered the adversities that they wished for you. These people, once your friends, are envious of success. How dangerous are false friends. I, your secret confidant, who was reared with you from early youth, took the messenger aside to interrogate him. I have always feared that some enemy might corrupt the spirit of our faction and destroy us. But I am heartened by your letter, which reveals that you are not moved by suspicion or vain delight from right to wrong, even though envious men regard you as simple, as a man without know-how, and laugh at you as a guileless person.

Your letter reported that one of your associates took from your hands a letter which you used to read frequently and tore it into tiny bits like a mad dog. There was no rational explanation for his behavior, but you were unmoved. However, I resent the shame brought upon you. That man always had a bestial, irrational mind. He was envious of your knowledge. Ever ready to combat the truth with sophistry, he used to counter your statements with false teaching. By use of deception he even incited rebellion among some of your companions. So I wonder at your patience and kindness in not wishing to remove him in order to avoid the contamination of contact with him.

Even if you should be untainted by him on account of your holiness, have concern for those of us who because of ignorance may become involved in his acts. Do remove him. Remember that he turned his inexplicable anger toward me to the point that I almost went mad. And I would have become mad, had I not been restored by your letter, which revealed something new—your venerable face drawn because of repressed anger. And it is no wonder, for two things were upsetting you—the false charge against me and your long-standing friendship for him. You have forgotten that he accused you before the bishop and filled the ears of the people with a false story. And yet he remains, undeservedly, a close friend of yours! Your innate kindliness has forced the incident from your mind,

but I do not have your restraint and self-control. The least thing arouses me. At a single word I burst into such hostility that a friend can scarcely calm my anger, for I have an excessively sanguine nature.

Keep my name and my written work secret.

V

When we were students you used to recite a proverb about a fool. Because I was closer to you than were the others, I supposed that you were referring to me. Perhaps you meant that I was tending toward honorable pursuits less than I should have been. But since I cannot recall any hidden offense on my part, you must have thought of someone whose name I will not mention, but whose activity is publicly known. His shameful worldliness drew him to whatever was illicit.

After the impetus to seek vain delights died, he wept over his guilt and thought of penance. But he kept his sin a secret so that others might not imitate his example and avoid the life of the community. Realizing the good that was in him and how he was injuring himself, I opposed his luxury and exhorted him in writing to change his character. However, I was not successful. Therefore I beg you to write to him and bring him to his senses, for he is near death. Your help is necessary to purify his slippery conscience and to free me from a difficult duty. For this man, proud through his pursuit of reading, often amassed such powerful statements against me that we frequently opposed bodies rather than words and resorted to fists. I think that a demon was responsible. We battered each others' views with a rapid succession of body blows, our anger making us more foolish and worse on parting than on meeting.

VI

Your message brought me great comfort, so that I was even able to rid myself of a stomach-ache. A friend of yours (I omit his name) was present. When your words were read, he sometimes convulsed with laughter and sometimes a pallor occupied his face, these reactions being contrary in each case to the sense of the letter. I realized that he had become tipsy. He kept diverting attention from inquiries and made sport of everything. But while talking he fell into his own trap—he revealed that he had been detained at a long banquet of clerics.

Well, let me tell you something for the refreshment of your wearied body so that constant gravity may not dull your subtle intellect. In the summer, when school friends left their studies as usual for vacation, one of them, involved in a private matter, stayed at an inn. As the result of a crime (I will not mention its nature so that others will not take it as an example), he was severely punished to the point that he could only bellow and whisper instead of talk, and bound up, he awaited still greater punishment to come on the next day. His companions,

passing by, noticed his pain. Moved by their friendship with him, they prepared a fire with wood, hay, and straw and might have burned the upper part of the city along with the inn, had not those neighboring the inn intervened. As it happened a sudden gust of wind enkindled the fire, and scarcely could the bystanders save themselves by flight. The youth who was bound up cried for help but could not escape. The fire penetrated his lacerated limbs and left only his head, minus its hair. This crow-like remnant stirred the laughter of the companions. The hairless head remains. If you don't believe me, come to see it for yourself.

VII

Your adopted son was hunting in the woods. A bear tore him apart and left only the bones. Inadvertently I came upon the evidence of the killing. I did not recognize to whom the scattered bones belonged, but as I drew closer, I saw the severed head with the quivering tongue hanging out. I lifted the head and recognized the face of your son, once the consolation of your life. Then I wondered how I might break the sad news to his mother and father and realized that it would be desirable for the deceased to be reconciled to the church through your prayers. By your tears and prayer you may bring him from the bad to the good and God may forgive his guilt.

VIII

Reply of the Father

I know that in your grief you are unable to write to me thoroughly about the death of my son. He had always been troublesome. His was a perverse heart. The innate malevolence of his wicked spirit was concealed by a veneer of seductive innocence so that he might not be offensive to the companions among whom he dwelt. He reached manhood, not by sense but by age, and threw off the authority of his father, who had admonished him not to covet, intensify quarrelling, or pursue plundering. He was likewise urged to avoid trying to control all nature, but disobeyed me even in this, and he scorned my effort to have him esteem study. In fact, he did worse things than I have enumerated. I do mourn the loss to my quasi-parenthood. I am sorry that he is dead to goodness and that his soul will be tortured everlastingly. I should have control over myself and not grieve like a fool, but paternal love rules me. So I beg you to keep silent henceforth, and not spread a word about my grief publicly.

IX

I keep writing to you since I know that you are not wearied by constant reading. Your mind disentangles ideas no matter how complex they are, and I

shamelessly call upon your learning. In order to rid your heart of sadness, I invite you to spend time in conversation with me—let me keep the old bond between us.

When I was sitting in bed and studying, I suddenly heard a tumult. I leaped up and went out—I wish I had fallen asleep while studying. At the entrance I saw a crowd of poor people wailing and crying over the death of your friend Abbot Geoffrey, and I was astounded at this unexpected news. Only last week I had seen him, and there was no hint of death in the man. Abbot Geoffrey was the comfort and help of clerics, nuns, anchorites, and all the poor. He was a man of loving-kindness to all. Rarely was he afflicted by pride and ambition. He carried out everything so well for his monks that no complaint or unpleasant rumor passed outside his monastery. If ever some greed arose in him (for no one is blameless), the praying anchorites cleansed the fault away and bountiful alms flowed to the needy. The house was poor when he received it, but he left it full of all good things. He even looked after twenty-four anchorites, a thousand paupers each year, and a congregation of nuns which he founded.

X

At yesterday's dinner there was talk about the death of our friend. This talk made me all the more eager for the fulfillment of your promise that we would have our conversation.

For I want you to know how much he had been harassed in his lifetime by those who owed him loyalty on account of his kindnesses and how vilely the malicious faction of his subjects has treated him now that he is dead. These subjects strove to nullify what he had done, and they established as abbot the wicked Alchinus, whom the deceased had made prior. Alchinus is a thief in the sheep-pen, and the choice is a scandal. The wretches who assented to the promotion of the mercenary usurper by incantations of witchery are the very men whom Abbot Geoffrey had advanced from nothing and had redeemed from secular poverty. The haughty wicked prior, like a frightened lark that throws the sky into turmoil, expelled the loyal ministers of the deceased abbot and advanced those that depended upon himself.

But a short time after the tyrant rose to power, the king learned about his activities and summoned him and his accomplices to give an accounting. These evil men prepared deceptive arguments, stealthily collected privileges from Rome, and complained about the dead abbot's upholding the monastic rule and about his generosity to the poor.

The scoundrels were upbraided by the king in the presence of the archbishop and a multitude of other people: "The deceased abbot obstructed your inclination to wander freely, and he enforced obedience to the rule. You have chosen

carelessly your new abbot, a man of mad cupidity, because he would relax monastic discipline. As an envious man he has been raging against those who were close to Geoffrey. The usurper is a disgrace to the royal majesty. In choosing him you have attempted to carry off my royal authority."

The wicked monks still insisted upon their position and falsely claimed that the primate of all England was a witness on their behalf. Thereupon the archbishop declared that he had not been responsible for the insult to the king. Thus the adverse faction lost its strength, and the king deposed the usurper.

The followers of Alchinus returned and contemplated in their rooms how they might support him. And so on the third day after the royal council the king and his barons, on their way to a conference, turned their course to the monastery. The king sat as judge in place of the abbot, and he complained about the unjust election, the injury to his dignity, and the misfortune to the monastery. Each baron added his opinion about the stupid presumption of the wicked brothers.

Finally the king appointed as abbot R(ober)t, nephew of the deceased Geoffrey and himself a learned, generous, and wise man. The demoniac monks rejected this decision and shouted, "Crucify R(ober)t! We would sooner leave here than accept him." Then the king swore he would appoint no one else and threatened destruction of the dissident monks, who thereupon promised to obey the monarch. The entire chapter elected the man whom the king and archbishop required to be abbot.

XI

As long as I live, I shall remember your kindnesses. May our friendship, fixed in affection since our first acquaintance, remain firm and constant. Your friendship with me contrasts with the feigned devotion of a certain man. When he wanted an individual to be his friend, he was attentive to him at first but later neglected him with ever more frequent separations. Based on desire for personal advantage, this friendship failed when the advantage was not realized, and turned into quarrelling. Friendship must have good will and honor, and it prefers poverty or moderate means, for love has an abundance of everything.

XII

I planned to visit your dwelling but was prevented by the Enemy, who is always hostile to good men. He did not want us to talk about edifying matters. Had I been intent on a silly purpose, he would have provided an easy departure.

I must hurry (the messenger hates delays) to tell you about the stumbling-block which the devil placed against me on the road. After I had carefully prepared everything necessary for my journey, the devil put in my path a

demoniac, vomiting dark blood through his nose and mouth, and apparently on the brink of death.

I saw him fall to the ground, with his hair pulled apart, his arms distorted. I conjectured that before me was either a real body or an apparition, for the Evil Spirit can inhabit a body, cause it to walk, to see, and to speak. Therefore I had no doubt that the body was assumed. It kept hurling itself to the ground in front of me but did not affect me. Finally it lashed its head and kept arousing insanity from its flowing brain. The life went out of the body with a roar. Truly here was a mouse-trap of the demon. You don't think, do you, that I could have remained among such stench of the cadaver without the support of your prayer?

As a result of human weakness, the meeting with the demoniac made me discontinue my journey to you. My face was blackened from the air polluted by the stinking corpse.

Let me now tell you what happened in Spain—there were many witnesses. A rich man went with some servants and his only son on a pilgrimage to the holy place of St James. On the way he stopped for lodging. His host, envious of the guest's wealth, plotted against him while he was asleep. Unable to murder the wealthy man, the host stealthily planted a silver cup among the guest's utensils. On the next day the pilgrims set out without suspecting guile. The wicked man shouted that the travelers were not pilgrims but robbers. The baggage was searched and the cup removed from the master's pack. As a result of the judgment passed against the pilgrims, their wealth was taken away and the rich man assigned to death. His son, however, was granted his own request to die in place of his father, and was hanged. The father proceeded with the other pilgrims to holy places, and he even went to Jerusalem. Then he returned to see where his son was hanged and to finish his own days there. The father saw his son alive on the gibbet even though a year had passed since the youth had been attached to it. The youth explained that St James had put a support under his feet and that he had suffered neither hunger nor thirst. He declared that he felt he had been hanging only one hour. Father and son went into the town and related what had happened. The townspeople begged forgiveness, returned all the money, and burned the malefactor with his entire house. The father took his son to the holy place of St James, and afterward they returned to their house. Reverend father, what do you think about such a miracle?

XIII

You used to declare that the greedy men whom you knew were burdensome and disgusting. When you talked to them about the honorable life, like asps they refused to listen. Of those who pursue riches some perish through enemies, others by perils on the sea, others through robbers on the road. Let the sinners

learn from your letters such self-control that God may not be stirred against them.

XIV

Often we notice a person rapidly scanning a text of great subtlety. He intends to absorb it all, but after a short interval, he can scarcely squeeze out of his memory the words of a single idea. It is not strange that memory is unable to produce what has not really been entrusted to it.

You, on the other hand, are far more intelligent than other people. You present an example of erudition, and nearly all your expressions, not merely some, come forth with authority and elegance. Your excellent mind penetrates every difficulty in anyone's writing.

Once when a text was presented to you as a young man, you deftly unraveled the thought by bringing out a single reasoning. In fact, when we would be engaged as usual in disputations and were uncertain about proofs, your subtle acumen dissolved all doubt for us. What your mind has attained with fierce labor you now offer like sweet wine to others thirsting for knowledge.

XV

I am grateful for your kindness, influenced by which I use the language of familiarity. But out of fear that what had happened to a certain man may happen to me, I shall exercise restraint. For when I shall come, I wish to be received with pleasure and not disgust on account of my unremitting attention to you. An attractive appearance is all the more pleasing, the more rarely it is seen.

A certain man, well known for his bad reputation, went to the hospice for the night. Looking at him in silence, I concluded that he might be a solace to my solitude. Custom required that he be received, so he was given lodging. He gave half-hearted thanks. At lunch-time he was invited to eat. He washed his hands and sat at the table. Out of rusticity he kept looking around to see whatever was brought. He spurned whatever hard food was set before him. Softer food was presented so that thick food might not upset his digestion. He ate two and a half breads, and he drank up thirteen half-raw eggs. He was crammed full of food, and I feared that the great fullness of the stomach, inclining downward, might suddenly be released. I gave instruction that he be given a frequent succession of cups of more pungent wine so that the contrary foods, causing an upheaval in the stomach, and his hot fumosity might not produce a mental disturbance. He consumed whatever was given to him. He drained one cup after another with a single gulp. I endured all this since I did not want to be blamed as greedy. I did not part my lips in rebuke, even though he was insulting. After following the

way of the Epicureans, he wore himself out from eating. He belched and laughed at himself. I remarked to him about the foul music he produced while asleep at his meal. Startled by the remark, he rose and vomited. Then he exposed his chilled body to the fire—it was winter-time and cold. As we were sitting around him and staring at him as if at a miracle, he did not utter a real word—either because he would not or could not—but he kept murmuring to himself. However, when the time for sleep was at hand, he finally spoke out: “When all my limbs are hot with drunkenness and when harmony is produced from the contrary foods, then I see myself at repose in the greatest blessedness.” Oh stomach, receptacle of all filth, you that try to overthrow so many men, you are an insatiable well. That “Epicurus” praised the unnatural fullness of his stomach; I hardly kept from vomiting on account of his foul eating.

XVI

Your friend received permission to go to Jerusalem. Neither my pleas nor the thought of long and strange stretches of the earth cancelled his intention to go. He had every confidence in a speedy return. When he embarked, a gentle breeze was blowing and he felt that nothing unpleasant could happen to him. Suddenly a very thick cloud arose from the East. The people on the boat hoped that the threat was only temporary and comforted each other. But a storm developed and sank the ship with its passengers.

I wonder what you think about these people who had undertaken the pilgrimage on account of their sins. It is true that your friend, before he died, spoke words of comfort to his companions, but time did not permit him to confess or to fulfill his vow of penance. Thus I am not sure how useful his final words were. We know that faith without works is dead and that, on the other hand, a discourse on behalf of others is a means of salvation. To be sure, the speech was not a confession appropriate for the wrong that had been committed but was really intended to make the travelers more brave. Still, let us not judge matters concealed from us on the basis of opinion, but let us beg God to be merciful to the passengers.

XVII

On his return, your messenger went along woodland paths that were strange to him and was caught in an ambush by robbers. They beat him in their fury at not gaining anything that they wanted from him. The next day, when I was going alone to the city, I discovered him and untied him. Exhausted by the cold of the night, he was unable to travel fast, so he became my companion on the journey to you. He told me to whom and about what he had been sent. He declared that the robbers had bound him with a cedar cord and that he would

have died from the cold and from exposure to wild animals had I not arrived. While he was talking, another man came along who indicated by his countenance that you were ill. Knowing that I am more friendly and better known to you than are others, he tried to conceal your infirmity. Finally I heard that you were disturbed by the hot swelling of your constricted stomach. I wrote you a tearful letter, with indication of my name, so that the letter might precede me in my slowness to reach you, for I feared that you might die.

Well, I sent word to you and learned that your fever had broken. I rejoiced at this news and took care of some business at the market. And then I went off happy to the hospice. Neighbors were invited to the hospice for a banquet so that I, who had been alone in my distress over you, might have companions rejoicing with me in the recovery of your health. The servers were accustomed to give a three-course meal, but three were now too few, and they were instructed to place a fourth course. They served a laxative food. One banqueter declared "This medicine really works" and thus brought everyone at the meal to laughter except me, who was busy with my food. Then we rose in joy from the table and drank to restore doubly the extinguished fires within us. After the guests had heated their interiors, which had gone cold after the meal, they gave thanks to me, said their goodbyes according to the custom of the country, and departed for their individual homes.

XVIII

The affection which we have had for each other since our first acquaintance keeps increasing. We also joined to our affection a certain man of holy morality. I think that if death, which was close upon him while he was alive, had not claimed him, he would have been a great example to mankind. While he was a student engaged in the study of secular literature, he loved quiet and discipline beyond the ways of men. He had a well-ordered, mature mind, even though he was in the flower of youth. He tried to avoid social games and searched for solitude where he could read or write. In his virtues he was like the ancients.

His father entrusted him as a boy to a certain teacher after the teacher swore that he would protect the boy like a brother. The lad was given expenses for necessities, and he crossed the sea for his education. He labored harder in philosophy than the rest of the students, and his instructor, who was of duller intellect and slower memory, and other unfair persons envied him. The evil teacher attacked the innocent lad with beatings and insults but was unable to spoil his gifts. By daily machination the man tried to diminish the favor which the boy had with the universal master T., who esteemed the lad with tender affection. Yet, because the suggestions of the demon are powerful, after frequent hostile suggestions the boy finally came into disfavor with this master T.

The other teacher beat his pupil unsparingly with rods. The young man cried out, "I am guiltless, have pity," but the brutal man bound him to a post and added beatings to beatings without compassion even after the boy fainted.

XIX

Your official greetings announcing your arrival are a gift to me.

That one-time student of yours, not the least among our friends, incurred grave illness from the beatings, and he lay in bed for four months. The teacher's mistreatment was not concealed from companions of the boy, and the account of the teacher's broken promise to the father reached the lad's home. The father wrote a kind letter requesting the return of his son and sent it with a messenger. The father used sweet words so that the brute might not punish the boy, perhaps even striking him in the stomach with a knife as he had often threatened.

The boy, somewhat recovering, was shown the letter by the teacher. He said that he wished to stay at school rather than to go home, but that it would not be right to disobey his father. Promising not to reveal to anyone the injuries he had suffered, he was permitted to depart. He had no money for the trip and pawned his rags for bread. He was hungry and ill-clothed and experienced many hardships, but he overcame them all and rode over a favorable sea to his home. There his loving father received him with utmost joy. His mother could not recognize him as the son she had sent to France, his face was so changed by wine-drinking. Lack of clothes had made his person indecent. The youth said, "Mother dearest, don't be surprised that I have changed. In a foreign country I had to adopt another way of life. Rarely did we eat twice a day. Sometimes in order to be more quick in learning, we would not even eat one meal. The frequency of drinking wine and the frequent exercise of my mind have affected my face. Now I shall place myself under your care."

While he was studying in his father's house, the story of the youth's misery in France was disclosed by someone and spread. The youth's former teacher, a homicidal rogue, learned that his crime was being widely divulged. Driven by madness, he turned to witchcraft. At an agreed price a magician fashioned a likeness of the young man in wax and put the name of the youth on the forehead of the image. The magician used spells and chrisms, beating the image on the chest and piercing it frequently with thorns. The young man felt similar tortures in his body.

We watched and ministered to the infirm youth. His body would sometimes be hot as if placed in a fire; water from the coldest fountain, when put under his feet, would boil. By contrast, after an interval of two or three hours, he would be so afflicted by cold that extremely hot water, poured over his feet, would become colder than the snow of icy Rhodope. We who were present were

astonished at the strange suffering. His illness could not be helped by medicine and became more intense. The wise men who were consulted declared that the victim was afflicted by image-ination and admitted that they despaired of relieving him. After they departed, the sick youth, who had not uttered any words throughout the entire night, suddenly called Augustine—we who were keeping vigil over the sick lad heard this—and as if with his final breath, he requested a canon's habit. He received it, the pain fled, and he became well.

XX

I think of examples that you used to give us publicly, and I refresh my spirit by them. But continuous concern with an occupation that is alien to me drives me to sighs. I am now so oppressed with grief that if I were not comforted by your loving-kindness, I would incur either madness or sudden death. Indeed the pious exhortation of your letter lessens my distress.

Your aforementioned student became a canon. As a result of his illness he continued to suffer from a brain disturbed by melancholia. For the sake of his memory I shall mention a few of many things that he endured (I was present). The devil was incensed by the man's religious devotion—he staunchly upheld the regulations of canons and, alone or with me, would go to church before daylight. Again and again the devil appeared in the shape of beasts and tried to turn him from religion to the vain pursuits of the world. One night while I slept the Evil One came to him in the guise of a saint and offered two knives to him: "You can achieve the crown of martyrdom if you will use the knives which I bring you." The youth refused to obey. On the same night the devil repeatedly stabbed the youth's face as he slept and blood flowed through the bed clothes. So tortured was the man on other occasions that he decided to become a monk. In the sixteenth year of his monastic life, after the abbot of the monastery was already deposed, the legate from Rome, A., obtained the young man as his own chaplain. Benedict crossed the sea with the legate and came to Rome. The pope loved Benedict dearly and would have promoted him to archbishop, had death not intervened. He died at Calvi on 6 September. Both the pope and the legate grieved over him. Legate A. of blessed memory has sent us an account about Benedict's death, which shows that he passed away happy.

XXI

I have a rash spirit and a non-retentive memory. I act on impulse and am notorious for my excessive haste; often I get angry at myself as I consider my weakness. But now, because of you, I employ greater restraint and discretion in acts and words.

XXII

Some loquacious people are haughty from pursuit of subtleties in scripture and are not much concerned with the genuine increase of knowledge. Such people are ignorant of the battles of the flesh against the spirit. The strength of the inner man is diminished when there is bodily enjoyment, but the soul rejoices and is strengthened when it meditates on God.

XXIII

The greedy man goes to hell. He is heedless of the cries of the pauper, sees the hungry but does not feed them. He uses prideful words and cannot hear the humble prayers of those beseeching him.

XXIV

Because of my respect for your reputation, I angered a traveling-companion of yours, and he was offended for a long time. He was treacherous to you and tried to overthrow sacred law by transferring blame to you. This man, both because of wisdom and of eloquence, seemed wiser than others. However, when he had to produce ideas among men of superior learning and eloquence, he became dumbfounded and his glibness disappeared. He feeds people lies but is more dangerous to himself. He is boastful and proud beyond whatever can be in him.

I cannot forget that he insulted me publicly. He asserted that I gave approval to robbery by giving a gift to a man who had been convicted of robbery, whereas I never, knowingly, was a participant in any such thing. He wounded my heart. If time and fortune would favor me, the scoundrel would pay real punishments for his injury. I still wish vengeance. Mars will provide the weapons when Fortune will give the opportunity.

XXV

Many servants work begrudgingly and leave tasks which are beyond their explicit orders unfinished. Also, servants get corrupted when a little freedom is granted. Your wretched servant, coming from a journey, was received at the home of a lord of the city, who thought that long-distance travel had improved the man. But you know how he served, casting his lot with thieves. Someone who had been aware of the theft blamed him. He was tortured by his conscience but did not have the character to correct himself. Though proven to have engaged in crime, he persisted in denial up to the point of his punishment by death. Because of the negligence of masters, servants repeatedly produce their half-crude words with saucy tongues and commit other offences in keeping with

the licence to do so given by their masters. Masters ought to be in control of themselves, and servants should serve faithfully.

XXVI

I wish you would visit me. We would have edifying talk, and your conversation and advice would be beneficial to me.

XXVII

After a dispute arose between your friend and me, I found him irate and quarrelsome. Since he has persisted in his fault, I am unsuccessful in my aim to conciliate him, though I assume guilt for your sake and in order to try to change him. In his foolishness he attacked me to you. I learned from your letter that in your customary way you discarded the fault and said that we should lay aside our hostilities and love one another with concord. I accede to your wish that I be reconciled to him, for I have done nothing wrong. I am therefore writing to him with the request that he reply and be my friend.

XXVIII

I learned from someone that you, when compelled to go to the king's justice, were unwilling. Certainly the king ought not to be obeyed when he commands what is unsuitable, dishonorable, or useless for you. You do not owe him more than you owe to yourself.

Those who do not rule themselves are not true rulers, and I denounce them as the miserable effeminate servants of servants. How does he command by law who does not live in the law?

Royal power derives not from one's own judgment but from God's arrangement and is either permitted or removed through the will of the giver. If a ruler is good, he will be saved by God; if he oppresses people wickedly, he will be judged accordingly by God.

By commanding your spirit and refusing service to the king, you are truly a king.

XXIX

I received with delight a gift from your sister, though a neighbor-woman, always hostile to her, tried to persuade the messenger not to bring the gift to me. He disregarded the woman, arrived at our hospice, and was joyfully received, not because of the gift itself, but because it cemented friendship between you and me. Ours is a strong, loyal friendship, the kind that is not destroyed by any suspicion.

XXX

You wished that we engage in useful study to improve ourselves and to provide for readers what would be beneficial and pleasing. Therefore I wrote thirty letters at your request. A wise reader can make improvements upon the writing. Among the letters are words of delight and of utility that can refresh a bored man. I withhold the name of the sender and of the addressee of this letter so that my work may not be considered of low value if the author be known and so that readers may not envy the addressee if his name be known.

POEM A

You used to be senseless, lustful, and unchaste. Erotic love dominated you. You had no rules and despised serious matters. Drink makes men who are addicted to it effeminate. You were addicted to it and promised wine to everyone. Whenever you were needed for a legal case, it was impossible for you to speak on account of your having imbibed.

You do not know that gossip stigmatized me because of my affection for you and because I had been your teacher. I was saddened over the thought of you and felt torture in excusing every one of your vices. The frequency of your faults made me an enemy to my other friends.

But the change in your character has made me happy. Wealth was always harmful to you. Your mind now hates what it had loved, and your hope is now with God. You have little regard for earthly honors but esteem everything truly good.

POEM B

Good moral character and a like time of life bound you and me together. Now a long distance separates us. The sea conceals the strange land where you are staying, and it prevents me from going to you—I fear the sea. Since you know how to write, I urge you to do so. Your much desired letter would make me happy. I know that some prosperous land holds you. Write at least to tell me what path leads to you if you may be reached by solid land.

I grieve because I never receive a reply to my frequent letters. We formed a pact as friends that we should have equal place in each other's affections, and you broke this pact.

Although we both became monks, you abandoned your vow. Your customary sense of shame does not change you. May the divine spirit arouse an ardor in you to realize that you are doing wrong.

Let not the guest whom you are fondling at your bosom deter you from improving your ways—a very clever woman is evil. If she should give you reasons

for persisting as you do and should stress the importance of friends, remember that according to scripture one should abandon all things for Christ. The woman is causing your destruction. She wishes that you may never be drawn away from her affection. But exercise freedom of mind, reject whatever you currently have, and come.

POEM C

I must write to you sadly and must say what I would not like to say. A few days ago Sergius came. In your innocence you bade me treat him fondly. With loyal devotion to you I met the guest whom you had sent: he came to the hospice and was warmly received according to my custom. Every respect was shown him though he was undeserving. You were the reason for the courtesy extended to him. Truly he is an unworthy guest who has no sense of loyalty or honor. He is an ignorant envious man, who does not know how to love his own kin. Foolishly and without reason he despises a man of wisdom.

I will not burden you with the details of his crazy talk. He said that he was your confidential adviser. Really, how can you have felt affection for this man? Love for him is only shame. Perhaps he concealed his real nature from you. The wretch thought that his displeasing words delighted me. He is a terrible nuisance to all. He is a scoundrel, a liar, a perjurer. I cannot report even that the man loves you, for there is no trustworthiness in him.

FRAGMENT

My father, I do not wonder that a prudent person is slow in choosing a man who must look after the common welfare of all. The true shepherd of the church must be wax-like or a second Proteus toward his subjects; sometimes he must be a rigid Cato. . . .

Text

(fol. 143 D)

(fol. 123 H)

Hoc opus exiguum tibi mittitur, accipe lector.

Incipe, percipies¹ utile siquid habet.

EPISTOLA PRIMA AD AMICVM

[1] Cum frequenter uacans otio scripturam tuae dilectionis animo collegissem, tandem amoris tanti studio inuitatus et gracia tuae reuerentiae, ea conditione ad rescribendum pro uiribus animum renitentem et reclamantem induxi,² quatinus in rescriptionibus nostris discretionis intuitu consideres si quid utilitatis afferant atque confirmes auctoritate correctionis tuae supposita ne uidelicet imbecilliora propter leuitatem pondere careant³ et sublimioribus scriptis fumositatis⁴ accensum inutilem reddant et partibus.

[2] Namque sepius euenit quod cum scripta alicuius auctoritatis, sententias non perpendentes, ingenii uelocitate^a transcurrimus uitioso preoccupati conamine, nichil sensu percipimus, limosos tantum oculos arboris inutili decorticatione detinemus. Sic quoque scripturarum edificia et sententiarum compaginationes offendimus ut nec sciamus quid interius missa contineant nec consideremus qualitatibus quantitatisque proportionem exterius lecta quid ruminent.⁵ Putamus uero nichil extraneum nichil absurdum inesse cum possumus in breui legendo totam paginam oculorum leuitate percurrere,

Sed latet interius uelatum cortice sumen.^b

[3] Habent enim scripture modum et formam diuersitatis et honestatis insignem quatinus qui exteriora recte tractauerit philosophico documento possit interius grana referta colligere. Ex⁶ uno sepe eodemque studio scriptura diuersa concipitur, sed per digressiones et multiplicationes⁷ rerum suppositarum eadem scriptura finit in generibus⁸ diuersis et pluribus. Oportet igitur lectorem subtilem ut habeat sensum et utilem.

1. percipiens *H.* 2. indixi *H.* 3. carent *H* (*corr. H*¹). 4. fumositatem *conici potest.*

5. rumineant (*a exp.*) *H.* 6. Et *H.* 7. multiplicationes *H.* 8. gennibus *H.*

[4] Nec inprimis oculorum ictibus celeri excursione pagina fastidiat, sed usque ad intellectum memorialem⁹ legendi assiduitas et animi firma perceptio frequenti reuolutione perducatur. Erit enim tunc placens et mera consideratio quando et inspector lecta cognouerit et lectoris animum fidelem et prudentem blanda et recta uerborum collatione scripta probauerint. Dulcis quidem et fidelis erit lectio si fuerit recta in explanatione litterarum continuatio et in sententiarum ponderositate discretio. Delectabilis etiam lectionis audicio cum et auditores beniuolos habebimus et pulcra pronuntiatione uerborum et parcium distinctione attentos comparabimus et dociles. Iccirco scripture sensum accomodamus ut ingeniosa constructione obscuriora que fuerint mentis indagatione apertius uideamus. Nichil enim difficultatis obsistet si ad (fol. 123^v *H*) plenum questionem cura sagatior^{10/c} rationis iure^d subegerit.

[5] Mittitur igitur gratie benignitatis tuae tractatus iste trinas in partes epistolarum uarietate distinctus ut tuae defensionis suppositus et disciplinae tuae correctione firmatus, quod non audebat propter resistentia, libera fronte procedat in publicum, quamquam nouerim aliquos sibi sua estimatione peritos qui potius iusta deprauare quam praua corrigere consueuerunt. Ad hoc enim turbato capite impudent¹¹ accedunt hac simplicitate, uidelicet ut cum fructuosum aliquid operari non possint,¹² falsis oppositionibus¹³ quoddam simile conficere¹⁴ neruosa deprauatione uideantur. Quare cum nichil ueri nichil recti protulerint, illorum nobis declinandum ab itinere, et ne participemur in uitio, detestandum¹⁵ eorundem reor esse consortium. Tuis itaque studiis epistolarum mearum suppono iudicium ut si quando in aliquibus fuerit offensio, uoluntatis tuae auctor cum opere subiciatur obsequio. Hoc autem solum a te impetrare desidero ut tui memoris inmemor non existas. Vale.

SECVNDA EPISTOLA¹

[6] Fateor pulcrum et familiare tuae fraternitatis recepisse mandatum, quod et animum salutis et consolationis medicamento (fol. 143^v *D*) refouit egrotum et ingenii tarditatem^a nostri sua erudiuit sententia obscuratumque ignorantie tenebris elucidauit acumen.^b Sic prima quidem ultimis conueniebant^c ut sine scrupulosityate per totam epistolam mentis pedibus currerem² et totius intentionis habitudinem uerborum ex constitutione prouiderem. Nec intelligentiae aliqua erat ibi offensio ubi nulla fuit ambiguitatis positio. Leuis quidem minus intelligentibus et utilis, altius³ uero sapientibus ad intelligenda sufficiens. Tam decenter tam pure tam cupide omnia dicebantur⁴ in ea ut quiuisset speraret,

9. memorialem *H*.

10. sagatior *DH*. 11. impudentur *H*. 12. possunt *D* (u. *eras*, in *i*). 13. oppositionibus *H*.

14. confici *DH*. 15. detaestandum *D*.

II

1. *ordo* EPISTOLA SECVNDA *H*. 2. currerem *D*. 3. alius *H*. 4. discebantur *H*.

cum non solum uideret ad oculum letam parcium compositionem et sensum uerum etiam auctoris intentionem, non ignoraret⁵ et modum.

[7] Tanta quidem erat in dicendo familiaritas et pulcre componendo in scriptis utilitas ut non ter uel quater lecta sufficerent sed frequenter et pene cotidie magis ac magis audita placerent. Continebatur quippe in eis diues oppulentiae fructus et perpetue uiriditatis ager. Ille, non metalli cuiuscumque sed mentis uomere cultus, adhuc respirare noua nobis non cessat aromata. Quia prolata diuinitatis ita inscrutabilis est intentio^d ut quemadmodum alicuius rotunditatis difficile est et impossibile nisi soluatur inuenire principium, sic et epistola tuae dilectionis sensum theorie incapabilem utillima ratione continuit ut neque inuestigationis quos uidebatur principium habuit neque (fol. 124 *H*) perceptionis finem qui non erat studiosus quandoque scrutator expressit.

[8] De indagabili enim diuinitate loquebaris alpha et ω.^e De quo loqui temere aliquid uel disserere demonialis presumptio⁶ est. Credere uero michi quantum unicuique conuenit fides ipsa concessit. Tibi autem, qui soli sapientie studes⁷ et insistas, quia ea sapis que dei sunt,^f de eo loquendi ausus tibi manifesta ratione conceditur. Et merito se tibi ipsa diuinitas comitatur quia deo proxima ut dicitur semper est et cognata uirginitas.

[9] In uirginitatis enim priuilegio gratia plenam sequeris cum Iohanne Mariam. Nec multorum quidem istud sed paucorum est meritum in igne esse et non uri.^g Quicquid enim ardenti contiguum est contaminatur: quanto magis quod in igne positum est? Magna quippe est gratia pudica castitatis obtinere primordia et animi fortitudine studere quomodo pullulentur et proficiant in melius uirginitatis insignia. Mire uirtutis illesa castitas. Beatus cui donatum est^h ut merito uirgo uocari possit et debeat.

[10] Heu quantus dolor miserum meum afficit animum cum et fidei tuae dona conspicio et scripti tui dulce solacium mente considero. Sum etenim, ut michi uideor familiari tuo, a te elongatusⁱ in dono,⁸ mutatus in proposito,⁹ alteratus in obsequio. Nichil in me uirtutis aspicio nichil iuris nichil meriti. Me tibi facit parem et socium tua sola benignitas. Tue uirtutis modestia in spe dilectionis correctum me faciet et beatum. Neque illud ambigo, quod ubicumque tua poterint preualere consilia in proficiendo, quin gaudeam. Fortitudo namque reuerentiae tuae dilectionis crescentis animi est et secundum multiplices uirtutum intenciones cotidie roboratur in actu ita ut operationum principio bono laudabilius dicitur medium et utrisque futurus fructuosior preconetur et exitus. Iccirco in operibus tuis optimis fidutiae experimentum accipio ut que in me bona defecerint ministratoria copiose caritatis tuae cura subpeditet.

[11] Solebat enim tua beniuolentia, dum inter scolares alas^j clericalia tene-

5. ignoret *H*. 6. presuptio *DH*. 7. ipsa concessit . . . studes *om. H (mg. H¹)*. 8. domo ut uid. *H (eras. in dono)*. 9. posito *H (pro ss. H¹)*.

bamus, aliquando me contristatum inmodico et nonnunquam rebus occupatum in publicis¹⁰ diuinis scripturarum eloquiis tanquam uaria ciborum refectione releuare. Eram quidem ut sum te leuior, ad mala procliuior,^k in agendis quoque negociis te multo pernitiosior. Agebas enim diuino quodam spiramine uitam. Nobis namque ludentibus et circum friuola desudantibus, discipline uacans officio aut in scribendo teneros lassabas articulos^l aut acutam in docendo grauabas rauce(fol. 144 *D*)dine uocem. Mirabamur prorsus nos, inutiles et secularibus dediti, operatricem in te spiritus sancti uirtutem recolentes,¹¹ tandem illud tibi conuenire propheticum, "Eris corona (fol. 124^v *H*) gloriae in manu domini et diadema regni in manu dei tui."^m

[12] Cumque subduxeras manum ferule,ⁿ a delectationibus¹² terrenorum tuum remouebas auditum et inter homines tanquam extra conuiuens ab illicitis uoluntatem subtrahebas et actum. Tua omnis intentio in diuinitatis consideratione manebat, assidue orationi aut lectioni semper incumbens^o preter quando ad nature necessitatem fiebat digressio uel ad cibi refectionem accessio. Nunc autem eandem gratiam mutatam pro consuetudine in naturam^p adeptam possidens, totus in Christi dilectione uersaris, ex cuius misericordia et benedicta proueniunt^{13/q} et tui scripti ad intelligenda faciliora debentur insignia,¹⁴ in quo nichil friuolum nichil otiosum inueniri¹⁵ potuit. Mire suauitatis materia temperata dedit odorem et magne dulcedinis insipientibus optulit gustum.

[13] Os tuum organum spiritus sancti esse uidebatur, per quod ipsa diuinitas sue predicationis euaginauit officia. Vtilius quidem neque dulcius cuiquam de diuinitate loqui concessum est. Neque graue tibi fuerat proferre quod ipsa inspirauerat. Dulcius enim instrumentum concrepat ubi moderate uocis equali spiramine sonus auditur. Altius sonat cum mouentis digiti cordarum intenciones acius complectuntur. Tripudiatim uero sonat cum grauis cordarum attractio frequenti¹⁶ repercussione sincopando refellitur.¹⁷ Sic et tu quoque per gratiarum largitionem¹⁸ in epistola tua modo leuia sed utilia, modo dulcia^r sed conuenientia, modo grauia sed delectabilia personabas.

[14] Nunc autem, quia in te diuinitatis amplius exuberat contemplacio, celestis sapientie percipis haustum^s et inuentis aque felicia pocula sumis. Quamobrem tue sanctitati¹⁹ ut ceruus ad fontes sitibundus^t occurro quatinus et tui cognitione letificer²⁰ et scripti participatione confortatus emender.

Postulo ne mutuus²¹ animus sub honore²² tepescat.

10. pulcis *H*. 11. relentes *H* (co ss. *H*¹).

12. delectionibus *H* (corr. *H*¹). 13. perueniunt *H*. 14. insignia *H* (corr. *H*¹). 15. inueni *H*.

16. frequenti ut uid. *D*. 17. refellitur: (alt. e ex l corr. *H*¹). 18. lagitionem *H*.

19. sanctitoti *H*. 20. letificet *H*. 21. mutatus *H*. 22. honore *H*.

TERTIA¹

[15] Memorie beatitudinis tue commendabile sit nostre paruitatis obsequium et de doctrina prudentiae tuae² aliquod capiat incrementum Ne quando super me tuum pro paucitate minoretur auxilium et meo merito iracundiae tuae flagella sustinere compellar. Ad te namque quasi ad comparem scribens indebita presumo.

Sed socialis amor^a hec iunxit federa pacis.
Nullum contempnis nec me si diligor abs te.

Omnes enim infra sinum pietatis tuae fidei in dilectione locasti.^b Nullus tibi te uidetur minor. Nullus te habetur inferior. Vnde caritatem tuam expetere animus insueta presumit audacia.

[16] Insipientie igitur meae postulo tua non succedat auctoritas. Et si quando offensa uerecundie mee tuum irasci compellit animum, uenialis precurret hu(fol. 125 *H*)manitas et subrogata misericordie³ dono plectatur⁴ iniuria. Non sit⁵ in iniquitatis correctione patientia nec in uindicta⁶ dilatio. Crescit enim uicium et multiplicatur augmento nisi prima ab inceptione consuetudo fuerit extirpata radicitus.⁷ Suis uero gloriatur in studiis cum⁸ modum excedere⁹ quemlibet ipsa preeunte consuetudine fortuna suaserit et usque ad iniuriam illatione sue deceptionis irata perduxerit.¹⁰

Subuertens sensus hominum fortuna uiriles
Lumina ceca facit¹¹ prosperitate sua.
Cum frons nudatur, tunc cernitur unde minatur,
Stulticie fit homo conscius ipse sue.

[17] Sunt quam plurimi prosperitatis amici qui corripiunt¹² dum pace fruuntur offensos et in contrariis amorem debitum neglegenter ostendunt. Nam in sustinendis aduersitatibus aut quasi per ignorantiam se subtrahunt aut alibi alicuius causa necessitatis abesse desimulant. Alienant quidem se et amicos in amore refellunt ut elongati uideantur innoxii, dicentes propter absentiam in successibus non communicasse malorum, sed mentientes causam false dilectionis ostendunt.

Nam cum prosperior miseros perflauerit ortos
Aura^c secundine commoditatis ope,

1. TERTIA: *om. H.* 2. tuae: *bis D (lin. infra alt.)*. 3. *miscdie D.* 4. *dono plectatur: done lectatur H.* 5. *sic H.* 6. *uindicta D (corr. D¹)*. 7. *radititus H.* 8. *cu DH.* 9. *ecdere H.* 10. *perdurerit H.* 11. *fuit D (corr. D¹)*. 12. *corpiunt (corr. D¹)*.

tanquam casus nescii inpudicis moribus noue deceptioni se applicant et excusationibus plurimis se male expedientes¹³ simile huic non amplius euenire promittunt. Sed quandoque ex necessitate contingit quod quidam simulato (fol. 144^v *D*) uultu^{14/d} incautiores blande leniterque¹⁵ decipiunt. Quod multo uenalius arbitror quam qui propriae mentis exorta nequitia malignitatis¹⁶ animo innocentem conueniunt et commitentem se sibi comprimunt et de diuite¹⁷ pauperem faciunt?

[18] Tua uero ab illorum numero eliminata¹⁸ est et electa sodalitas quia dilectio tua est et in aduersis ualentior et in prosperis leto munere comitata felicior. Vnde beatior predicator quod primum tuae fidelitati¹⁹ me copulauerim et usque presentia in dilectionis tuae beniuolentia perseuero. Et quia perfecta incipienti laudacio non esset in opere nisi opus inceptum perseuerantiae studio comitaretur effectus, quomodo ad inceptionis efficaciam letus attingerem totis uiribus intendebam. Ad possidendam quidem dilectionis tuae gratiam nunc usque peruentus sum. Propterea erectus in spe perseuerantium gaudeo de promissis.

Sum tuus, esto meus, sit tuus ipse deus.

Vale.

ALIA¹ [IV]

[19] Hesterna die cum in negociis plurimis occupati essemus et animus ad singula minus haberetur intentus, quidam, cuius nomen propter presentes omittitur, uestris e² partibus ueniens festinantis nuntii preter consuetudinem succintus³ occurrit. Cuius tam repentinum astantes mirabantur⁴ aduentum, uel tibi uel tuis rebus preter spem aliquod accidisse (fol. 125^v *H*) sperantes incommodum. Enimuero inter illos murmur irrepserat. Et non quae tibi contigerant⁵ sed quae euenisse maluerant sinistra cogitabant. Erat enim pars⁶ in bono tibi consentiens, altera pars inuidie infecta ueneno tui tueque substantiae desiderabat incommodum. Hos quippe fideles tibi quandoque tuos tenuisti amicos qui modo tuis letantur incommodis et prosperis semper inuidere successibus.

[20] Igitur dum in <di>lectionis⁷ gremio simulato sermone blandientes nobis amicos quoscumque recipimus intra pietatis nostre sinus letiferos serpentes columbina simplicitate^a locamus,^b et dum eorum pestifere qualitatis insania blandiciis suis nobiscum locum optinent, inimica serpentium uenena insipienter

13. expediaentes *D* sed

a *partim eras*. 14. uultum *D* (m *eras*). 15. lenitateque *H*. 16. malignitatatis *D*. 17. uite *H* (di ss. *H*¹). 18. eliminata *DH*. 19. felicitati *H*.

IV

1. ALIA: *om. H*. 2. e: *om. D* (ss. *D*¹). 3. succintus: *sic DH*. 4. mrabantur *D*. 5. contingerant *H*. 6. pass *H* (*corr. H*¹). 7. lectionis *DH*.

nostris in cordibus hospitamur. Que dum fouemus ignari, diffusa per circuitum corpus opprimunt et animum inficiendo nocentem faciunt et sic totum hominem iniquitatis neuo^c consumunt. Quare priusquam in dilectionis familiaritate recipiatur,⁸ probetur amicus.

Nam⁹ tibi cum socios sperabas esse fideles,
Pro precio fratres utilitatis erant.

[21] Ego uero, secretorum tuorum conscius tecumque ab ipso iuuentutis flore^d nutritus, seorsum nuntium tuli, altius utique procurans cuius rei causa ueniret et quid tam inopinus spectaret aduentus et cur cui quo festinos dirigat actus. Timebam semper nostre parti,

Insidians ne quis animum corrumpere hostis,
Nos simul et nostra perderet arte sua.¹⁰
Sed deus auertit miserum de corde timorem,
Efficior scripto letior¹¹ atque tuo.

[22] Nam ut apices tue dilectionis insinuant, te in¹² ipsa mentis constantia solidatum aspicio et nullius suspicionis seu uane delectationis impulsu ab iure ad¹³ iniuriam declinatum, quamuis te simplicem inuidi teneant et hominem absque prudentia seculari et sine dolo te rideant.¹⁴ Quod a¹⁵ religiosi laudi pocius ascribitur quam uituperationi. Sed tantum sancte societatis tue litteris insertum consideraueram quod quidam ex tibi adiunctis epistolam, quam frequentius legere solebas, aut ira surripiente aut iniquitatis animo de manibus excussit et more canis¹⁶ rabidi dentibus inscindendo in ultimas minutias¹⁷ particulauit. Nec causa rationabilis cur id fieret extitit.

[23] Sed neque te illius mouit insania neque epistolarum direptio quia uti tui est moris et meriti, sine dolore sine tumultu sine aliqua furoris surreptione minime¹⁸ lesus id eque tulisti. Quod difficile posse pati paucorum patientia probatur. Vnde ego, quacunque de causa id actum esset, uerecundiam tibi illatam egre sustineo quia [ut]¹⁹ dicitur²⁰ illum inimico non fecisse conatu sed inuidioso proprie uoluntatis ausu exacerbasse maliciam. Habet enim, et ut semper (fol. 145 D) habuit, bestialem animi motum et irrationabilem propter duplices intenciones, appetitum inuidie uidelicet et auaricie, que amplius uigent et dominantur in illo. Neque fecerat hoc mentis eius furialis (fol. 126 H)

8. recipitur H. 9. Namque H.

10. sua: om. D (ss. D¹). 11. letio H (r ss. H¹). 12. in: om. D (mg. D¹). 13. adi H.
14. redeant H (corr. H¹). 15. a H. 16. carnis D (r exp.). 17. minutias H. 18. minine DH.
19. ut: DH. 20. dicitur: di H (i corr. per rasuram fort. ex u).

impetus, sed quia scientiae tuae non poterat compos fieri, satisfaciendum²¹ iniquitatibus suis; in te sic agere suscitauit inuidia. Porro cum prauo dogmate solebat tuis obuiare sermonibus. Reliquos socios nostros ad insurgendum blanda uerborum insinuatione pertraxerat. Erat etiam quasi miles primus in atie sed non ad falsitatem debellandam sed ad ueritatem sophisticis²² argumentis expugnandam. Ob quam causam miror patientiam tuam et benignitatis animum quod saltem ad remouendum illum non accipis uotum ne corruptela sui maculam trahas et seducaris auditu uel polluaris a tactu.

[24] Et si immaculata fuerit ab eo tua pro sanctitate iusticia, propter inprudenciam nostram deberetur exponi ne ignorantie studio suis misceamur in actibus et nostra si qua est innocentia suo conuitietur obsequio. Nunquid hoc irrepens sancte memoriae tuae subtraxit obliuio quod ille sponte sua commotus michi inexplicabiles intulit iras ita ut pene excessum mentis incurrerem nisi celerius litterarum medicamine recreatus existerem? Ibique, quod nunquam ante contigerat, uenerandam faciem tuam inmutatam aspexi et iracundie repressione paululum inclinatam^e consideraui. Neque mirum. Duo enim exstiterant²³ que te animi compellebant ad motum, impositum michi falsitatis crimen opprobrio et illa familiaritatis antiqua cognitio.

[25] Miror et illud obliuioni traditum^f quod te apud episcopum accusauerit²⁴ et aures uulgi^g false opinionis auditu repleuerit: et tantum²⁵ preter meritum tibi familiaris existit. Sed noui quidem quid hoc tuo extorquebat ab animo, innata uidelicet benignitas et pura dilectionis conscientia, quia de illata iniuria quin aliquantulum irascereris tibi imperare non potuisses nisi patientie consuetudo in usum naturalem per exercitium²⁶ mutata^h reprimeret. Illa denique ire²⁷ prouocate temperamentum²⁸ exhibuit et lingue lora duplici catena constrinxit.^{29/i} Infrenati enim equi huc illucque caput altius effertur dum constringere catenas imprudens sessor omittit.

[26] Nos itaque huius doni uirtute carentes pro minimo commouemur et ad indictas pro solo uerbo inimicicias usque prorumpimus ut uix poterit iram lenire sodalis. Nam sanguis nostro maiorem sibi uendicat in corpore partem, et iccirco ad iram promptiores sanguinis ex superfluitate notamur. Quare triste fero quod quandoque michi imperare non possum. Confugiendum igitur est michi ad tue pietatis exemplum ut si³⁰ totum assequi non ualuerō, aliquam uel saltem partem apprehendere conualescam.

Sit tibi secretum nomen mitentis opusque.

Vale.

21. satisfaciendum *H*.

22. sophisticis *H*. 23. existerant *H*. 24. accusauerat *H* (*corr. H¹*). 25. tamen *conici potest*. 26. exercitium *D* (*corr. D¹*). 27. iret *D*, ire *H* (*ras. post e et e partim eras. in H*). 28. temperamentum *D*. 29. contrinxit *DH*. 30. si: *om. D* (*ss. D¹*).

ALIA EPISTOLA¹ [V]

[27] Illud sanctitatis tuae prouerbiū mente concepi quod inter scolasticos olim uti suetus uersibus exprimebas:

Stultus eget sensu, caret et rationis honore;
Doctus mente tenet scripti documenta uidere.

Sperabam enim te illud dixisse mei de causa quia de benignitatis tuae animo in (fol. 126^v *H*) priuatis et publicis rebus fidutiam sumens, lateri tuo familiarius ceteris adherebam^a uel quia studiis honestis et moribus² debito minus intende-
bam. Neque tunc ad quem referebatur expulsa illius prouerbi³ fuerat dubitatio, nec adhuc certum de quo diceretur percipio intellectum. Sed quoniam genera-
liter inferebas et aut pene omnibus⁴ conueniebat aut nulli, meum interiorem perscrutans hominem,^b in conscientie lectuli⁵ mei parte consessum iui com-
portans rerum presentium et preteritarum existentias ne carnis titillatione aliquo in angulo interioris domicilii^c lateret obliuio que aliquando huius rei uel paterni-
tatis⁶ tue procrearet offensam.⁷

[28] Sed cum intra mei⁸ corporis ambitum nichil quod obfuisset inueniretur oculi molliebatur animus, reuocabam impetum, referebam gradum,^d atque de altero dictum esse commemoro. Cuius nomen silentio (fol. 145^v *D*) tegitur, sed factum in publicum deportatur. Illum namque quodam deprehensum uitio uideram et deliciis desidie uestire fastidium, cuius secularis impudicitiae⁹ oblectamenta effeminabant animum et ad illicita deducebant auditum. Cumque, sui inferior factus, iniuste passionis affectu superabatur,¹⁰ moderationis ratione remota facinus preceps itur in omne.^e

[29] Tamen cum delectationum impetus et uesana suggestio quandoque dormitum fecerint, recognitionis fidei suae scintilla promicuit et reatus sui plora-
bat admissum et ad agendum penitentiae cogitabat optatum. Sicque semper suum seruans secreto delictum priuatum sibi ferebat obsequium ut neque alii eius exemplo peccare suescerent nec offense illius uisa materia commune uiuendi consortium propterea diuitarent.¹¹ Laudandus quidem hoc foret in facto si bonis intenderet et secretorum quem postposuit deum propiciū sibi faceret scrutatorem.

[30] Igitur ne suis excubiis, in quantum bonus est, uideretur¹² esse impedi-
mento, in exhortationibus litterarum maliciae suae me totum opposui, qui et aut eius impetuolum luxurie motum aliquantisper predicationis uoce reprimerem aut

1. ALIA EPISTOLA: *om. H*. 2. moribus: moribus de *D* (de *exp.*). 3. prouerbi *H*.
4. omibus *H*. 5. letuli *D* (c ss. *D*¹). 6. paternitati *H*. 7. offensa *H*. 8. meis *D* (s *eras.*).
9. impuditiāe *D* (ci *mg. D*¹). 10. superabatur *H* (*corr. H*¹). 11. ditarent *D* (ui ss. *D*¹).
12. uidetur *DH*.

ab illicitis predecessorum exemplis et illatione uindicationis iusti iudicii dei^f uel totum auerterem.

Eius proposui studui¹³ componere mores.^g
Sed nondum nostre preualuere manus.
Cogito qua possit melius medicarier arte.
Sed uas non plenas exspuit ore minas.

Amplius itaque dubitabile michi ne quod super infudero¹⁴ dulce acre fiat et lasciuie¹⁵ questionis intermixtum spiret odorem quia, ut ait Oratius ille,

Sincerum est¹⁶ nisi uas, quodcunque infundis accessit^h

et

Quo semel est¹⁷ imbuta recens seruabit odorem
Testa diu.ⁱ

[31] Quamobrem paternitatis tuae peto subsidium ut eum morti contiguum tuae sanctitatis scripta conueniant, que illum conuertibilem ad hortatum efficiant et cognitorem sui orationis obtentu de cetero¹⁸ reddant. Condecensio¹⁹ enim tua et sibi et michi necessaria si lubrica illius conscientia purificetur a (fol. 127 *H*) culpa et ego imperate necessitatis excludar officio.

[32] Est namque ille ut est malimodi hominis gerens animum: literarum quidem elatus studio, accumulauit et sepe contra paruitatem meam adinuentum suarum exacerbauit eloquia^j ita ut frequentius non uerba sed corpora poneremus²⁰ milites et questiones mutua pugnorum illatione solueremus. Suggestio²¹ demonialis, ut arbitror, inferebat ambigua, et ictuum crebra successio refellebat²² opposita. Sic uterque ceco furoris impetu prouocabamur in iras ut recessu stultiores et deteriores fieremus accessu. Quare ab eo solui, et tecum esse michi melius uideor.

Me, pater alme, tuis precibus saluare memento.

Vale.

13. studui: studui mores *D* (mores *exp.*). 14. infudero *D* (*n exp.*).

15. lasciuie *H* (*corr. H¹*). 16. est: est ille *D* (*lin. infra ille*). 17. est: *om. D* (*ss. D¹*).

18. certo *H*. 19. Condecensio *sic DH*. 20. peneremus *H*. 21. Suggestione *H*. 22. refellebat *D* (*in refellebat D¹*).

[VI]

[33] Mandatum tuum pro uoto susceptum quante oportunitatis extiterat quantique solacii sermo brevis non explicet, quia litterarum¹ uix poterat ex² integro comprehendi. Exultantem ita refecit animum ut absque grauedine³ fastidientis stomachi morbum excuterem et cum utilitatis delectatione⁴ lectionis appetitum animo refouerem.

[34] Fiebat itaque michi tui muneris aspectus gratiosior quia presens aderat tuae quondam fidelitatis⁵ amicus omisso nomine quidam. Qui nunc inter uerba sanctitatis tuae quandoque risu quandoque faciei⁶ tocius pallore conquatur. Quod contrarium cordi ualde subicitur. Sed ne uideretur michi quod⁷ faciebat inuidiae fuisse supercilium missa ceruice delituit. At ego, sat illius prenoscens⁸ animum, aliquid uinolentiae⁹ sibi contigisse dicebam, quia ob auditum¹⁰ mandati modo letus modo demutato uultu tristis exultat.¹¹ Ille uero, ut erat et est cautioris ingenii, nouum michi fecit eludium, et alias interrogata sermone conuertit. Sed dum fabularet, expressis¹² incidit suae iniquitatis in laqueum,^a et quo modo inter clericorum antiqua conuiuia detentus fuerat, non reticuit, quam rerum seriem falso precindere¹³ niteretur eloquio.

[35] Quodsi preceperis pro fatigati corporis recreatione, redicam ut aliquociens interdicta sollicitudine, (fol. 146 D) mixtum habeamus utile dulci^b ne grauitas assidua bone uoluntatis atterat motum et ingenio subtilitatis accidentalem inferat hebitudinem. Contingit ergo tempore estiuo¹⁴ cum de studio¹⁵ socii pro more feriaturi succederent, is, priuato interceptus negotio, proprio uinctus compede sedit hospicio. Causa subite passionis scelus perpetratum extiterat, quod, ne eiusmodi ab aliis caperetur exemplum, silentio supponere potius quam ceris inprimere ratum¹⁶ tenui.

[36] Pretereuntibus autem suae societatis amicis res ipsa conclaruit. Ille namque propter inferentium penas ne animaduerneretur, mugitus et sibilos pro sermone locutus ediderat. Satis exinde patuit quanta pudoris¹⁷ et doloris angustia premebatur,^c quanta miseria¹⁸ laborate noctis mutuatum illud supplicii exspectabat crastinum. Eum igitur, ut arbitror, pro uoto susciperet qui ingenio quolibet compedum¹⁹ triplici catena firmatas diloricaret habenas.

[37] Nec (fol. 127^v H) mora, socii, tuentes illum miserabilem uite sperare dolorem, consortiali pietate commoti faciebant impetum, et nisi uicinorum intercessisset oratio, celsior pars ciuitatis illius hospicii rueretur incendio. Iam enim igni supposito lignum fenum stipulam²⁰ alimenta furoris^d exponunt. Subito

1. quia litterarum: *bis D (lin. infra pr.)*. 2. ex: *om. D (ss. D¹)*. 3. grauedie *H*. 4. delectione *H* (ta *ss. H¹*). 5. felicitatis *H*. 6. faciaei *D*. 7. quid *D (corr. D¹)*. 8. prenocens *H*. 9. nolentiae (nolentie *H*) *DH*. 10. auditu *DH*. 11. exultant *D (n exp.)*. 12. expressus *H et ut uid. D*. 13. precindere: *sic DH*. 14. estimo *H*. 15. studo *D (corr. D¹)*. 16. retum *H*. 17. podoris *H*. 18. misera *H*. 19. copedum *H*. 20. stipilam *H*.

uentorum incursione ignis accenditur. Vix fuga saluantur astantes, et dum ligatum soluere cupiunt, se cum misero duplici pena forte²¹ confundunt.²²

[38] Clamabat miser uinctus auxilium, et pro solacii subuentione prestatur incendium.²³ Querebat quonam ab igne diuerteret, nec poterat diffugium inuenire ligatus. Hinc cruciatuum²⁴ carcerali custodia compede stringitur; illinc propinquantis incendii flammis ambitur.

Vndique succensus laceratos percutit artus
Ignis, amore sui quod petit omne uorans;
Tandemque innixus pellentis spiritus ictu
Excussit miserum sed sine crine caput.

Quem cum excussum flamma contuere sodales, propriis nudata coloribus mouit cornicula risum.^e

Iam superesse caput nudum sine crine probatur;
Credere si nolis, inpiger ipse ueni.

Vale.

[VII]

[39] Filius¹ adoptionis tuae pro ritu uenandi studio siluas expetiit. Cui inmanis bestia stridore dentium^a et pecorali murmure sudans inportunior ursus obicitur. Que hac illacque discurrens per uasta solitudinis^b et saltuum deuia insania ferebatur querens quo uentris sui saturaret ingluuiem. Sed cum nimio solis ardore desiccatus acerbis famis stringeretur copia nec inueniret quod suae gastrimargiae² insatiabilem reficeret appetitum, ille ille iam desinens esse tuus in opinione Morti,³ traditus sue uoracitati, heu solus occurrit factusque est bestiis in uenandi studio praeda, qui ad cibi refectionem bestiarum copiam capere⁴ consueuerat. Festinat bestia crudelis, sat properata pedum dilatare⁵ uestigia, et urgente famis^c angustia sincopato passu ad illum quem dilectionis uestre pro reuerentia nominare non audeo hianter accurrit. Et miserum nescio quo casu prosternit,

Extremumque diem uite determinat ille.
Dentibus et miseris miserum decerpserat hostis,
Decerptoque subit latebras, satur ossa reliquit.

21. for?e *D* (*littera post r incerta*), fore *H*. 22. Confundunt *H*. 23. incendium *H*. 24. cruciatum *H*.

VII

1. Filivs *DH* (*corr. D^c*). 2. gastrimagie *H* (*alt. r ss. H¹*). 3. mortis conici potest. 4. copere *H* (*corr. H¹*). 5. dilatare *H*.

[40] Cumque ego, per illuc iter agens, fati illius nescius apud cogitatum meum cepi dubitare quo pergerem, illo⁶ malefacto incautior superueni. Et nunc mens, quam sepe futuri prescia,^d rerum male gestarum species imaginando titillat; nunc caro tamquam⁷ in frixorio tremiscit.

Nunc dubius tremebunda retro uestigia porto,

sed quo amplius illius accidentiae perlaborarem uitare molestiam, eo me celerius super iam destitutum illud tuae uitae solacium sinistra fortune propulsabat instantia. Videns itaque ossa dilecti tui hac illacque consumpta carne^e dispersa non cognoui. Sola sed uisione totus inhorruī.^f

[41] Tamen uestre sanctitatis munitus exenio prope locum audacior accessi.

Et distractum per crines caput tandem inueni,

quo inuento

Tota tremens misero pendebat lingua palato,^g

nec poterat uerbum tibi stupefacta loqui.

Tristis et exanguis caput extuli. Cerno figuram.

Esse tui nati uisa notat facies.

Tunc ego, cum (fol. 146^v *D*) nullam potui conferre medelam, (fol. 128 *H*)

Altius ingemui faciens de morte querelam:

5 Tam cito te iuuenem cur⁸ mors inopina^h peremit,

Cum nichil in rebus obfuis(ti)⁹ ipse suis?

Morsu seuarum iacet erutus iste ferarum.

Dilacerata caro particulata scatet.

Proh dolor, hec nullo clauduntur menbra sepulcro,

10 Nuda sed assiduis ymbribus ossa madent.ⁱ

O iuuenis miserande michi, miserande parenti,

Cur desolatos efficis orbe tuos?

O spesies grata iuuenili flore^j uolata,

O patris auxilium spes decus atque meum,^k

15 Quid referam patri? Dicam tam tristia matri?

Ne dicam dolor at imperat ipse michi.

Sed tibi quid fiet?¹⁰ Ad uitam (tu)¹¹ non remeabis:

6. illi *conici potest*. 7. quam *D* (*corr. D¹*). 8. curs *D* (*s exp.*). 9. obfuis *DH*.

10. faciet *D* (*ac exp.*). 11. tu: *om. (spat. fere 2 litt. relict. D) DH*.

Altera pro meritis uita parata manet,¹²
 Hocque iacens tumulo remanebis. Et ipse redibo
 20 Dicturus casum primus in orbe tuum.

Et ualefaciens ei, defectum ex mestitudine¹³ corpus ad propria¹⁴ uix reportauit.

[42] His itaque mecum habitis, cum diligentiae uestrae rem intimare sollicitus agerem, hesit anima mea¹ in compassionis et pietatis obsequio ut nec uerbum pre lacrimis lingua sonaret. Nec confessionis tum ex reuerentia tum ex tristitia uocem habere mens insensata ualeret. Quamuis enim sanctitatem uestram non ambigo meum quodcunque in gratia suscepisse mandatum, tamen primum infortunii huius nuntium esse imprudenter me ipsum infero, sine dubio sciens dignationis uestrae continentiam de repente nati tui supplicio, quod spiritu preuides, magis quam de presenti transitione dolere. Sed cum in nullo falli ualeat uerax dispositio rerum,

Hic prece uel precio^m non reuocatur homo.

[43] Ergo inopinatam filii tui mortem probata patientie uestrae eque ferat auctoritas, et animae illius paternitatis affectus¹⁵ proficiendo amplificetur et caritas. Opere precium namque est in monumento iam fetenti sibi quatruiduano^{16/n} succurrere et extra ciuitatem proiectum^o uestris orationibus reconciliatum in effectuali ecclesiae matris gremio^p collocari. Nam fateor [quod] si quo¹⁷ illi fuerint dignae cruciatibus culpe, deum uestra petitione compassum indulgere reatum. Idcirco pertemptare tibi id possibile erit quatinus defunctus corpore lacrimarum uestrarum intercessionibus de sinistra parte resurgat in dexteram.

Atque reuiuiscat mortuus^q ille tuus.

Vale.

Est meritum socio consociare bono.

[VIII] RESCRIPTIO PATRIS¹

[44] Quamuis scio te michi filii mei mortem perscribere quo casu contigerat pre dolore non posse sufficere, tamen percipio animi sagacitate illud improvisum dampnationis eulogium. Erat enim ille miserandi mei senis genitus, ab ineunte

12. exanet *D* (corr. *D*¹). 13. mestitudine *DH*. 14. ppria *D*.

15. effectus *H*. 16. quatruiduano *H*. 17. que *H*.

VIII

1. RESCRIPTIO PATRIS: *om. H*.

etate usque ad iuuenilem florem^a perniciosus peruersi² cordis^b intuitu,³ licet omnibus⁴ simulatum innocentie portare uidebatur obsequium, quod benignitati suae tribuendum non fuerat sed paternitatis disciplinae, qua innata maliuolentia cordis sui nequam comprimebatur, operta ita ut illius inter socios habitatio non teneretur offensa.

[45] Nam futurus quis esset ex operibus presciui hominem.^c Latebat equidem repositum interius⁵ nigrum sub ouina pelle supercilicium^{6/d} et sitibundam lupi rapacitatem exterior (fol. 128^v *H*) paries seductoria simplicitate dealbata^{7/e} oculuit quia cum ad posse uiri non sensu sed etate peruenerat et desub iugo paternae correptionis^f superbientis⁸ fortune^g collum excusserat nunquam adipiscenda concupiscere, lites augere, rapinis inhiare, uniuersa luxuriantis⁹ stomachi illicita perpetrare, tocius naturae iura ascendere, etiam istud, unde amplius doleo, contra patris imperium¹⁰ in quo suffocatus est diligere studium, et alia his peiora gerebat, quae michi non sunt ad augmentum doloris oblata.

[46] Sed ut¹¹ de cetero perditam progeniture meae similitudinem tantorum malorum conscius lugeam, captiua uiciorum enumeratio prenotata sufficiat.

CONQUESTIO PATRIS

- Sum pater et nullus, generans de semine nequam
 Natum dampnatum cum (fol. 147 *D*) rem non fecerat¹² equam,
 Quem rapuit seuo crudelis bestia morsu,
 Non miserata mei sed iniquo peruia cursu.^h
- 5 Sat depasta fugit; ossa relictas manent.
 Heu tristis quid agam? Defunctum lugeo natum.
 Nec tantum natum sed nati defleo fatum,
 Est quia perpetuo mortuus ipse bono.
 Ecce tibi lacrimas tantum dimittere fas est.
- 10 Audeo nulla precum dare carmina, nullaque laus est.
 Nam miser et misere, nate perempte, iaces.
 In penis animam torques, torquebitur omne
 Temporis in spacium, pena perempnis erit.¹³
 Ergo tibi flentis morem gero, nate, parentis,
- 15 Cum lacrimis dicens, "nate perempte, uale."

[47] Nunc autem quia animus ad dolorem propter presentium instantiam magis excitatur et feruet, prolixitatem subtrahamus in scripto ne infestus auditor rem supponat fastidio uel beniuolus quisquam compacentis animo totus fluat in

2. peruersis *D* (*alt. s exp.*). 3. intuitu *H*. 4. omnibus *H*.
 5. interus *H*. 6. supercilium *DH*. 7. dealbata: *om. D* (ss. *D*¹). 8. superientis *H*.
 9. luxuriantes *H* (*corr. H*¹). 10. imperum *H*. 11. ut: *om. D* (ss. *D*¹). 12. fecerit *D* (*corr. D*¹). 13. erat *D* (*corr. D*¹).

lacrimis.ⁱ Imperare quidem michi debuiss¹⁴ ne dolerem insipiens, sed repugnat carnis propinquit¹⁵ et dominatur animo propagatio creature et paternitatis affectus. Quare tuae fraternitatis postulo caritatem ut linguam sermoni subliges et uerbum grauedinis nostre in publicum¹⁵ portare de reliquo taceamus.

Est hominis quia uita leuis, successio uana.
Est hominis quia uita breuis, penitentia sana.
Immemor esse uelis, obliuiosus ero.¹⁶

[IX]^a

[48] Excellentie discretionis tuae propensius mei capacitate scribere non desisto, sciens piae recordationis tuae memoriae in suscipiendis scriptis non deesse solatium nec in legendis pro assiduitate successisse fastidium. In quibus percipiendis subtilis ingenii tui¹ peruicacia preualet et sic auctoris intentionem² ex integro preuidet ut nullus angulus in dictione lateat que tue mentis non rimeatur astutia et ex angulorum concauitatibus quamuis obuolutam sententiam non extorqueat tua sancta sollicitudo. Igitur ad meae proiectionis augmentum animi tui philosophiam inuerecundus appello. Et ad auferendam cordis tui mestitudinem fedus antiquum sociale nunc mutuum amplius inuito ut sic uel saltem

Detineamus sermone diem,^b breuiemus et horas,
Nec³ uacuo nobis ponderet⁴ axe dies.

[49] Sed cum in secretiori parte lectuli residerem,^c (fol. 129 *H*) tumultus hominum exterius oritur, qui et me studentem obtuderat⁵ et parietibus suo strepitu nouas intulit aures. Animus pro subito trepidabat auditu, et tanquam alicuius infortunii prescius, nescio quem de uita presenti intra se prophetabat euntem. Fortassis, uti post claruit, non ignorabat euenisse quod accidit. Nec mora, in pedes prosiliens foras egredior. O utinam latuissem in lectulo uel obdormirem in studio. Nam cum egressus ad extimam hostii partem innixus pro consuetudine membra leuass⁶, ecce conquerentium et lacrimantium pauperum turba me coram inprimitur. Qui, ut compacienter dicam, decessum patris et amici tui abbatis Gosf. plangentes collacrimabant.⁶

[50] Quo audito ex admiratione tanto altius ingemui quanto a noticia sue migrationis⁷ eram scitu remocior. Non enim sperabam tam inprouisum corporis excidium in quo nullum mortis uidebam indicium.⁸ Visus nanque michi est in

14. debuisse *DH*. 15. in publicum: impublicum *D*.

16. quia uita breuis . . . ero: (*in ras. inser. D*²).

IX

1. tui: om. *D* (ss. *D*¹). 2. intentonem *H*. 3. Nunc (*N*^c) *H*. 4. penderet *H*.

5. obtutuderat *DH*. 6. collacriminabant *D*. 7. migrationes *H* (*corr. H*¹). 8. indicium: in iudicium *H*.

precedenti ebdomada. Nulla infirmitate eum premente tocius sanitatis esse ualentem gratulabar. Sed

Mors inimica suis pro me sua tela tegebat
Vt grauius fortasse suum caput ense feriret,
Quod fecit rapiens in miserata uirum.

Quare illum⁹ tanquam furatum nobis et latenter ab hac luce subtractum lugeamus, et subditi casus excessum lacrimarum preueniamus honore suumque reddamus officialius; in ploratione ualete.

[51] Plangendus itaque nimium est quia, ut tua melius paternitas nouit, non solum unius ecclesie continentia illius in morte soluta est uerum etiam clericorum sanctimonialium anachoretarum¹⁰ omniumque indigentium refugium consilium auxilium destituta sunt et solacia. Erat quidem uir mire discretionis, uirtute regens animum et cunctis pro loco pro tempore¹¹ pro iure pretensa caritate cum uotiuo sermone pium (fol. 147^v *D*) prestabat auxilium. Raro etiam¹² suum interiorem hominem^d preoccupauit elatio; rarius, ut ita dicam, illum maioris dignitatis exoculauit ambitio quia potuit, si uoluisset, quam sepe alcuis prouehi.

[52] Sed considerans susceptae scale quosdam se ascendisse gradus, quosdam ascensurum¹³ timens, precipitium in iam possessis sufficere non credebat. Videbat insuper in appetendis dignitatibus secus mentis delectationem excubantem superbie latuisse figuram et in acquisitis caritatis et humilitatis patuisse¹⁴ ruinam. Igitur ista¹⁵ erat sibi firma sententia ut nec habita postponeret nec iam habitis alterius dignitatis preferret obtatum. Habebat enim pastoralis cure firmum principium, in quo regularis custodie solidum cum discretionis honore posuit fundamentum, super quod edificauit discipulis suis monastice religionis affectum et indicte discipline misericordialem obedientiam.

[53] Omnia certe monachorum necessaria iuxta rationis considerationem¹⁶ (fol. 129^v *H*) decenter in mansuetudine sic ordinabat interius ut infamia¹⁷ uel querimonia siue¹⁸ indigentia de eorum conuersatione nulla uolaret^e exterius. Sic sic more prudentis agebat utrumque ut exterior habitudo interiorem^f non falleret et interior exteriori rationali compateretur obsequio. Etsi quando contigisset quod tunica concupiscentie alicuius excessus exteriori tingeretur sollicitudine,¹⁹ quia nemo sine crimine uiuit,^g orantium anachoretarum purgauit instantia, et fusa in pauperes elemosinarum copiosa diluit unda.

[54] Prefuit eis nanque et ecclesie sine prelationis superbia non ut se semper

9. Quare illum: *om. D (mg. D¹)*. 10. anoretarum *D (corr. D¹)*. 11. tempor *H*. 12. aetiam *D*. 13. ascensurum *H*. 14. potuisse *H*. 15. ista: *om. D (mg. D¹)*. 16. consideratione *DH*. 17. infamia: in fama *DH*. 18. siue: sue *D (corr. D¹)*. 19. sollicitudine: (*in ras. inser. D²*).

tantum suae uoluntati quamquam bone supponeret quantum subiectorum saluti iusticiae et pietatis temperatione prouideret. Pulcre quidem dum incepit operatus est, quia domum quam in susceptione pauperem inuenerat omnium bonorum repletam interius exteriusque reliquit. Sed iccirco, ne propter rerum copiam ab ignotis largiri pauca uideatur in tempore, sanctimonialium congregationem, quam fundauit et statuit, quater uiginti²⁰ anachoretarum numerum, aduenientium pauperum singulis annis mille, preter statutas elemosinarum in xenodochiis²¹ largitiones, fidelis domini dispensator^{22/h} et prudens pascendo uestiendo defendendo curabat. Quis crederet domum, nisi deo placeret obsequium, ad omnia ista posse sufficere?

Sed deus ut uoluit, accumulauit opes.

Vale.

Mortuus in meriti munere uiuet homo.

[X]^a

[55] Diu expectanti michi promissionis tuae dulce solacium occurrerunt¹ habita inter epulas hesterni conuiuii de morte amici pia colloquia, que amplius pro expectatione promissionis ad conferendum tibi de eo incenderant² animum ut ex dictis cognoscat tua sancta fidelitas quantis in uita pro benefactis a fidem sibi debentibus est lacessitus iniuriis, quantam denique nequiciam in iam mortuum maliciose partis subiectorum conspirauit inuidia, quamque repentino furore exteriora quae pro caritate et dignitatis honore absque detrimento substantie fecerat pars congregationis contraria cassare nitebatur.

[56] Nam priorem quem³ abbas pro dilectione posuerat, nescio quem Alchinum ex nomine nequam, nec priorem sed peiorem quia tanquam fur ad ouile ouium diripiendum per fenestras ascendere uoluit,^b non ut preesset sed subesset, abbatem maliuolentium⁴ turba constituit. Qui in ruinam sui eleuatus^c in brachio cupiditatis et in scandalum abbati semisepulto super eligitur. Et preualente sinistra parte de capitulo in monasterium ducitur et in sedem humilitatis et obedientiae usurpatione non pastor sed mercennarius uiolenter (fol. 130 *H*) impingitur.

[57] Et qui huic malo consentiebant^d et ueneficis incantationibus⁵ totum effecerant, illi illi scelerati extiterant, quos abbas pro dei amore et ordinis sui

20. uingincti *DH*. 21. exnodochiis *D* (*corr. D*¹), cenodochiis *H*. 22. dispensatorum (dispensato⁴) *H*.

X

1. occurrunt *H*. 2. incederant *H*. 3. quem: que quem *H*. 4. maliuolentiam *H*.

5. incantatiobus *H*.

reuerentia de nichilo ad aliquid promouebat, de miseria indigentiae et seculari paupertate redimerat, et de angustia famis et sitis ad pascua reficientis obedientiae sola pietate transtulerat. Illi illi (fol. 148 *D*) quibus benefaciebat, quos exaltabat,⁶ contra eum laxauerunt calcaneum suum.^e

[58] O innaturalis animi uersutia. O indebita precogitatie infidelitatis nequitia. O iam⁷ manifesta in cordibus prauorum latens inuidia qui pastorem beneficientem sibi undique defendere deberent. Iam definitam⁸ bonitatem eius in maliciam, pietatem in seuiciam, elemosinarum largitiones in substantiae distractionem et uanam gloriam conuertentes, et operationum potentia et improuisis linguarum gladiis iterum occiderunt.

[59] Nam prior supra⁹ debitum paternae hereditatis officium in superbiam presumptionis se erigens^f—

Territus a cauda celum turbauit alauda—

et diloricauit¹⁰ iniquitatis suae scrutinium tociusque exordinationis suae per complices suos amaricatum¹¹ diutina obseruatione interius et exterius effudit unguentum.¹² Cepit ab hoc abbatis¹³ quosunque ministros quocunque fideles expellere et reliquis beneuolentibus acrius inuidere, illos uero quos interius uel exterius parentes defunctus habuerat deprimere et quos suo parieti dependere cognouerat exaltare.

[60] Sed paruo tempore hac usurpata libertate abutebatur ille infatuante religionis¹⁴ apocrypha quia defuncti meritis interuenientibus prepetibus alis suae tyrannidis infamia regias uolauit ad aures.^g

Et res ipsa satis totum fit nota per orbem.

Quam ob rem rex, defuncto compaciens et equitatis iure subueniens, priorem ordine prepostero in abbatem compositum cum suis complicitibus¹⁵ pro mandato uenire iussit attonitum quatinus res acta sub scelere¹⁶ cum iusticia definiretur in publico.

[61] Preparabant igitur propositiones fallaces et inductiones primarias et finxerunt conclusiones apocryphas, subinferentes¹⁷ comparata Romane auctoritatis¹⁸ priuilegia. Sed eos falso se premunientes et dolo contra spectans regis et domini reiecit¹⁹ industria. Nec debuit eos antiquae malicie^h rationis iureⁱ premunire calliditas quos exoculauit insania et pietate priuauit indiscreta crudelitas. Neque preualuere abbatis in eis collata beneficia, quem frenetico furore blasphemabant pro religionis custodia. Arguebant etiam mortuum de largitate

6. exultabat *H*. 7. mīā *D* (*lin. infra m*). 8. definitum *DH*. 9. supera *H*. 10. diloricauit *H*. 11. amariticatum *D* (*ti exp.*). 12. unguentum *D* (*corr. D¹*). 13. abb' *H*. 14. religionis *D* (*pr. l exp.*). 15. complacibus *D* (*corr. D¹*). 16. seelere *H*. 17. subinferentes: sub inuerentes *H*. 18. auctoritas *D* (*corr. D¹*). 19. reicit *D* (*corr. D¹*).

pauperibus inperita, qui sepe sibi ut largus²⁰ illis fieret parcus extiterat.

[62] O serpentis iniqui uenenosa inductio. O non monachorum sed demoniorum noua superstitione (fol. 130^v *H*) desiderantium quidem ut quia religiose²¹ et intra claustra monasterii et sub abbate recte uiuebant, per patriam secularibus desideriis ad uelle uagarent et esset eis pro regula malus suae uoluntatis impetus. Paterno igitur affectui²² filialem dilectionem nequiter ostendebant cum benedicentem et beneficientem sibi pro iusticia pro religionis²³ obseruantia pro exhibita correctionis disciplina tanquam Iudei Christum innocentem condemnarunt, nec respiscunt²⁴ adhuc.

[63] Sequenti uero die²⁵ pars oppositiua uirtuti accersitur et ante regem conuenitur presente archiepiscopo ceterisque quam plurimis. Quibus rex: "Cum inter uos sperabamus habitationem uestram incompositam et simplicem aliis speculum esse totius religionis et exemplum, quare tam insipienter tam indisposite et sine me nulla personali auctoritate interposita hoc furtiuum perpetrastis electum?" Confusi sunt. Deus autem in hoc spreuit eos.^j

[64] Superaddidit rex et dixit, ueruntamen ut modo liquet: "Ille erat qui uos in fide tenuit, non prae actionis copiosa uoluntas. Ille erat qui uagationis aditus obstruxit²⁶ et in custodia regularis obedientiae solidauit. Ad hunc igitur super eligendum uestra audacter properauit incuria quia iam uobis religionis frena laxabat et uestris consiliis in propinquiores abbatis defuncti²⁷ armatus inuidia iam ceperat deseuire^k parentes.

[65] O uesana presumptio. O crudelitatis astutia. O animi superbientis audacia. Proh facinus inauditum,²⁸ quod corone meae dignitatem auferre nequiter attemptastis! Quis qualis et unde uester iste processit electus? Nota enim fuerat regie maiestatis patris illius sotularia dignitas et confectiuarum pellium assidua sollicitudo.²⁹ Sed neque propter id deterior de eo sonaret infamia nisi propagata nequitia et cupiditatis insania subiungerentur in merito." (fol. 148^v *D*) Illi autem miseri, uti nutritorum est mos monachorum,^l siue bene siue male sua semper defendentes, obdurati³⁰ in malicia adhuc testimonia factis sed non utilia succlamabant et domnum archiepiscopum totiusque Anglie primatem illius rei testem falso intulerunt.^m Quod citius presulis adnichilauit presentia. Nam archiepiscopus nullius iniusticie gratis particeps coram omnibus suum excusauit assensum. Neque per se neque per suos confectum fuisse confirmauit oprobrium. Ex qua re nimium confusi pallore potius repleta facie quam pudore tabescunt.

[66] Rex itaque iuxta religionis decreta et ecclesiastica iura pro emendatione et pacis restauratione monuit iniuste positum iuste deponi. Satis quidem

20. largius *H*. 21. religiose *D* (*pr. l exp.*). 22. affectu *H*. 23. religionis *D* (*pr. l exp.*). 24. respiscunt *H* (*corr. H¹*). 25. *fort. dic H*. 26. obtruxit *D* (*s ss. D^c*). 27. defuncti *D*, defunctus *H*. 28. auditum *D* (*corr. D¹*). 29. sollicitudo *H* (*ci ss. H¹*). 30. abdurati *H*.

apte secundum sancti Benedicti regularia precepta (fol. 131 *H*) faciens, personam suis consentientem³¹ uiciisⁿ electam magis pro uoluntate quam pro deuotione³² deposuit. Nunquid in prelacionis ordinem dignus intrauit? Minime. Indignus etiam sede sui prioratus efficitur qui aliter quam debuit abbatis furato nomine in dignitatis presumptionem³³ subicitur.

[67] Quid igitur, reuerende pater, in his orthodoxis fratribus religionis et iusticie censes? Ecclesiam sanctam et bonam sua pene subuertere³⁴ stulticia, et in inproperium tocius ordinis sui portauerunt insignia. Auertentes se non seruauerunt pactum. Quemadmodum diaboli sequaces conuersi sunt in arcum prauum.^o Scio paternitatem tuam pro ecclesia doluisse sed de confusione eorum, quia in benefactorem et pastorem suum nequiter³⁵ egerunt, aliquantulum cordi sedisse. Itaque, ut tocius nequitiae textum audias, ad finem properandum est.

[68] Cum autem domestici predatores ab abbate iam deposito conducti confusi et reueriti fuerant, ad ecclesiam³⁶ repedarunt. Iniquitatem adhuc meditantēs,^p in cubilibus suis astiterunt omni uiae non bonae.^q Maliciam autem non oderunt.^p Tercia nanque die post concilium rex³⁷ cum baronibus ad colloquium pergens fecit eo³⁸ diuerticulum. Quem susceperunt fratres malo non consentientes^r sed pacem et tempus curationis spirituali expectantes in gaudio. Crastina nempe hora rex, abbatis in loco pro iudice sedens, primum de iniuria suae dignitati surripienter illata conquestus est. Postmodum de iniusta electione mentionem³⁹ faciens domus destructionem ostendit.

[69] Vnus quisque etiam de baronibus super fatuam uiolentorum presumptionem suam sententiam⁴⁰ adiecit. Rex tandem,⁴¹ prece omnium suorum inuitatus, ecclesiam consolatam reddere cupiens, ad malefacta non respiciens, nepotem abbatis defuncti R., litteratum et bene morigeratum, largum pariter et prudentem, pro fraternitate eis in abbatem optulit. Quod audientes demoniales ex aduersa parte monachi adunato exercitu maliuolentium respuebant clamantes: "Tolle tolle crucifige⁴² eum, tolle hunc et dimitte nobis Baraban."^{43/s} Prius quidem egrediemur quam recipiamus eum." Erat autem conspiratio mala et demonis obstinata suggestio.

[70] Fecerat igitur rex super illos iuramenti sui signum, illos uidelicet alium non habiturum neque illis alium se daturum. Sic sic maliloquentium progressa stulticia regis firmavit edictum. Exiens inde rex, possessiones diripere monachos contradicentes destruere minatus, iratus ad propositum perrexit colloquium.

[71] Tunc captiui, satis in nequitiarum suarum fecibus delectati, uiderunt suam confusionem et religionis perpetrasse discidium et regias prouocasse

31. consen?ientem (*post alt. n est littera incerta*) *H*. 32. deuotie *H*. 33. presuptionem *H*.

34. reuertere *D* (*pr. re exp., s et litteram incertam ss. D¹*), se uertere *H*. 35. nequit *H*.

36. ecclesiam *H*. 37 rex: *om. D* (*ss. D¹*). 38. eos *DH* (*s exp. in D*). 39. mentione *H*.

40. sapientiam *D* (*corr. D¹*). 41. tantem *H*. 42. trucifige *D*. 43. barraban *D* (*pr. r exp.*).

discordias; imperialibus decretis obedire promittunt. Regia (fol. 131^v *H*) itaque est requisita maiestas et pontificalis auctoritas ut quem eis abbatem constituere decreuerunt electum tocius capituli petitione susciperent.

[72] Ex quo gratia nulla conquiritur cum res ipsa non pro uoluntate eorum sed quia in nequiciis non poterant preualere⁴⁴ perficitur. Hinc⁴⁵ aliis ecclesiis exemplum proponitur ut simile suae religionis⁴⁶ uituperium⁴⁷ in eligendis abbatibus non incurrant.

Preuidet incauti cautus sibi sepe ruina.
Nam uisis laqueis uix capietur auis.

Vale.

[XI]

(fol. 149 *D*) [73] Temeritate remota, gratissime liberalitati tuae eo studiosius scribo quod summi cuiusque bonitas in te commune profugium omnium est et quia dum spirat in corpore uita, beneficiorum tuorum immemor esse non debeo.^a Danda igitur opera est ut¹ consuetudine benignitatis tuae largitioni² munerum³ sociata illiberalitatis auaricieque absit suspicio. Non enim amica esset familiaritas neque firma dilectio si quando de perceptis beneficiis processu lubrico causa mereretur amarum et malimode mentis indignatio parturiret offensam.^b

[74] Nam inter spetialissimos uiros amicitiae⁴ iniuriarum omnium tolerantia est ut si in uno, ut humanum est, iracundie furor quandoque succreuerit, patientie protectione et dilectionis exhortatione leniatur in altero, quamuis amicorum idemptitas sit uolentie et nolentie. Non equidem aliquid asperitatis promerebitur tuarum michi iniuriarum illatio, si proueniat, sed gratiarum recompensabitur actio quia ab illatis amicitiarum⁵ argumentatur ostensio.

[75]^c Amicitia non uult minui, optat augeri. Non minatur irata, placata nescit irasci,^d susceptores suos diligit. Infidelibus inimica est, quia dum illam incauti suscipiunt, dum inconsideratius agunt, custodiendi uires amittunt. Maneat igitur inter nos dilectionis firma constantia, pulcher honestatis affectus, equa rerum prosperitas,^e commoditatis et copie spes utriusque.

[76] Siquidem meministi inter homines esse natura coniunctam societatem quae nec uentorum poterat impulsione^f moueri nec aliqua incommodorum passione seiungi. Erat enim mentibus hominum complexibilibus uirtutum clauis affixa et in soliditatis portu quieta liberalitatis honore permansit. Meministi

44. preualuere *H*. 45. hic *D* (*corr. D*¹). 46. religionis *D* (*alt. 1 exp.*). 47. uituperium *H*.
XI

1. ut: *om. D* (*ss. D*¹). 2. largitionii *H*. 3. numerum *D*, *fort. H*. 4. amicitiae *D* (*lin. infra ni*), amicitie *H*. 5. amicitiarum *H*.

etiam quandam muneribus comparatam, quandam non pro comuni sed pro sua tantum comoditate deuotam, quandam ex repentina impellentis spiritus⁸ uoluntate donatam, nonnullam uero pro substantie statu et munerum crebra⁶ largitione paratam: sed has societates sibi suisque fallax Fortuna prouidit.

[77] Nostra quidem ab ipso cognitionis primordio dilectionis anchoram fixit et in tenaci terra fortitudinis sue brachia^{7h} collocauit. Nec Fortunae commoditatibus inhiat, nec dignantibus inuidet, nec sibi que sunt extra requirit. Voluptatis etiam magnitudine doloris detractationem⁸ non incurrit. Iusticia, que in multorum societatibus (fol. 132 *H*) uaccillat uel potius iacet, in nostra in mutuo⁹ floris spirantis odore uirescit neque in extrinsecas cotidianas successibus partes aliqua temporum mutatione resoluitur. Sed sunt in ea uirtutes quae in communitate cernuntur et in generis humani societate probantur, quia ut Tullius dicit in *Officiis*, "Nec honestas neque liberalitas neque comitas esse potest, non plus quam amicitia, si hec per se non expectantur, si ad uoluptatem utilitatemue referantur."ⁱ Pulcra igitur et honesta inter nos illa familiaritas que et nos probauit in fide et in unitatis obsequio amica complexione solidauit.

[78] Non benignitati tuae comparanda, quod sine suo pudore dicere non audeo, cuiusdam simulata¹⁰ dilectio^j est. Nam cum quendam in dilectionis¹¹ obsequium pro uelle petierat, precibus annuit,^k fauit optato, gaudebat officio. Alcior enim Fortuna mutuum ministrauerat omen.^l Letum copulationis principium, nunc quartane nunc terciane nunc cotidiane separationis offensa, finis tenebrauit opertus. Sicque factum est ut accidentalis copulatio, principio melliflua, nunc absintio et felle linita desiccet.^m Hec societas uariis depicta figuris

Vndique collatis menbris ut turpiter¹² atrumⁿ
Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.^o
Nam pax principium fecit discordia finem^p

quia cum defuere sodali¹³ ministratorie cure paterna presidia,¹⁴ ex intolerantia deficientis substantie, unius et commoditatis^{14a} subtractione alterius rixarum fomitem^q ministravit inopia. Hic, ut michi uidetur, sed si idem tua sentiat auctoritas nescio, quod cum exilis substantie molestia suppresserat illos, parendum esset obsequio et animi (fol. 149^v *D*) fortitudine amicitie firmare primordia.

[79] Amicitia enim¹⁵ ad opposita non trahitur sed ea subicit et ad amica conuertitur. Nec tam in diuiciis,¹⁶ si fuerit uera, quam in paupertate letatur.

6. creb? a *D* (quinta littera ex corr. ut uid. et incerta). 7. brachia *H*. 8. detractationem *D* (ta exp.). 9. in mutuo: in mutato *D* (corr. *D*¹), inmutato conici potest. 10. simulta uel si multa *H*. 11. dilectionis *D*. 12. tupiter *H*. 13. sodali: (d fort. ex b corr. *D*¹). 14. presida *D* (corr. *D*¹). 14a. cōmōditatis *D*. 15. enim: om. *D* (ss. *D*¹). 16. diuus *H*.

Nam semper in diuiciarum amplitudine preualentie et nocentiae scrupulus est. Non igitur superhabundantibus conuenit, quae dat mediocribus et simplicibus in fide manentibus illapsa coronam.^f In fidei simplicitate non in supplantationis astutia delectatur. Amicitia nusquam extra proicitur, quae ex beniuolentie¹⁷ et honestatis assiduitate intra conficitur. Amicitia cum bone uoluntatis actione miscetur, quae nec bonis pauperatur exterioribus neque interiori priuatur honore. Tunc quidem oportuna inter illos esset patientia, cum distracta possessionis¹⁸ aceruum annichilaret substantia.

[80] Habet enim omnium rerum dilectio copiam et nullius egestatis preter naturalia uite nouit inopiam. Collocauit in sinu fortitudinis suae ex fidei promissione^s constantiam, in qua probatur in aduersis nec eleuatur in prosperis. Nullo iactantiae telo uexatur, nulli¹⁹ ambitioni supponitur, nulla temeritate deicitur. Amicitia superbiens fortuna^t non est. Illa diligit, ista contempnit. Illa querit amicorum fidelitatem, ista indignationis processu diuidit unitatem.²⁰ Illa gaudia, ista rixas²¹ cotidiana (fol. 132^v *H*) superstitione²² propinat.

[81] Amicitia²³ fidelis est, et inexpugnabili uirtutum muro precingitur.^u Integro statu manet immobilis, tribulatione non quatitur,^v temporis mutatione roboratur, pro paupertate nescit occasum quia, quamuis a stultis non recipitur sed despicitur, suis contenta sui sufficiens^w est. Igitur acceptum²⁴ beneficium est amicitiae dona tenere et uirtute sequi quodque iubere uelit.

Mel superimpositum spinis dulcedine torpet.
Corticis insipidi consuetudo facit.

Vale.

[XII]

[82] Nuper¹ tue habitationis² uidere secreta^a proposui, sed bonis semper inuidens^b hostis impedicionis suae preiecit obstacula ne desideratum opus perpetrarem propositionis in tempore. Nolebat enim nos de edificatione et salutiferis scripturarum³ questionibus mutuo locuturos quia animarum salutes suorum sunt augmenta malorum. Sed si ad inania uel ludicra suggestium flecterem animum,^c eo copiosum eundi ministraret affectum. Supplantatorie⁴ enim suggestionis incendia sunt uanitates specierum animo uelle suscipere et, quod deterius⁵ est, inductarum specierum significationes irrationabili motu actu perficere.

17. beneuolentie *D* (i *supra* alt. e ss. *D*¹). 18. possionis *H*. 19. nulle *DH*. 20. uanitate *H* (a *exp.*). 21. rixa *H*. 22. superstione *H*. 23. amicitia *D* (corr. *D*¹). 24. apceptum *DH*.

XII

1. Super (per *init. litt. maiorem*) *D*. 2. habitationis *D*. 3. scripturum *D* (corr. *D*¹). 4. Supplantariae *D* (to ss. *D*¹). 5. deecius *H*.

Propterea beniuolentie meae impedimentum opposuit. Sed impediendo sibi mutuauit⁶ uerbera et grauiori apud inferos iudicaturus remittetur incomodo quia

Dum me persequitur, se percutit ipse flagellis.
Impedit unde cadit, urget et unde ruit.

Neque eius ostensa iniquitate motus irascor nec propterea ad te ueniendi dimittam accessum.

[83] Sed eo inuidente⁷ et impedire non preualente, salutaris amicitie sermones conferemus ad inuicem. Nunc ergo ad narrandum quod michi in itineris posuit offendiculum^d propter nuncii festinationem properare deberem. Nam temporis prolixitatem in fastidium uertit. Itaque postquam omnia itineris mei necessaria sagatori cura^e paraueram, exsuscitauit⁸ superbie spiritus quendam demonio uexatum obuiantem michi, tanquam ex industria aliquid inferendum, et pre doloris⁹ angustia per nares et oris exitum sanguinem nigrum^f euomentem, satis insinuans proximum¹⁰ mortis intrare periculum. Quem cum in terram distractis crinibus distortis brachiis mortiferis rictibus procumbentem aspicio, non paululum expauescens expalleo, et si esset illius maligni spiritus incorporatio attentius ex stupore considero.

[84] Noui tandem astuciam. Duo tamen intellectu supponebam, uerum uidelicet corpus fieri posse uel fantasma fuisse. Corpus quidem esse maligno inhabitante spiritu gressibile uisibile dicibile¹¹ potuit quod esse aliqua rationis probatione fantasma non potuit. Iccirco assumptum corpus fuisse non ambigo. Nam mihi obuium cum crebro in terram rueret, nec me intuentem commoueret, (fol. 133 *H*) demum illiso capite fluentis cerebri prouocabat insaniam, et deterrimum¹² hiatum spiritus faciens, cum rugitu disparuit. Ex¹³ quo percepi demonis esse muscipulam.¹⁴

[85] Num putas me in tanto cadaueris fetore sine tuae orationis (fol. 150 *D*) adminiculo potuisse subsistere? Num speras me sine mentis mutatione superasse periculum? Num censes michi in amaritudine constituto tuum defuisse solatium? ^{14a} Tua quidem, nec dubito, succurebat oratio cum mee prauitatis defecit optentus. Itineris tamen apparatus demonialis occursum propter defectiuam humanitatis uirtutem impediuit et abstulit. Adhuc indiluta facies molestiua fetentis cadaueris sentina fuscatur. Nam et totum aerem spiritus exiens maligne corruptionis fedauit odore. Quare tuis lacrimis interioris mei hominis⁸ facies abluatur. Expellatur timor, roboretur fides, et mittatur auxilium ne forte aduentus meus tuae sanctitati displiceat et animum infirmitatis mee tuus

6. mutauit *H* (corr. *H*¹). 7. inuidente *D*.

8. exsuscitauit *D* (alt. s. ss. *D*¹). 9. doris *H* (corr. *H*¹). 10. proximum: om. *D* (mg. *D*³).

11. ditibile *D*. 12. deterrimum *DH* (corr. *D*^c). 13. Et *H*. 14. muscpl'am *H*.

14a. solatium *D*.

perhorrescat intuitus. Fateor me altitudinis tue sperare primordia et solita benignitatis tuae expectare presidia.

[86] Sed reuerentie tuae ne lateat quod in Hispania multis testibus gestum est breuiter enarrabo.^h Quidam diues uir magne honestatis et mire simplicitatis, ad sanctum Iacobum iens peregrinationis amore, in quadam uilla¹⁵ hospitari proposuit. Quem quidam infidelitatis et nequitie perpetrator occultus suscepit hospicio. Habebat predictus diues pro more potentis quamplures seruiantes sibi et unicum quem tenere diligebat filium. Qui dum insoliti laboris ex itinere fessus obdormisset et serui ad uictualia querenda hac illacque defluxissent, hospes iniquitatis neuoⁱ compulsus, uidens et eis inuidens diuitiarum habundantiam et uasorum argenteorum multitudinem, intra suae nequitie uelum dolos ruminabat.

[87] O cupiditas aliene possessionis corda surripiens.¹⁶ O dolositas pro parua rerum substantia homicidium cupiens. O auaricia, malorum omnium genus ultimum^j quod innocentem perimere nefande cupiditatis armauit audacia,^k quod obdormitum pre lassitudine uirum circumuenire conatur inuidia, quod suo susceptum hospicio malignitatis animo et auaricie sitibundo furore machinatur obruere. O innocentia huius iniquitatis nescia, non consideras quid sceleratus de te cogitat hospes, non percipis quae tibi preparat arma, non cernis quam iniqua presumptione tua disponit.¹⁷ Quod si audires, forte discederes. O utinam uigilares. O serui, cur dominum dormientem solum relinquitis, uenire cur non properatis? Quibus necessariis detentos uos uenire nunc impedit? O fili, gressum tuum ante patris mortem cur non acceleras? Nonne intelligis hospitem patri tuo mortis pocula propinare?

[88] Heu casus infortunii, agnus in¹⁸ requie iacet innocuus et lupus a parte ueniens uoluntate (fol. 133^v *H*) ruit in predam. Subtrahe, lupe, paululum nociue uoluntatis acumen, et decubantem¹⁹ agnum in peregrinationis sopore dimitte. Sed dum lupus, stans super nequitie pedes, de agni morte dormientis meditaretur inania,¹ uenit filius dormientis cum ministris uictui necessaria^m portans. At²⁰ lupus rapacitatis²¹ hospes demutata specie, ne illius quid sentiret agnosceretur animus, obticuit²² quasi de aliis ad alios loquens, clamque discessit.

[89] Procurato itaque prandio et iam parato dominum euigilant, mensas ponunt, aquam ministrant. Lauati pro consuetudine pransuri resident, cibi deferuntur, apposita comedunt, et in argenteis ciffis deauratis pro ritu patrie duplicia uina propinant. Tota domus peregrinantium in hospitis securitate letatur, nec merito, quia qui eos morti tradere pecunie cupiditate concupierat quomodo fidem²³ portaret? Solus sedet miser letantibus aliis auaritie²⁴ merore tabescensⁿ

15. uilla: *bis D* (*alt. exp.*). 16. surripiens: *om. DH* (*(sur)ripiens mg. H¹, surripiens mg. fort. D³*). 17. disposuit *H*. 18. in: *om. D* (*ss. D¹*). 19. decub(*ras*).ntem *H* (*a supra ras. ss. H¹*). 20. Ad *H*. 21. rapicitatis *H* (*pr. i exp., a ss. H¹*). 22. obtituit *H*. 23. fide *H*. 24. auarie *D*.

et quos sorbuerat cibos ad augmentum dolositatis potius quam ad hilaritatem effluebant.

Celabat uultu cordis sic dira uenena

ne interceptum eius uitaretur hospicium.

[90] Sed imminens lucis occiduum nox precogitate iniquitatis seruabat incendia. Nam dormientibus omnibus cum diuitem illum non poterat morte multare, uoluit eum fraudis suppositione decipere. Accepit igitur de suis ciffum argenteum unum quem habuit et inter uasa illius diuitis clanculo²⁵ posuit quatinus recedentes eos tanquam latrones nequitia preueniret et retentos furti reos ciffi de testimonio comprobaret, ad id semper zelo cupiditatis animum exigens ut super²⁶ illos inuento latrocinio quod ipse nequam fecerat, pro legis decreto patibuli pena succederet et sic sibi concupita pecunia remaneret. (fol. 150^v *D*) Sed deus et sanctus pro cuius peregrinabatur obsequio, permittens euenire molestiam non hospitis sed hostis,^{27/o} patitur audaciam quo magis suo confunderetur²⁸ opprobrio. Quid multa? Nullius mali conscii in crastino peregrini iter arripiunt.^p Nec multum spacii de uilla profecti; cupiditatis seruus, uas suum tanquam furatum querens et non inueniens,^q super peregrinos furtum exponit, et conuocans propinquos, illos fures et raptores non peregrinantes esse conclamabat. Vicini stulti, cito scelerati dicta credentes, persequuntur euntes.^r Comprenti de furto inculpantur.

[91] Illius autem sancte peregrinationis dominus humilitatis uoce^s pro se suisque sociis respondit: “O uiri magis imprudentie quam uirtutis, quae causa uos uexat inanis^t ut nos in armis circumueniretis innoxios? Quod utique interrogatis nec uidimus nec possidemus unquam. Porro cum diuites sumus et ad sanctum Iacobum requirendum pergimus, quae nobis esset de uestro uel aufe-rendi uel furandi necessitas? Nos etenim pro commissis diluendis^u sanctorum corpora querimus, et in peregrinatione quod in patria non deceret facere debemus? Absit.”^v

[92] At ille perfidus furti conscius^{29/w} in malitia persistebat^x et saccos et portatoria exquirere sociis persuadebat. Sciebat (fol. 134 *H*) inuenire quod latenter³⁰ intro posuerat. Tandem quesitis de sacco dominico ciffus extractus est. Quod uidentes obstupescunt mirantur et dicunt: “Heu quid euenit? Quis hoc perpetravit oculum? Quo casu contigit? Scimus quidem scimus quia culpa in nos retorquenda³¹ non est.^y Lege probabimus, si detur in spacio, huius rei nos non esse ministros. Neque hoc egimus, neque alius per nos. Cuius furti nescia^z

25. claud'o *H*. 26. per *H*. 27. hospitis *H*. 28. confunderetur *DH*. 29. concius *H*. 30. lacenter *H*. 31. in nos retorquenda: r. in nos *D* (*ordo corr. D*¹).

nostra nos conscientia saluat.” At illi instantes inualescebant, super illos iudicium facientes, et amissa omnium pecunia illum super quem furtum euenerat supplicio deputarunt.

[93] O iniqui iniusto iudicio innocuos opprimentes, quid agitis? Cur in seruos dei polluendas iniquitatis manus inicitis? Cur falsidici et maliciosi compositoris^{aa} animum non consideratis si rerum discretio uestris preualeret in sensibus?^{bb} Nonne hic capiendus, nonne iudicandus, nonne esset puniendus? Quare desipientes in illum iuste arma non conuertitis^{cc} qui hos de furto suo iniuste dampnauit?

[94] Sed cum ad supplicium senior duceretur,³² filius mori pro patre rogabat; pater propter innocentiam domini imitator per mortis passionem³³ ad gloriam properabat. Cui filius: “O uenerande pater, cum huius sceleris immunes propter Christum et peccatum nostrum tanti itineris laborem accepimus, mortem quam pati deus concesserat sua gratia non formidemus, quia perfecte peregrinationis et iniuste passionis corona nobis duplex^{dd} reddenda manebit si supplicium suscipiamus amore. Sed tu senior et imbecillis ad tolerandum, ego fortis et pro innocentia tua mori paratus ocumbam.” Sicque locutus astantibus dixit: “O uos inmisericordes, senilia patris menbra conspice, et illum dimittentes me pro patre robustum supplicio deputate. Dignum nanque, ut arbitror, est filium pro patre morti succumbere et reuerentiam etati paternam exhibere.” Nec tunc eos patris innocentia mouit neque filii expetite mortis³⁴ recta supplicatio. Vix tandem filio pro patre mori concesserant. Sed ut breuietur sermo prolixior, filium patibulo³⁵ suspendunt innocuum.

[95] O ceca cupiditas, quae hoc perpetrasti homicidium. O captiua dolositas, que unius scelerati uerbo uiros artauit innocuos. O tristitia patris inenarrabilis, qui in ultima etate tribulationibus teritur et filium suspensum patibulo uidet ablatum. Sed consolabatur eum pura conscientia,^{ee} et cruciabatur nati sui inmerite suspensionis angustia.

[96] Sepe genua flectens terra procubuit et filii inmeritum plorans supplicium merore contabuit.^{ff} Et cum non posset ibidem³⁶ diutius morari, pendentis innocentiam deo commendans, orationem fudit in lacrimis dicens:

O deus et factor hominum, pietatis origo,

huius suspensi animam,

Iacobe tu iuste, solita pietate iuuate.

Orans pro nato iam moriente meo.

Annue deuota sanctorum conscio tota

Atque preces domino fundite pro genito.

32. duceret ut uid. H. 33. passiosem D (corr. D¹ sed ita ut passiosiem uideretur).
34. mor H (corr. H¹). 35. patibulos H. 36. ibidem: ibi demus H.

Ad filium conuersus ait:

Respice, nate, tuum patrem tete lacrimantem. (fol. 151 *D*)

Ista suprema michi uisio, nate, uale.

Filius inclinat, (fol. 134^v *H*) patrem pro posse salutat,

Expectaturus ipse patris reditum.

[97] Factaque oratione, cum peregrinantium multitudine tristis abcessit. Cumque recto itinere³⁸ ad sancta loca ueniret et super altare pro filio lacrimans oblationem poneret, subito mente disposuit pro morte nati Ierosolimam pergere, quod mox prospero gradu facilius perpetravit. Cum uero iam esset in reditu, ob memoriam kari sui uoluit per suspensionis loca transire quatinus ibidem cum nato uitae suae posset finire dolorem.^{hh}

[98] Quod cogitarat deo disponente secutus, ad desiderata³⁷ loca peruenit. Cumque in eodem patibulo pendentem quendam alonge conspiceret, pre dolore totus infremuit quia magis nati sui supplicium senili suo presentabatur aspectui. Nesciebat enim nec sperabat suum esse filium quia iam suspensionis transierat annus. Tremebundis tamen uestigiis accesserat pater et paululum suspiciens filii sui uestimenta cognouit, sed ipsum fore non intelligebat. Filius uero uisum patrem suo nomine pro more salutat. Ad cuius uocem obstupuit et retraxit uestigia pater.

[99] Cui filius: “Apropiare michi cur, pater, hesitas? Non te sic subtrahas sed ueni tuum de patibulo soluere natum. Iam enim sancti sustentatio tuo deficit aduentu. Solue igitur ut sanus ueniam ad te. Nichil mali perpersus sum usque adhuc. Sum certe filius tuus quem tu times; fantasma non est. An diffidis deum me non posse liberare de³⁸ supplicio, qui me uiuum seruauit in patibulo? Videns enim deus iniquitatis iudicium, quatinus sua manifestaretur misericordia, permissus³⁹ est euenire. Sed nullam uoluit me pati penam supplicii qui me sustinuit ut auctorem iniquitatis grauius reum dampnaret homicidii. Nos namque iusto iudicioⁱⁱ liberabimur, et ipse⁴⁰ fraudis commentor igne cremabitur⁴¹ et perpetuitatis inferni paciatur incommodum.”⁴²

[100] Quod ut pater audierat, intellexit iusta dei dispositione^j factum fuisse. Ascendensque patibulum filium soluit, et osculatis mutuo descendit uterque. Interrogatus uero a patre filius cuius auxilio frueretur appensus, dixit: “Sanctus Iacobus uobis circumstantibus et non uidentibus occurrit et sustentaculum pedibus posuit super quod steteram, in nullo anxius, nichil esuriens neque sciens.⁴³ Iamque uidetur michi nisi unius hore spacio fuisse suspensus.”⁴⁴

[101] Ex quo deo gratias tradiderunt,⁴⁵ in uillamque uenientes misericordiam dei in illis et cum illis operatam certis indicii ostenderunt. Quibus

37. desiderata *H*. 38. de: *om. H*. 39. promissus *H*. 40. pse *H*. 41. cremabimur *H*.

42. incommodum *H*. 43. sciens *H*. 44. suspensus: spacium *D* (*lin. infra*, suspensus *ss. D*³).

45. tradiderunt: agentes *D* (*lin. infra*, tradiderunt *ss. D*³), reddiderunt *H*.

auditis tota uilla contremuit, et ad pedes illorum prouoluti ueniam precauere. Vniuersam etiam pecuniam reddentes, malefactorem⁴⁶ cum omni domo malignitatis sue combusserunt, glorificaueruntque deum, qui cum seruis suis innocentiae misericordiam fecit optatam. Patre uero ducente recuperatum⁴⁷ filium ad loca beati apostoli, munera sancto donantes prospero itinere ad propria repedarunt.

[102] Quid igitur, reurende pater, de tam beato miraculo credis? Magnum quidem fuit et peregrinantibus⁴⁸ nunc extat (fol. 135 *H*) mirum imitationis exemplum. Sed ne textus miraculi prolixior⁴⁹ faceret orationem, deponatur opinio, et in hac breuitate complexum satis expeditum sit.

Quisque deo seruire cupit precepta timebit
 Securusque uolet quod fuit omne pium.
 Mens bona, cor purum, manus optima, sermo fidelis
 Iustificet mundet diligat atque iuuet.

Vale.

Do uotum tibi consilium, michi reddis utrumque.
 Quod michi sum, tibi sum. Sum tuus, esto meus.

[XIII]

[103] Paternitati tuae notissimum esse non dubito unum omnibus fore debere in utilitate propositum ut eadem esset utilitas unius cuiusque et uniuersorum, quam, ut Tullius dicit, si ad se quisque rapiet, dissoluatur omnis¹ humana consortio quia communis utilitatis derelictio contra naturam est. Communem nanque cuiusque utilitatis profectum omnibus conuenire fecit ex humanitate natura. Quae dum quisque que sua sunt querit et non alterius, naturam dirimit et eius commoditatibus detrahit.^a Detrahare quippe alteri, ut idem dicit in² *Officiis*, sui commodi causa magis contra naturam quam mors, quam dolor, quam cetera generis eiusdem.^b Nam quid nisi hoc, quod homines in uoluntate dissidentes sibi inuicem detrahunt, magis humane societati contrarium est?³ In maliciam certe natura nullum uel uult uel habet sui estimatione processum. Infra sue creationis ambitum utilitatis communitatem et honestatis societatem (fol. 151^v *D*) uirtus nature progressiua constituit.

[104] Sed nos semper in habendis rebus et concupiendis corporis ex inbecillitate nutantes contra nitimur, quisque suum commodum querens et

46. malefactor ut uid. *H*.

47. recuperatum *H*. 48. peregrinantibus: (in fort. peregrinantibus *D*^c). 49. proluxior^e *H* (u exp. in i).

XIII

1. (o supra ras. *D*¹)mnis *D*. 2. in: om. *H* (ss. *H*¹). 3. est: uix discernitur in *D*.

alterius utilitatibus inuidens. Vnde homines in suis cupiditatibus inferiores et uiliores bestiis efferuntur. Bestia enim cognoscit reclinatorium presepii^c sui et naturalibus contenta est pascuis. Homo, abducta ratione nature quae sunt contraria cupiens, uoluntatibus imperare contempnit.

[105] Non quidem uniuersaliter loquor, sed propter quosdam sit mentio, quos reuerentia tua non ignorat, quos in diuiciarum estimationibus estuare uidebas. De quibus altitudo humilitatis tuae quod oneri fuissent et fastidio frequentius inclamabat.⁴ Erant enim inique cupiditatis laqueis irretiti et innaturalium uiciorum preoccupati molimine ita ut conuersationem⁵ eorum non solum abhorruere parentes uerum etiam tota ciuitas suorum sequatium⁶ commaculabatur consortio.

[106] O desipientis animi uehementia qui terrenis sic delectatur ut sue creationis originem, quid fuit et quid modo sit quid erit cui quomodo quando, mentis inops ratione carens considerat actu. Semper in eis adhuc inexpletura feruet auaricia, miseroque cupidine pectus uritur,^d et languent uiscera, membra dolent. Preualet etiam super eos feda desideriorum uoluptas et in non naturalibus contaminatur factura uirilis. Que secundum creationem perfecta uidelicet spiritualis emissio, corporali unita substantie, rationalem (fol. 135^v *H*) transit⁷ in hominem ut mentis aspiratione creatorem agnosceret et sui estimatione non falleretur, quod sepe contingit per uoluntatis humane desiderium et prae actionis excessum.⁸

[107] Enimuero cum gratia tuae libertatis de honestate uitae et continentie materia⁹ ad illos sermonem faceret, ne intelligerent auerterunt^e sensus suos ne audirent sicut aspides obturantes aures suas.^f In acquirendis autem diuiciis cupiditatis animus graui semper sollicitudine laborabat, qualiterque aceruus ampliaretur potius quam minueretur totis uiribus insistebat. Omne tempus consumi debere illi miseri in cupiditatum effluentiis autumabant. In quibus molli¹⁰ sunt super oleum, et in perpetrandis uiciorum suggestionibus multis aliis ipsi sunt iacula.

[108] Quosdam enim ad sue iniquitatis cumulum blandis sermonibus attrahunt; quosdam persuasos corruptionis igne succedentes pre ceteris uiciis auaricie insatiabili studere suadent. Sed eos quam crebro¹¹ infinitus labor et futilis in acquirendis et concupiscendis alienis repentine mortis ense triumphat et multitudini diuitiarum copiam adimens concupiscentie uitam abstrahit^g et inexpletue auaricie determinat actum, quia cum quosdam, dum auaricie corda supponunt, circa appetendas diuitiarum copias implicitos¹² esse conspiciamus, modo inimi-

4. indampnabat *H*.

5. conuersationem *H*. 6. sequantium *H*. 7. transit: *om. D* (ss. *D*³). 8. excelsum *H*.

9. materia: modo (*m*) *H*. 10. molli *H*. 11. cerebro *DH* (*pr. e exp. in D*). 12. implectitos *H* (*i supra e ss. H*¹).

corum prerepti malicia pereunt, modo inter fluctuantis maris miserrima pericula auariciam cum uita finiunt, modo a latronibus¹³ depredati in uia mortis pre-reptione suffocantur.

[109] Sepe tamen nonnulli uisis aliorum incommodis¹⁴ ad hominem redeunt¹⁵ et ab concupiscentie gressibus¹⁶ pedem rationis consideratione reportant. Sed isti neque exemplis neque aliorum infortuniis ad honestatis uel continentie reuocantur auditum. Induratum est enim cor^h eorum in auaritia, et manus domini graue grauata¹⁷ est super illos.ⁱ Malunt in stercore nequitiarum suarum computrescere^{18/j} malo quam desideriorum suorum sublata libidine ad naturalia condicionis humane reuenire decreta. Quare illud in humanis sensibus pernitiosissimum extat, quod cum rerum¹⁹ naturalium rationales in se habeant motus, ad inferiora prae actionis citius usque descendunt.

[110] Sed dicunt euenientia²⁰ in dei dispositione,^k que non fallitur quin contingant, non posse conuerti. Talibus igitur hec mentis execatio^{21/l} accidisse ratione qua dicimus, an ex passiuis uiciorum operationibus an ex iusto dispositionis^m intuitu? Sed dispositio neque celestia possidere debentibus aufert neque ad perdicionem aliquos beneficientes impellit. Nam precedit meritorum culpa dampnatos et prauarum actionum accumulatio reos facit non natura. Igitur ex uitiosarum processione culparum, non ex dispositione, prouenit omne quod bono et beato inferius et deterius est.

[111] Propterea fictilis et inuenticia eorum prefertur occasio ad faciendas excusa(fol. 152 *D*)tiones in peccatis. Nam peccati suggestionem corporis infirmitatibus imputant, perpetracionem uero spiritui presidenti, sine quo corpori quippiam faciendi nulla facultas (fol. 136 *H*) uoluptatum, argumentatione supponunt. Sicque retorquentes culpamⁿ in spiritum, male inferentes, utrumque condempnant.

[112] Iccirco tuae caritatis succurrat oratio ut uisis sanctitatis tuae litteris apprehendant disciplinam ne quando commoueatur dominus et alienentur de uia iusta.

Vtile propositum sensum dare rebus honestis,
Dedecus et magnum rusticitate frui.

Vale.

13. lotronibus *D*. 14. incomdodis *H*. 15. rederent *H*. 16. grassibus *DH*. 17. grauata: (fort. tert. a ex o *D*), grauato *H*. 18. cumputrescere *H* (corr. *H*¹). 19. rerum: om. *D* (reru ss. *D*^c). 20. euenientia *DH*. 21. hec mentis execatio: sic *DH*, execatio: = excaecatio.

[XIV]

[113] Studiose mentis alienatio est ingenii uelocis^a modum excedere et supra solitum uoluptatis impetu frena laxare, quod multi, cum aliquid conantur exerere, populi fauorem^b amplius suspirantes, quid sit utilitatis et honestatis^c incrementum¹ cum non considerant, fidem² non facientia multa promittunt.³ Sed promissionis uota suspendunt dum in enigmatibus uariis usque in infinitum argumenta disponunt discretionis honore sublato. Quamobrem uidentur michi leuioris ingenii et hebetioris fuisse memorie qui quanto citius audita percipiunt tanto tardiores ingenii uelocitate^d notantur.

[114] Sepius etenim euenit ut uideamus quemlibet oculorum faciliori motu magne subtilitatis scripta percurrere⁴ sperantem⁵ se omnia pro sui capacitate tenere, cum paruo temporis intersticio⁶ uix unius sententie dictiones ab memoria nequeat extorquere. Neque mirum si memoria quod nescit taceat⁷ cum quod proferat commendatum sibi non habeat. Sed hoc quippe mirum, cum omnes rationalitatis et discretionis ex natura debeant esse participes, quod supra posse facere promittunt, totam rerum seriem confundentes et discretiue memorie impediētes⁸ ornatum.

[115] Vnde tuus interior plus aliorum uiget in sensu quia tui contentus es et preconantis fame leuia non attendis sed conscientia teste^e frui desideras et siquid genialis potentie fuerit quasi inane et nichilum reputans^f imperatiuam personam humilitati supponis et uilificatum⁹ penes te supercilium in significatiue eruditionis transmittis exemplum. Nam non solum quedam que tua dilabuntur ab ore utiliter proferuntur, immo pene omnia tante auctoritatis et elegantie uerba descendunt ut cum utilitate melliflui spiraminis odore referta condiantur. Non equidem sensum superant tuum nec ingenii uires excedunt, sed in componendo et dicendo ubi¹⁰ uolueris moraliter progredieris. Capax animus tuus et facile peruidens nichil ambiguitatis nichil difficultatis quod tuae considerationis non uentiletur in area scripto relinquit.

[116] Nam cum olim coram tuae¹¹ gratissime iuuentutis liberalitate cuiusdam transpositiue orationis scripta uenirent, unius rationis prolatione uelociter enodauit penetrabilis¹² tuae peruicacitatis intuitus. Nec mora tenuit intellectum quin nobis te coram positis illud appositue problematis occultum tua gratia propalaret. Hoc enim esse tui moris solebat officium ut cum pro solito disputationibus insistentes uniuersalium questionum¹³ in uarietate teneremur, ambigui uariis inductionibus et ceteris probationibus, omnem dubietatem solum tue subtilitatis dilucidauit acumen.⁸ Erat certe penes te (fol. 136^v H) meditatio

1. incrementum: in concementum H (om *supra* cm ss. H¹). 2. fide DH. 3. multa promittunt: p.m. D (*ordo corr.* D¹). 4. percurrere DH. 5. sperante H. 6. insterticio DH.

7. tacet H. 8. impidiātes DH. 9. uilifacatum H. 10. ubi: *bis* DH. 11. te H. 12. penatrilis H (*corr.* H¹). 13. questionium H.

lectionis assidua et ad studium animi uehemens applicatio, unde quod tunc exercitationis opera mens improbo sibi labore^h probauerat, nunc aliis consecute scientiae sitientibus tanquam dulcia uini fluenta propinas.

[117] Beata memoria que¹⁴ utilitatis commendata custodit et in custodiendo contempnenda non suscipit quia prope discidium est contentionis et zelotipie uerba tenere et iniuriarum illationes memorie commendare, quod tua, fateor, abhorret auctoritas.

Ostendit fructus quales bona conferat arbor;ⁱ
Fructibus arboree stirpis habetur odor.

Vale.¹⁵

[XV]

[118] Autoritatis tuae munus accipiens grates exolui.¹ Cum honore et diligentia tuam² consequi uoluntatem totus exopto, in qua meritum gratiam non precessit sed liberalitatis beniuolentia pari³ uoto federauit utrumque. Hoc igitur inuitatus auspicio, familiaritatis colloquia mutuo, et relligionis affectu scribendi tibi ausum securiorem ex dilectione percipio. Tamen pre timore ne quod cuidam michi eueniat, subtraho manum^a et precurrentium pedum supprimo⁴ gressum ut cum uenero, desideratus accepter⁵ et ne pro assiduitate fastidium generans onerosus existam. Desideratiue nanque speciei, quanto uisu rarior (fol. 152^v *D*) tanto delectabilior, et cum comprehenditur, multo ex uisionis rarefactione fit gratior.

[119] Quidam simplici notatus ex nomine, de quo altior male⁶ operationis precurrit infamia, pernoctandi gratia hospicio uenit. Quem ego tuo more tacitus intuens, putabam illum mee solitudinis fore solatio si primum uerborum in sequenti non mutasset affectum. Vt susciperetur consuetudo poposcit. Quid multa? Hospitatus dimidias gratias egit. Hora prandii rogatus⁷ manus abluerat. Sedit ad mensam. Semper oculos quid deferretur sibi ut uideret ex rusticitate circumcirca deferebat obliquos. Quae fuerant dura spreuit apposita. Molliora igitur propter diurnalem itineris laborem cibaria ponuntur ne escarum grossities ex commestione plenaria egritudinis indigestiue fuisset occasio.

[120] Duos nanque panes et semis sue uoracitati⁸ gula supposuit preter extrinseca que consuetudine cotidiana ponuntur. Ter decem⁹ semicruda famelicus sorbuit oua. Cumque tanta ciborum mole sarcinatus¹⁰ accubuisset in mensa, timui ne uentris distensio larga propter prandii multiplicitatem parturi-

14. que: *om. H (ss. H¹)*. 15. Valet *H*.

XV

1. exolui = exsolui. 2. tua *H*. 3. patri *DH*. 4. suppremo (*supp̄mo*) *H*. 5. accept̄ *H*. 6. (*ras.*)mele *D (corr. D¹)*. 7. rogatus *D (corr. D¹)*. 8. uoracitati *DH*. 9. decem *H*. 10. sarcinata *D (us supra alt. a ss. D¹)*, *fort. sacinatus H (corr. H¹)*.

tionis infatuaret egressum et impulsue uirtutis longa retentione ex uarietate repletio¹¹ ad inferiora conuertens subito solueretur ex cursu. Quare cifforum frequenti successione uina propinare acriora precipio¹² ne duricies ex contrarietatibus escarum premeretur in stomacho et ex calide fumositatis superfluitate¹³ deuorator ille debilitaretur in capite.

Nam ebibit atque uorat, quicquid datur ore perorat;
Ciffum supplorat, satis in potando laborat.
Ciffum post ciffum solo percusserat ictu.¹⁴

Quod, ne auaricie notarer¹⁵ infamia, quamquam onerose (fol. 137 *H*) tamen usque sustinui, et ne mei¹⁶ beneficii exprobrator¹⁷ assisterer¹⁸ cum conuitiaret, linguam compescui et in ei¹⁹ reprehensionem labia non permouui.

[121] Epicureorum uero satis supersticiose uestigia complens, tandem in deuoratione lassatus est. Fastiditus ad mensam soluitur in partes.

De stomacho ructus²⁰ fedos cum fenore misit,
Et super emissos sua se stulticia risit.

Cui ego:

“Splendidus in cena cum dormis, feda camena
Nos mouet. Vnde tibi fetor odore cibi.”
Territus e dicto, potuque ciboque relicto,
Surgit et in uomitu gurgitat ore cibos.

Tunc ex inanitione²¹ superiori et repletione inferiori infrigidatum²² corpus ad ignem exposuit. Hiemis etiam tempus erat et frigidum.

[122] Circumsedentibus uero nobis et illum pro miraculo²³ intuentibus, nescio quid murmurationis secum ruminabat et uerbum auditum, uel quia noluit uel quia non potuit, non proferebat.²⁴ Cum autem hora dormitionis incumberet, taciturnitatem suam tali tandem soluebat eloquio:²⁵ “In summa translate²⁶ beatitudinis quieuisse me uideo dum omnia corporis menbra luxuriosa²⁷ estuarent in crapula et omnium uiscerum²⁸ ex contrariis escarum legibus fieret pro repletionem concordia.”

[123] O gulositas, uitiorum domina, plena lasciuie. O lasciuia,²⁹ uirtuti

11. repleto *H*.

12. picipio *H*. 13. superfuitate *DH* (corr. *H*¹). 14. luctu *H*. 15. nataret *H* (in natarer *H*¹). 16. me *H*. 17. exprobrator *DH*. 18. assisterer: in *ras. inser. D*², assisteret *H* (corr. *H*¹). 19. eii *D* (alt. i exp.). 20. ructus *DH*. 21. inanitiore *D*, in anitiore *H*. 22. infrigidatum *DH*. 23. miracula ut uid. *D*. 24. prouerebat *H*. 25. eloquios *D*. 26. traislate *H*. 27. luxuriosa: sic *DH*. 28. uiseerum ut uid. *H*. 29. lasciuie *H*.

contraria, inimica pudicitie. O uenter, receptaculum tocius immundicie, qui tot in tantis conaris euertere uiros dum nescis³⁰ appetitum moderare tuum, sed cum sis puteus insaciabilis, altus repleti semper intendis. Laudauit Epicurus ille escarum plenitudinem et innaturalem stomachi repletionem. Quod ego solo aspectu uix pertuli quin pro turpi comestione totus euomerer. O quam pulcrum, quam serenum, quam utile est honeste uite^b morem gerere et a superfluis impetuosam animi cupiditatem refrenare ne forte quandoque resolutus in crapula qui debet impare uirtute, subiciatur ingluuie.³¹

Gloria³² delectat uite sed cum sit honesta.
Gula parat mortem cum consuetudine mesta.
Eligis, ecce duo, quodlibet³³ esse uelis.

Vale.

[XVI]

[124] Licentiam eundi Ierosolimam¹ accepit alter ille tuae fidelitatis amicus. Quem nec mee detinuere preces, nec longa et ignota terrarum spacia poterant suscepta soluere uota quin prima propositi sui in petitione² permansisset immobilis.^a Fiduciam enim ratam cite reuersionis ponebat in spem. Pergens uero ultimum michi debite salutationis reddebat obsequium.

Cum aura³ suauior placidas permouerat alas,
Subtracto uelo pelagi conscenderat equor,^b

arbitratus nichil sibi contrarietatis debuisse uel potuisse contingere. Tanta auiditate complectitur iter ut non solum sui oblitus quid ageret uerum etiam parentum suorum curam festinatione reditus⁴ postposuit,⁵

Spesque⁶ sui positus festinum fecerat actum.

[125] Sed cum

Fallitur augurio spes bona sepe suo,^c

densissima nubes^d et repentina surgebat ab ortu que terrenis infecta⁷ fetibus et

30. nescit *H* (*corr. H*¹). 31. ingluie *H*.

32. Gula *H* (*corr. H*¹). 33. quoslibet *H*.

XVI

1. ierosolimam *D*. 2. petitione *H* (*corr. H*¹). 3. auras *H* (*s. eras*). 4. reditus: *om. D* (*reeditus ss. D*³, reditus *mg. D*³). 5. propositus *D*, posuit *H* (*post ss. H*¹). 6. Spēsque *H*. 7. infecta: in facta *H*.

(fol. 153 *D*) rabioso spiramine plena, ad instar (fol. 137^v *H*) piscis conglomerata, nigrescit et ampliori sinu⁸ distenditur ad alta dum tollitur, ita quidem ut longe adhuc posita future tempestatis signaret⁹ euentum,^e et murmur non modicum faciens forciore spiritus impetu,^f deportata super nauem circulando¹⁰ milui more rapientis, in predam usque deuenit.

[126] Quod miseri transituum fuisse sperantes incommodum confortabant se mutuo.

Vnus quisque alteri sibi spem promisit inanem.^g

Cumque ille uester amator pelagus turgescere uidit et undas brachiis ingurgitare duplicibus nec uite solacium nec mortis superesse remedium, resolutus in uerbis, de corruptionis nostre fragili materia, de bono mortis, de uita salutaris, de animi fortitudine, qualis et quantus in tolerandis aduersis esse debeat pio sermone prolocutus incepit, “O quam pulcrum” inquires “est sociale fedus inter amicos. Que nescientem rapit in predam mors quam paruipendenda fideli. In utriusque hominis societate¹¹ corporis est resolutio bona. Dum recte quis egerit et in fide non offenderit uita salutaris, dum quis presentia contempnat, futura desiderat, et aduersa sustineat, animi fortitudo est. O uos socii, mecum in hoc mortis articulo constituti,

Quid sit quid fuerat quid erit perpendite terram.

Non est mirandum quod sua terra petat.

Spiritus est uita^h cui respondere paramur

pro peccatrici corporis hac spe.¹²

Non dubitet se quisque suam suscipere mortem.

Terra nec¹³ ignorat uiuificata¹⁴ mori.

Inter uos etenim¹⁵ et summum iudicem fideiussor accipiar quod si confessioni subdamini¹⁶ et mundate conscientie pio desiderio peniteamini, in regnum quietis et gaudii iusta dei dispositione¹ uos introducam.”

[127] His dictis emissio turbine uenti nauis inmergitur undis et concusso uelo in respiratione fregit antemna. Vnde super currentes nauem aquis impleuerant. Nec mora, finditur illa per medium, periclitantur et homines. Sed cui erat in miseris tolerantia maior, grauiori argumento spiritum uexatum euomit. Nequibat¹⁷ alter alteri succurrere in dura mortis passione sodali, quia quisque suum

8. sinui *H*. 9. signarē *DH*. 10. conculcando *DH* (cir *supra* con *ss*. *D*^c, con *exp.* = circulando in *D*). 11. sopetate *D* (*corr.* *D*¹). 12. spē *H*. 13. non *D* (*corr.* *D*³ ut *uid.*). 14. uiuificata *H*. 15. enim *H* (et *ss.* *H*¹). 16. suddamini *DH*. 17. Nequebat (?) *D*.

quod toleraret habebat supra vires incommodum. Mors cuique singularis et communis omnibus extitit. Singularis in meriti perceptione, communis uero in mortis certa dispositione. Quid plura? Submersi sunt in aquis uehementibus,^j abissi operuerunt eos, descendunt in profundum tanquam lapis.^k

[128] Igitur quid de eis estimet tua animaduersio scire laboro, maxime cum in itinere peregrinationis pro peccatis accepto tali discrimine periclitati sint. Ego quidem fateor bonum admonitionis fuisse sermonem si secuta foret confessio quam timide predicantis dictabat oratio. Sed eo quod tempus, si quod fuerat in mente, penitentie surripuit uotum, et mors repentina intercept^l oratum, quid editus sermo sed coacte profecerit questionⁱ¹⁸ subicitur quia quo animo dicta uel suscepta fuerint ignoramus.

[129] Propterea licet premens eos angustia mortis quouis cogerat, quid contulerant solius orationis uerba, per mutua temere deffinire non audeo. Tamen quia fidem¹⁹ sine opere mor(fol. 138 *H*)tuam esse legimus^m et orationem pro inuicem factam saluationemⁿ agnouimus, ex scriptis diuersis controuersia nascitur utrum utilis uel non sola eorum fuisset oratio. Non omnis enim oratio habet effectum, sed multociens cum necessitatis sit causa non uoluntatis, effectiua non est. Instantis periculi²⁰ tantum subita compulsatio; est non perpetrata iniquitatis digna confessio.

[130] Iccirco arbitror eundem sermonem eis periclitantibus non ad salutis perfecte fuisse remedium sed ut in subeundis periculis animo fortiores existerent erat eis pro solacio imperfecta predicantis et trepidantis²¹ oratio. Sed ne erroris modum aut reprehensoriam obfuscationem incurramus, pro estimatione iudicantes occulta,^o summo iudici, cuius dispositione totum actum est,^p pie committamus, et ut eis misereatur deuotius imploremus.

Hunc deus acceptat quem iuris²² amore receptat.
Ex proprio uitio labitur omnis homo.

[XVII]

[131] Rediens tuae sanctitatis nuntius cum per ignotas sibi saltuum semitas concaua uallium celeriori passu pro itineris festinatione transcurreret, latronum circumuentus insidiis, minime¹ premunitus, accipitur. Sed quia nichil secum eorum portabat ad usus,² tunditur uerberatur affligitur ut ex quo suae cupiditatis non inuenire³ solatium, in eo sui furoris incendium uerberum multiplicitate lenirent.

18. questionⁱ *D*. 19. finem *H*. 20. pericli *H*. 21. trepidantis *H*. 22. uiris *D*, fort. uiris *H*. XVII

1. minime: in minime *H*. 2. uersus *H* (er *exp.*). 3. inuenire *H*.

[132] Ego autem in crastinum cum perrexissem solus ad urbem, illum inueni quem puduit inuenire ligatum. Solui ligamina pedum. Iussi properare solutum.

Sed quia non potuit nocturno frigore lassus,

michi comes extitit usque ad uos. (fol. 153^v *D*) Interrogatus quidem retulit cui de quo mittebatur et que sibi in uia contigerant,⁴ quanquam ex sola ligatione que fuerant satis apte cognoueram. Aiebat etiam antequam nemus inuaderet se nullum timuisse latronem sed

Cantaret uacuum coram latrone uiator.^a

Quod aliter accidit quam spes uana promisit,^b quia quamuis aliqua non portaret apta latronibus, tamen alapis ceditur,^c fustibus⁵ ambitur. Deinde uacuum cedrino fune ligatur, et si forte non superuenissem, periret frigore, grauaretur inedia, uiuus⁶ et bestiis exponeretur in predam.

[133] Sed cum eundo instantius sua narraret incommoda, a sinistra parte ueniens alter occurrit qui te aliquantulum⁷ corporis infirmitate depressum ex faciei frequenti mutatione monstrarat. Sciens uero me tibi ceteris amplius esse familiarem et cognitum, ne tua michi nota foret infirmitas mutatione sermonis⁸ celare nitebatur, sed conatus ab animo hilaritatem extorquere, non poterat, unde te incolumem non fuisse perceperam. Tamen nuntius inquisitus quis ad quem pro quo et unde uenisset, submisso uultu^d respondit alteri quam michi ferre debuisset loquelas, te tamen sanum esse pronuntians.

[134] Nec quidem premeditatiue excusationem mendacii sed casu protulit et titubatur⁹ more dolentis, sincopando uerba refellit. Propter quod maiori timore concutior.^e Quem fidei sub iuramento constringens,^f rem prout esset postulauit quatinus michi fateretur (fol. 138^v *H*) occulte.

Vix prece cum precio^g compulsus¹⁰ uera fatetur¹¹

teque molestiue stomachi constrictionis calida intensioe moueri. Sed sperabat te iam propter appositam conualuisse medelam. Que omnia ne¹² contristarer illata magis esse credidi quam uera¹³ fuisse, te sanitate uigere.

[135] Quamobrem ego quid tecum ageretur incertus. Literulas tibi crebris lacrimarum decursionibus oblitus¹⁴ primum notato nomine scripsi ut saltem

4. contigerent *H*.

5. festibus *H* (*corr. H*¹). 6. uiuus: *om. D* (*ss. D*¹). 7. alquantulum *H*. 8. sermonis *H*.

9. titubantur *DH*. 10. compulsiss *H*. 11. fatitur *DH* (*corr. D*^c). 12. non *D* (*corr. fort. D*³).

13. ueram *DH*. 14. oblitus *D* (*in obolitas D*^c).

precurrentes tarditatem meam pro me interuenirent ad tue infirmitatis auxilium ne si interim de presenti¹⁵ labore soluto corporis usu transires ad requiem, inexcusabilis in tristi miseria luctus post te remaneret¹⁶ oblitus. Sed frustra mens in ambiguo ponitur^h ubi supra firmam dilectionis petramⁱ fides indiscussura solidatur. Non enim erat excusationis necessitas apud quem inexcusatum mediante fide nichil extiterat. Tamen quia amoris improbitas^j in pluribus plus operatur quam gratia, utriusque compulsus affectibus, non poteram michi imperare quin doluissem et pre dolore misissem. Misi nempe et, quod amplius desideraueram, te respirare solutis febribus gratanter audiui.

[136] Ad cuius rei exhilaratus auditum, peractis in foro negociis, hospicio me letiorem excepi.^k Quanto tunc animus erigeretur in gaudio, uix concipitur¹⁷ ab homine exteriori, cum solo¹⁸ teste conscientia^l homini panditur interiori.^m In nostre dilectionis memoriam uicini conuiuandi gratia inuitantur hospicio ut qui tribulationis mee nullum habueram in solatio, multos recuperate salutis participes habuissem in gaudio. Seruientes ad prandium mutant pro consuetudine uestes. Cibus deferitur ad mensam.

In ciffis luteis potus deferitur ad horam.
Fercula trina dabant, satis hec, pro more ministri.
Sunt tria nempe parum, quantum componere iussi.

[137] At laxatiuum composuere cibum.

5 Vnus in aduerso positus conuiuia requirit:
"Quis cibus ille fuit?" Aio: "Laxatio renum,
Quae uentrem soluit et grauitate¹⁹ leuat."
Protinus infundit, uno glutitui²⁰ hiatu.
Dixerat infirmis: "Hec medicina ualeat."

10 In risum dictu cunctos ad prandia mouit.
Quin conrisissem²¹ contenerere²² dapes.

Mox, satis apte quanquam ipse redico in conuiuio,²³ letati surgimus a mensa.²⁴
Potus pietate recensa,²⁵

Cepimus extinctos congeminare focos.ⁿ

Cumque infrigidata post refectionem interiora calefecissent, pro suscepto beneficio grates michi multimodas in tuarum gratiarum actione dedere, factoque iuxta patrie constitutionem²⁶ pro

15. presento *DH*. 16. remaneret *conici potest*. 17. concipitur *DH* (*corr. H¹*). 18. sole *H*. 19. *DH*, grauitatem *conici potest male*. 20. glituiuit *DH*. 21. conrisissem *H*. 22. continere *H*. 23. conuiuui *D*, conuiuui *H*. 24. mensam *H*. 25. retensa *H*. 26. constituonem *H* (*alt. ti ss. H¹*).

More ualete, quisque suam perrexit ad edem.
 Larga manus^o magnum munus lucratur^p honoris
 Cumque bono quod habet dat cui uelle datur.

Vale. (fol. 139 *H*)

[XVIII]^a

[138] Opus mutue dilectionis nostre prime cognitionis ab initio sumpsit exordium quod, huc usque firmis amicorum conservatum exemplis, tanta cum honestatis delectatione conficitur ut diminutionis¹ non recipiat argumentum sed in ipsum² caritatis fundamentum per proiectionis incrementum usque protendatur. Nec nobis solis utebatur dilectio, sed eiusdem amoris priuilegio quendam sanctis moribus et honeste uite hominem habuimus in fidei susceptione fidelem. Quem si

Mors inopina^{3/b} ferox, (fol. 154 *D*) uiuenti proxima sano,

suo non obligasset in debito, magnum utilitatis et honestatis^c profuturum exemplum credidi, quia dum secularibus utens litteris scolari uiuebat in studio, extra humanum morem quietis et discipline diligebat officium.

[139] Habebat enim animum ex superuenientis spiritus gratia compositum non etatis iuuenilis ex actione nec uoluptaria illecebre suggestionis ex ambitione promulgatum, quia, ut teste conscientia^d uerum fatear, erat iuuentutis sue flore^e tante maturitatis et reuerentie continentia⁴ plenus ut quocunque se uerteret, iens omnibus nobis moralitatis⁵ et honeste conuersationis prestabat exemplum. Spe suum, ne socialibus misceretur in ludis, celarat^{5a} aspectum, et quo eum sua solitudo amplius cohiberet, aut lectione aut scripto uacantem,^f

Abdita querebat loca que studiosa uidebat.

Quae cum inuenisset, exterioris hominis obliuiscens habitum, uice consuetudinaria familiarem habuit cum suo interiore^g conflictum. Hoc in ludo omnis sue uoluntatis desudarat intentio.

Gratia qua⁶ pulcros nouit componere mores^h
 Cum cui pro meritis ex pietate datur.

Erat pulcra discretione compositus in corpore gestus. In probate enim humilitatis⁷ uirtute⁸ promicuit. In intellectu etiam suo et corporis habitudine se

1. diminutionis *H*. 2. in ipsum: inpsum *H*. 3. inopia *H*. 4. contientia *H*. 5. mortalitatis *H*. 5a. celerat *H*. 6. quam *DH* (quā *D*). 7. humilitatatis *DH*. 8. irtute *D*, irute *H*.

inferiorem omnibus esse perhibuit. Antiquorum etenim uirorum pia comitabatur exempla.

[140] Sed ne nimio epistola distendatur excursu, cetera uirtutis quae erant et meriti, quia tuae dilectionis comes extiterat, tua reuerentia pio comprehendat affectu. Cumque ad firmiorem etatem ille honestatis et prudentie uir ueniret,⁹ cuidam commendatus paterna tradicionem magistro ut sub date fidei constrictione illum seruaret ut fratrem. Dato ad utriusque uite necessaria sumptu transfretauit. Vbi in scientia philosophiae¹⁰ ex studii delectatione ceteris amplius laborabat¹¹ et tantum dialecticis¹² questionibus insistebat ut magister suus, quia hebetioris ingenii et tardioris memorie fuerat, eius proiectione detraheret et iniquis cum reliquis inuideret, temptabat cotidiana machinatione¹³ quam habuit erga magistrum uniuersalem T. minuere gratiam ut acrius (contra)¹⁴ innocentem premeditate ini(fol. 139^v H)quitatis uindicta,¹ seu uerberibus seu contumeliis, inuidiosa procederet. Sed sic non poterat deprauatione mala gratiarum corrumpere dona, quia quanto nequius inuidebat tanto a magistro teneriori diligebatur affectu; tamen quia demonialis suggestio facienti ad malum patienti ad bonum multociens preualens est, crebra suggestionem accidit.

[141] Dum ille predictus discipulus pre infirmitate capitali uena minutus existeret, crudelitatis¹⁵ ille magister crescente¹⁶ malignitatis¹⁷ spiritu¹⁸ indignis reprehensionibus afficiebat¹⁹ innocuum.

Insidias reparans²⁰ misero uulpecula nequam

quatinus ex lacessitis iniuriarum responsionibus suo arbitrio iuste illum flagellis tanquam pro castigatione supponeret, uoluit immunis uideri a culpa qui more Pilati ne fieret potuit prohibere quod intulit, si non foret iniquitatis neuo^j refectum et ad maiora inferenda intentius accinctum²¹ suppositiua simulatione quod obtulit. Ille tamen abluens²² manus a sanguine Christi, se clamabat innocuum.^k Hic pollutis conscientie^l manibus cuius cor cecauit^m inuidia, cuius uisum obnubilauit inmanitas, cuius opus condempnauit iniquitas, dirissimis uirgarum plagis innocentem afflixit. Non effugit manuum lauacione²³ Pilatus conscientia testeⁿ reatum, tamen innoxius uidebatur a tactu, sed hic uoluntate et actu tanta audiditate²⁴ crudelitatis ruit in culpam ut in cedendo infirmo non parceret. Sed maluit ut ex irati sanguinis commixtione deficiens iniquitatis suae sub flagello^o periret.

9. ueneret *H*. 10. philosophiae: prohe *D*, pl'e *H*. 11. laborabat: delectabat *D* (*lin. infra*, laborabat *mg. D*³). 12. dialecticis: sic *DH*. 13. machinatione *H*. 14. contra: om. *DH*. 15. credelitatis *H*. 16. crescente: cras escente *D* (*lin. infra se fort. iungendi causa in cod. D*), crasescente *H*. 17. coalignitatis *H* (*corr. H*¹). 18. spiritus *DH*. 19. affiebat *DH*. 20. reparans *DH*. 21. accinctum *H* (*corr. H*¹). 22. ablues *H*. 23. lauacionem (*lauationē*) *H*. 24. audiditate *H*.

[142] Lassantur graciles in diro uerbere uirge.
 Polluteque manus nequeunt sufferre laborem.
 Per totum corpus fluxerunt sanguine plage.
 Clamabat²⁵ paciens non tot meruisse malorum:
 5 “Verberor²⁶ innocuus, iam miserere mei.”

At ille lupino more obliquantibus oculis predam insidians qua poterat parte²⁷ id
 laniata capit.²⁸

Erigit et totum sese collegit in iram,^P

et flagella flagellis exaggerans,²⁹

Ter cesum iuuenem posti ligat exitialis.
 In uirgas graciles proxima silua ruit.

[143] O inuise crudelitatis insania.

Intulit et crebros miser exanimatur ad ictus,
 Ast in defectu nec miseretur ei.

O durum ueniens ex impietate flagitium.

Verbere crudeli miserum quo fine trucidat?
 Aspice num censes esse docentis opus.

O stupenda et abhorrenda fidei promisse^q fallatia.

Nam promissa fides fallaci tincta ueneno

rupta manet. Quid agis, impietatis homo? Quis tante duritiae esset ut si illata
 uideret, eius³⁰ non molliretur improbitas? Quis tam obstinati animi^F est qui
 tantorum dolorum non compateretur auditu? Quis tante crudelitatis auctor
 existeret cuius ex tribulatione patientis non mitigaretur insania? Sic mente
 inuidie transforatus acumine, scelus³¹ augens scelere, (fol. 154^v *D*) ouino lupus
 seuit in uellere,^s et dum uirgis ligatus³² ceditur,³³ domesticus predo in cedendo
 lassatur:

25. Clamabati *DH*. 26. uerborum *H*. 27. parte: *om. D (mg. D³)*. 28. capi *DH*.
 29. aggerans *H*. 30. cuius *DH*. 31. scelus *D*. 32. ligatis *D* (us *supra* is ss. *D^c*).
 33. cecitur *H*.

Dum superare (fol. 140 *H*) cupit, superatur uerbere uictus.
Cogerat inuictum parcere lassa manus.

Vale.

[XIX]^a

[144] Gratiarum tuarum salutationes officiales, cum tuum aduentum pronuntiant, michi sunt pro munere certo. Sed quia externe collationis apposita breuiori¹ scriptione terminare curauimus, antequam penna² lassata quiescat in manibus, sub apologetico comprehensionis sequentia concludamus.³

[145] Nec mora, scolasticus ille tuus quondam, non ultimus inter amicos,⁴ grauem ex uerberum passionibus morbum incurrit ita ut mensibus quattuor lecto decumberet.

Fraus inter socios non est celata magistri.
Terra nec oculuit nec freta celsa tacent.

Malicie cuius aures cum fama paternas expeteret, doluit, fidei promissa requirit. Statimque compositis beneficentie⁵ litteris, crudelitatis⁶ magistro nuntium destinauit mandans ei per amicitiam et mutuam fidei pactionem quatinus sibi commendatum remitteret filium. Suauissimis quidem uerbis utebatur in scripto ne ab exterminatore comperiretur eum⁷ scisse maliciam et filium aut aliqua lesione multaret⁸ aut in uentrem cum cultello, ut sepe minatus erat, pro sui desperatione feriret. Quid multa? Recepit litteras, cognouit indicia, ascitoque discipulo mandatum ostendit.

[146] At iuuenis in modico de infirmitate⁹ conualescens scolis se libentius adherere quam repatriare dicebat. Tamen quia patris imperium preterire laudabile non est, optaret reditum si placuisset ei. O quante benignitatis animus qui ab illatis iniuriis non mouetur! O quante mansuetudinis¹⁰ responsio pia, que cum deberet ex tribulatione passionis irasci, uoluit nullius iniurie memor humiliata¹¹ uideri. Quid morer? Ne patri uel matri uel alicui illata detegeret, acceperat fidem. Demum data licentia sinit abire.

[147] Pluribus ut mos est sumptus defecit eunti.
Pannos quos modicos habuit pro pane locauit.^b
Dīsputat in studiis nudus et esuriens.^c
Magnum solamen¹² sibi solis¹³ contulit estus.
5 Tunc calor in sole solque Leone¹⁴ fuit.

1. breuiore *D* (corr. *D*¹). 2. pena *H* (corr. *H*¹). 3. conlaudamus *H*. 4. inimicos *H*.
5. beneficentie *H*. 6. creidelitatis *H* (u. *supra* ei ss. *H*¹). 7. fort. cum *H*. 8. mutaret *H*
(1 ss. *H*¹). 9. infirmitate *H*. 10. mansuedinis *H* (corr. *H*¹). 11. humiliata *H* (li ss. *H*¹).
12. salamen *H*. 13. sol'i *H*. 14. leonae *D*.

Graui quidem uictus et uestitus artabatur inedia, et antequam ad patriam suae natiuitatis, opto, ueniret, plurima aduersantia sibi impedicionis suae causa parauerat.

[148] Sed dei omnia superans, in propria prosperante pelago usque delatus est. Quanto cum gaudio a patre suscipitur paternus in filios nouit affectus. Ducitur¹⁵ in¹⁶ interiorem hospicii thalamum. Quem mater apertius intuens non cognouit in filium sed suum, quem Gallias miserat,¹⁷ fuisse filium cum iuramento negauit. Demutati enim

Vultus erat iuuenis uini nigredine tinctus.

Fuit tamen suetus in corpore gestus, sed turpem indecentemque¹⁸ personam nuditas insueta perfecerat. Obstupescit¹⁹ mater aspectu.^d

[149] Ad quam filius: "Non mireris, carissima, ex temporum qualitatibus²⁰ et locorum mutationibus aliam²¹ in habitudinem me posse²² mutarier. Alterius nanque moris aliena in patria michi uiuere fuit. Quo non²³ uti uoluimus, sed ut potuimus, parcius uictitare necessarium tulimus. Raro bis in die comedimus. Nonnunquam²⁴ (fol. 140^v *H*) semel pransuris plenam cibi refectionem pro studii uoluntate subtraximus ut ad discendum promtiores et in legendis subtiliores essemus, uentris in recreatione remoto fastidio.²⁵ Huic denique, mater, sumpsit mee inmutationis habitudo principium. Inde tibi decoloratus ex temporum uicissitudine et uini assiduitate contueor. Non quidem erat michi cibi penuria, sed meam afficiebat faciem mentis exercitatio²⁶ crebra. Nunc autem me ipsum tue cure committens, ministrationis tuae iura tenebo."

Sollicitans mater nato mox balnea fecit,
Inque nouum ueterem ueste parans²⁷ hominem.^e

[150] Sed dum patris studeret in laribus et per dimidii temporis spacium librorum in recordationibus laboraret, interim sue passionis miseria in ore tocius patrie nescio quem detegente²⁸ sonabat. Quod²⁹ cum ille nefandus³⁰ homicida³¹ suum facinus propalatum fuisse perceperat, illico maiori uectus insania ad quendam³² nicromanticum³³ se contulit, et omnem rei seriem secretius intulit auxiliumque requirit. Promittitur illi, compositoque premio maleficus ille iuuenis similitudinem expressit in unguine³⁴ cera. Imago componitur, quam coniurationi-

15. Dicitur *H*. 16. in: *om. H*. 17. miserat: (non ss. *fort. D*³). 18. indicentemque *H*. 19. Ostupescit *H* (*corr. H*¹). 20. qualitalitibus *H*. 21. alienam *H* (*en exp.*). 22. possae *D*. 23. non: *om. H*. 24. Nonnunquam *H*. 25. festidio *H* (*corr. fort. H*¹). 26. exercitio *H*. 27. parans *H*. 28. quem detegente: quidetegente *DH* *sed fuerat* quemetegente *ut uid. D*. 29. Quem *H*. 30. nefrandus *H* (*r exp.*). 31. homicidia *H*. 32. quendam *DH*. 33. nicromantium *H*. 34. uirgine *DH*.

bus confirmauit et crismate, eiusque nominis litteras in fronte locauit, necnon et cetera quae essent efficientia dixit.

[151] Cumque tempus ueneficii congruum occurrisset,³⁵ similitudinem expressam contra pectus et in circuitu spinarum crebra punctione reuerberat.³⁶ Iuuenis³⁷ quippe eadem hora simili punctione torquebatur in corpore. Sic quodcunque passionis fiebat imagini, nobis uidentibus et in(fol. 155 *D*)firmo nobis ministrantibus, uti post claruit, eisdem horis hisdem momentis uariis passionum augmentationibus³⁸ agebatur in iuene. Nam nunc succenso corpore rubens tanquam in igne positus, sic estuabat interius ut frigidissimi fontis pedibus aqua supposita ipso³⁹ momento intolerabili calore feruesceret;⁴⁰ paruoque interuallo mutato, nunc tamen,⁴¹ si duarum uel trium horarum spacio, tanti frigoris constrictione⁴² premebatur infirmus ut delata⁴³ aqua, fortitudine mire caliditatis accensa,⁴⁴ supra⁴⁵ niuem glacialis Rodope^f pedibus superiecta⁴⁶ frigeret.

[152] Quis absens crederet humanum corpus, duplici⁴⁷ passione uexatum, sine defectu quantitatis⁴⁸ potuisse subsistere? Quis tormentorum subita impulsione et habitudine uisa non obstupesceret?^{48a} Enimuero nos, qui presentes affuimus, noue et inaudite passionis stupore concutimur.⁴⁹ Pater et mater, angustiarum⁵⁰ stimulos peruidentes, forte quid agerent prorsus ignorabant.

Optabant melius miserum finire dolorem
Quam langore trahi⁸ temporis in spacio.

Omnibus itaque generato ex assiduitate fastidio, tandem medicinis exponitur qui non curari poterat medicamine rerum, nam inuisa egritudine⁵¹ preoccupatus exstiterat que leuiari medicina (fol. 141 *H*) non poterat. Sed datis bibitionibus occultata paululum infirmitatis⁵² seuitia acriori surreptione amplius incruduerat.

[153] Sapientiores quidem testabantur illum imaginatione torqueri, non accidentali corporis ex infirmitate molestari; talibus enim passionibus medicinale opus nostrum, inquit, ignorat ferre salutem

Quas calor et frigus mutuis langoribus infert,
Cum dolor exuperans⁵³ corpus ad ima ruit.
Desperant cuncti quid agent. Post dicta recedunt.
Committunt medico morbida uota deo.

35. occurrisset *DH*. 36. reuerberat (*alt. e exp.*) *H*. 37. Iuuenis: In uenis *H*. 38. augmentationibus *DH*. 39. apso *DH*. 40. feruescerat *DH*. 41. tamen: tumet *D* (*corr. D³*). 42. constrictionem *DH* (constrictionē *D*, — *partim eras. in D*). 43. deleta *H*. 44. saccensa *H*. 45. suspia *H*. 46. subiecta *H*. 47. dūplici *H*. 48. quantitatis *DH*. 48a. obstupescet *H*. 49. concutimur: *H* (*et i supra i ss. H¹*). 50. angustiarum *H*. 51. egritudine *DH*. 52. infirmitate *D*. 53. exuperans: (*p ex s D¹*).

Egressis⁵⁴ uero, cum infirmus paulisper manu supposita in sinistrum⁵⁵ latus mutatus accubisset et per totius noctis spacium unum sermonem⁵⁶ in excessu positus non protulisset, subito in aurore uenientis mutatione Augustinum doctorem appellauit ex nomine. Quod audientes qui super infirmum excubias duximus,⁵⁷ in fidei pietate suae infirmitatis esse dicebamus excidium, sed ille tanquam in ultime expirationis fune ligatus, canonicalem⁵⁸ habitum uoce sincopa requirit. Habitus conceditur, libenterque datur, quem fide recepit. Statimque ex susceptione conualuit et⁵⁹ infirmitatis dolore fugato melioratus est.

Dans effectiuam uirtus diuina⁶⁰ salutem
Preualet et celeri cuncta ministrat ope.

Vale.

[XX]^a

[154] Beatitudinis tue dicta percipio quae nobis exempli gratia dicere¹ publica libertate suesti, ex quibus animum esurientem,^b tanquam ex uariis deliciarum epulis,² eorum in recordatione reficio. Sed me alieni negotii sollicitudo continua in suspirium permouet propter instantia.³ Neque quam sepius adhibita medicaminis ope radicitus⁴ extirpari potest de corde molestia quin intimi doloris propter angustiam in miseriarum reuolutione tabescam. Ita mestitudinis⁵ premor in arcu ut nisi tuorum beneficiorum releuarer auxilio, aut mentis alienationem aut mortis repentinam impulsione incurrerem. Igitur fructuosa tue caritatis impensio michi uite et libertatis prestat obsequium. In uirtute letificans animum pellit iniuriam. Tuarum litterarum exhortatio pia molestiam minuit, et fasciculum deprimentem patientie⁶ ponit in meritum.

[155] Inuitatur amplius ad tolerantiam animus propter supradicti discipuli tui inmeritam passionem. In quo exercere malum dum seue cupiditatis^c lassaretur inuidia, non surripuit patientie⁷ innocentiam nec passioni uindictam fraudis inuenta nequitia. Nam cum ille alter Iudas iniquitatis suae artaretur stimulo, quia presentem (nequiuit)⁸ uincere uictus diabolicis tradidit se ueneficiis, ut supra commemorauimus. Sed omnium rerum arbiter, qui supra id quod potest neminem temptari permittit, confregit⁹ inimicum et uenefici (fol. 141^v *H*) incantantis¹⁰ insipienter contriuit¹¹ astutias. Liberatus est enim deo mediante discipulis.¹² Quamquam multa sustinuit, tamen ex egritudinis immensitate caput

54. Egressus *H*. 55. sinistra *H*. 56. sermonum *D*.

57. duxi *H*. 58. canonicalem: cato nicalem *DH*. 59. et: et ex *H*. 60. diuina *D*.

XX

1. dice^e *H* (*alt. e eras.*). 2. epūs *D*, epuis *H* (*corr. H¹*). 3. instantia *D* (— *eras.*). 4. radicitus: raditus radicitus *H*. 5. mestitudinis *DH*. 6. pauentia *H*. 7. patient (*ras.*) *D* (ie *supra ras. ss. D^c*), patienter *H*. 8. nequiuit: *om. DH*. 9. confregit: cum fregit *DH*. 10. incantautis *H*. 11. incantauit *D* (*corr. D³*). 12. discipuli *H*.

debilitatum habuit cerebro¹³ ex¹⁴ dupplici melancolice qualitatis intensione turbato, sed deo in suscepto (fol. 155^vD) religionis habitu quam deuote seruierit estimari¹⁵ non potest.

[156] Cum scribi difficile sit, tamen pauca de multis que ex diabolica persecutione sustinuit, quia presens interfui, illius ob memoriam uobis ad exemplum succincte perstringam. Solebat equidem canonicus canonicorum statuta tenere, et paululum ante diem uel solum uel me comite ad ecclesiam nocte pergere, et uigiliarum seruicia pia compunctione celebrare. Ex quo maliciarum spiritus contitatus ad iram lites exposuit, et ei sepius in diuersarum bestiarum formulis horrendus apparuit, insidians qua arte eum ab licita¹⁶ deuocione potuisset auertere¹⁷ et ad uana huius seculi oblectamenta animum retorquere.

[157] Nocte igitur quadam me dormiente cum ille uigilasset, in cuiuslibet sancti specie diabolus affuit, cultellos duos manu deferens, eique dixit: "O iuuenis, mira simplicitate feruens¹⁸ in amore columbe,^d nouimus desiderium animi tui et orationum tuarum obsequia; ad celestes portauimus aulas in libro uite^{19/e} scribenda²⁰ pro meritis, sed restat adhuc martirii tui assequi iam promissum. Nobis²¹ enim postulantibus tibi martirii corona conceditur si dum uacat et potis es, concessum facto compleueris. Et quia huc usque nulla tibi dabatur faciendi licentia, ecce, his cultellis consecratis²² martirii excipies²³ passionem pro religione deuotius."

[158] At iuuenis nec preceps in factis obediuit nec oblata suscipere renuit. Semper tamen sancti spiritus presentiam iugi meditatione intra cordis archana uocabat. Mirabatur enim tunc sibi nuncium de supernis preter solitum auolasse, maxime cum nouerat nullius esse meriti, nullius iusticie, parue religionis et precii. Nec propterea²⁴ quod protulerat uerum fuisse credidit nec sic²⁵ fieri potuisse desperauit. Cui inquit iuuenis: "Non frequenter²⁶ legimus in scripturis dominum sic martirizari²⁷ precepisse nolentem, sed ut uideris michi malignitatis spiritus, non diuinitatis nuntius es. Quare expedit ut hoc martirium²⁸ crastinam differatur in lucem²⁹ et lictore ueniente fiat, si non fieri impossibile fuerit. Non enim licet se ipsum quenquam³⁰ occidere."

[159] Quod intelligens diabolus nichil profecisse non se continuit. Cepit enim stridere dentibus^f et amplius minatus est. Eadem uero nocte cum ipsis cultellis faciem dormientis crebris punctionibus wulnerauit³¹ ita ut per cubicularia³² uestimenta sanguis proflueret. Quod factum in crastino et facies

13. crebro D (et e supra r ss. fort. D¹).

14. ex: om. D (ss. D¹). 15. estiman DH. 16. illicita DH. 17. auertere H. 18. fera D (a partim eras., uens supra ras. fort. D³). 19. uite: om. H (ss. H¹). 20. uite scribenda: s. u. D (ordo corr. D¹). 21. Niobis H (pr. i exp.). 22. consecratiss D. 23. excipies D. 24. propterea D. 25. si D (c ss. D¹). 26. frequenter D. 27. martirizati DH. 28. martirium: enarratu D (lin. infra, martirium ss. D³). 29. licem H (corr. H¹). 30. squenquam D. 31. wulnerata D (corr. fort. D¹), fort. fuerat uulnera H (et corr. H¹). 32. cubilaria D (corr. fort. D¹).

uulnerata et lectus cruentatus innotuit. At ille nesciebat se sustinuisse quod accidit. Ab illa utique die innumeras persecutiones contra iuuenem (fol. 142 *H*) inimicus arripuit ut aut temptationibus³³ falleret illum aut fantastica illusione future religionis mutaret affectum. Sepe illum in aquis mergere³⁴ nitebatur. Sepe ad illicita declinare moliebatur.³⁵ In tantum eum persecutionis igne uexabat ut pre tedio monachilem suscipere³⁶ habitum et alterius se subdens uoluntati propriam renuntiaret.³⁷

[160] Quo audito ille homicida in patriam uenit. Et a discipulo misericordia reatus sui perpetrata, erga patrem illius et parentes se sacramenti³⁸ confirmatione mundauit. Sed turpis et horrida erat excusatio que sacramenti³⁹ perieratione⁴⁰ dampnata scelesto ausu falsa prolata sorduerat. Tamen monachi precatione culpa donatur, et quia antea supplicanti sibi pro religionis et ordinis reuerentia sponte donauerit,

Gratia magna fuit meritis bona⁴¹ reddere prauis
Si⁴² lex quem dampnat gratia saluat eum.

[161] Sed quis enumerare posset quot et quanta in monachatu temptamenta perpersus est? Dies, ut arbitror, prius deficeret quam persecutiones eius ut sibi euenerant dictis aut scriptis explicarem. Magne honestatis et simplicitatis exstitit homo quam diu presentis uite frueretur obsequio. Cumque sub regularis obedientie imperio degens sexto decimo monachus⁴³ sui filosofaret⁴⁴ in anno, abbate monasterii iam deposito, legatus Romanus A. nomine illum in monacum et capellanum requisiiuit et ut secum duceret postulauit abbatem: erat enim ille monachus capellanus abbatis.

[162] Sicque factum est ut a conuentu petita benedictione et⁴⁵ licentia ille Bened. cum legato A. transfretaret,⁴⁶ Romamque ueniens, apostolico notus est quia eum pro honestatis continentia et religionis reuerentia tenere diligebat ita ut ad⁴⁷ archiepiscopatus⁴⁸ dignitatem promoueret, nisi mors prepediret⁴⁹ optatum.

[163] Ille nanque tuus⁵⁰ amicus mortem imminere⁵¹ predixit dum uiribus corporis ceperat repente destitui. Mor(fol. 156 *D*)tuus itaque est apud Calenum⁵ opidum VIII^o idus Septembris, apostolico et legato propter obitum eius triste ferentibus. De cuius felici transitione et desiderata commutatione legatus⁵² A. litteras beate memorie nobis destinauit, et ut uita laudabilis extitit,

33. temptationibus *H*. 34. margere *H*. 35. moliebatur: (*in ras. inser. D*³). 36. suscepere *H* (*i supra pr. e H*¹). 37. renuntiauit *D* (*corr. D*³). 38. sacramenti *H*. 39. sacramentis *H*. 40. ieratione *D* (*corr. D*¹), pereratione *H*. 41. pona *D* (*corr. D*¹). 42. sed (*s*); *DH*. 43. monachus *H*. 44. filosofaret *D* (*alt. p in f D*¹). 45. benedictione et: benedictiones *DH*. 46. transfretaret *DH*. 47. ad: *om. D* (*ss. D*¹). 48. archiepiscopus *DH*. 49. prepediret *D*. 50. tu(*ras.*)s *D* (*alt. u supra ras. D*¹). 51. imminire *DH*. 52. legata *D* (*us ss. D*¹).

exitum felicem⁵³ scripti testimonio comprobauit. Cuius precamur fraternitatem ut sui memorum immemor non existat. Vale.

[XXI]

[164] Verecundie datum accepto, quia et linguam¹ magniloquam in dicendo compescuit et gratiorem quam rariorem² fecit esse sermonem.^a Habui enim, ut mee³ insipientie parcam, animum uelocem,^b ingenium preceps, labilem memoriam. Cum aliquid mente posueram, eodem in statu raptatim fluens precipitabatur in actum.⁴ In agendis⁵ uero impetum animalem non mora⁶ detenuit, non (fol. 142^vH) affuit ratio, discretio⁷ non muniuit. Inter socios eram nimie festinationis notatus ex uicio. Sepe iratum me ipsum facio, cum tam precipitem in uoluntatis conamine animum fuisse considero.⁸ Sed nunc ob gratiam tue dilectionis moderatius ago, et profluentis sermonis frena discretione magistra restringo.

[165] Valet enim insipienti amici persuasio crebra quia nolentem uel nescientem inuitat ad debitum et nudam frontem naturali induit uerecundia, quae cuius sit qualitatis indicat hominem. Verecundus etenim super dictum sibi non leue patitur quia non fore sic rubicunda colore facies uerecundie proxima monstrat. Inuerecundus autem non timet illata,⁹ negat omnia.

Sine pudore ruit facinus preceps in omne^c
Atque sibi et sociis omni mentitur¹⁰ in hora.
Raro uera sonat, in falso more laborat.

Vale.

[XXII]

[166] Licuit quandoque in rerum serie ociose fabulationis miscere colloquia ut in eorum pronuntiatione ponderosus¹ respiraret animus et conquassatus in studendo recrearetur spiritus, quia spiritus quanto leuius animum ad scripturarum subtiliora compellit tanto grauius ingenii rapacitate suspensus ad ima descendit. Vnde plerisque contingit quod cum sint² in sermonis altitudine inhabitantis spiritus proiectione loquaces, ignorantes aduersus spiritum carnea bella, inferunt potius sibi ex subtilitate fastidium quam de sententiarum indagatione scientiae incrementum. [Ex]³ interioris enim hominis^a uirtus minuitur ubi animus corporis delectatione grauatur.

53. felicim D.

XXI

1. linquam D. 2. radiorem H (corr. H¹). 3. me H. 4. auctum H. 5. agendum H.
6. modera H (de exp.). 7. decretio H. 8. consid'eo H. 9. illa H. 10. mītitur H (pr. i exp.).

XXII

1. ponderos D (us ss. D¹). 2. sint: om, D (ss. D¹). 3. Ex: DH.

[167] Animus autem hilaratur et in desiderio conualescit quando presidentis spiritus uoce raptus ad ethera sursum de deo aliquid cogitare preualens fuerit et sub fidei discretione, ad quem de quo per quem redit omnis spiritus almus.^b Suum poterit creatorem agnoscere, quomodo creans omnia in numero et mensura deus^c trinus et unus dicitur: filius [a]⁴ patre minor intelligitur, pater maior filio inuenitur, spiritus sanctus relatiuus ad utrumque ab utroque missus probatur.⁵ Dulcis enim hec meditatio sinceritatis homini, cui se paulo minus ab angelis minorata gratia diuinitatis inclinatur et prebet esurienti sui saporis⁶ optatum in dulcedine⁷ gustum.

[168] Dulcescat nempe diuinitatis eloquium amaricatum nostre infirmitatis animum ut gustare et uidere quam suauis sit dominus^d suspensa corporis gleba possit attentius et in fidei rectitudine sui ipsius considerare principium, quanta sit uis anime qua totum nostrum corpus uiget, mouetur et animus, cuius beneficio homo rebus preminet uniuersis et intellectu sui rationis est capax et in discretione uirtutis uranice diuinitatis est particeps. Non enim habet humanum corpus ex natura sui quod sentit, quod mouetur et nascitur, sed ex accessu spiritus superuenientis in illud, quem effudit⁸ in nos habunde per gratiam spiritus sui unigenitus dei patris, cuius ex caritate habemus quod uiuimus quod mouemur et sumus,^e (fol. 143 *H*) de plenitudine illius accipientes gratiam pro gratia.^f

[169] Iccirco nanque deus descendit ad ima ut nos egentes gloria eius sue diuinitatis radio illustraret. Qui dum uerbo uirtutis suae nostrum suscepit hominem, noctis nostre tenebras ad uidendam et cognoscendam susceptae carnis speciem claritatis sue splendore⁹ fugauit. Magnum quippe sacramenti misterium et ineffabile pietatis sacramentum, quod uoluit homo fieri deus et immortalis nostram induere mortalitatem factus particeps humanitatis nostre. Qui, ut homo non fieret, potuit liberare quod condidit, sed non alter potuit infirmam carnis nostre substantiam suscepisse quam uoluit, neque lapsam creaturam alio in genere liberationis¹⁰ presciuerat reparandam quam in preciosi sanguinis sui effusione quia noluit neque hic nolentia possibilitati subicitur¹¹ neque possibilitas uoluntati subtrahitur quia quaecumque uoluit omnia potest et quaecumque potest omnia uult deus; porro cum quod uelit possit, quod non uelit non possit.

[170] Non uult ergo deus aliud fieri quam quod est, nec potest. Similiter nec potuit alio in¹² genere perditum liberare hominem quam quo uoluit. Tocius igitur rationabilitatis¹³ ipse ratio liberaliter^{13a} egit ut serpentis astutia deceptam creaturam, quam sponte condiderat, ipsius creature (fol. 156^v *D*) formam

4. a: *DH*. 5. probatur: *D* (*lin. infra*, proeditur ut uid. *mg. D*³). 6. saporis *H*. 7. dudedine *D*. 8. effudit: *om. D* (*ss. D*³). 9. speendore *D* (*corr. D*¹). 10. biberatiis *D*. 11. neque hic . . . subicitur: *om. H* (*mg. H*¹). 12. in: *om. D* (*mg. D*¹). 13. rationabilitistis *D*, rationabilitis *H* (*ta ss. H*¹). 13a. lileraliter *H*.

accipiens, simili uoluntatis actione redimeret ut figura substantie nostre, quae propter infirmitatem decepta periit, per eandem¹⁴ suscepti hominis similitudinem non ui sed ratione quesita antiquam liberata ueheretur ad patriam.

[171] Nec propterea potuit diabolus erga creatorem¹⁵ deum ab homine¹⁶ delusus irasci, qui latentem in humano corpore deum per hominem, si posset, et in homine uellet occidi. Egit enim contra auctorem omnium cum caritatis filium sua suggestionem mori¹⁷ crucifigi sepeliri innocentem passus est, et pollutas manus in assumptam innocentie tunicam inicere sua pulsione conatus est. Mouit bella, sed sibi presumptuose operatus est quia dum in passione hominem aduersantem sibi occidere putatus est, in resurrectione corporis humani et spoliacione Tartaree¹⁸ sedis deum fuisse quem temptabat nolendo confessus¹⁹ est. Hac ratione dum uincere studuit, uictus occubuit.

[172] Infernus autem quod diu tenuit ruptis claustris inuitus euomuit.²⁰ Exierunt²¹ anime in humanitatis²² substantia nostri consimiles, sed soluto mortis uinculo⁸ in Christi resurrectione²³ felices.^h Perfectam enim eos credimus fecisse resurrectionem cum ad sepulcra reuertentes sua corpora resurgendo susceperunt. Dignum nanque erat ut Ihesu Christi resurrectionem in carne resumpta inuouationis corporis forma rediuiue carnis testimonio comprobarent. Euangelium uero multa sanctorum corpora que dormierant resurrexisse testatus est. Igitur illos in suis corporibus resurrexisse dubitabile non est quia per mortem quam subiit temporalem redempti sunt a domino.

[173] Quam preclara, quam fecunda
 Fuit hec salutis unda
 Que nos lauit et mundauit,
 Quos de morte liberauit.
 5 Aqua fluxit in baptisma,
 Sanguis fidem, fides crisma.
 Crisma liquor est unguenti,
 Sanguis fides sacramenti.
 Aqua currens per uirtutem (fol. 143^vH)
 10 Nos emundet in salutem.
 Hac in fide non errabit
 Quisquis deum honorabit.

Ergo, ut eius honoris participemur et glorie, catholice loquamur, contemplatiue diligamus, fideliter adoremus²⁴ quia sanctorum uirorum diuinitatis misteria

14. eadem *H*. 15. creat / / / *D* (orem ss. *D*³). 16. hominem *DH* (m *eras. in D*). 17. mori: *om. D* (*mg. fort. D*³). 18. tardaree *D* (*corr. D*¹). 19. confusus *H*. 20. euomit *D* (*corr. D*¹). 21. Exerunt *H* (i ss. *H*¹). 22. humanitis *H*. 23. resurrectione *D*. 24. adhoremus *H*.

altius²⁵ inuestigare reuerentia poscit. Nostrum autem pro captu intelligentie diuinitatis sacramenta firmiter credere et omnia possibilia deoⁱ esse uel²⁶ catholice predicare.

[174] At tamen inspirat quem uult deus, undique girat,
Illustrans dubii pectoris orba²⁷ fide.

Vale.

Quid rides? Erit ista fides, mea credere si des.
Non lites hac parte uides; legis, elige, credes.
Vltimus et primus deus est in nomine trinus:
Ingenitus, genitus, procedens²⁸ spiritus almus.
5 Hic tres narramus, unum tribus his ueneramus.
Cum uox trina datur, substantia non separatur.
Nec pater est genito maior nec spiritus illo.
Est in prolatis eadem substantia formis.
Spiritus est genito minor²⁹ et genitus³⁰ patre summo.
10 Filius est missus, processit spiritus ex quo.
Qui patris et geniti spiritus unus amor.

Vale.

[XXIII]

[175] Zephyrus aspiret pacatis ymbribus auram,^a
Instruat optatis arida corda melis.

Lubrica est diuiciarum possessio dum huc illucque circumferuntur¹ et instabili gradu uel habentes deserunt uel non habentes reficiunt. Diuicie nanque fortunatis² influunt, pauperibus et non habentibus hoc in tempore rarius occurrunt, quia sepius aspiciamus diuiciarum seruulos, qui ad clamantium pauperum uoces^b pietatis uiscera claudunt^c et fame periclitantibus subuenire contempnunt, pertinentes ne [non] suos aggregate pecuniae minueretur acruus si ultimo quadrante minime partis eius esurientis releuaretur inopia.

[176] Qui uero hac condicione congeritur ut possessorem iniquum ad Tartara mittat et eum auaricia semper socia longa custodia dampnet.³ Auaritie dominus in diuitiarum suarum magnitudine clamantem audiens pauperem non considerat, uidet esurientem nec reficit, se ipsum in pauperis precatione trucidat,

25. alitus *DH*. 26. uel: *om. D* (ss. *D*¹). 27. orbe *H*. 28. proecedens *D*.
29. minor: minuti *H*. 30. genitus: genitus a *D* (a *exp.*).

XXIII

1. circumfertur *H*. 2. fortunatibus *DH*. 3. dapnaet *H*.

diuertit a deo cor suum,^d se intra nequiciarum suarum septa recludit⁴ ubi siue prandeat⁵ siue fabuletur; cum auaricia ruminat, et pro suspenso fenore iratus, semper tumido dilitigat ore^e neque potest humiles uoces audire precantum.

[177] Constrictus paupertate tamen miser hostia pulsat,
Limina calce terit,^f rogat; improbus audit auarus
Sed non exaudit cum uiscera claudit^g egenti.
Verbere pellit eum.⁶ Cum fenore computat aurum.

5 Annos atque dies menses horasque kalendas
Autumat in rerum serie data pacta dierum.
Multiplicat numerum modicis manus apta lapillis.
Si desit quadrans, facies pallore liquescit.
Si iacet equale pondus, sub amore cachinnat.

10 Si superat, gaudet. Fenus cum fenore iungit.
Aureus est totus nec saturatur adhuc.

[178] Quante infelicitatis existunt homines qui cum habeant⁷ quod⁸ pauperi tribuant, nolint⁹ impertiri nec propriis uti sed alienis uiuere (fol. 144 *H*) commodis¹⁰ et successibus inuidere felicibus, quod auaris accidens¹¹ non est sed proprie proprium quia huius proprietatis amara condicio nisi cum subiecti corruptione depellitur. Auaritie tamen consueta uoracitas inseparabilis accidens esse per specierum differentias potest quia cum numquam accidat auaro subsistente eo, inseparabiliter¹² permanet esse cum illo. Auaritia in auaro naturam uendicat auro. Grauis eorum oculis caligo subfunditur qui possunt miseris misereri nec miserentur, sed succrescente nequicia fingunt se pauperes esse ut suis commoditatibus amplius studeant et in acquirendis ampliori labore desudent non ut egenis distribuantur adepta sed ut in thesaurum coaceruentur iniquum.

Semper debebit cupiens et semper egebit.

Dum uiuit,¹³ pauper, dum moritur, satur est.

Vale.

[XXIV]

(fol. 157 *D*) [179] Compertum est michi illum tui itineris fuisse comitem quem ob reuerentiam nominis tui improuidentia mea iam dudum fecit iratum et

4. recludet *D* (corr. *D*³), recludit *H* (et i supra pr. i ss. *H*¹). 5. prandiat *DH*. 6. fort. cum *H*. 7. habent *H*. 8. quod: q *D*, q' *H*. 9. nolunt *H*. 10. commodē *D*, commodos *H* (corr. *H*¹). 11. accid's *DH*. 12. inseparabilifer *H*. 13. uiuum *H*.

in rerum angustiis longo tempore tulit offensum dum tui nominis delator existeret et per criminis translationem supposito nomine tuo ius conaretur euertere sacrum. Qui in ecclesiasticis negotiis¹ non sapientia sed tantum eloquentia preualens, ut² uideretur super alios aliquid sapere, politiosiore sermone pontificalia decreta ex consuetudine³ protulit. Sed cum inter diserciores habuerit proferre sententias,

Pene loquens trepido supplantat uerba^a palato,

obstupet, ignorat, consuetudo perit. Vnde cognoscimus eloquentiam sine sapientia, ut dicit Tullius in *Rethoricis*, obesse nec⁴ prodesse.^b Qui⁵ dum multiloquium linguis loquacibus influit, quia non regitur sapientia, peccatum incurrit et auditores mendatio pascit. Hinc aliis malus sed sibi perniciosior existit. Contingit etiam ut dum sperat alios politi sermonis arte capi,

Incidat in laqueos inscius ipse suos.^c

Numquam tamen uisus est michi aliquid scisse cum se nichil descisse⁶ fateretur. Supra quod in illo esse potest iactantiam, et superbie spiritum in prolocutione commendabat. Sed audiuius linguam, perspeximus continentiam, experti sumus scientiam.

[180] Non equidem memorie subtrahitur quod in foro conuitiis me inuerecundus affecit, et cum tunc unde in me exasperaretur non habuerim culpam, affirmabat me muneris⁷ interpositione⁸ latrocinii consensum iam iudicato prebuisse latroni, qui huiusmodi nequitiie particeps in dicto uel in facto numquam sciens extiti, uulneratoque corde ante pallidam iam mutatam ex superdicto rubram fecit fatiem. Cuius iniurie, si tempus apud nos prosperaretur et fortuna faueret, penas non fantasticas pro mendatio lueret, sed adhuc desidero posse uindicari.

Mars⁹ sua tela dabit,^d loca cum Fortuna parabit.
Debita pro meritis premia reddet ei.

Vale.

XXV¹

[181] Si gratis non reddiderit, ui extorquetur a ministro debita seruitus, quia multorum mos iste seruulorum quod cum dominis obsequium prestare ex

1. negotiis *DH.* 2. ut: *om. H.* 3. consuetudine *D.* 4. ne *DH* (c ss. *H*¹). 5. Quia *H.* 6. discisse *H.* 7. numeris *DH.* 8. interpositione *H.* 9. Mors *H.*

1. XXV: XXX *H.*

seruitudine² debeant, (fol. 144^v *H*) aut cum murmure seruitium deprimunt, aut imperfectum uel incompositum preter imperatum sua inequitate relinquunt. Raro bonus inuenitur qui tantundem domini sui commoditatibus³ deseruiat quantum suis uel profeccibus uel stulticiis⁴ inhiat.⁵ Siquis uero prudencie⁶ et fidelitatis seruus inueniretur ad tempus, diligendus esset si in operationis bonitate perstitisset. Sed frequentius euenitur⁷ ut aliqua corruptione mens maculetur ubi secretionis⁸ imperi⁹ permittitur pro necessitate licentia.

[182] Notitie uestre satis impertitum est qualiter ille iamdudum tuus seruulus, ex¹⁰ peregrinatione denuo ueniens, apud nostre ciuitatis dominum pristina familiaritate receptus est. Arbitrabatur enim eum ex mutatione melioratum, non ex terrarum longinqua decursione peioratum fuisse. Sat uidistis promerenti sibi ex culpa supplicium, postmodum quid accidit, et cum furibus portionem suam ponens quomodo seruiuit de reliquo. Reprehenderat eum furti conscius, torquebatur conscientia sceleris¹¹ perpetrati conscia, nec corrigendi uoluntatem¹² habuit, quia prae delectationis¹³ usus uerecundiam¹⁴ abstulit. Qui quanto in perpetratione cautior in recognitione commissi tanto tardior. Non uult uideri quod est; non uult audire quod dicitur. Probatus in scelere usque in mortis supplitium persistens est in negatione.¹⁵

[183] Iccirco probandi sunt, priusquam credantur, et boni testimonii antequam suscipiantur, quia mala plurima dominis inferunt,¹⁶ cum familiares fuerint, et indubitabiles seruientes ad oculum blandiendo decipiunt. Nemo certe, cum infidelis fuerit familiari, deterior, quia dominorum nouit abscondita, et nequiori¹⁷ sermone semper sub silentio exprobrans derogabit obsequio, uisa ridebit, reuelabit audita: horum tamen omnium se immunem esse fatebitur. Cum uero fallere nititur, ad quocumque imperatum ligat animum, et presente domino moras in fatiendo non patitur ut fidelitatis simulatione commendet¹⁸ affectum, qui ut liberiori spatio recedente magistro feriatum cum suis participibus gaudium¹⁹ habeat, peccatrici utitur insinuatione, quam fallaci et non probabili firmat argumento, quod discusis²⁰ specierum differentiis concluditur.

[184] Traditoris in nomine generis huius latrocinium habens exordium quia cum ab illo suum dominus diuertet aspectum, propriis utitur substantiam partiens quocumque uolet: querit propria, uendens aliena, inique mercedis munera suscipit, fidem adimit, lucra requirit, et ne sciatur occulte dimittit. Num tu aliquem huiusmodi uidisti? Si respexeris, prope te habitans huius accitionis

2. seruitudine *D* (*corr. D*¹). 3. commoditibus *H*. 4. stulticiis *DH* (*in stulticiis H*¹). 5. inhiat *DH*. 6. prodencie *D*. 7. e(ras.)enitur *D* (*u supra ras. ss. D*^c). 8. secretionis *H*. 9. imperi *H* (*et i supra alt. i ss. H*¹). 10. ex: *om. H* (*ss. H*¹). 11. sceleri *DH*. 12. uultum *DH*. 13. dlectationis *H*. 14. uecdiā *D*. 15. negotiē *H*. 16. infuerunt *DH*. 17. nequiotiori *DH*. 18. commendet *H*. 19. gaudum *H*. 20. discusas *D* (*corr. D*¹).

persona recluditur, et frustra, quoniam²¹ quocumque corpus auffugerit, conscientia²² indicatiua persequitur illud, et qualiscumque fuerit homo sui testimonii monstrat²³ inditio, quia quod ille cuius²⁴ nomen omittitur nequiter egerit, peccatrici impendente²⁵ materia forte rescitum est. Quid ergo dominus domus fatiet? Quis inuenietur cui credere non timebit? (fol. 157^v D) Vnius seruuli culpa alios incredibiliores facit esse ministros.

[185] Sepe tamen cognoscimus dominos peccandi fuisse principia cum carnali motu²⁶ in non debita corruunt, et leui condescensione, oblita (fol. 145 H) rationis memoria, ministros dominos sibi constituunt. Vnde audatiores in uoluntatibus efferuntur²⁷ dum fuerint qui sue uoluptatis in consensu participes existant. Ex qua re serui debitam sibi nequitiam nanciscuntur et contumaci lingue uertebro semicruda²⁸ uerba sesquipedant^a et sepius²⁹ offensam dominorum neglegentia pariunt quia si detur eis largior cuiusque rei fatiende licentia, procliuius offendunt.

[186] Ad fraudem enim ruina patescit, et seruientes et quandoque fideles inuitat ad actum, nisi sit forte aliquis qui rationis intellectu sui sibi dominus extiterit et oculos mentis sue in malum illud non declinauerit^b cuius uita fide probatur inuenta. Sed alterius operis sunt qui minus intelligunt et mendaciter operantur, de quibus sepe nobis respectiuas³⁰ consuesti dicere fabulas. Sed in presenti satis³¹ dictum putamus. Sint domini quales esse debeant imperantes sibi, serui quoque secundum apostolum subiecti in timore, dominis fideliter ministrantes.^{32/c}

Sensibus inculco³³ sensus, nullos quoque culpo;
Hic dicens uerum non reus esse puto.

Vale.

XXVI¹

[187] Quatinus aduentus tui uisitarer aspectu personalis tue dilectionis auctoritas desiderium attulit, quia plurimum² commoditatis michi tui presentia proueniet, arbitror tum oris tui propter alloquium³ tum aduocationis tue propter obsequium. Magnum quippe infirmitatis sue⁴ cuicumque patienti prestant⁵ amici dulce solatium, cum eger suscitatus in eis⁶ consolatione respiret et uacuum corpus cibo refocilet^a et iam destituta⁷ uirium corporis argumenta^b

21. quem H. 22. conscientiam (conscientiā) H. 23. monstro ut uid. H.
24. cuus D (corr. D¹). 25. impendiente DH. 26. motum (motū) DH. 27. efferunt H.
28. semicrida D (corr. D¹). 29. sepius: se prius DH (in se prius H¹). 30. respectuas D (corr. D¹). 31. datis D (corr. D¹). 32. ministrantes: ministrante s; DH. 33. inculto H.
1. XXVI: XXXI H. 2. purimum D (1 ss. D¹). 3. alloqn̄ H. 4. propter obsequium . . . sue: om. H (mg. H¹). 5. prestat DH. 6. eiss D (alt. s exp.). 7. destitua H.

restauret. Quanto plus gaudii desideratus tuus michi comportabit aduentus, tum quia sano corpore liberiori utimur spiritu, tum quia in sermonum collationibus dicendi copia nullum pariet impedimentum. Erit nanque nobis de interioris hominis^c edificatione pro uoluntatis disponere sermo continuus, a contumelie neuo^{8/d} propter aliorum inferentias longe sepositus. In quo primum delectatio mentis prebebit accubitus, et postmodum memoria reddet occulta, ultimo uero lingua pronuntiationis debebit ornatum.

[188] Nunc autem quo animo, si non isto, desidereris intelligis: annon ideo, ut aliquid utilitatis conferemus⁹ ad inuicem? Aut quoniam non potuimus absentes colloqui, presentes fabulantium puerorum nenia^e inuiti dictione¹⁰ daremus? Numquid nobis que desidiosis consuetudo minatur? Numquid¹¹ sponsionis tue determinauimus debitum? Quando rationis et officii studio auditum subtraximus umquam? Numquamne uidistis demollitus sermo et infatuatus quomodo nos non fecit attentos? Quem ex auditu contempsimus, personam defleuimus, et si assentiret, pie coreximus.

[189] Semper si aliis non potuimus, nobis aliquando profecimus, inuitiles uero et in desideriis esse non uirorum sed mulierum improbitas est, quoniam quidem homines effeminatum morem gerere¹² in negotiis ignominia¹³ est. Ergo ut nos uiri ad uiriliter agentium pertingamus exempla, aliquod uirtuose informationis componamus inditium ut¹⁴ saltem per uoluntatum (fol. 145^v *H*) existencias¹⁵ in actiuas rerum utilium propositiones¹⁶ entimemata persoluamus. Possumus enim hoc beneficio sermonum ad bene et¹⁷ beate¹⁸ uiuendum audientium suscitare animos, qui dormientes in deliciarum sepulcris uermibus roduntur et uexant lassas peccatorum scaturigine fauces.

Membra quidem sacris sunt non notia¹⁹ loquelis;²⁰
Si uellent, rebus sunt tamen apta bonis.

Vale.

XXVII

[190] Rogatu quorundam meorum amico tuo epistulam scripsi, apud quem si haberem gratiam, beneficium inopinatum propter insolentiam michi sine dubio sperarem quia exorta inter nos rei familiaris dissidentia

8. neuo: uene *H*

(no ss. *H*¹ = ueneno). 9. conferemus: sic *DH*. 10. dictiois uel fort. dictiois *H*.

11. Nuquid *H*. 12. gerere *H*. 13. ignominia *D* (corr. *D*¹). 14. ut: om. *H*. 15. existencias *H* (corr. *H*¹). 16. proositiones *D*. 17. et: om. *D* (inser. *D*^c). 18. beate: ad beate *DH* (ad exp. in *D*). 19. notia = nociua. 20. lquelis *D* (o ss. *D*¹).

Obiurgantem Simonem iratumque Cremetem^{1/a}

hactenus expertus sum.

[191] Ira² remanens³ est, causa inuisibilis est. Fortassis quia iracundioris erat animi, uoluntatibus imperare non potuit. Ira surripiens animum furoris⁴ inditium est, sed si esset in furore breuitas, ire perseuerantia⁵ non fuisset.^b Inimicitiarum enim persistentia sunt contumelioso collo quia inuicem prolata pariunt rixas. Inueterata et conseruata maliciam comparant. Maliciam igitur esse propter diuturnitatem arbitror non furoris surripiensis accidentiam.

[192] Quamobrem cum suus⁶ animus in culpa perstiterit,^c ab re alienus inuenior,⁷ quamuis causa tui me in reatum proitio ut uel eius flecterem animum^d uel diuulgatum iniuriarum suarum cognitu facerem quia perturbati spiritus grauitate oculorum tenebrascitur uisus, memoria tollitur, auditus obtunditur, pectus amaricatur: ad id semper intendit unde irascitur. Nec sui dominator efficitur quousque sedato sanguine se intelligat, dicta⁸ consideret, facta respitiet.⁹ Tunc si sui capax fuerit, quod protulerit mali recognoscet, cui intulerit et sapiet,¹⁰ quid parturit stultorum audatia in experiendis comprobabit.

[193] Sua enim in stultitia¹¹ me prouocauit, quod ut in litteris tuis scriptum habui, tibi domino meo erroris¹² sui culpam ostendit,¹³ quam tuo more depulisti, et meam simplicitatem excusasti iuditium fatiens ut deposita utriusque partis querela inuicem diligeremus^e quia

Iram inter socios non uult concordia pacis.

Semper inest letis rebus amore pio.

Ego igitur tue uoluntati assensum prebeo, illi reconciliari desiderans, cum mali nichil fecerim,¹⁴

Et scribens illi rogo scriptum ne uereatur

Sed michi rescriptum¹⁵ mittat et eius ero.

Vale.

1. cremētē *H*. 2. Ira: *om.* (*spat. fere 4 litt. relict.*) *H* (ira *mg.* *H*¹). 3. remannes *H*. 4. fuoris *DH*. 5. perseuerentia *H*. 6. suis *H*. 7. Inimicitiarum . . . inuenior: *magna ex parte in ras. in D*. 8. dicta: *accta D* (*pr. c exp., di ss. D*³). 9. *DH*, respiciat *conicio*. 10. sapiet: *om. DH* (*ss. D*³). 11. stutitia *H*. 12. eritoris *H*. 13. ostndit *D*. 14. feci' *H*. 15. resptum *H* (*corr. H*¹).

XXVIII¹

(fol. 158 *D*) [194] Experimento cuiusdam didici te quandoque coactum ad ius regium preter uelle uoluisses descendere, sed imperantem contempsisti, Diogenem insecutus, qui purpuratum regis amictum² rogatus uoluit pro simplice pelle mutari.³ Sed non erat regi parendum cum aliquid preter honestum uel utile^b tibi maxime quod non conueniat imperauerit. Num illi debueras amplius quam tu tibi? Nichil ex suo possides quod auferat, neque auferre³ debuit quod non prestitit. Cumque Diogenes in dolio soli sederet, oppositus rex casu interstitit.^c Cui philosophus: "Quare conaris auferre michi⁴ quod non prestas benefitium?" Intellexit itaque rex sui interpositione⁵ benefitium solis sibi subtraxisse, laudauitque philosophiam hominis quia (fol. 146 *H*) his⁶ uiderat eum contentum quae humilis natura requirit.

[195] In quo igitur regale decretum sapienti nocuit? Sapiens enim nichil extra possidet quod perdere possit.^d Sua quippe in uite termino cuncta ponuntur. Quid tibi cum iudithorum domino qui multis uirtutum legibus imperas? Ipse enim tui serui seruus^e est, quod ex ipsa rei⁷ ueritate probabitur: nam cum modo resistentes⁸ sibi seuitia fulminat, modo terroribus increpat, modo supplitiis aggrauat, unius temptationis ictu subicitur, luxuriali motulo uulnus accipitur, et impuris serui tui seruit amplexibus qui modo cunctos euertere suis conabatur in uiribus.

[196] Vnde reges non sunt qui sibi non president,^f sed seruorum seruulos^e inter effeminatos esse denuntio⁹ quia quomodo lege¹⁰ imperat qui in lege non habitat? Sibi presit ut aliis postmodum imperet, tamen nichil preter quod deceat imperare debet. Regia dignitas non ex arbitrio sui sed ex dei dispositione¹¹ uenitur. Non uelle conquiritur uel ui¹² possidetur, sed gratia donantis uel permittitur uel adimitur. Ergo consideret possidens in quo superbitur, et tollitur alienum esse non proprium. Si bene seruerit¹³ et aliis profuerit in regno, per ipsum saluabitur. Si nequiter intulerit, ab ipso iudicabitur. Nichil sibi iudicii¹⁴ tempore in propria uoluntate relinquitur.¹⁵ Cui seruiuit in uita, eius erit¹⁶ in iudicio.

[197] Igitur regni huius indignatio, siue ad bonum siue¹⁷ ad malum uicaria seruitus est. Quia reges legibus subduntur, utinam bonis, in illis et secundum illas agentes non imperant. Tu uero uoluntati tue¹⁸ legem ponens in seruitutem regis,¹⁹ imperans²⁰ animo tuo, tu ergo rex serui tui seruum^{21/e} merito non

1. XXVIII: *om. H.* 2. amicum *H.* 3. auferte *H* (*corr. H*¹). 4. cum aliquid . . . michi: *magna ex parte in ras. in D.* 5. interpositioe *D.*, in positione *H.* 6. /is *H* (*fort. h eras.*). 7. re *H.* 8. resistentēs *D.*, resistentēs *H.* 9. deñtio *D.*, dentio *H.* 10. le *DH* (x ss. *H*¹, = lex). 11. dispon'e *H.* 12. ui: in *D* (*corr. fort. D*¹). 13. seruient *H.* 14. iudiciū *DH.* 15. Si bene . . . relinquitur: *magna ex parte in ras. in D.* 16. erat *H* (*corr. H*¹). 17. suue *H.* 18. tue: *om. D* (ss. *D*³). 19. regidis *DH.* 20. *DH.*, imperas *conici potest.* 21. seruum: *bis D.*

audisti quod²² iniuste uoluit. Quod si tue mentis habitudo sibi paululum notior esset, imperium omisisset, utilius te intelligeret, tecum uite sue tempora communicaret. Vale.

XXIX

[198] Delectatione bona sororis tue munus accepi. Sed semper inimica sibi illa amititie debitum uicina¹ delusit. Nam nuntio clandestinas tulit insi(dias)² . . . affectum ne ad me usque perferret exenium³ iniqua suasit. Sed non recepit iuuenis maliuole mulieris impetum. Nam ad nostrum quocumque casu peruenitur hospitium. Letanter⁴ quidem susceptus est, sed pro munere gratiosior⁵ eius erat aduentus, non tamen ut missi muneris animum uexaret ambitio uel susceptione aliqua conditionalis datum datori preferret occasio sed ut perfecta caritas foras suspicionis aduerse timorem expelleret^a et augmentate dilectionis sororis benefitium ampliaret optatum et colligaret nos mutuo in amoris federatione fideles quia animi uacillantis excessio est nunc pro uoluntate sola amoris gratiam ardentius expetere nunc pro paruo aut animi surreptione aut temporis incommoditate deponere.⁶ Sepius etenim uidimus quam plurimos ita in amititie susceptione uocatos ut citius⁷ sperares saxum uel ferrum in solubilem cere naturam effluere quam suscepte⁸ dilectionis principium⁹ a fine bono potuisset uel debuisset excludi.

[199] Hos certe nouimus pro solo uerbo ab inuicem separatos¹⁰ ita ut non memorentur aliquod amoris habuisse principium. Igitur ne simile quid nostre familiaritati¹¹ quocumque modo surripiat, uito discordias, effugio¹² leues animi suspensiones, (fol. 146^v *H*) quia imperfectus quilibet amans aliquid preter congruum de amico suspicatur et credit. Itaque ita diligendum est ut inter amicos sinistri suspitio nulla remaneat, etiam si alius alii preter uoluntatem quid inferat uel in uerbo uel in actu leuiter offendant, quia non erit ab amititie bono pro aliqua [pro]¹³ necessitate declinatio siue aduersitate sotius tribulatur et patitur sed animi magnitudine firmitus tunc teneatur et tribulatum¹⁴ toto nisu¹⁵ omnium sollicitudine consoletur et caueat et sui infortunii particeps in amititie debito consistat.

Vera fides sotium nullo pro tempore mutat.

Nam sotiat quod mors dissotiare nequit.

Vale.

22. quo *H*.

XXIX

1. uicina: *om. (spat. fere 6 litt. relict.) H. 2. insi(dias): insi DH. Lacunam indico: uide Introd. ubi in descriptione codicum DH de fol. 158^{rv} disseritur. 3. fort. exenum H.*

4. Letantur *DH. 5. gratiosior D. 6. disponere D (corr. fort. D¹). 7. citicius D.*

8. suscep *H. 9. principium H. 10. separantos H. 11. familiaritate H. 12. effugo DH.*

13. pro: *DH. 14. tribulant H. 15. nisi DH.*

XXX¹

[200] Vt effectum petitionis tue in hac epistola benigne suscipias familiariter offero,² deuote requiro, proterue non impero. Ea enim in sua complexione petitis³ et promissis finem facit et fidem. Petierat, pater,⁴ fateor, dilectio tua ut diuturnum otium alicuius utilitatis conuerteremur in studium et torpentia in desideriis⁵ corpora aliquos scientie redigerentur in actus et animi otio liquefacti instruerentur honestis unde meliores efficeremur et aliquid quod delectaretur cum profectu⁶ legentibus profiteremur.

[201] Scripsi igitur petitioni⁶ tue epistolas per tricenae mei desiderium plurimorum et actus, ut in bene dictis quilibet lector⁷ unde profiti(at)⁸ . . . (fol. 158^v D) uel beniuolus in sensu et in littera proficere, quem delectat si non ingenium sine studio perpenderit⁹ sed uoluntatem cum actione fideliter inquisierit.¹⁰ Non offendant eum partium indiscreta positio neque fastidiat illum sententiarum tenuis insertio, sed si¹¹ sufficiens et explicabilis intellectu non fuerit, sua erudiat scientia et declaret industria, si melius sapiat aut sine errore amplius intelligat, quia non mee¹² scientie derogat dum melius super bonum accumulauerit¹³ et pio iudicio dicti¹⁴ non reprehenderit¹⁵ sed augmentate¹⁶ fidei karitate commendauerit.¹⁷

[202] Non equidem iuste irascerer¹⁸ illi qui mea preueheret et me apud intelligentes sua auctoritate commendaret. Quicumque igitur hoc fatiens scriptis meis ex derogatione non inferet sed letitiae incrementum¹⁹ et glorie sua commendatione conferet, non iccirco quod humane uirtuti²⁰ aliquid tribuo quia de se non habet posse quod quid utile proferat, sed spiritui presidenti honorem refero qui quod scribo uideo sentio docet ostendit et loquitur.

[203] Dicat lector quis quid uelit fingat argumentetur et inferat. Auctori non contradicet si uoluntatem et sensum quem habuit in dicendo recte pensaauerit; quod si tot epistole legenti alicui non profecerint, quilibet uel saltem earum illi profitiat aut docile reddat ut oculus delectetur obliquus et simplici beniuolentiae crescat intuitu. Sunt nanque inter has epistolas cuiuscumque utilitatis uel delectationis^a uerba conuenientia scriptis, in quibus et studere poterit desidiosus²¹ et recreari fastidiosus. Rei²² enim uariatio hominis est recreatio:²³ fastidium prouocat assidua sollicitudo et unius rei continua supersessio.

1. XXX: *lin. infra in D, om. H.* 2. offerre *D (corr. D¹)*. 3. pepitis *D*. 4. pater: *pa DH (corr. H¹)*. 5. desidii *H*. 6. petioni *DH*. 7. lectorum (lecto⁴) *DH*. 8. profiti(at): *perfiti H (u inter t et alt. i ss. H¹)*. *Lacunam indico: uide Introd. ubi in descriptione codicum DH de fol. 158^v disseritur.* 9. perpenderit *H*. 10. inqsiert *DH*. 11. si: *om. D (ss. D¹)*. 12. meo *H*. 13. accumulauerit: *accumulat in D (corr. D³)*. 14. dicit *D*, diti *H*. 15. reprehenderat *D (it supra at ss. D³)*. 16. augmenta *D (corr. D³)*, augmentata *H*. 17. commendauerit: *commendat uerat D (corr. D³)*, commendauerat *H*. 18. fort. iralcerer *D*, iracerer *H*. 19. incrementem *H*. 20. uirtuti: *uirtuti et H*. 21. desiosus *H*. 22. Rei: *om. DH (fort. Rei add. supra lin. D³, bona add. supra lin. H¹)*. 23. recreatos *DH (s exp. in D)*.

[204] Hac uero de causa hee²⁴ epistole a quo uel cui mitantur titulum subtraho ne auctore cognito forte uilescerent uel cui mitterentur scito nomine legentes citius inuiderent.

Suscipe, redde uicem, lege, lectum conde sepulcro^b
Pectoris, atque more parcito²⁵ dans ueniam.

Vale.²⁶ Finit hic.

[A]

- Laudis ab ofitio tibi gloria redditur ex quo
Creatum uitii exuperatur opus.
Pristina bella diu captiuum te tenere,
Tumque uoluptati mens tua prona fuit.
5 Nam cum Fortune uersantis^a dextera risit,
.....
Lubrica sectatus, incestus casta timebas;
Otia ducebas corporis alta, . . .
.....
.....
In uerbi leuitate uoluntas, formare frequenter
Suetus eras operis lubrica iura tui.
10 Semper erat ratione carens pro lege uoluntas.
Prefuit in rebus delitiosus amor.
Regula nulla tibi, tempsistis seria. Cur te
Subtractum uolui prosperitate frui?
Massa sibi potusque grauatis effeminat actus,
15 Mutat et in neutris consuetudo uirum.
Omnibus ex usu promittere uina solebas.
Ebrie uis nulli parcere, parce tibi.^b
Cernebas, quotiens in rem te causa uocabat,
Post haustum uini uix potuisse loqui.
20 Ignoras quod amore tui me fama notauit,
Non quia commisi, sed quia te docui:

24. hee *DH*. 25. partito *H*. 26. Valet *H*.

Versus [A]

2. excuperatur *D*. 4. Cumque *D*. Post 5, lacunam indico. 7. otia: (fort. b supra ot) *D*. 7. corporis nunc uidetur *D*. 7. alta(m ?) (fort. m eras.) *D*. Versus haud integer. Post 7, lacunam indico: uide *Introd.* ubi in descriptione codicum *DH* de fol. 158^{rv} disseritur. 10. uoluptas *D* (n supra p ss. *D*^c). 14. effeminat actus: effemina tactus *D* (corr. *D*^c).

- Obtinuit quam non meruit dilectio culpam.
 Tu culpe forma materialis eras.
 Pro te tristabar, tamquam penis cruciabar,
 25 Excusans uitium quod fuit omne tuum.
 Culpa frequens meriti sotiis me fecerat hostem,
 Inter eos solito deteriorque fui;
 Sed tua me letum reddit conuersio morum,
 Quam tibi restituit gratia non meritum.
 30 Iccirco moderare tuum pro tempore sensum,
 Neue uelit quem nota possit habere locum.
 Nec licet extolli cum uentilat aura^c secunda
 Tempora. Prosperitas nam statione caret.
 Preterit haec leuitate sua substantia rerum.
 35 Defluet in nichilum quicquid in orbe manet,
 Quod scriptura probat cum nos monet omnia mundi
 Linquere, post dominum cordis amore sequi.^d
 Aspice presentis quid confert gloria forme,
 Que modo dum floret, decedit et nichil est.
 40 Fallit eos specie^e quorum dum corda subintrat
 Pestis auaritie^f uulnerat ense uiros.
 Allicit inprimis dum prospera cuncta ministrat,
 Et dilatat opes blandior hora suas.
 Suspendit sensus hominum fallatia rerum,^g
 45 Ducit ad interitum decipiendo uirum.
 Heu quis inops mentis qui non considerat huius
 Vite felices sic breuiare dies?^h
 Sic fortunatus locuples per tempora cuncta?
 (fol. 159 D)
 Profiteor nocuisse tibi prodesse nec unquam.
 50 Perdis opes et te perdis, utrumque simul.
 Est igitur spernenda mali tibi copia census.
 Celatas tumido uersat moreⁱ minas:
 Nam quae sors ditat, modo pauperat eicit artat,
 In desperatum cogit et ire diem.
 55 Prosper homo nescit quid pauper ruminat ore.
 Munera non eadem sentit uterque sibi.
 Hic nam letatur, hunc paupertas cruciatur;

24. tristatur *D* (corr. *D*³ ut uid.). 24. penis: petus *D* (corr. fort. *D*³). 27. deteriorque: detiorque *D* (in detiorque *D*¹). 42. cuncta: sic *D*. 48. forta'natus *D*. 48. cuncta *D*.
 Post 48, lacunam indico: uide *Introd.* ubi in descriptione codicum *DH* de fol. 158^{rv} disseritur.
 49. Proficeor *D*.

- Ambulat hic, ridet, tristis et iste iacet.
 Cumque suprema dies uite determinat horas
 60 Et finis properans cogit utrumque mori,
 Diues in externas compellitur ire tenebras,^j
 Quo patitur penas sed sibi perpetuas.
 Suscipitur celo pauper^k ditatus ameno,
 Quo nunc exultat muneris in merito.
 65 Est quod habes pretium satis omni diuite maius:
 Sensus honor uirtus et pietatis opus.
 Gratulor inde magis quod redditus es rationi.
 Qui fueras neutrum te facis esse uirum,
 Namque uiges sensus frenis animumque coherces,
 70 Frenis doctrine cum rationis ope,
 Vt res narratur, noua consuetudo paratur,
 Et natura suum uertitur in proprium.
 Altera mens tua nunc, quia quod dilexerat odit;^l
 Proicis et spernis queque placere solent.
 75 Iam perfectus amor intra tua pectora regnat.^m
 Spes tua cum domino uiuit amore pio.ⁿ
 Reddis amititiam sotii que gaudet honore.
 Te noua letantem larga facit faties.
 In laudem redeunt obiecta pericula fame;
 80 Item in extensos prospera sors animos.
 Adde quod antiquas animi mens alterat horas,
 Adde quod internus iam reparatur homo.
 Gaudeo te Liam dudum nunc esse Mariam:
 Precellit primam posterior species.
 85 Deposito Saulo te suscepisse Iohannem
 Gaudeo; gaudendum, tu quia mente sapis.
 Presentes mundi iam paruipendis honores.
 Vnde spiritu crescit laus mea laude tua.
 Gloria quanta tibi meriti cum premia posces.
 90 Promissi regni sede sedebis ouans.
 Haut dubium quin forte roges cur blandior in te;
 Non te decipio cum quod amas refero:
 Diligis omne bonum, scitaris et ipse recordor
 Meque tuo more uiuere uelle pare.

Vale.

73. odit: adit *D.* 81. Addē *D.* 81. antiquos *D.* 83. nunc: nec *D.*
 86. gaud'endum *D.* 90. Promise *D.* 90. regni: reponi *D.* 91. rages *D.*

[B]

- Obsequium sotiale tuus suscepit amicus.
 Debebit merito debita dona tuo,
 Nam studii morum probitas par temporis etas
 Nos uinxere simul, dum simul esse fuit,
 5 Sed nimis ingrata nobis fortuna locauit
 Versantes aleas inter amoris opes
 Et nostros rerum specie delusit^a ocellos.
 Vtque datis habita creditur esse fides,
 Nunc nos prolixum spatium seiungit amantes,
 10 Oppositos mutuum diuidit orbis^b iter.
 Ignotas quibus es maris alta pericula terras
 Occultant, prohibent ne sinar ire in uia).
 Est timor insolitum transire per equora cursum
 Cum facit excessum mobilis unda suum,
 15 Nam semel intraui cum spem daret aura suavis,
 Pene sed extremum fecerat hora diem.
 Effitior tristis reditu, sed amara repugnant
 Littora que semper pacis amore carent.
 Optatrix igitur tua currat epistola nobis
 20 Atque sua sotium letificetur ope.
 Qui sapit et scribat, qui non sapit hortor amittat.
 Sed sapis et scribas hortor honore tuo.
 Nescio que te terra tenet,^c qua lege fruaris,
 Ipse scio quod te prospera terra tenet.
 25 Saltem scribe tuo que semitta tenditur ad te,
 Si poterit solida terra parare uias:
 Celabo tecum si uis celatus haberi.
 Est in secreto quod retinere uoles:
 Ipse sequar studium quouis secretius ibo.
 30 Nec sit suspectum siquid amoris inest.
 Aspicias quod te mea littera sepe reuisit,
 Quamuis res scriptum non tulit illa tuum,
 Quod grauatur, et tristis animus manet altior ex re.
 Ponere tristicie non ualet ira modum.^d

Versus [B]

u. 6 om. D (mg. ante u. 8 add. m. al. ut uid.). 10. Oppositis D (o supra alt. i ss. D^c). 10. diuit D (alt. d ss. fort. D^c). u. 12 om. D (mg. add. manu quae addidit u. 6 supra). 12. ne: ue ut uid. D. 12. in: in uel fort. ui et reliqua pars uersus abscisa est D. 16. fecera D. 18. carerit D. 21. amictat D. 23. te: de D (t ss. D^c). 34. tristicie D.

- 35 Vim patior tamen hanc ex longo temporis usu
 Vt sileam que sunt acta pudore tuo.
 Nec loquar ut sotius fidei firmata dedisti
 Federa quo fieret par in amore locus.
 Fregisti, dolui, doleo, satis estque dolendum,
 40 Nam te fune doli secula uana ligant.
 Propositum seruare negans michi uerba dedisti.
 Nos monachos fieri uouerat unus amor.
 Vouerat. Dimouit monachum fallatia rerum,^e
 Te manus in laqueos ducit auara suos. (fol. 159^v D)
 45 Dum queris censum, mundi dum colligis aurum,
 Desipis et sensu te mutum esse reor.
 Audiui quod me monet amplius esse dolentem,
 Te spreuisse datum quod super extat opus.
 Nam mutatus eras habitu. Probat acta^f corona,
 50 Et mens uera sibi conscia testis^g adest.
 Exercens partem secli per demonis artem,

 Deposito monacho miles ad arma uenisset.

 Nec te scripta iuuant, nisi Tartara fata ministrat.
 Non te conuertit qui solet esse pudor,
 55 Conuertat que iam placare sotialis honestas;
 Molliat et mutuo pristina pacta fides,
 Excitet ardorem diuinus spiritus in te
 Vt noscas animo quod facis esse malum.
 Tempus abit, retinere diem^h fac quomodo possis,
 60 Preteritum tempus nec super esse putes.
 Aspice quid prodest transacti temporis etas.
 Omne quod est nichil est preter amasse deum.ⁱ
 Ergo meis aures animi compone loquelis
 Ne tua depereat mens in clamore mali,
 65 Nam uicinus adest lupus insidiator ab urbe,
 Qui te forte cibum preuidet esse suum.
 Desine tu ore mundi seruire magistro;
 Celesti propera te comutare deo.

38. quo: *om. D*

(qua ss. *m. al.*). 43. Vouerit *D* (*corr. D^c*). 43. dimonit *ut uid. D*. 46. mutum: *fort. mucior D*. *Post 51, lacunam indico. Post 52, lacunam indico.* 63. componere *D*. 64. clamare *D*.

- Expectares reditum: uotium suscepit actum
 70 Et desperantem non sinit esse reum.
 Redde fidem, uenerare deum, tibi consule tute.
 Vnus et e mundo iam moriturus abis.
 Quere fugam seruire deo properanter, adibo,
 Vltima ne lapsum comprimat hora caput.
 75 Omnia si posses tua mundi fune soluto,
 Felicis uite subdere colla iugo,
 Mecum certares promissaque dona probares
 Quante uirtutis premia sunt operis;
 Ecce parabo, locum fallacem pone rebella:
 80 Quicquid habes, proprium nil retinere potes,
 Ergo procura quo mens sit crimine pura.
 Nam proprium quod facis esse tuum,
 At poteris reperire bonum quod permanet esse,
 Quod non mittitur temporis auspicio.
 85 Inuenies si queris^j opem, si forte penites.
 Sperarem uitam posse nouare tua.
 Non te quam sinibus refoues detereat hospes,
 Nec te permittas uel superare dolo.
 Ingeniosa nimis mulier mala.^k Cum uolet, ex se
 90 Diuinat que iam preteriere uiro:
 Si rerum causas monstret, si ponat amicos,
 Omnia pro Christo linquere scripta docent,^l
 Quem mulier, si credis ei, prestabit honorem^m
 Cum nichil in meritis cogitet esse tuis?
 95 Induratus eris si fraudem uis mulieris
 Credere quando tuum seruit ad interitum;
 Non facies quod te deceat si creditur illi.
 Numquam, si poterit, uult ab amore trahi.
 Sit tibi libertas animi sit mentis honestas,
 100 Respue quicquid habes et ueniendo.
 Vale.

69. expectares: (*fort. i inter re ss. D¹*). 73. adtibo *D.* 74. comprutiat *D.*
 79. tebella *D.* 83. pmanet *D.* 85. siforte: suforte *D.* 88. supore *D.* 92. docet *D.*
 93. Quem: Qm *D* (*corr. D¹*). 93. honore *D.* 100. quiquid *D.*

[C]

- Leto non animo tibi scribere cogor amanti.
 Que nollem tristis dicere causa facit.
 Venerat ante dies paucos uir Sergius ille,
 Quem tua simplicitas iussit amare uirum.
 5 Suscepi iussum fidei pietate, sed illud
 Exosum tenui quod fuit ante datum.
 Venit ad hospitium tua quem michi miserat hospes
 Gratia, cui tutus debito esse uolo.
 Exceptus pro more meo seruitur amore
 10 Semper, et immerito redditur omnis honor.
 Obsequium feci. Benefacti causa fuisti.
 Indignatus enim hospes honore caret:
 Nesciuit portare fidem, nesciuit honorem.
 Expers uirtutis nescit amare suum.^a
 15 Insiens rationis egens^b spernit sapientem.
 In letis rebus nescit habere modum.^c
 Et uelud in somnis intencio labitur animis,
 Non capit effectum mens sine mente bonum.
 Cogitat antiqua, rerum deluditur in spe.^d
 20 Vt numquam teneat sic aliena cupit.
 Inuidus extat in hoc sed nescius inuidus extat.
 Quod cupit, hoc uitium non negat esse tamen.
 Quod fuit insani sermonis et ordine tali,
 Ne grauet, haut referam; lingua pudenda sile.^e
 25 Narrauit quod erat tibi consotiatu amore
 Secretusque tuis consiliator erat.
 Hic satis admiror tua quem prudentia nouit
 Sic adamasse uirum, cuius amor pudor est.
 Se fortasse tibi falso celarat amictu:
 30 Noluit agnosci qui tibi notus erat;
 Inditium uitii fuerat simulatio uerbi. (fol. 160 D)
 Quod magis archanum debuit esse tibi
 Aduerti. Mirabar eum, mirabar amantem,
 Insiens quod erat, cur faciebat ita.
 35 Insolitus seruare modum, sine mente fatetur

Versus [C]

22. hoc ut uid. D. 29. celerat D.

Semper ut iratus lingat ore tumens.^f
Inprudens sua dicta michi placuisse putabat;
Quo michi si credas displicuere magis.
Displicuit sermo, sua displicet actio feda.
40 Quicquid habet, sociis omnibus est oneri.
Improbis est; mentitur habens, periurus habetur,
Decipit insontes tristibus eloquiis.
Non referam quod amat ne te prolata mouerent,
Sed taceo, quod eum nulla fides sequitur.

Appendix A

(fol. 160 D) [205] Quociens ad animum reduco, mi pater, qui et qualis esse debet, quam morigeratus et quam circumspectus, qui ad alios regendos proponitur, non inde admiror si a prudente de electione tardatur, cum de communi salute, de omnium patre, de animarum custode et presule ab eligente tractatur. Ratio namque ad hoc inuitat, autoritas depostulat, necessitas sibi proprie uendicat ut sicut graue est et honerosum regiminis pondus, ita humilis ad hoc moribusque conditus proponatur, qui unius consensus sit in omnibus, in quo et omnes consentiant unanimiter sapiantque unum.

[206] Opportet siquidem uerum ecclesie pastorem in suis subiectorumque cereum esse et tamquam alterum Protheum in diuersa prout expedit transformare, et nunc quidem cum merentibus meroris compassione affici, nunc cum gaudentibus¹ festiue congratulari,^a illis uelut paruulum simplicem et depressum exhibere, istis inflexibilem rigidi Catonis^b frontem inflexibiliter offerre, cum subiectis quecunque sinistra sors contulerit pati, cum capite suo oprobriis et irrisiionibus saciari, omnibus pro tempore omnia fieri,^c et se ipsum sibi diripiens plus aliis quam sibi et iuste concurrere² et cum ratione discrete concordare.

[207] Quid aliud tintinnabula illa que cum gradiente sacerdote consonam gloriosi classici efficiunt melodiam?^d Quid, inquam, designant nisi plurima uirtutum genera, que sic ex uno pastore debent consonare ut singulis qui in domo dei^e sunt, quotiens congruit, possint offerri? Sed ipsa tabernaculi unguenta^{3/f} ab ipso unguentario ex diuersis speciebus commixta diligenter et pura, quid queso portendunt nisi uaria karismata perfectionis⁴ que ex ipso pastore debent suauem unicuique flagrantiam respirare? Verum⁵

1. congaudentibus *D* (*lin. infra* con). 2. concurrere *D*. 3. unguenta *D*. 4. perfectiois *D*. 5. Terminatur imperfecte: post Verum spat. uac.

a. Rom. 12.15. b. Ov. *Am.* 2.664; Luc. 2.389; Juven. 11.91–92; Martial 10.19.21; Claud. *Carm.* 22.382; Boeth. *Cons.* 2 met. 7.16. c. 1 Cor. 9.22. d. Exod. 28.34–35, 39.24. e. Ps. 51.10 and elsewhere in Bible. f. Exod. 30.25.

Appendix B

EXEMPLUM SANCTI IACOBI A DOMNO PAPA CALIXTO

CONSCRIPTUM. (fol. 144 verso)¹

Memorie tradendum est, quosdam Theotonicos sub peregrinationis habitu anno incarnationis dominice millesimo nonagesimo ad beati Iacobi limina euntes Tolosam urbem cum diuiciarum suarum copiis deuenisse, ibique apud quendam diuitem hospicium habuisse. Qui nequam sub pelle ouina mansuetudinem ouis simulans, accurate eos suscepit, uariisque potibus, quasi sub hospitalitatis gratia, debriatos esse fraudulenter compulit. Proh ceca auaricia, proh hominis mens nequam in malum prona! Tandem peregrinis somno et crapula plus solito grauatis, hospes dolosus spiritu auaricie exagitatus, quo eos furti reos conuinceret,² conuictorumque peccunias sibi acquireret, scyphum argenteum clam in quadam mantica dormiencium abscondidit. Quod post galli cantum cum manu armata subsequutus est iniquus hospes, inclamitans: Reddite, reddite substractam³ mihi peccuniam. Cui et illi: Super quem, inquirunt, illam inueneris pro uelle tuo illum condempnaueris.

Facta igitur inquisicione, duos, in mantica quorum cyphum inuenit, patrem uidelicet et filium, iniuste eorum bona rapiens, ad publicum iudicium⁴ traxit. Iudex uero pietatis gratia motus, alterum dimitti, alterum ad supplicium iubet adduci. O misericordie uiscera! Pater, uolens liberari filium, addicat se ad supplicium. Filius e contra: Non est, inquit, equum patrem pro filio tradi in mortis periculum, sed pro patre filius (causa)⁵ indicta pene subeat excidium. O uenerabile certamen clemencie! Denique proprio uoto filius pro liberatione patris dilecti sibi suspenditur; pater, uero flens et merens, ad sanctum Iacobum progreditur. Uisitato autem apostolici altari uenerabili, pater reuertens inde, transhactis iam triginta sex diebus, ad corpus filii sui adhuc pendentis facit

1. The edition is that of W. M. Whitehill, *Liber Sancti Iacobi*, 1 (Santiago de Compostella, 1944), 267–268.
2. I emend here Whitehill's "conuiceret."
3. I emend here Whitehill's "substractam."
4. I emend here Whitehill's "Cudicium."
5. I supply "causa," which is missing in Whitehill.

diuerticulum, exclamans lacrimosis gemitibus et miserandis eiulatibus: Heu me, fili, ut quid te genui! Ut quid uidens te suspensum uiuere sustinui!

Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, domine! Filius suspensus, consolans patrem, ait: Noli, amantissime pater, de pena mea, cum nulla sit, lugere, sed (fol. 145 recto) potius gaudeas, quia suauius est nunc michi, quam fuisset antea in tota uita preterita. Enimuero beatissimus Iacobus manibus suis me sustentans, omnimoda dulcedine me refocillat. Quod pater audiens, cucurrit in urbem, conuocans populum ad tantum Dei miraculum. Qui uenientes et hunc suspensum tam longo tempore adhuc uiuere uidentes, intellexerunt, ex insatiabili hospitis auaricia hunc esse accusatum, sed Dei misericordia saluatum. A domino factum est istud et est miserabile in oculis nostris. Igitur cum magna gloria a patibulo illum sustulerunt: hospitem uero, sicuti male promeruerat, ibidem communi examine morti addicatum ilico suspenderunt.

Notes

Epistola I

- a. Cf. sections 113, 164; cf. Juven. 3.73.
- b. Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 58.9 (ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54 [1910], 538): "Totum, quod legimus in diuinis libris, nitet quidem et fulget etiam in cortice, sed dulcius in medulla est. Qui esse uult nuculeum, frangit nucem."
- c. Cf. section 83; Hor. *C.* 4.4.75.
- d. Cf. section 61.

Epistola II

- a. Cf. section 113.
- b. Cf. section 116.
- c. Catonis Disticha 1.18.2.
- d. Cf. Iob 5.9, 37.5.
- e. Apoc. 1.8, 21.6, 22.13.
- f. Matth. 16.23, Mar. 8.33.
- g. Cf. Exod. 3.2.
- h. Eccli. 25.15.
- i. Ps. 72.7.
- j. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini* 2 (ed. C. Halm, CSEL 1 [1866], 111; ed. J. Fontaines, Sources chrétiennes 133 [Paris, 1967], 254).
- k. Prou. 29.22.
- l. Cf. Hor. *S.* 2.7.16.
- m. Isai. 62.3.
- n. Juven. 1.15.
- o. Cf. section 139; Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini* 26 (ed. Halm, p. 136; ed. Fontaine, p. 312).
- p. Cf. section 25.
- q. Cf. Eccles. 8.14.
- r. Cf. sections 35, 200, 203; Hor. *A. P.* 343.
- s. Verg. *G.* 4.220–221.
- t. Ps. 41.2.

Epistola III

- a. Cf. Ov. *M.* 7.800 and elsewhere in Ovid.
- b. Cf. section 20.
- c. Cf. Cant. 4.16.
- d. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.209.

Epistola IV

- a. Cf. section 157; Matth. 10.16.
- b. Cf. Ep. III, note b.

- c. Cf. sections 86, 141, 187.
- d. Cf. sections 41, 44, 139.
- e. Cf. Eccli. 19.24.
- f. Gen. 41.30 and similar elsewhere in Bible.
- g. Cf. Verg. *A.* 2.119.
- h. Cf. Ep. II, note o.
- i. Cf. Luc. 4.421.

Epistola V

- a. Cf. Verg. *A.* 4.73; cf. Ov. *M.* 6.641.
- b. Cf. sections 53, 85, 136, 139, 166, 187, A82; Rom. 7.22; Eph. 3.16.
- c. Cf. Ov. *T.* 1.3.24.
- d. Ov. *F.* 2.502; cf. Luc. 8.718.
- e. Hor. *S.* 1.4.30–31; Luc. 2.656. Cf. section 165.
- f. Rom. 2.5; 2 Thess. 1.5.
- g. Cf. section 139; Ov. *A.A.* 3.370.
- h. Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.54.
- i. Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.69–70.
- j. Ps. 106.11.

Epistola VI

- a. Eccli. 9.3. Cf. also Ep. XXIV, note c.
- b. Cf. Ep. II, note q.
- c. Ierem. 49.24.
- d. Ov. *M.* 3.479.
- e. Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.19–20.

Epistola VII

- a. Matth. 8.12 and elsewhere in Bible.
- b. Deut. 32.10.
- c. Cf. Juven. 6.424–425.
- d. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6.66; cf. Ov. *M.* 6.157, 9.417.
- e. Gen. 7.21; Iob 33.25.
- f. Verg. *A.* 6.710.
- g. Cf. Verg. *G.* 3.388.
- h. Cf. Verg. *A.* 8.476.
- i. Ov. *E.* 6.70.
- j. Cf. Ep. IV, note d.
- k. Cf. Hor. *C.* 1.1.2.
- l. Ps. 62.9.
- m. Parallel in section 134; Ov. *F.* 2.806.
- n. Io. 11.39.
- o. Leuit. 14.40.
- p. Cf. Juven. 3.176.
- q. Lc. 15.24, 32.

Epistola VIII

- a. Cf. Ep. IV, note d.
- b. Prou. 17.20.
- c. Eccli. 16.13.
- d. Matth. 7.15.
- e. Act. 23.3.

- f. Cf. 2 Par. 10.9.
- g. Cf. section 80.
- h. Cf. Hor. *A. P.* 67.
- i. Cf. Luc. 9.106.

Epistola IX

- a. Concerning the historical background of this letter see the Introduction.
- b. Cf. Poem B, line 59; Ov. *M.* 1.683.
- c. Cf. Boeth. *Cons.* 1.pr.1.49.
- d. Cf. Ep. V, note b.
- e. Cf. section 60; cf. Verg. *A.* 3.121, 4.180.
- f. Cf. Ep. V, note b.
- g. Catonis Disticha 1.5.2; cf. *Sprichw.*, no. 16447.
- h. Lc. 12.42.

Epistola X

- a. Concerning the historical background of this letter see the Introduction.
- b. Ioel 2.9.
- c. 2 Par. 26.16.
- d. Parallel in section 68; cf. Tob. 4.6; 2 Thess. 2.11.
- e. Io. 13.18.
- f. Cf. 2 Par. 25.19.
- g. Cf. Ep. IX, note f.
- h. Cf. Ps. 78.8.
- i. Cf. Ep. I, note d.
- j. Cf. Ps. 52.6.
- k. Cf. Verg. *A.* 9.63.
- l. Monks who had grown up in a monastery were commonly subject to suspicion or hostility. Cf. Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi* 1.22 (ed. R. W. Southern, Nelson's Medieval Texts [London and Edinburgh, 1962], p. 37).
- m. Dan. 13.43.
- n. *Regula S. Benedicti* 64.3 (ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 [1960], 149): "uitiis suis . . . consentientem personam."
- o. Ps. 77.57.
- p. Ps. 35.5.
- q. Micah 2.1; Ps. 35.5.
- r. Cf. Ep. X, note d.
- s. Lc. 23.18; Io. 19.15.

Epistola XI

- a. Cf. Verg. *A.* 4.333–336.
- b. Cf. Ps. 7.15.
- c. Much of section 75 is reminiscent of 1 Cor. 13.4–5.
- d. Juven. 10.360.
- e. 2 Mac. 14.14.
- f. Luc. 3.471.
- g. Cf. Isai. 25.4.
- h. Isai. 44.12, 62.8.
- i. Cicero, *De Officiis* 3.118.
- j. Cf. Rom. 12.9.

- k. 2 Mac. 11.15; Ov. *M.* 8.352.
- l. Cf. Ov. *P.* 3.1.104.
- m. Cf. Ierem. 23.15; cf. Thren. 3.19.
- n. Hor. *A.P.* 3.
- o. Hor. *A.P.* 4.
- p. Verg. *A.* 10.106.
- q. Cf. Gen. 37.8.
- r. Ov. *Am.* 1.6.38.
- s. Gal. 3.22.
- t. Cf. Ep. VIII, note g.
- u. Ps. 17.33, 40.
- v. Cf. 1 Thess. 3.3.
- w. Prou. 12.9 and elsewhere in Bible.

Epistola XII

- a. Cf. Juven. 3.113.
- b. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.10.6.
- c. Verg. *G.* 4.516; Ov. *M.* 2.482 and elsewhere in Ovid.
- d. Leuit. 19.14 and elsewhere in Bible.
- e. Cf. Ep. I, note c.
- f. Ov. *M.* 12.326.
- g. Cf. Ep. V, note b.
- h. Concerning the story that follows, see the Introduction.
- i. Cf. Ep. IV, note c.
- j. Cf. 1 Tim. 6.10.
- k. Cf. Verg. *A.* 10.398.
- l. Ps. 2.1; Act. 4.25.
- m. Gen. 42.7; Prou. 30.8.
- n. Cf. section 96.
- o. Ov. *E.* 16.10, *F.* 2.787.
- p. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.418.
- q. Matth. 7.7–8; Lc. 11.9–10.
- r. Verg. *A.* 3.130, 5.777.
- s. Eccles. 12.4.
- t. Cf. Verg. *A.* 9.219.
- u. Verg. *G.* 4.454, *A.* 1.136.
- v. Cf. Rom. 3.3 and elsewhere in Bible.
- w. Cf. Verg. *A.* 11.812; Juven. 6.271.
- x. 1 Reg. 12.15.
- y. Cf. section 111.
- z. Verg. *A.* 1.299.
- aa. Cf. Dan. 13.43.
- bb. Cf. Hebr. 5.14.
- cc. Verg. *A.* 9.427.
- dd. Verg. *A.* 1.655.
- ee. 2 Tim. 1.3.
- ff. Cf. Ep. XII, note n.
- gg. Gen. 24.27; Prou. 14.2.

- hh. Ov. *M.* 1.661.
- ii. Cf. sections 110, 126, 131; Deut. 16.18 and similar elsewhere in Bible.
- jj. Sap. 12.15.

Epistola XIII

- a. si ad se . . . detrahit: Cicero, *De Officiis* 3.26, 31.
- b. Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis* 3.28.
- c. Isai. 1.3.
- d. Cf. Ov. *M.* 1.495–496.
- e. Verg. *E.* 8.66–67.
- f. Ps. 57.5.
- g. Cf. Iac. 1.14.
- h. Exod. 8.19, Iob 41.15, and elsewhere in Bible.
- i. Ps. 31.4.
- j. Joel 1.17.
- k. Cf. Ep. XII, note jj.
- l. 2 Cor. 4.4.
- m. Cf. Ep. XII, note jj.
- n. Cf. Ep. XII, note y.

Epistola XIV

- a. Cf. Ep. I, note 2.
- b. Ov. *F.* 4.867.
- c. Parallels in sections 123, 138, 194; cf. Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.9–10 and 3.7, 20.
- d. Cf. Ep. I, note a, and Ep. II, note a.
- e. Parallels in sections 136, 139, 141.
- f. Isai. 40.17.
- g. Cf. Ep. II, note b.
- h. Verg. *G.* 1.145–146.
- i. Cf. Matth. 12.33; *Sprichw.*, nos. 1242, 1258–1259.

Epistola XV

- a. Eccles. 7.19.
- b. Cf. Ep. XIV, note c.

Epistola XVI

- a. Tob. 2.14.
- b. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.381.
- c. Ov. *E.* 17.234.
- d. Exod. 19.16.
- e. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.252.
- f. Ezech. 1.12; Dan. 14.35.
- g. Cf. section 132.
- h. Cf. Ezech. 10.17.
- i. Cf. Ep. XII, note jj.
- j. Exod. 15.10.
- k. Exod. 15.5.
- l. Cf. Prou. 29.1; cf. 1 Thess. 5.3.
- m. Iac. 2.17, 20, 26.
- n. Iac. 5.15.
- o. Rom. 2.16.

- p. Cf. Ep. XII, note jj.

Epistola XVII

- a. Juven. 10. 22; *Sprichw.*, no. 2036.
- b. Cf. Ep. XVI, note g.
- c. Mar. 14.65.
- d. 3 Reg. 1.31; Verg. *A.* 12.807.
- e. Cf. Exod. 20.18; Verg. *A.* 12.468.
- f. Cf. Num. 30.3 and elsewhere in Bible.
- g. Cf. Ep. VII, note m.
- h. Cf. Luc. 7.247.
- i. Matth. 7.25; Lc. 6.48.
- j. Verg. *A.* 4.412; Ov. *F.* 2.331; Hor. *S.* 1.3.24.
- k. Ov. *E.* 16.127.
- l. Cf. Ep. XIV, note e.
- m. Cf. Ep. V, note b.
- n. Cf. Ov. *T.* 1.3.44.
- o. Juven. 10.302.
- p. Cf. Mar. 8.36.

Epistola XVIII

- a. Concerning letters 18–20 see the Introduction.
- b. Cf. Verg. *A.* 8.476.
- c. Cf. Ep. XIV, note c.
- d. Cf. Ep. XIV, note e.
- e. Cf. Ep. IV, note d.
- f. Cf. Ep. II, note n.
- g. Cf. Ep. V, note b.
- h. Cf. Ep. V, note g.
- i. Judith 7.20.
- j. Cf. Ep. IV, note c.
- k. Matth. 27.24.
- l. Cf. 1 Cor. 8.7.
- m. Mar. 8.17.
- n. Cf. Ep. XIV, note e.
- o. Cf. Judith 7.20.
- p. Cf. Verg. *G.* 2.154.
- q. Verg. *A.* 6.346.
- r. Cf. Ruth 1.18.
- s. Matth. 7.15.

Epistola XIX

- a. Concerning letters 18–20 see the Introduction.
- b. 1 Reg. 2.5.
- c. 1 Cor. 4.11.
- d. Verg. *A.* 1.613.
- e. Eph. 4.22–25.
- f. Ov. *E.* 2.113.
- g. Ov. *M.* 9.766.

Epistola XX

- a. Concerning letters 18–20 see the Introduction.
- b. Prou. 18.8.
- c. Juven. 14.175.
- d. Cf. Ep. IV, note a.
- e. Eccli. 24.32, Apoc. 3.5 and elsewhere in Bible.
- f. Ps. 36.12; Mar. 9.17; Act. 7.54.
- g. I.e., Calvi in Southern Campania, Italy.

Epistola XXI

- a. Juven. 2.14.
- b. Cf. Ep. I, note a.
- c. Cf. Ep. V, note e.

Epistola XXII

- a. Cf. Ep. V, note b.
- b. Cf. Eccles. 12.7.
- c. Sap. 11.21.
- d. Ps. 33.9, 99.5, and elsewhere in Bible.
- e. Act. 17.28.
- f. Io. 1.16.
- g. Rom. 7.6.
- h. anime . . . felices: Verg. *A.* 6.669.
- i. Matth. 19.26; Mar. 10.27.

Epistola XXIII

- a. Cf. Verg. *A.* 7.8.
- b. Iob 34.28.
- c. Parallel in section 177; 1 Io. 3.17.
- d. Cf. Deut. 29.18.
- e. Cf. Poem A, line 52; Poem C, line 36; Hor. *A.P.* 94.
- f. Verg. *A.* 5.324.
- g. Cf. Ep. XXIII, note c.

Epistola XXIV

- a. Prou. 22.12.
- b. Cicero, *De Inuentione* 1.1.
- c. Cf. Eccli. 27.29; Juven. 10.314. Cf. also Ep. IV, note a.
- d. Cf. Verg. *E.* 9.12.

Epistola XXV

- a. Hor. *A.P.* 97.
- b. 1 Petr. 3.11.
- c. Tit. 2.9.

Epistola XXVI

- a. Thren. 1.11.
- b. Cf. Juven. 9.85.
- c. Cf. Ep. V, note b.
- d. Cf. Ep. IV, note c.
- e. Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.62–63.

Epistola XXVII

- a. Hor. *A.P.* 94, 238.
- b. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.62.
- c. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.14.13.
- d. Verg. *G.* 4.516; Ov. *M.* 9.608, *T.* 5.1.23.
- e. Io. 13.34; Rom. 13.8 and elsewhere in Bible.

Epistola XXVIII

- a. I have not been able to trace this anecdote. Cf. Cicero *Tusc.* 3.56: "Hic Socrates commemoratur, hic Diogenes, hic Caecilianum illud 'Saepe est etiam sub palliolo sordido sapientia'." Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* 2.14 (PL 23:304–305), reports, "Diogenes palliolo duplici usus sit propter frigus," and is followed by Walter Burley, *De Vita Et Moribus Philosophorum Et Poetarum* 50 (ed. H. Knust, [Tübingen, 1886], p. 194) and by John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 5.17 (ed. C.C.J. Webb, 1 [London, 1909], 359).
- b. Cf. Ep. XIV, note c.
- c. This anecdote in Cicero *Tusc.* 5.92, Valerius Maximus 4.3 ext. 4, and W. Burley *op. cit.* 50 (ed. Knust, p. 196).
- d. Cf. Phaedrus 4.21.1, 14 and Seneca *Ep.* 1.9.13–20.
- e. Cf. Gen. 9.25.
- f. *Sprichw.*, nos. 26844, 26846, 26857.

Epistola XXIX

- a. 1 Io. 4.18; cf. Verg. *A.* 5.812.

Epistola XXX

- a. Cf. Ep. II, note q.
- b. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6.152.

Versus A

- a. Cf. Verg. *E.* 9.5.
- b. Cf. Ov. *E.* 4.162.
- c. Ov. *Am.* 1.7.54.
- d. Cf. B, line 92; cf. Matth. 16.24, Mar. 8.34, Lc. 14.26–27.
- e. Cf. Juven. 14.109.
- f. Cf. Seneca, *Cons. ad Helviam* 13.2, 19.7.
- g. Parallel in B, line 43.
- h. Matth. 24.22; Mar. 13.20.
- i. Cf. Ep. XXIII, note e.
- j. Matth. 8.12 and elsewhere in Bible.
- k. Cf. Matth. 5.3; Lc. 6.20.
- l. 2 Reg. 13.15.
- m. Ov. *Am.* 1.1.26.
- n. Verg. *A.* 5.296; Ov. *M.* 10.451.

Versus B

- a. Cf. C, line 19.
- b. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.209.
- c. Cf. Ov. *P.* 2.8.11.
- d. Cf. C, line 16; cf. Verg. *A.* 2.619.

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- e. Cf. A, line 44.
- f. Ov. *E.* 2.85.
- g. Verg. *A.* 1.604; Ov. *F.* 4.311.
- h. Cf. Ep. IX, note b.
- i. Cf. Eccli. 23.37.
- j. Matth. 7.7–8; Lc. 11.9–10.
- k. Cf. Ov. *T.* 5.1.28.
- l. Cf. A, lines 36–37.
- m. Cf. Ov. *F.* 6.57; cf. Juven. 5.136.

Versus C

- a. Cf. Luc. 7.727.
- b. Cf. Ov. *M.* 15.150.
- c. Cf. B, line 34.
- d. Cf. B, line 7.
- e. Ov. *P.* 2.2.61.
- f. Cf. Ep. XXIII, note e; Luc. 6.272.

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**3 A COLLECTION OF
STORIES AND SKETCHES:
PETRONIVS REDIVIVVS**

lege grēpta. dē a ret: auida tēminis: pēcti petulācia. i q rēdit cognat n qd sū i pēu pal
fura. A fteet: 3 mūn lūa ducos n sē h delictor montores errone. S; 7 col i erroris fūel ai
mōt putat ēē ualidissim. q suo pēdit: n raionis ut uolūtat arbitrio. At ilico marit
ma gā: a n amare odi possit qstionat: i ad uicū cadit spūationē. pue hē mēia fere dolous ef
ferat. Verū licet mūn uide ualere p lūmū tbat: sedū tacitū tēdō tū sagacū: qstidat qd
aggdi mōr aduicū sub oblturitate noctūa n salte sua comitāt ēē familia: āceptū dūcū
foiet. suā suaur hōstas firmo exē opellulato. p r famuliat mōt ēē dū ad famulā. ut
facit auctū i qmēm seruat domulū. utq; libidē ex ordinaria iā qmūmā pūpū sordō
libidinē a cū supplicio sit illico lūstū. ut a facit i pūaola n admittē q ad expēdēt ad pūe pūm
milla subleqno gubnare: i mto sac i pūdola n tēpore q p āapnet i tēpēctat i cho
aaonē in eudūū se labatet ipelle. Wel i i tēpē subitū delibare q p causā uulnā tū
caulari tēū seriq; penitē. Supat g armata tēpēctat marit famulā: p lūmū pūaol
pūdū i aduicū dphēdō aduicū. Ilico: dolous tū mōt sine m: licet et qdiaoil n ēē aduicū
ū ocadi fūlie legil auctoritatē ipūne potuiss; a m arto. Serpugnabit i pūi rōm. imō
atōē dolous: ad amētiā fere pduct. ad eū uariū rōmūoy crua atib se rapū pūpafica
tētiādū. Nulla qd rōne ul sapiētia dē ai mōt abigū uia uo natālia. Alioqū si sapiē
tia ul rō. explanaret oia p libro: rē dūatō qū capuā. sub ipio suo retinēt natā. Co fū
te rōm uir mōg amūat suū aduicū mātā mōē: qulāta se uirū ex iūmū: alū
uice qdiao. Sic i cauci: retentiū pignont icūbe. q dubiū lūat ad eūcū dūmōē tēre
Sic manifestū dphēti talū talū i tūmne. utq; tūmne: q adūl rēū subleqno tēbe ul i tēuoc
nū uulnatē ipū iade. Pretea iūmū retinē: i ad exū i ad euasioē conari pūade. S; qm
mūnū: qūetudinis male uicōt mecuēe supplicia qūuēto. mūl i q se uolū impulso i
tūpū dē i eūcū: nich qstētib i lacrimis effluē cep i uūboz supplicatiōib. Gēnū tū mātū
m remediū qstere n i ex tētib. Verū uir i gēnabit: qūl nich ēē laret ordinariū qd pūp
fūm ul pūpūcū: qūl i maguaz uirū maguaz: laret ēē patiēte ledēt negligē. fūcū
li gladio iūmūlūm tūmūm aduicū. S; didicū delū p ex pūmū: qd solū tū iūa mōz su pū
ne dūatū pūdūaial accēpare mātūat. qd; nich iūmū tū homini i pūaolē q ad suū
lūcūatū

Introduction

THE final text in *Analecta Dublinensia* is an unknown and unpublished collection of stories and sketches, consisting of fourteen pieces in all, found in Trinity College Dublin MS 602 (E.4.26).¹ Most of the first nine pieces are narratives about medieval people, but there are also an account of Nero's suicide (III) and a fable about an adulterous stork (IX). Piece X describes people according to their dominant humors. The remaining pieces are character sketches, usually satiric, of knights (XI), women (XII), merchants (XIII) and farmers (XIV). A remark in the text suggests that the collection as it is now preserved may not be complete. In section 73 the author says: "Atqui ut et alias asserere non formidavi, mas omnis rudissime delirat qui feminas ab errore per custodias . . . a furoribus per rationes auertere sperat." The comment about women in this location is not closely matched by anything else in the text, although sections 99 and 131 include roughly similar notions. It is possible, however, that the statement in section 73 refers to another work, or that the author had a lapse of memory.

The recurrence of favorite words and phrases, the use of the same unusual sources, and the uniformity of style² throughout the collection point to a single author for all of the pieces. Unfortunately there is little evidence that might identify the writer. Clearly he was born of farming stock, since he praises the hard-working and virtuous farmer at the end of the collection as it now stands (XIV), and proudly announces: "A talibus nativam natus originem traho" [162]. His contrast of the *rusticolae* with the haughty nobility [162] is proof that he was not of the aristocracy, at least not of the high aristocracy. He almost certainly reflects the bias of a cleric in his hostility toward knights and his favorable opinion of the clergy.³

Since piece V discusses an unnamed daughter of Robert Guiscard, duke of

1. The Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, has no record of the work. The *initia* of the several poems in the work are not listed in Hans Walther, *Initia Carminum Ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959). An English summary of the text follows the Introduction.
2. On each of these factors see Introduction below.
3. Unlike other twelfth-century satirists who attack excesses among churchmen, the author of this collection has nothing but respect for ecclesiastics, both in piece XI and in his remark [152]: "salua religiosorum reuerentia."

Apulia and Calabria [44–58], all of whose daughters were products of his second marriage, to Sigelgaita in 1058,⁴ the collection must have been composed between the second half of the eleventh century and the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the text was transcribed.⁵

That the author was an Englishman is an attractive conjecture. He speaks of having seen a certain I. (initial) of London very frequently, although where this occurred is not stated [21]. The collection, which is preserved in an English codex, recalls the mélange of anecdote and social comment in Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*⁶ and John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*.⁷ Furthermore, the author shares with John of Salisbury a knowledge of Petronius, including the *Cena Trimalchionis*. Previously John was thought to be the only author in the twelfth century who was acquainted with the *Cena* as well as with other parts of the *Satyricon*.⁸

The writer was evidently schooled in law and theology, and he reveals considerable erudition. He is at home in both the classical and the patristic tradi-

4. See D. C. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement, 1050–1100* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1969), p. 228.

5. On the manuscript see Introduction below.

6. Ed. M. R. James (Oxford, 1914).

7. Ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols. (London and Oxford, 1909). See also Alexander Nequam's *De Naturis Rerum*, chs. 175–191, ed. T. Wright (RS; London, 1863), pp. 312–349, which contains discussion of social groups and includes (like our author) a section on knights (ch. 175, p. 312) and a section on buyers and sellers (ch. 179, pp. 315–316).

8. Cf. E. T. Sage, ed., *Petronius, The Satyricon* (New York & London, 1929), p. xxiv. See also n. 22, below. On John of Salisbury's use of Petronius, see the fundamental treatments in Webb, *op. cit.*, 1, p. xxxii, and Konrad Müller, ed., *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon* (Munich, 1961), pp. xxxiii–xxxiv. Müller believes that John used several manuscripts of Petronius rather than just one, an idea that is not at all certain, partly because of the scarcity of texts of Petronius in the Middle Ages (see below, n. 20). For clear evidence of the influence of the *Cena* on this collection of stories see sections 57, 117 and 120. For the influence of the *Satyricon* generally, see the notes to the text, *passim*.

There has been much concern about the interpretation of "si potes" in the famous statement of John of Salisbury about the *Cena* (*Policraticus*, 8.7, ed. *cit.*, 2, p. 271): "Cenam Trimalchionis apud Petronium, si potes, ingredere, et porcum sic gaudari posse miraberis, nisi forte admirationem multiplex ignota et inaudita luxuria tollat." C. Schaarschmidt, "Johannes Saresberiensis in seinem Verhältnis zur klassischen Litteratur," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 14 (1859), 209, n. 5, observed: "si potes" andeutet, dass von einer Rarität die Rede ist." E. T. Sage, "Petronius, Poggio, and John of Salisbury," *Classical Philology* 11 (1916), 13, agrees with this inference and concludes: "This seems to show that John had, or had access to a MS, and realized that it was difficult to find others." Indeed Sage (p. 23) theorizes that John may have made his acquaintance with the *Cena* at Fleury. Vittorio Pioletti, "Giovanni di Salisbury e la 'Cena Trimalchionis'," *Giornale italiano di filologia* 17 (1964), 358, interprets the "si potes" to mean that the *Cena* was not close at hand: "non era a portata di mano (si potes) era cioè lontana dagli ambienti di cultura, che nel secolo XII erano prevalentemente in Francia." On the other hand, the natural interpretation of "si potes," I think, is simply: if you can enter into the spirit of such a work, if you can bring yourself to read it. I believe that "si potes" has nothing to do with rarity or distance.

tions.⁹ He must have been a sophisticated, urbane man who cherished a good story and loved satiric irony (he even dubs an adulteress "sancta uirago" in section 75). His open defense of humor seems bold against its medieval setting: "Ludicra qui spernit, qui non nisi seria querit, sero spei seruus sero timoris erit" [63]. Perhaps he should be regarded as a humanist above all because of his widespread imitation of, and hence admiration for, Petronius.¹⁰

The pieces in the collection show that the author was a keen observer of human conduct, who liked to record psychological reactions and especially to analyze motivation. In this and in his frank realism he may be said to anticipate modern writers. His references to sexual behavior, for example, are numerous and explicit.¹¹ His stories diverge markedly from the usual medieval exempla, which as a genre tend to be full of miracles and the supernatural.

Turning to the collection in more detail, one finds a number of aspects that deserve attention. Most remarkable is the almost all-pervasive influence of Petronius both in attitudes and in language. In the *Satyricon* Eumolpus makes an uncomplimentary pronouncement about women in love: "Quam facile adament, quam cito etiam filiorum obliuiscerentur, nullamque feminam esse tam pudicam quae non peregrina libidine usque ad furorem auerteretur" (*Satyricon*, 110). This cynical view accords with the events of stories I, V, VII, VIII, and IX, and with the sketch about the female sex in XII. Each of these pieces depicts women as lustful creatures, ever ready to gratify their cravings for greater physical satisfaction without compunction about abandoning husband or lover. Similarly, Petronius' treatment of Eumolpus as a make-believe rich man (*Satyricon*, 117) contributes substantially to the portrait of the medieval knight (XI).

Petronius may have prompted the author to record so many erotic details,¹² some of which are unquestionably taken from the Roman satirist,¹³ as are a multitude of phrases in general.¹⁴

The mixture of verse with prose was perhaps also inspired by Petronius, although the writer confines his poetic talent to dactylic hexameter [61, 82, 116, 141] and elegy [63, 99, 127, 148]. The verses are quite regular, with only one example of hiatus [63, line 17]. Among the individual words that may have been derived from Petronius are *atriensis* [41],¹⁵ *cinedus* [15-17],¹⁶ *contu-*

9. See Introduction below.

10. See Introduction below.

11. Cf. sections 50, 74-78, 96, 98, 99, 113, 115, 130-132, 135, 141-146, 156-158.

12. See note 11.

13. E.g., sections 50, 74, 77, 115.

14. See notes to the text, *passim*.

15. Petronius, 29, 53, 72.

16. Petronius, 21, 23, 24. Indeed the *cinaedus* of Petronius, 23 ("cinaedus homo omnium insulsiſſimus et plane illa domo dignus") suggests the *cinaedus* in piece II of the present collection.

bernalis in the sense of "mate" [3, 20, 91, 143],¹⁷ and *linguosus* [32, 33, 128].¹⁸

The knowledge of Petronius that is evident in the collection seems to be at first hand. Not all of the borrowings could have come from a grammarian or from a florilegium.¹⁹ For example, *tricliniarches* [43] by itself hardly would have interested the compiler of a moral or aesthetic florilegium, and conversely, something like "Matrona tam notae erat pudicitiae" [1] would hardly have excited a grammarian.

Certainly Petronius was a great rarity in the Middle Ages, as Collignon, Manitius, Müller and Pioletti attest.²⁰ Therefore it is striking that the author has more reminiscences of the *Satyricon* than does Vincent of Beauvais (died 1264) or even John of Salisbury (*ca.* 1115–1180).²¹ Our writer follows primarily the L tradition of Petronius excerpts, but he also shows the influence of the *Cena*, or H tradition, which is preserved today in a single manuscript (Paris BN lat. 7989) of the fifteenth century.²² The proportion of borrowings from the *Cena* is quite

17. Petronius, 24, 57, 61, 70, 71, 96.

18. Petronius, 43, 63.

19. Concerning the medieval florilegia of Petronius see B. L. Ullman, "Petronius in the Mediaeval Florilegia," *Classical Philology* 25 (1930), 11–21; R. Weiss, "Quotations from Petronius in a Medieval Florilegium," *Classical Review* 57 (1943), 108–109; G. Brugnoli, "Florilegi petroniani," *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 4 (1962), 162–164; K. Müller and W. Ehlers, edd., *Petronius: Satyricon* (Munich, 1965), pp. 412–415.

20. A. Collignon, *Pétrone au moyen âge et dans la littérature française* (Paris & Nancy, 1893), p. 9: "Après Isidore (570–636), qui est le dernier littérateur de l'empire, le nom de Pétrone s'éclipse de plus en plus et ce n'est qu'exceptionnellement, de distance en distance, qu'on saisit un souvenir ou une imitation du *Satyricon*." Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 1 (Munich, 1911), p. 502: "... Petron zu den seltensten Autoren gehört hat." Müller, in his 1961 edition of Petronius, p. xxxiv: "Cenae uero exemplaria cum dubitari non possit quin per mediam quae uocatur aetatem fuerint rarissima. . . ." Pioletti, *op. cit.*, p. 350: "... in questo periodo [of John of Salisbury] il *satyricon* sembra ignorato dagli altri scrittori del tempo e i codici stessi sono assai rari."

21. Vincent's seventeen brief excerpts from Petronius are in *Speculum Historiale* 20 (21). 25, printed in Vincent's *Speculum Quadruplex* 4 (Douai, 1624), 789. For John's twenty-three Petronian reminiscences in the *Policraticus* see Webb's *Index Auctorum*, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 496. John also refers to Trimalchio in *Epist.* 112, edd. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler and C. N. L. Brooke, 1 (Edinburgh, 1955), 183.

22. Cf. note 8 above and the notes to the text, *passim*. In view of the discovery of the collection of stories, some claims for John of Salisbury will have to be modified: e.g., "No writer of the Middle Ages possessed a knowledge of Petronius comparable to that of John" (E. T. Sage, "Giraldus Cambrensis and Petronius," *Speculum* 2 [1927], 204); "About the twelfth century . . . only John of Salisbury displays any acquaintance with the *Cena*" and "John of Salisbury is the only writer who knew the *Cena* as well as other portions of the text" (Sage in his edition, pp. xxiv and 198); "That part of Petronius which contains the Feast was otherwise [i.e. apart from John of Salisbury] unknown until the seventeenth century" (Millor, Butler and Brooke, *op. cit.*, p. xlix); cf. the

slight when compared with the rest of the *Satyricon*. Sections 26, 50 and 93 of the collection very possibly contain imitations of the *Cena*, but the only clear borrowings occur in section 57 (again in 120) and section 117 (see the notes to the text).

Another influence on the author was Roman law. He must have studied law, and it may be that his story about a Bolognese student (VI) was heard during his own student days at Bologna, whither medieval scholars flocked for legal training. Acquaintance with juridical language is evident in the use of terms such as *astipulatores* [82], *causaria (missio)* [154], *cerciorari* [85], *cessio accionum* [42], *depositarius* [31, 42] and *per lesam castitatis legem* [144],²³ which deftly suggests *lesa maiestas*. There are references to the Julian law on adultery [8, 12], to *ius naturale* [11] and to Cassius' declaration about wives [12, 72]. Furthermore, remarks about law or justice may be found in sections 9, 31, 42–44, 60 and 145.

The stories and sketches in the collection contain direct quotations from the Bible [161], Cassiodorus [161] and John Chrysostom [161], but the author's acquaintance with literature was more extensive. He shows the influence of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal and probably the *Apocolocyntosis*.²⁴ He follows Suetonius in the account of Nero's death (III)²⁵ and elsewhere.²⁶

Specific identification of other influences is more difficult. The Aesopic fable of the adulterous female stork (IX) has a plot which was popular in the Middle Ages.²⁷ The satiric treatment of knights (XI) seems to owe something to the classical stereotype of the *miles gloriosus*, which the author may have learned from Cicero.²⁸ Sources of certain rare words can only be guessed: *amasius* [157] may have come from Isidore's *Etymologiae* 10.5; *compotaciones*

statement of Pioletti cited in note 20 above; "John of Salisbury (1115–80) was the only medieval scholar after Sidonius Apollinaris (with the possible exception of Eugenius Vulgarius) to know the *Cena*" (J. H. Stuckey, "The Reputation and Influence of C. Petronius Arbiter among English Men of Letters, from 1660 to 1700," unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1966, p. 8).

23. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1900–), s. v.

24. For the influence of classical authors see the notes to the text, *passim*. For an apparent imitation of part of *Apocolocyntosis*, 7, see [100], note f. The *Apocolocyntosis* was rarely read in the Middle Ages: cf. Manitius, 1, p. 590, n. 3, and A. P. Ball, *The Satire of Seneca* (New York, 1902), p. 86.

25. Based on Suetonius, *Nero*, 47, 49.

26. E.g., sections 24, 59, 112.

27. See the *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Hermann Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), pp. 410, 676–677, and Oesterley's list of classical and medieval works containing the fable, *ibid.*, p. 725. See also *Les fabulistes latines*, ed. L. Hervieux, 2 (Paris, 1899), 312; *Aesopica*, ed. B. E. Parry, 1 (Urbana, 1952), 706, no. 713; F. C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum* (Helsinki, 1969), p. 352, no. 4640.

28. *De Officiis*, 1.137.

[151] from Cicero's *De Senectute* 13.45 or *Ad Familiares* 9.24.3, or from Isidore's *Etymologiae* 20.1.3; *loricationes* [17] from the *Digest* 50.16.79; *menianum* [16, 91] from the *Digest* 50.16.242; *tolutarius* [118, 123] from Seneca's *Epistolae* 87.10; *uiatrix* [49] from Martianus Capella 6.581; *uolsella* [151] from Martial 9.27.5.

One piece (V) contains a story within a story: the tale about two Norman merchants provides a frame for the amorous adventures of Guiscard's daughter [44–58].

As in Walter Map and the *Gesta Romanorum*, names of classical figures appear in the narrative about Zetus (VII) without any genuine relation to the original holders of the names: the chief characters are Zetus (Zethes) and Calais, Hero, Antheus and Nepos.²⁹ This is the longest and most complex of the pieces, and the vicissitudes of Zetus constitute a veritable chivalric romance.³⁰

Despite the evident influence of a wide variety of sources, the writer is neither a mere cento-builder nor a pale imitator. His style has distinctive characteristics of its own. One of these is the persistent juxtaposition of like words, sometimes effecting paronomasia or agnominatio: e.g., *simplicitati simplices* [32], *uiri uirilia uirum* [78], *militariter armati et magnanimiter animati* [108], *flentibus fleret flentium* [113]. The frequency of such instances is unusually great for prose.

Sometimes alliteration attains exaggerated proportions. Consider, for example: *succedente securitatis soliditate subrepat et somnus* [122], *sic sola solus cum sodali sola relictus in solitudine insolenciaque solitudinis* [129], *mas meticulosus multiplicique miser molestia* [131], *in uanitatibus uictura est in uilitatibus uitam* [154].

Another very common phenomenon is the lengthy separation of an adjective or participle from the noun or pronoun modified, as in *suum uersus occidentalem ciuitatis quod sepius inspexi grande diues extruxerat domicilium* [1] and *ad eum uariis tormentorum cruciatibus se raptim promptificat interficiendum* [8]. The prose syntax includes the synecdochal accusative (*Zetum manus et pedes uinculis ligatum* [106], *atritus faciem* [114]) and the rather bold use of the genitive with adjectives: *precipitem laboris* [26], *uite extinctium* [31].

The author seems enamored of recurring phrases such as *sompniculosus*

29. Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, 4.3, pp. 151–152; *Gesta Romanorum*, *passim*. See also Christopher Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (London, 1969), p. 171.

30. This romance is not listed in H. L. D. Ward and J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (London, 1883–1910), or Lewis Spence, *A Dictionary of Medieval Romance and Romance Writers* (New York, 1962), or in the "Catálogo razonado de los libros de caballerías," a catalogue of chivalric romances and books about chivalry in Spanish and Portuguese up to 1800, printed in *Biblioteca de autores españoles* 40 (Madrid, 1874), lxiii–lxxxvii.

uigiliis [13, 66, 157], *more mulierum* [37, 84, 95], *discursu limphatico* [97, 129], *cadit non recasurus* [108, 124].³¹ He likes to use *male* with an adjective or participle: e.g., *male purus* [20], *male munda* [81], *male fortunatus* [102]. He is fond of saying *cadere in*, *incidere in*, and *decidere in* [e.g., 3–5, 39, 53, 122, 131].

Just as he repeats phrases, the author also repeats certain words many times: *coniectura*, *coniectare*, *coniecturaliter*;³² *consternatus*, *consternatio*;³³ *feruor*, *feruens*, *feruentius*;³⁴ *indifferens* (meaning “unanimous”), *indifferent*;³⁵ *petulans*, *petulancia*, *petulanter*,³⁶ cf. *petulca*;³⁷ *sagax*, *sagacitas*, *sagaciter*;³⁸ *subtilis*, *subtilitas*, *subtiliter*;³⁹ *tractatus* (meaning “conference” or “conversation”);⁴⁰ *uenerius*.⁴¹ Over and over again he uses the following, almost as formulaic conveniences: *ad summam*,⁴² *ast*,⁴³ *atqui*,⁴⁴ *citra*,⁴⁵ *demum(que)*,⁴⁶ *dumtaxat* (meaning “only”),⁴⁷ *euestigio*,⁴⁸ *ilico*,⁴⁹ *incontinenti*,⁵⁰ *profecto*,⁵¹ *quiuvis*,⁵² *reuera*,⁵³ *subsequenter*.⁵⁴ *Fatuat* [141] occurs as a non-deponent verb.

The collection is found in Trinity College Dublin MS 602 (E.4.26), a codex

31. Parallel phrases will be indicated in the notes to the text.
32. Sections 14, 28, 45, 51, 59, 83, 92, 106 (twice), 123 (twice).
33. Sections 5, 36, 83 (twice), 93, 97, 105, 129, 131.
34. Sections 4, 5, 44, 49 (twice), 50, 133, 157.
35. Sections 29, 34, 65, 83, 84, 101 (twice), 103, 108 (twice), 126, 138.
36. Tit. 1; sections 4, 5, 31, 72, 73, 76 (twice), 93, 94, 98, 109, 113, 115 (twice), 119, 130, 135, 147, 153 (twice), 156, 158.
37. Sections 99, 131, 134.
38. Sections 6, 24, 30, 36, 45, 47, 59, 67, 71, 78, 84, 87, 89, 94, 95, 97, 100, 112, 114, 119, 126, 142, 154, 157, 161.
39. Sections 7, 32, 33, 44, 60, 61, 74, 92, 95, 97, 102, 106, 117, 130, 142, 144, 146 (twice).
40. Sections 27, 44, 67, 68, 88, 101, 126.
41. Sections 44, 47, 49–51, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78 (three times), 96, 98 (twice), 115, 117, 126, 132 (three times), 135 (twice), 136, 139, 156.
42. Sections 24, 52, 54, 109, 154, 162. This usage may have been influenced by the rather frequent employment of *ad summam* in Petronius (2, 31, 37 [twice], 38, 45, 57 [twice], 58, 71, 75, 77, 105, 134, 140).
43. Sections 3, 5, 12, 38, 75, 95, 100, 115, 122, 124, 143, 153.
44. Sections 5, 19, 23, 35, 46, 60, 73, 84, 88, 104, 111, 135.
45. Sections 29, 31 (twice), 71, 107, 108, 110, 138, 146, 155, 157, 159.
46. Sections 33, 50, 62, 78, 94, 98, 109, 115, 130, 152.
47. Sections 14, 31, 35, 42, 43, 77, 92, 94, 96, 108, 129, 130, 132, 153.
48. Sections 22, 29, 57, 86, 99, 137.
49. Sections 6, 16, 39, 92, 114, 123, 124, 131.
50. Sections 6, 17, 36, 49, 58, 76, 79, 95, 100, 103, 114.
51. Sections 17, 21, 29, 30, 35, 41, 57, 88, 94, 96, 100, 112, 121, 147, 151, 160, 162.
52. Sections 29, 30–32, 41, 44, 51, 52, 60, 61, 73, 87, 89, 96, 102, 104, 112, 127, 148, 151, 156, 157.
53. Sections 11, 14, 22, 25, 31, 33, 36, 41, 43, 56, 65, 74, 84, 96 (twice), 112, 121, 123, 132, 135, 142.
54. Sections 7, 9, 53, 58, 97, 98, 106, 114, 117, 130, 134, 140, 151, 161.

written in England in the early thirteenth century and bearing on folio 1 an ex-libris inscription from St Augustine's, Canterbury.⁵⁵ The book contains 149 leaves, devoted principally to William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (folios 2–63^v) and Quintus Curtius (folios 80^v–131^v).⁵⁶ Also included are pseudo-Sallust's *In Ciceronem Oratio* and pseudo-Cicero's *In Sallustium Oratio* (folios 64–65^v), along with excerpts from Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* (folio 66^{rv}), Josephus' *De Bello Iudaico* and *Antiquitates Iudaicae* (folios 66^v–79^v), Aulus Gellius (9.1; folio 131^v), and from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (18.6.1–3, about swords). The Isidore extracts (folios 131^v–132) cease on the first page of our collection of stories and sketches.

This collection occupies folios 132–149^v (6¼ x 5 inches). Each page has about 25 long lines, and the entire work is by several scribes: the rigidly regular style of handwriting on folios 134–137^v and the heavy black style on folios 140^v–143 and 147^v–148 are particularly distinctive. Appearing as the final item in the codex, the work may not be completely preserved at the end. Possibly too the collection, following as it does excerpts from other works, offers only selected pieces, each complete in itself, from some larger *opus*.⁵⁷ This impression is reinforced by the lack of a main title and individual titles for pieces IV–VIII and X.

The critical apparatus to the text uses D to signify the Dublin manuscript and D^c to denote a *manus incerta* performing a correction. The notes generally indicate whether the quotations from Petronius represent the L, O, H, or f(lorilegia) traditions, according to the edition of K. Müller and W. Ehlers (Munich, 1965). *Sprichw.* refers to Hans Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters*, 6 volumes (Göttingen, 1963–1969).

55. Concerning the codex see T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin and London, 1900), p. 101; H. Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica* 2, 3 (Vienna, 1896), 67, no. 3379; M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903), p. 295, no. 919; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), p. 42. None of these sources mention the collection of stories and sketches in Codex 602.
56. Curtius was quite a rarity in the Middle Ages. There is no record of him in J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English, 597–1066* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), and Manitius 3 (1931), 924, n. 3, states: "Das Werk war im 12. Jahrhundert nach dem Ausweis der alten Bibliothekskataloge keineswegs häufig."
57. See the discussion of section 73 at the beginning of the Introduction. It is even possible that some of the pieces themselves were abridged (cf. the abrupt start of piece III, and see section 1, note a).

Summary

I

To the west of the city a knight lived in a large house, which I often saw. He fell in love with a beautiful married woman who had a reputation for chastity, and he won her affection. One night the husband caught the pair. He murdered his adulterous wife and her lover and put the bodies outside on a large stone, which I have often viewed. The next day people wondered at the indissoluble wedlock between the dead man and woman. The widower, fearful of avengers, never afterward left his house.

II

A wealthy man built a magnificent house in Campania and invited another man to see it. Having inspected the sumptuous interior, the guest spat at his host's face out of contempt for his vanity.

III

After hesitation Nero took his own life with a dagger. Even demons would abhor the ghost he gave up.

IV

A certain I. of London, whom I saw very often, wasted his rich inheritance and was reduced to such poverty that he was forced to leave home and beg. In his days of wealth he used to burn precious wooden vases, gathered from afar, to keep himself warm; he would wear a garment loaded with gold chains and would part with any amount of his inheritance to dine on crane. People are surprised that a man of seemingly great intelligence and discretion should go from vast riches to the dung-heap.

V

Two merchants from Normandy incurred a great loss when their boats were shipwrecked. Thereupon the two men decided to propitiate God by going as pilgrims to Jerusalem. They acquired a servant to help them on the journey.

When the merchants reached the port of embarkation, they considered what to do with their money before sailing. Their servant persuaded them to bury the money at the foot of a tree in a forest, but in the dead of night he dug up the money and sewed it into various parts of his clothing.

After duly performing their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the merchants returned to Apulia. But when they tried to recover their money, they could not. So they decided to see Robert Guiscard, a fellow-countryman and ruler of Apulia, who had proclaimed by law that he would restore to anyone in his kingdom such money as had been stolen from him.

Guiscard received the visitors cheerfully. Concealing his strategy, he promised to consider the case later. Meanwhile he told the three men about his beloved daughter. She and a steward of Guiscard's household fell in love with each other, and a pact was made between them to the effect that the girl would have no one other than the steward as her husband. When Guiscard detected the love affair, he sent the young man to the king of France, who made the youth steward of his palace.

Subsequently Guiscard married his daughter to a rich man. At first, mindful of the pact, she resisted her husband's sexual advances, but having a strong sexual drive herself, she later participated gladly. When her husband inquired about her former resistance, he learned about the pact. He declared, "I do not want you to be a perjurer or deceiver. We shall not be able to make love until you are freed from your prior obligation."

So he sent his wife to her earlier lover with money and servants and with a letter explaining the reason for the journey. The girl crossed the Alps. The former lovers, enraptured at the sight of each other, kissed and embraced. But after the husband's letter was read, the boyfriend lost his affection and the girl developed an inexorable hate for him. She was quickly given a letter absolving her from the pact, and in anger she hastened her departure.

As she was going through a woodland in Burgundy, she encountered robbers. Their leader had become very wealthy and now his sole desire was a noble woman whom he might marry. Guiscard's daughter seemed ideal. But after she indicated to him her unhappiness in his company, even threatening to kill herself like Lucretia, and after he had read the letters of her husband and her former lover, the leader of the robbers let her go.

Guiscard asked the merchants and the servant, each in turn, whether the husband and steward had acted foolishly in not retaining the lovely noble lady. Both businessmen replied that in similar circumstances they, too, would have been honorable and would have let the girl go. But when the servant replied that had he been the robber, no one's persuasion would have influenced him to free her, Guiscard knew that the servant had stolen the money. The man was searched,

the money was discovered, and he was condemned to work in the mines. The merchants returned home.

VI

A thief entered the bedroom of a sleeping student at Bologna and tried to steal the cover from his bed. The young man awakened, and both he and the robber tugged for possession of the cover. Finally the student said, "Take it so that we both can get some sleep." Amused by this remark, the robber departed empty-handed.

VII

Christians and Saracens were hostile toward each other, and a certain upright Spanish Christian shared in this enmity. In order to harass Murcia and its Saracen prince, he built a well-fortified settlement nearby and enriched his army with plunder.

The knight, whose name was Zetus, kept watch at night in a certain woods along with his brother Calais and their fellow-soldiers, and they were able to capture the Saracen leader Antheus. The Christian soldiers agreed among themselves to imprison Antheus in a tower and to keep the capture a secret from everyone. Zetus himself kept the key to the tower. Eventually, however, he was called away and gave the key to his wife, whom he loved greatly.

She became curious about the prisoner in the tower and visited it. When she saw Antheus, she engaged in sexual union with him and then helped him run away with her. She even provided him with her husband's military arms, which Zetus prized beyond measure.

Calais was anguished when he learned what had happened, and sent an actor to break the news to his brother, for an actor is particularly gifted in speaking and is well able to endure any insults that might be forthcoming. Zetus did not exhibit any disturbance when he learned about his wife, for such display of emotion would have been unbecoming, but he did indicate a desire to retake his arms, even at the cost of his own life.

He exchanged clothes with a beggar and entered the Saracen city as if to beg. Walking by the palace, he saw his wife Hero sitting aloft, wearing flashy gold and jewels. She recognized him by his walk and sent her servants to fetch "this fellow-Christian" to her. Zetus was given food in the palace but was so overwhelmed by the surroundings that he had little appetite.

An old woman who was versed in feminine motives led him into an inner room, where he had a private conversation with his wife. Zetus declared that his love for Hero had brought him to her: "I have preferred to spend my life in hunger and begging if by so doing I would be able to see you." While the old

woman pretended to be busy outside the door, Hero tried to arouse Zetus' lust. When she realized that she could not stir him, she became annoyed and urged him to disregard her, return home, and marry anew.

But just then the old woman ran into the room and announced that Antheus was returning. Zetus hid under a bed. As soon as Antheus arrived, Hero straight-away indulged in sexual activity with him and afterward betrayed Zetus to him.

An old man advised that Zetus should be hanged in the woods. A public holiday was proclaimed so that the Saracens could watch the spectacle. Except for several axes, the people came unarmed to witness it. Calais and his soldiers took advantage of this situation and attacked the enemy with great success, freeing Zetus and killing Antheus with a spear.

Zetus was still eager to recover his arms. He disguised himself as a Saracen beggar and went to his wife in the town. Before making himself known to her, he observed that she and Nepos, an ugly ex-Christian knight, were making love. Nepos promised that he would cool the tempers of the townsfolk, who were blaming Hero for the disaster to the Saracens, and that he would thereafter join her in flight. After Nepos left, Zetus seized the arms he had come for and bade Hero to flee with him. On the journey Zetus promised that he would be compassionate toward her if she would renounce her errors. Thus reconciled, they proceeded without quarreling.

Fatigued, he posted Hero as a sentinel, who was to alert him if anyone came near. The woman produced a Bible which she kept at her bosom and swore that she would obey Zetus without deception as long as she lived. He leaned against a tree to sleep.

Three armed men approached, one of whom was Nepos. She pointed out Zetus to them and urged the men to attack him while he was still unaware. The sound of horses awakened Zetus, and he killed his three opponents.

On the day that Zetus and Hero returned home, he did not mention Hero's evil deeds and he urged the soldiers not to injure or insult her. On the next day he called together his and Hero's parents and friends, divulged her transgressions, and asked what should be done about her. All said that she should be killed. But Zetus declared that it was not fitting for men to shed female blood. He therefore married her to his Saracen gardener, a lowly servant.

VIII

A knight of British birth went to Jerusalem with his beloved wife. While engaged in the unpleasantness of travel, he could enjoy daily the comforts of marriage.

Having gone to the Holy Sepulcher and having performed the religious services that pilgrims do, the couple travelled to the Jordan River. They continued

to bathe even after the other pilgrims departed, for the cool water provided relief from the blazing sun. Then, frightened by their solitude, they looked for a hiding place to spend the night and wait for a new group of pilgrims to come to bathe.

The man and woman entered a cave. After some love-making the husband glided into sleep, much to the distress of his wife. Later six tall armed Saracens arrived at the cave to spend the night. Unable to stir the sexual response she wished in her husband, the wife presented herself sexually to the six men, who took advantage of her. She betrayed her husband to them, and he was seized, bound, and reserved for perpetual slavery. Exhausted by love-making, the Saracen robbers went to sleep, and the woman also slept, still not sated but despairing of further sexual activity.

Her husband was able to free himself from his bonds. He seized the weapons of the sleepers. He killed each of the men, but as a knight he disdained using a sword or spear against his wife. Instead he knocked her down with a kick. Never again did he sleep near her, and he left the woman to her foul way of life while he himself returned to his country.

IX

A female stork committed adultery, but the crime was detected by her husband when she was slow to wash after one of her sordid adventures. A council of storks judged her, and she was torn apart.

X

Four humors distinguish men. The sanguine humor is responsible for the generally good, simple, and modest man. The choleric humor is found in men of temper, who are ingenious and slim—they eat much and digest quickly. Choleric men are inclined toward petulance and prodigality. The melancholy humor is present in persons who are crafty, bitter, timid, grim, sleepy, and envious. The phlegmatic humor resides in those of good physical proportions, who are vigilant, reflective, and quickly hoary-headed.

XI

The knight is a haughty, boastful, gluttonous being. He afflicts everyone with insults. He takes care of his body like a woman. While he is still lying down his servants put his shoes on him and, what is more disgraceful, a loin-cloth. Most delicately dressed, this effeminate fellow washes his face. To the sound of the sistrum he plucks his superfluous hair. He spends the period until mealtime in perjuries, boasts, and vanities. At mealtime he wholly indulges his stomach. The rest of the day, if he can manage it, is spent in drinking. He talks about

fighting but does not fight. He blesses his friends with speeches. He talks of his imaginary riches, estates, and possessions. He calls one servant by several names as if he is unsure which servant he is.

Unlike a soldier, once a cleric is good, he is always good in the minds of the people. On the other hand, if poor health or old age makes it impossible for a soldier to continue his career, he can no longer be called a good soldier. The soldier depends upon *factum*, but the cleric depends upon *animus*, which cannot be affected by age.

XII

Let us not leave untouched the plentiful material about women. Women direct their intentions to three things: to caring for and ornamenting their bodies, to hoodwinking men, and to succumbing to them sexually. Like soldiers, they are constantly concerned with their bodies and with wantonness. However, soldiers deceive only occasionally, women continually. A woman will entice a man, give him sleepless nights, and abandon him when she wishes. A woman requires shame, trouble, and a big crime to spice her affection. If any of these should be lacking, she changes from love to hatred. By nature she is eager to acquire new lovers.

XIII

The most avaricious of mortals, besides women, are merchants. Like women, they swear falsely. It is said authoritatively that no merchant can please God and that business should be forbidden under threat of punishment.

XIV

Farmers are commonly called rustics by the haughty nobility. Since I was born to farm people, I am happy to assert that no men are less susceptible to vice than farmers. A farmer rises at dawn, not drunk on yesterday's wine. He signs himself with the cross, goes to church and attends to his farm duties, which benefit God and man. His table is frugal and sober. From his little land the head of the family feeds and clothes his family. He is good to the poor and pays his tithes. He is married and has offspring. He puts his greatest hope in God alone. And so I, a farmer, do not blush to speak of this way of life as pure, virtuous, and most blessed.

Text

[I]

(fol. 132)

[1] Quecumque enim femina usum meri^a moderate minus
appetere non erubescit et pudicicie fores
firmissime¹ claudit et libidini libens
aperit petulancieque ualuas
uoluntarie diuaricat

Miles quidam quem probitas specialis commilitonibus suis concuiibusque commendauerat ad gratiam,^b qui suum uersus occidentalem ciuitatis quod sepius inspexi grande diues extruxerat domicilium, ardentem amare cepit pulcram noteque pudicicie matronam.^c Ex frequentius quidem contingentibus est quod cecus amor^d sit² in causa cur maris mens stulta et leges et delicta labores et detrimenta contempnat et pericula.

[2] At quoniam uix est adeo quid arduum quod proteruitas non extorqueat^a pertinax et continua, matrifamilias miles pudiciciam per improbitates per preces donorum deceptions conditas extorsit et per suspiria.^b Eoque facilius forte quod facillime semper persuadetur uolenti^c parique cum persuadente concupiscencia moto uel intensiori. Inercie quidem triumphatrix imperiosa consuevit esse diligencia. Ibique sepius improbitas peruigil uiget in habundancia^d ubi segnicies languens et ociosa tenui torpet in indigencia. Immo nichil est quod non expugnet uigilantis opere pertinacia^e cureque diligentis et intente perseverancia.

[3] Igitur ex compacto stertente matrone marito,^{3/a} miles ut amator improbus^b utque nocturnus ad amatam adulter^c accessurus, amoris ut est moris^d excecatus uehementia,^e mariti non minus uigilantis quam zeloꝛipi secrecius audacter ingreditur conclaue sub nocte concubia.^f Sed quoniam frequens est et consuetudinarium sepius ante malum quod mens presaga malorum^g ingerat ignotum fibris moueatque dolorem, paterfamilias inconsuetas uagas et sompniosas inuitus incidit in curas.^h Ast ne sue quam super omnia circumuentorum

1. finissime uel fimssime D. 2. sit: sit amor D (lin. infra amor). 3. matrone marito: marito D (corr. D¹).

more maritorum amoris amplectitur uehementiaⁱ uix interpolati molestus fiat contubernali, non solum simulato quietis silencio non loquitur sed et naso uigilanti bona fide, nil secus suspicans de consorte, stertere conatur.^j

[4] Verum miles, latitans in conclauī feruensque concupiscentia, audito profundi soporis argumento, in anteriori matrimonialis fulcri forte quia sic conuenerat parte iacentem, dum passibus pauonicis^a accedit ad lectum, proteruis inuitat ad paciendum motibus mulierem. Et sic manifestum miser inputans se casui decidit in deliramentum. Nec tamen mirum. Nulli etenim umquam numina sic gratificata fuere ut in eodem concurrere paterentur sapere et petulanter amare.^b Abominandum⁴ tamen cuilibet uitandumque genus est remedii soli suam salutem committere uel debere euentui.

[5] At illa, non minus audax quam impudica,^a et moras longius mox abegit^b inuitata et ait (ad)⁵ adulterum uilia funditus (fol. 132^v) lege contempta. Atqui res est auida criminis et periculi petulancia et quo tendit cogitat, non quid sit in posterum passura. Affectus etiam minus liciti duces non sunt sed delictorum monitores erronei. Sed et eos in errore feruens animi motus putat esse ualidissimus qui suo procedunt non rationis uel utilitatis arbitrio.^c Ast illico maritus, magis quam a non amante credi possit^d consternatus, in adulterii cadit suspensionem, per uehementiam fere doloris efferatus.^e

[6] Verumtamen licet minus uidere ualeret, plurimum turbatus, secum tacitus stertendo tamen sagaciter confiderat quod aggredi mox adulterum sub obscuritate nocturna,^a nisi saltem sua comitatus esset familia, anceps delirumque foret. Suam suauiter hostio firmiter exterius oppressulato^b paterfamilias motus egreditur ad familiam ut facibus accensis incontinenti scrutetur domicilium utque libidine extraordinaria iam contaminatum^{6/c} prompto sordide libidinan-cium supplicio sit illico lustratum.

[7] Vt autem facilius est perniciosa non admittere quam ad expediens admissa subsequenter gubernare, sic multo sacius est periculosa non inchoare quam per ancipites et incircumspectas inchoaciones in euentuum se lubricitates impellere. Melius est etiam in tempore subtiliter deliberare quam post causam uulneratam causari factum seriusque penitere.^a

[8] Stipatus igitur armata circumspecte maritus familia per luminum prodiciones inprouidum in adulterio deprehendit adulterum.^a Illicoque dolore iusto motus sine modo, licet eius condicionis non esset adulter ut occidi secundum Iulie legis^b auctoritatem impune potuisset a marito, inexpugnabilis etiam per uim rationis, inmoderatione doloris ad amentiam fere perductus,^c ad eum uariis tormentorum cruciatibus se raptim promptificat interficiendum. Nulla quidem ratione uel sapientia omnes animi motus abiguntur uiciaue naturalia.

4. abominandum *D* (corr. *D*¹). 5. ad om. *D*. 6. contaminat *D* (corr. *D*¹).

Alioquin si sapiencia uel ratio explanaret omnia pro libito, rerum dominatricem quasi captiuam sub imperio suo retineret naturam.

[9] Eo forte, reor, uir magis animatus fuit ad ultionis maturationem, quia ulcisci se uiriliter ex inimico est alterius uite condicio. Sicut etiam caucius est retentioni pignoris incumbere quam dubium litis ad euentum debitorem trahere,^a sic manifesto deprehensum^b tali taliter in crimine tutius est interimere quam aduersus reum subsequenter inscribere uel in lenocinii uilitatem turpiter incidere. Preterea inimicum retinere est et ad exitum et ad euasionem conari persuadere.

[10] Sed quoniam communis est consuetudinis male meritos metuere supplicia que meruerint, miles, in quem se uolens impulit, iam trepidans in euentu, nichil conferentibus et lacrimis^a effluere cepit^b et uerborum supplicationibus. Generis tamen masculini remedium querere non est ex fletibus.^c Verum uir inexorabilis quamuis nichil esse sciret ordinarium quod preproperum fuerit uel precipitatum, quamuis etiam magnarum uirium magneque sciret esse patientie ledentem negligere, fatali gladio^d meritissime transfodit adulterum.

[11] Sicque didicit delirus per experimentum^a quod solius sit in uia morum supine delirantis pudicias attemptare matronarum quodque nichil inimicius sit homini uel perniciosius⁷ quam ad sui tui(fol. 133)cionem sibi naturaliter obligatus aliter homo. Nec quisquam thori sui uiolati culpae presumat ultorem. Omnino reuera non iratus nec aliquo lesus penitus ignorat quid ultor iniuriarum sentiat, quid ad iram prouocatus in animo gerat. Verumtamen non inficior, ut de solis sermo fiat hominibus, quin quemquam sine causa ledere contra ius sit naturale.

[12] Ast ut inexorabiliter⁸ ultor matrimonii maritus legis Iulie^a caderet in atrocitatem, non est contentus in tante crudelitatis subsistere finibus, sed impetu caloris incitatus in tali casu facile seuientis, humane diuineque rei sociam domusque quodam modo iure societatis, ut Cassius ait,^b dominam postea peremit uxorem, mortuamque deinde cum mortuo sub intempeste noctis silentio^c super grandem, quem sepiissime uidi, lapidem loco coniunctim locauit in publico. In crastino mirati sunt homines quo pacto sic inter mortuos matrimonium de nocte contractum fuerit adeo indissolubile.^d

[13] Sed et interfectori seuiissimo talem legitime delectationes intemperancie iam prorsus preterite procurauerunt finem quod numquam postea suum et homicidiis et adulterio contaminatum est^a ausus exire domicilium, dum misere confusus infinitorum timidus et sompniculosus uitat uigiliis^b manus inimicorum. Sic per luxuriarum delectationem deinceps et uxore caruit et delectatione. Sicque libido delectationis promissione⁹ summe solum molestie per compensationem.

7. perniciososius *D*. 8. inexorabiliter: in ar exorabiliter *D* (lin. sub ar).

9. promissionē *D*.

[14]^a Qui temporias accitus ad amicicias fuerit, tam diu dumtaxat amicus erit:^b quam diu qui causam dedit affectui, utilitatis effectus durauerit. Amiciciarum reuera talium uix est possibile ut exitus inter se concorditer et inicia conueniant. Vt autem femina, que suam frangi pertinaciam suamque sibi pro magna pecuniarum quantitate extorqueri se iurat nolle pati pudiciciam, pro maxima certam se posse leniri relinquit coniecturam, sic quiuis pro eo quod expedit uadens ad amiciciam, patenter dat intelligi quod de facili sit ad inimicicias migraturus pro magis expedienti.

Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos.
Tempora si fiunt nubila, solus eris.^c

[II]

De auaro qui sibi construxit domum

[15] Diues quidam, cum pulcherrimam auro gemmis et argento decoratam sibi construxisset ad delectandum in Campania camerulam,¹⁰ ut constructam uideret, quendam uocauit et introduxit cinedum,^a ignarus quod nulla tam modesta felicitas, nedum sordens in diuiciis¹¹ querendis improbitas, est uel fuit que malignitatis dentes^b effugere possit.

[16] Ingressus igitur, ad id euocatus, cum diuite glorioso meniano cinedus¹² dum circuiret dumque circumspiceret opusque miraretur et commendaret, nature uiolentia faciendam compulsus ad excreacionem diuitis sput in faciem. Sed motus, ut moris est,^a ilico diues et eo uehementius quia patris elati uel alterius etiam spueri nefas est in cineres, uultu quo potuit in tali casu modesto, forte non immemor quod magis quam oblato hospiti deferendum sit inuitato, ab iniuriante causam quesiu it adeo iniuriose.

[17] Nec cinedus¹³ diu distulit ille responsum^a sed sic incontinenti bellissime respondit: "Ego quidem, domine, dum has huius edis loricaciones inspicerem dumque pauimentum marmoribus uariatum considerarem deauratamque con(fol. 133^v)templarer in superiori parte testudinem, nichil in hac ede te turpius inueni quo spuerem." Est profecto sordidis dignissime connumerandus qui uiciis ad mundanam tantum uanitatem totus fuerit inclinatus. Profecto talem contempnere uiri uirtutis est, et fatui faciem sputo perfundere fas est.

[III]^a

De morte Neronis

[18] Igitur cum sibi sepulturam destinatus ad mortem fabricaret Nero, hunc dum discurreret sermonem sepius repetebat: "Mirabilis artifex pereor." Subinde

10. camerulam *D.* 11. diuicie *D* (corr. *D*¹). 12. cinideus *D.* 13. cinicus *D.*

suppremas fere per necis horrorem perductus ad angustias,^b duos¹⁴ uelud furiis foret efferatus acuere cepit pugiones. Denique nunc unum nunc alterum, suo quasi gutturi inpressurus, rapiebat.

[19] Sed tandem supremam nondum uenisse causatus horam, raptum reponebat. Atqui semper habet homo quod speret quem non senectus sed ualido uel aduersitas ducit ad mortem. Et quamuis graue sit preiudicium ubi uix ullum est super iudicium, tamen grauis est animus raro dubiam [est] habiturus sententiam.

[20] Nunc autem male purus impurum contubernalem¹⁵ Sporum ceterosque qui secum remanserant inuiti¹⁶ ut sibi letales inferrent manus^a et uerbis preceptiuis et precibus¹⁷ fletu comitatis inducere conabatur. Verum cum suspiriis sic subintulit cum non exaudiretur: “Ergo nec amicum habeo nec inimicum.” Sed ubi transmissos a senatu raptim nouit aduenire milites, adacto gutturi pugione eciam demoniis abhorrendum serius quam expediret emisit spiritum.^b

[IV]

[21] Feliciter natum sed infelicius educatum, cui nemo sapiens de facili credere posset posse nasci similem, I quendam sepiissime uidi Londoniensem. Non reor hominem nisi fas sit hominis appellatione censi monstrum.^a Eum profecto pater suus infaustum reliquit heredem, in pecuniis laboribus multis feneratiis et negociacionibus adquisitis habundantissimum, in edificiis gloriosum, in his que usui forent ingurgitatum, in redditibus ad inuidiam locupletatum, sed in breui, postquam hereditas, male merenti delata, sibi transiit in patrimonium, patrimonialiter, ut moris est,^b possessa ea est per deliramentum possidentis funditus exinanita.

[22] Euestigio reuera uir ubi deuiratus prodigalitatis prius inauditam properauit ad intemperanciam, exicalem patrimoniorum nouercam preceps ad luxuriam descendit et ad luxum egestatis inuitabile preambulum^a adeo quod intra biennium tam grande tamque latum¹⁸ tot uigiliis a patre suo preadquisitum, tot peccatis a parentibus ampliatur, in luxu luxuriaque uiuendo penitus exinaniuit patrimonium: ita quidem quod post bienni¹⁹ spacium paupertatem, retro sibi penitus incognitam, licet eum pedetentim passuque pauonico^b fuerit a talo comitata, mendicitate peregrina, si uiuere uellet, releuare sibi cepit esse necessarium.^{20/c}

[23] Dignissimus ut ad emendicatum decurrere cogeretur subsidium qui

14. dos *D* (corr. *D*¹). 15. contrabernalem *D* (fort. corr. *D*¹).

16. inuita *D* (corr. *D*¹). 17. precibus: precibus et *D* (et exp.). 18. late *D* (corr. *D*¹).

19. bienniū *D* (ū exp.). 20. fort. ex necessaria corr. *D*¹.

ligna coram se uasa comburere non erubuerit preciosissima, a longinquis externisque partibus aduecta, ea causa dumtaxat ut ad ignem se calefaceret in hyeme preciosiorem; qui²¹ quo splendidius cenaret, pro grue quotam sui patrimonii donare²² non dubitauit porcionem; qui cotidianam aureis auulsibilibus ad gloriam presumpsit exterius honerare clamidem; qui nichil omnino, dum facultates sibi suppetebant, nisi tantum preambulam curabat egestatis²³ superfluitatem.^a Sic uerum miser assercioni publice reddidit testimonium. Atqui communiter a discretis asseritur quod sub calore nichil de futura frigiditate deliri descendat in animum. Vt (fol. 134) enim se caleat algoris de molestia nichil in animo uoluit.^b Si frigeat expers solatii, languet et horrescit quia fatuus ad id tantum quod istam²⁴ mentis intentionem dirigit^c et adaptat.

[24] Ad summam miser ille, specialissimum factus fortune ludibrium^a perpetuasque merito destinatus ad inedia^b, hominum multas ad sui spectaculum sepius prouocauit^c cateruas. Iudicabant enim mirabilissimum a tanta fore gloria tam repente translatus uoluntate spontanea sic ad sterquilinum, eoque magis quod mentis compos optime uideretur quodque discrecius eo uix aliquis loqueretur, quod frequentius, ac si sagax et circumspectus^{24a/d} paterfamilias esset, sic ageret, sic contraheret, sic muneribus fungeretur. Sed matutinum, reor, mense superfluitas in animi lubricitate conceptum uariare consueuit consilium.

[V]

[25] Duos societate fidei federe solidata^a coniunctos negociatores²⁵ ex Neustria natos et in Neustria negociantes fortuna facilis et infida,^b et (per) excessus periuriorum mercatoribus hereditarios^c perque discursus ad nundinas nationesque remotas satis laboriosos maximas euexerat ad opulentias. Qui quamuis se sepius mercatorum more periuriis uiciassent, estimatione tamen communi constantes et fidi mercatores extiterunt. Reuera reor quia iure permittente inuicem sese licet naturaliter contrahentibus circumuenire mirabili quodam modo. Negotiator bonus diuersis tamen respectibus, licet ex proposito decipiat, iudicatur fidus. Quamuis scienter peieret, censetur ueridicus ut hec omnia referas ad mercatoriam non ad eam que generaliter est hominis fidelitatem.

[26] Verum quia sors, si sibi suo more ludere libuerit, cum uehementius ariserit, cachinnum facit, magnam fractis naufragio nauibus sodales inciderunt in iacturam;^a statimque, magis quam a non cupido credi posset,^b rei nouitate consternati,^c magna pari consensu precongesta, que usui foret, pecunia, ad deum

21. ⁱq; D. 22. donare *om. D*
(ss. D¹). 23. egestatem D. 24. istad D. 24a. circumscriptus D. 25. ngociatores D
(corr. D^c).

sibi propitiandum crucibus insigniti Ierosolimam parant proficisci. Tam precipitem laboris itinerarii procinctum diminutio procurauit diuitiarum.

[27] Iam itinerantium more a diluculo deinceps diem totum consumunt in itinere, eoque uel aliquantulo tollerabilius, quod uterque nunc eques cum placeat nunc pedes uadit cum peditibus. Atque peregrinationis in itinere uariatio itineranti quietis est pro solatio. Verum quia continuatio iugis identitasque²⁶ non interpolata laboris pertinacibus etiam uegetisque parit tedium,^a de querendo sibi seruiente uel aliquo de turba peregrinantium sodales pecuniis habundantes incidenter habuere tractatum, qui equos mane stratos ad uesperum destraret, qui sibi fessis esculentum poculentumque promptius procuraret, et in singulis que seruientem prouidum deceret eis prouide minisstraret²⁷ continuationemque sudoris sic aliquatenus alleuiaret.

[28] Tandemque quendam etate iuuenem, corpore ualidum, colore ruffum,^a signaculo crucis insignitum alliciunt sibi comitem inter ceteros repertum. Tandemque quia sic placuit et reperientibus et reperto, ad seruitium repertus admittitur ex compacto, et quia quemlibet seruientem uegetum discursoremque promptum faciunt initia,^b expedientissime sibi commissa iuuenis et agit et peragit negotia donec executio cotidie presens continuaque probitatis et opinio prepropere concepta frugalitatis certaue con(fol. 134^v)iectura fidelitatis in ulteriorem dominorum suorum probe seruientem deduxit in breui familiaritatem.

[29] Nullus profecto seruientis se superficialiter promptiorem facit magisque frugi seruiente cum dies desiderata uenerit et hora delinquere uolenti. Nec est de facili citraque longi temporis experimentum de seruiente iudicandum sapienti. Est enim cuius homini cor hominis inscrutabile, soli peruium diuinitati.^a Hoc enim solum sibi retinuit deus sibi speciale cognititas hominum cogitationes diiudicare. In diiudicanda quidem fidelitate seruientis nichil commemorabile uel ordinarium sapit quod precipitatur et properat.^b Res magne dementie est euestigio fidelem in foro seruientem querere nec citerioris est insanie nisi quesitum plurima prius et indubitata probauerit per experimenta fidem uerbis eius et actibus indifferenter habere. Est enim tritum²⁸ medicinaleque prouerbium quod fallax omne sit experimentum.^c

[30] Iam nostri peragratis multorum finibus appropinquant barro negotiatores. Iamque secum suoque deliberant cum seruiente quid sibi sua transfretaturis inque partibus transmarinis moram facturis agendum sit de pecunia ut sibi quiuis caueat ab errore, cum consilio queuis agat et cum deliberatione. Tum deliberantium non minus etate quam sagacitate maior sic cepit: “Consilio meo, consortes et amici, nostram sicut ceteri suam in ede sacra pecuniam uel penes

26. identitasque: identitas que *D*. 27. sic *D*. 28. tum *D* (corr. *D*¹).

fidum deponamus depositarium consignatam. Eum profecto qui negotia sua gerit ut plurimi, quamuis desideratus rem gestam non subsequatur cruentus, sub-sanaturi sunt paucissimi. Rarissime quidem diuidetur qui in agendis a popularitate non secernitur."

[31] Ad hec sic seruiens mente cupida preconceptum sordide nitens exequi propositum: "Reuera, domini, nisi uobis, quorum pascor ad habundanciam, consilium quod sanius nossem totis nisibus excogitatum libens exponerem, in uitium proditoris meritissime periturus inciderem. Absit quod quis sue mentis compos humanitatis exhibitionem per dolos recompenset et per infidelitatem. Ego quidem, patroni defensoresque mei, ut eloqui bona fide quod²⁹ sentio non supersedeam, gentis indigene uersucias et uicia auditu sepius et alia uice semel didici per experimenta.^a In ea sine dubio quam cernimus et ad quam tendimus ex proposito ciuitate populosa degens uiuentium sub sole^b gens est uiciosissima. Germanos in gula superat et in immundicia, Romanos uincit in auaritia, Parthos in perfidia, Persas in temulentia, Thebanos in petulantia,^{29a/c} in uersuciis omnes excedit omnino per omnia. Ad efficacius fallendum se fidelem quandoque fingit in modico, uiuentium nulli fidem seruaturus in immenso. Aut enim testes corrupturus in deposito precise negabit depositum aut ex depositoribus, sepe ut fit, uno tantum redeunte sub false conuentionis forma sodalis elati causabitur absentiam. Aut uim cui resistere non potuit allegabit mendose maiorem, uel ex facili sumpta fallaciter occasione menciendi mentietur incendium. Aliumue cum rerum suarum diminucione casum simulabit accidisse fortuitum, non ignarus solum in deposito uenire dolum, nichilominus tamen latam culpam dolo comparatiuam. Si uero tali depositario queuis alie ad id quod admodum desiderat exequendum desint uie, ilari uultu res suas repetenti fraudulenter excepto uenenum uite propinabit extinctiuum. Sic res alienas scelere quesitas in suos usus frequenter et in abusus erit pro libito fraudator expensurus, quod etiam (fol. 135), reor, si id nosset, elato molestissimum foret. Ad hec quid molestius quam citra causam pro proprio uexari suo, per fraudes omnino defraudari, continuaque ne depositarius de medio cedat, neue succisis facultatum suarum uiribus^d in paupertatem cadat, neue declinans ad dolos depositum negare presumat, id ne citra dolum casu uel per negligentiam perdat, dubitatione torqueri? Generale est quod qui negligenti depositario rem suam tradit de se queri debet. Igitur, si placet, non dedignemini consensus adhibere consilio ut uno scilicet in non redditu, quod deus auertat, solo subsistatis in dubio. Meis itaque bona fide uobis, deum testor,^e consilium do dominis ut nostram nobis dumtaxat tribus locum diligentissime notantibus in hac silua pecuniam sub ilice notabili cautius abscondatis deumque solum custodem depositariumque uestrum religiose confidenterque constituatis."

29. quod *om.* *D* (ss. *D*¹). 29a. petulencia *D*.

[32] Bellissime quidem quiuis et ad persuadendum fari conatur apposite qui uel aliquem fallere uel suis allegationibus ad uelle suum nititur inclinare. Et quia facillime persuadetur simplicitati,^a simplices domini seruiantis linguosi, precedente tamen forma de fide sibi communiter ad inuicem exhibenda uerbis sacramentalibus conceptissimis^b firmata, cedunt uoluntati. Absconditaque subtiliter sub robore pecunia alleuiati barum subintran ad pernactandum.

[33] Et quia fraus fraudibus infectum quiescere furis uix sinit animum, non quieuit nequam seruientis et male linguosus donec sub intempeste noctis silentio^a domum latenter egressus, sub luna in conticinio^b lucente reconditam doloso persuasu suo paulo ante pecuniam nequiter³⁰ effodit. Loculumque subsequens subtilissime conplanauit et in priorem formam cautissime redegit. Deinde fur furto ipsis etiam facinoribus abhorrendo proteruius perpetrato clam rediit sicut et clam recessit, demumque pecunias ad facilius deferendum furtiuas in uestimentorum suorum partibus insuendo diuisit. Reuera uix unquam facinora cautelis sermonibusque premeditatis fuerunt incommitata.

[34] Ingressi tandem preparatum cum suo seruiente male fido consortes nauigium, summis per mare per terras laboribus exinaniti,^a denique ueniunt Ierosolimam, factisque pro sanctita peregrinationi consuetudine subsequenter oblationibus fuisque quas fundere decreuerant supplicationibus, haut citerioribus in reditu tam marinis quam terrestribus extenuati³¹ sudoribus, demum reuertuntur ad Apuliam. Iam portum uectores indifferenter alonge leti conspiciantur. Nec secus quam si ipsam stare cernerent in litore Fortunam congratulantur.^b Iam seruiente suo comitati consortes, ad inspectionem portus ylarati, de deposito nichil hesitantes, se iactitant esse felices. Iam seruientis exquisitas concorditer commendant calliditates,³² ignari quod uana felicitatis iactantia preambula sit infelicitatis consuetudinaria quodque iactanter se dicere felicem sit irritare calamitatem.

[35] Exultant profecto uectores predesiderati portus in inspectione sed multo magis consummata gaudent nauis in applicatione. Nec mirum. Est enim quodam modo naturale molestiarum fine gaudere. Cibis igitur cum seruiente socii in naui uiciatis utrique³³ refecti,^a exultationis instinctu protinus proficiunt hylarati³⁴ spe dumtaxat uiam. Inanis etenim subterranei detectio thesaurique non in carbones sed in nichilum conuersio omnem discutere funditus hylarationem.³⁵ Atqui nil ouis euacuati inuentorem iuuat inuentio nidi.

[36] Consternatis incontinenti sodalibus noua nouas amissio parit pecunie mesticias. Et o uie (fol. 135^v) actis quem predixi sagaciorem infeliciter natum, cuius iam cara prius incognite mendicitatis impelluntur ad improperium. Iam

30. nequam *D* (corr. *D*^c). 31. extenuat *D*.

32. alliditates *D* (corr. *D*^c). 33. ut̄que *D*. 34. hylaritati/*D* (s ut uid. *eras*).

35. hylationem *D* (corr. *D*^c).

reuera rerum quod pridem censui ridiculum fateor esse prouerbum, quod rarissime pecunia possideatur sine molestia quodque possessio pinguis pecuniaria curas accumulet labores et suspiria.

[37] Denique uir uel in hoc ualidus ait uix ad se reuersus: "Sed quia magnum meritissime maribus imputatur ad uicium³⁶ more mulierum^a doloris ex fletu querere solatium, est nobis querendum potius iacture presentis uirile remedium."^b Est itaque princeps patrie qui suam iure belli iam totam cum Calabria fecit Apuliam. R. Vuischar^c sceleriter³⁷ adeundus eoque confidentius quod sit de Neustria natus eoque securius quod ad pacem in patria nouiter expugnata uiriliter armis adquisita firmitus solidandam generaliter edixerit quod siquis quid in ea furto uel rapina perdiderit cessis sibi nominibus id omne sit ei restitutus.

[38] Ast ad ea protinus sic nequam respondit famulus, quia semper querere consuevit subterfugia, quem male rea remordet conscientia: "Absit, mi domine, si placet, ut tam graues exinaniti³⁸ per tantos aggrediamur labores.^a Dum enim, post tot quos retro sustinuimus sudores, de nouo laboraturi sumus et uereor in³⁹ cassum, ad nostrum permittente deo peruenire poterimus natale solum. Ego quidem, nobis sufficientem per uias uillasque petendo stipem, comite uita mendicabo panem."^b Semper enim me iudice certum est in agendis dubio preferendum."

[39] Sed ad talia sodalium⁴⁰ sic respondit alter: "Desiste,⁴¹ frater, ni displiceat, excogitatum tuis dissuasionibus impedire propositum ut experiamur an animo conceptum quid nobis possit prodesse consilium. Nec uiliter deses efficiaris in aduersis qui te tam uiliter promptificabas in prosperis." Cessit ilico seruiens seniori ne si secus ageret, in suspectionem furti patenter incideret.

[40] Proficiscuntur ergo pari sceleritate⁴² sed impari uoluntate simul itinerantes. Tandemque, transcurtis⁴³ sub sudoribus et periculis egestate comitatis Apulorum Calabrorumque finibus, in suburbano suo^a quodam cum paucis ylaem satis et affabilem uel hoc fortunati fauore diuinitatis inuenere principem. Erubescit, reor, et desinit esse fortuna si semper fiunt aduersa."^b

[41] Proinde princeps ut accepit a referendario curialiter ab atriense premonito suam de Normannia uenisse uiros ad curiam, eos pristinae mox memor paupertatis humaniter accersitos ante suam precepit introduci presentiam. Profecto per industriam probitatemque summas extra natale solum quiuis, ni disipiat, euctus ad diuicias tum propter humanitatem tum propter gloriam suos in sua gloria libentissime uidet compatriotas. Dulcissimum reuera uulgi censura

36. uic/ium *D* (1 *litt. eras.*). 37. sceleriter = celeriter.

38. exinati *D* (*corr. D^c*). 39. in *om. D* (*ss. D^c*). 40. solidarium *D*. 41. Desiste *D* (*alt. e ex corr. D¹*). 42. sceleritate = celeritate. 43. transcurtos *D*.

censetur esse ut⁴⁴ habundantiis quiete conditis letum sedere preteritasque paupertatis pressuras in gloria retractare.

[42] Porro principe comiter a maiore natu presalutato serio suam preinpe-
trata loquendi licentia sic exposuit querimoniam: “Cum per tuam, domine,
(terram faceremus)⁴⁵ transitum, transfretaturi cum hoc seruiente nostro sodales
duo, secus suspicantes de depositariorum fide, pecuniam nostram communi
consensu dumtaxat trium uerbis conceptissimis^a et fide preconfederato soli tres,
in partes secretius secedentes, infodimus in terram ut eam sine querela securius
in reditu reciperemus. Verum reuersi, re reuersa prorsus in contrarium,^b effos-
sam furtimque subtractam dolumus et dolemus. Supplicamus igitur tue
maiestati enormiter in absentia lesi quatinus secundum propositum, non minus
salubriter a te quam generaliter edictum, (fol. 136) nostram nobis in tua iuris-
dictione generali satis et absoluta subtractam restituas pecuniam. Nos quidem
cessionis accionum formam sequi pro placito parati sumus edictalem. Tu
quidem, domine, multo melius me nosti, ut salua maiestatis tue coram te loquar
reuerentia,^c quod in nullius persona sit omittendum quod generali fuerit sanc-
cione comprehensum.”

[43] Tum princeps “Predidicisse, frater,” ait, “si saperes, debuisti quod
cuius est legem condere eius est et interpretari. Reuera uerum est nec id inficior
quod cuilibet quidquid⁴⁶ in subiecta dicioni mee patria per furtum uimue
perdiderit ablatiuam, id ei uel eius precium me promiserim restitutum, non
autem si propriam quid amiserit per temeritatem. Ego quidem prima facie magis
interpretandum censerem uos uestra perdidisse per imperitiam quam per furtum
uel rapinam. Quis enim nisi funditus infatuatus suam sepelit sub pacis tranquilli-
tate substantiam?” Deinde post tam frigidum scema sermonum^a largioris cene,
quasi propter compatriotas solito sit facturus humanior, tricliniarche^b suo
mandat officium, seque suis interim compatriotis ad solatium, diligentissime
prenotatis cuiuslibet trium cum uultu gestibus et eo quod tres scilicet in recon-
denda dumtaxat affuerint pecunia alta mente reposito,^c fabulam promisit rela-
tuum.

[44] Subsequenterque sub ipsorum negotio, examine suo non adhuc
expedito, se cum peritis tractatum liberaliter pollicitus est habiturum non
ignarus quod discreti sit iudicis uel per dissimulationem subtiliter animi celare
propositum. Sic itaque cepit: “Non diu est, amici, quod filiam ex socia michi
matrimonialiter copulata^a pulcherimam affectu, sicut et moris est,^b et iuris et
nature paterno nutriui susceptam, maturam satis et incalescente natura uiri
potentem, habuique domus dispensatorem pulchrum iuuenem facetum fidelem
et in agendis prouidissimum, femine tamen est non uiri pulcritudinis adiectione

44. sic *D*, significat uelut. 45. Haec duo uerba suppleo. 46. quiquid *D*.

commendari. Maris uero laudibus recta ratione seruata loquendi^c probitas debet adhiberi. Et quia rarissima societas est castitatis cum forma,^d aspectibus transversis lacuiis⁴⁷ et cecutientibus oculis^e excitatum uterque pulchrorum,⁴⁸ dispensator scilicet et filia, sensit amoris ardorem. Instinctuque tandem uenerie, qua nichil est uehementius,^f concupiscentie fide bona feruentique conuenit inter amantes sacramento corporaliter ex parte mulieris prestito^g quod eum scilicet dispensatorem non alium, etsi dissentiret⁴⁹ uterque parentum, foret admissura maritum. Admirandis femininam quiuis pater prolem nutrit auspiciis, que sine dubio propter extraneum paterne prorsus et educationis obliuiscitur et dilectionis."

[45] "At ubi certas amoris mecum notaui coniecturas, mutuos scilicet cum suspiriis momentaneosque respectus, quamuis turbatus et in precipiti⁵⁰ loco stans^a minus uidere uiderer, elegi tamen quod michi uidebatur in detrimento dedecoreque^b citerius. Malui quidem, nec in hoc, reor, erraui, fidelis etiam carentia seruientis ad tempus pecunialiter dampnificari quam filiam meam pati quodam modo diuolariter meretricari. Igitur quia nichil dolo fecit in eo quod rem passus humanam amatus amauit, eum sine lesione status et fame sub uelamento consilii sum caute conatus amouere. Est enim sacius imminentibus periculis sagaciter occurrere quam post causam uulneratam remedium querere.^c Est quidem consuetudo male circumsectorum subtractis furto iumentis serare stabulum."^d

[46] "Cautius finxi a compluribus patrie primatibus in eum pro sua fidelitate fuisse coniuratum. Consuluique subsequenter ut sibi uel ad tempus consulere per recessum. Est enim precipue cauendum ne propter hominis unius utilitatem regni tran(fol. 136^v)quillitas cadat in confusionem. Cum commendatiis itaque meis eum litteris ad regem Francorum transmissi, in quibus et eius industriam solida fidelitate conditam regi commendaui eidemque commenticiam sui causam recessus transmissi. Apertissime significaui unde tandem comperta.⁵¹ Fide cum prudentia generalem sue domus eum possessionibus opibusque ditatum fecit rex procuratorem. Vt autem cuilibet in quo uiluit uitium quocumque uadat est uili coambulum, sic quocumque migret suam fidus exercet fidelitatem. Atqui uulgare est quocumque ruat cadens ab arbore pomum originem suam semper erit in gustu proditutum."^a

[47] Porro ne filia pestis in domo pessima si fuerit adulta per genialis concupiscentie stimulum decideret in consimilia, eam cuidam uiro diuiciis habundanti, decoro satis et iuueni quatinus ausa fuit renitentem matrimonialiter copulaui.^a Tandem uentum est ut fit ad sub lodice^b ludendum. Sed femina pacti

47. lacuiis = lascuiis. 48. pulchrorum *D* (corr. *D*^c). 49. dissontiret ut uid. *D*. 50. precepi (corr. *D*^c). 51. Apertissime . . . comperta: om. *D* (mg. *D*¹).

memor retro confirmati federe fidei per fletum perque renisum⁵² ludere uolentis frustraui appetitum. Nocteque secunda necnon et tertia continuauit id idem. Reuersa tamen ad ultimum femina flexibilis^c et ad ueneria procliuis^d ad seipsam, temperauit pertinaciam seque uiro libens applicuit ad paciendum. Verum uir sagax et circumspectus^e se numquam cum ea rem conceptissime iurat^f habiturum nisi fletus renisusque causam noctuum nude detegat preteritarum.”

[48] “Nec illa diu siluit sed qualiter dispensatori meo se sacramentaliter preobligauerit apertissime detexit. Tum ille tactus forte zelotipia ‘Nec ego coniunx’ inquit ‘mea uolo ut per me periura fias uel infida. Nec unus nos lectus coniungat ulterius nisi tali fueris ab obligatione liberata’.”

[49] “Posteraque luce, (cum) pecuniis seruientibusque, prout tam nobilem decuit feminam, cum litteris sue transmissionis post matrimonium contractum sodalis⁵³ causam plenissime continentibus in Galliam transmisit ad dispensatorem. Iam proficiscitur femina leta uiatrix et uegetissima suos si ei credere uoluerint duplomatibus attenuatura. Nempe quorum uenerii feruens precessit amoris origo, eorum sera succedit obliuio. Porro niuibus Alpinis post terga derelictis⁵⁴ suum suo femina feruens aduentum nuntiat amico. Nec illa minus ille letus, uerum uelut alium translatus esset in mundum^a repentina gaudii nouitate stupefactus,^b incontinenti properat occurrere uenienti.”

[50] “Demumque conuenientes, raptim brachiis impliciti^a predesideratosque gratanter in amplexus immissi,^b crebris ultro citroque quassant mamillas et pectora singultibus,^c ueneriorum preambulis^d delectantur in osculis, sicque collis crepitant basia labellis.^e Sed per mariti literas ab amico tam repente letificato perlectas repentina prepropereque concepta funditus ex parte maris discutitur leticia,^f protinusque uultum demittendo^{55/g} temperat amplexus et basia. Sed et amoris omnia prorsus obliterat argumenta,^h statimque femina paulo ante feruens et amica omnem precipitanter ex parte sua deponit amorem eumque penitus inexorabile mox conuertit in odium.”ⁱ

[51] “Est enim tritum quod aut amat aut odit mulier nec subest ex medio remedium.^a Est etiam uerissimum quod super omnia queuis abhorreat in ueneriis femina contemptum. Absolutionis igitur litteris uix expectatis ab amico quondam⁵⁶ omnino iam mutate mulieris marito transmittendis, femina maturat irata regressum, paulo antequam non amatum super omnia desiderat uidere maritum. Tam precipites animi mutationes et motus coniecturaliter notatus fecit in amico contemptus.”

[52] “Ad summam magnis a pridem dilecto donata donis quia femina queuis ardentem etiam concupitum spoliare gaudet amicum,^a (fol. 137) thori maritalis

52. renisi *D.* 53. scilicet uxoris *mg. D*¹. 54. d'elictis *D.* 55. ex dimittendo *ut uid. D.* 56. quandam *D.*

reueri raptim parat ad sodalem.^b Cum autem nemorosam transitum faceret per Burgundiam, transeuntium spoliatores incidit in latrones.^c Insignis enim latro latronumque princeps in illas partes ex partibus furandi causa uenerat Henoensibus.^d Iamque furtis fuerat adeo manubiisque ditatus quod hoc solum prestolabatur ut inuenta⁵⁷ muliere nobili decoraque quam raperet quamque sibi copula maritali copularet^e diues letusque repatriaret.”

[53] “Iniectis ergo manibus^a ex inproviso feminam cum suis leti rapiunt latrones. Eamque properanter in loco silue tuciori latitantem⁵⁸ ducunt ad principem. Insignis ille protinus urbaniter exceptam solari conatus est inconsolabiliter eiulantem. Sed nec precibus potest nec minis^b efficere ut uelit uel cibum capere^c uel a fletu cessare: uerbis etiam iurare perseuerauit conceptissimis^d quod ad supremum nisi dimitteretur, esset recursura (ad)⁵⁹ Lucretie solatium.^e Dum uero talia geruntur dumque latrunculi⁶⁰ captiue mulieris inuolucra coram domino suo perscrutantur, et a marito ad dispensatorem quondam meum tam stolido transmissae et a dispensatore subsequenter ad maritum tam remisso remissae latronum magistri casualiter in manus inciderunt littere.”

[54] “Quas ubi legit perlegit et relegit, sic secum nimis credulus cepit deliberare: ‘Si quidem sibi femineae facilitatis ignarus’ aiebat in animo ‘hanc inuitam retinero, erit se nece spontanea subductura de medio. Sin autem post omnia que perpetravi crimina, alienam contra fas in meo retenturus ero feminam sordidissimo contubernio, nec unquam prolem proletarius felix felicem, quod abhominor, ex tali coitu suscitaturus fuero. Ad summam absit quod suo sim in hoc casu stultior marito ardentiue sim suo nequior amico.’ Talibusque motus indempnem iudicio meo fur stolidus abire permisit intactam.”

[55] Deinde princeps prouidissimus et relator discretius suo suis accelerare cenam tricliniarche^a precepit compatriotis. Subsequenterque, quasi ne nil ageretur, dum pelues ad⁶¹ ablundas de more manus afferentur, ad sociorum natu priorem conuersus ait: “Nunquid tu, frater, nobilem pulcramque satis regni regis filiam sic abire permisisses arbitrio suo^b commissam?” Nec diu siluit ille sed continuo sic respondit: “Diuinum testor, mi domine, numen quod in tali casu fuisset facturus idem, pulcherrimam nobilemque non curaturus sine fide feminam.”

[56] Subinde luminibus ab eo uelut indignanter auersis alterum sic est allocutus sociorum: “Et tu, frater, si tuam tenuisses quam predesiderasses amicam, numquid eam sicut dispensator ille delirus intactam remississes?” Et ille: “Ego reuera, domine, si in euentum talem ludibrio sortis^a incidissem, secus non egissem. Absit quod in alterius ullo modo me muliere contaminem.”

[57] Tandemque uultum, uelut nichil acidius suis sonare posset in auribus,^a auertens a consortibus sic affatur seruientem: “Num tu, iuuenis pulcherrime, si

57. uenta *D* (*corr. D^c*). 58. latitatem *D*. 59. ad *om. D*. 60. lautrunculi *D*. 61. ab *D* (*corr. D¹*).

ad instar latronum principis in silua feminam diuitem decoram nobilemque, non adquisiturus nobiliorem, tam mirabiliter adquisiuiſſes, preſertim cum nichil aliud predeſideraſſes,⁶² tam ſtolide credulus abire permiſiſſes?” Nec eſt ille moratus reſponſum^b ſed ſic eueſtigio reſpondit: “Profecto, princeps bone, id nullius nedum femine facturur eſſem perſuaſione.”

[58] Tunc rex primo renidens ſubſequenterque facie ſeuera rigidi iudicis^a ad inſtar erecta aſtantibus ait miniſtris: “Hunc incontinenti precipio rapiatis raptumque diligenter excutere non differatis, (fol. 137^v) et ſi reſ expoſtulauerit, excuſſum queſtionibus ſubicere non ſuperaſedeatis. Hic enim, faciendo quod ſumum nefas eſt in ſeculo, ſuos dolis et machinationibus^b quorum pane tumuit circumuenit⁶³ dominos; ſuas eis et fur et proditor furtiue ſubtrahit pecunias.”

[59] Nec ſagacem ſua fefellit coniectura principem. Omnem pannis inſutam uariisq; tam modis quam locis abſconditam excuſſores inuenere pecuniam. Hoc iuſtiſſime motus, omni ſua ueris reddita dominis pecunia, in tali furto rex interceptum uel aliquatenus cum eo micuius agens dampnauit in metallum.^a

[60] Socii uero negotiatores, magnis ampliandarum ſpe ſeducti diuiciarum laboribus exinaniti,^a ad natale tandem peruenere ſolum. Et hiis ſimilibuſq; manifeſtum quod pauperes pariter et locupletes⁶⁴ ſpes emolumentorum corporale trahat ad tormentum. Sed et predicta ſane ſumi poſſunt in argumentum quod ad ſubtilis recurrere iuſtiq; iudicis examen^b ſit fido cuiuſ expediens et tutum. Atqui iuſtus iudex perſonaliter renuit et abhorret iudicare, et in officio iudicali diligens equaliter cunctos in commune, locum derelinquere⁶⁵ dedignatur dolis [in] inuidie.

- [61] Omnis ad arbitrium reſidens ſuper omnia iudex
Cauſarum caueat corrumpere fata fauore.
Vtilius nichil eſt ſubtili in iudice ſenſu
Si ſenſus fuerit fidei comitatus amore.
5 Arbiter infidus, iuris uiolator et equi,
Quamlibet in partem mutat pro munere mentem.
Iudicis examen iuſti,^a reſpectus honeſti
Caſtigat quia ſemper amat uir iuſtus honeſtum.
Conditio quouis eſt caſu tuta patroni
10 Si foueat iuſtam iuſto ſub iudice cauſam.

[VI]

[62] Cum ſcolaris quidam Bononie ſuo ſub noctis conticinie^a ſilencio dormiret in cubiculo, ſuum fur ingreſſus conclaue nocturnus^b pelles furtim ſubtrahere temptauit quibus dormiens coopertus fuit. Verum de facili pellium

62. *perdeſideraſſe D* (in *perdeſideraſſes D^c*).

63. *circumuendos D*, *circumuenit duos conici poſteſt*. 64. *locuples D*. 65. *d'elinquere D*.

primos excitatus stertens per attractus eas retraxit eis pene spoliatus. Nec ideo fur cessauit sed suas proteruius uices iterauit nec ad suum segnius examen scholaris redire perseuerauit. Demumque post alternationes talium uicissitudinum quamplures, dum propter furem scholaris sompniculosus deperditum relabi non potuit ad soporem, ait: "Vlterius, frater, furari meas⁶⁶ michi pelles non poteris licet eas michi me forte forcior auferre ualeas si uolueris. Verumtamen utrique nostrum sacius est ut eas tibi tollas ut et ego requiescam tuque requiescas." Motus igitur urbanitate tali^c fur, uel in hoc urbanus, relictis pellibus ridens recessit et uacuus.

- [63] Qui timet et sperat dum sortis munera querit
 Non nisi seruilis condicionis erit.
 Nil seruile magis quam continuare timorem
 Viuendique modos absque quiete suos.
 5 Que requie caret alterna mens libera non est.^a
 Libertas igitur tuta timore caret.⁶⁷
 Sola quies animi uitalia tempora condet.
 Mentis in arbitrio libera uita uiget.⁶⁸
 Qui suus est animo, licet ad seruilia uiuat,
 10 Et si fit seruus corpore, liber homo est.
 Cui dare nil fortuna potest quo sit sibi gratus,
 Sit licet ere carens, non erit eris egens.^b
 Qui contempnit opes, audax contempnere sortem,
 Sortis ad inuidiam gaudet habetque satis. (fol. 138)
 15 Vt locuplex igitur uiuas liberque, timorem
 Contempnas et opes quas fugit alta quies,⁶⁹
 Spem fugias.^c Vitam infastidire uirilem.
 Vir uelis, nec⁷⁰ renuas uiuere lege uiri.
 Ludicra qui spernit, qui non nisi seria querit,
 20 Sero spei seruus sero timoris erit.
 Iudicio res mira meo quod sic sit amata
 Res quesita dolo resque retenta malo.

[VII]

[64]^a Diuersitas religionum discordie consueuit semper parere seminarium. Inde est quod Christianis sit rarissima cum Saracenis concordia^b quodque sepius eos inexorabilis allidat inimicitia.

66. meas: in eas *D*. 67. caret(t) (*propter religaturam t non uideri potest*) *D*.

68. uel manet *mg*. *D*¹. 69. uel (fug)at ss. *D*¹, uel quas timet (ip(s)a q(ui)des ss. *D*¹) *mg*. *D*¹.

70. nec: et *D*.

[65] Christianum reuera quendam diuiciis habundantem, fortune gratia gloriosum, probitate priuilegiatum,⁷¹ indifferenter per liberalitatis exhibicionem Christianis ad gratiam commendatum,^a Hispanis inexorabiliter esse contigit Saracenis infestum. Vnde uelud elegans et strenuus contra Saracenos Christianitatis assertor ut et ciues ciuitatis efficacius a propinquo molestaret et principem prope Murciam munitissimum sibi construxit municipium.

[66] Eductisque stipendio militibus ad noscendum⁷² uigiliis indulgebat sompniculosus.^a Se suosque sepius repetitis ditabat manubiis; licito uiuebat ex raptio raptor excusabilis. Et quia quilibet negotiorum gestor in inicio consueuit esse uegeior nec umquam congruum sunt executura seruicii finem mancipia nisi prompta fuerint inter initia,^b cum Calai fratre suo suisque commilitonibus nocturnas miles Zetus in silua quadam sic continuauit excubias quod improuidum ciuitatis principem cepit Antheum.

[67] Deinde properum factus ut fit ylarior per euentum, cum reuerteretur ad propria,^a tractatu cum suis habito, quia tum tempestiuo sibi licuit dare locum secreto, est tali taliter usus cautela.^b Zeto quidem persuadente, ex compacto consensu confederato commilitones conuenit inter hylaratos ut in sua quam sibi Zetus construxerat turri captus poneretur Antheus eminenciori utque res de captiuo tam prospere gesta nemini detegeretur uelud inter eos in terram casura, ne forte, rebus per⁷³ fortune cachinnum uersis in contrarium,^c si de euentu iactarent, effusum eis in dedecus et derisionem conuerteretur gaudium. Addidit etiam quod sapientis non sit gaudiis per prospera plus iusto dissolui uel inter aduersa doloribus insolabiliter constringi. Ponitur ergo sub suprema tempestate primaue face^d ex conducto munitissima diues in turre, turris claue penes Zetum remanente ut per aliquem suorum sacramentaliter ad celandum obligato necessaria ministrarentur captiuo, eo sagaciter redditum ministratoris ad turris hostium⁷⁴ prestolante.

[68] Verum dum talia sub silencio geruntur, custodem sedulum captiuati Zetum inter Christianos agendum ad partes aliquatenus remotas uocauit negotium, protinusque quid de claue sibi sit agendum secum cepit habere tractatum quia sine corporis subtentatiuo⁷⁵ multos trahere dies uiuus non posset inclusus alimento.

[69] Habebat autem necessario migraturus duo sibi specialiter cara Zetus, uxorem (fol. 138^v) scilicet pulcritudine spetialissimam, quam effusis omnino loris ardentem amabat amoris, insigniaque quibus ad inuidiam militabat militaria inter precipua sine precio preciosissima. Deliberat igitur arcus an clauis armorumque militarium (insignia)⁷⁶ fratri committat an uxori. Verum quia ei

71. priuilegiatum *D* (corr. *D*¹). 72. noscendum = nocendum.

73. per *om. D* (ss. *D*¹). 74. hostium = ostium *D*. 75. subtentatiuo *D*. 76. insignia *om. D*.

semper in eo qui plus amatur fides et fiducia promcius habetur, quoniam fratre multo magis ut moris est^a a marito mulier diligitur, quia credere passibus equis^b incedunt mutuoque se comitantur et amare, fratris fidei mulieris fides fidelitاسque prefertur.

[70] Vocat ergo suam ad secrecius consilium uir recessurus uxorem. Eamque sacramento corporaliter prestita^a preobligatam sic alloquitur aduocatam: "Tibi, coniunx mea, michi carissima, cum paucis profecturus equum meum necnon et arma, que precipua scilicet michi sunt in re militari salus et fiducia, relinquo custodienda. Hanc etiam turris huius clauem tue, de qua minime secus suspicor, pacto tali committo diligentie ut sicuti tuam meamque fidelitatem diligis et honorem turris hostium⁷⁷ non ingrediaris semel in die reseratum, sed seruiente solo qui ingredi consuevit caucius intromisso, foris prestoleris redeuntem, firmitus reseratura fores post eius egressum. Et nisi iam nunc ordinata fideliter exequaris, eris in periurium casura et mariti, quod absit, eris amore caritura."

[71] Cautē quidem miles uel in hoc sagax in animo uersabat quod in ueneriis ad exaudiendum se facilem femina sepius exhibebat. Ideo licet de sue sodalis constancia nichil dubitaret, noluit tamen propter uarietates euentuum quod ad inclusum mulier accederet; preterea memor facte cum commilitonibus conuentionis confederatione, noluit quod quid sua culpa de incluso diuulgatum foret. Fidelitatis enim sue fideles obliuionis citra uicium memores semper oportet.

[72] Sed uix Zetus propositi sui se preparauerat ad executionem cum femineo more^a femina flexibilis^b animo concepit indignationem. Atque sic ilico secum: "Nonne ratio iuris generalissimi mariti coniugem rei humane diuineque facit sociam domusque <dominam>?^{78/c} Vt etiam iuris asserit consultus, bonorum uiri mulierem societas uite quodam modo facit dominam.^d Apparenter igitur me meus uir uilipendit qui hoc in secretioribus patrimonii sui femine michi sue denegat et subtrahit quod sordido seruienti culineque sordes olenti^e largitur et concedit. Aut enim hac in turre pecunias congeffit—sic per consequentiam seruiente suo uili me iudicat infideliorem; aut in ea feminam, quod coco concessum presumi potest per ingressum, libidinis fouet ad adiectionem,^f quod ad meum redundaret dedecus et detrimentum,^g expeditque michi quod id ingrediar exploratum; aut in ea marem uel mares inclusit—sic me petulantem et ad ueneria procliuem^h suspicatur et credit, ideoque me⁷⁹ meis suspicans de moribus ingredi prohibuit. Sed numina protestor quod (fol. 139) si id per expertum didicero,ⁱ id libens efficiam quod de me non sine causa male suspicabitur sed molliter mechantis merito."

[73] Et quia procliuis est femina queuis ad inhibitum uiciorumque spontanea semper est imitatrix natura feminarum, femina non minus petulans quam

77. hostium = ostium. 78. diuineque . . . <dominam> (cf. sec. 12): domusque diuine facit sociam D. 79. me om. D (ss. D¹).

pulcra^a quia rara castitatis est cum pulcritudine concordia,^b raptim turris properat ad introitum. Atqui ut et alias asserere non formidauī,^c mas omnis rudissime delirat qui feminas ab errore per custodias, a uiciis per castigaciones, a culpis per contumelias, a periculis per timores, a turpitudine per pudores, a uetitis per inhibitiones, a furoribus per rationes auertere sperat.

[74] Porro sacramenti religione contempta mendax matrona, turrim fraudulenter ingressa, turris sola partes ascendit ad eminentiores. Omnium latenter et sub silencio diuerticulorum rimatur uarietates. Tandemque cum cuiusdam conclauis interius oppessulatum uenisset ad hostium^a postquam rimam suauiter in pariete diduxerat, alternatim rime curiosos applicuit ocellos, dumque suptilem circumducit inspectionem ad efficacius perscrutandum,^b pro temporis intemperie nudatum in lecto iacere uirum uidit et resupinum, uirum reuera, quoad partes sexus discretuias uirissimum, ut qui pondus inguinis haberet tam grande quod comparari posset^c liciatorio textentium^d ut facile conuersum crederes hominem circa genitalium partes in animal asininum.^{80/e}

[75] Ast mox mulier mollis diligenter inspectum stupefacta stantem stetit ad stipitem. Sanctaque trahit uirago suspiria dum nerui notat nodos et nobile menbrum. Tandemque mulier ad patiendum paratissima clausum manu tremula pulsata ad hostium accensa funditus ad opus uenerium.^a

[76] Excitatus incontinenti miles tam prodigialiter armatus ylariter, excipit ylarius ingredientem, manuque mox matronam palpitat et attrahit proteruissima. Nec illa segnius menbroso uiri monstruosa manus^a inicit^b in uirilia. Et quia nullatenus ad repulsam uenire petulantem patitur petulancia, resupinate satisfacit male renitenti mas mulieri satisfactione rectissima.^c Tam liberalem tamque precipitem femine pacienciam prenotata tam nobilis quantitas uirge fecit uirilil.

[77] Sunt enim circa delectaciones uenerias uarie matronarum considerationes. Hec quidem dumtaxat ex equestri querit ordine quod ardeat. Illa uero sumit ab extrema plebe quo caleat. Huius estuantis desiderium sola seruitus accendit. Illa uirililis membri solius ad immensitatem calet et furit. Quedam comitatus pulcritudine comitates ardenter diligit. Quedam solis sordibus feruescit, nec umquam libidinis⁸¹ impellitur ad rabiem^a luxuriaue calescit nisi uel squalentes seruos uel cinctos alcius stratores inspexerit. Venerias harena quam plures ad araturas impellit. Hec mulioni puluere perfuso molliter succumbit. Illam flexibilis et saltans histrio furere facit. Hec passim petenti cuilibet crura diuaricat. Illa renitentes etiam calens ad conmissuras inuitat.^b (fol. 139^v) Verumptamen quantumcūque se mulieres in concupiscentiis diuersificent, ad unum tamen consummate scilicet luxurie finem solummodo tendunt.

[78] Iam corpore toto femina luxurians in amplexus maris, nisi quoad

80. *ordo asininum animal* (corr. *D*¹). 81. *libinis D* (corr. *D*¹).

genitalia sibi penitus incogniti, gratis et gratanter immissa^a ueneriorum preambulis^b ludorum ludit in osculis.^c Impliciti iam iacent duo brachiis,^d quos sola coniunxerat intemperancia paciencie muliebris.^e Collis crepitant basia labellis.^f Iam mulier, manus ex fronte apponens^{82/g} ad uiri uirilia, uirum uice secunda mouere conatur et querit ad ueneria.^h Adeoque tandem femina fidelis et ingeniosa continuauit modos et uariarum attractionum quod sagaciter et argute quod ad modum predesiderauerat extorsit gaudium.ⁱ Demumque cum femina genialiter adhuc gestiente ludo uir uenerio satiatus, gaudio lassus,^j libere labitur in colloquium^k femineque rei seriem sciscitanti causam diligenter inclusionis exponit et modum.

[79] Sed mulier incontinenti, non minus fidelis quam pudica,^a forsitan ut tam bona securius et sola subsequenter in sub lodice^b gerendis uteretur fortuna, inclusum prouocat ylariter ad recessum subsidiumque⁸³ sibi pollicetur efficacissimum seque promittit bona fide cum recedente recessuram. Adeo liberalem tantam nichil nisi nerui nobilitas impulit ad liberalitatem. Religionis fidei fidelitatisque pariter et honestatis tam principalis Priapi quantitas obliterat inspectionem.

[80] Ad hec Antheus: "Vt autem, domina, funditus letificati et ex omni parte simul recedamus fortunati, precipua quidem tui michi queras, si licet et libet, arma mariti ut ea per te michi cedant in pignus amoris perpetui et in argumentum nobis perpetuo conuiuendi."

[81] Igitur consolidata fidei federe basiorumque repetitionibus⁸⁴ societate,^a male munda recedit mulier, post supremam noctis tempestatem ad recedendum reditura, et ad summam sub prima face^b cum sodali suo neruoso precipuis armis Zeti preinsignito fedissima recedit femina, fedum contra fas et pium^c mecha mechum subitura.

- [82] Felices natura uices discernere castis
 Sancta solet. Quibus ad uenerem si laxet habenas,^a
 Dat tamen attractis motam compescere frenis.
 Arbitrio commissa suo^b uesana cupido
 5 Ducit ad interitum dulci caritura quiete.
 Insanire suos facit impetus omnis amoris.
 Ad libitum sibi discursus si sit sine loris,
 Que noceant ardenter amans iuueniliter ardet.
 Qui fugit id quod dampna parit feliciter odit.
 10 Labilis est paritura nichil nisi dampna libido.
 Fida michi Dido stat testis flens et Abido
 Eacides Mars atque Paris succisus et Atis
 Astipulatores michi sunt uerumque fatentur.

[83] Porro luce postera, postquam Calais suique consortes laxatam per hostii reserationem turris coniectauere custodiam,^a rei ueritatem consterna(fol. 140)ti^b conscendunt ad inquirendam. Sed inuento turris quolibet conclaui uacuo, proditricis domine fraudulentam raptim properant ad cameram, eamque repperiunt dominicis armis et domina uiduatam. Confunditur itaque subito domus tota rei nouitate consternata.^c Doloris inter familiam diducuntur incentiua, uerumptamen condolentis non fuit uniuersitatis par indifferensque^d mesticia. Verissimus enim fratris Zeti Chalais dolor omnia doloris argumenta^e faciebat in uero maiora.

[84] Tandem tamen recentis instinctu uexacionis intellectum consuetudinaliter intendentis, uel aliquantulum querere conatur mesticie remedium. Est enim sapientis tendere doloris quod potest semper ad solacium, deliri uero more mulierum^a dolorem fletus continuare per profluium.^b Ystrionem reuera quendam, ad id ex proposito conductum, pro lege mimorum quolibet indifferenter conuicia tolerancium in loquacitate potentissimum, ocissime transmittit ad Zetum ut tristem Zeto nunciet euentum. Et in hoc agebat saltem Chalais ut calidus quod euentu precognito ante reditum domini dominice uel aliquatenus ire tepesceret impetus mimusque⁸⁵ primos magis abhorrendos conuiciorum sustineret insultus. Sagax enim seruicens contentionales heri primitiuos conatur euadere motus. Atqui crebro furoribus excitatus mollescit animus interpolatione mitificatus.

[85] Nec minus alia fecit ratione Chalais ut cautus, quia cerciorari citissime debet a seruiente dominus enormiter non per se seruientem dico dampnificatus quia mora sepius ad⁸⁶ se periculum trahit in talibus. Quanto quidem diucius dampnificatorum durat ignorancia, tanto serius dampnorum sibi resarciendorum conatus succedit et industria.

[86] De cetero cum coram Zeti presentia a Chalai transmissus hanelus hystrio staret et ex itinere fatigatus, ut is qui spe mercedis diplomate fuerat usus, ad aspectum cogniti stupefactus, in infortunii suspitionem continuo deductus quia mali sepe presagus^a esse consuevit animus est, euestigio cognitum sic allocutus: “Quenam te causa, frater, hanc incognitam tam properanter uenire coegit ad patriam? Dicas, precor, ocius nec diu suspendere pergas animum an aliqua mei meum post recessum, quod absit, inciderint in iacturam.”^b Ad hec ille: “Vt autem michi tecum, domine, loqui liceat sine pena, tua magis est quam tuorum que contigit iactura. Tuus enim tua libere recessit in turre reclusus. Et ut dominicis obtemperem succincte loquendo per omnia preceptis, armis tuis recessit insignitus et uxore comitatus.”

[87] Sed protinus ad uxoris nomen magis quam a non amante credi posset^a uir stupefactus sic, ut suas sagaciter celaret mentis angustias, respondit: “Ad id quidem quod tam frigide, frater, nuncias de capto, breuiter respondeo quod spes

superest de recipiendo. Ad id autem quod mea dicis de muliere, dico quod hominis sensati non est de (fol. 140^v) talis amissione rei dolere quam salubrius est retinuisse quam retinere. Optimo sibi quiuis omine consumat opus diurnum, per quod uile uiciosumque uitet meretricale contubernium. Arma ut mea michi per iniuriam sicut asseris subtracta etiam cum capitis et fame fortunarumque mearum sum persecuturus periculo.”

[88] Et ad hanc uocem uelud furoribus esset efferatus redire parat ad propria^a quesiturus instantis, quatinus potest, doloris remedia.^b Obiter itaque dum uaria secum uersat in animo,^c salubrius sibi censet esse cum suis simpliciter tractatus habere quam contentionibus nil nisi ut officiant collaturis^d insistere. Rarissime quidem contentiones emendatiorem reddidere seruientem. Atqui dominantibus est expediens ut quod minus exhibuerint obiurgationes, reales in delinquentibus efficiant castigationes uel pena suppleant emendationes. Profecto dominus qui cum suis consuetudinaliter rixatur et contendit desides sibi subditos et contumaces uicio suo reddit.

[89] Iam Zetus, ad sua sortis pro libito diminuta reuersus, humiliter mesta sibi quid sit agendum tractat cum familia; deque⁸⁷ sola mentionem facit armorum iactura, nec quicquam de dolose, licet animum suum grauiter elidat, femine fatur absencia. Est quidem soli sepius accepto ferendum sagacitati de eo cogitantem de quo plurimum cogitat modicum fabulari. Et ad ultimum cum commilitonibus armatis subsidio Zetus carens armorum sub obscuritate nocturnali^a nemo ingreditur quo malo suo pridem fortunatus^b cepit Anthemum, cum certe quiuis piscator fluminis libens redit ad diuerticulum, in quo uel semel omine felici retia laxauerit ad capturam.^c Licet non omnes sortis inconstantia, conatur, uotorum dirigat ad equalitatem.

[90] Ceterum ceteris Zetus magis dampnificatus animique molestiis interius plus quam ceteri cruciatus, a pectoris ymo miserabiliter eductis suis supplicat cum suspiriis^a ut eum quatenus eis placuerit prestolentur insidiandi causa ciuitatem pedes aditurum, ad id forte per amoris ductus uehementiam^b ut uel semel etiam sub fatalitatis periculo uideret desideratam. Permutatis igitur cum paupere uestibus, Ysiaci scilicet habitu sumpto, quasi petiturus stipem simpliciter ingreditur ciuitatem.

[91] Sed post horas die duas incalescente, cum per ciuitatis pergendo plateas ex proposito transitum secus principis faceret palatium, in meniano sullimi sedentem, gemmis auroque choruscantem, in ornatissima tam marum quam mulierum multitudine gloriosam Hero pridem sibi caram speculatur alonge contubernalem, subitoque suam ne casu cognoscatur demittit faciem.^a

[92] Verum dumtaxat in malo subtilis Hero femina, sumpta protinus ex

87. deque: de que *D*.

auersione (fol. 141) uultus coniectura, illico maritum quem sepe prenotauerat cognouit per incessum. Statimque seruientes ad introducendum quasi sue religionis professorem transmittit pauperem. Introducitur igitur Zetus humilis et timidus^a quia iam sane, quamuis sero, per experimentum peritior factus sexus feminarum⁸⁸ suspicatur de moribus. Eo tamen rem sibi suspectam libentius exequitur et agit ut quam⁸⁹ super omnia desiderat et diligit uel momentaliter inspicere possit. Humanitati quidem gaudium quodam modo naturaliter est optatuum licet longi temporis ad diuturnitatem non sit diuturnum.⁹⁰ Et merito. Omnis enim sub luna^b generis humani tam delectatio quam leticia fuit est et semper erit inanis et perfunctoria.^c

[93] Iubet igitur imperiose magnoque cum fastu qua nichil intollerabilius femina diues^a ut in triclinium⁹¹ perductus pauper reficiatur peregrinus, sibi post refectionem siqua⁹² de Christianis noua nouerit relaturus. Nouit enim putens petulansque matrona quid humanam temptare soleat societatem. Verum Zetus, et timore confusus et insolentia rerum male cognitarum consternatus,^b lentas apponit ad cibaria manus. In turbulentis⁹³ quidem constitute mentis habitus languere facit uentris appetitus.

[94] Demum uero uetula quedam cautissima, dominice forme caduceatrix^a et arbitra,^b optime quo muliebris ars petulantie tenderet edocta, (in) interiorum domine sue cameram^c sagaciter introducit relatores. Aduentus causam tam stolidi superbe querit Hero protinus a Zeto. Tum ille: “Profecto, domina, tanto te uidendi constringor amoris uehementia^d desiderio; ut te uel aliquando uideam, malui uitam sub mendicitatis inedia consumere quam summis te numquam rarius uisa diuiciis affluere. Hocque dumtaxat unum concedi precor a te tuo pridem uiro beniuolentia maiestatis ne per te michi mee maturetur tempus uel hora fatalitatis.”^e

[95] Ast incontinenti femina, fallax et facilis^a et ad utramque mulierum more^b partem conuersibilis, uerbis preinterposita fide iurare cepit conceptissimis^c quod ei solide subsidium procurari curaret securitatis. Adeo manifestam dolose mulieri descendere libuit ad liberalitatem quia sagaciter eum sperabat allicere libidinis ad adiectionem^d dum sibi subtiliter simularet anus extra con-claue negotium.

[96] Sed Zetus in habitu sordido simplex et timidus^a ad matronam tam cultam tamque seueram non est ausus audaces inicere manus,^b ignarus quod per solam gurgulionis (fol. 141^v) extensionem, remota penitus ornamentorum consideratione, satis fiat mulieribus. Femine reuera uir quilibet placet in omnibus, si suis ualidus fuerit et frequentatius dumtaxat in genitalibus. Molli profecto

88. factus . . . feminarum: factus secus seminarum *D*.

89. quam: qm̄ *D*. 90. diutn'm *D*. 91. in triclinium: intelinium *D*. 92. si *D* (*corr. D'*).

93. In turbulentis: Inturbulenti *D*.

feminarum iudicio si milite sit seruus ad ueneria uegetior erit mas militante ualidior. Sed ubi sensit Hero naturalem minus ad araturam uirum moueri, merito mota seuerius est eum sit allocuta: "Consilio meo, frater, inutilibus omissis ad que, secundum quod asseris, inaniter tendere conaris, ocus ad tua reuertaris, tibi que coniugis noue sollerter et attente solatium queras, et de me recuperanda spem funditus ab animo remoueas. Impar reuera, reor, et stolidum sapiens quiuis censeret esse mercimonium regali relicto puluinari ad pauperis et priuati redire matrimonium. Veraciter itaque non misso per calorem repudio uideor diuertisse. cum post tempus etiam renuam redire diutinum."

[97] Verum dum talia tam glacialiter aguntur,^a anus que paulo⁹⁴ ante fuerat ex proposito sagaciter⁹⁵ egressa, collectis in altum uestibus,^b intra domine cameram uelud attonita cursu precipiti^c cucurit, et "O domina, perimus" ait "Princeps enim a suburbano^d iam rediit, et ecce raptim te uisum uenit." Igitur femine, sicut moris est,^e ad insaniam fere consternationis uehementia perducte,^f discursu limphatico^g querunt quo loco Zetum celerius abscondant. Verum uetula subtilius, uidens securius rem, considerans minus turbata⁹⁶ altum domine lectum, propere iubet subire misellum, dominoque domina subsequenter obuiam uenire properat ad hostium, nec in absconsione Zeti contemplatur utilitatem sed ut sibi caueat ne manifestam stupri cadat in suspicionem.

[98] Demumque ueniens Antheus, Hero desideratos ruit in amplexus,^a sed matrona, libidine mox mota, nec principis contemplari faciem curat nec amplexus. Immo, protinus inflexis ad inguina sua luminibus, officiocissimis⁹⁷ ad commissuram temptat ea mouere manibus.^b Statimque uel ea parte frugi uir, ad ocutiendum concitatus, ueneriorum preambulis^c primo basiis inhesit,^d omniaque subsequenter in uno ueneria uota compleuit.^e Sic deuotum sibi religiosum ganea gestiens inuenit quia se libenter adorari permisit. Deinde cum post opus completum mas anhelitu mitificato^f cum sua suaue ueniret in colloquium,^g mecha stupro petulans letificata, neruoso nobili renidens proditorum more suo quesuiuit a uectore quidnam, si Zetum sibi traderet, nomine remunerationis ei recompensaret.

[99] Tum ille: "Te quidem, mi cara, nichil (fol. 142) habeo quo remunerem cum tuo mea meque libito omni longius excepcione relegata commiserim." Non indelectata^{98/a} proditrix urbano post satisfactionem responso,^b mecho mecha, sanguine uiuo terram subire dignissima,^c suum sub lecto latitantem tradidit maritum euestigio fatalitati destinatum.

Ad rabiem uenus impellit uesana^d petulcas.

Ceca libido nichil de ratione [sapit uel] capit.

94. paula *D* (corr. *D*¹). 95. sigaciter *D*.
96. turbatam *D* (m exp.). 97. sic *D*. 98. indelectata (cf. sec. 143): in delicta *D*.

Femina, si uenere caleat, furit atque furorem
 Auxilio querit alleuiare maris.
 5 Nec minui mulier censum sentit nec honorem^e
 Dummodo luxuriet luxuriante uiro.

[100] Incontinenti proclamat Antheus suo iudicio summe fortunatus: “En te teneo,^a Zete, sodalis mee seductum sagacitate, cuius, quod michi causas adauget, leticiarum iam sum certissimus de fidelitate.” Ast quamuis Zetus inopinati nouitate casus aliquandiu siluisset confusus,^b denique tamen sudore⁹⁹ deterso^c respondit ut audax et animosus.^d “Est igitur,” inquit “frater, equitati consentaneum ut me sic saltem tractari procures ut ego te nuper tractaui captiuatum.” Nec suum diu diues elatus responsum distulit,^e uerum prosperos per euentus more uilium tumidior factus, illico subintulit: “Tu me tractasti pauper ut nobilem patrie principem tractari decuit pacisque procuratorem. Ego te tractabo diues ut humilem tractari conuenit et abiectum tranquillitatisque¹⁰⁰ uiolatorem profecto. Quiuis suo superbit gallus in sterquilinio,^f presertim si gallinarum gloriatur cantator gloriosus in consortio.”

[101] Porro post tam frigidum scema uerborum^a Zetus artissime ligatur seruilliterque pulsatus in carcerem detruditur. Deinde conuocatis edictaliter luce secunda ciuibus, quo [motis] modo sit interimendus indifferens uniuersitatis^b inimicus communis tractatus habetur ut quod omnes tangit ab omnibus examinetur utque consensu fiat omnium quod omnibus est profuturum. Conuocatos indifferenti letitia permixtum res inopinata deducit in tumultum. Is elixandum, ille conburendum, alius gladio iudicat esse feriendum.

[102] Sed post tam gelida sententiarum flumina^a uir unus canicie uenustatus surrexit impetratoque silentio sic cepit: “Me melius nostis, uiri uenerabiles, quod dominis reuerentia sit a sibi subiectis semper exhibenda quodque subiectorum redundet in iniuriam que fuerit illata prelati iniuria. Sic ergo cum priuatus ille uilis et male natus^b in principem uestrum uiolentas ausus fuerit inferre manus,^c uos omnes ad iniurie prouocauit (fol. 142^v) ultionem cum uobis ulciscendi fas et facultatem res concesserit et tempus et¹⁰¹ ad considerandum subtilius ut ultionis modus compentens sit et exquisitus.^d Tepidos quidem, reor, ut uestra coram uobis salua loquar reuerentia,^e quiuis sapiens tante uos iniurie iudicaret ultores si presumptorem tam contumacem uestros nullo Christianorum consciente priuatos occideretis inter penates. Quin potius ea, ut tamen saluo procedam sententie melioris preiudicio: in qua manus inicere^f presumpsit priuatus in principem suspendatur in silua ut ignominiosa Christianis illa suspensio sit et terribilis et ut ubi principe capto rebus tunc prospere gestis male fortunatus^g

99. sudore (cf. sec. 132): rubore *D.* 100. tranquillitatisque: tranqisilitatisque *D.*

101. et fort. uncis includendum.

exultauit, ibi uersa funditus in contrarium^h fortuna, doleat et ignominiose decedat."

[103] Datum tam princeps quam populus commendat incontinenti consilium, commendaturque perorans per tumultus acclamantium.¹⁰² Conducunt ergo communi consensu consolidato¹⁰³ ut ciuibus summo mane conuenientibus in crastino ducatur ad suspendium condemnatus, feriis indifferenter omnibus indictis plaudente populo comitatur.¹⁰⁴

[104] Set iam nunc reuerti libet ad milites in silua serum Zeti reditum prestolantes. Eius famelici causantur moram ut qui sine uictualibus secundum iam traherent diem, maturassentque recessum¹⁰⁵ nisi fratris Zeti Chalais uicti precibus ei uix unius noctis concessissent expectationem. Deinde summo postera die diluculo princeps uniuersique ciuitatis ciues ex precondicto conuenientes cum gaudio Zetum suspendii trahunt ad supplicium. Nec quicquam secum, dum unicum capitalemque suum retinent inimicum, de munimine cogitant armorum. Atqui superato quem solum timuerit inimico quiuis imperitus absolutam se sortitum credit uite securitatem.

[105] De cetero dum milites armati fame frigoreque fatigati recessum parant, spe penitus destituti,^a eam cum principe suo ciues in qua latitauerant ingrediuntur magno cum murmure^b siluam. Subitoque quidam, tanti tumultus insolentia consternati,^c proponunt sibi raptim consulere per fugam^d donec Chalais audax et circumspectus^e attonitos taliter est allocutus: "Absit a uobis, uiri nobiles et uirtuosi, ut fuge declinetis ad ignominiam nisi prius certam predidiceritis causam. Ego quidem, meo si placet habitu mutato, que gens aduenerit et que causa sit aduentus ad uos ocissime reuersurus alonge perscrutari conabor. Per exauditus plebis enim iudicio nemus est auritum, campum uero uulgus esse dicit oculatum."^f

[106] Remanentibus itaque commilitonibus proficiscitur Chalais ex compacto, subtile si potest usurus perscrutinio. Vnde cum latenter pedetentimque tandem progrediens ab eis intercapedine modica remotum se coniectauit esse, per tumultum arborem cautius sic ascendit ramosam quod inter ramorum latitando densitatem ad libitum totam patenter et distinctiue contemplari poterat multitudinem. In primis ergo gloriosum notat Anthemum quasi pro tribunali sedentem, subsequenter et Zetum manus et pedes uinculis (fol. 143) ligatum, et quia furcas fieri uidet, uinculatum suspendio¹⁰⁶ destinatum fore coniectat. Ad ultimum, quod sibi plurimum placet, oculo perlustranti^a considerat et comperit quod in tot milibus hominum nec unum uidere ualet armatura munitum, omnibusque curiosissimis¹⁰⁷ ante descensum luminibus perlustratis^b hesitantes propteranther redit ad sodales.

102. acola matōnium *D*, fort. in acclamationum corrigi oportet. 103. malim consolidati. 104. comitatur = committatur. 105. recensum *D*. 106. suspendit *D*. 107. ciriosissimis *D*.

[107] Et eo “Mei” mox ait “commilitones¹⁰⁸ et amici, quam felicem nobis deus noster sua gratia preuidit euentum fame perpetuitatem feliciter^a adquisituris et emolumentum. Huc omnes unanimiter cum suo quem uidi principe ut Zetus,¹⁰⁹ quem non sine lacrimis inspexi ligatum, ciuitatis aduenere ciues, omnino fide bona (deum testor)^b uobiscum loquor, inermes; plaudentes enim notau¹¹⁰ populos furcarumque fabricatores nec quicquam ferri, uetus uiuit deus,^c nisi quatuor dolabra totidemque secures. Igitur ut et dominum, pro quo sanguis impendendus et uita, uiriliter ad honoris immortalitatem liberemus nosque diuitiis ad habundantiam sufficientibus ingurgitemus, in inermes et ante uictoriam uictos irruamus. Sit tamen recti sermonis ratio salua^d quia citra bellum non est uictoria, nec ubi tu pulsas et ego uapulo,^e sane censetur esse pugna.”

[108] Talibus itaque milites excitati, recordatione radicitus exiecta frigoris et esurie, ascendunt equos et militariter¹¹¹ armati et magnanimitate animati simulque plaudentem ruunt in populum improuidum prorsus et omni tuitione carentem. Repente uersis in contrarium^{112/a} plausibus dilabuntur miseri, miserime confusi. Erumptiolum bellice cladis indifferenter decurrunt ad remedium. Virilitatis immemor sibi quisque per fugam consulere^b conatur uel latitationem. Omnes quasi confederato dumtaxat¹¹³ ad unum uoto^c se precipitant ad effugium. Nec unus uni, cunctis ad inspectiones armatorum terribiles stupefactis, se promittit ad resistendum. Quilibet equo uestibusque relictis et siquas habebat sarcinis inprouiso metu^d mente destitutus incertum totus labitur in propositum. Ille nullo dum fugit impediendo pedes offendiculo, ictus a posteriori cadit non recasurus.^{114/e} Hic ad latitandum ruit in rubum, sed cum reperitur, ructat exanguis sanguinem, rubet. Omnium citra misericordiam strages fit indifferens fugientium.

[109] Verum Chalais curiosissime quesitum attentissimeque notatum persequi fugientem non cessat Anthemus, quem paulo ante per insignia magistratus uidit gloriosum. Demumque librata letali uir uiriliter hasta, fine petulantiis eius imposito, male fugientis transegit penetralia.^a Sic malo suo pridem felix et fortunatus^b dignitate fataliter cadit ab alta uelud eius felicitati facilis inuiderit fortuna.^c Sicque miles hasta mirabiliter hastatum naturali hasta gracili diuitem deiecit artificiali. Ad summam, pene peremptis captiuatisue uel uulneratis letaliter uniuersis, non ad inuidiam tantum sed ad admirationem (fol. 143^v) locupletati, adhuc ligatum tempore sub occiduo propere reuertuntur ad Zetum cedere fatigati. Solantur solutum sed et hylariter inuitant ad conrecessum.

[110] Tum ille: “Iam, consortes mei in fidelitatis constancia probitateque precipui, per experimentum didicistis^a quod in bellicis negociis precipua militancium spes suis sit et esse debeat in armis. Non enim uobis tanta tantorum

108. commilitōnes D. 109. Zetum D.

110. nota ui D. 111. militalter D. 112. contraium D. 113. dumtaxatus D.

114. recasaturus ut uid. D (corr. D¹).

multitudo cessisset uirorum nisi tam paucis quod minus exhibuit numerus subsidium suppleuisset armorum. Vt igitur uerum sub breuitate succincta fatear citra mendacium, numquam michi persuadebitis ad propria regressum nisi me uideatis militaribus que perdidisti spoliis compotitum."

[111] Sed mox moti milites, eoque¹¹⁵ magis quod ieiuniis fuissent attenuati, quod quietem quererent, sudoribus exinaniti, se precipitant ad recessum suo relinquentes iudicio Zetum. Appetitiue quidem conceptum nisi fuerit consummatum¹¹⁶ uix a pertinacis animo recedit desiderium. Porro Zetus, mendici cuiusdam Sarraceni¹¹⁷ uestibus uillissime uestitus, confusam sub tempestate suprema reuersus ingreditur ciuitatem, eamque ploratibus undique repperit ululatibusque repletam: sicque securus inter attonitos incedit a nemine notatus. Atqui doloribus summis aggrauatus ad alia distrahi raro consueuit animus.

[112] Preterea quis existimaret quod a factorum nexibus sic liberatus ad eam quam euasit fatalitatem tam propere rediret? Discreto reuera sagacique uiro nichil minus quiuis dixerit conuenire quam temeritatibus impericiam detegere negociiue quid gerere quo celerius fiat incommode. Ad enorme profecto periculum cuiquam nisi maioris emolumenti gratia uix aliquis existimaret esse ueniendum ne tenue compendium cum graui iactura compensatum telis fugitiuas aureis figere feras¹¹⁸ conanti uel hamis aureis more Neronico piscanti competentissime sit assimilatum.^a

[113] Applicat tandem se Zetus quasi stipem petiturus thalami quondam sue coniugis ad limen quia cuilibet in tam fatali confusione patebat introitus. Quasi cum flentibus fleret, flentium simpliciter considerat discursus. Sed super omnes omnia doloris argumenta^a faciebat Hero maiora. Discurit ut insana, causatur numina, sortis execratur examina. Deperdita deplorat tam specialia uoluptatis instrumenta; inexorabilem¹¹⁹ recordatio genitalium petulanti parit anxietatem.

[114] Verum dum talia tam gelide geruntur,^a lugubrem miles quidam deformis et magnis¹²⁰ attritus faciem^b cicatricibus, qui cum Christianus fuisset, postea quo ditaretur apostatauerat, et is Christianorum uulgare nouerat, citis thalamum gressibus intrat. Ilicoque, ne quis intelligeret indigena, Christianorum lingua sic affatur Hero lacrimantem: "Consilio meo, mulier, iuuenis et decora, a fletibus nichil omnino tibi collaturis^c ocissime cessa, imminentsisque¹²¹ tibi, quod deus auertat, doloris et detrimenti potius querere coneris remedia.^{122/d} (fol. 144) Ciues quidem¹²³ quos calamitati fortuna subduxit hodiernae adeo calamitosum unanimiter uniuersi tuis euentum machinationibus arbitrantur euenisse. Iamque, nisi solus dissuasissem, se precipitassent omnes ad executionem uindictae. Vt igitur fortunarum tuarum summam tibi salues et personam,

115. eoque: eo que D. 116. consummatum D.

117. saraceni D (corr. D¹). 118. seras D. 119. inexorabil'm D (corr. D¹). 120. magnus D. 121. Iminentsisque D (corr. D¹). 122. ordo remedia coneris D (corr. D¹). 123. quidem om. D (ss. D¹).

secus hanc incontinenti posticam arma Zeti ponas et equum. Subsequenterque que tibi sunt in auro gemmis uestibusque cariora sagaciter congeras nobiscum deferenda. Interim uero ciuium pergam temperare furorem, prorsusque mearum postposita possessionum cura, dissimilabo propositum hac in nocte diuinitatis fauore feliciter exequendum. Et ut hec omnia fide bona fiant ad inuicem sacramento, si placet, nos obligemus et osculo.”^e

[115] Nec diucius femina non minus casta quam religiosa^a protelauit moram sed prestita uerbis ultro citroque sacramenti religione conceptissimis^b uenerium beniuole consurrexit ad osculum.^c Ast quia miles, nomine Nepos, muliebris optime legem nouit paciencie mulieris,^d molliter¹²⁴ male renitentis inuadit^e pectus amabile,^f deinde labra pluribus crepitant basiis collisa, impliciteque manus, amplexibusque colligata mutuis usque animarum mixturam corpora petulanter ad singula libidinancium ueniunt preludia.^g Iamque ludit ridet gannitque ganea que paulo ante tot singultibus comitata traxit ab imo suspiria.^h In tali soliditate feminarum stat constancia. Demumque mas matrone deuotissimus in unum simul omnia coniungit petulancie uota.ⁱ

- [116] Limitat in paucis uotorum que¹²⁵ suorum
 Luxurians et amore calens his femina summam:
 Inprimis uiue placet incolumis sibi uita.
 Corporis ornatus optat, faciemque decoram,
 5 Cipridis et placito maribus colludere ludo.

[117] Subsequenter autem se subtilis excogitator mendaciorum promittit ad ciues mitigandos iturum dum salubrem se femina preparat ad fugam. Statimque mecha spontanea, per stuprum generalis illius ignara quod scilicet sicut nemo negociatur ordinate qui properat et precipitanter^a agit, sic uix unquam bene faciet qui cito credit,^b in diuersorio secundum pretaxatum bona fide pactionis ordinem Zeti ponit arma stratumque ligat equum, dum Zetus in obscuro sedens singula uidet diligenterque notat, qui totam cum re ueneria conuentionis seriem predidicerat et preintellegerat.

[118] Nec moras adegit,^a forte non ignarus quod audacia frequenter et temeritate iuuetur casus, sed dum credula meretrix alia preparat et conierit,¹²⁶ precipitanter ad arma se proripit, mendicitatisque spoliis^b citissime reiectis, armis que¹²⁷ bene nouit se militaribus induit. Deinde audacter ut cognoscibilis et quasi certam mendacio fidem faceret,^c uelud attonitus innuit subito (fol. 144^v) femine Zetus ut exceptionibus fugam remotis acceleret, protinusque prosiliens in equum reseratam securus egreditur posticam. Sola solum postea

124. morlliter *D*. 125. uotorum que: uotorum q̄; *D*. 126. conierit = congerit. 127. armis que: armisque *D*.

mulier, honeratum diuiciis trahens tolutarium, citissime sequitur ursa timore precedentem.

[119] Ceterum cum primo detectioni Zeto dare locum licuit et uero, conuersus ad impudicam, "Nunc," ait "mendax et insaciabilis petulancie fallaxque femina,^a te teneo^b non minus furem quam fugitiuam." Statimque se sagaciter equo compotui diuiciarum portitore quia ad modum sibi suspecta fuit fidei facilitas femine.¹²⁸

[120] Verum mox mulier, ad tam gelidum sermonis scema^a magis quam possit exprimi uerbis^b attonita, (cum) nichil enim sua sonare posset acidius in aure,^c ab equo cadens medullitus iratum se prostrauit ante maritum. Pluuialiter plorat,^d uestes scindit, capillos officiosissime uellit, unguibus faciem sanguinolentis arat.^e Ad misericordiam uirum quibuscumque potest modis inclinare conatur et temptat.^f

[121] Denique cum eiulatu sic concludit: "Aut mei, mi marite, miserearis, aut qua libuerit seueritate¹²⁹ subito uindictam sumere non pigriteris.^a Hinc reuera sine spe gracie cum uita recedere (liceat), et si strangulatiuas uertere debeam michi manus, nec me coges nec michi persuadebis." Lamentabilesque subdola tam diu uariat uices quod miles cum misera misericorditer se pollicetur acturum, uel aliquatenus tot lacrimis emollitus, ita tamen si suis ulterius omnino renunciare uelit erroribus. Iurat ocius et audacter illa nouosque querit noua iurandi modos et sacramenta. Profecto non est ulla feminis faciliior quam fidei iactura.^b

[122] Porro simul sine murmure proficiscuntur et sine rixa. Ast quia semper fortuna fallax et fatua^a prosperis interserere consueuit aduersa, ut circa Zetum sicut cepit prosequatur, sibi consuetudinaria ex improviso paulo ante fortunatum trahere sed in cassum conatur ad infortunia. Incidit enim tantum dormiendi Zetus in appetitum^b quod a sompno retrahi nullam periculi posset per suspensionem. Est quidem frequens quod cum retro diucius fuerit animus molestiis anxius, succedente securitatis soliditate subrepat et sompnus.^c Sic ergo suam subdole secus suspicans de moribus alloquitur sociam: "Hic hic, soror bella, precor, si placet, militari stes in uia dum istac appodiatu ad arborem pauculum pergam stando carpere sompnum^d ne profundos cadam quod michi forte non expediret sompniculosus in sompnos,^e et si quem sub clarius lucente luna uideris uenientem, me protinus acceleres ad excitandum promissamque uel in modico nitar experiri fidelitatem." Mox mulier, producto quem male religioso gestabat in sinu codice sancto, nemine deferente uoluntarium uerbis expressissimis prestitit sacramentum^f eius se sine dolo preceptis pro posse dum uixerit optemperaturam.

[123] His itaque satis ina(fol. 145)niter effusis, dum tres tolutario¹³⁰ scilicet et suo necnon mulieris in manu tenens equos per uices uir interuigilando dormiret, ex compacto publica stans in strata meretrix mendacissima armatos alonge tres speculatur¹³¹ raptim uenientes. Illicoque coniectans suum quem postremo sustinuit hanela uenire uectorem, preceps uenientibus cucurrit obuiam. Nec male coniectauit quia reuera fuit idem. In primis ergo motum mitigauit rei seriem retegendo que contigit. Deinde dormientem proditrix indice directo demonstrauit, tribusque subsequenter irruere simul in inprouidum perfida persuasit.

[124] Verum uigilanti fere naso stertentis,^a ubi sonuit in auribus sonipedum sonitus,^b miles equum strenuus ascendit totus leuiter excitatus, mecumque letali lancea uiriliter excipit telum totis in eum uiribus inaniter uibrantem. Moribundus ilico transuerberatis ferro penetralibus^c in terram cadit non recasurus.^d Nec segnius sed nec auspiciis felicioribus ruit in eum secundus, sed ruentis telum clipeo frustra uir ualens et in tali casu prouidissimus. Subinde gladio militariter¹³² euaginato male sibi precauentis capud secreuit a trunco.^e Ast tercius, tam frigidus considerans euentus, sperans sibi consulere per fugam,^f se mox uegetissime precipitauit ad recessum, renuens prostratis sodalibus dubium descendere solus ad prelium. Sed id miser egit in cassum quia Zetus eum tandem deiecit de equo letaliter uulneratum.

[125] Deinde suam reuersus ad sodalem, nulla de delicto mentione facta, sompno penitus discusso^a prospere peruenit ad propria.^b A suis summa commilitonibus exceptus cum leticia,^c uerbis urbaniter expressis et inhibitiuis ne qua sodali sue factis uel sermonibus inferatur contumelia uel fiat iniuria.

[126] In crastino conuocatis tam suis quam femine parentibus et amicis quid de tali foret femina agendum serium sagaciter habuit tractatum. Indifferens et una ut occideretur fuit omnium sententia. Verum miles comis et uir liberalis tandem tali modo sentencie mitigauit asperitatem. “Non est” inquit “humanitati uel urbanitati congruum mares in genus sanguinis ad effusionem deseuire femininum.”^a Sed quia iam cepit in ueneriis et conuictu sarracinare contumeliam fidei faciendo Christiane, eam Sarraceno quem michi seruum uenalem conparaui nuper ortulano habendam gratis concedo quo melius michi seruiat in contubernio, ut etiam duplicato sibi provideatur die quauis in diario.” Sicque merito copulate tam uili mancipio nobilis matrone¹³³ intemperanciam circa naturalia tenuis temperauit dieta.

[127] Que trahit in uicium uiciosa retencio rerum
Est uitanda uiris mente manique bonis. (fol. 145^v)

130. toletario *D.* 131. speculatur *D.* 132. militariter *D.* 133. matrona *D.*

- Quid iuuat impleri latitancia scrinia rebus,
 Hoc allaturis semper, ut officiant?^a
- 5 Ergo modos cupiens cupiendi temperet omnis,
 Ni cupiendo sibi sponte nocere uelit.
 Si renuat cessare libens uirtutis amore,
 Cesset ut inueniat absque dolore dies.
 Commisso quiuis pro crimine criminis auctor
- 10 Primo dolet nisi uir sit ratione carens.
 Sic stabili dolet instabilis plus paupere diues,
 Nam trahit in uicium^b crebro crumena sonans.^c
 Nempe suo locuplex sic sepe satisfacit aluo
 Vt ruat¹³⁴ in uetitum^d nobile uentris honus.
- 15 Aut loculos^e locuplex circumligat et timet uti,
 Aut famulando gule deliciosa uorat.
 Insomnis quacumque cadat confundit agentem
 Aut timor aut uentris absque timore dolor.
 Parcius ergo suas cupiat graudare crumenas
- 20 Qui bene conditos curat habere dies.^f

[VIII]

[128] De Britannia quidam maiore miles oriundus Ierosolimam profecturus suam secum duxit uxorem, ad id amoris uehementia^a motus, quo nichil est in uita uehementius.^b Id quidem solus efficere potest dulcis et amarus ardor amoris quod nec stimulus efficeret aratoris nec bene linguosi lingua persuaderet allegatoris. Sic uir uarias uxore sua comitatus per ciuitates itinerarios uiator letus hylariter sustinet sudores, seque sua censet dum peregrinatur in ede propria uersari dum se sua socia thori^c cotidie gaudet solaciari. Peragratu itaque tandem multorum finibus et expletis ad sepulcrum pro peregrinancium lege et orationibus et uotis, conperegrinorum multitudine comitati, ne quid scilicet peregrinationi cepte deesset et solempnitati, flumen ut fit ex conducto quo securius eant adeunt Iordanis.

[129] Sed dum miles uxore solaciatus ab aliis cum sua uxore seorsum sub solis ardore limpharum delectaretur in balneo frigidarum, duobus dumtaxat in flumine relictis tota rediit multitudo peregrinorum. Sic sola [sola] solus cum sodali sola relictus in solitudine insolenciaque solitudinis consternatus^a et timore, discursu limphatico^b querit ubi tucius latendo pernoctare possit prestolaturus in latibulo donec ad ablutionis idem noua peregrinantium turba ueniat examen. Desolatis enim summum solet prestare solamen expediens et desideratum societatis iuamen.

134. uel cadat *mg.* *D*¹.

[130] Tandemque casualiter repertum conclaue cum sua subintrat uetus et subteraneum, seseque demum post cenulam coniecere simul in secrecius conclauis diuersorium.^a Sed uix uiro post unam dumtaxat nerui distensionem leuem labi licuit in sompnum quia continuum ludisque conditum dioneis cum mare querit femina petulans peruigilium,^b cum sex proceri fortes et armati idem latibulum socialiter ingredi (fol. 146) untur Sarraceni ibidem pernoctaturi. Igneque mox a soliditate silicis instrumento ferreo subtiliter excusso primoque desiccatis et leuibus nutrimentis excepto, deinde fomentis solidioribus dilatato, allata secum se cena reficiunt^c subsequenter clarius lucentem circumsedentes ad ignem confabulantur et ludunt natibus etiam nudatis omnino nudati.

[131] Illicoque miles peregrinus, in diuersorio non longe latitans, omni sopore discusso^a turbatus repentinam totus mentis cadit in confusionem. Sed femina continuo, luminibus ad inguina colludencium meretricaliter iniectis,^b libidine magis quam metu mota se colludendi causa uerbis eos adituram precisis iurat et conceptissimis.^c Dum mas meticulosus multiplicique miser molestia consternatus matronam tam sordido suspiriis et adulationibus auertere conatur a proposito, et quia tali nil¹³⁵ proficit conatu, molliter ad se trahit tremulam, amplexatur impudicam, osculatur petulcam.

[132] Ascendit ad sustinendum paratissimam satisfactionemque nisu toto querit directam. Nec suos tandem frustrauit fortuna conatus sed adeo uiriliter uirgule uires excitauit quod uenerias uir uices uiriliter iterauit. Nec ideo minus mulier tremulos aspectus et angulares ad uirilia uirorum continuauit, immo et ad id ipsum quod prius ardens affectauerat funditus reuersa, ad adiectionem libidinis^a iterato querendam sese promptificauit. Verum maritus, ut moris est^b ultra modum molestatus, sudore deterso^c hanelituque rarificato^d suauiter retinet proterue renitentem^e matroneque furentis dulciter consurgit ad osculum^f ut furoris extensuum querat remedium.^g Infinitis ueneriorum modis in cassum gaudii suscitare conatur^h instrumentum Alpina glacie frigidiusⁱ ut medullitus exinanitum.¹³⁶ Preterea uix in castris cuiquam dioneis militancium dionee delectacionis¹³⁷ impedimentum consueuit esse penitus inexpertum. Quanto reuera uenerie uanitatis quis plus querit et¹³⁸ affectat effectum, tanto tardius libidinari desiderans armatur ad libidinandum. Sed et militem ludis addictum dioneis uehemens uoluptatis concupiscentia reddit inermem remissumque dumtaxat et languentem uel omnino nullum ludere cupienti mouet appetitum. Marius ergo, per triplicem nerui distensionem tepefactus nimiaque coeundi concupiscentia dehaustus, inclinante capud languidum lancea naturali, opus uix inchoatum perdidit inter hanelitus.

[133] Sed mox femina feruens, quasi propter nerui defectum furialiter

135. *ordo* nil tali *D* (*corr. D*¹). 136. *exinanatum D.* 137. *delectonis D* (*corr. D*¹).

138. *et bis D.*

fuisset efferata, prosiliit et ad consedentes ad ignem se raptim proripuit. Ad conspectum protinus mulieris tam pulchre quasi quodam monstro^a uel fantasmate siluerunt stupefacti.

[134] Deinde uero prorsus obliterate stuporem naturali concupiscencia et ultro citroque conciliante gratiam^a geniali concordia, ad cedendum paratissimam (fol. 146^v) gestibus cum ea loquendo nutibus et signis^b alliciunt sibi feminam. Cedit illa. Seseque libens applicat allicientibus donec unus furum, forte principalis et primus,^c trepido totam rei seriem considerante marito, in diuersorium subteranei secrecius ductam male renitentem^d sibi supposuit petulcam. Subsequenterque suos singillatim sodales ad idem transmisit examen.

[135] Nec illa satis in tali casu paciens et benigna recusare curauit laborem nec uectorum neruose causari multitudinis inhonestatem. Atqui in sub lodice^a gerendis ueneriorum cum una ludis multitudo numerosa nichil habet honestum. Ceterum delectati forma mulieris et secreto latrones eodem ordine quo prius uenerias suas iterant in aratura uices, nec mulier indelectata^b singulorum nequicia ordinis et actuum desiderat et prestolatur recapitulationes dum passibilis et laboriosa lassare renes in concussione non ueretur uel ledere nates. Nec talibus delictorum satis insana subsistit in finibus, sed araturis hilarata suum suis maritum prodit aratoribus. Nichil enim fiet femine mariti uita¹³⁹ magis odiosum cum facinorose fuerit marito facinus indubitate detectum. Reuera nullum si latet incognitum abhorret uel abominatur femina delictum, presertim si delinquat circa delectationes petulanciarum.

[136] Miser ergo putentis matrone capitur ligaturque maritus, perpetuitati seruitutis destinatiue reseruatus. Subinde pro lucro latrones uel aliquatenus ylarati dioneum redeunt ad ministerium, pristinique seruantes ordinis indemnitatem,¹⁴⁰ secretim uadunt ad satisfactionem donec gaudiis fatigati^a frequenter repetitis profundissimos omnes labuntur in sompnos.^b Femina quoque, nec uiris lassata nec ueneriis saciata, iam de libidinis adiectione^c desperans, et ipsa stertentibus aliis altum tandem cadit¹⁴¹ in sompnum.^d

[137] Ceterum miles ligatus, dum languet in uinculis, laborat et angustiat. Quia sepius dum dolor est in summo, remedium uenit a propinquo, adeo uiriliter brachia mouet et distrahit,¹⁴² quod manuum ligamina dissoluit. Euestigioque dormiencium suauiter arma comportat et in fasciculum constringit¹⁴³ et extra conclaue remocius abscondit. Deinde reuersus foculoque caucius clarificato, nullo sequente tumultu uel murmure, quia dispersi prout mos est opere tali fatigatis iacebant, tres iugulauit.

[138] Eo enim uirilius percussit, quia raro conriualis suo conriuali parcere consuevit. Inter conriuales, [quod] quod magne michi mouet admirationis

139. *ordo uita mariti D (corr. D¹).* 140. *idemnitatem D (corr. D¹).*

141. *cadit D (d ex corr. D^c).* 142. *sic D.* 143. *constringit D (corr. D¹).*

occasionem, formarum mater infatigabilis inuidias et odia constituit indifferenter natura. Porro dum magnanimorum more quartum minus aggreditur circumspecte, semiuuium reliquit lesum tamen irremediatiue. Vnde quoniam uel hoc ei posito funebri licuit in lectulo, adeo horrendum moriens exclamauit quod reliquos cum mecha mechos clamoris insolencia stupefactos^a excitauit. Statimque sopore discusso^b medullitus excitati, ubi se suis sensere tutelis armorum des(fol. 147)titutos, nudas uelociter¹⁴⁴ manus expediunt,^c et ad ultimum citra fugam refugium saxa scilicet et fustes uegete discurrent.

[139] Sic rabies trium libidine consolidata^a criminorum deseuire festinat in unum,^b sed inter tres, contra fas et pium,^c paulo ante uinculati militis aduersarios sua coniunx in eum ruit improbius ad noscendum.¹⁴⁵ Et quia fedam ledere militari miles¹⁴⁶ telo dedignabatur uel ense,^d eam plus iusto resupinabilem reiecto resupinauit calce. Naciumque debilitata renumque per inconsuetum resupinationis¹⁴⁷ modum fortitudine, eciam pugne reddidit inualidiorem uenerie, ocissimeque subsequenter, quia letale tunc periculum contrahebat ad se mora, alterius superstitum fatali telo^e transegit penetralia,^f alterius uero capud gladio uiriliter secreuit a trunco.^g

[140] Sic in posterioribus lesa, furibus¹⁴⁸ interemptis, iterum sua solus remansit cum sola. Sed deinceps adeo uiciosam neque dormiuit neque dormitauit iuxta uiperam, ganeaue subsequenter dioualari relictia propriam uir ualidis est prospere reuersus ad patriam.^a

- [141] De facili facilis omni se subderet omnis
 Femina^a uectori, nec hunc distinguit ab illo
 Per speciem quia¹⁴⁹ sola sedet sibi mentula menti:
 Inguinis est mensura^b modus sibi semper amoris.
 5 Non nisi penis honus uariat mulieris amorem.
 At tamen a ualido serum secernit arantem.
 Quis fatuat si sola sciat nisi femina curat.
 Si lateat factum festuce, non facit actum.
¹⁵⁰
 Continuo feruore calet res femina fallax,^c
 10 Resque leena ferox, hec semper gestit et illa.
 Frigore nec frigent hiemis nec pondere uentris;
 Temporis excursus uacat a prurigne nullus.
 Est igitur res mira minus si femina multos
 Querat aratores, cui sufficiunt male multi.
 15 Vix lassata uiris fuerit sed sic saciata

144. uel'it' D.

145. noscendum = nocendum. 146. *ordo* miles militari D (corr. D¹). 147. resupnationis D.148. furib D. 149. qui D. 150. *Lacuna lineae unius relict. in D.*

Nulla fuit uenere, si corpore firma fuisset,
 Quod nollet resupina nouum lassare clientem
 In coitu uicto ueteri uectore relicto.

[IX]

De ciconia mecha^a

[142] Suum forte curuus fossor et sedulus secus salicem, qua ciconie con-gesserant,¹⁵¹ interdum fodiebat ortulum, dumque masculini sexus ciconia, prout earum moris est,^b oua domi fouente femina, communium gestrix negotiorum uigil et officiosa, quod frequens est, ageret in absencia, sedentem super oua ciconiam ciconia uiolenter oppresit et subegit extranea. Sed ui uiciata protinus, fossore diligenter rei seriem considerante, proximum se lauandi causa descendit ad amnem suumque lauata tandem rediit ad offi(fol. 147^v)cium. Idque sic sagaciter egit ne suus in reditu uicium sentiret odore maritus. Nulla res reuera subtilius adultera: erroris querit reperitque remedia.^c

[143] Ast dum per aliquot dies, quia frequencius delinquentes consuetudo facit audaciores, uolatilis mechus idem consuetudinaliter et prospere reuenteretur ad examen mechaque propter consuetudinem non indelectata^a forte mechantis nequicia fluuialem solito serius lentiusque descenderet ad ablutionem, perpetrato quadam die contra fas adulterio, suam ciconialis maritus adhuc hanelam ante fluuialis lauacri purgationem reuersus est ad contubernalem.

[144] Statimque nescio qua subtilitate naturali perpetratum fore sentit et comperit adulterium porrigereque¹⁵² renuit quod sibi destinauerat alimentum. Subsequenterque ciconia, per lesam castitatis legem maxime mota, alis in sublime propassis euecta. Sodalem raptim relinquit et nidum.

[145] Post aliquot deinde dies comitata rediit magna multitudine ciconiarum. Dumque tam uarie geruntur, ad singula sollerter inuestiganda fodientem mouent ortulanum. Subinde quasi coacto populari consilio¹⁵³ de rebus arduis deliberaturo rostro crepitantium, seuerse consedit uniuersitas uolatilium et ad summam prout modus exigit et ordo iudiciarius, in nido residens adultera edictaliter est ad respondendum citata, causaque secundum scema silentiarium discussa, est ab uniuersitate propter culpam membratim dilacerata.

[146] Est itaque rerum natura subtilius inspecta uerisimillimum quod ab auibus ad caste uiuendum discretio sibi sumpserit^{153a} humanitatis argumentum. Nec minus iam dictis collectivae singillatimque notatis uidetur esse ueritati consonum quod citra naturam sola subtilitas artificialis copule matrimoniali dederit^a initium.

151. coniescerant *D*(corr. *D*¹). 152. porrigere *D* (que ss. *D*¹). 153. sic *D*. 153a. supserit *D*.

[X]

[147] In hominibus profecto mores suis modis quatuor uariant et participantur humores. Sanguis enim, ut nota tria¹⁵⁴ loquamur, addictos sibi facit genialiter bonos simplices et modestos. Colera uero facit iracundos ingeniosos acutos macilentos, plurimum comedentes citoque¹⁵⁵ degerentes, et ad petulantiam prodigalitatemque procliuēs. Melancholia subdolos cum iracundia auaros timidos tristes sompniculosos inuidiosos. Fleuma uero reddit corpore compositos, uigilantes, intra se cogitantes, in capite cito canos efferentes, minus audaces. Si igitur aliqui sue differenter (fol. 148) cedentes complexionī uite modos uariant et mores, adiciendum non est id admirationī.

- [148] ^a Pulcrius in medio nichil est quam copia rerum.
 Qualibet arte placet aurea massa^b magis.
 Nil ualet ars sine re.^c Racio male ditat egenos.^d
 Dulcius est lucro, laucius ere nichil.
 5 Nil tibi, si censu careas,^e sapiencia confert.
 In mundo sapiens pauper honore caret.
 Sic igitur quiuis census sibi querat et era.
 Ere carens uilis uir medianus erit.
 Sed si quid uile bene prospicias quid honestum,
 Ere minus tibi, uir, eris amator, erit.^f

[XI]

De militibus

[149] Est quidem superbia super omnes sub sole spirantes^a militibus herens et hereditaria.^b Vnum est et continuum sub pacis tranquillitate militis officium superbire. Non enim solo miles in animo tumescit sed et omne quod agit elacionis sordibus continuare nititur et depingit.

[150] In incessu rotabundus incedit. Supinus ad consessum uenit. Erectus sedet. Extentus equitat. Oculis cecucientibus limisque respicit.^a Iactanter loquitur et ampullas¹⁵⁶ proicit.^b Delicate comedit. Contumaciter ad pocula palmam porrigit. Gulosissime tamen uasa siccant et ciffos euacuat. Deliciose cubat. Cum fastu surgit. Et ut sit ad unum dicere, gestus corporis omnes contumaciis inficit.

[151] Adeoque se sua sponte patitur infatuari quod ad instar feminarum soli se dedat cure corporis et simulationi necnon et ostentationis uanitati. Profecto primum principaleque^a quauis die militis est opus et propositum ut post profundos diffusosque sub sole^b sompnos, cum uentum denique fuerit ad

154. triaque *D*. 155. titoque *D* (*corr. D'*). 156. appullas *D*.

surgendum, summam more mulierum dirigat intentionem^c corporis ad ornatum. Vir excitatus etiam et adhuc iacens suum superbia depingit surgendi modum. Inprimis dum brachia superbe denudat, dum tumide tussit^d et oscitat, ab omnibus quos habuerit seruientibus flexis inutiliter genibus adoratur, et non solum iacens a suis calciatur sed, quod est dictu turpius,^e nudatis braccatur femoralibus. Deinde delicatissime uestitus, muliebriter emollitus, faciem lauat. Erectus ad sistrum pilos luxuriantes uolsella¹⁵⁷ castigat. Capud pectine planat. Omniaque corporis spectant ad ornatum solempniter, et superbe continuat.¹⁵⁸ Subsequenter diei tocius usque ad mensam tempus in periuriis et iactationum uanitatibus non erubescit. In mensa uero uentri totus interserendo tamen semper inania miles indulget. Residuum deinde diei tempus compotacionibus^f et ebrietatis obscenitatibus omnino concessurus si sibi licuerit.

[152] Demumque de milicia uentose fabulatur^a sed non militat, de pugna fatur sed non pugnat. Licite loquitur sed non ledit. Nudis et omnino nil conferentibus,^b si ad id forte uentum fuerit, sermonibus amicos beat. Verbis se eis quicquid habet habiturusue fuerit collaturum, (fol. 148^v) ipsis licet indigeant non daturus ouum, conceptissime iurat.^c Sic singula que fatur uel agit simulacionibus et fallaciis^d pingit et decolorat. Ad hec inter nullos sub sole spirantes,^e salua religiosorum reuerentia,^f dolus uel inuidia uegecius uiget.

[153] Cum uero, quod frequens est, ad ostentationis uanitatem uertere libuerit animum, nemo nobilius diuicias fundos et possessiones loquetur mendaces, nemo gloriosius tussiet.¹⁵⁹ Nemo pluribus unum nominibus seruientem quasi dubius appellabit. Nemo superbius cibos potusque dampnabit.^a Ast ubi dumtaxat inutilibus diem consumpserit totam, diurnam post ingluuiem in sordibus petulanciarum tempus transiget nocturnum. Nec si transigat est mirum: cibus enim meroque uenter estuans facillime desumat in petulanciam.

[154] Sic uniuersitas¹⁶⁰ militum, tota semper in uanitatibus uictura, est in uilitatibus uitam consumptura. Ad summam in uno milites, ut michi uidere uideor, imperitie¹⁶¹ sue detegunt et superbie^{161a} superhabundanciam, quod sicut, ut uulgariter¹⁶² loquar, clericus qui semel fuerit bonus^a ex generali formula^b fandi semper, dum compos mentis uixerit, dicetur bonus, nec est admittendum saluo recte loquendi modo^c eum fuisse bonum. Sic superbia fermentati censent de militibus iudicandum perfunctorie, considerantes quod probitas militaris consistat in facto, bonitas uero litteralis fundetur in animo. In facto quidem militis consistit officium, nec quod quis miles sit probus referri solet ad animum, licet animus sagacem quandoque faciat et animosum. Ergo si bene militandi possibilitatem casus uel ualitudo sibi subtrahat uel senectutis inproperium, eum presencialiter militem dicere bonum satis uidetur absurdum. Alioquin causariam

157. uolsello D. 158. continuant *conici potest*. 159. tussieet D. 160. uniueritas D. 161. imperie D. 161a. superdie D. 162. uulgaliter D (*corr. D¹*).

uel ignominiosam missionem^d forte sortitum bonum, quia retro bonus fuit, dicturus¹⁶³ eris esse militem, quod secundum rei militaris rationem admitti debere nullus etiam concederet millitancium.¹⁶⁴ Verum animus, quia quasi iuris ad instar est, sine senectutis iniuria cum uita semper duraturus per rationis amminiculum uult et admittit quod qui semel fuerit bene litteratus sine sermonis¹⁶⁵ uicio presencialiter dum uiuit clericus, ut uulgariter loquar, dicatur esse bonus.

[155] Cessent igitur milites tam impudenter et adeo superbe se bonos asserere cum sue bonitatis possibilitas uiribus succisis^a deficiat in corpore, fateaturque se bene litteratus audacter et tamen citra iactanciam, dum uiuit, in officio suo bonum, eciam senectute lassatum quia suum senescere quo bonus est non contingit animum.

[XII]

De feminis

[156] De femi(fol. 149)narum uero iam nunc uniuersitate statim post milites propter consimilem uiuendi consuetudinem, ne prorsus intactam satis habundantem relinquamus materiam, uel aliquid subiciamus.^a Ad tria principaliter suam queuis femina dirigit intencionem:^b ut caducum curet corpus et ornet, ut mares circumueniat, ut eis placens maribus uenerie succumbat. Sicque cum militibus femine conueniunt quod et plurimum cure corporis et petulancie iugiter indulgent. Sed nec feminis milites in fallaciis et circumuencionibus^c quandoque citiores existunt nec existere conantur.

[157] “Quandoque” dixi quia milites per interualla fallunt, femine uero continuis deceptionsibus inuigilant. Queuis¹⁶⁶ enim femina suum quem sibi sagaciter allexerit amasium feruentius amauerit toto tamen ut eum dampnose circumueniat conamine studebit. Quibus poterit eum modis emunget^a et spoliabit.^b Sompniculosus eum quatinus ualuerit uigiliis^c attenuabit. Ardens etiam citraque modum mulier amatum numquam diucius amabit. De facili saciata predesiderato desideratum post breuem temporis excursus uilipendet et uitabit. Cum liberas libidinandi cum prius amato femina retro feruens habenas habuerit,^d in negociacionis uires et nomen et amor transibit.

[158] Semper enim mulieris amorem uel pudor uel molestia uel enorme delictum condire consueuit. Si quod libet istorum defuerit, sub breuitate temporis, translatus in odium totus tepebit. Nec sine precio prius amatum post admittet uectorem, nec eius ulterius uector uetus petulancie furores excitabit. Ex nature quidem uicio^a queuis femina nouum semper aratorem desiderare perseuerabit.

163. dicturusus *D.* 164. mollitancium *D.* 165. susmonis *D.* 166. Quiuis *D.*

[XIII]

De negociatoribus

[159] Sunt autem negociatores auarissimum citra feminas genus¹⁶⁷ mortaliū. Nichil enim sordidius esse uidetur in sordibus auaricie quam se, quod feminis est hereditarium,^a pro precio prostituere propriumque pro lucro corpus enormiter et animam contaminare. Non autem segnius quam femina, licet aliquanto citerius est, anime sue prodigus,^b eamque prostituit ut diuinitatis contemptor^c et aduersarius, qui continuis uiuere non abhominatur in peierationibus.^d

[160] Abhominandum sane censetur esse negocium quod uiro ueritatis emolumentum nichil prorsus est allaturum,^a quod nil cuiquam confere poterit utilitatis^b nisi per sordes mendaciorum. Illud profecto cuilibet est amatorum fidelitatis abhominabile esseque deberet si sanius saperent mercatoribus (fol. 149^v) admodum terribile, quod generaliter dicitur et autentice neminem scilicet mercatorem posse deo placere et ideo Christianorum cuilibet officium mercatoris sub interminatione penalitatis interdici debere.^c At quiuit quod ex malis et per mala congeritur ad bonum proficiet uel in firmi status soliditate firmabitur?

[161] Nec est intraturus in dei sui potenciam^a qui per exercitium cognouerit negociationem, quod ex authenticis psalmiste sumitur sermonibus per contrarii sensus intelligentiam. Ait enim: "Quia non cognoui negoci(a)tionem, introibo in potenciam dei mei."^b Is autem teste Crisostomo mercator est qui rem comparat ut integram et in m(u)ltatam¹⁶⁸ uendendo lucretur, et is ut indignus a templo meritissime eicitur.^c Qui uero res emit non ut eas immutatas et integras alienet sed ut ex eis materiam sibi quid operandi sagaciter eliciat, is in negociatoris nec nomen nec ui(c)ium¹⁶⁹ cadit, nec ut reprobatus dei domus expellitur a liminibus.^d Idem autem sic scribit: "Merito dictum est negocium quia n(e)gat¹⁷⁰ ocium nec ueram que deus est querit quietem."^e Et Cassiodorus: "Nichil aliud est negociatio nisi ut ea que sunt uilius comparata carius sint subsequenter distracta."^f

[XIV]

De ruricolis

[162] Ad summam de ruricolis, quos sermone uulgarum rusticos appellat uilipenditque superba tumentis uanitas nobilitatis, uel aliquid subiciamus.^a De his profecto, non minus ut reor uerax quam libens assertor, assero, eoque libentior forte quod a talibus natium natus originem traho, quod inter homines sub sole^b soli uita uiuant minus uiciis abili.

167. ordo genus feminas *D* (corr. *D*¹). 168. in m(u)ltatam ut uid., propter religaturam u non uideri potest in *D*. 169. ui(c)ium: propter religaturam c non uideri potest in *D*.

170. n(e)gat: propter religaturam e non uideri potest in *D*.

[163] Nec tamen inficior quin rucolarum multi in consuetudine sua uiuendi sint admodum uituperandi. Verumptamen pro maiore parte pulcro consuetudinaliter suos distinguunt ordine dies. Inprimis quidem summ(o)¹⁷¹ rucicola uino minime crapulatus esterno^a surgit diluculo. Deinde liminis in excessu crucis insi(g)nitus¹⁷² signaculo primum dei deuotus adit domicilium ruralibusque ceteras subsequenter laboribus non solum sibi sed humano generi profuturis diei concedit porciones.

[164] Fatigatus tenuem sobriamque uenit ad mensam. Ex paucis que manibus propriis arat iugeribus paterfamilias laboriosus pascit uestitque familiam. Nobili diuite deuocius largam¹⁷³ pauperi porrigit manum,^a honeribus respondet patrimonialibus, angaria sepius per angariumque grauatur exactionibus, et quod est elegancius, religiosus est et rectus in decimacionum^b prestacionibus. In suspiriis uitam transigit matrimonialibus. Sua solummodo se post uxorem solatur in sobole. In necessitatibus summam sola spem ponit in diuinitate.^c Sicque beatissimam mundiciis uirtutibusque comitam dicere non erubescerem rucicola uita(m).¹⁷⁴

171. summ(o): *propter religaturam* o non uideri potest in D. 172. insi(g)nitus: *propter religaturam* g non uideri potest in D. 173. ordo largam deuocius D (corr. D¹). 174. uita(m): *propter religaturam* m non uideri potest in D.

Notes

[1]

- a. There is nothing in piece I about "usus meri."
- b. Cf. section 65.
- c. Petron. 111: "Matrona quaedam Ephesi tam notae erat pudicitiae" (LOf).
- d. Cf. Verg. *G.* 3.210; Ov. *F.* 2.762; Hor. *C.* 1.18.14.

[2]

- a. Cf. section 2 below. Petron. 87: "Nihil est tam arduum quod non improbitas extorqueat" (LOf).
- b. Petron. 9: "coepitque mihi uelle pudorem extorquere" (L). Cf. *ibid.* 111: "refecta potione et cibo expugnare dominae pertinaciam coepit" (LOf).
- c. Cf. section 32. Petron. 98: "Iam credenti persuadeo" (L).
- d. Cf. Verg. *A.* 4.173-175.
- e. Cf. section 2, notes a and b. Petron. 111: "expugnare dominae pertinaciam coepit" (LOf).

[3]

- a. Cf. section 124. Cf. Juven. 1.57.
- b. Verg. *A.* 4.412.
- c. Cf. Petron. 9: "nocturne percussor" (L).
- d. Cf. sections 16, 21, 44, 69, 97, 132, 142.
- e. amoris . . . uehementia: cf. sections 3 below, 44, 90, 94, 128.
- f. Cf. Macrobian. *Sat.* 1.3.
- g. Cf. section 86. Verg. *A.* 10.843.
- h. sompniculosas . . . curas: cf. sections 13, 66, 157.
- i. Cf. section 3, note e.
- j. Section 124. Juven. 1.57.

[4]

- a. Cf. section 22.
- b. Cf. Publil. Syrus 22: "Amare et sapere uix deo conceditur."

[5]

- a. Cf. sections 73, 79, 115. Petron. 112: "mulier non minus misericors quam pudica" (LOf).
- b. Cf. section 118.
- c. suo . . . arbitrio: cf. sections 55, 82. Petron. 137: "suo . . . arbitrio" (LOf).
- d. Cf. sections 26, 87, 120.
- e. Cf. sections 8, 97. Petron. 94: "ex dolore in rabiem efferatus" (LO).

[6]

- a. Cf. section 89. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.478.

- b. Cf. section 74. Cf. Petron. 97: "oppessulatas inuenit fores" (L).
 - c. Cf. section 13. Cf. Petron. 137: "polluisti sanguine domicilium meum" (LO).
- [7]
- a. Cf. section 45. *Cod. Iust.* 2.41(40).5: "Melius etenim est intacta iura eorum seruari quam post causam uulneratam remedium quaerere."
- [8]
- a. Cf. section 9.
 - b. Cf. section 12. Concerning Lex Iulia see *Cod. Iust.* 9.9 and *Dig.* 48.5.
 - c. Cf. sections 5, note e, and 18, note b.
- [9]
- a. Petron. 14: "paruo aere recuperare potius thesaurum quam in ambiguam litem descendere" (Lf).
 - b. Cf. section 8, note a. Cf. Cic. *Cat.* 3.2.4, *Clu.* 14.43.
- [10]
- a. Cf. sections 88, 114, 127, 152, 160. Petron. 111: "nihil profuturo gemitu" (LOf).
 - b. Cf. Petron. 72, 74: "flere coepit" (H). Cf. *ibid.* 111: "flere totis noctibus diebusque coepit" (LOf). Cf. *ibid.* 137: "ipsa flere uehementius coepit" (L).
 - c. Cf. section 37.
 - d. Cf. section 139. Cf. Verg. *A.* 12.919.
- [11]
- a. Cf. sections 31, 72, 110.
- [12]
- a. Cf. section 8, note b.
 - b. Cf. section 72. *Dig.* 25.2.1 (cf. O. Lenel, *Palingensia Iuris Ciuilis* 1 [Leipzig, 1889], 116, no. 66): "Rerum amotarum iudicium singulare introductum est aduersus eam quae uxor fuit, quia non placuit cum ea furti agere posse: quibusdam existimantibus ne quidem furtum eam facere, ut Nerua, Cassio, quia societas uitae quodammodo dominam eam faceret." Cassius was the prominent Roman jurist exiled by Nero in 65 to Sardinia and recalled by Vespasian (see Pauly-Wissowa 3, 2 [1899], 1736–1738).
 - c. Cf. section 33; 3 Reg. 3.20; cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 1.3.
 - d. Petron. 112: "posteroque die populus miratus est qua ratione mortuus isset in crucem" (LOf).
- [13]
- a. Cf. section 6, note c.
 - b. Cf. section 3, note h.
- [14]
- a. Section 14 theorizes on friendship, a favorite 12th-century theme. See *Contra Religionis Simulatores*, Introd., n. 20.
 - b. Cf. Petron. 80: "Nomen amicitiae sic, quatenus expedit, haeret" (LOf).
 - c. Ov. *T.* 1.9.5–6.
- [15]
- a. See Introd., n. 16.
 - b. Cf. Ps. 3.8.
- [16]
- a. Cf. section 3, note d.

[17]

- a. Cf. sections 57, 100. Cf. Petron. 12: "Nec diu moratus" (L), *ibid.* 64: "non moratus ille" (H), *ibid.* 97 "Non est moratus Giton imperium" (L), *ibid.* 126: "Nec diu morata" (LO).

[18]

- a. For the following account of the death of Nero cf. Suet. *Nero* 47, 49.
- b. *suppremas . . . perductus ad angustias*: cf. sections 8, 97. Petron. 24: "ad ultimam perductus tristitiam" (L).

[20]

- a. Cf. section 102. Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 51: "ipsum sibi manus intulisse."
- b. Cf. Petron. 111: "si antequam fata poscant, indemnatum spiritum effuderis" (LOf).

[21]

- a. Cf. section 133. Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 22: "reliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt"; Petron. 111: "muliere . . . quasi quodam monstro" (LOf); Juven. 4.115.
- b. Cf. section 3, note d.

[22]

- a. Cf. section 23.
- b. Cf. section 4, note a.
- c. Cf. Petron. 125: "expugnata paupertas noua mendicitate reuocanda" (L).

[23]

- a. Cf. section 22, note a.
- b. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6.157–158.
- c. Cf. sections 151, 156.

[24]

- a. Cf. section 56. Cf. Petron. 13: "O lusum fortunae" (L) and cf. Suet. *Aug.* 83: "Iudibria naturae."
- b. Cf. the widow of Ephesus story in Petron. 111: "mortem inedia persequentem" (LOf).
- c. Petron. 111: "Ad spectaculum sui euocaret" (LOf).
- d. Cf. sections 47, 105. Suet. *Claud.* 15: "modo circumspectus et sagax."

[25]

- a. Cf. section 81.
- b. Cf. sections 95, 109, 119, 122, 141.
- c. Cf. sections 149, 159. Concerning the false-swearing of merchants see section 159.

[26]

- a. Cf. section 86. Petron. 76: "Naues naufragarunt . . . mi haec iactura" (H).
- b. Cf. section 5, note d.
- c. Cf. sections 49, 83, 93, 100, 105, 129. Cf. Petron. 117: "conuertit ad nouitatem rei mentem" (L), *ibid.* 136: "Confusus igitur et nouitate facinoris attonitus" (LO).

[27]

- a. Cf. Terence, *Andr.* 68: "ueritas odium parit"; *Sprichw.*, nos. 19648, 33157k.

[28]

- a. A red-headed man was considered untrustworthy, as in *Ruodlieb* 451–456, ed. G. B. Ford, Jr. (Leiden, 1966), p. 56, and in *Sprichw.*, e.g., nos. 761, 763, 4387, 6564.
- b. Cf. section 66.

[29]

- a. Ierem. 17.9–10.
- b. Cf. section 117.
- c. Hippocr. *Aphor.* 1.1.

[31]

- a. Cf. section 11, note a.
- b. Cf. sections 92, 149, 152, 162.
- c. Cf. the catalogues of national traits, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH AA 11 (1894), 389–390.
- d. Cf. section 155.
- e. Cf. section 107.

[32]

- a. Cf. section 2, note c.
- b. Cf. sections 42, 47, 53, 95, 115, 122, 131, 152. Petron. 113: “Iurat Eumolpus uerbis conceptissimis” (L), *ibid.* 133: “conceptissimisque iurauit uerbis” (LO).

[33]

- a. Cf. section 12, note c.
- b. Cf. section 62. Cf. Macrobian *Sat.* 1.3.

[34]

- a. Cf. sections 38, 60.
- b. Cf. Petron. 125: “putabamque a custodia mei remouisse uultum Fortunam” (L).

[35]

- a. Petron. 111: “refecta potione et cibo” (LOf).

[37]

- a. Cf. sections 72, 84, 95.
- b. Cf. sections 10 (note c), 84, 88, 114, 132.
- c. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, started his career in Italy in 1047; he died 17 July 1085.

[38]

- a. Cf. section 34, note a.
- b. Cf. Juven. 10.277.

[40]

- a. Cf. section 97. Cf. Petron. 48: “in suburbano nascitur” (H).
- b. Cf. Boeth. *Cons.* 2 pr. 1: “Si manere incipit, fors esse desistit.”

[42]

- a. Cf. section 32, note b.
- b. Cf. sections 67, 102, 108. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.11.33; Hor. *S.* 1.2.24.
- c. Cf. sections 102, 152. Cf. Petron. 132: “saluo pudore” (LO).

[43]

- a. Cf. sections 101, 102, 120. Petron. 126: “Post tam frigidum schema” (L).
- b. Cf. section 55. The word *tricliniarches* occurs in Petron. 22 (L).
- c. Verg. *A.* 1.26.

[44]

- a. Cf. sections 47, 52, 146. All Guiscard's daughters were products of his marriage to Sigelgaita, sister of Gisulf II, Lombard prince of Salerno. He wedded her in 1058 and had by her Helena, betrothed to Constantine son of Emperor Michael VII; Mabel,

married to William of Grandmesnil; Emma, married to Odo the marquis and sometimes thought to have been the mother of Tancred: see D. C. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement 1050-1100* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), p. 228.

- b. Cf. section 3, note d.
- c. Cf. sections 107, 154. Juven. 6.453.
- d. Cf. sections 64, 73. Juven. 10.297-298 (cf. Petron. 94).
- e. Cf. Petron. 113: "obliquis trucibusque oculis utrumque spectabam" (L).
- f. Cf. section 3, note e. Cf. Petron. 4: "eloquentiam, qua nihil esse maius confitentur" (LO).
- g. Cf. section 70.

[45]

- a. Cf. Juven. 1.149.
- b. Cf. section 72. *Rhet. ad Heren.* 3.7.14: "detrimento atque dedecori."
- c. Cf. section 7, note a.
- d. Cf. *Sprichw.*, nos. 965a, 8611.

[46]

- a. Cf. *Sprichw.*, no. 32168.

[47]

- a. Cf. section 44, note a.
- b. Cf. sections 79, 135. Juven. 6.195.
- c. Cf. section 72.
- d. Cf. section 72.
- e. Cf. section 24, note d.
- f. Cf. section 32, note b.

[49]

- a. Petron. 1: "Putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos" (LO).
- b. Cf. section 26, note c.

[50]

- a. Cf. section 78. Petron. 127: "implicitumque me bracciis" (LO).
- b. Petron. 131: "Totoque corpore in amplexum eius immissus" (LO).
- c. crebris . . . singultibus: Petron. 91 "singultibus crebris" (L).
- d. Cf. sections 78, 98.
- e. Cf. sections 78, 115. Petron. 132: "Iam pluribus osculis collisa labra crepitabant" (L).
- f. Cf. Petron. 74: "Hinc primum hilaritas nostra turbata est" (H).
- g. Cf. section 91. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.561; Ov. *M.* 7.133; Luc. 2.361.
- h. Cf. sections 83, 113. Petron. 137: "Amoris est hoc argumentum" (L).
- i. Cf. Petron. 108: "In odium se ira conuertit" (L).

[51]

- a. Publil. Syrus 6: "Aut amat aut odit mulier, nil est tertium."

[52]

- a. Cf. section 157. Cf. Martial 5.42.5.
- b. Cf. section 128.
- c. Lc. 10.30, 36.
- d. Henoensibus: of Genoa.
- e. Cf. section 44, note a.

[53]

- a. Cf. sections 76, 96, 102. Cf. Petron. 8: "Iniecerat manum" (LO) and similarly *ibid.* 14, 91, 133.
- b. Ov. *F.* 2.806.
- c. Cf. Petron. 111: "temptavit dare mulierculae cibum" (LOf).
- d. Cf. section 32, note b.
- e. Lucretia is mentioned in Petron. 9 (LO).

[55]

- a. Cf. section 43, note b.
- b. Cf. section 5, note c.

[56]

- a. Cf. section 24, note a.

[57]

- a. Cf. section 120. Petron. 68: "Nullus sonus umquam acidior percussit aures meas" (H).
- b. Cf. section 17, note a.

[58]

- a. Cf. Petron. 132: "constricta spectatis fronte Catones" (LO).
- b. Cf. sections 152, note d, 156, note c.

[59]

- a. Suet. *Calig.* 27: "ad metalla . . . condemnauit."

[60]

- a. Cf. section 34, note a.
- b. Cf. section 61.

[61]

- a. Cf. section 60, note b.

[62]

- a. Cf. section 33, note b.
- b. Cf. Ierem. 49.9.
- c. Cf. section 99. Cf. Petron. 7: "Delectata est illa urbanitate tam stulta" (LO).

[63]

- a. Ov. *E.* 4.89.
- b. Cf. section 148.
- c. timorem Contempnas . . . Spem fugias: cf. Boeth. *Cons.* 1. m.7.26–27.

[64]

- a. On piece VII see Introduction, n. 30.
- b. Cf. section 44, note d.

[65]

- a. Cf. section 1, note a.

[66]

- a. Cf. section 3, note h.
- b. Cf. section 28, note a.

[67]

- a. Cf. sections 88, 125, 140. Cf. Io. 1.11.
- b. Cf. Petron. 112: "Usus est miles ingenio" (LOf).
- c. Cf. section 42, note b.
- d. Cf. section 81. Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 1.3.

[69]

- a. Cf. section 3, note d.
- b. Cf. Verg. *A.* 2.724.

[70]

- a. Cf. section 44, note g.

[72]

- a. Cf. section 37, note a.
- b. Cf. section 47, note c.
- c. Cf. section 12, note b.
- d. Cf. section 12, note b.
- e. Petron. 2: "Non magis sapere possunt quam bene olere in culina habitant" (LOf).
- f. Cf. sections 95, 132, 136.
- g. Cf. section 45, note b.
- h. Cf. section 47, note d.
- i. Cf. section 11, note a.

[73]

- a. Cf. section 5, note a.
- b. Cf. section 44, note d.
- c. The thought which follows is somewhat like that expressed in sections 99 and 131 but is not close in language to either passage. Has the author made a mistake or do we have here evidence of lost text?

[74]

- a. Cf. section 6, note b.
- b. Petron. 26: "per rimam improbe diductam applicuerat oculum curiosum lusumque puerilem libidinosa speculabatur diligentia. Me quoque ad idem spectaculum lenta manu traxit" (LO).
- c. Petron. 92: "Habebat enim inguinum pondus tam grande ut ipsum hominem laciniam fascini crederes" (L).
- d. 1 Reg. 17.7 and similarly elsewhere in the Bible.
- e. Cf. Juven. 6.334.

[75]

- a. Cf. Walter of Châtillon, St. Omer poem no. 22, line 2 (ed. K. Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer* [Berlin, 1925], p. 35): "opus Venerium."

[76]

- a. Cf. Petron. 128: "Manus improba" (LO).
- b. Cf. section 53, note a.
- c. Cf. sections 115, 132, 134. Cf. Petron. 20: "non repugnanti puero innumerabilia oscula dedit" (LO), *ibid.* 87: "male repugnanti gaudium extorsi" (L).

[77]

- a. Cf. section 99. Petron. 110: "nullamque esse feminam tam pudicam quae non peregrina libidine usque ad furorem auerteretur" (LO).
- b. Sunt enim circa delectaciones . . . commissuras inuitat: Petron. 126: "Quaedam enim feminae sordibus calent, nec libidinem concitant nisi aut seruos uiderint aut statores altius cinctos. Arena aliquas accendit aut perfusus puluere mulio aut histrio scenae ostentatione traductus. Ex hac nota domina est mea: usque ab orchestra quattuordecim transilit et in extrema plebe quaerit quod diligit" (L).

[78]

- a. in amplexus . . . immissa: cf. section 50, note b.
- b. Cf. section 50, note d.
- c. Petron. 127: "osculis lusimus" (LO).
- d. Cf. section 50, note a.
- e. Cf. section 115. Petron. 9: "Muliebris patientiae" (L), *ibid.* 25: "Muliebris patientiae legem" (LO).
- f. Cf. section 50, note e.
- g. Cf. Petron. 132: "Oppono ego manus oculis meis" (L).
- h. Petron. 131: "admotisque manibus temptare (Chrysis) coepit inguinum uires" (L).
- i. Petron. 87: "gaudium extorsi" (L).
- j. Cf. section 136. Petron. 87: "Gaudio lassus" (L).
- k. Cf. Petron. 108: "in colloquium uenire" (LO).

[79]

- a. Cf. section 5, note a.
- b. Cf. section 47, note b.

[81]

- a. Cf. section 25, note a.
- b. Cf. section 67, note d.
- c. Cf. section 139. Petron. 108: "contra fas legemque" (L).

[82]

- a. Cf. section 157. Cf. Verg. *A.* 12.499.
- b. Cf. section 5, note c.

[83]

- a. laxatam . . . custodiam: Petron. 112: "laxatam custodiam" (LOf).
- b. Cf. section 26, note c.
- c. Cf. *ibid.*
- d. Cf. section 101.
- e. Cf. section 50, note h.

[84]

- a. Cf. section 37, note a.
- b. Cf. section 37, note b.

[86]

- a. Cf. section 3, note g.
- b. Cf. section 26, note a.

244 STORIES AND SKETCHES

[87]

- a. Cf. section 5, note d.

[88]

- a. Cf. section 67, note a.
- b. Cf. section 37, note b.
- c. Verg. *A.* 10.285.
- d. Cf. section 10, note a.

[89]

- a. Cf. section 6, note a.
- b. malo . . . fortunatus: cf. sections 102, 109.
- c. Lc. 5.4. Cf. also Petron. 3: "tanquam piscator eam imposuerit hamis escam, quam scierit appetituros esse pisciculos, sine spe praedae moratur in scopulo" (LOf).

[90]

- a. a pectoris ymo . . . suspiriis: cf. section 115.
- b. Cf. section 3, note e.

[91]

- a. Cf. section 50, note g.

[92]

- a. Cf. section 96. Cf. Suet. *Claud.* 35: "timidus ac diffidens fuit."
- b. Cf. section 31, note b.
- c. Cf. Eccles. 1.2–3.

[93]

- a. Juven. 6.460.
- b. Cf. section 26, note c. Petron. 70: "consternati nos insolentia" (H).

[94]

- a. Petron. 108: "caduceatoris more Tryphaena" (LO).
- b. Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5.50.
- c. Cf. Petron. 129: "In partem aedium interiorem fugit" (LOf).
- d. Cf. section 3, note e.
- e. Cf. Suet. *Nero* 49: "fatalem horam."

[95]

- a. Cf. section 25, note b.
- b. Cf. section 37, note a.
- c. Cf. section 32, note b.
- d. Cf. section 72, note f.

[96]

- a. Cf. section 92, note a.
- b. Cf. section 53, note a.

[97]

- a. Cf. section 114.
- b. Petron. 126: "collegit altius tunicam" (LO).
- c. Luc. 10.508.
- d. Cf. section 40, note a.
- e. Cf. section 3, note d.

- f. Cf. sections 5, note e, and 18, note b.
- g. Cf. section 129. Cf. Stat. *T.* 7.113.

[98]

- a. Cf. Verg. *A.* 8.405.
- b. Cf. section 131. Petron. 105: "nec manus nec faciem meam consideravit sed continuo ad inguina mea luminibus deflexis movit officiosam manum" (L).
- c. Cf. section 50, note d.
- d. Petron. 86: "basio inhaesi" (L).
- e. Cf. sections 108, 115. Petron. 86: "in unum omnia uota coniunxi" (L).
- f. Cf. section 132.
- g. Cf. section 78, note k.

[99]

- a. Cf. sections 135, 143. Cf. Petron. 87: "ille non indelectatus" (L).
- b. Cf. section 62, note c.
- c. Juven. 4.10 (cf. Suet. *Nero* 48).
- d. Cf. section 77, note a.
- e. Cf. section 148. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.8.55, *F.* 1.217.

[100]

- a. Cf. section 119. Petron. 139: "Et teneo te" (L).
- b. Cf. section 26, note c.
- c. Cf. section 132. Cf. Petron. 8: "sudorem detersit" (LO).
- d. Cf. Hor. *S.* 2.3.165.
- e. Cf. section 17, note a.
- f. Cf. *Apocolocyntosis* attributed to Seneca, 7: "Gallum in suo sterquilinio plurimum posse." The expression is quoted by William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* 1.17 (ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton [RS; London, 1870], p. 24). Cf. *Sprichw.*, no. 10154.

[101]

- a. Cf. section 43, note a.
- b. Cf. section 83, note d.

[102]

- a. Cf. section 43, note a.
- b. Hor. *Epp.* 2.1.233.
- c. Cf. section 20, note a.
- d. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 62: "post longa et exquisita tormenta."
- e. Cf. section 42, note c.
- f. Cf. section 53, note a.
- g. Cf. section 89, note b.
- h. Cf. section 42, note b.

[105]

- a. Cf. Ov. *E.* 3.143.
- b. Verg. *A.* 1.55 and similarly elsewhere in Vergil.
- c. Cf. section 26, note c, but see especially section 93, note b.
- d. Cf. sections 108, 124.
- e. Cf. section 24, note d.
- f. Cf. *Sprichw.*, nos. 2273, 2273a, 2551a.

[106]

- a. Petron. 11: "lustraui oculis totam urbem" (L).
- b. *Ibid.*

[107]

- a. Petron. 117: "quod bene feliciterque eueniret" (L).
- b. Cf. section 31, note e.
- c. Cf. Iob 27.2.
- d. Cf. section 44, note c.
- e. Juven. 3.289.

[108]

- a. Cf. section 42, note b.
- b. Cf. section 105, note d.
- c. Cf. section 98, note e.
- d. Sallust, *Iug.* 67.
- e. Cf. section 124.

[109]

- a. Cf. section 124.
- b. Cf. section 89, note b.
- c. Cf. section 25, note b.

[110]

- a. Cf. section 11, note a.

[112]

- a. Ad enorme . . . assimilatum: cf. section 160. Suet. *Aug.* 25: "Proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam damni metus ostenderetur. Nam minima commoda non minimo sectantis discrimine similes aiebat esse aureo hamo piscantibus, cuius abrupti damnum nulla captura pensari posset."

[113]

- a. Cf. section 50, note h.

[114]

- a. Cf. section 97, note a.
- b. Petron. 126: "facies medicamine attrita" (L).
- c. Cf. section 10, note a.
- d. Cf. section 37, note b.
- e. Petron. 99: "Vt scias . . . uerum esse quod dicis, ecce etiam osculo iram finio" (L).

[115]

- a. Cf. section 5, note a.
- b. Cf. section 32, note b, and Petron. 21: "religiosissimis iurauit uerbis" (L).
- c. Cf. section 132. Cf. Petron. 25: "consurrexi ad officium nuptiale" (LO).
- d. Cf. section 78, note e, and esp. Petron. 25: "muliebris patientiae legem" (LO).
- e. Cf. section 76, note c, and esp. Petron. 20: "uirguncula ceruicem eius inuasit et non repugnanti puero innumerabilia oscula dedit" (LO).
- f. Petron. 91: "amabile pectus quassauerat" (L).
- g. Cf. section 50, note d. Petron. 132: "Iam pluribus osculis collisa labra crepitabant, iam implicitae manus omne genus amoris inuenerant, iam alligata mutuo ambitu corpora animarum quoque mixturam fecerant" (L).

- h. Cf. section 90, note a.
- i. Cf. section 98, note e.

[117]

- a. Cf. section 29, note b.
- b. Petron. 43: "Numquam autem recte faciet qui cito credit (HLf), utique homo negotians" (H).

[118]

- a. Cf. section 5, note b.
- b. Petron. 13: "Mendici spoliū" (L).
- c. Petron. 117: "quod praeberet mendacio fidem" (L), *ibid.* 140: "Vt constaret mendacio fides" (L).

[119]

- a. Cf. section 25, note b.
- b. Cf. section 100, note a.

[120]

- a. Cf. section 43, note a.
- b. Cf. section 5, note d.
- c. Cf. section 57, note a.
- d. Cf. Petron. 44: "Vrceatim plouebat" (H).
- e. Cf. Petron. 111: "faciemque unguibus sectam, ratus" (LOf).
- f. Cf. Petron. 111: "coepitque hortari lugentem . . . et cetera quibus exulceratae mentes ad sanitatem reuocantur . . . temptauit dare mulierculae cibum" (LOf).

[121]

- a. Petron. 91: "qualibet saeuitia paenitentiam iudicis tui puni" (L).
- b. Cf. Juven. 6.90–91.

[122]

- a. Cf. section 25, note b.
- b. Cf. section 122 below. Cf. Petron. 87: "in somnum decidi" (L).
- c. Ov. *E.* 19.46.
- d. Verg. *G.* 3.435, *A.* 4.522 and 4.555.
- e. Cf. sections 122, note b, and 136.
- f. Cf. section 32, note b.

[124]

- a. Cf. section 3, note a.
- b. Cf. Verg. *A.* 11.599–600.
- c. Cf. section 109, note a.
- d. Cf. section 108, note e.
- e. Cf. section 139. Cf. Verg. *A.* 2.557–558 (cf. Lucret. 3.654).
- f. Cf. section 105, note d.

[125]

- a. Cf. sections 131, 138. Cf. Petron. 111: "discusso errore" (LOf).
- b. Cf. section 67, note a.
- c. Cf. Petron. 113: "risu excepere fabulam" (LO).

[126]

- a. Cf. section 139. In section 139 there is a similar chivalric reluctance to shed female blood.

[127]

- a. Cf. section 10, note a.
- b. Cf. Hor. *A. P.* 31.
- c. Cf. section 127, note e. Petron. 140: "Locellos aut sonantes aere sacellos" (L).
- d. Ov. *Am.* 3.4.17; Hor. *C.* 1.3.26.
- e. See section 127, note c.
- f. Hor. *C.* 4.5.29; Stat. *T.* 10.54.

[128]

- a. Cf. section 3, note e.
- b. Cf. Petron. 4: "eloquentiam, qua nihil esse maius confitentur" (LO).
- c. Cf. section 52, note b.

[129]

- a. Cf. section 26, note c, but see especially section 93, note b.
- b. Cf. section 97, note g.

[130]

- a. Cf. Petron. 7: "In locum secretiorem uenimus" (LO), *ibid.* 9: "In eundem locum me conieci" (L).
- b. Cf. Petron. 21: "Priapi genio peruigilium deberi" (L).
- c. Igneque . . . reficiunt: Verg. *A.* 1.174-176.

[131]

- a. Cf. section 125, note a.
- b. Cf. section 98, note b.
- c. Cf. section 32, note b.

[132]

- a. Cf. section 72, note f.
- b. Cf. section 3, note d.
- c. Cf. section 100, note c.
- d. Cf. section 98, note f.
- e. Cf. section 76, note c.
- f. Cf. section 115, note c.
- g. Cf. section 37, note b. Cf. section 142.
- h. Cf. Petron. 20: "Sollicitauit inguina mille iam mortibus frigida" (L).
- i. Petron. 19: "ego autem frigidior hieme Gallica" (L).

[133]

- a. Cf. section 21, note a, and especially Petron. 111: "Muliere . . . quasi quodam monstro" (LOf).

[134]

- a. Cf. Petron. 112: "conciliante gratiam" (LOf) (cf. Suet. *Calig.* 4).
- b. Ov. *T.* 2.453.
- c. Cf. section 151.
- d. Cf. section 76, note c.

[135]

- a. Cf. section 47, note b.
- b. Cf. section 99, note a.

[136]

- a. Cf. section 78, note j.
- b. Petron. 21: "cum laberemur in somnum" (L), *ibid.* 22: "grauatus tot malis in somnum laberetur" (L).
- c. Cf. section 72, note f.
- d. Cf. section 122, notes b and e.

[138]

- a. Cf. section 26, note c.
- b. Cf. section 125, note a.
- c. Petron. 108: "nudas expedit manus" (L).

[139]

- a. Petron. 108: "rabies libidine perditorum collecta" (L).
- b. Cf. section 126, note a.
- c. Cf. section 81, note c.
- d. Cf. section 126, note a.
- e. Cf. section 10, note d.
- f. Cf. section 109, note a.
- g. Cf. section 124, note e.

[140]

- a. Cf. section 67, note a.

[141]

- a. Cf. section 25, note b.
- b. Juven. 1.41 (cf. *ibid.* 9.34).
- c. Cf. section 25, note b.

[142]

- a. (To the title). Concerning this piece see note 27 in the Introduction.
- b. Cf. section 3, note d.
- c. Cf. section 132, note g.

[143]

- a. Cf. section 99, note a.

[146]

- a. Cf. section 44, note a.

[148]

- a. For the theme of the following verses cf. Petron. 83, 84, 88, and Hildebert of Lavardin, *Carmina Minora* 17 (ed. A. B. Scott [Leipzig, 1969], pp. 6-7).
- b. Petron. 88: "Massa auri" (LO).
- c. Cf. Hildebert *op. cit.* 17.9-10 (ed. Scott, p. 6): "Nil artes . . . sine re."
- d. Cf. Petron. 83: "Amor ingenii neminem umquam diuitem fecit" (L).
- e. Cf. section 99, note c.
- f. Cf. section 63, note b.

[149]

- a. Cf. section 31, note b.
- b. Cf. section 25, note c.

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[150]

- a. Cf. section 44, note e.
- b. Hor. *A.P.* 97.

[151]

- a. Cf. section 134, note c.
- b. Cf. section 31, note b.
- c. Cf. section 23, note c.
- d. Cf. section 153. Petron. 117: "imperamus Eumolpo ut plurimum tussiat" (L).
- e. Petron. 4: "quod utroque turpius est" (LO).
- f. Cicero seems to be the only classical writer to have used this word (*De Senec.* 45, *Fam.* 9.24.2).

[152]

- a. Petron. 3: "uentosa istaec et enormis loquacitas" (LO).
- b. Cf. section 10, note a.
- c. Cf. section 32, note b.
- d. Cf. sections 58, note b, and 156. Cic. *De Orat.* 2.191: "Nihil est opus simulatione et fallaciis."
- e. Cf. section 31, note b.
- f. Cf. section 42, note c.

[153]

- a. nemo nobilius . . . dampnabit: Petron. 117: "Secundum hanc formulam imperamus Eumolpo ut plurimum tussiat ut sit modo solutioris stomachi cibosque omnes palam damnet, loquatur aurum et argentum fundosque mendaces. . . . Quotiescumque aliquem nostrum uocare temptasset, alium pro alio uocaret ut facile appareret dominum etiam eorum meminisse qui praesentes non essent" (L).

[154]

- a. There was a traditional rivalry between knights and clerics, evident, for example, from the debate-poem published by Hans Walther in his *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1920), pp. 248–253.
- b. Cf. Petron. 117: "Secundum hanc formulam" (L).
- c. Cf. section 44, note c.
- d. causariam . . . missionem: cf. *Dig.* 3.2.2, 29.1.26, 49.16.13. *Dig.* 3.2.2: "multa genera sunt missionum: . . . causaria, quae propter uoletudinem laboribus militiae soluit."

[155]

- a. Cf. section 31, note d.

[156]

- a. Cf. section 162.
- b. Cf. section 23, note c.
- c. Cf. section 58, note b.

[157]

- a. Cf. *Juven.* 6.147.
- b. Cf. section 52, note a.
- c. Cf. section 3, note h.
- d. Cf. section 82, note a. Cf. *Verg. A.* 1.63.

[158]

- a. Petron. 128: "naturali uitio" (L).

[159]

- a. Cf. section 25, note c.
- b. Hor. C. 1.12.37–38.
- c. Cf. Verg. A. 7.648; Juven. 6.342.
- d. Medieval writers were much disturbed by the false-swearing of businessmen: cf. sections 25, 161. See, for example, Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, In Ps. 80 sec. 15 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 97 [1958], 635): "Negotiatores ergo illi abominabiles aestimantur . . . merces suas plus periuriis onerando quam pretiis," and Alexander Nequam, *De Naturis Rerum* 2.179, on businessmen (ed. T. Wright [RS; London, 1863], p. 315): "Ha! Quotiens testis inuocatur deus, qui cum ueritas sit, falsitatis testis esse non potest. . . . Ha! Quotiens multiplicantur periuria ut fides fiat seducendo." See also J. W. Baldwin, "The Medieval Theories of the Just Price," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Soc.*, n.s. 49, 4 (1959), 14–15, 67–68.

[160]

- a. Cf. section 10, note a.
- b. Abhominandum . . . utilitatis: cf. section 112, note a. Cf. especially Suet. *Aug.* 25: "Proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumentum spes quam damni metus ostenderetur."
- c. Ps. John Chrysostom, *Opus Imperfectum* 38.10 (PG 56:839): ". . . homo mercator uix aut numquam potest deo placere. Et ideo nullus Christianus debet esse mercator; aut si uoluerit esse, proiciatur de ecclesia dei" (*Decretum* 1.88.11). Ps. Chrysostom's remarks here and his statements cited below (section 161, notes b–d) are united with Augustine's comment (section 161, note e) and Cassiodorus' query (section 161, note f) in the *Palea* at the end of Gratian's *Decretum* part 1 dist. 88. According to Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 64, the quotations from Ps. Chrysostom, Augustine, and Cassiodorus were appended to the *distinctio* of the *Decretum* sometime before the close of the twelfth century and were subsequently used as a group by medieval scholars of canon law. The combination may be found, for example, in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Secunda Secundae quaest. 77 art. 4 (Leonine edition of Aquinas' *Opera* 9 [Rome, 1897], 1531).

[161]

- a. Ps. 70.16. Cf. section 160, note c.
- b. Ps. 70.16. Cf. Ps. John Chrysostom, *op. cit.* (PG 56:839): ". . . dicente propheta: Quia non cognoui negotiationes, introibo in potentias domini" (*Decretum* 1.88.11).
- c. Ps. John Chrysostom, *op. cit.* (PG 56:840): "Qui autem comparat rem ut illam ipsam integram et immutatam dando lucretur, ille est mercator, qui de templo dei eicitur" (*Decretum* 1.88.11).
- d. Cf. Ps. John Chrysostom, *op. cit.* (PG 56:840): "Quicumque rem comparat non ut ipsam rem integram et immutatam uendat sed ut opus faciat ex ea, ille non est negotiator." But apparently section 161 follows rather the *Palea* (*Decretum* part 1 dist. 88 ch. 11): cf. after "immutatam uendat" – ". . . sed ut materia sibi sit inde aliquid operandi, ille non est negotiator."

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- e. Augustine, *Enarrationes In Psalmos*, In Ps. 70.18 (edd. E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, CCL 39 [1956], 955–956): “Merito et negotium dictum est quia negat otium. . . . Non audis uocem dicentis: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis. . . . Haec requies contra negotiatores praedicatur, haec requies contra eos qui oderunt otium.” But again it is evident that our author was immediately dependent upon canon law: “Merito dictum negotium quia negat otium, quod malum est, neque quaerit ueram quietem quae est deus” (*Decretum* 1.88.12).
- f. Cassiodorus, *op. cit.* 15 (ed. Adriaen, p. 634): “Quid est enim aliud negotiatio, nisi quae possunt uilius constare, carius uelle distrahere?” (*Decretum* 1.88.13).

[162]

- a. Cf. section 156.
- b. Cf. section 31, note b.

[163]

- a. Verg. *E.* 6.15.

[164]

- a. Juven. 10.301–302.
- b. Cf. Is. 6.13; Tob. 1.7.
- c. Pss. 72.28, 77.7.

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