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The Sententiae Magistri A (Vat. Ms lat. 4361) and the School of Laon

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I.

The so-called Sententiae magistri A is a compilation of predominantly patristic excerpts. It has long been known as one of the collections used by Gratian whose Decretum was published about the year 1140. It derives its name from the explicit of Paris, B.N. Ms lat. 3881, fol. 230: Explicit liber sententiarum magistri A. The letter A has generally been considered as the initial of Alger of Liège, but in the course of this article I hope to establish good reasons that the substitution of magister Anselmus for Alger enjoys a far greater measure of probability. Since magister A made copious borrowings from the works of Ivo of Chartres, especially his Panormia, it is beyond doubt that the compilation known as Sententiae magistri A was made after 1185, the date of Ivo's Panormia.1 A more accurate dating of its terminus a quo may become possible by the dating of a text on the Eucharist which appears to have originated in the school of Anselm of Laon (d. 1117). However, there is evidence that the collection grew as time went on and only a careful collation of the extant manuscripts will enable us to distinguish between the original compilation and later accretions.

While its importance for the history of the sources of canon law has been repeatedly discussed for over a century,2 no serious efforts have been made to investigate whether or not the Sententiae magistri A (henceforth referred to as SMA) left any traces in the theological literature of the twelfth century.3 On odd occasions, the problem has been touched by some authors. Thus J. de Ghellinck was faced with the question whether the SMA served as intermediary between Hugh of St. Victor's exposition of Holy Orders and Ivo's sermon on this subject. He decided against such an intermediate transmission on the grounds that Hugh of St. Victor would not copy from "Alger".4 Without accepting this particular argument, H. Weisweiler5 confirmed and improved de Ghellinck's view on Hugh of St. Victor's immediate source, but offered ample proof that Hugh was quite familiar with the SMA.

Once such a fact is established, it still remains to be shown how extensively authors used the collection. It goes without saying that the answer to this question is rather difficult in cases where other collections, known to the same writer, could have furnished him with the same source material. The present study is meant to be a first attempt to explore the range of influence of the SMA on the theological literature of the first half of the twelfth century. The results of such an exploration will prove very helpful in tracing the literary channels which provided theological writers with their patristic and post-patristic texts. A closer examination of these texts will also prove very useful in dating such works as can be shown to contain borrowings from the collection. It is, how-

2 H. Weisweiler, "Das Schrifftum der Schule Anselms von Laon und Willhelms von Champeaux in deutschen Bibliotheken", Beiträge, XXXIII (1936), 189 ff. In Vat. Ms. lat. 4361 the text is found on fols. 112 f.
3 See the article on Alger of Liège by A. Amanieu, Dict. de droit canonique I (Paris, 1935), 390-403.
5 PL 162, 515 ff.
6 "Le Traité de Pierre Lombard sur les sept ordres ecclésiastiques", Rev. d’hist. eccl., X (1909), 301: Hugues pouvait-il avoir copié Alger? n’était-ce pas plutôt l’inverse qui avait dû se produire?
7 "Die Arbeitsmethode Hugo von St. Viktor", Scholasistik, XX-XXIV (1949), 76 ff.
ever, not the writer's intention to investigate here the literary sources of the SMA itself, except in a few instances selected to characterize both the compiler and those who made use of his compilation.*

The SMA was obviously composed to fill certain gaps left by Ivo of Chartres. As preserved in Vat. Ms lat. 4361, fols. 1-146, the collection is divided into twelve parts: De Trinitate (fols. 1 ff.), De Angelis (fols. 23* ff.), De Creatione primi hominis (fols. 27 ff.), De Homine post peccatum (fols. 32 ff.), De Originali peccato (fols. 36 ff.), De Primo statu angelici et hominis (fols. 41 ff.), Quid sit matrimonium (fols. 48 ff.), De Baptismo (fols. 80 ff.), De Corpo et s. Domini (fols. 102 ff.), De Ordinibus et ordinandis (fols. 114 ff.), De Omnipotenti voluntate Dei (fols. 135 ff.), De Horis (fols. 143 ff.).

The last two sections do not belong to the original compilation. This can be gathered from the very fact that the texts "on the omnipotent will of God" disturb the logical order and are actually a mixture of casually collected excerpts, most of which have nothing to do with the subject indicated in the chapter heading. It is equally evident that an exposition of "the (canonical) Hours" has no place in the sort of collection the original compiler had in mind. This is also confirmed by the scribe of Troyes, Bibli. mun. Ms 1180, fol. 81, who concluded the part on Holy Orders with: Explicitur sententiae.* Hence we can safely assume that the original SMA consisted of ten parts.

Specifically the first six parts of the collection provide the kind of source material the theologians could not find, for instance, in Ivo's collections. The other four of the original ten parts, i.e., the sections on the sacraments contain heavy borrowings from Ivo's Panormia and offer very little new material with the exception of the part on matrimony. We shall find that these additions hold a key position in a study of the relationship between the SMA and the marriage doctrine of the school of Laon. These additions and the material not found in previous collections are, of course, the most important elements in the SMA from our point of view, because they reflect the compiler's personal intention and aim more clearly than do the parts copied from such earlier and well-known source-books as Ivo's Decretum and Panormia.

The compiler of the SMA was a theologian in a stricter sense of the word than Ivo of Chartres. He was a theologian who had a very definite concept and plan of theology in mind. In its general outline, this plan was distinctly new and so well conceived that its basic pattern has remained ever since. It is possible that the theologian was not engaged in scholastic activities, but it is more likely that his compilation was the result of lectures or personal experiences, in the sense that he wished to satisfy the need and demand for a source-book among both professors and students. We know that class-room activities in the early twelfth century consisted largely in commenting upon certain standard works, a practice which in theology meant commenting on the Sacred Scriptures. The commentary itself was generally little more than a florilegium of pertinent patristic excerpts.

Peter Lombard's commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul furnish some excellent examples of how certain Biblical passages could be used to enlarge on theological problems even within this rather casual framework of theology. But a more systematic approach to theology had been attempted and successfully made years before Lombard prolonged an older tradition, a tradition which he later helped to replace with lasting effect when he decided to compose

*H. Weisweiler, "Die Arbeitsmethode", p. 235 draws attention to an anonymous chapter in the SMA beginning with: Quod infantes catechumeni efficientur. He shows that Hugh wove part of it into his treatise on Baptism and believes that the author of the SMA used a liturgical source. This "liturgical source" is no other than Theodulph of Orleans, De Ordine baptismi, 1-5; PL 115, 2413-227A.

his Sentences. The author of the SMA belongs to the first generation of scholars who initiated what is known as early scholastic theology. As said before, he had a definite plan of a theology beginning with the trinitarian God and ending with the sacraments.

In those parts dealing with the sacraments the compiler of the SMA could and did rely on previous collections. To these sections he added certain elements suited to his purpose and, for the same reason, he selected texts from the vast mass of material offered in Ivo’s popular Panormia. The personal additions are mainly derived from St. Augustine. It is he who really dominates in all those parts that we owe exclusively to the compiler’s personal work. Without intending it to be the last word on the matter, I am convinced that the author of the SMA used an Augustinian florilegium—not the original works of St. Augustine—and that the systematic arrangement of parts is his original contribution to the development of scholastic theology. I shall show that the marriage treatise of the school of Laon grew directly out of the SMA and further research may confirm the opinion, based on this fact, that the SMA is indeed the standard collection of the school of Laon.

II.

We have previously referred to the use made of the SMA by Hugh of St. Victor. In his excellent articles on Hugh’s Arbeitsmethode, H. Weisweiler points out that the long chapter, entitled De Discretione trivum personarum in deitate una, is a straight transcription of texts from the SMA. An analysis of this florilegium will be given later in this study to illustrate the peculiarities which that particular section of the SMA had acquired by the time it reached the hands of Hugh of St. Victor. For the purpose of dating the SMA it is naturally more important to see whether earlier writers or works offer elements copied from our collection. The marriage treatise of the school of Laon has been mentioned in that connection and, in view of its numerous ramifications, a detailed demonstration of this dependence will constitute the second part of this study.

L. Ott notes that the SMA, as preserved in the Munich manuscript (Clm) 12668, contains a long passage from Fulgentius cited by Abelard. Although this text is not represented in the Vatican manuscript, we can point to a number of other patristic excerpts which are common to both the SMA and Abelard’s Sic et Non. However, we must first consider the possibility that the author of the SMA may have used Abelard’s work. Chapters common to both, but of varying length, allow us to conclude that the compiler of the SMA did not copy from Abelard. As an example we may examine the text: Augustinus in Enchiridion: Nam libero arbitrio . . . peccati servus est. The excerpt follows the original up to the quotation from II Pet. ii, 19. St. Augustine then continues: Petri certe Apostoli est ista sententia, quae cum vera sit, qualis, quaeae, potest servi addici esse libertas, nisi quando . . . peccati servus est. Both Abelard and the SMA continue: Quae autem potest esse libertas, nisi quando . . . peccati servus est. Since the excerpt is longer in the SMA, the author did not copy it from Abelard. Hence Abelard copied it either from the SMA or used the same Augustinian florilegium as the compiler of the SMA.

On a later occasion Abelard cites two texts from St. Augustine in the following manner: Augustinus, De Adulterinis conjugiis, lib. II: Quid tibi durum videtur

20 Scholastik, XX-XXIV (1949), 59-87; 223-267.
21 De Sacramentis II, 1, 4; PL 176, 376A-381C.
22 Sic et Non, 73; PL 178, 1245B. L. Ott,
...miseratione deletum. Item: Non erit turpis ... adultera non vocetur. Both excerpts occur in Ivo’s Decretum and Panormia, but not in the same order, while the SMA offers them in the same sequence. Equally interesting is another lengthy chapter quoted by Abelard: Item: Quid ergo dicimus ... Deo placere. It is a typical conglomeration in which either Abelard or his source chose what seemed more essential. The very same compilation occurs in the SMA, but Abelard omitted some sentences which he must have regarded as immaterial. This again proves that the author of the SMA did not borrow the text from Abelard and it is again safe to state that Abelard copied it either from SMA or from the Augustinian florilegium used by magister A.

In Abelard’s Sic et Non the quotation just discussed is followed by: Idem, De Bono conjugali: Bonum igitur nuptiarum per omnes gentes ... proles, fides, sacramentum. Abelard’s reading agrees very closely with the original. In the SMA, however, the same passage is divided into two chapters which occur in two separate places. The first of them (Bonum nuptiarum ... ad judicium permanente) contains an interpolation and the second some abbreviations of the original text. Abelard also cites excerpts found in both SMA and Ivo’s collections. In such cases, it seems, preference must be given to Ivo from whom Abelard definitely borrowed a number of texts.

If we evaluate the evidence, we cannot consider it quite certain that Abelard made use of the SMA, because the texts common to both may well derive their common peculiarities from some Augustinian florilegium used by both. But we can state with certainty that the author of the SMA did not make use of Abelard’s Sic et Non.

The frustrating element of uncertainty, caused by the possibility of a common source, affects also certain texts in the Summa sententiarum. The author quotes: Augustinus in libro quinto de Trinitate: Accidens dici non solet nisi aliqua mutatione rei, cui accidit, amitti potest. In Deo autem secundum accidens nihil dictur, quia ei nihil accidit. Nec tamen omne, quod dictur, secundum substantiam dicitur. In comparing this text to the Augustinian original, one would be very unfair to accuse the author of quoting carelessly. The quotation consists of two separate texts from Augustine the first of which reads: Accidens autem dici non solet nisi quod aliqua mutatione ejus rei, cui accidit, amitti potest. In the next paragraph, i.e., after some 25 lines in the Migne edition, St. Augustine states: Quamobrem nihil in eo secundum accidens dictur, quia nihil ei accidit. Nec tamen omne, quod dictur, secundum substantiam dicitur. The adjustment and combination of those two texts was not made originally by the author of the Summa sententiarum, but by the compiler of the SMA or by the scholar who abbreviated St. Augustine’s De Trinitate to cram it into a florilegium. However, it stands to reason that this second alternative becomes less probable, the greater the number of identical excerpts, because it is very improbable that two writers should constantly choose exactly the same texts.

Consider another example: Augustinus: Ideo tres dicimus personas, non ut aliqua intelligatur essentiae diversitates sed ut vel uno vocabulo responderi possit, cum dicitur, “quid tres, vel quid tria”? Idem: Cum quateritur, qui tres vel quae

18 Sic et Non, 123; PL 178, 1558C.
19 Decr. VIII, 242; Pan. VII, 35 and 37; PL 161, 636B; 1289A; 1290A.
20 SMA, fol. 77r.
21 Sic et Non, 125; PL 178, 1549C.
22 Cf. De Nupt. et conc. I, 3, 4-4, 5; CSEL 44, 214 f.
23 SMA, fol. 69r.
24 Sic et Non, 125; PL 178, 1549C.
25 De Bono conjugali, 29, 32; CSEL 41, 226 f.
26 SMA, fol. 50r.
tria dicantur Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, dictum est “tres personae” quo nomine non diversitatem intelligi voluit sed singularitatem noluit.\(^{21}\) The first of these texts occurs twice in the SMA and in two different versions.\(^{22}\) The Summa sententiarum has the shorter reading and then adds the second text which in this form does not occur in St. Augustine\(^{23}\) but in the SMA.\(^{24}\)

In the same chapter the Summa sententiarum refers briefly to several other statements which St. Augustine makes in various books of his De Trinitate. They are joined together in the SMA. With the chapter before him, the author of the Summa sententiarum could very easily quote together what, in the original Augustine, is far apart, though not unrelated.\(^{25}\) The text: Ambrosius: Affectus tuus operi tuo nomen imponit, is hardly the result of the author’s familiarity with the works of St. Ambrose, because it is also found in the SMA.\(^{26}\) Other excerpts could be cited to show the author’s dependence on the SMA;\(^{27}\) but it is perhaps more important to note that he used, apparently, the enlarged and therefore later edition of the SMA, as may be gathered from two identical chapters found in the eleventh part of the SMA.\(^{28}\) Hence, it seems morally certain that the author of the Summa sententiarum made use of the SMA.

The factor of uncertainty which may surround a limited number of common texts becomes negligible when we encounter writers who simply transcribed one text after another in the same sequence as found in the SMA. One such author was Hugh of St. Victor. He made no attempt at all to check the accuracy of his source, when he decided to transcribe the teaching of the Fathers on the Trinity “without adding a word of my own”.\(^{29}\) He begins with: Augustinus adversus impietatem Arii: Patres novum nomen . . . ejusdemque substantiae.\(^{30}\) It is a very free summary of an Augustinian text\(^{31}\) as found in the SMA where it is followed by: Idem: Omnes catholici . . . usiam vocant.\(^{32}\) In copying this text, Hugh hardly realized that it was compiled from different books of a different work.\(^{33}\) In dependence on the SMA, Hugh of St. Victor now quotes: Idem in libro contra Maximum: Nulla sit . . . est Spiritus sanctus.\(^{34}\) With the exception of the first three lines (in Hugh’s text) this quotation, consisting of two texts, is remarkably close to the original.\(^{35}\)

The next excerpt takes us back to St. Augustine’s work on the Trinity: Idem in libro de Trinitate: Si solus Filius . . . gentius quae est Pater.\(^{36}\) To judge from the not very critical Migne edition, Hugh changed the original twice from ea, qua ipse est, sua sapientia (intelligentia) to ea, quae ipse est, sua sapientia (intelligentia).\(^{37}\) If Hugh of St. Victor made the change, it must be a deliberate

\(^{21}\) Summa sent. I, 9; PL 176, 58A.

\(^{22}\) SMA, fols. 12\(^{a}\) and 20\(^{b}\); De Trin. VIII, 1; PL 42, 947.

\(^{23}\) Cf. De Trin. VII, 4, 9; PL 42, 942: Quaesivit quid tria dicier. Et dixit substantiae sive personas, quibus nominibus diversitatem intelligi voluit sed singularitatem noluit.

\(^{24}\) SMA, fol. 19\(^{a}\).

\(^{25}\) The chapter: Non quoniam Deus Trinitas . . . et unum omnia (SMA, fols. 18\(^{a}\)-19\(^{a}\)) is a partly rather free compilation from De Trin. VI, 7, 9; VII, 6, 11; V, 8, 9; VII, 4, 8 f.; VII, 6, 11.

\(^{26}\) Summa sent. III, 15; PL 176, 113A. Ambrose, De Officis I, 30, 147; PL 16, 715; SMA, fol. 40\(^{b}\).

\(^{27}\) Cf. Summa sent. III, 14; PL 176, 111A: Augustinus: Omnium bonarum rerum . . . Augustinus: Malum nihil aliud . . . Augustinus: Abstinere a cibo . . . The texts are copied from Enchir., 23, 8; 10, 3; PL 40, 244; 236; De Nat. et gratia, 20, 22; PL 44, 257. They are found in SMA, fols. 39\(^{a}\), 39\(^{b}\), 40\(^{a}\).

\(^{28}\) Summa sent. I, 13; PL 176, 65C: Augustinus in Enchiridion: Non sit aliquid. Quod justum est. (66D): Augustinus: Hae sunt magna . . . facere bonum. Enchiridion 95, 24; 96, 24; 100, 25; PL 40, 276, 279; SMA, fols. 138\(^{b}\) and 135\(^{a}\).

\(^{29}\) De Sacramentis II, 1, 4; PL 176, 376A.

\(^{30}\) PL 176, 376AB.

\(^{31}\) Augustine, Contra Maximiunum II, 14, 3; PL 42, 172.

\(^{32}\) SMA, fol. 17\(^{a}\).

\(^{33}\) SMA, fol. 17\(^{a}\).

\(^{34}\) De Trin. I, 4, 7; PL 42, 824: Omnes . . . operentur. De Trin. V, 1, 2; PL 42, 912: Nam quo intellectu . . . nondum captur. Intelligenzus . . . usiam vocant. This last text is also quoted in the SMA, fol. 8\(^{a}\), in Abelard’s Theologia ‘Scholarium’ II and his Sic et Non, 9; PL 178, 1060C and 1366A. Cf. Sent. I, 8, 5: ed. Quaracchi, p. 83.

\(^{35}\) SMA, fol. 18\(^{a}\).


\(^{37}\) SMA, fol. 18\(^{b}\); PL 176, 377BC.

\(^{38}\) De Trin. XV, 7, 12; PL 42, 1065 f.
reaction against a tendency in theology which is generally connected with the name of Gilbert of Poitiers.\textsuperscript{46} While the text just mentioned was chosen from the fifteenth book of Augustine’s De Trinitate, the SMA now presents a chapter which is a compilation comprising six separate extracts from three different books of the same work: \textit{Idem: Non quoniam Deus . . . et unum omnia.}\textsuperscript{47} As previously noted, traces of the same chapter are found in the \textit{Summa sententiarum.}

The next quotation: \textit{Idem: Denique si qua est . . . significant sed unum,}\textsuperscript{48} is followed in the SMA by a short text which Hugh omitted: \textit{Augustinus contra Maximum in unum: Pater omnia, quae habet in sua substantive, dedit ei quem de sua substantia genuit.}\textsuperscript{49} Without indicating a different source, the SMA then offers a text dealing with the Incarnation: \textit{Neque persona Patris . . . sed sola persona Filii.}\textsuperscript{50} This interesting text is hardly Augustinian;\textsuperscript{51} in fact it seems to be of contemporary origin. But by introducing it with \textit{Idem}, Hugh of St Victor implicitly attributes it to St. Augustine.

The SMA is more definite in the following quotation: \textit{Idem in libro quinto de Trinitate: Deo aliquid accidere . . . secundum substantiam dicetur.}\textsuperscript{52} This Augustinian text\textsuperscript{53} is found in the same chapter which provided the excerpt now quoted by the SMA and Hugh of St. Victor: \textit{Idem: Quamvis diversum sit . . . non est mutable.}\textsuperscript{54} The next five extracts are also taken from the fifth book of \textit{De Trinitate}, though they differ widely in contents.\textsuperscript{55} Hugh does not at all disturb the rather disorderly sequence of thought caused by copying the next two texts from the SMA, one of which is from the seventh\textsuperscript{56} and the other from the eighth\textsuperscript{57} book of \textit{De Trinitate}.

Under the name of Jerome we now come upon an excerpt from the \textit{Libellus fidei} of Pelagius: \textit{Hieronymus: Unum in tribus . . . et noninibus distinguuntur.}\textsuperscript{58} Then the SMA returns to Augustine’s \textit{De Trinitate} with passages copied from the seventh, fourteenth and fifteenth books. But Hugh of St. Victor continues with excerpts which may have been at the beginning of his collection: \textit{Ambrosius de Trinitate: Assertio nostrae fidei . . . salvos fieri.}\textsuperscript{59} The Vatican collection, it may be noted here, does not begin with St. Ambrose. The text consists of four parts and does not follow the sequence of the original.\textsuperscript{60} Even more widely separated are the parts of the next extract: \textit{Idem: Ego et Pater . . . ubi fides quaeritur.}\textsuperscript{61} It may be worth noting here that a comparison of this text with that of the \textit{Summa sententiarum}\textsuperscript{62} points to the SMA as immediate source, because of the expression \textit{vox silet} which reads \textit{lingua sileat} in Hugh of St. Victor.

In the Migne edition there is nothing to indicate that the following text: \textit{Credimus unum Deum . . . Deus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus,}\textsuperscript{63} is a
separate quotation, introduced in the SMA by the simple Item. It takes us to the Liber eccles. dogmatum of Gennadius\(^{27}\) which is also the source of the next two passages: Item: Non Pater . . . homo unus Filius. Item: Non ergo duo . . . nec immittio.\(^{28}\) Hugh quotes them correctly as a unit by omitting the second Item. Both the SMA and Hugh of St. Victor wrongly present the next passage as belonging to the previous text.\(^{29}\) The excerpt: *Ita erit Filius . . . major me est*, is a compilation from Augustine’s *De Dono perseverantiae*.\(^{30}\)

The question whether the mixture and confusion of texts is due to later insertions or to a compilation used by the author of the SMA cannot be answered at the present stage of research, though it cannot be denied that the Augustinian excerpt fits well into the context. So do the next three extracts, the first of which is derived from Augustine’s *Enchiridion* and reads: *Idem: Ex quo homo . . . Verbam et homo*.\(^{31}\) Hugh omitted the introductory *Idem*. The next text: *Item, Christus Jesus . . . sed unus Filius*,\(^{32}\) takes us back to the preceding chapter of the same source, Augustine’s *Enchiridion*,\(^{33}\) and in the last three extracts we return to the *Liber eccles. dogmatum*. The first of them still deals with the Incarnation: *Item, Deus assumpsit hominem . . . sine separatione distincta*.\(^{34}\) It is worth noting that, allowing for certain characteristic omissions, the text begins exactly where the previous quotation from the same work ended. The following text: *Item, Nihil creatum . . . non tamen solitum*,\(^{35}\) is heavily but skilfully abbreviated from the original.\(^{36}\) By way of contrast, the last extract is an almost literal transcription: *Item, Homousion i.e. in divinitate . . . in homine Dei*.\(^{37}\)

In the SMA we have now arrived at the text with which Hugh began his *florilegium*. H. Weisweiler, who noticed the transposition, suggests that Hugh of St. Victor transposed the texts to give more prominence to his beloved St. Augustine.\(^{38}\) While there are good reasons for agreeing with this suggestion, we may also assume that Hugh did not properly appraise this rather motley mixture of patristic texts. But the impression created by an analysis of this part of the SMA should not be generalized. Other parts of the collection are composed in a very orderly manner, not so much, perhaps, in the logical progression of thought as in the sequence of excerpts. Thus the fourth part, entitled *De Primo statu angelii et hominis* is compiled from two Augustinian works: *De Corruptione et gratia* and the *De Gratia et libero arbitrio*. The latter provides only four of the eighteen chapters. These chapters are not arranged systematically, but were obviously transcribed as they occurred in the source. This seems to have been the case originally in the first part of the collection. Its Augustinian extracts reveal the same pattern, now broken by various insertions from other authors.

III.

We have previously affirmed that the SMA enjoyed an exalted position in the school of Laon. Among the eleven tracts published by F. Bliemetzrieder under the title: *Sententiae Anselmi*,\(^1\) there are two treatises on marriage. The first of these is placed before the tract on Baptism and constitutes a brief summary dominated by the idea that, being a vestige of the Holy Trinity, the number

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{PL 42, 1213.}
  \item \text{SMA, fol. 16*}. PL 176, 380BC. Lib. eccl. dogmatum, 2; PL 42, 1213.
  \item \text{SMA, ibid. PL 176, 380CD.}
  \item \text{De Dono persever.}, 24, 67; PL 45, 1033 f. The phrase: qua minor est Patre, reads: qua major est Pater in the SMA.
  \item \text{SMA, fol. 16*}. PL 176, 380D. *Enchiridion*, 30, 11; PL 40, 230.
  \item \text{SMA, fol. 17*}. PL 176, 380D. Instead of Item, Hugh reads Idem.
  \item \text{Enchiridion}, 35, 10; PL 40, 249 f.
  \item \text{SMA, fol. 17*}. PL 176, 381D. Lib. eccl. dogmatum, 2; PL 42, 1213.
  \item \text{SMA, fol. 17*}. PL 176, 381D. Enchiridion, 36, 11; PL 40, 230.
  \item \text{SMA, fol. 17*}. PL 176, 380D. Instead of Item, Hugh reads Idem.
  \item \text{SMA, fol. 17*}. PL 176, 381A. Lib. eccl. dogmatum, 2; PL 42, 1213.
  \item \text{SMA, fol. 17*}. PL 176, 381AB.
  \item \text{Lib. eccl. dogmatum, 4}; PL 42, 1214 f.
  \item \text{SMA, fol. 17*}. PL 176, 381B. Lib. eccl. dogmatum, 3; PL 42, 1215.
  \item \text{Die Arbeitmethode Hugos}, p. 72.
  \item \text{Beiträge, XVIII (1910), 47-153.}
\end{itemize}
three rules the various aspects of marriage.\footnote{Ibid., 112 f.} Its position before Baptism may
call to mind the arrangements in the SMA. A similar parallelism can also be
seen in the sections dealing with the will of God which in both cases follow the
sacramental sections.

The second treatise on marriage is considerably longer, entirely different in
style and composition.\footnote{Ibid., 129–151.} Its most striking feature is the extraordinary number
of quotations, the sum total of which is close to a hundred. As we shall see, the
overwhelming majority of them was directly transcribed from the SMA, but the
editor greatly complicated his task by trying to prove that Ivo’s collections,
Anselm’s Enarrationes in Matthaueum and even the writings of such Carolingian
authors as Jonas of Orléans and Hincmar, supplied at least a certain amount of
the source material.\footnote{In his article “Gratian und die Schule Anselms von Laon.” Arch. f. k. Kirchen-
recht, CXII (1932), 52, Bliemetzrieder goes as far as to assert that the author relied
on his memory and was little concerned about the wording of his quotations. We
shall see that the very opposite is true.} Occasionally, however, Bliemetzrieder expressed a
suspicion that the writer of the treatise made use of an unknown collection. Our
demonstration that this unknown collection was no other than the SMA can be
based only on a comparative study of the quotations. Such a study, unfortunately,
is continuously hampered by long textual omissions indicated in the
dition by a number of dots. It seems that the editor chose this method whenever
the textual agreement with the original source, mostly St. Augustine,
justified this device to save printing space—a device which must have been as
imperative in 1919 as it was in 1946.

Broadly speaking, the part of the SMA that contains the excerpts on marriage
is divided into three sections. The first of these offers some twelve, mostly
abbreviated, chapters from Ivo’s Panormia. They concern the definition and
institution of marriage. The second section presents extracts chosen mainly
from Augustine’s De Bono conjugali, De Nuptiis et concupiscientia and De Pecca-
torium meritis. It comprises some forty chapters of varying length. The choice
of texts would seem to depend on the author’s personal readings, though, as
elsewhere, there are indications that he used an Augustinian florilegium rather
than the complete original works. This dependence on a florilegium would
account for some textual changes which could hardly be avoided in a process of
abbreviating. A closer study of the extracts copied from Ivo’s collections,
however, discloses the fact that some of the textual changes were made by the
compiler himself. The third section consists almost exclusively of texts
transcribed from the sixth and seventh books of Ivo’s Panormia and offers a
greater variety of patristic, papal and conciliar sources.

The predominance of St. Augustine in the second marriage treatise of the
Sententiae Anselmi is not so much the direct result of the author’s personal
preference for St. Augustine as the natural consequence of the source material
put at his disposal by the compiler of the SMA. At the same time, the absence
or omission of certain texts in the SMA explains why such questions as con-
sanguniality and others are not extensively discussed.

In 1931, F. Bliemetzrieder published another marriage treatise of the same
school.\footnote{RTAM, III (1931), 274–288.} The editor considered it a recension\footnote{Ibid., 274: “Les Sententiae Anselmi sont
l’oeuvre magistrale; notre traité est le travail d’un élève.”
“Das Schrifttum”, 11 ff. “Die Arbeits-
metode”, 246.} of the second marriage tract
published in the Sententiae Anselmi. H. Weisweiler\footnote{The missing part has been edited by H.
Weisweiler, “Das Schrifttum”, 33 f.} disagrees and maintains that the text edited in 1931 represents the earlier form of the original treatise.\footnote{We shall be able to show that Bliemetzrieder’s view is the valid one.}

In his monumental study of the literature connected with the school of Laon, H.
Weisweiler edited yet another marriage treatise that begins with the words
Decretum Dei fuit. ² He considers the second tract in the Sententiae Anselmi the immediate source of this fourth treatise. ³ Our own detailed examination of its text-quotations will confirm Weisweiler’s view on this relationship.

The popularity of the original marriage treatise of the school is further attested by another recension edited by Weisweiler. ²² To judge from its quotations, this short tract belongs to a later phase of development which, as we shall see, is characterized by a greatly reduced number of patristic texts, a less accurate manner of citing them and, in this particular case, by the appearance of such new names as Pope Nicholas and St. John Chrysostom who are not explicitly mentioned in the earlier treatises.

For the purpose of dating these marriage tracts, it is of importance to note that Hugh of St. Victor owes a great deal to the advances in the teaching on marriage made in the school of Laon. ²³ The opinion, voiced by Bliemetzrieder, ³² that Hugh of St. Victor used the second and longer text published in the Sententiae Anselmi, was modified by Weisweiler in the sense that Hugh used not one but two marriage tracts of the school of Laon: in the first chapters the version published by Bliemetzrieder in 1331, later the longer treatise found in the Sententiae Anselmi. ³⁴ Weisweiler’s principal reason for this modification is the presence of a number of quotations in Hugh’s De Sacramentis which we do not find in the first but in the second of these two treatises. Since we know with certainty that Hugh was familiar with the SMA and, in addition, cites some texts not found in either treatise but in the SMA, we may well dispense with Weisweiler’s supposition of two treatises in favour of the SMA and the marriage tract published by Bliemetzrieder in 1331.

This elimination is valuable also for the approximate dating of those documents. Through our analysis of quotations it will become evident that the SMA must be considered not only the oldest of these literary works but also the immediate source book of the longer tract edited among the Sententiae Anselmi. If the short tract, contained in the same edition, has any relation at all to the other marriage treatises enumerated so far, it appears to be very extrinsic. Nevertheless, it definitely dates back to the first half of the twelfth century, because it was known to Zachary of Besançon, a monk of St. Martin’s at Laon, who died about 1155. In his work De Concordia Evangelistarum he writes: Nota in conjugio sanctae Trinitatis vestigium. Est enim vir principium unde mulier; utrumque principium unde procedit et tertium. ³⁵ Our short marriage treatise begins as follows: In conjugio figura et vestigium Trinitatis multipliciter inventur. Est enim vir principium unde mulier; uterque vero principium unde procedit tertium. ³⁶ There are other texts to prove that Zachary knew the tract. ³⁷

The treatise Decretum Dei fuit is undoubtedly a recension of the second tract found in the Sententiae Anselmi and it seems that the recension originated in southern Germany. As far as its source material is concerned, the author added only a more accurate reading of a text attributed to St. Leo. ³⁸ Otherwise he was not very interested in quoting his texts verbatim. The number of his references

² “Das Schrifttum”, 361-379.
³ Ibid., 43 f.
²² RTAM, V (1933), 270-274.
²³ Gratian’s relationship to the school of Laon is described by F. Bliemetzrieder, “Gratian und die Schule Anselms”, 37-53. Since the points of contact seem to be very vague, Gratian’s Decretum provides little help in an attempt to date the marriage tract.
²⁴ RTAM, III (1931), 273.
²⁵ H. Weisweiler, “Die Arbeitsmethoden”, 246 and 249.
²⁶ PL 186, 131D.
²⁷ Sent. Anselmi, p. 112.
²⁸ “Das Schrifttum”, 377.
to, and summaries of, patristic texts offered by the work he revised prove convincingly that he did not use the tract edited by Bliemetzrieder in 1931. In point of time, I believe, the _Decretum Dei fuit_ is closer to the second treatise in the _Sententiae Anselmi_ than the tract just mentioned.

At the time when Hugh of St. Victor wrote his _De Sacramentis_, the marriage treatise preserved in the _Sententiae Anselmi_ must have been somehow outdated by such shorter and conciser recensions as the one edited by Bliemetzrieder in 1931. In it we shall find ample evidence to maintain that, like the _Decretum Dei fuit_, it is a recension of the second treatise found in the _Sententiae Anselmi_. Although most of the manuscripts containing it are preserved in Germany, the recension probably originated in France and, by the time Hugh wrote on marriage, was better known in Paris than the original. To supplement it, Hugh could and did rely on the _SMA_ and Ivo's _Panormia_.

Since it is well known that Walter of Mortagne composed the marriage treatise attached as _tractatus septimus_ to the _Summa sententiarum_, it seemed natural enough to examine its relationship to the _SMA_. A direct dependence cannot be proven, though Walter did not ignore the work done in the school of Laon. The same can be said of Master Simon and Peter Lombard. The _Sentences_ do contain a fair number of texts originally put in circulation by the _SMA_, but they are derived from secondary sources, especially the _De Sacramentis_ and the _Summa sententiarum_.

Before we make our final source analysis of the various marriage treatises, we may single out a group of three texts which occasioned lengthy discussions on the concept of marriage. We read in the _SMA_:

> De perfecto conjugio Augustinus: Non est perfectum conjugium ubi non sequitur commixtio sexuum. Idem: Non habent nuptiae Christi et ecclesiae in se sacramentum, si eas non subsequeatur commixtio sexuum. Nec pertinere poterit illa mulier ad matrimonium, cum qua docetur nonuisse commixtio sexuum. Leo Papa: Cum societas nuptiarum ita ab initio constituta sit, ut praeter sexuum commixtionem non haberet in se Christi et ecclesiae sacramentum, dubium non est eam mulierem non pertinere ad matrimonium, in qua docetur nonuisse nuptiale mysterium.

Under the same heading and in the same order this group occurs in what P. Fournier calls _The Collection in Ten Parts_ (Paris, B.N., _Ms lat._ 10743) compiled in 1125–30. According to Fournier, its author may well be Hildebert of Lavardin who died in 1133. The collection itself is described as a "revised and considerably enlarged edition of the _Panormia_". The same group is also found in a later canonical compilation designated by Fournier as _The Second Collection of Châlon_ of which only one copy is known to exist. We need not examine its relationship to the _SMA_ because it depends on the _Collection in Ten Parts_.

The information on the contents of the _Collection in Ten Parts_ given by
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Fournier suffices to prove that the compiler of the SMA did not derive his numerous Augustinian excerpts relative to marriage from this collection. On the other hand, there is not enough evidence to assume that the author of the Collection in Ten Parts must have transcribed our group of texts from the SMA. Since the group, with the exception of the Leonine decretal, does not occur in Ivo’s collections, it must have originated at the turn of the century, at the earliest. Considering its doctrinal contents, it favoured the view that marriage is not “perfect” unless consummated by sexual intercourse. This is clearly stated in the first, allegedly Augustinian text. The fact that the statement openly contradicts St. Augustine’s teaching and has not been found in any of his works justifies the assumption that the text is a corruption used to defeat the so-called consensus—theory of marriage.

Ivo of Chartres repeatedly quotes Pope Nicholas as saying: Matrimonium facit consensus, non coitus, and in his numerous letters dealing with various marriage problems he does not seem to know the alleged Augustinian dictum. The doctrine pronounced in it would have justified the conclusion that there was no true marriage between Mary and Joseph. When Abelard wrote his Sic et Non, this implication did not escape his attention. But he, too, must have been ignorant of the controversial text. He cites only the Leonine text, but in a deteriorated form, and adds a liturgical testimony: Beata mater et innupta Virgo. Abelard’s distorted version of the papal decretal is very similar to the second text of our group where it is ascribed to St. Augustine. In fact, the second text is nothing but a distortion of the Leonine decretal and, if we compare the relative clause (ubi non sequitur commixtio sexuum) of the first quotation with the conditional clause (si eas non subsequatur commixtio sexuum) of the second, we cannot fail to see that their formation was also interrelated.

Even before our three texts were being passed on as a unit, scribal errors had paved the way for an indeliberate falsification of the Leonine text. Where St. Leo had written: haberet... sacramentum, Ivo’s Panormia reads: NON habeant in se nuptiae conjunctionis Christi et ecclesiae sacramentum. The SMA, as we have seen, reads: non habeat in se Christi et ecclesiae sacramentum. Thus, some scribal errors may have given rise to the short-lived opposition to the consent—theory.

The appearance of our dubious group in the SMA does not mean that the author intended to promote the doctrine expressed in it. He probably found it where the author of the Collection in Ten Parts discovered it. It was the scholars’ task to propose an interpretation, not to ignore its existence. We know that the solution already proposed by the school of Laon hinged on the explanation of the word “perfect”. It is an encouraging sign of scientific honesty to find the group again in Gratian’s Decretum, which offers a reading of the Leonine decretal close to that of the Panormia and a text of the other two passages from a source similar to the SMA. In Lombard, only the order is changed and the wording slightly altered, so he too had to explain the text: Item Augustinus: Non est perfectum conjugium sine commixtione sexuum. A

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Ep. XCI; PL 161, 119A. Cf. Epp. CXXXIV; CXLVIII; CCXLII; CCXLI; PL 161, 143D; 153D; 230C; 251A.

A. Wilmart, “Sentences d’Anselme de Laon”, RTAM, XI (1939), 131, cites a fragment attributed to Ivo Carnotensis: Quia conjugium perfectum esse non potest sine carnali voluptate... non esset bonum sacramentum. There is no other evidence to confirm this attribution. The attribution is also weakened by the fact that Ivo never uses the Augustinian text so freely treated in the explanation of the introductory statement.

Ep. CLXVI; 4; PL 54, 1294B.

Sic et Non, 123; PL 178, 1545D.


Gratian, Decr. C. 27, qu. 27, qu. 2, c. 16 f.

Maître Simon, Tract. de sacramentis; ed. Weisweiler, p. 43 reads: Leo papa in decreto suis: Constat inter eos non fuisse Christi et ecclesiae sacramentum inter quos non fuerit commixtio sexuum.

strong advocate of the consent-theory, he was not fully satisfied with the insistence on *perfectum* in which the school of Laon saw the solution of the problem created by the three spurious and doctored texts.

IV.

Regarding the subsequent text analysis, a word of explanation may serve to define the value and limitations of such an argument. In consecutive numeration will be found first the quotations cited by the author of the second marriage treatise in the *Sententiae Anselmi*, henceforth abbreviated as *SA*. As a general rule only the initial and final words of the quotations are cited, even in those cases where the edition provides the whole text or longer parts of it. Just as important as the text itself are the introductory words, because they often betray the author's source by the manner in which he refers to the work from which the excerpt was actually or allegedly taken. It can be said without exaggeration that the author of the *SA* did not consult a single Augustinian work in its original. After locating the author's immediate source, text variants will be pointed out and explained as far as possible. Explanations of this kind must occasionally remain conjectural: first of all whenever the edition of the *SA* does not furnish us with the entire transcription, and secondly whenever our text of the *SMA* appears to stand in need of correction. Although the Vatican manuscript used in this study is well written, it is definitely not flawless. At the end of each item will be found a reference to, or a text from, the treatise *Decretum Dei fuit* (abbreviated *DDf*), if the same text or sentences from it or merely allusions to it occur in the recension.

No attempt is made at any time to analyse parts of the marriage tracts other than text quotations, unless they happen to be closely correlated. This may appear to be a limitation and restriction, but our method offers a much more powerful argument than a comparison of identical or similar statements made by two authors, because in numerous instances they can be interpreted in opposite ways. After all, the author of a recension can add to or shorten the text on hand at will. Yet it is beyond doubt that, for instance, the comparison between the *SA* and the *DDf* establishes the priority, in time, of the former over the latter, because the *DDf* contains only fragments, often freely worded, of the texts found in the *SA*. The same method would show that the *DDf* cannot be based on the marriage tract published by Bliemetzrieder in 1931. But since this has not been questioned, our second series of text comparisons is designed to show that this last marriage tract is of more recent date than the *SA*, because its text quotations are more remote from the original source, viz., the *SMA* and *SA*. In the second place, text variants will be examined in the light of our knowledge of the immediate and remote sources. These variants will, whenever possible, be confirmed by comparison with the readings given by Hugh of St. Victor.

The third series of texts is devoted to Hugh's marriage treatise with the exclusion of his last few chapters which are a sort of *forilegium* culled almost completely from Ivo's *Panormia*. The marriage tract in the *Summa sententiarum* will be drawn upon only to compare texts directly related to our present study, while Peter Lombard's position will be briefly outlined to illustrate the lasting influence of certain patristic texts which ultimately owe their popularity to the choice made by the author of the *SMA*.


1 *SA*, 130. The abbreviation *SA* designates the second marriage treatise edited by F.
This passage is the beginning of a chapter in the *SMA* which, because of later references, we transcribe in its entirety: Nuptias divina benedictio instituit. Postquam enim masculum et feminam creavit, benedixit eis dicens: Crescite et multipli camini. Crescere est fecunditatem sexum accipere. Multiplicatio autem fit per conjunctionem maris et feminae. Cujus conjunctionis ratio nec post peccatum poenamque homini(s) defecit secundum quam nunc terra plena est hominibus. Potuerunt autem esse in paradiso honorabiles nuptiae et thorus immaculatus: hoc Deo praestante feliciter obodientibus, ut sine inquieto arderi libidinis, sine ullo labore pariendi, fetus ex eorum semine gignerentur. Si enim non peccassent primi homines, eorum nutu imperarent membris genitalibus, quo pedibus cum ambulatur, ut neque cum ardores seminaretur neque cum dolore pareretur. Sed transgreediendo praecipuum motum illius legis, quae repugnat legi mentis, a membris conceptae mortis habere meruerunt, quam nuptiae ordinant, continentia cohibet, ut quemadmodum de peccato factum est suppliciun sic de supplicio fiat meritum.  

Comparing the excerpt quoted in the *SA* with the same passage in the treatise *DDf*, we note that the latter agrees verbatim with the transcription of the *SMA*.

(2) Unde Augustinus: Deus, inquit, masculum et feminam propagandi causa nuptiali castitate conjunxit.

This text agrees literally with the *SMA* and appears in *DDf* in an abbreviated form: Unde Augustinus: Deus conjunxit marem et feminam causa propagandi. In both the *SMA* and the *SA* it is followed immediately by a sentence attributed to St. Ambrose.

(3) Ambrosius: Pudor est feminis nuptiarum praemia non habere, quibus sola causa est nudendi.

The *SMA* has the same word order but reads: quibus haec sola. With slight change of word order the author of the *DDf* wrote: Pudor est feminis praemia nuptiarum non habere, quibus haec est sola causa nudendi.

(4) Cum omnibus ex gentibus ad implendum sanctorum numerum largissima suppedi tat copia, libibo sordidae volutatis sibi vendicae, quod prolis necessitudo non poscit.

The *SA*, as published, does not note the source of this statement. It is taken from the first part of the following chapter in the *SMA*: Cum ex hominibus ad implendum sanctorum numerum largissima suppetat copia, libibo sordidae volutatis sibi vindicat, quem sufficiendae prolis necessitudo non postulat. Denique utiusque sexus infirmitas propendens in ruinam turpitudinis recte excipitur honestate nuptiarum et quod sanis posset esse officium fit aegrotis remedium.

Neque enim (quia) incontinentia malum est, ideo connumbium, quo inter continentes copulatur, non est bonum. Immo vero non propter illud malum culpabile est hoc bonum. Sed propter hoc bonum veniale est illud malum, quoniam id bonum quod habent nuptiae et quod bonae sunt nuptiae peccatum esse numquam potest.

Hoc tripartitum est: fides proles sacramentum. In fide attenditur, ne propter vinculum conjugale cum altero vel altera concumbatur; in prole, (ut) amanter susciptiur, benigne nutriatur, religioso educetur; in sacramento, ut conjugium

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Bliemetzrieder in the *Sententiae Anselmi, Beiträge*, XVIII (1919), 129-151.  
* SMA, fol. 48r. Pan. VI, 22; PL 161, 1248A.
* SMA, fol. 49r. Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt. IX, 3, 5 f*; PL 34, 305.  
* DDf, 362. The abbreviation *DDf* designates the marriage treatise *Decretum Dei fuit*, edited by H. Weisweiler in *Beiträge*, XXXIII (1936), 361-379.  
* SA, 120.

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[13]
non separatur et dimissus aut dimissa nec causa prolis alteri conjungatur. Haec est tamquam regula nuptiarum qua vel naturae decoratur facunditas vel incontinentiae regitur pravitas.\textsuperscript{14}

The first sentence quoted above is only slightly changed in the treatise \textit{DDf}. It confirms the original \textit{postulat} (instead of \textit{poscit}) and reads: Unde Augustinus: Cum ex omnibus gentibus ... postulat.\textsuperscript{15} The explicit attribution to St. Augustine shows that at least his name must have headed the sentence in the copy of the SA used by the author of the \textit{DDf}.

(5) Unde Augustinus in libro \textit{De Virginitate}: Causa generandi nuptias fieri testatur Apostolus dicens: \textit{Volo juniores nubere. Et causam subjunxit: filios procreare.}\textsuperscript{16}

The chapter in the SMA from which this passage was copied is worded as follows: Augustinus in libro \textit{De Virginitate}: Causa generandi nuptias fieri Apostolus testatur dicens: \textit{Volo juniores nubere. Et causam subjungit: filios procreare, ad fidem castitatis; illud pertinet ad sanctitatem sacrament: uxorum a viro non discedere quod si discesserit manere innuptam aut viro reconciliari. Haec omnia bona sunt propter quae (nuptiae) bonae sunt: fides, proles, sacramentum.}\textsuperscript{17}

The text goes back to St. Augustine’s \textit{De Bono conjugal}.\textsuperscript{18} By attributing it to \textit{Augustinus in libro De Virginitate} the author of the SA betrayed his source, viz., the SMA which begins the passage with the same introduction. According to his general custom, the writer of the \textit{DDf} put it more indefinitely: Unde Augustinus: Causa generandi ... filios procreare.\textsuperscript{19}

(6) Hoc modo dicens: Solet quae ... consortium.\textsuperscript{20}

This rather popular chapter is found in the SMA\textsuperscript{21} and since its author copied it from Ivo’s \textit{Panormia},\textsuperscript{22} we can dispense with a transcription. The writer of the \textit{DDf} summarized it freely in his claim: Augustinus: Quaeritur etiam si masculus ... permanendi voluntatem.\textsuperscript{23}

(7) Augustinus \textit{super Genesim} confirmat dicens: Utriusque sexus infirmitas ... remedium.\textsuperscript{24}

It will be recalled that this text occurs in the chapter of the SMA from which our author copied the fourth quotation. The Vatican manuscript cites Augustine’s name only without adding the name of the treatise, but it is quite possible that the copy used by the author of the SA was more explicit. The treatise \textit{DDf} also omits the reference to the Augustinian work: Unde Augustinus: Utriusque sexus ... sit remedium.\textsuperscript{25}

(8) Augustinus \textit{super Genesim}: Multiplicatio fit per conjunctionem maris ... fiat meritum.\textsuperscript{26}

This text goes back to a chapter already transcribed in connection with the first passage from the SMA. Here again the author of the SA seems to have had a copy specifying the Augustinian work from which the text was derived. The chapter was known to the writer of the \textit{DDf} who states: Unde Augustinus: Poterant in paradiso ... gignerentur filii.\textsuperscript{27} As usual he used his text with more freedom than the author of the SA.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{SMA}, fol. 49\textsuperscript{b}, Augustine, \textit{De Gen. ad litt. IX}, 7, 12; PL 34, 397.
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{DDf}, 363.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{SMA}, 130. 1 Tim. v. 14.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{SMA}, fol. 49\textsuperscript{a}, Cf. Pen. VI, 30; PL 161, 1249B. Hinomar, Ep. XXII; PL 126, 129C.
\textsuperscript{18} Abaelard, \textit{Sic et Non}, 125; PL 178, 1549D.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{De Bono conj.}, 29, 32; CSEL 41, 227.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{DDf}, 363.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{SMA}, 130.
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{DDf}, 363.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{SMA}, 130.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{DDf}, 362.
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{SMA}, 131.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{DDf}, 362.
(9) Augustinus ad Valerium: Non esset in homine pudenda concupiscentia, si non peccasset. Nuptiae vero essent, etsi non peccaret. Filii enim generarentur sine morbo concupiscientiae isto in corpore vitae illius. Sed non fit modo.\(^{28}\)

The corresponding chapter in the SMA reads: Augustinus ad Valerium: Non esset in homine pudenda concupiscentia, si non peccasset. Nuptiae vero essent, etiamsi non peccarent. Filii enim generarentur sine morbo isto in corpore vitae illius, si(ne) quo modo non sit.\(^{29}\)

(10) Augustinus liquide ostendit scribens ad Valerium: In parentibus Christi ... pudor.\(^{30}\)

The first part of this long quotation is found in Ivo's Panormia,\(^{31}\) but was not transcribed from this collection. It stems directly from the SMA where it is introduced by In eodem.\(^{32}\) In consulting the collection, the author of the SA could easily find the significance of this reference in a previous chapter entitled: Augustinus ad Valerium. This very same chapter is quoted by the author of the SA in the following manner:

(11) Idem in eodem: Motum inobodidentem ... bonae voluntatis.\(^{33}\)

In the SMA this compilation reads: Augustinus ad Valerium: Motum inobodidentem primi homines ex peccato in carne sua senserunt et nuditatem erubescentes folis tesserunt, ut saltem arbitrio velaretur quod non arbitrio movebatur. Sed nec isto malo adjecto potuit perire nuptiarum bonum. Quod enim postea illi genuerunt, hoc est conjugii bonum. Quod vero prius confusionem tesserunt, hoc est concupiscientiae malum quod vitat conspectum et quarerit pudendo secretum. Proinde nuptiae, quia etiam ex illo malo aliquid boni faciunt, gloriantur; quia sine illo fieri non potest, erubescunt. Sed nec propter libidinis malum nuptiae damnantur nec propter nuptiarum bonum libidinem laudamus.

Hoc malo concupiscientiae homo utitur, non vincitur, quando eam inordinata aestuatem frenat et cohabit neque nisi propagini consules relaxat atque adhibet, ut gignat carnaliter, regenerando spiritualiter. Quod si provenerit, merces erit de conjugii plenae felicitatis. Si autem non provenerit, pax erit conjugibus bonae voluntatis.\(^{34}\) This text accounts for the short quotation in DDf: Et item: Non propter conjugium libidinem laudamus nec propter conjugium libidinem damnamus.\(^{35}\)

(12) Idem: Bonarum bonum nuptiarum ... pudicitia conjugalis.\(^{36}\)

Its complete (but corrupt) text reads in the SMA: Nuptiarum bonum non extinguit sed modificat inobodientium membrorum malum, ut immitata quodammodo concupiscientia carnalis fiat saltem pudicitia conjugalis.\(^{37}\)

(13) Unde Augustinus De Bono conjugali: Bonum conjugii non est fervor ... restringens connubio.\(^{38}\)

In the SMA this long chapter is more accurately attributed to Augustinus: De Baptismo parvulorum, a title frequently used in the Middle Ages to designate his De Peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum.\(^{39}\)

(14) Augustino hoc testante, videlicet De Bono conjugali, hoc mode: Conjugalis concubitus ... thori fidem.\(^{40}\)

\(^{28}\) SA, 131.

\(^{29}\) SMA, fol. 49v. De Nupt. et conc. I, 1, 1; PL 44, 444.


\(^{31}\) Pac. VI, 30; PL 161, 1249B: Omne itaque ... futurus erat sine peccato.

\(^{32}\) SMA, fol. 56v.

\(^{33}\) SA, 132.

\(^{34}\) SMA, fol. 55v. Compiled from De Nupt. et conc. I, 6, 7-8, 9; CSEL 41, 418 f. The words: carnaliter, regenerando spiritualiter, are missing in the Vatican copy of the SMA.

\(^{35}\) DDf, 363.

\(^{36}\) SA, 132.

\(^{37}\) SMA, fol. 42v.

\(^{38}\) SA, 132.

\(^{39}\) SMA, fol. 59v. De Peccat. meritis I, 29, 57; PL 44, 141 f.

\(^{40}\) SA, 132. Cf. Summa sent. VII, 2; PL 176, 156C. Sic et Non, 130; PL 176, 1500B.
Although the chapter in the SMA from which this excerpt was copied bears only the heading: In eodem, the author could easily substitute the full title, found on the previous folio: Augustinus De Bono conjugali. The excerpt reads: Conjugalis vero concubitus gratia gignendi non habet culpam, concupiscientiae vero satiandiæ, sed tamen cum coniuge, propter thori fidem, hoc (est) inter fideles, venialem habet culpam. In the treatise DDf the passage appears in this form: Unde Augustinus: Carnalis concubitus, qui fit causa prolis, non habet culpam; concupiscientiae vero satiandiæ, sed tamen cum coniuge, habet culpam, venialenem tamen propter fidem thori.

(15) Unde Augustinus in eodem: Quicquid . . . propter nuptias ignoscitur.

This excerpt is the beginning of the chapter from which the previous passage was transcribed and reads in the SMA: Quicquid inter se conjugati immodestum, inverecundum sordidumque gerunt, vitium hominum est, non culpa nuptiarum. Et si pravi mores ad talem concubitum impellunt, nuptiae tamen ab adultero seu fornicatione defendunt. Et quod sic geritur, propter nuptias ignoscitur.

The author of DDf handled it freely: Quicquid conjugati immodestum, inverecundum sordidumque agunt, non est vitium nuptiarum sed culpa hominum, quæ tamen per nuptiale bonum excusatur, nisi fiat contra naturam vel impedit tempora orationis. The conditional clause ( nisi . . . orationis) is taken from the chapter: Concubitum qui non fit causa prolis nuptiae non cogunt fieri, imperatur ignosci, sed tamen sit minimus, ut (non) impedit tempora, quae orationi debentur, nec immutetur in eum usum, qui contra naturam est. The chapter is listed under No. 19.

(16) Item in eodem: In conjugio alicubi boni . . . frangitur.

This text constitutes an entire chapter in the SMA part of which is quoted by Hugh of St. Victor. In the Vatican manuscript of the SMA we do not meet the sentence found within the quotation of the SA: Nuncquam enim tanta est societas ejusdem sexus quanta est diversi i.e. non est tanta caritas inter virum et virum, et feminam et feminam, quanta est inter virum et feminam. Since it is also absent in St. Augustine, we may presume that: it is the author’s own interpolation.

(17) Augustinus De Sancta viduitate: Tantum ergo bonum . . . sive adulterii.

This complete chapter from the SMA dates back to St. Augustine’s De Bono viduitatis which the compiler of the SMA introduces thus: Idem in libro De Sancta Viduitate: Tantum est bonum fidels conjugi . . . fornicationis sive adulterii. The text contains an interpolation which the compiler seems to have borrowed from a commentary on I Cor. vii.

(18) Idem Augustinus: Non quia incontinentia . . . peccatum esse non potest.

The fact that the chapter from which this extract is taken does not specify the Augustinian work may account for the omission of a more specific indication of its source. The text is contained in the chapter transcribed above (No. 4): Neque enim quia incontinentia . . . peccatum esse non potest. The author of

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(Cf. Sic et Non, 130; PL 178, 1560D. Sent. IV, 31, 5; p. 941. De Bono conj., 10, 11; CSEL 41, 202.)

(SA, 132.)

(SMA, fol. 53r. De Bono conj., 3, 3-4, 4; CSEL 41, 190.)

(SA, 132.)

(SA, 133.)

(SMA, fol. 52v. De Bono viduitatis, 3, 4-4, 5; CSEL 44, 308 f. Cf. Sent. IV, 31, 5; p. 939. Summa sent. VII, 3; PL 176, 156A.)

(SA, 133.)
DDf had this text in mind when he wrote: Quod Augustinus removet dicens: Non quia libido ... excusabile fit illud malum.\footnote{DDf, 363.}

(19) Idem: Concubitum qui non fit causa proles ... mulierem et caetera.\footnote{SA, 133.}

Again we are confronted here with the transcription of an entire chapter from the SMA of which we have quoted the introductory sentence: Concubitum ... contra naturam est (No. 15).\footnote{SMA, fol. 54\textsuperscript{r}. De Bono conj., 10, 11-11, 13; CSEL 41, 202-205. \textsuperscript{5a} De Sacramentis II, 11, 9; PL 176, 496C. Cf. Sent. IV, 31, 1; p. 941.} The whole chapter is found in Hugh of St. Victor.\footnote{SA, 133.}

(20) Augustinus in Enchiridion: Posset putari ... debitoribus nostris.\footnote{SA, 133. Enchiridion, 78, 21; PL 40, 269.}

From beginning to end this excerpt is identical with a chapter in the SMA.\footnote{SMA, fol. 57\textsuperscript{r}.}

(21) Augustinus: Propter fornicationis vitandum malum ... ignosci faciunt per se.\footnote{SMA, fol. 56\textsuperscript{r}.}

The SMA also omits a specific reference to the Augustinian work from which the text is derived. The writer of the SA copied the complete chapter from the SMA.\footnote{SA, fol. 56\textsuperscript{r}. De Nupt. et conc. I, 14, 16; PL 44, 423.}

(22) Augustinus in libro De Virginitate: Nec peccatum ... constituimus.\footnote{SA, 133.}

In the SMA the chapter from which this passage is copied bears the heading: Augustinus in libro De Virginitibus.\footnote{SA, 133. Enchiridion, 78, 21; PL 40, 269.} The author of DDf made use of this excerpt when he stated: Augustinus: Conjugium bonum est, conjugalis pudicitia donum Dei est, quae tamen infra virginalem et vidualem pudicitiam est.\footnote{SA, 133.} As transcribed by the compiler of the SMA the corresponding text should read: Non peccatum dicimus esse nuptias et tamen non solum infra virginalem verum etiam infra vidualem continentiam constituimus.\footnote{SMA, fol. 57\textsuperscript{r}.} We shall find later (No. 48) that the remark: conjugalis pudicitia donum Dei est, is likewise based on a text found in both the SA and SMA.

(23) Idem: Bonae sunt nuptiae ... spiritualiter.\footnote{SA, 134.}

We can supply the full text from its source, the SMA, which reads: Idem: Bonae sunt nuptiae et contra omnes calumnias sana ratione possunt defendi. In quibus tanto meliores sunt conjugati quanto castius et fidelius Deum timent, maxime si filios nutriant spiritualiter.\footnote{SMA, fol. 57\textsuperscript{r}.}

(24) Tantum bonum ... viduialis.

As found in the SMA, the full quotation reads: Tantum est bonum fidelis conjugi, ut etiam membra sint Christi. Hoc autem bono melius est bonum continentiae viduallis.\footnote{SA, 134. SMA, fol. 49\textsuperscript{r}. Cf. Augustine, De Sacra virg., 19, 19; CSEL 41, 253.}

(25) Idem: Vitia ... sed per id quod eis juxtapositum est.\footnote{SA, 134. SMA, fol. 55\textsuperscript{v}. De Nupt. et conc. I, 8, 19; PL 44, 423.}

Although this text dates back to St. Isidore, the writer of the SA followed his source which stated: Idem: ... Vitia ... quod eis juxtapositum est.\footnote{SA, 134. SMA, fol. 49\textsuperscript{r}. Cf. Augustine, De Sacra virg., 19, 19; CSEL 41, 253.} A free version of part of this passage occurs in the DDf whose author claims: Unde Augustinus: Vitia ... quae circa ea sunt, mala sunt ... Et item: Unusquisque ... quae circa ipsa sunt.\footnote{SA, 134. Cf. DDf, 379.}
(26) Idem: Nuptiarum bonum...excusari.

In the SMA the full texts reads: Item: Nuptiarum malo originali, quod inde trahitur, non potest excusari: sicut adulteriorum (et) foricationum malum bono naturali, quod inde nascitur, non potest excusari. 66

(27) Augustinus: Id bonum quod habent nuptiae...pravitas. 67

This extract will be found in the previous (No. 4) transcription of the chapter from which it was copied.

(28) Augustinus De Virginitate: Habeant...non violant.

This text is the first part of the chapter discussed in No. 22 of this list and reads in the SMA: Augustinus in libro De Virginibus: Habeant coniubia bonum suum, non quia filios procreant sed quia licite, quia pudice procreant et procreatos salubriter educant, quia thori fidem invicem servant, quia sacramentum conjugi non violant. 68

(29) Augustinus ad Valerium: Non tantum fecunditas...inter Christum et ecclesiisam.

The compiler of the SMA introduced this excerpt with In eodem which the author of the SA replaced with the previous and, in a way, accurate title: Augustinus ad Valerium. 69

(30) Dicit Augustinus quaedam bona conjugi omnibus esse communia, sacramenti sanctitatem, quae et res sacramenti dicitur, populo Dei i.e. solis fidelibus.

This somewhat vague reference is based on a chapter in the SMA which begins thus: Bonum nuptiarum per omnes gentes atque omnes homines in causa generandi est et in fide castitatis. Quod autem ad populum Dei pertinet, etiam in sanctitate est sacramentum. 70 The entire chapter is quoted in the SA as listed under the next number. In the SMA, as preserved in the Vatican manuscript, the following nonsensical title is prefixed to it: Item de VII conjugis.

(31) Augustinus: Bonum nuptiarum...adhaeserunt. Et post: Manet...aufferre sicut anima apostata...non potest amittere. 71

This is the first text which cannot be fully accounted for by our Vatican version of the SMA because it ends with aufferre. 72 The missing part might perhaps be derived from Ivo's Panormia, 73 but his collection does not account for the first and larger section of this long quotation. The author of the DDf had this chapter before his eyes when he remarked: Unde Augustinus: Manet inter conjugatos quoddam vinculum quod nec separatio localis nec cum altero copulatio separare potest. 74 Or: Unde Augustinus: Sacramentum semel accepto numquam aliquis carebit. 75 Or: Et item: Ordinatio clericorum, quae fit ad congregandam plebem, et si ille effectus non sequitur, ordinatio tamen permanet. 76

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66 SA, 134. SMA, fol. 50v. De Nupt. et conc. I, 1, 1; PL 44, 413.
68 SA, 134. SMA, fol. 55v. De Sancta virg., 12, 12; CSEL, 41, 244.
69 SA, 134. SMA, fol. 56v. De Nupt. et conc. I, 10, 11; PL 44, 420. The work is addressed to Valerius. Cf. Hinmar, Ep. XXII; PL 125, 138C.
70 SA, 125. SMA, fol. 50v. De Bono conj., 29, 32; CSEL 41, 226. Cf. DDf, 371: Sacramentum communia sunt omnibus, res sacramenti solis fidelibus committitur. See also the variant cited in DDf, 367: Et hoc est quod dicit Augustinus quaedam bona conjugi omnibus debent esse communia; sacramenti sanctitatem, quae et res sacramenti dicitur, populo Dei, i.e. solis fidelibus.
71 SA, 125.
72 SMA, fol. 50v. De Bono conj., 29, 32; CSEL 41, 226. Cf. DDf, 371: Sacramentum communia sunt omnibus, res sacramenti solis fidelibus committitur. See also the variant cited in DDf, 367: Et hoc est quod dicit Augustinus quaedam bona conjugi omnibus debent esse communia; sacramenti sanctitatem, quae et res sacramenti dicitur, populo Dei, i.e. solis fidelibus.
73 DDf, 365 and 374. The adjective localis is not found in the SMA. Cf. Ivo of Chartres, Epp. CXXII and CXXV; PL 162, 135B and 137B.
74 DDf, 365.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
(32) Augustinus: Sacramentum, inquit, quod nec separati . . . fuerat copulatum.\textsuperscript{a6}

In the SMA this chapter reads: Idem: Sacramentum quod nec separati nec adulterati conjuges amittunt, concorditer castaque custodiant. Solum est enim quod etiam sterile conjugium tenet ea spe fecunditatis amissa propter quam fuerat copulatum.\textsuperscript{a6}

(33) Augustinus \textit{De Virginitate}: Antiquis justis . . . erat prohibitum.\textsuperscript{a1}

This entire chapter is also found in Hugh of St. Victor who introduces it with: Idem in libro \textit{De Virginibus}.\textsuperscript{a2} It corresponds to the heading in the SMA: Augustinus in libro \textit{De Virginibus}.\textsuperscript{a2} The author of the DDf transcribed the text in his own free manner.\textsuperscript{a2}

(34) In eodem: Sicut non est impar . . . oportuit.\textsuperscript{a4}

In the SMA this chapter also follows immediately upon the excerpt discussed in No. 33. Instead of \textit{In eodem} Hugh of St. Victor introduces the same text with \textit{Item idem}.\textsuperscript{a6} In the treatise DDf the text is changed and shortened.\textsuperscript{a4}

(35) Idem: (Apostolus) Justus quamvis . . . venialis ille concubitus.

With the exception of the interpolation (Apostolus) the entire chapter is found in the SMA\textsuperscript{a6} where it is introduced too by the plain \textit{Idem}. Hugh of St. Victor, who cites the text in the same sequence, does not have the interpolation.\textsuperscript{a6} The author of the DDf abbreviated the chapter.\textsuperscript{a6}

(36) Item: Antiquis temporibus . . . sed ferunt.\textsuperscript{a2}

In the SMA this text constitutes two separate chapters. Since the entire text is published in the SA we are in a position to clarify the sentence which caused Bliemetzrieder to criticize his author’s “nicht glückliche” abbreviation of the Augustinian wording. Owing to a scribal error caused by a homoteleuton the following part is missing in the SA: ( . . . concedit Apostolus). Habebant enim eas in opere generandi, non in morbo desiderii. In eodem: Quod praecepit Apostolus (conjugatis, hoc est nuptiarum. Quod autem . . . ferunt).\textsuperscript{a2} It would be interesting to know whether the omission originated in the collection used by the author of the SA or in the transcription of his work. Hugh of St. Victor cites only the first of the two chapters.\textsuperscript{a6}

(37) Unde Augustinus: Sacramentum nuptiarum temporis nostri . . . necessity.\textsuperscript{a1}

The compiler of the SMA\textsuperscript{a6} may have copied the text from Ivo’s \textit{Panormia} where it consists of two separate chapters.\textsuperscript{a6} However, in the SMA the passage is preceded by: Idem: Plures feminae ab uno viro fetari possunt, una vero a pluribus non potest.\textsuperscript{a2} Since this sentence is taken from the same context in Augustine, it is more likely that the entire chapter goes back to a different

\textsuperscript{a1} SA, 135.
\textsuperscript{a2} SMA, fol. 51\textsuperscript{b}.
\textsuperscript{a3} De Nupt. et conc. I, 17, 19; PL 44, 424.
\textsuperscript{a4} SA, 136.
\textsuperscript{a5} De Sacr. II, 11, 10; PL 176, 497A.
\textsuperscript{a6} SMA, fol. 51\textsuperscript{b}.
\textsuperscript{a7} DDf, 367.
\textsuperscript{a8} SA, 136.
\textsuperscript{a9} SMA, fol. 54\textsuperscript{b}.
\textsuperscript{a10} De Sacr. II, 11, 10; PL 176, 497B.
\textsuperscript{a11} DDf, 367.
\textsuperscript{a12} SA, 136. Phil. I, 23, SMA, fol. 55\textsuperscript{b}.
\textsuperscript{a13} De Bono conj., 15, 17 and 16, 18; CSEL 41, 210 f.
\textsuperscript{a14} De Sacr. II, 11, 10; PL 176, 497BC. Sent. IV, 38, 1; ed. Quaracchi, p. 850.
\textsuperscript{a15} DDf, 367; Sicut enim aliquis justus cupiens dissolvit . . . ita illi non cupiditate

libidinis sed officio generandi pluribus se conjungebant. The first part of the sentence goes back to the chapter listed under No. 35, while the second part (ita illi . . . ) is an adaptation of: Justi officio propagandi nuptias contraebant, non victi libidine, which occurs in the chapter listed under No. 36.

\textsuperscript{a16} SA, 136.
\textsuperscript{a17} SMA, fol. 54\textsuperscript{c}.
\textsuperscript{a18} De Bono conj., 13, 15; CSEL 41, 207 f.
\textsuperscript{a19} De Sacr. II, 11, 10; PL 176, 496D: Antiquis temporibus . . . in morbo desiderii.
\textsuperscript{a20} SA, 136.
\textsuperscript{a21} SMA, fol. 51\textsuperscript{c}.
\textsuperscript{a22} Pan. VI, 65 f.: PL 161, 1257A. De Bono conj., 18, 21; CSEL 41, 214.
\textsuperscript{a23} De Bono conj., 17, 29; CSEL 41, 213.
source. In making use of the excerpt, the author of the DDf made an interpolation: (Sacramentum vero nuptiarum nostri temporis, ut dicit Augustinus, sic... censuerat.) Quod in paradiso ideo inter duos institutum fuit, ut ab initio nuptiarum honestum sumeretur exemplum. Sin autem mortua una quilibet aliam duxerit, non impedit (ad bonae vitae remedium sed ad ecclesiastici ordinis necessarium signaculum). 8

(38) Idem ad Valerium: Patres sancti Abraham... naturam. 9

This extract is part of a chapter quoted above (No. 11) beginning with: Augustinus ad Valerium: Motum inobodientem... 1

(39) Augustinus De Bono viduitatis: Deus maculimum... monstravit. 8

This text is found in Ivo’s Panormia under the heading: Augustinus Contra advers. legis. 8 In the SMA it is introduced by Item. In trying to offer a more specific source, the author of the SA saw that the third excerpt prior to this text had the heading: Augustinus De Bono viduitatis. This explains his wrong attribution.

(40) Item: Non damno bigamos... octogamos. 4

The false implication that this sentence dates back to St. Augustine was not the fault of the author of the SA who simply copied it as he found it in the SMA. There it follows also in the sequence given by the SA. 8 If he had used Ivo’s Panormia where this text is part of a longer chapter, he would have noted its true source: Hieronymus ad Pamachium. 6 Bliemetzrieder concludes from this false attribution: “Hier ist wohl der Beweiss erbracht, dass auch der Verfasser von SA nach Excerpten-Sammllungen arbeitete.” This was indeed much more the case than Bliemetzrieder realized. The author of the DDf also erred in his attribution: Augustinus non prohibit dicens: Non damno digamum... octogamum. 8

(41) Item: Ego libera voce... marito. 9

Here again the author of the SA simply copied the next text in the SMA: Item: Ego libera... et secundo viro nubere. 9 It is part of a chapter from Ivo’s Panormia which reads: Item: Ego nunc libera... secundo marito nubere. 11

(42) Item: De tertis... auferre. 12

In the Vatican copy of the SMA this chapter reads: Augustinus De Bona viduitate: De tertis... auferre. 12 Since the author of the SA had already made use of this attribution (No. 39), he could here dispense with it.

(43) Item: Abraham post... aliam ducere. 14

This text agrees verbatim with the SMA 14 whose author had abbreviated it from a longer chapter in Ivo’s Panormia. 18

8 DDf, 367. Read meruit instead of remedium. The interpolated text is based on a passage in the SMA beginning with: Sic patres sancti (fol. 59r), partly quoted by Hugh of St. Victor, De Sacer. II, 11, 10; PL 176, 497A.
9 SA, 136, SMA, fol. 59v. De Nupt. et conc. I, 8, 9; CSEL 41, 419.
10 See No. 11.
11 SA, 136 f. SMA, fol. 59r. It reads: Deus qui masculum... monstravit.
12 Pan. VI, 61; PL 161, 1253D.
13 SA, 137.
14 SMA, fol. 59r.
15 Pan. VI, 62; PL 161, 1256B.
16 SA, 137, note 1.
17 DDf, 368.
18 SA, 137.
19 SMA, fol. 60r.
20 Pan. VI, 62; PL 161, 1256B. Abelard, Sic et Non, 129; PL 178, 1559C: Ego nunc... desinat prostituata.
21 SA, 137.
22 SMA, fol. 59v. Pan. VI, 59; PL 161, 1256B: Augustinus De Bon. viduit.
23 SA, 137. The text: Nec contra humanae... audeo dammare (SA, 137) is copied from SMA, fol. 59v. Cf. DDf, 368.
24 SMA, fol. 59v.
25 Pan. VI, 60; PL 161, 1255C.
(44) In Neocaesariensi Concilio: Presbyterum . . . consensus?  
Both the Panormia  and the SMA  present this canon. In slightly altered form it is also cited in the treatise DDf.

(45) Unde Hieronymus Supper Osee libro I: Non est culpandas . . . non habuit.  
The Vatican manuscript of the SMA states only: Hieronymus super Osee librum: Non est culpandas . . . non habebat. But it is quite probable that the copy used by the author of the SA stated specifically that the text came from the first book of the commentary. The author of the DDf took his usual liberty in transcribing the passage.

In the SMA this extract also follows immediately upon Jerome's text. The compiler who abbreviated the passage from a longer text in Ivo's Panormia made the addition: et nullus prohibeat. This accounts for its appearance in the SA.

(47) Ambrosius: Non est ratum conjugium praeter Deum et ideo non est peccatum dimissse propter Deum, si aliis conjungatur. Augustinus dicit: Dimisso propter Deum non est peccatum, si aliis conjungatur. Injuria enim Creatoris solvit matrimonii jus.

These two quotations do not occur in the SMA. They are cited here together because in reality they are one.

It was neither Ambrose nor Augustine, but rather Ambrosiaster who originated the controversy stirred up by his statement: Non enim ratum est matrimonium quod sine Dei devotione est. Ac per hoc non est peccatum ei, qui dimittitur propter Deum, si aliis se junxerit. Contumelia enim Creatoris solvit matrimonii circa eum qui relinquitur. Without indicating its source, the Glossa ordinaria asserts: Non est ratum conjugium quod sine Dei devotione est. Et ideo non est peccatum ei, qui dimittit propter Deum, si aliis se copulaverit. Although this transcription is fairly accurate, there is no doubt that the confusion had its origin in some commentary on the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Lombard, who quotes a long Ambrosiaster text containing the excerpt we have cited, remarks: Nota quod Ambrosius sibi contradicere videtur. Supra enim dicit quod si fidelis dimittens infidelem aliis copulaverit se, adulter est. Hic vero dicit quod ei dimisso non est peccatum si aliis se copulaverit. Quod a quibusdam sic determinatur . . . Lombard, of course, could not have started the confusion, but his wording (dimisso non est peccatum si aliis se copulaverit) shows clearly how the allegedly Augustinian text was arrived at. The explanatory distinctions which follow in Lombard's commentary reflect some very lively discussion on the subject. In the course of these debates the original Ambrosiaster, commonly known as Ambrosius, was divided into two i.e. Ambrose and Augustine. The

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17 SA, 137.
18 Pan. VI, 67; PL 161, 1257B.
19 SMA, fol. 63r.
20 DDf, 368.
21 SA, 137.
22 SMA, fol. 61r.
23 Cf. Ivo, Decr. VIII, 38 and Pan. VI, 57; PL 161, 1256A and 1255A.
24 DDf, 368.
25 SA, 137.
26 SMA, fol. 61r.
27 Pan. VII, 58; PL 161, 1256A.
28 SA, 137. According to the Liber Pan- 

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Hincmar, Ep. XXII; PL 126, 141D.
In I Cor. vii, 15; PL 114, 560B. Abelard, 

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Sic et Non, 135; PL 178, 1546D.
In I Cor. vii, 15; PL 191, 1593C. Cf. 

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Sent. IV, 39, 5; p. 976.

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PL 191, 1533D. Cf. Sent. IV, 39, 5; p. 

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976.

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PL 191, 1539D. The name Augustinus 

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is entirely out of place there. See also Sent. IV, 39, 5; p. 977.

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Compare the following attributions: Lombard, In I Cor. vii, 12; PL 191, 1529A; 

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Augustinus: Non imputandum matrimonium 

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quod extra decretum Dei factum est. Summa 

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sent. VII, 8; PL 176, 161B: Dictit Ambrosius 

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non debere matrimonium imputari quod 

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extra Dei decretum est. Gratian, Decr. C. 

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28, qu. 1, c. 14 dicunt: Item illud Ambrosii: 

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Non est imputandum. . . . Accordingly, 

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Lombard, Sent. IV, 39, 3; p. 974 wrote: 

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author of the treatise DDf made his customary changes and additions: Ambrosius: Non est ratum conjugium praeter Deum, i.e. praeter fidem Dei, et ideo dimisso fidei propter Deum ab infideli non est peccatum, si aliis copulatur. Et Augustinus: Dimissio propter Deum non est peccatum, si aliis copulatur. Injuria enim Creatoris solvit jus matrimonii.\textsuperscript{42}

We may also add that Hugh of St. Victor attributes the second text to Gregory in a similar enumeration: Beatus Ambrosius dicit: Non est ratum conjugium praeter Deum et ideo non est peccatum dimissio propter Deum, si aliis copuletur. Item beatus Gregorius dicit: Dimissio propter Deum non est peccatum, si aliis conjungatur. Injuria enim Creatoris solvit jus matrimonii.\textsuperscript{42}

(48) . . . Augustini dicitis ad Valerium: Pudicitia conjugalis donum Dei . . . Deo placere.\textsuperscript{47}

With this long passage we return to the SMA: Augustinus ad Valerium: Pudicitia donum Dei est. Quid ergo dicemus . . . Deo placere.\textsuperscript{48} It contains the sentence: Copulatio autem maris et feminae generandi causa bonum est nuptiarum naturale. Sed isto bono male utitur qui bestialiter utitur, ut sit ejus intentio in voluptate libidinis, non in voluntate propaginis. Hoc tam evidens bonum cum (in)fideles habent, quia infideliter utuntur, in peccatum convertitur.\textsuperscript{49} The writer of DDf had this passage in front of him when he stated: Augustinus: Copulatio maris et feminae . . . quia infideliter utuntur.\textsuperscript{50} The same author claims: Item de eodem: Conjudio per conjugium peccata non coercentur sed peccata peccatis vincuntur.\textsuperscript{51} To this corresponds the sentence in the same chapter of the SMA: Cum igitur hoc faciunt . . . non peccata coercentur sed aliis peccatis peccata cumulantur.\textsuperscript{52}

(49) Idem ad Pollentium: Quia enim conjux fidelis . . . ne impedimentum daret evangelio.

In the SMA, as preserved in the Vatican manuscript, this text is attached to a lengthy commentary on I Cor. vii, 12, attributed to Augustinus in libro primo De Sermone Domini in monte. It is followed by: Item ad Pollentium: Monet ergo Apostolus . . . ne impedimentum daret evangelio.\textsuperscript{53} There are other instances to show that chapter headings in the Vatican manuscript are misplaced and we may rightly assume that the author of SA used a copy where the introduction: Item ad Pollentium was still in its correct place. The fact that in both works the passage ends with ne impedimentum daret evangelio proves that the author of the SA did not use Ivo's Panormia. There the same chapter ends with: ne quod impedimentum demus evangelio Christi.\textsuperscript{54}

(50) Item: Cum ergo coepisset . . . jussioni.\textsuperscript{55}

Here again comparison is very difficult because the text is heavily abbreviated in the edition of the SA. Since the whole passage is found in the SMA,\textsuperscript{56} there is no reason to assume that the author of the SA used Ivo's Panormia.\textsuperscript{57} This

(51) Isidorus sic descriptit: Conjugium est consensus masculi et feminae individualem vitae consuetudinem retinens.\(^{43}\) Echoing Ivo's Panormia, the SMA read: Ex libro Constitutionum: Nuptiae sive matrimonium est viri mulierisque conjunctio individuum consuetudinem vitae continens. It was on account of the word consensus that Isidore's version of this definition was preferred. Even in this definition the author of DDf failed to present a literal quotation when he wrote: Isidorus: Conjugium est consensus maris et feminae individualem vitae consuetudinem retinens.\(^{43}\)

(52) Consensus enim facit conjugium, non coitus.\(^{44}\) No source is given for this statement which occurs also in the SMA in a chapter without chapter heading.\(^{45}\) The text of the SMA in which the sentence is found is a corruption of a decision made by Pope Nicholas and known through Ivo's Panormia.\(^{44}\) Attached to this decretal, Ivo quotes St. John Chrysostom as saying: Matrimonium non facit coitus sed voluntas. The author of the SA had some recollection of this text when he claimed: Ille qui dicit: Matrimonium non facit coitus sed voluntas.\(^{46}\) If he had been more familiar with the Panormia, he should have named its author.

(53) Unde Ambrosius: Non defloratio virginitatis . . . pactio conjugalis.\(^{47}\) The full text of this sentence in the SMA is as follows: Ambrosius: Non defloratio virginitatis sed pactio conjugalis conjugium facit.\(^{48}\) The very same word order is retained in the treatise DDf.\(^{49}\)

(54) Unde Augustinus ad Valerium: Cur ergo . . . non coeperunt.\(^{50}\) The writer of the SA found this text in the SMA where it reads: Cur ergo conjuges maneant, qui ex consensus concubere desinunt, si manuerunt conjuges Joseph et Maria, qui concubere non coeperunt?\(^{51}\)

(55) Dicit Augustinus illos Christi et ecclesiae non habere sacramentum, inter quos vel per quos perhibetur non fuisset carnale commercium . . . Sed dicit rursus Augustinus: Illa mulier non potest pertinere ad matrimonium, cum qua perhibetur non fuisset commixtio sexuum . . . Sed rursus dicit auctoritas: Non est perfectum conjugium, ubi non sequitur commixtio sexuum . . . Rursus ille qui dicit: Matrimonium non facit coitus sed voluntas, hoc significavit . . .\(^{52}\)

There is, as we have seen, no doubt that the compiler of the SMA caused or, rather, transmitted a confusion of texts in which part of the Leonine decretal was reworded and attributed to St. Augustine. On the authority of his source the author of the SA could have attributed his third text to St. Augustine.\(^{53}\) It is possible that the reason why he chose to class it as auctoritas was because its

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\(^{43}\) DDf, 369. SMA, fol. 67\(^{**}\).
\(^{44}\) DDf, 369. SMA, fol. 68\(^{**}\).  
\(^{45}\) DDf, 370. SMA, fol. 68\(^{**}\).
\(^{46}\) SA, 139.
\(^{47}\) SMA, fol. 48\(^{th}\).  
\(^{48}\) Pan. VI, 10; Decr. VIII, 17 and 233; PL 161, 1244D; PL 161, 1278B; 588A; 254A. Ivo, Ep. CXXXIV; CXLVIII; CCXLII; PL 162, 143D; 153D; 256C.
\(^{49}\) SA, 140.
\(^{50}\) SA, 139.
\(^{51}\) SMA, fol. 49\(^{th}\). Owing to some confusion with the following chapter, the scribe wrote: Ambrosius de legibus.
authenticity was questioned especially by those who refused to accept the doctrine. The author of the DDf cites all three texts in his own way: Dicit Augustinus illos non habere sacramentum Christi et ecclesiae inter quos perhibetur commixtio sexus non fuisse. And: Dicit Augustinus: mulier non pertinet ad matrimonium cum qua non subsecutur carnale commercium. Finally: Dicit auctoritas: Non est perfectum conjugum ubi deest carnale commercium."

(56) Evaristus papa: Aliter ... custodiant. Item: Ita ... vota legitima succurrerint."

In Ivo's Panormia, where the compiler of the SMA found this “decretal”, these two texts constitute a coherent unit. The compiler divided them and it seems that what was once a marginal note became a sort of heading of the second part: ... castitatem custodiant. Item: Pacta legittima scitote connubia. Aliter vero praesumpa ... vota succurrerint legitima. Although this does not explain the word ita in the SA (presumably a scribal error), it does supply the reason why the author of the SA proffers two separate extracts. The author of the DDf made use of the chapter."

(57) Gregorius in Registro dicens: De his requisisti ... connubia. The entire text is found in the SMA whose composer had copied it from Ivo's Panormia.

(58) Hincmarus ostendit dicens: Si per maliciea occulto ... nequibunt.

Again the entire passage is found in the same sequence in both the SMA and Ivo's Panormia.

(59) In Concilio apud Vereriam tempre Pippini habito: Si qua mulier ... et illa quod vult faciat."

Judging by the ending, the text is directly derived neither from Ivo’s Decretum nor his Panormia, but from the SMA. The latter reads: Ex Concilio apud Warmatiam temporibus Pippini regis: Si qua mulier proclamaverit quod vir suus numquam coissent cum ea et vir dicit quod sic vere fecerat, exeat inde ad crucem. Et si verum fuerit, separantur et illa quod vult faciat. Through a scribal error, I presume, the italicized sentence slipped into this canon from the succeeding one. Unfortunately, Blumentzrieder did not transcribe the whole canon to see whether the addition entered the SA.

(60) Und Augustinus ad Pollentium: Jussit Dominus per Esdras ... eodem jubente. A comparison with this text in the SMA reveals that the sentence: ... et seducebantur et sic illae feminae per maritos saepe acquirabantur Domino, is closer to the original in the SMA. There it reads: ... et seducebantur. Non illae per maritos acquirabantur Domino. The title prefixed to both shows clearly enough that the author of the SA copied the entire chapter from the SMA.

(61) Sed dicit Augustinus: Manet inter viventes quoddam conjugale quod nec adulteratio neque cum alio copulatio potest auferre."

The corresponding sentence in the SMA reads: Manet inter viventes quoddam...
conjugele quod nec separatio nec copulatio cum altero possit auferre. Both Ivo’s Decretum and his Panormia contain the chapter in which the sentence occurs. We have already noted the reading of the DDf: Manet inter conjugatos quoddam vinculum quod nec separatio localis nec cum altero copulatio separare potest.

(62) Unde Augustinus De Adulterinis conjugis in primo libro: Si propter fornicationem . . . infidelitas. Infidelis hominis . . . quae non habet veram.

After comparing this excerpt with similar chapters in Ivo’s Decretum and Panormia, Bliemetzrieder concluded that the author of the SA either consulted the original work or a collection that differed from those of Ivo. The SMA provides the answer: Augustinus De Adulterinis conjugis in primo libro: Si propter fornicationem carnis . . . extra fidem peccatum est, quamvis fidelis habeat pudicitiam et cum infidel conjuge, quia non habet veram.

(63) Idem de Sermone Domini in Monte libro primo: Si infidelitas . . . condemnas.

In Ivo’s Panormia this text is divided into three chapters, while the SMA presents it as a unit. Its title reads: Idem De Sermone Domini in Monte libro primo. Unfortunately, the edition of the SA furnishes only three words of this long text.

(64) Legitima conjugia, ut Hieronymus ait, tria in scripturis . . . De quarto noto conjugio Hieronymus ait: Additur . . . uxor.

Although Ivo’s Decretum and Panormia contain both chapters, only the SMA accounts for the transitional phrase: De quarto noto conjugio instead of legitimo conjugio. The author of the DDf used part of this text.

(65) Gregorius Junior sic dicit de raptis puellis: De raptis puellis . . . non possunt.

The SMA contains the chapter: Decretum Gregorii Junioris: De puellis raptis . . . sibi vindicare non possunt. In Ivo’s Decretum and Panormia the chapter ends with: sibi jure vindicare nullatus eos possint. Both attribute it to a Council of Chalon, but the previous canon in the Panormia is assigned to Gregorius Junior. This explains the wrong attribution in the SMA and the SA.

(66) Propter hoc Chaledonensis Concilii decretum in Poenitentiali libro sic est scriptum: Rapuisti . . . permaneas.

The chapter quoted under No. 65 contains a decree of the Council of Chalcedon. This caused the author of the SA to substantiate his point by an alleged decree of the same Council as found in a Penitential: Rapuisti . . . permaneas. He did not find it in the SMA, unless there existed a larger edition of the collection. The treatise DDf refers to the anathema of Gregorius Junior (No. 65) without mentioning the Penitential.

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*SMA, fol. 51a*.
*SMA, fol. 58b*.
*Decr. VIII, 13; Pan. VI, 74; PL 161, 586C; 1238C.*
*DDf, 365 and 374.*
*SA, 143.*
*Decr. VIII, 247; Pan. VII, 28; PL 161, 638C; 1287A.*
*Both the Panormia and the Decretum end at this point.*
*SA, fol. 76v.*
*SA, 143.*
*Pan. VII, 22-31; PL 161, 1287BD. Augustine, De Sermone Domini in Monte I, 16, 46-47; PL 40, 1255 f.*
*SMA, fol. 76v.*
*SA, 144.*
*SMA, fol. 58b*.
*DDf, 377.*
*SA, 144. SMA, fol. 61v.*
*Decr. VIII, 174; PL 161, 621A.*
*SA, 144. Dion. Exiguus, Cod. can. eccl. XX, 27; PL 67, 176D: Eos qui rapiunt . . . anathematizent. Pan. VI, 55; PL 161, 1254C.*
*DDf, 377.*

[25]
(67) Leo quartus episcopis Britanniae de statutis patrum custodiendis: De Libelli...credere."

Judging by the word credere, indeed very little to go by, this long chapter was borrowed from Ivo's Decretum, not his Panormia. The Vatican manuscript of the SMA does not contain it.

(68) Augustinus in epistola ad Armentarium et Paulinum: Quia Deo vitam piam et religiosam vovisti...mulier.

The scribe of the Vatican manuscript wrote: Augustinus in epistola ad Armentarium et Paulinum: Quia Deo vitam piam et religiosan vovisti...mulier.

The first few words of the Augustinian text especially prove that the author of the SA copied it not from Ivo's collections but from the SMA. The compiler of the latter changed the wording to shorten the excerpt. The writer of Ddf had this chapter in mind when he asserted: Ait Augustinus: Alienum votum non solvatur sed temeritas corrigitur. Item: Deus non exigit alienum sed vetat.

(69) Ex Concilio Remensi: Qui uxorem suam...convertatur."

This decree is found in Ivo's collection and in the SMA.

(70) Idem ad Ecdiciam: Non quia temperabatis...debuisti.

Blemetzeried, who was convinced that the writer had Ivo's Panormia before him, grew quite impatient at this mediaeval use of Idem, implying that the text dates back to the Council of Rheims. If Blemetzeried had at least inserted a few more words of the text instead of his lengthy digression on mediaeval methods of quoting, we could offer more detailed proof of the writer's immediate source. In both of Ivo's collections the passage begins with Non quia pariter temperabatis, while both the SMA and the SA read: Non quia temperabatis.

(71) Unde Eugenius papa: Si vir et mulier pro religiosa vita abstinere...loco.

Neither Ivo's Decretum nor his Panormia account directly for this version, but an intermediary source whose compiler adapted the text in order to shorten it. In the SMA it reads: Eugenii Papae synodus: Si vir et uxor diverte pro religiosa vita inter se consensuerunt, nullatemus sine episcopo fiat, ut ab eo singulariter proviso constitutatur loco. The substitution of abstinere for diverte may have been made by the author of the SA.

(72) Unde Augustinus De Sermone Domini in Monte: Si quis uxorem... sustinet.

These four words do not allow us to make use of the variants between the text in Ivo's collections and the reading in the SMA to show that the SA copied from the latter. The treatise Ddf is not reliable enough to make a useful comparison.

(73) Hieronymus: Stultus est...retinet.

This scriptural sentence occurs in an extract from St. Jerome found in all three collections where it reads: Qui adulteram tenet, stultus et impius est.
The treatise DDF states: Dicit Hieronymus: Impius et sultus est, qui adulteram retinet.\textsuperscript{27}

(74) . . . verba esse Gregorii: Quae posuistis, si mulier infrimite . . . excludit.\textsuperscript{28}

The passage is contained in the Panormia and in the Decretum of Ivo of Chartres and in both collections it begins with the words: Quae posuistis.\textsuperscript{29} It is not contained in the Vatican edition of the SMA. The author of SA denies the authenticity of the passage.

(75) Ex Concilio Gabilonensi: Dictum est . . . dominorum.\textsuperscript{30}

All three collections present this decree.\textsuperscript{31}

(76) Ex decretis Julii papaie: Si quis ancillam . . . non dubitamus.\textsuperscript{32}

It seems that the compiler of the SMA copied this decree from Ivo's Decretum,\textsuperscript{33} because the Panormia text is longer and divided into two canons.\textsuperscript{34}

(77) Ex Concilio Matiscensi: Si servum . . . non solvantur.\textsuperscript{35}

In all three collections this conciliar decision ends with solvuntur.\textsuperscript{36}

(78) Ex Concilio apud Vermeriam, cui interfuit Pippinus rex, capitulo sexto: Si quis ingenuus . . . debet.\textsuperscript{37}

The unusually long introduction which points to Ivo's Decretum\textsuperscript{38} reads in the SMA\textsuperscript{39} as follows: Ex Concilio apud Warmatiam, cui interfuit Pippinus rex, capitulo septimo. Bliemetzrieder notes that his manuscript reads: apud Venantiam . . . capitulo septimo. However, he changed this to capitulo sexto simply because of Ivo's Panormia.\textsuperscript{40}

Despite the variant "Venantiam," I would maintain that the author of the SA used the SMA.

(79) Ex Concilio Triburiensi: Quidam ingenuus . . . acceptit.\textsuperscript{41}

Bliemetzrieder noted that this canon, as found in both collections of Ivo, should begin with the words: Perlatum est . . . quod fecerit,\textsuperscript{42} while his manuscript offered the reading: Quidam ingenuus . . . fecit, quasesitum est, utrum . . . The textual changes were made by the author of the SMA.\textsuperscript{43}

(80) Dicit enim Leo papa quod si quis adulteratus fuit cum aliqua, non licet ei postea eam ducere uxorem, etiam mortuo viro. Non enim potest matrimonium esse, cum qua fuit adulterium.\textsuperscript{44}

Although the author repeats this text verbatim on a later occasion\textsuperscript{45} and the Sententiae Attrebatenses\textsuperscript{46} offer an almost identical version of it, it would seem that only the last sentence can be traced back to a canonical text. Apparently another author was aware of this; this may explain a more authentic text in the treatise DDF: Leo Papa: Non convenit christianae religioni, ut ullus ducat in matrimoniun, quam prius pollut per adulterium.\textsuperscript{47} Its source was Ivo's Panormia.\textsuperscript{48}
In the *SMA*, as preserved in the Vatican manuscript, we find only a similar text: Ex Concilio apud Alpheum habito: Definimus ut nullus ei matrimonio jungatur quam prius pollut adultero.⁴⁹

(81) Augustinus vero dicit quod potest.⁵⁰

The conflicting views attributed to St. Leo and St. Augustine had probably been so often discussed that the knowledge of Augustine’s wording could be taken for granted. The *Liber Panormici* words the opposed theories as follows: Leo Papa dicit: Nullus potest illam sibi jungere in matrimonio, quam pollut adulterio. Augustinus dicit: Licet inter illos legitimum fieri conjugium, inter quos fuit prius adulterium.⁵¹ A more specific claim is made in the *Summa sententiarum*: Unde Leo: Non potest esse matrimonium, cum qua fuit adulterium . . . Augustinus ita dicens in *lib. De Nuptiis et concupiscencia*: Denique mortuo viro, cum (quo) verum connubium fuit, fieri (verum) connubium potest, cum quo prius adulterium fuit.⁵² This authentic text reveals that St. Augustine’s view was accurately recorded, though this particular passage is not contained in any of the three collections.

(82) Ex Concilio Gabilonensi: Dictum est nobis . . . non separetur.⁵³

All three collections contain this decision, but as recorded by Ivo the text begins: *Dictum etiam nobis est, while both the SMA and the SA begin: Dictum est nobis*.

(83) Ex Concilio Magutiensi: Si autem conjuges legitimi . . . maneant.⁵⁴

Both the *Decretum* and *Panormia* contain a longer text of this passage, beginning with: De eo quod interrogasti.⁵⁵ The author of the *SMA* dispensed with the introduction and began with: *Si filiolam . . . Si autem conjuges legitimi . . . maneant. In Ivo’s collections the text continues: Et si supravixerit praevaricator conjugii, acerrima poenentia multetetur et sine spe conjugi maneat.*

(84) In *Poenitentiali* tamen libro sic scriptum est: Tenuisti . . . in Domino.⁵⁶

This is the second time we meet with a text from a *Poenitential*, known today as *Corrector Burchardi*.⁵⁷ The passage does not occur in our manuscript of the *SMA*.

(85) Ex epistola Gregorii papae ad Innocentium: De virginibus non velatis . . . non poterit et caetera.⁵⁸

In the Migne edition of Ivo’s *Panormia* the chapter which contains this text lacks a title,⁵⁹ while the corresponding chapter in Ivo’s *Decretum* bears the heading: Ex epistola s. Gregorii papae missa ad Bonifacium.⁶⁰ The variant ad *Innocentium* may point to a different collection, but it is not contained in the *SMA*.

(86) Juxta illud Augustini: Non est perfectum conjugium, ubi non sequitur commixtio sexuum.⁶¹

If the summary of the marriage treatise where this attribution to Augustine is made was written by the same author, he must have dropped his reserve, because previously (No. 55) he assigned it merely to an *auctoritas*.

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⁴⁹ *SMA*, fol. 74⁴. *Pan. VII*, 10; PL 161, 1231C.
⁵⁰ *SA*, 146. Cf. Ivo, Epp. XVI; CXLVIII; PL 152, 25B; 153B.
⁵¹ *F.* Blemetzrieder, “Pièces inédites d’Anselme de Laon”, *RTAM*, II (1930), 89.
⁵² *Summa sent. VII*, 13; PL 176, 165AB.
⁵³ *De Nupt. et conc. I*, 10, 11; PL 44, 420.
⁵⁴ *SA*, 147.
⁵⁵ *Pan. VI*, 65; PL 161, 1296D. *SMA*, fol. 78⁵. *Decr. IX*, 81; PL 161, 690C.
⁵⁶ *Decr. IX*, 82. *Pan. VI*, 66; PL 161, 690D; 1297A.
⁵⁷ *SA*, 147.
⁵⁹ *SA*, 147.
⁶⁰ *Pan. III*, 204; PL 161, 1173B.
⁶¹ *Decr. VII*, 63; PL 161, 559D.
⁶² *SA*, 148.
(87) Hieronymus . . . Rem novam . . . non potest."  
The text is also quoted in DDf although not derived from our three collections.

(88) Unde Augustinus De Adulterinis conjugiis libro secundo: Quod tibi durum . . . creditur esse deletum. Item: Non erit turpis . . . non vocetur.  
Bliemetzrieder affirms that the author used here Ivo’s Decretum and not the Panormia; since in the latter the second text constitutes a separate chapter. The SMA provides the solution: Augustinus De Adulterinis conjugiis libro secundo: Quod tibi durum . . . deletum. Item: Non erit turpis . . . non vocetur.  
As in some other cases, the author of the SA transcribed the entire chapter as a unit although it consists of two parts joined by item.

(89) Innocentius autem papa, cujus auctoritas magna est, videtur . . . his verbis: Quae Christo . . . immortali Sponso junxerat.

Without the particular reference to the great authority of Pope Innocent, the treatise DDf also cites this text. In Ivo’s Decretum the excerpt continues with the words: at postea ad humanas nuptias transire elegit. This complete text is cited in the Sententiae Attrebatenses. It is not recorded in the SMA.

Our list of sources quoted by the author of the SA offers convincing proof that its writer definitely used the SMA. This is most evident in excerpts which are not common to the SMA and Ivo’s collections. In numerous cases we were able to show on the strength of certain variants, that the author of the SA must have relied on the SMA (rather than Ivo’s collections) even for those texts that could also be found in the Decretum and the Panormia of Ivo of Chartres. It will be noted that in many instances the length of the excerpts coincides with the length of the chapters as found in the SMA. As a result the marriage treatise of the SA was considerably longer than appears to the reader who is unable to judge the length of the omissions indicated by Bliemetzrieder by dots.

Our comparisons with the treatise DDf show that its author did not make personal and immediate use of any collections, but based his treatise on the source material provided by the SA, though it may be open to discussion whether or not he used exactly the same version as published. If he did not, the difference must have been very insignificant, because all texts quoted by the author can be traced back to the published text of the SA. The DDf only offers fewer and shorter texts most of which reveal that the writer was less concerned about the actual wording than the meaning of his so-called quotations.

The author of the SA did not exclusively rely on the SMA. The two texts attributed to Ambrose and Augustine (No. 47) which, as we have seen, are but one, derived from Ambrosiaster, have their probable origin in a Biblical commentary. Two texts (Nos. 65 and 84) are attributed to a Penitential which we were able to identify as the Corrector Burchardi. Since the author of the DDf does not refer to them, one may be tempted to assume that they were not contained in the version he used. But in view of the many other references and quotations omitted in the DDf, this argument ex silentio carries little weight. The text (No. 67) from a decretal of Leo IV (847–55) may have been copied from Ivo’s collections. The same can be said of a decretal of Gregory (No. 85) and Innocent I (No. 89). None of our three collections contain the extract (No. 87) from a
letter of St. Jerome. Compared with the number of texts directly borrowed from the SMA, these few additional passages show that the author of the SA did very little indeed to expand the source material provided by the SMA.

With regard to the doctrinal, rather than canonical, part of the teaching on marriage, the lack of personal contributions to the patristic dossier is equally true of later recensions of the original work. Hugh of St. Victor, as we have mentioned before, placed a heavier stress on the questions of consanguinity and affinity for which he drew most of his material from Ivo’s Panormia, because the SMA treats this aspect very summarily. However, in writing the theological parts of his treatise on marriage, Hugh relied first of all on a later recension of the SA. We have noted a certain disagreement in this regard among the best historians of the school of Laon. According to H. Weisweiler, Hugh made use of the SA. This he does not consider to be the original work, but a recension of the marriage treatise published by Bliemetzrieder in 1931.

We are not minded to debate the question of how original the marriage treatise of the SA is. We maintain only that among the known treatises it must be the most original one. F. Bliemetzrieder, who did not suspect the close dependence of the SA on the SMA, expressed the opinion that the SA is a compilation based on earlier sources. There is no reason to deny that the writer of the SA availed himself of ideas and statements attributable to Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux, but our analysis of the patristic sources undoubtedly establishes the author’s almost exclusive dependence on one single collection, viz., the SMA. Although this does not exclude the possibility that the SA may be an expansion of an earlier, much shorter treatise, it does at least enable us to show the posteriority of other treatises related to or dependent on it. It is a reasonable premise that, among various interrelated treatises dealing with the same subject matter, priority is to be given to the treatise in which the totality of quotations approaches the known source more closely and consistently than do any of the others. On the strength of this principle it is beyond doubt that, for instance, the DDf is based on and posterior to the SA.

V.

The version of the marriage treatise published by Bliemetzrieder in 1931 is, according to its editor, an excerpt from the SA; H. Weisweiler holds that the relationship is reversed. Weisweiler’s view would mean that the author of the SA took over this treatise and not only enlarged it with a considerable number of patristic and post-patristic texts but also replaced the quotations, already contained in it, with more accurate and longer readings of the same quotations, for we shall see that the patristic texts of this treatise are fewer, shorter and less accurate than those of the SA. Such a process is not absolutely impossible, but is so highly improbable that much more solid arguments than text comparisons are necessary to demonstrate it, because the personal statements of an author can be shortened and expanded at will by him who makes a recension. The same uncertainty surrounds the argument of doctrinal progress,
because a scholar who, for some reason, decides to make a revision does not necessarily raise the scientific standard of the previous work.

We shall also see that Hugh of St. Victor did not use the SA (though both Bliemetzrieder and Weisweiler claim that he did) but this later recension or one very similar to it. In order to explain the presence of certain patristic quotations in Hugh of St. Victor’s work, H. Weisweiler believes that he must have used the SA. But Hugh quotes some texts that are found only in the SMA and not in the SA. As a consequence we would have to include the SMA in his sources. Furthermore some titles of (Augustinian) works as cited by Hugh coincide with the SMA, not with the SA. We know for certain that Hugh of St. Victor possessed the SMA and used it in dealing with the Trinity. We are not at all certain that he possessed the SA, because the quotations he could have derived from it are well accounted for by the SMA. Hence it is not necessary to assume that Hugh used two treatises of the same kind. It may be objected that it was characteristic of Hugh to copy and expand works of earlier writers, but this proven fact should not be extended beyond provable examples. Much of his marriage treatise is indeed the fruit of his personal thought. After due consideration of Hugh’s large borrowings from earlier writers, acknowledged as such by him or not, it cannot be denied that his personal contributions in his De Sacramentis in general are far more voluminous than, say, those of Peter Lombard. And just as Hugh consulted Ivo’s Panormia in dealing with the laws governing consanguinity and affinity in marriage, so he perused the SMA to gather patristic texts to substantiate his teaching on other aspects of matrimony.

Before presenting and identifying the excerpts cited by the author of the marriage treatise published by Bliemetzrieder in 1931, we take leave to note that in a number of cases the variants listed by the editor provide a better text than the edition portrays. The manuscript which the editor considered the worst copy is frequently closer to the source used by the author than the reading of the manuscripts the editor judged best. It may also be added that H. Weisweiler discovered and edited the introductory section of the same treatise. In the following list of quotations the numbering of the previous list is continued to facilitate cross references which might otherwise become too involved.

(90) Augustinus confirmat dicens: Poterant in paradiso esse honorabiles nuptiae et thorus immaculatus.

The sentence occurs in a chapter of the SA listed under No. 8 and transcribed from the SMA in its context under No. 1.

(91) Alibi (Augustinus) ostendit: Utriusque sexus infirmitas propevidens in ruinam turpitudinis recte honestate nuptiarum excipitur ut, quod sanis esse officium, sit aegrotis remedium.

The text is listed under No. 7 and transcribed in its full context under No. 4. Although the Vatican manuscript reads: et, quod sanis posset esse officium, fit aegrotis remedium, the authentic reading in the SMA must have been the same as in the treatise DDF: ut, quod sanis posset esse officium, sit aegrotis remedium. The edition of the SA does not supply the full text to confirm it. The author of our treatise dropped posset and changed esse to esset. In this form it is quoted by Hugh of St. Victor.

(92) . . . ut concupiscencia carnalis saltem fiat pudicitia conjugalis.


82 “Die Arbeitsmethode”, 249.

83 RTAM, III (1931), 271-291.

84 H. Weisweiler, “Das Schrifttum”, 34.

85 Ibid. Cf. Sent. Berolinenses; ed. F.

86 Stegmüller, 56: Denique utriusque sexus infirmitas procedens in ruinam turpitudinis facile excusatur honestate nuptiarum. Item dicit quod sanis esset officium, aegrotis factum est ad remedium.

87 De Socr. II, 11, 3; PL 176, 481D.

88 Weisweiler, “Das Schrifttum”, 34.

[ 31 ]
This remark is not attributed to a patristic authority, yet it is the final sentence of a short extract listed under No. 12. Its full text is quoted later: Augustinus: Bonum conjugii malum inobodientium membrorum immutat quodammodo et modificat, ut carnalis concupiscencia fiat saltem pudicitia conjugalis. The editor notes the variant limitat in place of immutat. The copy used by Hugh of St. Victor read limitat but had no other variant. Instead of conjugii both the SMA and SA read nuptiarum (No. 12).

The author remarks shortly afterwards: Quippe propter hoc malum non sit culpabile illud bonum, immo propter hoc bonum veniale sit illud malum. Its source will be found in Nos. 4 and 18 of our list.

(93) Bona conjugii principaliter tria sunt: fides, spes prolis, sacramentum. In fide attenditur, ne propter vinculum conjugale cum altera vel altero concumbatur; in spe prolis, ut devote expectetur, amanter suscipiatur, religiose enuatriatur; in sacramento attenditur, ne conjugium separatet et dimissus aut dimissus nec causa prolis alteri copuletur.

This anonymous text, as is well known, dates back to St. Augustine and is based on the chapter listed under No. 27, transcribed in its context under No. 4. The edition lists the variant praeter instead of propter. The SMA, as represented by the Vatican manuscript, reads propter, but Hugh's copy of our treatise read praeter. The most significant text variants, indicated by italics, prove that Hugh did not take the passage directly from the SMA or the SA. He did not attribute it to St. Augustine because his immediate source failed to do so. But he did make a slight addition: Tria sunt principaliter bona conjugii, quae conjugium comitantur; fides, spes prolis, sacramentum. In fide attenditur, ne praeter . . . in spe prolis attenditur, ut . . . copuletur. The verb (in spe prolis) attenditur may have been added by Hugh himself or a scribe for the sake of greater uniformity.

(94) Dicit Augustinus quaedam bona conjugii omnibus esse communia, sacra-

menti vero sanctitatem, quae et res sacramenti dicitur; populo Dei i.e. solis

fidelibus.

The author states later: Sanctitas autem et res sacramenti est tantum in civitate

Dei nostri et in Monte sancto ejus. The first text goes back to No. 30 of our

list. The author's later reference to Ps. xlvii, 2, is not entirely accidental, because

St. Augustine was known to have cited it in such contexts.

It seems that Hugh of St. Victor was aware of this when he claimed: Dicit

beatus Augustinus quod sacramentum conjugii omnibus gentibus commune esse

potest, sanctitas autem sacramenti nonnisi in civitate De: nostri est et in Monte

santco ejus.

(95) Et Ambrosius dicit: Conjugium non facit de Florian virgininitatis sed pactio

conjugalis. The text agrees verbatim with the SA as listed under No. 53. Only the word position varies in the SMA and DDF. Both of these agree with that in

Hugh of St. Victor.

(96) Sed opponitur quod dicit Augustinus illos Christi et ecclesiae non habere

sacramentum inter quos perhibetur carnale non fuisset commercium.
N. M. HARING

Even the grammatical construction is taken over from the SA (No. 55). The same holds for the next (No. 97) quotation, also listed under No. 55.

(97) Sed dicit rursus Augustinus: Illa mulier non potest pertinere ad matrimonium, cum qua perhibetur non fusisse commixtio sexuum.1

Hugh of St. Victor refers to this sentence as follows: Dictum est: Illa mulier non potest pertinere ad Christi et ecclesiae sacramentum, cum qua noscitur non fusisse carnale commercium.2 Perhaps he realized that the two quotations (Nos. 96 f.) were actually one and for that reason transferred the expression carnale commercium.

(98) Sed rursus dicit auctoritas: Non est perfectum conjugium, ubi non sequitur commixtio sexuum.3

Again we have literal agreement with the SA, including the introductory sentence. It is found listed under No. 55. Note too that, like the SA, our treatise does not cite the excerpt from the Leonine decretal, the misunderstanding of which had led to the two spurious texts quoted under Nos. 96 f.

(99) Rursus ille qui dixit: Matrimonium non facit coitus sed voluntas, hoc significavit . . .

Here the author of the treatise copied not only the patristic excerpt as found in the SA, but also its analysis. The quotation is listed under No. 55.

(100) Commune vero omnibus esse conjugium Augustinus testatur dicens: Si Dominus dimittendae conjugis solam causam fornicationis admittit et paganum conjugium dimitti prohibet, consequens est ut paganismus non subjaceat fornicationi.6

The writer of our treatise did not find the text in the SA (as published). It is the beginning of a chapter in the SMA which in the Vatican manuscript reads as follows: Idem ex libro Quaestionum de dimittenda conjuge: Si Dominus dimittendae conjugis solam causam fornicationis et excipit et pagan[ism]um conjugium dimitti prohibet, consequens est ut paganismus fornicationi deputetur.5 Since this reading is obviously faulty, we may quote St. Augustine’s own words: Si Dominus dimittendae conjugis solam causam fornicationis admittit et paganum conjugium dimitti non prohibet, consequens est ut paganismus fornicatio deputetur.7 Although even the authentic reading of the Augustinian text is not firmly established, it is obvious that the author of our treatise is responsible for the verb subjacet instead of deputetur, but not for the transposition of non which is found in the SMA as well as in some manuscripts of the Augustinian work.8 Of greater immediate interest is the fact that Hugh of St. Victor cites the passage in exactly the same manner as our marriage treatise.9

(101) Et alibi dicit: Cum Evangelium primum coepit praedicari, gentiles gentibus esse conjunctos inventit conjuges.10

Hugh of St. Victor quotes: Cum Evangelium coepit praedicari primum, gentiles gentilibus conjunctibus inventit conjuges.11 A number of manuscripts listed by Bliemartzieder also omitted the verb esse. The author of the treatise found the sentence in a long excerpt listed under No. 50. This is also the direct source of the next quotation.

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2 De Sacr. II, 11, 3; PL 176, 482A.
3 Bliemartzieder, 277.
4 Bliemartzieder, 278. Cf. DDf, 371 (note to line 21).
5 Bliemartzieder, 278.
6 SMA, fol. 69rb.
7 De Div. quaestionibus, qu. 83; PL 40, 100.
8 See the variants in PL 40, 100.
9 De Sacr. II, 11, 13; PL 176, 506C.
10 Bliemartzieder, 278.
11 De Sacr. II, 11, 13; PL 176, 506B.
(102) In libro De Adulterinis conjugiis dicit: Conjugis discisionem Dominus prohibet... ab infidelitate resolvuntur.\footnote{Bliemetzrieder, 278 f.}

The edition lists the variant Domini non prohibet; this is supported by the SMA (on which this text is based), Ivo's Panormia\footnote{Pan. VI, 101; PL 161, 126B.} and the original work of St. Augustine himself.\footnote{Vita S. Victor, 1. 22, CSEL 41, 433.} It is confirmed by Hugh of St. Victor: Dicit beatus Augustinus in libro De Adulterinis conjugiis: Discisionem fidelis ab infidelis Dominus non prohibet... resolvuntur.\footnote{De Sacr. II, 11, 13; PL 176, 506C.} \footnote{Bliemetzrieder, 280. Cf. DDF, 372 (note to line 13).}

(103) Ambrosius dicit: Non est ratum conjugium praeter Deum et ideo non est peccatum dimissio propter Deum, si alii copuletur. Si autem alii conjungatur, peccatum non est. Injuria enim Creatoris solvit jus matrimonii.\footnote{Bliemetzrieder, 278 f.}

Something went wrong in the transmission of this text. The SA, from which the statement is derived (No. 47), presents two separate statements of which the first is attributed to St. Ambrose, the second to St. Augustine. Among the variants listed by the editor the name of St. Augustine actually appears in three (out of six) manuscripts which read: ... alii copuletur. Et Augustinus dicit: Dimissio propter Deum non est peccatum, si alii conjungatur. Injuria enim Creatoris solvit jus matrimonii. This reading is far more preferable to the editor’s choice because it is almost identical with its immediate source, listed under No. 47, and with the reading in Hugh of St. Victor: Beatus Ambrosius dicit: Non est ratum conjugium praeter Deum et ideo non est peccatum dimissio propter Deum, si alii (read alii) copuletur. Item, beatus Gregorius dicit: Dimissio propter Deum non est peccatum, si alii conjungatur. Injuria enim Creatoris solvit jus matrimonii.\footnote{Bliemetzrieder, 280 f.} A critical edition of Hugh’s work may explain how the name of Gregory slipped into the text.

(104) Quod totum testatur Gregorius in Registro.\footnote{Bliemetzrieder, 278 f.}

The allusion is based on No. 57 of our list.

(105) Sed dicit Augustinus: Manet inter viventes quoddam conjugale vinculum quod neque adulterio neque cum alia copula potest aferri, sicut anima apostata et fide perdita sacramentum, quod acceptit in lavacro regenerationis, non potest amittere.\footnote{Bliemetzrieder, 278 f.}

Three manuscripts, as noted by the editor, omit the word vinculum. It is also omitted in the SA (No. 61) and the SMA. The same manuscripts read adulteratio, copulatio and aferre instead of adulterio, copula and aferri. Thus they agree to the letter with the SA and the SMA. The comparison with Baptism is based on the long excerpt listed under No. 31.

(106) Hieronymus tamen videtur negare quod reconciliari possit ubi dicit: Rem novam ... voluerit, non potest.\footnote{Bliemetzrieder, 278 f.}

The entire passage, including the introductory sentence, is taken from the SA as listed under No. 87.

(107) Innocentius autem papa, cujus auctoritas supra Augustinum, Gregorium, Hieronymum videtur adseminare ... his verbis: Quae Christo spiritualiter nubunt ... sponso se junxerat.\footnote{Bliemetzrieder, 278 f.}

The rather unusual introduction is slightly less ponderous in the SA: Innocentius autem papa ... cujus auctoris magna est, videtur asserere ... sponso junixerat (No. 89). Only three of the editor’s manuscripts read the strange adseminare while one reads assentire and two the original asserere. Hugh of St. Victor is more restrained: Innocentius enim papa, cujus auctoritas in ecclesia...
Christi celebris est, sic dicit: Quae Christo . . . se immortali Sponso junxerat.\textsuperscript{28}

(108) . . . non contradicit Leo papa quod si aliqua, vivente viro suo, cum alio adulterata fuerit, mortuuo marito, illi nubere non possit.\textsuperscript{29}

The statement is based on the text listed under No. 80.

(109) Eucharistius papa dicit non esse legitimum conjugium, nisi . . . benedictatur a sacerdotibus.\textsuperscript{30}

The chapter of the SA, from which this text is taken, is listed under No. 56.

(110) Si aliquis proprium filium suum de sacro fonte levaverit, Deusdedit papa dicit eum ab uxore sua separandum. Johannes papa dicit quod, si necessitate ad hoc inducatur, non est separandus.\textsuperscript{31}

These two statements do not occur in the SA. They are derived from Ivo of Chartres\textsuperscript{32} and cited in the \textit{Summa sententiarum}.\textsuperscript{33}

(111) Qui vero causa voluptatis explendae conveniunt, conjuges non sunt secundum Augustinum qui ait in libro \textit{De Concupiscientiis nuptiarum}: Si ambo tales sunt, conjuges non sunt et si in ambitione tales fuerint, per connubium non conveniunt sed per stuprum.\textsuperscript{34}

In view of the fact that two manuscripts read \textit{De Nuptiis et concupiscencia}, this accurate title should have been given preference, just as the right reading \textit{ab initio} supported by two manuscripts should have been chosen instead of the nonsensical in \textit{ambitione}. St. Augustine wrote: Si ambo tales sunt, conjuges non sunt. Et si \textit{ab initio} tales fuerunt, non sibi per connubium sed per stuprum potius convenerunt.\textsuperscript{35}

This text is not found in the SA. It is also absent from the SMA as preserved in the Vatican manuscript. With the exception of two papal decretals (No. 110) and the text listed under No. 100, the SA provided the author with all other patristic source material. Only in two instances does he name the title of an Augustinian work (Nos. 102 and 111). Equally significant is the omission of many quotations which the author of the SA had considered useful aids in corroborating his doctrine. We noted the same process of elimination in the \textit{DDf} whose author names the title of but one Augustinian book.\textsuperscript{36}

This development reflects what seems to be a different teaching method. While the method of quoting numerous and lengthy patristic excerpts could easily become monotonous, unless real or apparent contradictions called for an interpretation, a straight exposition of doctrine added a more personal touch to an otherwise perhaps tedious repetition of texts which were readily available elsewhere and only confirmed what was actually accepted by all without controversy.

We may here recall Abelard’s reaction against the \textit{sententiarum collationes} practised at Laon. He claimed they were so self-explanatory that they required no teacher.\textsuperscript{37} In 1148, Gilbert of Poitiers pointed out that, in commenting upon the Boethian \textit{Opuscula Sacra}, he did not want to be a \textit{recitator} but rather a \textit{lector} acting as interpreter. In no way did he, as interpreter, want to be classed with\textit{ auctores qui sententiam proprium ferunt}.\textsuperscript{38} Expressing a commentator’s attitude, this restriction was no critique, but rather a recognition of authors who pass on their personal judgment in their own words rather than repeat or recite the very same statements of earlier writers.\textsuperscript{39} Toward the end of the century the

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{De Sacr. II}, 11, 12; PL 176, 503C.
\textsuperscript{29} Bliemetzrieder, 284.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 285.
\textsuperscript{31} Deocr. I, 305 f.; Pan. VI, 27; PL 161, 132B; 127C.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Summa sent.} VII, 20; PL 176, 171BD.
\textsuperscript{33} Bliemetzrieder, 286.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{De Nupt. et conc.} I, 15, 17; PL 44, 424.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{DDf}, 378. Cf. \textit{DDf}, 383: Hieronymus in \textit{explanatione Osee}.
\textsuperscript{37} PL 64, 224.
\textsuperscript{38} PL 64, 224f: \textit{Recitatores qui eadem auctorum verba et ex ipsorum causis eisdem pronuntiant.}
Mediaeval Studies

Cistercian Everard of Ypres accused the monks of a sterile method of transcribing patristic texts instead of explaining them.  

Our comparative study is an apt (if incomplete) illustration of the change from the recitator to the auctor: the former presents us with many literal quotations, the latter expounds a doctrine in his own words and shortens the dicta patrum. It would indeed be interesting to show how later recensions of the original marriage treatise of Laon synthesize in a single sentence the basic point of a patristic excerpt, how the terminology coined by St. Augustine lives on, while the explicit mention of his name grows rarer and rarer. Thus, a recension edited by H. Weisweiler in 1933 mentions Augustine’s name only twice (among six other names) and no effort is made to retain the actual original words of the source. To cite an example, Augustine is supposed to have written: Non dicimus esse conjugium, ubi carnalis copula non habuit officium. And with the same almost poetical regard for the student’s memory we read immediately after: Leo papa: Non est legitimum matrimonium, ubi constat deesse carnale commercium. In another generation such a short and pithy formula becomes known as auctoritas, an expression already used in the SA. The mention of Pope Leo’s name in the text just quoted and the fact that the names of Pope Nicholas and St. John Chrysostom appear in the treatise together with that of St. Ambrose during the discussion on the essential element of marriage, proves that canonical sources continued to exert a certain influence. We have previously noted that, in the gradual disappearance of names, even the famous Augustinian passage on the three bona conjugi became anonymous (Cf. No. 93). And just like Hugh of St. Victor, the author of our recension was probably unaware of its Augustinian origin when he wrote: Bonum tamen conjugi dictur esse tripexus... If we can trust the Migne edition, Peter Lombard did not hesitate to attribute it to St. Ambrose, though it is assigned to Augustine in the same commentary. In both cases the original text is abbreviated.

VI.

Before we return to Hugh of St. Victor, it is well to recall that, in his excellent articles on the canonical collections attributed to Ivo of Chartres, Paul Fournier has demonstrated Hugh’s dependence on Ivo’s Decretum and Panormia. As a general statement this dependence can hardly be denied, though disagreement or greater reserve may well be justified in the case of individual texts. H. Weisweiler has proven that, with the exception of two excerpts (not found in Ivo), all texts cited by Hugh in his chapters on consanguinity and affinity are derived from Ivo’s Panormia. With regard to the previous chapters of Hugh’s marriage treatise, Fournier’s list (p. 658), which is admittedly incomplete, should be modified in the sense that Ivo’s collections were only the remote source for some of Hugh’s quotations. Other texts, as we have already seen, were directly copied by Hugh from a recension of the SA. In addition he used the SMA, not the original SA. To make references easier, we shall continue with the numeration.

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34 Dialogus Ratii et Everardi; ed. N. M. Haring, Med. Studies, XV (1933), 277.
35 Le recueil des sentences ‘Deus de causis principii et fine tacetur’ et son remaniement”, RTAM, V (1933), 270-274.
36 Ibid., 272. See No. 55 of our list.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid. 271. Cf. Summa sent. VII; 6; PL 176, 135CD.
39 Ibid., p. 271.
40 In I Cor. vii. 2; PL 191, 1586D.
41 PL 191, 1589B. I assume that the footnote (Augustinus super Geneviam) was a marginal note.
42 The text in Sent. IV, 31, 1; p. 935, seems to be copied directly from De Gen. ad litt. IX, 7, 12; PL 34, 377.
43 Bibl. de l’Ecole des Chartes, LVIII (1897), 638 ff.
44 “Die Arbeitsmethode”, p. 251.
(112) ... beatus Augustinus testatur his verbis dicens: Utriusque sexus ... aegrotis remedium.\textsuperscript{45}

We have met Hugh’s reading of this text under No. 91.

(113) Idem: In conjugio aliquid esse et alterius rei sacramentum esse ipsum conjugium et aliiud esse et alterius rei sacramentum esse ipsum conjugi officium.

Hugh summarizes here the distinction between conjugiun and officium with their respective res and sacramentum. These he elucidates later in the same chapter.\textsuperscript{46} In the treatise he used he found the sentence: Sic enim aliiud est sacramentum conjugi et aliiud res ipsius sacramenti sicut aliiud est sacramentum baptismi et aliiud res ipsius sacramenti.\textsuperscript{47} Hugh’s insistence on the officium serves an important purpose in the discussion following the first four patristic quotations. The term itself occurs in the previous text (No. 112).

(114) Idem ipse in libro De Bono conjugali: In conjugio a liquid boni ... in quibus eti emarcuerit ardor carnis, viget tamen ordo caritatis.\textsuperscript{48}

Instead of ardor carnis, St. Augustine, the SMA and the SA read ardor aetatis. If Hugh of St. Victor had copied the text from the SA, he would not have omitted the interpolation we have noted in the evaluation of this excerpt in No. 16. This is definite proof that Hugh did not use, at least, the SA as published, but either a different, not interpolated, version or, what is much more likely, the SMA.

(115) Item: In nuptiis plus valet sanctitas sacramenti quam fecunditas uteri.\textsuperscript{49}

Hugh could not copy this text from the SA or any of its known recensions, because they do not contain it. The change to uteri from Augustine’s ventris was not made by Hugh himself but by the author of the SMA or his source.\textsuperscript{50} Lombard faithfully copied Hugh’s reading.\textsuperscript{51}

(116) Dictum est: Illa mulier non potest ... carnale commercium.\textsuperscript{52}

We have dealt with this text under No. 96.

(117) Quidam hoc modo conjugium definiendum putaverunt ut dicerent conjugium esse consensum masculi et feminae individualem vitae consuetudinem retinendum.\textsuperscript{53}

The wording consensum masculi et feminae reveals that Hugh did not derive the definition directly from Ivo’s collections, as Fournier suggests, because they define marriage as viri mulierisque conjunctio individuum consuetudinem vitae continens. The modified definition referred to by Hugh was current in the school of Laon (No. 51). Hugh found it in the recension which claims: Conjugium est secundum Isidorum consensum masculi et feminae individualem vitae consuetudinem retinens.\textsuperscript{54}

(118) ... beatus Ambrosius testatur dicens: Non defloratio virginitatis sed pactio conjugalis conjugium facit.\textsuperscript{55}

If we assume that Hugh cites this text exactly as his source, he copied it from the SMA. Ivo’s collections and the SA read: Non (enim) defloratio virginitatis facit conjugium sed pactio conjugalis.\textsuperscript{56} The word order in the recension at Hugh’s disposal varied slightly: Conjugium non facit defloratio virginitatis sed pactio conjugalis (No. 95).

\textsuperscript{45} De Sacr. II, 11, 3; PL 176, 481D. Cf. Summa sent. VII, 2; PL 176, 156A. Sent. IV, 26; p. 912.
\textsuperscript{46} De Sacr. II, 11, 3; PL 176, 482A–483A.
\textsuperscript{47} Ed. Blemetzrieder, RTAM, III (1931), 275.
\textsuperscript{48} Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, De b. Mariæ virginitate; PL 176, 833B: 865A; 874C.
\textsuperscript{49} De Sacr. II, 11, 3; PL 176, 431D. De Bono conj., 3, 3; CSEL 41, 190.
\textsuperscript{50} De Sacr., ibid.; De Bono conj., 18, 21; CSEL 41, 215.
\textsuperscript{51} SMA, fol. 55\textsuperscript{v}.
\textsuperscript{52} Sent. IV, 26, 6; p. 916.
\textsuperscript{53} De Sacr. II, 11, 3; PL 176, 482A.
\textsuperscript{54} De Sacr. II, 11, 4; PL 176, 483A.
\textsuperscript{55} Ed. Blemetzrieder, RTAM, III (1931), 274.
\textsuperscript{56} De Sacr. II, 11, 5; PL 176, 587B.
\textsuperscript{57} Deecr. VIII, 2; Pan. VI, 14; PL 161, 583D; 1247A.
Item: Conjugium non facit coitus sed consensus, qui si defuerit, omnia etiam cum ipso coitu frustrantur. Since the text occurs neither in the SA nor in the recension used by Hugh, he must have found it where he copied the previous text. In fact, in the SMA the excerpt attributed to Ambrose (No. 118) is immediately followed by an anonymous text which reads: Solus secundum leges eorum sufficit consensus, de quorum quarumque conjunctionibus agitur, qua (read qui) si defuerit, omnia etiam cum ipso coitu frustrantur. Consensus enim facit conjugium, non coitus. If Hugh had used Ivo's collections, he would have attributed it to Pope Nicholas rather than to Item, implying St. Ambrose. In addition, he would have written: Matrimonium non facit coitus sed voluntas.

Isidorus enim dicit quod conjuges verius appellantur a prima despensionis fide, quamvis adhuc inter eos ignorantur conjugalis concubitus. The reading agrees verbatim with that of the SMA where it follows immediately upon the texts listed under Nos. 118 and 119. In Ivo's collections the wording is the same, but there is no trace of it in the SA or in the recension used by Hugh. While the SMA and Hugh omit the title of Isidore's work, Ivo provides it: Isidorus in Etym. IX, 7. Its omission in the SMA explains Hugh's omission.

Unde de Matre Domini Augustinus dicit quod a prima despensionis fide conjux vocata est Joseph, quam concubitu non noverat nec fuerat cognitorus. The text is not found in the SA or in the recension used by our author. The SMA reads: Augustinus: Conjurum vocatur a prima despensionis fide, quam concubitu nec cognoverat nec fuerat cognitorus. This faulty quotation goes back to Ivo. It seems that Hugh himself rearranged the words to avoid the misleading fide, quam...

Et Ambrosius similiter: Desponsata viro conjugas nomen accepit. The sentence is found in the SMA and in Ivo's collections.

Tria sunt principaliter bona conjugii... copuletur. With this quotation we return to the recension used by Hugh; it has been discussed under No. 93.

Bonum quippe conjugii, ut dicit beatus Augustinus, malum... pudititia conjugalis. Hugh's immediate treatment has been shown under No. 92.

Quippe propter hoc malum non fit culpabile... veniale fit illud malum. The anonymity of this Augustinian sentence is also explained in No. 92 of this list.

Augustinus ad Valerium: Non tantum fecunditas... quamdiu vivunt, non separantur. Although H. Weisweiler suggests that Hugh copied this text from

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29 De Sacr. II, 11, 5; PL 176, 487B. Cf. No. 52 of our list.
30 SMA, fol. 48B.
31 Pan. VI, 107; Decr. VIII, 17; PL 161, 1272B; SS8A. Cf. Decr. VIII, 232 (634A).
32 De Sacr. II, 11, 5; PL 176, 487B.
33 SMA, fol. 48B.
34 Decr. VIII, 3; Pan. VI, 15; PL 161, 553D; 1247A. Cf. Summa sent. VII, 6; PL 176, 158D.
35 De Sacr. II, 11, 5; PL 176, 487D. De Nupt. et conc. I, 11, 12; PL 44, 421.
36 SMA, fol. 48B.
37 Pan. VI, 16; PL 161, 1247B... quum concubitu non noverat Joseph nec fuerat cognitorus. Decr. VIII, 14; PL 161, 556D: Conjurum vocatur ex prima... quum concubitu nec cognoverat nec fuerat cognitorus.
38 SMA, fol. 48C.
39 Pan. VI, 14; Decr. VIII, 2; PL 161, 1247A; 553D.
40 De Sacr. II, 11, 7; PL 176, 494A.
41 De Sacr., ibid.
42 De Sacr. II, 11, 7; PL 176, 494C. The text preceding this sentence (Duobus autem modis... a vago concubitu modificat) is an expansion of a sentence in the recension used by Hugh which reads: Duobus autem modis... a vago concubitu restringit. Ed. F. Blumentzrieder, RTAM, III (1931), 275.
43 De Sacr. II, 11, 7; PL 176, 494D. De Nupt. et conc. I, 19, II; PL 44, 420.
the SA (No. 29), the SMA sufficiently accounts for its presence in Hugh’s *De Sacramentis*.

(127) Unde Augustinus: Usque adeo foedus nuptiarum . . . ita ut conjuges sint etiam separati.67

In quoting this passage a second time (No. 135), Hugh explicitly ascribes it to Augustine’s *De Bono conjugal*.68 P. Fournier69 claims that the author derived it from Ivo’s *Decretum*70 which, however, offers a different and shorter version of the excerpt. Hugh’s text is not found in the SA but in the SMA71 which agrees literally with the reading in *De Sacramentis*. *Magister A* did not transcribe it from Ivo.

(128) Dicit enim beatus Augustinus quod sacramentum conjugii . . . in Monte sancto ejus.68

Hugh repeats this statement almost verbatim in a later chapter.68 We have examined this quotation under No. 94.

(129) Beatus Augustinus . . . sic dicit: Concubitum qui non fit causa prolis . . . per fidelem mulierem etc.68

This chapter is listed under No. 19 and reappears in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard who, however, used a different source.68

(130) Augustinus sic dicit: Antiquis temporibus cum aehuc . . . Habeant enim eas in opere generandi, non in morbo desiderii.72

We have explained (No. 36) why the last sentence is missing in the SA. Unless it can be shown that the SA did contain the sentence, it is evident that Hugh did not take the excerpt from the SA. Lombard transcribed the text from *De Sacramentis*.68

(131) Idem in libro *De Virginibus*: Antiquis justis . . . nulla lege erat prohibitum.68

Since the SA, as listed under No. 33, ascribes this passage to the *De Virginitate* and the SMA calls it *De Virginibus*, we have here another piece of evidence that Hugh made use of the SMA. Although Lombard wisely omitted the wrong title, there is no doubt that he copied the excerpt from Hugh of St. Victor.68

(132) Verumtamen, sicut idem alibi testatur, magis . . . primi conjugis copula divinitus facta, ut inde connubia suarentur initium, ubi honestius attendetetur exemplum.73

If we correct *conjugis* to *conjugii*, we have a faithful transcription of a text the *incipit* of which is listed under No. 38 where it is clearly attributed to Augustinus ad Valerium. Why then did Hugh use the vague *idem alibi testatur*? Hugh’s text occurs in a long compilation (No. 11) containing, among other excerpts, the chapter listed under No. 38 with the title of St. Augustine’s work. In copying his text from the SMA, Hugh was confronted with a long compilation of texts divided (at least in the Vatican manuscript) into a number of paragraphs. The copyist might have felt an uncertainty concerning the continuity of the same source. Thus Hugh may have considered it safer not to commit himself on the title.

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67 “Die Arbeitsmethode”, p. 249.
68 *De Sacr.* II, 11, 8; PL 176, 495B. *De Bono conj.* 7, 6; CSEL 41, 196 f.
69 *De Sacr.* II, 11, 11; PL 176, 497D.
71 *Decr.* VIII, 235; PL 161, 634D.
72 SMA, fol. 55r.
73 *De Sacr.* II, 11, 8; PL 176, 495D.
74 *De Sacr.* II, 11, 13; PL 176, 506B.
75 *De Sacr.* II, 11, 8; PL 176, 496CD.
76 Sent. IV, 31, 7; p. 94f.
77 *De Sacr.* II, 11, 10; PL 176, 496D. *De Bono conj.* 13, 15; CSEL 41, 207. The fact that this excerpt occurs in the SA escaped H. Weisweiler’s attention. Cf. “Die Arbeitsmethode”, p. 249.
78 Sent. IV, 33, 1; p. 94g.
79 *De Sacr.* II, 11, 10; PL 176, 497A. *De Bono conj.* 23, 33; CSEL 41, 222.
80 Sent. IV, 33, 1; p. 949.
81 *De Nupt. et concr.* 1, 9, 10; PL 44, 419.
82 *De Sacr.* II, 11, 10; PL 176, 497A.
(133) Item idem: Sicut non est impar . . . tunc non oportuit.\textsuperscript{49}

This popular text,\textsuperscript{49} listed under No. 34, is found in the SMA and the SA.

(134) Idem: Justus quamvis . . . venialis ille concubitus.\textsuperscript{50}

Contained in both the SMA and the SA, this text is listed under No. 35 and was copied from Hugh by Peter Lombard.\textsuperscript{50} The fact that the Nos. 129–134 are in reality a little florilegium also suggests that Hugh transcribed it from the SMA.

(135) Dicit enim beatus Augustinus in libro De Bono conjugali: Usque adeo foedus . . . alteri nuperit. Et idem: Quia . . . etiam separati.\textsuperscript{51}

We have noted (No. 127) that these sentences do not occur in the SA but in the SMA.

(136) Legimus quod beatus Gregorius Anglis . . . concessit a quinto gradu consanguinitatis conjuga copulari.\textsuperscript{52}

Hugh could derive this information from the SMA\textsuperscript{52} and Ivo’s Panormia.\textsuperscript{52}

(137) Beatus Augustinus in libro De Professione sanctae viduitatis sic ait: In conjugali vinculo si pudicitia conservatur . . . irritam facerent. Et post pauca: Proinde . . . viro nubit. Et post pauca: Fit autem . . . adulterii esse pejores.\textsuperscript{53}

The manner of connecting the three long excerpts, and their unusually faithful agreement with the original,\textsuperscript{53} indicate a different source. The strange, but not entirely unique, title\textsuperscript{53} insinuates that Hugh did not consult the original work. At the same time a comparison with a similar compilation in Abelard’s Sic et Non reassures us that Hugh did not transcribe it from Abelard who calls the work De Continetia viduialii.\textsuperscript{54}

(138) Innocentius enim papa . . . quae se immortalii Sponsio junxerat.\textsuperscript{55}

We have noted this text under Nos. 89 and 107.

(139) Dicit beatus Augustinus quod sacramentum conjugii . . . in Monte sancto ejus.\textsuperscript{56}

Hugh made the same claim on an earlier occasion, as explained under No. 128.

(140) Item: Cum Evangelium coepit praedicari primum, gentiles gentilibus conjunctos invenire conjuges.\textsuperscript{57}

Its immediate source is found under No. 101. The text is also cited in the marriage treatise of the Summa sententiarum whose author adapted it from Ivo’s Panormia.\textsuperscript{57}

(141) Item: Si Dominus dimittendae . . . subjaceat fornicationi.\textsuperscript{58}

We have seen under No. 100 that Hugh’s direct source was a recension of the SA.

(142) Ambrosius dicit: Non est ratum conjugium . . . jus matrimonii.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{49} De Sacr. II, 11, 19; PL 176, 497B. De Bono conj., 21, 26–22; CSEL, 41 221 f.\textsuperscript{50} Cf. H. Weisweiler, “Das Schriftum,” p. 296. Héloïse, Ep. VI; PL 178, 222C. Abelard, Sic et Non., 120; PL 178, 1561D. Sent. IV, 33, 2; p. 950.\textsuperscript{51} De Sacr. II, 11, 19; PL 176, 497B.\textsuperscript{52} Sent. IV, 3, 1; p. 950.\textsuperscript{53} De Sacr. II, 11, 11; PL 176, 497D.\textsuperscript{54} De Sacr. II, 11, 11; PL 176, 499A.\textsuperscript{55} SMA, fol. 786.\textsuperscript{56} Pan. VII, 58 and 73; PL 161, 1295C; 1299B.\textsuperscript{57} De Sacr. II, 11, 12; PL 176, 499C–500C. De Bono viduitatis, 9, 12–11, 14; CSEL 41, 317–330.\textsuperscript{58} Instead of tamen (499D) Augustine wrote tantum; in place of ipse Christo (500B), he wrote ipsum Christum.\textsuperscript{59} Cf. Abelard, Sic et Non., 129; PL 178, 1559B: Augustinus De Professione sanctae viduitatis ad Julianum: De tertiiis . . . auterre. See No. 42 of our list.\textsuperscript{50} Sic et Non., 122; PL 178, 1542C: Idem De Continetia viduialii.\textsuperscript{51} De Sacr. II, 11, 12; PL 176, 503C.\textsuperscript{52} De Sacr. II, 11, 15; PL 176, 506B.\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.\textsuperscript{54} Summa sent. VII, 8; PL 176, 160D. Pan. VI, 101; PL 161, 1257B. De adult. conj., 18, 20; CSEL 41, 367. Cf. No. 50 of this list and SMA fol. 676f.\textsuperscript{55} De Sacr. II, 11, 13; PL 176, 506C.\textsuperscript{56} De Sacr. II, 11, 13; PL 176, 506C.\textsuperscript{57}
The text was copied from the same recension as listed under No. 103.

(143) Dicit beatus Augustinus in libro De Adulterinis conjugiis: Disquisitionem ... ab infidelitate resolvantur.*

Apart from a slight adjustment of the first few words, Hugh borrowed the reading from the same recension analyzed under No. 102.

This brings to an end our list of quotations cited by Hugh of St. Victor, with the exception of the next two chapters (on consanguinity and affinity) for which Hugh found very little material in the SMA and even less in the marriage treatises of the school of Laon. By his personal use of the SMA he partly restored the patristic dossier of the original treatise. In fact we have seen that some of his texts (Nos. 115, 119–122, 137) are new arrivals and best explained by recourse to the SMA, except No. 137 which may be the fruit of Hugh’s personal reading of St. Augustine’s De Bono viduitatis. The SMA also accounts for the texts common to his De Sacramentis and the SA. Through Hugh as intermediary the SMA reached the Sentences of Peter Lombard.

Since Lombard wrote his commentary on the Pauline Epistles in the early forties of the century, one may be inclined to look for traces of the SMA at least in such parts as deal with similar subject matter. Some relationship between his presentation of the teaching on marriage and the current marriage treatises manifests itself in a rather vague manner of quoting which suggests that, to some extent, he relied on secondary sources. We have already drawn attention to the fact that he attributes a famous Augustinian text to St. Ambrose.6* Concerning the constitutive elements of marriage he refers to . . . illud Nicolai papae: Sufficit solus . . . celebrata frustrantur. Unde etiam illud (Ambrosius): Matrimonium non facit coitus sed voluntas. Hinc etiam illud: Non defloratio . . . matrimonium fact.* If Lombard had consulted a canonical collection, he would have ascribed to St. John Chrysostom what he explicitly attributes to St. Ambrose; he would have been more definite with regard to the author of the third text. In other words, he borrowed from some treatise where the fairly high standard of accuracy of the original work has declined. We come closer to the SMA when he claims: Unde Augustinus: Conjugalis concubitus . . . propter thori fidem, venialum. Item: Quod conjugati victi . . . debita nostra etc.6* Both excerpts date back to the SMA* and the SA (Nos. 14 and 17). They appear together, but in reversed order, in the Summa sententiarum.4 At a later date, Lombard copied them from his own commentary and inserted them in his Sentences.15

Lombard rightly attributes to Augustine the statement: Debent ergo sibi conjugati . . . est criminis.6* A comparison of this text with the corresponding excerpt in the SMA or Ivo’s collections shows that Lombard derived it from a different source.6* We may assume that the same source provided him with the text: Non enim quia incontinencia malum est . . . separetur.6* It was known in the school of Laon through the SA (Nos. 18 and 27), but again Lombard appears to have used a different source.

It is safe to conclude that Peter Lombard made no direct and personal use of

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* De Sacr. II, 11, 13; PL 176, 509A. Read solvit instead of solum.
6* In I Cor. vii, 2; PL 191, 1586D. Cf. 191, 1589B.
6* In I Cor. vii, 2; PL 191, 1586B.
6* PL 191, 1587A.
6* SMA, fols. 53r* and 52r*.
6* Summa sent. VII, 3; PL 176, 156AC.
6* Sent. IV, 31, 5; p. 529.
6* The SMA (fol. 52r*) is shorter and attributes it to St. Ambrose, Ivo’s Panormium VI, 26 (PL 161, 1248C) to Jerome, his Decretum VIII, 234 f. (PL 161, 634C) to Augustine. Cf. Gratian, Decr. C, 32, qu. 2, c. 3. In his Sent. IV, 32, 1; p. 949, Lombard attaches no name to it. Maître Simon, Tract. de sacramentis; ed. Weisweiler, p. 54, assigns it to Ambrosius in sequens libro super Lucam.
6* PL 191, 1589B.
6* The text: Concubitus enim necessarius . . . libidinis ossequitur (PL 191, 1589B) does not occur in the SMA and is taken from De Bono conj., 10, 11; CSEL 41, 223.
the SMA in his commentaries on St. Paul. His marriage treatise in the Sentences leans heavily on Gratian’s Decretum, Hugh of St. Victor and the Summa sententiarum. Mainly through the first two channels Lombard incorporated in his Sentences a number of texts which had been collected by magister A.

VII.

Walter of Mortagne, the author of the marriage treatise in the Summa sententiarum, also transmitted a certain amount of such excerpts, though it is difficult to establish whether he made direct use of the SMA. P. Fournier has shown Walter’s dependence on Ivo’s collections; rather than repeat his demonstrations, we shall examine the texts derived from sources not discussed by Fournier.

(144) Augustinus super Genesim ad litteram de conjugio loquens his verbis: Quod sanis posset esse officium, aegrotis est ad remedium.

It is the final sentence of a chapter cited in the SA (No. 7) with the title Augustinus super Genesim. Lombard copied it from Hugh of St. Victor.

(145) Unde Augustinus De Bono nuptiarum: Hoc quo(d) conjugati . . . debitoribus nostris.

We have seen that the SA (No. 17) contained this text in a longer chapter copied from the SMA and attributed in both works to Augustinus De Sancta viduitate. The SA (No. 14) and the SMA also contain the following excerpt:

(146) Augustinus . . . in libro De Bono conjugalii: Corjugalis concubitus . . . venialem habet culpam.

It will be recalled that Lombard cites both texts (Nos. 145 f.) under Augustine’s name, but without title, on two different occasions.

(147) Augustinus: Bonum nuptiarum tripartitum est . . . alteri conjungatur.

This famous text was popularized through the SMA and the SA (No. 27)

(148) Idem in libro De Bono conjugalii: Bonum nuptiarum . . . Dei pertinet, in fide sacramenti.

Instead of in fide sacramenti the SMA reads etiam in sanctitate et sacramenti. The text was passed on through the SA (No. 31) but was soon deprived of its original form (Nos. 94 and 139)

(149) Innocentius de eodem: Sola peccata . . . credamus posse dimitte?

Walter presumably found the text in some treatise whose author described a thought expressed by Pope Innocent.

(150) Dicit Ambrosius non debere matrimonium imputari quod extra Dei decretum est, quia Deo fit conjugium.

Not found in the SMA, the quotation, which finally took this form, was already cited in the SA (No. 47). The change also appears in Gratian’s Decretum which

21 Summa sent. VII, 2; PL 176, 155D. The abbreviation SS will be used henceforth to designate the Summa sententiarum. The number in brackets designates the column in PL 176.
22 SS VII, 2 (155D).
23 Cf. De Sacr. II, 11, 3; PL 176, 481D. Sent. IV, 26, 2; p. 912.
24 SS VII, 3 (156A).
26 In I Cor. vii, 4; PL 191, 1587A. Sent. IV, 31, 5; p. 329.
27 SS VII, 4 (157B).
28 SS VIII, 3 (161A).
29 SUMMA, fol. 59r.
30 SS VII, 8 (161A). Read uxorum nomen instead of uxorum numerum.
31 Cf. Deecr. VII, 197 and 303; PL 161, 625C; 649C. Ivo, Ep. CXX; PL 162, 233C. Abelard, Sic et Non, 125; PL 178, 154B.
32 SS VII, 8 (161B).
reads: Ait Ambrosius: Non est imputandum matrimonium quod extra Dei decretum factum est sed, cum cognoscitur, emendandum. Lombard simply added: ut quando fidelis infidelis copulatur.\textsuperscript{23}

(151) Clemens ex dictis Petri: Prima species adulterii ... se servare viro.\textsuperscript{24}

Walter met this text probably in a Penitential or in a canonical collection.\textsuperscript{25}

(152) Haec auctoritas Hieronymi: Voventibus castitatem non solum nubere sed etiam nubere velle damnabile est.\textsuperscript{26}

Walter makes the same assertion in a letter to the disciples of magister Gilbert.\textsuperscript{27} It is based on an Augustinian text\textsuperscript{28} transcribed by Abelard\textsuperscript{29} and Hugh of St. Victor (No. 132). Gratian also ascribes the short excerpt to St. Jerome\textsuperscript{30} while Lombard attached it to its authentic context: Voventibus enim virginitatem vel viduitatem non solum nubere ... damnabile est.\textsuperscript{31}

(153) Augustinus in libro De Nuptiis et concupiscencia his verbis: Istud credendum est quod beata Virgo ... et aliter (agere) si ipse vellet.\textsuperscript{32}

The quotation is not literal\textsuperscript{33} but agrees almost verbatim with a text ascribed to the same source in his letter to the disciples of magister Gilbert.\textsuperscript{34} At least the thought was known through another Augustinian statement from the same work in the SMA,\textsuperscript{35} copied from Ivo of Chartres.\textsuperscript{36}

(154) Beda in Expositio super Lucam videtur affirmare ... vitam duceret virginalem.\textsuperscript{37}

Bede's teaching\textsuperscript{38} appears here for the first time and is later alluded to by Lombard.\textsuperscript{39}

(155) Unde Leo: Non potest esse matrimonium, cum qua fuit adulterium.\textsuperscript{40}

In this form the quotation appeared first in the SA (No. 80).

(156) Augustinus ita dicens in libro De Nuptiis et concupiscencia: Denique mortuo viro, cum (quo) verum connubium fuit, fieri (verum) connubium potest, cum quo prius adulterium fuit.\textsuperscript{41}

We have noted the significance of this statement (No. 81) which is also cited by Abelard\textsuperscript{42} but not in the known marriage treatises of the school of Laon. It occurs later in Gratian's Decretum\textsuperscript{43} and Lombard's Sentences.\textsuperscript{44}

(157) Hieronymus in Amandus scribens presbyterum sic dicit: Rem novam loquor ... innupta permanere.\textsuperscript{45}

We encountered this text first in the SA (No. 87) whose author did not prefix the erroneous title. Lombard\textsuperscript{46} followed the Summa sententiarum.

\textsuperscript{23} Decr. C. 28, qu. 1, prol.
\textsuperscript{24} Sent. IV, 39, 2; p. 974.
\textsuperscript{25} SS VII, 9 (161C).
\textsuperscript{26} PL 55, 735E.
\textsuperscript{27} SS VII, 19 (183B).
\textsuperscript{29} De Bono vid., 9, 12; CSEL 41, 318.
\textsuperscript{30} Sic et Non, 122; PL 178, 1543A.
\textsuperscript{31} Gratian, Decr. C. 27, qu. 1, c. 41 and D. 37, c. 4.
\textsuperscript{32} Sent. IV, 38, 2; p. 968. Cf. Gratian, Decr. D. 27 c. 4; Voventibus virginitatem non solum ... damnabile est.
\textsuperscript{33} SS VII, 10 (163B).
\textsuperscript{34} Cf. De Nupt. et conc. I, 11, 12; PL 44, 421.
\textsuperscript{35} Martène-Durand, 842E.
\textsuperscript{36} SMA, fol. 43n. De Nupt. et conc. I, 11, 12; PL 44, 420.
\textsuperscript{37} Pan. VI, 16; Decr. VIII, 14; PL 161, 1247B; 586D. Ivo, Ep. XCIX; PL 162, 119E.
\textsuperscript{38} SS VII, 10 (163B).
\textsuperscript{39} In Lucam I, 34; PL 92, 318B.
\textsuperscript{40} Sent. IV, 28, 3; p. 928.
\textsuperscript{42} SS VII, 13 (163B).
\textsuperscript{43} Sic et Non, 131; PL 178, 1563C.
\textsuperscript{44} Decr. C. 31, qu. 1, c. 2.
\textsuperscript{45} Sent. IV, 35, 4; p. 961.
\textsuperscript{46} SS VII, 19 (168D).
\textsuperscript{47} Sent. IV, 35, 3; p. 960.
Among a total of some sixty-six texts or references in Walter’s marriage tract, these fourteen excerpts show a definite but limited dependence on the source material offered by the school of Laon. Walter’s personal initiative is also clearly reflected in the great variety of canonical texts derived from Ivo’s collections. How many of them are directly transcribed from Ivo is an altogether different question to which there is no definite reply can be given. It seems sufficiently obvious that Walter used a later recension of the SA and we may repeat that the number of patristic texts declined in the recensions as time went on.  

One unintentional result of this development was the marked decrease in the number of Augustinian excerpts and, in the case of Hugh and Walter, a noticeable increase of papal and conciliar decisions available in Ivo’s collections. These were neglected, but not entirely ignored, by the compiler of the SMA.

On several occasions Walter of Mortagne felt called upon to express his views on certain particular problems related to marriage.  

Of special interest is the appearance of a text quoted by his correspondent, Magister Albericus, against the consent-theory: Nec est perfectum conjugium, nisi sequatur commixtio sexuum.  

The fact that Albericus does not ascribe it to St. Augustine indicates that he did not copy it from the SMA which had given so much weight to a spurious text by attributing it to the most illustrious name of the Latin Fathers.

VIII.

The time has come to propose some conclusions. It is undeniable that the second marriage treatise of the school of Laon, published in the Sententiae Anselmi, is inseparable from the SMA, because the former grew directly out of the latter. The assumption that the compiler of the SMA may have transcribed his texts from the SA fails to account for the greater length of texts in the SMA. After establishing the priority of the SMA over the SA, a comparative study of quotations leads to the conclusion that the treatise DDf is what H. Weisweiler claimed it to be, a recension of the SA. By employing the same method we reached the conclusion that the treatise (Nos. 90-111) edited by F. Bliemetzrieder and complemented by H. Weisweiler is what the editor claimed it to be, another later recension of the SA. The relationship is not reversed, as suggested by H. Weisweiler.

Thus the SA takes us to the very doorsteps of the school of Laon, because no older treatise is known. And if the SMA as a whole constitutes a unit, including not only the part on marriage we have examined more closely, it is legitimate to conclude that the collection existed prior to the SA. Who compiled it? A master of theology who was principally interested in such theological topics as the Trinity (and Incarnation), the Angels, the creation of man, the state of man before and after sin, the sacraments of marriage, Baptism (Confirmation), the Blessed Eucharist and Holy Orders. These were favorite subjects among the scholars of Laon and their followers who considered Anselm of Laon the glory of their age. So it may well be that the originator of the SMA was no other than Magister Anselmus himself.

We have been able also to show that Hugh of St. Victor used the SMA not

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only in his section dealing with the Trinity but also in his tract on marriage. In this tract he also made use of a recension (Nos. 90-111) based directly on the SA. We could detect but little, if any, evidence to prove that Peter Lombard and Walter of Mortagne used the SMA. This is less surprising in Lombard's Sentences, written after the middle of the century, than in his earlier work, the commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul. We have, however, noted the indirect influence of the SMA on Lombard. Thanks to the lasting popularity of the Sentences, some excerpts survived the decline of the SMA as others did through their incorporation in Gratian's Decretum. A critical edition of the SMA would undoubtedly contribute a great deal to a deeper penetration into the far reaching activities of the school of Laon.
The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages

RICHARD E. SULLIVAN

The era in Western European history extending from 590 to about 900 perhaps had no more prominent feature than the gains won by missionaries for the Christian faith. Beginning with the pontificate of Gregory the Great the Christian frontier was pushed steadily forward until new barbarian invasions, the collapse of the Carolingian empire, and the secularization of the church temporarily interrupted this progress at the end of the ninth century. These gains were made in the face of great odds. Gregory the Great, writing to the Emperor Maurice in 585, dramatically posed the following picture of the task facing the Christian world: “Behold, all things in Europe are given over to the rights of barbarians. Cities are destroyed; castles are torn down; provinces are without people. No farmers inhabit the land. The worshippers of idols rage and domineer in the murder of the faithful. And still priests who ought to throw themselves weeping onto the pavement and the cinders, seek vain names for themselves and glory in new and profane words.” Gregory did not live to witness great burdens heaped upon Christendom by the Moslems, the Avars, the Saxons, the Norsemen, the Bulgars, and the Magyars, all of whom sought and often succeeded in circum-scribing the Christian realm. Neither did he witness an internal collapse of the western political and ecclesiastical structure so serious that one of his successors, John VIII (872-882), was forced to beg the rulers of the West to assist in protecting Rome herself against invasions by the infidel Saracens and their Christian allies. Nor did Gregory see the gradual bifurcation of what he seemed to think of as a single church into an eastern and a western church during the three centuries which followed his pontificate, creating a near schism which sometimes impeded missionary work. These developments only highlight the magnitude of the achievement of the missionaries of the early Middle Ages.

The labor required to extend the Christian frontier during this era was shared by many groups. Among those was the papacy. In view of the repeated appearance in the missionary record, certain questions arise, each having a bearing on missionary history and on the history of the papacy. How extensive was the papal contribution to the struggle against paganism? What was the exact nature of the papal contribution to the conversion of pagans? How

1 Gregorii I papae Registrum Epistolarum, V. 37; ed. Paulus Ewald and Ludowicus M. Hartmann, MGH, Epistolae, I. 322: Ecce cuncta in Europae partibus barbarorum iuris sunt tradita, destructae urbes, eversa castra, depopulatae provinciae; nullus terram cultor inhabitat; saeviunt et dominantur cotidie in nece fidelium culturae idolorum; et tamen saecrados, qui in pavimento et cinere flentes iacere debuerunt; vanitatis sibi nomina expetunt et novis ac profanis vocabulis gloriantur. This collection will be cited hereafter as Gregory, Reg., MGH, Ep., with appropriate volume, letter, and page numbers. The following abbreviations will be employed for other series in MGH: SS. for Scriptores SS.; rer. Merovingicarum; SS. rer. Germ. in usum schol. for Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum.

2 For examples of the way in which John VIII presented his plight see Iohannis VIII. Papae Registrum #1, 8, 22, 27, 31, 32, 33, 36, 56, 150, 193, 205, 233, 278; ed. Acidus Caspar, MGH, Ep. VII, 1.2, 7-8, 19-21, 25-26, 29-30, 31-33, 32-33, 35-36, 51-52, 126-127, 154-155, 164-165, 232-233, 243. This work will be cited hereafter as John VIII. Ep.; ed. Caspar, MGH, Ep. VII, with appropriate letter and page numbers.

did the papacy rank as a missionary agency when measured alongside other missionary agencies? Was there a continuity of papal missionary policy? This paper will attempt to shed some light on these questions by bringing together a record of papal missionary effort from 590 to 900 and by trying to evaluate the papal contribution to the total missionary effort of the era.

This study will be retracing familiar ground in the case of a few popes especially prominent in missionary history. It is the opinion of the writer that there has been an inclination to allow these well-studied cases to characterize papal missionary activity over the whole of the early Middle Ages. Such cases need to be set in proper perspective with the missionary activities of popes not so well-known and with the whole missionary effort of the period. Only by undertaking a complete account of papal missionary activity with an emphasis on the exact nature of the papal contribution can it be hoped that a more balanced version of the missionary role of the papacy may emerge.

I.

The missionary activity of Gregory the Great, perhaps the first pope to dispatch missionaries from Rome for the purpose of converting pagans, makes the opening of his pontificate in 590 a significant point at which to begin a study of the papacy and missionary work. Gregory’s part in the conversion of pagans, and especially the English nations, was so great that it remained a model for successful missionary ventures throughout most of the period under consideration. He himself sensed that his efforts were epoch making; in his Moralita he wrote as follows of the conversion of England: “By the shining miracles of His preachers has God brought to the faith even the extremities of the earth . . . Lo! the tongues of Britain, which before could only utter barbarous sounds, have lately learned to make the alleluia of the Hebrews resound in praise of God. Lo! the ocean, formerly so turbulent, lies calm and submissive at the feet of the saints, and its wild movements, which earthly princes could not control by the sword, are spellbound with the fear of God by a few simple words from the mouth of the priests; and he who, when an unbeliever, never dreaded troops of fighting men, now that he believes fears the tongues of the meek.” He wrote with pride to Queen Bertha of Kent that the news of the conversion of England was important enough to be heard as far away as Constantinople. Some of the products of the conversion of England remembered well Gregory’s contribution to the Christianization of their native land. Bede justified the introduction of a biographical sketch of Gregory into his Ecclesiastical History of the English People on the grounds that the English were the seal of the pope’s apostleship, an honor that no other people could claim. Boniface tried to secure copies of Gregory’s letters of advice to the English mission to serve as guides for his own work in Germany. Alcuin often referred to Gregory as “our teacher”


5 Sancti Gregorii Magni Moralium Libri XXVII, 11; PL 76, 411: . . . quia emicantibus praedicatumorum miracula, ad fidem etiam terminos mundi perduxit . . . . ece a lingua Britanniae, quae nil aliud noverat, quam barbarum fremdere, jam dumum in divinis laudibus Hebraeum coepit Alleluia resonare. Ecce quondam humilis, jam substratus sanctorum pedibus servit Oceanus, ejusque barbaros motus, quos terreni principes edomare ferro nequevarent, hos pro divina formidine sacerdotum ora simplexibus verbis ligant; et qui catervas pugnantium infidelis nequaquam metuerat, jam nunc fidelis humilium linguis timet.


6 Venerabilis Baeae Historica Ecclesiastica Gensis Anglorum II, 1 in Venerabilis Baeae Opera Historica I, ed. Carolus Plummer (Oxford, 1896), p. 73. This work will be cited hereafter as Bede, Hist. eccl., with appropriate book, chapter, and page numbers.

* S. Bonifati et Lulli Epistolae #33, 54, 75 in Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und
and "our preacher." Gregory's instructions to the English mission were referred to so often in succeeding ages that they assumed the force of canon law. It would be difficult to find a modern historian who did not fully acknowledge the importance of Gregory's missionary work. These testimonials demonstrate that Gregory played a decisive role in the missionary history of his day and thus introduced the papacy as a vital agency in missionary work for a long time thereafter.

Although the English mission was the culmination of Gregory's missionary activities, he had attacked the problem of winning converts and had developed missionary techniques prior to the sending of a mission to England. His correspondence shows his awareness of several non-Christian elements in the realm under his sway and his sense of responsibility for converting them.

One troublesome situation that Gregory sought to correct was the persistence of pagan practices among those who were nominally Christian. Gregory's usual solution for this condition was to call the matter to the attention of those responsible for the spiritual life of such pagans, to reprimand them for their negligence, and to order them to destroy the remnants of paganism immediately. Bishops were most often the targets of papal reproofs. On several occasions Gregory wrote to bishops that he had heard that the worship of idols existed in their sees. He always ordered them to end this situation immediately, usually warning them that their own souls were in jeopardy because of their laxness. Sometimes the pope suggested ways to fight against paganism. Venantius, bishop of Luna, was sternly warned in 599 to correct a situation reported by the magister militum of that city, who discovered that there were many in the city who desired to be ordained priests and deacons while at the same time the people living there were in need of the services of clergymen to recall them from infidelity and pagan worship. The bishop's duty was clear—he must provide more clergymen. However, Gregory did not rest the matter with recalling the episcopate to its duty. He likewise asked lay rulers to end pagan practices. For instance, in September, 597, he wrote to Queen Brunehilda of the Franks in this fashion: "We likewise beg this, that you ought to restrain under the moderation of discipline certain of your subjects so that they will not worship idols, that they will not continue the worship of trees, and that they will not make sacrilegious sacrifices with the heads of animals, for it has come to us that many Christians frequent the churches . . . and do not cease to worship demons." Occasionally Gregory requested a secular ruler to join hands with the bishops to discourage or destroy paganism. His usual inducement to spur princes to action was the solemn promise of the pope himself that those who aided in this task would gain both praise in this world and eternal benefits in the

Lullius: ed. Michael Tangl, MGH, Epistolae Selectae I (Berlin, 1918), pp. 51, 56-57, 158, to be cited hereafter as Boniface, Ep.; ed. Tangl, with appropriate letter and page numbers.


For some typical examples see Erich Caspar, Gesichte des Patetum von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltkriegerd (Tübingen, 1930-1933), pp. 508-506, 668.


For another example of Gregory's concern over providing enough clergy to wipe out pagan remains see Gregory, Reg. IV, 29; MGH, Ep. I, 263.

Gregory, Reg. VIII, 4, MGH, Ep. II, 7: Hoc quodque pariter hortamur, ut et ceteros subjectos vestros sub disciplinae debeat moderatione restringere, ut idolis non immolent, cultuere arborum non existant, de animalium capitis sacris sacris non exibant, quia pervenit ad nos, quod multi Christianorum et ad ecclesiis occurrent et . . . a culturis daemonum non abscendant.

hereafter. Gregory even laid some of the responsibility for ending pagan practices on Christian landholders. In May, 594, he addressed a letter to nobilibus ac possessoribus in Sardinia insula consistentiibus.16 After speaking of how saddened he was to hear that many peasants (rusticos) in those parts were given to idolatry, he severely called the landholders to their duty. Since the serfs were given into their charge to work the land, the nobles owed them something in return, namely, the guidance which would lead them to eternal salvation. Cautioning the nobles that the end of the world and the day of judgment were at hand, the pope asked them to lead their charges to the true faith. He added, perhaps as a fillip to entice the nobles of Sardinia to do some noteworthy act, that he would like to hear by letter from any who had won converts.

Gregory was also aware that the religious state of the Lombards was not satisfactory. Aside from their Arianism, many of them remained pagan. He made this situation his concern. In this matter Gregory was faced with a complicated situation. Hard political reality demanded that he do nothing to give the Lombards an excuse to attack Rome. His broad policy of peaceful relations with them likewise dictated that he avoid religious strife.17 Nonetheless, he could not refrain entirely from trying to convert the Lombards, whether they were Arians or still pagans. Again he relied on the bishops of Italy to bear the burden. The death of the Lombard king Autharith, an avowed enemy of the Roman church, prompted the pope early in 591 to address a letter to all Italian bishops exhorting them to try to get the Lombards to accept the orthodox faith.18 In September of the same year he advised the bishop of Narni, a city in Lombard hands, to persuade both Lombards and Romans to abandon paganism and heresy and to accept the true faith. He thought the moment opportune because a plague had struck the city; it was obviously divine punishment for the errant ways of the populace, the only escape from which was the acceptance of the true faith.19 Gregory himself tried to influence the Lombard court through Queen Theolinda, a Bavarian princess who was orthodox— an effort that Gregory perhaps felt was rewarded when Theolinda’s young son, Adoloald, was baptized in the orthodox faith in 603.20

Gregory was concerned with pagan threats more remote from Rome than the cases cited above. He was troubled over the Avar–Slav assault on the Balkan peninsula. His interest in this area was not so much a missionary one; rather, his chief efforts were bent toward saving the ecclesiastical structure there and toward protecting displaced clergymen. For example, in 591 he wrote to all of the bishops of Illyricum ordering them to receive and sustain any bishop who had been driven out of his see by the barbarian invasions.21 The next year Gregory himself tried to provide for one such bishop. He wrote to John, bishop of Lissus, a city near Durazzo, ordering him to fill a vacant see in Calabria until his own city could be freed from its barbarian invaders.22 Gregory also offered his encouragement to the civil authorities in these troubled areas. His order to the bishops of Illyricum, cited above, was a confirmation of an imperial order. In March, 592, he wrote a congratulatory letter to the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, who had recovered the province from the barbarians.23 Even farther from Rome Gregory demonstrated an interest in winning new converts. In 593 he wrote a letter to Domitian, the metropolitan of Armenia, declaring his disappointment

17 For a review of papal relations with the Lombards in this period see Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums II, pp. 471-478; Bréhier and Aigrain, Grégoire le Grand, les états barbares et la conquête arabe (590-757), pp. 48-54.
that the bishop’s efforts to convert the emperor of Persia had failed, but consoling that ambitious bishop with assurances that his efforts were praiseworthy. 22

Whereas Gregory’s efforts to win new converts in the above cases were chiefly in the form of exhortations, reprimands, reminders, and words of encouragement, his activities were more direct and more positive in at least two other cases, namely, in connection with the Jews and with a Sardinian tribe, the Barbaricini. With respect to the Jews Gregory adopted a policy of permitting their existence in Christendom on the basis of Roman law and of using his influence to prevent infringements on their rights. 23 For instance, he repeatedly forbade all attempts to interfere with Jewish religious practices, making himself available to hear the complaints of any Jewish individual or community that had been wronged. 24 He occasionally ordered Christians to make restitution to Jewish groups for interference with their rights. 25 He insisted that the Christian clergy refrain from forceful conversion of the Jews. 26 Gregory was equally insistent that the Jews confine their activities within legal bounds. He sought to prevent them from holding Christian slaves, gaining slaves by illegal means, leading Christians into sacrilege, taking revenge on converted Jews, or attempting to gain privileged status by bribery. 27

This rather narrow legalism was constantly tempered by Gregory’s anxiety to convert as many Jews as possible. To achieve this end he pleaded with his bishops to encourage with blandishments, admonitions, and persuasion the Jews in their dioceses to accept Christianity. He warned the bishops to avoid any compulsion, lest harshness and asperity harden the Jews against the true faith and lest those forced into baptism merely give lip-service to Christianity while retaining their old superstitions. 28 While encouraging the clergy to bend every effort to persuade the Jews to accept Christianity, Gregory himself sought actively to gain the attention of potential Jewish converts. He was apparently willing to listen to the problems of the Jews, 29 perhaps hoping to influence them personally by giving them an audience. He made it clear that Jews in slavery could gain their freedom by accepting Christianity and he insisted that various authorities see to it that such a reward was made possible. 30 He ordered the overseers of the papal patrimony to relieve the Jewish serfs of a part of their financial burden in return for accepting Christianity, 31 even offering in one case to write letters himself making such promises. 32 He personally ordered special subsidies for newly converted Jews. 33 He granted a man and his wife, who was formerly a Jewess, a special letter of protection against anyone who might do the new convert harm. 34 He ruled that the canonical rules of baptism be modified in order to accommodate Jewish converts. In this same case he even directed the local authorities to furnish the baptismal garb for those Jews who could not afford it themselves. 35 These acts of accommodation suggest that Gregory was convinced that the papacy had a vital role in encouraging the spread of Christianity. Its task was to incite those already Christian to present the teachings of Christianity to potential converts in an orderly, peaceful, non-provocative fashion, while the pope’s own task was to use his power and prestige to encourage,

23 Gregory, Reg. II, 6; VIII, 23; IX, 38, 40; MGH, Ep. I, 165; II, 27, 67, 68, for cases in which Gregory speaks of respecting the rights of Jews.
25 See note 26, above.
reward, and protect those about to accept baptism and to make every concession possible to ease their transition from their former religion to Christianity.

The Barbaricini, pagans living in the mountainous regions of Sardinia, provided Gregory with the problem of dealing directly with paganism on a larger scale than has been noted previously. His personal intervention in this situation was prompted by the glaring neglect of these pagans by the local clergy and by the fact that the duke of Sardinia had inflicted a military defeat on them in 594. To capitalize on this situation Gregory sent an Italian bishop and a monk to Sardinia to bestir the Sardinian clergy into action and to discover and correct the sources of laxness. Their reports back to Rome on the conditions they found led Gregory to try to support their efforts. In May, 594, he dispatched four letters to Sardinia. One was a stinging rebuke to Januarius, bishop of Cagliari and principal clergyman in Sardinia, upbraiding him for his neglect in allowing paganism to exist in any area under his jurisdiction. In a slightly veiled threat Gregory promised that he would punish any Sardinian bishop in whose diocese he found a pagan. Gregory also wrote a letter to the landholders, ordering them to assume the responsibility for instructing their serfs and seeing to it that they were baptized. He also requested them to lend every possible assistance to his legates. A third letter was sent to Zaborda, the duke of Sicily, praising him for having subdued the Barbaricini and having exacted from them a peace treaty wherein they promised to become Christians. He exhorted the duke to complete what he had started by aiding in the conversion of his recent foes. Any efforts in that direction would glorify the duke in the eyes of both earthly princes and the heavenly King. Finally, Gregory wrote a letter to Hospito, the prince of the Barbaricini. Speaking in moderate language, the pope pointed out the folly of paganism and asked the prince to receive and aid the Italian clergyman who had come to convert his people. Gregory also asked Hospito to do whatever he could to make his subjects receive baptism. Gregory sent the blessings of St. Peter to Hospito as an inducement.

Gregory's efforts of 594 were not as successful as he had hoped. In June, 595, he took further action by writing to the Empress Constantina to report that the venality of the civil judges in Sardinia was impeding the work of his missions. In return for bribes these judges were freeing from penalty those guilty of pagan practices while exacting from new converts the price they had been paying previously to worship their pagan gods. Obviously the imperial government was expected to end these abuses. Still later, in October, 600, Gregory sent a letter to the praeses of Sardinia, Spesindeus, asking him to aid the local bishop in gaining converts. What the eventual fate of the Barbaricini was is not recorded; perhaps the lack of further information is proof of their conversion. Whatever the case, Gregory had taken the lead in trying to convert them. He had bent every effort to effect cooperation among his legates, especially charged to win converts, the local clergy, the civil authorities, the leader of the pagans, and the Christian landholders. Against such a combination paganism stood little chance. He advocated a method of gaining converts. The clergy, the landlords, and the civil authorities were encouraged to use persuasion and instruction on the pagans. The prince of those to be converted was asked to use his influence and his example in order to impress his subjects. Judicial proceedings were to be instituted against those who refused to be won by persuasion. Gregory himself was ready to use political sanctions against anyone who impeded the process. Apparently no other party except the papacy was interested or able to take the trouble to win even so small a victory for the faith.

The various attempts to win converts outlined above, most of which preceded

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The following material relative to the Barbaricini is based on Gregory, Reg. IV, 23, 25, 26, 27; V, 38; XI, 12; MGH, Ep. I, 257-258, 260-262, 324; II, 273.

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the opening of the English mission, suggest that the latter undertaking was not nearly so unique as has sometimes been suggested. Gregory’s activity prior to 596 indicates that he not only had an interest in missionary work but also had a rather broad concept of missionary technique. Nonetheless, his connection with the English mission marks his ultimate missionary achievement. To conceive of converting a people in a situation where his usual weapons—an ecclesiastical organization, a Christian majority, a civil administration that the pope could at least influence to some degree and that was unquestionably pro-Christian—were all lacking required a large amount of innovation and marked a new departure in papal policy.

Gregory alone must be credited with the inauguration of the English mission and with entrusting the task to competent hands. No other agency had concerned itself with English paganism. Gregory complained, for instance, that the neighboring clergy had shown no interest. Nor was there any convenient solution at hand for attacking the situation in England, as is obvious from the considerable thought given by Gregory to the problem of starting the conversion of England. However fanciful may be the story of his encounter with the Angle slaves in Rome and his consequent decision to try to convert them, it may be entirely possible that Gregory himself thought of going to England. After that plan, if it ever existed, came to nothing, his next scheme centered around creating a troop of native clergy, recruited from the continental slave markets and educated in Rome, to return to England as missionaries. In 595 he ordered Candidus, the rector of the papal patrimony in Gaul, to purchase English boys, baptize them, and transport them to Rome, where they were to be placed in monasteries so that they might be used in the service of God. In the meantime he may have thought of trying to inspire the Gallic and Celtic clergy to act in England, as has been suggested above. Finally he decided to select monks in Italy for converting the English. That choice was a propitious one; Gregory put his hands on a potent weapon in the Benedictine order, fired as it was with desire for the service of God, flexible enough in its organization to meet unusual situations, and disciplined enough to accomplish any task put to it by some guiding authority. Perhaps it is not amiss to say that Gregory performed no greater service for early medieval missionary activity than to encourage the Benedictine order to participate.

Once having chosen a force for the actual missionary work, Gregory threw his efforts into getting his missionary party to its destination. This task was a relatively simple one, although a party of nearly forty monks was involved. Apparently Gregory assumed that a group of monks, traveling under a papal commission, would be able to find suitable hospitality along the way to England without his making any special arrangements, since his correspondence contains

40 Gregory, Reg. VI, 48, 57; MGH, Ep. I, 423-424, 431-432. It is difficult from the text to decide just who was meant by Gregory when he wrote that England was being neglected by neighboring clergy (sacerdotes e vicino, p. 423; sacerdotes qui in vicino sunt, p. 431). The editors of Gregory’s correspondence state that the reference is to the clergy of Ireland; see ibid., p. 423, note 2. However, a little farther on in each of these letters Gregory asks the Frankish royalty that his missionaries be permitted to recruit the aid of priests in Frankish territory. He uses exactly the same phrase, e vicino, in designating whence these clergy- men are to be recruited. This leads me to believe that he felt that both the Frankish and the Irish clergy had been negligent.
43 John the Deacon, Vita s. Gregorii magni II, 33; PL 75, 99.
44 Schnürer, L’église et la civilisation au moyen âge I, 365-414, gives a good characterization of the significance of the union of papacy and Benedictine monasticism in missionary efforts.
45 Bede, Hist. eccl. I, 25, p. 45, supplies this figure.
no record of his having written any special letters to accompany Augustine and his companions when they left Rome the first time. This assumption was sound, since the mission was well received by Protasius, bishop of Aix, Stephen, abbot of Lerins, and Ariigius, patricius of Gaul. But then there occurred an unforeseen development: a loss of heart within the mission, which was "seized by a sudden fear, and began to think of returning home, rather than to proceed to a barbarous, fierce, and unbelieving people, whose language they did not know." Probably the missionaries heard stories of the magnitude of their task from those they met in Gaul which made it seem more serious than they had thought when they left Rome. Augustine returned to Rome. Gregory then acted firmly to save the mission. He put into Augustine's hands a strong rejoinder to the missionaries concerning their duty in the sight of God: one can assume he had spoken as firmly to Augustine in person. He called upon the missionaries as Benedictine monks to obey their abbot. And he spoke encouragingly of the favor that God would bestow on such a good work and of the eternal rewards the monks would gain for their efforts. This letter apparently convinced the party that it should proceed. As a further aid to the mission and perhaps as a demonstration of the importance he attached to the task, Gregory sent with Augustine special letters of commendation to important bishops along the route and to the Frankish rulers through whose territories the mission had to pass. The pope called upon all of these personages to provide the material needs of the monks. Of the bishops he asked, in addition, that they offer their solace and their prayers. The Frankish rulers were called upon to protect the missionaries and to aid them in recruiting helpers for their task. These measures insured the arrival of the mission in England in May, 597. At least some indication that Gregory's letters had been important can be seen in a later papal letter written to Queen Brunehilda, one of those to whom a letter of commendation had been sent in 596, praising her for the help she had given to the mission as it passed through her territory.

Unfortunately, the record is rather sparse concerning any further contributions on Gregory's part to the initial missionary venture in England. Nonetheless, there are certain hints that some thought had been given to the manner in which the missionaries were to proceed once they were in England and that Gregory was a party to these plans. Gregory himself wrote to Pelagius, bishop of Tours, and Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, that he had instructed Augustine, then on his way to England, to reveal to them more fully the affair in which the missionary was engaged. This suggests some rather definite plans. Gregory had ordered Augustine to take interpreters from Frankish territories, again an intimation that plans had been made for dealing with the pagans. Gregory had instructed Augustine to go to Arles for episcopal consecration in the event that he enjoyed success in England. Implicit in such an order are certain

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"For instance, Gregory began a letter to Pelagius of Tours and Serenus of Marseilles, to whom he was commending Augustine, as follows: Licet apud sacerdotes habentes Deo placitam caritatem religiosi viri nullius commendatione indegant... (Gregory, Reg. VI, 50; MGH, Ep. I, 425).

"Gregory, Reg. VI, 50; 51; 53; 54; 56; 57; MGH, Ep. I, 423-432. Bede, Hist. eccl. I, 24, pp. 43-44 adds Aethrius of Lyons (whom he mistakenly designates as bishop of Arles) to this list.


"Gregory, Reg. VI, 50; MGH, Ep. I, 423; Cui eae, Augustinel etiam ut promittentes ad suffragandam possitis existere, causam vobis ininuaribus supplianti indicare... Bede, Hist. eccl. I, 24, pp. 43-44, says the same letter was sent to Aethrius of Lyons.

"Bede, Hist. eccl. I, 25, p. 43: Acceperunt autem, praecipiente beato papa Gregorio, de gente Francorum interpretes.

"Gregory, Reg. VIII, 23; MGH, Ep. II, 30; Gregory, writing to Eulogius, bishop of..."
considerations that must have been discussed prior to Augustine's departure: the organization of converts won, matters of discipline, the administration of property that might be acquired, the recruiting and ordination of native clergy, and the possibility of extending the missionary work to wider areas in England. When Augustine first arrived in England he was equipped with certain liturgical items which were used to make an impression on Ethelbert, including a silver cross and an image of Christ painted on a board. It is fair to assume that these articles had been brought from Rome at Gregory's behest, since in 601 the pope sent more objects of this order to aid in missionary work. To carry these items on the long trip from Rome suggests that plans had been made for their use. Bede says that Augustine wrote a letter in 597 to Gregory to gain "a solution of some doubts that occurred to him." The implication of this remark is that Gregory and Augustine had already discussed some of the problems in question at an earlier date, before Augustine left Rome. At one point in his responses to Augustine's questions Gregory says that he thought he had already answered Augustine, but that he supposed Augustine desired to be confirmed in the papal opinion. The referral of missionary problems to Rome in itself suggests that Gregory had invited, if not ordered, such a procedure before the missionaries left Rome for England.

None of these pieces of evidence permits any certainty, but they lead one to the conclusion that Gregory had defined a regular program of action for his mission before it left Rome and that this program was followed. The appeal made directly to Ethelbert for permission to preach, the immediate organization of a monastic community at Canterbury, the careful attention given by the missionaries to their own personal conduct, the insistence that no compulsion be used to win converts, even after Ethelbert had been converted, the patient preaching to anyone that would listen, the rapid repair or building of churches—all cardinal features of the early success of the mission in England—may well have been the result of Gregory's instructions to his departing missionaries in 596. Just as he arranged for their safe passage to England, so also it is entirely possible that he was in large part responsible for their initial activities in that pagan land.

However true it may be that Gregory was responsible for the major portion of the program of Augustine's group, nothing can hide the fact that its success depended upon its reception in England and especially upon the attitude of Ethelbert. Gregory must have been aware of this fact, which meant that many matters were left undecided in 596, contingent upon the reception of Augustine in England. Thus there arose more opportunities for Gregory to act decisively in the conversion of the English.

Augustine enjoyed great success during his first years in England. Not only was the king of Kent converted, but so also were large numbers of his subjects. Augustine felt encouraged enough to go to Arles to receive consecration as a bishop. Upon his return to England, he apparently was faced with problems that he could not dispose of himself nor could he rely upon his friend Ethelbert for their solution. Once again Gregory was called upon to contribute to the mission. In 597 two members of Augustine's mission presented themselves to the pope with a series of requests dealing with the future conduct of the mission.

Alexandria, says of Augustine: Qui data a me licentia a Germaniarum episcopis factus. ... See also Bede, Hist. eccl. I, 27, p. 48.
Ibid., I, 29, p. 63.
Ibid., I, 27, p. 48: simul et de eis, quae necessariae uidebantur, quaestionibus eius consulta flagitans.
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Gregory's responses to this appeal were of fundamental importance in shaping the future development of Christianity in England.

One thing that Augustine needed was more missionary personnel. His original party of forty did not suffice for the proper care of the increasing flock of converts and for the new churches that were being built. Gregory answered this request by sending a new group of missionaries from Rome in 601, including Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinnianus; the first three were to perform notable services in furthering the progress of Christianity in England. These reinforcements were given the usual papal letters of commendation to insure their passage to England. It is difficult to imagine where else Augustine could have acquired such valuable aid than from Rome; again the pope had performed a vital missionary service.

Augustine also needed a variety of religious items to dedicate his new churches properly, to institute suitable religious service, and to educate those whom he had converted. When Gregory sent the new mission to England in 601, he also sent "by them whatever was necessary for the worship and services of the church, namely, sacred vessels and cloths for the altars, ornaments for the churches, and vestments for the priests and clerks, as well as relics of the holy apostles and martyrs and many books."

The English mission was also uncertain as to how to proceed with the organization of the new church. Augustine transmitted several distinct problems to Rome with his legates in 597 and requested that Gregory order a procedure to be followed. He was troubled about the kind of life the missionary party should follow, a problem apparently complicated by his own elevation to the episcopate, by the need to put his monks in charge of scattered churches, and by the entrance of certain recent converts into clerical life. Augustine asked for specific information about the disposition of church income, an issue that was perhaps new to a recently consecrated bishop and a recently converted king. He reminded the pope that he had no fixed see. New bishops might soon be needed; the matter of canonical ordinations was especially difficult, since Augustine was the only bishop in Kent. Augustine was also in doubt about his position relative to the Frankish and Celtic episcopacy.

Gregory resolved most of these problems on organizational matters in two letters which he sent to England in 601. The first, written on June 22, prescribed a definite plan for the ecclesiastical organization of all England. Augustine was elevated to metropolitan rank, awarded the pallium, and assigned a see to be located at London. He was ordered to create twelve new bishops in his province as the opportunity presented itself. He was also directed to send a bishop to York as soon as possible so that another province with twelve suffragans could be erected there. Both new archbishops and their successors were to receive the pallium from Rome. The matter of supremacy was disposed of by authorizing Augustine to enjoy that position as long as he lived. Thereafter, whichever of the two archbishops was consecrated first was to be supreme.

In the second letter, written in July, 601, Gregory made further provisions concerning the ecclesiastical organization of England and Augustine's position in it. The pope ordered that the English missionaries continue to follow a communal

dotalia uel clericilia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias, nec non et codices plurimos.

Gregory, Reg. XI, 56a; MGH, Ep. II, 322-343, contains Gregory's answers and also gives the exact questions asked by Augustine.


life. He also made special provisions for the maintenance and discipline of married members of the minor orders of the clergy, a body undoubtedly consisting of native converts who were now serving the new church. He instructed Augustine to make the traditional disposition of church income, that is, an equal division among the bishop and his household, the clergy, charitable activities, and the repair of churches. Augustine was given permission to consecrate new bishops without other bishops being present, as was required by canon law. He was also ordered to assume authority over all bishops in Britain. However, Gregory pointed out that the English archbishop had no rights over the Gallic bishops. These orders and directions permitted Augustine to begin the organization of his new converts. In 604 Justus was made bishop of Rochester and Mellitus bishop of London, the latter see being in the kingdom of the East Saxons and not suited for Augustine’s metropolitan see. However, Augustine failed to make any progress in establishing his authority over the bishops in the Celtic parts of the British Isles, thereby falling short of Gregory’s intentions. Nonetheless, the papal initiative was largely responsible for the first definite steps in organizing the church in England.

While disposing of these problems Gregory also sent letters to both Ethelbert and Bertha of Kent. There is no definite evidence that any difficulty had arisen between the rulers and Augustine. As a matter of fact, Gregory did Bertha the high honor of comparing her to Helen, the mother of Constantine, for the aid she had given his mission. Bede says that Ethelbert was always helpful in advancing the cause of the mission. However, the tone of both letters hints that Augustine felt that the rulers could do more and had asked the pope to attempt to induce them to greater activity. The letter to Bertha stressed especially her responsibility to spur her husband to greater efforts for the faith. Gregory gently rebuked her for not having converted her husband sooner. He especially pleaded with her to aid Augustine and his workers. In his letter to Ethelbert the pope charged the king with more specific duties. After duly praising his conversion, Gregory recommended a definite program of action for the king to pursue in the future: “Therefore, glorious son, take care with a sollicitous mind of the grace you have divinely received. Hasten to extend the Christian faith among the people subjected to you. Multiply the zeal of your righteousness for their conversion. Suppress the worship of idols. Overthrow the temples. Edify the manners of your subjects by great cleanliness of life by exhorting, terrifying, soothing, correcting, and illustrating by the example of good works, so that you will find your rewarder in heaven whose name and reputation you have spread on earth.” After inciting Ethelbert to emulate the example of Constantine, Gregory asked him to cooperate completely with Augustine and to follow the archbishop’s orders in all things. Gregory thus charged the king with a major role in extirpating paganism and inducing his newly converted subjects to live a Christian life. Such aid would certainly have been of major importance to the still relatively small number of missionaries in Kent. Moreover, the whole letter takes on deeper significance when one notes that Ethelbert was addressed as “king of the Angles,” that is, the ruler of all the inhabitants of England, and when one remembers that at the same moment Gregory had provided Augustine with a plan for organizing all England into an

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60 Bede, Hist. eccl. II, 3, p. 85.
61 Ibid., II, 2, pp. 81-85, for Augustine’s dealings with the Celtic clergy.
64 Gregory, Reg. XI, 37; MGH, Ep. II, 398-399: Et, ideo, glorieo fili, eam quam accepisti divinitum gratiam sollicita mente custodi, christianam fide in populis tibi subditis extendere festina, zelum rectitudinis tuae in eorum conversione multiplic, idolorum cultus inseque, fanorum aedificia evert, subditorum mores in magna vitae munditia exhortando, terrendo, blandiendo, corrigendo, et boni operis examplam monstrando aedifica, ut illum retribuorem invenias in caelo, culios nomen atque cognitionem dilataveris in terra.
episcopal structure. Gregory was mustering the resources to spread missionary work beyond Kent, and was relying heavily upon Ethelbert to assist in that operation. Perhaps Augustine had not yet been able to persuade the king to throw his full efforts into the task of completing the conversion of the whole population of England.

One final situation had developed during the early stages of the English mission with which Augustine and his fellow workers could not cope and which required papal guidance. When Laurentius and Peter came to Rome in 597, they brought with them an appeal to Gregory for instruction on a series of matters concerning the discipline of new converts. The missionaries had discovered that their knowledge of ecclesiastical regulations did not fit the cases that they had to deal with among their new converts. Gregory obliged them by supplying rather copious instructions in two letters sent to England in 601. 77 Throughout these letters he modified strict canonical regulations in order to fit the situation among those recently made Christians.

On problems of discipline the pope insisted on conformity to accepted norms as a general principle, but advised that too great severity be avoided. For those who stole from churches, he advised punishment tempered by charity. He ordered rather strict adherence to canonical regulations on marriages, although he permitted those who had contracted prohibited unions prior to their conversion to continue in these marriages: “For in this time the holy church corrects some things through fervor, tolerates other things through meekness, connives at still others through discretion. She thus carries on and connives so that she may often overcome the evil which works against her.” 78 In matters of marriage Gregory stood on a single principle—only those that knowingly committed error should be punished. Otherwise, the task of the missionaries was to act charitably while trying to enlighten. Gregory also tried to lay down for the missionaries certain acceptable practices relative to sexual relations and childbirth, especially as these matters had a bearing on attendance at church services and reception of the sacraments. He was especially eager to caution his missionaries against too great reliance on Old Testament rules as final guides in these matters, perhaps feeling that their monastic way of life would make them too hard on the pagans.

Gregory was especially solicitous to encourage the development of a ritual that would satisfy those who had recently left paganism. His emphasis on this matter suggests that he felt that an adequate ritual was absolutely necessary to insure the allegiance of the new converts to Christianity. He advised Augustine to use whatever of the Roman and Gallic rites that he found most suitable. Even more significant was the papal injunction to the missionaries not to attempt to cut away all remnants of pagan ritual immediately but rather to permit certain ancient practices under a Christian guise. Temples ought not be destroyed; they should be converted into churches by purifying them with holy water, constructing altars, and depositing relics. Gregory virtually sanctioned the sacrifice of animals in honor of the Christian God, thus permitting the new converts to continue one of their most ancient practices. He encouraged the missionaries to permit the performance of various other pagan rituals in honor of the saints, thus sanctioning a degree of polytheism for worshippers who had long been accustomed to dealing with a multitude of deities.

How thoroughly the English missionaries followed papal advice in matters of discipline and ritual is nearly impossible to determine. Perhaps it is safe to suggest that Gregory’s instructions were followed since the missionaries had

77 The following is based on Gregory, Reg. XI, 56, 56a; MGH, Ep. II, 331-343.
78 Gregory, Reg. XI, 56a; MGH, Ep. II, 336. In hoc enim tempore sancta ecclesia quaedam per servorem corrigit, quaedam per mansuetudinem tolerat, quaedam per considerationem dissimulat atque ita portat et dissimulat, ut saepe malum quod adversatur portando et dissimulando compescat.
sought his guidance. If such were the case, one must again credit Gregory with a major role in carrying through the mission to England. Once the missionaries had harvested the fruits of the first enthusiasm for Christianity, they faced the more difficult and perhaps more important task of imposing on the converts a Christian standard of morals and mode of worship. The papacy was ready with common-sense advice on specific problems. More significantly Rome counseled a general strategy in dealing with disciplinary problems—a program of moderation, patient instruction, tolerance, and progress by easy stages.

Less than three years after Gregory sent new missionaries and a whole set of new plans for further progress to the English mission, he died. A brief review of his efforts will show that he contributed decisively to missionary success in England at two crucial stages—at its beginning and at the moment when many conversions had offered a real hope for a magnificent victory over paganism, but when organization and discipline were necessary to seal the victory. Those contributions would certainly permit one to say that the papal role in missionary work had been great. Still it would be amiss to overlook one more role that Gregory played in the greatest missionary effort of his era. His persuasions and exhortations gave urgency and importance to missionary work. His letters are filled with references to what must have been a powerful idea in his age, namely, that any assistance to missionary activity was worthy of special notice in the sight of God. This assurance, vouched for by the pope's own word, was extended to the monks who set out for England but faltered in Provence. It was promised to Frankish bishops and Frankish kings for whatever they might do for missionaries. It was proffered to English royalty for their assistance. No one could doubt that he was helping in a good work of major proportions after he had received such papal assurances. Gregory's exaltation of missionary work did not stop at promises of eternal reward. He never forgot the earthly ambitions of men. He assured kings that their earthly fame would grow as they assisted in spreading the faith. He permitted them to think that they were performing a service to God's cause as great as that of Constantine or of the fabled Helen. On other occasions he highlighted the sanctity of missionary work by stern reminders that failure might have tragic results. For instance, in a somewhat inexplicable letter to Augustine in 601, he cautioned his emissary against too great pride and contentiousness, lest these sins undo his work as a missionary. He chided Queen Bertha and his own missionary party with the ignominy of failing a great work once undertaken. In effect, Gregory manufactured a zeal for missionary work in Western European circles that had not yet developed that zeal to any great degree—the established episcopate, Benedictine monastic circles, royal houses. This psychological factor, which perhaps no one except the pope could have created at this particular moment, was certainly a key element in the progress of the Christian frontier in Gregory's day and in years that followed his pontificate.

II.

The passing of Gregory marked a decline in papal missionary activity. The next century of missionary history shows nothing comparable to his vigorous, decisive actions in beginning the conversion of England and in ending pagan remains in the already Christianized world. One is tempted to think that the retreat of the papacy from its position of missionary leadership was due primarily to the fact that for a long time the papal office lacked a personality as great as Gregory. Certainly there was no lack of opportunity for a continuation or repetition of Gregory's kind of leadership. Only Kent and Essex in England had been touched by Rome's missionaries in 604. The continental Christian world was surrounded by Germanic paganism. Slavic hordes were in the process of


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occupying the Balkan area. However, other factors undoubtedly explained papal inactivity in the missionary history of the seventh century. The troubled relationship between papacy and Byzantine Empire and between papacy and Lombards consumed the major share of papal energy. The almost negligible role that the papacy was able to take in the affairs of the Frankish national church shut the See of Rome off from any real chance to consider missionary schemes in the Germanic world. Perhaps another Gregory would have circumvented these difficulties. But the seventh century produced no pope capable of matching his efforts, and so the papal missionary record was not impressive.

Almost all papal missionary activity in the seventh century was limited to England. Even there papal policy was dilatory and indecisive, confined largely to approving gains made by other agencies and to offering encouragement to those involved in missionary work. On only one occasion did the papacy inaugurate a new mission after the fashion of Gregory. In 634 Honorius I (625–638) sent Birinus to England, the latter "having promised in his presence that he would sow the seed of the holy faith in the inner regions beyond English parts, where no teacher had gone before." Birinus was consecrated by Asterius, archbishop of Milan, upon papal orders. He decided to labor among the pagan West Saxons. He succeeded well enough to become bishop of Dorchester. However, Rome had nothing further to do with its agent. Christianity progressed among the West Saxons under the auspices of King Cewahl, who had refused to accept Christianity from Birinus but had later been converted while a refugee in East Anglia; the king probably became a Christian for political reasons. Irish and Gallic influences were much greater among the West Saxons than was Roman influence during this critical period. Other than this one case the progress of Christianity in seventh-century England resulted from the initiative of kings, and especially the Northumbrian house, of Irish monks, and of Gallic clergymen. Rome played only a minor role in this development.

Perhaps the failure of the papacy to continue to exercise leadership in the conversion of England resulted from the policy laid down by Gregory. He had envisioned a spread of Christianity from Kent, as was evident both in his elaborate scheme of episcopal organization of 601 and in his charge to Ethelbert, "king of the Angles." Gregory probably hoped to enlist the missionary services of the Irish by putting Ireland under the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury. The papal plan was based on the political hegemony enjoyed by Kent at the beginning of the seventh century. That situation was not permanent. As a result the Kentish religious establishment was overshadowed along with Kentish political power. The seventh-century papacy made little attempt to adapt its policy to the changing environment in England.

The missionary activities of Gregory's successors were very largely tied to the Kentish church. Several seventh-century popes made some attempt to encourage and promote the Kentish establishment. They usually took care to send the pallium to the bishop chosen for the see at Canterbury, thus insuring each archbishop the proper dignity to spread the faith and investing each with the power to create suffragans. Both Boniface IV (608–615) and Honorius I sent letters of encouragement to archbishops Mellitus, Justus, and Honorius. Boniface IV's letter to Justus was filled with praise for his work and with assurances

\[1\] Bede, Hist. eccl. III, 7, p. 139: promittens quidem se illo praesente in imminent ultra Anglorum partibus, quo nullus doctor praecessisset, sanctae fidei semina esse sparsurus. The following is based on ibid., pp. 139-141.


\[3\] Gregory, Reg. XI, 37, 39, 56a; MGH, Ep. II, 308-310, 312-313, 331-343.

\[4\] Bede, Hist. eccl. II, 8, 17, 18, pp. 95-97, 118, 120-122.

\[5\] Ibid., II, 7, 8, 13, pp. 93-97, 120-122.

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that his reward would be great in heaven. Honorius I, in a letter of almost the same kind to Honorius of Canterbury, especially encouraged the archbishop to be zealous in following the guidance of Gregory the Great and to be eager in strengthening the faith of new converts. In 610 Boniface IV received Mellitus, then bishop of London, who had come to Rome from England “about the necessary affairs of the English church.” Mellitus was permitted to take a place at an episcopal synod held in Rome during his stay. Upon his return to England he carried with him the decrees of that synod so that they might be observed there. The missionary clergy was thus still relying on Rome for the settlement of difficult problems. Boniface also sent back with Mellitus letters to the archbishop Laurentius and his clergy, to King Ethelbert, and to the English people; very likely these letters contained orders to abide by papal decretals as well as answers to the problems which provoked Mellitus’ journey. Bede credits both Honorius I and John IV (640–642) with attempts to end the difficulties dividing the Roman clergy in England and the Celtic church. Such a move certainly had missionary implications. Apparently the papacy had not abandoned Gregory’s policy of bringing the Celtic church under the sway of Rome through the Roman–inspired organization in Kent. However, this meager collection of cases where the papacy in any way played a part in ecclesiastical life in Kent over a period of nearly fifty years, stretching from the death of Augustine (609?) to the death of Honorius of Canterbury (653), is not in the least impressive. These were years when the Kentish group needed assistance. For instance, at the death of Ethelbert in 616 a pagan reaction nearly overthrew the whole establishment. It would seem that the papacy felt incapable of doing anything more for Gregory’s establishment.

Occasionally, but not consistently, the papacy tried to encourage the spread of the faith beyond Kent, as the first mission had envisioned. The struggle to spread Christianity to the East Saxons and the East Angles, both of which areas were closely associated with the Kentish church, did not concern Rome. On the other hand, Pope Honorius I acted vigorously to bring about the conversion of Northumbria. The opening of the Northumbrian mission was not the result of papal initiative. Edwin of Northumbria’s desire to strengthen his alliance with the royal house of Kent presented an opportunity to introduce Christianity into Northumbria. Edwin was allowed to marry Ethelberga of Kent only on the condition that priests be allowed to accompany her and that her husband would consider accepting Christianity. Paulinus, one of the monks Gregory had sent into England in 601, was assigned to accompany Ethelberga. He was consecrated bishop by Justus in 625, a step obviously fitting him for a greater role that that of chaplain for the queen. The Kentish church had finally found an opportunity to carry out Gregory’s plans to extend the faith outside its original seat in southeastern England.

The papacy entered the scene only after the Kentish clergy had established a foothold in Northumbria. Boniface V (619–625) wrote two powerful letters to Northumbria to appeal to Edwin and Ethelberga. It has usually been presumed that the pope wrote these letters to promote the cause of Paulinus. Boniface did not indicate clearly that he was aware of the full situation in Northumbria. He knew of Ethelberga’s marriage, of Edwin’s paganism, and of his refusal to “yield obedience or give ear to the voice of the preachers.” Since he knew of the

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marriage, he presumably knew of Paulinus' presence in Northumbria. The letters, however, make no mention of Paulinus. Neither is there a letter of commendation designed to give papal blessings to a missionary whose task it is to present the case for the new religion. Instead Boniface attempted by direct argument to persuade the royal pair to support the conversion of England. In the letter to Edwin Boniface stated that he "thought fit to extend our priestly care to make known to you the fullness of the Christian faith..." suggesting that the papacy felt that it had the duty and the power to affect conversions on its own. Boniface then stated the case for Christianity. He began with a discussion of the power of the Christian God, creator of all things and ruler of all things, including earthly kingdoms. He especially tried to demonstrate that the power of the kings of Kent was a result of their conversion. The pagan deities and rituals to which Edwin was a victim were excoriated by Boniface. Finally, he presented a strong case for the eternal rewards that could come to Edwin only if he accepted Christianity. The pope sent the pagan king a shirt with a golden ornament and a garment of Ancyra as a demonstration of his friendship. This letter, so strongly flavored with religious arguments in favor of Christianity and opposed to paganism, represents an addition to papal missionary weapons. It represents the first instance of direct papal appeal to a pagan king asking him to accept a superior religion and presenting him with a reasoned argument for such a move. The letter to Ethelberga was more conventional, being primarily an appeal to her, a Christian, to assume the responsibility for converting her husband. Boniface told her to strive for this noble goal by her prayers, by insinuating divine precepts into the king's mind, and by informing him of the rewards that he might gain by becoming a Christian. The pope asked the queen to inform him of her progress so that he might return thanks to God and St. Peter.

Whether this papal action had an effect on the conversion of Edwin is unknown. Bede's account of his acceptance of Christianity and its subsequent spread in Northumbria makes no mention of papal influence in the process. Rather he stresses the skill of Paulinus and the zealous assistance of Edwin as the determining factors.\textsuperscript{13} Not until 634 did the papacy again act with reference to Northumbria. Perhaps there was no need for papal action prior to this. Apparently Paulinus followed the missionary pattern established in Kent, preaching, baptizing, ordaining priests, building churches, and destroying pagan temples. Whatever problems arose might well have been disposed of on the basis of precedents established in Kent, with which Paulinus had been closely associated, or in consultation with the present clergy of Kent, well versed in missionary problems. The papacy acted in Northumbria only when the mission had reached the point where organization became a necessity in order to make permanent the first successes. In 634 Honorius I elevated Paulinus to the rank of archbishop and sent him a pallium. He also ordered that York be Paulinus' archiepiscopal see and that it be co-equal with that of Canterbury.\textsuperscript{14} This was in effect an order for Paulinus to begin creating bishoprics in Northumbria and to proceed toward the completion of the plans of Gregory I. Honorius also wrote once again to Edwin to encourage him to continue his support of the true religion in his realm and to incite him to a more perfect practice of Christianity, especially by reading the works of Gregory the Great.\textsuperscript{15}

Unfortunately, Honorius wrote these letters without knowing that Edwin had fallen at the battle of Hatfield or that Paulinus had fled to Kent and had apparently abandoned hope of returning to Northumbria, since he accepted the

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., II, 10, p. 101; ad adventum dominici nubit plenitudinem fidei Christianae saeculo primitivo curansus sollicitudinem prorogat.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., II, 12-16, pp. 106-118.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., II, 18, pp. 120-122; this letter is to Honorius of Canterbury in which Pope Honorius reveals his actions in the north.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., II, 17, pp. 118-120.
bishops of Rochester.\textsuperscript{10} The one serious attempt made to convert more of England from a base in Kent had failed, certainly leaving the papacy with little glory as a missionary agency. Northumbria reverted to paganism for some years. It was then reconverted permanently by Irish clergy whose source of guidance was not Rome. Nor did the Irish confine themselves to Northumbria. With the backing of Oswald and Oswy Irish influences spread into several other kingdoms, whose conversion and organization progressed rapidly around the middle of the seventh century.\textsuperscript{11} The papacy had no part in all of these affairs; perhaps one might conclude that it had no interest. Even Rome's great victory at Whitby was won without any direct action by the papacy. The papal cause was borne by personalities like Wilfrid, a native Northumbrian and a product of the Irish monastery at Lindesfarne, Eanfled, the wife of Oswy, Agilbert, the Frankish bishop who had served as bishop of Dorchester in West Saxony, all of whom seem to have received their original inspiration to serve Rome and its ecclesiastical ways by some connection with Kent.\textsuperscript{12} Only in Kent did the papacy retain a relatively active influence, and even there its activity was limited.

However, the rather uninspiring record of papal participation in the progress of Christianity in seventh-century England must not hide at least one papal act of decisive importance in the conversion of the English—the sending of Theodore of Tarsus to England as archbishop in 667. All the evidence suggests that this act was decided upon by Rome on its own initiative and that the decision was made with a clear purpose in mind, namely, the solution to several grave problems bearing on the organization and discipline of the new English church. The drift of affairs\textsuperscript{13} in England prior to 667 was disturbing in spite of the steady addition of new converts, the occasional creation of new bishoprics, the foundation of new monasteries, and the dissolution of the struggle between the Roman and Celtic forces. There was a trend toward the establishment of national churches headed by independent bishops. Most episcopal sees were too large. There was an obvious lack of coordinated action among the bishops. Discipline was not rigorously maintained. The last of the Romans who had been connected with Gregory's first mission were gone; for instance, in 653 Honorius was succeeded as archbishop of Canterbury by a West Saxon, Frithonas, who assumed the name Deusdedit.\textsuperscript{15} To make the whole situation worse a plague decimated the clergy of England about the time of the council of Whitby.\textsuperscript{16}

The English were certainly aware of their own difficulties. Oswy of Northumbria and Egbert of Kent apparently decided to take some decisive action to correct the situation. Their plan consisted in installing someone in the vacant see at Canterbury who would restore order in the whole of England. The man of their choice was Wighard. Feeling that he would need special authority, they sent him to Rome, an unprecedented act in the history of the English church. Wighard bore with him letters which apparently revealed the intentions of the kings.\textsuperscript{17} However, before Pope Vitalian (657-672) could do the bidding of the kings, Wighard died. Thereupon the pope took matters in his own hands. He sent a letter to Oswy speaking as follows on the matter of the archbishop: "We have not been able now to find, considering the length of the journey, a man doctile and qualified in all respects to be a bishop according to the tenor of your letter. But as soon as such a suitable person will be found, we will send him with

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\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., II, 20, pp. 124-125.
\textsuperscript{11} Bede supplies the essential account of this missionary effort in ibid., III, passim, pp. 127-200.
\textsuperscript{12} See Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums II, pp. 678-689, for a description of the formation of a pro-Roman party in Northumbria and for the antecedents of the members of that party.
\textsuperscript{13} Hunt, The English Church (597-1066), pp. 128-131.
\textsuperscript{14} Bede, Hist. eccl. III, 20, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., III, 27, 30; IV, 1, pp. 191-192, 199-200, 201-202, for some of the drastic effects of this pestilence.
\textsuperscript{16} Bede's account of the sending of Wighard to Rome seems to indicate clearly that the two kings had a plan in mind; see ibid., III, 29; IV, 1, pp. 196-199, 201.
instructions to your country, so that he may by word of mouth and through
divine oracles and with divine consent root out all the enemy’s tares throughout
your island.\textsuperscript{23} In these words the papacy demonstrated a revival of Gregory’s
bold policy toward England. In the hands of a man of his own choice, instructed
in his task by the pope himself, lay the solution to England’s grave religious
problems. Vitalian was confident that papal influence was great enough in
England to assure the acceptance of an archbishop of his choice and that the
pro-Roman sentiment was well enough entrenched to secure conformity to any
regulations imposed from Rome. Vitalian picked his man carefully, settling
finally on the learned and virtuous monk Theodore. Apparently Theodore was
told what he must do, since Vitalian sent Hadrian with him to watch that he did
not veer from orthodoxy and since a few years later a certain abbot named John
was sent to England by order of Pope Agatho (678–881) to inquire concerning
the condition of the faith in England and to report his findings to Rome.\textsuperscript{24}
The papal action was decisive in the completion of the Christianization of
England. To inject into the English scene at this crucial moment a figure who
had no prior involvement in either the political struggles or the ecclesiastical
structure of England and who had a clear concept of what was needed to
be done was a highly important step toward completing the organization and
perfecting the discipline of the newly converted nations. Theodore’s often
described program need not be reviewed here in detail.\textsuperscript{25} Let it only be said
that his policy of creating new bishoprics of manageable size, of subordinating
them to a metropolitan, of holding regular synods, of instituting uniform regula-
tions for clergy and laymen, of promoting a thorough educational program
in order to create an adequate native clergy, of conducting regular episcopal
visitations, of spreading a uniform liturgy all savor of Roman influence and
inspiration. By the time of Theodore’s death in 690 missionary efforts in
England were no longer necessary. Gregory’s dream of bringing the pagan Anglo-
Saxons to sing alleluias in praise of Christ was a fact, due in no little part to
the efforts of him and his successors.

The record of papal participation in the Christianization of England during
the seventh century would not be complete without some reference to an indirect,
intangible, yet powerful contribution made by the papacy. It is next to impossible
to fashion an adequate description of what Englishmen of all orders seemed
to draw from their own contacts with Rome and the see of St. Peter by way
of inspiration and zeal for the Christian way of life. Yet no one could tell the
story of the progress of Christianity in England without introducing this factor.
The attraction that Rome had for Englishmen shaped the destiny of many of
them, causing kings to lay down their crowns to spend their last days at the
see of St. Peter, compelling clergy and to take every opportunity to make a
pilgrimage to the Englishmen’s holy of holies, encouraging numerous men of
lesser position to leave behind family and property to die in the holy city.\textsuperscript{26}
Such an attraction must surely have played a role in making the English
subservient to Rome’s orders and suggestions and zealously to emulate the religion
sponsored by Rome’s bishop. Perhaps Bede’s account of the council of Whitby

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., III, 29, pp. 197–198: Hominem
donum docibilium et in omnibus ornatum
artisitem, secundum uestrorum scriptorum
tenorem, minime ululamus nunc reperire
pro longinquitate iterum. Profecto enim
huiusmodi apta repertaque persona
fuerit, cum instructum ad uestrum diri-
genum patriam, ut ipse et uius uoce, et
per diuinam oracula omnem inimici zizianam
ex omni uestra insula cum diuinu nutu
eradicet.

\textsuperscript{24} For the careful choice of Theodore with
its implication of equally careful instruc-
tion, see ibid., IV, 1, pp. 202–204; for the
papal concern over checking Theodore, see

\textsuperscript{25} Hodgkin, A history of the Anglo-Saxons
I, pp. 388–389; J. H. Maude, The
Foundations of the English Church (London, 1909),
pp. 139–191; Hunt, The English Church (597–

\textsuperscript{26} For a brief discussion of the numerous
pilgrimages to Rome by the English and of
the larger issue of the influence of St. Peter’s
on English thinking, see Hailer, Das
illuminates how decisive was the papal reputation during this century. He recounts that Wilfrid won the day for Rome by using the argument that St. Peter and his successors were keepers of the keys to heaven to counteract the Celtic argument that their customs were held on the authority of St. Columba. It was this point that won Oswy to the Roman position and forced the Celt, Colman, to concede Rome’s supremacy. Here was a force operating in men’s minds that stemmed from Rome and played a key role throughout the period of conversion.

At times its operation had a direct influence on the actual conduct of ecclesiastical affairs in England. The case of Wilfrid illustrates this well. It was his five year stay in Gaul and in Rome after he had been educated at Lindesfarne under Irish influence that inspired him to play his important role as founder of monasteries, convertor of pagans, bishop and archbishop, and constant protagonist for Roman observances and ideas in England. Even a better case in point is the career of Benedict Biscop. Giving up a promising worldly career in the service of Oswy, this young nobleman decided to follow the religious life. Whereupon, he left England in 633 to see Rome and to worship where the bodies of the holy apostles lay. Returning to England he took up the religious life with great zeal. In about 665 he set out again for Rome as a companion of Alchfrid, the son of Oswy. Although the young prince was recalled, Benedict went on. He spent several valuable months in Rome, whereupon he withdrew to Lerins to become a monk, perhaps at papal instigation. Leaving Lerins he again returned to Rome in time to be commissioned papal guide for Theodore and Hadrian. After a brief pause in England Benedict made his fourth trip to Rome. His main purpose this time was to obtain books. Upon his return he found his way back to Northumbria, prepared for his most important work, the foundation of Wearmouth and Jarrow. For this task Benedict was ready with monastic rules, books, and relics, the fruits of his numerous trips to Rome and the continent. A necessary grant of land was made by the Northumbrian king and the monastery was built with technical help from Gaul. Benedict still did not have and could not secure in England all he needed to complete his monastery. Therefore, he made his fifth trip to Rome, returning with more books, relics, a papal privilege for his monastery, a variety of art objects to decorate his new church, and a Roman monk named John, sent by Pope Agatho to teach the correct Roman liturgical usages. Benedict made still another trip to Rome before the end of his life, again in search of books and materials to adorn his two monasteries. Here was a man shaped largely under the influence of Rome. Benedict Biscop himself sought out this guidance, constantly being attracted to the holy see for whatever he needed to achieve the kind of ecclesiastical career he desired. The contribution made by his monasteries, shaped under Roman influences, to the intellectual history of England needs no discussion when one recalls the career of Bede, a direct product of Wearmouth and Jarrow, or of Alcuin, a product of the episcopal school at York, which was an offshoot of Biscop’s establishments. Both Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, and certainly many more whose careers are not so well known, can thus be called products of papal influence in England. Although the papacy made no special effort to influence these men, still its great reputation in England attracted them and created the opportunity for them to be influenced. They in turn put what they gained in Rome to practice in England. In this indirect way the papacy played an important part in incorporating England into the Christian world and in causing the English church to develop along certain lines.

18 Eddius Stephanus, The Life of Bishop Wilfrid, text, translation, and notes by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), for Wilfrid’s connections with Rome.
The record traced above demonstrates that the papacy was never completely removed from English missionary affairs in the seventh century and sometimes acted decisively to affect the progress of the conversion and organization of England. In contrast, its participation in seventh-century continental missionary affairs was almost negligible. Perhaps the best explanation of Rome’s small part in seventh-century continental missionary history lies in the confusion that characterized that effort, a confusion arising from the numerous agencies trying to convert pagans and from the variety of methods these agencies employed. A brief glance at the continental situation must precede an evaluation of Rome’s limited activity.

The Merovignian rulers were active in missionary affairs, seeking to push the cause of Christianity into semi-pagan and pagan principalities as a means of incorporating those principalities into the Frankish sphere of influence. Their means of achieving this end were varied. Frankish conquest usually resulted in the establishment of a pro-Christian ruling dynasty in pagan territories, as might be illustrated by the history of the Thuringians and the Bavarians. These dynasties were expected to Christianize their subjects and usually made an effort to do so. The Frankish bishops, usually tools of the Merovignian kings, and always desirous of enlarging their sees, pushed their influences into pagan areas. For instance, Dagobert made important grants of land around Utrecht to Cunibert of Cologne, on the condition that the bishop convert the pagans in the area. The eastern bishoprics in Francia also exercised powerful influences in southern Frisia, Alemannia, and Thuringia, probably again with royal support. The Merovignian rulers even tried on occasion to send missionaries into these principalities in an attempt to speed up the process of Christianization and thus enhance the prospects of Frankish overlordship. Columban’s personal activity as a missionary in Alemannia was certainly encouraged, if not actually ordered, by Theudebert. Amandus began his missionary career in the border area between the Frisians and the Franks under the direct auspices of the Merovignians. Clothair was instrumental in his elevation to the episcopal rank without a see, a step that immediately preceded his missionary activities around Ghent. Dagobert complied with Amandus’ desire for a decree that made baptism compulsory in the same area. After a series of other activities Amandus returned to missionary work in this general area, this time as bishop of Maastricht, an office that he must surely have received with the blessing of the Merovignian ruler.

Another force adding to the missionary confusion on the continent in the seventh century was the activity of the Irish peregrini. The seventh century witnessed a steady stream of these wanderers coming to the continent. Not all of them turned to missionary work. However, some of them journeyed to the Christian frontier, found their cells, and in the Irish fashion began to care for the religious life of the population in the vicinity, including the task of

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20 The best account of the expansion of Christianity during this period is Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands I (3rd and 4th ed., Leipzig, 1904-1929), pp. 320-339. One might add an almost infinite number of studies of the penetration of Christianity into local areas; for a sample of such valuable studies see Dahmann-Waitz, Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte (9th ed., Leipzig, 1931), 25190-3209.
22 Boniface, Ep. #198; ed. Tandl, pp. 235-236.
23 Hauck, Kirchengeschichte I, 332-328, 322, 305-306; for examples of the operations of such bishops see Vita Hugberti episcopi Traiectensis; ed. W. Levison, MGH, SS. rer. Merov. V., 482-496; Vita Landiberti episcopi Traiectensis; ed. B. Kruisch, MGH, SS. rer. Merov. VI, 233-249.
converting those who were still pagan. Fridolin, for instance, seems to have followed this line of activity in Alemannia. Kilian came from Ireland to settle eventually in the area around Würzburg, where he found a supporter in the local prince and carried on missionary work until he was murdered, allegedly at the instigation of the prince's wife. There were numerous others like them who worked in Thuringia, Bavaria, and Alemannia in the seventh century without leaving their names behind them. Usually the achievement of these Irishmen was nebulous. While each was alive his own personality, his zeal, his asceticism won many followers in the locality where he labored. But his death usually marked the end of his influence. He provided no permanent establishment to continue what had been begun. Many who accepted Christianity under the guidance of the Irish reverted to paganism after the departure of the missionary; at least Boniface, who later worked over much of the area where the Irish had been most active as missionaries, often found such to be the case. For all its zeal, the Irish missionary venture on the continent tended to add to the general religious confusion.

The Irish monks were joined in missionary work by continental monks, whose efforts were often as futile as those of the Irish. Amandus and Eligius, both of whom carried on missionary work among the southern Frisians, are typical examples of continental monks who were moved by missionary zeal. The Irish monasteries at Luxeuil and St. Gall produced several monks who spent part of their careers in missionary work, especially in the semi-pagan areas of Bavaria and Alemannia; among these were Gall, Ailus, Eustasius, and Agrestius. Bavaria seemed especially attractive to continental monks searching for souls to win; Rupert, Emmeran, and Corbinian all seem to have labored there around 700 and to have found numerous pagans to convert. Although the careers of nearly all of these monastic missionaries are clouded with legend and difficult to reconstruct, it is clear that their efforts were haphazard and disorganized. Some of them acquired the position of wandering bishops, traveling over wide areas with a brief pause at any spot that struck their fancies. Others founded cells in the midst of some island of paganism. Some found a place to work by winning the attention of a local prince. The results of their labors, however conducted, were extremely impermanent and contributed to a great deal of confusion in the religious situation along the Frankish border.

This many faceted missionary effort on the continent created a limited opportunity for papal missionary activity. The major missionary agencies mentioned above were not accustomed to seek the aid of the papacy for any purpose. The Frankish royal house pursued an ecclesiastical policy that relied on Rome for nothing; there was no reason for the Merovingian kings to ask the papacy for assistance in missionary affairs. The Irish monks were not only extremely individualistic but also were at odds with Rome on several matters that touched very close to the missionary scene—principles of church organization,
ritual, etc. They were not likely to turn to Rome for advice. Perhaps Rome
was cool toward aiding them; for example, the famous Columban complained to
Pope Sabinian (604-606) that he had written several letters to Gregory I
without receiving an answer. Even the continental monastic establishments
usually had only few contacts with Rome. The Frankish episcopate of
the seventh century, and especially the dioceses along the pagan frontier, were
seldom in communication with Rome. Only by a bold policy of sending Roman
missionaries into these areas could the papacy have become involved in view
of the lack of communications with the agencies already doing the work.

Since those actively engaged in missionary ventures did not rely on Rome’s
assistance and since the papal policy of the seventh century found bold action
impossible, Rome’s participation in continental missionary work during the
seventh century was incidental and of little importance. Many of the missionary
personalities of the era, including Amandus, Corbinian, and Kilian, were in
Rome at one time or another. These excursions were probably inspired by a
desire to visit the tombs of the apostles rather than by an interest in gaining
missionary assistance from the contemporary occupant of the holy see. However,
Amandus is reported to have received his inspiration to do missionary work
while he was in Rome and to have gained papal blessing for his work. The
biography of Kilian says that this Irish wanderer was received in Rome by
Pope Conon (686-687), consecrated a bishop at the instigation of the pope, and
sent to Thuringia to preach the gospel. This biography is so late and the story
told of Kilian is so similar to Boniface’s career that one cannot accept it as
proof of any such papal action. Amandus apparently did depend upon the
papacy for advice in his missionary work. A letter addressed to him by Pope
Martin I (649-654) reveals that, while serving as bishop of Maastricht, he wrote
to Rome complaining of the poor quality of his clergy and of his inability
to wipe out paganism as a result; his situation was so difficult that he desired
to abdicate his see. Martin wrote back to dissuade him from any such move.
The pope sent Amandus some acts of church councils, a recent papal directive,
and relics, all intended to aid in missionary activity. Perhaps the papacy also
influenced some of the continental missionaries indirectly. For instance, Columban
asked Gregory I for a copy of his Pastoral Rule and other writings. Beyond
these few cases, none of decisive importance, the Christian frontier advanced
northward and eastward during the seventh century without Rome’s assistance.

Perhaps the papacy gave at least a thought to missionary work among the
Slavs during the seventh century. John IV (640-642), a native Dalmatian, sent
an abbot named Martin into Dalmatia and Istria to purchase captives from the
pagans. A much later Greek source suggests that his venture had a missionary
purpose. The Croatian prince at the moment appealed to the Emperor Heraclius
for Christian teachers. Heraclius referred him to Rome. John obliged by sending
a bishop and priest into the area. They baptized many, whereupon the papacy
took the new converts under its special protection and sought to impose on
them more Christian modes of conduct. This account is extremely suspect,
especially with respect to papal authority over the Croats at such an early date.

Vita Amandi episcopi I, 3-7; ed. Krusch, MGH, SS. rer. Merov. V, 332-333; Passio
Kilian, 4-5; ed. Levison, MGH, SS. rer. Merov. V, 722-724; Arboe, Vita Corbinianii,
Passio Kiliani, 5; ed. Levison, MGH, SS. rer. Merov. V, 724; see Levison’s comments,
ibid., 714-715.

This letter is included in Vita Amandi episcopi II. actore Milone; ed. W. Levison,
Liber Pontificalis I, ed. L. Duchesne
Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Ad-
ministrando imperio liber, 32; PG 113, 299-
292.
For some of the difficulties connected
with this account, see F. Dvornik, Les
Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle

[ 67 ]
However, one might well conclude that John instructed his envoy to try to wir-
converts in an area that was rapidly losing its Christian characteristics. Certainly
the venture was not successful; nearly two centuries were to pass before the
Slavs of this area were converted.

III.

Before the seventh century ended, the papacy once again found the opportunity
to participate in an important way in missionary activity and to end its isolation
from the main areas of missionary work. Perhaps a harbinger of the new day
was the pause in Frisia made by the Anglo-Saxon bishop Wilfrid on one of
his trips to Rome. Detained by inclement weather and by certain political
considerations, this persistent champion of Rome passed the winter of 678-679
preaching to the Frisians and converting many of them.1 Certainly he must have
recounted his experiences and revealed his enthusiasms over the prospects for a
Frisian mission while in Rome. The new missionary movement was brought
more forcibly to Rome’s attention when in 692 another Anglo-Saxon, Willibrord,
appeared in Rome “in order that he might go about his desired work of converting
pagans with the licence and blessing of Sergius.”2 Both Wilfrid and Willibrord
were pioneers in a new phase in the history of western European missions, the
heralds of a stream of Anglo-Saxon monks and priests who came to the continent
during the period from about 690 to 770 and who devoted their major efforts
to missionary work on the northern and eastern fringes of the Frankish kingdom.
Their arrival resulted in the confluence of several missionary forces and in a
period of feverish missionary activity. One of these forces was the papacy, which
acted promptly and with vigor in furthering the missionary activities of the
Anglo-Saxons and, consequently, exerted an important influence on the mis-
missionary history of the period.

Conditions had changed considerably in Western Europe since the accession
of Gregory the Great. As a result the papal role in this new missionary wave
was bound to be different than it had been in his era. For one thing, the Anglo-
Saxon monks were already inspired with a zeal for missionary work; the papacy
no longer had to create such a zeal. The Anglo-Saxon zeal was perhaps derived
chiefly from Irish influences. For instance, Egbert, who was responsible for
arousing interest in a Frisian mission among some of his disciples, left England
for Ireland in order to gain greater grace; it was while in Ireland that he
conceived his desire to migrate to the continent as a “soldier of Christ.”3 Wigbert,
Willibrord, and the brothers Ewald, all early missionaries in Frisia, had spent
several years in Ireland prior to the beginning of their missionary work.4
However, the English monasteries, beginning to reach their full vigor by the
end of the seventh century, likewise inspired an urgent missionary zeal in the
hearts of their members. Proof of the missionary urge generated by English
monasticism might be found in the early career of Boniface,5 who left England
for Frisia and Rome with a “pious purpose”6 firmly in mind, or of Willehad,
the Northumbrian monk who felt the urge to do missionary work so strongly
that he appealed to his king for permission to work in Frisia.7 Whatever the
source of the zeal, England produced a troop of missionaries who for three-

2 Eddius Stephanus, The Life of Bishop
Wilfrid, 26; ed. Colgrave, p. 52.
3 Bede, Hist, eccl. V, 11, p. 301: ut cum
eius licentia et benedictione desideratum
euangelizandi gentibus opus inuret.
4 Ibid., V, 9, pp. 296-298.
* Ibid., V, 9-10, pp. 288-301; Alcuin, Vita
Willibrordi; 4; ed. W. Levison, MGH, SS.
Merov. VII, 118-119.
5 Willibald, Vita Bonifati; 1; in Vitae
sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini; ed.
Wilhelmus Levison, MGH, SS, rer. Germ.
20.0.
6 Hanover and Leipzig, 1905),
4-11, for the monastic influence on Boniface.
7 At least this was the designation given
by Pope Gregory II to Boniface’s plans
on his first trip to Rome; Boniface, Ep. #21;
ed. Tangl, p. 17.
8 Vita sancti Willehad; 1; ed. Albertus
quarters of a century worked to advance the Christian frontier without any great urging of the kind that Gregory the Great had to give to his missionaries before they were more than a few hundred miles from Rome.

Neither was it any longer necessary for the papacy to select the areas suitable for missionary work. The English monks had settled this question in their own minds. Repeatedly one finds references to a sympathetic feeling which the English harbored for their kinfolk on the continent. When Egbert received the urge to become a missionary, his thoughts were directed immediately to Germany, where there lived many nations—the Frisians, the Rugi, the Danes, the Huns, the Old Saxons, and the Bructeri—from whom the English had had their origins and who had not yet heard the word of God. Boniface, addressing himself to the English nation in a plea for help in converting the Saxons, saw fit to remind the English that they and the Saxons “were of one blood and one bone.” Wilhlehad was prompted to become a missionary chiefly because he had heard of the deplorable condition of the pagan Saxons and Frisians. The English thus came to the continent with a definite area in mind in which to work.

Finally, the situation had changed between 590 and 690 in another significant way. Missionary work after 690 gained on an ever increasing scale the support of the rising Carolingian dynasty. This support became more and more decisive in missionary affairs, chiefly because the new family represented a unity of policy and a purposiveness of action that had been lacking among the Merovingians of the late sixth and seventh centuries. The Carolingian house was inspired to aid missionaries partly out of religious motives; the members of this dynasty felt a strong sense of responsibility as champions of Christianity and conceived of missionary work as an especially notable good work in the Christian cause. However, their support of missionary activity was chiefly based upon their awareness of the intimate connection between Frankish expansion and the conversion of conquered peoples. The destruction of paganism was accepted as the surest way to destroy resistance to the Franks. The emergence of this new dynasty with its willingness to aid missionary work meant that any missionary effort in the eighth century could rely upon the patronage of the Carolingians, a lay patronage more powerful than had hitherto been lent to missionary ventures. The activity of the Carolingian patrons removed a part of the missionary burden from the papacy, thus seeming to decrease the papal role. This should not lead one to conclude that there emerged a rivalry between popes and Carolingians for control and direction of eighth-century missionary work. The papacy fully approved and encouraged Carolingian support of missionary work. The rising need that the papacy and the Carolingian house felt for one another’s good offices brought these two agencies ever closer together in missionary policies as well as in other areas of ecclesiastical policy.

Against this background of events, all coinciding to create a favorable atmosphere for missionary work, one can now proceed to describe the part the papacy played in what might be called the Anglo-Saxon phase of continental missionary history. The missionary zeal of the Anglo-Saxons, coupled with the expansionist aims of the Carolingian mayors of the palace, resulted in a two-pronged missionary thrust. One was in the direction of Frisia. The other was eastward from the Frankish kingdom into Hesse, Thuringia, and Bavaria. The papacy played a role in each of these, although one of much greater magnitude in the venture east of the Rhine than in Frisia.

The Frisian mission was begun without papal participation.11 English monks

10 Boniface, Ep. 246; ed. Tangl, p. 75: Miseremini illorum, quia et ipsi solent dicere: ‘De uno sanguine et de uno osse sumus. . . .’


11 For descriptions of the Frisian missionaries see Hauck, Kirchengeschichte I, 431-437; II, 354-370; Josef Jung-Diefenbach,
had apparently singled out Frisia as a likely place to work. Wilfrid was perhaps responsible for this decision. His accidental delay in Frisia in 678–679 revealed that King Aldgisl was willing to tolerate missionaries. Although Wilfrid had more pressing problems to deal with than the conversion of the Frisians, he perhaps carried the word back to Northumbria that an opportunity existed in Frisia. Egbert, another Northumbrian living in Ireland, also contemplated a Frisian mission. He was responsible for sending Wigbert to Frisia about a decade after Wilfrid’s short stay. Wigbert encountered the hostility of the new ruler Radbod and was forced to return to Ireland after two years. Still another Northumbrian, Willibrord, a pupil of both Egbert and Wilfrid, next came to Frisia in 690. He found conditions more suitable due to a defeat inflicted on Radbod by Pepin of Heristal, a defeat that resulted in Frankish annexation of territory in south Frisia. Willibrord turned to Pepin’s court immediately upon his arrival in Frisia; there he found a willing patron. Thus the conversion of the Frisians opened as a joint venture of English monks and Carolingian rulers and remained so over most of its history.

The papacy, however, was not excluded. Shortly after his arrival in Frisia and after his arrangement with Pepin, Willibrord made a trip to Rome. He sought to gain the permission and the blessing of Pope Sergius (687–701) for the Frisian venture. He also wanted to acquire relics for use in the new churches he contemplated building as paganism was wiped out. And “he desired to learn there or receive thence many other things that so greatly a work required.”

This journey to Rome, which certainly must have been made with the approval of Pepin, clearly demonstrates the conviction on the part of the Christian world that papal recognition of a mission had a bearing on its success. Willibrord himself must also have felt that Sergius could give him advice on the task of converting the pagans of Frisia.

The Frisian mission was not yet finished with Rome after Willibrord’s first trip there. “After they who had come over to Frisia had taught there a few years, Pepin, with the consent of all, sent the venerable Willibrord to Rome, where Sergius was still pope, requesting that he be ordained archbishop of the Frisian people. What was requested was done in the year of the Lord 696 . . . And he was sent back to his episcopal see fourteen days after he came to Rome.”

Bede’s account makes Pepin responsible for this important step. Perhaps such was the case. Pepin may have felt that he could allay Frisian hostility to Frankish domination by encouraging a church organization dependent upon Rome rather than upon the hated Franks. However, the decision to create a province of this order was certainly a departure from previous Frankish ecclesiastical policy. The suppression of the archiepiscopal see at Utrecht by Charles Martel after Willibrord’s death also makes one suspicious of Bede’s


Eddius Stephanus, The Life of Bishop Wilfrid, 26; ed. Colgrave, p. 52.


33 Bede, Hist. eccl. V, 11, p. 301.


35 Ibid., pp. 302–303: Postquam uero per annos aliquot in Friesa, qui aduenerant, docuerunt, misit Pippin fauente omnium consensu uirum uenerabilem Ullobrorudum Romam, cujus aduac pontificatum Sergius habebat, postulan, ut eidem Fresonum genti archiepiscopus ordinaretur. Quod ita, ut petierat, impetu est, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXVI . . . ac mox remissus ad sedem episcopatus sui, id est post dies XIII, ex quo in urbe uenerat. See also Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, 6; ed. Levison, MGH, SS. rer. Merov. VII, 121. Bede’s date is wrong; see Wilhelm Levison, "Willibrordiana," Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXXIII (1908), 523.
statement. At least it might be suggested that Willibrord’s return to Rome to be made archbishop was the result of Sergius’ instructions delivered during Willibrord’s visit in Rome in 692. Thus the papal role in directing the Frisian mission along a certain line might have been larger than Bede has suggested.

Beyond this point one finds little evidence that the popacy played a part in the Frisian mission as long as Willibrord was archbishop (until 739). The archbishop enjoyed the support of Pepin and Charles Martel, both of whom granted property to support the mission and used their armies to protect and broaden its field of action. The Frisian mission depended heavily upon England for many of the things it might have gained from Rome, e.g., recruits and advice. In spite of the obvious dependence on England and on the Carolingians, the Frisian mission probably still remained in contact with Rome and perhaps consulted it on important matters. Numerous Anglo-Saxon pilgrims undoubtedly passed through Frisia on their way to Rome. Wilfrid spent a winter in Utrecht in 704-705. Boniface was in Frisia, working in close cooperation with Willibrord, for three years after his first trip to Rome in 719. A certain Marchelm, a disciple of Willibrord, was in Rome in 738 while Boniface was there on his third Roman trip. Any of these instances might have offered ample opportunity for consultation with the papacy about missionary problems, although no direct evidence to prove this point can be produced.

Only once more did the papacy take a direct part in the history of the conversion of Frisia, again in connection with the problem of organization. After Willibrord’s death Utrecht ceased to be an archbishopric. Boniface, with the assistance of Caromann, sought to gain control of the see as one of his suffragans with the right to appoint and consecrate a bishop. His efforts were undoubtedly inspired by a desire to insure the continuation of missionary work. However, his claims conflicted with those of the archbishop of Cologne. Boniface called upon Rome to decide the case in his favor. Whether the pope acted upon this request is not clear; Boniface seems to have won his point, but probably with the aid of the Carolingians rather than of the papacy. Hardly had Boniface gained control of the situation when he was martyred trying to win converts in northern Frisia. His passing threatened the continuation of missionary work in Frisia, since the Frankish bishops, almost devoid of missionary interests, were grasping for control over Frisia. Pepin the Short and Pope Stephen II (752-757) collaborated to insure the continuation of missionary activity in Frisia, irrespective of the fate of the episcopal see. The two commissioned Gregory, a long-time disciple of Boniface, abbot of the monastery of St. Martin at Utrecht and charged him with the direction of the existing missionary establishment. For about twenty years (until 775) Gregory of Utrecht continued to direct the slow, laborious progress of Christianity into central and northern Frisia, his authority resting primarily on royal and papal approval of his efforts as missionary abbot.

The expansion of Christianity on the eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom

\[\text{References:}\]
- Bede, Hist. eccl. III, 12, p. 152.
- Altfrid, Vita Liudgeri I, 13; ed. Diekamp, p. 18, designates Marchelm thus: servum Dei de genere ortum Anglorum et a sancto episcopo Willibrordo a pueritia saneti instructum moribus . . . Liudger, Vita Gregorii, 8; ed. Holder-Egger, MGH, SS. XV, 73, speaks of Marchelm being in Rome in 738.
- For the complicated question of the disposition of the bishopric of Utrecht after Willibrord’s death see Jung-Diefenbach, Die Friesenbekehrung, pp. 107-118; Hermann Nottarp, Die Bistumserrichtung in Deutschland im achten Jahrhundert (Stuttgart, 1920), pp. 17-27.
- Boniface, Ep. #109; ed. Tangl, pp. 234-236.
- Liudger, Vita Gregorii, 10; ed. Holder-Egger, MGH, SS. XV, 74-75.
provided the papacy with a greater opportunity than did the Frisian mission.\[25\] This opportunity came to it as a result of Boniface, whose career in one way or another completely dominated the missionary effort involved in converting the remaining pagans in Hesse, Thuringia, Bavaria, and to some extent Frisia. Thus the papal participation in this phase of missionary history is primarily an account of Rome’s connection with Boniface.

The papacy cannot be credited with taking the initiative in this missionary venture in the sense that Gregory the Great took the initiative in opening the English mission. Not until the Anglo-Saxon missionaries offered their services to end paganism on the eastern frontier of Francia did Rome show any interest. When Boniface made his first trip to Rome, he presented the papacy with a unique problem for which there was no precedent in papal missionary experience. He came, not as the English missionaries in Gregory’s day, asking for papal advice on how to conduct affairs in a mission started by the pope. Nor did he come as Willibrord had, seeking authority to do what had already begun and was likely to continue, whatever the papacy chose to do. Boniface came to Rome inspired with an urge to do missionary work but without any specific program of action in mind. His zeal was a product of the monastic atmosphere in which he had been nurtured in England. He was a monk struck with the idea of paying greater service to God than he could by remaining in England. He had first tried to exercise that zeal in Frisia, only to find the situation there impossible.\[26\] So he turned to Rome for further guidance. Besides being a monk zealous for missionary work, Boniface was also an Englishman willing to accept papal authority as the highest in Christendom and to serve the pope as an obedient servant. Rome therefore was a natural place to turn for religious guidance. In a letter written on May 15, 719, commissioning Boniface to do missionary work, Gregory II (715–731) stated with great clarity Boniface’s manner of presenting himself: “Your pious purpose, as it has been declared to us, demands of us that we make use of you as our co-worker in spreading the divine words. Knowing . . . that you now wish, for the love of God, to extend the talent divinely entrusted to you, by dedicating yourself ceaselessly to missionary work and the teaching of the mystery of the faith among the heathen, carrying to them the saving knowledge of divine oracle, we rejoice in your loyalty and desire to further the work of grace vouchsafed to you.”\[27\] In all likelihood Boniface had suggested a desire to convey Christianity to those Germanic peoples with whom the English felt a special kinship, an idea that was common in England at the time.\[28\] Moreover, he could, on the basis of his own experience, recommend

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\[26\] Willibald, Vita Bonifatii, 1-4; ed. Levison, MGH, SS. rer. Germ. in usum schol., pp. 4-18, for Boniface’s monastic career and its resultant missionary zeal.

\[27\] Boniface, Ep. #12; ed. Tangl, p. 17: Exigit manifesta nobis relegiosi propositi tuie pie in Cristo flagrantis intento et adprobata sincerisima fidei tuae perlata relationi, ut ad dispensationem verbi divini, cuius per gratiam Dei curam gerimus, te comministro utarum. Experientes . . . te infirmum ad augmentum crediti caelestis talenti prospectu divini amoris extenderet, videlicet gratiam cognitionis caelestis oraculi in labore salutifere praedicationis ad innomendum gentibus incredulis mysterium fidei instanti consati expenderet: conlaetamur fidei tuae et adiutores effici cupimus gratiae praerogate.

\[28\] See above, p. 69. Boniface was certainly aware of this feeling of kinship with the continental Germans; see Boniface, Ep.
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the unlikelihood of missionary success in Frisia. This evidence hardly warrants a conclusion that Boniface had a definite plan in mind as to where he wanted to go or that he had come to Rome to secure approval for a specific missionary venture. He presented himself to Gregory as a missionary ready to serve the highest authority in Christendom in fulfilling a task of vital interest to all Christians, spreading the faith. Thus there was thrust upon the pope the need to make an important decision and the opportunity to once again make the papacy a significant missionary force.

According to Boniface's biographer, Gregory II took considerable time in deciding upon an answer to Boniface's request. Eventually he acted by granting Boniface a papal commission entitling him to "go forth . . . to those peoples who are still in the bonds of infidelity . . . to teach the service of the kingdom of God . . . " Gregory granted such a commission on the basis that missionary work was the "special care" of the papacy. He had satisfied himself that Boniface was qualified by learning and by zeal to serve as "co-worker in spreading the divine words," and that he was willing to obey the papacy "as a single member of a body submits itself to the sovereignty of the head." Gregory further instructed Boniface to go as a teacher, persuading the pagans of the truth and pouring into their minds the knowledge of the Old and the New Testament in a manner suited to their understanding. Finally, Boniface was ordered to use "the sacramental discipline prescribed by the official ritual formulary of the Holy Apostolic See." The letter which contained these ideas and instructions was placed in Boniface's hands, obviously as the authority for any action that he might take.

The concepts presented in this letter demonstrate a new stage in the papal role in missionary work. Any reading of Gregory the Great's connection with missionary work suggests that he acted in missionary affairs in order to give aid to those doing a work he would personally have preferred to do were he not pope. He conceived his role as that of a monk aiding other monks but not that of a pope exercising his papal function. His successors usually confined their support of missionaries to exercising powers already defined by canons, e.g., elevating bishops to the archiepiscopal rank, or to serving as spiritual fathers to Christians needing aid or encouragement, e.g., writing letters of encouragement or advice on specific problems. Gregory II advanced beyond these ideas. His letter defined the position of the papal office relative to all missionary activity. By virtue of his succession to St. Peter the pope had the duty to spread the faith. To fulfill that function he must discover workers, judge of their fitness, and commission them to go to their labors. He must instruct them whenever necessary in the techniques of missionary work. He must assume responsibility for guarding the results of their labors lest deviation from the true faith be instituted among the ignorant pagans. In short, Gregory's letter to Boniface stated the principle that proper missionary activity could only be conducted under papal direction, since the spreading of the faith was a definite function of the papal office. Those historians who interpret this letter as the first step in a preconceived plan to reform the Frankish church or as the opening wedge in a papal scheme to arrange an alliance with the Frankish state or as an attempt of the papacy to construct an ecclesiastical domain independent of the existing Landeskirchen are perhaps reading too much into its content. True, all of these developments emerged as a result of the events of 719. At the time Gregory

\[\text{regni Dei . . . designes . . . }\]
\[\text{See above, note 27, for these passages.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., p. 17: . . . ut membro ex membro proprii corporis caput requirere. . . . }\]
\[\text{Ibid., p. 18: Disciplinam denique sacramenti . . . ex formula officiorum sanctae nostrae apostolicae sedis. . . .}\]
II revealed absolutely nothing to show that such schemes were his intention. His commission to Boniface was only a definition of the papal role in missionary work, a definition that the pope was compelled to make because an English monk who wanted to serve God as a missionary and who was convinced that Rome was the highest authority in Christendom presented himself to the pope and asked to be put to work.

The papal assumption of the obligation of missionary work plus the willingness of Boniface to live within its implications resulted in a flurry of papal activity in the ensuing years. The connection of Gregory II, Gregory III (731-741), Zacharias (741-752), and Stephen II to the missionary events of the times allows them to be recorded as great missionary popes, making a notable contribution to the expansion of Christendom along the eastern borders of the Frankish kingdom.

Gregory II was especially important in the successful outcome of Boniface’s work. Boniface left Rome in 719 with no definite program of action, his papal commission making no specific references as to where he was to go. His first task as co-worker of the pope was to discover an area where actual missionary work might have a chance of success. During the next three years he traveled through Bavaria, Thuringia, Frisia, and Hesse, seeking such a spot. He finally found the proper scene in Hesse and there began to win a considerable number of converts. Of equal importance was the fact that he as a missionary began to draw others into his orbit to help in his work. His correspondence reveals that the news of the work he had undertaken had reached England and that the English were already offering their assistance, a development that was of vital importance to his success. Boniface began to establish connections in Francia that also were significant, since he was laboring in territory that was under Frankish lordship. He was also beginning to recruit a body of missionaries for his work. These developments, coupled with the actual success of Boniface in winning converts in Hesse, spelled a fulfillment of the missionary venture conceived in Rome in 719. True to his position as decided upon in Rome, Boniface once again turned to the papacy, sending a letter to Gregory II reporting his success and requesting advice on the problems connected with his daily work as a missionary. Gregory II replied by summoning Boniface to Rome in 722, obviously exercising his recently claimed authority as the director of missionary effort.

The transactions in Rome in 722 represented a further clarification of the papal part in missionary work as well as a major contribution of the papacy to Boniface’s success. Gregory II again took care to ascertain Boniface’s fitness to conduct missionary work, fitness being defined in terms of knowledge and acceptance of the apostolic tradition and of a willingness to obey Rome. This careful scrutiny of missionary personnel demonstrates the seriousness with which the papacy took its position in missionary affairs and contrasts rather vividly with Gregory the Great’s lack of concern with questions of orthodoxy. Willibald reports that after Gregory had ascertained Boniface’s orthodoxy, he gave his missionary elaborate instructions. Perhaps the two discussed the whole procedure to be followed in the future with respect to missionary work. Being satisfied that Boniface was qualified for greater responsibility, Gregory II vested him with episcopal authority in order that he could perform his missionary work.

26 Willibald, Vita Bonifatii, 5; ed. Levison, MGH, SS. rer. Germ. in usum schol., p. 27.
more adequately. Boniface’s elevation was sealed by an oath which the missionary himself wrote, placing himself under papal authority and binding himself to work and teach only as Rome prescribed. Boniface was the first missionary who had received his consecration as a missionary bishop from the pope himself; previously it had been thought sufficient if a missionary clergyman received this rank from anyone canonically qualified to consecrate bishops. This unusual procedure in 722, for which Gregory had obviously called Boniface to Rome, again demonstrates the new vigor of papal overlordship of missionary work and the new feeling that the papacy was now exercising an official function comparable to filling an episcopal office in the Roman province, that is, a function which belonged to the papacy by right. Whereas previously the elevation of a missionary to the episcopate had been a matter of expediency, it now had become a step in the papal method of exercising its rightful power.

Once having made Boniface a missionary bishop, Gregory took further steps to aid his labors. He presented Boniface with a series of constitutions and canonical collections that were to serve as guides in future missionary work. He also provided Boniface with a series of letters designed to permit the new bishop to exercise his new power more readily. These letters show that the papacy had helped Boniface to decide the area that was to be proselytized next, that is, Thuringia, and was ready to lend its authority to help Boniface receive a hearing in Thuringia. The first was addressed to the Christians living in Thuringia. They were informed that Boniface was being sent to convert pagans and to correct fallen-away Christians. They were exhorted to lend every possible aid to the bishop, including guides for his journeys and food. Their reward for any help they gave would be “fellowship with the saints and martyrs of Jesus Christ . . .” Any hindrance would result in eternal damnation. The second letter especially commended Boniface to five Thuringian nobles who had resisted falling into paganism and thus were especially likely to aid the missionary bishop. These nobles were asked to obey and aid Boniface. Apparently Boniface knew from his own experience in Hesse prior to his coming to Rome how important the aid of local nobles could be; thus the papacy took special steps to encourage such assistance. A third letter was a conventional notification of Boniface’s elevation to the episcopate addressed to all laymen and clergy in Thuringia. Apparently this document was designed to insure Boniface’s acceptance as a bishop. The fourth letter was addressed to Charles Martel. The letter informed him of Boniface’s consecration and of his papal commission to convert the pagans “on the eastern side of the Rhine.” Gregory II wrote as follows: “For their sakes we warmly commend him to your high favor and pray you to help him in every need, to defend him against every enemy over whom you may prevail in the Lord’s name, bearing in mind that whatever support you solicitously give to him will be given to God, who said that those who received his holy apostles, sent forth as a light to the Gentiles, would be receiving Himself.” Lay assistance and recognition was thought to be vital to missionary success; Gregory II as the spiritual head of the mission was asking Charles to

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29 Ibid., 6, pp. 28-39 for these transactions.
30 Boniface, Ep. #16; ed. Tangl, pp. 28-29.
32 Boniface, Ep. #17; ed. Tangl, pp. 29-31.
33 Ibid., #19, p. 33.
34 For instance, two Hessian nobles had provided him with the land upon which his missionary monastery at Amöneberg was built; see Willibald, Vita Bonifatii, 6; ed. Levison, MGH, SS. rer. Germ. in usum schol., p. 26.
35 Boniface, Ep. #18; ed. Tangl, pp. 31-33.
36 Ibid., #20, pp. 33-34.
37 Ibid., p. 34: Pro quisbus eum gloriosae benivolentiae tuae omnimodo commendamus, ut eum in omnibus necessitatibus adjuvetis et contra quosibet adversarios, quibus in Domino prevaletis, instantissime defendatis certissime retinetes Deo vos exhibere, quaecunque huic promptissimo impenderitis favere, qui sanctis apostolis suis ad lucem gentium destinatis suscipiendum eos se suscipiendum præditat.
fulfill his religious duty by lending his aid. Moreover, there is implicit in the letter the request for the mayor of the palace to recognize the authority of the papacy to undertake missionary work and to take the steps necessary for its completion.

The whole course of papal action in 722 indicates that Gregory II and Boniface together had conceived a comprehensive missionary plan. Boniface, properly tested, instructed, and fortified with the necessary offices, was entrusted fully to win converts and instruct them in the new faith. To succeed he would need the assistance of the whole Christian society. The pope threw his prestige and authority behind mustering that assistance, supplying his missionary with letters instructing all people in their obligations and promising anyone who aided a share in eternal salvation, the keys to which Rome possessed.

Armed with his new authority and fortified with the moral prestige of Rome, Boniface returned to Germany. He labored in Hesse and Thuringia during the rest of Gregory’s pontificate, aided by agencies other than the papacy, including especially Charles Martel, the laity in the region in which he was working, and the English. Gregory II entered the scene again only as Boniface asked for his aid. On December 4, 724, the pope replied to a letter from Boniface in which the latter had reported his success and had requested papal aid in certain matters. Boniface reported that the bishop of Mainz was intruding into his area of operation and interfering with his work. Gregory wrote to Charles Martel, asking him to curb the bishop. Boniface also requested another papal letter to the Thuringians and other Germans. Gregory assured him that he would write such a letter. This he did in December, 724, again reminding the Thuringians that in fulfillment of his apostolic function he had sent Boniface to preach to them, to baptize them, and to show them the way to salvation. He explicitly laid before them their duty: “But be obedient to him in all things; honor him as your father; incline your hearts to his teachings. For we have sent him to you not for acquiring any temporal gain, but for the profit of your souls. Therefore, love God and receive baptism in His name because the Lord our God has prepared for those who love Him things which the eye of no man has seen and which has never entered the heart of man. Leave off evil deeds and do good. Do not worship idols or sacrifice flesh because God does not accept these things. Instead do what our brother Boniface directs and you and your sons will be saved. Make a house where your father and our bishop may live, and churches where you might pray, so that God will forgive your sins and give you eternal life.” The tenor of these remarks makes it clear that Boniface wanted this letter to be addressed to the real pagans in his missionary field and not to the Christians, as had been the case with previous papal letters. Papal admonitions were apparently useful in overcoming pagan opposition.

Sometime before November 22, 726, Boniface sent another letter to Rome requesting advice on a series of problems arising from his work with pagans. Gregory II answered on that date, supplying specific information on the way to handle the troublesome situations and stating that Boniface had acted wisely in consulting Rome, since “the blessed apostle Peter stands as the fountainhead of the apostolate and the episcopate.” The pope laid down regulations on such
matters as marriage practices, the ritual, the problem of baptism in a situation where many had been irregularly baptized previously, clerical discipline, and the persistence of pagan practices. The pope's advice was generally in line with a rather strict conformance with regular canonical rules, although he advocated leniency in some cases. The whole letter indicates that Boniface found papal authority helpful in completing his work in Hesse and Thuringia, especially in matters pertaining to the institution of Christian practices among those recently converted.

The contribution which Gregory II had made to Boniface's work explains the missionary's concern when the pope died in 731. Boniface immediately sent a delegation to Rome bearing a letter, which requested that the new pope continue the existing arrangement. Boniface also reaffirmed his obedience to Rome and requested a renewal of the pact between pope and missionary. In the same letter Boniface reported his progress, spoke of his difficulty in controlling his far-flung theater of operations, and presented the new pope with a series of problems upon which advice was needed. Gregory III answered in 732 in a fashion that not only reassured Boniface that the papacy still supported him but also indicated that Rome was retaining its position as the director of missionary activity. He raised Boniface to the rank of archbishop and sent him the pallium. This step was not merely a reward to a faithful missionary; it was a part of missionary strategy. Recognizing that Boniface had been successful, the pope judged the time ripe for the completion of an ecclesiastical organization through the consecration of new bishops for Germany. Having given Boniface the authority for this next step, Gregory III left the matter of choosing the bishops and establishing the sees to the new archbishop. He thereby established a goal toward which Boniface could work. While issuing these important orders, Gregory III did not neglect to answer Boniface's immediate problems. After the fashion of Gregory II he ruled on a series of problems presented by Boniface.

The most difficult problem with which Boniface had to deal was the persistence of certain pagan practices, such as eating horse meat, making sacrificial offerings for dead pagans, irregular baptisms performed by pagans, and selling slaves to other pagans for sacrifices. All of these practices were condemned. Boniface must have known that they would be, asking the papacy to rule on such matters only so that he could use papal authority as an argument against his new converts. Boniface also needed further advice on marriage regulations, the treatment of certain criminals, and the discipline of the clergy. On all of these matters Gregory supplied canonical regulations.

For some years after his elevation in 732 Boniface went on with his work in Hesse and Thuringia, doing nothing to abide by the papal order to complete the organization of the church. In 735 he made an excursion to Bavaria, perhaps simply as a preacher desirous of correcting the abuses that existed there. He perhaps also contemplated opening a Saxon mission about this time. These projects, however, still left undone the task imposed on him in 732. Thus in 737 Boniface again departed for Rome, apparently to consult with the papacy on the matter. Out of the consultations came an order from the papacy to undertake the complete organization of Bavaria, Alemannia, Hesse, and Thuringia. These decisions were announced in three letters written by Gregory III when Boniface left Rome. One of the letters was addressed to the bishops, priests, and abbots of all lands, calling upon them to give Boniface their support as he returned to his work. The pope especially requested that clergymen aid Boniface

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\[\text{35 Boniface, Ep. #29; ed. Tangi, pp. 49-52.}\]

\[\text{36 There is no agreement on why Boniface took the third trip to Rome; see the authorities cited in note 25, above, for various opinions. Most of them agree that Boniface came to Rome for permission to do something, thus proving his reliance on Rome for all things.}\]

\[\text{37 Boniface, Ep. #42; ed. Tangi, pp. 67-68.}\]
in gaining clerical recruits for his work. A second was sent to the nobles and people of Hesse and Thuringia, asking that they accept the priests and bishops Boniface appointed for them by virtue of apostolic authority. A third was addressed to five bishops in Bavaria and Alemannia. Boniface was announced as the papal representative and vicar, charged primarily with reforming the Bavarian and Alemannian churches according to Roman usage and with establishing a system of synods that would insure the continuance of sound discipline. A letter from Gregory III to Boniface about a year later makes it clear that Boniface was ordered to constitute three new bishoprics in Bavaria, as well as recognizing one that already existed, to ferret out unfit clergy, and to hold a synod to institute a reform program. This program was apparently a revival of the abortive plan of Gregory II, instituted in 716 with the collaboration of the Bavarian princes. Finally, Gregory III put into Boniface’s hands a letter addressed to the Saxons, asking them to abandon their pagan religion and supplying them with reasons why they should become Christians. These letters taken together again demonstrate the papal assumption of the authority to direct a missionary program to its conclusion and its willingness to buttress its missionaries with the proper authority to complete the work.

Boniface carried out these instructions during the next few years. He instituted four bishoprics in Bavaria, three in Hesse-Thuringia, and one in Nordgau. Sometime before October 29, 739, he reported to Rome on his work in Bavaria; Gregory III confirmed it in a letter written on that date. Early in 742 Boniface wrote to the new pope, Zacharias, to reaffirm his obedience to Rome and to report the creation of bishoprics at Würzburg, Buraburg, and Erfurt. He requested that the pope confirm them with his charters. Zacharias, after a considerable delay (until April 1, 743), wrote to Boniface approving the new bishoprics. He indicated that his approval was not merely a formality by questioning the wisdom of building bishoprics in places so small. He also wrote letters to two of the new bishops, confirming each new see and forbidding any interference with them in the future. Likewise, he ruled that these new sees could only be filled with the approval of the representative of Rome. A little later still another see was created at Eichstätt. An Englishman, Willibald, who had been sent into Germany with Boniface by Gregory III, was made bishop. Again the papacy confirmed the new see.

The papacy had one more step in mind to conclude the development of the church in Germany—the creation of a metropolitan see for Boniface. For a long time this had not been desirable in the missionary district. As late as 739 Gregory III ordered Boniface to refrain from lingering in one place. However, by 745 Boniface’s work had progressed far enough to permit an end to his wanderings. A Frankish synod and the Frankish rulers chose Cologne as a metropolitan see for the missionary archbishop. Zacharias approved this act and sent a charter instituting Cologne as a metropolitan church. However, this plan did not come to pass. In 748 Boniface reported to Rome that the Franks had not kept their word and that he was now residing at Mainz. He requested that the pope permit him to find a suitable successor, since he was growing old. Zacharias refused this
request, insisting that Boniface remain in his office, still that of archbishop without a fixed see. Boniface remained at Mainz until he departed for Frisia for his last missionary effort in 753. Mainz was not raised to the rank of a metropolitan see.

With the completion of the episcopal structure there perhaps remained no more real missionary work to be done in the areas where Boniface had labored so long. Boniface himself became involved in the reform of the Frankish church, thus eliminating any new missionary plans for a decade. However, in reading his correspondence one is aware that he never felt that his missionary work was finished in Hesse, Thuringia, and Bavaria. In 741 he requested the protection of Grifo for his establishment in Thuringia. On other occasions he wrote to England telling of the great burdens facing him. As late as 752 he asked Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, to petition Pepin to make provisions for supporting his disciples working in Germany. Sometime between 750 and 754 he wrote to Optatus, abbot of Monte Cassino, asking him to pray that the heathen be shown the light. The source of Boniface's concern emerges clearly; in spite of having baptized most of the pagans, of creating a definite organization, and of establishing priests and monks over the land, there still remained the tremendous task of teaching the newly won Christians the real meaning of their religion and of compelling them to put it into practice. Thus he and his disciples labored on, trying to impose a more Christian life on his charges. In that task the papacy remained a faithful and valuable supporter of Boniface, supplying him with whatever advice he needed. And Boniface continued to follow his well-established custom of deferring to Rome. When Zacharias and Stephen II succeeded to the papal see, he wrote letters to each reaffirming his obedience and asking that friendly relations be maintained.

For the most part Boniface's dependence on the papacy after about 741 consisted in securing papal authority to enforce canonical regulations and asking the papal opinion on how to handle situations arising out of the ancient customs of people who had not been Christian long enough to forget their pagan ideas and practices. For instance, the problem of rebaptism of those improperly baptized was presented to Rome on several occasions. Questions concerning proper liturgical usage were also referred to Rome. Boniface asked the papacy for a ruling on certain dietary practices which were holdovers from pagan times and received authority to prohibit them. Marriage regulations caused trouble and demanded papal rulings. Boniface was constantly faced with a shortage of adequate priests to labor in newly converted districts. In an attempt to solve this problem Boniface asked Pope Zacharias for permission to ordain priests before the accustomed age of thirty; the pope gave him permission to ordain men of twenty-five in view of the urgent need. He also sanctioned Boniface's custom of ordaining at irregular times, again because of missionary necessity. Even more disturbing to Boniface was the ignorant, vice-ridden, corrupt clergy that he was forced to deal with and that often impeded his work. He repeatedly asked papal assistance against this element. Many of these requests sprang from his reforming work in the whole Germanic world. Occasionally, however, these clergymen interrupted his work in recently converted or organized territories. For instance, Zacharias gave Boniface authority in 744 and again in 748 to depose a false priest in Bavaria who claimed he had papal authority to hold one of the

\[\text{[79]}\]
bishops established by Boniface in 739 and who was trying to cause friction between Boniface and Duke Odilo. In 748 Zacharias wrote to Theodo of Bavaria on the matter and also summoned the culprit to Rome. Boniface knew he could depend upon the papal curia for canonical collections and any other documents he might need to strengthen his work. Upon Boniface’s request Zacharias granted a privilege to Boniface’s new monastery at Fulda, so located that it could serve as a center for strengthening the faith among those whom Boniface had converted. The papacy continued to encourage Boniface to keep at the heavy labor among the new Christians, assuring him that the reward would be in proportion to the labor spent. This praise and honor may have been a great consolation and aid to the aging and sorely beset missionary. All these cases are eloquent proof that the papacy never ceased to lend its aid to Boniface’s work and that Boniface always felt a need for papal guidance.

Boniface’s death in 754 saw the main missionary work east of the Rhine completed. As subsequent events were to show, his passing proved a blow to papal missionary activity. The harmonious union of Rome and the Anglo-Saxon monk had worked out to make each a vital contributor in the expansion of Christendom. Again, as in the case of the conversion of England after Gregory I’s death, the basis of papal missionary policy began to dissolve after Boniface’s death. Between 690 and 754 each successive pope had counted on the presence of a pliant, obedient, inspired troop of Anglo-Saxon missionaries, willing to defer their problems to Rome and to accept Rome’s overall guidance of their missionary work. The papacy constructed its missionary policy almost entirely on these missionaries. To such a group Rome could and did serve a vital function and thus earned due glory as a missionary agency. Her success, however, depended upon the continuation of these pliant Anglo-Saxon soldiers for Christ. Boniface’s death heralded the passing of such a group, thus leaving Rome without the necessary support to continue her existing policy. Neither did Rome have the resources to adapt her policy to the rapidly shifting missionary picture. Again a definite age in papal missionary history had ended.

IV.

By the middle of the eighth century a profound change began to emerge in missionary affairs, negating the entire papal missionary policy of the moment. The rapidly rising Carolingian house was in the process of seizing the initiative in the expansion of Christendom and of subordinating all other missionary agencies to its leadership. The signs of this revolution in missionary affairs were clearly evident throughout the first half of the eighth century. However, it was only with the accession of Charlemagne in 768 that the Carolingians completed the process of assuming the responsibility for missionary work. For nearly a century thereafter Christian expansion was almost invariably organized and directed by the Frankish crown.

This new development resulted in a vigorous burst of missionary activity and several notable additions to Christendom. Charlemagne’s efforts resulted in the conversion of the Saxons, the Frisians, and a large number of Slavs and Avars in the area of Pannonia and Carinthia. Louis the Pious, capitalizing on the desire of a faction of the embattled Danish royal house for a Frankish alliance, was responsible for sending Anskar to seek converts among the Danes. As a result of this foothold in the Scandinavian world, Anskar was also able to extend his activities to Sweden. Under the auspices of Louis the German Christian mis-

"Ibid., #58, 80, pp. 107-108, 178-179.
"Ibid., #54, 62, 75, pp. 96-97, 127-128, 156-158.
"Ibid., #86, 87, 89, pp. 193-194, 196, 203-205.
"Ibid., #57, 68, 80, 85, pp. 102-103, 120-121, 172-173, 179, 190-191.
sionaries were able to advance into the Slavic world of central Europe, especially among the Czechs and Moravians. These successes establish the century after 768 as one of the most notable in the history of the expansion of Christianity.1

The numerous accounts which record the achievement of the Carolingian kings and emperors as missionary leaders leave no doubt of their domination of every phase of missionary activity. Royal armies were employed in Frisia, Saxony, and the Avar empire to convince pagans of the advisability of accepting Christianity; so completely was missionary effort tied up with the Frankish military policy in Charlemagne’s day that one can fully agree with the ninth-century author who said that Charlemagne “preached with an iron tongue.”2 Royal diplomacy consistently created missionary opportunities by holding out the prospect of a Frankish alliance to any pagan prince who would commit himself to the conversion of his people. The full authority of royal legislation was thrown into the battle against paganism. The Frankish crown assumed the responsibility for the recruitment of missionaries. The material support for missionary efforts was supplied by the rulers, especially through grants of land to the missionaries and through the imposition of tithes in territories recently incorporated into the Frankish state. The rulers took the initiative in organizing newly converted areas into an episcopal structure. Even the problem of missionary method was completely pre-empted by the Frankish crown. Almost nothing in missionary affairs escaped the attention of the Frankish rulers; they had indeed become the fountainhead of the missionary effort of the era.3

This ascendance of the Carolingian rulers obviously limited the role of the papacy in missionary affairs. The sources reveal conclusively that the papacy participated in the conversion of pagans only insignificantly from the pontificate of Paul I (757–767) through that of Benedict III (855–858), quite in contrast to the papal activity of the half century preceding Paul I. Even more striking is the revelation that on those occasions when the papacy did take part in missionary activity, it operated as an agency completely subservient to the Carolingian rulers, merely lending its support to policies established by them.

At the accession of Charlemagne there were only two active centers of missionary work. One was in Frisia, where monks operating from Utrecht continued to try to win converts in northern Frisia. Pope Stephen II had sanctioned the decision made in 755 to place one of Boniface’s disciples, Gregory, in charge of the continued efforts to convert the pagans who had murdered Boniface. Until Gregory’s death in 775 missionary work continued without any spectacular successes. The papacy played no role in this work. It remained primarily an effort carried on by Anglo-Saxons and by native Frisians, educated at Utrecht, supported by the material resources of the monastic establishment at Utrecht, and directed by the steady hand of Gregory.4 The second missionary venture of the period centered on the southeastern border of Bavaria, where the episcopal see at Salzburg supplied missionaries and material support and the Bavarian princes lent political support in the effort to persuade Slavic groups

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2 Translatio sancti Liborii, 5; ed. G. Pertz, MGH, SS. IV, 151: . . . ferrea quodammodo lingua praedecavit.

3 Any attempt to document these many cases of royal control of missionary activity for the century following the beginning of Charlemagne’s rule would involve citing nearly the whole body of missionary literature from this period and will not be undertaken here. The general accounts cited in note 1, above, will supply examples.

to accept the new religion. Pope Paul seems to have lent his authority to this
venture by assigning the area being Christianized to the jurisdiction of Salzburg;
however, in doing this he was only confirming a policy of his more vigorous
predecessors, Zacharias and Stephen II. Other than this the papacy had no
interest in the conversion of the Slavs.

In 772 Charlemagne led his first campaign against the Saxons and thereby
began a new phase of missionary effort. For the rest of his career Charlemagne
was almost constantly engaged in the conquest, conversion, and ecclesiastical
organization of the Saxons and of their allies, the Frisians. The papacy played
an extremely minor role in these stirring events, in spite of the fact that the
final conversion of the Saxons and the Frisians involved several basic changes
in missionary policy and caused considerable concern among some of Charle-
magne's advisers. Only once was the papacy consulted by Charlemagne on
matters pertaining to the Saxon mission. Early in 786 Hadrian I (772-795)
replied to a request made by Charlemagne about how to deal with Saxons who
had once been Christians but had reverted to paganism. Hadrian, citing the
examples of his predecessors, laid down the general principle that the circum-
cstances under which apostasy occurred ought to govern the penance required
for readmission to the ranks of the faithful. Otherwise, he shifted the burden
to the clergy "in those parts." One wonders why Charlemagne requested advice
on this rather insignificant matter when he considers that by 786 Charlemagne
had, without recourse to the papacy, laid down the major lines of his missionary
policy in Saxony and Frisia. By that time he had employed forced baptisms,
diplomacy, and bribery to win converts, had used his armies to destroy Saxon
shrines, had charged already established bishoprics and monasteries in Francia
with the responsibilities of converting the Saxons, had personally commissioned
individual missionaries to work in Saxony, and had issued his Capitulatio de
partibus Saxoniae. There is no evidence that Rome had any part in such decisions
or any interest in their implications as missionary techniques. There was at
least a tradition in later centuries that Hadrian I had lent his authority to the
establishment of the bishoprics of Verden, Bremen, and Osnabruck. However,
that tradition was based on grounds so shaky that it does not permit one to
attribute to Hadrian a part in the arduous task of organizing a Saxon church,
a task which the Frankish rulers assumed to themselves.

Otherwise, Hadrian's role in the Saxon mission was confined to offering
congratulations to Charlemagne. In 774 he wrote to the king expressing his joy
at the latter's "immense victory" over the Saxons and informing Charlemagne
that he had ordered the Roman clergy and monks to pray for further victories
and for the king's prosperity. Early in 786 Hadrian again wrote to Charlemagne
to congratulate him on having converted the Saxons. Hadrian again reported to
the king that he had ordered all those under papal jurisdiction to offer prayers
for this great victory. However, this action was taken only at the specific request
of Charlemagne. Repeatedly throughout the letter Hadrian gave the king full
credit for converting the Saxons; nowhere did he suggest that the papacy was
concerned with intervening in the procedure or had any suggestions to offer to the
king. On several other occasions Hadrian expressed a hope that Charlemagne

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would emerge victorious over “all barbarian peoples” and over “all adversaries of the church of God.” These messages, so often repeated that they seem to have become formulae, cannot be said to apply to any one of Charlemagne’s numerous military ventures, and thus have no special missionary significance. Perhaps Hadrian served the Saxon mission indirectly by giving encouragement to the missionaries themselves. When Willehad was driven out of Saxony in 782 by a revolt, he traveled to Rome, where he voiced a fear that everything accomplished until then would be undone. But he soon returned to Francia, “not a little strengthened by the consolation of the venerable Pope Hadrian.” Hadrian is also credited with receiving Liudger with high honor when he was forced to flee from his missionary work and with giving him relics to be used in a monastery the missionary proposed to build. It must be noted, however, that neither missionary returned to missionary work until ordered to do so by Charlemagne.

Pope Leo III (795–816) added little to Hadrian’s restrained policy. During his sojourn in Francia in 799 Leo participated in the creation of an episcopal see at Paderborn, dedicating the episcopal church and placing in it the relics of the martyr Stephen he had brought from Rome. However, the papal contribution to the ecclesiastical organization of Saxony must not be overestimated from this one case. Leo’s participation in the creation of the see at Paderborn was prompted merely by his presence in Saxony; certainly he had not made the trip from Rome for this purpose. Charlemagne had already demonstrated that he had assumed the responsibility for the organization of Saxony by instituting a bishopric at Bremen in 785. Perhaps there were also bishoprics at Minden and Verden by 799. In none of these cases was papal authority required by the Frankish rulers. Even the account describing the proceedings at Paderborn in 799 make it perfectly clear that the new see was created by royal orders and that its institution did not depend upon papal authority. In the years after 799 Charlemagne proceeded toward the completion of the organization of Saxony without papal help, as could be illustrated by the creation of the see at Münster with Liudger as bishop. Leo is also credited with aiding in the organization of the new Saxon church by dedicating certain chapels and churches during his trip in 799. Again this was only prompted by his presence in Saxony and was not a matter of papal policy.

While Charlemagne was completing the conversion and the organization of the Saxons and the Frisians, his armies opened a new area for missionary work by destroying the political power of the Avars. Again the royal management of the missionary effort was complete. A synod held in 796, just prior to the opening of the decisive military campaign of that year, defined the procedures to be used in converting the Slavs and Avars about to be conquered. The actual missionary


Vita secunda s. Liudgeri I, 13; ed. Diekamp, p. 60.


Translatio sancti Liborii, 4; ed. G. Pertz, MGH, SS. IV, 139.

Liber pontificii II, ed. Duchesne, 4-6; Annales regni Francorum, a. 799; ed. Fridericus Kurze, MGH, SS. rer. Germ. in usum schol. (Hanover, 1895), pp. 106-107, for the occasion of Leo’s journey to Charlemagne’s court.


This is assuming that the tradition reflected in the charters, cited in note 9 above, is false.


work was assigned to the bishopric of Salzburg, then occupied by one of Charlemagne's chief lieutenants, Arn, and perhaps later to the sees at Aquileia and Passau. Another royal adviser, Alcuin, offered Charlemagne and his court extensive advice on how to win converts among the Saxons and Avars without engendering the violent resistance that had accompanied the conversion of the Saxons. In the struggle against the Avars Charlemagne did not even leave it to Rome to order prayers to celebrate the Christian victory: he took that responsibility himself. Rome's only noteworthy contribution to the institution of Christianity in this new area was the elevation of Arn to the rank of archbishop and the granting to him of the pallium, thus permitting him to create bishoprics in the newly converted territories. Leo II's letters concerning this matter indicate that the initiative lay with Charlemagne and that the pope was merely enacting the will of the king. Leo expressed the situation perfectly when, in a letter to Charlemagne announcing that he had made Arn an archbishop as the king ordered, he began as follows: "Since the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church, enriched in all good things, has been exalted through your laborious royal efforts, it is fitting that we fulfill in every way your legislative wishes." Since the victory for the true faith was completely the work of the king, the least the pope could do was to accede to royal plans and lend his authority to their completion.

If Charlemagne's missionary policy almost excluded the papacy, that of his successors made only slightly more room for Roman participation. The Scandinavian mission, initiated by Louis the Pious and continued by Louis the German, was no less a royal missionary venture than were the efforts that resulted in Charlemagne's conversion of the Saxons, Frisians, and Avars. The only thing that was absent from ninth-century missionary activity in Denmark and Sweden was the Frankish army. Although every phase of the attempt to convert the Danes and the Swedes was instigated and controlled by the emperors, the ultimate progress of the mission required papal assistance. Both Louis the Pious and Louis the German called on Rome's services to implement their policies more closely than did Charlemagne. Their actions identified the papacy more closely with missionary affairs than was the case in the last half of the eighth century, but left no more room for papal initiative.

Louis the Pious' first move to introduce Christianity into Denmark came in 822, when it was decided, probably at a diet at Frankfort, to permit Ebo, archbishop of Rheims, to undertake a mission to Denmark. Before Ebo left for

23 For the question of responsibility for converting the newly conquered Avars see De conversione Bagoriorum et Carantorum libellus, 6; ed. Wattenbach, MGH, SS. XI, 9; Alcuin, Ep. #69, 107, 113; ed. Dümmler, MGH, Ep. IV, 143-144, 153-154, 163-169; MGH, Diplomatum karolinorum I, #211; ed. Mühlbacher, pp. 282-283.

24 Besides his letters cited in the preceding note, see also Alcuin, Ep. #110, 111, 112; ed. Dümmler, MGH, Ep. IV, 157-163.


29 Ann. regni Franc., a. 822; ed. Kurze, p. 159, mentions that Danish legates were present at the diet of Frankfort in October, 822. A letter of Anskar (PL 123, 1631-1632) says: 

Ebo Rheumenis archiepiscopos... temporibus domini Ludovici imperatoris, cum consensu iisius ac pene totius regni ejus synodi congessae, Romam adit... This would suggest that Ebo's trip to Rome resulted from the diet at Frankfort and that the decision to send him to Denmark was made at that time.
Denmark in 823, he was sent to Rome by Louis to secure papal authorization for his missionary work. Pope Pascal I (817-824) acceded to the imperial request, giving to Ebo a letter, addressed to all clergymen, princes, and the Christian faithful, in which the archbishop was granted full authority to preach to the pagans in "northern lands." Pascal based his grant upon his responsibility as pope to care for the flock and spread the heavenly word, repeating to a large extent the ideas of Gregory II in his commission to Boniface in 719. Ebo was constituted a papal legate armed with full authority to do whatever was necessary by way of preaching and teaching the pagans he encountered. Pascal commissioned Halitgarius, bishop of Cambrai, as a colleague of Ebo, in order that communications could be maintained between Ebo and Rome. He especially enjoined Ebo to refer any difficulties he encountered in fulfilling his office to Rome for advice and decision. As a further means of assisting the conversion of the north, Pascal ordered all Christians to aid the missionaries in every way possible and especially by supplying the needs of the journey. He promised eternal rewards to those who were helpful to the missionaries and excommunion for those who acted in such a way as to impede the work. Implicit throughout the letter is the assumption that the constitution of missionary ventures was a papal prerogative. Christian society must have placed some value on this aspect of papal authority; otherwise Louis would not have taken the trouble to send Ebo on a special journey to Rome. Perhaps Pascal had gone beyond Louis' request when he sought to make Ebo accountable to Rome for the conduct of the mission, since there is no evidence to suggest that the connection of Halitgarius to the mission was inspired by Louis. At least by implication Pascal was reasserting the policy of Gregory II toward missions and was again pressing the papacy into missionary affairs.

Ebo's mission was not a success and he soon returned to Francia, apparently having no further relations with the papacy on the matter. Further political developments were necessary to encourage the Frankish crown to send another mission to Denmark. In 826 Harald, his family, and some of his followers were baptized under the sponsorship of Louis. When Harald returned to Denmark, it was decided to send with him a priest who could serve as his chaplain and try to promote the spread of Christianity in Denmark. Louis and his advisers chose Anskar. Again the papacy was called upon to lend its authority to this venture. Eugenius II (824-827), at the request of Ebo, commended Anskar and his associates to all the faithful. Beyond this the new venture proceeded without papal aid. Anskar's efforts in Denmark were not encouraging, especially in view of the fact that Harald was forced to flee in 827. Anskar next turned his efforts to Sweden, encouraged by the appearance of Swedish legates at the Frankish court in 829 bearing a report that their king would permit Christian missionaries in his land. A two year stay in Sweden convinced Anskar that prospects were good for a major Christian victory. In 831 he returned to his

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\(^{\text{20}}\) *Ann. regni Franc.,* a. 823; ed. Kurze, p. 163, says that Ebo went to Denmark "con silio imperatoris et auctoritate Romani pontificis praedicandi gratia..."


\(^{\text{22}}\) *Ibid.,* p. 69; partibus quilonis.

\(^{\text{23}}\) See above, pp. 73-74.

\(^{\text{24}}\) *Ann. regni Franc.,* a. 823; ed. Kurze, p. 163, and Ermolus Nigelus, *In honorem Hludowici...* carmen IV, vv. 2023-2061; ed. Farsal, pp. 154-156, give Ebo credit for many converts. However, absolutely no other evidence can be found to suggest that Christianity had made any permanent foot-
chief benefactor, Louis the Pious, to urge the broadening of the northern mission. Louis immediately took steps to promote the conversion of the north. His new plan again required the services of the papacy. The emperor “burning with the ardor of the faith began to seek how he might be able to constitute an episcopal see in the northern parts, that is, on the frontiers of his empire; for thence it would be suitable for the bishop seated there to go more frequently into those parts in order to preach and thence all of the barbarian nations would be able to take the sacrament of divine mystery more easily and more fully.” The result was the creation of a new archbishopric at Hamburg and the elevation of Anskar to the new see. Although this whole action was taken by the imperial court, Rome’s approval was sought, “so that all of this would retain the perpetual vigor of stability.” Anskar was sent to Rome along with imperial emissaries to request papal confirmation for the new see. Gregory IV (827-844) confirmed the new see. He granted Anskar the pallium, further strengthening the new archbishop’s position. Gregory also made Anskar papal legate to the Danes, Swedes, Slavs, and all other people in the north, with full authority to evangelize, a position that Anskar was to share with Ebo, who already had such a commission from Pascal. Gregory threatened to punish those who interfered with Anskar. Especially important from a missionary viewpoint was a grant of authority to ordain new bishops.

The remainder of Anskar’s missionary career evolved around the attempt to Christianize the Danes and Swedes from an archiepiscopal center located within Frankish boundaries. Anskar and his associates enjoyed only minor successes until his death in 865. What little help Anskar did receive came from the Frankish crown, and especially Louis the German, who sought to reconstruct a base for missionary activity by joining the sees of Hamburg and Bremen after Hamburg had been destroyed by a Danish raid. The royal hand was not strong enough to command permanent respect in the north and thus Anskar usually had to rely on his own personal appeal in his attempt to win converts. The division of the empire in 840 deprived him of his property outside the kingdom of Louis the German and forced him to close his school in Hamburg. Certainly the papacy did little to promote the work of its legate. Sergius II (844-847) apparently renewed in a bull of 846 the concessions of Gregory IV, reaffirming Anskar as archbishop of Hamburg, extending his authority over all converts won in the north, and granting him the use of the pallium. Along with that new concession went words of encouragement and especially the advice to construct new churches, ordain priests, and consecrate new bishops. Perhaps this renewal was of significance at the moment, since Anskar had only recently been forced to flee from Hamburg before a Danish raid which had wiped out the fruits of his labor in that city. Leo IV (847-855) may also have confirmed Anskar’s authority, although the only evidence for such action rests on a falsified bull of 849. It was only with the pontificate of Nicholas I (858-867) that the papacy took a renewed and more positive interest in the Scandinavian mission. However, Nicholas’ missionary

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46 For Anskar’s work in Sweden between 829 and 831, see ibid., 9-11, pp. 30-33.
47 Ibid., 12, p. 33; ... ardores fidelis successus, quaerere coepit, quodam in partibus aquilonis, in fine videlicet imperii sui, sedem constituere posset episcopalem, unde con- gruum esset episcopo ibi consistenti causa praedictionis illas frequentius adire partes, et unde etiam omnes illae barbarae nationes facilius ubiqueque capere valentem divini mysterii sacramenta. For Louis’ part in the creation of the new see, ibid., 12, pp. 33-34, and Ludowici Vitae Praeceptum de missione S. Anskarii ejusque ordinatione; PL 118, 1033-1036.
48 Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 13; ed. Waitz, p. 34; ... ut haec omnia perpetuum suae stabilitatis retinerent vigorem. ... 
49 For Gregory IV’s grant, see ibid., 13, p. 35; Gregory’s letter of confirmation in PL 113, 1035-1036. The text of this letter is heavily interpolated.
50 For Anskar’s missionary work after he became archbishop of Hamburg, see Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 15, ff.; ed. Waitz pp. 36 ff.
51 PL 129, 997-1000.
52 PL 129, 999.
policy in the north was a part of a new papal missionary program and must be left for a later treatment.

While Anskar was attempting to extend Christianity into the Scandinavian world, missionaries were also pressing into the Slavic world on the eastern frontier of the Frankish empire. The effort was especially successful in Carinthia and Pannonia, where Charlemagne's armies had crushed Avar power in 796. The main missionary burden was borne by the bishops of Salzburg, Aquileia, and Passau. The Frankish rulers, and especially Louis the German, gave vital support to this effort by maintaining constant military pressure, encouraging colonization, furnishing liberal endowments to the missionary bishops, and supporting Christianized Slavic princes in the area.\(^a\) Farther to the north Christianity gained some ground among the Czechs, Bohemians, and Moravians. Again it was a combination of Bavarian bishops and Frankish rulers that accounted for success. Progress was not rapid among these peoples and the Christian establishment always lacked stability because of the pronounced resistance offered by some Slavic rulers, apparently fearful that the new religion spelled German domination. However, by the middle of the ninth century some evidence suggests that many Slavs in this area had accepted Christianity. The Slavs along the lower course of the Elbe were hardly touched by missionary activity, even though this area was part of the missionary territory of Anskar.\(^b\)

In all of the missionary activity among the Slavs the papacy took no part. There is not a trace of papal interest in the diplomacy and warfare involved in extending the Christian frontier, in the activities of the Bavarian bishoprics, or in the efforts of Christianized Slavic princes to convert their subjects. Probably the papal lack of concern offers further proof of the absence of a papal missionary policy throughout the last half of the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries. Unless the Frankish rulers needed assistance and requested or ordered papal compliance, the popes left missionary matters to other agencies. In the case of the missionary work among the Slavs nothing was needed from Rome. The conversion of these territories had not progressed far enough to require a special organization. The ambitious Bavarian bishops were eager to supply the personnel for missionary work and to retain any converts under their authority. Frankish diplomacy and military might, plus the interest of Slavic princes in currying Frankish favor, created sufficient opportunity for Christian expansion. Disciplinary questions and missionary procedural problems arising out of the Slavic missionary effort were settled at the Frankish court. Rome had nothing to add to this armory of missionary weapons and thus was excluded.

The failure of the papacy to continue after 750 the aggressive missionary policy it enacted before 750 perhaps needs no comment beyond the paucity of evidence of papal participation in the stirring missionary successes outlined above. However, the whole atmosphere surrounding the ferocious assault of the Carolingian princes on paganism suggests that the papacy contributed more to the course of missionary affairs than is revealed in the record of actual missionary events. Charlemagne himself gave the major clue to his missionary zeal in a letter to Leo III in 796. Writing to define his concept of the relationship between

\(^a\) The chief source describing the expansion of Christianity in this area from Charlemagne's death until the pontificate of Nicholas I is De Conversione Bagaoriorum et Carantanorum libellus, 9-14; ed. Wattenbach, MGH, SS. XI, 19-14, dealing with the activities of the archbishop of Salzburg. See also Hauck Kirchengeschichte II, pp. 711-715; Ernst Dümmler, Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches I (2 ed., Leipzig, 1887-1888), pp. 29-38; II, pp. 174-178.

\(^b\) The information revealing the progress of Christianity among the Czechs, Bohemians, and Moravians is extremely limited and scattered through a variety of sources. For reviews, see Hauck, Kirchengeschichte II, pp. 718-718; Dümmler, Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches I, pp. 32-33, 285-286, 293-299, 345-365, 356, 388-389, 416-417, 426-427; II, pp. 21-25, 51, 173-179.
king and pope, he argued as follows: “This is our power: to defend by arms with the aid of divine piety the Holy Church of Christ everywhere from the incursions of pagans and from the devastations of infidels from without and to fortify the knowledge of the Catholic faith within.”⁴⁰ Wars against the pagans and their subjugation were an important part of Charlemagne’s theocratic concept of the role of the secular prince in Christian society.⁴¹ He had a God-given duty “to defend the Church from the incursions of pagans and to propagate the faith.”⁴² Throughout the whole missionary picture of this era there existed an underlying assumption that the expansion of the Christian realm was a duty impinging on kingship, that every victory over the pagans was a testimonial of divine favor shining upon the Frankish rulers.⁴³ Royal missionary effort was a concomitant of Carolingian theocracy.

Leo III must have been pleased to read Charlemagne’s letter. All the popes of the period must have, in the words of Hadrian I, “extended their palms to heaven, giving the highest praises to the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords, beseeching His divine and ineffable clemency that . . . He grant [the Frankish rulers] many victories over [their] enemies and bring all pagan nations under [their] heels,”⁴⁴ when they heard of the missionary successes of the Frankish kings. Throughout almost the whole eighth century the papacy had been beseeching the Frankish monarchs to assume the very attitude Charlemagne expressed above and to do what Hadrian was expressing thanks for, namely, to crush those who stood in the way of the Church. Even a sampling of papal thinking will illustrate how strongly the popes urged the Carolingians to assume a more positive role in caring for the Church. Repeatedly the papacy begged Pepin the Short, Carloman, and Charlemagne to become defenders of the Church.⁴⁵ Pope after pope avowed that “God Almighty having predestined” the Frankish rulers “from their mothers’ wombs, and blessed and appointed them as kings, constituted them defenders and liberators of His Holy Church.”⁴⁶ The Franks were often referred to as God’s chosen people, especially selected for the defence of Christendom.⁴⁷ God was on their side in their wars.⁴⁸ Their kings were the only refuge after God, left to the papacy and the Church as a whole, standing as an “unconquerable wall”⁴⁹ against the evils of the day. Again and again the papacy called on the Frankish king to arise as a new Moses or David or Constantine to deliver the Church from its perils.⁵⁰ The papacy never ceased

⁴⁰ Alcuin, Ep. #93; ed. Dümmler, MGH. Ep. IV, #17; Nostrum est secundum auxilium divinae pietatis sanctam unidine Christi ecclesias ab incursu paganorum et ab infidelum devastatione armis defendere foris et in tubus catholicae fidei aegitantem munire. For other expressions of the same idea by Charlemagne, see Capitularia regum Francorum; ed. Alfredus Boretius, MGH. Leges, Secctio II, Tomus I, #129, 1, p. 44; #131, 1, p. 93; #45, 15, p. 129.
⁴² Epistola variorum Caroli Magni regnante scriptae #20; ed. Dümmler, MGH. Ep. IV, 329-329, for a letter written by Charlemagne to Queen Fastrada expressing the idea that the victory over the Avars in 796 was a God-given one.
⁴³ Codex Carolinus #50; ed. Gundlach, MGH. Ep. III, 570; extensis palmas ad aethera, regi regum et domino dominantium omimas laudes retulimus, enixius deprecentes ineffabilem eius divinam clementiam . . . multiplicer de hostibus victorias tribuat omnemque barbaras nationes vestris subnatum vestigias.⁵¹ Nearly every letter in the Codex Carolinus centres around this idea.
⁴⁵ For examples, see Codex Carolinus, #39, 45; ed. Gundlach, MGH. Ep. III, 551-552, 561.
⁵² Ibid., #61, pp. 588-589.
⁵⁴ For the use of this expression see Codex Carolinus #17, 20; ed. Gundlach, MGH. Ep. III, 518, 522.
praying that the Franks would win tremendous victories over all pagan nations and that their boundaries would expand without hindrance. Rome repeatedly gave guarantees that, since the pope held the keys to the eternal kingdom, the Frankish rulers were assured of salvation as long as they cared for the Church.

These expressions demonstrate that the reasoning used by the popes to justify their pleas for Frankish help in the eighth and early ninth centuries reflected most of the ideas upon which Carolingian theocratic concepts were based. The popes who argued so insistently in the context cited above ought to be given credit for their contribution in schooling the Carolingian princes in the ideas that produced the brilliant missionary successes. The feat of inspiring the heirs of a Merovingian mayor of the palace to become rulers with a deep sense of responsibility for the welfare of Christendom was perhaps the most fundamental development of the eighth century. Those who partook of the effort were shapers of almost every success enjoyed by the Carolingian rulers. In this sense, then, one might conclude that the papacy played a larger missionary role than the missionary record spanning the years 750 to 850 alone shows. Several popes helped to mold the thinking of the dynasty of kings who dedicated themselves to serving the Church and defending it against its enemies. Out of this sense of duty came, at least in part, the Carolingian urge to spread the faith and as a result the successful wars against paganism. The papacy felt no misgivings about the course of events; their “adopted sons” performed well in doing what the popes had so long begged them to do, namely, to assume the responsibility for the safety and welfare of Christendom. They were in no sense aware of being deprived of participation in the missionary ventures of the period; instead they stood in their rightful position as shepherd of the flock, having shaped a mighty instrument for defeating God’s enemies in the shape of the “strong right arm” of the Franks, “the propagators and defenders of the Christian religion.”

V.

By the middle of the ninth century the royal missionary effort of the Carolingians began to falter. Internal difficulties continually detracted the rulers from missionary affairs and interfered with missionary work already in progress. Barbarian assaults against the weakened Carolingian state became bolder, resulting in devastating effects on newly established Christian outposts. Slavic states on the eastern frontier defied the Carolingians more openly than ever and caused a growing concern, especially in the realm of Louis the German. By 860 the troubled empire was considerably less able to uphold the cross than it had been earlier in the century. Certainly the hopes for expansion had dimmed considerably, as Anskar’s travails in Denmark and Sweden demonstrated so clearly.

The paralysis among the Franks set the stage for a new outburst of papal missionary activity. Nicholas I, exhibiting the same forcefulness that characterized his whole policy, was chiefly responsible for thrusting the papacy into a

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n2 Ibid., #10, p. 501.

n3 For examples of the papal use of this expression, see ibid., #13, 58, 98, 99, pp. 510, 585, 649, 651.

n4 As Charlemagne was addressed by Theodomar, abbot of Montecassino; Epistolae variorum Caroli Magni regnante scriptae #13; ed. Dümmler, MGH, Ep. IV, 510.

n5 Rimbét, Vita Anskarii, 21; ed. Waitz, pp. 46-47, relates how the death of Louis the Pious and the division of his empire deprived Anskar of a monastery located in western Francia which had been one of his chief sources of material support in his northern mission.

n6 Ibid., 16-18, pp. 37-39, for the drastic effects of a Danish raid on the missionary center at Hamburg and the repercussions on missionary work in general.

n7 See especially, Dümmler, Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reichs I, 426, 427; II, 21-25, for an estimate of the Slavic threat, especially from the Moravians.
position of leadership in missionary affairs after a long period of inactivity. Indeed, his far-reaching schemes for adding to the Christian realm, all of them powerfully motivated by his strong sense of papal overlordship over Christian affairs, was one of the most notable features of his pontificate. His policies virtually determined papal missionary interests for the rest of the ninth century.

One of Nicholas' first missionary concerns was to lend his assistance to the tenuous Scandinavian mission. Anskar had for many years been struggling to win new advantages in Denmark, chiefly by exerting his personal influence over the Danish rulers. He enjoyed some success in his relationship with Horig II, in spite of the latter's initial hostility to Christianity. In 864 an emissary of Louis the German was able to report to Nicholas that Horig would soon accept baptism, news which prompted Nicholas to rejoice and to pray that the conversion would soon occur. Horig himself added to these high hopes by sending gifts to Rome. Nicholas, in an action that had not been paralleled since the pontificate of Gregory II, immediately addressed a letter to Horig urging his conversion. The pope's argument centered around two fundamental points: the power of the Christian God and the blessings of eternal life. He took pains to contrast the impotence of the "deaf, mute, and blind idols" that Horig now worshipped with the "Almighty, all-embracing, indescribable, immense, infinite, simple, unchangeable, uncircumscribed, immortal, all good, all merciful, all holy" Christian God. Only the Christian God could provide the king with a relief from the miseries, dangers, strife, insecurity, and fleeting glory of the present life, where all the kingdoms that man could create disappear as a result of the ambitions of other men or of death. Only the true God could give that life "where there is joy without sorrow, fullness without nausea, continued health, indefinite life, peace without end, constant security, and eternal glory." Moreover, the Christian God was alone capable of aiding his servants in the affairs of this life. Throughout the appeal Nicholas sought to place Christianity in a context that might be understood by a Danish prince who ruled over a state long torn by internal strife and constantly engaged in warfare and who perhaps had demonstrated his envy for his prosperous Christian neighbors, the Franks, by his raids on their territories.

Nicholas also acted to strengthen the Scandinavian mission by lending his authority to the settlement of the long standing dispute over the combined see of Hamburg-Bremen, which Louis the German had created as a missionary outpost. The archbishop of Cologne insisted that Bremen pertained to his province and demanded that it be returned to him. In 864 Louis referred the case to Rome in order to confirm a decision made by a royal synod in opposition to the claims of Cologne. Anskar sent a representative to present his case. Nicholas ordered that the existing arrangement be respected. Bremen was to remain separate from Cologne and was to continue to serve as archiepiscopal see for the Danes and the Swedes. Nicholas' defence of his action was based primarily on the necessity of this arrangement as a missionary step. He called attention to the poverty of Hamburg, especially since it had lost the monastery of Turholt, located in the kingdom of Charles the Bald. Following the action of Gregory IV he also granted Anskar the pallium and renewed the commission of Anskar to preach to the Danes, Swedes, Slavs, and all others located in those parts. Nicholas threatened to anathematize any who interfered with this settlement in the future. In no sense did Nicholas' action represent a radical departure from

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1 Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 31-32; ed. Waitz, pp. 63-64.
2 Nicholas, Ep. #26, 27; ed. Ernestus Perels, MGH, Ep. VI, 292-294; reports these events.
3 Ibid., #27, pp. 293-294.
4 The main events of this dispute are outlined in Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 22; ed. Waitz, pp. 48-51.
5 Nicholas reported his decision to Louis the German in Ep. #26; ed. Perels, MGH, Ep. VI, 291-292. His bull confirming the see of Hamburg-Bremen (see PL 119, 876-879; Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 23; ed. Waitz, pp. 49-51) supplies his justification for his action and grants to Anskar once again the necessary missionary powers.
established policy. He repeatedly indicated that his action was nothing more than a confirmation of a previous papal action and the dictates of the German rulers. Nonetheless, his firm support of the attempt to maintain an archiepiscopal see as a spearhead for missionary work in Scandinavia probably proved valuable to Anskar. Just prior to his death in 865 Anskar sent to the German king and to German bishops a letter containing his papal privileges. He begged everyone to respect their provisions as an assurance of the future well-being of the mission in the north. Certainly he was able to end his life with his archiepiscopal see intact and to leave as his successor a tried disciple, Rimbert, who soon received the pallium from Nicholas and thus was able to carry on the missions.  

Nicholas may also have tried to lend papal assistance in still another area in the process of being converted. Sometime during his pontificate he wrote to a certain Osbald in Carinthia, giving him instructions on how to deal with disciplinary problems among the clergy there, including that of handling priests who had killed pagans. Osbald was serving as chorepiscopus in Carinthia, having been assigned to that position by the archbishop of Salzburg, to whose province Carinthia pertained. Heretofore, this missionary venture had been tightly controlled by Salzburg. Osbald’s request for guidance from Rome and Nicholas’ reply without reference to the archbishop of Salzburg indicate a more independent papal policy. Perhaps Nicholas was aware that the Slavic princes in that area were restive under German rule and was encouraging a more independent attitude.

Meanwhile, a new victory for Christianity was in the making, offering to the papacy an opportunity for action in an area that had not previously been a concern of the western Church. In 865 the Bulgar king, Boris, accepted baptism from a Byzantine ecclesiastic and undertook to convert his kingdom. His decision was probably influenced by the steady penetration of his kingdom by Greek influences, including Christianity, for many years prior to 865. Diplomatic considerations, however, provided the immediate impetus. Boris had allied himself with the Franks in 863 for the purpose of destroying the powerful Moravian state that had disquieted both Boris and Louis the German. Boris indicated a willingness to accept Christianity as a part of the Frankish agreement, although no immediate steps were taken to affect his conversion. The Moravians countered this alliance by seeking aid in Constantinople. When a famine struck Boris’ kingdom in 864, the Byzantine armies invaded his territory and forced Boris to surrender. Included in the price he paid for peace was the acceptance of Christianity. Once having made his decision and in spite of a revolt by some of his subjects against the new religion, Boris went about the task of converting.

9 Epistolae variorum inde a saeculo nono medio usque ad mortem Karoli II (Calvi) imperatoris collectae #18; ed. Ernestus Dümmler, MGH, Ep. VI, 163; Rimbert, Vita Anskarii, 41; ed. Waitz, p. 75; Vita Rimberti, 11; ed. G. Waitz, MGH, SS. rer. Germ. in usum schol. (Hanover, 1894), pp. 89-90.
10 PL 119, 962.
12 For missionary developments in this area about this time, see De Conversione Bagoariorum et Carantanorum libellus, 9-14; ed. Wattenbach, MGH, SS. XI, 10-14.
14 Boris so reported to Rome; Nicholas, Ep. #26; ed. Perels, MGH, Ep. VI, 234. See also Annales Bertiniani, a. 864; ed. G. Waitz, MGH, SS. rer. Germ. in usum schol. (Hanover, 1883), p. 72.
15 Ann. Bertiniani, a. 866; ed. Waitz, pp. 85-86, describes this revolt; there are also references to it in Nicholas, Ep. #99; ed. Perels, MGH, Ep. VI, 571; Ioannes Zonaras, Epitomae Historiarum XVI, 2; ed. Theodorus Böttner-Wobeser, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae III (Bonn, 1897), 387-389; Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia IV, 14-15; ed. I. Bekker, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1838), pp. 163-165.
his people with vigor. At first he was guided by the Byzantine church. Not only were Greek clergymen sent into his territory; no less a person than the patriarch Photius sent a long letter of guidance to Boris, laying upon his royal shoulders most of the responsibility for the Christianization of the Bulgars and pointing out the steps which the Bulgars needed to take before being acceptable as civilized Christians. For some reason, perhaps the refusal of Photius to concede ecclesiastical independence to the Bulgar church, Boris grew tired of his bargain with the Greeks. In 866 he sent representatives to the West seeking aid for his new Christian establishment.

One Bulgar delegation appeared at Regensburg to solicit the aid of Louis the German. In 867 the bishop of Passau went to Bulgaria with a party of priests equipped for missionary work. Upon his arrival the bishop found the field already occupied by a mission sent from Rome and thereupon withdrew. The presence of Roman missionaries in Bulgaria was the result of Nicholas’ prompt response to Boris’ other delegation, which had been sent to Rome, where it arrived in August, 866. The Bulgars arrived in Rome bearing gifts and requesting from Nicholas priests for missionary service and advice on a series of pressing problems connected with the institution of the new religion in Bulgaria. This perhaps was a development Nicholas had not expected. Two years before in 864 he seemed content to entrust the spread of Christianity in Bulgaria to the Germans; at that time he had received the news of a treaty between the Franks and the Bulgars with joy and indicated his anticipation of the news of the Bulgar conversion, which Louis the German reported was imminent, offering only to pray for the success of the venture. In 866 he showed no such deference to other potential missionary agencies. Instead he promptly assumed the leadership of the new Christian establishment in Bulgaria and undertook to shape it according to his wishes.

His first action was to direct a party of missionary priests to Bulgaria, ordering them to preach to the Bulgars, many of whom were not yet baptized. Nicholas was not content to let the Bulgar situation rest at this point. At the head of the mission he placed two important bishops, Formosus of Porta and Paul of Populonia. These men were carefully prepared for their task. Nicholas gave them instructions prior to their departure. He empowered them to settle a wide variety of problems posed by Boris in his request for information from the pope. The bishops were fully equipped with a collection of canons, a missal, and a penitential to serve as guides in their assault on paganism and their attempts to create a religious establishment in Bulgaria. Most important of all, the legates were authorized to take steps toward organizing the Bulgar church. Nicholas empowered them to consecrate new bishops when necessary. They were ordered to report back to Rome on the number of Christians in Bulgaria, whereupon the papacy would decide whether an archiepiscopal see was warranted and would create one if necessary. He would permit the Bulgars to choose a candidate for that see from among the bishops operating in their land. Nicholas made it perfectly clear, however, that Boris’ dream of a patriarchate was out of the question. In setting forth so clear a program for his legates, the

14 PG 102, 628-638. Nicholas’ long letter to Boris in 866 (Ep. #99; ed. Perels, MGH, Ep. VI, 568-600) shows the heavy influence of the Greek clergy in Bulgaria and makes several references to the presence of the Greeks.
17 Nicholas, Ep. #26; ed. Perels, MGH, Ep. VI, 293.
19 The nature of Nicholas’ orders to his bishops is revealed in his letter to Boris containing the one hundred and six responses to questions raised by the latter; Ep. #59; ed. Perels, MGH, Ep. VI, 568-600; see especially 106, pp. 599-600.
20 Ibid., 72-73, pp. 392-393.
pope created a definite procedure within which the conversion and final organization of Bulgaria could be completed.

Nicholas, realizing the role that the Bulgar king must play in the Christianization of the Bulgars, did not neglect to encourage and enlighten him. The papal legates departed for Bulgaria bearing books that Boris requested, including a collection of laws, penitentials, and a missal. They also bore a remarkable document containing answers to questions raised by Boris through his ambassadors to Rome. The content reveals that the papacy realized clearly the difficulties besetting Boris in his new venture. "You [Boris] beseeched us as a supplant that we bestow upon you just as on other peoples a true and perfect Christianity, having no blemishes or flaws. You say that there came into your land many from diverse places, i.e., Greeks, Armenians, and those from elsewhere, who according to their own will, spoke in many and various ways. On account of this you ask to be told which of all these in their various interpretations to obey and what you ought to do." Confusion, lack of order, absence of a final authority thus offset all the good intentions of Boris in his attempts to convert his people. The papacy could fill this need. "In truth we are not sufficient in these things, but our sufficiency is in God. Blessed Peter, who lives and presides in his see, gives to those who seek the truth. For the Holy Roman Church was always without blemish or flaw . . . ." Nicholas placed himself as the final authority on any problem concerning the faith and its practice. In this capacity he had an answer for any problem presented by Boris and proceeded to set forth his answers in full.

Nicholas' responses ranged over a variety of subjects. The question of proper religious observances was obviously foremost in Boris' mind. Nicholas laid down concise rules on such things as the performance of baptism (c. 14, 15, 71, 104), the administration of communion (c. 9, 65, 71), burial customs (c. 98, 99, 100), conduct of the laity at church services (c. 34, 58, 66, 68), the necessary religious preparations prior to battle (c. 33, 35, 36), prayer (c. 53, 56, 61), religious processions (c. 7, 8), dietary observances (c. 4, 5, 53, 57, 60, 90, 91), and the observance of feast days (c. 10, 11, 12, 33, 36). He sent a missal and a penitential for enlightening the Bulgars on the proper reading of the mass and on the treatment of sinners (c. 75, 76), entrusting to his legates to explain the use of each. He was especially explicit in explaining the major observances for the Lenten season (c. 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50). Marriage regulations and sexual practices also received major attention (c. 2, 3, 4, 29, 39, 48, 49, 50, 51, 63, 64, 68, 96). From this list it becomes obvious that Nicholas intended to be considered the final authority on all matters concerning ritual and discipline. What topics had not been dealt with in his letter were left to his legates, "who would instruct [Boris] and inform [him] abundantly of what [he] ought to do." Rome, then, assumed the responsibility for instituting the proper religious observances in a newly converted land.

Nicholas did not confine his advice on religious matters to problems of ritual and discipline only. He provided Boris with a set of principles to be used in completing the conversion of his subjects. He ordered that the king refrain from

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from forceful conversions. Admonitions and pleas were the only valid means of softening the hardened hearts of pagans. Nicholas suggested that it might be effective to cease dining or associating with pagans as a means of impressing upon them the gravity of their adherence to paganism. In the final analysis God would act in His own time to convert them (c. 41, 102). The case of apostates was somewhat different. The pope advised stern measures for those who would not return to Christianity after proper warning (c. 18). As a step towards the completion of the conversion of Bulgaria Nicholas explained the basic principles of the organization of the universal church and informed Boris of the position of the Bulgar church in that scheme (c. 72, 73, 92, 93, 106). Wherever church organization was considered, Nicholas made Rome's primacy explicit. He warned Boris that the problem of discipline of the clergy was not within royal power, laying down the principle that temporal authorities were to be judged and not to judge wherever the interests of the clergy were at stake (c. 83). Nicholas again demonstrated a broad concept of papal missionary responsibility. Everything from proselytizing to the organization of a new church must proceed under papal supervision and through papal guidance.

On still another score Nicholas placed himself in a position of guide and mentor to the recently converted king. He undertook to furnish advice concerning a wide range of civil affairs connected with Boris' governance of his people. Nicholas made the assumption throughout his letter that: temporal affairs had a relevance to the spiritual order and fell within the papal domain. As a guide to the conduct of civil affairs Nicholas sent a law code with his legates, advising Boris to use it only with the advice of those capable of interpreting it (c. 13). Besides this general guide in civil affairs, Nicholas offered the king his opinion on such problems as treatment of rebels (c. 17, 19), judicial procedures (c. 12, 45, 84, 86), handling of fugitives (c. 20, 21, 25), the conduct of war (c. 23, 33, 36, 40, 46), the punishment of certain criminals (c. 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31), diplomatic relations (c. 80, 81, 82), and the treatment of slaves (c. 97). Boris was led to believe that the Church through its head possessed the wisdoms to guide a king in his rule over a Christian kingdom.

As impressive as the range of subjects on which Nicholas offered guidance was the spirit in which the advice was offered. The pope approached all the Bulgar problems with an attitude of leniency arising from his realization that he was dealing with new converts who could not be expected to practice Christianity perfectly. Strict observance of the laws of abstinence were not required because the pope, realizing that the Bulgars "were up to now pagan and still ought to be nourished on milk, could not put a heavy yoke on [them] until [they] were ready for solid food." He took special pains to refute those teachers of the Bulgars who were insisting on a strict observance of Old Testament rules, especially in matters of diet (c. 43), seeking to avoid making the new faith too heavy a burden. Nicholas was satisfied that for the moment the Bulgars believed in God and were baptized. He was firm in counseling a repudiation of pagan customs, especially those that reflected idolatry (c. 33, 35, 40, 55, 63, 67, 70). However, he did not heap scorn on Bulgar customs and conceded that some of them, like the custom of wearing pantaloons (c. 50) or of the king taking his meals apart from all company (c. 42), need not be rejected. Whenever he called upon Boris to end an obnoxious practice, Nicholas was careful to supply a substitute. For instance, he advised that the Bulgars carry a cross into battle as an insignia in place of the traditional horse’s tail (c. 33; see also c. 35, 40, 55). Even where he was aware that the Bulgars were being misled by the Greeks, Nicholas engaged in no vituperation, which might have been expected in view of his quarrel with the Greek church. He simply disposed of Greek error by

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"Ibid., 4, p. 571: Nos tamen vobis, qui ut praetulimus, adhuc rudes estis, et lacte tanquam parvuli nutriti, non grave pos-

sumus iugum, donec ad solidum cibum veniatis, imponeare.

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citing Roman practices or teachings (c. 6, 54, 57, 77). He almost always justified his comments on any problem by giving a reason for his decision, thus avoiding an authoritarian attitude. For instance, when condemning the Bulgar practice of killing anyone who tried to flee his native land, Nicholas argued that there might be a just reason for flight and cited cases from sacred history to prove his point (c. 20, 23). Everywhere in the letter Nicholas tried to insinuate a teaching which would uplift his new pupil to a higher level of morality and fuller understanding of Christian doctrine. Boris, for instance, was concerned over his own brutal treatment of those who had rebelled against him when he had first undertaken to convert his subjects. Nicholas pointed out his failure but offered mercy and forgiveness (c. 17; see also c. 1, 2). Boris upon receipt of this letter must have been convinced that he had found a fitting guide for his task. He must have been assured that his work was progressing properly. The pope was thereby furthering the expansion of religion by his gentle, persuasive, encouraging attitude toward a king with great troubles and a people only slightly aware of the implications of the new religion.

The Bulgar mission, so thoroughly prepared by the papacy, started its work auspiciously. According to Roman sources, Nicholas’ missionary party began teaching, baptizing, building churches, instituting the Christian ritual, and imposing the Christian way of life on the Bulgars. Even Greek sources vouch for the effectiveness of the papal move. Photius complained to the eastern patriarchs that heretical teachings and practices were being instituted among the Bulgars by the Romans and asked for support in offsetting this development. Boris was reported to have been so well pleased that he drove out all alien clergy and declared that he would never adhere to any authority except Rome. Papal leadership had seemingly shaped a splendid and rapid victory for Christ.

However, the Bulgar mission was not entirely free from difficulties. Two situations, neither of them having too much to do with the actual missionary problem, disturbed the scene. First, Boris was not happy with the provisions Nicholas made for the ecclesiastical organization of Bulgaria. In 867 he sent a new emissary to Rome asking that Formosus be made archbishop for Bulgaria. Nicholas refused the request, but sought to avoid alienating Boris by preparing a new mission, headed by two more Italian bishops, Dominic and Grimuald, and including carefully selected priests. He prepared letters advising Boris that he might select an archbishop from this group. A second situation arose from the fact that the Greeks were bending every effort to reestablish the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople over the Bulgars. Nicholas revealed their efforts in a series of letters written to various lay and ecclesiastical personages in Francia in 867. He related that the Greek emperor was using diplomatic pressure to discredit the papal legates and that the Greeks were spreading rumors of Roman heresy among the Bulgars. Other sources suggest that the Greeks used bribes and “sophisticated arguments” to detach the Bulgars from Rome. A jurisdictional struggle was emerging to confuse the situation among the Bulgars and divert the papacy from missionary work in the strict sense. However, Nicholas’ death in November, 867, relieved him both of the burden of dealing

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27 The chief ones reporting on the progress of the first mission of Nicholas are Liber pontificae II, ed. Duchesne, pp. 165, 185; Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Epistolae sine Praefationes #5; ed. Perels and Laehr, MGH, Ep. VII, 412.

28 PG 102, 722-738.


32 For the background and larger issues of that jurisdictional dispute, see F. Dvor- nik, Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance (Prague, 1953), pp. 248-283.
with the Greek offensive and of answering Boris’ demands for greater ecclesiastical independence.

Before his death Nicholas had still another opportunity for exerting an influence on missionary affairs. In 863 the Moravian prince, Rastislav, appealed to Constantinople for aid in completing the conversion of his people. Christianity had already made some progress in Moravia, chiefly as a result of German activity. Rastislav was not completely happy either with the religious state of his subjects or with the German political power which accompanied German missionaries. The Greeks answered his request by sending two Slavic speaking missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, to Moravia. They enjoyed immense success, due chiefly to their use of a Slavic ritual. By 867 there was a need for an organization for Moravia. Since neither of the missionaries was a bishop, the pair left Moravia to find authorities qualified to assist them in organizing the Moravian church. Their exact destination has remained a mystery. Nicholas, having heard of their fame and perhaps suspicious of their orthodoxy, invited them to Rome. Probably he was chiefly interested in assuming leadership over this new missionary venture. However, he did not live to greet the missionaries or direct their future work. 28

Nicholas died leaving a great deal of missionary work unfinished. A new Bulgar mission was almost ready to leave Rome to continue a major project there. Two successful Greek missionaries with powerful though disputed influence in Moravia were on their way to Rome to consult with the papacy. These ventures, coupled with his efforts in Scandinavia, mark him as a major influence in missionary affairs. True, he had not taken the initiative in planting Christianity in pagan lands. His policy was opportunistic. However, he acted with vigor wherever there was a chance of advancing the Christian cause. He used his personal influence to persuade princes to promote Christianity. He was especially effective in organizing missionary resources. He was quick to proffer practical advice on any kind of problem relative to the Christianization of a new territory. In all of this he was bolder than any pope had been for a long time, seldom deferring to another missionary agency that had a stake in a missionary venture. He came close to making the papal see a missionary headquarters from which emanated missionary personnel, regulations, advice, and final decisions extending to far-flung missionary frontiers. Once again the papacy was a major force in missionary affairs after lingering so long in the shadows of the Carolingian rulers.

Hadrian II (867-872) acted promptly to carry on Nicholas’ policy. The Bulgar mission demanded his first attention. He immediately dispatched Nicholas’ mission, led by the bishops Dominic and Grimoald, to Bulgaria, sending with them the letters which Nicholas had prepared but to which Hadrian now added his name. Boris had requested this mission in order to secure a satisfactory archbishop. Throughout the next two years that problem dominated the relationship between Rome and Bulgaria. Late in 867, after the departure of the above mentioned mission, Boris sent another representative to Rome in the company of bishops Paul and Formusus, whom Nicholas had first sent to Bulgaria. This time Boris requested that Hadrian send a certain deacon, Marinus, or some cardinal to be made archbishop. Hadrian refused this request on the grounds that Marinus had been assigned as a legate to a forthcoming council in Constantinople. The pope

28 The chief sources for the beginning of the Moravian mission are chapters 14-17 of the Slavic biography of Cyril and chapters 5-8 of the Slavic biography of Methodius. For the text of these chapters in a French translation see Dvornik, Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode nues de Byzance, pp. 372-379, 385-386. These biographies will be cited hereafter as Vie de Constantin, tr. Dvornik, and Vie de Méthode, tr. Dvornik, with appropriate chapter and page numbers. See also Vita [znaci Cyrilli] cum translatione s. Clementis, 7-8, Acta Sanctorum, March II, 21. Dvornik’s comments on these accounts are especially valuable in settling some of the difficulties connected with them.
sent a subdeacon, Sylvester, who was accompanied by bishops Leopard of Ancona and Dominic of Trevi. Sylvester was also unsatisfactory, since Boris soon made a new request that Formosus or some other suitable candidate he sent. Once again Hadrian wrote asking that Boris select another. Obviously the organization of the Bulgar church under Roman auspices had reached an impasse resulting from Boris’ desire for independence. Hadrian had little power to compel the king to accept papal dictates.

While negotiations between Hadrian and Boris continued, Boris apparently decided to seek his ends in Constantinople. As has previously been mentioned, the Greeks had continued to exert pressure on Boris since he first turned to Rome in 866. It is entirely possible that he was promised his archbishop if he would again accept allegiance to Constantinople. Internal troubles in his kingdom increased the frightful possibility of Greek intervention in Bulgar affairs, a threat that Rome could not utilize in pressuring Boris to accept its program. For whatever reason, Boris sent an emissary to Constantinople in 869 at the time that an important council was being held to restore peace between Rome and Constantinople. At the conclusion of that council in February, 870, the Bulgars were given an audience before the Roman legates, the representatives of the eastern patriarchs, and the patriarch of Constantinople, Ignatius, and asked for a decision as to which authority, Rome or Constantinople, Bulgaria pertained. In spite of the attempts of the papal legates to defend Rome’s rights on grounds of Rome’s possession of the Bulgar territory prior to the barbarian invasions and Rome’s leading role in the conversion of Bulgaria, the decision went in favor of Constantinople. Boris’ return to Constantinople had probably been arranged prior to this meeting. Beyond threatening Ignatius with papal retaliation for permitting this development, the papal legates were powerless. Hadrian, who did not know of the procedure until long after it had happened, had been completely outmaneuvered by Greek diplomacy.

The return of the Bulgars to Constantinople was fatal to the papal missionary establishment in Bulgaria. Ignatius immediately appointed an archbishop for the Bulgars and sent Greek clergymen into the territory. The Romans, including Grimoald, who was serving as papal legate at the time, were expelled. The Bulgar king presented Rome with a series of complaints as an excuse for his move. Hadrian took the only course open to him, namely, to pressure the Greeks to repudiate the affair, threatening the emperor and especially Ignatius with dire consequences if they did not acquiesce. His efforts were fruitless; the Christian establishment in Bulgaria had escaped Rome and with it Nicholas’ dream of a major addition to Rome’s sphere of influence.

Hadrian’s failure in Bulgaria was offset, however, by his successful exploitation of the Moravian missionaries, Cyril and Methodius. Nicholas’ death made it necessary for Hadrian to greet them when they arrived at Rome. This he did in a most fitting fashion, creating the impression that Rome accepted their work without question. Especially significant was the fact that Hadrian in a public ceremony blessed the books containing the Slavic liturgy used by the Greek missionaries and permitted the performance of that liturgy in several important churches in Rome. He also ordained certain of the disciples of the missionaries as priests; perhaps Methodius was in that group. While the missionaries were thus honored by the papacy, Cyril died. Methodius desired to

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"Liber pontificalis II, ed. Duchesne, p. 185.

"For the background of this important council, see Amann, L’époque carolingienne, pp. 465-489.


"Liber pontificalis II, ed. Duchesne, p. 185.

return his body to his home, but was persuaded either by Hadrian or by Cyril before his death to abandon that project. This was an important matter, since a new missionary venture in which Methodius would play an important part was being constructed by Hadrian.40

Cyril and Methodius had obviously pleased Rastislav in Moravia. On their journey to Rome they had passed through the lands of Kocel, a prince of Moravian origin ruling in Carinthia under the tutelage of Louis the German. Kocel had also been impressed by the Greeks and especially by their Slavic ritual and desired their services in his land. He requested that the papacy send the Greeks to Carinthia to serve as teachers. Here was a situation comparable to that presented to Nicholas when Boris of Bulgaria sent his legates to Rome in 866. Here were princes of partially Christianized lands asking Rome for assistance, bypassing those parties who already had an interest in their territories. Hadrian acted with as much vigor as did Nicholas. He sent Methodius and his disciples back to the Slavic princes. He also sent a letter addressed to Kocel, Rastislav, and Svatopluk, another Moravian prince, informing them that Methodius, a man of perfect orthodoxy and intelligence, was being sent as their teacher. Methodius had been commissioned to teach from the Slavic scripture, celebrate the mass in Slavic, and baptize in Slavic, the only reservation being that the epistle and gospel had to be read in Latin prior to the reading of the Slavic version. Hadrian threatened to punish anyone who interfered with the work of the papal missionary. He exhort ed the princes to follow the guidance of Methodius.41 Once again a missionary territory under the direct authority of Rome was staked out. Once again the papacy assumed the right to commission missionaries and guide their activities. Especially bold was Hadrian’s permission to use the Slavic ritual, a practice that had already aroused suspicion in the West. Undoubtedly this precedent-breaking step was a concession to the Slavs in an attempt to attach them to Rome. Nonetheless, in view of the popularity of the native ritual, it proved a noteworthy addition to the western missionary method.

Methodius, upon leaving Rome on the papal mission, was greeted well by Kocel. Within a short time he was back in Rome in the company of a considerable number of nobles from Kocel’s court, who asked that he be made bishop for Pannonia. Hadrian gladly elevated Methodius to the rank of archbishop, with a see at Sirmium, the site of the ancient see of Ilyricum. Methodius was apparently given authority over Moravia as well as Pannonia. The pope now intended that the ecclesiastical organization of this vast new province proceed as rapidly as possible, this step to mark the conclusion of the missionary process which had begun independently of the papacy.42

Hadrian’s death in 772 resulted in no major shift in papal policy. John VIII tried valiantly to sustain the papal program of lending assistance to the newly Christianized peoples, although he was sorely beset by serious problems nearer to Rome. He was especially concerned with developments in Bulgaria. His many letters on the Bulgar question show little interest in actual missionary problems, in spite of the fact that there were still many pagans in Bulgaria.43 Occasionally he fretted lest certain Greek teachings and practices, considered heretical by Rome, become any more deeply implanted in the yet untutored minds

41 *Vie de Méthode*, 8, tr. Dvornik, pp. 387-388.
43 A biography of one of Methodius’ disciples, driven out of Moravian territory in 885, gives evidence of the existence of paganism as a major problem in Bulgaria after that date; see *Vita s. Clementis*, 17-18; PG 126, 1224-1225.
of the Bulgars. John's real preoccupation centered around persuading Boris to return to Roman overlordship and compelling the imperial court to repudiate its claim to ecclesiastical authority over Bulgaria. To gain the first aim John kept a steady stream of letters flowing to Boris. These letters were essentially the same in content. John tried to convince Boris that the Greeks taught a heretical brand of Christianity and that whoever followed it ran the danger of eternal damnation. In connection with this argument, John sought to build a case for the long-standing orthodoxy of Rome, a situation resulting from Rome's primacy dating from the time of St. Peter. John also tried to persuade Boris that Bulgaria had historically pertained to Rome and that Constantinople's assumption of authority in 870 was illegal. He insinuated into his letters the idea that the Greek motive for intervention in Bulgaria was chiefly the hope of gaining political control, whereas Rome's motive was not tainted by worldly ambitions but was concerned only with the care of souls and the proper organization of the infant church of Bulgaria. This line of argument was intended to prod the Bulgar spirit of independence against the ever-present danger of Greek political domination. Finally, John reminded Boris that the king had once made a promise to obey Rome and was now violating his oath. In addition to his letters to Boris, John sought to use his influence on the relatives, confidants, and advisers of Boris, asking them to plead the papal case before the king. In spite of his efforts, Boris made no move toward repudiating Constantinople. His attitude excluded Roman influences completely from Bulgaria. Nothing but empty claims of authority remained of the papal attempt to take the responsibility for the Christianization of the Bulgars.

John also battled to force the Greeks to concede Bulgaria to Rome. His policy centered around exploiting the religious difficulties within the Empire and the imperial desire for peace with Rome. He pleaded with Basil I to correct the injustice committed by the patriarch of Constantinople in assuming authority over Bulgaria. Against Ignatius and his clergy John was more severe. In a letter written in April, 878, he demanded that Ignatius withdraw all Greek clergy from Bulgaria within thirty days and threatened to depose the patriarch if he did not comply. John indicated that this action was the culmination of previous warnings. The same order was directed to the Greek bishops and other clergy in Bulgaria. This policy of threatening to use ecclesiastical weapons to cause trouble within the Byzantine church seemed to bear fruit in 879 and 880, when the emperor was seeking papal recognition for Photius, chosen to succeed Ignatius but extremely suspect in Rome as a result of his previous career as patriarch. As one of the conditions for recognizing Photius John was able to secure a repudiation of Greek authority over Bulgaria. Seemingly the papacy had gained its end. John was again free to send his ministers into Bulgaria to complete the conversion of that land, as he indicated was his intention in his letter to the Greek clergy in Bulgaria in 878.

However, his victory was a hollow one, as two letters written to Boris in 881 and 882 so clearly reveal. In the midst of fulsome expressions of joy over the turn of events that had put Boris under Roman authority, John wondered why the king had failed to send messengers to Rome for instructions. He reminded


"Ibid., #71, pp. 66-67.
"John's conditions are revealed in three letters written in August, 879, to Basil and his sons, to the bishops of the eastern patriarchates, and to Photius; see ibid., #207-208, pp. 173-174, 179, 185-188. For the decisions of the council of Constantinople in 879-880, see Joannes Dominicus Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum Nova et amplissima collectio, new ed., XVII (Venice, 1762), cols. 373-329.
Boris that Bulgaria now adhered to Rome and that it behooved the king to act.\textsuperscript{50} The stony silence that greeted these letters must have demonstrated to John the true situation. Boris had no intention of reestablishing contacts with Rome. The Greeks had been safe in conceding to Rome authority over the Bulgars, since Rome would never be able to capitalize on it. Cultural and political ties oriented the Bulgars toward Constantinople, assuring that Rome would exert small influence. Moreover, subsequent years were to show that the Bulgars were intent on an autocephalous church, built on a Slavic liturgy. Thus the hope of Roman control faded even more completely, leaving the papacy with only the consolation that it had lent an important hand while the Bulgars were being converted.

John inherited another missionary venture from his predecessors. Methodius was carrying on his work in Pannonia and Moravia under papal auspices. John acted as his champion in the face of the difficulties which he encountered in these areas. The gravest problem in connection with Methodius' mission did not result from opposition by pagans. By the time of John's pontificate the Christianization of Pannonia and Moravia had made extensive progress. The chief problem arose out of conflicting claims concerning the organization of new converts, a process that Hadrian II had tried to control by making Methodius an archbishop for a huge area in Pannonia and Moravia. The major obstacle to papal policy in this case was the Bavarian clergy supported by the German crown.

Methodius' initial activities in his new province immediately aroused the opposition of the Bavarian clergy which had interests in Pannonia. The Bavarians claimed the Greek was intruding into their territory and perhaps added the charge that he was a teacher of false doctrines.\textsuperscript{51} A Germany military offensive against Moravia, which resulted in the captivity of Rastislav and his replacement by Svatopluk, who was pro-German at the moment, emboldened the Bavarian bishops to act against Methodius.\textsuperscript{52} He was captured, put on trial, and sentenced to prison with scant attention paid to serving justice. After he had remained in prison for over two years and had suffered vile treatment, the whole affair came to the attention of John. In May, 873, he acted with decision to free his legate and protect the new Slavic organization. He first wrote letters to Louis the German and his son, Carlloman, to remind them that Pannonia pertained to Roman jurisdiction and that Rome's provisions for its organization must be respected. Strict orders were given to Carlloman to allow Methodius to act freely in Pannonia in order to carry out papal orders.\textsuperscript{53} John's action against the Bavarian bishops was more severe. Adalwin, archbishop of Salzburg, was accused of being the author of the plot against Methodius and was ordered to restore him to his see immediately.\textsuperscript{54} For their part in the attack on Methodius Emeric of Passau and Anno of Friesing were both deposed of their authority until they made their peace with Rome by making a journey to the papal court.\textsuperscript{55} To assure that all complied with his orders John sent a legate, Paul, bishop of Ancona, to Germany with specific instructions as to how to deal with the case. Paul was to remind Louis the German that Pannonia had formerly pertained to Rome and could not be claimed by right of conquest. To Rome

\textsuperscript{51} Vie de Méthode, 9, tr. Dvornik, pp. 388-389, says the quarrel was over jurisdiction. De conversione Bagariorum et Carantanorum, ibid., 14; ed. Wattenbach, MGH, SS. XI, 14, suggests that the German bishops felt that Methodius was guilty of new teachings. John VIII, Ep. #201; ed. E. Caspar, MGH, Ep. VII, 160-161, written several years after the clash between Methodius and the Bavarian bishops, implies that the question of the Slavic ritual agitated the bishops.
\textsuperscript{52} For the relations between the Germans and the Moravians in this period, see Dämmler, Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches II, 294, ff.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., #20, p. 283.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., #22, 23, pp. 285-286.
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alone belonged the right of ordination and deposition of clergy. Paul was also instructed to reprimand the bishops involved and see to it that Methodius was freed. The papal legate was instructed to send Methodius safely on his way to Moravia.²⁶ Apparently the pope also tried to appease the Germans somewhat after this assault on their claims. He ordered Methodius to abandon the use of the Slavic ritual, a reversal of papal policy that perhaps threatened Methodius' work among the Slavs.²⁷

The papal action bore immediate results. Methodius was freed and returned to his work. His actions were largely confined to Moravia after 873. John’s order for him to go there after being freed from prison in Germany was perhaps prompted by the fact that Svatopluk had turned against the Germans and regained his independence. Svatopluk’s anti-Germanism perhaps inclined him favorably toward Rome’s project of an independent Slavic church. Methodius was greeted well in Moravia. He carried on his campaign against paganism and continued his efforts to perfect the Slavic liturgy. Eventually he encountered new trouble, again from the Germanic clergy. New charges of unorthodoxy were brought against him.²⁸ Svatopluk reported the situation to Rome, expressing concern over the religious welfare of his people and apparently placing considerable trust in Rome’s ability to decide such matters. John wrote to the prince in June or July, 879, assuring him that Rome was the proper source of the true religion and ordering the prince to see to it that the Roman faith was observed. He reported his surprise that Methodius was guilty of deviation but added that he was summoning the archbishop to Rome to test his teaching. At the same time John wrote to Methodius and ordered him to Rome, not only to test his orthodoxy but also to inquire into the charge that Methodius had violated papal orders by using the Slavic liturgy.²⁹

A year later in June, 880, John reported to Svatopluk again. Methodius had in the interim been in Rome and had been cleared of all charges. He was now being sent back as archbishop of the Moravian church. John also reported that he had consecrated a certain Wiching as bishop of Nitra and suffragan of Methodius. Wiching had apparently been the ringleader in the charges brought against Methodius and a representative of the pro-German faction in Moravia. John was trying to remove the conflicts that were disturbing Moravia. He ordered that Svatopluk send another priest to Rome for consecration as soon as such a step was necessary. The creation of a third bishop in Moravia would make possible the consecration of still other bishops without recourse to outside assistance. John was still promoting and directing the organization of Moravia. All clergy, whatever their rank or nationality, were to be subject to Methodius. Finally, John gave his consent to the use of the Slavic liturgy, assuring Svatopluk that it would be beneficial to his people and that its use was not illegal.³⁰

Methodius’ troubles were not yet ended. His foes, led by Wiching, again raised doubts of his orthodoxy. They fell back on papal authority by spreading a rumor that they possessed letters from Rome ordering them to drive Methodius out of Moravia as a heretic. Methodius appealed to Rome for vindication. John sent another letter on March 23, 881, assuring Methodius that the archbishop had full papal support. John expressed his certainty of Methodius’ orthodoxy and vehemently denied sending letters to Wiching giving him authority to do anything. The archbishop was ordered to put aside his doubts and continue his missionary work. John would summons the case to Rome if further trouble occurred.³¹ This

²⁶ Ibid., #21, pp. 283-285.
²⁸ Vie de Méthode, 10, tr. Dvornik, p. 389.
³⁰ Ibid., #255, pp. 222-224.
³¹ Ibid., #276, pp. 243-244; Vie de Méthode, 12, tr. Dvornik, p. 390.
papal order apparently settled the case for the remainder of Methodius' life. He is reported to have continued his work in peace.

John's pontificate ended in December, 882, without further contact with the work of Methodius. There can be little doubt, however, that papal support had been a valuable asset in the face of the opposition aroused by Methodius' revolutionary method and by papal boldness in taking out a territory for his efforts. Papal power sufficed to curb factious clergymen and papal influence aided in swaying lay assistance to support Methodius. John's success in connection with the Slavic mission offset his inability to persuade the Bulgars to complete their Christianization under papal overlordship.

The passing of John and Methodius led almost immediately to a reversal of the course of Christian growth in Moravia. Methodius had selected one of his disciples, Gorazd, as his successor and had left behind a loyal party to carry on his work. Almost immediately Moravia was divided by a struggle between the party of Methodius and the German clergy. The Germans succeeded in winning the support of Svatopluk, a success perhaps partly explained by a restoration of peace between Svatopluk and Arnulf of Germany.\(^\text{2}\) The German faction, having gained the confidence of Svatopluk, turned to Rome to seal the victory. Wiching appeared in Rome as the spokesman of the party. Stephen V (885-891) was completely won over. When Wiching left Rome, he bore a papal letter to Svatopluk in which Stephen denounced the party of Methodius. Apparently he was convinced that their teachings were heretical, since he gave Svatopluk instructions concerning the doctrine of the Trinity and fasting regulations. Most significantly, he condemned the use of the Slavic ritual, accusing Methodius of having broken an oath in which he swore to refrain from the use of that liturgy. Stephen probably gave his blessing to Wiching as the new leader of the Moravian church.\(^\text{3}\) The pope also sent a legate to Moravia to arrange the affair, giving him authority to instruct the populace in orthodox teachings, to stop the use of the Slavic rite, and to prohibit Gorazd from exercising his office until he appeared in Rome for judgment.\(^\text{4}\) Stephen's action spelled the end of Methodius' work. Svatopluk ordered that the adherents of the Greek be driven from their offices, imprisoned, and finally expelled from Moravia. Some of them fled to Bulgaria, where Boris greeted them warmly and enlisted their talents in his program of creating an independent Bulgarian church.\(^\text{5}\) Rome thus lost control over these valuable missionaries. There is no evidence that the ecclesiastical party in control of Moravia had further contact with Rome. Perhaps it is safe to assume that Moravia was oriented toward the German church after the disciples of Methodius had been ousted. This is suggested by the fact that the Moravians made an attempt about 900 to regain their ecclesiastical independence and appealed to Rome for aid. John IX (898-900) was party in an attempt to create an archbishop and three bishops for Moravia. This effort resulted in a violent protest from the Bavarian hierarchy which probably prevented its success.\(^\text{6}\)

Throughout the closing years of the ninth century the papacy also sought to sustain the Scandinavian mission. Actually, there was little to be accomplished in this area. The deepening hostility between Norsemen and the Christian world virtually eliminated any hope of the conversion of the Scandinavians, as the limited activities of Rimbert and Adalgar, the first two successors of Anskar as archbishop of Hamburg, revealed. Still every effort was made to maintain

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2. The main outlines of the struggle for ecclesiastical control in Moravia are given in the biography of one of Methodius' disciples: see Vita s. Clementis, 1-10; PG 126, 1209-1213. This account is, in part at least, substantiated by the letters of Pope Stephen V, cited below.


Hamburg as a missionary outpost. Rome tried to aid that effort. Successive archbishops were confirmed in their privileges and granted the pallium. Encouragement was extended to the archbishops to create suffragans and to carry on missionary work. Especially vigorous was the action of Stephen V and Formosus (891–896) to prevent the archbishop of Cologne from recovering the bishopric of Bremen, which had been joined with Hamburg as a means of providing material support for Hamburg's missionary activities. Both of these popes refused to divide the two sees, at least until Hamburg possessed suffragans in the still pagan world to the North. They justified their actions on the grounds that Hamburg was a missionary outpost and needed the support of Bremen. However, the papal action was of little consequence, since there was small opportunity for missionary work from Hamburg, irrespective of its material condition. Moreover, the German bishops were inclined to flout papal orders with impunity; for instance, in 895 a synod at Tribur ordered that Bremen be returned to the jurisdiction of Cologne, in spite of the papal orders cited above, issued between 890 and 892.47

The debacle that marked papal missionary efforts in Bulgaria, Moravia, and Scandinavia in the last years of the ninth century were symptomatic of a general decline of western missionary effort at that time. The papacy was fast becoming embroiled in Roman politics and the victim of the feudal chaos engulfing Italy. The Carolingians were no longer masters of the territory which made up Charlemagne's empire and were thus incapable of action against pagans. The new barbarian invasions by the Magyars and the Norsemen not only made missionary work difficult but drove back the Christian frontier, as was the case when the Magyars overran Moravia. The universal debilitation of western Europe at the end of the ninth century makes the year 900 a dividing point in missionary history. A new alignment of forces was necessary to supply the drive for another era of expansion. In the general paralysis that halted the spread of Christianity around 900, perhaps no missionary agency suffered a greater loss of independence of action than did the papacy. Not for a long time would it be able to exert a significant force on missionary affairs in the West. Thus the year 900 marked a definite conclusion of that phase of papal missionary effort that had been inaugurated when Gregory I dispatched his monks to England in 596.

The evidence presented in the preceding pages suggests certain general statements characterizing the role of the papacy in the expansion of Christianity in the early Middle Ages.

Gregory the Great's policy certainly overshadowed all papal activity for the three following centuries. He struck out boldly along a line that involved papal responsibility for almost every aspect of missionary effort. His program included selecting a missionary field, choosing missionary personnel, defining the objectives of missionaries, rallying Christian society to their support, proposing methods to be used in attacking paganism, supplying guidance to missionaries whenever extraordinary problems arose, organizing the new converts into a church, and glorifying missionary effort as a proper activity for dedicated Christians. No other agency in western society had as yet devised such a comprehensive program for dealing with paganism. Gregory's concept and practice of missionary work thus promised to establish the papacy as the leading agent in expanding the earthly realm of Christ.

The history of the next three centuries demonstrated that his plan was abortive. Christendom expanded, but the papacy must be eliminated as an important contributor in many phases of missionary activity. The papacy never again took the initiative in the struggle against paganism. No matter how seriously paganism might threaten Christendom or how ripe a pagan people might be for conversion, Rome took no action until some other missionary agency made the initial move and then presented Rome with an opportunity for intervention. The papacy did not make a serious attempt to recruit personnel for missionary work. Occasionally it commanded an Italian cleric to assume at least a temporary responsibility in a missionary field or suggested to a monk that missionary work might befit his urge to serve Christ. Rome had no troop of servants to assign to missionary work during these centuries and thus missionaries had to emerge from other levels of society. The papacy supplied none of the material resources needed to begin and maintain missionary projects. The popes might plead with those who did possess wealth to contribute to the support of missionaries, but its pleas lacked compulsion. The papacy was almost silent on the crucial and troublesome question of the methods to be used in convincing pagans to accept Christianity. Even when the papacy was so deeply immersed in missionary affairs as it was in the case of Boniface, it did little more to define a missionary method than utter a generality about the need for preaching and teaching. The missionary was left to devise his own method or to seek guidance elsewhere than from the papacy. Only occasionally did the papacy condone a particular method being employed by a missionary, and then with some reluctance, as might be illustrated by the papal vacillation on the use of the Slavic liturgy in the later part of the ninth century. The silence of the papacy on missionary method was quite clearly the result of papal ignorance of conditions and problems in most missionary areas.

With papal policy lacking in so many ways, one is compelled to conclude that papal missionary activity over the three centuries under consideration was largely opportunistic. As a rule, the papacy waited to be asked to help in the struggle for converts. In some exceptional cases, a pope might try to exploit a situation presented to him and thus broaden the scope of papal activity beyond the intention of the missionary seeking Rome's help. However, these cases do not contradict the fundamental opportunism of papal policy. The viability of a new Christian establishment depended upon the strength of a Christian ruler backing missionary work or of a newly converted native king or of a dedicated, persistent, and persuasive band of missionary monks, but never on the papacy. Rome could only assist those agencies and usually admitted its limitations by awaiting their request for assistance.

Having severely delimited the extent of papal contribution to early medieval missionary effort, it still needs to be said that Rome cannot be eliminated as a missionary force. As one assault after another was made on paganism, Rome provided a limited but significant share in the victory.

First, the papacy, more consistently and more effectively than any other agency, provided legitimacy to missionary undertaking. A papal letter of commendation for a missionary, a papal bull confirming the activities of a missionary, a papal plea to a pagan king, a papal directive to Christian laymen were almost invariably necessary parts of a successful missionary venture, eagerly sought by anyone engaged in missionary work. In numerous situations Rome alone could speak with authority enough to clear away difficulties. This contribution was especially vital in offsetting conflicts that arose among the several Christian agencies engaged in missionary activity, although it occasionally served to open doors in the pagan world. However a missionary chose to use the papal name, he could almost depend upon it to strengthen his position and to aid him win converts.

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Second, the papacy played a major role in impressing on the missionary effort of the early Middle Ages the principle that organization was the most important step in the conversion process. From Gregory I's time onward Rome injected into every missionary venture the idea that the institution of an independent episcopacy must accompany the establishment of the Christian religion in any pagan territory. The popes accomplished this end in many ways. Sometimes they thrust upon missionaries seeking papal aid the episcopal or archiepiscopal rank. They ordered these emissaries to give priority to the creation of new bishoprics. They enthusiastically confirmed the efforts of kings who established episcopal sees in newly converted areas. They encouraged newly converted rulers to think in terms of a speedy division of their realms into bishoprics. They did everything in their power to prevent newly established bishoprics from being phantom organizations, manipulated by power-seeking kings or empire-building ecclesiastics. The importance of this steadfast policy must be judged in the context of an era when other possible modes of treating converts were bidding for supremacy. In her insistence on the institution of an independent episcopacy Rome was competing with the Irish idea of permitting the appealing, dedicated “saint” to form the center of cohesion among new converts, the Benedictine tendency to let the monastery serve as a Christian center, the royal or princely urge to devise an ecclesiastical structure that would serve purely political ends, and the Byzantine custom of creating “national” churches as components of an imperial order. The supremacy of any of these would certainly have changed the ecclesiastical face of Europe and perhaps all other aspects of the emerging western European civilization. At Rome's urging, however, the ancient Roman concept of the organization of newly conquered territories was impressed upon western society in the form of new bishoprics established in even barely Christianized regions. Without papal guidance the conversion process might have resulted in a multiplicity of organizational forms left behind to add to the other particularistic institutions that resulted from the fall of the Roman Empire and the ascendency of the Germanic barbarians.

Third, Rome performed a vital missionary function by serving as a fountainhead of direction in the transmission of ritual, dogma, and discipline to converts. By its very nature missionary effort confronted western society with unusual complications. Missionary agents of every description turned repeatedly to Rome for instructions on how to handle these problems. Rome always replied with specific guidance, thus arming every missionary agency with authorized and practicable solutions to its immediate problem. Not only did this aid the missionary in his immediate situation, it also tended to unify the religious system transmitted to the pagan world and ease the entrance of pagan people into the main stream of western culture. Again no other agency—with the possible exception of the Carolingian state under Charlemagne—possessed the grasp of the total Christian tradition or the authority to act as a source of guidance to overcome the mountainous problems posed by the meeting of Christianity and paganism.

Finally, as a concomitant to its role as adviser and legislator in the areas of ritual, liturgy, and discipline, the papacy helped immeasurably in keeping Christianity supple and adaptable as it was transmitted to barbarian converts. It is not difficult to find evidence that some missionary agencies tried to pursue a counsel of perfection in imposing the new religion on converts, while others concerned themselves so little with the religious side of the conversion process that there was a danger of complete superficiality. Rome always sought to avoid both extremes. In every possible fashion the papacy sought to restrain the perfectionists by advising a modification of Christianity fitted to the traditions, culture, and mentality of prospective or recent converts. Just as frequently the popes sought to inculcate the idea that conversion must result in a real change
of heart and an obvious change of habits for the convert. Perhaps in this intermingling of Christianity and barbarism lay the secret of the vitality of Christianity in this critical era; only its adaptability permitted it to escape the fate of other aspects of Graeco-Roman civilization. The papacy with unceasing consistency advocated a compromise with barbarism and paganism. Thereby it made a major contribution to the shaping of the new civilization and of its most recent additions, the recently converted Germanic and Slavic groups brought into the Christian fold between 590 and 900.
Hugues de Saint-Victor, Auteur d'une
Practica Geometriae

ROGER BARON

EN 1897 M. Curtze publiait, d'après le manuscrit latin 13021 de Munich, un texte anonyme d'une Practica geometricae et montra combien cet opuscule était digne d'intérêt. Mais plus encore que M. Curtze, P. Tannery s'intéressa à ce texte. A plusieurs reprises il y revint: en 1899, en 1900, en 1901, en 1903. Comme il avait reconnu le texte publié par Curtze dans un manuscrit de Cambridge et un manuscrit de la Mazarine, il se proposa même d'en donner une édition. Du moins, il publia une suite du texte absente du manuscrit de Munich. L'ouvrage, en effet, mérite autant d'attention de la part de l'historien des sciences que de la part de l'historien de Saint-Victor. C'est qu'il représente l'état de la science géométrique médiévale avant l'injection de la science arabe.

Voilà pourquoi il n'est pas vain d'essayer de le dater. Et il peut être daté, approximativement au moins, s'il est possible de l'attribuer, pour des raisons valables, à Hugues de Saint-Victor. C'est précisément: cette attribution que P. Tannery s'est toujours refusé à admettre, ignorant pratiquement, bien qu'il lui arrive de la citer, la position prise par B. Hauréau qui, dans ses études critiques de l'œuvre de Hugues de Saint-Victor, ne voyait aucune difficulté à l'authenticité huygonienne de la Practica geometricae.

L'opinion de P. Tannery, au contraire de celle d'Hauréau, ne s'est aucunement formée à partir de l'œuvre de Hugues de Saint-Victor, mais à partir du manuscrit anonyme de Munich, révélé par Curtze. On en suit très facilement les phases de développement. Le texte de Munich est aperçu par P. Tannery dans un manuscrit de Cambridge qui attribue la Practica à un certain Hugo. P. Tannery pense à un Hugo physicus. Puis cet Hugues le médecin ne lui semble pas avoir de chance véritable d'être l'auteur de l'opusculum, et il abandonne l'hypothèse qu'il ne peut vérifier. Il rencontre le même texte dans un manuscrit parisen de la Mazarine qui, observe-t-il lui-même, contient des ouvrages de Hugues de Saint-Victor. Il ne s'arrête pas à cette remarque; et alors, il prend contact avec une partie de l'œuvre du Victorin, mais c'est pour sentir et faire ressortir les difficultés d'attribution à un même auteur de la Practica et du Didascalicon, ouvrage certainement authentique de Hugues. En somme, pour P. Tannery, ni la tradition textuelle n'affirme la paternité huygonienne, ni les données de la critique interne n'y sont favorables. C'est en fonction de cette

1 Monatshefte für Mathematik und Physik, VIII (1887), 183-220.
4 Revue de synthèse historique, II (1901), 297.
6 Ibid., 398.
7 Ibid., 361-362.
8 Ainsi que Victor Mortet, Notice historique sur l'emploi de procédés matériels et d'instruments utiles dans la géométrie pratique au moyen-âge (Extrait des Comptes-rendus du deuxième congrès international de philosophie (Genève, 1906), 3, n. 1.)
position de P. Tannery que nous allons étudier le problème de l'authenticité de la Practica geometricae.

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Si nous considérons la tradition textuelle, nous constatons que le texte de la Practica geometricae nous est fourni par sept manuscrits: quatre manuscrits pariens, trois de la Bibliothèque nationale et un de la Mazarine; le manuscrit de Munich publié par Curtze; un manuscrit de Cambridge; un manuscrit de Leyde. Il faut immédiatement noter que l'anonymat n'est pas du tout de règle dans cette tradition textuelle. Apparemment, seuls l'incipit et l'explicit du manuscrit de Cambridge formulent une attribution: Inicipit hic practica hugonis, explicit practica hugonis. C'est cet Hugo que P. Tannery avait d'abord identifié à Hugo physicus qui peut, cependant, parfaitement désigner Hugues de Saint-Victor, si l'on se réfère aux incipit d'œuvres certainement authentiques du Victorin dans nombre de manuscrits. Mais en réalité, il est deux manuscrits parisiens qui sont des témoins de tout premier ordre de l'authenticité hugonienne. Les manuscrits, Mazarine 717, B.N. 14506, de l'ancien fords de Saint-Victor, sont, en fait, des corpus d'œuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor. Il n'est pas exact de dire, même pour le codex le plus important, Mazarine 717, que l'on ait affaire à des "receuil d'œuvres complètes", car il manque des œuvres ou des parties d'œuvres importantes. Mais ces codices, s'ils pèchent par défaut, ne pèchent pas par excès; non seulement un ouvrage qu'ils renferment est donné comme étant de Hugues de Saint-Victor, mais il y a déjà une forte présomption qu'il puisse être considéré comme tel.

On ne peut tirer une objection du changement d'écriture. A priori, on pourrait se dire qu'il était assez normal de recourir à un "spécialiste" en ce début du XIIIe siècle, où le quadrivium devenait de plus en plus une spécialité. Mais en fait, il n'y a pas de changement d'écriture en Mazarine Ms 717; en B.N. Ms 14506, l'écriture particulière n'est pas réservée à la Practica, mais employée pour d'autres œuvres de Hugues.

Il y a donc bien une affirmation importante de l'authenticité hugonienne dans la tradition textuelle. Elle se renforce encore, si l'on mentionne un manuscrit aujourd'hui disparu, mais dont le catalogue d'Erfurt nous a conservé l'incipit: Erfurt, Amproniana cat.-a. 1412, Math. 32: Practica venerabilis hugonis in geometria. Venerabilis Hugonis est une dénomination assez courante de Hugues de Saint-Victor.

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La conclusion à laquelle nous sommes arrivés reçoit un confirmatur, d'une valeur singulière, de la liste authentique des œuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor. Cette liste, nous la trouvons, non dans les nomenclatures des chroniqueurs, déficientes et pléthoriques à la fois, mais dans la "table des matières" que, peu de temps après la mort de Hugues, fit établir Gilduin, abbé de Saint-Victor, et qui nous est conservée par le Oxford, Merton College Ms 49. L'auteur de cet Indiculum, s'il ne prétend pas tout retenir des œuvres de Hugues—et il affirme même qu'il ne retient pas tout—à la souci primordial de ne citer que des ouvrages authentiques. Or, comme dans le Mazarine Ms 717, qui a une grande affinité avec l'Indiculum, nous trouvons mentionné la "Pratique de Géométrie"

11 Ms B.N. 7185 (XIIIe siècle), B.N. 14506 (XIVe s.), B.N. 15362 (XIIIe s.).
12 Mazarine Ms. 717 (XIIIe s.).
13 Ms Clm 13021 (XIIe s.).
14 Guillaume and Calixtus College Ms 413 (XIIe s.).
15 Ms. Gronov 21 (XIIe s.) et non pas Gronov 23, comme le dit J. de Ghellinck, "La Table des matières de la première édition des oeuvres de H. de S.V.," Rec. de sc. relig., I (1910), 286, à la suite de Bubnov, Gerberti opera mathematica (Bologna, 1859), p. 47.
16 Sur les deux manuscrits, Mazarine 717, B.N. 14506, cf, notre introduction (ch I) à Science et science chez Hugues de Saint-Victor, à paraître prochainement.
17 Cette table des matières a été éditée et analysée avec un soin extrême par J. de Ghellinck, art. cit., 270-289, 385-396.
avec l’"Abrégé de Philosophie" et la "Grammaire". Il y a une simple différence d’ordre pour les éléments de la trilogie dans les Mazarine Ms 717 et dans l’Indiculum. Au lieu que celui-ci donne la série Epitome Dindymi in philosophiam, Grammatica, Practica geometriae, le codex victorin présente: Practica geometriae, Epitome Dindimi in philosophiam, De Grammatica. Mais il est clair que l’affirmation substantielle est la même.

Le codex et l’Indiculum sont de nouveau d’accord sur le teneur du texte. Le scribe de l’Indiculum a pris soin, en effet, d’indiquer les incipit et les explicit des ouvrages mentionnés. Or, la mention de l’explicit pour la Practica permet de résoudre un problème d’intégrité, car nous trouvons dans les manuscrits des textes de longueur différente. Par ordre de longueur décroissante, nous avons:

Maz. 717: Sed si que alia de horizonte dicenda uidebuntur sequenti libro
B.N. 14506: Expl. cum parallelis et coloris alisque celestibus circulis reser-
B.N. 15362: uamus.

B.N. 7185: Expl. contrahit rectepum in unam lineam sicut est hoc.

Clm. 13021: Expl. dispositis cathetis ad eamdem basin hypotenuse non con-
current.

Conv. et Caius
C. 413: Expl. maior duplo et sit figura talis.
Leyde, Gron. 21.11

L’explicit de l’Indiculum coïncide avec celui du texte le plus long représenté par Mazarine Ms 717, B.N. Mss 14506 et 15362. Nous avons là une vérification de l’intuition de P. Tannery, publant le surplus de Mazarine Ms 717, jugé sans hésitation la suite normale du texte tonqué de Ms Clm. 13021, et reconstituant ainsi intégralement la Practica geometriae. L’auteur de cette oeuvre entière serait bien, à s’en tenir à la tradition textuelle, Hugues de Saint-Victor.

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Mais les données de la critique interne s’accordent-elles avec cette conclusion? C’est dans le contenu même de l’oeuvre que P. Tannery a rencontré, pour l’affirmation de l’authenticité hugonienne, des difficultés qu’il a estimées insur-
mentables. Le fait est qu’à juger Hugues de Saint-Victor par ce que l’on croit être sa dominante la plus apparente, on peut s’étonner que ce mystique se soit intéressé à des objets si divers. Et si l’on constate dans son oeuvre des pôles d’intérêts variés, on peut encore hésiter à admettre qu’il ait vraiment cru nécessaire de devenir l’auteur d’une Géométrie.

P. Tannery a formulé l’objection avec beaucoup plus de précision. Il a lu dans une oeuvre de Hugues, le Didascalicon, le terme practica, et constaté que

son sens est tout autre que dans la Practica geometriae. Il a lu aussi dans le même ouvrage la définition de la cosmimetrica et observé qu’une autre notion en est donnée dans la Practica.

Mettions d’abord en relief cette double difficulté, en confrontant les textes en litige. En ce qui concerne practica, le Didascalicon nous offre cette définition au chapitre de la division de la philosophie:

Philosophia dividitur in theoricam, practicam, mechanicam et logicam. Hae quatuor omnem continent scientiam. Theorica interpretabatur speculativa; practica, activa, quam alio nomine ethicam, id est moralem, dicunt eo quod mores in bona actione consistant. (Didasc. 2, 1; PL 176, 752B; éd. Buttmer,

p. 24, ll. 20-24).

La Practica geometrae, ainsi dénommée non par un titre surajouté, mais par les premiers mots de la première phrase, nous présente une autre définition du même terme en opposant la théorie et la pratique de la géométrie:

... omnis geometrica disciplina aut theorica est, id est speculativa, aut practica, id est activa. Theorica siquidem est, que spacia et intervalla dimensionem rationabilium sola rationis speculatione investigat; practica vero est, que quibusdam instrumentis agitur et ex alii alia proportionaliter coniciendo diuidicat. (Maz. Ms 717, fol. 41ra; Ms Clm. 13021, fol. 202v).

Quant à la cosmimetrica, voici ce qu’en dit le Didascalicon:

Cosmos mundus interpretatur, et inde dicta est cosmimetrica, id est, mensura mundi. Haec metitur sphærica, id est, globosa et rotunda, sicut est pilâ et ovum, unde etiam a sphaera mundi propter excellantiam dicta est cosmimetrica non quia tantum de mundi mensura agat, sed quia mundi sphaera inter omnia sphaerica dignior sit. (2, 13; PL 176, 757B; éd. Buttmer, p. 33, ll. 24-29).

Et la Practica geometrae:

Cosmus enim grece mundus dicitur, et inde cosmimetrica dicta est quasi mensura mundi, ea videlicet, que circumferentiam metitur, quam in ambitu celestis sphaerae et reliquorum circulorum celestium ... consideramus. (Maz. Ms 717, fol. 41ra; Ms Clm. 13021, fol. 202v).

Ne semble-t-il pas qu’il faille tirer la conclusion: autre l’auteur qui voit dans la pratique, l’éthique ou la morale, autre celui qui se sert du terme “pratique” pour désigner la géométrie appliquée; autre celui qui fait de la cosmimétrie la mesure de toute sphère, autre celui qui en restreint le sens à la mesure de la sphère céleste?

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Il ne peut être question de nier les deux sens de practica. On pourrait être tenté d’abord de noter que Hugues s’est servi de l’expression practica geometrae comme d’une expression empruntée à la source qu’il utilisait. Ainsi trouvons-nous dans le Didascalicon (éd. Buttmer, p. 13, l. 3) le terme archetypus qui n’est certes pas un terme hugonien, et dans la Practica geometrae, les notions de triangulus ozygonius et triangulus amblygonius et plusieurs autres empruntées à la Geometria Gerberti, celle de medicinium, tirée de la Geometria incerti auctoris, celle d’alhidda extrait du Liber de astrolabio, celle d’horoscopus employée par ces deux derniers ouvrages, le terme d’eippiania comme équivalent de superficies, connu de Macrobe comme de Martianus Capella. Mais précisément

20 Ibid., 350.
22 Cf. Préface à Fourier-Bonard, Histoire de Saint-Victor, IX-X.
23 Ces trois ouvrages sont édités par N. Bubnov, Gerberti opera mathematica (Bologna, 1899).

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practica geometriae ne se rencontre pas dans ces sources de Hugues qui nous sont connues: l’Index de Bubnov sur ce point reste mutet.

Il est cependant nécessaire de se souvenir de l’aspect mouvant du vocabulaire hugonien et des variations d’éclairage qui reçoit un même terme. Theologus et theologia n’ont pas le même sens dans le Didascalicon et l’In Hierarchiam. Dans l’ememple chapitre I de l’In Ecclesiasten, meditatio et contemplatio voient leur signification changer quelque peu. Historia se prent en plusieurs acceptions, et de même allegoria. Ce dernier exemple est même spécialement instructif. L’allegoria du lector artium définie par le De Grammatica semble très loin de l’allegoria du lector sacer, définie par le De Scripturis et le Didascalicon, encore qu’il y ait un point commun (une chose en signifie une autre). Or de même que Hugues grammairien et Hugues exégète et théologien se servent du même mot allegoria, avec un contenu différent, ainsi Hugues “scientifique” et Hugues “philosophe” emploient le même terme practica avec une double signification. Il y a d’ailleurs ici aussi un point commun que les textes cités plus haut mettent en évidence: dans les deux cas, s’il s’agisse de la division de la philosophie ou de la division de la géométrie, practica est opposée à theorica, et dans les deux cas, practica a pour synonyme activa et theorica pour équivalent speculativa.

Cette constatation incline déjà à croire que l’on a affaire au même auteur. Une nouvelle réflexion nous confirme dans ce sentiment. Quoiqu’il en soit de la source spéciale possible, relative au domaine scientifique, des termes theorica et practica, Hugues leur a donné une importance et un lustre en parfaite conformité avec son génie. Ce génie est spontanément tourné vers la saisie des rapports de correspondance, et d’autre part, aime s’appuyer sur les données traditionnelles pour y ajouter. Hugues sait que parler de théorie, c’est parler de contemplation de vérité, et que parler de pratique, c’est parler d’application à la vie d’une vision de l’esprit. Aussi bien que de philosophie théorique et de philosophie pratique, il traite de géométrie théorique et de géométrie pratique. Et somme toute, la géométrie pratique est à la géométrie théorique ce que la philosophie pratique est à la philosophie théorique.

Practica, d’ailleurs, était courant dans le vocabulaire médiéval avec le sens d’effectus (cf. Du Cange). Le relief que Hugues confère à ce terme fait songer à celui qu’il a donné à mechanica. Le mot mechanica, bien connu avant lui, finit à la suite de la promotion qu’il lui accorde, par désigner une des quatre branches de la philosophie, tout comme logica, theorica, practica. De même, le terme practica, bien connu, lui aussi, signifie une division de la géométrie.

Il est une dernière remarque qui rend cette conclusion encore plus plausible. L’opusculle de géométrie fait partie d’une trilogie: Epitome in philosophiam, Grammatica, Practica geometriae. Or, dans l’Epitome, le terme consacré pour nommer la morale, ce n’est pas practica, mais ethica. C’est dans le Didascalicon, postérieur à l’Epitome (puisqu’il implique une synthèse de l’Epitome et du De Scripturis), que practica supplante ethica. Donc, sur le plan de la simple culture des arts—peut-être faut-il dire: au premier moment du développement de l’activité intellectuelle de Hugues—ethica désigne la morale et practica concerne la géométrie appliquée.

Faut-il ajouter que practica geometriae a pu être suggérée à Hugues par theorica geometriae? C’est plutôt l’hypothèse inverse qu’il faut faire en se référant à Bubnov. Si la Gerberti isagogae geometriae, sans titre dans les manuscrits du XIVe siècle, est parfois nommée au XIIe siècle theorica geometriae, c’est parce que dans le Leyde, Ms Gronov 21, elle est jointe à notre Practica geometriae.

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Si maintenant nous nous tournons vers la cosmometria, nous observons une oscillation analogue de vocabulaire, mais avec une amplitude moindre. En fait,

nous ne constatons qu'une dilatation de sens pour un même terme, et nous restons dans la même sphère d'idées, quand nous passons de la cosmidétrie, mesure de la sphère céléste, à la cosmidétrie, mesure de toute sphère. Ce sont des exemples semblables de dilatation de sens que nous offrent les termes déjà cités de *contemplatio* et de *theologia*. Mais il y a plus. Nous ne trouvons en réalité qu'une différence d'accent dans les deux notions de la cosmidétrie insérées dans la *Practica geometriae* et le *Didascalicon*. Si le *Didascalicon* voit dans la cosmidétrie la discipline qui a pour objet la mesure de toute sphère, il ajoute que c'est par une dénomination *a posteriori* qu'elle reçoit son nom de cosmidétrie. Mais d'autre part, si la *Practica geometriae* fait d'abord de la cosmidétrie la mesure de la sphère céléste, elle ajoute que son objet ne s'y réduit pas. C'est ce que dit le texte que nous n'avons cité plus haut qu'en partie, pour mieux faire saillir l'objection de P. Tannery:

Ea videlicet, que circumferentiam metitur, quam in ambitu celestis sphære et reliquorum circulorum celestium, nec non in globo terre, multorum etiam aliorum, que natura in orbem disposuit, consideramus (Maz. Ms 717, fol. 41"; Ms Clm. 13021, fol. 202"

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C'est un *confirmatur* de l'authenticité hugonienne que présentent les notions d'altimétrie et de planimétrie, mentionnées conjointement à celle de cosmidétrie, pour former la triade géométrique. Voici le *Didascalicon*:

Planimetria, planum metitur, id est, longum et latum, et extenditur ante et retro, dextrorum et sinistrorum. Altimetria altum metitur, et extenditur sursum et deorsum. Nam et mare altum dicitur, id est profundum; et arbor alta, id est sublimis. (Didasc. 2, 14; PL 176, 757A; éd. Buttimer, p. 33, ll. 20-23).

Et la *Practica geometriae*:

Et ad altimetriam quidem pertinet ea porrectio, que sursum et deorsum fit; ad planimetriam autem illa, que fit ante et retro, dextrorum sive sinistrorum. (Maz. Ms 717, Ms Clm. 13021, loc. cit.).

On voit que si l'ordre est différent, les définitions sont identiques. La *Practica* ajoute même un développement—prolifique si on le compare au texte concis du *Didascalicon*—pour justifier les notions données. Pour l'altimétrie, elle souligne aussi l'ambiguité de *altum*, équivalent à la fois de *sublime* et de *profundum*, en précisant de plus que ces deux notions peuvent se confondre: ... *celum profundum dicereolum*... Et ceci encore est un indice de la discrète subtilité littéraire du Victorin. Pour la planimétrie, si elle est ainsi nommée d'après le *Practica*, c'est bien aussi que porrectio *secundum planum persequitur*.

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Jusqu'ici en confrontant des textes d'origine latine, le *Didascalicon* et la *Practica geometriae* d'abord, puis la *Geometria Gerberti*, la *Geometria incerti auctoris*, le *Liber de astrolabio*, l'*In Somnium Scipionis*, nous avons conclu que rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'un même auteur ait composé les deux premiers ouvrages. Mais nous n'avons pas mentionné d'ouvrages d'origine arabe. Or, c'est cette

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Bien que nous n'avions pas en vue ici un travail lexicographique, signalons que *practica*, au sens qui nous occupe, semble bien rare dans ces textes. Le *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* par A. Blaise (Strasbourg, 1954) cite *practica* au sens de vie morale, de conduite. De même Forelili et Freud, M. J. Lefebvre, secrétaire du *Dictionnaire de latin médiéval*, a l'amabilité de nous dire qu'il ne l'a pas rencontré, au sens que nous considérons, avant le XIIe siècle. Nous en restons au sens de vie morale ou de science de la vie morale. Toutes les références que donne Bubnov concernent notre texte, sauf une seule: Vatican, Ms. 4539: *practice quedam geometrie ad multa dimetiendas; mais ce manuscrit est du XVIIe siècle.*
dernière suggestion qui fut faite à P. Tannery par L. Baur: "Un érudit allemand, le Dr. Ludwig Baur, m'informait que la division de la *geometria* en *theorica* et *practica*, ainsi que la subdivision sus-mentionnée de la *practica* se trouvent chez le philosophe arabe Al-Farabi, dans un ouvrage qui fut vulgarisé en Occident au cours du 12e siècle". Nous n'avons aucune référence, mais il est bien probable qu'une piste intéressante nous est indiquée.

Al-Farabi est l'auteur de deux ouvrages, entre autres, qui nous intéressent spécialement: le *De Scientiis* et le *De Ortu scientiarum*. Deux traductions de l'arabe en latin sont bien connues: celle de Gundissalvi en 1140, celle de Gérard de Crémone en 1230.⁵⁷

Al-Farabi a-t-il influencé Hugues? Même en ce qui concerne les questions méthodologiques et épistémologiques, les deux esprits sont très différents. Hugues, il est vrai, au point de vue de l'essence et de la valeur de la science, pretend bien faire écho à Platon, et préludant à la pensée cartésienne, que la science est rationnelle, avant d'être expérimentale; c'est ce qu'affirme ce curieux passage du *Didascalicon*:

Quia enim logica et mathematica priorum sunt ordine discendi quam physica, et ad eam quodam modo instrumenti vice funguntur quibus unumque primum informari oportet antequam physice speculatio operam det, necesse fuit ut non in actibus rerum, ubi *fallax experimentum* est, sed in sola ratione, ubi *inconscusa veritas manet*, suam considerationem ponerent, deinde ipsa ratione praevidia ad experientiam rerum descenderent (Didasc. 2, 17; PL 176, 758D; éd. Buttimer, p. 36, ll. 20-25).

Mais au point de vue de l'origine, il maintient que toute science vient de l'expérience: *omnes enim scientiae prius erant in usu quam in arte* (Didasc. 1, 11; PL 176, 750A; éd. Buttimer, p. 21, ll. 12-13). Cette origine des sciences, Al-Farabi la conçoit d'une tout autre façon. A la manière spinoziste, avant la lettre, il annonce: *quomodo ortae sunt omnes scientiae ex substantia et accidente et quomodo coeperunt esse per illa, demonstrabo*. Et il suffit de lire le *De Ortu scientiarum* et le *De Scientiis* après l'Epitome in *philosophiam* et le *Didascalicon* pour constater que l'on passe d'un mode de pensée à un autre tout à fait différent.

Mais de ce que l'essential de leur pensée distingue Al-Farabi et Hugues de Saint-Victor, il ne sait pas que le premier n'eût pu inspirer le second pour certaines notions ou pour la terminologie. Avant même de le savoir, notons que la certitude de l'influence du *De Ortu scientiarum* ou du *De Scientiis* sur la *Practica* ne ferait pas échec à l'affirmation de l'authenticité hugonienne de celle-ci, la traduction latine étant de 1140 et Hugues étant mort en 1141. Nous savons que dans les dernières années de sa vie, il travaillait à la composition de son grand ouvrage de théologie, le *De Sacramentis*. Mais ce n'est pas une raison pour qu'il n'ait pu élaborer notre petit opuscule géométrique; d'autant que dans le Prologue du *De Sacramentis*, il mentionne explicitement la géométrie parmi les études procédentiques. (*De Sacramentis*, Prol., 6; PL 176, 185C). Il faut remarquer cependant que dans ce cas, le temps nécessaire à la diffusion de la traduction latine serait relativement court. Aussi la question se pose-t-elle: l'étude des rapports de la *Practica* et de la traduction latine nous interdit-elle de reporter à une date antérieure à 1140 la composition de la *Practica geometriae*?

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⁵⁶ *Mém.* *scient.* V, 320.
⁵⁹ On pourrait être étonné que la géométrie soit présentée comme si nécessaire à l'étude de l'Écriture Sainte. La raison en est évidemment qu'elle contribue à la formation générale de l'esprit; mais, de plus, il y a des cas d'exégèse où il lui est fait explicitement appel: ainsi Hugues dans le *De Arca* n'admet pas le diagramme supposé par la description qu'Origène fait de l'arche, parce que l'équilibre de la construction serait impossible.
Nous n’avons rien à retenir du *De Ortu scientiarum*. Examinons le *De Scientiis*, en nous référant aux deux traductions latines. Nous citons la première traduction dans le texte de Camerarius, le seul texte édité, que M. Gonzalez Palencia a réédité,\(^{20}\) et la seconde dans le texte du Paris, B.N. Ms latin 9335, fols. 143-151, édité par M. Palencia.\(^{21}\)

En premier lieu, on constate que la dyade, *theorica-practica*, ne se trouve dans aucun des deux textes concernant la géométrie. On l’aperçoit dans l’article concernant l’arithmétique de la première traduction latine (p. 97); mais elle est absente de la seconde qui se sert seulement de la dyade *activa-speculativa* (p. 145). En second lieu, on constate que la trichotomie de la *geometria activa* est présentée seulement par la première traduction sous la forme *almitetria-planimetria-profundimetria*.

Or, du deuxième texte, *Liber Alfarabii de Scientiis, tr. a magistro Girardo Cremonensi*, de *arabico in latinum* (le B.N. Ms 9335), M. Gonzalez Palencia n’hésite pas à écrire: *El texto de esta version es completo y corresponde perfectamente con el texto arabe.*\(^{22}\) Voilà qui pose au moins des questions de transmission de texte.

Mais restons-en au présupposé qu’il faut chercher une origine arabe aux expressions *theorica-practica, almitetria, planimetria, cosmimetria*, et laissons surgir cette hypothèse: Hugues lui-même n’aurait-il pu transposer quelques notions d’arabe en latin. D’une part, on sait qu’il n’hésitait pas à s’informer près de l’Ecole juive rationaliste du Nord de la France;\(^{23}\) n’avait-il pas une connaissance très élémentaire de l’arabe comme il avait une connaissance élémentaire de l’hébreu? D’autre part, il était en relation avec un certain Jean d’Espagne, à qui il adressa une lettre que nous avons conservée, et par qui il pouvait peut-être facilement se procurer d’utiles renseignements.

Nous ne retiendrons pas la connaissance trop problématique de l’arabe que pouvait avoir Hugues; rien à notre connaissance dans son œuvre ne vient étayer une hypothèse aussi fantaisiste. Quant à Jean d’Espagne, correspondant de Hugues, on ne peut se permettre de le confondre avec le traducteur Jean de Tolède.\(^{24}\)

Mais le fait des relations de Hugues avec l’Espagne est à souligner. Il y eut d’ailleurs, au XI\(^{\text{e}}\) siècle, une première vague d’apport arabe en Occident, beaucoup moins puissante que la deuxième, rénovatrice et transformatrice, de la seconde partie du XII\(^{\text{e}}\) siècle. C’est à la première que l’on doit les notions d’astralabie, d’*alhídada*. Peut-être lui est-on redevable encore de ces notions de *theorica et practica geometriae, d’almitetria, de planimetria*, sans oublier celle de *cosmimetria*.\(^{25}\)

De cette dernière, il n’a pas été question dans les ouvrages d’Al-Farabi, et quant P. Tannery la fait intervenir à propos de ces textes, on peut se demander si la communication de L. Baur a été suffisamment complète. C’est D. Gundissalvi qui parle de *cosmimetria*. Mais il faut distinguer l’activité intellectuelle de Gundissalvi traducteur du *De Scientiis* et du *De Ortu scientiarum* d’Al-Farabi, et celle de Gundissalvi auteur de ses propres ouvrages, le *De Ortu philosophiae* et le *De Divisione philosophiae*. Or, Gundissalvi, auteur, s’inspire d’Al-Farabi qu’il a traduit, mais il ne fait aucune doute qu’il s’inspire aussi de certaines...


\(^{22}\) Op. cit., p. XIII.

\(^{23}\) Voir references dans le chapitre III de notre *Science et Sagesse chez Hugues de Saint-Victor* à apparaître prochainement.

\(^{24}\) Donc on a même fait le traducteur possible du *De Scientiis* (A. Gonzalez Palencia, op. cit., p. XII).

\(^{25}\) Notions qui n’ont pas été retenues, cependant, dans les oeuvres du Ps. Gerbert.
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oeuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor.26 S’inspire-t-il également de la Practica et du Didascalicon? C’est probable. Au chapitre De Geometria du De Divisione philosophiae, il fait un long parallèle de la theoria et de la practica geometricae et il énumère les espèces de la practica: altimetria, planimetria, cossimetria:

Scientia enim, qua considerat lineas superficies et corpora in altum, altimetria dicitur, scilicet scienza de mensura altitudinis; qua vero in planum, dicitur planimetria, id est, scienza de mensura alciu in planici; qua vero in profundum, dicitur cossimetria quasi scienza de mensura solidi.27

Nous avons cette fois cossimetria, terme identique à celui de Hugues, idée rappelant celle d’u passage inséré dans une oeuvre d’Al-Farabi.

On peut donc se demander si l’on ne doit pas à Gundisalvi l’équivalence des termes arabes à theoria et practica, si même il n’en est pas venu là sous l’influence de Hugues, qui, de son côté, a pu subir une autre influence.28

Au cours de l’exploration des sources possibles d’origine arabe à en visager pour certaines notions de la Practica, nous avons été conduit à poser plusieurs points d’interrogation. Mais il en est un que nous n’avons nullement été contraint de mettre: c’est celui qui suivrait l’affirmation de l’authenticité hugonnienn de la Practica.

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Continuer notre examen de l’ouvrage nous convaincra davantage encore de la présence de Hugues. Practicam geometricae nostris tradere conatus sum... vetera colligens dissipata, commence l’auteur. Un tel exercice trahit déjà magister Hugo. Hugues est le grand promoteur et défenseur de la culture générale, et celle-ci implique une formation “scientifique”—comme élémentaire certes—comme une formation littéraire. Et l’ “Art de se cultiver” qu’est le Didascalicon demande que l’on ne sacrifice rien de tout ce qui est nécessaire à l’esprit et met en garde contre la tentative de bruler les étapes, à laquelle devaient succomber des esprits aussi distingués qu’Abélard et Jean de Salisbury, négligeant la mathématique. Quant au souci de vetera dissipata colligere, il nous fait encore reconnaître le Victorin, constamment porté dans ses divers ouvrages à puiser à de nombreuses sources. Le fait est significatif qu’après s’être inspiré de Gerbert et du Pseudo-Gerbert (Geometria incerti auctoris, Liber de astrologia) dans ses développements sur l’altimétrie et la planimétrie, il demande à Macrobre de le guider dans son exposé sur la cossimétrie. Macrobre est un auteur à qui il emprunte beaucoup. Il met à contribution son Commentaire du Songe de Scipion dans le Didascalicon, et aussi bien dans le De Contemplatione. Il commente à sa façon son tableau des vertus.29 Rien d’étonnant qu’attirée successivement par les divers centres d’intérêt du célèbre ouvrage, sa curiosité multiforme y ait trouvé des éléments d’information pour la cossimétrie.

Ses sources, Hugues les utilise, à l’ordinaire en les dominant. Il est moins personnel, il est vrai, dans la Practica que dans ses autres ouvrages. Pourtant cette oeuvre aussi porte sa marque. Nous y rencontrons comme ailleurs des formules de style oral; nous y apercevons surtout, dans la structure, l’ordon-

27 L. Baur, Dominicus Gundissalinus, De Divisione philosophiae, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters IV, 2-3 (Münster i. W., 1903), 108.
28 Il est curieux de constater que M. A. Gonzalez Palencia, après avoir loué la parfaite exactitude du traducteur latin Gerard de Créfont, qui nous l’avons vu, n’emploie pas les termes theoria et practica; nous donne ensuite cette traduction, sur l’arabe, du passage que nous avons cité plus haut dans la deuxième traduction latine: la ciencia designada con esta palabra es de dos clases: geometria practica y geometria teorica. La geometria practica estudia lineas y superficies (op. cit., p. 40). Où l’on voit que la tendance spontanée est de substituer à activa practica et à passiva ou speculacion theorica.
nance, la présentation, l’empreinte d’un esprit aussi méthodique que curieux. P. Tannery ne s’y est pas trompé, disant de l’auteur de la *Practica geometriae*: C’est un “esprit méthodique qui se rend bien compte de ce qu’il enseigne, et qui indique avec soin tout ce qui est essentiel. A cet égard, son écrit tranche singulièrement sur les oeuvres similaires du Moyen-Age”. On ne saurait mieux dire; mais on ne saurait non plus porter jugement plus juste sur Hugues de Saint-Victor.

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En définitive, l’authenticité hugonienne de la *Practica geometriae* paraît bien être le point de convergence de plusieurs lignes de recherche. Les affirmations explicites et de tout premier ordre de la tradition textuelle, le *confirmatur* des données de la critique interne suffisent, croyons-nous, à lever les doutes et à faire taire les scrupules devant lesquels, au terme de son analyse d’une si parfaite probité, s’arrêtait encore P. Tannery. Mais si Hugues est cet auteur, on peut du même coup fixer un *terminus ad quem* pour la date de composition de l’ouvrage. Car nous connaissons—c’est même une des rares dates concernant Hugues, pour ne pas dire la seule, qui soit parvenue jusqu’à nous—la date de sa mort, à savoir le 11 février, 1141.

Peut-on essayer de proposer une nouvelle approximation? Ce n’est pas facile, car les repères manquent. Il est loisible cependant de remarquer que le *Didascalicon* a précédé les deux grandes œuvres du *De Sacramentis* et de l’*Hierarchiam coelestem*, qui sont de la fin de la vie de Hugues, et suivi l’*Epitome* dont l’essentiel remanié devait entrer, par la suite, dans une plus vaste synthèse, que le *Didascalicon* lui-même devait présenter. Si l’on fait la *Practica geometriae* contemporaine de l’*Epitome* comme le *De Grammatica*—ce qui est, en somme, assez normal, puisque les trois œuvres ressortissent à la culture du *lector artium* et constituent une propédétique—on peut situer la *Practica* comme les deux autres éléments de la trilogie vers les années 1125-30.

* * *

Plus importante que la souci d’apporter une nouvelle précision pour déterminer la date de composition de la *Practica* est la certitude à acquérir de la possibilité de reculer cette date dans la première moitié du XII° siècle. Mais sur ce point, impossible d’avoir un meilleur guide que P. Tannery lui-même. Il a mis en relief le caractère élémentaire de la *Practica* et signalé en particulier qu’en elle on ne trouve “aucune teinture de science arabe”*, aucune trace du moins de cette injection qui devait transformer la science occidentale. Or, à ce point de vue, il est bien plus facile d’attribuer la *Practica* à Hugues, avant 1140 ou 1130, que de l’accorder à *Hugo physicus* ou à quelque autre, en la reportant dans la seconde moitié du XII° siècle, après l’intervention et la diffusion d’influence des interprètes de la science arabe. C’est ainsi qu’en étudiant au sujet de la *Practica* la double question de l’authenticité et de la date de composition, nous restons fidèle à l’essentiel de l’étude de P. Tannery.

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Ibid., 205.
Chaucer's Mediaeval World outside of Great Britain

FRANCIS P. MAGOUN, JR.

FOREWORD

THE present paper is the last of a series of three and completes a survey and analysis of the geographical and ethnic names used by Geoffrey Chaucer. I have here also included a few words of geographical origin such as chalon, cordevane, and jane, though used by Chaucer without geographical connotation; more for fun than anything else I have included in an outsize entry brasil, a word not of geographical origin or meaning and not applied to the country of Brazil until a good century after Chaucer's death. The first paper of this series, "Chaucer's Ancient and Biblical World," appeared in Mediaeval Studies, XV (1953), 107-36; the second, "Chaucer's Great Britain," ibid., XVI (1954), 131-51, with addenda and corrigenda to the first paper on pp. 152-56.

The arrangement and presentation here is that used in the two earlier papers; $y$ is regularly alphabetized with $i$. Among the names in "Chaucer's Ancient and Biblical World" were a certain number, for example Rome, which, so to speak, survived antiquity and appear in Chaucer as mediaeval places as well as ancient. To avoid distributing these—with resulting repetitions—among more than one paper, I dealt with the complete history of the name in the first paper; in such cases I have here entered the name with a reference to its listing in the earlier paper.

The present names are geographically widely dispersed and range from the Baltic (Gootland) in Western Europe to the Gobi (Drye See) in Outer Mongolia. A majority, mostly appearing in the setting of various of the Canterbury Tales, are in France and West Flanders, Italy, and Spain. The thumbnail sketch of the Knight in the General Prologue with a number of names concentrated in southern Spain, north-west Africa, and what later came to be called the Levant, partakes of the nature of a patter song, as does the batch—a job lot indeed—in the Book of the Duchess ll. 1024-29. Of the others one can only say that they are pretty miscellaneous and occur scattered all over the place in Chaucer's poems. In the past editors have defined as an unidentified region or place in Italy what is actually the family name or designation Panyk; since readers will consequently expect to find it here, I have included it though it properly belongs in a dictionary of personal names. In "Chaucer's Great Britain" I gave wherever possible specific references to the Muirhead guides to London and to England and in some earlier geographical papers, organized more or less along the present lines and dealing with Continental names (e.g., "The Pilgrim Diary of Nikulás of Munkapverá," Mediaeval Studies, VI [1944], 314-54), I systematically gave references to the latest available German edition of various Baedeker guides. This procedure I have discontinued here, not to save myself some small labor but because such specific references assume not altogether realistically that the reader will have access to the very edition (with appropriate page-number) cited. Hence I will here merely remind the reader that he is likely to find much interesting historical information in compendious form about most of the places here discussed in almost any edition of the guidebooks of Baedeker and Muirhead. For the modern rendering of the names I have generally followed the excellent and comprehensive Merriam-Webster Webster's Geographical Dictionary (Springfield, Mass., 1949).

As in "Chaucer’s Great Britain” I give where possible a brief etymology of the names dealt with; many of these are clearly understood and are meaningful to western scholars—unlike the etymologies of the ancient and Biblical names which so often are shrouded in antiquity and of disputed origin. For all sorts of helpful
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information about, and leads on, names with a Tatar-Mongol background I am particularly grateful to Professor Francis W. Cleaves of Harvard University, as I am to Professor Richard N. Frye for a systematic transliteration of the Arabic forms of certain Spanish and North African names.

Only exceptionally are the variants of the geographical and ethnic names in Chaucer manuscripts either interesting or useful from a geographical point of view; for they are by and large either merely obvious spelling variants such as i for y, ei for ay, and the like, or else they are egregious scribal blunders arising from ignorance of the names in question. For Chaucer’s works as a whole the variants are adequately, representatively, and conveniently given by Skeat and Robinson, but in the case of the voluminous and complete variants furnished by Manly and Rickert for the Canterbury Tales and distributed in a strange order of tales through three volumes (V-VII) of their Chicago edition, it has seemed worthwhile to include precise references to their apparatus.

The abbreviated titles of Chaucer’s own writings are those of John Strong Perry Tatlock and Arthur G. Kennedy, A Concordance to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (based on the Globe edition), Washington, D.C., 1927. A coded list of titles used here more than once follows:

LIST OF CODED TITLES

B & D William Frank Bryan and Germaine Dempster et al., edd., Sources and Analogues of Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales, Chicago University Press, 1941.

Cook AlbertStanbroughCook, “The Historical Background of Chaucer’s Knight,” Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XX (1916), 161-240.


E Isl Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leyden, 1913-38.

EUI Enciclopedia Universal ilustrada, Barcelona, 1912-33, with continuing supplements.


G & I Boris D. Grekov and A. Jakoubovski, François Thuret transl., La Horde d’or: la domination tatare au XIIIe et au XIVe siècle de la Mer Jaune à la Mer Noire, Paris: Payot, 1939; there is a later edition of the Russian original.


Matthias Walther Matthias, Die geographische Nomenclatur Italiens im altdeutschen Schrifttum, Leipzig, 1912.


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M & R John Matthews Manly and Edith Rickert, The Text of the Canterbury Tales studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts, 8 vols., Chicago University Press, 1940.
Olivieri Dante Olivieri, Dizionario di Toponomastica Lombarda, Milan, 1931.
Realexikon Johannes Hoops et al., edd., Realexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 4 vols, Strassburg-im-Elsass, 1911-18.

A

AFRIKE, see MS XV, 108.

ALEXANDRYN, see MS XV, 152.

ALGEZIR (var. M & R V, 6), Algeciras (prov. Cadiz), Spain, seaport 6 m. W of Jumaltare, is mentioned in CT A 57 as a place at the siege of which (1344? 1369?) the Knight had been; see Cook 217-28, Robinson 753, col. 1-2.
In antiquity Portus Albus, also Julia Joza, Julia Transducta, the present name is adapted from Arab. al-Djazira (al-Qadra) "(Green) Island," apparently from the verdure of the region, reflected still in Isla Verde just offshore (E Isl 1, 277). For various rather distorted OFr. forms see Cook 217; Chaucer's form is a shortening of the Spanish name, presumably by way of French.

ALYSAUNDERE, see MS XVI, 152; Chaucer's au shows a normannization of OFr Alisandre.

APENNYN (var. M & R VI, 247), the Apennine range or the Apennines, central mountain system of Italy, is described in CT E 45 as hilles hye, in E 46 said to form the western boundary of Lumbardye.
The name in this form (singular) looks back to Roman (Ligurian?) Apenninus (Mons), used by Petrarch and modernized by Chaucer; the modern forms are usually plural: Ital. Appennini (but Appennino sg. for the range as a whole), Fr. Apennins, English Apennines.

ARAB(Y)E, ARABYEN "B," see MS XV, 109.
ARABIK, see MS XVI, 152.

ARAGON, Aragon (Span. Aragón), region and ancient kingdom comprising the present-day Spanish provinces of Huesca, Zaragoza, Teruel, lies just W of Cataloigne with which it formed in Chaucer's day a joint kingdom. Along with Cataloigne it is mentioned in HF 1248 (3, 158) (clarion) as a land notable for its clarion- or trumpet-players. On the festive and ceremonial role of the trumpet in this region in the thirteenth, hence presumably in Chaucer's fourteenth century, see Higin Anglès, La Musica a Catalunya fino al segle XIII (Barcelona, 1953), a reference for which I am most grateful to Dr. Walter Muir Whitehill. Chaucer could have learned of the practice of this art in Catalonia and Aragon through many channels.

The regional name is based on the river-name Aragón; Chaucer's form shows the Spanish stress on the ultima.

ARMORIK(E) (var. M & R VI, 577, 612; VII, 510), Armorica (Old Breton Armorik, later Breton Arvorek, -ik), formally answers to Gallo-Lat. Aremoricae, referring to some of the costal region of later-day Brittany and Normandy; in CT F 729 it is equated with Britaigne II (MS XVI, 136) as the scene of the main part of the Franklin's Tale. In CT B* 3578 (2388) it is the homeland of Genylon-Oliver, i.e., a Ganelon type Oliver or completely disloyal friend; see Robinson 855, col. 2, ad fin.

The name is based on Gaulish ar- “on, upon” and mor- “sea” with reference to the lay of the land; on this name see further Holder I, 202-03; Max Förster, Herrig’s Archiv, CXLVI (1923), 134. With similar implications are Irish Letha and Welsh Llydaw, based on the stem lit- in Lat. litus “shore”, both being names for Brittany and with similar implications; cp. Lettow. Chaucer’s form is adapted from Fr. Armorique in turn looking back to Med. Lat. Armorica (sing.).

ARRAS, Arras on the Scarpe (dép. Pas-de-Calais) in northern France and chief city of the county of Artois, is referred to in RR 1234 (Roman de la Rose 1212) in praising a suckeny or smock worn by Franchise, said to be the fairest in all Arras; in the French text the sorquenie “suckeny” is said to be the richest from anywhere to Arras (n’est si riche jusqu’a Arras). Arras was early known for its woollen manufacture and production of tapestries (see NED s.v. “arräs”). The original name of the place was Nemetocen (n)a; Holder II, 711.

The name looks back to the Gallo-Lat. tribal name Atrebates “possessors, residents” (Holder I, 267-71), later contracted to Atrades, Atrasi(civitas), OE Aðeræts (MS II, 248), whence the modern form; see further Gröhler I, 89, Longnon No. 413.

ARTOYS, Artois, ancient countship of Fraunce, bounded on the N by Flaundres, on the S by Pycardie, and corresponding in the main to the modern department of Pas-de-Calais, is mentioned in CT A 86 along with Flaundres and Pycardie as the scene of the Squire’s military activities. His chyvachie (A 85) is possibly with reference to the 1369 campaign of Edward III or to the so-called crusade (1383) of Henry le Despenser, bishop of Norwich; see Robinson 754, Squire, headnote.

Like Arras, this regional name looks back to the tribal name Atrebates, specifically (pagus) Atrebatensis; Gröhler I, 89; Longnon No. 413.

ASYE, see MS XV, 110.
BEL-MARYE (var. M & R V, 256) in effect corresponds to the present-day region of Morocco (Marrok) or Al-Maghrib al-Aqsa ("The Far West") of Arab geography and was in Chaucer's day the territory ruled by the Berber dynasty of the Banu Marin or Marinides "sons of Marin" (E Isl I, 464–66); the dynastic name is here extended to the territory, of which the chief town was Tlemcen (Tramissene). Bel-Marie is mentioned in CT A 57 as a region where the Knight had fought (see also Algezir and Cook 228–29); in A 2630 it is a region abounding in fierce lions; for other North African lions see Libie (MS XV, 123).

The dynastic name Banu or Beni Marin became distorted in OFr, perhaps by popular etymology, to Belle-Marine, Bel-Marin, Bells-Mari (see Cook 228, Manly 499 near end), whence into Middle English as in Chaucer, as Bal-Meryne in John Barbour's Bruce XX, 393, and as Bel-More in the Sowdone of Babylone 3122.

BOLOGNE:
I. (var. M & R V, 42) in CT A 465 refers to Boulogne-sur-Mer (dép. Pas-de-Calais), France, one of the goals of the Wife's many pilgrimages; in this instance the specific reference would be to the cathedral church of Notre Dame in the so-called "Haute Ville," destroyed in the French Revolution and replaced by a modern structure. The harbor of Boulogne is the Roman Gaesarius (Holder I, 1512–13), later Boninia (Bunne of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle). It may be noted that Boulogne-sur-Gesse (Haute-Garonne) was named after Boloigne II; see Longnon No. 2459. Boulogne is still a middle-class English week-end tourist attraction.

II. (var. M & R VI, 353, 369) Bologna, Italy, on the edge of the Emilian plain (see Emel) some 50 m. N of Florence, is mentioned in CT E 686, 763, 939, 1069, as the home of the Count of Panico (Erl of Panyk), brother-in-law of Marquis Walter of Saluces and the town where for years Walter kept his and Griselde's daughter and son (El VII, 329–31, and see also Panyk).

The name of both the French and Italian town looks back to Celto-Lat. Bononia (Holder I, 482–87), both later yielding by dissimilation Bolonia, whence respectively Fr. Boulogne and It. Bologna. See Matthias 66–68 for late survivals in German of the type Bononte vs. Bolonie.

BRASILE, brazil, more commonly brazil wood, was the name first applied in western Europe in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries (Caetano da Silva, cit. infra, pp. 6, 9, 11, 12) to a small thorny tree or shrub with yellow blossoms native to Malayia, the Caesalpinia sappan, Malay sapang, English sapan or sapan wood (NED s.v.), whose wood properly treated yields a brilliant red dye; in time the word came to be used for the dye itself with the essential element braziliin. See Daniel V. Thompson, The Materials of Mediaeval Painting (London, 1936), pp. 116–21, also Thompson and George H. Hamilton, An Anonymous Fourteenth-Century Treatise "De Arte Illuminandi" etc. (New Haven, Conn., 1933), pp. 8–9, 44–45, nn. 77–79. Later the name was transferred to a related dyewood tree of the same family, the Caesalpinia echinata, discovered in South America by the Portuguese who were already familiar with the East Indian plant in which they had long traded. The land in the New World where it was discovered was first known as Terra de Santa Cruz but early referred to familiarly as Terra do Brazil; see F. Assis Cintra, O Nome "Brasil" (com S ou com Z) (São Paulo, Brazil, 1921), passim, also John B. Stetson, Jr., transl., The Histories of Brazil by Pero de Magalhães (New York: Cortes Society, 1922), II, 194–95, n. 14; there is a generous listing of early documents with various forms of the name of the dyewood in Joaquim Caetano da Silva, 'Questões Americanas . . . Brazil,' Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Geographico e Ethno-
graphico do Brazil, XXIX (Rio de Janeiro, 1866), pt ii, pp. 5-35 (wrongly cited by Stetson). The principal source of commercial brazil wood used today in the United States is, however, the Central American tree *Haematoxylon brasilienn*, whose dye is used to a very limited extent in wool and calico printing and formerly in the manufacture of red ink. On all this see Isaac H. Burkill, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula I* (London, 1935), 390-91; Samuel J. Record and Robert W. Hess, *Timbers of the New World* (New Haven, Conn., 1943), p. 239; John Hutchinson and Ronald Melville, *The Story of Plants and their Uses to Man* (London: Gathwerhn, 1948), pp. 241-42, 244 (colored plate). For these and other botanical references I am most grateful to Dr. Richard E. Schultes of Harvard University.

*Brasile* is mentioned in CT B*°* 1649 (3459) in the verse: With brasile and with greyn of Portygale (without the editors' comma after *brasile*) (a passage cited in Portuguese translation in Caetano da Silva, p. 7; in English by Cintra, p. 31), where along with greyn (see *Portygale*) its brilliant red is mentioned to imply the complexion of the Nun's Priest. There is every reason here to think of Portugal as the exporting country of the brazil wood as well as of the kermes or "grain," especially since the Portuguese are known to have traded in this dyewood (Hutchinson and Melville, p. 242).

For the etymology of *brasile* and, consequently, of the name of the South American country many suggestions have been put forward, often insubstantial; see "Analyse e Critica das Diversas Hypotheses" in Cintra, pp. 103-87, summarized pp. 8-9, to which add an elaborate and unconvincing suggestion by Leo Wiener in Stetson II, 195-203. The East Indian (Malay) name, as noted above, is *sapang* and the like, the Arabic name is *baqam* of unknown origin (not *braza* as Hutchinson and Melville, p. 242); thus the Orient does not seem to be the promising source of the name as suggested by *NED* s.v. "brasil," headnote, and M-L 1st ed., 1911, No. 1277 "brasile," an entry cancelled in the 3d ed. The currently accepted, though to me semantically somewhat dubious etymology bases the word on a Romance *brasa* "live, red-hot coal," yielding north Ital. *braza*, whence Span. *brasa*, Port. *braza*, OFr *braise*, Fr. *braise*, etc. (M-L No. 1276 "brasas") plus the Latin suffix -ileis "having the quality of". This Romance *brasa* is in turn presumed to look back to a Germanic *braza* of similar meaning, represented in Swed. *brasa* "fire, blaze," Norw. *braise* "to burn." The first to propose an etymology for *brazil wood/Brazil* based on the Port. common noun *braza* appears to have been Pedro (Pero) de Magalhaes de Gandavo, *Historia de Provincia de Santa Cruz a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil, etc. (Lisbon, 1576)*, chap. I *ad fin.*, fol. 7* (see Stetson, op. cit., I [facsimile], fol. 7*; II, 23 [translation]). A similar etymology is given by Du Cange s.v. "brasile," and others, including perhaps most recently Oscar Bloch and Walther von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire éymologique de la langue française* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1950), s.v. "braise." Elof Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk Ordbook* (2d. ed., Lund, 1933), s.v. "bresile," mentions this etymology only as a possibility and I consider his caution justified.

BRITAI(G)NE II "Brittany," see MS XVI, 136, with added references to Gröhler II, 9; Holder I, 603, 604-09.

BRUGGES (var. often *Brigges, M & R VII, 115, 116, 133, 138, 185*), Du. Brugge or Fr. Bruges, West Flanders, Belgium, about 6 m. from the coast, was accessible from the North Sea until the final silting up of the Zwijn in 1490. *Brugges* did much wool-trading with England and in banking was the northern counterpart of Venice in the south. In CT B*°* 1245 (55) where it is a *toun*, 1251 (61), *1448* (258), *1491* (301) it is the goal of a summer business trip by a French banker of *Seint-Denys*, where he appears to attend strictly to business and no nonsense.
BURDEUX (var. M & R VII, 67), Bordeaux on the Garonne (dép. Gironde [Geronde]) in Chaucer’s day belonged, if somewhat tenuously, to England along with Aquitaine. Commerce between Bordeaux and England was exceedingly active, not least that dealing with fine wines of the region. It is mentioned as a source of wine in CT A 397, C 571 (where it is a town), in the latter instance with the strong suggestion that the wines of Bordeaux and La Rochelle (The Rochele) were being challenged in popularity with the stronger Spanish wines of Lepe.

The name looks back to Rom. (Iberian?) Burdigala (Holder I, 633-37), later Burdegala, OFr Bordele, later Bordeaux; see Gröhler I, 64-65. For Bordeaux, even Burdegale, of very different origin see Gröhler II, 260; Longnon No. 2708.

BURGOYNE, the old French duchy of Lower Burgundy (Fr. Bourgogne) with Dijon as its capital, is mentioned in RR 554 (not in Roman de la Rose 542), where “Fro Jerusalem into Burgoyn” expresses a great distance within which no girl had a neck fairer than Yvelnesse (RR 593).

Like France itself the name is Germanic, Med. Lat. Burgundia, whence the French and Chaucer’s form (Gröhler II, 4-5); the ethnic name Burgundiones survives in the Fr. adj. bourguignon “Burgundian” (Longnon No. 535). The original home of the Burgundians seems to have been on the Danish island of Bornholm in the Baltic, ON Burgundarholmr “island of the Burgundians” and OE Burgenda land of similar meaning; see further Realllexikon I, 357-58.

CARRER NAR, Qara Na’ur or Nur “Black Lake,” on the eastern side of the Gobi (Drye See), Outer Mongolia, is mentioned in BD 1029 as a point on the route across the Drye See to which the Duchess of Lancaster would not have sent an admiral on an irksome or futile mission (so Alysavndre, Drye See, Pruye, Tartarye I, Turkye, Walakye). See Lowes passim.

The name is Mongolian, looking back to Naghir > Na’ur > Nar, the latter often approximating Nør in pronunciation. Chaucer’s form Nar seems to be more closely related to the type Na’ur, the Nør’s (cited and discussed by Lowes, esp. 19-21) to Nør, though there is no particular reason to view Chaucer’s form as suspect or in need of extensive explanation.

CARTAGEN II, Cartagena (prov. Murcia), Spain, Mediterranean seaport, is mentioned in CT A 404 as the southern limit of a stretch of water and coastline, of which Hulfe (MS XVI, 142) is the southern, with which the Shipman is intimately familiar.

The name looks back to its Roman name Carthago (Nova) (see Cartage, MS XV, 113-14, for the ancient African city). Chaucer’s form, based on the nominative case, is a common OFr form of what is modern Fr. Carthagène and is thus homonymous with his name of the ancient city. The Spanish form in -ena presumably reflects the Latin oblique cases Carthagin- with long, accented i.

CATALOGNE, Catalonia (Catal. Catalunya, Span. Cataluña, Fr. Catalogne), S of the Pyrenees and just E of Aragón with which it formed in Chaucer’s day a joint kingdom, is mentioned along with Agagón in HF 1248 (3, 158) as a land notable for its trumpet- and clarion-players, on which see under Aragón.

The name, appearing in Med. Lat. as Catalonia, is of much discussed etymology
with often fanciful proposals. It may well look back to Lat. *castellanus* “guardian of lands or castles,” yielding Catal. *ca(s)tlan* > catalán > with the suffix *-ia* yielding Catalunya “land of guardians of castles;” cp. OFr *chastelain*, Fr. *châte-lain*, and see EUI XII, 464-65. Chaucer’s form is from OFr *Cateloit(g)ne*.

**CHALON** (var. clothes, MR V, 410), a sort of fabric, is here probably a blanket manufactured, or of the type manufactured, in Châlons-sur-Marne (dép. Marne), France, which along with *sheetes* is mentioned in the plural in CT A 4140 as part of the covering of a bed made up by the miller Symond for the Cambridge students Alain and John.


The place-name *Châlons*, whence the common noun looks back to the Gaulish tribal name *Catu-vellauni* “good, competent warriors” or the like; Merovingian *Catalunius* yielded successively *Chadelons, Chaelons*, modern *Châlons*; see Holder I, 863-65; Gröhler I, 88; Longnon No. 411.

**CIPRE, CIPRUS**, the island of Cyprus (Lat. Cyprus), now a British Crown Colony in the eastern Mediterranean, off the Gulf of Iskanderun, formerly Alexandria, in Asia Minor, was famed in antiquity for its copper mines and the cult of Venus; it is mentioned in CT B*3* 5391 (2391)—and in Lat. of Cipro in the preceding heading—as the kingdom of Pierre de Lusignan (d. 1369). On other of Pierre’s campaigns in which the Knight is said to have taken part see *Alyssandre, Lyeys, Satalye*.

Graeco-Lat. *Cyprus* of disputed etymology has given its name to the element copper (Lat. *Cyprium ares* “Cyprian metal,” later *cyprum*); see *NED* s.v. “copper.” Chaucer’s *Cipre* is OFr, modern Fr. (île de) *ChYPRE*.

**CIPRIS, CIPRIDE** (Lat. *Cypris, -idis*), a Cypriote or Cypriot, earlier Cyprian. Here the Cypriote *par excellence*, Venus, is mentioned as *Cipris* in *HF* 518 (2, 10), TC 3, 725, as *Cipride* in *PF* 277, 652 (var. to *Cupide*), TC 4, 1216, 5, 208; see further *Cipre*.

The form *Cipris* is Latin, *Cipride* OFr and based on the oblique cases.

**CIPRUS**, see *CIPRE*.

**COLOIGNIE** (var. M & R V, 42), Cologne (Germ. Köln, Du. Keulen, OE Colon, Fr. Cologne) on the Rhine, Germany, is mentioned in CT A 466 as a place to which the Wife had made a pilgrimage; the specific allusion would be to the reliquary of the Three Kings (Relinquenschrein der heiligen drei Könige), now part of the cathedral treasure. The cathedral was begun in 1248 and in the Wife’s day, and indeed until long after, was only partly completed.

The name looks back to Roman *Colonia* (Claudia) *Agrippinensis* or *Colonia Agrippina*, founded 38 B.C. On Lat. *colonia* “farm settlement, development” see Gröhler II, 28-29. For ME and later forms see *NED* s.v. “Cologne”; Chaucer’s form reflects the common OFr type Co(u)lo(n)ye, modern English Cologne is based on modern French; cp. similarly *Boloigne* I. For Fr. names based on Lat. *colonia* see Longnon No. 495 and Index.

(de) **COLUMPNIS** for Columnnis (Lat. abl. plur.) “columns,” Ital. delle Columnne, is mentioned in *HF* 1469 (3, 379) to identify Guido, author of the *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (ed. Nathaniel E. Griffin, Cambridge, Mass.: [ 124 ]
Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936). The name of this Sicilian writer, surely plural in form (vs. occasional *della Colonna*), refers almost certainly to his membership in the great Roman family of Colonna (Griffin, ed. cit., p. xvi); *delle Colonne* or *de Columnis* thus in effect means “one of the Colonna family.”

The name looks back to the title of the founder of the family, Pietro (ca 1100 A.D.), lord of Colunna (Colonna), Palestrina, and Paliano, where Columna or Colonna refers to the town of Colonna some 15 m. SE of Rome and 4 m. NE of Frascati. The name reflects the Latin use of *columna* to define a topographical eminence (cp. Jubaltare, Pileen and Septe).

*Cordewane*, leather of Cordova (Span. *Cordoba*), Spain, lying SW of Gernade, is mentioned in CT B* II 1922 (732) to define the leather of Sir Thomas’ shoes. This Cordovan leather, in the past often called “cordwain” (NED s.v.), principally of tanned and dressed goat-skins, was much prized in the Middle Ages as a luxury type shoe-leather.

The name is based on Lat. (Iberian?) *Corduba* (Hispanica Baetica), birthplace of Seneca and Lucan (Holder I, 1119-24). Chaucer’s and related forms look back to OFr *cordou(e)y-an* (OSpan. *cordovan*) with which compare the modern French name of the city, Cordoue; later English “cordovan” (NED s.v.) is a direct borrowing from Spanish.

**DRYE SEE,** the Gobi (Chinese *Han-hai* “dry see”), great expanse of desert country in Outer Mongolia between the Tibetan massif and the Altai Mountains, is mentioned in BD 1028 as a point on a route including *Carre Nar* on which the Duchess of Lancaster would not have sent an admirer on an irksome or futile mission (cp. Alysaundre, Carre Nar, Prawye, Tartarye I, Turkye, Walakye). For the not very likely suggestion that Chaucer’s “Dry Sea” might refer to one of two areas on the Arctic coast of Russia and known to Englishmen after Chaucer’s time see Lowes, esp. pp. 27-29; the areas in question are or were called in Russian *sukhoe more* “dry sea” and are respectively at the mouth of the Petchora and at the east mouth of the Dviná by Archangel.

This name, reaching Chaucer through unknown channels and perhaps quite familiar to travellers of the time, is merely a translation of the Chinese *Han-hai* “dry sea,” alternative designation for the Gobi, commonly called *Sha-mo* “sand desert” (see Lowes, esp. p. 17, for the term “Sandy Sea”). Also see Lowes passim for references to these designations in various contemporary and later writings. The modern name is Mongolian *gobi* “desert.” For the practice, unusual in Chaucer, of translating foreign place-names cp. Newe Town.

**DUCHE,** of or pertaining to Germany (High or Low), German (High or Low), is used in HF 1234 (3, 144) to define the language (*Duche tonge*) of pipers (MHG *pifers*, MLow German *pipere*), musicians who might play any of several wood-wind instruments and who were often able and expected to double in the strings. On the use of *Duche*, later Dutch, to embrace both High and Low German speech (High and Low Dutch of the fairly recent past) see NED s.v. B1 and cp. Du. *deutsch* “German” (not Dutch!), Germ. *deutsch*. Here there would be no very obvious way of knowing whether Chaucer had in mind “pipers” whose speech was Low or High German for they were ubiquitous, and it is scarcely conceivable that the matter would have been of concern to him.


**E**

EMELE (var. M & R VI, 248) as an infix in *To-Emele-ward*, Emilia (Lat.}

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MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Aemilia), division of N Italy lying S of the Poo, is mentioned in CT E 51 along with Ferrare and Venysse to plot the course of the river; Chaucer is here drawing directly on Petrarch (B & D 296, 8).

The name is based on that of the Rom. province named after Aemilius Lepidus, builder of the Via Aemilia. Chaucer’s Emele vs. an expected Emelye may have been adapted arbitrarily metri causa or may answer to some OFr variant form; cp. his Arabe, alternate to Arabye.

F

FERRARE (var. M & R VI, 248) in Chaucer probably refers to what is now more or less the province of Ferrara rather than to the Emilian city itself which is situated not on the Poo proper but on the branch known as the Po di Vomano; it is mentioned in CT E 51 along with Emele and Venysse to plot the course of the river.

This place-name seems to be based on the stem of Ital. ferro “iron” ferraria, ferriera “smithy, iron-works” (Dante Olivieri, Dizionario etimologico italiano (Milan, 1953), s.v. “ferro”, but the settlement itself is of uncertain, post-Roman origin and presumably mediaeval (EI XV, 41); it is not to be identified with any known Roman settlement such as Forum Alieni of Gallia Transpadana as given in some dictionaries. Chaucer has here substituted Ferrare for Petrarch’s Flamincia (B & D 296, 8), the latter used by Petrarch in a learned sort of way (cp. Venysse) with reference to the Roman judicial district Flaminius, set up in the second century A.D. and corresponding to the former territory of the Senones.

FYNSTERE (CAPE OF) (var. M & R V, 6), Cape Finisterre (Span. Capo de Finisterre), north-western headland of the region of Galicia (now prov. Coruña), Spain, is mentioned in CT A 408 as the southern terminus of a stretch of European coast, of which Gootland is the northern, very familiar to the Shipman. This headland, some 40 m. due W of Saint-Jame, must also have been a familiar and cheering sight to many English pilgrims of Chaucer’s day who proceeded to the shrine of Santiago by sea and who were on the point of rounding the cape to enter, say, the port of Padrón. Finistère in Brittany (Gröhler II, 140), westernmost department of France with its capital Quimper, cannot be thought of here.

The name is a learned and obvious construction, based on Med. Lat. finis terrae, with which compare Land’s End in Cornwall and the French department name.

FLAUNDRES, Flanders (Fr. Flandre, Du. Vlaanderen), in Chaucer’s day a countship and essentially that part of present-day Belgium (West Flanders) bounded on the E by the Schelde and including the towns of Brugges, Gaunt, Ypres, and Poperinge; it was bounded on the S by the county of Artous. In CT A 86 it is one of the areas along with Artous and Pycardie where the Squire had fought. In B² *1908-09 it is the homeland of Sir Thomas, a fer contree and al bionde the See (i.e., North Sea), in *1912 it is the contree of which Sir Thomas’ father is lord, as if doubting for Louis II de Mâle, Count of Flanders, 1346-1382! In C 463 it is the homeland of the three dissolve criminals of the Pardoner’s Tale, and in B² *1389 (199), *1429 (239), *1490 (300) it is the goal, specifically Brugges, of a business-trip made by a French banker from Saint-Deny.

The name is of uncertain origin; for speculations see NGT III, 164-65 and OGN 85-86. Chaucer’s form with au (so in Alysandrec, Fraunce, Gaunt) reflects a normanization of OFr plur. Les Flandres.

FLAUNDRYSSH (var. M & R V, 23), adj. rare and obs. (NED and MED s.v. “Flandrish”), of or pertaining to Flanders, Flemish, made in Flanders or in the
Flemish style, is used in CT A 272 to define the Merchant's beaver (NED s.v. 2b, 3) or hat made of beaver's fur (bever-hat, Du. beverin hoed, Fr. chapeau de castor), later often called a "caster" or "castor" (NED s.v., sb., 3). It would seem that there are very few documents on the Flemish hatters' trade since that played no great part (vs. the textile industry) in the economy of the cities of mediaeval Flanders. There is some brief discussion of the hatters' guild in Bruges in Jean Gailliard, De Ambachten en Neringen van Brugge, etc. (Bruges, 1851), Pt. ii, pp. 183–84, also in Victor Gaillard, 'Études sur le commerce de la Flandre au Moyen Age', Annales de la Société d'Emulation pour l'Étude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre, XII (2d sér., VIII) (Bruges, 1850), 118(c), where reference is to Lappenberg's Urkundliche Geschichte der deutschen Hanse, also p. 128 under "Castor (peaux de)". For the general tenor of the above statement and the two references given I am grateful to Dr. René Deroele of the University of Ghent. On the sale of this fashionable headgear in Chaucer's London see Manly 514, n. 270 ff.

The adj. Flaundryssh is based on Flaundres plus the English suffix -ish. If the samples in the NED and MED are statistically valid, this was in Chaucer's day, as later, a relatively rare or unusual alternate to the adj. "Flemish" of identical meaning.

FRA(U)NCE, in Chaucer's day a general term for most of the area now identified with France, is mentioned in various connections. As a whole it is referred to in RR 495 (Roman de la Rose 433: tot le réaume de France) as all the reueme of France and in the same words in CT B² ¹1306 (116); the melody of the roundel at the end of PF is said to have been imaked ... in Fraunce (PF 677); in Ven 82 Otes or Oton de Granson is said to be the flower of the poets of France. In CT F 1118 Orlieus is said to be in France. Finally, in CT B² ¹1341 (151) Fraunce identifies St Denis, patron saint of the country, and in B² ¹1384 (194) the traitor Ganelon of the Chanson de Roland.

For special parts of France see Arteys, Britai(g)ne II, Burgoyne, Loreyne, Pycardie, also the cities of Arras, Boloigne I, Burdeux, Kayrrud, Orliens, Parys, Pedmark, Reynes, (The) Rochele, Seint-Denys, and Valence, the rivers Oyse and Seyne, and the arm of the sea Geroude.

The name Fraunce (Med. Lat. Francia), like Burgoyne and Loreyne, is Germanic and on the tribal name of the Rhinelend Franks, first applied to an area extending from about Soissons (dép. Aisne) to the Loire; see Gröhlter II, 6; Realexikon II, 83, col. 1, §6. Chaucer's au (so in Alysondre, Flaundres, Gaunt) reflects a normannization of OFr France.

FRENSSH:
I. adj. of or pertaining to France, French, is used in CT I 248 to indicate the national origin of a contemporary song "J'ay tout perdu mon temps et mon labour;" see Robinson 875, n. 248.

II. adj., sb., French, the French language, is referred to in CT A 124 for whatever sort of French the Prioresse spoke as contrasted to the Parisian French of A 126; cp. MS XVI, 149, under "Stratford-ette-Bowe."

Frenssh looks back to OE Frenčisc, based with i-mutation on the element Franc- in OE Francland, Lat. Francia, or the like.

FRISE, Friesland, also Frisia (Du. Vriesland, Fris. Fryslân, Fr. Frise), coupled with Rome, is mentioned in RR 1093 (not in Roman de la Rose 1076) to suggest—somewhat oddly—a source of great amounts of gold more precious than the jewelled chape in a girdle worn by Richesse. Chaucer surely picked this name at random (: noble wise). Frise is mentioned in Buke 23 as a region unpleasant, even perilous, to be taken prisoner in, yet better perhaps than to be trapped into
marriage! Chaucer may have had in mind a rather shortlived and abortive expedition by Count Albrecht of Holland, supported by French and Bavarian knights and English archers, against West Lauwers Friesland in August-September 1396; see Skeat I, 558–59, n.

Chaucer's form is French. The name is of uncertain origin but appears as Frisii "Frisians" as early as Pliny and Tacitus; see Reallexikon II, 100–01, §7.

GALICE, Galicia, prov. Coruña, Spain, formerly an independent kingdom but in Chaucer's day a part of the kingdom of Castile, is mentioned in CT A 466 to locate Saint-Jame.

The name (Rom. Call[a]ecia, Gallaicia) is based on the Iberian tribal name Call(a)eci, Gallaci (Holder I, 701, 1638); Chaucer's form is French. (It may be noted that the Spanish name has nothing to do with Galicia, now partly in Poland, partly in the Ukraine [Russ. Galich, Galitsyi, Ukrain. Halicz, Germ. Galizien], mediaeval Polish principality, based on the name Galich, once an important town, now an insignificant village.)

GAUNT, Ghent (Du. Gent, Fr. Gand), capital of East Flanders, Belgium, at the junction of the Lys (Du. Leie) and the Schelde or Schelt (Fr. Escout), was in Chaucer's day at the height of its prosperity and the center of a great textile industry in connection with which it is mentioned in RR 574 (Roman de la Rose 564: Ganz) and CT A 448.

The name is first recorded as Med. Lat. Gandavum (Holder I, 1981), apparently based on a stem Gand- of unknown origin and meaning; see NGF III, 47; OGN 127–28; Förster Thesmee 312–13, n. 1, 442, n. 1. Chaucer's form, still familiar in the name of the great Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, reflects with its au (so Alysawndre, Fluandres, Fraunce) a normalized form of OFr Gant without i-mutation vs OE Gænd and the modern Dutch and English forms with i-mutation.

GERNADE (Var. M & R V, 6), Granada on the Genil o: Jenil (Romano-Iberian Singilis, later Arab. Shinil, Holder II, 572 "Singilia"), in Chaucer's day capital of the independent Moorish kingdom of Granada, now chief town of the maritime province of Granada, S Spain, is mentioned in CT A 56 as a place at the siege of which the Knight had been; see Robinson 753, col. I "The Knight."

The origin of the name is disputed but perhaps looks back to Arab. Qarnatta (al-Yahud) "hill (of the Jews)"; more doubtful would be a derivation from the common noun granada "pomegranate" which appears on the city's coat of arms (but see E Isl. II, 175–77) and may represent a popular etymology, comparable to the later identification of the Swiss capital Bern(e) (from Italian Verona) with "bear"; on this latter see MS VII, 91–92 "Berne".

GEROUNDE (var. M & R VI, 629) refers in CT F 1222 to the Gironde, estuary or arm of the sea some 45 m. long beginning at the juncture of the Garonne and the Dordogne and is said to be the southern limit, of which the Sayne is the northern, of a stretch of French coast from which a scholar of Orléans in the Franklin's Tale is to remove all rocks and reefs. Cp. Kalevala 40:41–60.

The name is perhaps etymologically to be associated with the brook-name Gironde (dép. Hautes-Alpes); see Holder I, 2014 "Gerontona".

GOOTLAND (var. Gut-, Guth-land, M & R V, 36), most likely Gotland or Gotland (official Swed. Gotland, OSwed. Gotland, Old Gutnish Gutaland), island in the Baltic and a prov. of Sweden, is mentioned in CT A 408 as the northern terminus, of which Fvmystere was the southern, of a stretch of European coast familiar to the Shipman. Identification of Chaucer's name with this island with its once great trading center of Visby seems very likely despite one phonetic
imperfection. The weak link here is the long o (oo of most Mss.) as pointed out
by Kemp Malone, “King Alfred’s ‘Geats’,” Modern Language Review, XX (1925),
6, who urged identification with the Danish peninsula of Jutland (Dan. Jylland);
as he in effect says, a cape-to-cape delimitation would here be very neat. But
it is hard to feel very sure about the curious Alfredian Gotland, apparently
Jutland, vs. his Gotland “Gotland,” while the six-century time-gap between
Alfred and Chaucer with no intervening support is very great.

The first element of Gotland is related by vowel gradation to the name of
the Goths and to that of the early inhabitants of Swedish (Oester) götland (ON Gautar,
OE Géatas). The origin of the name of the Jutes and cf Jutland (ON Jótaland,
OSwed. Játaland) is obscure; Realllexikon II, 623, “Jütten.”

I (Y)

YPRES (var. M & R V, 40), Ieper (Fr. Ypres) on the Ieperlee (Fr. Yperlée)
was in the Middle Ages along with Brugges and Gaunt one of the great towns
of West Flaunderes and, like the others, owed its prosperity to its textile industry.
The magnificent Cloth Hall (Les Halles) was destroyed in World War I. It is
mentioned in connection with the textile industry in CT A 448.

OFr Ipre(s) is the source of Chaucer’s form and that of modern English and
French. During and after World War I a pronunciation [uïpœz] came to be
commonly used in substandard English and often jocosely by Standard speakers
after the first of the three great battles of Ypres in October-November 1914.
Despite a not uncommon semipopular notion the word “diaper” is not based on
“drap d’Ypres;” see NED s.v. “diaper.”

ISPANNIE, gen. sing. of Lat. (H)ispania, Spain, is used in the heading before
CT B 2 *3565 (2375). On this name see under Spaigne.

ITALY (L)E “C,” see MS XV, 121. The following towns and localities of
mediaeval Italy are in one way or another mentioned or inferred: Apennyn,
Bologna II, (de) Columpniis, Emele, Ferrare, Lynyan, Lumbardes. Lumbardio/-ye,
Melan, Padowe, Pauye, Pemond, Pyze, Poileys, Poo, Rome, Saluces, Venyse,
Vesulus. Cp. also jane and the estate or family name Pavyk.

JANE (M & R VI, 360; VII, 185), a small silver coin of the great seaport
town of Genoa (prov. Genova), Italy, current in England in the fourteenth century,
is mentioned in CT B 2 *1925 (735) (many a jane) to describe the cost of Sir
Thopas’ robe of the material ciclaton; in E 999 it expresses the small worth
(deere ymga a jane) of the chatter of the hoi polloi.

The coin-name is based on OFr Janne(s) (also Genes, Jeynes), modern Fr.
Gênes, Ital. Genova, looking back to the Roman name Genua (Holder I, 2005-07)
perhaps of Ligurian origin. Cp. also ME Janeway(s), Geneway, sb. and adj.,
“Geno(v)e”se”, native of Genoa, based on OFr genoués (Engl. Genoese), Ital.
Genovese. See further NED s.v. “jane.”

JEW “C,” “D,” see MS XV, 122.

JEWERYE, see MS XV, 122; XVI, 155.

JUBALTARE (var. M & R V, 529), Rock of Gibraltar (Span. peñón de Gibral-
tar), well marked promontory (Mons Calpe of antiquity) in a British enclave in
the Spanish province of Granada—since 1704 a Crown Colony—is mentioned in
CT B 947 to define the 15 m. strait (narwe mouth, B 946) to which it has now
given its name; Chaucer seems to have thought of it as the Strait of Marrok.

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The African side of the strait is marked by the promontory of Septe (Abyla of antiquity) which with Mons Calpe made up the Herculis Columnae or Pillars of Hercules (see Pilsner, MS XV, 127).

The name Jubaℓtarė looks back to Arab. Djabal Tarik (ben Zaid) “Mountain of Tarik (son of Zaid)”, first landing place of that Moorish invader in 711 A.D., on which Chaucer's form is based. The modern name Gibraltar shows an intrusive r(-bra-), paralleled in Spanish in estrella “star” vs. Lat. stella. See E Isl II, 169.

KAYRRUD (var. often kynrede, M & R VI, 585) is used in CT F 808 to indicate the home, perhaps manor, of the Breton knight Arveragus and is said (F 801) to be not far from Pedmark; it has defied identification.

As a name (Tatlock 13-16) it surely answers to Welsh caer rydd “red fort,” Breton ker ru “red village, house,” but in the Breton of Chaucer's day caer ru (z more or less = s); if transmitted to Chaucer through a French source one would expect here car (or kar) ru (Carru). Tatlock 15 suggests not implausibly that the form Kayrrud may be Chaucer's effort to render a Breton Caerru as he heard it rather than ever saw it written. Except for Kérity, harbor of Pennmark, there are no Car-/Kar-names in the vicinity, though such names occur in Brittany by the thousand, overwhelmingly to designate a private house or property (Longnon 1304-09). Chaucer's “Red House” may be merely the name of Arveragus' manor and invented at that.

L

LEPE (prov. Huelva), Spain, small town ca 8 m. from Ayamonte and ca 3 m. in from the Atlantic coast, is mentioned in CT C 563 to define a white wine; in C 570, where it is a town, the reference is again to the wine of the place with a strong implication that it is heirloom than French wines imported via The Rochele and Burdeus.

According to EUI XXX, 64, col. 2, the name looks back to a Roman (Iberian?) Leptis.

LETTOW (var. M & R V, 6), the kingdom of Lithuania (Lith. Lētuvà, Finnish Liituu, Fr. Lituanie, Med. Lat. Lit[v]uania, whence the modern English name), in Chaucer's day embraced a large territory S of Kurland (now part of Latvia), including Volhynia and part of the Ukraine to the Black Sea; it is mentioned in CT A 54 as a region in which the Knight had campaigned; cp. also Prugie and Ruce.

Lith: Lētuvà is perhaps based on a stem represented in Lat. lit-us “shore” and hence may signify “coastal region”; so Julius Pokorny, Indo germanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, fascicle 7 (Bern, 1953), pp. 664-65, under lei- “pore, flow.” Chaucer's form seems to be close to the native name; see Skeat V, 7, nn. 53, 54 ad fin. for Lettow in mid-fifteenth-century English.

LYEYS (var. M & R V, 6) (Graeco-Lat. Aeages, Cilicia, SW Asia Minor), Ayash (vilayet of Seyhan), SW Turkey in Asia, and in Chaucer's day a seaport of consequence in the kingdom of Lesser Armenia (Armenia Minor), is on the coast of the Gulf of Iskenderun, formerly Alexandretta. It is mentioned in CT A 58 in connection with Pierre de Lusignan's 1367 campaign against it (Cook 229-30), in which the Knight is said to have participated. In Chaucer's day there was still a considerable Armenian population in the area, actually a sort of Armenian enclave.

The modern name Ayash looks back to the Graeco-Lat. acc. plur. Aegas. Chaucer's form is French and a variant of Laya (cp. also Ital. Laiazzo) whose initial L- is presumably the Romanic article. See Cook 229 for a variety of forms with and without the initial L-, also other variants.

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LYNYAN (var. M & R VI, 246), Legnano (prov. Milano) on the Olona, Italy, 18 m. NW of Melan, is cited in CT E 34 to identify Giovanni da Legnano; see Robinson 813, col. 2, n. 34.

The name may look back to an older *Ledegnanum, probably Latin *Letianum from a name *Lentinus (Olivieri 305), or Lat. Leuvianum (EI XX, 779).

LOREYN(E), Lorraine (Med. Lat. Lotharingia, Germ. Lothringen, OFr Loherre[e][g]ne) in Chaucer's day referred to the Duchy of Upper Lorraine and is mentioned in RR 766, 767 (Roman de la Rose 750-51) to define certain songs sung at a festive party in the Garden of the Rose in the company of Sir Myrthe. See Ernest Langlois, ed. cit., II, 302, n. 750-51, for another reference to Lotharingian songs.

The name looks back to the Germanic (Frankish) personal name Chlodacharius, later appearing as Lothari regnum, in turn yielding OFr Loherreigne and later forms; see Gröbler II, 326 s.v. "Chlodachar".

LUMBARDES, Lombards, natives of Umbardia, Lumbardye, are mentioned in CT B2 *1557 (367) as bankers living in Parys.

The ethnic name is based on the regional name Lumbardye.

LUMBARDIA, Lombardy (Ital. Lombardia) in the Latin heading before CT B2 *3589 (2399) is used to define (Lat.) Barnabus (i.e., Bernabò Visconti). On this name see Lumbardye.

LUMBARDY (var. M & R VI, 250-51), Lombardy (Ital. Lombardia), territorial division of Italy including an area extending N to the Alps, S from the Ligurian Apennines, and bounded on the S by Emele, and on the W by Pemond, including the cities of Melan, Pavie, and Saluces. In CT E 46 western Lumbardye is said to be bounded by the Apennyn and is also referred to in E 945; the region in general is mentioned in E 72, 1245. In CT B2 *3590 (2400) it is used to define Bernabò Visconti of Melan as the scourge of the region; the same note is struck in LGW F 374 (G 354), where Alcestis urges the god of love not to be like tirantutz of Lumbardye.

Lumbardia, Lumbardye, "the land of the Langobards, Lombards," is a regional name in -ia, based on the Germanic tribal name (Lat.) Lango-Bardi "long beards" whose ultimate home was in the Jutland peninsula, Denmark. On this tribal name see Realllexikon III, 123-25; Olivieri 315-16; Matthias 124-30. Chaucer's and the modern English forms are based on French.

LUSSHEBURGHE (var. M & R VII, 470), lusheburg (NED s.v.), a counterfeit coin imitating an English silver penny, was imported from Luxemburg in the reign of Edward III and gave rise to a word with the general sense of counterfeit money; these coins are mentioned in CT B2 *3152 (1926) as the base coin with which, figuratively speaking, the clergy did not pay in connection with love-affairs (see Robinson 852, n. 1926).

The word, like the name of the place from which it is derived, is an anglicization of sorts of the Duchy, now Grand Duchy, of Luxembourg (Du., Germ. Luxemburg, older Lützelburg, Ital. Lussemburgo), a name based on the designation of the tenth-century ducal castle: luculn, -un burch and the like (dat. sing.) "(at) the little stronghold"; cp. other German Lützelburg's.

M

MARROK (var. M & R V, 484), Morocco (Fr. Maroc, Span. Marruecos, Ital. Marocco, Arab. al-Maghrib al-Aqsa), area of NW Africa with coasts on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, is mentioned in CT B 465 to define Straye
B 464), i.e., the Strait of Gibraltar (see Jubaltare, Septe), through which
Custance passed on her involuntary voyage to England; see also Pleyer, MS XV,
127. In Chaucer’s day Marrok was virtually coextensive with Bel-Marje, which
with Algeria constituted the Arab. al-Djazira al-Maghrib “The Island of the
West” (“island” with reference to being bounded by the Atlantic and the Medi-
terranean) or now al-Maghrib al-Aqsa “The Far West,” comprising NW Africa.
Chaucer’s form is French, the off-beat first o of the modern English name
being perhaps due to the influence of the word “Moor.” The name looks back to
Arab. Marrakash, city of W central Morroco, extended to include the whole
region of which it was the ancient capital; Marrok and the like show western
abbreviation truncation of the final -ash.

MELAN (var. M & R VII, 511), Milan (Ital. Milano, Germ. Mailand) on the
Olona, on the Lombard plain, Italy, is mentioned in CT F 13439 (2399) to define
Bernabò Visconti.

The name looks back to Gaulish Mediolānum “central point on the (Lombard)
plain,” with reference to Milan’s geographical position, > *Melānum (cp. OE
See WP II, 61 near bottom; Holder II, 467–521; Matthias 132; Gröhler I, 129–30
for many examples in Gaulish territory of this wide-spread name-type. The
name appears in Old Icelandic as Mélans borg (MS VI, 335). Chaucer’s form
reflects the common OFr type Meland, Melanz (cp. Germ. Mailand and Matthias
132–36) vs. modern Fr. Milan.

MIDDELBURGH (var. M & R V, 23), Middelburg, prov. Zeeland, near Flushing
(Du. Vliissingen, Fr. Flessingue), on the island of Walcheren at the mouth of the
Schele, Holland, is mentioned in CT A 277 as the Continental terminus of a
125 m. stretch across the North Sea to Orewelle (MS XVI, 145–46) in Suffolk,
England, which the Merchant wanted kept open for trade at all costs.

The name is of obvious derivation and means the “central stronghold or
fortification,” so-called because of its central position on the island of Walcheren.
Chaucer’s form is adapted from Dutch.

(THE) NEWE TOUN is used in CT G 1428 to define the alchemist Arnaldus
de Villanova (1235–1312?), supposedly author of the Rosarie (NED s.v. “rosary,”
1) or Rosarium Philosophorum of F 1429, cited by Chaucer in error for the
former’s de Lapide Philosophorum (Robinson 899, n. 1426). The name-type “new
settlement” is widespread (cp. Gröhler II, 33 ff.) and Newton’s, Neuburg’s,
Villanova’s, Villanueva’s, Villeneuve’s, see Longnon NOS. 515–16), about in
the world. As in the case of Drye See Chaucer is merely translating a foreign
place-name, here Lat. Villanova, and quite likely had no idea of, nor interest
in, its identification. In actuality it is not improbably Villeneuve-Loubet, formerly
Villeneuve-les-Vence in Provence (dép. Alpes-Maritimes), France; see René
Verrier, Etudes sur Arnaud de Villeneuve (Leyden, 1947), esp. pp. 26, 42.

[NORTH SEA], see See under Flaundres, Middelburgh.

O

OYSE, the Oise, flowing from the Belgian frontier to join the Sayne at
Conflans–Ste–Honorine some 40 m. below Paris, is mentioned in HF 1924 (3, 838)
as one limit, of which Rome (Rome “C,” MS XV, 128) is the other, of a great
distance over which one could have heard the noise coming out of the House
of Rumor (see MS XVI, 154, “Hous of Dedalus”).

The name may look back to Gaulish Isara (Holder II, 72–74), yielding Eise,
later Oise; see Longnon No. 700 (Pontoise), 729.

[ 132 ]
ORLIENS, Orléans on the Loire (dép. Loiret), France, in Chaucer’s day the center of a duchy, is mentioned in CT F 1118 essentially as the seat of the university (Robinson 829, n. 1118) where Arveragus’ anonymous brother had studied in his youth and where he had noticed a book on “natural magic” (F 1124–25) and where he hoped to track down (F 1153) some old chum.

The name looks back to the Roman gentile name Aurelia, whence *Aurelianum, later Aurelianis; Gröbler I, 235. The coincidental relationship of the name Aurelius/Aurelie, Breton knight and wooer of Dorigen, to the background of the name Orliens would of course have been unnoticed by Chaucer.

PADOWE (var. M & R V, 245), Padua (Ital. Padova, Fr. Padoue) on the Bacchiglione, Italy, home of Livy and site of an old and famous university, is mentioned in CT E 27 as a place where Chaucer’s Clerk learned his tale from Petrarch (1304–74). Much of Petrarch’s later life was spent in Padua and one of his last compositions was his Latin translation of Boccaccio’s tale of Griselda, probably made at Arqua (Petrarca) ca 15 m. SW of Padua, where he ended his life in retirement.

The name looks back to Rom. (Venetic?) Patavium; Chaucer’s form is French, the modern English name being taken directly from Italian; see also Matthias 151–53.

PALATYE (var. M & R V, 7) (Med. Lat. Palatia), Balat, town and vilayet in Anatolia (Turk. Anadolu), Turkey in Asia, is mentioned in CT A 65 to define the ruler or emir (lord) of the Seljuk Turks with whom the Knight is said to have served.

Med. Lat. Palatia is apparently based on Lat. palatinum in the extended sense of any royal residence, here perhaps signifying “region of palaces,” so-called from ruins in the vicinity (Cook 235). Arabic Balat is a wide-spread place-name thought to represent a hybrid of Lat. palatinum and Gr. platea “public square”; see E Isl I, 615–16. Chaucer’s form is Fr.

PANYK (var. M & R VI, 313–14, 334, 353), Ital. Panico, is in CT E 590, 764, 939 used to define the Marquis Walter’s sister and brother-in-law in whose charge Walter placed for many years his and Griselda’s daughter and son. In E 589, 763, 939 it is implied that the Earl and Countess live in or near Boloigne II. Chaucer’s Panyak is an obvious adaptation of Petrarch’s Lat. de Panico (B & D 314, 47; 324, 1: Panici comes, matching de Paniquo of the French text), defining an old and once important countship (famiglia comitale). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the earls or conti di Panico (EI XXVI, 195) constituted a serious threat to the expansion of the commune of Bologra (Boloigne II) but were finally brought to heel and obliged to live within the city.

Boccaccio gives the name in a dialectal form with g for c as Panago, still reflected in the little town Borgo Panigale some 3 m. NNW of Bologna. This family name is very likely to be identified with the grain panico (Lat. panicum) “panic-grass” (NED s.v.) or so-called Italian millet, perhaps once intensively grown in the area; see, for example, Holder II, 926–27, especially his final quotation from Isidore of Seville. Chaucer’s form is probably an ad hoc anglicization either of Petrarch’s de Panico or de Paniquo of the French text. In “Chaucer’s ‘Panik’ (Clerk’s Tale, 590)”, Modern Language Notes, LXVII (1952), 529–31 (with many interesting references), Robert B. Pearsall is not quite right (p. 530) in describing this as “a very real place”; as is said above, it is a fundus or estate-name applicable to a family or to define a castle belonging to a family.
PARYS (var. M & R V, 11; VI, 70; VII, 115, 140, 144) (dép. Seine), chief city of France, is mentioned as a center of banking activity in CT B² 1522 (332) 1556 (366). It is the site of an abbey in B² 1241 (57) and B² 1513 (323), whose existence is implied in B² 1287 ff. (337 ff.) where a priest Dan John is stationed; the abbot is mentioned in B² 1253 (63). In CT D 678 it is mentioned as being near the site (until 1129 A.D.) of the nunnery of Héloïse in the suburb of Argenteuil (Seine-et-Oise), 5 m. NW of Paris (nat fer from Parys). In CT A 126 it is used to describe the Frenssh of the city, namely "francen," the speech of the Île de France, where this is contrasted with whatever French the Prioress may be supposed to have natively spoken (see MS XVI, 149, "Stratford-attie-Bowe"). In RR 1654 (Roman de la Rose 1620-21) Paris is linked with Paviye as a place of great attraction, though less so than the Garden of the Rose.

The name looks back to the Gaulish tribal name Parisii (Holder II, 332-47), perhaps meaning "bald ones," whose chief town Lucotetia, also shortened to Lutetia (Holder II, 301-02), was rather early renamed on the basis of the tribal name (cp. Arras); Gröhler I, 85-86, Longnon No. 404.

PADVYE, Pavia (Rom. [Ligurian?] Ticinum, Holder II, 1836-40) at the juncture of the Ticino and the Poo, Italy, is mentioned in RR 1654 (Roman de la Rose 1620-21) along with Paris as a place of great attraction though less so than the Garden of Rose. In CT E 1246 it is the birthplace of the sixty-year-old knight of the Merchant's Tale, where the town is correctly said to be in Lumbardye (E 1245).

Forms Papa, Papiae, of uncertain origin, appear first in the ninth century; see Olivieri 416-17, Matthias 156-57.

PEDMARK (var. M & R VI, 584-85), very likely a distorted form of the Breton village of Penmarch (dép. Finistère) or perhaps an attempted phonetic spelling of the same, is mentioned in CT F 801 as being not far from the home of Arveragus, himself said to be from the uncertain Kayrund; see Robinson 827, n. 801. Today a small village, Penmarch once rivalled Nantes as a seaport.

The Breton name Penmarch looks back to Breton pen "head" and marc'h "horse" and presumably referred to a rock-formation on the Pointe de Penmarch thought to resemble a "horse's head." The spelling Ped- vs. Pen- predominates in the Chaucer manuscripts and must be viewed as Chaucer's form, possibly his effort to represent a later voiceless n; so tentatively Tatlock 1-2, n. 2. See also Longnon No. 1345.

PEMOND (var. M & R VI, 247), Piedmont (Ital. Piemonte, Fr. Piémont), region in NW Italy crossed by the upper valley of the Poo, is mentioned in CT E 44, though wrongly, as if Petrarch had referred to it in the proem to his Latin translation of Boccaccio's tale of Griselda (B & D 296).

This regional name, not used in antiquity, first appears in the early thirteenth century and is evidently based on a pattern answering to Lat. ad pedem Montium "at the foot of the Mountains (i.e., the Cottian Alps)"); for forms such as Pedemontium, Pedemontana regio see Matthias 160. Chaucer's form is adapted from OFr. On the gradual growth in the extent of this region see El XXVII, 185-86.

PYCARDIE, Picardy, old French province including what are now the departments of Somme, parts of Pas-de-Calais, Aisne, and Oise, is mentioned with Artois and Flandres in CT A 86 as one of the scenes of the Squire's military activity; see further under Artois. This regional name, derived from the ethnic name Picard "native of Picardy,"
does not appear until the thirteenth century and is of uncertain origin; see NED s.v. "picard," headnote; earlier the Picards were known as Po(u)hiers, surviving in the family-name Pouyer (Longnon No. 921).

PILEER (OF HERCULES), see MS XV, 127.

PYZE (var. M & R VII, 512), Pisa in the Valle dell’Arno, 6 m. from the sea, is mentioned to identify Count Ugolino (Erl Hugelyn) in CT B² *3597 (2407), *3599 (2409), *3646 (2456), and in B² *3606 (2416) and in the preceding Latin heading to identify Bishop Ruggieri (Roger). In B² 3599 (2409), *3600 (2410) there is a tour with dore (B² *3615 [2425]), used as a prison in B² *3600 (2410), *3605 (2415), *3609 (2419) which is central to the story.

The name looks back to Rom. (Etruscan?) Pisa and Pisaë; Ei XXVII, 392 ff.; Repetti IV, 297 ff.; Matthias 161-62. Chaucer’s form is French, the modern English Italian.

POILLEYS (var. Poleyn[e], Pule[y]n, M & R VI, 525), adj. of or pertaining to Apulia, Apulian (Fr. pouillois), a region of SE Italy famed for its fine horses, is mentioned in CT F 193 to describe a race-horse (courser) comparable to one received as a gift by Cambyus Kan (not formally identifiable with Chinggis Khan); see also F 193 under Lombardy. In Chaucer’s day Apulia formed part of the Kingdom of Naples.

The Lat. regional name Apulia, in mediaeval times often Pulia, looks back to the Samite tribe of the Apuli, early settled in that region. The mod. Fr. descendant of the aphetic Pulia is Pouille, with several OFr derivative adjectives, such as Pulillaun (Pullan, Polain), Puilles (Puilloz, Pulois), reflected in the received Chaucer form and in the variants.

POO (var. M & R VI, 248), the Po, largest river of Italy, rises (CT E 48) at the foot of Monviso (Vesúus) in the Cottian Alps on the French frontier, flows NE and then generally E, ending in a large delta which empties through several mouths into the Adriatic some 35-40 m. S. of Venice, not at or near Venyse as Petrarch (B & D 296, 8-10) and Chaucer may imply.

The source of the name is Romano-Celtic Padus (Ligurian Bodinacus, Holder I, 457, Longnon Nos. 25, 1154) of uncertain origin; Holder II, 902-20; Ei XXVII, 572, Nissen I, 183 ff.; Matthias 162-64.

POPERYNG, Poperinghe, ca 6 m. from Ypres, West Flanders, Belgium, a town prosperous in the Middle Ages through its cloth-manufacture, is mentioned in CT B² *1910 (720) as being in Flandres and the birthplace of Sir Thopas.

This ing-name appears earliest (877, 1107 A.D.) with the habitative suffix -hem in Pupringa- (gen. plur.), Poperinge-hem “estate or farm of the Puprings or Poperings,” the patronymic in turn based on an otherwise unidentified personal name (OGN 38, 39). Chaucer’s and the modern name show either a loss of the terminal -hem or look back to a parallel un compounded ing-name.

PORTYNGALE, Portugal, is mentioned in CT B² *4649 (3459) (With brasile ne with greyn of Portyngle, without editors’ comma after brasile) as the exporting country of two dyestuffs, vegetable and insect respectively. For the former see under brasile, above. The insect dye, greyn. “dyers’ grain” or Graana tinctorum, refers to kermes, oldest dyestuff on record (cp. “scarlet” in Gen. xxxviii, 28, 30); see further Harold N. and Alma L. Moldenke, Plants of the Bible (Waltham, Mass.: Chronica Botanica, 1952), Index, p. 320, col. 1, s.v. “Quercus cocifera,” also Thompson 111-16 (see brasile) and Thompson and Hamilton 46-47, n. 87 (see brasile). This blood-red dye was obtained from the dried bodies
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of the parasite female scale-insect, coccus ilicis, after egg-laying and was ignorantly taken in Antiquity to be a seed grain which the dead bodies resemble; these “grains” have also been known as “kermes berries”. The insects are found on the leaves of the bushy evergreen shrub or small tree, the Quercus coccifera, popularly known as the Kermes oak or Grain oak which flourishes in southern Europe, including Spain and Portugal. See NED s.v. “grain,” sb.,1 10, quotation from 1617 concerning Spaniards and Portuguese as exporters of the same, also NED s.v. “kermes” and Du Cange s.vv. “graingne,” “1 grana,” and “2 granum.” On the kermes oak in England see W. J. Bean, ‘Quercus coccifera,’ The Gardener’s Chronicle, LXV (19 April 1916), 195, with photograph, also Alfred Rehder, Manual of Cultivated Trees and Shrubs (2d ed., New York, 1940), p. 162. Chaucer may have become familiar with the source of both brazil-wood and kermes, as well as of other commodities, through his office of Controller of Customs which he held in one way or another between 1374 and 1386. Greyen is used here along with brasile to suggest the high complexion of the Nun’s Priest, as it is in CT B2 *1917 (727) with reference to Sir Thopas’ coloring; for a figurative use applied to colours in the sense of “figures of speech” see CT F 511.

The name (OFr Portingale, also Portegale), obsolete by-form of the name Portugal (see NED s.v.), looks back to Rom. Portus Cales (Holder I, 695, “Cales” 2), site of Oporto, today surviving in the name Vila Nova de Gaia on the left bank of the Douro (Span. Duero), Portugal.

PRU(Y)CE (var. Skeat I, 312, n. ad loc.; M & R V, 6):

I. sb. Prussia (Germ. Preussen, Fr. Prusse), in Chaucer’s day designated essentially a part of the Baltic litoral east of Pomerania and the Vistula, more or less equivalent to later East Prussia, first with Marienburg, later Königsberg as the seat of the rule of the Teutonic Knights. In Chaucer’s day the native population was to all intents and purposes Christian and largely German, and the rule of the Teutonic Knights of the Order of the Sword was beginning to weaken. Pruysye is mentioned in BD 1025 as a remote place to which the Duchess of Lancaster would not have sent an admirer on an irksome or futile mission (ep. Alysaundre, Carre Nar, Drye See, Tartarye I, Turkye, Walakye). In CT A 53 it is mentioned as a region where the Knight on an expedition or sojourn, presumably with the Teutonic Knights, sat at the head of the table in precedence over alle nations, where “nations” refer to national groupments quite likely at the Table of Honor; see A. S. Cook, ‘Beginning the Board in Prussia,’ Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XIV (1915), 375-88, also Cook 209-12.

II. Pruce (var. M & R V, 204), adj. of or pertaining to Prussia, Prussian, is used in CT A 2122 to describe a type of shield carried by some of Palamon’s adherents. The adjective is identical with the substantive, I, above.

The ethnic name seems first to be recorded as Prusi “Prussians” in the Russian Primary Chronicle, Foreword, §4 (C & S-W) and is the name of a Baltic tribe closely related to the Lithuanians (see Lettow). Early latinized Pruuzi, it appears as OFr Pru(y)ce, whence Chaucer’s form; see NED s.v. “Prussian,” B, sb. headnote. The variants Sprus, Spruce, Speurse, though probably not Chaucer’s, are frequent in the manuscripts and in a sense legitimate in that such forms (Med. Lat. Sprucia) are common in the Middle Ages and long after (NED s.v. “spruce”) and the source of the common English tree-name.

REYNES, Rennes (dép. Ille-et-Vilaine) at the confluence of the Ille and the Vilaine and in ancient times known as Condaté “confluence” (Longnon Nos. 127-35), is used in BD 255 to define cloth with reference to a kind of fine linen or lawn made in the town; see NED s.v. “raines” for many references. Cp. chalon and Tars for other town-names identifying textiles.

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The name, replacing older Condâtiê (Holder I, 1092-95 "Condati-" §9), looks back to the Gaulish tribal name Rêdones, perhaps meaning "swift ones" or "chariot using people;" see Holder II, 1102-05, Gröhler I, 80. Chaucer's Reynes reflects OFr Raynes, by-form of Rennes.

(THE) ROCHELE, La Rochelle (dép. Charente-Inférieure), France, capital of the old province of Aunis and in 1360-72 an English possession, was in the fourteenth century an almost independent commune; it is mentioned in CT C 571 along with Burdeaux as an importing source of French wines.

The name is made up of "rocca "rock" of unknown origin (Holder II, 1200; Gröhler II, 92-93; M-L No. 7357) plus the diminutive suffix -elle (Gröhler II, 94), the rock in question probably referring to some small stone fortification early built as a customs barrier or the like (Longnon No. 2224). In the tenth century the name appears translated as Lat. Rupella where Lat. rupis substitutes for rocca (Longnon 2218).

ROME "C", see MS XV, 128.

RUCE, RUSSYE, formally Russia, though by no means answering to the present-day Soviet Union or the former Russian Empire, is used by Chaucer in two connections. In CT A 54 Ruce is mentioned along with Lettou as an area where the Knight had been on military expeditions and would correspond perhaps to Russian territory eastward toward, say, Smolensk on the Dneiper, at that time near the border of the great kingdom of Lithuania (Lettou). In CT F 10 Russye is a land said to have been warred upon by Cambyus Kan (not formally identifiable with Chinggis Khan), Tartre king of the Golden Horde with his capital then at Sarray.

The origin of the name, earlier Rus, is not altogether certain but may well look back to Ruoti, Finnish name of Sweden, perhaps extended to cover Russian territory under Swedish (Varangian) control. By Chaucer's time the name had long since, however, lost any Scandinavian connotation; see further C & S-W.

Med. Lat. Russia (whence mod. Engl. Russia) parallels OFr Ro(u)s(s)ie, whence Chaucer's Russye; his Ruce seems to answer to an adjective form corresponding to Fr. russe and Engl. russ (cp. NED s.v.).

SAYNE (SEYNE) (var. Spayne, M & R VI, 629, and mount for mouth), great river of northern France, passes through Paris and Rouen and enters the English Channel between Honfleur and Le Hâvre (since 1516) (dép. Seine-Inférieure). The estuary (mouth of Sayne) is mentioned in CT F 1222 as the northern limit, of which the Gerounde is the southern, of a stretch of the French coast to be cleared of rocks and reefs dangerous to shipping. In RR 118 (Roman de la Rose 112) a stream in the Garden of the Rose is said to be somewhat smaller than the Sayne.

The name looks back to a Ligurian (?) Sêquana, whence the OFr, Chaucer's and the modern forms; adopted into OHG as Sigana (with substitution of Germanic i for Gaulish e) it yielded inter alia OE Sigen; Holder II, 1505-10; Gröhler, I, 13-14; Förster Themse 582. The variant mount of Spayne for mouth of Sayne recalls HF 1116-17 (3, 26-27).

SALUCE(S) (var. M & R VII, 247, 249, 290, 291), Saluzzo (prov. Cuneo), region and town in Pemond near the Poo and 31 m. SSW of Turin, was before and after Chaucer's day the center of a marquisate, of which the first marquis was Bonigacio del Vaste (d. 1135); see EI XXX, 570-73. It is mentioned alone in CT E 429, 753, 775; in E 414, 1005 it is a town, in E 1005 a cité. It is thought of as a district or contré in E 44, 63 (noble), 75, 435, 615 and in E 64 is that lond.
The fictional first marquis is here Walter (Gualtieri) who in E 772 is the Markys of Saluce, in E 64, 91, 92 and frequently passim simply markys; Griselde is the marchioness, in E 394 the neue markysesse, the same designation being in a sense transferred to her daughter in E 942, 1014.

In the town is the marquis’ pales (E 137, 262, 389, 875) or hous (E 478, 820, 956, 973) with a halle (E 263, 890, 1029, 1119), chambre(s) (E 263, 961, 980), and houses of office ‘servants’ quarters and utility buildings” (NED s.v. “house” sb.; 14; “office” sb. 9, and cp. “office-house”). Griselde’s bedroom (chambre) is mentioned in E 515, 525, 1115, Walter’s in E 870. Not far out in the country is a charming v lage (throup, E 199, 208; village, E 200, 272) with a village well (E 276), th rome (E 277, 284; hous, E 332, 809, 871, 896; place, E 862) of Janicula/Janiele (Giannucolo), Griselde’s father; a front dore is mentioned in E 367, a chambre in E 324, 330.

The name is first recorded in the eleventh century; see EI XXX, 571-72 (for history), 572-73 (on the marquisate). Petrarch latinized the name of the region as terra Salucarium (B & D 296, 15); Chaucer’s form is French.

SARRAY, Sarai Berké or New Sarai, once a great trading center and in Chaucer’s day (since Uzbek Khan 1312-40) capital of the Khanate of the Golden Horde on the Akhtuba branch of the Lower Volga in the Stalingrad (formerly Tsaritsyn) Region, was predominantly Turkish with not many Mongol residents; it was destroyed in 1355 by the Berla chieftain Timur i leng (Persian) “Timur the Lame,” Turk. Timur Läng, whence the western form Tamerlane, Christopher Marlowe’s Tamburlaine the Great (G & I 139-40); see E Isl IV, 158-59; G & I 70-71, 75, 135-47. It is mentioned in CT F 9 as a place in the (land of) Tartarye II, and in F 46 is said to be a city of Cambus Can (not answering formally to Chinggis Khan), throughout which he had his birthday proclaimed and sumptuously celebrated. This New Sarai (Berké) is opposed to Sarai Batu or Old Sarai in the Volga delta (G & I 70-71, 73).

The Khan’s palace (G & I 136) is mentioned in F 60, with a halle (F 86, 92), halle-dore (F 80), and deys (F 59). There is a keep or donjon ([heighe] tour, F 76, 340) where some of the magical birthday presents were stored for safekeeping; the idea of the tour may reflect the Tower of London (see MS XVI, 144 “London”). There is also a temple, in the case of the Lower Volga Moslem Tatars a mosque (G & I 81, 137, 154), where the assembled company worships (F 296-97). Another richly tapestried room is the chambre of parements (F 296) in which there is music, dancing, and feasting. Somewhere outside is a park (F 391) with a walk (trench) cut through the trees or shrubbery (F 391), the scene of the action of Part ii of the unfinished poem.

The name (and word) Sarry, i.e., Sarai, is Turkish, adapted from Persian sarai “palace;” see NED s.v. “serai.”

SATALYE, Antalya, formerly Adalia (Lat. Attalia in Pamphilia, Med. Lat. Satalia), vilayet of Konya (ancient Iconium), Turkey in Asia, seaport at the head of the Gulf of Antalya W of the Gulf of Iskenderun, formerly Alexandretta, was in Chaucer’s day in the hands of the Seljuk Turks and their chief city (E Isl I, 126-27; Cook 230-31). It is mentioned in CT A 58 as a place in the Levant (cp. Lyeys, Palaye) where the Knight was active in some of Pierre de Lusignan’s campaigns (Cook 231-32).

The name looks back to ancient Attalia, one of several Asia Minor cities named after Attalus II (B.C. 200-138), king of Pergamum; the town is mentioned in Acts xiv, 25, as the port from which SS Paul and Barnabas set sail for Antioch (v. 28). The Med. Lat. Satalia shows a prosthetic S- resulting from a false division of a preceeding Greek eis “to”; for this and other examples of the same phenomenon see W. B. Sedgwick, Review of English Studies, II (1926), 346.

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SEYNE, see SAYNE

SEINT-DENYS, St.-Denis-sur-Seine (dép. Seine), France, suburb of Paris and 8 m. N of the city on route 6, is famous for its once powerful abbey, founded by Dagobert I (d. 638 A.D.) and rebuilt in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; it is mentioned in CT B² *1191 (21), *1249 (59), *1257 (67), *1498 (308), *1516 (326) as the home of a wealthy banker-merchant. The saint himself is mentioned in B² *1341 (151) and often elsewhere in Chaucer.

Ancient Catulliacus (fundus) was renamed for St Dionysius (Denis) (Sancti Dionysii basilica), legendary first bishop of Paris; of the many localities similarly named after that saint the present town is the most famous; Holder I, 849-50; Gröbler II, 402; Longnon No. 1693.

SEINT-JAME (var. M & R V, 42; cp. var. Seint-Jakes), Santiago (de Compostela, also de Galicia), prov. of Coruña, in the old province of Galice in NW Spain, is mentioned in CT A 466 as the scene of one of the Wife’s many pilgrimages. In Chaucer’s day Santiago was one of the principal pilgrim resorts of the West, still today a great tourist center, especially for Spaniards. The saint himself is often invoked and quoted elsewhere in Chaucer.

Chaucer’s Seint-Jame, based on the name of St. James the Apostle who supposedly preached in Galicia and whose bones were reputedly discovered at Compostela, is in effect an OFr translation of Span. Sant-iago, where Iago is a dialectal (Galician?) form of Jacobo, Jaime “James.” OFr Saint-Jame is in turn a variant of Saint-Jacques (cp. var. above) (see NED s.v. “James”). This Iago is presumably identical with the Iago of Shakespeare’s Othello (both names are trisyllabic). Compostela, site of this great shrine, is very likely a diminutive of Span. composita “fortification” (EUI LIV, 247). Unlikely and no doubt reflecting popular etymologizing are derivations on the order of campus stella from a star said to have shown where the saint’s remains were (El XXX, 786).

SEPTE (var. M & R V, 529) is mentioned in CT B 547 along with Jubaltare to define the limits of the 15 m. strait (narwe mouth, B 946) known to Chaucer as the Strait of Marrook, today the Strait of Gibraltar (Jubaltare). Septe refers to the ridge with seven peaks in Spanish Morocco (administratively in the prov. Cadiz), called in antiquity Septem Fratres from their “fraternal” appearance; specifically in question is the highest (636 ft.) peak of the ridge, Abyla of antiquity, today Span. Monte del Hacho “beacon-hill mountain,” Fr. Montagne des Singes (cp. the Gibraltar apes) and it is surely this, not the little seaport of Ceuta, that Chaucer had in mind. Together, Abyla and Calpe (Gibraltar) formed the Hercules Columnae or Pillars of Hercules of antiquity (see Pylee, MS XV, 127).

At the foot of the ridge was early a Carthaginian colony, probably called Exilissa or Lissa civitas, later civitas ad Septem Fratres, early reduced to Septon, later Seba (whence Arab. Sabta), in turn with vocalization of the b yielding modern Ceuta as the name of the town, but not of the promontory. See EUI I, 433 “Abila”; XII, 1514 “Ceuta”; XXXII, 1264 “Marabut (al-)”; El I, 836-38; EB V, 176.

SPAYNE (var. M & R VII, 66), Spain (Span. España, Fr. Espagne), is mentioned in HF 1117 (3, 27) with reference to a mountain peak, possibly Jubaltare (MS XVI, 154 “House of Fame”); in CT A 409 perhaps with reference to the entire Atlantic coast of the Iberian peninsula, including Portugal; in B² *3565 (2375) it defines Pedro, king of Leon and Castile (1350-69), and in C 565, 570 the heady wine of Lepe.

The following Spanish localities are mentioned: Algezir, Aragón, Cataloigne,
MEDIEVAL STUDIES

Fynystere, Galice, Gernade, Jubaltare, Lepe, Seint-Jame, Septe in Africa, also indirectly Cordoba (cordewane) and Toledo (Toletanes).

The name looks back with aphasis to Lat. Hispania (Ispannie, above). Chaucer's form is OFr Spaigne, var. Espaigne, whence Fr. Espagne.

(STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR), see Strayte under Marrok and narwe mouth under Jubaltare and Septe, also Pileer (MS XV, 127).

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TARS (var. M & R V, 207-08) is used in CT A 2160 to define a textile worn in ancient Athens by King Emetreus of India and, though often used alone to refer to some kind of fine silk favored in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (NED s.v. "tars"), it is, like "raines" (see Reynes), all but certainly based on a place-name. The name in question is very likely the Clician seaport of Tarsus, birthplace of St. Paul, on the now silted up Cydnus; in Chaucer's day it was in the kingdom of Lesser Armenia (Armenia Minor). Turkish since the sixteenth century it is today Tarsus, vilayet of İçel, S Turkey in Asia. From 550 A.D. sericulture and the silk industry flourished in the towns of Asia Minor (see EB XX, 664-65, s.v. "Silk and Sericulture") and it is apriori more likely that Tarsus should have been identified with this product than Tartarye I (despite the NED s.v. "tars"; Skeat V, 85; Manly 555).

The word, whatever its origin, appears in OFr as tarse, whence Chaucer's form.

TARTARYE (LAND OF) (var. M & R VI, 508), Tatary, less correctly but often Tartary (the first, false r apparently somehow under the influence of Classical Tartarus), land of the Tatars (see Tatre), is a loose geographical term, at one time or another including any or all areas from the Black Sea or Volga, eastward through north-central Asia, to the Manchurian coast of the Yellow Sea. Chaucer clearly uses the name with two quite distinct applications:

I. In BD 1025, where it is closely associated with Carre Nar and Drye See, Tartarye may be supposed to refer to the old Tartar homeland in Outer Mongolia (cp. G & I passim) and is mentioned as a region to which the Duchess of Lancaster would not have sent an admiral on an irksome or futile mission (cp. Alysauandre, Carre Nar, Drye See, Pruyece, Turkeye, Walakye).

II. In CT F 9 the land of Tartarye (in F 71 this land) in which Sarrey is said to be located, refers to the steppes of southern Russia or Polovtian steppes, an area without exact boundaries but corresponding roughly to the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, also Tatarstan; during most of Chaucer's life time it was under the weakening rule of the Western Kypchaks (G & I 21 ff.). On this western Mongol empire, the Golden Horde, founded by Batu Khan, see G & I 63 ff.

TATRE (var. M & R VI, 510, 531). (1) sb., a Tatar, inhabitant of Tartarye II, is used in CT F 28 to identify one Cambytus Kan (not answering formally to Chinggis Khan); (2) adj., in F 266 likewise identifying Cambybus Kan.

The native name Tatar, of unknown etymology, referred originally to a small ethnic group defeated by the Mongols (cp. G & I 43 ff.), yet whose name came to be extended by neighboring peoples to include the Mongols and hence is virtually identical with the latter.

TEWNES (var. Twnes for Tunnes), Tunis, capital city of Tunisia, today a French protectorate (Tunisie) on the Lake of Tunis or the Bahira which communicates with the Mediterranean, replaced Carthage (Cartage, MS V, 113) in importance and in Moslem times became the chief city of the area. It is mentioned in BD 310 [ 140 ]
in a punning rhyme with *entunes* (var. *enteunes*) "songs" as a *town* for which Chaucer would not exchange the pleasure of the bird-songs to which he is listening.

The name looks back to Lat. *Tūnēs*, -ētis, OFr *Tunes*, whence Chaucer's form.

**TOLLETANES** (var. M & R VI, 634), OFr plur. adj., of or pertaining to Toledo, Spain, Toledan, is used probably not quite accurately in CT F 1273 to describe a set of astronomical tables used by a scholar of *Orliens* (cp. F 1274–79). Formally Chaucer's *Tables Tolletanes* "Tables of Toledo" should refer to a set of astronomical tables first edited by Azaraquiil in the eleventh century but subsequently rendered obsolete by the so-called *Alfonsine Tables*, drawn up by Jean de Linières ca 1320. It is unlikely that Chaucer or anyone else in his day would have any use for, or interest in, the older set; yet the old term lingered on and was, as surely here, applied wrongly to the later and more up-to-date tables. On all this see Derek J. Price, *The Equatorie of the Planetis* (Cambridge University Press, 1955), esp. pp. 79–80, with ample literature.

The French title *Tables tolletanes*, rendering Lat. *Tabulae Toletanae*, is here taken over bodily; the Lat. adj. is based on Roman (Iberian?) *Tolētum*, ancient capital of the Iberian tribe of the *Carpetānī* (Holder I, 807–08), later of the Visigoths, later still of the old kingdom of Castile.

**TRAMISSENE** (var. M & R V, 6), Tlemcen or Tlemsen, dép. Oran, NW Algeria (French since 1842), was in Chaucer's day a great center of trade and chief city of the Berber dynasty of the Beni or Banu Marin (Bel-Maraye) or the Marinid dynasty in the Arab al-Maghrib al-Aqsa ("The Far West"), an area approximating western Algeria and Morocco (Marrok); see E Isl IV, 801–08. It is mentioned in CT A 62 as a place where the Knight had fought (cp. Algezir, Bel-Maraye, Gernade).

The name looks back to Berber *tilma* "spring, well," plur. *tilimsān*, and means "(town of) springs or wells." Forms with a western substitution of *r* for *l* appear in Froissart: *Tramesemes, Tremessesemes*, later *Tremesen, Tremecen* (Cook 233, and n. 7, Skeat V, 7, nn. 56–58), and on such, no doubt OFr forms Chaucer's form depends. Modern Tlemcen is adapted directly from Berber-Arabic.

**TURKEYS** (var. M & R V, 283), Turkish, of or pertaining to the Turks, is used in CT A 2895 to describe a shooting bow with a golden case (unless referring to a quiver for the arrows *[arues in the cas]* as in CT A 2358) and fittings. The Turkish bow owed its excellence to its composite character (vs. bows just of yew) of horn, wood, and sinew, in that order from front to back.

Chaucer's form is OFr *turkeis*, Fr. *turquois* (fem. *turquoise* yielding the name of the gem-stone), based on *Turke*; English "Turkish" is a late formation with the English suffix -*ish*.

**TURKYE, Turkey (Fr. *Turquie*, Turk. *Türkiye*) in Chaucer's day comprised essentially the present-day Turkey-in-Asia, an area then mostly ruled by Ottoman and Seljuk Turks. It is mentioned in BD 1026 as a land to which the Duchess of Lancaster would not have sent an admiral on an irksome or futile mission (cp. *Alysaunder, Carre Nar, Drye See, Pryuce, Tartarye I, Walakye*). In CT A 66 it is a pagan (Moslem) country where the Knight had fought (cp. the Turkish towns of *Lyeyes, Palatyye, Satalye*).

VALENCE in PF 272 is the name of some sheer (subtyl) fabric used for kerciefs and is presumably based on the name of the town of Valence on the Rhone (dép. Drôme), France. For the name of other materials based on place names or defined by them see chalon, Reynes, and Tars.

The Latin town-name Valentia, based on the gentile name Valentius, here represented is exceedingly common and is, for instance, identical with Valencia in E Spain; the present town is mentioned by Pliny and was also known in antiquity as Julia Valentia and Valentia Segovellanorum, also shortened to Segalaunorum (Holder II, 1451-52); see Gröhler I, 297-98.

VENYSE, Venice (Ital. Venezia, Fr. Venise, Germ. Venedig), Italy, is mentioned in HF 1348 (3, 258) to describe a ducat of very pure gold content; on Venetian gold ducats see NED s.v. “ducat,” 1 and 1b. In CT E 51 Venyse, as Venetia in Petrarch (B & D 296, 8), is mentioned to indicate the point where the Poo empties through several mouths into the Adriatic; but by Venetia Petrarch (from whom Chaucer derives his statement) can only have been thinking in a most general way of the ancient territory of the Veneti (cp. his Flaminia under Ferrare, above,), perhaps that portion of the Lombard plain known as the Veneto, since he surely knew that none of the mouths of the Po flowed into the sea nearer than 35-40 m. S of the city of Venice. Whether Chaucer in imitating Petrarch knew this can scarcely be determined and is of trifling consequence.

The name of the town and region is based on the tribal (Venetic) name Veneti; Holder III, 160-67; Matthias 302-07. Chaucer’s and the modern English form are French.

(MOUNT) VESULUS (Lat.) (var. M & R VI, 248, 249), Monte Viso or more commonly Monviso, NE Italy, highest peak (12,615 ft.) of the Cottian Alps, first climbed in 1861; this mountaineering achievement inspired the formation in the following year of the famous Club Alpino Italiano. Monviso, near the French frontier and about 42 m. SW of Turin, is mentioned in CT E 58 as having at its base (roote) the source of the Poo; it is also mentioned in E 47.

The name looks back to Lat. (Mons) Vesulus; Holder III, 261; EI XXXV, 455-56.

WALAKYE, Walachia or Wallachia (Med. Lat. Walachia, Fr. Valachie), an area between the Danube and the Transylvanian Alps in S Romania and since 1859 a part of Romania, was in Chaucer’s day an independant Romanic-speaking kingdom which under Vladislav Bassarab (1364-74) accepted Hungarian overlordship. It is mentioned in BD 1024 as a region to which the Duchess of Lancaster would not have sent an admirer on an irksome or futile mission (cp. Alyssandre, Carre Nar, Drye See, Frusye, Tartarye I, Turkey).

The name looks back to a Celtic stem Volc- (cp. Caesar’s Volcae), yielding Germanic Wath- (see Wales, MS XVI, 150), first applied to Celts, including Britons, later to Romanic-speaking peoples of southern Europe. See NED under “Vlach,” “walach,” “Welsh,” also MS VII, 129-30 under “Walache.”
The Cistercian Everard of Ypres and His Appraisal of the Conflict between St. Bernard and Gilbert of Poitiers

NICHOLAS M. HARING S.A.C.

A new arrival in the history of mediaeval thought, the Cistercian Everard of Ypres, is such an interesting personality that the nature and range of his literary activities deserve a closer study. In the introduction to his Dialogus Rati et Everardi, published in Mediaeval Studies, XV (1953), I noted that the Dialogue belongs to a group of three works arranged in the manuscript in the following order: a letter by Everard to Pope Urban III (1185-87), a Dialogue composed during the reign of Pope Celestine III (1191-98), and a letter to Everard written by a frater B. Although I had no doubt that the "Athenian" Ratus in the Dialogue was a fictitious character, I wondered at the time of publication whether Everard was the author's real name or a pen-name to conceal the writer's identity.

In the present article I shall offer proof that Everard, one of the two principal interlocutors in the Dialogue, is indeed the author's actual name. This may appear obvious enough by the very fact that the second letter, just mentioned, is addressed to Everard as the author of the Dialogue, as well as of the letter to Pope Urban III. However, the style of the second letter might very well be presented in support of the view that it is a product of the same highly imaginative writer who assumed the name Everard. The Dialogue provides us with some information about the author's life and character. This information, as we shall see, is definite enough to identify him as the canonist of the same name who wrote a Summula decretalium quaestionum. It, too, furnishes some valuable complementary details about Everard's life. At the end of the article will be found the first edition of the two letters mentioned above. These are of doctrinal importance and contribute additional information on the author's life and surroundings.

I.

To judge from one biographical remark, Everard was "a monk and not a poet" when the discussion described in the Dialogue took place. The letter addressed to him by a certain frater B. tells us that he had once been a doctor egregius and then became "by the grace of God a humble disciple of Christ" in the Cistercian Order. We learn from the Dialogue that, in his younger years, he had been "a cleric in France, of his lordship Hyacinth, now Pope". Cardinal Hyacinth, we know, was in France from 1162-65 and became Pope Celestine III in 1191. The Everard of the Dialogue was well versed in canon law as may be gathered from several digressions into canonical topics. He does not claim that he ever published a legal work but we do possess an unpublished Summula decretalium quaestionum composed by Everardus natione Ypresensis, professione monachus Clarevallensis, sed liberalium studio artium et disciplina scholarium aliarum facultatuum Parisiensis.

2 Dialogus, p. 245: Cum itaque sim monachus et non poeta.
3 Ibid., p. 248: Cum dicere meuisse clericum in Francia domini Hyacinthi, nunc Papae.
4 Cf. R. Mols, Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl. XII (1953), 84.
5 Dialogus, pp. 250 and 265.

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This canonist, Everard by name, must be the same as the author of the Dialogue. The latter, it is true, does not tell us where he was born but on several occasions he betrays the fact that he was not particularly fond of France. He, too, was an “eminent teacher” in Paris who became a Cistercian at the end of his career. It is hard to believe that the Cistercians should have had in their midst two scholars of the same name and of the same background at the same time and at the same monastery. The canonist, as the Summula reveals, hailed from the Belgian city of Ypres, was a monk of Clairvaux by his religious profession and a Parisian by education. He wrote his canonical work dum adhuc gymnasio insudaret scholasticō. This, I suppose, means that he was not yet a Cistercian when he wrote it.

Since this Summula is dependent on the canonical Summa of Sichard of Cremona, written in 1179–81, the author certainly did not become a Cistercian before 1181. The fact that the introduction to the Summula speaks of adjuvante igitur benigno Jesu and the epilogue uses the expression gratia benigni Jesu may here be cited to suggest the same atmosphere of piety as is expressed in Everard’s letter to Pope Urban III: Et benignus Jesus . . . det tibi fidei suae veritatem investigare et investigatum confirmare. Amen. But there is much stronger evidence to identify the canonist with the author of the Dialogue whose name Everard was rather popular in Flanders.

The author of the Dialogue had likewise studied in Paris and then must have taught for a great many years before he entered the religious life. Everardus insenuit studio litteraturae, Sosias says in the Dialogue. With a note of disapproval Sosias pities the aging Everard for having to farm the land with ignorant monks who would rather cut wood than discuss things theological. Ratus, however, defends “brother Everard” because he was only imitating Christ’s humility in giving up his former freedom and choosing the part of Mary rather than Martha. Idem Parisius facere potuisse, is Sosias’ blunt reply, and the easiest explanation for that reply is that Everard had taught in Paris.

He fulfilled his professorial office with distinction as is reflected in the letter in which he is addressed as Doctori quondam egregio. Perhaps, besides being a teacher, he was also a preacher, as Everard himself insinuates after listening to a long discourse made by Ratus. Everard voices the following comment: Bene in tua digressione instructisti praedicatorum dissertum atque philosophicum doctorem. This “philosophical doctor,” or doctor of philosophy, had gone through training in the liberal arts, presumably also in Paris. To the reader of the Dialogue it is obvious that the student had become well acquainted with classical poetry in particular. In fact, he became something of a poet himself and composed a brief epitaph on Gilbert’s death in 1154. His Dialogue, as we shall see, is often poetical and not a dry theoretical discussion; rather it is a refreshing mixture of humorous and serious debates that range from the influence of the moon on the weather to the subtleties of trinitarian problems. The very setting of the scene is a poet’s, not a scholar’s, idea. The Dialogue takes place while Everard and Ratus are sitting “at the foot of a shady hillock during harvest time”. Ratus is “enraptured” by the delightful spot, a large meadow bordered by a lovely river with the slope of the hillock merging into the pleasant shade of a nearby forest.

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The author of the *Summula* can hardly be expected to indulge in describing the beauties of nature, but Everard managed to satisfy his poetical urge in the epilogue in which we read: *Cum igitur gratia benigni Jesu ... quam si gloriosis-simi decretistae assistentes mense VII ferculis pomorum a frondosa arbore Gratiani decerptorum et salsemento diversarum summularum Johannis, Ruffini et altiorum conditorum ventrem suum implerent.* Such flowery language is strikingly in accordance with the style of the *Dialogue*.

Although Kuttner does not think very highly of the canonist Everard, it is worth noting that, as the title suggests, the *Summula decretalium quaestionum* is not a straight exposition of doctrine but a series of questions and answers, a sort of dialogue. We have already noted that the *Dialogue of Ratus and Everard* contains several discussions on canonical topics. These discussions display a more than ordinary knowledge of legal questions. The first of these is occasioned by the term *vindicta* which occurs in a description of patience given by Ratus. It leads to a remark on the repelling of force *cum modercremine inculpatae tutelae.* Ratus accepts it as a *regula juris fori, non poli*, which, as he explains, means that it holds as a rule of general law, not as a rule of the Gospel which teaches the suppression of vindictiveness, though not of anger. Getting angry at somebody’s injustice, we are told, is a matter of nature and therefore lawful, but no private person, let alone a monk, is allowed to retaliate. Hence the “control of one’s hands” is a virtue, though this is not always true of the control of one’s mind. Only a judge acting officially can order retaliation for an injustice.

Everard then wonders whether a judge may do so for an injustice he has suffered personally. Ratus replies that, being a public person, a judge may do so, provided the culprit be under his jurisdiction. Everard keeps questioning: Could a prelate have a procurator handle such a case if he cannot be present personally? The interlocutor gives him a summary of the pertinent legislation

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36 Stephan Kuttner, *Repertorium*, p. 187. Another example of Everard’s flowery, poetic style is found in the introduction where we read on fol. 1: *Inde est quod in belago Gratiani navigamus, infinitatem gut-tarum ipsius quasi Charybdim declinantes, anchoram nostram in portu paucitatis figimus et universitatem pluralitas, immo infinitatis, ad commoditatem quandam quasi certam regularis reducendae, infinita singula, non in singularibus sed in universali armario memoriae commissimatis, ut deinde necessaria promamus, ac si, summan retinentes, singula regieiamus velut minus utilia. Adjuvante igitur benigno Jesu. ... His epilogue (fol. 73r) begins as follows: Cum igitur gratia benigni et humilis humile hoc opusculum ad finem usque produximus et breviti insistentes, levitatis commodum usquequaque observare nequivimus. Si populus nos sibilat de opere futili, immo quasi inutili, libenter toleramus. Vel forte in humilitate nostra latent, neququam obrectationibus eorum patebimus. ... Nos itaque, more agrestium sub ficu nostra et sub frondosa minus quam vinifera sub- latantes vineae subpectus ejus in quieta comediumus nec vicinos aliquos invitantibus, timentes ingratorum ingratitudinem. Et minus caritate abundantes, refectione esuri- entium hune bottrum non exponere pro certa propositionem. Si qui tam esuriem Gratiani scientiae quaestionum fuerint passi, volentes assumere formam discendi ad (fol. 74) visem nostram accesserint, non vincolam nostram proponemus nec eos intro admittimus uvas conquilciatores vel ramos confutcratos. ... He tells us that his work covers the subject matter of almost a three-year course: proprie quod fere triennio in Gratian mastro labore tur: folia cum ponis quandoque immaturus col- liguntur, quibus folios ipsa testa vix inveniuntur. His statum babebis, receptis folio, fictus praeparatoriorum quantum ad morum approbationem; secundo usus judiciorn; tertio maturitatem omnium pomorum sacramentum, si forte gratis tibi collatis graces velis dignas recompensare.

37 Ibid., p. 190.

38 Dialogus, pp. 250 and 265.


20 *Dialogus*, p. 250.
as found in Gratian’s Decretum. Reverting to the judge who suffered personal injustices, the Cistercian now wants to know whether the judge can act if he alone knows of it. Ratius distinguishes: if his knowledge is based on a confession, an imposed penance should suffice; if his information is derived from other sources, several procedures may be followed according to the status of the accused, provided that the accusation can be proven.21

The manner of handling and proving the various distinctions shows that the author of the Dialogue possessed a knowledge of canon law far superior to that of an intelligent theologian whose exposition might call for a digression into the teaching of canon law. A similar familiarity with the niceties of legal distinctions is manifest in the author’s humorous discussion of actio unde vi or interdictum.22

Everard may have studied canon law in Paris,23 but his years of training hardly confined him to that famous centre of learning. When Ratius boasts of having followed Gilbert of Poitiers from Chartres to Paris and from Paris to Poitiers, he is probably impersonating Everard.24 When the same Ratius cites from the Tegni of Galen25 or from the Glossa super Johannitum of a magister Bar (tholomaeus?),26 Everard shows an acquaintance with medical works and the medical school of Salerno—the fashionable thing among some of the theologians of his day.

Everard was a highly gifted scholar who, like his contemporary, Peter Cantor, decided to spend his last days in a monastic community. It was no easy decision to make, because the monks did not live up to his expectations. He tells us that they gossiped, grumbled, whispered and indulged in backbiting, so much so that even “the father of monks”, St. Bernard, was constrained to censure them publicly.27 St. Bernard’s example encouraged Everard to enlarge on their vices. St. Benedict, he informs us, had forbidden the monks to pass on information that had been picked up outside the cloister. But the very moment a guest arrives, whether he be an abbot or some other monk, they hold their little conventions. They sit around him and ask about the things he has seen and heard in the world, about vague rumours, about the princes of the world and the prelates of the churches. While the visitor is reporting, they keep silent and listen intently “because they keep their mouths shut”. If someone dares to say a word about the divine services or the writings of the saints, they immediately storm at him. He is stigmatized as a quibbler, a controversialist, just as if he were a scoundrel, although there is not a law in the whole world which forbids the raising of questions in theology or morals and arguing about them.28

Everard has Ratius tell us that some of the monks consider as “barbarous” whatever smacks of fine distinctions and that some of the “black” monks surpass even the people of the world in their impatience, irritability, conceit and haughtiness. The monastic superiors in both white and black habits insist too much on the observance of their particular traditions, but care little about the Rule of St. Benedict, the practice of humility, the maintenance of fraternal peace. The monks, Ratius tells us, are touchy. You may criticize the emperor, the king, the pope and minor princes; they bear with it. But say a critical word about any of the monks, they will attack you indignantly. Why? Because, in their concealed pride, they are in love with their own superiority in the pharisical belief that they are sanctified by the observance of their institutions.29 Diplomatically enough, Everard does not agree with every detail of these accusations; yet even in his own surroundings he finds too much worldliness.

There is more than an ordinary amount of sarcasm in the following incident

21 Ibid.
22 Ibid., p. 285.
23 Kuttner, Repertorium, p. 188, interprets the remark alliarum facultatium Parisiensis in the sense that Everard studied canon law in Paris.
24 Dialogus, p. 252.
25 Ibid., p. 245.
26 Ibid., p. 263.
27 Ibid., p. 246.
28 Ibid., p. 247.
29 Ibid.
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which he relates. While he and Ratus are debating, word reaches them that a dignitary has arrived unexpectedly. Taken by surprise, the monks alert the fishermen, who at once go to work and catch a pile of fish, big and small. One of them is a real "whopper" and truly worthy of such a great dignitary's stomach. It is quite a delight to the eyes when it finally appears on the table. Ratus listens carefully to the prelate's comment on the splendid dish, while others are standing around discussing various questions, disagreeing among themselves, but making sure they agree with the prelate's ideas.  

Ratus feels sorry for Everard who would sooner indulge in theological debates than in good meals. But, all in all, Everard is convinced that a monk's life has its compensations which make it far more preferable than the life most scholars lead, especially when it comes to the hour of death. On the other hand, Everard is not exactly the pessimist that these and other stories may portray. He has a great sense of humour and a vivid imagination. To give an example: Ratus' companion, Sosias, is badly kicked in the back by a horse just in time to prevent Ratus from continuing his journey. As a result the debate can go on. During the prolonged sojourn Ratus prospers and gains weight enjoying the abbot's cuisine, as he is told by his servant Byrria, who notes that, at the same time, their horses are getting tamer and weaker on the monastic diet, because the monks are much more interested in the departure than in the feeding of those horses.

II.

If we keep in mind that Ratus, Sosias, and Byrria are only fictitious characters and that their criticism is largely accepted, shared and even added to, by Everard, we are better prepared to understand the peculiar part played by Everard in debating the main topic of the Dialogue between Ratus and Everard, viz., the causa magistri Giliberti Pictaviensis episcopi. Everard was an ardent and capable follower of Gilbert of Poitiers. The fact that he entered the monastic community which revered St. Bernard as its founder did not change his adherence and loyalty to "Gilbert's cause". He tells us through Ratus that he had followed Gilbert until the end of the Bishop's life. At Chartres he was one of four students who attended Gilbert's classes. In "the Bishop's Hall" at Paris he was one of an audience of three hundred. He went with Gilbert to Poitiers (1142), but mentions here only that Gilbert taught him Latin and that in return Ratus instructed Gilbert in Greek.

It seems that Gilbert's episcopal obligations prevented him from continuing his lectures, but they did not interrupt his scholarly pursuits. In all likelihood it was during this period that Gilbert wrote his commentaries on the Boethian Opuscula Sacra which were to stir up so much controversy. It is, however, not as preposterous as it may appear when Everard claims to have taught Gilbert Greek. The Bishop was well advanced in years at that time, but needed a better knowledge of the language to cope with the Greek terms and sentences in the Opuscula Sacra. On the other hand, Gilbert was well equipped to teach Latin, a language which he mastered to a degree far beyond the rules of ordinary syntax. However, if Gilbert's handling of the Greek in the Opuscula is any indication of the grammatical, logical and philosophical premises of Gilbert's theological doctrines, it will be understood why no thorough explanation of these premises is attempted in this article.

Dialogus, p. 252. On p. 268 Everard says to Ratus: In græco et latina, hebraica quoque peritissimus est lingua. If autobiographical, the remark must be considered a gross exaggeration.

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of what he was taught, Everard had little of which to be proud. And the knowledge of Greek exhibited by Everard in the Dialogue is definitely quite mediocre and derived from Latin sources.

One may, of course, wonder how much fiction is mixed into Ratius’ account. He begins his narration with the story that his mother Ratio Atheniensis sent him to France on the advice of his sister Sophia. It appears to be a poet’s way of saying that both reason and wisdom played a part in his decision to leave his native land for France. Whatever be the truth, Ratius speaks Everard’s mind when he states that, if Gilbert had shone as brightly in Greece as he did in “garrulous France”, his name would rightly have been more celebrated than that of “our Plato”. But his heirs, we are told, were too indolent and idle, more interested in their meals and the appearance of vain glory than in true learning. As a result, we read, Gilbert had not yet been understood by his own followers, not to speak of outsiders: *Ipse enim ultra hominum fere evolavit intellectum.*

Our Cistercian has Ratio tell us that St. Bernard also failed to fully understand Gilbert. Knowing theology and speaking of it, so we are told, are two different things. And again practical and speculative theology are two separate branches of the same discipline. Such men as St. Bernard, St. Martin, St. Benedict and several other saints, as Ratio claims, possessed the science of practical theology. How then, so the Cistercian wonders, could St. Bernard, a man without the science of speculative theology, accuse an outstanding theologian (sumnum theologum) of heresy? Ratius answers: *in hoc facto zelum Dei habuit.* This sort of disagreement, he reassures us, should not disturb anyone, because such men as the great martyr Cyprian, Origen, Jerome and Gregory the Great, who contradicted Jerome, disagreed with others. The same is true with regard to certain statements made by *Magister Gillebertus:* what Blessed Hilary would have approved of did not seem true to Blessed Bernard. If we should charge Blessed Bernard with this lack of understanding, then we should charge much more the presumption and arrogance of those who induced him to disagree. They thought they grasped what they were unable to fathom: and the Saint, guided by that charity which believes all things (I Cor. xiii, 7), believed them.

Everard begs Ratius to illustrate how St. Bernard thought he grasped what he actually failed to understand. Ratius complies gladly and begins with the Saint’s critique of Gilbert’s explanation of the divine substance as substantia quae est Deus. He concludes with his characteristic touch of sarcasm: *Habes igitur quam rationalis calumnia prædicto verbo fuit irrogata.* “Easy! easy! on account of the Saint”, Everard interjects. “But it seems,” he goes on to say, “that Boethius can indeed be interpreted as you say.” Ratius persists: “Does it not appear to you that the accusation against the master resulted from ignorance of the arts? Listen to what Pope Eugene said, ‘How shall we judge what we do not understand? This man converses with God, not with men’. Mind you, Eugene says this speaking of the master.”

Everard then concedes that the reason for the controversy was the ambiguity of the word ‘substance’. To give further examples, he submits to Ratius a few critical remarks that St. Bernard makes against Gilbert in his De Consideratione. Ratius explains how St. Bernard should have avoided these critical observations. Although Ratius does not openly contend that St. Bernard passed an erroneous

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88 Ibid.
90 *Dialogus,* p. 272.
91 Ibid.
93 Ibid. It is recorded by John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pontif.*, 10; ed. Poole, p. 22, that the Cardinals and most of the others who attended Gilbert’s trial said: *Nunquam sic locutus est homo* (John vii, 46). Everard does not claim that he was present at the Council of Rheims. [ 148 ]
judgment, Everard professes: *Boethium non audeo arguere erroris nec beatum Bernardum, cujus laus ubique praecognat de summa theologia.* The Cistercian does not betray the fact that in his exposition Ratius was extensively quoting from Gilbert, not Boethius. Before pointing to the wonderful opuscula written by St. Bernard, he touches on the Saint's education: *De quo* (i.e., St. Bernard) *vere praedicator quod plura didicerit orando quam disputando et plura sub fago quam in disputinatione areopago.* But his opponent, Ratius, feels that there is no need of bringing up the Saint's name so often, because nobody intends to say anything against him personally. Only those are to be blamed who made false reports on the master. In his overflowing charity, which believes all things, the Saint took their word for it. Yet it is truly astonishing to see some monks rush, in thoughtless boldness, to the offensive against so great a teacher (*tanti doctoris*), while all the learned men of France acclaim the Bishop's writings: *excepta et valva auctoritate sancti Bernardi per omnia.* "I am not sitting here", Ratius insists, "to defend Gilbert or accuse the Saint. I am just relating their assertions."

After citing a text wherein St. Bernard refers to the *duplex Deus* taught in certain circles, Ratius replies: *Hoc magister numquam excogitavit.* Against St. Bernard's accusation that they also taught a God subject to a form, Ratius retorts: "I am truly at a loss how to answer, for it is a crime to assert that this Saint should have given expression to something contrary to the truth about oral or written statements of the master. Yet in the Bishop's sayings or writings nothing can be found that could be interpreted in that sense." Ratius even finds fault with the textual accuracy of a quotation from Boethius, but excuses St. Bernard by saying that the Saint's manuscript must have been defective: *Igitur exemplar, in quo sanctus hoc legit, fuit liber mendosus aut scriptoris vitium.*

Despite his previous resolve to leave St. Bernard's name out of the debate, Ratius keeps hinting at the Saint's misinterpretations of Gilbert's doctrine. In the above context, St. Bernard adds another Boethian text without attempting an explanation. Ratius shrewdly takes note of it: *Addit Bernardus de auctoritate . . . Sed non declarat. Magister autem declarat . . . Here you have it, he concludes; God is not subject to a form because He is a Form as both Boethius and the Bishop teach. The Saint, however, seems to affirm that the Bishop held the opposite view.*

Ratius finally produces a long text in which the *pater monachorum*, as he calls St. Bernard, warns against subtle inquiries into the trinitarian mystery. Ratius is quite amazed: *Haec audiens vehementer obstupescere*. After all, St. Bernard himself did not act according to this admonition and Boethius states explicitly that he spent a long time investigating it. Is it really reckless to scrutinize the question how there is plurality in the divine unity, and unity in plurality? This is what "our philosopher" courageously asserted, truthfully taught, and what he maintained he knew how to prove, namely how there is one essence of three Persons and how the three Persons are of one essence.

To conclude his long argument, Ratius adds a personal note: "And this is what I have often said when the occasion arose, 'Some monks, who are educated but not sufficiently trained in the scholastic method, simply transcribe in their books what they find expressed in the writings of the orthodox Fathers. But how these things are to be understood they neither know nor bother to learn from those who do know. Anyway, they believe that sinners cannot know what they, being saints, do not know themselves.'"
“If I may dare make a suggestion”, Everard says breaking his long silence, “it seems to me that in this particular point Blessed Bernard judged more wisely than you and your master.” Paying his interlocutor a somewhat dubious compliment, Ratius replies: “Everard, there are two vices you do not have—I wish it were true universally—viz., adulation and hypocrisy. Since this is the case, you should avoid the presumption of indiscreet and rash judgment because, as Horace says, while dodging vices, fools will run into the opposite evils.” Our Cistercian accepts the reproach with good grace, for God, he says, has chosen the fools of this world to put to shame the wise.

Now it is Everard’s turn to show that Gilbert went too far in trying to explain the trinitarian mystery. The monk had refrained from commenting upon the previous points of the debate in which Ratius refuted a number of passages from St. Bernard’s De Consideratione. His silence gave consent. To prove the point at issue, Everard now cites some texts on the incomprehensibility of God and declares that Ratius’ “philosopher” openly contradicts not only St. Gregory and “the great Denis”, but even the words of Scripture: “Hence he (i.e., Gilbert) understood more of God than other men or angels, things which our abbot, a true theologian, professed not to know like all the rest. Gilbert would indeed be like the beatified in heaven. How did your master know that which not even the angels grasp in all its fullness, since they fully comprehend neither God nor the Trinity? This you must tell me, this question you must solve. Then you will truly be my great Apollo.”

As one may expect by now, Ratius is equal to this challenge. But Everard does not really desire to speculate at length on faith and reason and reminds his friend of the basic issue: a reply to the abbot’s correction of the master’s exposition. Beginning with a text from Boethius, the salient point of the argument reads: Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus non tres veritates sed una veritas est. Quod magister sic expost: ‘i.e. unus verus’. At Bernardus insultanter ait: Noster commentator melius dixisset ‘i.e. veritas’. Coming from the lips of the Cistercian Everard, the word insultanter is no doubt the strongest expression of disapproval encountered so far. He now requests an elucidation of two questions: first, why the Bishop made such a comment and, secondly, why the Saint reprimanded the Bishop for making it.

We may here return to the answer made by Ratius when he was asked to voice his view on some texts in St. Bernard’s De Consideratione. Ratius answered: Quid dicam? Nihil ibi posuit inuenio dignum nodo. Magis enim est persuasorium quod ibi inductum quam assertioni contrarium. Non est argumentatio sed ornata persuasio ad quodam. In Ratius’ opinion, Gilbert and St. Bernard did not speak the same language. As a preacher, we are told, St. Bernard might well express himself in figures of speech, “in tropes of rhetorical colour”, as Ratius puts it—but strict scholarship cannot afford such freedom because it is bound by different rules.

As previously noted, a detailed analysis of the grammatical theory which Ratius evolves to defend his Gilbert has been presented elsewhere. Its general outline can be presented as follows: Concrete nouns (body, animal, stone, etc.) directly signify a reality, abstract nouns (whiteness, length, truth, etc.) a form. Indirectly, concrete nouns signify a form, abstract nouns a reality. Adjectives (white, long, true, etc.) follow the same rule. It depends on their grammatical position whether their signification is direct or indirect. The (individual) subject is always that of which something is predicated; the (universal) form is that which is predicaded. The sentence: “This body is white,” means that this body is white by whiteness.

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81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Dialogue, p. 278.
84 Ibid.
85 The reading digno on p. 274 of the Dialogus is a typographical error.
86 Dialogue, p. 274.
its form. The sentence: "Whiteness is whiteness", means that whiteness makes white; it thus expresses the effect caused by whiteness. To say: "This body is whiteness", makes no sense, because this body is not produced by whiteness.

In theology the same rules of language apply analogically. When we say: "God is true", we mean that God is true by truth. When we say: "God is truth", we claim that the subject, God, is an effect caused by truth, as if truth made God to be God. What we actually mean to say—and therefore ought to say—is that God is true (by truth). For that reason Gilbert corrected Boethius (Deus est veritas) by adding: i.e. verus. Such, we learn, are rules of proper locutio or lexis which accepts the sentence: "God is true," and rejects as false the statement: "God is truth". They differ from the rules of elocutio or rhesis in oratory (in oratoria facultate), where figurative language is permissible and prevalent.

Everard is quite surprised that Ratius makes such an elaborate effort to explain this matter. Why so much fuss about a question so easily solved? He even heaps abuse on Ratius who, in turn, demonstrates his own great power of repartee. Another long discourse by Ratius enlarges on the rules of proper dictio and the differences and changes of meaning in the analogical application to God and the Trinity. Returning to the conflict between St. Bernard and Gilbert, Ratius sums the matter up as follows: Quod igitur in oratorio genere orandi i.e. loquendi episcopus verum esse judicavit, vester abbas in omni loquendi genere et facultate recipiendum approbaest. To make sure the difference is clearly understood, he repeats the principal points and concludes: Diversa igitur qualitas orandi peperit interpretationis illius phantasiam. Quod enim secundum rhesim tantum judicavit episcopus Pictaviensis verum, secundum lexim et rhesim abbas Clarevaliensis judicavit accipiendum. Quod enim unus tropice dictum putavit, alter prope.

"Tell me now whether you are satisfied", Ratius enquires. "Almost" is the terse response he receives from Everard. Effusive as he is, Ratius gives us another summary and, feeling tired, prepares to depart with a last admonition to doubt no more the things he has clarified. Everard, however, refuses to allow him to go. At this moment Ratius' servant, Byrria, quite out of breath, arrives to inform his master that a messenger, sent by his wife, wishes to see him. Sosias, Ratius' uncle, still limping, also joins them. Byrria fails to see any sense in such time-wasting debates: Cum Gallo gannis hic de Gallorum nucis. We have previously noted that Everard cannot conceal a certain rancour at the garrula Francia, as Ratius had expressed it in the earlier part of the dialogue.

Ratius now breaks off the discussion to see the messenger and look after the horses so sorely neglected by the monks. He assigns to Sosias (qui sedatum hatet cerebrum) the task of carrying on the debate until he returns. Everard resents this "illiterate layman" until Ratius reassures him that Sosias is well qualified to continue the discussion. It centres on the definition or description of truth, which, at first, leaves Everard less satisfied. By the time Ratius returns, the principal items of the Dialogue are again gone over. "Is your question solved, brother Everard"? Ratius enquires. Est utique plene et plane sed nec leviter nec breviter, is the reply.

So the Cistercian is fully satisfied with the result of their investigation in which Ratius won every argument. There is, in fact, not a single instance of any importance in which St. Bernard's cause emerges victorious over that of the Bishop of Poitiers. As a good and loyal Cistercian Everard sides with St. Bernard to a point and tones down the occasionally abusive language which

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\( ^{11^-12} \text{Cf. Dialogus, pp. 278 f.} \)
\( ^{13^-14} \text{Dialogus, pp. 280-282.} \)
\( ^{15^-16} \text{Ibid., p. 282.} \)
\( ^{17^-18} \text{Ibid.} \)

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he could have cancelled by a stroke of his pen. But he is too much the dramatist to forego such devices to stimulate the interest of his readers or audience. Thus, in its kind, the Dialogue is unique. It could have been performed on a stage and for a very mixed audience, because it contains enough variety to make a lay brother chuckle and a theologian marvel at the spirited presentation of such highly controversial problems. Involving the person of their founder, the treatment added a very personal note to the solution, which the "playwright" wished to be accepted with a minimum of reflection on the Saint who had so vigorously opposed them. For there can be no doubt that, not only deep in his heart but also with open manifestation, Everard was a convinced Porretanus. He felt it to be his duty to enlighten first of all the religious community where opposition to Porretanism was more than an abstract disagreement.

Everard tells Ratius to pray for Gilbert instead of shedding useless tears. Ratius, however, considers even prayers unnecessary for a man who "is believed to be close to the secrets of God in the palace of heaven." "I do not grieve", he continues, "because of anything that has happened to him but because of what has happened to us and the whole world which is unworthy of his doctrine. He was in truth the proverbial well-watered fountain of which no stranger partook and in which even his own flock shared only to a moderate degree." Everard is so moved by this eulogy that he pours out his heart in greater love for a beloved friend: Cum ab antiquo mihi fuersis dilectus, propter dilectionem illius magni ex dilecto factus es mihi amplius praecordialis et individuus. Ratius had practically 'canonized' Gilbert and his Cistercian friend loves him so much the more for extolling the greatness of a man whose very name conjured up suspicions of heresy, at least among the followers of St. Bernard. Toward the end of the Dialogue when Sosias asks Ratius: "Do you want me to teach this indignant Minerva?" (i.e. Everard), the Cistercian does not wait for an answer from Ratius and declares: Audiam te libenter quia audio te novisse doctrinam doctoris nostri. Thus Everard explicitly admits what is only poorly concealed, viz., that he belongs to the flock "of that great man" and is ready and willing to listen to any one who professes to know the doctrine of "our teacher".

To safeguard the reputation of St. Bernard, Everard draws up three lines of defence: first of all, the Saint was misled by others in whose judgment he trusted out of that charity which, in the words of the Apostle, believes all things. Secondly, we are given to understand that St. Bernard was a man of practical, not speculative, theology, and who, as Ratius phrases it, had learned more by prayer than debate, more under a beech tree than on the Areopagus of disputation. Being insufficiently trained, "he did not fully understand master Gilbert" quia, ut dicitur, juvenis a studio artium prudenter inductus recessit, in qua aetate ad theologiam audiendo non ad aliquem doctorem accessit. The suggestion that the grace of God made up for the Saint's lack of scholastic training is a little too much for Ratius: Hoc forte monachis suis persuadebis, at non mihi. We must not lose sight of the fact that Ratius is a fictitious Greek who says exactly what Everard wants to hear.

The third line of defence grows out of the second. St. Bernard, we are told, excelled in a different field of literary activity and clung to the erroneous contrenderant et abbatem, si plenam intelligentiam affectaret, prius in disciplinis liberalibus et aliis praecedendis plenius instrui oportere.

149 Dialogus, p. 252.
150 Ibid.
151 Ibid., p. 284.
152 Ibid., p. 275.
153 Ibid., p. 271. John of Salisbury, Hist. Pontif., 12; ed. Poole, p. 27, tells how St. Bernard asked him to arrange a meeting for him with Gilbert to discuss some obscure texts in St. Hilary of Poitiers. Gilbert refused, because he considered St. Bernard's scholastic training insufficient: Ille vero respondit jam satis esse quod hucusque

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opinion that whatever is allowable in the language of preachers and in moralibus theologicos (to quote Ratius) is equally permissible in the language of speculative theology. Even the Fathers, we learn, did not always conform to the strict standards of scientific speech. Everard shows no strong signs of reaction when Ratius claims: Nota unicae artifici in sua faculitate credendum ut logico in logica, geometrae in geometria, et fabro in fabrateria et theolo in theologia. Sed iste sanctus, de quo est sermo, nullius artis artifex inventus, in artibus exercitatus parum, in quaestionibus theologicos nihil, in moralibus vero theologicos multum.

Ratius undoubtedly represents the critics of St. Bernard in the school of Gilbert. Everard shows his agreement with them, in most cases, by his silence or by the sort of query he makes either to prolong the debate or draw attention to implications in need of clarification. The fact that he is thoroughly defeated by Ratius causes no bitterness, because he wanted to lose the argument so that his beloved Gilbert would be the real victor. In the eyes of Everard the Council of Rheims (1148) was a test of strength in which St. Bernard was successful in bringing him to trial and unsuccessful in convicting him of heresy. This is expressed in the form of a question addressed to Ratius: Quomodo tuum magistrum in pleno Remensi Concilio, ne dicam convincere, sed de haeresi convenire praevaluit? After presenting a long argument to prove that it is wrong to say Deus est divinitas, Ratius pauses for his opponent’s comment, because this contention ranked first among the charges made against Gilbert at the Council of Rheims. But Everard is so satisfied and pleased that, “to tell the truth”, he cannot think of a single objection: Sufficien: et satis rationabiliter et, ut verum fatare, non est quid refragari debeat. Resat tamen, ut respondeas argumentis et rationi beati Bernardi, qui nunc est vere et juste in catalogo sanctorum, cujus assertioni auctoritatem addit spectata et approbata sanctitas fere a cunctis.

Everard, we may recall, did not suffer from the vices of adulation and hypocrisy. So he is not afraid to go so far as to assert that St. Bernard’s holiness is recognized “almost by all”. He is, likewise, not afraid to pass some critical remarks on the Bishop of Poitiers. His memory of that “most exalted man and most penetrating philosopher” was impaired by Gilbert’s excessive pride: “He despised human praise and glory more than is just. For that reason he refused to step down to the level and capacity of a larger audience.

But Gilbert of Poitiers is really Everard’s hero. We are told by Ratius that Gilbert fully grasped the mind of the Greek and Latin philosophers, clearly understood the faith of the Greek and Latin Fathers: In subtilitate altius caput omnibus extulit. He who reads his works duce Spiritu intellectus profits more in every respect than he who reads the entire works of all the others. And since the possession of Gilbert’s works is dearer to Ratius than all the fabulous wealth of Croesus, he has hidden them away in his library in Athens. This probably means that Everard had to part with them when he entered the monastic community which had special reasons to look with disapproval upon the reading of such highly controversial books. However, Everard’s numerous and literal
quotations from Gilbert's commentaries on the *Opuscula Sacra* prove that he had access to the volume. We know, in fact, that the library of Clairvaux owned at least two copies of the commentaries, one of which is still preserved at the Bibl. Nationale of Paris (Ms lat. 18094), and the other at the Municipal Library of Troyes (Ms lat. 1841). They were placed side by side, as the shelf marks (G. 74 and G. 75) reveal, and since both of them belong to the twelfth century, it is not impossible that one of them once belonged to our Everard.

III.

Our description of the complex personality of the Cistercian Everard, who refused to sacrifice his loyalty to Gilbert of Poitiers on the altar of his religious vows, is an important key to the understanding of a letter he addressed to Pope Urban III (1185-7). This letter is published at the end of this study and deals "with some articles of faith". According to the title of the letter three problems are dealt with: the Assumed Man, the two natures and one Person in Christ, and the "characteristic" (i.e., trinitarian) properties. In the letter itself this order is reversed. The author, who is named Everard in the title of the letter, turns to the Pope a finibus terrae and is deeply concerned about the increase of worldliness which threatens the very foundations of the faith. The introduction which praises Urban's name as admirabile in throno regiae potestatis, admirabile in tribunali judiciariae discretionis points to a man familiar with legal terms. The introduction also reflects a man who is familiar with the numerous requests addressed to the Head of the Church: some asking for help, others for redress of injustices, others for honours. They all seek their own advantage, all want temporal favours. The Law of Justinian "clamours noisily" and the immaculate Law of the Lord is silenced.\(^1\)

Everard had probably learned a great deal about such matters when he was in the entourage of Cardinal Hyacinth. But he is more deeply worried about certain errors in theology taught and learned in Paris and elsewhere. Speaking of the Trinity, some say: *paternitas est Deus*, while others say: *paternitas non est Deus*. Both cannot be right and those who are wrong must be corrected.\(^2\) Most of the argument which follows agrees verbatim with the treatment of the same problem in the *Dialogue*.\(^3\) Long passages are directly copied from Gilbert's comment on Boethius' *De Trinitate*, though Gilbert's name is never mentioned. No doubt, this silence was a matter of expediency. A textual comparison between the *Dialogue* and the letter to Urban seems to be in favour of the view that this part of the letter is based on the *Dialogue*, because the text quotations in the latter are more explicit and more accurate. However, the external evidence shows that the letter was written in 1185-7 and the *Dialogue* in 1191-8. The purpose of the first part of the letter may be obscure to a less discerning reader: the writer intends to prove that the sentence: *paternitas non est Deus* is correct. In other words, Everard wants Rome to side with the Porretani.

In the second part of the letter Everard sets out to show that the Parisian faculty of theology—*nostri Parisienses*—teaches semi-Nestorianism.\(^4\) Though they do not say so in so many words, "our Parisians" teach that there are two persons in Christ.\(^5\) Here again Everard's basic ideas are borrowed from Gilbert of Poitiers.

With regard to Christ's nature(s), with which he deals in the third part of the letter, Everard contends that some Parisians—*quidam Parisienses*—profess semi-Eutychism despite Pope Alexander's prohibition.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) *Epist. Everardi*, 1-2. The *Epistola* is edited at the end of this study. The numbers refer to the chapters into which I have divided the letter to facilitate references to it.

\(^2\) *Epist. Everardi*, 3.

\(^3\) The references to identical texts in the *Dialogue* will be found in the footnotes to the text.


"These, Father, are errors which, originating in Paris, are being spread almost across the entire world." Only the Pope, as the writer tells us, can settle the issue "because old men are reluctant to renounce what they learned in their youth." Father, Everard pleads later, "You have heard those errors when you went to school and lived among those erring people." Our Cistercian then adds up the errors, but not without adding a few more arguments. Finally he goes so far as to tell Pope Urban to forget temporal questions for the time being and to organize and attend weekly theological disputations (to be held in his presence) rather than take a rest. Then, he adds, the Pope should write to the "Parisians" and define his position and denounced the erring theologians to the clergy." No doubt, Everard believed in frankness.

Another Cistercian, of whose name we only know the initial B, read and re-read both the Dialogue and the letter to Urban. He finally decided to write to "brother Everard" to express not only the pleasure but also the difficulties these two writings had caused him. Both his style and his depressed outlook on the depravity of the world at large will remind the reader of Everard, though "brother B" is even more critical. Believing that the end of the world is at hand, he takes it for granted that the people living in the world have opened "the gate to all evils". The members of the various religious Orders differ from them only by their dress or habit. They are like trees in the fall: just leaves and no fruit. "Leave all those people", Everard is told, "and lift up your eyes to Mount Sion, I mean the Order of Orders, our Order". It will make you weep to see how the foxes have walked upon it.

Then "brother B" paints a gloomy picture of his Cistercian confreres and concludes by saying that his description of their numerous faults is really superfluous, because Everard has "pierced through such human monsters sufficiently and abundantly with a certain biting elegance." In approaching the main subject of his letter, the writer warns: De medio fiat omnis iniqua suspicio, facessat indignatio, rancor omnis absistat. It sounds like an echo of repercussions which must have followed the publication of the Dialogue. "I do not come to you as a tempter" but as a brother and friend. To save Everard the trouble of looking up his Dialogue, "brother B" transcribed the entire passages which remained either obscure to him or incomplete and contradictory. He is not afraid to censure some points and to propose such solutions as he considers more satisfactory. At one point he openly declares that he cannot follow Everard's explanation of a text by St. Hilary: Satisfaciat ad hoc Ratus tus, immo ratio tua." The remark indicates that at least this reader of the Dialogue realized that Ratus was a fiction, a personification of "Reason".

"Brother B" then examines certain passages from the letter to Urban III and requests a more lucid and complete explanation of a Boethian text which he compares with statements from Sts. Ambrose and Augustine that appear to contradict Boethius. The letter ends on a friendly, humorous note: "What do you think, my brother Everard? You imagined that all was so quiet that you could rest soundly on your ears. Homer sometimes nods, but I do not blame you for getting caught napping during such a long piece of work." The writer wishes to be excused, if he has caused any inconvenience, though he feels that he has presumed on a true friend, not a stranger.

Who wrote the letter? The answer would seem easy enough: a Cistercian whose name begins with the letter B. However, I cannot help suspecting that it was born in Everard's poetical fancy, because the style is so remarkably similar to that of the Dialogue. It may well be based on actual enquiries made by another

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55 Ibid., 18.
56 Ibid.
67 Epist. Everardi, 19.
68 Ibid., 20–22.
69 Epistula fratris B., 1. See note 79, supra.
71 Ibid., 3.
72 Ibid., 8.
73 Ibid., 14.
Cistercian and, in that case, Everard did not have to invent a Greek critic. The fact that the three writings were copied and inserted in a large volume containing works by men of such illustrious names as Anselm, Ivo of Chartres, Rupert of Deutz, Hildebert of Le Mans, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, shows that they were not considered to be without merit. Indeed, today they are of more than ordinary interest for the history of what is called Porretanism in which so much is left to be clarified. No author is known to have analyzed Gilbert’s position with the thoroughness of our Cistercian. We have touched only in passing the grammatical theories, a knowledge of which is really indispensable to any sensible explanation of certain assertions which brought upon Gilbert and his school the suspicion or accusation of heresy.

IV.

We have, so far, analyzed the works, character and method of a scholar who deserves attention as a theologian and canonist and, strange as it may seem, as a dramatist. It should be left to a more competent judge to determine his place in the history of the theatre. His Dialogue, an attentive reader will not fail to note, is much more than a dry sequence of questions and answers. It contains descriptions of nature, changes of scenery, movements of characters. The participants may sit in the grass on the hillside or take refuge under a roof on the following day to be protected from the rain foreseen the previous evening, but they will always remain close enough to the monastery to hear its bell ring. In thus establishing the unity of place, Everard apparently thought that the open air was the best symbolic setting for an open discussion. The succession of questions and answers, occasionally interrupted by Ratius’ companions and Everard’s confreres, is never dull, always stimulating, often witty and humorous, sometimes slightly impolite and rude.

Here is a sketch of the development we can easily visualize on a stage: Everard is walking about, meditating on the monastic life, when his friend, the Athenian Ratius, a man of manly spirit and excellent education, steps into his path with a joke on his lips: Frater Everarde, studiis accingere tarde. Nescio quid tecum grave cornicaris inepte. Everard throws back his head: Rati, optato advenisti sed non optato incepiasti.1 The Cistercian does not miss the pun on (Eve)rorde and tarde and retorts: optato advenisti, non optato incepiasti. He resents the quotation from the Satirist Persius and rejects it with the same poetical ease: Non cornicor inepte sed meditor apte. “I was only joking”, Ratius remarks and tells the monk that his meditating must be pretty useless if he cannot even see and take a joke. Everard replies with a verse from Persius, and Ratius, the Greek, meets it with a sentence from “our Galen” to show that too much study “dries up a man”. They argue back and forth until Ratius asks the Cistercian on what he was meditating. “I should like to tell you”, Everard answers, “because I am anxious to be instructed by you, since I know you taught at the Areopagus. But, unfortunately, I am not free, the bell is calling me to the evening service. Yet I am afraid that, being a guest, you will not stay with us.” “Don’t worry”, Ratius reassures him, “go and return quickly.”

While walking away Everard says to himself: “I will tell him everything I think of the monks, no matter what Order they belong to or what habit they wear. I will talk to him frankly, not in order to run others down but to get over my doubt”. They are together again and Ratius begins the conversation: Dic, Everarde, si quid habes. “I have something against you”, the monk replies. “It is against the rule to address me with my simple name without adding anything to it”. “Don’t waste your time”, the Greek objects. “I have nothing to do with your rules”.

1 Dialogus, p. 245.
2 Ibid., p. 246.
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The technicality of proper address removed, Everard goes straight to the point. How do you account for the lack of harmony between the regular and conventual monastic institution and the general deplorable drift of their daily conversation? How do you explain "the great discord between the monk's holy profession, his exterior habit and interior attitude"? Since St. Bernard denounced them publicly, the Cistercian feels that he cannot be wrong by enquiring. But Ratus shrugs it off: "Am I a monk to pass judgment on their mores? Tractent fabrilia fabri". "You are a true monk by virtue and attitude, though not by profession and habit", is Everard's astonishing answer. "You are talented enough to advise any monk of any Order".

Ratus shies away from the subject with another verse of Horace: Caelum, non animam, mutat qui trans mare currit. "You Greeks are all alike in your evasiveness", the Cistercian retorts. So Ratus decides to listen, to his complaint about the monks who ignore St. Benedict's rule not to relate in the cloister the things heard in the world. Ratus is only too willing to add fuel to the fire, but carefully notes that his criticism does not include the "white" monks (Cistercians). Everard agrees, if only to a point, and then alludes to an argument with a certain monk by the name of Hugh "who appeared to be most religious in manner and dress, and highly recommended for his education and conduct". The Cistercian readers probably knew exactly to whom he referred, but they had to wait for details because Ratus is now in full course and gives us a piece of his mind on monks, clerics, and prelates. He maintains that the humble and repentant sinners of the world are the really happy people whereas "you, brother Everard, and the others like you are miserable, swelling up in angry denunciation of the life of the religious." That is exactly what our Cistercian wanted to hear: Benedictus sit sermo oris tui.

"I know you inside out", Ratus boasts with Persius, "but tell me more about that Hugh". "Not until you promise me to keep it to yourself", is the monk's warning, a warning which Ratus deems a superfluous precaution among men of prudence. Everard describes the unpleasant incident and Ratus advises him it would have been better for him to remain silent. Not fully convinced, Everard insists that he just could not tolerate the dogmatic manner in which such an entire stranger as Hugh presumed to read his thoughts. "Perhaps he noticed your arrogance or somebody else told on you", Ratus explains mercilessly. "But what happened after that"? Everard has a long memory and hits back: "Just what happened to you when we first met here. Like you he had to admit that what he heard from me or about me was better than he thought". "That's indeed true with you", Ratus agrees sarcastically, and abruptly takes leave to prepare his departure on the next day.

The monk grows a little impatient: "You told the abbot (papae) you would stay with us for a while. You have not even touched the question I wanted you to answer. That is exactly what the Greeks will do; they will either suddenly drop a discussion or leave things half done." Ratus does not ignore the gibe: "You Latins love to chat with the Greeks, you who are merely small rivulets that come from the fountain-well of the Greeks. Yet you are all as ungrateful as your Virgil with his Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes." "Let's forget it, for poetry is poetry", the Cistercian pleads. "You need not humour me", Ratus retorts, "because I am a patient man. I wish you were as patient and meek as I am".

Everard cannot help making a personal comment which sheds an interesting light on his character: "Now that you mention patience, tell me what patience is, because the brethren often admonish me of its need". Ratus can neither suppress a suspicion nor resist the challenge and for a long time they quarrel


*Dialogus*, p. 247.

about the definition, or rather description, of patience." A wordy exposition
by Ratius, Everard grumbles: "Old stuff" (trita teris). But Ratius warns him:
"Not only do you not blush when you are beaten, you even belittle my argument
just to have something to say. Now tell me why I should put the word vindicta
in place of ira in the description of patience I have given". Ratiu stands his
ground well. He knows his Gratian and makes liberal use of this knowledge. 8

Voices are heard calling on Ratius to return. The Cistercian begs him to stay
because it is late in the day. "I will not stay here another night", Ratius rejoins
with determination. Everard offers to accompany him to the gate and reminds
him that the debate on patience is not yet finished: "And there is something
else left to be discussed". Ratius is curious: Quid hoc fuit? "Well", the Cistercian
continues, "the monk called Hugh, whom I mentioned before, withdrew his
verdict on me the following day and asked me about master Gilbert, Bishop of
Poitiers, who denies that God is His essence or His divinity and such like". 9

Ratius has hardly finished telling him to pass the matter over in silence when he
notices a commotion among his horses. Then a servant comes limping along
"on three legs instead of his usual two." Everard is sorry to hear that poor Sosias
was kicked by a horse and suffered a fractured backbone. Ratius takes the
opportunity to remind the monk that the impatience of the brute animal is, by
way of contrast, a good illustration of their discussion on patience. He then
orders his servants Eyrria and Davus to attend to Sosias and ready the horses
for their departure. "My master", Davus remonstrates, "we will have to wait
two weeks if you expect Sosias to be with us". "Do you hear that, Everard"? Ratius is heard saying and Everard admits that he is at once sorry for the
servant and glad of the delay.

Instead of retiring to the hostel (hospitium), as suggested by Ratius, they
go and sit down on the grass on the hillside. It will be a long session, because
Everard still insists on the solution of his question concerning Gilbert and does
not want to enter the boundary of the monastery lest he be detained by the
sound of the bell. As they sit there, the bell rings but they do not move. Everard
urges his friend to make haste and Ratius, complies, beginning with a nostalgic
account conjured up by his memory of that great man and philosopher Gilbert.
"I hear you attended his lectures", Everard interrupts him after a while. Ratius
grows more and more eloquent in his praise until Everard feels that Ratius went
far enough. "Don't shed such irrational tears", he grumbles with apparent irony
and admits soon after that now he likes Ratius much more because he sees that
Ratius is so fond of Gilbert. 10

The Greek improvises a short prayer to the Spirit of wisdom which the monk
concludes with a pious Amen. Before long Ratius is deep in grammar and logic
paving the way for an understanding of Gilbert's theology. After some five or
more minutes Everard interrupts him: "My Lord, where are you going? I think
you are rambling too much". Ratius: Docendus viam viatorem doceas? Rudis
theologus rudimenta ad theologiam audire non potes? "You ignorant theologian
cannot even listen to the basic preamble of theology"? 11 Everard agrees: "Go
on, I will listen", Ratius launches on an even longer discourse. Then some lively
questions and answers follow in rapid succession until three monks approach the
two disputants. Everard whispers that they will disturb the debate unless Ratius
does something to get rid of them. "I know", Ratius replies and turns to the
undesired visitors: "Hello, brothers, have you heard the latest rumour from
overseas"? "No we have not", one of them replies eagerly, "you have just come
from there and you tell us". They walk right into the Greek’s trap. "I am not a
newcomer", Ratius protests, "but you go and hurry to the gate before the visitors

7 Dialogus, p. 249.
8 Ibid., p. 250.
9 Ibid., p. 250.
10 Ibid., p. 250.
11 Ibid., p. 253.

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I saw there get away on you”. And off they go. The trick worked well but Everard is bothered by scruples which Ratius soon removes to his satisfaction. The debate continues and Ratius, as usual, does most of the talking. He finally reminds Everard that the bell is ringing.

Longing for more debating of this kind the Cistercian begs: “Tomorrow, when the others are going to work, you must come here well prepared”. They argue shortly over the term “prepared” and then Ratius agrees to return saying: “Wait for me here or rather close to your scriptorium in the orchard. The weather is getting worse on account of the new moon”. On the next morning the conversation opens again with a short prayer and, as predicted by Ratius, bad weather forces them to sit under the roof of the scriptorium. Although it is just a roof resting on four poles it looks to the imaginative Greek like an exedra, a regular hall for discussion. So we can still observe them.

Curious as he is, Everard would first like to ask how on earth Ratius could forecast the weather so accurately. Ratius tells him that it is typical of the Latins to ramble in such pointless fashion. He treats the monk to a story about a professor in whose lecture the word “eye” occurred. The professor went on: “Having mentioned the eye, let us see what an eye is”. His description of the eye, according to Ratius, proved that the professor knew his anatomy better than the grammar he taught. “One of your Priors”, he informs the Cistercian, “blundered just as badly when, in a talk on God, he completely distorted a sentence from Porphyry. Of course, the Prior wanted to show off his knowledge of logic. “Your Horace” has rightly stigmatized such silly vanity when he wrote: Et forte cypressum scit simulare."

Everard voices some faint disapproval: “You could have told us something worthwhile”. Ratius concedes only that his stories were out of place, although they carry a lesson. The debate is then resumed with new vigour. Again Ratius dominates Everard with a long, rarely interrupted exposition of Gilbert’s doctrine. At long last Everard catches him in a dilemma and forces an answer. This device is carefully planned to avoid monotony and the argument leads to a brief discussion on the use of force. Everard shows some indignation at the fact that Ratius merely laughs instead of admitting his failure to get out of the dilemma. “You take me wrongly”, the Greek protests. “I am laughing only because you are like an over-anxious hunting dog which, while chasing a wild boar, takes time off to dash for a rabbit that happens to turn up”. Our disputants then forget about the law problem and return to their theology.

As usual, the Cistercian throws his questions into Ratius’ discourse to enliven it. Ratius is shocked when, after a long session, Everard wants to ask “just one more question”, He gently reminds the religious: “The evening synaxis is completed and you have not yet said Vespers. Any minute the bell will call you to supper. You surely spend more time on your study than on your evening office. So make it short”. They go on and on. In the end Ratius gives up: “It’s simply impossible to satisfy you. Listen, the supper bell is ringing. That’s all; let’s go”. “Come back tomorrow”, Everard begs, apparently in vain. Ratius is quite determined to leave but our Cistercian has the last word: “Now I know you are upset. All professors are like that. They fly into a rage when they get stuck. I really thought you would be above that and enjoy being contradicted to show your wisdom”.

At this point the news of the arrival of a high ecclesiastic reaches them and the author of the Dialogue tells the story about the fish dinner we have already described. Their mutual disgust at such sensuality brings us our two disputants

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together again. Gradually the topic changes from Gilbert’s teaching to St. Bernard’s opposition to it." Just before the transition the Cistercian makes the concession: “To tell the truth, there is nothing left to oppose it”\textsuperscript{9}. We have already described how this delicate problem is handled by the author. Naturally, by now we know what to expect of a Greek who is anything but a respecter of persons. At the end Ratus is thoroughly tired and wants to leave.

Again Everard tries to hold him back, but without success. The servant Byrria comes rushing on the scene to announce the arrival of a messenger from Ratus’ wife. Together with Sosias he had looked for his master all over the property and is completely out of breath. He complains about Ratus getting fat on the abbot’s menu (\textit{diaeta abbatialis}) while the horses, living on the monks’ diet (\textit{diaeta monachalis}), will soon be unable to carry a horseman. Then Sosias, still hobbling along with a fractured back, appears on the scene and confirms the shocking story about the treatment of their horses: “For the first or second night the monks will treat the horses like those of guests (\textit{equi hospitium}). Then they are regarded not as horses of guests but of enemies (\textit{equi hostium}), unless they belong to great and wealthy magnates. In that case their fear of authority, not their obedience to charity, makes them provide food in abundance.”\textsuperscript{10} “There is your often-vaunted charity”, Ratus remarks to Everard as he proposes to leave to meet his wife’s messenger and take better care of the horses. “Don’t believe rumours”, the Cistercian rejoins calmly, “but it is true that the servants of rich men often demand more food for their horses when they are in somebody else’s stable”. Ratus leaves Sosias behind to carry on the debate. It looks like a neat trick to cover up the fact that the author experienced greater difficulty in coping with the problem at hand, namely the definition of truth.\textsuperscript{11} Much of what Sosias has to say is a repetition of earlier findings which are now applied to the concept of truth. There seems to be no direct connection with the chief subject of the debate.

Sosias takes the monk’s queries rather badly and calls Everard “a fifth wheel on the monastery wagon”. Ratus returns just in time to hear the monk’s complaint about this insult. “It’s our custom to make jokes like that”, Everard is told by his Greek friend and old Everard understands and forgives. Sosias, however, insists that he was serious because Everard, he tells us, is nothing but a burden to the monastery because of his different education. Thus the conversation turns to the advantages and disadvantages of monastic life. Finally the Greeks depart accompanied by the farewells of our Cistercian.

No intelligent reader could peruse this work without an occasional broad smile at the clever self-criticism and self-disparagement. Not even a Cistercian could put the book down without admiration for the frequently witty handling of an extremely delicate question. If it was not actually written for the stage, the \textit{Dialogue} has all the characteristic elements of a stage play. In a sense it is an \textit{apologia} penned by a man, who after spending most of his life in the world, had obvious difficulties in adjusting himself to his monastic surroundings. Only one of many, and perhaps the most serious, of his problems was his loyalty to Gilbert of Poitiers or his tenacious adherence to his intellectual convictions. The Cistercians, it is obvious, were broadminded enough to accept “the once outstanding professor” despite certain eccentricities which his best intentions were insufficient to hide.

Everard who had grown old among his books appreciated their kindness. “How superior is a scholar’s life to that of a monk where discipline and order control not only the hand but also the tongue and the mind”, he exclaims toward the end of the \textit{Dialogue}. That control of tongue and mind must have weighed heavily on a man like Everard who was apparently exempted from working in

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., p. 271.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., p. 282.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 283.
the fields. Being advanced in years, he felt confident the monks would take loving care of him in sickness and in death: "Compare", he says, "the goodness of monks to that of the scholars. A monk falls sick and one or even two men are appointed to look after him. They smooth his bed, wash his feet, prepare water for his hands and food for his table, they watch over him night and day if need be. With devotion and prayers they anoint him at the approach of death, bring him the Viaticum and carry the deceased into the church on their own shoulders. They bury him with dignified solemnity and follow his soul even beyond the grave with Psalms and Holy Masses. All that for the deceased."

"But when a scholar falls sick, who is at his side unless he is very rich? Only his servant or some woman devoted to his service closes his dying eyes. Two or perhaps three members of the clergy assist at his funeral. Who sings Psalms for him? Vae soli. But alas, all too often he dies a much more miserable death. This is what your state has to recommend itself. Behold this is what the life of scholars has to offer. And what shall I say about their final day? The rigour of discipline begins while you are still alive. Somebody fails in the monastery by breaking the silence, by giving signs he was not allowed to give, by doing something he was not supposed to do. He who sins publicly, must repent publicly. Compare their vigils with the somnolence of scholars, compare sobriety with drunkenness, fasting with feasting, coarse food and dress with worldly and scholarly pleasures, chastity with impurity, true learning with pseudo-knowledge, meekness with irritability, humility with human conceit—and then choose what you think ought to be chosen."

The contrasts in the colours of this picture are too heavy, no doubt, and Everard was certainly the last to admit that the practice of monastic virtues in his days left nothing to be desired. At the same time we may rest assured that all scholars did not deserve so harsh a verdict, or experience so miserable a retribution, as our Cistercian would want us to believe.

V.

Before presenting the text of the two hitherto unpublished letters found in Everard's dossier, we may briefly recall the principal known facts of his life. He was born in the city of Ypres in Flanders, in the first quarter of the twelfth century. His education was mainly "Parisian" and comprised an excellent training in the liberal arts as a preparatory step to theology. In his school affiliation he was a follower of Gilbert of Poitiers, not only by attending his lectures wherever circumstances led Gilbert to move, but also by a loyal adherence to Gilbert's teaching when such allegiance occasioned severe conflict with those who, as he claimed, failed to grasp the fundamental soundness of Gilbert's position. He studied canon law which presumably served him well in the entourage (1162-63) of Cardinal Hyacinth, later Pope Celestine III, during whose reign Everard wrote his Dialogue. As a canonist he was dependent on the works of John of Faenza, Rufinus and others. We have seen that he shows influences of the teaching of Stephen of Tournai and Sichard of Cremona. The Summula was not written before 1180. He entered the Cistercian Order at a later date and it seems that the letter to Pope Urban III (1185-87) was written before he joined the "white monks". Hence he probably became a religious of Clairvaux some time between 1185-91. The Dialogue is dated by its reference to Pope Celestine III (1191-98) and, in view of Everard's age, we may presume that he composed it during the earlier years of Celestine's reign. The letter to Everard, whether authentic or

-- Everard seems influenced by Alan of Lille (Cf. Dialogue, p. 287) whose Summa, edited by P. Glorieux, Arch. d'hist. doctr. et litt. du moyen âge, XX (1953), 111-284, deserves special attention in this regard.
fictitious, was written later because it refers both to the letter of Urban and to the Dialogue.

The two letters, which are published here for the first time, are transcribed from Cambræ, Bibl. munici., Ms. 259, fols. 228v–229v and 240v–241v. Like the Dialogue, they are not in the author’s hand but are copies made during the early thirteenth century. The spelling adopted in the edition is modern; textual corrections are noted in the footnotes. There, too, will be found sufficient information concerning the author’s sources. A number of marginal notes, added by the same scribe or another contemporary hand, are listed in the footnotes.

Epistola Everardi¹ de Quibusdam Articulis Fidei: de Homine Assumpto, de Duabus Naturis et Una Persona Christi, et de Proprietatibus Characteris² ad Urbanum Papam III.


[2] Ideoque a finibus terrae ad te clamatur,⁴ dum cor ecclesiae anxiatur. Clamatur autem ab his pro necessitatis suis, ab ills pro injustis sibi illatis, ab aliis pro honoribus adipiscendis. Et hi omnes quae sunt, rari vero vel nulli quod Jesu Christi.⁵ Omnes tractant de temporalibus, pauci vel nulli de spiritualibus. Ideoque coram te clamat et perstrept lex Justiniæs, silet plerunque lex Domini immaculata.⁶ Et raro coram te fit controversia de fide christianæ. Tunicam Dominæ inconsideritissimæ dissuitur, scinditur et, nisi a te, non est a quo consuatur. Fides Christi periclitatur, destruitur et non est, nisi a te, a quo construatur.

I.

[3] Sed, ut omittam haereses fere per universum mundum a laicis et inter laicos exortas, non possim silere errores quorumdam in theologia studentium Parisiæ et alibi theologiam docentium sive disscientium, quorum quidam pertinent ad Trinitatem, quidam ad Christi personam, quidam ad Christi naturam. Ad Trinitatem hac modo: Inquinet quidam, paternitas est Deus; aliæ, paternitas non est Deus.⁷ At quantum periculum est affirmare Deum esse quod Deus non est, tantum periculum est negare Deum ipsum non esse quod ipse est. At isti affirmant de Deo quod illi negant. Igitur alteri, etsi non alterutri, errant. Errantes vero a te revocandi sunt.

Verum⁸ si paternitas est Deus et filiatio et processio et innascibilitas, cum haec sint quattuor, sicut Trinitas est in unitate ita quaternitas in Trinitate. Item paternitate distinguetur Pater a Filio et ita paternitas est causa differenti et disjungendi Patrem a Filio. Eadem est communis essentia trium et ita quiddam commune esse et ita causa uniendo esse. Quae ergo causa Patri conveniendi cum Filio, ea est Patri causa differenti a Filio. Item si id, quo Pater est Pater, est substantia, Pater ad se et non ad aliquid dicitur.


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¹ Everardi Ms. The reading of this name in the manuscript varies between Eurardus and Eurardus.
² karatericis Ms. In the Dialogue (p. 270) Everard speaks of characteristics nomina.
³ Ps. viii. 2.
⁴ in benignitate misericordia Ms.
⁵ Cf. Ps. lx, 3: A finibus terræ ad te clamavi.
⁶ ex Phil. ii. 21.
⁷ Ps. xviii. 18.
⁸ John xix. 23.
⁹ marg. Quod relatio non est Deus.
¹⁰ marg. opposito.
¹¹ marg. Augustinus contra assertiones paternitatem esse Deum.
est, hoc Filius, hoc Spiritus sanctus est. Sed quod Pater est, non est illud quod Filius est. Pater enim non ad se sed ad Filium dicitur. Deus autem ad se dicitur. Eo ergo, quo Pater est Deus, est substantia. Et cum Filius sit ejusdem substantiae, procul dubio Filius est Deus. Sed quod Pater est, non est substantia. Non sic ergo Filium dicimus Patrem quemadmodum Filium dicimus Deum.  

Audi,  pater, quod Augustinus dicit: Quod Pater est, non est illud quod Deus est; et quod Pater est, non est Deus. Hoc dicit de usia vel de hypostasi vel de notione. Sed de usia vel de hypostasi falsum est, quia et usia et hypostasis Deus et substantia est. Ergo intelligendum est de notione. Est ergo sensus: Quod Pater est, substantia non est, Deus non est, i.e., id quo Pater est Pater, substantia non est et Deus non est. Sed id est paternitas. Ergo paternitas substantia non est et Deus non est.

[1] Deus habet essentiam, habet sapientiam. Sed quod habet, hoc et est. Et omnia unus <228va> est. Ac perinde simplex est, quia non in eo aliquid accidentis est. Sed quod est et quod in ipso est, essentialiter est; excepto quod relative ad quacumque personam est. Ex hac auctoritate concludi potest quod relatione qua Deus est Pater referitur ad personam. Igitur relatio Deus non est. Igitur vel paternitas non est relatio vel non est Deus.


Igitur cum paternitas sit proprio unius personae, deitas commune trium, nulla paternitas est essentia.

[2] At cum sit erudit hominis secundum Aristotelem de his quae novit non mentiri et mentientem manifestare posse, oportet secundum Boethium unum quodque prout ipsum est ita de eo fidem capere tentare. Cum vero tres sint species speculativae: naturalis in motu inabstrahita, nostra enim corpora in motu sunt sed a corpore formae abstrahit non possunt; mathematica sine motu inabstrahita, haec enim corporum formas speculatur sine materia ac per hoc sine motu; quae formae cum in materia sint, ab eis separari non possunt; theologica sine motu abstrahita atque separabilis. Nam Dei substantia et materia et motu caret, i.e., nec Deus nec ejus essentia potest esse materia. Neque enim ea, qua ipse est, essentia (qua gracea dicitur usia) potest esse non simplex. Neque in eo eidem essentiae adesse aliquid aliud potest quo ipse sit. Non enim Deus simplex esset, si vel ejus essentia constaret ex multis essentiis vel eadem adessent formae in illo, quarum vel ipse Deus vere esset vel ejus essentia ratione diceretur subjecta materia.

[3] Cum ergo, ut praemissum est, tres sint species speculativae: naturalis, mathematica, theologica, in naturalibus rationaliter, ut scilicet—posito nomine quo id quod est et id quo est significatur—philosophus ea vi mentis qua concreta rei debet diligenter attendat, quid proprii sibi vel id quo est vel id quod est

18 Augustine, Enarr. in Ps. lxviii, 3; sermo 1, 5; PL 36, 844.
19 marg. Determinatio.
22 marg. Contra idem ait magnus Basilius.
24 marg. Nota quae concurrunt ad esse personam secundum magnum Basilium De Trinitate.
25 The wording of this conclusion agrees with Dialogus, p. 259.
26 Blenck. 1, 2; PL 64, 1009B.
27 De Trinitate, 2; ed. Peliper (Leipzig, 1871), p. 152.
28 marg. Secundum Boethium in libro de Trinitate.
29 Apart from some slight abbreviations the long passage: Cum vero . . . abstrac- torum proprietatibus judicare, occurs in Dialogus, pp. 255 f.
30 Boethius, De Trinitate, 2; ed. Peliper, p. 152.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 The passage: Nee Deus . . . diceretur subjecta materia, is taken from Gilbert's commentary on Boethius, De Trinitate; ed. N. M. Haring, Studies and Texts I (Toronto, 1955), 49.
concretionis consortio exigat et quid ceterarum locis speculationum communicet. In mathematicis ubi inabstracta aliter quam sint, i.e. abstractim attenduntur, oportebit eum versari disciplinaliter ut, cum ea, quae nisi subsistentibus insint omnino nihil sunt, separatum ab eis conceperit, sic eorum propria ad disciplinam faciendum attendat, ut convenientes sibi cum ceteris speculationibus rationes ad ipsam minime contrahat. In naturalibus enim dicitur homo species generis, i.e. animalis aut corporis. In mathematicis vero non generis sed individuosquam species dicitur homo. Itaque naturalis concretionis proprietatem dicitur genus de specie praedicari. Mathematicae vero abstractionis proprietatem non genus sed generis genus de ea, quae non generis sed individuosquam species est, vere et proprie praedicari conceditur. In divinis vero quae non modo disciplina verum etiam re ipsa abstracta sunt, intellectualiter versari oportet, i.e. ex propriis theologorum rationibus illa concipere et non ex natura littere concretorum aut disciplinaliter abstractorum proprietatibus judicare. [8] In naturalibus ergo sunt decem praedicamenta, quae si quis ad divinam vererit praedicacionem cuncta mutantur. Itaque secundum Augustinum et Boethium ea quae de praedicamento substantiae et quantitatis et qualitatis, relata ad divinam praedicacionem, divinam quidem praed:cant substantiam. Unde his terminis 'Deus, magnus, justus, fortis', idem de Deo dicitur; ut cum dicitur 'Deus est Deus, Deus est magnus, Deus est justus, Deus est fortis', divina essentia praedicatur. Primorum igitur praedicamentorum praedicabilia dicta de Deo sic praedicantur de eo, ut aliquid eum esse demonstrent. Cetera vero <229vb> septem praedicabilia praedicamentorum non sic praedicantur de Deo, ut eum aliquid esse demonstrent, sed ut aliquid ei extrinsecus quodammodo afferant. Non ergo potest dici relativam praedicacionem rei, de que dicitur, aliquid addere vel minuere vel mutare. Non enim in eo quod est esse consistunt sed in eo quod est in comparatione alioquo modo ad alium se habere. Cum ergo sint decem modi praedicandi in naturalibus, duo vero tantum in theologico: unus ad se, alter ad aliquid, ille vero qui est ad se, pertinet ad substantiam, ille vero qui est ad aliquid, pertinet ad relationem. Cum autem relativis hoc ipsum sit esse ad alium quodammodo se habere, manifestum est nullum relativum, i.e., nullam relationem esse divinam essentiam. Et ita paternitas non est divina essentia. Et haec de primo errore dicta sufficent. [9] Consequenter igitur dicendum est de errore qui est de persona Christi et de eo qui est de Christi natura. Sed isti errores melius innotescunt, si ad memoriae fuerint revocatae haereses Eutychiana et Nestoriana. Dixit itaque Nestorius duas naturas esse in Christo, et hoc catholice, et duas personas esse ejusdem, sed hoc haereticum. Sed Eutyches dixit unam personam solam esse Christi, et hoc

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catholice, secundum hoc unam solam naturam Christi, sed hoc haeretice. Fides autem catholica, quasi virtus in medio consistens, dicit duas naturas Christi cum Nestorio et contra Eutychem sed unam solam personam cum Eutychae et contra Nestorium.


[10] Nostri vero Parisienses, audientes damnatam haeresim concedere\(^6\) duas personas esse Christum, nomen pluralitas reiunct sed significationem admittunt. Quod patet ex descriptione personae. Est enim substantia individua rationalis naturae.\(^6\) Sed dicunt quod et una et alia substantia rationalis naturae sit Christus. Ergo et una et alia persona. Sed hoc negant.\(^6\) Dicunt itaque Christum esse duas substantias quarum una Filius Dei, altera Filius Virginis. Et ita Filius Dei est pars cujusdam personae, quae Christus est, cujus est pars Filius Virginis. Dicunt igitur, quia Christus est Deus et homo, ideo duo, contra Athanasium\(^7\) qui de Christo loquens in Symbolo ait: Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen sed unus est Christus.\(^7\)

[11] Sed scendundum est ad hoc, ut veri nominis binarius locum habeat, oportet ut sit collectio unitatum assistentium diversis proprietatibus similibus effectuum et hoc diversorum subjectorum ut 'Petrus est homo, Paulus est homo; Petrus et Paulus sunt duo homines'. Eodem modo: 'Pater est una persona, Filius est una persona; ergo Pater et Filius sunt duae personae.'\(^8\) Nota quod quandoque fit distributio subsistentiae et subsistentiarum,\(^8\) ut in proximo praecedenti exemplo. Quandoque fit distributio subsistentiae et repetitio subsistentiae ut 'Socrates est rationale, anima Socratis est rationale; ergo Socrates et anima ejus sunt unum rationale'. Vel sic: 'Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus; ergo Pater et Filius sunt unus Deus', Deus deitate et unus unitate sibi addicta. Quandoque fit repetitio subsistentiae et distributio subsistentiarum ut cum dicitur: 'Petrus est corpus, Petrus est ratio; igitur duo'. Non proedit. Eodem modo: 'Christus est homo, Christus est Deus; igitur Christus est duo'. Non sequitur. Nota per divisionem \(<229ra>\) dictum et compositionem concedi: 'Christus est Deus e: homo'; sed tantum per divisionem dici: 'Christus est unus Deus, Christus est unus homo'. Falsum enim est per compositionem dictum: 'Christus est unus Deus et homo et ita substantia creata et substantia increata, non tamen duae substantiae'.\(^8\)

[12] Contra praenominatos opposit Boethius\(^8\) sic: Hoc nomen Christus aut convenit illis duabus substantiis aequivoce aut univoce. At si aequivoce convenit Filio Virginis et Filio Dei, alia ratione Filius Virginis, alia Filius Dei dicetur Christus. Et ita verum dixerunt Judaei obicientes Filio Virginis: Quinuaginta annos nonum habes et Abraham vidisti?\(^8\) Et mentitus est Filius

\(^4\) marg. Maxima naturalis facultatis Nestorius fuit deceptus.
\(^5\) Gilbert deals with this principle in his commentary on De Trinitate (ed. Haring, p. 50) and claims that its erroneous application to the Trinity led to trinitarian heresies. We noted in the Dialogue (p. 276) that Everard tended to confuse trinitarian and christological issues.
\(^6\) dammatam haeresim audientes concedere Ms.
\(^7\) Cf. Boethius, Contra Eutychen, 3; ed. Peiper, p. 193.
\(^8\) Cf. Boethius, Contra Eutychen, 3; ed. Peiper, p. 199.
\(^9\) John viii, 57.

\(^*\) marg. Nota hic errorem de persona quod Filius Dei sit pars cujusdam personae.
\(^*\) Anastasium Ms.
\(^*\) Symbolum "Quicunque".
\(^*\) marg. De distributione subsistentiae et subsistentiarum.
\(^*\) Cf. Gilbert's comment on De Trinitate; ed. Haring, pp. 82 f.
Virginis dicens: Antequam Abraham fieret, ego sum. At si hoc nomen Christus convenit eis univoce, cum habeat plurale, convenienter dicetur: Filius Dei et Filii Virginis sunt duo Christi. Quod quidem dicere praecipitatae mentis insaniam est, ut ait Boethius[42].


III.


[16] Item in Genesi legitur: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem nostram et similitudinem nostram: imaginem, quantum ad naturalia; similitudinem, quantum ad gratuata. Nam quis neget Christum caritatem et ceteras virtutes habuisse, cum legatur: Unctus <229rb> oleo prae consortibus suis? Itaque si habuit virtutes, et ita gratuata, quis neget eum habere naturalie, scilicet rationalitatem et concupiscibilitatem? Et si rationalitatatem creatam habuit, cum sit verus homo,
rationalitas adjuncta generi in eo fecit speciem. Et ita constat inesse Christo-
formam creatam substantialem, scilicet humanitatem. Nam et Eutyches con-
cessit Christum Dominum resurrexisse et ascendiisse in carne et anima. Et ita
non discrepat ab istis, nisi quod melius senserit, quid verius esset natura Christi,
quam isti.

[17] Contra quos loquitur Augustinus et Boethius et Papa Alexander. Augustinus hic modo: Confitemur Dominum Jesum Christum ex tribus sub-
stantiis et duabus naturis, deitate et humanitate, consistere. Ecce qualiter
Augustinus distinxit inter substantias et naturas.† Boethius quoque, ratione
et cognitione philosophus et sana invisibilitatem fide theologus, in libro De duabus
naturis et una persona Christi contra Eutychem loquens describat naturam hoc
modo: Natura est una quamque rem informans specifica differentia. Secundum
quam Nestorius et catholicci duas naturas posuerunt esse in Christo. Sed isti
negant aliam naturam, i.e., specificam differentiam veram esse in Christo.††
Igitur isti catholicci non sunt. Item Papa Alexander, audiens abusiones quae
procedebant ex hoc quod negabant hoc nomine ‘homo’ aliquid attribui Christo
et quod Petrus et Christus non fuerunt vere duo homines nec Christus diceretur
eodem modo quod ceteri homines et quod in illo triduo ita fuerit homo
sciret ante et post, praecipit ut dicaretur Christus esse aliquid secundum quod
homo. Auctoritati igitur Domini Papae cedentes dicunt: Christus est aliquid
secundum quod homo. Sed perperam exponunt sic: Aliquid, i.e., alieus modi.††
Et est novissimus error peior priore.†† Cum igitur in sensu conveniant cum
Eutychianis, licet differant in verbis, semi–Eutychianii cicendi sunt.

[18] Pater, hi sunt errores qui a Parisiensi civitate derivati fere per universum
orbem seminamur. Hi sunt errores quos pusilli et magni scandalizantur. Et
cum quidam illorum panem sanae doctrinae esuriunt, non evangelizantur. Nam
etiam etsi alii sint, qui etsi sanam doctrinam proprant, tamen quia aliter
didicerunt eos audire nolunt. Nam perdere nolunt senes quod juvenes didicerere.
Et nemo est cui fidem de fide adhibeant nisi tibi. Ideoque a finibus terrae ad te
clamandum judicant.

[19] Pater, hos errores in scholis existens audivisti et inter taliter errantes
conversatus fuisti. Et licet tunc haberes scientiam et voluntatem emendandi,
quia tamen non habebas auctoritatem, non correxisti. Sed cum nunc nomen tuum
admirabile sit factum in universa terra et magnificentia tua sit elevata super
caelos,† i.e., super sanctos et prudentes viros gloriam Dei enarrantes, nunc
a Domino sublimatur et ad fidei catholicae instructionem conversus, confirmat
fratres tuos a finibus terrae ad te clamantes, in petra a te et per te exaltati
desiderantes, in fide Christo confortari expectantes.

Pater, non haec propono coram hac reverenda Sede quia tot et tantos velim
accusare de fide sed ideo quia nolo eos diuturnitatem silentii suo errori
praebere vel quia volo a te corroborari in fide, ut vere possim uti verbis
Prophtae dicites: A finibus terrae ad te clamavi, dum anxiatetur cor meum: in
petra exaltasti me.†† Et in fide Christi corroborasti me.

[20] Haec est igitur petitio mea ut, omissis ad tempus quaestionibus temporalium,
accedas et ascendas ad cor altum et intendas solutionibus harum quaestionum et
qualibet septimana, dum vacare potes, coram te disputari facias de theologia,
donec Parisiensibus scribens definias, utrum paternitas sit Deus, utrum relatio
sit divina essentia, utrum alius homo ineptit esse Deus, utrum duae sub-

† Cf. Sent. III, 6, 3; ed. Quacquarelli (1916), p. 573.†† marg. Descriptis Boethius secundum
quod Christo duae conveniunt naturae.
†† Contra Eutychen, 1; ed. Peliper, p. 190.†† Marg. Inconvenientia quae sequuntur
quod negatur esse humanitas in Christo.
† Peter of Poitiers, Sent. IV, 10; PL 211, 1172D.†† Matth. xxvii, 64.
†† Ps. viii, 2 f.†† Cf. Lombard, In Ps. viii, 2; PL 191, 123D.
†† Luke xxii, 32.†† Ps. ix, 3.
stantiae sint Christus, utrum una sola forma substantialis sit in Christo, licet hanc ultimam quaestionem aperte solvat Apostolus <229va> dicens de Christo: "Qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est se esse aequalem Deo. Sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens." Non rapinam Christus arbitratus est se esse aequalem Deo. Sed seipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens. Erat ergo Christus in forma Dei Patris ab aeterno Patri consubstantialis singularitate essentiae. Sed factus consubstantialis matri, non singularitate essentiae, sed conformitate naturae.


Inde concludit Augustinus contra Nestorium et Eutychem: Ex eo igitur apparet, quod ille ipse qui a solo Patre non factus sed natus est Deus, veritate formae Dei a Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto non natus sed factus est homo veritate humanae formae." Sicut ergo Christus habet formam substantialem divinam sic et humanam. Sed si forte quis velit referre ad exteriores et non ad substantialem, respondeo: Si accidentalis forma ex toto in homine non esset, non minus tamen, dum viveret homo, homo esset. Itaque substantialia faciunt hominem, accidentalia probant." Sed si Christus esset homo forma accidentalii et non substantialii, non verus sed phantasticus homo esset. Quod absit.

[22] Pater mi, Pater mi, currus Israel" et supportator religionis christianae et auriga ejus et gubernator fidei catholicae, intende et attende, quanto labore, quanto studio et quanta diligentia antiqui Patres et sancti exstirpaverunt haereses Nestorianam et Eutychianam. Et cum tibi constiterit praenominatos theologos in dannatas haereses incidisse, sufficit hoc clero denuntiare et veritatem catholicae fidei proponere, scilicet unum tantum substantis et unum tantum substantiam esse Christum et ita unam solam personam et duas substantias, i.e., duas essentias esse in Christo et ita duas naturas.

Et benignus Jesus, cujus interest fidem super se fundatam conservare, sicut tibi dedit scientiam et auctoritatem sic det tibi fidei suae veritatem investigare et investigatam confirmare. Amen.

Doctori Quondam Egregio Nunc Autem Dei Gratia Humili Christi Discipulo E(uerardo) Suo Fratri Carissimo Frater B.


[IV Kings ii, 12.]

"Phil. ii, 6.
"Lombard, In Phil. ii, 6; PL 192, 235B: Quod dicit "ut homo", tale est quale est illud "quasi unigeniti a Patre".
"Cf. Lombard, In Phil. ii, 6; PL 192, 233C.
"IV Kings ii, 12.
"Ps. lxxxiii, 8.
"If Tim. iii, 14.
"If Tim. iv. 4.
"If John iv, 5.
"Is. xxiv, 2. Oz. iv, 9.
"Is. xlix, 18.
"Jer. Lam. v, 18.

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[2] Jam plerique sanam doctrinam non sustinent, quibus nugae lectiones, rumores sermones sunt, de regibus illis non de legibus quaestiones. Loquentur vana quia meditatur inania. Ex abundantia enim corcis os loquitur.\(^8\) Verbum enim Domini projecerunt, sicut ait Propheta, et sapiencia nulla est in eis.\(^9\) Si quis est inter illos, qui loquatur quasi sermones Dei,\(^10\) ille declaratur, ille abjicitur, ille oneri est, ille simplex et certe fatuus judicatur. Venit a foris quispiam rumigerulus.\(^11\) Illi dicitur: "Tu sede hic bene." Illum honorifice fratres excipiant. Ab illius ore dependent versa facie, intentis oculis, arrectis auribus.\(^12\) Et illo jactante frivoli, aperiunt ora sua quasi ad imbrem seroomin. Hic sapiens, hic facundus, hic denique gratiosus homo reputatur et bonus. Intentissime auscultat monachus. Et nunc quidem contrarit in maerorem, nunc vero in cachinnum dissolvitur. Quin etiam irae, rixae, murmurationes, detractiones, animositates, contentiones, susurrations, prob dolor, audiuntur in nobis. Quomodo obscuratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus.\(^13\)

Hicine praeciprum Christi? Haec regula Benedicti? Haec doctrina Bernardi? Heu, heu, filii Sion incliysi et amicti auro primo. Quomodo <241ra> reputati sunt in vasa testae, opus manuum figuli?\(^14\)


et Filio et Spiritui sancto. Contra quam haeresim loquebatur Hieronymus negans synonymiam nominem quam Sabellius adtruebat. Et ita nominum proprietates diversas significationes vocat. Aliud enim significat hoc nomen 'Pater', aliud hoc nomen 'Filius', aliud 'Spiritus sanctus'. Quod non accidit in nominibus synonymis, quia quod macro, hoc gladius, hoc ensis significat.


Item in sequentibus Ratius: Si divinitas, inquit, est Deus, igitur vel Pater vel Filius vel Spiritus sanctus vel eterque duum vel quilibet trium. At si Pater est, ipsa generans est. Si Filius est, genita est. Igitur quae generat, dignatur. Quod Sabellianam haeresim sapit.


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*a* Dialogus, p. 261: idem.

*b* Dialogus, p. 262.

*c* Eccl. iii, 22.

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*a* Dialogus, p. 264.

*b* Augustine, Enarr. in Ps. Ixxviii, 3; sermo I, 5; PL 36, 844.
secus de Filio genito et de Spiritu sancto procedente. Sed praemissa, inquis, verba Hilarii qualiter exponentur dicentis: *Deus non habet divinitatem.* Cum ea ipse sit, non est divinitas? Satisfaciat ad hoc Ratius tuus, immo ratio tua. [9] Verum sequens argumentatio non ita placet qua dicitur: *Si divinitas est Deus, etc.* Sic de Deo et deitate, de quibus agitur non longe inferiorius. Item: *Sed cum hoc nomen ‘Deus’, inquit Ratius, rem de qua est sermo significat pro substantia, i.e., pro persona, etc.* Nulli dubium quod hoc nomen ‘Deus’, cum absolute ponitur, videlicet sine adjectione personae, quasi collectivum sit trium pariter personarum, sed cum verbis gratia dicitur ‘Deus Creator omnium’ et hujusmodi nominatio quae ad se dicuntur. Hic vero hoc nomen ‘Deus’ rem de qua est sermo significat pro substantia, i.e., *<241va>* pro usia, quae communis est tribus. At vero si sic exponitur ut dicitur *pro substantia, i.e., pro persona,* videtur assentiri Sabellio qui tres personas unam asseruit esse personam. Primo hoc nomen ‘Deus’ rem de qua est sermo significat pro substantia, i.e., pro personis quae sunt una res, una substantia; non pro persona, propter Sabellium. At et hic translatio est a naturalibus ad theologica sic: pro substantia, i.e., persona, i.e., loco substantiae, i.e., personae, i.e., loco suppositi. [10] Item miror quid visum fuerit Magistro G(illeberto), ut non concederet simplicem conversam hujus *Trinitas est Deus* sicut nec hujus ‘quilibet trium est homo.’ Cum enim dicitur ‘Deus est Trinitas’, hoc nomen ‘Deus’ accipitur substantialiter, non personaliter, ut non concludi necesse sit, sicut ipse conclusit: *Deus qui est Pater, est Filius,* unde sequitur confusio personarum. Quin potius hoc luce claris sequitur: Deus est Trinitas, ergo Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus. Est enim una substantia unus Deus: Deus unitas et Trinitas Deus. [11] Item superius dixerat Ratius: Vertius, inquis, *immo veracissime secundum proprietatem dicendi sed non existendi ‘Deus non est Deus, Deus non est justus, non est magnus’ dicitur. Eodem modo ‘Deus non est deitas, non est justitia, non est magnitudo’ et ita ‘Deus non est essentia’. Igitur multo minus ‘sua essentia’.* Longe porro inferiorius: Habe igitur, inquit, ut praemissionem, cum dicitur ‘Deus vere forma est quae ipsum esse est et ex qua esse est’, causa dicendi assignatur, *non proprietatessi.* Cum ergo superius dictum sit quod dicatur vere ‘Deus non est Deus, non est justus’, etc., et exposita sit catus dicti, videlicet quod negetur secundum proprietatem dicendi sed non negetur secundum proprietatem existendi, quid est, inquam, quod in sequentibus dicit: *Cum dicitur, inquienia, ‘Deus vere forma est, causa dicendi assignatur, non proprietatesessi? Nam cum non negetur secundum proprietatem existendi ‘Deus est Deus’, proprie utique Deus est et existit Deus. Quapropter etsi dicatur improprie justa Ratiu tum, proprie tamen est et existit Deus justa eundem. Cum igitur proprietatem essendi vel existendi superius videatur adstruere et hic eandem destruere, videtur seipsam Ratius impuneare. Deus enim vere forma est, cum sit deitas, justitia, magnitudo secundum proprietatem existendi, etsi non dicendi. [12] Item: Caveant, inquit Ratius, sibi qui dicunt divinitatem esse totam Trinitatem et Spiritum sanctum, ne Macedonianae haeresis contrahant labem.* Retulerit enim pausto superius legi in *Ecclesiastica Historia* quod Macedonius dicebat Spiritum sanctum esse divinitatem Patris et Filii et propternea negasse magistrum G(illebertum) *Deum esse divinitatem vel essentiam, ne in haeresim Macedonii incideret.* Sed dum fugit arma ferrea, sicut ait Job, *incurrunt in arcum aereum et qui timent primum irruet super eos nix.* Itane divinitatem negabimus esse totam Trinitatem, videlicet ne conferi cogamur Spiritum quoque sanctum simul esse divinitatem cum Patre et Filio, propter Macedonium scilicet asserentem Spiritum sanctum esse divinitatem Patris et

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Filii? Grandis absurditas: ipsis quoque Patri et Filio tollere divinitatem, ne cum eis participates et Spiritus sanctus, qui utique separari vel excludi non potest. Tantumne invidebimus Spiritui sancto, ut nec duobus reliquis concedamus divinitatem propter Spiritum sanctum? Vide ne forte sit minor blasphemia spoliare divinitate totam simul <241¹> Trinitatem quam attribuere divinitatem uni soli personae juxta pestem Macedonianam.

[13] Item in Epistola tua ad Urbanum Papam ponis oppositionem Boehthii contra illos qui dicunt Christum esse duos substantias, Deum et hominem, et ita duo. Contra praenominatos, inquis, opponit Boehthius sic: Hoc nomen 'Christus' aut convenit illis duabus substantiis aequivoce aut univoce. At si aequivoce convenit Filio Virginitis et Filio Dei, alia ratione Filius Virginis, alia Filius Dei dicetur Christus. Post haec interseris de proprio: Et ita, inquis, verum dixerunt Judaei objicientes Filio Virginum: 'Quinquaginta annos nundam habes et Abraham vidisti'? Et mentitus est Filius Virginis dicens: 'Antequam Abraham fuit, ego sum'. At si hoc nomen 'Christus' convenit eis univoce, sic Boehthius, cum habeat plurale, convenienter dicetur Filius Dei et Filius Virginis sunt duo Christi, quod quidem dicere praecipitatae mentis insania est.²⁶

Haec verba Boehthii vellem lucidius atque plenius explanari propter quasdam auctoritates, quae videntur his refragari. Plane siquidem dicit Ambrosius: Geminae gigas substantiae.²⁷ Item Augustinus: Confitemur Dominum Jesum Christum ex tribus substantiis et duabus naturis, deitate et humanitate, consistere.²⁸ Et aliae aliorum plures.

[14] Quid tibi videtur, o mi frater E(uerarde)? Jam te rebaris quietum et in aurem accubare secumur. Plerque bonus dormitat Homerus.²⁹ Verum operi longo fas est surreppere somnum.³⁰ Importunus tibi fortasse videare aut molestus, qui dilectam inter amplexus sponsi suaviter quiescentem suscitare praesumo, antequam velit. Verum magis mea me unger esures et amici ad me de via venientis inedia, quae me a te mendicare compellit tres panes,³¹ trium scilicet facultatum quaestionis, quas propusisti tractare Ratio comite. Expergiscere, rogo, advoca Ratiun dispensatorem domus tuae. Excute horreum, aperi arcam, resera ostium, jube dari amico non modo tres sed et quotquot habet necessarios. Ad haec amicorum omnia esse communia vetus sententia est. Ergo de amicitia tua, immo vero de fraternitate praesumens tuli codicum tuum sive potius, ut regulariter loquar, codicem nostrum. Si feci quod non debui deferendo, en quod debeo facio satisfacendo. Ecce habes quod tuum est, si tamen quicquam tuum est. Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo.³² EXPLICIT EPISTOLA FRATRIS B. AD FRATREM EUE(ARDUM) DE DUBITATIONIBUS IN SUPERIUS TRACTATO DIALOGO HABITIS.

²⁶ Ep. ad Urbanum, 12.
²⁷ Augustinus, Contra sermon. Arian., 8, 6; PL 42, 689. It is also attributed to St. Ambo by Humbert, Adv. Sim. II, 44; MGH Lib. de lite 1, 193.
²⁸ Cf. De Trinitate XIII, 17, 22; PL 42, 1031.
²⁹ Cf. Horace, Ars poetica, 339.
³⁰ Ibid., 360. Cf. William of Conches, De Phil. mundi; PL 172, 43B.
³² Ps. cxlii, 2.
Chaucer's Retraction and Medieval Canons of Seemliness

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CHAUCER’S apologetic attitude in several widely discussed passages which appear in his two major works has been, and no doubt will continue to be, a source of dispute. It has provoked reactions in our own time ranging from downright incredulity to frank regret.¹ The most generally accepted explanation, however, seems to be the one defended by Professors Root and Tatlock, both of whom rely on Chaucer’s sources. Professor Root deals principally with the possible influence of the Decameron on Chaucer’s apology for the Miller’s Tale.² Professor Tatlock has tried to establish the existence of an “apologetic tradition” as the source of the more sweeping “retractions” at the end of Troilus and Criseyde and the Canterbury Tales.³ Implicitly, I think, these arguments question both Chaucer’s sincerity and his originality. The connection between the passages in question and their presumed sources seems to me a very tenuous one, and one wonders if it would not be helpful to try to discover first whether Chaucer had anything to apologize for and then to try to determine the nature and extent of his aberrations as they would be judged from the fourteenth-century point of view.

To achieve this end we must try, I think, to understand the position of Chaucer’s age and audience regarding what sociologists term “seemliness.” This is important because the concept of what is seemly or unseemly determines the attitudes of a society toward social conduct. It differs in unequal degrees, depending upon the society in question, from concepts of what is moral or legal. This concept of seemliness, therefore, will enable us to distinguish the kinds of “sins” of which Chaucer may have been guilty, to determine how these “sins” might differ from those with which a modern author would be charged, and to see whether or not they explain Chaucer’s apologies. Without taking up in detail the definitions of social historians, we can observe merely that what is “seemly” in any society may vary among the groups within that society, and that for any given group, as for society in general, seemly behavior may or may not coincide with morally or legally permissible behavior. The latter distinctions, if we follow H. M. Kallen, are to be made on the basis of the coercive social agency which punishes the transgression; “illegal” conduct falls under the jurisdiction of the political power; “immoral” conduct under ecclesiastical authority, and “unseemly” conduct under the sanctions exercised by society itself. I would like to emphasize the fact that sometimes—the frequency varying with the different outlooks of different societies—what is “right” or “wrong” for one authority will coincide with the standards of right and wrong held by the other two authorities.⁴

This last point is important, since it helps us to appreciate one of the major differences between fourteenth-century and twentieth-century canons of seemliness. Let me illustrate. When King Henry II assassinated the Archbishop Thomas a Becket in 1170, there was, as M. Jusserand has shown,⁵ a reaction throughout

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Europe which can only be described as one of horror. Why? Because for the Europeans of that time it was obvious that spiritual as well as social and legal laws had been transgressed; significantly, indeed, it was the spiritual implications of the crime which overshadowed all other considerations. The horror of the act lay in its kinship to blasphemy. A parallel modern situation on the other hand, I am thinking of the trial and imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty, provoked a quite different reaction among modern Europeans and Americans. Whatever the spiritual or social consequences of this act, what the modern mind sensed above all was the political injustice at work. The epithet which most adequately describes and stigmatizes the crime for us would be "undemocratic." There are also interesting differences between modern and mediaeval sensitivity to the physical pain accompanying these crimes, but perhaps enough has been said to suggest certain important differences between mediaeval and modern sensibilities in general.

Now, if we may again consult the sociologists, these differences in response can be accounted for by ideological and biological pressures which shaped mediaeval and modern tastes respectively. To take the ideological factor first, certainly the outstanding difference between Chaucer's age and our own is that which has resulted from the ever deepening discriminations between the various law-enforcement agencies—state, church, and society. In the fourteenth century not only were the three instrumentalities much more closely interfused than now, but the ecclesiastical power, though in the decline, still held the supremacy which later was to pass to the state and now seems to be enjoyed by society itself. In the fourteenth century an archbishop was as apt to prosecute the laws of the realm as to define theological dogma, and this was because theology very often was the source of political laws. Heresy and treason, for example, would call down identical punishments. In social matters, too, the pulpit literature which has survived is evidence of how tirelessly the ecclesiastical authority legislated on habits of dress, commerce, dancing, eating and drinking, social relations and the conduct of work and play in general. The habit of thought created by this situation made it inevitable that mediaeval Europeans should, by modern standards, confuse the political, social, and religious implications of Becket's murder. On the other hand, to them the reaction of modern Europeans to the Mindszenty experience would appear as a curious instance of hair-splitting and worse. Ideologically, therefore, despite the growing challenge to ecclesiastical authority, by the state in political matters and by the influence of courtly love ideas concerning social relations, the Church in Chaucer's time was still the ultimate arbiter of right and wrong.

Biological pressures, of course, were a countervailing force to ideological pressures. The Church had from the beginning tried to spiritualize, as it were, the biological crises in human life—birth, nutrition, puberty, marriage, and death—by its sacramental system and liturgical ceremonies. Thomas Aquinas stated beautifully and succinctly the ideal of the sacramental approach to the physical universe. But then, as always, physical circumstances went far toward compromising this ideal. The enduring problems of disease, inadequate food, close living quarters, exposure to climatic vagaries, and so forth could not but color mediaeval attitudes toward the physical and biological world. The omnipresence of pain and proximity of death had its effect, for example, on the

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*For example, in his introduction to the authorized White Book by Cardinal Mindszenty, Akos Zombory takes considerable pains to establish the special relation of church, state, and the society prevailing in Hungary and to exonerate the Cardinal from charges of having wielded the sword, upon which the Communist Government had based its case (Cardinal Mindszenty Speaks, Authorized White Book [New York, 1949], with introduction by Akos Zombory, pp. 1-27). W. G. Sumner, Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Customs, Mores, and Morals (Boston, 1913), pp. 463-66. See Summa Theologiae III, q. 69, a. 3. [174]
mediaeval attitude toward methods of punishment and even, as we shall see, habits of language.* The overall result of the physical environment's effect on mediaeval physiological and psychological processes is continually forced on our attention in the literature which the age produced. The historical incident in which King John permitted his enemy's wife and son to starve slowly to death finds its literary equivalent in the Ugolino episode in the Divine Comedy, translated later by Chaucer. Or think again of the rigors of a Constance or a Griselda. The relative absence of sentimentality, unabashed emotional displays, violent vindictiveness in avengers, blunt language in fabliaux and sermons, exaggerated courtly-love effects, violent and grotesque religious manifestations, abrupt swings from one emotional extreme to the other (think of the incident between the Pardoner and the Host)"—all these phenomena suggest that mediaeval man required grosser, or at any rate different stimuli to stir his emotions than we do. They also suggest how physical conditioning made attainment of the sacramental vision difficult in practice.

On the whole, therefore, we might conclude that fourteenth-century social responses tended to be more uniform and more uniformly ethical, in the strict sense, than ours by virtue of the prestige and power of a common religious authority, and to be more direct and violent than ours because of physical conditioning.

When we turn to the Canterbury Tales and to specific areas of conduct we find that these generalizations require some qualification, but also that they help to explain a good deal of what at first sight is unintelligible to the uninstructed modern reader. We will find that the behavior of the pilgrims represents a kind of compromise between the ideal and the actual such as our generalizations would lead us to expect, that then as now social custom played an extremely important part in stabilizing society in the face of sometimes violently antagonistic pressures. Habits of dress, to select one example, are a result of complex pressures: physical necessity for warmth, social desires for status, moral ideals of decency, and even aesthetic instincts. It is not necessary, I think, to investigate all the details of the manner in which notions of seamliness affected the pilgrims in almost every department of behavior. I will sketch merely how seamliness operates in certain peripheral areas, and then dwell at greater length on the crucial social matrix of marriage, around which so many social customs, desires and ideals cluster.

To begin first with the nature of the pilgrimage itself, we must recognize that for the pilgrims the occasion was social as well as religious. The similarities between a mediaeval pilgrimage and a modern travel tour have been pointed out by others.19 Incessant and universal, they were nonetheless frequently denounced.19 We must expect, as a mediaeval reader would, that the Canterbury Tales will treat the idle, the vagrant, the opportunistic, and the pleasure-seeker as well as the devout. From the opening thirty-four lines down until the very end, Chaucer makes it clear that the pilgrimage was governed by the psychology of which the Host was presiding genius. For most of the upper class and all the lower class pilgrims it was an unusual experience, challenging as any

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21 See Jusserand, op. cit., pp. 357-61, where relevant passages from Langland, Wycliffe, and Erasmus are cited.
movement outside one’s accustomed orbit is apt to be, at one and the same time a vacation, a sight-seeing tour, and a religious act. Hence one may detect that curious mixture of reverential awe, excitement, and irresponsibility which one finds among a group of pilgrims today at a modern shrine, at the Empire State Building, let us say, or the Grand Canyon. Many normal restrictions or urges were temporarily suspended, and only the most elemental desires and antagonisms of the routine world were likely to carry over into the special Zeitgeist of the pilgrimage. When they do, even the Knight will appeal to the spirit of the moment in order to restore peace. In fact, the pilgrimage which Chaucer describes for us appears to be unusually “myrie,” since both the experienced Host and the Canon’s Yeoman comment upon it.\(^{14}\)

It is only within the context of this special atmosphere of a pilgrimage that the pilgrims’ conduct can be understood. The standards regulating drink, for example, are based on an attitude of full acceptance, loosely limited by a notion of moderation. The temperate man may, as one pilgrim says, hold to the mean,\(^{15}\) but when the Manciple censures the Miller’s drunkenness, the Host brings about a reconciliation with his hymn to “Bacchus.”\(^{16}\) It is only after the Miller’s condition threatens social order that the Host himself severely censures him.\(^{17}\) Similarly, it is surely not devotion but regard for the social consequences which inspires the “gentils” to take exception to the Pardoner’s proposal that they all stop for a drink.\(^{18}\) One suspects that private excess was matter for the individual conscience, that public excess went uncensured so long as it did not interfere with the social commitments of others, and that the tacit rules governing a pilgrimage were, despite ecclesiastical law, especially lenient. In brief, habits and attitudes were determined by social standards of the “seemly” rather than by ecclesiastical authority.

The same may be said, I believe, regarding habits of dress and adornment. The pilgrims conform to social rather than to moral standards, to what was “seemly” rather than to what was permitted by the church. The excessive elegance of the Priorress’ and the Monk’s garb, slyly hinted at by Chaucer the poet,\(^{19}\) arouses no disapproving comment from the other pilgrims. The occasion warranted, so far as social standards were concerned, an element of display in one’s costume. Only the Canon’s dress provokes comment, because he had not had time (or, as the Host suggests, the money) to equip himself as befitted his rank.\(^{20}\) Although Chaucer comments on his pilgrims with great effect by describing their dress, there are no violations of seamliness involved so far as the pilgrims themselves are concerned. Chaucer, it may be suggested, was more observant and sensitive in these matters than the other pilgrims.

About the relationship of upper to lower classes, of men and women, of laity to religious, and of the various professions to one another, it is not so easy to be certain. Chaucer’s field is rather limited, as we know from a comparison of the Canterbury Tales with Piers Plowman, and it is also incomplete in itself.\(^{21}\) We can see, however, that the relation between the sexes is both more deferential and more liberal\(^{22}\) than we might expect from the position of women described in pulpitiiterature. More important is the fact that the relation of lay to religious follows the social hierarchial pattern rather than a separate standard. Finally, it is evident that professional antagonisms are strong enough to sweep aside accepted social customs. Of the three outright breaches of seamliness in the

\(^{14}\) F. N. Robinson, ed. The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Boston, 1933), A, 763-65 and G, 581-92. Where references are made to Chaucer’s text they will refer to this edition, and cite the fragment letter and line numbers, as above, rather than the page.

\(^{15}\) Works, I, 832.

\(^{16}\) Works, H, 99 ff.

\(^{17}\) Works, A, 3134-35.


\(^{19}\) Works, A, 151-62 and 190-97.

\(^{20}\) Works, G, 627-37.

\(^{21}\) See John M. Manly, Some New Light on Chaucer (New York, 1926), Chapter 2.

\(^{22}\) See, for example, Works, B, 1635-42 and D, 829-36.
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*Canterbury Tales*, those involving the Miller, Reeve and Manciple\(^\text{24}\) and the Friar and Summoner\(^\text{24}\) have their roots in professional hostility, the incident between the Host and the Pardoner being the other instance. In the relation of lay to religious, we find the Host more deferential to the Monk and the Friar than to the Summoner and the Pardoner. And, in general, we find the pilgrims in a mood to reveal themselves, and not even the Pardoner’s exposure of his own viciousness seems to provoke any social disapproval. The Host’s unusually violent reaction to the Pardoner’s proffer of his pseudo-relics, though intensely dramatic, seems to be a matter of clashing personalities rather than of social mores, though no doubt the Pardoner inspired moral revulsion in the more devout pilgrims.\(^\text{25}\)

Standards of language were, with exceptions we will mention in a moment, similarly liberal. Swearing, even for a Prioresse, seems to have been common practice, perhaps even a method of displaying one’s erudition or refinement or originality.\(^\text{26}\) Reading the *Canterbury Tales* is itself sufficient to render the numerous oaths as innocuous to us as they were to the pilgrims. Yet we should not forget that swearing in all but a few situations was theoretically condemned, as the Parson does not fail to call to the pilgrims’ attention.

To take just one more example, we may remark that standards of entertainment tended also to follow social lines of demarcation. Hence, though entertainment value was the basic criterion for a good story, the “gentils” wanted something instructive embellished with rhetorical skill, while the “cherles” wanted something they could accept as historically true, expressed in familiar language and preferably dealing with their own kind of experience. The pilgrims who come between the two major groups—the Merchant or the Manciple, say—seem to maintain a correspondingly ambiguous aesthetic, honoring with their lips what the upper classes enjoyed, but enjoying in their hearts what the lower orders relished, retaining it would seem the standards of that level of society from which they presumably emerged.\(^\text{27}\) In any event both pious and scatological tales alike must be interpreted as appealing to mixed and not always compatible interests in the hearers. To the “gentils” the Prioresse’ Tale was an edifying saint’s life well told; for the “cherles” it was a tale of the marvelous and remote which happened to be true. To both classes it had the pathetic appeal attaching in the mediaeval mind to childhood innocence and suffering. The religious pilgrims do give evidence in the stories they tell or refuse to tell of adhering to canons of seemliness more consonant with the moral ideals of the age. The Monk refuses to speak of hunting and the Parson to tell a “fable,” and the actual tales of the other religious pilgrims are for the most part essentially didactic and edifying. This does not enable us to conclude, of course, that they were the moral superiors of the laity, but only that in this matter the seemly and the moral for once coincided. Even here, however, we find exceptions in the tales of certain lower class clerics, whose conduct follows the standards of their social rank rather than of their spiritual office.\(^\text{28}\)

In summary, we should note that in each area of conduct examined we have found a discrepancy between the ideal conduct recommended by the ecclesiastical authority and the actual conduct acceptable as seemly, in the whole spirit and conduct of the pilgrimage, in dress, in social relations between groups, in language, and in the nature of stories told and enjoyed.

But by far the most interesting, crucial, and revealing theme of the *Canterbury Tales*, so far as seemliness and Chaucer’s retractions are concerned, centers

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\(^{24}\) *Works*, H, 25-45.

\(^{24}\) *Works*, D, 1286-89.

\(^{24}\) For the whole incident, see *Works*, C, 919-68.

\(^{25}\) On oaths in general and the Prioresse’ “St. Loy” in particular, see Manly, *op. cit.*


\(^{28}\) Unfortunately Chaucer did not give us the reaction of the other pilgrims to the tales of the Friar, Pardoner, or Summoner.
around the concept of marriage. As one social historian has said, marriage is “the consecration of the biological functions, by which the instinctive activities of sex and parenthood are socialised and a new synthesis of cultural and natural elements is created in the shape of the family.”29 Here, therefore, the two pressures which shape societal attitudes—the ideological and the biological—find themselves in immediate contact, and the resolution which emerges out of their confrontation goes far toward determining standards of seemliness. In fourteenth-century England, marriage, like everything else, was given its ideological definition by the Church, the conjugal assent of the two spouses making their union an image, as St. Paul had said, of the union of Christ and his Church. The dogmatic and liturgical expression of this sacramental view was somewhat clouded by the celibate ideal, to be sure, but ideally celibacy possessed its nobility precisely in proportion to the nobility of the thing it sacrificed.

The real challenge to this ecclesiastical ideal was not the celibate ideal but the equally dogmatic and essentially secular view of marriage represented by the “courtly-love” tradition. Though it arose among and was limited to the lay aristocracy, the theory of courtly love represented a real ideological challenge to the power of the Church. Here, if anywhere, the orthodoxy of the literary man was put to the test, for courtly-love remained in theory and practice outside of and subject to the standards of marriage formulated by the Church.30

On the biological side, of course, the ideal of marriage, whether ecclesiastical or courtly, was much tempered by economic and other factors. Probably the chief difference between the biological pressures in mediaeval and modern times was the familiarity in Chaucer’s day with the crudities of daily life. The intimacy enforced by physical environment made plain to all the mediaeval world what moral and material refinements have made distant, not to say unmentionable, in our own day.31 Even in sermons the sex act, genital and excremental organs and processes, physical blemishes, and so forth were discussed quite bluntly in public.

Out of the clash of these opposed pressures in the general area of marital relations, then, there emerged, in literature and life, two resolutions. In literature the subject was either treated in a frankly farcical, comical, or pornographic way, or it was treated ideally, either from the ecclesiastical or the courtly-love point of view. In life, marriage was generally either a pre-arranged or accidentally necessary matter for adolescents or at best a practical arrangement in which theory gave way before the needs and urges of ambitious families. The bourgeois marriage, later so common, which tried to reconcile social ambitions with marriage ideals was just beginning to find literary expression in books like *Le ménagier de Paris*. On the whole, the position of women was less servile and bleak than the enormous mass of “monkish” literature would suggest. Miss Power, in her careful analysis of the available evidence, concluded that “in daily life the position occupied by women was one neither of inferiority nor of superiority, but of a certain rough and ready equality.”32

There is much evidence in the *Canterbury Tales* to confirm Miss Power’s conclusion, and to indicate that the mediaeval ideals of marriage, sacred and secular, were greatly tempered, if not openly defied, in individual cases. Nothing could be more remote from the courtly-love ideal than the various marriages of the Wife of Bath, just as nothing could be more remote from the sacramental ideal than the experience of the Merchant. The self-revelations of the Host and

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31 See Works, G, 663-67; D, 118-34; A, 385-
the Merchant and the Wife of Bath are in fact descriptions of the responses to accepted ideals of certain individuals, descriptions which make only too clear how remote the ideals were from reality. Only the Franklin, "Epicurus owene sone," manages a happy resolution and that turns out to be based on a Stoic outlook.

The two features of Chaucer's treatment of marriage and of the attitudes of his pilgrims toward marriage which are most alien to the modern mind are, first, the assumption behind every discussion that marriage is indissoluble and, second, the manner in which the pilgrims express themselves in sexual matters. The first feature is a result of ideological pressure, the second, as I have tried to indicate, of biological pressure. The first feature we are ready to accept as a historical accident, even though the courtly-love ideas are more congenial; the second bias led one critic, at least, to conclude that "it would appear that no conceivable grossness was unacceptable if it was witty." Evidence in the Canterbury Tales indicates this judgment to be an exaggeration, since even the Wife of Bath would set limits to the treatment of sex in literature. More to the point, as we shall shortly see, Chaucer himself had misgivings as to where to draw the line in this matter.

On the whole, the Canterbury Tales suggest, as we might now expect, that distinctions must be made between groups with respect to seamliness in sexual relations and language. In general, pilgrims from the lower classes indulged in the farcical, realistic, comical, or pornographic attitude, as in the case of the Shipman, the Host, the Wife of Bath, the Miller, the Reeve, and the Cook. On the other hand, the "gentils" adhered to the ideal in their tales, as we see in the narratives of the Knight, the Squire, the Physician, the Man of Law, and Chaucer. The religious are, on the whole, silent on the subject of marriage, with the notable exceptions of the Clerk and the Parson. Thus the element of seamliness would arise only should a member of the upper class adopt in public the behavior or language of the lower class. If, for example, the Knight should tell the Miller's Tale or adopt the Wife of Bath's conversational tone. The "gentils" do not object to the Reeve's Tale, or to the Host's hearty approval of the Cook's plan to tell "a litel jape that fil in oure cite." Again, it is those who are ambiguously situated socially who reveal the greatest uneasiness in treating sex. The Reeve, the Merchant, and the Manciple all felt obliged to apologize for their language. Both the Merchant and the Manciple address their apologies to the "gentils," whereas the Host, by contrast, in his characteristic response to the Shipman's Tale, appeals directly to his "felawes," that is, if we follow Robinson's gloss of the term, to the "cherles" as though they were naturally the most interested party in such goings on. The apologies of the "gentils" are all of a strictly literary nature, the Squire's inability to describe beauty, the Knight's inability to "ryme," the Monk's failure to follow chronological order, Chaucer's divergences from his original, and so on.

Thus, in the all important area of conduct having to do with marriage, we find that there is again a distinct gap between what is "seemly" and what is morally acceptable. Neither the Knight's tale nor the Squire's, so far as we have it, is in harmony with the religious ideas on marriage then ideologically dominant, although they are less alien to those ideas than certain of Chaucer's earlier works. Again, although indecent language was unseemly in the mouths of "gentils," secular or religious, private aberrations, if we may believe the "cherles," was something else. The "gentils" furthermore do not object at any time to the gross stories told by members of the lower orders of society, though they themselves are impeccably "nice" in their own narratives. The pilgrims in the

middle social rank show some awareness of the distinction in seemly conduct that separated high from low society. And though there are limitations even to what the lower classes feel justified in describing, their language is frequently and uncomfortably blunt for modern tastes. That canons of seemliness really differed from moral standards is evident again in the fact that the tales and conduct of the religious tend to follow tastes based on social rather than moral distinctions, the Friar, Summoner, and Pardoner indulging themselves in a way that would be clearly unacceptable in a Monk or Prioress, though the former were as morally bound by laws of chastity and decency as the latter.

Now, so far as Chaucer himself is concerned, it is useful to distinguish the three aspects of his personality as we have them in the Canterbury Tales. First, there is the picture which he gives of himself, as one of the pilgrims. Secondly, there is the more tenuous and ghostly image of the poet reading his work to his court audience and friends, ambiguously hinted at in the Sir Thopas Tale. Finally, there is Chaucer of the apologies and, above all, of the Retraction.

First, as to Chaucer the citizen and pilgrim, there is conflicting evidence. The shy, elvish, portly figure of the Sir Thopas prologue does not quite harmonize with the congenial figure hinted at in the General Prologue. But in neither case, and nowhere in the Canterbury Tales, do we find Chaucer even remotely connected with unseemliness personally, in language, dress, or behavior. There is, however, a real ambiguity in the tales he assigns himself which is important, I think, to the right understanding of his position. It is difficult to decide with any certainty whether Chaucer’s selection of his own tales was governed by dramatic requirements or by consideration of his audience. There is internal as well as external evidence indicating that parts at least of the Canterbury Tales were composed for oral recitation. If Chaucer himself was the reader, how to present a picture of himself as a pilgrim to his audience must have been an extremely delicate task. I do not think there can be much doubt that Chaucer meant the Sir Thopas narrative, and the Host’s reaction to it, as ironic comments on his own skill and on the Host’s literary standards. In any event, the Chaucer of Sir Thopas could not but remind his audience of Chaucer the romance-reader who also had written many things in the courtly-love tradition. By contrast, the Chaucer who reacts as he does to the Host’s criticism and proceeds to narrate the Tale of Melebeus suggests the prudent and diplomatic man of affairs, interested in speculation, translator of Boethius, and in harmony with the orthodoxyes of his age.

The interesting thing about the two tales, for our purposes, is the distinct not to say antagonistic interests which they represent. Chaucer’s portrait of himself reminds us of two distinct Chaucers, as it were, with well-known habits and traits, one a courtly-romancer, the other a prudent philosopher. Now we have already seen how standards of the seemly and moral tended to differentiate themselves in the pilgrims’ actual behavior as in mediaeval society generally. It was an age when old verities were beginning to be tampered with, and in no area was the challenge to the Church’s authority more blatant than in courtly-love literature, with its counter-religion for governing the relation of the sexes. To be sure, intellectual speculation was endemic to the age, but as Professor Powicke has observed, a speculative or even a sceptical bent in the intellectual matters was both socially and morally acceptable. It was only when ideological or biological pressures seriously affected social conduct that the ecclesiastical authority was apt to intervene. It is true that the Sir Thopas doggerel is not a courtly-love poem, but it certainly calls to mind the Chaucer

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who had written such poems, and who in his youth, as Ten Brink suggested, may have written frankly erotic verse. Though perfectly seemly, this kind of literature was morally unjustifiable, just as it would be morally questionable for a Christian philosopher to be publishing the low tales of the "cherles." To retain our sociological terminology, we can say that Chaucer's courtly-love poetry was an ideological deviation while the fabrual tales represented a deviation brought about by biological factors. And we find that it is precisely these two kinds of writings that Chaucer eventually retracts.

In other words, the two tales he assigns himself remotely reflect what eventually came to be a very real dilemma for Chaucer. Essentially the tales imply the antagonism which focused for Chaucer around the counterclaims of the artistic and the prudential orders. With apologies relating to literary or social standards we need not be concerned, for example, with Chaucer's apologies in the General Prologue for not being able to repeat the tales verbatim and for not presenting the pilgrims in the order of their social rank. But the apology in the prologue to the Miller's Tale is another matter, since it strikes directly at the relation between the concepts of the seemly and the moral as held by Chaucer and his audience. Chaucer tries to justify the inclusion of the low tales which follow by appealing to the social distinction between "gentils" and "cherles"; but he is clearly uneasy, and it may not be an accident that the series suddenly breaks off. For, like the courtly-love literature, the fabrual genre to which the Miller's Tale and its two successors belong threatened moral and social consequences of which Chaucer could not be unaware. At one moment Chaucer decided to include the tales, for reasons which may have been morally valid; but eventually he will retract them along with his works in the courtly-love tradition.

The dilemma confronting Chaucer was given its classic theological solution in the Summa Theologiae:

In the case of an art directed to the production of goods which men cannot use without sin, it follows that the workmen sin in making such things, as directly affording others an occasion of sin; for instance, if a man were to make idols or anything pertaining to idolatrous worship. But in the case of an art the products of which may be employed by a man either for good or for an evil use, such as swords, arrows, and the like, the practice of such an art is not sinful. These alone should be called arts; wherefore Chrysostom says: the name should be applied to those only which contribute towards and produce necessaries and mainstays of life. In the case of an art that produces things which for the most part some people put to an evil use, although such arts are not unlawful in themselves, nevertheless, according to the teaching of Plato, they should be extirpated from the state by the governing authority . . . Hence Chrysostom says that even the shoemakers' and clothiers' arts stand in need of restraint, for they have lent their art to lust, by abusing its needs, and debasing art by art. 39

Here is Chaucer's problem: whether to let his art act autonomously or to order it by prudence. This problem is suggested remotely in the two tales he assigns himself, more explicitly in the Prologue to the Miller's Tale, and finally in the Retraction at the end of the Canterbury Tales.

I would argue, therefore, that the resort to external literary sources to explain these elements in his work is to misunderstand Chaucer's problem and his deepest convictions. It casts doubt on his originality as well as on the genuineness of his moral compunction and on his sincerity. I have tried to show that in

life as in art there was apt to be a gap between what was morally and what was socially acceptable. In the end, Chaucer, like his age, gave precedence to spiritual considerations, and whatever the original motivation behind his poetic activity he ultimately came to see certain creations as likely to do more harm than their entertainment or instructional value could justify. To accuse him of mockery at this point is, in effect, to make him a more radical heretic than the most radical contemporary, and worse, it makes him a hypocrite. If, at any one point in his life, he chose to publish courtly-love tales or scatological stories for reasons about which we cannot be very clear, it is certain that from early life on there was a strong religious and prudential element in his character which led him eventually to regret the fact. Not only is there a problem as to why he would apologize if he did not mean it, but as to why in so doing Chaucer missed some of his presumed guide’s most pertinent arguments, namely, those which Boccaccio made relative to the innate right of the artist to paint as he sees, to the fact that the questionable works were narrated in the spirit of play not in church, and to the didactic principle of the validity of the tales’ “sentence,” however crude the language in which they are expressed. Furthermore, Boccaccio expresses no sentiment of regret; he is explaining and justifying. The motive behind Chaucer’s action, confirming the interpretation we have given the data, is identified in the phrasing of his final Retraction, namely, that he would like to withdraw “the tales of Canterbury, thilke that sownen into synne.”

Similarly Professor Tatlock’s far-ranging search for an “apologetic tradition” to explain the Retraction itself at the end of the Canterbury Tales and of the passage at the end of Troilus and Criseyde, which he describes, misleadingly I believe, as “very like a Retraction,” arises from the application of modern distinctions between art and prudence to mediaeval texts. Nor can Boccaccio’s Filostrato account for the tone and intent of Chaucer’s renunciation of courtly-love ideals in the epilogue to Troilus. As Professor Young pointed out, Chaucer addresses the epilogue to men and women and substitutes for Boccaccio’s warning to men regarding faithless women, “a moving Christian appeal to amorous young people” of which the Filostrato contains no hint. It is significant that a later fifteenth-century tract addressed to a nun cites Troilus’ story as containing an instance of the type of “fleshy love” that is to be avoided. Thus the so-called “retraction” of Troilus is an obviously sincere statement of Chaucer’s final view of such “worldly vanities” and confirms by anticipation the more sweeping and genuine Retraction of all his works in the courtly-love tradition at the end of the Canterbury Tales.

Finally, I would like to say a word on what appears to me the significant thing about the Canterbury Tales relative to mediaeval behavior. Beneath the coarseness of the language and conduct centering around sexual relations, there lies, I believe, Chaucer’s deep concern for answers to the social ills he saw about him. Among the pilgrims represented, none, with the possible exceptions of the Clerk and Chaucer himself, could be expected to give the profound social pressures at work the disinterested consideration they deserved. The Host, for example, raised but could not solve a whole cluster of social and moral questions connected with the celibate ideal when he commented so entertainingly on the ethnological qualities of the monk. Confronted by social ills and dilemmas whose meaning they only vaguely comprehended, the pilgrims could only react in a spirit of horse-play or of lofty idealism, as the tales Chaucer assigned them suggest. In assigning the Tale of Melibœus to himself, Chaucer was acting more appropriately, I think, than many critics have

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41 Karl Young, “Chaucer’s Renunciation of Love in Troilus”, MLN, XL (1925), 272.
recognized. Stemming ultimately from the same tradition as Boethius' *Consolation*, the book of Melibeus was translated into French, perhaps by Jean de Meun, and was eventually incorporated into *Le ménagier de Paris*, which we have mentioned earlier as representing a new concept of the ideal marriage. The tale is closely akin to the Clerk's Griselde story and at least distantly related to the tradition from which the Parson's Tale derives. Its central theme is, of course, the vital role of prudence in governing human conduct and is an indirect censure of those overly preoccupied with worldly "honor" at the expense of the true honor to be derived from a good name, patience, and interior peace. Perhaps not enough attention has been given by critics to the elaborate preparation Chaucer made, so far as the re-constructed text indicates, by way of the Clerk's Tale, his own Melibeus Tale, and the Parson's Prologue and Tale, for the final Retraction. The shift from worldly to spiritual matters is much less abrupt than in *Troilus*, during the writing of which he already had the *Canterbury Tales* in mind. And it should be noted that when he proposed to write a "comedy," it is very probable he meant a work dealing with "low," that is, real life rather than with the high and remote matter of *Troilus*. He will, that is, point his moral in a more direct and familiar way. It seems to me likely that Chaucer included the "cherles" tales not only for their dramatic interest but also for the underlying seriousness of their implied comment on contemporary conduct. Beneath the wonderful urbanity and humor of the *Canterbury Tales* there is Chaucer's deep sense of social injustices and evils, a sense not as remote from Langland's as a superficial glance might suggest. In the final prologue and tale the Parson rejects the Host's request for a fable, disparages rhyme, and proposes instead "to knyte up al this feeste, and make an ende." Thus the tale itself performs the same function as the epilogue to *Troilus and Criseyde*: it orients the reader to all that has gone before in the light of him that "sit in hevene above," as Chaucer put it at the end of *Troilus*:

And Jhesu, for his grace, wit me sende  
To shewe yow the way, in this viage,  
Of thilke parfit glorious pilgrimage  
That highte Jerusalem celestial.

On this level the "seemly" is absorbed into the identified with moral and religious ideals. Even in his early poetry Chaucer could strike the profoundly religious as well as the erotic note. The same Boethius who taught Chaucer how to view objectively the human follies so abundantly present in the *Canterbury Tales*, taught him also how to view himself and his poetry objectively. In a sense, Chaucer's society could accept much that we do not accept as seemly because this society attached less importance to conventions that appeared to them as ephemeral as life itself. I think we need look no further for the "source" of Chaucer's apologies and retractions than that which he himself gives us in his translation of Boethius:

And whan she saugh thise poetical Muses aprochen aboute my bed and endityng wordes to my wepynges, sche was a litel amovied, and glowede with cruel sighen. "Who," quod sche, "hath sufferd aprochen to this sike man tise comune strompettes of swich a place that men depen the theatre; tis whiche not only ne asswagen noth his sorwes with none remedies, but thei bolden fedyn and norysen hym with sweete venym . . . But goth now rather awye, ye mermaydnes, whiche that ben swete til it be at the laste, and suffreth this man to ben cured and heeled by myne muses."[46]


" *Works*, "Boece", I, M.I, Pr.1, 48-58 and 75-78.
In Chaucer's age the seemly was subordinated ultimately to a religious view. The “mermaydenes,” though they might anoint things “with hony sweetnesse of Rhetorik and Musike,” as Boethius, following Plato, says in Chaucer's translation, when viewed from another level were but common strumpets. That other level, the religious level, Chaucer also knew, and the Tale of Melibeu is itself adequate defense of the need for prudence in adjusting the vision of the one to the complexities of the other. It seems to me that to describe Chaucer's sensitivities in these matters as arising from a “narrowly pious impulse” is to miss the point. I suspect that what makes Troilus and Criseyde and the Canterbury Tales everlastinglly interesting is precisely that tension between the demands of art and the demands of prudence in Chaucer's nature which would not permit him to rest either in hollow literary conventions or in hollow moral platitudes. These works are instinct with that duality which lies at the very heart of life and is the glory of great literature.

"Works, "Boece", II, M.3, Pr.3, 10."
John of Jandun and the Divine Causality*

ARMAND MAURER C. S. B.

Among the various currents of philosophy in the fourteenth century Latin Averroism was one of the least forward-looking and progressive. Thoroughly tied to the tradition of Averroes, it moved for the most part in a closed circle, impermeable to new ideas and ways of thought. Its conservatism becomes quite clear when its most representative figure, John of Jandun, is compared with his contemporary and associate, William of Ockham. While Jandun was looking back to the tradition of Aristotle as interpreted by Averroes, and expending his talents in attempting to understand it correctly, Ockham was trying new experiments in philosophy and laying the basis of modern ways of thought.

It is nonetheless true that the Averroist movement, initiated at Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century, exercised considerable influence throughout the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, especially in the schools of northern Italy. Its characteristic themes in psychology, natural philosophy, and metaphysics were continually debated and widely upheld. More generally, its sharp opposition of faith and reason and its rationalist approach to problems of philosophy permeated the intellectual atmosphere of the time and even influenced thinkers like Pomponazzi who, strictly speaking, did not belong to the Averroist school. Indeed, this general influence of Averroism extends to our own day.

John of Jandun’s Disputed Question on the divine causality, edited in the appendix to the present article, illustrates well the Averroist approach to a metaphysical problem. It exhibits the concern of the Averroists to interpret the frequently ambiguous texts of Aristotle in the light of Averroes’ commentaries, and to understand correctly the often obscure statements of Averroes himself. It also reveals their concern to set aside revelation in discussing a philosophical problem and to appeal to the philosophers alone for a solution, which they generally interpret to be in opposition to the teaching of faith.

Jandun’s Disputed Question is also significant in the history of the notion of efficient causality. Descartes was to pass on to modern philosophy the notion of an efficient cause with a “positive influence” upon its effect. To be more precise, he distinguished between two types of efficient causes. The first simply brings about a change in its effect, in such a way that the effect can remain even when the cause is no longer present. In this way the architect is the cause of a house and the father the cause of his son. These are causes, Descartes says, only secundum fieri and not secundum esse, because they make the effect come to be without precisely giving it its being. The second type of efficient cause produces the very being of its effect, so that if the cause is

* This article represents a section of work done as a Fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation.
3 Pomponazzi is often called an Averroist, although he himself was a bitter opponent of Averroes. Cf. his De Immortalitate animae, 4 (Tübingen, 1871), pp. 7-21. For his opposition of faith and reason, cf. W. Betzendörfer, Die Lehre von der zweifachen Wahrheit bei Petrus Pomponiatus (Tübingen, 1910).
removed the effect itself ceases to be. In this way the sun causes light and God causes all created things. These are causes secundum esse. And because God stands in this relation to His creatures, His continual influence is needed in order that they be conserved in being; a fact, Descartes adds, of which the unlettered are often ignorant, but which is evident to all metaphysicians.

Descartes' conception of efficient causality and of God's causal relation to the universe, like so much of his metaphysics, if not his method, had its source in mediaeval philosophy, more exactly in St. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, who in turn inherited it from Avicenna. Not all mediaeval philosophers, however, would have agreed with Descartes that this notion of divine causality is an evident metaphysical truth. There were some, like Averroes and John of Jandun, who rejected it as stemming from revelation, and so outside the domain of rational thought. In proof of this they pointed to the fact that Aristotle, the Philosopher par excellence, always described an efficient cause as simply the starting-point of motion: he knew nothing of an efficient cause which imports being to its effect, or of such a causal relation of God to the universe.

The history of this conflict of views in the Middle Ages on the nature of efficient causality has not yet been fully written,  although it is important for an understanding of the modern controversy over efficient causality and of the impact of revelation on the development of modern philosophical ideas. Indeed, this history cannot be fully written until all the pertinent documents are made available. It is with the hope of making a slight contribution to the subject that Jandun's treatise on the divine causality is here edited. The treatise is a Quaestio Disputata: "Is it contradictory for eternal beings to have an efficient cause?"

Jandun treated of similar and related problems in several of his commentaries on Aristotle. The present Question, although it does not always have the orderly presentation of ideas of the commentaries, is quite unique in its presentation and handling of the problem. It bears the mark of the classroom dispute of which it is the written record; but just for this reason it is important for showing us the various sides of the controversy in his day, and the position which he himself adopted.

The background of the dispute contained in Jandun's treatise is the conflict between the conceptions of efficient causality of Avicenna and Averroes. A word must be said on this subject before introducing Jandun's own treatment of the question.

Avicenna conceived an efficient cause as that which gives being to something distinct from itself: Agens vero est causa quae acquirit rei esse discretum a seipso. More briefly, it is that from which being comes: id a quo provenit esse. 


8 See the penetrating study on this subject in E. Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy, pp. 210-211, 643-644.

9 Cf. infra, Apêndices, n. 198.

10 In II Metaph., 5 (Venice, 1565), fols. 28a-30b: Utrum substantiae aeternae aliae a prima dependant a prima tanquam ab aliquo agente et efficiente: in VIII Phys., 5 (Venice, 1586), pp. 197-199: An motus aeternus dependet a motore aliquo effector: in I De Caelo et Mundo, 15 (Venice, 1552), fols. 11r-12r: An caelum ab aliquo dependeat tanquam ab agente et efficiente propria; in De Substantia Orbis 14 (Venice, 1552), fol. 80r: An intelligentia dependat a primo principio in ratione efficientis vel finis: ibid., 10, fols. 56r-57r: An caeli motus sit idem secundum agens et secundum finem, vel utrum in separatis a materia, efficiens et finis differant vel sint idem.

11 Cf. E. Gilson, ibid.

12 Avicenna, Metaph., VI, 1 (Venice, 1508), fol. 91r.

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In the mediaeval Latin translation of his works the Arabic word for this cause (‘illa fa ‘ila) is rendered either causa agens or causa efficientis.¹⁴

Although, according to Avicenna, all efficient causes give being, not all of them are true causes of being. A natural efficient cause gives being to something only in the sense that it moves or changes it; it is simply a source of motion: principium motionis tantum.¹⁵ This is the type of efficient cause studied by the philosopher of nature, who deals with the moving and changing universe. Besides this type of efficient cause there is another, studied by the metaphysician, which is the source or giver of being: principium essendi et datorem ejus.¹⁶ This manner of giving being is called creation—a mode of communication proper not only to God, who according to Avicenna immediately creates only one being (the first celestial Intelligence), but also to all the subsequent Intelligences. Each of these creates in turn the Intelligence immediately inferior to it, along with the animated celestial sphere with which it is intimately connected. The last of these Intelligences, which is the Agent Intellect, creates, or gives being to, the sublunary world and individual souls.¹⁷

Every true and essential cause, precisely because its effect depends on it for its very existence, must be simultaneous with its effect. It is a rule for Avicenna that every cause, in the true sense of the word, must co-exist with its effect and not precede it, as do the causes of motion: unaquaego igitur causa est simul cum suo causato. Only non-essential and remote causes precede their effects in existence, in such a way that those effects can remain when the causes are removed.¹⁸

Thus Avicenna distinguished between two radically different types of efficient causes: one necessarily connected with change and motion, the other transcending motion and connected simply with being. The first is “natural”, the second “metaphysical” causality. Algazel, in his summary of Avicenna’s philosophy, described these types of causes in succinct terms for future philosophers.¹⁹

Avicenna’s notion of efficient causality found a resolute critic in Averroes. He objected basically to Avicenna’s mixing religion and revelation with philosophy, and he made a deliberate effort to purify it of whatever doctrines derived from these sources.²⁰ One such doctrine was creation ex nihilo, and with it the Avicennian conception of an efficient cause which gives not motion or change but being. He saw clearly that this notion could not be found in Aristotle’s philosophy, to which he was consistently trying to return.

Averroes distinguished between two types of active causes: a mover (mouens) and an agent (agens). A moving cause properly produces only local motion. An agent, on the other hand, produces qualitative changes or alterations. The term “moving cause” is wider than “agent.” All agents are movers, but not all movers are agents. Only those are agents which, besides moving bodies locally, reduce matter from potency to act and thus produce a composite of form and


²⁰ Avicenna, Metaph. VI, 1, fol. 91b.


²² Avicenna, Metaph. VI, 2, fol. 91a. Verae causae simul sunt cum suis causatis, Sed praeecessentes sunt causae vel per accidentem vel adiectivos. Ibid.

²³ Algazel, Metaph. I, 8; ed. J. T. Muckle (Toronto, 1933), pp. 47–51. It is interesting to note that Descartes illustrates these causes with the same examples that Algazel used five centuries before. (Cf. supra, pp. 185–186. Cf. Avicenna, ibid.

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matter. Averroes wished to avoid what he considered to be two extreme positions on this question. One was that of Empedocles, who conceived agent causes simply as movers, whose function it is to separate what is united in nature and thus reveal forms hidden within it. At the other extreme Averroes saw the upholders of creation, who imagine that an agent can create a whole being from nothing. In this theory a creator is a being who does not need matter on which to operate; the whole possibility of the effect resides on the part of the agent, without any potential subject which is reduced from possibility to act. As examples of the creationists Averroes gives the Mutakallimun (Moslem theologians), Christians such as Philoponus, and Avicenna, according to whom forms are not induced from the potency of matter, but created and placed in matter by a "giver of forms" (dator formarum).

To these two positions on the role of an agent Averroes opposed what he considered the opinion of Aristotle, which he adopted as his own. According to this view, an agent produces only a composite of matter and form, and it does this by moving and changing matter until the form potentially present becomes actual. Averroes does not seem to have conceived a true agent as a giver of being or form, but simply as a source of motion or change. He thus eliminated from his philosophy the "metaphysical" efficient cause of Avicenna, which is not a principle of change but a source of existence itself. It is true, however, that at times he uses the term "agent" in another sense, extending it to include an immaterial being like God as the cause of the very form or essence of its effect. In this higher sense of the term, he says, the agent cause is studied in metaphysics, not in the philosophy of nature. We shall have to return later to the meaning of "agent" in this sense, and to the controversy it provoked among the interpreters and followers of Averroes.

It is against the background of this dispute over the meaning of an efficient cause that we must read John of Jandun's treatise on the possibility of something eternal having an efficient cause. The question is well designed to bring out a philosopher's conception of efficient causality. If an efficient cause is nothing else than the source of motion or change, how can it cause something eternal? Must it not be prior in time to that which it changes and reduces from potency to act? And if that is true, how can its effect have always existed? On the other hand, if an efficient cause can simply give being, without motion or change, its relationship to its effect transcends time, and there seems to be no contradiction in its effect being eternal.

Jandun himself reports three opinions on this question. The first is the view of Avicenna and Algazel, that all eternal beings other than God have an efficient cause. The second view maintains that nothing eternal has such a cause. The third, which we shall see is Jandun's own, holds a position midway between these two extremes.

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28 Agens enim est movens et faciens passiones. ... Movens autem proprie nullam facit passionem; quapropter omne agens est movens, sed non omne movens est agens. Averroes, In XII Metaph., t. c. 23; Opera Omnia VIII (Venice, 1574), 303K. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Averroes are to this edition. Cf. In I De Generazione et Corruptione, t. c. 45; V, 361G; In III Phys. t. c. 3; IV, 366K; Epitomes in Metaph. I, 356K.


30 Tertia autem est opinio Aristotelis. Et est quod agens non facit nisi compositum ex materia et forma, et hoc fit movendo material et transmutando eam donec exeat de ea illud quod est de potentia in ea ad illam formam in actu ... agens apud Aristotelem non est congregans inter du in rei veritate, sed extrahens illud quod est in potentia ad actu. Averroes, Ibid, 356H-I.

31 Hinc est quod haec scientia (eic. metaphysicea) non praestat de causis nisi formam et finem, et aliquo modo agens; videlicet non eo modo quo dicitur agens in rebus transmutabilibus, quia conditionem agentis in hoc loco non est quod praecedat passum praecessione temporali, sicut fit in rebus naturalibus. Averroes, Epitomes in Metaph. I; VIII, 356L; cf. 4, 388M-389A.

32 Cf. infra, pp. 183-187.

33 Cf. infra, Appendix, p. 199.
Avicenna’s position, Jandun says, is that God exists eternally as the most self-sufficient and adequate cause. No defect is to be found in Him, and there is no impediment to stand in the way of His realizing His effects. Granted that He exists eternally, then, it follows that His effects also exist eternally; and so there are eternal beings which have an efficient cause.  

In his reply Jandun comes immediately to the crucial point. There are, he says, only two ways in which eternal beings could have an efficient cause: through motion and change, or through simple emanation or creation. Now it is impossible that they be caused in the first way, because this manner of efficiency requires matter as the subject of change, and the Intelligences, which Avicenna supposes are eternally created, are immaterial. Moreover, an efficient cause which produces its effect through motion and change must precede it in time, and consequently the effect cannot be eternal. So these eternal beings cannot be brought into existence through any kind of motion or change. The other possibility is that they are simply created by God out of nothing. But this is contrary to Aristotle, who made it clear that something cannot be made from nothing. In neither of these two ways, then, can eternal beings have an efficient cause.

In the present treatise Jandun does not explain further his opposition to creation as a mode of efficient causation. Elsewhere, however, he adds that reason and faith are opposed on this point. Reason takes its origin in the objects of sense, and consequently it cannot demonstrate what is above the sensible and natural order. Now creation, or the simple emanation of being, is a supernatural mode of production, and it can never be known by reasoning from the order of nature. Jandun stoutly maintains his belief in the veracity of the Scriptural account of God’s creating all things in the beginning of time, and hence in a mode of efficient causality beyond that known to the philosopher. But he would have us notice two things: First, according to Scripture God’s creation is not eternal; it had a temporal beginning. Thus even according to revelation God is not the efficient cause of eternal beings. Secondly, creation is called a “production” in a sense equivocal to causation through motion and change. It is not the type exercised by a natural agent, which is alone known to the philosopher whose method of inquiry is purely natural.

To be convinced of the fact, we have only to read Aristotle, who, Jandun says, always speaks of a true efficient cause as a principle of motion. Indeed,

87 ibid. On the necessity of creation according to Avicenna, cf. L. Gardet, op. cit., p. 42; E. Gilson, op. cit., p. 213.
89 hoc modo dicendum est ad quaestionem secundum intentionem Aristotelis et Commentatoris ponentium citra primum aliquas substantias aeternas; et si hoc esset verum, non dependeret a vero agente per motum. Sed tamen dicendum secundum fidem et veritatem quod nihil citra primum est aeternum, sed omnia incepenter de novo esse. Et per consequens producta fuerunt a primo principio tanquam ab agente per creationem ex nihilo, saltem substantiae abstractae. Et illa creation non est motus nec generatio univoce dictus cum motu inferius, sed alia productio supernaturalis quae non potest coninci ex sensatis et ex naturalibus, ex quibus procedunt philosophi naturaliter loquentes. Sed tandem firmiter hoc credo et scio, non de ratione orta ex sensibus, et hoc firmiter facit scripturae doctrinam reverenter assentire. Unde ex hoc cuod nescio demonstrare ex sensatis, nec potest, quia est super sensibilum et naturalum.
the very definition of an agent is “the source of motion and change.” So whatever does not come into being by motion cannot have a true efficient cause. If anyone denies this, Jandun refuses to dispute with him, although he does try to justify his own position by means of an inductive reasoning. Consequently he agrees with Averroes that the modern way of explaining the production of beings, as an immediate creation by God as by a true efficient cause, is simply not true: Modus modernorum in producendo entia non est verus. The opposition between the teaching of faith and the philosophers is thus complete.

Jandun’s quarrel with the “moderns”, such as Avicenna, goes even deeper. Not only did he, like Averroes, think that Avicenna was appealing to an extra-philosophical notion when he introduced the concept of creation into metaphysics, but he considered erroneous the whole metaphysics of being connected with it. Why, indeed, would a being which always existed need an efficient cause? To this question Avicenna had replied that only God is a necessary being in the absolute sense of the word. Everything else is, in itself, or from the point of view of its essence, only possible. It is necessary only in relation to the cause which gives it actual existence. God is the only case of a being which exists in virtue of its very nature; in all other beings essence is really distinct from existence, and it is not their very nature to exist. In virtue of their natures they can exist, but an efficient cause is required to give them their existence. This is true even for eternal beings like the heavenly Intelligences. In themselves they are only possible beings; if they are to exist, they must eternally be given existence by their efficient causes.

Like his master Averroes, Jandun could not accept the notion of being presupposed by this argument. Suppose Avicenna were correct in thinking it possible for an eternal being not to exist. Since nothing impossible follows from what is possible, it could be posited that, at a certain moment, it might not exist. But at that moment it would exist, since in fact it is eternal. Therefore, at one and the same time, the thing would both exist and not exist, which is contradictory. Consider, too, that any moment might be chosen for this hypothetical experiment. It then becomes evident that, on the strength of Avicenna’s argument, we can say that for all eternity a certain being both exists and does not exist—which plainly violates the law of non-contradiction.

The very notions of being and possibility are here at stake. For Jandun, as for Averroes, an eternal substance is formally, by its very nature, a necessary being. It cannot be a possible being by virtue of its nature, as Avicenna imagined, for then it would acquire eternity and necessity when brought into existence by its cause, with the result that a possible nature would be changed into a necessary nature. This seems to be the reason, incidentally, why Aver-

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31 Omne agens simpliciter est principium mutus et mutationis; et illud intelligitur per quid nominis hujus quod est causa agens. Et qui negaret hoc, non esset disputandum cum eo. Et tamen potest declarari inducione ... Ubiqueque Aristotelis logiquar de efficiene vero, dict ipsum unde principium mutus; quicquid ergo non fit per motum, non habet efficienes verum. Jandun, In II Metaph. 5, fol. 28v, 29r.

32 Ibid., fol. 29r. Cf. Averroes, In XII Metaph. t. c. 44, 323D.

33 For Avicenna’s notion of necessary and possible being, cf. Metaph. I, 7-8, fol. 73r; VIII, 4, fol. 98v-99r. Cf. also A. M. Goichon, op. cit., pp. 156-200; L. Gardet, op. cit., pp. 45-61; E. Gilson, op. cit., pp. 207-208; 212-213.

34 Cf. infra, Appendix, pp. 291-292. For Averroes’ criticism of Avicenna’s notion of being, cf. In IV Metaph. t. c. 3, 67B-H; In XII Metaph. t. c. 4, 324K. Avicenna’s logic is not at fault; nor would it lead him to this conclusion. For him, it is not contradictory for something to be eternally possible in virtue of its essence and eternally necessary in virtue of the cause which makes it exist, for created essence is really distinct from existence. Having denied with Averroes Avicenna’s distinction of essence and existence, Jandun cannot admit his distinction between possibility and necessity within created being.


roes and Jandun did not admit, with Avicenna, that the heavenly bodies are really composed of matter and form, like sublunary bodies. If matter were an integral part of their natures, they would contain a root of possibility, since whatever is material is potential. They considered the heavenly bodies "material" only in an equivocal sense, since their "matter" is of a different sort from that of sublunary bodies; and they thought these bodies were composed, not of matter and form, but of a mover and a subject which is moved.\[12\]

Nothing could show more clearly the gulf between the Avicennian and Averroist notions of being and possibility. For Avicenna, the essence of a created being is not its existence, and so he would not agree that a nature or essence which is possible in itself is changed into a necessary one by receiving necessary existence from its efficient cause. The nature always remains possible in itself; the necessity of an eternal being resides solely on the side of the existence given to it by its cause. For Averroes, on the other hand, whom Jandun follows, there is no real distinction between essence and existence. A possible being which becomes necessary through the agency of a cause would thus be fundamentally altered in essence.

Must it be said, then, that nothing eternal has an efficient cause? Jandun will not go as far as this, although he reports this to be the opinion of some philosophers.\[13\] Does not Aristotle prove that motion is eternal, and is it not clear to the senses that motion has an efficient cause? It would seem, then, that at least eternal motion is efficiently produced.\[14\] Jandun points out, however, that motion is not a substance, but the accident of a substance. So, even though eternal motion has an efficient cause, it still remains true that no eternal substance has a cause of this sort. Notice, too, that motion is not a permanent, but a successive accident. A permanent accident is one whose being requires the simultaneous actual existence of all its parts, like the quantity of the heavens and the nature of light. A successive accident is one which need not have all its parts present at once; some exist only in potency so that they are in a constant process of becoming. Now it is impossible for eternally permanent accidents to have an efficient cause, for the same reason that it is impossible for an eternal substance to have one. But successive accidents, like motion, do have an efficient cause, even though they are eternal.\[15\]

What is the efficient cause or mover of the never-ending successive phases of the movement of the heavens? Jandun thinks that it is not God, but rather the Intelligence presiding over the first sphere. This Intelligence, in its eternal knowledge and love of God and its desire to conserve its likeness to Him, efficiently moves the first mobile sphere. According to Jandun, God is thus the first cause of motion only as a final cause and not as an efficient cause. The efficient mover of the celestial sphere is the Intelligence presiding over it.\[16\]

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Idee videtur dicendum secundum Aristotelem et Commentatorem quod caelum . . . non componitur ex materia et forma, sed est corpus simplex actu existens subjunctum suo motori vel motoribus, ita quod non est potentia ad esse, nec habet esse formaliter a motore vel ab alia forma, sed solum est in eo potentia ad ubi. Jandun, op. cit., 1, fol. 51\[a\]; Cf. In I De Caelo et Mundo 23, fol. 14\[a\]-15\[b\]. Cf. Avicenna, Metaph. IX, 4, fol. 104\[a\]-105\[a\].

As I have not been able to identify these philosophers. The position Jandun reports them as holding was adopted by Gregory of Rimini, who died thirty years after Jandun, in 1358. Cf. infra, p. 204.

Secundo dico quod primum movens, quod est movens mediate, movet in ratione fines tantum, et non in ratione efficientis, ut patet per Philosophum et Commentatorem II Caelo. Quod enim est mobile et perfectum simpliciter non ego actione extrinsecus in acquisitione nobilitatis, quia non eget assimilari alci, ex quo est simpliciter primum, et a se est omnis nobilitas et omnis perfectio . . . intelligenter quae movet primum orbe omni alio est primo principio . . . Ergo apparat primum mobile moveri effective ab intelligentia desiderante et intelligente primum . . . praeter primum sit alius motor conjunctus, qui movet effective. Jandun, In De Sub. Orbis 10, fol. 56\[a\]. Cf. Aristotle, De Caelo II, 12, 292a21-292b6; Averroes, In II De Caelo, t. 63, 141KL; 64, 142H1-1.

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Jandun presents this doctrine as his interpretation of Aristotle's and Averroes' conception of the divine causality. As he himself indicates, the correct understanding of their position was a matter of dispute at the time. Indeed, shortly afterwards Gregory of Rimini attacked Jandun’s interpretation on two scores. His first disagreement may seem at first sight a mere dispute over words, but it is important as reflecting Gregory’s allegiance to Ockham in refusing to attribute any reality to universals. The question Jandun had raised was: Has anything eternal an efficient cause? He had replied that no eternal substance has such a cause, but motion has, and motion is something eternal: motus est alicuium aeternum. So in a sense it can be said that something eternal has an efficient cause.

Gregory of Rimini protests that to conceive motion as “something eternal” is to imagine motion as a kind of entity, shared in by all individual moving things. Many have imagined this, he adds, but in fact nothing exists in reality except individual things and their individual movements and changes. It is true that, according to Aristotle and Averroes, movements have been succeeding each other for all eternity, just as individual men have been eternally generated one after the other. We can say, then, according to these philosophers, that there always has been motion; but strictly speaking we cannot say that motion is eternal, just as we cannot say that man is eternal. To say this implies that motion and humanity have some real status apart from the individual things in motion and individual men, which is not the case. Consequently Gregory of Rimini claims that strictly speaking, according to Aristotle and Averroes, nothing eternal has an efficient cause.

Jandun, however, was not to go undefended. In the sixteenth century the Averroist, Zimara, took up the debate on the side of Jandun against Gregory of Rimini. According to him, the whole eternal motion of the universe makes up a numerical unity, and this motion is efficiently produced by the celestial Intelligence charged with this function. Since this Intelligence per se intends the whole movement and only incidentally its parts, we can say that something eternal has a true efficient cause.

The second point on which Gregory of Rimini disagrees with Jandun’s interpretation of Aristotle and his Commentator regards the type of causality exercised by God on the first heavenly sphere. Jandun claimed that God transcends all the spheres, and that the immediate efficient mover of the primum mobile is not God, but an Intelligence inferior to Him. Gregory thinks that Aristotle and Averroes meant that God is the immediate active power of the primum mobile. In defense of this interpretation, Gregory reminds us that Aristotle reckoned the number of separate immobile substances according to

44 For Gregory’s relations to Ockham, cf. E. Gilson, op. cit., pp. 502-503. With regard to the point at issue, Ockham had argued that motion is not a real entity, really different from that which is moved. Cf. Ockham, In II Sent. 9 (Lyons, 1495). Ockham differed from Gregory, however, in maintaining that, according to Aristotle, God is the efficient cause of all things. Cf. Ockham, loc. cit., 6, B.
45 Cf. infra, Appendix, p. 204.
46 Ad hoc dicendum quod utique generatio habit causam agentem secundum Philosophum si recte hoc intelligatur secundum eum; tamen nulla generatio est aeterna aut fuit ab aeterno, sicut nullum genus fuit ab aeterno sive fuit aut est aeternum. Unde secundum ipsum ista de virtute sermonis est falsa: generatio est aeterna, quia quaelibet ejus singularis est falsa, ut de se patet. . . . non est considerandum quod aliqua entitas motus sit aeterna, nec quod entitas alicuius in mobili a motore sit aeterna, cum quaelibet singularis sit falsa. Gregory of Rimini, In II Sent., 1, 1 (Venice, 1522), fol. 2v (Reprinted, St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1955).
47 Secundum Peripateticos, intelligentia quae est causa efficiens motus caeli per se intendit totum motum, ut est unus numero, et non intendit partes motus nisi per accidentes. . . . Ergo intelligentia per se est causa effectiva totius motus. Sed totus motus est aeternus in verissima unitate numerali; ergo aliquod aeternum habet causam effec-
tivam. Zimara, Annotationes in Joannem Gandavensem super Quaest. Metaph. (Venice, 1503), fol 174v. Gregory is referred to on fol 174v. Zimara, however, did not think Jandun correct in saying that, according to the philosophers, God does not move the heavens immediately as its efficient cause. Cf. Ibid., fol. 178v.
the number of simple movements of the heavens. Averroes expressly says that the primary separate substance, or God, produces the first movement. Gregory argues that he cannot mean that God moves the first sphere only as a final cause, because in this sense He is the cause of all motion. The fact that Averroes says this movement is especially caused by God indicates that He is the efficient cause of the movement of the first sphere, and not simply its final cause.42

John of Jandun was well aware that certain statements of Averroes, and even of Aristotle, would lead one at first sight to think they conceived God as a true efficient cause. Does not Aristotle refer to God, and to eternal beings in general, as causes and principles?43 Averroes in his turn explicitly calls God a final, efficient, and formal cause. Since he expressly distinguishes between God as a final and as an efficient cause, it would seem that he means to attribute true efficient causality to Him.44 What is more, Averroes states that God is not only the cause of the continuity of motion, but also of the very substance of what He moves.45 This hardly seems consistent with His being solely the final cause of the motion of the heavens. Again, he asserts that the celestial bodies need not only a power giving them motion, but also the eternity of their substance.46 So it would seem that, according to Averroes, God moves the heavens not only as a final cause—as an object of love and desire—but also as an efficient cause, giving them their very substance.

However convincing these statements may seem, Jandun thinks that to interpret them in the sense that God is a true efficient cause of an eternal substance runs counter to the philosophers' notion of efficient causality, for they always conceived this type of causality simply as a principle of motion and change. It follows that what is not subject to change, for instance the immaterial Intelligences, which are purely actual, cannot have an efficient cause. Moreover, they conceived an efficient cause as necessarily prior in time to its effect, which therefore cannot be eternal.47

How are we to understand, then, Averroes' statement that God is an efficient cause? Jandun appeals to Averroes' own explanation in his Commentary on the De Caelo, where he explicitly says that the celestial Intelligences do not exercise efficient causality in the proper sense of the term, but only formal and final causality. They can be called efficient causes only in a metaphorical sense.48

Jandun concludes from this that Averroes uses the term "efficient cause" in two ways: first, in its proper sense, simply as the source of motion or change; secondly, in a metaphorical sense, as equivalent to a formal or final cause. He points out that Aristotle calls health an efficient cause in this latter way: health may be said to make a person healthy, although strictly speaking health is a formal and final cause, not an efficient cause. If we call God the efficient cause of the universe of nature, it is only in this metaphorical sense. Properly He is its final cause, since He is the good to which the whole of nature tends as to its end.49

A formidable difficulty, however, still remains. Granted that God is the final cause of the universe, in the sense that He is the end for whose sake it functions, how can He be said to give it not only its motion, but also its very being and

42 "Philosophus et Commentator opinat sunt Deum esse motorem appropriatum primo mobili, et illud immediate active movement. Gregory of Rimini, loc. cit., fol. 3v. As the marginal note of the editor indicates, Gregory is here directly criticizing Peter of Auriol, In I Sent. 42, 1, 1, prop. 3 (Rome, 1596), p. 95v. The reference to Aristotle is: Metaph. XII. 8, 1073a21-38; to Averroes: In XII Metaph. t. c. 43, 324L-327A.
44 Cf. infra, Appendix, note 48.
45 Cf. infra, Appendix, note 58.
46 Cf. infra, Appendix, note 59.
48 Cf. ibid.
49 Cf. ibid.
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substance? In the world about us we are acquainted with the fact of finality. We desire something and that object is capable of moving us to action. In this case the object of desire is a cause of motion. But we have no experience of a final cause which is capable of giving to another thing its very existence. Jandun was aware of this difficulty, but he seems not to have given any solution of it. He simply states that, unlike final causes in this world, a final cause in the celestial world is not only the source of operation, but also gives and conserves being. We are left in the dark as to how this is accomplished. Averroës himself seems to have considered the being of the world as consisting in its unity, order and motion. As the final cause of its order and movement, then, God gives the universe its very being. Jandun does not offer this explanation, but leaves us with the mystery of an Averroist God who, as the final cause of the world, not only moves it but gives it its existence and substance.

It would be beyond the limits of our present inquiry to deal adequately with the interpretation of Averroës' notion of the divine causality after John of Jandun. It might be useful, however, to add a few words on this subject, at least in so far as it is related to Jandun.

John Baconsorpe gives an excellent presentation of the various opinions of his immediate predecessors. He names Harvey of Neddlec as holding that, according to Aristotle and Averroës, everything depends on God as on an efficient cause. On this point Harvey was largely inspired by St. Thomas Aquinas. A certain Gerard (of Bologna?) is cited, along with others, as holding the contrary view. The Averroist, Thomas of Wilton, is said to maintain an intermediate position, teaching that, although the Intelligences do not depend on God as an efficient cause, the corporeal universe does. In Baconsorpe's own view, Aristotle and Averroës were of the opinion that both the Intelligences and the heavenly bodies have God for their final, and not for their efficient cause. Arguing against Wilton, he makes the same distinction as Jandun between a proper and a broad use of the term "agent" in Averroës' writings. In the proper sense, Averroës does not mean God to be the efficient cause of eternal things, but only their final cause. Baconsorpe's explanation of how God, as a final cause, can give eternal beings their very existence, is interesting. He says that they come into existence through the very fact that God knows He stands in different ways to them as their end. Because God exists and is their end, they too spring into existence by a sort of concomitance, as a relation comes to be along with its foundation.

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43 Unde finis in superioribus non solum est principium operationis, sed etiam dat esse et conservat esse, licet hoc non sit in inferioribus. Jandun, In II Metaph. 5, fol. 29v.
44 This is the interpretation of H. A. Wolfson, art. cit., 704. Cf. Averroës, De Substanciâ Orbis, 4, 101.
45 Cf. Baconsorpe, In Ill Sent. 1, 1, 1, (Cremone, 1618), pp. 421ff.
46 Cf. op. cit., p. 421. Cf. Harvey of Neddlec, Quodlibet I, 8 (Venice, 1513), fol. 15v-18v.
49 Ibid. Cf. Gerard of Bologna, Quodlibet I, 9, Ms Vat. lat. 922, fol. 88°-109°.
51 Videtur mihi quod tam Intelligentiae quam corpora caelestia sunt a Deo secundum opinionem Philosophi et Commentatoris non sicut a causa efficiente, sed solum sicut a fine. Baconsorpe, In II Sent. 1, 1, 2, n. 1, p. 426bC.
52 Cf. op. cit., 1, 1, 3, n. 2, p. 427bE-428aA.
53 Ideo imaginatur Commentator quod
The correct interpretation of Aristotle and Averroes on this subject continued to be debated throughout the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Averroist, Achillini, defended essentially the same view as John of Jandun. He too distinguished between Averroes' proper use of the term "agent", according to which an agent is always a source of motion, drawing its effect from potency to act, and a metaphorical use of the term which extends to a formal and final cause. Pomponazzi, who was Achillini's opponent at the University of Padua, took the opposite side of the debate, directing his arguments chiefly against Gregory of Rimini.

The renowned Averroist, Marcantonio Zimara, played an important role in the debate. In his Annotations on Jandun's *Metaphysics* he criticized, among other things, his fellow-Averroist's interpretation on this point. It was his opinion that both Aristotle and Averroes had taught that, besides an efficient cause originating movement and change, there is another giving being by simple emanation, without the instrumentality of motion. It is in this latter way, according to them, that God eternally produces the eternal, immaterial Intelligences, and the Intelligences themselves can immediately bring into existence in time generable and corruptible things.

Zimara tells us in his *Tables* on the terminology of Aristotle and Averroes that he wrote a special treatise in his youth against Gregory of Rimini and John Baconthorpe, entitled *De Triplici causalitate intelligentiae*. In this work, which he says was not published, he criticized these theologians for asserting that, according to Averroes, the movement of the heavenly bodies is eternally caused, but not their substance. He pointed out that Averroes clearly states in his *De Substantia orbis* that the heavens have not only a moving cause, but also an agent cause, which gives them their very substance. In his *Tables* he goes on to admit the difficulty of interpreting the Arabian philosopher on this point, exclaiming: *Deus sit dator auxilii in tanta perplexitate et varietate doctorum*.

As far as Aristotle's own doctrine is concerned, he shows some

secundum quod primum intellectu us esse diversimode finem eorum, quod illa aeterna statim sunt entia quaedam per solam dependantium ad ipsum, sicut ad causam finaliam, ita quod distinguitur in diversa gradus essendi, subum per hoc, quod diversimode ordinatur ad diversa officia in ordine ad primum finem. *Loc. cit.* s. 2, n. 1, p. 425A. Deus largiatur rebus esse secundum quod dependant in genere causae finalis; per hoc enim quod ipsa est, qui est finis eorum, et ipsae sunt per quandam concomitantiam et resultationem, sicut rei per esse fundamenti. *Loc. cit.* a. 3, n. 3, p. 436b3.

*cf. Achillini, Liber de Intelligentiis, Quodlibetum II* (Venice, 1545), fol. 8v.

*cf. P. Pomponazzi, In De Substantia Orbis, Ms Vat. Reg. lat. 1779, fols. 29v-30v. Although the text of Pomponazzi is defective in places, this seems to be the position he adopts. Cf. *Unde illa videtur esse sententia Aristotelis, quod, scilicet, mundus et aliae intelligentiae effectue dependant a Deo. Fol. 30v.* Bruno Nardi, on the other hand, thinks Pomponazzi is in agreement with Achillini on this point: Il suo arsotelismo e il suo averroismo insomma non hanno la rigidezzi transigente del pensiero dell'Achillini, con quale il mantovano era in sostanza d'accordo anche nel dubitare della dipendenza delle intelligenze a dei corpi celesti dalla causalità efficace del primo motore. B. Nardi, "Appunti sull'averroista bolognese Alessandro Achillini", *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana, Fac. I,* (1954), 90.

*In aeternum et universaliter in omnibus abstractis a materia est dare unum efficiens producens ab aeterno sine voto motu et transmutatione, sed per simplicem emana tionem. Annotationes . . . (Venice, 1505), fol. 176v.*

Zimara also criticizes Jandun for holding that, according to the philosophers (i.e. Aristotle and Averroes), God is not the immediate efficient mover of the heaven (cf. supra, p. 190). *Op. cit.*, fol. 178v.

*Et hoc manifestat verum fuissme nostrum iudicium in juventute nostra, ubi disputavi mus in speciali quastione de triplici causalitate intelligentiae, contra Gregorium Arimimenem ei: Joanne de Baccone, asseverantes in via Averroes corpora sempiterna non esse causata ab aeterno quo ad substantiam, sed quo ad motum tantum ab ipsa intelligentia. Et tunc iam non erat impressus tractatus iste, licet manifeste etiam patatem hoc idem ex 2 capitolo De Substantia Orbis (6M-7A), ubi Commen tator expresso deicit se fessare illam digres sionem propter amorem veritatis, quia multa etiam suae temporis absque certat caelum non habere nisi causam moventem et non agentem . . . et Deus sit dator auxilii in tanta perplexitate et varietate doctorum. Zimara, Tabula . . . in Dictis Aristotelis et Averrois (Venice, 1578), fol. 14v. Cf. fol. 2v.*
hesitation, pointing out that his classical Greek interpreters are not in agreement. But he is not doubtful at all that Averroes thought eternal beings are caused formally, finally and efficiently.\(^\text{76}\)

Some of the most persuasive texts brought forth by Zimara to prove that Averroes thought eternal beings have a true efficient cause come from the Arabian philosopher’s *Epitome of Metaphysics*, which was not translated into Latin until the sixteenth century, and hence was unknown to Jandun.\(^\text{69}\) In one of these texts Averroes asserts that the metaphysician and the philosopher of nature consider causes in different ways. The metaphysician studies only formal and final causes and, in a certain way, agent causes. The latter type of cause does not mean the same to him as it does to the philosopher of nature; for in natural science an agent cause is a mover, preceding its effect in time and imparting to it nothing but movement, while in metaphysics the agent has no temporal priority over its effect, to which it gives its very form.\(^\text{\textit{90}}\)

Zimara points to this as a clear indication that Averroes distinguished between a natural and a metaphysical efficient cause, and that for him the eternal universe depends on God, not only as its form and end, but also as its true efficient cause.\(^\text{10}\)

He cites to the same purpose still another text of the *Epitome* in which Averroes asserts that the movers of the celestial bodies do not simply move them, but give them the forms by which they are what they are.\(^\text{\textit{71}}\)

On the strength of these and similar texts\(^\text{\textit{72}}\) Zimara opposes the interpretation of Jandun, Gregory of Rimini and Baconthorpe, that according to Averroes eternal beings cannot have a true efficient cause. In his marginal notes to Harvey of Nedelloc’s *Quodlibetal Questions*, he agrees with Harvey’s opinion that Averroes thought eternal beings have an agent cause as well as a final cause.\(^\text{\textit{73}}\)

If we had his unedited treatise *De Triplici causalitate intelligentiae*, we could perhaps understand better in what sense Zimara understood Averroes’ notion of a metaphysical agent cause. It appears from his extant writings, however, that he understood it in the sense of a true creator or giver of being, in the Avicennian sense of the term. It is precisely on this point that he parts company with Jandun, Gregory of Rimini and Baconthorpe. They understood well enough that Averroes spoke of an agent cause outside the order of time and movement, and that he admitted that eternal beings have, in a sense, an efficient cause. But they recognized that he always maintained that, in this sense, the term “agent” or “efficient cause” is used only metaphorically, and not properly. It is really identical with a formal or final cause.\(^\text{\textit{74}}\) Zimara does not point out that, in his *Epitome*, Averroes calls the movers of the celestial bodies “agents” only dant eis formas suas, quibus sunt id quod sunt. Averroes, op. cit., 4, 388 M. Cf. Zimara, op. cit., fol. 13*\textit{a}.


\(^\text{73}\) Et ideo erubescent tenentes in via Aristotelis et Commentatoris entia acterna habere causam finalem et non causam agentem, sicut nus late probavitimus in quaestione nostra *De Triplici causalitate intelligentiae*. Zimara, Marginal Note to Harvey of Nedelloc, *Quodl. I*, 8, fol. 18*\textit{a}.

\(^\text{74}\) Cf. supra, pp. 193, 194.
in a certain sense (quoquo modo), and that the meaning of “agent” in this context becomes apparent when he declares that the form and end are sometimes called agents by a kind of similitude. On this point, there is complete agreement between Averroes' Epitome and his other writings.

It seems justifiable to conclude that, on the subject of the divine causality, Jandun was a more faithful interpreter of Averroes than Zimara. Unlike Jandun, Zimara failed to recognize the revolutionary character of Avicenna's notion of true efficient causality as a source of being transcending time and movement, and the determined effort of Averroes to oppose this notion and to return to the doctrine of Aristotle. Gregory of Rimini, following Jandun, proved himself an excellent historian of philosophy when he summed up the situation, saying that the distinction between two kinds of production, one through motion and the other through the simple emanation of being, does not stem from Aristotle or Averroes, but from Avicenna, who in this matter greatly differed from them."

APPENDIX

For the edition of the Quaestio Disputata of John of Jandun the following manuscripts have been used: F, Ms Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Conv. Soppr. I,

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UTRUM AETERNIS REPUGNET HABERE CAUSAM EFFICIENTEM

Quaeritur utrum aeternis repugnet habere causam efficientem.

[RATIONES PRINCIPALES]

<1> Et primo arguitur quod aeterna non possunt habere causam efficientem. Et ratio potest esse illa: Illud quod non potest non esse non habet causam efficientem. Sed aeterna non possunt non esse. Ergo, etc. A patet per Avicennam in VIII suae Metaphysicae.2 B est nota in I Caeli,3 ubi dicit quod illud quod est aeternum, semper est. Modo quod semper est, non potest: non esse.

<2> Praeterea, illud quod, quolibet alio circumscripsit, non potest corrumpi, non habet causam efficientem. Sed aeterna sunt hujusmodi. Quare, etc. A patet, nam si haberent causam efficientem, ipsa circumscripta, possent corrumpi; da enim quod remaneret, esset frustra postquam non haberet aliquam operationem. B patet, nam quolibet circumscripsit, aeterna non possunt corrumpi. Nam sicut dicit Commentator,4 decisio materiae ab aliqua re est causa perpetuatis illius rei. Modo si aeterna non haberent aliquam materiam, non possunt corrumpi, cum materia sit principium corruptionis.

<3> Praeterea, illud quod non est factum non habet causam efficientem. Aeterna non sunt facta. Quare, etc. A patet, nam de ratione effectus respectu suae causae efficientis est quod habeat esse factum. B patet, nam omne quod est factum habet esse novum; sed nullum aeternum est novum, quia semper fuit.

<4> Praeterea, illud non habet causam efficientem quod non potest educi de potentia materiae. Aeterna2 non possunt duci de potentia materiae. Quare,4 etc. A patet, nam sicut dicit Philosophus in XII Metaph.,5 verum agens non distinguat inter diversa, sed quod est in potencia reducit ad actum; ita quod illud quod habet causam efficientem debet reduci de potencia ad actum. B patet, nam si aeterna reducentur de potencia ad actum, tunc dabitur tempus in quo aeternum non erit, et sic aeternum non esset, nam in aeternis non differt esse et posse. Et hoc est quia ibi primo non est potentia. Si sic, non possunt duci de potentia ad actum.

<5> Praeterea, illud quod non habet materiam non habet causam efficientem.

Sed aeterna sunt hujusmodi. Quare, etc. A patet, quia materia est potentia passiva; sed causa efficiens est sicut causa2 activa. Modo ubicunque est potentia activa, est passiva, cum referatur adinvicem, et si una non est, neque alia.5 B patet, nam si haberent materiam, possent corrumpi. Nam I Caeli et Mundii5 dicitur quod sicut acumen est passio cutelli, ita generatio et corruptio est (122•) passio materiae.

2 Avicennae, Metaph. VIII, 3, fol. 38α; 4, fol. 38β-39α; cf. I, 7-8, fol. 73-74.
3 Aristotle, De Caelo I, 12, 282a22-32.
4 Averroes, In II De Caelo, t. c. 38, 122K.
5 Aeternae F.
6 Om. F.
7 Averroes, In XII Metaph. t. c. 18, 304I.
8 potentia V.
9 neque alia: nec aliqua V.
10 Averroes, In I De Caelo, t. c. 20, 15D.
ARMAND MAURER

IN CONTRARIUM videtur esse Aristoteles in II Metaph., ubi dicit quod oportet principia esse verissima, non quae quandoque sunt et quandoque non, sed semper sunt; et non habent causam ut sint, sed ipsa alia sunt causa. Super quo verbo videtur Commentatorasserere quod Deus sit causa esse omnium a se. Hoc idem ponit Philosophus in VI et in proemio libri Metaph., ubi dicit quod Deus tribuit esse omnibus entibus. Hoc etiam videtur esse de mente Philosophi I Caeli, ubi dicit quod a primo principio omnibus communicatum est esse et vivere; his quidem clarius, his vero obscurius.


Praeterea, omne quod habet materiam partem sui, quae est in potentia ad esse simpliciter, habet causam efficientem. Sed aeterna, vel aliquod aeternum, est hujusmodi. Quare, etc. A patet, nam materia, quae est in potentia ad esse simpliciter, est pars substantiae et eget agentem reducere ipsam ad actum. B patet; Commentator enim in III De Anima dicit quod anima intellectiva est quaedam substantia aeterna; tamen habet intellectum possibilem aliquam partem sui, cum ita sit quod intellectus possibilis sit pura potentia in generi intelligibilitium, sicut materia prima est pura potentia in genere sensibilium.

Praeterea, omne quod habet aliquam passionem qua potest carere, habet causam efficientem. Sed aliquod aeternum est hujusmodi. Quare, etc. A patet, nam si non haberet causam efficientem, posset corrumpi. Da enim quod remaneat, erit frustra, quia non haberit passionem. B patet, nam corpus supercaeleste habet illam passionem, scilicet motum. Modo motus potest corrumpi, quia per se habet contrarium, ut quieset.

Praeterea, omne habens propriam passionem quae habet causam efficientem, et ipsum habet causam efficientem. Sed aliquid aeternum est hujusmodi. Quare, etc. A patet in quarto Caeli: dans formam, dat omnia consequentia ad formam. B patet, nam motus habet causam efficientem. Unde dicit Philosophus in VIII Physicorum quod nihil prohibet quorumdam aeternorum esse causam efficientem. Et super isto verbo dicit Commentator quod si pes fuisset ab aeterno, cum etiam fixio pedis in pulvere fuisset ab aeterno, et tamen fixio pedis procedit a pede tamquam a causa efficiente, videtur igitur quod aeterna habent causam efficientem.

His visis, respondendum est ad quaestionem. Ad cujus evidentiam est scienendum quod de illa quaestione fuerunt tres opiniones. Prima fuit opinio Avicennae et Algalzeli, dicentis omnium aeternorum a primo esse causam efficientem. Secunda fuit opinio alia, tenens ipsorum ex toto non esse causam efficientem. Sed tertia opinio est tenens viam mediam.

13 Aristotel, Metaph. I, 1, 993b28-31. Om. Metaph. V.
14 quandocumque F.
15 Averroes, In II Metaph. t. c. 4, 30C.
16 Aristotel, Metaph. VI, 1, 103b17.
18 Add. in V.
19 Aristotel, De Caelo I, 9, 279a30.
20 Aristotel, Physics VIII, 6, 258b10-259a8.
21 Aristotel, Metaph. XII, 7, 1072a21-25.
22 habet V.
23 agere F.
24 Om. V.
25 Averroes, In III De Anima, t. c. 4-5, 137*-139*.
26 Averroes, In III De Caelo, t. c. 28, 188E.
27 Averroes, In III De Caelo, t. c. 29, 189a.
28 Averroes, In VIII Phys., t. c. 48, 389A-C. motus FV.
31 mixto FV.
32 modo V.
[RATIONES]

1> Ad primam opinionem sic arguittur de mente Avicennae.\(^\text{22}\) Omnis illa causa quae habet esse causa sufficiens, ipsa posita ab aeterno non impedita, et suus effectus ponetur ab aeterno. Sed Deus est hujusmodi. Quare, etc. A patet; da enim quod non poneretur effectus, non esset causa sufficiens. B patet. Primo enim Deus est causa sufficiens, immo sufficientissima, quia nullus defectus in ipsa reperitur, et non habet impedimentum, et etiam ponitur ab aeterno, ut notum est. Ergo reliquitur quod suus effectus ponatur ab aeterno, et sic videtur quod aeterna habeat causam efficientem.

2> Item, in omni genere est devenire ad unum primum, ut patet in VII Metaph.\(^\text{23}\) Modo si aeternorum non esset causa efficient, tunc in motoribus non deveniremus ad unum primum. Ergo, etc. A videtur esse nota, sed B probatur. Nam da quod aeterna non habeat causam efficientem, illud primum ad quod deveniretur maxime erunt corpora supercælestia. Sed talia non possunt esse, quia illud quod est primum in aliquo genere debet esse simplex; sed talia sunt composita. Quare, etc. A patet. B probatur, quia secundum sententiam theologorum," non comprehensur ex materia et forma; secundum autem sententiam philosophorum," non comprehuntur ex subjecto et accidente, et motore et mobili. Mode cum ibi sint duo, sunt multi; et per consequens adhuc illa multa oportet quod reducantur ad aliquod principium," ita quod in eis non erit status; et per consequens deveniretur ad primum principium tamquam ad causam primam in genere causae efficientis. Ergo videtur quod aeterna habeant causam efficientem.

3> Praeterea, quae dependent in esse ab aliquo, habent causam efficientem. Sed aeterna alia a Deo sunt hujusmodi. Quare, etc. A patet, nam sicut\(^\text{24}\) primum dependere est a causa efficiente, sic primum dependere a fine est dependere in agere. B patet in III Metaph.,\(^\text{25}\) ubi dicitur quod Deus est propter quem omnia sunt et sunt.

4> Praeterea, in aeternis idem est efficientis et finis. Sed Deus est causa finialis omnium a se; ergo etiam erit efficient.

5> Praeterea, si hoc non esset, sequitur quod in aliqua multitudine non daretur unum primum; et deducatur sicut prius, quia parum illa ratio differt ab illa.

6> Praeterea, arguittur ratione quam tenentes istam partem reperiendam demonstracionem et achillem. Et est illa: Omne quod per se habet causam finalem, oportet quod habeat aliquam causam efficientem. Sed omnia a Deo sunt hujusmodi. Quare, etc. A patet, nam omne quod reductum\(^\text{26}\) in se, in nihil revertitur, oportet quod habeat aliquam causam efficientem deducentem de non esse ad esse. Sed omne quod per se dependet in aliquo genere causae, in se reductur vel revertitur, et absolutum ab illa causa a qua per se dependet, et revertitur in nihil, ut notum est; ut si omnia aeterna absolverentur a Deo tamquam a fine, in se reducta, revertentur in nihil. Quare, etc.

[AUCTORITATES]

Hoc etiam ipsi nituntur probare de ratione de mente Commentatoris et Philosoph. Et primo auctoritate Philosophi in prooemia Metaph.,\(^\text{27}\) ubi dicitur quod Deus solus est sicut causa; et in II,\(^\text{28}\) oportet principia semper esse verissima, quae non aliquando sunt et aliquando non sunt, sed semper; quae non habent causam, sed alius sunt causa.

\(^{22}\) Avicenna, Metaph. IX, 4, fol. 104v.
\(^{24}\) Cf. St. Thomas, In I De Caeo et Mundo 6; ed. Leon. III (Rome, 1888); p. 24, n. 6.
\(^{25}\) Cf. Averroes, De Substantia Orbis 2, 6H-1; 6, 11E-13C; In I De Caelo, t. c. 20, 15CD; In VIII Metaph. t. c. 12, 220GH.
\(^{26}\) primum V.
\(^{27}\) Om. V.
\(^{28}\) Om. Metaph. III, 2, 996a22-29.
\(^{29}\) revertitur V.
\(^{30}\) Op. cit. I, 2, 983a8. Om. Metaph. V. Aristotle here says that God is thought to be among the causes of all things.
Hoc idem patet per Philosophum in VI, ubi dicit quod causae superiores sunt aeternae. Et Commentator dicit quod causa prima magis est digna dici aeterna quam aliqua alia causa quia est causa alius ut sint. Hoc idem videtur esse de mente Commentatoris in XII, ubi dicit contra Avicennam quod causa propter quam Aristoteles fuit motus ad ponendum etiam immaterialia fuit factio intelligibilium; quasi velit dicere quod, sicut ad factionem materialium requiritur entia materialia, eodem modo ad factionem entium immaterialium oportet quod requirantur entia immaterialia.


Hoc etiam patet per Commentatorem in XII, ubi dicit quod factio illorum inferiorum est factio superficialis; sed factio superiorum est vera; et per consequens ibi est verum agens.

Hoc etiam videtur esse de mente Commentatoris in suo tractatu De Substantia orbis, ubi Commentator dicit quod non solum prima causa est causa continuitatis motus, sed est etiam causa substantiae motae.

Hoc etiam dicit Commentator, quod non solum corpora supercaelestia agent aliqua virtute largiente eis motum, sed etiam agent aliqua virtute largiente eis perpetuatem substantiae.

Hoc etiam ipse dicit ulterior, ubi dicit quod prima causa non solum est causa efficiciens alliorum, sed etiam agens. Et sic ipse subdit quondam distinctionem cum dicit quod aliquod dicitur prius altero dupliciter: uno modo secundum temporum, alio modo secundum naturam. Modo ipsa causa prima est prior alis aeternis secundum naturam, sed non secundum temporum. Et propter ignorantiam istius distinctionis aliqui ignoraverunt ipsum universum habere causam efficientem, nam habet. Sic ergo patet quod aeterna habent causam efficientem, ut satis visum fuit, et patuit ex praediciti commenti et Philosophi.

Sed videte, illa opinio non est vera, scilicet quod aeterna universaliter habent causam efficientem. Et ratio hujus est, quia si aeterna universaliter haberent causam efficientem, aut hoc esset per motum et transmutationem, aut per simplicem emanationem sive creationem. Non primo modo, quia in tali productione oportet quod supponatur materia. Sed intelligentiae, quae sunt puri actus, nullam habent materiam. Nec per simplicem creationem, quia in simplici creatione nihil supponitur, ita, scilicet, quod ex nihilo possit aliquid fieri. Sed hoc est contra intentionem Philosophi.

Item, illud quod non potest non esse, non habet aliquam causam efficientem. Sed aeterna, saltem aliqua, non possunt non esse. Ergo non habent causam efficientem. A patet per Avicennam, qui ponit quod habens causam efficientem, habet potentiam ad esse et non esse. B patet, quia da quod possunt non esse, ponentur in esse, nam possibilis positio in esse, nullum sequitur impossibile. Sit
ergo b illud tempus in quo ponuntur non esse; sed cum ex alia parte ipsa aeretra semper sunt, ergo implicabuntur contradictoria, quia semper erunt et non semper erunt.

Item, hoc est contra intentionem Philosophii" VIII Metaph.," qui ponens differentiam inter causam formalem et efficientem, dicit quod causa efficiens est causa in fieri et transmutari, sed forma est causa in esse tantum. Tunc arguitur: Illud non habet causam efficientem quod non subjectur motui et transmutationi. Sed ipsa aeretra, saltem aliqua, non possunt subjici motui nec" transmutationi. Ergo non habent causam efficientem. A patet per Philosophum," B etiam patet, nam puri actus non possunt subjici motui nec transmutationi, sicut intelligentiae; sic enim participarent materia; quod est falsum.

Item, hoc est contra intentionem Philosophi in eodem libro Metaph., ubi ponens differentiam" inter causam formalem et efficientem, dicit quod causa efficiens est prior suo effectu, sed causa formalis simul est cum suo effectu. Modo manifestum est quod ipse non loquitur de prioritate naturae, quia" causa formalis est prior prioritate naturae, sed loquitur de prioritate temporis. Ergo si aeretra haberent causam efficientem, jam causa illa tempore praecessisset et in aliquo tempore aeretra non fuissent; quod est falsum ex eo quod semper sunt.

Hoc etiam videtur esse contra intentionem Commentatoris in XII," qui ponit quod in superioribus non est alius quoniam, neque aliqua actio; et sic ibi non est agens.

Hoc etiam videtur esse contra intentionem Commentatoris IV Caeli" circa principium, ubi Commentator dicit quod in superioribus, scilicet intelligentis, non reperitur nisi causa formalis et finalis; sed efficiens proprie non reperitur nisi secundum similitudinem.

Advertendum tamen quod causa efficiens est duplex, scilicet proprie dicta; et ista solum reperitur in istis. Sed alia est causa efficiens improprie dicta; et ista talis causa poterit appellari causa finalis et formalis. Quod est de mente Philosophi in I De Generacione," qui ponit quod sanitas est causa efficiens secundum metaphorum tantum, et tamen est causa finalis sive formalis. Et illo modo Deus erit causa finalis, nam Deus est totius naturae bonum; bonum autem proprie reperitur in causa finali.

**ET TUNC AD RATIONES**

<Ad 1> Ad primam, cum dicitur, "illa causa quae est sufficiens, ipsa posita ab aeretra, et effectus ponitur ab aeretra", aliqui concedunt istam. Et cum dicitur in B, "Deus est talis", negatur, nam Deus per se non est suppositus, sed oportet quod supponitur" materia. Sed ista solution non videtur ex toto sufficiens, cum ita sit quod in Deo nullum malum et nulla privatio reperiatur. Et ideo solvo aliter, concedendo majorem. Et cum dicitur in minori quod Deus est causa omnium, etc., dico quod est causa finalis, sed non est causa efficiens nisi impropri et secundum quamdam similitudinem.

<Ad 2> Ad aliam, cum dicitur, "Si Deus non esset causa efficiens," tunc in motoribus non deveniretur ad primum", dico quod non sequitur. Et cum probatur, quia si aeretra non haberent causam efficientem, tunc illud ad quod devenit erit corpus supercaeleste, conceditur. Et cum dicitur non, quia omne habens rationem primi debet esse simplex, dico quod erit devenire ad ipsam intelligentiam quae est causa efficiens motus caeli, quae secundum se est simplex, et

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90 Add. in V.
91 Aristotelis, Metaph. VIII, 3, 1043a29-1043b14; 4, 1044a33-1044b20; 6, 1045a20-33.
92 et V.
93 Aristotelis, Physics II, 3, 194b29-31; 195a5-8; 22; De Gen. et Corr. I, 7, 324b14; Metaph. V, 2, 1013a29-33.
94 Cf. supra, note 70; also Aristotelis, Metaph. XII, 3, 1070a22.
95 Add. Philosophus V.
96 Add. in FV.
97 Averroes, In XII Metaph. t. c. 44, 3271.
98 punctus POIV.
99 Averroes, In IV De Caelo, t. c. 1, 234A.
101 supponitur V.
102 Add. nisi impropri et secundum quamdam similitudinem V.
maxime erit devenire ad ultimam intelligentiam moventem ultimum orbeh; et
talis non habet aliquid compositionem.

<Ad 3> Ad aliam, cum dicitur, "Illa quae dependent ab alio in esse habent
causam efficientem", dico quod illa propositio est falsa. Nam non solum efficiens
est causa alicujus in esse, sed materia et finis. Et sic Deus, inquantum habet
rationem causae finalis, erit causa in esse. Unde Philosophus in III Metaph.,
definieus causam finalem, dicit quod finis est ille propter quem omnia sunt
et fiunt.

<Ad 4> Ad aliam, cum dicitur, "In aeternis idem est efficiens et finis", dico
quod in aeternis illud quod est efficiens alicujus est finis illius, sicut intelligentia
est causa caeli moti; eo quod movet, est causa efficiens. Modo ipsa intelligentia
est finis, nam sicut dicit Commentator,\(^{23}\) intelligentia movet per se.

<Ad 5> Ad aliam, cum dicitur, "Tunc non esset devenire ad unum primum",
dico quod immo. Et cum postea dicitur, etc., dico quod non concludit ratio quod
deveniatur ad unum tamquam ad primum in ratione causae efficientis, sed bene
devenitur ad ipsum tamquam ad primum in ratione causae finalis.

<Ad 6> Ad aliam, cum dicitur, "Illa quae per se habent causam finalem oportet
quod habeat\(^{24}\) causam efficientem," dico quod illa propositio est falsa. Et
cum dicitur quia quod est tale, reductum in se, reductum in nihil; sed omne tale quod
convertitur in nihil oportet quod habeat aliquid causam efficientem deducendum
ipsam de potentia ad actum, dico quod "aliquid converti in nihil, in se reductum,"
potest intelligi duobus modis: uno modo quod, quia suum esse sit\(^{25}\) ad alium
ordinatum; quo proposito, ipsum ponitur, et quo remoto, ipsum removetur. Et
tale quod in se convertitur in nihil non habet causam efficientem, vel non est
necessarium quod habeat. Allo modo quia\(^{26}\) convertitur in non ens, quia sit non
in actu ens, tamen in potentia. Et illo modo bene opor:et quod habet causam
efficientem, nam cuicumque potentiae passivae oportet quod correspondat
potentia activa. Et hoc quod Commentator dicens,\(^{27}\) quod verum agens non
congregat inter diversa, sed quod est in potentia reduct ad actum.

**AD AUOTORITATES**

Primo Philosophi: Ubi Philosophus loqui de causa simplici, vel intellexit de
(122\(^{23}\)) causa finalis, vel de causa efficiens impropre vel per simulitudinem, quae
eadem est quod causa finalis. Et hoc quando loquitur de Deo.

Tunc ad autoritates Commentatoris. Ad primam, quando dicitur quod Com-
mentator,\(^{28}\) loquens contra Avicennam, dicit quod illud quod movit Philosophum
ad ponendum substantias immateriales fuit facio intelligibilium, dicendum quod
Commentator intellexit per hunc modum. Ad cujus evidentiam est sciendum
quod Avicenna in sua Metaphysica\(^{29}\) posuit quamdam decimam intelligi-
ament quae habet introducere formas sensibles et materiam sensibilem, et formas
intelligibiles et\(^{30}\) intellectum ipsum. Sed primo Commentator respondit aliquod.\(^{31}\)
Et dicit Commentator quod hoc non est possibile, nam quod aliquod habeat
introducere in materiam sensibilem oportet quod transmutetur materiam. Sed
omne transmutans materiam est agens corporale. Sed illa ultima intelligenti-
non est agens corporale. Ergo non habet introducere formas sensibles in
materiam. Et postea subdit Commentator,\(^{32}\) loquens de formis intelligibilibus,
idest de speciebus rerum intelligibilium, dicit quod illud quod movit Aristotelem
ad ponendum aliquid substantiam immateriam, quia intellectum agentem, fuit
factio rerum intelligibilium.

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\(^{23}\) Aristotle, Metaph. III, 2, 996a22-26; cf. II, 2, 994b9.
\(^{24}\) Averroes, In XII Metaph. t. c. 52, 337H-338B.
\(^{25}\) habent V.
\(^{26}\) Om. FV.
\(^{27}\) quod V.

\(^{27}\) Op. cit., XII, t. c. 18, 304f.
\(^{29}\) Avicenna, Metaph. IX, 3, fol. 104b
\(^{30}\) Om. V.
\(^{31}\) Averroes, In VII Metaph. t. c. 31, 181K.
\(^{32}\) aliquid: cum Deo F.
\(^{33}\) Ibid.
Ad aliam auctoritatem, quae dicit quod in aeternis non est aliquid proventus nec aliqua, etc., sicut in ipsis quae actiones sunt superficietens et non vere agentium: Et aliqui sic exponunt quod in superioribus non est proventus nec actio. Sed in ipsis sic, quia actiones istae sunt actiones superficietens, idest, sunt actiones factae per qualitates superficietens quae sunt in superficie, ex eo quod non sunt qualitatis sive actiones aegentium vere, quia verum agens reperitur in superioribus. Sed istum intellectum Commentator non habuit; immo intellectum sic, quod actiones aliquae in ipsis inferioribus non vere sunt agentium superficietens; actiones illae quae sunt non propter formam substantalem introducendo in materiam, sed magis sunt alterationes quaedam, non verae actiones; non proprie illa vocatur actio quae fit propter formam substantalem introduci in materiam. Et tales actiones, quae vocantur alterationes, sunt actiones agentium superficietens; non sunt introducentes nisi quasdam dispositiones.

Ad aliam, cum dicit Commentator quod non solum caelum requirit aliquid quod sit causa motus, sed aliquid perpetuatio caeli in esse, voluit sic intelligere quod non solum corpus superceleste requirit intelligentiam, quae est causa effectiva sui motus, sed Deus, licet sit causa continuationis per comparationem quam habet intelligentia ad eum tamquam ad finem, sed etiam requirit aliquid ad quod suum esse sit ordinativum, quo perpetuato, et ipsum perpetuetur. Non propter ea volebat se referre ad causam efficientem verum; sed volebat se referre ad causam finalem, quod idem est quod causa efficiente secundum metaphorum.

Et ideo dicit quod causa est duplex: quaedam est quae est prior secundum tempus, sicut vera causa transmutans; et quaedam est causa quae est prior secundum naturam, sicut causa efficientis improprie, quae idem est quod causa finalis. Et ideo dicit quod ignorantes talem distinctionem ignorantur universum habere tales causas, nam universus habet illo modo causam efficientem improprie, quia causam finalem, sicut primum principium.

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Sed illa positio non valet. Primo quidem de mente Commentatoris in XII Metaph. ubi Philosophus dicit quod prima causa comparatur ad substantiam motam in triplici genere causae: efficienti, formalis, et finalis. Et hoc patet ad sensum, scilicet, quod motus habet causam efficientem; et tamen motus est aliquid aeternum. Et hoc videtur esse de mente Commentatoris in tractatu De Substantia orbis, ubi ponit quod intelligentia est causa substantiae primae sensibilis ut finis et ut motor. Sed constat quod per motorem non intellexit finem; sic enim ibi est inutilis repetitio vorborum. Ergo per motorem Commentator intellexit causam efficientem.

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Propter quod sunt alii aliter dicentes; et dicunt quod aeterna sunt duplicita: quaedam sunt quae sunt de genere substantiae, et quaedam quae sunt de genere accidentis. Modo dicunt quod aeterna de genere substantiae non habent causam efficientem. Et ratio est, nam illud non habet causam efficientem quod non potest non esse. Sed talia sunt hujusmodi. Quare, etc. A patet per Avicennam. B 1072b8-14.

Averroes, De Sub. Orbis 2, 6M.

Averroes, In XII Metaph. t. c. 36, 318f-122K.

Averroes, In II De Caelo, t. c. 38, 321FG. Cf. Aristotel, Metaph. XII, 7,

Cf. Averroes, In II De Caelo, t. c. 38, 321FG. Cf. Aristotel, Metaph. XII, 7,

Cf. Averroes, In XII Metaph. t. c. 36, 318f-122K.

Add. Commentator V.


dum aviencia, Metaph. VIII, 3, fol. 98*n;

fols. 98*n-99r.

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etiam, quod potuit non esse, ponatur in esse. Possibili enim posito in esse, nullum sequitur impossibile. Et tunc ratio deducatur sicut prius.


Item, si aeterna haberent causam efficientem, tunc sequitur quod natura possibilis converteretur in naturam aeternam; hoc autem est falsum. Consequentia statim patet, nam manifestum est quod si habent materiam, ipsa sunt possibilis. Sed si sunt possibilia, cum ex alia parte dicas ipsa esse aeterna, ergo natura possibilis transiret in naturam aeternam; hoc autem falsum est. Neque valet si dicatur quod ratio non concludit, nam dato quod ipsa aeterna habeant causam efficientem, tamen seipsis habent esse formaliter, sicut albedo existens in corpore seipsa habet esse formaliter, et tamen habet causam efficientem. Nec ratio valet aliquid, quia illam rationem Commentator facit contra Avicennam, qui ponbat quod corpora supercaelestia hæbæbant materiam; sed ego ponam quod talia non habeant materiam.

Ista solutio adhuc stare non potest. Primo quidem quia omne quod habet causam efficientem totum suum esse habet ab illa causa. Si ergo totum suum esse habet a causa illa, ergo prius fuit in potentia quam in actu esset. Da enim quod ipsa semper in actu essent, non esset necessarium quod ipsa haberent causam efficientem. Modo talia per te habent causam efficientem. Ergo primo fuerunt in potentia quam in actu. Si ergo primo fuerunt in potentia quam in actu, ergo fuit dare aliquod tempus in quo ipsa non fuerunt; et sic non erunt aeterna, cum aeterna semper sunt.

Sed etiam isti possunt reprehendi de insufficiencia, quemadmodum et ipsi reprehendunt alios. Nam non credo quod quaecumque accidentia habent causam efficientem, nam accidentia sunt duplicia, scilicet permanentia, sicut quantitas caeli, et etiam sua lux; et talia non habent causam efficientem. Et substantia (123\textsuperscript{2}) caeli non habet causam efficientem. Et non intelligo per ipsam lucem illuminationem factam in aere et in terra, quia talis bene est corporalis et generabilis, nam lux habet causari per radios lineae directae. Ergo si habet causari per radios lineae directae, cum caelum continue revolvatur, ergo istae lineae facientes punctum continue corrumpentur et generabuntur. Sed intelligo per lucem ipsam substantiam luis. Sed aliqua sunt accidentia successiva, sicut motus, et hujusmodi talia; et ista bene habent causam efficientem.

[HISTORIA]

His visis, restat movere dubitationes quasdam. Et quia dicta sunt duo in quaestionem, ideo contra haec duo arguam.

1 Et primo contra primum, ubi dicebatur quod substantia aeterna non habet causam efficientem: contra, quia aut hoc repugnaret sibi ex parte substantiae in eo quod substantiae, aut ex parte aeterinitatis; neque sic, neque sic. Ergo nullo modo. A patet per sufficientem divisionem. B patet primo: Non potest repugnare ex parte substantiae in eo quod substantiae, quia tunc repugnaret omni substantiæ; quod est falsum; neque ex parte aeterinitatis, quia tunc repugnaret omni enti aeterno; quod est falsum. Ergo relinquitur quod substantia habeat causam efficientem; et dato quod sit aeterna.

2 Secundo, quia dicebatur quod aliqua accidentia aeterna habebant causam efficientem, arguitur contra; et facio illasmet rationes quas faciebas de substantia.

1 [Add. quod V.]
2 †Averroes, In VII Phys. t. c. 79, 426K-427A; cf. In XII Metaph. t. c. 10, 297A.
3 Avicenna, Metaph. IX, 4, fols. 104\textsuperscript{b}-105\textsuperscript{a}.
4 [Alia V.]
5 Om. F.
Et hoc sic: Omne habens causam efficientem potest non esse. Sed nullum aeternum potest non esse. Ergo nullum aeternum habet causam efficientem. A patet, et concessa est; et B etiam, nam da quod possint\(^6\) non esse, ponatur in esse; quia possibili posito in esse, nullum sequitur impossibile. Et sic etiam sequitur\(^8\) sicut deductum fuit prius, quia causabitur tempus quo aliquod aeternum non erit; quod est falsum.

<3> Item, omne quod habet causam efficientem habet esse post non esse, tamenque aeterna non habent esse post non esse.\(^9\) Ergo non habent causam efficientem. A patet de se; B etiam. Si enim haberent esse post non esse, jam esset dare tempus in quo non essent; quod est falsum.

**Ad illa Breviter**

<Ad 1> Ad primam, cum dicitur, "aut hoc repugnaret, etc.," dico quod non repugnat ex parte substantiae tantum, neque ex parte aeternitatis, sed ex parte substantiae aeternae. Sed tu dices: Illud nihil est, quia quod inest alicui ratione ambarum partium inest sibi ratione totius. Si igitur non repugnat substantiæ aeternæ habere causam efficientem ratione utriusque partis, nec etiam repugnabit sibi ex parte totius. Dico quod ista ratio imaginatur quod substantia aeterna sit quoddam compositum ex\(^a\) aeternitate et substantia tamquam ex duabus naturis per se distinctis; sed hoc est falsum. Aeternum enim et substantia unam præcise dicunt essentiam; quia secundum quod dicit Commentator in X.\(^b\) si necessarium, possibile et contingens sunt de substantia rerum in quibus sunt, et si necessarium est de substantia rerum, eodem modo et aeternum, cum aeternum sit necessarium.

<Ad 2> Ad aliam, cum dicitur, "Quod habet causam efficientem potest non esse", verum est in accidente. Et cum dicitur quod accidentia talia habent causam efficientem, conceditur. Ergo bene potuerunt non esse quaedam ex parte eorum; sed si non possunt non esse, hoc est quia de se proprie non habent esse, sed esse quod habent, habent ex substantia. Et quia substantia talis est imposibilitis non esse, ideo et etiam accidentia. Et propterea dicit Commentator in XII Metaph.,\(^1\) in illa digressione Johannes autem Grammaticus, quod in hoc differt substantia ab accidente; nam substantia est potens esse per aliquod quod est pars sui, sed accidentia non habent aliquod quod sit pars sui per quod sunt\(^3\) possibilitia esse. Et ideo si non sunt possibilitia esse per aliquod suum, sed in virtute substantiae, hinc est quod, dato quod accidentia, quantum est ex parte ipsorum, possunt non esse, tamen non possunt non esse propter substantiam in qua sunt. Postea dicebatur: \(^{12}\) "Ponatur in esse" dicitur quod propræ non debent poni in esse; nam sicut dicitum est, accidentia habent esse ex substantia et sequuntur substantiam. Et ideo non possunt propræ pori in esse.

Et propterea illa regula: Possibili posito in esse, nullum sequitur impossible, habet veritatem de proprio possibili. Et ideo bene volo quod motus, quantum est de se, possit corrupi quia habet contrarium, scilicet quietem, ex eo quod sunt opposita privativa.

Sed tu dices: Illud non valet, quia si motus et quies sunt privativa opposita, jam caelum quiescit, quia cum opposita privativa habeat fieri circa idem, ergo caelum erit in potentia ad suspiciendum utrumque oppositorum. Da enim quod non esset dare aliquam potentiam quae non reducetur ad actum, et per consequens esset frustra, dicendum quod potentia est dup lex, quia quaedam est potentia quae respicit actum positum, sicut potentia materiae respicit formam quae debet introduci, et non potest introduci nisi per corruptionem alicujus formae praeecedens. Talis potentia frustra esset nisi reducetur ad actum. Sed alia est potentia quae non respicit aliquid nisi privativa, sicut nos

\(^{6}\) possint V. 
\(^{7}\) sequetur V. 
\(^{8}\) Om. tamenque . . . esse F. 
\(^{9}\) Om. F. 
\(^{a}\) Averroes, In XII Metaph. t. c. 41, 324B-M. 
\(^{b}\) sint V. 
\(^{3}\) Om. FV. 
\(^{1}\) Averroes, In X Metaph. t. c. 26, 276LM. 

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dicimus modo quod caelum est in potentia ad quietem privativa, ex eo quod nunquam quiescet, quia ab aeterno fuit motus et nunquam quiescit, sed aeternaliter movebitur.


Sed tu dices: “Nonne illa secundum se tota habent causam efficientem?” Dico quod illo modo secundum se tota habent causam, quia non est aliqua pars in toto motu quae non possit habere causam efficientem. Sed non debet intelligi quod totus habeat causam, quia totum secundum se producatur; et illo modo non est verum. Sic enim esset dare tempus in quo non fuit tempus; quod est falsum.

ET TUNC AD RATIONES PRINCIPALES

<Ad 1> Ad primam, cum dicitur, “Omne quod habet causam efficientem potest non esse”, verum est de accidente. Et tunc ulterior solvus sicut prius.


<Ad 3> Ad aliam, “Quod non habet causam materialem, etc.”, concedo. Et cum dicitur in B, “Accidentia talia sunt aeterna”, dico quod habent materiam ad ubi, et hoc sufficit eis.

<Ad 4> Ad aliam, cum dicitur, “Illud quod habet materiam ad esse parte sui habet causam efficientem”, concedo. Et cum dicitur quod ipsa sunt talia, dico quod materia ad esse sive potentia potest esse duplex. Quaedam est potentia ad esse quia ad formam. Et quia talis forma non acquiritur nisi mediante motu et transmutatione, et motus et transmutatio necessario habent causam efficientem, hinc est quod habens talem materiam habet causam efficientem. Sed alia est potentia ad esse, quia est quaedam natura possibilis quae habet esse, et non habet eum motu et transmutatione; et pro tanto non debet habere causam efficientem.

<Ad 5> Ad aliam, cum dicitur, “Omne habens aliquam (123 m) passionem qua potest carere habet causam efficientem”, conceditur. Et cum dicitur, “Aeterna sunt talia”, dico quod falsum est. Et cum probatur de mente Commentatoris in XII, qui dicit quod caelum potest moveri et non moveri. Dico quod Commentator non vult dicere quod caelum possit simpliciter moveri et non moveri, sed hoc quia caelum de se non habet sufficientia omnia principia requisita ad motum, quia requiritur motor, a quo habet quod aeternaliter moveatur.

Sed tu dices: “Illud nihil est, quia Commentator in eodem XII dicit quod motor potest movere et non movere”. Dico quod Commentator dicit quod motor potest movere et non movere si in ipso posset fieri aliqua transmutatio. Et quia interimendo consequens: impossibile est in eo fieri aliquam transmutationem, ideo concludes quod impossibile est ipsum moveri et non moveri.

Authoritates autem sunt solutae; et sic de isto.

Explicit quaestio Johannis de G<anduno>.26

24 Om. V.
25 manebit V.
26 partem F.
27 Om. V.
18 Averroes, In XII Metaph. t. c. 41, 3241-325A.
19 Om. V.
20 Loc. cit., t. c. 30, 314K.
21 Om. V.
22 movere V.
23 Johannis de Ganduno: etc. V.
I. Chaucer’s Cook-Host Relationship.

EARLY in the Canterbury Tales, right after the Reeve’s Tale, the Cook volunteers to tell a story and the Host accepts his offer. Then there occurs a tiff between these two Pilgrims, in which the Host points to certain unsavory aspects of the Cook’s business methods and the Cook threatens to tell, before the pilgrimage ends, a story which will expose the questionable dealings of innkeepers. For the moment, however, the Cook relates the fragmentary tale of Perkin the Reveller. Much later, toward the end of the Canterbury Tales, we find the Manciple’s Prologue. Here the Cook is exceedingly drunk, and the Host pokes fun at him in calling on him for a tale; but the Manciple offers to perform in place of the drunken Cook, and the Host agrees to this proposal.

With reference to these passages, it has been urged that Chaucer meant to cancel the Cook’s Prologue and Tale, and to introduce the Cook for the first time in the Manciple’s Prologue. This view is based on the seeming inconsistency between the Cook’s Prologue and that of the Manciple, “where the Host speaks to the Cook as if he were then first taking notice of him . . . .” Recently, however, Professor W. W. Lawrence has pointed out that Harry’s question in the Manciple’s Prologue—“Is that a cook of Londoun . . . ?”—need not mean that the Host is there first recognizing the Cook; rather Harry may be saying “that the rascal is so drunk as to be scarcely recognizable.” Thus the evidence for an argument that Chaucer intended to cancel the Cook’s Prologue and Tale seems exceedingly flimsy. In this connection there is, I think, another way of interpreting Harry’s question; and, in addition, without doing any injustice to the text we may read the two scenes which present the Cook-Host relationship as part of a single dramatic situation which Chaucer may have meant us to grasp.

That the antagonism between the Cook and the Host, based on conflicting business interests, would have appeared perfectly natural to Chaucer’s audience, was long ago made clear by Professor Frederick Tupper: the laws of the time prohibited London innkeepers from selling food and drink in competition with victuallers such as the Cook; therefore many innkeepers moved outside the city limits to Southwark, where these laws could not be enforced. Also, sanitary conditions in the contemporary cookshops were so bad that laws had be be passed to ensure cleanliness. Consequently, Harry’s attacking the Cook for selling unsanitary food strikes close to home, and we see reason for the Cook’s ending his preliminary remarks with the threat that he will repay the Host by telling a tale about innkeepers before the pilgrimage is over (I, 4359-62). Presumably, the Cook is familiar with certain touchy matters concerning Harry’s operation of the Tabard Inn, matters which the Host is not eager to have aired before the company. He therefore quite understandably does not hasten, after the account of Perkin the Reveller, to invite the Cook to tell another story.

When the company reaches Bobbe-up-and-down, however, the Host begins to “jape and playe”; the cause for his high spirits, as he jestingly points out, is that the Cook is sleeping on horseback and has therefore failed to keep up with the group. Then comes Harry’s question: “Is that a cook of Londoun, with meschaunce?” (IX, 11). This question, it seems to me, means “Can it be that this man, a London cook, is overcome by drink, when London cooks are noted for their ability to handle strong drink well? If so, this situation must have

3 Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XIV (1915), 256-270.
4 Ibid.
occurred by some mistake or unusual circumstance." London cooks seem to have been noted for their ability to drink," and that this particular Cook has had extensive experience with the bottle is evidenced by his "normal." Though the Host jeeringly offers the possibility that this unusual circumstance exists because fleas have kept the Cook awake all night, or because the Cook has spent the night with "some queene," he realizes that the Cook is "dronke" as clearly as does the Manciple (IX, 35). And, as a result of this realization, Harry calls on the Cook to do penance by telling a tale, "Although it be not worth a botel hey."

There is, perhaps, a particularly good reason for the Host's calling for a tale from the Cook at this point: still mindful of Roger's threat to tell a tale which will expose embarrassing details of innkeepers' methods of operation, Harry feels that here is an apt moment to call for another story from the Cook, since the latter, as a result of his drunkenness, has probably forgotten his former threat. But the Manciple unexpectedly breaks in, offers to take over the storytelling duty, and directs remarks at the Cook even more insulting than the Host's comments to Roger some lines earlier. As a result of the Manciple's insults the Cook becomes angry, swings at the Manciple, and falls from his horse into the mud. When the group has managed to put the Cook again upon his horse, the Host pronounces that the Cook's condition would lead him to tell a story "lewedly." Harry has just noticed from the Manciple-Cook exchange that the Cook's drunkenness, rather than making him jolly and friendly, has increased his contentiousness; thus the Host concludes that his calling for a story from the Cook at this point was a tactical error, and is pleased to have the Manciple perform instead. Had the Cook told another story here, it probably would have been aimed at exposing the chicanery of innkeepers.

It is this conclusion, I think, which leads Harry to warn the Manciple that his ridiculing the Cook may lead the latter to reveal some of the tricks whereby the Manciple hoodwinks the lawyers who live in his Inn of Court (IX, 69-75; I, 586). This advice has something more than gratuitous aspects, for the Host knows that he has run the same risk as the Manciple by jeering at the Cook. From this point of view, Harry's words in praise of "good drynke," delivered after the Manciple has put the Cook in good spirits by giving him wine, should be understood as signifying a measure of relief for the Host.

If the interpretation of the Cook-Host relationship set forth above is acceptable, then we need no longer consider the Cook's two appearances in the *Canterbury Tales* as evidence of lack of revision on Chaucer's part. Rather than thinking that Chaucer meant to cancel one of these appearances, we should realize that the two scenes make up a single dramatic antagonism involving Host, Cook, and Manciple, three businessmen who are very touchy about certain details of their operations. Further, the emphasis in the Manciple's Tale on holding one's tongue has personal application not only for the teller of this story, but also for the keeper of the Tabard Inn."

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II. The Vulgate Tradition of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* in the Fourteenth Century.

The later textual tradition of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* has, up till now, not been studied. The textual studies of Peiper, Schepps, and Engel-
brecht were mainly concerned with the earliest surviving manuscripts for the purpose of establishing the text. Weinberger in the prolegomena to his edition of the Consolatio lists 84 manuscripts, almost all of which are of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, but his intensive study of the textual tradition has naturally concentrated on the smaller group of ten or so on which his text is based.

The reader who approaches the study of the Consolatio in the later Middle Ages with only Peiper and Weinberger as guides can find no answers to such questions as these: What sort of text did Abaelard or William of Conches have before him, and how did it compare with texts Nicholas Trivet and William Whetely studied and wrote commentaries on? Was the text Jean de Meun translated the same as that Chaucer translated some eighty years later? Does the textual tradition of the Consolatio develop along national lines, and do textual innovations emanate from particular centers?

Conclusive and precise answers to such questions would involve the study of a considerable number of the more than 300 surviving manuscripts of the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Such a study has not yet been made. A study of the textual tradition of the Consolatio Philosophiae in the fourteenth century, however, does reveal the existence of a vulgate text. This fact, coupled with our knowledge of the earlier tradition, indicates that, granted the undoubted existence of minor family groups, the tremendous popularity of the Consolatio, bringing about as it did the mass production of manuscripts from the eleventh century onward, led gradually and inevitably to the development of a vulgate tradition.

Extensive collation of 43 manuscripts reveals the existence of a vulgate tradition in the fourteenth century and provides a paradigm of the various stages in the development of this tradition. The decisive evidence for the existence of this vulgate tradition is that by the fourteenth century certain older readings appear to have disappeared and been replaced by new readings in all the manuscripts:

11, 19 delatae (delatum TÆ)]⁺ om. Vc, delatum rel.


2 A.M.S. Boethii Philosophiae Consolationis Libri Quinque, ed. Wilhelm Weinberger (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), pp. XIV-XXX.

3 All manuscripts are of the fourteenth century unless otherwise indicated: BM, Ms Arndel 179 (A); BM, Ms Add. 1759 (D); 17298 (M); 17406 (E); 15985 (N) s. XIV/XV; 22766 (L); 22785 (S); BM, Ms Burney 129 (Bu); 130 (Burr); BM, Ms Harlcan 2516 (Hr); 2517 (Hna); 2518 (Hi); BM, Ms Royal 15 A XXX (Y); Bibl. S. Angelica in Rome, Ms 1355 (Ag); Amiens, Ms 407 (Am); BN, Ms Latm. 6404 (B); 6641 (F); 932 (T); 9222 (R); 1853 (O); 12962 (Z); 14381 (P); 16094 (G); 18424 (J); Oxford, Bodleian cod. Canonici 80 (Bo); 158 (Bi); 182 (Be); Ms D'Ouvrille 102 (X); Ms Rollinson G.187 (R); Oxford, Ms New College CCLXV (No); Cambridge university library, Ms II.31 (Ca) s. XIV/XV, Mm.II.18 (Mm); Cambridge, Peterhouse Ms 275 (Fe); Heins, Ms 814 (He); Tours, Ms 634 (To); Vatican, Ms Latm. 252 (Vc); 584 (V); 10504 (Va); 10674 (Vp); Vatican, Urbinalis Ms 677 (Vc); Harvard college library, Ms Norton 1000 (Ch); 1001 (C); University of Illinois, Ms S (I).

This group comprises French Ms — FGKReTo, Italian Ms — BDMRVo, English Ms — CaMmFeY, and German Ms — Al. Various types of manuscripts are also represented: scholars' copies — BFGRe, monastic books — AAAMRTo, an elaborate book for a wealthy patron—T. All manuscripts were collated for: Books I and II complete; Book III, proses 1, 2, 19; Book IV, prose 6; Book V, prose 3; and additional spot passages.

4 Page and line references are to Weinberger's edition and the material in parentheses is drawn from his apparatus. Ms used by Weinberger and cited here are: Munich, Ms 13866 (T) s. IX; St. Gall, Ms 844 (F) s. IX; Florence, Laurentian Ms XIV 15 (L) s. IX; Vatican, Ms 3853 (V) s. IX; Orleans, Ms 270 (Aur.) s. IX; Bern, Ms 179 (K) s. IX/X; Munich, Ms 14324 (E) s. X/XI; Leiden, Ms 459 s. IX. A — A before correction or addition; A = A after correction or addition.
12, 6 tamen convictumve (tamen del. TLV) conuiciumque CaMm, conuic- 
tumne R, conuiciumque rel.
12, 7 muti (moti TLV*:KE*) remoti AgBdEFJMmRVaVc, amoti Bo*Pe*S', 
moti Bo*S rel.
13, 14 afiguretur (affigetur T*) affigetur BdChVp, affigetur rel.
14, 12 nocti (noctis V'Aur.) nactis Y, noctis rel.
20, 19 animi tui (statum in ras. V) statum serenitatemque add. Ca, seren-
titatem add. K, statum add. rel.
28, 16 pudicitia (pudicitiae TLV*) pudicieque A, pudicie rel.
32, 7 ac (aut T*, an KV) aut CER, om. G, an rel.
57, 5 degeneret (degenerent TL Aur.*DE) degenerent all Mss.
59, 5 Lyncei (Lynces V'Aur.*DKE, lineis TL) inince Mm, lineis rel.
72, 11 nihil unum cuncta (nihilum cuncta TL*:KE*) nihil Vc, nihilum cuncta 
rel.

These vulgar readings of the fourteenth century appear earlier in the tradition. 
Most of them, but not all, appear as contemporary corrections in the early ninth 
century manuscript T (Munich 18765), and this manuscript and others related to 
it must have been important in the transmission of these readings. On the 
other hand, E (Munich 14324), a late tenth or early eleventh century manuscript, 
maintains several of the older readings: 12, 6 tamen convictumve; 13, 14 
afiguretur; 14, 12 nocti; 20, 19 animi tui; 32, 7 an. It must be concluded then that, 
although these vulgar readings appear early in the tradition as we know it, 
they cannot have carried the field before the eleventh century. Nor is it 
possible to determine the particular point at which any older reading has been 
driven out of currency. This concise study does indicate, however, that by the 
fourteenth century a new vulgar tradition has become established.

The development of a vulgar tradition is the result of a gradual and continuous 
process in which older readings are replaced by new ones. In this process, a 
variant reading, for linguistic, paleographical, or less predictable and ascertain-
able reasons, enters the tradition and continues to be copied. The more it is 
copied the more it will be copied, so that eventually the chances of any scribe 
coming across an exemplar containing the older reading become less and less; 
and consequently the older reading is submerged and replaced. Such appears to 
be the situation in the readings cited above. But the gradualness and con-
tinuousness of the process means that at the same time we also find 
instances in which the older reading, although it seems clearly on the way to 
being totally submerged, still holds on in as few as one or two manuscripts or 
in a small minority. Here there is more activity in the way of marginal and 
interlinear corrections and additions as well as a greater number of variant 
readings than in the more stable condition illustrated above:

2, 6 signarem (designarem VKE*) signarem FOPY, desingarem E, design-
arem rel.
2, 22 in ustraeque (inter ustraeque TVE*) in ustraeque Y, inter ustraeque rel.
4, 1 aucta (acta FK*) aucta Ca'ER'Y, acta Ca'ER' rel.
8, 10 exempla (exemplar T*) exempla FRV, exemplar rel.
9, 1 imbecci (imbecci GK, imbecci Re* rel.
10, 15 cessavit (cessabit KAur.*) cessavit ChGMMmPeRe*ToY, cessabit 
Re* rel.
15, 24 laetetur (laetetur Y, lectatur BdD', letatur D* rel.
15, 26 sanctum (s' sanctum T', sanctum T*VK) sanctum Y* (sanctum Y*), 
sanctum AgMmBdBeBuChDEFGHHaIrKLMmMNoPVVAvPvVsX, 
sanctitum ABObUrCJOPrReSTToVcZ, sanxitum I, sancnitum Ca.
16, 15 adversum (adversum PK) adversum BoChFGRToVs, adversus rel.
28, 6 luas (luis T*) luas FGKMMOpReY, luis rel.
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29, 6 aliquantum] aliquantum HHrKPRY, aliquentisium G, aliquantulum rel.
31, 8 praesens (praesens <vita> F') [vita s.s. T felicitas, vita s.s.V]) praesens Be'Hr'OPVp'Vs, felicitas add. Ha, praesens uita ins. E', uita add. Be'Hr'Vp' rel.
43, 25 nihil (eras. Laud., non nihil V') nihil GT, om. CaE'(nihil ins. E')FKPe ToY, non Mm, non nihil rel.
48, 28 bonum suum] suum in ras. Re, bonum suum AE'IKORVsY, summum bonum E' rel.
65, 31 ab (eras. V) ab BdBoBuChDMnoOPeTZ, id Cs, del. Bur, om. rel.
68, 6 vere] uere FKPe(?)VVsY, uero Ch, uera rel.
78, 29 censuerunt (censuerint T'V') censuerunt BeBuCaJLMmNSY'Z, censuerint E, censierit R, censuerint S' rel.

As has been suggested, this synchronic view gained from a study of a representative group of fourteenth century manuscripts permits an inference as to what must have been the historical process. Thus those readings presented first, which must represent the final stage in the development of a vulgate tradition, could, if a sufficiently earlier cross-section were taken, be found to illustrate the earlier stage which has just been illustrated. Furthermore, as would be expected, these manuscripts also provide other examples of what, in chronological perspective, might be considered the first stage of this development, that is, where a new or several new readings have gathered sufficient backing to challenge the established one. At this juncture, there is the greatest activity on the part of correctors and the greatest variety in the text. The status quo has been disturbed, and there has to be considerable struggle before a new homogeneity can be established.

2, 11 statura] natura D, eius add. AgAmBurCChEHHaJMMmSTtOVaVc VpVs.
6, 13 traheren] detraheren AAGAmBBdBeCaChFHHaHRJMMmPnPeRT TO VVaX, retraherent EVC.
9, 1 Conigastum] conigastum AgBBdBoBurChHHrMNRSVsVcVYsY, cogiu-gastum O.
12, 13 me] meam AAGBBdBeBuBurCEGKTvs, me am AgBChHaHRIVaZ, mei F, om. J.
15, 22 reminiscare (reminiscaris V] ] reminiscaris AAmBeBoCaGHHHRJKN PeRe'StOvVsY.'Z.
19, 3 grates] ago add. AAGCAFNoSV, refero add. AmBBdBoBuHa'LMNRTVa, referamus add. BurX, referimus add. BeE, referimus s.s. Vs, reddo add. MmTo, agitamus add. G.
29, 19 expertus] et add. A'BBoBurCChFGHrKMMmNNoPeRe(et del.)TtOVc VsXZ, expertusue E, iul expertus J.
31, 4 afferre (afferre V') afferre AAm'B BobuBuBurCaChFGJ'KLMm OPRsTvCZ, afferre in ras. To, afferre in mg. Pe'.
64, 25 id imminutione] id diminuzione AmBBBeBo'CcaDGHIMMNORReSToX, illud diminuzione T, inminuzione PeVa, diminuzione Vc, id in diminuzione FLPVVsY', in diminuzione Vp(in del., id ins. Vp')Z, ad imminuzione E', ad iminuzione Bd, a diminuzione Ch, inmizizione Bu.
67, 2 deus] est add. AgAmBdBoBurCHHaHRJLP'RSToVVaVpVsX.
98, 13 ipsas . . . immutabiles (ipsam immutabilem T'V') ipsam . . . immutabilem BdBeBoBurCDHHa'THRJLMNNoPeReVVcVpXZ, ipsam . . .
immobilem T, ipsam B (immobilem ins. B²), ipsas ... immobilem AmM, ipsas ... immobiles Ca, ipsas ... connexiones F.

101, 9 spectans (spectans T¹, et spectans Aur², expectans rel.) ] expectans ABBdBBoBtChHrINoOPEvCVvVSPs, spectans in ras. BePY, expectant G, portans F.

102, 2 divinae operae] diuini operis AAgBeBuBrCHEFHaKLNoPPeRSTTo VaVp'YZ, diuine operis BtHr (in ras.), diuine operes DRe², ordinis Vc.

110, 24 perturbere (perturbere DLV¹, perturbare E, perturbare rel.) ] perturbare AmBdBuCrGIJKMmNoOPSToVVaYvCvY, conturbare BN, conturbere ABe, perturbare LVP, turbare Ca.

It should be noted that here, in contrast to the other stages, the new readings are generally not found in the earliest manuscripts. This is further striking evidence of the continuousness of the movement toward a new vulgate version of the Consolatio Philosophiae.

The tremendous popularity of the Consolatio was the necessary pre-condition for the development of this vulgate tradition. This popularity manifested itself in continued studying, glossing and commenting upon, and translating the work; and such popularity in turn demanded a steady production of copies. Studying, glossing, commenting made the introduction of new readings inevitable; the tremendous multiplication of copies made the acceptance of these new readings possible. But if popularity encouraged diversity, in the case of the textual history of Boethius' Consolatio it also demanded homogeneity and standardization. Thus we have seen examples of the initial diversity resulting from the new readings gathering enough support to challenge the older ones and of the final homogeneity of the vulgate version in which the older reading has been replaced.

Although the questions posed at the beginning of this study cannot yet be fully answered, a few examples drawn from the translations of the Consolatio of Jean de Meun and Chaucer will perhaps suffice to demonstrate the importance of the discovery of this vulgate tradition to the answering of such questions. In each of the following examples both translations correspond to the vulgate reading:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weinberger</th>
<th>Vulgate reading</th>
<th>J. de Meun</th>
<th>Chaucer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12, 7 muti</td>
<td>moti</td>
<td>remeu (esmeus)</td>
<td>remuwd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, 12 nocti</td>
<td>noctis</td>
<td>de la nuit</td>
<td>of the night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, 19 animi tui</td>
<td>statum add.</td>
<td>l'estat de ton courage</td>
<td>the estat of thi correge courage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, 16 pudicitia</td>
<td>pudicicie</td>
<td>de chastee</td>
<td>of chastete</td>
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<tr>
<td>32, 7 ac vis</td>
<td>an vis</td>
<td>ou force</td>
<td>or might</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57, 5 degeneret</td>
<td>degenerent</td>
<td>il ... forligent</td>
<td>thei ... owtrayen or forlyven</td>
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<tr>
<td>2, 22 in usuras</td>
<td>inter usrasque</td>
<td>entre</td>
<td>bytwixen</td>
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<tr>
<td>4, 1 aucta</td>
<td>acta</td>
<td>demenee</td>
<td>drywen to and fro</td>
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<td>10, 15 cessavit</td>
<td>cessabit</td>
<td>cesser</td>
<td>schal cese</td>
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<td>31, 8 praesens</td>
<td>presens uita</td>
<td>present vie</td>
<td>present lif</td>
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<tr>
<td>38, 21 restinguere</td>
<td>restringere</td>
<td>restraindre</td>
<td>restreyne</td>
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<tr>
<td>48, 28 bonus summum summum bonum</td>
<td>le souverain bien</td>
<td>the sovereyne good</td>
<td></td>
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Clearly the solution to such a specific problem as the extent of Chaucer's reliance on the translation of Jean de Meun depends upon our knowledge of the state of the texts they used. Finally, it is equally clear that our understanding of the

¹ The order here corresponds to that in which these examples were cited above.
² Citations are from The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933).
³ Professor Dedek-Héry's study of this problem does not give much consideration.
works on and the influences of the Consolatio Philosophiae in the later Middle Ages will be more secure when supported by a knowledge of the textual tradition at that time.

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III. On the Sources of The Prioress's Tale.

Of Chaucer's three devotional tales—The Parson's Tale, The Second Nun's Tale, and The Prioress's Tale—probably that of the Prioress has been the least understood. A reason for some of the misunderstanding seems to be connected with a misinterpretation of Chaucer's imagery and the meaning behind the symbols that are employed in this tale. This note attempts to shed some light on the nature of this imagery by interpreting Chaucer's symbols in a way that seems consistent with the nature of the subject matter which Chaucer was treating and with the sources that he was here drawing upon. These sources, which have not heretofore attracted sufficient notice, are briefly examined and some attempt made to evaluate their influence on the author's choice and treatment of his subject matter.

My interpretation is based upon the recognition that in the three devotional tales, at least, Chaucer's imagery derives no longer from the mediaeval courtly tradition but from sources associated with the Church. The symbols that Chaucer uses in these tales are the symbols found in the liturgy and their meaning is the meaning that ecclesiastical tradition has assigned to them. This fact is born out by the imagery and symbolism of all three of these tales. I shall state briefly only a few of the more general characteristics.

In both the Parson's Tale and the Second Nun's Tale the imagery chosen suggests the sharp opposition between the foulness and contagion of the earthly and temporal as against the beauty and purity of the heavenly and eternal. In choosing the story of St. Cecilia, Chaucer takes over the legend's own imagery and symbolical framework. The lily appears as the traditional symbol of chastity; the rose is seen as a symbol of immutable love of the divine in the crowns of roses and lilies which are brought to Valentine and Cecilia. In keeping with the repulsiveness of the many descriptions of earthly existence in the Parson's Tale, Chaucer has the Second Nun describe herself as

Me, flemed wreche, in this desert of galle (G 58)¹

and pray to the Virgin Mary to deliver her soul from this earthly prison, from the "contagioum" of her body (G 72-3). The sharp contrast between the mutable and the eternal is everywhere in evidence.

An element that I shall have further occasion to comment upon in the Prioress's Tale involves the nature of Cecilia's final transfiguration. Like the little lad in Asia, she has her throat cut and speaks for the last time as she hovers, in torment, between life and death. We have another instance of this method in the legend of Dido in The Legend of Good Women. There Dido is compared to the wounded white swan that sings before it sinks to its death in the watery

¹ References to and citations of Chaucer's text are made from F. N. Robinson (ed.), The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Boston, 1933).
grasses below (F 1355-6). In each case it is purity and innocence that lies smitten by a mortal wound of the world and pauses awhile before its entry into the sublime. But in the devotional tales this technique acquires a special significance. Cecilia reveals that she asked God for a respite of three days so that she might instruct her followers a little longer (B 542-6), and the tiny lad in the Priess's Tale does not seem to mind his agony so long as he can sing in praise of the Virgin. It is the doctrine of willfully assumed suffering that is here presented. The poet lingers over the death-scenes as if trying to fix the spot at which the great transition commences. He is here like some astronomer of a spiritual cosmos, trying to focus his glass upon that inscrutable nebula where the mutable terminates and the changeless begins. In hypnotic fascination, he watches the transfiguration of a soul.

The Priess's Tale begins with an invocation to the Blessed Virgin, and once again the symbols of purity and innocence are utilized. She is called a white lily flower, the symbol of chastity, and a burning bush, the symbol of love and devotion. Particularly interesting is the introduction of the child theme at the end of the Prologue:

- But as a child of twelve month oold, or lesse,
- That kan unnethes any word expresse,
- Right so fare I, and therefore I yow preye,
- Gydeth my song that I shall of you seye (B 484-7).

This picture of the Priess as a helpless child appealing to the Virgin to help it to utter the praise of her that it wants to sing, is a magnificent anticipation of the final incident of the tale which involves a closely similar situation. This is the manner of Chaucer's maturity.

The poet has taken over the Alma redemptoris as the anthem which the little clergeon sings from other versions of the legend; most of these versions utilize the Gaude Maria, and only a small group makes use of the Alma redemptoris. But Chaucer's dramatic instinct must have directed the choice of the Alma redemptoris since its words are particularly appropriate not only for the situation at the end but for the wider symbolism that is doubtless intended in the story. Its words exhort the mother of the Redeemer, the star of the sea, to come to the aid of the sinking and oppressed who are in her care. The little lad is given a vague notion of this idea by his older classmate, and it is thus natural that he should attempt to sing the words in his last bitter extremity.

Chaucer's use of church liturgy and liturgical symbolism are particularly striking in this tale. Commentators have pointed out numerous scriptural sources; Sister Madaleva has noted a number of parallels to passages and ideas in the Priess's Prologue and the Office of the Blessed Virgin. In his edition, Robinson's notes contain an interesting reference which, if pursued, leads to some rather startling discoveries. He states that he was informed by Mr. Joseph Dwight that the reference to Rachel, in B 627, occurs, along with the psalm Domine, Domine noster, in portions of Scripture read at Mass on the Feast of the Holy Innocents. Professor Robinson suggests that the comparison of the bereaved mother to Rachel would be natural in itself and would be suggested by a reading of the Scriptures; but he also indicates the possibility of the reference to Rachel in the liturgical texts as the source of their association in the tale.

Now Chaucer is telling the story of the murder of a Christian child by the Jews; he (or rather the Priess) never allows us to forget that it is the Jews who are the perpetrators of the dreadful crime. On the other hand, the biblical reference to Rachel in Jeremias (XXI, 15) refers to the slaughter of the children of Benjamin who were certainly Jews themselves. This does not suggest any

5 Chaucer's Nuns (New York, 1925), pp. 30 ff.
6 Ed. cit., p. 841.

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real parallel to the murder of the little clergeon, a murder perpetrated by the members of a Jewish community. If we turn, then, to the liturgical text indicated by Professor Robinson, we find in the Gospel of St. Matthew (ii, 18), read on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, a reference to Rachel of just such a nature as Chaucer desired. This Gospel refers to the Jeremias passage in a context that gives it an entirely different colouring. The slaughter of the children of Benjamin is brought into relationship with the children slaughtered by Herod in his attempts to take the life of Jesus. This secondary association of the Rachel passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew does not seem to me to be of a kind that would impress itself on the memory unless the attention were focussed upon it by strong external means. The Feast of the Holy Innocents on December 28th, at which this Gospel is central, provides just such a powerful external stimulus. The suggestive power of the liturgy and the ceremonies at this feast would probably do much more toward determining the associative nature of the Rachel figure than could the consecutive reading of scripture in this connection.

If we look for further evidence in this regard, we find that there is a direct reference to Herod,

O cursed folk of Herodes al newe (B* *573),

which seems to suggest that Chaucer's train of thought was bound up with the murder of the infants, which followed the birth of Christ. This is further strengthened by Chaucer's use of the psalm Domine, Dominus noster as the heading and the first lines of the Prologue for this tale. This psalm occurs at the Introit of the Mass of the Innocents. I think it is very significant that Chaucer quotes only those lines from this psalm, which occur at the Introit of the Mass; and further, these are also the only words from the psalm which are used at this Mass.

In addition, note that the words

O grete God, that parfournest thy laude
By mouth of innocentz (B* *607-8),

are a further repetition of the lines in Psalm viii which open the Introit of the Mass on this feast. I would attach significance to the words "parfournest thy laude" which appear to be a literal translation of the Latin perfecisti laudem (Ps viii, 3); and Chaucer seems to have preserved some of the Latin phonetics for sonority. The full passage in the Introit (Officium) reads:

Ex ore infancium, deus, et lactencium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos.4

The last three words propter inimicos tuos are replaced in Chaucer by "lo, heere thy myght!" (B* *608) which is, in fact, an adaptation of the Latin passage to the situation that the poet is describing. For the particular enemies of God in this tale are the murderers of the little clergeon, and Chaucer is about to reveal how God in this instance has confounded them by the voice of a child.

The passage which begins at B* *579 furnishes even stronger evidence for this line of inquiry. At this point the Priorress makes an invocation to the martyrs confirmed in virginity who follow the celestial Lamb forever.

and synge a song al newe,
That nevere, flesshly, wommen they ne knewe (B* *584-5).

The reference in these eight lines, drawn from the Apocalypse xiv, 1-5, is found


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in the epistle for the Mass of the Holy Innocents, and the last two lines are almost a literal translation of several of the Latin phrases which run, in part:

Et cantabant quasi canticum novum ante sedem . . . Hii sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coquinati: virgines enim sunt.

This passage, added to those already mentioned (i.e. the references to the whole of the Introit, to Herod in the Gospel, and to Rachel in both the Gospel and the Communion), would seem sufficient to point the evidence in a certain definite direction. But there is still further evidence available.

At Vespers on the Feast of the Holy Innocents the following reading and Antiphon are prescribed:

V. Ex ore infantium.
   In evangelio. Ant. Hii sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coquinati. virgines enim sunt. et secuntur agnum quocumque ierit.
   Ps. Magnificat.

These sections (with the exception of the Magnificat) are a repetition of the passages from the Mass which are so closely paralleled in Chaucer’s narrative. Immediately following the Magnificat there is prescribed a commemoration of St. Thomas of Canterbury (St. Thomas Becket) whose feast falls on the following day, December 29th, and this Oratio (or Collect) is chanted:

Deus cuius ecclesia gloriosus pontifex thomas gladiis occubuit: presta quesumus. ut omnes qui eius implorant auxillium. petitionis sue salutarem consequantur effectum. per.

This direct mention of St. Thomas and of his martyrdom by the swords of the wicked is significant. The fact that these tales which Chaucer is telling are the tales of Canterbury pilgrims and the fact that St. Thomas was slain while praising God in his cathedral, just as the little clergeon was slain while singing the praise of the Virgin Mary, all point to the identical conclusion suggested by the parallels thus far examined. This conclusion consists in the probability that it was the liturgy of the Feast of the Holy Innocents which first inspired Chaucer to use the particular tale the Prioress tells.

This much seems clear even if we assume that Chaucer knew only the liturgy of the Mass and the Vespers, at which most laymen can be expected to have been present. But it is not at all unlikely that a man of Chaucer’s education would have been familiar with the complete liturgy for this feast as sung in the Abbeys and the Cathedral churches. Such a familiarity would have imprinted upon his mind not only the passages already quoted but in addition some of the more striking figures used in this liturgy. An instance of this may be seen in B² *576, which is part of a rhetorical address to the Jews and which the teller concludes with the words:

The blood out crieth on youre cursed dede (B² *578).

The reference here is to the ancient Hebrew belief that the blood of a slain man could cry out to God unless it were covered over by burial. The passage seems to be closely related to Psalm LXXXVIII, especially to verses three and ten, which are read as the Second Nocturn:

6 Westminster Missal, p. 52.
7 Ibid., pp. 53, 54.
8 Ibid.
10 This oratio is taken from the oratio of the Mass of St. Thomas, celebrated the following day. Cf. Sarum Missal, p. 33.
The last sentence may have been instrumental in suggesting to Chaucer the crying out of the blood to God for vengeance. ¹² If we look further at the complete liturgy of the Holy Innocents, excluding the Mass with which we have already dealt, we shall find that many portions of it are replete with just these very passages that have clear parallels in the Prioress's Tale. The crucial passage from the Epistle, beginning, *Hii sunt qui cum mulieribus* . . . occurs four times in all.¹³ The passage referring to Rachel also occurs four times.¹⁴ The refrain *Vindica sanguinem* occurs at least six times as a direct invocation and several times more with slightly changed wording.¹⁵ The sequence *Ex ore infantium* occurs twice.¹⁶ The sentence *Cantabant sancti canticum novum ante sedem dei et agni*—a variation of that portion of the Epistle which has been shown to be directly related to B² 583 in the Prioress's Tale—occurs four times.¹⁷ In view of this evidence, I think we may adopt the conclusion previously formulated, that the liturgy of the Holy Innocents first inspired Chaucer to use the particular tale which the Prioress tells. This liturgical background makes it plain why Chaucer's imagery and symbolism in these devotional tales is, in contradistinction to the symbolism in his other works, bound up with liturgical tradition.

In the Parson's Tale and the Second Nun's Tale, the great conflict between the worldly and the spiritual finds ample representation through a certain kind of imagery. The world and the flesh are generally represented as foul, putrid, dark, and transitory, while the spiritual is shining, pure, and immutable. The same technique is employed in the Prioress's Tale. Worldly gain is referred to in precisely the same terms when the teller speaks of the Jewish money-lenders who were

Sustained by a lord of that contree
For foule usure and luce of vileynye. (B² *490-1).

This imagery is intensified by the physical circumstances attending the murder of the little boy. The representatives of worldly wealth murder the child who is the type of innocence and purity, and cast the body into the filth and darkness of a local privy.

When the body of the child, which has been defiled by the ordure, is sprinkled with holy water, it begins once more to sing. The cleansing of the holy water is the ultimate sign that the child is free of the taint of the material and the flesh, which was represented by the physical impurities into which its body had been cast. This is obviously the kind of association that would be in keeping not only with Chaucer's technique in the other two tales but with the liturgical symbolism of the ceremony here described. The natural condition of the world and man is implicitly one of uncleanness and sin, and only Grace can bring about a cleansing. The immediate reference suggested is the ceremonial sprinkling with holy water which is performed at the funeral rites and is typified elsewhere in the liturgy by the words of the *Asperges me* (Ps. 1, 9), in particular the line *et super nivem dealbabor*—a reference which is doubly appropriate because it conveys Chaucer's inner intention through the words of a Prioress who might best be expected to direct her thoughts to such associations.

The consistency of Chaucer's imagery in this connection is to be seen in the final portions of the tale. The child says that it has been given the grace to remain alive so that it may sing the praises of Christ and His Mother. She has

¹⁰ The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, fol. 26r, 28.
¹¹ Ibid., fol. 26 ff.
¹² Ibid., fol. 27r, 28.
¹³ Ibid., fol. 27, 27', 28.
¹⁴ Ibid., fol. 25, 27'.
laid a “greyn” upon its tongue, which keeps it in this life (B* 656-62). This “greyn” which is placed on the child’s tongue has been given a variety of interpretations ranging from a vegetable grain to a jewel. I think that the whole underlying meaning of this last section is tied up with this “greyn”. The explanation is connected with Chaucer’s use of imagery for the goods of this world. From our knowledge of the nature of this imagery in The Parson’s Tale, in The Second Nun’s Tale, and in the early portions of The Prioress’s Tale itself, I think that the real significance of the “greyn” can hardly be missed, especially if the liturgical background is kept in mind. It is a grain and nothing more; a grain of sand, perhaps, or a grain of dust, or any other substance to denote the smallest and most valueless object in creation. It is here used to symbolize the worthlessness of earthly existence as compared to eternal existence with God. When the abbot takes away the grain from the child’s tongue it dies; the abbot has thus taken away only a tiny grain in taking the child’s earthly existence. The irony that underlies the incident now becomes evident. The child’s earthly life was but the most worthless grain of sand as compared with the spiritual existence to which it has now passed. Yet to the onlookers it seemed that the child had lost a whole world—this earthly world—when in the spiritual view it had lost less than a speck of dust or a grain of sand. And just as the grain is the minutest of created things, so the brief burst of song to which its presence gave rise is but an infinitesimal fragment of the eternal symphony of praise which sounds to God, Who is everlasting.

In addition, therefore, to what has already been said, the Prioress’s Tale also sounds the same note of world rejection, suffering and self-sacrifice in the interest of the eternal as do the other two devotional tales, The Parson’s Tale and The Second Nun’s Tale. Here, too, it is Chaucer’s imagery that is vital in determining the tone throughout.

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IV. The Féileire Oengusso and the Martyrologium Wandalberti.

The Féileire Oengusso is the largest and most highly developed work of early Irish religious poetry.² Oengus, a monk, wrote the greater part of it at Clonenagh and completed it at Tallaght, near Dublin. FO is dated by the reference made to the death of Domchad, high-king of Ireland, in 797 (Proc. 221 f.). The term féileire is peculiar to the Irish language. On the traditional assumption that the word féil should be rendered by ‘feast’, Colgan rendered it by festillogium and later writers described it as a ‘calendar’ or martyrologium, because it lists saints and events of sacred history in the calendric order.³

The Martyrologium Wandalberti is the first major work of Latin religious poetry in Germany.⁴ Wandalbert, a monk, began it at Cologne and finished it at

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¹ Henceforth abbreviated as FO. Ed. W. Stokes (Henry Bradshaw Society Collection, XXIX, London, 1925). To the literature listed by J. Kenney, Sources for the Early History of Ireland I (New York, 1929), no. 272, add J. O’Hanlon, Life and Works of Saint Ængusius Hagiographus (Dublin, 1888), which reviews the earlier literature on the subject. Of interest for the present study are the references made to FO by A. Edzdari, “Die skaldischen Versmasse und ihr Verhältnis zur keltischen (irischen) Verskunst”, Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache, V (1878), 570-90.


Prüm. MW is dated by the invocation addressed to Louis the Pious cruento tempore functe, June 20th. In Baronius’ Tractatio, which to this day acts as a Preface to the Martyrologium Romanum, MW is listed among the antiqua martyrologia. Both FO and MW have endured in world literature as outstanding attempts to cast into poetical form the subject matter of liturgical and devotional commemorations as listed in, and in the order of, the Christian calendar and martyrology.

In his brief discussion of MW Dom Quentin said with reference to that martyrrologe en vers: la vogue était alors à ce genre d’ouvrages,” but, except for the Martyrologium poeticum, he made no mention of other works that illustrate this vogue. Two years earlier Whiteley Stokes had remarked in his introduction to the FO: “Only five metrical martyrologies are known to me, viz.: Baedae’s Martyrologium poeticum, the Martyrologium Wandalberti, the Anglo-Saxon Menologium poeticum, the Martyrology of Gorman and the Martyrology of Oengus.” The vogue noted by Dom Quentin was more extensive than stated by Stokes. It is not adequately explained by attributing a mnemonic technical function to such versifications. It is not accidental that Irish contributions to this literature have been numerous and sustained; the early Irish Church did not celebrate Masses in honour of individual saints, but commemorated (virtually all) the saints in a comprehensive manner by litanic lists in (every) Mass or litanic (vernacular) prayers, or by calendaric poems. To this day only the Irish language has a distinctive term, féile, for the latter.

From the literary point of view, the main difficulty with ‘versified’ or ‘metrical’ martyrologies, or calendars, is to give the subject matter some internal unity. Since in the calendaric arrangement the subjects of the commemorations are decidedly not considered in their material sequence, as they would be in annalistic historiography, such unity is created by considering the total annual cycle of commemorations in its devotional function. In the tradition of versified martyrologies, FO and MW are remarkable by the fact that, from the outset, their calendaric bodies are framed by extensive prologues and epilogues that enunciate the functions of these works. The central part of the Epilogue of FO (229–88) is an enumeration of the ‘hosts’ of saints with their leaders; the calendaric body of MW is followed by an Ymnus in omnes sanctos that specifies the chori superni. In this way ‘metrical martyrologies’ are assimilated to ‘metrical litanies’.

In fact, designed as devotions to be performed right through on any day, rather than to be looked up day by day, the former may be described as ‘litanies in calendaric arrangement’.

The comparative study of martyrologies and calendars has been practically confined to the heortological field. Bishop pointed to some heortological relations between FO and the hexametrical martyrologium breviarium in Ms in R. Thurneysen, Sagen des alten Irland (1901), p. 144.

For a comparison between the two prologues of MW and the prologue later added to the Martyrologium poeticum, cf. my “Studies in the Literary Tradition of the Martyrologium poeticum”.


There was also a vogue of these at that time. Cf. PL 81, 32, 39 (= PL 138, 1081), and 42. Cf. also PL 112, 1829.
British Museum Galba A XVIII. The heortological comparison between FO and MW establishes no such relationship. Moreover, the Irish and Latin metrical works in this field have dealt in very different ways with the problem of providing variation in giving expression 365 times to the statement that on a certain date certain names are commemorated—a point that deserves closer linguistic study. It is by their prologues and epilogues that such works are most clearly established as literary units and in their prologues and epilogues FO and MW show striking parallels. Although these parallels are literal in some cases, they are not considered as more than illustrations of the reality of the vogue noted by Dom Quentin. There is no evidence of continental acquaintance with FO or of Wandalbert’s acquaintance with Irish sources. I am primarily concerned with these parallels in an effort to establish the real meaning of the vogue in these works.

WM is prefaced by poems that bear the following titles: Invocatio, Allocutio (addressed to the reader), Commendatio (addressed to Otric who inspired Wandalbert to write this metrical martyrology), Dedicatio (addressed to the Emperor Lothar), Proposito (of the subject) and Comprehensio Temporum—a subject dealt with in FO, Prologue 305-8—and is followed by a Conclusio and the Ymnus. In their subject matter these sections largely correspond to the Prologue and Epilogue of FO. A direct comparison of the Latin with an Irish text would be incomprehensible to all except a small circle of experts. Thus, the present study would have been impossible were it not for Stokes’ English translation of FO. In those places where I have deviated from it, I have done so with reference to his glossary in order to clarify points of comparison. Irish terms have been added in parentheses to indicate instances where literal parallels do exist or where they might be erroneously suspected from Stokes’ translation.

The Prologue of FO and the Invocatio in MW begin with an invocation to Christ; so do the metrical litanies, but in the case of the latter this invocation is necessitated by the (prose) original. Moreover, the beginning of the Prologue to FO and that of the Invocatio in MW show striking parallels:

**FO**

Bless, O Christ, my speech,
O Lord of the seven heavens;
To me be given the prize of devotion,
O King of the bright sun that illumines Heaven with much holiness!
O King that rulest angels,
O Lord of men!
Thy kingfolk I praise . . .
The fair people (cain [candidus] popul).

**MW**

Celsi cuncti pares, conditor aetheris,
Orbis principium, luminis editor,
Inventor boni, fons sine termino,
Audi quod precor et supplico servulus,
Plebis tu caput et gloria candidae.

Further along in the Prologue, Oengus describes himself as ‘weary’ (toarmain) Ep. 399, ‘weak’ (dedbul) and ‘wretched’ (tróg) Pro. 25; Wandalbert says of himself that he is aeger et anxius Invoc. 35. Both Oengus and Wandalbert pray that their work may help them obtain the remission of their sins: FO cin. ‘crimes’ Ep. 387, MW crimina Invoc. 18 Concl. 3. Oengus describes himself as ‘in a great strait, in a poor body slender, skinny . . . a pauperculus (bochtán), while Wandalbert says: Concutor nimir, curae nam stimulant horribiles mentis

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24 For the literary appraisal of stereotype in such versifications see my article Medieval Studies, XIV, note 39.
25 Compare Ofried’s dedication of his Evangelienbuch to Louis the Pious.
27 In certain cases, I have added the Irish terms where their Latin origin seems to me indicative of their technical nature. Cf. infra, note 29.
ad intima Concl. 5. Both Oengus and Wandalbert ask that the merits of the saints be applied to them, Oengus with reference to ‘the course which the host has run’ Ep. 27, and Wandalbert to the acies bellaque fortium Invoc. 16. In this connection, Oengus says that the saints live ‘according to the commandments (timnae—testamenta) of the king,’ while Wandalbert speaks of tuis vivere legibus Invoc. 28.

While it may be argued that these ideas are standard equipment of religious poetry in the early Middle Ages, we find them combined with more specific ideas in both works. A large part of the Prologue to FO is devoted to contrasting the downfall of the heathen powers to the triumph of the saints. One of Oengus’ summaries of this section may be compared to a passage in Wandalbert’s Invocatio:

FO
Though great are the world’s kings Whose strongholds thou seest, The king that rules angels Is lord in every land (149, 159).

Though we may have evil combatting, A battle with the bold Demon, To aid us... Christ remains (241).

The sinners With the abundance of their cruelty Their splendour has perished (65).

The hosts of Jesus without a fall Are joyous after triumph.

The Invocatio in MW ends with these words:

Ymnnum personet hic mens humilis tibi, Devotusque canat te modulans homo, Unam cui jugiter cum patre gloria Agmen praedicat in saecula lucidum.

And the Conclusio:
Sanctorum retuli canens Hic certamina praeclaraque martyrnum Vexilla ante oculos constitui signaque ovantium.

Various passages in Oengus’ Epilogue may be compared to them: ‘(The fêlire) will be a loricà of piety... there are in it many end-rhymes (ard) melodising (fris—melat from the Greek melos) the terminations (rindi)’ 78–84; ‘May I be after this battle in the everlasting company of this host’ 315 f.

According to the prose prefaces of FO in the fourteenth-century Lebar Brecc and in the fifteenth-century Ms Lauds 610, when Oengus heard of a man who used to ‘search the saints of the world, as is the custom (bês) of all ex-laymen’, he decided that ‘whoever should make a song (trirech) of praise on the saints’ would gain great merit. It would appear that Oengus gave poetical form—‘that the lays (lôid)’ may not be tedious’ Prol. 323–40 a devotion in honour of (virtually) all the saints to be practiced as a morning and evening prayer by

Wandalbert, who is generally more subjective, refers here to his old age: Serro confer opem missaque desuper / Caecum de tenebris jam revocet manus (Invoc. 19, and the fourth stanza of the Conclusio). Compare FO, Ep. 305: After recounting these troops, O overking not to be hidden, misere michi.

MW
Rector, nempe tuo nulla renititur Nulla est imperio dura potentia:

Armis tu poteris vincere fortibus Fallens ne Zabuli vincent iniquitas.

Tandem sit satis ad Tartara per scelus Cunctum perque nefas perque probia omnia Casu flebiliter tendere pessimio (21–7).

Felix coelicolis permanet... Regis praesidii vita perennibus (29).

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the laity and, with particular regularity, by laymen who became clerics in their old age—when it was too late for them to learn Latin. The Preface in the Lebar Brecc adds that in its traditional form this devotion mentioned 'such saints as he [who recited this devotion] remembered'. Oengus himself described the félire as a private devotion: 'I pray a prayer (ftge) to them [the leading saints] I have mentioned' Prov. 17; 'let the minds (mennae) of all of us be for God's people' Prov. 141.

Wandalbert, too, wrote at the inspiration of a fellow cleric. Addressing Otrici he said to him in his introductory Epistola: E{x me . . . petisti, ut per annm totius spatium occurredes quot diebus sanctorum festivitates et sollemnes undecumque Christianorum votorum celebritates metro digerem, and in the Commendatio:

Vere sume librum . . .
Scribendum tibi quem pio rogatu
Hortatuque iubes, amice dulcis,
Hoc enim gratiΦcum libro videbis
Digestum breviter tibi sciendi
Questum cum replicans volensque munus
De iussu inspicies labore tandem.

Finally, in the Conclusio, Wandalbert states:

Conscripsi breviter munere (tuo, Christe,) carmina,
Constans expedit quae studio pervigili fides.

These two references to the 'briefness' of MW may be compared to the two made by Oengus to the 'swiftness' with which his félire 'declares the félé of each day' Prov. 287, 299. MW is a martyrologium breviarium. In comparison with the 'historical' or narrative prose martyrologies, that is, it drastically reduces the number of commemorations per day. However, his versification is so flowery that, from a practical point of view, the result is enlargement rather than abridgement. Oengus clearly says that the abridgement (cuimbringud), that is selection of commemorations, in his félire is due to the metre (Epil. 123), but his 591 quatrains can scarcely be described as a short-cut.

Viewing MW as a parallel to Ms M(acon) of the prose martyrology of Florus, Dom Quentin said that, on the one hand, Wandalbert omitted many commemorations while, on the other hand, he inserted commemorations from other, mainly local, sources. However, Wandalbert claims that his work represents substantially sanctorum festivitates et sollemnes undecumque Christianorum votorum celebritates (Epistola), sollemnia per orbem (Proposito), sollemnia festa clara per orbem (Comprehensio Temporum), that is, the mind of the Church. Oengus, on the other hand, while he does claim that he 'searched out (scrútus) félire afar and near' (Ep. 109) and that the saints mentioned by him came 'from every side over countries',—so much for Wandalbert's undecumque—makes it quite clear that the selection of 'kings', 'princes' or 'elders' of saints is his own (Ep. 32, 46). He claims, however, to have reckoned all of these leaders (Ep. 288) and

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that, therefore, there is now no 'fêlire more certu'.\(^{27}\) His is a fêlire firchert \[verce certum\] (Ep. 148, 156).

Wandalbert does not give reasons why, for the purpose of his work, it was necessary \textit{metro digere} or \textit{edere} the subject matter (\textit{Epistola}). Oengus frankly admits that in his work 'abridgement of speech' was 'under the science of harmony (soas do chaibded Ep. 121). Though it was 'not science (soas) that composed the booklet but the angelic help . . . of every martyr we enumerated',\(^ {27}\) \textit{soas} was required for harmony, 'smoothness and strength of the strains' (\textit{altae Ep. 132}). It was due to these qualities that \textit{FO} can be sung (\textit{gabim Ep. 114, 173, 180; canim Ep. 187}), even to the accompaniment of the harp (Ep. 79) or to music generally (Ep. 157). Singing of it every day should supersede the traditional prose devotion (Ep. 165). Wandalbert envisages, primarily, that his work will be read (\textit{Commendatio} and \textit{Propositio}); there where he uses the verb \textit{canere} (\textit{Concl. I, Ymannus 6}), he refers to the recitation of poetry. When Oengus uses the Irish verb cognate with \textit{legere}, he establishes a parallel to the 'reading' of the Mass (\textit{ar-légain, 'to read aloud' Ep. 178, 213}). Wandalbert, indeed, describes his work as a \textit{carmen} (\textit{Concl. 1}), but places it in the literary tradition of Christian writings in general, the works of Jerome, Augustine, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Gregory, etc. While Oengus describes his work as \textit{céál} (Ep. 158, June 1st), the prose prefaces place it in the tradition of Irish poetry, comparing it as it does with the works of Fothuth. It was to Fothuth that Oengus first showed his fêlire: 'They blessed each other's work of art and left many graces on him who should recite it often'. The word 'work of art' (\textit{elathan}) occurs at the very beginning of these prose prefaces, where a statement, important for the study of the history of literature in mediaeval Ireland, is made: 'Four things are required by every work of art, namely place (locc), time (aimser), author (persa) and the cause of invention/writing (\textit{faith airicc/scríobind}).' The words: 'It is worth knowing in what kind of metre the fêlire was composed', in those prefaces may be compared to Wandalbert's statement in the \textit{Epistola}: \textit{Necessarium existimavi genera ipsorum metrorum breviter explanare}. However, the explanation of metres was required in \textit{MW} because the poems that preface and follow the calendric body are written in metres that differ from that of the latter; \textit{FO}, Prologue, calendric body and Epilogue, is written throughout in the same metre. The explanation of the metre in the preface\(^ {26}\) and Oengus' own reference to his metre are, therefore, a more definite assertion of the artistic character of his work than are the learned explanations given by Wandalbert of my articles listed \textit{supra}, notes 7, 11) should be compared and related to that of H. Delehaye, \textit{Analecta Bollandiana}, XXVII (1927), 79: a calendar is a list of commemorations liturgically celebrated in one particular place; a martyrology is a combination of such calendars 'empruntant en outre des notes à des sources littéraires', and, we may add, thus providing entries for (practically) every day. On the position of \textit{MW} in this respect, cf. Quentin, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 339; on the position of \textit{FO}, cf. Groezen, \textit{art. cit.} For the rhymed litanies (see \textit{supra}, note 12) the following lines in that of Fulda, PL 112, 1629, are important: Cum laeti famuli celebrant haece festa benigni / Laudibus instantes nocte dieque tuis . . . Maniitus, \textit{loc. cit.}, recognized that the greatest difficulty for Wandalbert was 'die dem Metrum oft sätzlich widersehen. \textit{Nomen in den Vers zu bringen}'. The selection of names in \textit{FO} was largely dictated by the exigencies of alliteration: \textit{Fintan / Findlug Jan. 3rd; Egemonius/Ercnat Jan. 8th; Faelan/Felix/ Vitalis Jan. 9th; Felix/Fland Jan. 14th; etc.} More \textit{certu}, namely, than works such as the \textit{Fêlire \textit{Adhmadnín}} or the poem \textit{Ealaiht beltha} (cf. my article, \textit{Mediaeval Studies}, XIV), thanks to more representative selection; cf. the use of the root \textit{rim} in \textit{FO: Pro!. 268, Ep. 40, 41, 46, 122, 128, 228 f., 231 f. and 317. Cf. also April 30th, July 17th, September 8th and 17th.\(^ {26}\) \textit{Ep. 85-91, MW}, Epistola: Feci quo potui non tam artis usus atque solertia quam . . . erga me sanctorum ad id peragendum . . . favore.\(^ {26}\) The explanation of the \textit{rimward} metre in the prose prefices contains the Latin phrase: et si plus minusve error est. Such insertions of Latin are quite common in Irish \textit{technical} literature of the Middle Ages. Further along in the explanation also the term \textit{silabar} is used: Wandalbert invariably uses \textit{syllabae} in his explanations of the metres of \textit{MW}.\(^ {26}\)
the various classical metres used by him. In fact, these explanations emphasize the scholastic character of MW.\textsuperscript{30}

Both works claim a devotional function. Oengus asserts that the recitation of his \textit{félire} is an \textit{arvrum} for the Masses or the basic Office of a whole week, for a festival (\textit{aurtach}) or, indeed, for all the feasts (\textit{félisi} Ep. 177 ff.); Wandalbert states in his \textit{Commendatio}:

\begin{quote}
Vere sume librum fide sacratum,
Sincera hunc reserens legensque mente.
\end{quote}

This claim is not only expressive of the general spirit of the time, but is related more specifically to the subject matter.

The difference between \textit{FO} and \textit{MW} as regards their treatment of subject matter is connected with the difference of the functional significance of their poetical form. In his \textit{Epistola} Wandalbert said that the subject matter of his work was

\begin{quote}
per anni totius spatium occurrentes quot diebus sanctorum festivitates et sollemnes undecumque Christianorum votorum celebratiae . . . a kalendis Januarii ad finem anni per dierum singulorum occurrentes festivitates.
\end{quote}

In his \textit{Propositio} he states:

\begin{quote}
Spretendos breviter signans actusque virosque
Atque dies anni reditu volvente per orbem,
Ordine quae lustrent scribens sollemnia quaeque,
Hic mihi nonnumquam sanctorum nomina leges.
\end{quote}

And finally in the \textit{Allocutio} he expresses himself as follows:

\begin{quote}
quaev recursus
Nunc anni memorent bella priorum
Monstrabit modico hic corpore codex.
\end{quote}

Oengus says that he commemorates\textsuperscript{31} the saints ‘according to the order (\textit{urd}) in which they have gone to heaven’ (Prol. 279). The \textit{corp} of his work consists of ‘a number of chapters (\textit{caiptel}) equal in number to the days of the year’ (Prol. 293, 325), arranged by the months (Prol. 301, 321). In the manner of old Irish poetry, the end of \textit{FO} resumes the (original) beginning (Prol. 21) and the last line of the \textit{corp}, that is, the last line of the quatrains for December 31st, ‘strives to step to the calends (of January);\textsuperscript{32} thus ‘our end is against the head of January’ (Ep. 8). In thus giving full cyclical meaning to what Wandalbert describes as the \textit{curriculum}, \textit{recursus} or \textit{re(volutio) a kalendis Januarii ad finem anni}, Oengus rightly called his poem a ‘continuous song’ (\textit{cétul buan}).

In his \textit{Epistola} to Otric Wandalbert asserted: (Because) \textit{solemnium dierum certissima comprehensio non leviter nec facile pro librorum varietate constabat} (I called on Florus for assistance). \textit{Ab hoc sumptis veteribus emendatis codicibus Martyrologium . . . metro edidi}. Oengus said that it was necessary for him ‘to search the books and enquire for every saint’ (Prol. 229, Ep. 2, 75).\textsuperscript{33} He ‘scrutinized (\textit{scrütus}) \textit{félire} afar and anear’ (Ep. 109), ‘the vast part of Ambrosius, the sensus of Hilarius (\textit{Elar}), the antigraph of Hironimus and the martalicae of Eusebius, also the host of books in Ireland, the \textit{félire} of the men of the Gaels’ (Ep. 137-44). The term \textit{félire} is used here in a general sense to include both (foreign) martyrologies and the (Irish) \textit{félire}. When we consider the multiplicity


\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Imradim}. Prol. 20/21=Ep. 564/5, also January 7th, October 11th, November 13th and December 20th.

\textsuperscript{32} In contrast to the \textit{Hieronymianum}, \textit{FO} and \textit{MW} begin with January 1st.

\textsuperscript{33} ‘From one kalend (of January) to another’, Prol. 301 and Ep. 1.
of parallels between FO and MW, the absence of any reference by Oengus to the fact that the festivitates were sollemnes Christianorum votorum celebritates, as Wandalbert stated in his Epistola, is most remarkable. Indeed, the interpretation of the Irish term féil as identical with (liturgical) feast—not to mention the many synonyms in FO such as aithmet, aurtach, laithe which Stokes rendered as ‘feast’—has been the chief obstacle in the way of perceiving the function of the féilre as set forth by Oengus.

There is as little awareness in FO of the celebration of the feasts of non-Irish saints per orbem (Wandalbert’s Propositio and Comprehensio Temporum) as there is evidence that the commemorations of Irish saints listed by Oengus had been liturgically observed in Ireland. We have seen that Oengus twice stated that his work will ‘name with speed the féil for each day’ (Prol. 287, 299). ‘In seeking the féle you must search with diligent keenness industriously the order of the chapters’ (ord na caiptel) Prol. 329; ‘thou wilt follow the days in thy pious booklets according to the lines (line) assiduously’ (Prol. 309, 334). The use of these adverbs suggests that it was Oengus’ real intention to give a list of commemorations that were accurate by external standards, such as the (liturgical) calendar, rather than by internal standards. Marianus Gorman has pointed out that this can scarcely have been Oengus’ intention.44 In the following quatrains (Ep. 77)

(The féilre) is profit to the ignorant
To whom it will be a lorica of piety;
Every group sings it (to the harp)
To ascertain the féle.

it is clear that the second and third lines are the important ones, especially when we consider the words of the subsequent quatrains:

There are therein many delightful end-rhymes
Melodising the line-terminations.

While MW applied the skill of scholarly poetry to an established Church calendar, FO cast into a living poetical form a devotion that expressed the conception of spiritual time characteristic of the old Irish liturgy. The parallels, therefore, between FO and MW would appear to be accidental and fundamentally irrelevant. However, the literary tradition of the Martyrologium poeticum seems to indicate that, while it was bound to be misunderstood because there was no real function for it, the féilre-type of calendric poems became known on the Continent and accepted there for esthetic reasons.45 In the history of literature the féilre is an interesting attempt to supply unity to an incoherent subject matter by a definite literary form.

V. A Middle English Mnemonic Poem on Usury.

As is well known, the practice of usury was ubiquitous and persistent during the later Middle Ages and hence created a social problem of exasperating magnitude to conscientious English clerics.1 The bitter feeling that usury aroused

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1 The problem still concerns men of conscience: see P. Conway, “Catholic Opinions on Interest Taking,” The Irish Ecclesiastical Record, LXI (1943), 73-83. There is no satisfactory treatment of usury in medieval England but a good deal of information may be found in Sir William J. Ashley, An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory II (4th ed. 1912), pp. 377-488; Alice Law, “English Neweaux-Riches in the Fourteenth Century,” Trans. Royal Historical Society, n.s. ix (1895), 49-73. Indispensable to an understanding of the canonists’ involvement are the magisterial
is well voiced by the anonymous homilist of British Museum, *Ms Additional 37*, 677, fol. 100:

Abouen alle marchauntes most cursed is þe usurere; for of fyue lawes þe usurere is cursed. Forst þe lawe of kende. Also of paynemys lawe þat philosophers holden. Þe þride lawe is Jewes lawe, þat is þe Olde Testament, and þis acurseþ usurie in ful many places. And in the Sauter, Dayyd seyþ þat þo men schulen [be elevated] in Godis hel ("protection"), þat is heuene, þat þeyþ nouȝt her money to usurere. Þe fr[t]e lawe is Holi Gospel: for Crist seþ in þe Gospul of Lukt: þe shullen þeue þoure luyynge. And if it sholle þe goun, it sholde nouȝt ben solde. Þe fiþþe is þe Fops lawe, in þe whiche þe þeyne of an usurere is þis: First he shal be cursed; if he be an opyn usuere he shall not be amytte to the commounyng of þe auter, nõþer be beried in holi place þif he deie in þat synne; nõþer offerynge to be don for hyn. (fol. 101'). Þerfore me semþþ þit is perellous to deile wip þis hokterie ("usury") siþ it dôþ awoy charyte witowte whom no man may be sauyd . . .

Furthermore, since the Middle English homilist often enlarged the concept of usury to include profiteering in general as well as the specific phases of charging interest on consumption loans, he often subsumed his indignation under the topic of avarice in his homilies against the seven deadly sins, and under the topic of theft in his application of the Ten Commandments.

In treating theft, the anonymous homilist of British Museum, *Ms Additional 2398*, says:

The seunþþ heste ys forbade al maner doying away of oþer mennes godes vnskilfulliche agenst his wille þat owþþ hem and also wykkede getynge of god wip gyle, as by wyþtes, by mesure, by drede of lordschip—as dôþ þe kynges minysteres; oþer by extorsions as dôþ wykkede lordes; oþer by usuri; oþer by gyle as dôþ false marchauntz in bygylng of here eueneristen ("fellow Christens") sylyng a badde þyng for a good . . . (fol. 3')

Since the homilist was most anxious to have his strictures taken to heart and translated into action, it is surprising that not more mnemonic versifications of such admonitions, such as that presented in this article, have survived in the vernacular. Briefly, mnemonic or functional verse, which has the didactic purpose of rendering "useful" facts easy to commit to memory, played an important role in mediaeval England. Professor Rossell Hope Robbins in his invaluable *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Oxford, 1952) reminds us—inter alia—that the anonymous Middle English mnemonic *Instructions for Purchasing Land* survives in fourteen manuscripts; and that Lydgate's *Dietyr*, a very popular treatise on health, has survived in forty-six manuscripts, a number exceeded only by the great literary poems such as *The Canterbury Tales* and *Piers Plowman*.

The purpose of the present article is to make available the text of a hitherto unprinted anonymous versified attack on usury preserved (uniquely, I believe) in British Museum, *Ms Egerton 2810*, fol. 180'-181'. The copy is presumably apograph and belongs to the mid fifteenth century. In several parts of the text the ink is badly faded, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. T. C. Skeat, deputy keeper of Western Manuscripts in the British Museum for his kindness in recovering the readings concerned with the aid of ultra-violet light. The text contains several Northern forms, such as the spelling *quen* for "when", and the verbal forms *mas* and *tas* for "makes" and "takes"; hence we may conjecture


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that the author was a Yorkshireman or a Scot. The text illustrates the usual features of mnemonic verse: cramped syntax, ambiguity of reference in personal pronouns, restricted and iterated vocabulary, and emphasis on exposition from a practical point of view.

The literary tradition which this text follows is the same as that followed in the anonymous prose treatise known as Jacob's Well, preserved uniquely in Salisbury Cathedral, Ms 103, and edited for The Early English Text Society (OS No. 115) in 1900 by Dr. A. Brandeis. Unfortunately only one volume of this edition appeared: the text is incomplete, and the introduction, in which Brandeis might have identified the ultimate source for the text, lacking. The relevant passage on the twelve types of usury appears on pp. 122-124 of the first volume. The same tradition is preserved in a fifteenth century prose version in British Museum, Ms Harley 45, fol. 63'-64', which has not hitherto been published. I print it below because it serves as a useful parallel to the Egerton text, and offers a version with a less involved grammatical structure. This literary tradition, which may be called for convenience the "Jacob's Well" tradition, may be contrasted to the "Agenbit of Inwyty" tradition, which appears also in the Middle English Vices and Virtues and in Caxton's Royal Book (ca. 1486), and which derived ultimately from the Somme des Vices et Vertues of Lorenz d'Orleans. The "Agenbite" tradition describes seven types of usury: lending against collateral; using inherited money originally won by usury; lending at interest through agents (especially Jews and Saracens); lending another's goods; selling above intrinsic value; speculation and buying cheap and selling dear; taking advantage of the poor and needy. Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne (II. 2389-2472) describes many types of usury, but not in a systematic way; the same is true of John Myrc's Middle English Instructions for Parish Priests. But it is not the aim of this paper to canvass the surviving corpus of Middle English literature for instances of attacks on the vice of usury; the aim is to present an unusual poem which properly sees economic conduct in relation to the salvation of men's souls. The popular mediaeval exemplum of the penitent usurer testifies to the continual problems which the priesthood was forced to confront during the mediaeval period in its unremitting warfare against the detested sin of avarice.

(The transcriptions which follow silently expand obvious abbreviations and introduce modern capitalization and punctuation. The manuscripts are reproduced herewith through the permission of the authorities of the British Museum.)

I

Ms Harley 45

De Vsura

(fol. 63')

primus modus Oker scheweth hym in many manere. The firste manere is when a man lene and taketh for his lone by counten made before. Pis is oker open wihoute curtesie and pis byhoue bygolde asen or to be damned before in hell.

ij modus De secounde manere is when a man lene of his fre will to another wipoute forward of wynyngh but neuerleles he borwer geve hym som what for his lenynge and he taketh hit. Pis lener is more curtseys hen is pat other

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and sit he doth oker but if he stoppe in he gevyn payement of he dette as moche as he took. For a man schulde lene to an other and ese him onliche for Goddes loue and ben perforce God wolde geue him endeles mede.

\textit{iiij modus} \quad The pridde manere of oker is when a man hag good or catel, or londe or rente whiche hag he wote wel hag his forfadres or eldres wonnen wiþ oker. But he restore it to hem hag so loste it, he is as fer forth in perilte or ferber as he hag wonne it.

\textit{iiij modus} \quad The ferber manere of oker is when a man hag a servaunt hag wynne him good with oker, and he wot it and taketh hit. For ben he may be cleped a maister okerer.

\textit{v modus} \quad The fift maner of oker is when a man lene siluer or other money sigel he hag to kepe of oter mennes and taketh oughte to himself for the lenyng or borowe money for oker. And he thus may be cleped a disciple okerer.

\textit{vij modus} \quad The sixte manere of oker is when a man silep corn, beste or oter catel and lene it to he bigger to a certeyne day & silep it he derrer for sigel lone and noght allowe it in he payement.

\textit{vij modus} \quad The seuenthe manere of oker is when a man seeth hag an oter moste nede haue bing hag he hag to sille, and sillep it at he hyer prysse bycause of he nede. Pen he wolde doo if he wiste hag he bigger myght wel forbere it. And in his he brekip he lawe of kynde and charite, for he doth noght to his brother as he wolde his brocher did to him; ne he ne loue noght his brocher as him self.

\textit{vij modus} \quad The eighte manere of oker is when a man hag nede to sille corne or it be rype to bresse, or eny oter catel or it were tymre to be sold, and be bigger svee wel hag he siller mote selle for nede of money and biep banne at light pryse and paye before and abide he deluyerance of corne or oter catel til a certen day. At whiche he suppose wel hit schal be of moche more value hag he boghite it. And if so faille hag he corne or he catel at hag tyne hag it schal be paide is moche more worth hag it was boghite to, and be bigger rewardep noght he siller of he surpluy, he doth oker.

\textit{ix modus} \quad Pe nynthe maner of oker is when a man taketh land or rente in wed or sureste for money or oter good hag he lene to a certeyn day. And taketh be proffite of be londe or rente in be mene tyne wipoute allowance or abatement in he payement of be dette.

\textit{x modus} \quad Pe teneth manere of oker is whan a man lene mone or oter good upon a wed of catel moeble to a certeyn day, and for he is noght payed at be day, wiþholdeth he wed for euree. For it is more worth hag he lone. For all heigh couenant be hag: but ziþ he paye at his day, he schal holde he wed as his. Ziþ ziþ he wed be more worth hag he dette he owep to restore he surpluy. Or if a man werep or enpeyp he wed hag is leide him for dette, he mote allowe and abate in he payement as moch as he wed is enpeyre by him or ellis he synnep moker.

\textit{xi modus} \quad Pe enleuemeth manere of oker is þis: whan a man lene money to a marchaunt by couenant to haue it azith hole at alle periles and half he
wynnyng that may come herof and noght allowe of that lostes that may befalle. And in that same wise it is in that lenynge of bestes or eny other catell: to haue that bestes or catel azen or that veray prise wip half that may come herof wipout the allowance of costs or lostes.

xii modus That twelfe manere of oker is when a man leneth money to a pore man to serue him bodiliche for that lone; and if he may not paye him at that daye, he bynde him and make him doo more werk than that dette is worth. And in that twelue maneres men synne in oker.

II

Ms Egerton 2810 De Terminis Vsure (fol. 180')

Okure shrowe crafte of okerrers\(^1\) Schewis hit on mony maners.

[i] That firste manere is qwen a mon firstys\(^2\) his jinge\(^3\) And takys oghte fore that fyrstynge Throghoughouneande before that men mas.\(^4\) Alle is okyr that men so tas.\(^5\) Dis may be holdyn comynly okyr, Okyr witowten curtasy.\(^6\) And that behovys hym zelde agayn Ore ellys he schalle hafe helle payne.\(^7\)

[ii] Other manere of okure is Pat is bis, bote it is les. As a mon of his wylle fre Lene syluer, golde mone And takys oghte fore that fyrstynge Of curtasy witowten hetynge.\(^8\) Zete is that okure as men says Buthe he that tas is curtas That behoues hym stope\(^9\) in that dette, Ore elles wrath of God schalle he gete.

Fore iche man schuld fore Goddes sake To ober firste and noghte þerfore take, Pen wyll God fore that dede Specialy graunte hym his mede.

[iii] That thride maner of okure kyde\(^10\) Is þis þat is mycule here hyde. Als qwen a mon zeldes a þing That his frendes wan here in okerryng. And þat be passed oute of þis lyue Be hit fader, moder ore wyfe. He schuld note halde hit in store. Bote he wolde make asethe\(^11\) before, That is to say if he wete How his frendes hade wonnen hite, And if\(^12\) he do he is gyllte Als he that dyde fyrstre þe foly.

(iv) That furthe maner is chargande;\(^13\) That if þis io vnderstonde; Als qwen a mon a servande hase That okure to his vse tas. Sif he þeroft payed hym halde He may be maister okurrer calde.

\(^1\) Cf. Brunne, Handlyng Synme, EETS OS No. 119, l. 2465: Okeryng ys on many manere,/Mo þan I kan telle now here.
\(^2\) firstys, vb., properly frist, "to loan, advance credit." The scribal form throughout may represent a metathesis.
\(^3\) jinge, sb., "property, substance."
\(^4\) mas, vb., "makes."
\(^5\) tas, vb., "takes."
\(^6\) curtasy, sb., "good will" as distinguished from inherent or legal right (Du Cange: courtagium=munus proxenetae).
\(^7\) Lines 3-10 describe the commonest type of usury: cf. John Myre Instructions for Parish Priests (EETS OS No. 31), II. 379-381: For welle he wol þat oker hyt ys./ And lene xil d. to haue xilj/For þat is vysure wypayowte wene./According to the Coventry Leet Book (EETS OS No. 138), usury was proclaimed as heinous a sin as fornication (p. 544) at the leet of St. Dionysius (?) Henry VII.
\(^8\) hetynge, sb., "pledge, vow."
\(^9\) stope, vb., "reduce." See OED s.v.
\(^10\) kyde, adj., "notorious" (pp. of kithe).
\(^11\) asethe, sb., "restitution, compensation."
\(^12\) if="unless."
\(^13\) chargande, vb., "entrusting, putting the servant in charge."
[v] Pe fyfte maner of okure is þis,
  þat sume usys þat lyves mys,"
  Alse quen a mon okure lenes
  þat syluer þat is ðeber mennes
  þat in kepyng hase to safe
  Wit þat þus yylle he okure hafe.
  Ore if he be borw in privete
  Fore okure, syluer ore mone
  To lene to ðeber and to hafe
  More okure þen he þerfore gafe.
  He þat is disciple of okerrere
  þat maner schall he by" fulle
dere.
  Bote he þerfore amendes make
  Ere þe dethe hym hethe[r]" take.

[vii] Pe sexte is þis quen a mon sellys
  Corne ore beste ore oght elles,
  And fyrstes hit to a certayn day
  And sellys þe derrer for fyrst of pay.
  In þe dette if he do wele
  He schulde alow hit ilke a dele
  þat he hase more, I understonde,
  þen he wolde fyrste take in honde.
  Ande bote he do he mon be schente
  Wen he of þis wor[1]d" is wente.

[viii] Pe agheted maner of þis is to drede:
  Wen a mon sees anoðer man
  hafe nede
  To selle corne, catelle ore fee
  Before þe tyme þat selle to be.
  (fol. 181')
  þen byes he hit for a lytulle prise
  To his a vauntage on þis wise
  So þat he make before þe pay,
  And þe corne abyde to a day;
  Fore he hase no doute þat ne þo corne schalle be
  More worthe ate þe day þen firste gafe he;
  So may þe corne be solde and boghte
  þat þe byere schalle hafe for noghte.
  For ate þe day may falle so
  þat þe corne is worthe syche tow."
  þerefore he schulde quen he hit tas
  Pay hym more als þe corne þen gas."
  And if he rewarde hym wit no more
  þen tas he okure, ase I sayde ore.

[ix] Pe neghed maner of okure I fynde
  þat mas some mens conciens
  blynde,
  þat is cüene a mon fore a
  vauntage
  Lenes syluer for rente in
  morgage,
  And þe profete of þe rente
  Ouer þe syluer þat is lente
  Of alle þe tyme to þe day
  þat is sete to make þe pay.
  Bote he þe profete to prise sete
And alow hit in þe dette,27
His saule schalle be in grete
daunchere
Als he þat is an okurrere.

[x] Pe tente maner of okure may be
In þis cas þat may men ofte se:
Ase quen a mon withaldes fore
ay
A wed þat layde is to a day.
Fore he hase note þe pay of þe
dette,
Nomly ate þe day pat is sete.
Alle if þe couenand suche ware,
þete if þe wedde were worthy
mare
Þan þe dette amounte mighte,
Hym behoudy zylde agayn þrogh
ryghte,
Ore elles he schale hafe an hard
fytte
Qwens he schalle out of þis
world fytte.
Ore if a mon þe wed it layde
Were ay tylle þe dette þe payd
If hit þe pay rede, as I trow,
In þe pay hym behouses low
And stop28 als mycull and no lesse
Als þe wed þen apayred29 is.
And bote he do, I warne hym
wele,
He mone þerfore hard payne
felle.

[xi] Pe ellend maner fynde I now,30
Þat is þis, I dar avow.
Quen a mon tase tylle31 a
marchand
Syluer or gold be þis couenande
Þat he hafe half þat wynnyng is
And his awne syluer; neuer þe
les
If he take half wynnyng fre
Witouten oker mav þat not be
Fore he wille hafe half wynnynge
And noxt alow if þer be
wynnynge.32
Bote if he make first sych cowand
Þat he to perell of lose wyl
stond,

27 Lines 109-110, construe: “unless he allows
for the profit and deducts it from the re-
payment.”
28 Cf. supra, note 9.
29 apayred, vb., “injured” hence “deterio-
rated.”
30 The contract or agreement described as
type xi was known as societas.
31 ‘as tylle’—“takes to.”
32 ‘wynnynge’, sb., “loss, damage.”
33 Construe: “And allow for what over-
head befalls.”
34 ‘skylle’, sb., “cause, reason.”
35 Ms illegible after letter w.
VI. Boetius of Dacia and the Double Truth.

Up to the present the only known works of Boetius of Dacia were logical treatises, two opuscula: De Summo bono sive de vita philosophi and De Somniiis, and a fragment of a commentary on the Meteors. He was known to have written other works, including one on the eternity of the world, but all of these were lost. This was regrettable, for Boetius played an important role in the conflict of ideas at Paris at the end of the thirteenth century. Contemporary documents link him with Siger of Brabant as a leader of the rationalist movement which challenged the deepest convictions of the Middle Ages on the harmony of faith and reason and provoked such a vehement reaction on the part of the theologians. One of the manuscripts of the celebrated condemnation of the movement in 1277 by Stephen Tempier, the Bishop of Paris, claims that it was directed "against the heretics, Siger and Boetius." One of the oldest manuscripts goes so far as to say that Boetius was "the principal exponent" of the propositions condemned by the Bishop. A catalogue of the works of Raymond Lull states that Lull's treatise on the condemned propositions is directed against "the errors of Boetius and Siger." And history still links the names of Siger and Boetius after their condemnation: they are said to have left France together and to have taken refuge in Italy at the Papal court.

It was evident from the works of Boetius already edited that he did in fact hold ideas consonant with the condemned movement in philosophy. His remarkable little treatise De Summo bono extols the philosophical life as the best possible to man. It is true that its author does not deny a future beatitude assured to us by faith. But he takes obvious delight in describing the happiness of the pursuit of wisdom in the natural order, and he does not hesitate to locate our ultimate end and supreme good in that order. The ideas in this treatise have not always been interpreted in the same way; but at least it seems clear that its author was a man passionately devoted to the rational pursuit of knowledge, and that he poorly reconciled his rationalism with his faith.

In view of the importance of Boetius of Dacia in mediaeval thought and the difficulty of interpreting correctly his attitude towards faith and reason in his extant works, historians will welcome the recent discovery of his treatise De Mundi aeternitate by Géza Sajó in a manuscript of the National Library of Budapest. Mr. Sajó has edited the treatise with a scholarly introduction. The treatise is anonymous, but the editor has argued convincingly that it is an authentic work of Boetius of Dacia.

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1 Born in Sweden, Boetius received the name de Dacia because he was a Dominican living in the Province of Dacia, which included both Sweden and Denmark. Cf. E. Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages (New York, 1955), p. 735, note 34.

2 On the works of Boetius of Dacia, cf. M. Grabmann, Neu aufgefundene Werke des Siger von Brabant und Boetius von Dacien (Munich, 1924). The opuscula De Summo bono and De Somniiis have been edited by M. Grabmann, Archives d'Hist. Doc. et Litt. du moyen âge, VI (1931), 287-317; Mittelalterliches Geistesleben II (Munich, 1936), pp. 200-224. Another manuscript of the De Summo bono, not listed by M. Grabmann, is in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ms +23 (Ry 30) (J 290), fols. 173b-175.


6 Cf. E. Gilson, op. cit., p. 399.


8 On the various interpretations of this work, cf. E. Gilson, op. cit., pp. 400-401.

9 Géza Sajó, Un traité récemment découvert de Boëce de Dacie De mundi aeternitate. Texte inédit avec une introduction critique, avec en appendice un texte inédit de Siger de Brabant Super VI° Metaphysicae (Budapest, 1954).

10 Op. cit., pp. 43-83. The same cannot be said of the editor's attribution to Siger of Brabant of the anonymous Question Ut rum omnia eveniant de necessitate, found in the same Budapest codex and edited in the appendix, pp. 123-135. The Question is described, pp. 30-43. The similarity of doctrine in this Question and Siger's De necessitate et contingentiis causarum renders it possible that Siger was its author, but not beyond all doubt. This Question should be compared with the Question on the same subject contained in Ms Peterhouse 135, which almost certainly is Siger's. Cf. A. Maurer, "Siger of Brabant's De Necessitate"
The publication of Boetius' *De Mundi aeternitate* makes it more evident why he has been named, along with Siger of Brabant, as the target of the condemnation of 1277. Two of the censured propositions reflect the teaching of his *De Summo bono*: *Quod non est excellentior status, quam vacare philosophiae; Quod sapientes mundi sunt philosophi tantum.* Thanks to Mr. Sajó we now know that Boetius upheld six other condemned propositions in his *De Mundi aeternitate*:

1. Quod nulla quod est disputabilis per rationem, quam philosophus non debet dispute et determinare, quia rationes accipiantur a rebus. Philosophia autem omnes res habet considerare secundum diversas sui partes (Chart. n. 145; Boetius, lines 353-372).

2. Quod creatio non est possibilitis, quamvis contrarium tenendum sit secundum fidem (Chart. n. 184; Boetius, lines 449-460).

3. Quod non fuit primus homo, nec erit ultimus, immo semper fuit et semper erit generatio hominis ex homine (Chart. n. 9, Boetius, lines 461-466).

4. Quod non contingit corpus corruptum redire idem numero, nec idem numero resurgit (Chart. n. 17, Boetius, lines 503-513).

5. Quod resurrectio futura non debet concedi a philosoph, quia impossibile est eam investigare per rationem. (Chart. n. 18, Boetius, lines 509-512; 945-947).

6. Quod naturalis philosophus debet negare simpliciter mundi novitatem, quia ininititur causis naturalibus et rationibus naturalibus. Fidelis autem potest negare mundi ierarenatem, quia ininititur causis supernaturalibus (Chart. n. 90; Boetius, lines 538-547; 549-554).

This is enough to make the newly edited treatise of Boetius of Dacia an important historical document. But there is more to be added. The editor tells us that it contains a detailed exposition of the celebrated doctrine of the "double truth"—indeed, that it was precisely Boetius of Dacia who established this doctrine in the sense in which it was stated in the decree of condemnation. The prologue of Tempier's decree refers to some members of the Faculty of Arts at Paris who went beyond the limits of their Faculty and presumed to teach as true, doctrines in philosophy contrary to the faith. "For they say they are true according to philosophy, but not according to the Catholic faith, as if there were two contrary truths, and as if truth in the sayings of the accursed pagans were contrary to the truth of Sacred Scripture." The editor tells us, we did not possess any original Averroist work of the thirteenth century enunciating the conception of a double truth. This led certain historians to deny its existence. E. Gilson, for example, affirm that no one ever upheld the doctrine; it was the adversaries of Siger and the other Averroists who imposed it upon them as a necessary consequence of their attitude. These philosophers never taught that there are two simultaneous and contradictory truths. Whenever the teaching of philosophy is opposed to that of faith, they always assert that truth is on the side of faith, even though the contrary follows necessarily from the principles of philosophy. The editor quotes...
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F. Sassen and F. Van Steenberghen as in agreement with E. Gilson on this point.\(^{18}\)

According to Mr. Sajo, the discovery of the De Mundi aeternitate makes this thesis untenable, for it reveals that Boetius taught the doctrine of the double truth precisely as it was stated in the decree of condemnation.\(^{17}\)

The issue raised by Mr. Sajo is so important that it merits serious consideration. If what he says is true, it would be necessary to revise the current view of the conflict of faith and reason in the thirteenth century. In the opinion of the present writer, however, the discovery of Boetius' treatise requires us to make no such essential revision. The position on faith and reason adopted by Boetius appears to be in all essentials the same as that of Siger of Brabant and the other Averroists. Put in bolder form than theirs, it comes closest to the condemned proposition, but it is not identical with it. This will become clear if we review the main theses of Boetius' De Mundi aeternitate.

Boetius begins by stating his purpose in writing the treatise: his intention is to reconcile the teaching of faith and Aristotle concerning the eternity of the world. He is convinced that they are in agreement on this point and that only the ignorant will deny this. In order to appreciate how they are to be reconciled, certain methodological principles must be understood. First of all, faith rests for the most part upon miracles and not upon reasoning. Indeed, what is held as a conclusion of reason is no longer faith but science (27-28).\(^{18}\) According to Aristotle the teachings of religion necessarily do not admit of demonstrative proof (18-19). So there are two errors equally to be avoided: (1) To attempt to demonstrate something held by faith which is indemonstrable by its very nature. (2) To lapse into heresy by refusing to believe a doctrine of faith on the ground that it does not admit of demonstration (13-17). Turning now to philosophy, Boetius asserts that when the philosophers concern themselves with changeable things their opinions do not rest upon demonstrations and certain arguments (23-25). If these principles are kept in mind, Boetius concludes, it will be seen that philosophy and faith do not contradict each other regarding the eternity of the world, and that the arguments of heretics holding the eternity of the world against the Catholic faith do not have any force (28-33).

It is apparent from this that Boetius does not side with the heretics on the eternity of the world, nor does he have unbounded confidence in the philosophers' ability to settle the question once and for all. He does defend, however, with a good deal of vigor, the right of the philosopher to handle the problem. The philosopher, he asserts, teaches the nature of all things, because his subject-matter is being. The various branches of philosophy consider the parts of being. So it is the duty of the philosopher to deal with all beings, natural, mathematical, and divine, insofar as they are knowable through human reason and argumentation. The philosopher, then, must have the duty of settling every question which is disputable through reason. If anyone denies this he just does not know what he is saying (354-372).

Boetius' insistence on this point and his rather acrimonious terms in defending himself are understandable if we remember the dispute in which he was engaged. Opponents, like St. Bonaventure, denied philosophers the right to enter such daring inquiries as whether the world is eternal. St. Bonaventure thought the


\(^{17}\) Cf. G. Sajo, op. cit., p. 37.

\(^{18}\) References to the De Mundi aeternitate will be given according to the lineation of the edition.
current errors in philosophy came precisely from such bold venturing into realms better left to faith and theology. In 1272 a decree of the Parisian Faculty of Arts forbade philosophers to discuss purely theological matters and to lecture on texts containing anything contrary to faith. They were told to label them simply erroneous and pass on to other matters. Obviously this decree was not well observed, for in 1277 Stephen Tempier saw it necessary to condemn the notion that the philosopher has the right to dispute and settle all matters which can be treated on a rational basis. The fact that this condemned proposition is found almost literally in Boetius’ De Mundi aeternitate is a sure sign that he was one of those who failed to comply with his Faculty’s decree.

If we grant Boetius that the philosopher has the right to discuss the question of the eternity of the world, the next problem is, what can the philosopher tell us about it? Boetius gives in turn the answer of the philosopher of nature, the mathematician, and the metaphysician. Since he disposes of the last two quite briefly, let us see what they have to say on the matter before we turn to the philosopher of nature, whose position is the most crucial of all.

The metaphysician knows the world depends on the divine will as on its sufficient cause. In order, therefore, to demonstrate that the world is co-eternal with God or that it had a temporal beginning, it would be necessary to know the eternal will of God. And where would the metaphysician find a demonstration perfectly revealing that will? If any metaphysician claimed to have such a demonstration, it would not only be make-believe but a kind of insanity. Boetius concludes that the metaphysician can neither prove the world is eternal nor had a beginning in time (606-628).

The same is true of the mathematician, but for another reason. The mathematician is either an astrologer, concerned with the movements of the stars or their effects on the lower world, or else he is a geometrician, arithmetician, or musician. In every case his science is exactly the same whether the world is eternal or not. He remains indifferent to the problem, for his conclusions are equally true in either case (559-605).

It is quite different with the philosopher of nature. Two principles must be kept in mind when discussing the eternity of the world from his point of view. First, no scientist can concede or deny anything except on the basis of the principles of his science. Secondy, nature is the first principle of natural science; so all explanations in this science must ultimately refer to it. Now nature cannot cause any new movement unless there is another preceding it as its cause. It follows that the philosopher of nature can never affirm, according to his principles, that there was a first movement, for such a movement would not be preceded by any other (376-400).

We come to the same conclusion if we consider that every new beginning in a natural effect presupposes some new beginning in its immediate principles. This requires that there be a change in the being preceding it. In brief, nature cannot cause a new movement or effect without a preceding change. If we follow the principles of natural philosophy, then, we cannot say that there was a first original movement (401-429).

From this it is clear that the philosopher of nature cannot assert, on the basis of his principles, that the world began in time, for then movement would have begun in time. Neither can he affirm anything about creation, that is, the production of the world in its very being. His first principle is nature, and nature produces all its effects from matter as from a subject. The proper term for this is generation, not creation, and it is the only mode of production taught in

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natural philosophy. It follows that the natural scientist cannot affirm the existence of a first man, for by definition he would not be produced by generation. Neither can he know that a dead man will come back to life without being generated, or that numerically the same person who before was corruptible will be incorruptible in an after-life. These are all truths of the Christian faith, Boethius says, but they are truths unknown to the philosopher of nature. Nor should we be surprised at this, for every scientist cannot know every truth (444-473).

If that is so, it would seem that the philosopher of nature should be content to refrain from either affirming or denying anything about the truths of faith, such as the non-eternity of the world. If someone says that these truths are known, not by reason, but by a revelation made by a higher being, it would seem that he should not deny them, for strictly speaking his principles do not extend to them (474-494).

Boethius points out that the matter is not as simple as this. A natural scientist should not deny any truth to which his principles do not extend which does not contradict his principles or destroy his science. But he ought to deny a truth contrary to his principles and destructive of his science. Now this is precisely the case with the truths of Christian faith with which we have been concerned. He is bound not simply to ignore them, but to deny them. In such a case, the conclusion of the natural scientist is absolutely speaking false; yet it follows from the principles of his science (483-533; 848-850).

How then are philosophy and faith reconcilable? Boethius uses an example to explain how this is possible. If someone says Socrates is white, and someone else denies that in some respect he is white, both speak the truth (uterque dicit verum). So too the Christian speaks the truth when he says that the world and movement had a beginning in time, that there was a first man, etc., for this is possible through the power of a cause greater than nature. The philosopher of nature also speaks the truth when he says this is not possible from natural causes and principles, which properly delimit the range of his knowledge (538-547).

The Christian and the philosopher of nature are thus in no way in contradiction. The philosopher of nature limits himself to the truths of natural causes and says, on their basis, that the world and motion had no beginning; the Christian, knowing a cause higher than nature, asserts on its basis that the world can have a beginning.22 Their different viewpoints and principles thus ensure their never meeting exactly on the same ground and hence the impossibility of their ever contradicting one another.

Such in all essentials is Boethius' reconciliation of philosophy with faith on the question of the eternity of the world. It must be admitted that his solution to the problem was not likely to be popular with either philosophers or theologians. The philosopher would hardly be pleased to hear that a conclusion which he draws in all strictness from his principles is absolutely speaking false. Neither would the theologian be pleased to hear that something he knows to be true can legitimately be denied by the philosopher. To him this would amount to saying that a truth in the order of faith is contradictory to one in the order of philosophy; in brief, that anyone who talks like this is speaking as though there were two contrary truths.

This was precisely the conclusion Stephen Tempier drew and which he condemned in 1277. It is to be noticed, however, that it is a conclusion, and not exactly what Boethius has said. He does speak of two truths: the statement of the Christian that the world is not eternal, and the statement of the philosopher

22 Et quia naturalis solum considerat veritates causarum naturalium, dicit mundum et motum primum non esse novum, ex his autem fides christiana, considerans causam superiorem quam sit natura, dicit mundum posse esse novum ex illa, ideo non contradict in aliquo. Limes 549-554. Although the sentence is defective, this seems to be its meaning.
that this is impossible according to natural principles (538-545). So both the Christian and the philosopher speak the truth: *uterque dicit verum*. But these truths are not in opposition; they are, on the contrary, perfectly reconcilable. For there to be contrary truths, the Christian truth that the world is not eternal would have to be opposed to a philosophical truth that the world is eternal. But we look in vain in Boethius' treatise for the statement that the eternity of the world is philosophically true. We are told simply that it follows from the principles of natural philosophy. In one place Boethius asserts that it follows from the "truths of natural causes"; but the conclusion itself is not explicitly said to be true.  

Boetius comes so close to affirming a two-fold truth at this point, and yet avoids it so adroitly, that we can only conclude that he did so deliberately. Like Siger of Brabant, he appears to be very careful not to bring faith and philosophy into open contradiction in the realm of truth. And yet he comes so close to it that we can readily see why he was condemned by the Bishop of Paris. It does not seem exact to say, however, as the editor of the treatise does, that Boethius "speaks here of two opposed but at the same time reconcilable truths."  

In all essentials Boethius' views on the eternity of the world are very close to those of Siger of Brabant's. Both consider the philosopher incapable of giving a strict demonstration of the world's eternity. According to Boethius, the philosopher cannot show by human reason that movement and the world are eternal or not eternal. The problem remains a dialectical one, with both sides supported by probable arguments. Siger also was not too confident in reason's ability to settle the issue. Reflecting on the little knowledge we have of God, and the possibility of erring with regard to Him and His relations with creatures, he concludes that the statement of the world's eternity is not necessary but probable.  

But that is not the whole story. If they had limited themselves to this, their position would have been identical with that of St. Thomas Aquinas, and it would hardly have been a subject of condemnation. In fact they went much further. Although Boethius asserts that neither the philosopher of nature, the mathematician, nor the metaphysician can demonstrate the eternity of the world, the position in which he places the philosopher of nature is strikingly different from that of the other two. The mathematician is indifferent to the problem, and the metaphysician finds it difficult to solve because he knows the answer depends on the inscrutable will of God. The philosopher of nature, on the other hand, proceeding from nature as from a principle, finds it necessary to conclude to the eternity of the world: *conclusio in qua naturalis dicit mundum et primum motum non esse novum . . . si referatur in rationes et principia ex quibus ipse eam concludit, ex illis sequitur* (532-533). He is thus placed in the anomalous position of having to deny something he believes on faith to be true (503-513). Siger of Brabant would force the same indignity upon the human reason, for he too suggests that human reason comes to conclusions which must be denied: *ratio humana ductit in hoc quod debet negari.*

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26 Cf. G. Sajo, op. cit., p. 73 (Editor's italics).
25 . . . ergo per nullam humanam rationem potuit (sic! philosophus) ostendi motus primus et mundus esse novus, nec etiam postest ostendi quod sit aeternus; quia qui hoc demonstraret, debet demonstrare for- mam voluntatis divinae. Et quis eam in- vestigatib? Ideo dicit Aristoteles, in libro Topicorum (I, 11, 104b1-8), quod aliquod est probabile de quo neutro modo opinamusur, ut utrum mundus sit aeternus vel non. Lines 635-642.
20 Cum ergo tu dicis: si causa est ab aeterno unde debet esse effectus, tunc effectus erit ab aeterno, tu consideras ad ista inferiorem et non respici ad Primum, quod est alterius rationis. Sic ergo potest aliquid errare, et sic proposito assumpta probabilis est et non necessaria, Siger de Brabant, *Questions sur la métaphysique* III, 19; C. Graff (Louvain, 1948), p. 155, lines 34-38.
28 Siger de Brabant, loc. cit., line 22.
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In his De Mundi aeternitate, as in his De Summo bona, Boetius extols the life of the philosophers "who were and are the wise men of the world." He shows a deep feeling for the independence of rational thought and a strong conviction of its ultimate reconciliation with faith. But he conceives that reconciliation as a separation of faith and philosophy, the former resting on miracles and divine revelation, the latter upon human reason. There is no intimate connection and harmony between them as in the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas.

It was this dichotomy between faith and reason and the resultant tensions and contradictions between them in the thought of Boetius and Siger that aroused the opposition of the theologians. St. Thomas Aquinas saw clearly the disastrous consequences of their position for both reason and faith. He pointed out that if a conclusion of reason is necessary, it must be necessarily true. Hence it cannot contradict faith without implying that faith is in error. Neither Boetius nor Siger would accept this consequence, however, for they avoided calling true a conclusion of reason contrary to faith. Stephen Tempier drew still another impossible conclusion from their words. If, as they claimed, the teachings of faith are true, and the conclusions of reason contradict them, then they talked as though there were two contradictory truths, one of faith and another of philosophy. These reductiones ad absurdum of the theologians struck indeed at the weakness of the position of Siger and Boetius, but they did not express exactly the state of the matter as they saw it. We knew that already in the case of Siger of Brabant. Now that we can read Boetius' De Mundi aeternitate we also know it to be true of him. No one has yet been found in the Middle Ages who held the doctrine of the double truth as it was condemned in 1277.39

38 In the final paragraph Boetius expresses in a moving way his confidence in the value of philosophy and his indignation at those who would destroy it. Nec credas quod philosophus qui vitam suam posuit in studio sapientiae, contradixit veritati fidei catholicae in aliquo, sed magis studiae, quia modicum habes intellectum respectu philosophorum qui fuerunt et sunt sapientes mundi, ut possis intelligere sermones eorum. . . Idea christianus subtiliter intelligens non cogitur ex lege sua destruere principia philosophiae, sed salvat fides et philosophiam, neutram corripiendo. Si autem aliquis in dignitate constitutus fuerit, et tam ardua non possit intelligere, tunc obaedit sapientiori et credat legi christianae . . . Lines 964-969.

39 Erro sentit quod fides sit de aliquibus quorum contraria de necessitate conclaudi possunt. Cum autem de necessitate conclaudi non possit nisi verum necessarium, cujus oppositum est falsum impossible, sequitur secundum ejus dictum quod fides sit de falso impossibili quod etiam Deus facere non potest . . . St. Thomas, De Unitate intellectus V; ed. Perrier, Opuscula Omnia I (Paris 1949), p. 120.

In a review of Boetius' De Mundi aeternitate S. Harrison Thomson agrees with the editor's claim that it contains the doctrine of the double truth. Cf. Speculum, XXX (1955), 690-691. According to him, Boetius admits no final truth. "Veritas becomes a term purely relative to the framework of the discipline in which one works." Cf. G. Sajó, pp. 73-74. However, Boetius not only fails to call a conclusion of philosophy contrary to faith true, but he calls it absolutely false (331-334). Hence he does have an absolute standard of truth, and that is faith.

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The Letter of Heloise on Religious Life and Abelard's First Reply

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INTRODUCTION

I HAVE numbered these letters, V and VI. The text of the first four letters was published in *Mediaeval Studies*, (XV) 1953. I also included there the text of the introduction of the first of the letters which follow since it is of a personal character. In her letter Heloise sets forth with some digressions the incongruities of the Rule of St. Benedict when applied to women, and asks Abelard to compose an adaptation of that rule for nuns. She also asks Abelard to write for her and for her community a history of religious life of women. In letter VI Abelard sets forth to answer the second request. In it he would trace religious life of women back to Apostolic times. He displays no knowledge of the rise of organized religious communities of women in the East in the fourth century. Abelard was a better dialectician than historian.

The manuscripts used for this edition are seven\(^2\) of the nine employed for my edition of the *Histoius Calamitatum* published in *Mediaeval Studies*, XII (1950), 163-213. They are:

\(T\)....Bibliothèque de Troyes, Ms 802, fols. 35'-59'.
\(A\)....Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms lat. 2923, fols. 25'-42'.
\(B\)....Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms lat. 2544, fols. 25'-40'.
\(R\)....Bibl. de Reims, Ms 872 (J751), fols. 137'-157'.
\(C\)....Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms nouv. acq. lat. 1873, fols. 171'-172', 184'-188', 191'-195', 183', 173'-176'.
\(E\)....Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms lat. 2545, fols. 27'-40'.

For a description and an evaluation of these manuscripts together with a *stemma*, I refer the reader to the introduction of my edition of the *Historia Calamitatum* in *Mediaeval Studies*, XII (1950). There is a long lacuna (one folio) in Ms A at the end of fol. 37', from *Haec ictircia domina* on page 267 to *ipse tuum cognosc* on p. 271. There are many lacunae, some long, in *Ms CEF. I have indicated all these lacunae in my notes.

I have also used a fragment of Bibl. Nat. Ms nouv. acq. fr. 20,001 fols. 11'-12' (one column only). This is a fragment of what was originally Ms 298 of Dijon. It contained all the letters between Abelard and Heloise. These two folios cover the last part of letter VI, beginning with the words: *caeli be vitae dicaret* on page 276 of this text and end with the closing words of the introduction of letter VII, the *Regula sanctimonialium*: *Valet in Christo, sponsae Christi*. Then follows the following colophon: *explicitum epistole Petri Abailardi et Heloyse, primitus eius amice, postmodum uxoris, scripte Parisius per me Matthiam*\(^3\) *Rivalli in domo episcopi Ambianensi, anno domini millenario CCCLX*\(^4\) *primo, mense decembri*. For the history and original contents of this manuscript, see *Bull. de la Société des anciens textes français* I (1875), pp. 44-49: *Romania*, art. cit., 364-74. It is written in good fourteenth century script and belongs to

\(^2\)The other two do not contain these letters.
\(^3\)For information about Mathias du Rivau, see *Romania*, XXXIV (1905), 368.
the same family as Mss B and R above, though it does not give as good a text as either of them.

In the edition of this text I have given all the readings, even the corruptions, of Ms Troyes 802 but not unimportant inversions of word order, gemination of consonants and in general most other variations in spelling. I have done the same for Ms B.N. lat. 2923 except that I have not listed the corruptions. For the other manuscripts I have given only a few variants unsupported by another manuscript. To have listed all would have greatly increased the list of variants and would have served no useful purpose. I have changed the spelling to conform to modern usage, v.g.: e to ae or oe, cio to tio, etc. I have followed the Vulgate in the spelling of the verb unguo as ungo, but unguentum. These letters have been previously published by d'Amboise, Duchesne, Rawlinson, Cousin and Migne. For a criticism of these editions, see my Introduction loc. cit. 168-171.

SIGLA

A==Bibliothèque Nat., Ms lat. 2923.
B==Bibliothèque Nat., Ms lat. 2544.
C==Bibliothèque Nat., Ms n. acq. lat. 1873.
D==Bib. Nat., Ms lat. 2545.
F==Bib. Nat., Ms n. acq. lat. 13057.
Fv==Mss variants in F.
R==Bib. de Reims, Ms 872.
T==Bib. de Troyes, Ms 802.
G==Variants given by d’Amboise.
MGH==Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
CSEL==Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
PL==Migne, Patrologia Latina.

TEXT

V. (Item eadem ad eundem)¹

Suo⁴ specialiter, sua singulariter.

Ne me forte in aliquo de inobedientia causari quas, verbis etiam immoderati doloris tuae frenum impositum est iussionis⁵ ut ab his mihi saltem in scribendo temperem a quibus in sermone non tam difficile quam impossibile est providere. Nihil⁴ enim minus in nostra est potestate quam animus, eique magis obedere cogimur quam imperare possimus. Unde et cum nos eius affectiones stimulant, nemo earum subitos impulsus ita repulerit ut non in effecta facile⁶ prorumpant, et se⁸ per verba facilius effluent quae promptiores animi passionum sunt notae,⁷ secundum quod scriptum est:⁸ Ex abundantia enim⁹ corcis os loquitur. Revocabo itaque manum a scripto in quibus linguam a verbis temperare non valeo. Utinam sic animus dolentis parere promptus sit quemadmodum dextra¹⁰ scribentis.

Aliquod tamen dolori¹¹ remedium vales conferre si non hunc omnino possis

¹ om. BCERT] quae est eisdem Heloisae ad eundem Petrum Amb.
² Domino T Amb. The s in suo is only partly done in illustration in Ms B and not put in in Ms CE.
³ visionis BR.
⁴ nihil ... necessarium om. CEF.
⁵ om. BR.
⁶ om. A.
⁷ The statement: verba sunt notae passionum, is common in Latin treatises on
⁸ Logic. It goes back to Aristotle, De Interpretatione I, which is translated by Boethius, In Librum de interpretatione, Edito prima; PL 64, 278A; sunt ergo quae in voce earum quae sunt in anima passionum notae.
⁹ Matt. xii, 34.
¹⁰ om. Amb.
¹¹ dextra T Amb.
¹² doloris BR] om. T but dolo in margin (s.m.).
auferre. Ut enim insertum clavum\textsuperscript{22} alius expellit, sic cogitatio nova priorem excludit cum alias intentus animus priorum memoriam dimittere cogitatur aut intermittere. Tanto vero amplius cogitatio quaebibet animum occupat, et ab\textsuperscript{13} aliiis deducit, quanto quod cogitatur honestius aestimatur, et quo intendimus animum magis videtur necessarium.

Omnes itaque nos Christi ancillae\textsuperscript{24} et in Christo filiae tuae duo nunc a tua paternitate supplices postulamus, quae nobis admodum necessaria providemus. Quorum quidem alterum est ut nos instruire velis unde sanctimonialium ordo coeperit, et quae nostrae sit professionis auctoritas. Alterum vero est\textsuperscript{14} ut aliquam nobis regulam instituas, et scriptam dirigas quae feminarum sit propria et ex integro nostrae conversionis\textsuperscript{15} statum habitumque describat.\textsuperscript{16} Quod nondum a Patribus sanctis actum esse conspeximus.\textsuperscript{17} Cuius quidem rei defectu et indigentia nunc agitur ut ad eiusdem regulae professionem tam mares quam feminae in monasterii suscipiantur, et idem institutionis monasticae lugum imponitur infirmo sexui aequo ut sint fori.

Unam quippe nunc Regulam beati Benedicti apud Latinos feminae profitentur aequo ut\textsuperscript{25} viri. Quam sicut viris solummodo constat scriptam esse ita et ab ipsis tantum impleri posse tam subjiciet pariter\textsuperscript{26} quam praefatis. Ut enim cetera nunc omittam Regulae capitula, quid ad feminas quod de cucullis,\textsuperscript{27} femoralibus et scapularibus ibi scriptum est? Quid denique ad ipsis de tunicis aut de laneis ad cernem indumentis, cum earum humoris\textsuperscript{28} superficii menstruea purgationes haec omnino\textsuperscript{29} refugiant?\textsuperscript{30} Quid ad ipsis etiam quod de abbate statuitur\textsuperscript{31} ut ipsa lectionem dicat evangelinam\textsuperscript{32} et post ipsam hymnum incipiat? Quid\textsuperscript{33} de mensa abbatis seorsum\textsuperscript{34} cum peregrinis et hospitibus constituenda? Numquid nostrae convenit religioni ut vel nunquam\textsuperscript{35} hospitium viris praebat aut cum his quos\textsuperscript{36} susceperit viris abbatissa comedat? O quam facilis ad ruiram animalum virorum ac mulierum in unum eohabitatio! Maxime vero in mensa ubi crapula dominatur et ebrietas et vinum in dulcedine bibitur in quo est luxuria.\textsuperscript{37} Quod et beatas praecavens Hieronymus ad matrem et filiam scribens meninit dicens: \textsuperscript{38} Difficile inter epulas servatur pudicitia. Ipse quoque\textsuperscript{39} poeta luxuriae turpitudinisque doctor libro amatoriae artis titulato quantum fornicationis occasionem convidia maxime praebat studiose exsequitur\textsuperscript{40} dicens:

Vinaque cum bibulas sparsere Cupidinis alas
permanet et <capto>\textsuperscript{41} stat gravis ille loco
Tunc veniunt risus tunc pauper cornua sumit:
Tunc dolor et curae rugaeque frontis abit\textsuperscript{42} . . .
Illic\textsuperscript{43} saepe animos iuvenum rapuere puellae.
Et Venus in vinis\textsuperscript{44} ignis in igne fuit.

Numquid et si feminas solas hospitio susceptas ad mensam admiserint, nullum ibi latet pericum? Certe in seducenda muliere nullum est aequo facile ut

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. Cicero, Tuscul. Disp. IV, 35, 75.
\textsuperscript{23} add. hiis expunged A.
\textsuperscript{24} ancillaeae BR.
\textsuperscript{25} om. A.
\textsuperscript{26} conversationis C Amb.] professionis FG.
\textsuperscript{27} desribas CEF.
\textsuperscript{28} aspeximus CEF.
\textsuperscript{29} et ACEF.
\textsuperscript{30} add patet AC.
\textsuperscript{31} Chap. 55. Sancti Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum (ed. tertia). Cuthbert Butler, (St. Louis, 1933).
\textsuperscript{32} humores CEF.
\textsuperscript{33} om. CE.
\textsuperscript{34} refugiantur CE.
\textsuperscript{35} Cf. Reg. xi.
\textsuperscript{36} euvangelicam A always spells the word thus.
\textsuperscript{37} add est CEF. Cf. Reg., c. 56.
\textsuperscript{38} seorsim Amb.
\textsuperscript{39} nunquam CEF.
\textsuperscript{40} quod T.
\textsuperscript{41} Ephesians v. 18.
\textsuperscript{42} Ep. 117, 6; CSEL, 55, I, 2. p. 429; PL 22, 937.
\textsuperscript{43} om. BR.
\textsuperscript{44} exsequitur C Amb.
\textsuperscript{45} Ovid, Ars Amatoria I, 233-4, 239-240, 243-4.
\textsuperscript{46} coepto all Mss and Amb.
\textsuperscript{47} abit RT.
\textsuperscript{48} ibi A.
\textsuperscript{49} venis] BCRT.
\textsuperscript{50} fuit BCF Amb.

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lenocinium muliebre. Nec41 corruptae mentis turpitudinem ita prompte cuiquam mulier committit sicut mulier. Unde et praedictus Hieronymus maxime saecularium42 accessus feminarum vitae propasti sancti feminas adhortatur.43 Denique si viris ab hospitale nostra exclusis solus admissamus feminas, quis non videat quanta exasperatione viros offendamus quorum beneficiis monasteria sexus infirmi agent, maxime si eis a quibus plus accipiant minus aut omnino nihil largiri videantur? Quod si praedictae Regulae tenor a nobis impleri non potest, vereor ne illud apostoli Iacobi44 in nostram quoque damnationem dictum sit: Quicumque totam legem observaverit offendat autem in uno factus est omnium reus. Quod est dicere de hoc etiam45 ipso reus statuitur qui peragit multa quod non impet omnia. Et transgressor legis efficit ex uno cuius impletor non fuerit nisi omnis consummatur eius praeceptis. Quod ipsis statim diligenter exponens apostolus adiecit:46 Qui enim dixit: Non moechaberis, dixit et: Non occides. Quod si non moechaberis, occidas autem, factus es transgressor legis. Ac si operes diecit: Ideo quilibet reus fit de transgessione uniuscuiuslibet praecepti qua ipse Dominus,47 qui praecipit unum, praecipit et alium. Et quodcumque legis violetur praeceptum, ipse contemnitur qui48 legem non in uno sed omnis in nobis pariter mandatis constituit.

Ut autem praeteram illa Regulae instituta quae penitus observare non possimus, aut sine periculo aut valemus, ubi49 umquam ad colligendas messes conventus monialium exire vel labores agrorum habere consuevit; aut susceptibilitynem feminarum constantiam uno anno probarerit, easque tertia perfecta Regula, sicut in ipso iubetur,50 instruxerit? Quid rursus stultius quam viam ignotam nec46 adhuc demonstratat aggredi? Quod praesumptuosus quias eligere ac proferi vitam quam nescias, aut votum facere quod implere47 non48 queas? Sed et cum omnium virtutum discretion sit mater,49 et omnium bonorum moderatrix50 sit51 ratio, quis52 aut virtutem aut bonum censeat quod ab istis dissentire videat?53 Ipsas quippe virtutes excedentes modum atque mensuram sicut Hieronymus asserit inter vitia reputari convenit.54 Quis autem ab omni ratione ac discretione selactum non videat, si ad imponenda onera eorum, quibus imponuntur, valitudines prius non discutiantur ut naturae constitutionem humana sequatur industria? Quis asinum sarcina tanta qua dignum iudicat elephantem? Quis tanta pueris aut senibus quanta viris inungat? Tanta debilibus sciella quanta fortibus; tanta infirmis quanta sanis; tanta feminis quanta maribus, infirmiori videlicet sexui quanta et fortis? Quod diligenter beatus papa Gregorius attendens, Pastoralis55 sui capitolo XXIV56 tam de admonendis quam de praeceptibus ida distintit: Aliter igitur admonendi sunt viri, atque aliter feminae quia ills gravia, ists vero sunt inungenda leviora et illos57 magna exercean, ists vero levia demulcendo convertant.

Certe et qui monachorum regulas scripserunt nec solum de feminis omnino tacerunt, verum etsi illa statuerunt quae eis nullatenus convenire sciebat; satis commode innuerunt nequaquam oedem iugo regulae tauri et iuvenae prenemdam esse cervicem quia, quos dispares natura creavit, aestuari labore

44 Ep. 2, 10.
45 om. T. Amb.
46 Iessus ii, 11.
47 Deus BR.
48 om. CEF.
49 quicumque BR.
50 qui legem om. BR.
51 nisi BR.
52 Reg., c. 58.
53 nec by correction T.
54 compleere BR.

55 non quasi] neques BCFPR. 56 Cfr. Cassian, Collationes 2, 4; CSEL 13, II, p. 44; PL 48, 538: omnium nuncur virtutum generatrix, custos moderatrixque discretion est.
57 mediatrix T Amb., but moderatrix G.
58 fit Amb.
59 quid A.
60 videatur Amb.
62 Pastoralis T.
63 XIV Amb 4 F. III, 1 (24); PL 77, 51C.
64 aliis T Amb.
non convenient. Huius autem discretionis beatus non immemor Benedictus, tamquam omnium iustorum spiritui plenus, pro qualitate hominum aut temporum cuncta sic moderatur in regula ut omnia sicut ipsemet\footnote{Reg., c. 36.} uno concludit loco mensurata\footnote{proferri BRT Amb.] profiteri G.} fiant. Primo itaque ab ipso incipiens abbate, praecepit eum ita subjectis praesidior\footnote{om. BRT.} ut "secundum unius,"\footnote{quid . . . instituerit om. ACEF.} inquit, ciusque qualitatem vel intelligentiam ita se omnibus conformetur et aptet ut non solum detrimenta gregis sibi commissi\footnote{omnibus CE.} non patiatur, verum in augmentatione boni gregis gaudeat, suamque fragilitatem semper suspectus sit, memineritque calamum quassatam non conterendum." . . . "Discernat\footnote{Reg., c. 48.} et <temperet>\footnote{Jacob AEFG.} cogitans discretionem sancti\footnote{Hom. in Epist. ad Hebraeos 7, 4; PG 63, 289-90 (Modinius Translation).} Iacob dicentis: "Si greges meos plus in ambulando facero laborare, morientur cuncti una die. Haec\footnote{inquis in text} ergo aliaque testimonia discretionis matriis virtutum sumens, sic omnino\footnote{cf. Ephesens vi. 18.} temperet ut sit\footnote{It et fortes sit AET Amb.] ut sit quod fortes BFR.} et fortes quod cupiant et infirmi non refugiant.\footnote{Reg., cc. 35-41.}

Ad hanc quidem dispensationis moderationem indulgentia\footnote{Tempora all Mss and Amb. temporet in text of the Rule.} pertinet puorum, senum et omnino debilium, lectoris seu septimianarium, coquiniae ante alios refecto, et in ipso etiam conventu de ipsa cibi vel potus qualitate seu quantitate pro diversitate hominum providentia de quibus quidem singulis ibi diligenter scriptum est. Ipsa quoque statuta ieiunii tempora pro qualitate temporis vel quantitate laboris ita relaxat prout naturae postulat infirmitas.\footnote{II Cor. xii. 9.} Quid, obscurr, ubi iste qui sic ad hominum et temporum qualitatem omnium moderatur ut ab omnibus sine murrematione perferri\footnote{om. ACEF.} queant quae\footnote{om. BRT.} instituuntur? Quid, inquam, de feminis provideret, si eis quoque pariter ut viris regulam institueret? Si enim in quibusdam regulis rigore pueros, senibus et debilibus pro ipsa naturae debilitate vel infirmitate temperare cogitur, quid\footnote{om. BRT.} de fragili sexu provideret cuius maxime debilis et infirma natura cognoscitur?

Perpende itaque\footnote{om. BRT.} quam longe absistat ab omni\footnote{beati BR.} rationis discretione eiusdem regiae professione tam feminas quam viros obligari, cademque sacrina tam debiles quam fortes onerari.\footnote{Gen. xxxiii, 13.} Satis esse nostrae arbitror infirmati, si nos ipsis Ecclesiae rectoribus et, qui in sacris ordinibus constituti sunt clerici tam continentiae quam absenteeae virtus aequaverit, maxime cum Veritas dicit:\footnote{omnis CE.} Perfectus omnis erit si sit sicut magister eius. Quibus\footnote{Luke xi. 40.} etiam pro magno reputandum esset, si religiosos laicos aequipare possemus; quae namque in fortibus parva censemus, in debilibus admiramur et iuxta illud\footnote{Quibus . . . possemus om. ACEF.} Apostoli: Virtus in infirmitate perfectionis. Ne vero\footnote{om. ACEF.} laicorum religio pro parvo ducatur, quals fuit Abrahae, David, Iob,\footnote{om. BRT.} licet coniugatorum, Chrysostomus in Epistola ad Hebraeos sermone septimo nobis occurrir dietcens:

Sunt multa in quibus . . . poterit laborare ut bestiam illum incantet. Quae sunt ista? Labeors, lectiones, vigiliae. Sed quid ad nos, inquit,\footnote{Reg., c. 48.} qui non sumus monachi. Haec mihi dicis? Dic Paulo, cum dicit:\footnote{Reg., c. 48.} Vigilantes in omni patientia et oratione; cum dicit: Carnis curam ne feceritis in concupiscienti. Non enim haec monachis scribebat tantum, sed omnibus qui erant in civitatisibus. Non enim saecularis homo debet aliquid amplius habere monacho
quam cum uxore concumbere tantum: Hic enim habet veniam, in alis autem nequaquam, sed omnia aequaliter sicut monachi agere debent. Nam et beatitudines quae a Christo dicuntur non monachi tantum dictae sunt . . . alioquin universus mundus peribit . . . et in angustum inclusit ea quae virtutis sunt. Et quomodo honorabiles sunt nuptiae quae nobis tantum impediunt.

Ex quibus quidem verbis aperte colligitur quod quisquis evangelicis praecipitis continentiae virtutem addiderit, monasticam perfectionem impiebit.

Atque utinam ad hoc nostra religio conscendere posset ut Evangelium impleret, non transcenderet, nec plusquam christianae appetereus esse. Hinc profecto, ni fallor, sancti decreverunt Patres non ita nobis sicut viris generalem aliquam regulam quasi novam legem praefigere, nec magnitudine votorum nostram infirmitatem onerare, attendentes illud Apostoli: Lex enim inam operatur. Ubi enim non est lex nec praevaticatio. Et iterum: Lex aetem subinravat ut abundaret delictum. Idem quoque maximus continentiae praedicator de infirmitate nostra plurimum confidens, et quasi ad secundas nuptias urgens iuniores viduas: Volo, inquit, iuniores nubere, filios procreare, matresfamilias esse, nullam occasionem dare adversario etc. Quod et beatus Hieronymus saluberrimum esse considerans Eustochio de improvisi feminarum votis consultit his verbis:

Si autem et illae quae virgines sunt, ob alias tamen culpas non salvantur quid fiat illis quae prostitutuerunt membra Christi, et mutaverunt templum Spiritus Sancti in Iupanar? . . . Rectius fuerat homini subisse coniugium ambulasse per plana quam per altiora tendenter in profundum inferni cadere.

Quarum etiam <temerariae>1 professioni sanctus Augustinus consulens in libro De continentia viduati ad Julianam6 scribit his veris:4

Quae non coepit, deliberet; quae aggressa est, perseveret. Nulla adversario detur occasio; nulla Christo subtrahatur oblatio.

Hinc etiam canones7 nostrae infirmitati consulentes decreverunt diaconissas ante quadranginta annos ordinari non debere, et hoc cum diligenti probatione, cum a viginti annis liceat diaconos promoveri.

Sunt et in8 monasteriis qui regulares dicuntur canonici9 beati Augustini quamdam,10 ut aiunt, regulam profitterent qui se inferiores monachis nullatenus arbitrantur, licet eos et vesci carnis et lineis uti videamus. Quorum quidem virtutem, si nostra exaequare11 infirmitas posset, numquid pro minimo habendum esset? Ut autem nobis12 de omnibus cibis tutius ac levius13 indulgeatur, ipsa quoque natura providit quae maiore scilicet sobrietatis virtute sexum nostrum praemunivit. Constat quippe multo parciore sumptu et alimonia minore feminis quam viros sustentari posse, nec eas tam leviter inebriari physica testatur.

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1 Ep. 22, 6; CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 150 ff.; PL 22, 397.
2 ad F1 om. BRT Amb.
3 intendentem ABR Amb.
4 temere all Mss.
5 Julianum ACEF Amb.
6 De Bono Vitudatatis 9, 12; CSEL 41, 5, 3, p. 317; PL 40, 437.
7 The Council of Chalcedon (451), canon 15, put the age down to forty years for the ‘ordination’ of a deaconess. Cf. Hefele Le Clerq, Histoire des Conciles 2, 2, p. 803. Formerly it had been sixty.
8 om. T.
10 reg. quamdam ut aiunt AEF.
11 exaequare EFG.
12 om. Amb.
13 Ienius BF Amb.
Unde
dum A.

dis contempti FRT.
supradaddimus BRT.
Cf. Luke x, 35.
ant. prov.] animadvertent Amb.] ana-
prov. with stroke over ana T.
ataci A.
offenderet T.
om. EF.
conversationem Amb.
statuerunt T.
videamus T Amb] om. R.
Cf. Matt. xxiv, 12.
temperare Amb.
discretions BR Amb.
duit Aristoteles mulieres inquit raro ebriantur crebro senes . . . Mulier humec-
tissimo est corpore; docet hoc et levitas cutis et splendor, docent praecipue
assidue purgationes superfuo exonerantes corpus humore. Cum ergo
epotum vinum in tam largum ceciderit humorem, vmn suam perdit . . . nec
facile cerebri sedem ferit fortitudine eius extincta. Item: Muliebre corpus
crebriis purgationibus deputatum pluribus consortum <est> foraminibus ut
pateat in meatus et vias praebat humor in exestionis exitum confluenti;
per haec foramina vapor vini celeriter evanesceit. Contra senibus siccum est
corpus, quod probat asperitas et squalor cutis.

Ex his itaque perpendo quanto tutius ac iustius naturae et infirmati nostrae
cibus quilibet et potus indulgeri possit, quaram videlicet corda crapula et
ebrietate gravari facile non possunt, cum ab illa nos cibi parcitas, ab ista feminei
corporis clientas, ut dictum est, proteget.

Satis nostrae esse inirmi et maximum imputari debet, si continenter ac
sine proprietae viventes et, officis occupatas divinis, ipsos Ecclesiae duces vel
religiosos laicos in locutu aedaequemus, vel eos denique qui regulares canonici
dicuntur et se praecipue vitam apostolicam sequi profutinent. Magnae postremo
providentiae est his qui Deo se per votum obligant ut minus voveant, et plus
exsequantur, ut alicquid semper debitis gratia superaddant. Hinc enim per
se metipsam Veritas ait: Cum feceritis omnia quae praecipta sunt, dicite: Servi
inutiles sumus quae deboimus facere fecimus. Ac si aperte diceter: Ideo
inutiles et quasi pro nihil ac sine meritis reputandi quia debitis tantum ex-
solvendis contenti, nihil ex gratia superaddidimus. De quibus quidem gratis
superaddendis ipse quoque Dominus alibi parabolice loquens ait. Sed et si
quid supererogaveris, ego cum rediero reddam tibi. Quod quidem hoc tempore
multi monasticae religionis tesorarii professores, si diligenter attenderent, et
in quam professionem irarent antea providerent, atque ipsum Regulae
tenore studiæ perscrutarentur, minus per ignorantiam offendarerent, et per
negligentiam peccaerent. Nunc vero indiscretæ omnes fere pariter ad monasticam
conversionem currentes, inordinato suscepi, inordinatus vivent, et eadem
facilitate qua ignotam Regulam profutent em contemnetes, consuetudines
quas volunt pro lege statuunt.

Providendum itaque nobis est ne id oneri feminae praesumamus in quo viros
fere iam universos succumbere videmus, immo et deficiere. Senuisse iam
mundum conspicious hominesque ipsos cum ceteris quae mundi sunt pristinum
naturae vigorem amississe, et iuxta illud Veritatis ipsum caritatem non tam
multorum quam fere omnium refriguisse ut iam videlicet pro qualitate hominum
ipsas propter honores scriptas vel mutari vel temperari necesse sit Regulas.

Cuius quidem discretions ipse quoque beatus non immemor Benedictus ita
se monasticæ districtonis rorigem temperasse fatetur, ut describant a se
Regulam comparatione priorum institutorum non nisi quandam honestatis institutionem et quandam conversatioin inchoationem reputet, dicens: 4

Regulam autem hanc descripsimus, ut hanc observantes . . . aliquatenus vel honestatem morum aut initium conversationis nos demonstremus habere. Ceterum ad perfectionem conversationis qui festinat sunt doctrinae sanctorum Patrum, quarum observatio perducat hominem ad celstitudinem perfectionis. Item: Quisquis ergo ad coelestem patrim festinas, hanc minimam inchoatiosis Regulam . . . adiuvante Christo, perfice, et tunc demum ad maiora . . . doctrinae virtutumque culmina, Deo protégente, perennies.

Qui, ut ipse ait, 3 dum, quando 5 legamus olim sanctos Patres uno die psalterium explere solere, ita psalmmodiam tepidis temperavit ut in ipsa per hebdomadem distributione psalmarum minore ipsorum numero monachi quam clerici sint 6 contenti.


Nequaquam 19 inquit, vinum redoleas ne audias illud 20 philosophi: Hoc non est oculus porrigere sed 21 propinare. Vinolentos 22 sacerdotes et Apostolus damnat et lex vetus prohibet. 4 Qui altari 6 descivam, vinum et siceram non bibant. Sicerae Hebraeo sermone omnis potio nuncupatur quae inebriare potest, sive illa quae fermento confictitur, sive pomerum succo aut favi decoquuntur in dulcem 23 et barbaram 24 potionem 25 aut palmarum fructus exprimuntur in liquorem coctisque frugibus aqua pinguior colatur. 25 Quicquid inebriat et statum mentis everit, fuge similem ut vinum.

4 Reg. c. 73.
5 Ibid. c. 18.
6 dum quando cum F. Amb.
7 essent FG.
8 quam A.
9 super A.
10 Prov. xx. 1.
11 Prov. xxiii. 29 ff.
12 suffusio T.
13 epistadas T1 epudendas BR1 expotandas A.
14 extranea BR.
15 maris CEF.
16 Prov. xxxi. 4, 5.
17 add et Vulgate.
18 mittant RT1 mutant B.
19 xix. 2.
20 arguent Vulgate.
21 inebriari T corrupt R.
22 suerant ACF. Ep. 32, 11; CSEL 54, 1, 1, p. 434; PL 22, 536.
23 nunquam F and text of Jerome.
24 locum non invenio.
25 add vinum F. Amb.
26 vinolentes RT1 vinolantes B.
27 Cf. Lev. x. 9.
28 altario ABRT Amb.
29 decoquitor ABRT Amb.
30 dulce BRT1 dulcedine ACE Amb.
31 barbarum ABCTR Amb.
32 potionem A.
33 coloratur F.
Ecce quod regnum deliciis interdictur, sacerdotibus penitus denegatur, et cibus omnibus periculosius esse constat. Ipse tamen tam spiritalis vir beatus Benedictus dispensatione quadam praesentis aetatis indulgere monachis cogitur. "Licet, inquit," legamus" vinum monachorum omnino non esse sed quia nostris temporibus id" monachis persuaderi non potest etc." Legerat ni fallor quod in Vitis Patrum scriptum est" his verbis:

Narraverunt quidam abbatii Pastori de quodam monacho quia non bibebat vinum, et dixit eis quia" vinum monachorum omnino" non est. Item post aliqua: Facta est aliquando celebratio missarum in Monte abbatis Antonii et inventum est ibi canidium vini. Et tellens" unus de senibus parvum vas, calicem portavit ad abbatem Sisoi et dedit ei. Et bibit semel, et sequens et accepi et bibit; obtulit ei et tertia, sed non acceperit dicens: Quiesce frater an" nescis quia est Satanis? Et iterum de abbate Sisoi: Dicit ergo Abraham discipulis eius: Si occurritur in Sabbato et Dominica ad ecclesiam, et biberit tres calices, ne multo" est? Et dixit senex: Si non esset Satanas, non esset multum.

Ubi umquam, quaeso, carnes a Deo damnatae sunt vel monachis interdictae? Vide, obscero, et attende qua necessitate Regulam temperet in eo etiam quod periculosius est monachis, et quod eorum non esse noverit, quia videoliet huius abstinenti temporibus suis monachis iam persuaderi non poterat. Utinam eadem dispensatione et in hoc tempore ageretur ut videlicet in his quae media boni et mali atque indifferentia dicuntur, tale temperamentum fieret" ut quod iam persuaderi non valet, professio non exigeret, mediisque omnibus sine scandalo concessis, sola" interdici peccata sufficerent, et sic quoque in cibus sicut in vestimentis dispensaretur, ut, quod vidius comparari" possit, ministraretur, et per omnem necessitatem, non superfluitatem, consuleretur. Non enim magnoore sunt curanda qua nos regno Dei non praeparant, vel quae nos minime Deo commandant. Hae vero sunt omnia quae exterius geruntur, et aequa" reprobis ut electi", aequae hypocritae ut religiosis communia sunt. Nihil quippe inter Iudaeos et Christianos ita separat sicut exteriorium operum et interiorium discretio, praesertim cum inter filios Dei et diaboli sola caritas discernat" quam plenitudinem legis et finem praecipit Apostolorum vocat." Unde et ipse hanc operum gloriam prorsus extenuans ut fidel praerat istititam Iudaenum" alioquens dicit:" Ubi est ergo" gloriatu tua? Exclusa est. Per quam legem? Factorum? Non; sed per legem fidei. Arbitramur enim" hominem istiticiarum per fidem sine operibus legis. Item:" Si enim Abraham ex operibus legis istitiae est, habet gloriam, sed non apud Deum. Quid enim dicit Scriptura? Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est ei ad istitiam. Et ursum:" Ei, inquit, qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum" qui istiticiarum impium, reputatorius" edis eius ad istitiam secundum propositum gratiae Dei.

Idem etiam omnium ciborum esum Christianis indulgens, et ab his ea quae justificant distinguens: Non est, inquit," regnum Dei esca et potus, sed justitia

[^spiritualis EF.][^Reg. 40.][^Vita Patrum (Verba seniorum) 5, 4.][^31; PL 73, 863D.][^hoc B Amb] his T.][^Ibid., 868CD.][^qui A] quod F.][^om. ACEF.][^extallens Amb.][^aut ATCEF.][^multum F Amb.][^fiet BRT.][^solum CEF.][^compari A.][^These words occur also in Letter III; Mediaeval Studies, XV (1953), 22. See discussion of the source of this doctrine, ibid. 55-6.][^delectis Amb.][^decernat A.][^Cf. Romans xiii, 10; I Tim. I, 5.][^Iudaem Amb.] in Deum BR.][^Romans iii, 27, 28.][^om. FT Amb.][^eum Amb.][^Romans iv, 2, 3.][^Ibid., 5.][^Deum Amb.][^reputatur Vulgate.][^Romans xiv, 17, 20, 21.]

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et pax et gaudium in Spiritu sancto. . . . Omnia quidem munda sunt; sed nulam est homini qui per officidicum manducat. Bonum est non manducare carnem, et non bibere vinum, neque in quo frater tuus offendatur aut scandalizetur aut infirmetur. Non enim hoc loco ulla cibi comestio interdictur, sed conestiosion offensio qua videlicet quidam ex conversis Iudaicis scandalizabantur, cum viderent ea quoque comedi quae lex interdixerat. Quod quidem scandalum apostolorum etiam Petrus cupiens evitare graviter ab ipso est obiurgatus, et salubriter correptus, sicut ipsemet Paulus ad Galatas scribens commemorat qui rursus Corinthii scribens: Esca autem nos non commendat Deo. Et rursum: Omne quod in macello venit manducate. . . . Domini est terra et plenitudo eius. Et ad Colossenses: Nemo ergo vos iudicet in cibo aut in potu. Et post aliquam: Si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis huius mundi, quid adhuc tamquam viventes in mundo decernitis? Ne tetigeritis neque gustaveritis, neque contractaveritis, quae sunt omnia in interitu ipso usu secundum praeceptum et doctrinas hominum. Elementa huius mundi vocat prima legis rudimenta secundum carnales observantias in quorum videlicet doctrina, quasi in addiscendis litteralis elementis, primo se munus, id est, carnis adhuc populus exercebat. Ab his quidem elementis, id est, carnibus observantiam tam Christus, quam sui mortui sunt, cum nihil his debeat, iam non in hoc mundo viventes, hoc est, inter carnales figuris intendentes et decernentes, id est, distinguentes quosdam cibos vel quasi libet res ab alis atque ita dicentes: Ne tetigeritis haec vel illa etc. Quae scilicet tacta vel sustata, vel contractata, inquit Apostolus, sunt in interitu animae ipso suo usu quo videlicet ipsis ad aliquam etiam utimur utilitatem secundum, inquam, praeceptum et doctrinas hominum, id est, carnalia et legem carnaliter intellectum potius quam Christi vel suorum.

Hic enim cum ad praedicandum ipsos destinaret apostolos, ubi magis ipses omnibus scandalis providendum erat, omnium tamen ciborum sum etsi eis indulsit, ut apud quoscumque suspiciantur hospitio, ita sicut illi victinent, edentes scilicet et bibentes quae apud illos sunt.

Ab hoc profecto Dominica suaque disciplina illos recessuros ipse iam Paulus per Spiritum providet. De quibus ad Timotheum scribit dicens: Spiritus autem manifeste dicit quia in nonissimis temporibus discendit quidam a fide attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis daemoniorum in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium . . . probabilitatum nubere, abstinere a cibis quos Deus creavit ad perciptionum cum gratiârum actione fidelibus, et his qui cognoverunt veritatem, quia omnis creatura Dei bona est et nihil reiciendum quod cum gratiârum actione percipitur; sanctificantur enim per verbum Dei et orationem. Haec proponens fratribus, bonus eris minister Christi Iesu, enutriens verbis fidei et bonae doctrinae quam adaequatus es.

Quis denique Ioannem eiusque discipulos abstinentia nimia se macerantes ipsi Christo eiusque discipulos in religione non preferat, si corporalem oculum ad exterioris abstinentiae intendant exhibitionem? De quo etiam ipsi discipuli Ioannis adversus Christum et suas murrmurantes, tamquam adhuc in exterioribus iudaizantes, ipsum interrogaverunt Dominum dicentes: Quare nos et Pharisei ieunamus frequentuer, discipuli autem tui non ieunant? Quod diligentem attendens beatus Augustinus, et quid inter virtute et virtutae exhibitionem referat

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* These three verbs are in the indicative in the Vulgate.
* illa CEF.
* quidem BCER.
* correctus CFT Amb.
1 Galatians ii. 11. ff.
2 I Cor. viii. 8.
3 Ibid. x. 25. 26.
4 ii. 16.
5 ii. 20-22.
6 interitum Vulgate.
7 praecepts CE Vulgate.
* nec CEF.
* om. Amb.
9 humilitatem Amb. I vilitatem G, by corr. T.
10 ipsnis A.
11 Luke x. 7.
12 I Tim. iv. 1. ff.
13 om. ABCER Amb.
14 nutritus ABEP.
distinguens,\textsuperscript{18} ita\textsuperscript{19} quae fiunt exterius pensat ut nihil meritis superaddant opera. Ait quippe sic in libro De Bono Contigua\textsuperscript{17}:\textsuperscript{23}

Continentia, non corporis, sed animae virtus est. Virtutes autem animi aliquando in opere\textsuperscript{21} manifestantur, aliquando in habitu latent,\textsuperscript{22} sicut martyrum virtus apparuit\textsuperscript{23} in tolerando passiones. Item: Iam enim erat in Iob patientia quam noverat Dominus, et cui testimonium perhibebat, sed hominibus innuit tentationis examine. Item: Verum ut apertius intelligatur quomodo sit virtus in habitu etiamsi non sit in opere, loquor de exemplo de quo nullus dubitat Catholicorum. Dominus Iesu, quod in veritate carnis esurierit\textsuperscript{26} et sitierit et manducaverit et biberit, nullus ambigit eorum qui ex eius Evangelio fideles sunt. Num\textsuperscript{27} igitur non\textsuperscript{28} erat in illo continentiae virtus a cibo et potu, quanta erat in Ioanne Baptistae? Venit\textsuperscript{29} enim Ioannes non manducans neque bibens et dixerunt: Daemoxium habet. Venit Filius hominis manducans et bibens et dixerunt: Ecce homo vorax et potator vini, amicus publicanorum et peculatorum. Item deinde: . . . iibi subiecit cum de Ioanne ac de se illa dixisset: Iustificata est sapientia a filiis suis, qui virtutem continentiae vident in habitu animi semper esse debere, in opere autem pro rerum ac temporum opportunitate manifestari, sicut virtus patientiae sanctorum martyrum . . . Quocirca sicut non est impar meritum patientiae\textsuperscript{31} in Petro qui passus est, et in Ioanne qui passus non est; sic non est impar meritum continentiae in Ioanne qui nullas expertus est nuptias, et in Abraham qui filios generavit. Et illius enim caelibatus, et illius connubium pro distributione temporum Christo militaverunt. Sed continentiam Ioannes et\textsuperscript{32} in opere, Abraham vero in solo habitu habebat.

Illo itaque tempore cum et lex, dies patriarcharum sub sequentibus, male-dictum dixit\textsuperscript{33} qui non excitaret semem in Israel, et qui\textsuperscript{34} poterat non prometaet, sed tamen habebat. Ex quo autem venit plenitudo temporis ut diceretur:\textsuperscript{35} Qui potest capere, capiat . . . qui habet, operatur,\textsuperscript{36} qui operari noluerit, non se habere mentiatur.

Ex his liquide verbis colligitur solas apud Deum merita virtutes obtineri, et quicunque virtutibus pares sunt, quantuncumque distent\textsuperscript{37} operibus, aequaliter ab\textsuperscript{38} ipso promereri. Unde quicumque sunt vere Christiani sic toti circa interiorem hominem sunt occupati ut eum\textsuperscript{39} scilicet virtutibus ornet et vitii mundent, ut de exteriori nullam vel minimum assumant curam. Unde et ipsos legitimus\textsuperscript{40} apostolos ita rusticane et velut inhoneste in ipso etiam Domini comitatu se habuisse ut, velut omnis reverentiae atque honestatis obilii, cum per sata transirent spicas vellere, fricare\textsuperscript{41} et comedere more puerorum non erubescentem, nec de ipsa etiam manuum ablutione, cum cibos\textsuperscript{42} essent accepturi, sollicitos esse. Qui cum a nonnullis quasi de immediatia arguerentur, eos Dominus excusans.\textsuperscript{43} Non lotis, inquit, manibus manducare, non coquinat kominem. Ubi et statim generaliter adiecit ex nullis exterioribus animam inquirari, sed ex his tantum

\textsuperscript{18} attendens F Amb.
\textsuperscript{17} ita quae I itaque BERT.
\textsuperscript{21} 21, 25-26; CSEL. 41, 5, 3, pp. 218-222; PL. 40, 350-1.
\textsuperscript{20} corpore ABCEFR Amb.
\textsuperscript{22} om. Amb.
\textsuperscript{23} emicuit apparuitque F and Text of Augustine.
\textsuperscript{24} eausierit T.
\textsuperscript{25} non BR1 nec CE.
\textsuperscript{26} om. CE.
\textsuperscript{27} Matt. xi, 18 ff.
\textsuperscript{28} patientiae . . . meritum om. ACEF.
\textsuperscript{29} om. ACEF.
\textsuperscript{30} Deut. xxxv, 5-10.
\textsuperscript{31} add non all Mes and Amb. The critical text of Augustine does not list it even as a variant. St. Augustine means, as he goes on to say, that because of the precept to marry, a man who had continence as a habit had no opportunity to show it in act. But the text of Deuteronomy to which he refers applies only to a brother-in-law of a widow.
\textsuperscript{32} Matt. xix, 12.
\textsuperscript{33} operetur F. Amb.
\textsuperscript{34} distant BR.
\textsuperscript{35} a Christo A) in Christo CEF.
\textsuperscript{36} add hominem CEF.
\textsuperscript{37} Matt. xii, 1 ff.
\textsuperscript{38} fabricare T Amb.
\textsuperscript{39} add scilicet (licet F) apostoli CEF.
\textsuperscript{40} Matt. xv, 26.
Nisi enim prius prava\textsuperscript{a} voluntate animus corrumpatur, peccatum esse non poterit, quicquid exterius agatur in corpore. Unde et bene ipsa quoque adulteria sive homicidia ex corde procedere dicit, quae\textsuperscript{b} et sine tactu\textsuperscript{c} corporum perpetrantur iuxta illud:\textsuperscript{d} Qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, tam moechatus est eam in corde suo et:\textsuperscript{e} Omnis qui odit fratrem suum homicida est. Et tactis vel laesis corporibus minime peraguntur, quando\textsuperscript{f} videlicet per violentiam opprimitur\textsuperscript{g} aliqua, vel per iustitiam coactus iudex interficit reum. Omnis quippe homicida, sicut scriptum est,\textsuperscript{h} non habet partem in rege Christi\textsuperscript{i} et Dei.

\textsuperscript{a} Itaque magnopere quae fiunt sed quo animo fiat pensandum est, si illi placere studemus, qui cordis et renun probatur\textsuperscript{j} est, et in abscondito videt,\textsuperscript{k} qui indicabit occulta hominum, Paulus inquit,\textsuperscript{l} secundum Evangelium meum, hoc est, secundum meae praedicationis doctrinam. Unde et modica viduae oblatio quae sibi duo minuta, id est, quadrans,\textsuperscript{m} omnium divitum obligationis copiosis praebet est ab illo cui dicitur;\textsuperscript{n} Bonus morum non eges, cui magis oblatio ex offerentente quam offerentes placet ex oblatione sicut scriptum est:\textsuperscript{o} Respevit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius, ut videlicet prius devotionem offerentis inspicaret, et sic ex ipsa\textsuperscript{p} donum oblatum gratum haberet. Quae quidem animi devotio, tanto maior in Deo habetur, quanto in exterioribus minus\textsuperscript{q} est animus occupatus, et tanto humilissime et deservimus, ac magis debere\textsuperscript{r} cogitamus, quanto de exterioribus quae fiunt, minus confidimus. Unde et Apostolus post communem ciborum indulgentiam de qua, ut supra meminimus, Timotheo scribit de exercitio quoque corporalis laboris adiunxit dicens:\textsuperscript{s} Exercite autem teipsum ad pietatem, Nam corporalis exercitatio ad modicum\textsuperscript{t} utilis est. Piaetas autem ad omnia utilis est, promissionem habens vitae quae nunc est et futurae, quoniam pia mentis in Deum devotio et hic ab ipso meretur necessaria, et in futuro perpetua. Quibus quidem documentis quid alius docemur quam Christiane sapere et cum Iacob de domestictis animalibus refectionem patri providere, non cum Esau\textsuperscript{u} de silvestribus curam sumere\textsuperscript{v} et in exterioribus iudaizare? Hinc et illud est Psalmistae:\textsuperscript{w} In me sunt Deus vota tua, quae\textsuperscript{x} reddam, laudationes tibi. Ad hoc quoque illud adiunge poeticum: Ne te quasesiveris extra.

Multa sunt et innumerabilia tam saecularium\textsuperscript{y} quam ecclesiasticorum doctorum testimonia quibis ea, quae sunt\textsuperscript{z} exterioris, et\textsuperscript{aa} indifferentia vocantur, non magnopere curanda esse docemur, alioquin legis opera et servitutis eius, sicut ait\textsuperscript{ab} Petrus, importabile iugum evangelicae libertati esset praeferendum, et suaviter\textsuperscript{ac} Iugo Christi et eius oneri levii.

Ad quod quidem suave iugum et onus leve per semetipsum Christus nos invitans: Venite, inquit,\textsuperscript{ad} qui laboratis et onerati estis et.\textsuperscript{ae} Unde et praedictus apostolus quasdam iam ad Christum conversos, sed adhuc opera legis retineri censentes\textsuperscript{af} vehemens obiurgans, sicut in Actibus apostolorum scriptum est,

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. ibid. 19.
\textsuperscript{b} parva corrected in margin (s.m.) to prava T.
\textsuperscript{c} qui A.
\textsuperscript{d} tractu T] contactu G.
\textsuperscript{e} Matt. v. 23.
\textsuperscript{f} I John iii, 15.
\textsuperscript{g} By correction A.
\textsuperscript{h} By correction A.
\textsuperscript{i} Cf. I John iii, 15.
\textsuperscript{j} Christi et om. Amb.
\textsuperscript{k} For the origin of this statement, see Med. Studies, XV (1953), 55.
\textsuperscript{l} Cf. Jeremias xi, 20; Psalm vii, 10.
\textsuperscript{m} Cf. Matt. vi, 4.
\textsuperscript{n} Romans ii, 18.
\textsuperscript{o} add Deo CEF. Cf. Mark xii, 42-44.
\textsuperscript{p} Psalm xv. 2.
\textsuperscript{q} Gen. iv, 4.
\textsuperscript{r} ipsa G.
\textsuperscript{s} minus . . . exterioribus om. Amb.
\textsuperscript{t} add deservire CEF.
\textsuperscript{u} 1 Tim. iv, 7, 8.
\textsuperscript{v} modum T. Amb.
\textsuperscript{w} Cf. Gen. xxvii, 6 ff.
\textsuperscript{x} sumere with stroke over m T.
\textsuperscript{y} Psalm xv, 12.
\textsuperscript{z} quas G.
\textsuperscript{aa} Persius, Satires I, 7.
\textsuperscript{ab} saecularum AE.
\textsuperscript{ac} sunt BR Amb.
\textsuperscript{ad} ex BEGRT.
\textsuperscript{ae} Cf. Acts xv, 10.
\textsuperscript{af} Cf. Matt. xi, 30.
\textsuperscript{ag} Cf. Matt. xi, 23.
\textsuperscript{ah} retinere Amb.
\textsuperscript{ai} censantes BR; corrected to censentes A. retinere Amb.
MADEO STUDIES


Nec 70 id quidem ita loquimur ut laborem operum corporalium respuamus cum necessitatis postulaverit, sed ne ista magna putemus quae corpori servivunt, et officii divini celebracionem praepediunt, 79 praeertim cum ex auctoritate apostolica id praeipue devidit indulgunt sit feminis ut alienae procreationis sustententur officiiis magis quam de operis proprii laboris. Unde ad Timotheum Paulus: 80 Si quis fidelis habit viduas, subministrat illis, et non gravetur Ecclesia ut his, quae vere viduae sunt, sufficient. Veras 84 quippe viduas dicit quas omne Christo devotas, a quibus non solum maritus mortuus est, verum etiam 88 mundus crucifixus est et ipsae mundo. Quas recte de dispendiis 86 Ecclesiae tamquam de propriis sponsi sui redditibus sustenteri convenit. Unde et Dominus ipse matri sueae procuratore apostolam putius quam virum eius praevidit 87 et apostoli septem diaconos, id est, Ecclesiae ministros, qui devotis ministriarent feminis instituerunt.

Scimus quidem et Apostolam Thessalonicensibus scribentem quosdam otiose vel curioso viventes adeo constrinxisse ut praeciperet. 80 Quoniam si quis non vult operari, non manducet, et beate Benedictum maxime pro otiositate vitanda opera manuum iniunxisse. 86 Sed numquid 89 Maria otiose sedebat ut verba Christi audiret, Martha tam ei quam Domino laborante, et de quete sororis tamquam invidia murmurante, quasi quae sola pondus 90 diei et aests portaverit? Unde et hodie frequent murmurare eos cernimus, qui in exterioribus laborant, cum his, qui divinis occupati sunt officiis, terrena ministrant. Et saeppe de his, quae tyranni rapiunt, minus conqueruntur quam 80 desidiosi, ut aiunt, istis et otiosis exsolvore coguntur, quos tamen non solum verba Christi audire, verum etiam in his assidue legendis et decadantibus occupatos considerat esse. Nec attendunt non esse magnum, ut ait 90 Apostolus, si eis communident corporalia a quibus expectant spiritualia, nec indignum esse ut qui terrenis intendunt his, qui spiritualibus occupantur, deserviant. Hinc etenim ex ipsa quoque legis sanctione ministri Ecclesiae haec salubris oti libertas concessa <est> ut tribus 82 Levi nihil hereditatis terrenae percerpet quo expeditius Domino deserviret, sed de labore aliorum decimas et oblationes susceperet.

De abstinentia quoque ieiuniorum quam magis vitiorum quam ciborum Christiani appellent, si quid Ecclesiae institutioni superaddi decreveris, deliberandum est, et quod nobis expedit instituerem. 

Maxime vero de officiis ecclesiastici et de ordinatione psalmorum providendum est ut in hoc saltet si placet, nostram exonerem ininfirmitatem ne, 90 cum psalterium 7

per hebdomadem expleamus, eodem necesse sit psalmos repeti.\textsuperscript{a} Quam etiam beatus Benedictus, cum eam pro visu suo distribuisse, in aliorum quoque optione\textsuperscript{e} sua id reliquit\textsuperscript{a} admonitio ut si, cui melius videretur, aliter ipsos ordinaret, attendens videlicet quod per temporum successionem Ecclesiae decor creverit, et quae prius rude susceperat fundamentum, postmodum aedificiis facta est ornamentum.

Illud autem praeb omnibus definire te volumus quid de evangelia\textsuperscript{a} lectione in vigiliiis nocturnis nobis agendum sit. Periculorum quippe nobis\textsuperscript{w} videtur eo tempore ad nos sacerdotes aut diaconos admitti, per quos haec lectio recitetur, quas praecipue ab omni hominum accessu atque aspectu segregatas esse convenit, tum ut sincerius Deo vacare possimus, tum etiam ut a tentatione tutiores simus.

Tibi nunc, domine, dum vivis incumbit instituere de nobis quid in perpetuum tenendum sit nobis. Tu\textsuperscript{w} quippe post Deum huius loci fundator, tu per Deum nostrae congregationis es plantator, tu cum Deo nostrae sis religionis institutor. Praeceptorem alium post te fortassis habiturae sumus et qui\textsuperscript{w} super alienum aliquid\textsuperscript{a} aedificet fundamentum, ideoque, veremur, de nobis minus futurus sollicitus, vel a nobis minus audientesi, et qui denique, si aequae velit, non aequae possit. Loquere tu nobis et audiemus. Vale.

VI. (Rescriptum\textsuperscript{1} ad ipsam de auctoritate\textsuperscript{2} vel dignitate ordinis sanctimonialium.)

Caritati tuae, carissima soror de origine\textsuperscript{3} tuae professionis tam tibi quam spiritualibus\textsuperscript{5} filiabus tuis seiscitanti,\textsuperscript{4} unde silicet monialium coeperit religio paucis, si potero, succincteque rescribam. Monachorum siquidem sive monialium ordo a Domino nostro Iesu Christo religionis suae formam plenissime sumpsit; quamvis et ante ipsius Incarnationem nonnulla huius propositi tam in viris quam in feminis praecesserit inchoatio. Unde et Hieronymus ad Rusticum\textsuperscript{6} scribens: "Filios," inquit, "Prophetarum quos monachos legisimus in Veteri Testamento, etc." Annam quoque viduam templo et divino cultui assiduum evangelista\textsuperscript{7} commemorat, quae pariter cum Simeone Dominum in templo suscipere, et prophetia\textsuperscript{8} repleri meruerit. Finis itaque Christus iustitiae et omnium honorum consummatio, in plenitudine temporis veniens, ut inchoata perfecter bona vel\textsuperscript{w} exhiberet ignocinita, sicut utrumque sexum vocare venerat utque redimere, ita utrumque sexum in vero monachatu suae congregaticanis dignatus est adunare ut inde tam viris quam\textsuperscript{3} feminis huius professionis dareur auctoritas,\textsuperscript{a} et omnibus perfectio vitae proponente\textsuperscript{w} quam imitarentur.\textsuperscript{11} Ibi quippe cum apostolis ceteris discipulis, cum mater ipsius, sancter legimus\textsuperscript{w} conventum mulierum quae silicet saeculo abrenuntiantes omnemque proprietatem abdicientes ut solum possiderent Christum, scirem scriptum est: "Dominus pars haereditatis maeae, devote illud compleverunt, quo omnes secundum regulam a Domino traditam conversi a\textsuperscript{11} saeculo ad huius vitae communem\textsuperscript{w} iniantur: Nisi\textsuperscript{w} suscianti Amb.

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quis renuntiaverit omnibus quae possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Quam devote autem Christum haec beatissimae mulieres ac vere moniales secutae fuerint, quantumque gratiam et honorem devotioni eorum tam ipse Christus quam postmodum apostoli exhibuerint, sacrae diligenter historiae continent. Legimus29 in Evangelio murmurantem Pharisaeeum, qui hospicio Dominum susceperat, ab ipso esse correptum,30 et peccatrixis mulleris obsequium hospicio eius longe31 esse praelatum. Legimus32 et, Lazaro iam resuscitato cum ceteris discipulis, Martham sororem eius solam mensis ministrare, et Mariam copiosi libram ungunti pedibus Dominiciis infundere, propriisque capillis ipsos extergere huiusque copiosi unguenti odor eorum domum ipsam impletam33 suisse, ac de pretio ipsius, quia tam inaniter consumi videretur, Iudam in concupiscientiam ductum et discipulos indignatos esse. Satagente itaque Martha de cibis, Maria disponit34 de unguentis; et quem illa reficit interior, haec lassatum fovet35 exterius.

Nec nisi feminas Domino ministrasse Scriptura commenorat Evangelica, quae proprias etiam facultates in quotidiam eis aloniam dicarant et ei praeipue huius vitae necessaria procurabant.36 Ipse discipulis in mensa, ipse in ablutione pedum humilimum se ministrum exhibebat.37 A nullo vero discipulorum vel etiam virorum hoc eum suscepisse novimus obsequium; sed solas, ut diximus, feminas in his vel ceteris humanitatis obsequiis ministeriarum impendisse. Et38 sicut in illo Marthae, ita in isto novimus obsequium Mariae, quae quidem in hoc exhibebant tanto fuit devotionis quanto ante fuerat criminosi. Dominus, aqua39 in pelvim missa, illius ablationis peregit officium, hoc vero ipsa ei lacrymes intime compunctionis, non exteriori aqua exhibuit. Ablutos discipulorum pedes longe Dominus exsirit, haec pro longo capillis usus est. Fomenta unguentorum insuper addidit, quae nequaquam Dominum adhibuissent40 legimus. Quis etiam ignoret mulierem in tantum de ipsius gratia praesumpisses ut caput quoque eius superfuso delibuerit unguento? Quod quidem unguentum non de alabastro extractum, sed fractor alabastro memoratur effusum ut nimiae devotionis vehemens exprimeretur desiderium, quae41 ad nullum42 ulterius usus illum reservandum censebat, quo in tanto usi sit obsequio. In quo etiam ipsum iam unionis <effectum>43 factis ipsis exhibet quem antea Daniel futurum praedixerat, postquam videlicet inungeretur44 sanctus sanctorum. Ecce enim sanctum sanctorum mulier inunger, et eum pariter hunc esse quem credit,45 et quem verbis propheta praeignalverat factis ipsa proclamat. Quae est ista, quaeso, Domini benignitas, aut quae mulierum dignitas ut tam caput quam pedes suos ipse nonnisi feminis praeberet inungendos? Quae est ista, obscoro, infirmitior sexus praerogativa, ut summum Christum omnibus Sancti46 Spiritus unguentibus47 ab ipsa eius conceptione delibutum48 mulier quoque inungeret, et quasi corporalibus sacramentis eum in regem et sacerdotem consecrants, Christum, id est, unctum corporaliter ipsum efficeret?

Scimus49 primum a patriarcha Iacob in typum Domini lapidem unctum suisse,50 et postmodum regum sive sacerdotum unctiones, seu quaelibet unctionum sacramenta nonnisi viris celebrare permittum est, licet baptizare nonnumquam mulierum praesumant. Lapidem olim patriarcha, templum nunc et altare pontificis oleo sanctificat. Viri itaque sacramenta figuris imprimunt. Mulier vero in ipsa

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30 correctum CET Amb.
31 om. CEF.
32 Cf. Matt. xxvi, 6 ff; Mark xiv, 3 ff; John xii, 1 ff.
33 repletam BR.
34 dispositu Amb.
35 refovet Amb.
37 John xiii, 5 ff.
38 ut CEF.
39 acquam T.
40 exhibuisset CEF.
41 quod CEF.
42 multum Amb.
43 defectum all Mss.
44 Daniel ix, 24.
45 ungeretur Amb.
46 creditit CEF.
47 Spiritus Sancti Amb.
48 ungentis ART.
49 Cf. Isaias xi, 2 ff.
50 Lacuna to priora autem mulieris CEF.
51 Gen. xxviii, 18.

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operata est veritate, sicut et ipsa protestatur Veritas, dicens: "Bonum" opus operata est in me. Christus ipse a muliere, Christiani a viris inunquantur; caput ipsum, scilicet, a femina, membra a viris. Bene autem edudisse ungentum non stillasse super caput eius mulier memoratur, secundum quod de ipso sponsa in Cantis praecinit, dicens: "Unguentum effusum nomen tuum. Huius quoque ungenti copiam per illud quod a capite usque ad oram vestimenti defuit" Psalmsa mystice praefigurat, dicens: "Sicut ungentum in capite quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron, quod descendit in oram vestimenti eius."


Certum quippe est sepulcrum quoque Domìnicae sanctas mulieres aromata parasse, quod tunc ista utique minus satageret, si nunc repulsa verecundiam

"Mark xiv, 6.
"opus bonum ABRT.
"o BR.
"o Cant. i, 2.
"ungenti AT.
"defuit T) defluxit Amb.
"psalmus A1 corrected to psalmus (s. m.)
"praefiguravit A.
"CXXII. 2.
"Commentarioli in Psalmos XXVI, edited by Dom Morin (Maredsous, 1895), p. 35; cf. also the spurious work, "Brev. in Psalmos" PL 26, 945.
"Arimathya T| Arimathia ABR Amb.
"John xix, 38.
"om. A.
"Priora autem! Haec ergo huius CEF, which reume the test here.
"Mulieres Amb.
"exx CAT.
"om. CEF.
"Cf. John vi, 15.
"John xviii, 36.
"om. CEF.
"dillationes Ps1 deletionis C and E (corrected to) deletionis Amb.) deletionis G.
"1 Cor. xii, 7.
"lacuna to sustinuisset CEF.
"utique G.
"om. BR.
"dixit Amb. John xii, 7.
sustinuisset. Qui\textsuperscript{77} etiam quasi de tanta mulieris praesumptione discipulis indignantibus, et, ut Marcus meminit,\textsuperscript{78} in eam frementibus, cum eos mitissimus fregisset responsis, in tantum hoc eutulit beneficium, ut ipsum Evangelio inerendum\textsuperscript{79} esse censeret, et cum ipso pariter ubique praedicandum esse praedicaret in memoriam, scilicet, et laudem mulieris, quae id fecerit in quo non mediatoris argubatur praesumptionis. Quod nequaquam de alii quarumcumque personarum obsequii auctoritate Dominica sic commendatum esse legitimus atque sancitum. Qui etiam vidua pauperis eleemosynam omnibus templi praeferebatur oblationibus, quam accepta sit ei feminarum devotio diligenter ostendit.\textsuperscript{80}

Ausus\textsuperscript{81} quidem est Petrus seipsum et coaestosos suos pro Christo omnia religiisse profiteri, et Zacchaeus\textsuperscript{82} desideratam Domini adventum suscipti, dimidium bonorum suorum pauperibus\textsuperscript{83} largitur, et in quadruplum, si quid deuadavit, restituit. Et multii aliis maiores in Christo seu pro Christo fecerunt expensas et longe pretiosiora in obsequium obtulerunt divinum vel pro Christo reliquerunt, nec ita tamen Dominicae\textsuperscript{84} commendationis laudem adepti sunt sicut feminae. Quorum quidem devotio quanta sempere erga eum extiterit, ipse quoque Dominicae vitae exitus patenter insinuat.

Hae quippe, ipso apostolorum principi negante, et dilecto Domini fugiente, vel ceteris dispersis apostolis, intrepidae persisterunt, nec eas a Christo, vel in passione vel in morte, formido aliqua vel deseratio separare potuit, ut eis specialiter illud\textsuperscript{85} Apostoli congruere videatur: Quis nos separabit a caritate Dei? Tribulat? an angustia? etc.\textsuperscript{86} Unde Matthaeus, cum de se pariter et ceteris retulisset: Tunc discipuli omnes, relictus eo, fugerunt, perseverantiam postmodum supposuit mulierum, quae ipsi etiam crucifixo quantum permittebat assisterant. Erant, inquit,\textsuperscript{87} ibi mulieres multae a longe quae secutae fuerunt Isuem a Galilaea, ministrantes ei, etc.\textsuperscript{88} Quas denique ipsius quoque sepulcro immobiliert adhaerentes, idem diligenter evangelista describunt, dicens: Erant autem Maria Magdalene et altera Maria sedentem contra sepulcrum. De quibus etiam mulieribus Marcus commemorans, ait: Erant autem et mulieres de longe aspicientes, inter quas erat Magdalene, et Maria Jacobi minoris et Josepha mater, et Salome. Et cum esset in Galilaea sequebantur\textsuperscript{89} eum et ministrament ei, et aliae mulieres quae simul cum eo ascendaverant Hierosolymam.

Stetisse autem iuxta crucem et crucifixum se etiam astutissae Ioannes, qui prius auferit, narrat; sed perseverantiam praemitit mulierum quasi earum exemplo animatus esset ac revocatus. Stabant,\textsuperscript{90} inquit,\textsuperscript{91} iuxta crucem Isuem mater eius, et soror matris eius Maria Cleophae, et Maria Magdalene. Cum vidisset ergo Isuem matrem et discipulum stantem, etc. Hanc autem sanctarum constantiam mulierum, et discipulorum defectum longe ante beatus Iob in persona Domini prophetavit,\textsuperscript{92} dicens: Pelli meae, consumptibus carnibus, adhaesit os meum et derelicta sunt tantummodo labia circa dentes meos. In osse quippe, quod carnis et pellem sustentat et gestat, fortitudo est corporis. In corpore igitur Christi, quod est Ecclesia, os ipsius dictur\textsuperscript{93} Christianae fidei stabile fundamentum, sive fervor illa caritate de quo canitur: Aequa muliae non poterunt extinguere caritatem, etc.\textsuperscript{94} De quo et Apostolus: Omnia, inquit,\textsuperscript{95} suffert, omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet. Caro autem in corpore pars interior est, et pellis exterior.

\textsuperscript{77} qui . . . del de qua quidem CEF, which resume the text here.
\textsuperscript{78} Mark xiv, 4. et . . . frementibus om. CEF.
\textsuperscript{79} By correction T.
\textsuperscript{80} Cf. Mark xii, 41-4.
\textsuperscript{81} Long lacuna to Hebraei CEF. Matt. xix, 27.
\textsuperscript{82} Luke xix, 2 ff.
\textsuperscript{83} add domini BR.
\textsuperscript{84} domini A.
\textsuperscript{85} Romans viii, 35.
\textsuperscript{86} om. Amb.
\textsuperscript{87} Matt. xxxvi, 56.
\textsuperscript{88} Matt. xxvii, 55.
\textsuperscript{89} om. A.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., 61.
\textsuperscript{91} Mark xv, 40-1.
\textsuperscript{92} subsequebatur A.
\textsuperscript{93} add autem ABR.
\textsuperscript{94} John xix, 25 ffl.
\textsuperscript{95} Job xix, 20, prophavit A.
\textsuperscript{96} dixit T Amb.
\textsuperscript{97} Cant. vii, 7.
\textsuperscript{98} omit. Amb.
\textsuperscript{99} 1 Cor. xiii, 7.
Apostoli ergo interiori animae cibo praedicando intendentes, et mulieres corporis necessaria procurantes, carnii comparantar et pelli. Cum itaque carnes consumerentur, os Christi adhaesit pelli, quia, scandalizatis in passione Domini apostolis, et de morte ipsius desperatis, sanctarum devotio feminarum perstitit immobilibis, et ab osse Christi minime recessit, quia fidei, vel imperfectissimi. Quibus tantummodo labia, id est, verba potius quam facta remanserant, cum iam desperasti de Christi magis loquerentur quam pro Christo quid operarentur. Tales profecto illi erant discipuli qui in castellum Emmaus euntibus et loquentibus adinvicem de his omnibus quae acciderant ipse apparuit, et eorum desperationem correxit. Quid denique Petrus vel ceteri discipulorum praeter verba tunc habuerunt, cum ad Dominicum venent esset passionem, et ipse Dominus futurum eis de passione sua scandalum praedixisset? Et si omnes, inquit Petrus scandalizati fuerint in te, ego numquam scandalizabor. Et iterum: Etiam si oportuerit me mori tecum, non te negabo. Similiter et omnes discipuli dixerunt. Dixerunt, inquam, potius quam fecerunt. Ille primus et maximus apostolorum qui tantum in verbis habuerat constantiam ut Domino diceret: Tectum paratum sum et in carcerem et in mortem ire; cui tunc et Dominus ecclesiam suam specialiter committens, dixerat: Et tu aliquando conversus confirma frater tuus, ad unam ancillae vocem ipsum negare non veretur, nec semel id agit sed tertio ipsum adhuc viventem denegat; et a vivo pariter omnes discipuli uno temporis puncto fugiendo devolavat, a quo nec in morte vel mente vel corpore feminae sunt disiunctae. Quorum beata illa peccatrix, mortuam etiam quaerens et Dominum suum confitens, ait: Tulerunt Dominum de monumento. Et iterum: Si tu sustulisti eum, dicio mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam. Fuguit qui aretes, immo et pastores Dominici gregis; remanent oves intrepidae. Arguit nos Dominus tamquam infirmam carnem, quod in articulo etiam passionis suae nec una hora cum eo potuerunt vigilare. Insomnem ad septicum illius noctem in lacrymis feminarum ducentes, resurgent is gloriam praeae videre meruerunt. Cui fideliter in mortem quantum dilexerint vivum, non tam verbis quam rebus exhibuerunt. Et de ipsa etiam, quam circa eiusmod passionem et mortem habuerunt sollicitudinem, resurgens vita praeae sunt laetificatae. Cum enim, secundum Ioannem, Ioseph ab Arimathea et Nicodemus corpus Domini ligantes linteis cum aromatibus sepellirent, refert Marcus de earum studio quod Maria Magdalene et Maria Ioseph aspiciabant ubi poneretur. De his quoque Lucas commemorat, dicens: Secutae autem mulieres, quae cum Iesu venerant de Galilaea, viduerunt monumentum et quem addmodum positum erat corpus eius et reverentes paraverunt aromata, non satis videlicet habentes aromata Nicodemi, nisi et adderent sua. Et Sabbato quidem siluerunt secundum mandatum, iuxta Marcum vero, cum transisset Sabbatum, summo mane in ipso die resurrectionis venerunt ad monumentum Maria Magdalenae et Maria Iacobae et Salome.
Nunc quoniam devotionem eorum ostendimus, honorem quem meruerunt* prosequamur. Primo angelica visione sunt consolatae de resurrectione Domini iam completa, demum ipsum Dominum primae viderunt et tuerunt. Prior quidem Maria Magdalene, quae ceteris ferventior erat, postea ipsa simul et aliae, de quibus scriptum est, quo post angelicam visionem, exierunt de monumento... currentes nuntiare discipulis resurrectionem Domini. Et ecce Jesus occurrat illis, dicens: Ave te. Illae autem accesserunt et tuerunt pedes eius, et adoraverunt eum. Tunc ait illis** Jesus: ade, nuntiate fratribus meis ut eant in Galilaeam; ibi me videbunt. De quo et Lucas prosecutus ait:*** Erat Maria*** Magdalene et Ioanna et Maria Jacobi et ceterae, quae cum eis erant, quae dicebant ad apostolos haec. Quas etiam ab angelo primum fruisset missas ad apostolos nuntiare haec non reticet Marcus, ubi angello mulieribus loquente scriptum est: **** Surrexit, non est hic... Sed ite, dicite***** discipulis eius et Petro quia praecedet vos in Galilaeam. Ipsa etiam Dominus primo Mariae Magdalenae apparetur illi: Vade ad******* fratres meos, et dic eis: Ascendo ad Patrem meum etc. Ex quibus colligimus habebat sanctas mulieres quasi apostolas super apostolos esse constitutas, cum ipsae ad eos vel a Domino vel ab angelis missae summum illud resurrectionis gaudium nuntiaverunt, quod expectabatur ab omnibus, ut per eas apostoli primum addiscerent quod toti mundo postmodum praedicaret.

Quas etiam post resurrectionem, Domino occurrentem, salutari apsi evangelista supra memoravit ut, tam occurreret suo quam salutationem, quantam erga eas sollicitudinem et gratiam haberet, ostenderet. Non enim alis proprium salutationis verbum, quod est Aete, eum legimus protilusisse, imo****** et a salutatione antea discipulis inhibuisse, cum eis diceret:***** Et neminem per viam salutaveritis, quasi hoc privilege nunc usque devotis feminis reservaret quod per semetipsum eis exhiberet, immortalitatis gloria iam potitus. Actus quoque Apostolorum, cum referant statim post ascensionem Domini apostolos a Monte Oliveti Hierusalem redisse et illius sacrosancti conventus religionem diligenter describant, non est devotionis sanctarum mulierum perseverantia praetemissa, cum dicitur:**** Hi omnes erant perseverantes unamiter in orationibus cum mulieribus et Maria mater Iesu.

Ut******** autem de Hebraeis praetermittamus feminis quae primo conversae ad fidem, vivente adhuc Domino in carne et praedicante, formam huius religionis inchoaverunt, de viduis quoque Graecorum quae ab apostolis postea suscepsee sunt consideremus, quanta scilicet diligentia, quanta cura ab apostolis et ipsae tractatae sint, cum ad ministrandum eis gloriosissimus signifer christianae militiae Stephanus protomartyr cum quibusdam alios spiritualibus*** viris ab ipsis apostolis fuerit constitutus. Unde in eisdem Actibus Apostolorum scriptum est:**** Crescente numero discipulorum factum.***** est murrur Graecorum adversus Hebraeos quod despicerentur in ministerio quotidiano viduae eorum. Convocantes autem duodecim apostoli multitudinem discipulorum, dixerunt: Non est aequum derelinquere*** nos verbum Dei, et ministrare mensis. Considerate ergo, frateres, viros ex omnibus vobis boni testimonii septem, plenos Spiritu Sancto et septentia, quos constituius super hoc opus. Nos vero orationi et ministerio verbi instantes erimus. Et placuit sermo coram multitudo, et elegerunt Stephanum, plenum fide et Spiritu Sancto, et Philippum et Prochorum et Nicomorem, et Timotheum***

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** Matt. xxviii. 8 fi. 
*** om. Amb. 
**** Luke xxiv. 10. 
***** Mark xvi. 7. 
****** John xx. 17. 
******* et A. 
******** occurrante T. 
********* viro BR uno T. 
********** et al ista Amb.

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et Parmenam et Nicolaum Antiochenum. Hos statuerunt ante conspectum apostolorum et orantes imposuerunt eis manus.

Unde et continentia Stephani admodum commendatur quod ministerio atque obsequio sanctarum feminarum fuerit deputatus. Cuius quidem obsequii ministriatio, quam excellens sit, et tam Deo quam ipsis apostolis accepta, ipsis tam propria oratione quam manuum impositione protestati sunt; quasi hos, quos in hoc constituebant, adiurantes ut fidelier agerent, et tam benedictione sua quam oratione, eos adiuvantes ut possent. Quam etiam Paulus administrationem ad apostolatus sui plenitudinem ipse sibi vindicans: Numquid non habemus, inquit, potestatem sororem mulierem circumducendi, sicut et ceteri apostoli? Ac si aperte diceret: Numquid etiam sanctarum mulierum conventus nos habere ac nobiscum in praedicatione ducere permissum est, sicut ceteris apostolis, ut ipsae videlicet eis in praedicatione de sua substantia necessaria ministrarent?

Unde Augustinus in libro De Opere Monachorum:

Ad hoc, inquit, et fideles mulieres habentes terrenam substantiam ibant cum eis, et ministrabant eis de sua substantia, ut nullius indigent horum quae ad substantiam huius vitae pertinente. Item: Quod quisquis non putat . . . ab apostolis fieri ut cum eis sanctae conversationis mulieres circuirent quocumque Evangelium praedicabant; . . . Evangelium audivit et cognoscant quemadmodum hoc ipsis Domini exemplo faciebant . . . In Evangelio enim scriptum est: Deinceps et ipsae iter faciebat per civitates et castella . . . evangelizans regnum Dei, et duodecim cum illo et mulieres aliae, quae erant curtae a spiritibus immundis et infirmatibus, Maria quae vocatur Magdalene . . . et Ioanna uxor Chuzae procuratoris Herodis, et Susanna, et aliae multae, quae ministrabant ei de facultatibus suis.

Ut hinc quoque pateat Dominum etiam in praedicatione sua proficisceret ministeriionem mulierum corporaliiter sustentari et eas ipsis pariter cum apostolis quasi inseparabili comites adhaerere.

Demum vero huius professionis religione in feminis pariter ut in viris multiplicata, in ipso statim Ecclesiae nascentis exordio aeque sicut viri, ita et feminae proripriam per se monasteriorum habitacula posserdent. Unde et Ecclesiastica Historia laudem Philonis disertissimi Iudaei quam non solum dixit verum etiam magnific se scrisit de Alexandrina sub Marco Ecclesia, ita inter cetera libro secundo, capitulo XVII, commemorat.

In multis est, inquit, orbis terrae partibus hoc genus hominum. Et post aliqua: Est autem . . . in singulis locis consecrata orationi domus quae appellatur 'semeion' vel monasterium. Item infra: Itaque non solum subtilium intelligunt hymnos veterem, sed ipsis faciunt novos in Deum, omnibus eos et metris et sonis honesta satias et suavi compage modulatoris.

Item plerisque de abstinentia eorum praemissis, et divini cultus officiis adiectis:
Cum viris autem, quos dicimus, sunt et feminae in quibus plures iam grandaeae sunt virgines, integritatem et castitatem corporis non necessitate aliqua sed devotione servantes, dum sapientiae studios semet gestunt non solum anima, sed et corpore consecrare, indignum ducentes libidini manic pare vas ad capiendam sapientiam praeparatum, et edere mortalem partum eas, a quibus divini verbi concubitum sacrosanctum et immortalem expetitur, ex quo posteritas relinquatur nequaquam corruptelae mortalitatis obnoxia. Item ibidem de Phione: Etiam de conventibus eorum scribit ut seorsum quidem viri seorsum etiam in eisdem locis feminae congregentur et ut vigillas, sicut apud nos fieri moris est, peragant.

Hinc  illud est in laude Christianae, hoc est monasticae praerogativae, quod et Tripartita commemorat Historia, non minus a feminis quam a virus arreptae. Ait quippe sic libro I, capitulo XI:

Huius elegantissimae philosophiae princeps fuit quidem, sicuti quidam dicunt, Elias propheta et Baptista Ioannes. Philo autem Pythagorius suis temporibus refert undique egregios Hebraeorum in quodam praedio circa stagnum Mariam in colle positum philosophatos. Habitantum vero eorum et cibos et conversationem talem introducit qualem et nos nunc apud Aegyptorum monachos esse conspicimus. Scribit eos... ante solis occasum non gustare cibum... vino semper et sanguinem habentibus abstinere, cibum eis esse panes et salis et hyposi et potum aquae. Mullieres eis cohabitare seniores virgines propter amorem philosophiae spontanea voluntare nuptii abstinentes.

Hinc et illud est Hieronymi in Libro de illustribus Viris capitulo VIII de laude Marci et ecclesiae sic scribentis:

Primus Alexandriæ Christum annuntians constituët ecclesiam tantæ doctrinae et vitae continentiae ut omnes sectatores Christi ad exemplum sui cogeret. Denique Philo disertissimam Iudaerorum videns Alexandriæ primam ecclesiam adhuc iudaizantem quasi in laudem gentis suæ librum super eorum conversiones scripsit, et quo modo Lucas narrat Hierosolymas credentes omnia habuisse communia, sic ille quod Alexandriæ sub Marco doctore fieri cernebat memoriae tradidit. Item capitul XI: Philo Iudaen natione Alexandrinus de genere sacerdotum idicriro a nobis inter scriptores ecclesiasticos ponitur quia librum de prima Marci evangelistae apud Alexandriam scribens ecclesia in nostrorum laude versatus est. Non solum eos ibi, sed in multis quoque provinciis esse commemorans et habitacula eorum dicens monasteria.

Ex quo apparat talem primum Christo credentium fuisse ecclesiam, quales nunc monachi esse imitantur, et capiunt ut nihil cuiusquam proprium sit, nullus inter eos dives, nullus pauper, patrimoniam egentibus divicantur, orationi vacetur

ac Amb.
est cast.] casti Rufinus.
animus Rufinus.
etiam] CE Amb. om. R.
consecratæ BRT.
Ibid. p. 153, II. 2-4.
om. CEF] in eisdem etiam A.
mos Amb.
om. F Amb.
sic Amb.
narrat F. CSEL 71, p. 35, II. 7 ff; PL 69, 387 CD.
Helias ABEFRT.
Iohannes AR.
pythagoricius ACEF Amb.
marian AT] maria Amb.
et psalmis, doctrinæ quoque et continentia, quææ et Lucas refert primum Hierosolimæ suæ divini religiæ nostræ sanctæ a sinistræ non fuisse credentes.

Quod si veteris revolvamus historias, reperiemus in ipsis feminis in his quæ ad Deum pertinent vel ad quamcumque religionis singularitatem a viris non fuisse disiunctas. Quas etiam pariter ut viros divina cantica non solum cecinisse, verum etiam composisse sacrae tradunt historiae. Primum quippe canticum de liberatione Israelitici populi non solum viri, sed etiam mulieres Domino de-cantaverunt hic statim divinorum officiorum in ecclesia celebrandorum auctoritatem ipsæ aepetæ. Sic quippe scriptum est: Sumpsit ergo Maria prophetæs soror Aaron, tympanum in manu sua; egressæque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanum et choris, quibus praecinebat dicens: Cantemus Domino; gloriæ enim magnificatus est, etc. Nec igitur Moyses commen-moratur prophetæ, nec praecinisse dicitur sicut Maria, nec tympanum aut chorum habuisse viri referuntur sicut mulieres. Cum itaque Maria praecinens prophetæs commen-moratur, videtur ipsa non tam dictando vel recitantis quam prophætandæ canticum istud protulisse. Quae etiam cum ceteris praecinere describitur, quam ordinate sive concorditer psallerent demonstratur. Quod autem non solum voce, verum etiam tympanum et choris cecinere, non solum earum maximam devotionem insinuat verum etiam mysticæ specialis cauntic in congregationibus monasticis formam diligenter exprimit. Ad quod et Psalmista nos exhortatur, dicens: Laudate eum in tympano et choro, hoc est in mortificatione carnis et concordia illæ caritatis de qua scriptum est quia multitudinis credendum erat cor unum et anima unæ. Nec vacat etiam a mysterio quod egressæ ad cantandum referuntur, in quo animæ contemplativae jubili figurantur; quæ dum ad caelestia se suspendit, quasi terrenæ habituationes castra desert et de ipsa contemplationis suæ intima dulcedine hymnorum spiritalem summæ exultatione Domino persolvit. Habemus ibi quoque Deborææ et Annae necnon Iudith viduae cantica, sicut et in Evangelio Mariae matris Domini. Quæ videlicet Anna Samuelem parvulum suum offerens tabernaculo Domini auctoritatem suscipiendorum infantium monasteriis delit. Unde Isidorus fratri-bus in coenobio Honorianensi constititis, capitulo V:

Quicumque, inquit, a parentibus propriis in monasterio fuerit delegatus, noverit se ibi perpetuo mansurum. Nam Anna Samuelem puerum Deo obtulit, qui et in ministerio templo quo a matre fuerat functus permansit, et ubi constitutus est deservit.

Constat etiam filias Aaron pariter cum fratribus suis ad sanctuarium et haereditariam sortem Levi adeo pertinere, ut hinc quoque eis Dominus aliam institutæ, sicut scriptum est in libro Numeri, ipso ad Aaron sic dicente: Omnes præmissæ sanctuarii, quas offerunt filii Israël Domino, tibi dédi, et filiis ac...
filiabus tuis iure perpetuo. Unde nec a clericorum ordine mulierum religio
disunctora videtur. Quas etiam ipsis nomine coniunctas esse constat, cum videlicet
tam diaconissa quam diaconos appellemus, ac si in utrisque tribum Levi et
quasi Levitas agnoscamus.

Habemus etiam in edodem libro votum illud maximum et consecrationem Nazar-
aeorum Domini aequae feminis sicut et viris esse institutum, ipso ad Moyses
Domino sic dicente: 24 Loquere ad filios Israel, et dices ad eos: Vir, sive mulier,
cum fecerint votum ut sanctificetur et se voluerint Domino consecrare, vino et
omni quod inebriare
t potest abstinebant. Acetum ex vino, et ex qualibet alia potione et quidquid de uva
exprimitur non bibent. Uras recentes siccasque non
comedent. Cunctis diebus quibus ex votu Domino consecratur, quidquid ex
vinea est, 26 ab uva passa usque ad acinium, non comedent omni tempore sepa-
rationis 27 suae .

Huius quidem religionis illas fuisset arbitror excubantes ad ostium tabernaculi,
de quarum speculii Moyses vas composuit in quo lavarentur Aaron et filii eius,
sicut scriptum est: Posuit 28 Moyses labrum aeneum in quo lavarentur Aaron et
filii eius; quod fecit de speculis mulierum quae excubabant 29 ad ostium taber-
naclui. Diligenter magnae devotionis earum fervor describitor, quae clauso
etiam tabernaculo foribus eius adhaerentis sanctarum vigilium excubias
celebrabant, noctem etiam ipsam in orationibus ducentes et ab obsequio divino
viris quiescentibus non vacantes. Quod vero clausum eis tabernaculum membratur,
vida poenitentium congrue designatur, qui ut se diurias poenitentiae lamentis
afflicit et ceteris segregantur. Quae profecto vita specialiter monasticae pro-
fessionis esse perhibetur, cuius videlicet ordo nihil aliud, esse dicitur quam
quae dam parcioris 30 poenitentiae forma. Tabernaculum vero ad cuius ostium
excubabant illud est mystice intelligendum, de quo ad Hebraeos Apostolus
scribit: 31 Habemus altare de quo non 32 habent edere hi qui tabernaculum deserunt;
id est, quo participare digni non sunt qui corpori suo, in quo hic quasi in castris
ministrant, voluptuosum impedunt obsequium. Ostium vero tabernaculi finis
est vitae praesentis, quando hinc 33 anima exit de corpore et futuram ingreditur
vitam. Ad hoc ostium excubant qui de exito huius vitae et introitu futurae
solicitii sunt, et sic poenitendo 34 disponunt hunc exitum ut illum mereantur
introitum. De hoc quidem quotidiano introitu et exitu sanctae Ecclesiae illa est
oratio Psalmistae: 35 Dominus custodiat introitum tuum et exitum tuum. Tunc
enim simul introitum 36 et exitum nostrum custodit, cum nos hinc 37 exunctes et
iam per poenitentiam purgatos illic statim introduct. Bene autem prius introitum
quam exitum nominavit, non tam videlicet ordinem quam dignitatem attendens,
cum hic exitus vitae mortalis 38 in dolore sit, ille vero introitus aeternae summa
sit exultatio. Specula vero earum opera sunt exteriora ex quibus animae
turnptudo vel decori diiudicatur, sicut ex speculo corporali qualitas humanae
faciei. Ex istis earum speculii vas componitur in quo se abuant Aaron et filii
eius, quando sanctarum feminarum opera et tanta infirma sexus in Deo constantia
pontificum et presbyterorum negligiament vehementer increpat, et ad compo-
unctionis lacrymas præcipue movent. Et si prout oportet ipse earum solici-
tudinem gerant, haec ipsarum opera peccatis illorum veniem per quam abluentur
praeparant. Ex his profecto speculii vas sibi compunctionis beatus parabat
Gregorius, 39 cum sanctarum virtutem feminarum et infirma sexus in martyrio
victoriam admirans et ingemiscens quaerebat:

24 cons. cumj constitutum T.
25 Numbers vi, 2 ff.
26 inebr. potest by correction T.
27 esse potest Vulgate.
28 By correction T.
30 excubant ABRT.
31 pressoris CF.
32 Hebrews xiii. 10.
33 non . . . hi edere non habent potestatem F Vulg.
34 hic CEF.
35 penitendo T.
36 Psalm cxx. 8.
37 add tuum A.
38 om. ABRT.
39 mortalitatis ABT.
40 Cf. Hom. in Evangel, 11; PL 76, 1116 A.

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Quid barbati dicturi sint\(^4\) viri, cum tanta pro Christo delicatae puellae sustineant et tanto agone sexus fragilis triumphet ut frequentius ipsum gemina virginitatis et martyrii corona pollere noverimus?

Ad has quidem, ut dictum est, ad ostium tabernaculi excubantes et quae iam quasi Nazareae Domini suam ei viduitatem consecraverant beatam illum Annam pertinere non ambigo, quae singularem Domini Nazaraeum Dominum Iesum Christum in templo cum sancto Simeone\(^4\) pariter meruit suspicere et, ut plus quam propheta fieret, ipsum eadem hora qua Simeon per Spiritum agnoscere et praesentem demonstrare ac publice praedicare.\(^2\)

Cuius quidem laudem evangelista diligentius prosecutus ait:\(^2\) Et erat Anna prophetissa, filia Phanuel, de tribu Aser. Haece processerat in diebus\(^4\) multis, et vixerat cum viro suo annis septem a virginitate sua. Et haece vidua erat usque ad annos octoginta quatuor, quae non discedebat de templo ieiuniis et obsecrationibus\(^4\) serviens nocte ac die. Et haece,\(^3\) ipsa hora superveniens, confitebatur Domino et loquebatur omnibus qui expectabant redemptionem\(^4\) Hierusalem.\(^4\) Nota singula quae dicuntur et perpende quam studiosus\(^3\) in huius viduae laude fuerit evangelista et quantis praecosis excellentiam eius extulerit. Cuius quidem prophetiae\(^5\) gratiam quam habere solita erat, et parentem eius, et tribum, et post septem annos quos viro sustinuerat longaeum sanctae viduatis tempus quo se Domino mancipaverat, et assiduum eius in templo, et ieiunium et orationem instantiam, et\(^4\) confessionem laudis, quas\(^3\) gratas Domino referebat, et publicam eius praedicationem de promisso et nato Salvatore diligenter expressit. Et Simeonem quidem iam superius evangelista de iustitia non de prophetia commendaverat, nec\(^3\) in eo tantae continentiae\(^6\) vel abstinentiae virtutem, nec divini sollicitudinem obsequi fuisse memoravit, nec de eius ad alios praedicatione quidquam adiecit.\(^6\)

Huius quoque professionis\(^6\) atque propositi illae sunt verae viduae de quibus ad Timotheum\(^7\) scribens Apostolus ait:\(^6\) Vidua honora, quae vere viduae sunt. Item:\(^6\) Quae autem vere vidua\(^7\) est et desolata speret in Deum et instet obsecrationibus et orationibus nocte ac die... Et hoc praecepit\(^6\) ut irreprehensibles sint.\(^7\) Et iterum:\(^6\) Si quis fidelis habit viduas, subministret illis, et non gravetur ecclesia,\(^7\) ut his quae vere viduae sunt sufficiat. Veras quippe viduas dicit quae viduatum suam secundis nuptiis non dehonestaverunt, vel quae devotione magis quam necessitate sic perseverantes Domino se dicarunt. Desolatas\(^7\) dicit quae sic omnibus abrenuntianit ut nullum terreni solatii subsidium retineant, vel qui earum curam agant non habent. Quas quidem et honorandas esse praecipit et de stipendii Ecclesiae censet sustentari tamquam de propriis redditibus sponsi earum Christi.

Ex quibus etiam quales ad diaconatus ministerium sint eligendae diligentem describit dicens:\(^6\) Vidua eligatrum non minus sexaginta annorum, quae fuerit unius viri uzor, in operibus bonis testimonium habens, si filios educavit, si hospitium suscepit,\(^6\) si sanctorum pedes lavit, si tribulationem patientibus subministravit, si omne opus bonum\(^6\) consecuta\(^6\) est. Adolescentiores autem viduas devita.

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\(^{4}\) sunt A.  
\(^{5}\) symeon CF Amb.] Swayne T.  
\(^{6}\) lacuna enus CEF.  
\(^{7}\) perfectionis FG.  
\(^{8}\) Thmotheum T.  
\(^{9}\) l. Tim. v. 3.  
\(^{10}\) Ibid. 5.  
\(^{11}\) om. A.  
\(^{12}\) praecipue BR Amb.  
\(^{13}\) add et T.  
\(^{14}\) Ibid. 7.  
\(^{15}\) vere CEF.  
\(^{16}\) dosolatas T.  
\(^{17}\) l Tim. v. 5-11.  
\(^{18}\) receptit R Vulgate.  
\(^{19}\) bonum opus T Amb.  
\(^{20}\) subsecuta Vulgate.
Quod* quidem beatus exponens Hieronymus:* "Devita, inquit, <alii> in ministerio diaconatus praeponere ne malum pro bono detur exemplum." Si videlicet iuniores ad hoc eligantur, quae ad tentationem proiiores et natura leviores, nec per experimentiam longaevae aetatis providae,2 malum exemplum his praebant quibus maxime bonum dare debuerant. Quod quidem malum exemplum in iunioribus viduis, quia iam Apostolus certis didicerat experimentis, aperte profetetur, et consilium insuper adversum hoc praebeat cum enim praemisset: Adolescentiores autem viduas devita. Causam3 huius rei et consilii sui medicamentum statim apposuit, dicens:4 Cum enim luxuriatae fuerint in Christo, nubere volunt, habentes damnationem, quia primam fidei irritam fecerunt. Simul autem et otiosae5 discunt circumire7 domos; non solum otiosae, sed et verbosae, et curiosae, loquentes quae non oportet. Volo ergo iuniores nubere, filios procreare, matresfamilias esse,8 nullam occasionem dare adversario maledicti gratia. Iam enim quaedam conversae sunt retro Satanam.

Hanc quoque Apostoli providentiam, de diaconissis scilicet eligendis, beatus Gregorius secutus, Maximo Syracusano episcopo scribit his verbis:9

Iuvenculas abbatissas vehementissime prohibemus. Nullum igitur episcopum fraternitas tua nisi sexagenariam virginem, cuitus vita10 hoc11 atque mores exegerint, velare permittat.

Abbatissas12 quippe quas nunc dicimus antiquitatis diaconissas vocabant, quasi ministeriales potius quam matres. Diaconus quippe minister interpretatur, et diaconissas ab administratione potius quam praetatione nuncupandas esse conse-bant, secundum quod ipse Dominus tam exemplis quam verbis instituit, dicens:* Qui maior est vestrum erit minister vester. Et iterum: * Numquid13 est maior qui recumbit an qui ministret? Ego autem in medio vestrum sum, sicut qui ministret, et alibi:* Sicut Filii hominis non venit ministriare, sed ministre. Unde et Hieronymus hoc ipsum nomen abbatis, quo iam gloriari multos noverat, ex ipsa Domini auctoritate non mediocriter ausus est argueri. Qui videlicet eum locum exponens quo14 scriptum est15 in epistola ad Galatas:* Ciamantes: Abba Pater,

Abba, inquit,* Hebraicum est, hoc ipsum significationes quod pater . . . Cum autem Abba pater Hebraeo Syroque sermone dicatur, et Dominus in Evangelio praecepit16 nullum patrem vocandum esse nisi Deum, nescio qua licentia in monasteriis vel vocemus hoc nomine alios, vel vocari nos acque escamus. Et certe ipse praecepit17 hoc, qui dixerat18 non esse iurandum; si non iuramus, nec patrem quempiam nominemus. Si de patre interpretabimus aliter, et de iurando aliter sentire cogemur.

Ex his profecto diaconissis Phoeben illamuisse constat quam Apostolus Romanis diligentem* commendans et pro ea exorans ait:* Commendo autem

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vobis Phoeben sororem nostram, quae est in ministerio Ecclesiae, quae est a
Cenchris, ut eam suscipiatis in Domino digne sanctis, et assistatis ei in quocunque
negoio vestri indiguerit; etenim ipsa quoque astitit multis, et mihi ipsi. Quem
quidem locum tam Cassiodorus quam Claudius exponentes ipsam illius Ecclesiae
diacosissam fuisse profuturum.

Cassiodorus: "Significat, inquit, diaconissam fuisse Matris Ecclesiae quod
in partibus Graecorum hodie usque quasi militiae causa peragitur. Quibus
et baptizandii usus in Ecclesia non negatur. Claudius: 3 Hic locus, inquit,
apostolica auctoritate docet etiam feminas in ministerio Ecclesiae constitut.
In quo officio positam Phoeben apud Ecclesiam quae est Cenchris Apostolus
magna cum praemium et commendatione prosequitur."

Quales etiam ipse ad Timotheum scribens, inter ipsos colligens diaconos, simili-
orum instructione vitam earum instituit. Ibi quippe ecclesiasticorum minis-
teriorum ordinans gradus, cum ab episcopo ad diaconos descendisset: Diaconos,
inquit, similiter pudicos, non bilingues, non multo vino deditos, non turpe
lucrum sectantes, habentes mysterium fidei in conscientia pura. Et hi autem
proventur primum, et sic ministrant, nullum crimen habentes. Mulieres simili-
ter pudicas esse, non detrashentes, sobrias, fideles in omnibus. Diacones 2 sin-
tuis uxorius viri, qui filius suis bene praesint et suis domibus. Qui enim bene
ministraverint, gradum bonum sibi acquirent et multam fiduciam in fide quae est
in Christo Iesu. Quod itaque ibi de diaconibus dixit, non bilingues; hoc de
diaconisiss dict, non detrashentes. Quod ibi, non multo vino deditos; hic dicit
sobrias. Cetera vero quae ibi sequuntur hic breviter comprehendit dicens:
fideles in omnibus. Qui etiam sicut episcopos sive diaconos esse prohibet digamos, 22
ita etiam diaconissas unius viri uxoribus instituit esse ut iam supra meminimus.
Vidua, inquit, eligatur non minus sezignia annorum, quae fuerit unius viri uxor,
in operibus bonis testimonium habens; si filios educavit, si hospitio recepit,
sanctorum pedes lavit, si tribulationem patientibus subministravit, si omne
opus bonum subsecuta est. Adolescentes autem viduas devita. In 23 qua quidem
diaconissarum descriptione vel instructione quam diligentior fuerit Apostolus,
quam in praelectionem tam episcoporum quam diaconorum institutionibus facile
est assignare. Quippe quod ait, in operibus bonis testimonium habens, vel, si
hospitio recepit, nequaquam in diaconibus memoravit. Quod vero adiecit,
sanctorum pedes lavit, si tribulationem etc., tam in episcopis quam in diaconis
tactum est. Et episcopos quidem et diaconos dict: nullum crimen habentes.
Istas vero non solum irreprehensibles esse praecipit, verum etiam omne
opus bonum subsecutas dicit. Caute etiam de maturitate aetatis earum providit
ut in omnibus auctoritatem habeant, dicens: non minus sezignia annorum;
non solum vitae earum, verum etiam aetati longaevæ in multis probatae reverentia
dererat. Unde et Dominus licet Ioannem plurimum diliget, Petrum tamen seniorem
tam ipsi quam ceteris

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* add in Amb. Vulg.
* satis, no stroke A.
* vestro BRT Amb.
* Probably from his Com. on Romans, a lost work. Cf. Manitius, Gesch. der Lat. Lit.
des M.A. I., p. 50. Lacuna to prosecurit CEF.

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* lacuna in CE.
* om. Vulgates.
* diaconi Vulg.
* By correction T.
* om. Amb.
* lacuna to in qua F.
* bigamos G. lia et Amb.
* constitut B.
* I Tim. v, 9-11.
* parentibus F.
* devita etc. A 1 add etc. BR.
* in qua quidem ubi non tantum CEF which resume here, but text is corrupt for
several words and then lacuna to caute.
* quae A.
* diacones A.
* praecipit A.
* CEF resume text.
praefectit. 34 Minus quippe omnes indignantur seniorem sibi quam iuniores praeponi, et liberius seniori paremus quem 35 non solum vita priorem verum etiam 36 natura et ordo temporis fecit.

Hinc et Hieronymus in primo Contra Iovinianum, 37 cum de praelatione Petri meminerit:

Unus, inquit, eligitur ut, capite constituto, schismatis 38 tollatur occasio. Sed cur non Ioannes electus est? 39 Aetati delatum est quia Petrus senior erat ne adhuc adolescentes et pene puere progressae aetatis hominibus praefaretur, et magister bonus qui occasionem iurgii debuerat auferre discipulis, . . . in adolescentem quem dilexerat causam praebere videretur inviidae.

Hoc abbas ille diligenter considerabat qui, sicut in Vitis Patrum 39 scriptum est, iuniori fratri qui primus ad conversionem venerat primatum abstulit, et maiori eum tradidit hoc uno tantum quia hic illum aetate praecedebat. Verebatur 39 quippe ne ipse etiam frater carnalis indigne ferret iuniores sibi praeponi. Meminerat 39 ipsos quoque apostolos de duobus ipsorum insigniatis esse, 39 cum apud Christum, matre interveniente, praerogativam quamdam affectasse viderentur, maxime cum unus horum esset duorum qui ceteris iunior erat apostolis, ipse videnter Ioannes de suo modo diximus.

Nec solum in diaconissis instituendis apostolica plurimum invigilaverit cura, verum generaliter erga sanctorum professionis viduas quam studiosis 40 extirperit liquet ut omnem amputet tentationis 40 occasionem. Cum enim praemississet: 41 Viduas honora quae vere viduae sunt, statim adiecit: Si qua autem vidua filios aut nepotes habet, discat primum domum suam regere et mutuam vicem reddere parentibus. Et post aliqva: Si quis, inquit, 42 suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet, fidem negavit, 42 et est infidelis deterior. In quibus quidem verbis simul et debitis probat humanitatis et propositiæ religioni ne videscit sub obtentu 42 religionis parvuli deserantur inopes et carnalis compassio erga 42 indigentes sanctam viduae perturbet propositum et retro respicere cogat, et nonnumquam etiam usque ad sacrilegiam trahat et aliquid suis porrigit quod de communis defraudet. Unde necessarium praebet 44 consilium, ut, quae domesticorum cura sunt implicitae, antequam ad veram viduitatem transeuntis divinis se penitus obsequi mancipent, hanc vicem suis parentibus reddant, ut, sicut eorum cura fuerunt educatae, ipsae quoque posteris eadem legere providant. Qui etiam viduarum religionem exaggerant, eas instare praecipit obsecrationibus et orationibus nocte et die. De quorum etiam necessitidibus admodum sollicitus: Si quis fidelis, inquit, 42 habet viduas, subministret illis et non gravetur Ecclesia ut hic quae vere viduae sunt sufficiat. Ac si aperte dicit: Si qua est vidua quae tales habeat domesticos qui eia necessaria de facultatibus suis valeant ministrare, ipsi super hoc ei provideant, ut ceteris sustentandis publicis sumptibus Ecclesiae possint sufficere. Quae quidem sententia patenter ostendit, si qui erga huiusmodi viduas suas obstinenti sunt, eos ad hoc debitum ex apostolica auctoritate constringendos esse. Qui non solum earum necessitudini, verum etiam providens honor: Viduas, inquit, 44 honora quae vere viduae sunt. 44 Tales illas 44 fuisse

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34 quam A.
26 add et C Amb.
26 I, 26; PL 23, 238 C ff.
27 schismatis A.T.
28 add virgo Text of St. Jerome.
29 V. Libell. X. 113; PL 73, 932 D.
30 lacuna to illas, below CEF.
31 mininatur BR.
32 Cf. Matt. xx, 24 ff; Mark x, 35 ff.
33 Corrected Al studiosus BR.
34 occasionis temptationem BR.
35 I Tim. v, 3, 4.
36 Ibid. 8.
37 sanctorum A.
38 negaret T.
39 quod BR.
40 om. BR.
41 patet Amb.
42 I Tim. v, 16.
43 Ibid. 3.
44 Close lacuna CEF. Tales illas Huius sancti propositi illas viduas CEF.
45 om. A.
credimus, quorum alteram ipse matrem," alteram Ioannes evangelista dominam, ex sanctae professionis reverentia vocat:

Salutate, inquit" Paulus ad Romanos scribens, Rufum electum in Domino, et matrem eius et meam. Ioannes vero in secunda quam scribit Epistola: Senior, inquit," electae" dominae, et natis eius etc. A qua etiam se diligi postulans inferius adiunxit:" Et nunc rogo te domina . . . ut diligamus altertrum. Cuius quoque fretus auctoritate beatus Hieronymus, ad vestrae professionis virginem Eustochium scribens, eam appellare dominam non erubuit; immo cur etiam debuerit, statim apposuit, dicens:" Haec idcirco domina mea Eustochium, dominam quippe deboe vocare sponsam Domini mei," etc." Qui etiam postmodum in eadem epistola huius sancti propositi praerogat vivam omni terrenae felicitatis gloriae superponens, ait:

Nolo habeas consortia matronarum, nolo ad nobilium accedas domos, nolo frequenter videas quod conternens virgo esse voluisti . . . si ad imperatoris uxorem concurreruit" ambitio salutantium, cur tu facis injuriam viro tuo? Ad hominis coniugem sponsa Dei quid properas? Disce in hac parte super-biam sanctam; scito te esse illis meliorem.

Qui etiam ad virginem Deo dicatam scribens de consecratis Deo virginitibus, quantam in coelo beatitudinem, et in terra possideant dignitatem, ita exorsus, ait:" Quam in coelestibus beatitudinem virginitas sancta possidet, praeter Scripturam testimonium, Ecclesiae etiam consuetudine edocemur qua addiscimus peculiare illis subsistere meritum quorum spiritus" est consecratum. Nam cum unaqueque turba credentium paria gratiae dona per-cipiant," et hisdem omnes sacramentorum benedictionibus glorientur, istae proprium aliquid praefectus habent, dum de illo sancto et immaculato Ecclesiae grege quasi sanctiores purioresque hostiae pro voluntate suae meritis a Spiritu Sancto" eliguntur, et per summunm sacerdotem Dei offeruntur altario. Item: Possidet ergo virginitas . . . et quod ali non habent, dum . . . et peculiarem obtinet gratiam et proprio, ut ita dixerim, consecrationis privilegio gaudent.

Virginum quippe consecrationem, nisi periculo mortis urgent, celebrari alio tempore non licet quam in Epiphania" et Albis Paschalibus et in apostolorum natalitiis; nec nisi a summo sacerdote, id est episcopo, tam ipsas quam ipsarum sacrarum consuetudinem imponenda valLimina sanctificari. Monachis autem, quamvis eiusdem sint" professionis vel ordinis, et dignioris sexus, etiam si sint virgines, qualibet die benedictionem et ab abbate suscipere tam ipsis quam propriis eorum indumentis, id est cucullis, permissum est.

Presbyteros quoque et ceteros inferioris gradus clericos semper in ieiunis Quatuor Temporum et episcopos omni die Dominico constat ordinari" posse. Virginum autem consecratio quanto pretiosior," tanto rario praecipuarum exsultationem solemnitatem sibi vindicavit." De quorum scilicet" virtute mirabili universa amplius congudat ecclesia, sicut et psalmista praedixerat his verbis:" Adducentur regi virgines post eam; et rursum: Afferentur in laetitia et eul-
tatione, adducentur in templum regis. Quarum
devocionem Mattheus
apostolus simul et evangelista
cosposuisse vel dictasse referatur, sicut in eius
passione legitur, ubi et ipse pro earum consecratione vel virginalis proposita.
defensione martyr occubuisse memoratur. Nullam vero benedictionem vel
clericorum vel monachorum apostoli nobis scriptam religerunt.

Quarum quoque religio sola ex nomine sanctitatis est insignita cum ipsae a
sanctimonialia, id est, sanctitate, sanctimonialia sine dictae. Quippe quo infirmior
est feminarum sexus, gravior est Deo atque perfectior earum virtus, iuxta
ipsius quoque Domini testimonium quo infirmitate apostoli ad certaminis
coronam exhortans ait: Sufficit tibi gratia mea, nam virtus in infirmitate
perfectur. Qui etiam de corporis sui quod est ecclesia membris per eundem
loquens apostolum, ac si praecipue tam infirmorum membrorum honorem com-
mendaret, in eadem subiuxit epistola, hoc est ad Corinthios prima:

Sed multo magis quae videntur membra corporis infirmiora esse neces-
saria sunt et quae putamus, ignobiliara membra esse corporis his
abundantiorem honorum circumdamus et quae in honesta nostra sunt
abundantiorem honestatem habent. Honesta autem nostra nullius egent.
Sed Deus temperavit corpus ei cui dearet, abundantior tribuo
honorem ut non sit schisma in corpore, sed in idipsum pro invicem sollicita singo
membra.

Quis autem adeo integre per divinae gratiae dispensationem haec in aliquo
dixerit adimpi(er) sicut in ipsa muliebris sexus infirmitate quem tam culpula
quem natura contemptibilem fecerat? Circumpscape singulos in hoc sexu gradu,
non solum virgines ac viudas seu coniugatas, verum etiam ipsas scortorum
abominationes, et in eis Christi gratiam videbist ampliorum ut iuxta Dominicum et
apostolicam sententiam: Sint novissimi primi et primi novissimi; et: Ubi
abundavit delictum superabundet et gratia.

Cuius quidem divinae gratiae beneficia vel honorem feminis exhibita si ab
ipso exordio mundi repetamus, reperiemus statim mulieris creationem quad
praeellere dignitate, cum ipsa scilicet in paradiso, vir extra creatus sit ut
hinc praecepie mulieres adminonatuer attendere quam sit earum naturalis patria
paradisus et quo amplius eas caelibem paradisi vitam sequi conveniat. Unde
Ambrosius in libro De Paradiso:

Et apprehendit, inquit, Deus hominem quem fecit et posuit eum in paradiso
. vides quoniam qui erat apprehenditur . . in paradiso eum collocavit
. . adverte quia extra paradisum vir factus est et mulier intra paradisum
. . in inferiori loco vir melior invenitur, et illa quae in meliore loco facta
. est inferior reperitur.

Prior quoque Dominus Evam totius originem mai restauravit in Maria,
quam Adam in Christo reparavit. Et, sicut a muliere culpa, sic a muliere coept

quam Amb.
euvangelista BR.
*Cf. Acta S. Matthaei II, 19; Acta SS.,
Sept. VI, 22a.
8 relinquerunt T.
8 add a BR.
8 sunt B. Amb.
8 add ec F.
8 om. T.
8 II Cor. xii, 9.
8 I Cor. xii, 22.
8 infirmioris CEST.
8 necessaria BCEFR.
8 add honestatem T.
8 honestatem E.
8 enim BR.
8 ipsum BR.
8 sunt BR.
8 hoc CEF.
8 duxerit F.
8 muliebris BR.
8 quam CE.
8 aut B.CER.
8 Cf. Matt. xx, 16.
8 sunt B.
8 semper abundet T.
8 si . exordio om. BR.
8 recreationem BR.
8 praecellere CE.
8 quoque CEF.
8 unde . . repertur om. CEF.
8 4, 24; Pl. 11, 305B.
8 By correges T.
8 sic a muliere om. CEF.

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gratia et virginitatis refloruit praerogativa. Ac prius in Anna et Maria viduis et
virginibus sanctae professionis forma est\(^{90}\) exhibita quam in Ioanne vel apostolis
monasticae religionis exempla viris proposita.

Quod si post Evam Deborae, Iudith, Esther\(^{96}\) virtutem intueamur, profecto
non mediocrem robori virilis sexus inferenus erubescantium, Deborra quippe
Dominici iudex populi\(^{100}\) viris deficientibus dimicavit et, devictis hostibus popu-
loque Domini\(^{1}\) liberato, potenter triumphavit Iudith\(^{2}\) inermis cum abra sua
terribilem exercitum est aggressa et unius\(^{3}\) Holofernis proprio ipsius\(^{4}\) gladio
caput amputans sola universos stratit hostes et desperatum populum suum
liberavit. Esther, spiritu latenter sugerente, contra ipsum etiam legis decretum
gentili copulata regi, impiissimi Aman consilium et crudelle regis praevenit
edictum et\(^{5}\) constitutam\(^{6}\) regiae\(^{7}\) deliberationis sententiam quasi uno temporis
momento in contrarium convertit. Magnae ascribitur virtuti quod David\(^{8}\) in funda
et lapide Goliam aggressus est et devicit. Iudith\(^{9}\) vidua ad hostilem procedit
exercitum sine funda et lapide,\(^{10}\) sine omni adminiculo armaturae dimicatura.
Esther\(^{11}\) solo verbo populum suum\(^{12}\) liberat et conversa in\(^{13}\) hostes sententia\(^{14}\)
corruruerunt ipsi in laqueum quem tetenderant. Cuius quidem insignis facti
memoria singulis annis apud Iudaeos sollemnem meruit habere laetitiam. Quod
nequaquam aliqua vivorum facta quantumcumque splendida obtinuerunt. Quis
incomparabilem matris septem filiorum constantiam non miretur, quos una cum
matre apprehensos, sicut Machabaeorum historia narrat\(^{15}\) rex impissimus Antio-
chus ad carnes porcinas contra legem\(^{16}\) edendas nisus est frustra compellere?
Quae maternae\(^{17}\) immemor naturae et humanae affectionis ignara nec nisi
Dominum\(^{18}\) praec oculos habens quot sacris exhortationibus suis ad coronam filios
praemisit tot ipsa martyris triumphavit, proprius ad extremum martyrio consum-
mata. Si totam Veteris Testamenti seriem\(^{19}\) revolvamus, quid huius mulieris
constantiae comparare poterimus? Ille ad extremum vehemens tentator beati
Iob imbecillitatem humanae naturae contra mortem considerans: \textit{Pellam, inquit,\(^{20}\)
pro pelle et universa dabit homo pro anima sua. In tantum enim omnes angus-
tiam mortis naturaliter horreumus ut, saepè ad defensionem unius membri,
alterum opponamus et pro vita hac conservanda nulla vereamur incommoda.\(^{21}\)
Haec vero non solum sua\(^{22}\) sed propriam et filiorum animas perdere sustinuit
ne unam legis incurreret\(^{23}\) offensam. Quae est ista, obsecro,\(^{24}\) ad quam compellabatur
transgressio? Numquid abrenuntiare Deo vel thurificare idolis cogebar? Nihil,
inquam,\(^{25}\) aliud ab eis\(^{26}\) exigebarat nisi ut carnibus vesceretur,\(^{27}\) quas lex eis
interdicebat.

O fratres et commonachi, qui tam impudenter quotidie contra Regulae institutione-
num ac vestram\(^{28}\) professionem ad carnes inhiatis, quid ad huius mulieris
constantiam dicturi estis? Numquid tam invercundi estis ut cum haec auditis
erubescentia\(^{29}\) non confundamini? Sciatis, fratres, quod de regina austri Dominus
incrédulis exprobrat dicens: \textit{Regina austri surget in iudicio cum generatione

\(^{90}\) om. Amb.
\(^{91}\) Hester T[1] Heathcr CF] Ester R.
\(^{92}\) apostoli R Amb.
\(^{1}\) Dei FG.
\(^{2}\) Cf. Judith xiii.
\(^{3}\) ipsius CEF.
\(^{4}\) om. CEF.
\(^{5}\) om. BCEFR Amb.
\(^{6}\) constitutamque F Amb.
\(^{7}\) regiaeque T: add et BR.
\(^{8}\) I Kings xviii, 50.
\(^{9}\) Cf. Judith x.
\(^{10}\) add et CEF Amb.
\(^{11}\) Cf. Esther viii.
\(^{12}\) om. CEF.
\(^{13}\) add et CF.
\(^{14}\) sententiam BCEFR.
\(^{15}\) Cf. II Machabees vii.
\(^{16}\) Ibid.
\(^{17}\) mater suae Amb.
\(^{18}\) deum BCEFR.
\(^{19}\) om. BR.
\(^{20}\) Job ii, 29.
\(^{21}\) angustias Amb.
\(^{22}\) Cf. St. Gregory Moralia III, 4; PL 75, 601.
\(^{23}\) guam CEF.
\(^{24}\) occurreret BR.
\(^{25}\) om. F.
\(^{26}\) By correction T[1] inquit BR, aliud om. Amb.
\(^{27}\) ab eis om. BR.
\(^{28}\) vesceretur BR. Cf. II Mach. vii, 1.
\(^{29}\) nostram Amb.
\(^{30}\) erubescentiam CE Amb.
\(^{31}\) Matt. xii, 42.

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ista et condemnabit eam, multo amplius vobis de huius mulieris constantia improprandum esse, quae et longe maiora fecerit et vos vestrae professionis voto religioni arctius astrieti estis. Cuius quidem tanto agone virtus examinata hoc in Ecclesia privilegium obtinere meruit ut eius martyrium solemnes lectiones atque missam habeat; quod nulli antiquorum sanctorum concessum est, quicunque sicollet adventum Domini moriendo praeventerunt, quamvis in ipsa Machabaeorum historia Eleazarus ille venerabilis senex unus de primoribus Scribarum eadem causa martyrio iam coronatus fuissa referatur.

Sed quia, ut diximus, quo naturaliter feminine sexus est infirmior, eo virtus eius est Deo acceptabili et honore dignior, nequaquam martyrium illud in festivitate memoriam meruit cui femina non interfuit; quasi pro magno non habeatur, si fortior sexus fortiter patiatur. Unde et in laude praedictae feminae amplius Scriptura prorumpens ait: Supra modum autem mater mirabilis et honorum memoria digna, quae percuntex septem filios sub unius diei tempore conscipti bona animo ferebat propter spem quam in Deo habebat. Singulos illorum hortabatur fortiter, repleta sapientia et feminine cogitationum masculinum animum inserens.

Quis in laudem virginum unicam illam Iephete filiam assumi non seseat; quae ne voli licet improvidi reus pater haberetur et divinae gratiae beneficium promissa fraudaretur hostia, victorem patrem in iugulum proprium animavit. Quid haec, queso, in agone martyrum factura esset, si forte ab infidelibus negando Deum apostatata cogeretur? Nonquid interrogata de Christo cum illo iam apostolorum principe diceret: Non novi illum? Dimissa per duos menses a patre libera, his completis, redit ad patrem occidenta. Sponte morti se ingerit et eam magis provocat quam veretur. Stultum patris plecitur votum, et paternum redimit mandacium amatrix maxima veritatis. Quantum hunc in se lapsum abhorreret quem in patre non sustinet? Quantus hic est virginis fervor tam in carnalem quam in coelestem patrem? Quae simul morte sua et hunc a mendacio liberare et illi promissum decrevit conservare. Unde meci to tanta haec puellaris animi fortitudo praerogativa quadam id meruit obtinere ut per annos singulos filiae Israel in unum convenientes quasi quibusdam solemnibus hymnis festivas virginis agent exequias, et de passione virginis compunctae piis plantibus compatianturn.

Ut autem cetera omnia praetermittamus, quid tam necessarium nostrae redemptioni et totius mundi salutis fuerit quam sexus feminine, qui nobis ipsum peperit Salvatorem? Cuius quidem honoris singularitatem mulier illa quae prima irrumpere ausa est ad beatum Hilarionem illi admirandi opponebat dicens:

Quid avertis oculos? Quod rogantem fugis? Noli me mulierem aspicer, sed miseram. Hic sexus genuit Salvatorem.

Quae gloria huic poterit comparari quam in Domini matre adeptus est sexus iste? Posset utique, si vellet, reemptor noster de viro corpus assumere sicut

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primam feminam de corpore viri voluit formare. Sed hanc suae humiditatis
singularem gratiam ad infirmioris sexus transtulit honorem. Posset et alia parte
muliebris corporis digniore nasci quam ceteri homines, eadem qua consciuntur
vilissima portione nascentes. Sed ad incomparabilem infirmioris corporis honorem
longe amplius ortu suo consecravit eius genitale, quam viri fecerat ex cir-
cumciscione.

Atque ut hunc singularem virginum nunc omittam honorem, libet ad ceteras
quoue feminas sicut proposimus stilum convertere. Attendite itaque quantam
statim gratiam adventus Christi Elisabeth coniugatae, quantum exhibuit Annae
viduae. Virum" Elizabeth Zachariam magnum Domini sacerdotem incredulitatis
diffidentia mutum adhuc tenebat, dum in adventu et salutatione Mariae ipsa mox
Elisabeth Spiritu Sancto repleta et exultantem in utero suo parvulum sensit et,
prophetiam iam de ipso completo Mariae conceptu prima proferens, plus quam
propheta extitit." Praesentem quippe illico virginis conceptum nuntiavit, et
ipsam Domini matrem ad magnificandum super hoc ipso Dominum concitavit.
 Excellentius autem prophetiae donum in Elizabeth videtur completum,
conceptum statim Dei Filium agnoscere, quam in Ioanne ipsum iamdudum natum
ostendere. Sicut igitur Mariam Magdalenam apostolorum dicimus apostolam, sic
nec istam prophetarum dicere dubitemus prophetam sive ipsam beatam viduam
Annam de qua supra latius actum est." 

Quod si hanc prophetiae gratiam usque ad gentiles etiam extendamus, Sibylla
vates in medium procedat et quae ei de Christo revelata sunt proferat. Cum qua
si universos conferamus prophetas, ipsum etiam Isaiam, qui, ut Hieronymus
asserit, non tam prophetam quam evangelista dicendus est, videbimus in hac
quoue gratia feminam viris longe praestare. De qua Augustinus contra quinque
hereses testimonium proferens ait:" 

Audiamus quid etiam Sibylla vates eorum de eodem dicat: Alium, inquit,
dedit Dominus hominibus fidelibus colementum . . . Item . . . Ipse tuum
cognosce Dominum Dei Filium esse. Alio loco Filium Dei symbolum" appellat,
id est consiliarium vel consilium. Et prophet dicit: "Vocabunt" nomen
eius admirabilis, consiliarius.

De qua rursus idem pater Augustinus in decimo octavo De Civitate Dei." 

Eo, inquit, tempore nonnulli Sibyllam Erythraem" vaticinatam ferunt . . .
quam quidam magis credunt" esse Cumanam; . . . et sunt eius viginti et
septem versus . . . qui . . . sicut eos quidam Latinis . . . versibus est interpretatuum, hoc continent:

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85 Cf. St. Augustine De Geneesi ad Litt.,
9, 16, 36; CELS 28, 3, 2. p. 290; PL 34, 465.
86 in T.
87 virum . . . concitavit om. CEF.
88 incrudelitatis T.
90 enim CEF.
91 om. BCEFR.
92 sive . . . est om. CEF.
93 see above.
94 Sibilla AT. There were Sibylline
Oracles composed by pagans and also those
by Jews and Christians. Those by the Jews
date from about the second century B.C.; those
by the Christians from the second or
third centuries. The latter were much used
by Lactantius as well as by St. Augustine.
Cf. H. Diels, Sybillinische Blütter (Berlin,
1890); J. Geffcken, Die Oracula Sybillina in
Die Griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten
drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig, 1902); O. Bar-
denheuer, Geschichte der Altkirchen
Literatur II, 708ff. Texte und Untersuchun-
gen 23 (Leipzig, 1902).
95 Cf. Com. in Isaiam Prophetaem, Prologus;
PL 24, 18; Praefatio in Librum Isaias; PL
29, 825 B; St. Augustine, De Civ. Dei XVIII,
29; CELS 40, 5, 15, p. 305; PL 41, 85.
96 om. Amb.
97 PL 42, 1103. Spurious.
98 om. BCEFR.
99 Sibillae 5, 2. Ms A resumes.
100 simbolon TJ simbolou RI in Greek F.
101 om. Amb.
102 Cf. Isaias ix, 6.
103 vocabitor F.
104 Cf. 18, 23 ff.; CELS 40, 5, lb, p. 299; PL
41, 580.
105 Erecteam A1 corrupt BRIErecteam by
correction T.
106 credebant CF.
107 Cumaeum Text.
Iudicici signum, tellus\textsuperscript{66} sudore madesct.
E caelo rex adveniet per saecla futurus.
Scilicet in carne praesens ut iudicet orbem etc.\textsuperscript{67}

Quorum quidem versus primae litterae in Graeco coniunctae id sonant: Iesus Christus Filius Dei Salvator. Infert etiam Lactantius\textsuperscript{67} . . . quaedam de Christo vaticinia Sibyllae . . . : In manus, inquit, infidelium postea veniet; dabunt . . . Deus alapas manibus inesistis et impuratus\textsuperscript{68} ore expuet venenatos sputos; dabit vero\textsuperscript{69} ad verberra suppliciter sanctum ducrum. Et colaphos accipiens tacebit, ne quis agnoscat quod verbum vel unde venit.\textsuperscript{70} ut\textsuperscript{70} inferis loquatur, et spinea corona coronetur.\textsuperscript{71} Ad cibum autem fel et ad situm acetum dederunt; \textsuperscript{72} in hospitalitatis\textsuperscript{72} hanc monstrabunt mensam. Ipsa\textsuperscript{73} enim insipiens gens tuum Deum\textsuperscript{74} non intellectisti, judement\textsuperscript{75} mortalium mentibus, sed spinis coronasti, fel miscuisti. Templi velum scindetur et in medio die nox erit . . . tribus horis; et morietur tribus diebus somno suscepito, et tunc ab inferis regressus ad lucem veniet primus resurrectionis principior . . . ostensus.

Hoc profecto Sibyllae vaticinium, ni fallor,\textsuperscript{76} maximus ille poetarum nostrorum Virgilius\textsuperscript{77} audierat atque attenderat, cum in quarta Ecloga\textsuperscript{78} futurum in proximo sub Augusto Caesare, tempore consulatus Pollionis, mihiabile cuiusdam pueri de caelo ad terras mitendi, qui etiam peccata mundi tolleret et quasi saeculum novum in mundo mirabiliter averteret, praecineret orum; admonitus, ut issement ait, Cumaei carminis vaticinio, hoc est, Sibyllae\textsuperscript{79} quae Cumae\textsuperscript{1} dicitur. Ait quippe sic quasi adhortans quoslibet ad congratulandum sibi et concinnandum seu scribendum de hoc tanto puero nascitur in comparazione cuius omnes alias materias quasi infimas\textsuperscript{80} et viles reputat, dicens:

Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus!
Non omnes arbussta iuvant humilesque mericae
. . . Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas,
Magnus ab integro saeculum nascitur ordo.
Iam redit et virgo, redempta Saturnia regna,
Iam nova progenies coelo demittitur alto. etc.

Inspice singula Sibyllae dicta et quam integre et aperte Christianae fidei de Christo summam\textsuperscript{3} colloquentia. Quae nec divinitatem eius nec humanitatem, nec utrumque ipsius adventum, nec utrumque iudicium prophetando vel scribendo praetermissit; primum quidem iudicium quo inuiste iudicatus est in passione et secundum quo iuste iudicaturus est mundum in maiestate. Quae, nec descensum eius ad inferos nec resurrectionis gloriam praeterrimens, non solum\textsuperscript{4} prophetas verum etiam ipsos supergressa videtur evangelistis, qui de hoc eius descensu minime scripsierunt.

Quis non etiam illud tam familiarre prolixumque colloquium\textsuperscript{5} miretur, quo ipse
solus solam illam gentilem et Samaritanam mulierem tam diligenter dignatus est instruire, de quo et ipsi vehementer obstupuerunt apostoli? A quae etiam infidel et de virorum suorum multitudo reprehensa, potum ipse voluit postulare, quem nihil ulterius alimenti ab aliquo novimusquisisse. Superveniunt apostoli et emptos eis cibos offerunt, dicentes: *Rabbi, manducate: nec oblatos suscipi videmus, sed hoc quasi in excusationem ipsum praetenditisse:* 25 Ego cibum habeo manducare, quem vos nescitis. Potum ipse a muliere postulat; a quo se illa excuseans beneficio: *Quomodo, inquit, tu, Iudaeus cum sis, bibere a me poscis, quae sum mulier Samaritana? Non enim coutuntur Iudaei Samaritanis. Et iterum:* 26 Neque in quo haurias habes, et puteus altus est. Potum itaque a muliere infidel et id negante desiderat, qui oblatos ab apostolis cibos non curat.

Quae est ista, quae so, gratia quam exhibet infirmo sexui ut videlicet a muliere hac postulet aquam qui omnibus tribuit vitam? Quae, inquam, nisi ut patenter insinuet tanto sibi mulierum virtutem esse gratiorem, quanto earum natura esse constat infirmiorem, et se tanto amplius earum salutem desiderans sitire, quanto mirabiliorem earum virtutem constat esse? Unde et 27 cum a femina potum postulat, huic praecipue sibi suae per salutem feminarum satisferi velle se insinuat Quem potum etiam cibum vocans: Ego, inquit, 28 cibum habeo manducare, quem vos nescitis. Quem postmodum exponens cibum adiungit: *Meus cibus est ut faciam voluntatem Patris mei; hanc videlicet quasi singulariurni sui Patris voluntatem esse innuens ubi de salute agitur inimioris sexus.* 29 Legimus et familiare colloquium cum Nicodemo illo Iudaeorurn princeps Domini habuisse quo illum quoque ad se occulte venientem de salute sua ipse insinuabit, 30 sed illius colloquii non tantum hunc 31 fructum esse consequentum. 32 Hanc quippe Samaritanam et Spiritumae prophetiae repletam esse tunc constat quo videlicet Christum et ad Iudaeos iam venisse et ad gentes venturum esse professa est, cum dixerit: 33 *Seio quia Messias venit, qui dicitur Christus; cum ergo venerit ille, nobis annuntiabit omnia.* Et multos ex civitate illa propter verbum mulieris ad Christum cucerisse et in eum credisse, et ipsum duobus diebus apud se retinuisse qui tamen alibi discipulis ait: 34 *In viam gentium ne abieritis et in civitates Samaritanorum ne intraveritis. Refert alibi idem Ioannes quosdam ex gentilibus, qui ascenderant Hierosolymam ut adorarent in die festo, per Philippum 35 et Andrea Christo nuntiasse quod eum vellent videre. Nec 36 tamen eos esse admissos commemorat nec illis postulantibus tantam Christi copiam esse concessam quantam huic Samaritanae nequaquam id potenti, a qua eius in gentibus praedicatio coepisse videtur quam non solum converterit, sed per eam, ut dictum est, 37 multos acquisivit. Illuminati statim per stellam Magi et ad Christum conversi nullos exhortatione sua vel doctrina ad eum traxisse referuntur, 38 sed soli accessisses. Ex quo etiam licet quantam a Christo gratiam in gentibus mulier sith adepta quae, praecurrens et civitati nuntians eius adventum et qua audierat praedicans, tam propere ipsa multos de populo suo est lucrata. Quod si Veteris Testamenti vel evangelicae Scripturae paginas revolvamus, summa illa de resuscitatis mortuis beneficiam gratiam feminis praecipuae videbimus impedisse, nec nisi ipsis vel de ipsis haec miracula factauisse. Primo quippe per Eliam 39 et Elissaeum ad intercessionem matrum filios ipsarum

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8 A . . . sexus om. CF (to ex quo E).
9 John iv, 7.
10 John iv, 31.
11 excus . . . creditum om. BR.
12 John iv, 32.
13 Ibid., 9.
14 Ibid., 11.
15 corrected A.
16 cpbham A.
17 John iv, 32, 34.
18 Close lacuna CEF.
19 instruxit CEF.
20 tune A.
21 consequuntur T; lacuna to ex quo liquet CEF.
22 John iv, 25.
23 annunciat Amb.
24 Matt. x, 5.
26 phylippum T.
27 non Amb.
28 John iv, 41.
29 Matt. ii, 12.
30 accessione A. Close lacuna CEF.
31 ita Amb.
32 Helysaean AT. Cff. III Kings xvii, 22; IV Kings iv, 22 ff.
resuscitatos et eis redditos esse legimus. Et Dominus ipse viduae ciusdam filium suum et archisynagogi filiam et rogatu sororum Lazaram resuscitans hoc immensi miraculi beneficio maxime feminis impedient. Unde illud est Apostoli ad Hebraeos scribentis: Acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos. Nam et puella suscitata mortuum receptum corpus et ceterae feminae in consolationem sui quos plangebant mortuos recceperunt suscitati. Ex quo etiam liquet quantam semper feminis exhibuerit gratiam quas tam sua quam suorum resuscitatae primo laetificans, novissime quoque ipse propria resurrectione eas plurimum extulit quibus, ut dictum est, primum apparuit. Quod etiam hic sexus in populo persequente, quodam erga Dominum naturali compassionis affectu, visus est promereri; ut enim Lucas meminit, cum eum viri ad crucifigendum ducerent, feminae ipsorum sequebantur plangentes ipsum atque lamentantes. Quibus ipse conversus et quasi pietatis hulias vicem in ipsi statim passionis articulo misericorditer eis referens, futurum, ut cavere queant, praeedit, exitum: Filiae, inquit, Hierusalem nullite fieri super me sed super vos ipsas fiete et super filios vestros. Quia ecce venient dies, in quibus dicent: Beatae steriles, et ventres quae non genuerunt etc. Ad cuius etiam liberationem inquisi similis iudiciae uxorern antea fideliter laborasse Matthaeus commemorat dicens: Sedente autem illo pro tribunal, misit ad illum uxor eius dicens: Nihil tibi et justo illi; multa enim passa sum hocie per visum propeter eum. Quo etiam prae dicante, solam feminam de tota turba in tantam eius laudem legimus extullisse vocem ut beatum exclamaret utearem qui eum portaverit, et ubera quae suxerit. A quo et statim piam confessionis suae, licet verissimae, correctionem meruit audire, ipso confessum ei respondente: Quinimmo beati qui audient verbum Dei et custodiant ilud.

Solus Ioannes inter apostolos Christi hoc privilegium amoris obtinuit ut diiectus Domini vocaretur. De Martha autem et Maria ipse scribit Ioannes: quia diligebat Iesus Martham et sororem eius Mariam et Lazaram. Ipse idem apostolus, qui ex privilegio, ut dictum est, amoris se unum a Domino diiectum esse commenarat, hoc ipso privilegio quod nulli aliorum ascrispit apostolorum, feminas insignivit. In quo etiam honore, cum etiam fratem earum ipsis aggregaret, eas tamen illi praeposuit quas in amore praecellere credidit.

Libet denique, ut ad fideles seu Christianas redeamus feminas et divinae respectum misericordiae in ipsa etiam publicorum abiectione scortorum et stupendo praedicare et praedicando stupere. Quid enim abietiis quam Maria Magdalenae vel Maria Aegyptiae secundum vitae statum pristinae? Quas vero postmodum vel honore vel merito divina amplius gratia sublimavit; illam quidem quasi in apostolico permanentem coenobio, ut iam supra commemoravimus, hanc vero, ut scriptum est, supra humanam virtutem anchoretarum agone dimicantem, ut in utrorumque monachorum proposito sancturar virtus feminarum praemineat, et illud quod incredulis sit Dominus: meretricis praecedent vos in regnum Dei ipsis etiam fidelibus viris improperandum videatur, et secundum

~ et eis redditos om. Amb.
~ quod CEF Cf. Mark v, 42.
~ Cf. John xi, 44.
~ Cf. Hebreus xi, 35.
~ Lacuna CEF.
~ resuscitata A.
~ Close lacuna EF.
~ Close lacuna G.
~ exitium G.
~ Hierosolymam T.
~ om. T.
~ Matt. xxvii, 19.

~ correctionem A.
~ ex Maria T.
~ By correction T.
~ om. T Amb.
~ etiam Amb.
~ Close lacuna 3CEFR.
~ Christianas seu fideles A.
~ om. BRT Amb.
~ respectu ERJ Iudicium CF.
~ etiam T. est Amb.
~ hact Amb. Cf. Vitae Patrum; PL 73, 671 ff.
~ anchoritarum A.
~ dimicante BRT Amb.
~ et Amb.
~ add esse CEF.
sexuum seu vitae differentiam iabant novissimi primi et primi novissimi. Quis
denique ignoret feminas exhortationem Christi et consilium apostolorum tant
caestionum vel esse complexas ut pro conservanda carnis pariter ac mentis
integritate Deo se per\textsuperscript{24} martyrium\textsuperscript{25} offerrent holocaustum, et gemina trium-
phantes corona agnum sponsum virginitum quocumque iterit sequi studerent?\textsuperscript{26}
Quam quidem virtutum perfectionem raram in viris, crebrand in feminis esse
cognominus. Quorum etiam nonnullas tantum in hac carnis praerogativa zelum
habuisse legitimus ut non sibi manum inferre dubitarent ne quam Deo voverant
incorruptionem amitterent, et ad sponsum virginem\textsuperscript{27} non\textsuperscript{28} virgines pervenirent.
Qui etiam sanctarum devotionem virginitum in tantum sibi gratam esse monstravit
ut gentiles\textsuperscript{29} populi multitudinem ad beatae Agathae sufragium concurrentem
velo eius contra aetuanstis Aethnae terribilium ignem oposito\textsuperscript{30} tam a corporis
quam animae liberaret\textsuperscript{31} incendio. Nullam novimus monachi cucullam beneficii
tanti gratiam esse adoptam. Legimus quidem ad tactum pallii Eliae\textsuperscript{32} Iordanem
esse divisum, et ipsi pariter et Elisaee viam per terram praebuisse, velo autem
virginis immensam adhuc\textsuperscript{33} infidelis\textsuperscript{34} populi\textsuperscript{35} multitutinem tam mente salvari
quam corpore, et sic eis conversis ad coelestia viam paulius. Illud quoque non
modicum sanctorum dignitatem commendat feminarum, quod in suis ipsae\textsuperscript{36}
verbis consecravit, dicentes: \textit{anulo\textsuperscript{37} suo subarravit me etc.};\textsuperscript{38} ipsi \textit{sum despnsata}
etc. Haec quippe verba sunt beatae Agnetis in quibus virgines suam professionem
facientes Christo desponsantur.

\textit{Si\textsuperscript{39} quis etiam vestrae\textsuperscript{40} religiosis formam ac dignitatem apud Gentiles cog-
noscere cures, atque nonnulla inde quoque exempla ad exhortationem vestra-
ment inducere, facile deprehendet in ipsis etiam nonnullam huius propositi institutionem
praecessisse, excepto quod ad fidei pertinet tenorem, et multa in illis sicut et in
Iudaes praeecessisse, quae ex utrisque congregata ecclesia retinuit, sed in melius
commutavit. Quis enim\textsuperscript{41} nesciat universos clericorum ordinis ab ostiario usque
ad Episcopum, ipsumque tonsurae usum ecclesiasticum, qua clerici fiunt, et eunuch
quatratus Temporarum, et azymorum sacrificium, nec non ipsa sacerdotalium indu-
mentorum ornamenta, et nonnulla dedicationis vel alia sacramenta, a synagoga
ecclesiæ assumptae? Quis etiam ignorat ipsam,\textsuperscript{42} utillissima dispensatione, non
solum saecularium dignitatum gradus in regibus ceterisque principibus, et
nonnulla legum decreta vel philosophiae disciplinae documenta in conversis
gentibus retinuissent, verum etiam quosdam ecclesiasticarum dignitatum gradus,
vel continentiae formam et corporalis menditiae religione aebis accipisse.
Constat quippe nunc episcopos vel archiepiscopos præsidere ubi tunc flamines
vel archiflamines habebantur, et quae tunc temppla daemonibus sunt instituta,

\textsuperscript{24} in \textit{F} om. E.
\textsuperscript{25} martyrii F.
\textsuperscript{26} studient \textit{CEF}.
\textsuperscript{27} virginitum F.
\textsuperscript{28} om. \textit{ABCERT} Amb.
\textsuperscript{29} gentiles FT.
\textsuperscript{30} aposito A. Cf. \textit{Acta S. Agathae} 15;
\textit{Acta SS.}, Feb. IV, p. 624.
\textsuperscript{31} libraravit E. Amb.
\textsuperscript{32} Heliae \textit{CEF Amb.} Helyae ABRT. Cf.
\textit{IV Kings} ii. 8 ff.
\textsuperscript{33} om. \textit{CEF}.
\textsuperscript{34} inf.] infidelibus \textit{CEF}.
\textsuperscript{35} pop ... conversis om .\textit{CEF}.
\textsuperscript{36} in se BR.
\textsuperscript{37} annulo \textit{CB Amb}.
\textsuperscript{38} om. Amb. \textit{Vita Sanctre Agnetis} 1. 3,
formerly ascribed to St. Ambrose. \textit{Acta SS.},
Jan. ii. p. 115; also Michel Andrieu, \textit{Le Pont-
ifical Romain du XIIeme Siecle} 1, p. 163.

The words: \textit{ipsi sum despnsata} are there
only \textit{ad sensum}. They are part of the re-
sponse to the seventh Lesson of the Feast of
St. Agnes for Jan. 21st in the Roman
Breviary.
\textsuperscript{39} si ... insignita om. \textit{CEF}.
\textsuperscript{40} nostrae BR.
\textsuperscript{41} om. Amb. St. Clement of Rome sees a
prototype of the Sacred Orders in the
leaders signified by God to Moses as related
in \textit{Numbers} xvii. Cf. St. Clement of Rome,
\textit{Epist. ad Corinth.} 42, 45; \textit{PG} 1, 291 ff. \textit{Texte}
und \textit{Untersuchungen} 20, pp. 129, 130. He
gives \textit{Isaia} ix. 17, from a version differ-
ing somewhat from the Septuagint: St.
Isidore of Seville compares the tonsure to
the tiara of the priests of the Old Law. \textit{De
Eccles. Officis} 2, 4; \textit{PL} 85, 789. St. Leo the
Great considered that the Wednesday and
Friday fasts from which, with the Saturday
Vigil, The Ember Days developed were
taken from the observance of the Old Law.
\textit{Cf. Sermon XV}; 2; \textit{PL} 54, 174, \textit{Cf. Zacharias}
xi. 19.
\textsuperscript{42} ipsum Amb.
postea Domino fuisse consecrata et sanctorum memorii insignita. Scimus et in gentibus praeicipue praerogativam virginitatis entuisse, cum maledictum legis ad nuptias Iudaes coarceret, et in tantum gentibus hanc virtutem seu munditionem carnis acceptam extuisse, ut in templis earum magni feminarum conventus caelesti se vitae dicarent. Unde Hieronymus, in Epistolam ad Galatas, libro tertio:

Quid nos, inquit, oportet facere, in quorum condemnationem habet et Iuno univiras, et Vesta virgines, alia et idola continentes?

Univiras autem et virgines dicit quasi monachas quae viros noverant, et monachas virgines. Monos enim, unde monachus, id est, solitarius dicitur, unum sonat. Qui etiam libro primo contra Iovinianum multis de castitate vel continencia gentilium feminarum inductis exemplis:

Scio, inquit, in catalogo feminarum me plura dixisse... ut quae Christianae pudicitiae despiciant ridem, discant saltem ab ethincis castitatem.

Qui in eodem supra illam quoque continentiae virtutem adeo commendavit ut hanc praeicipue munditionem carnis in omni gente Dominus approbasse videatur, et nonnullis eam infidelibus quoque vel collatione meritorum vel exhibitione miraculorum extulisse.

Quid referam, inquit, sibyllam Erythream atque Cumanam et octo reliquas: Nam Varro decem fuisse autumnat quorum insigne virginitas est et virginitatis praemium divinatio.

Item:

Claudia Virgo vestalis, cum in suspicionem venisset supri... furtur cingulo duxisse ratem quam hominum milia trahere nequiverant.

Et Sidonius Claremontensis episcopus in Propenticon ad Libellum suum ita loquitur:

Qualis nec Tanaquil fuit nec illa,
Quam tu, Trecipitine, procreasti,
Qualis nec Phrygiae dicata Vestae
Quae contra satis Albulam tumentem
Duxit virgineo ratem capillo.

Augustinus, De Civitate Dei, libro XXII:

Iam si a eorum miracula veniamus, quae facta a diis suis martyribus opponunt nostris, nonne etiam ipsa pro nobis facere et nobis repercurent omnino proficere? Nam inter magna miracula deorum suorum profecto magnum illud est, quod Varro commemorat, vestalem virginem, cum periclitaretur falsa suspicione de stupro, cibi righte eque e Tiberi...
et ad suos iudices nulla eius parte stillante portasse. Quis aquae pondus ... tenuit ... totc cavernis patentibus ... Itane Deus omnipotens ... terrenoporpori grave pondus auferre non poterit, ut in eodem elemento habitet vivificatum corpus, in quo voluerit vivificans spiritus?

Nec mirum si his vel aliis Deus miraculis infidelium quoque castitatem extulerit, vel officio daemonum extolli permiserit, ut tanto amplius nunc fideles ad ipsam animarentur, quanto hanc in infidelibus quoque amplius exaltari cognoverint. Scimus et Caiphae praelatione* non persaeae prophetae* gratiam esse collatam et pseudo quoque apostolos miraculis nonnumquam* coruscasse et hae* non personis eorum, sed officio, esse concessa. Quod igitur mirum si Dominus, non personis infidelium feminarum, sed virtuti continentiae ipsarum hoc concesserit* ad innocentiam virginis saltam liberandam et falsae accusationis improbitatem conterendam? Constat quippe amorem continentiae bonum esse etiam in infidelibus, sicut et coniugalis pactionis observantium donum Dei apud omnes esse, ideoque mirabile non videri, si sua doa, non erromen infidelitatis, per signa quae infidelibus finit non fidelibus Deus honoret, maxime quando per haec, ut* dictum est, et* innocentia liberatur et perversorum hominum malitia* reprimitur, et ad hoc, quod ita magnificatur bonum, homines amplius cohortantur, per quod tanto minus ab infidelibus quoque peccatur, quanto amplius a voluptatibus carnis receditur. Quod nunc etiam cum plerisque aliis adversus praedictum incontinentem hereticum beatu non inconvenienter induxit Hieronymus ut, quae non miratur in Christianis, erubescent in ethnis. Quis etiam dona Dei esse denegat potestatem etiam infidelium principum, etsi perverse ipsa utantur, vel amorem iustitiae vel mansuetudinem quam habent leges naturali, vel cetera quae decent principes? Quis bona esse contradicat quia malis sunt permixta, praesertim cum, ut beatu astra* Augustinus et manifesta ratio testatur, mala esse nequeant nisi in natura bona? Quis non illud approbet quo poetica perhibet sententia: Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore? Quis Vespasiani nondum imperatorum miraculum quod Suetonius* refert, de caeco videlicet et claudio per eum curatis, non magis approbet quam neget ut eius virtutem amplius aemulari velin principes, aut quod de anima Traiani beatu egisse Gregorius refertur? Noverunt* homines in coeno margaritam* legere et a paleis grana discernere. Et dona sua infidelitati adiuncta Deus ignorare non potest, nec quicquam horum quae fecit odire. Quae, quo amplius signis coruscant, tanto amplius in esse demonstrat, nec hominum pravitate sua inquirini posse, et quis sit fidelibus sperandus qui talen se exhibet infidelibus. Quantam autem apud infideles dignitatem devota illa templis pudicitia sit adepta vindicta violatationis indicat. Quam scilicet vindictam Iuvenalis commemorans in quarta satira, Contra Crispinum, sic de ipso ait. 

* F adds several words.
* Cornore EJ corpus R1 corporis H.
* ab FJ om. C.
* praecitatione BCEHR.
* nonnusquam T. Amb.
* hoc A.
* Cf. Matt. xxiv, 24; St. Augustine, De diversis Quaestiomibus 79, 3; PL 49, 92.
* earum CEFH.
* concessit CF.
* falc te T.
* et C Amb.
* add est CF.
* add debet F.
* hoc ACFE.
* om. Amb.
* malicia A.
Sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.

Unde et Augustinus, De Civitate Dei, libro III: Nam et ipsi, inquit, Romani antiqui in stupro detectas Vestae sacerdotes vivas ... defodiebant, adulteras autem feminas, quamvis aliqua damnatione, nulla tamen morte plectebant; usque adeo gravius quae putabant adyta divina quam humana cubilia vindicabant.

Apud nos autem Christianorum cura principium tanto amplius vestrae providit castimoniae, quanto eam sanctiorem esse non dubitatur. Unde Iustinianus Augustus:

Si quis, inquit, non dicam rapere, sed attemptare tantum causa iungendi matrimonium sacras virgines ausus fuerit, capitali poena feriatur.

Ecclesiasticae quoque sancto disciplinae, quae poenitentiae remedia non mortis supplicia qu aerit, quam severa sententia lapsus vestros praeveniens est non dubium.

Unde illud est Innocentii papae Victricio episcopo Rothmagensi Capitulo 13:

Quae Christo spiritualiter nubunt et a sacerdote velantur, si postea vel publice nuperint, vel occulte corruptae fuerint, non eas admittendas esse ad agendum poenitentiam, nisi is cui se coniunxerant de hac vita discesserit.

Hae vero quae necdum sacro velamine tectae, tamen in proposito virginali semper se simulaverunt permanere, licet velatae non fuerint, his agenda aliquanto tempore poenitentia est, quia sponsio earum a Domino tenebatur. Si enim inter homines solet bonae fidei contractus nulla ratione dissolvit, quanto magis ista polliticiato quam cum Deo pepigerunt solvi sine vindicta non poterit? Nam si apostolus Paulus, quae a proposito viduitatis discesserant, dixit eas habere condemnationem quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt, quanto magis virgines quae prioris propositionis fidem minime servaverunt? Hinc et Pelagius ille notabilis ad filiam Mauritii:

Crinosior est, inquit, Christi adultera quam mariti. Unde pulchre Romana Ecclesia tam severam nuper de huius modi statuit sententiam ut vix vel poenitentia dignas iudicaret quae sanctificatum Deo corpus libidinoso coquinatone violassent.

Quod si perscrutari velimus quantam curam, quantam diligentiam et caritatem

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58 vitata ABRI vitata Amb. J vitata H.
59 By correction A.
60 3; 5; CSEL 40, 1, p. 114; PL 41, 82.
61 vestales F.
62 abdita BCERT Amb. J audita HR.
63 nostra FR Amb.
64 1. 3. 5; Corpus Iuris Civilis II, ed. P. Krueger (Berlin 1915), p. 19.
65 attentare FR Amb.
66 nostris A.
68 quod AR.
69 hi quibus F.
70 adduxerat BCHR.
71 dcesserit A] dcesserit R] dcesserint F.
72 nec BHR.
73 rectae A.
74 cum BR.
75 simulaverint C Amb.
76 fuerunt A.
77 aliquando BHR.
78 temporis T.
79 recesserant CEF.
80 I Tim. v. 12.
81 potius ABCEFHR.
82 The work of Pelagius, the heretic, from which this extract is taken generally known in the Middle Ages as Virginitatis Laus. It is found in several places in PL but not attributed to Pelagius: (a) among the letters of Sulpicius Severus: PL 20, 241C, CSEL 1; (b) a spurious letter of St. Jerome PL 30, 191A; (c) among the works of Benedict of Aniane, as belonging to St. Athanasius; PL 103, 684B. It is originally one of the decrees of Pope Innocent I, ch. 13; PL 20, 478. Where did Abelard get its true attribution?
sancti doctores, ipsius Domini et apostolorum exemplis incitati devotis semper exhiberunt feminis, reperiemus eos summo diliciis zelo devotionem earum ampliexos fuisse et fovisse et multiplici doctrinae vel exhortationis studio earum religionem fugiter instruxisse atque auxisse.

Atque, ut ceteros omittam, praecipui doctores Ecclesiae producantur in medium, Origines scilicet, Ambrosius atque Hieronymus. Quorum quidem primus ille, videlicet maximus Christianorum philosophus, religionem feminarum tanto ampliexus est zelo ut sibi manus ipse inferret, sicut Eclesiastic hạ referit Historia, ne ulla eum suspicio a doctrina vel exhortatione mulierum abduceret.

Quis etiam ignoret quantam Ecclesiae divinorum messem librorum rogatu Paulae et Eustochii beatus reliquerit Hieronymus? Quibus inter cetera sermonem etiam de assumptione matris Domini iuxta earum petitionem scribens, idipsum profitetur dicens: Sed quia negare non quod quicquid iniungitis, nimir vestra devinctas dilicetone experiar quod hortamini. Scimus autem nonnullas maximorum doctorum tam ordinis quam vitae dignitate sublimium nonnumquam ad eum de longinquo scribentes parva ab eo requisisse scripta nec impetrasses. Unde et illud est beati Augustini in secundo Retractionum libro:

Scripsi et duos libros ad presbyterum Hieronymum sedentem in Bethlehem, unum de origine animae, alium de sententia apostoli Iacobi ubi ait: Quicumque totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus, de utroque consulens eum. Sed in illo priore quaestio quam proposui ipse non solvi. In posteriori autem quid mihi de illa solvenda videretur non tacui. Sed utrum hoc approbaret etiam illum consuli. Respondit autem laudans eadem considerationem meam; sibi tamen ad respondendum otium non esse respondit. Ego vero quousque esset in corpore hos libros edere nolui ne forte responderet aliquando, et cum ipsa responsione eis potius edentur. Illo autem defuncto edidi.

Ecce virum tantum tanto tempore paucu et parva rescripta a praedicto viro exspectasse, nec accepisses. Quem quidem ad petitionem praedictarum feminarum in tot et tantis voluminibus vel transferendis vel dictandis sudasse cognovimus, longe eis maiore quam episcopo reverentiam in hoc exhibens Quarum fortissim tanto amplius virtutem amplexitut studii, nec contristare sustinet, quanta earum naturam fragiliorem considerat. Unde et nonnumquam zelus caritatis eius erga huiusmodi feminas tantus esse deprehenditur ut in earum laudibus aliquatenus veritatis tramitem excedere videatur, quasi in seipso illud expertus quod aliqui commemorabant: Caritas, inquit, mensuram non habet. Qui in ipso statim exordio vitae sanctae Paulae, quasi attinent sibi lectorem praeparare desiderans, ait: Si cuncta mei corporis membra verterentur in linguas, et omnes artus humana voce resonarent, nihil dignum sanctae ac venerabilis Paulae virtutibus dicerem. Descripsit et nonnullas sanctorum Patrum venerabiles vitae atque miraculis coruscas in quisque longe mirabilia sunt quae referuntur. Nullum tamen eorum tanta laude verborum extulisse videtur quanta hanc viduam commendavit. Qui etiam ad Demetriadem virginem scribens tanta eius laude frontem ipsius insignivit epistolae ut non in modicam labi videatur adulationem:
Inter omnes, inquit, materias quas ab infantiis usque ad hanc aetatem vel mea vel notariorum scripsi manu nihil praesenti opere difficilior. Scripturus enim ad Demetriadem virginem Christi quae et nobilitate et divitiis prima est in urbe Romana, si cuncta virtutibus eius congrua dixeris, adulari putabor.

Dulcisissimum quippe viro sancto fuerat quacumque arte verborum fragilis naturam ad ardua virtutis studia promovere. Ut autem opera nobis quam verba in hoc certiora praebant argumenta, tanta huiusmodi feminas excoluit caritate ut immensa eius sanctitas naevum sibi propriae imperaret famae. Quod et ipse quidem ad Asellam de fictis amicis atque sibi detrahentibus scribens inter cetera commemorat dicens:


Legitmus et Dominum ipsum tantam beatae meretrici familiaritatem exhibuisse ut qui eum invitaverat Pharisaeus ob hunc iam penitus de ipso diffiderat, apud se dicens: Hic si esset prophetæ, sciret utique quae et quæ est quae tangit eum, et cetera. Quid ergo mirum si pro lucro talium animarum ipsa Christi membra eius incitata exemplo propriae famae detrimentum non effugium? Quod quidem Origenes, ut dictum est cum cuperet evitare gravius sibi corporis detrimentum inferre sustinuit. Nec solum in doctrina vel exhortatione feminarum mira sanctorum Patrum caritas innotuet, verum etiam in earum consolatione ita vehemens nonnumquam extitit ut ad earum dolorem leniendum nonnulla fidei adversa promittere mira eorum compassio videatur. Qualis quidem illa est beati Ambrosii solatio quam super morte Valentianiani imperatoris sororibus eius scribere ausus est et eius qui cathenemus sit defunctus saltem adstreuer, quod longe a catholica fide atque evangelica veritate videtur dissidere. Non enim ignorabat quam accepta Deo semper exitterit virtus infirmioris sexus. Unde et cum innumeras videamus virgines matrem Domini in huibus excellentiæ proposito sequi paucos agnoscimus viros huius virtutis gratiam adeptos, ex qua quocumque iter ipsum sequi Agnum valerent. Cuius quidem zelo virtutis cum nonnullae sibi manum inferrent ut quam Deo voverant integritatem etiam carnis conservarent, non solum hoc in eis non est reprehensum sed apud plerisque

80 Epp. 130, 1; CSEL 56, 1, 3, p. 175; PL 22, 1107.
81 eius virtutibus Amb.
82 adhulari T.
83 om. A) novum BHR.
84 Epp. 45, 1, 2; CSEL 54, 1, 3, pp. 332 ff.
85 add et CEFR.
86 sensorunt Amb.
87 dicebat AH.
88 suspiceret G.
90 add mulier F.
91 om. EF Amb.
92 incitari BHR incitantes CEFR.
93 Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. 6, 8.
94 compassionem CEFR.
95 siiquidem CEFR.
96 qua BHR. Cf. De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio, 51; PL 15, 1455.
97 salute BHR.
98 adstruer Ambr.
99 euangelica ABR.
100 dedit CEFR defidere BHR.
1 Cf. Apoc. xiv, 4.
haec ipsarum martyria titulos eccelesiarum meruerunt. Desponsatae quoque virgines, si antequam viris suis carnaliter misceantur monasterium decreverunt\textsuperscript{a} eligere et, homine reprobato, sponsum sibi Deum effecere, liberam in hoc habent facultatem; quam nequaquam viris legimus indultam. Quorum etiam pleraeque tanto ad castimoniam\textsuperscript{b} zelo sunt accensae ut non solum contra legis decretum\textsuperscript{c} pro custodienda castitate virilem praesumereant habitum, verum etiam inter monachos tantis praeminen\textsuperscript{d} virtutibus ut abbatis fieri mererentur. Sicut de beata legitimus\textsuperscript{e} Eugenia quae sancto etiam Heleno episcopo conscio, immo\textsuperscript{f} iubente virilem habitum sumpsit et ab eo baptizata\textsuperscript{g} monachorum collegio est sociata.

Haec ad novissimarum petitionum tuarum primam, soror in Christo carissima, me satis rescripsisse arbitror, de auctoritate videlicet ordinis vestri,\textsuperscript{*} et insuper de commendatione propriae dignitatis, ut tanto studiosius vestrae professionis propitium amplexamin, quanto eius excellentiam amplius noveritis. Nunc ut secundam quoque, Domino annuente, perficiam, vestris id meritis et orationibus obtineam.\textsuperscript{39} Vale.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{a} decreverunt BHR.  
\textsuperscript{b} ad cast.\textsuperscript{1} castimoniae BR.  
\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Deut. xxii. 5.  
\textsuperscript{d} praesumereant A; praeminerent CF.  
\textsuperscript{*} Cf. Vitae Patrum 1; PL 73, 610 ff.  
\textsuperscript{*} add etiam CEF.  
\textsuperscript{40} corrupt T.  
\textsuperscript{40} nostri BF.  
\textsuperscript{40} obtineant B; optineant R.  
\textsuperscript{40} valete BHR.