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DE ORIGINE VIRTUTUM ET VITIORUM : AN ANONYMOUS TREATISE OF MORAL PSYCHOLOGY (C. 1200-1230)

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**DE ORIGINE VIRTUTUM ET VITIORUM :
AN ANONYMOUS TREATISE OF MORAL PSYCHOLOGY
(c. 1200-1230)**

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Résumé

L'article livre l'édition d'un traité intitulé, d'après le plus ancien témoin, De origine virtutum et vitiorum. Conservé dans quatre manuscrits, il est probablement l'œuvre d'un religieux anglais dans les premières décennies du XIII^e siècle. Il s'attache principalement à décrire l'interaction entre les puissances naturelles de l'âme humaine et les obligations morales des chrétiens. L'auteur manifeste son originalité par l'usage de classifications éloignées des traditions académiques. En dépit d'une forme scolaire, ce traité répond avant tout à des préoccupations pastorales.

Abstract

The article offers an edition of a treatise which in the oldest manuscript bears the title De origine virtutum et vitiorum. The treatise survives in four manuscripts and was probably written by an English religious in the first decades of the thirteenth century. Its principal theme is the interaction between the natural potencies of the human soul and the moral obligations of Christian believers. The arrangements of the treatise are most original, its author clearly standing aloof from academic tradition; despite its scholarly outlook, the treatise's concerns are essentially pastoral.

Zusammenfassung

Gegenstand dieses Aufsatzes ist die Veröffentlichung eines Traktates, der in der ältesten Handschrift den Titel De origine virtutum et vitiorum trägt. Der in vier Handschriften erhaltene Traktat wurde wahrscheinlich in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 13. Jahrhunderts von einem englischen Ordensgeistlichen verfasst. Hauptthema ist die Interaktion zwischen den natürlichen Potenzen der Seele und den moralischen Verpflichtungen der Christen. Der Traktat, dessen Autor offensichtlich abseits der akademischen Tradition stand, weist sehr originelles Gedankengut auf. Obwohl es sich dem Anschein nach um einen wissenschaftlichen Traktat handelt, ist er in erster Linie der Seelsorge gewidmet.

[Mots-clés : vices, vertus, morale]

I. INTRODUCTION*

Treatises on the virtues and vices are known in the Latin West from the Early Middle Ages. It is only from the late twelfth century, however, that such works were produced on a fairly regular basis¹. Some treatises bear a predominantly pastoral character, whereas others are fashioned as systematic *summae* of moral thought; of course, both types often intermingle². Many treatises on the virtues and vices still lay hidden in little studied manuscripts³. It is the intention of this article to bring one such treatise into light. In my view, the singularity of its contents justifies a critical edition.

Our treatise bears different titles in the four extant manuscripts: *De origine virtutum et vitiorum* (ms. *Cp*), *De virtutibus et beatitudinibus* (mss. *O* and *P*), *De virtutibus et vitiis* (ms. *Cj*). I have adopted the first title, as it not only occurs in the oldest manuscript which serves as the basis of my edition, but also refers to the (psychological) origin of the virtues and vices, which constitutes the principal theme of the work.

In both manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century (*Cp* and *O*), the treatise survives anonymously. The two later manuscripts propose a name for its author: *P* (fourteenth century) attributes the text to Bernard of Clairvaux, *Cj* (fifteenth century) to Hugh of Saint Victor. These attributions are untenable. I shall attempt to demonstrate that our treatise must have been written in England, probably during the first decades of the thirteenth century. But before addressing the question of the date and authorship of the treatise, I shall first analyse its contents in order to point out the exceptional position of the work in the history of Western moral thought.

Contents and originality of the treatise

The principal theme of our treatise is the interaction between the natural potencies of the human soul and the moral obligations of Christian believers. Psychological and moral categories constantly go together, as likewise happens in academic works of moral theology: Odon Lottin's monumental study *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* discusses a number of eminent

* The author owes thanks to Dirk-Jan Dekker, Richard Newhauser and Michiel Verweij for their helpful advice.

(1) For a survey of the genre and its development in the Middle Ages, see R. G. NEWHAUSER, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 68, Turnhout 1993.

(2) Good examples are two texts based on Simon of Hinton's *Summa iuniorum*; see I. P. BEJCZY and R. G. NEWHAUSER, «Two newly discovered abbreviations of Simon of Hinton's *Summa iuniorum*, concentrating on the virtues and vices», *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (in print).

(3) See M. W. BLOOMFIELD et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500 AD*, Cambridge MA 1979, to be updated by R. G. NEWHAUSER and I. P. BEJCZY, «Towards a revised *Incipitarium*: a preliminary list of additions, corrections, and deletions to update Morton Bloomfield et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices*» (forthcoming).

examples⁴. However, our treatise does not seem to belong to the academic tradition; despite its scholarly outlook, its concerns are essentially pastoral. Moreover, the specific connections proposed in our treatise between psychology and morality are for a large part unprecedented in any genre of medieval moral writing.

The treatise opens with the statement that human beings are created in order to know, love, obey and enjoy the Creator. To fulfil these four obligations, humans naturally dispose of reason (*ratio*), will (*voluntas*), a capacity or willingness to act (*facultas*) and joy (*alacritas*), respectively. I have not found other examples of this fourfold division in twelfth- and thirteenth-century thought. Most authors mention only three potencies of the mind: *rationalitas*, *irascibilitas* and *concupiscibilitas*; from the middle of the thirteenth century, *voluntas* is often added. Perhaps our treatise was influenced to some extent by Peter Lombard, who had described free will in his *Sententiae* as a *facultas rationis et voluntatis*. The text indeed once refers to *facultas voluntatis* (below, p.127); moreover, around 1200, some commentators of the Lombard came to consider *facultas* as a special mental aptitude, apart from reason and will⁵. But they never added *alacritas* in this context, and although they frequently connected the theological and cardinal virtues to the potencies of the mind, they only rarely established a direct connection between the mental aptitudes of man and his different moral obligations to God.

Since the Fall, continues our treatise, the rational (interior, spiritual) and the sensual (exterior, corporal) aspects of human nature are engaged in a constant struggle which greatly troubles the imposed task of knowing, loving, obeying and enjoying God. But divine grace still enables human beings to transform their four natural potencies through constant application into habits, and hence into virtues, for virtue is a habit of the well-ordered mind (according to the definition of Boethius), and habit is a quality which has become fixed through constant application (according to the definition of Aristotle). Christ teaches us that a mind is well-ordered when it subjects itself to the divine will. As a consequence, virtue can be alternatively defined as the constant and perpetual human will that follows the will of God (the parallel with the definition of justice in Roman law as the constant and perpetual will to give everyone his due is deliberate and explicit), or as the executor of moral science. Following the will of God specifically consists in imitating the strength of the Father, the wisdom of the Son and the benignity of the Holy Spirit – a division introduced in Western theology by Peter Abelard and adopted by Bernard of Clairvaux, even though Bernard thought Abelard's

(4) O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 6 vols., Louvain-Gembloux 1942-1960.

(5) See PETER LOMBARD, *Sententiae* 2.24.3 § 1, ed. I. BRADY, *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum* 4-5, Grottaferrata 1971-81, vol. 1, p. 452; LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, vol. 1, p. 28 seq. Magister Hubertus from Paris, who composed a summa between 1194 and 1200, distinguished four *potentiales vires animae* which could develop into the cardinal virtues: *irascibilitas/animositas* (fortitude), *rationalitas/ratio* (prudence), *concupiscibilitas/voluntas* (justice), *vis delectandi* (temperance); see R. HEINZMANN, *Die Summe « Colligite Fragmenta » des Magister Hubertus (Cm 28799)*, Munich etc. 1974, p. 193.

distinctions too strict⁶. All this and much more is put forward in just the first two paragraphs of our treatise. Its mixture of psychology and morality through a suitable combination of Greek, Roman and Christian definitions of key concepts is unique and points to an author of special abilities.

The next paragraph calls virtue a gift of God which humans are free either to accept or to reject; in the first case, the concurrence of human effort and divine grace will result in salvation. Christian scholars habitually distinguish general and special virtues. The general virtues are faith, hope and charity, related to the contemplative life and proper to Christians, as well as prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance, related to the active life and shared by Christians and «compliant pagans» (*gentiles bene morigerati*) alike, notwithstanding the concern of the latter with *honestas* and the common good instead of eternal life. The special virtues are the eight beatitudes, which receive their salutary character through the general virtues. The general virtues have their foundation in the four natural potencies: faith and prudence are founded in reason, charity and justice in the will, fortitude and temperance in *facultas*, hope in joy. The virtues belonging to the first three potencies earn merit, whereas hope founded in joy gives a foretaste of blessedness (below, p. 126-27). These unusual arrangements prove again that our treatise is the product of a remarkably independent mind. Ever since Hugh of Saint Victor composed his *De quinque septenis*, Christian authors tried to connect one by one moral concepts from different catalogues; our treatise presents a much more complicated picture, involving again moral as well as psychological categories. Also, our author's recognition of pagan virtues stands out by its frankness. From the second half of the twelfth century, theologians recognized non-Christian virtue, stating however that unbelievers did not possess any virtue in the true sense, that is, informed by grace and leading to a heavenly reward⁷. Our treatise makes no such qualifications; the fact that some pagans possess the cardinal virtues even seems to imply that they earn merit, despite the earlier claim that virtue resides in submission to God (later on, however, the author clearly states that salvation requires the three theological virtues). The connection of the theological virtues to contemplative life, and of the cardinal virtues to active life, is traditional by thirteenth-century standards, but the idea that only the theological virtues bear a salvific character departs from the position upon which theologians agreed from the late twelfth century. In their view, the cardinal virtues could be

(6) PETER ABELARD, *Theologia christiana* 1.1 seq., ed. E. M. BUYTAERT, CCCM 12, p. 72 seq.; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 190 (*De erroribus Petri Abaelardi*), in *Opera omnia*, ed. J. LECLERQ and H.-M. ROCHAS, 8 vols., Rome 1957-77, vol. 8, p. 22 (criticism), but see *Sententiae* 3.68, *Opera* vol. 2, p. 101; *Sermones de diversis* 45.1, *Opera* vol. 6.1, p. 262.

(7) See O. LOTTIN, «Les vertus morales acquises sont-elles de vraies vertus?», in ID., *Etudes de morale, histoire et doctrine*, Gembloux 1961, p. 67-129 (to be used with caution); I. P. BEJCZY, «The problem of natural virtue», in *Virtue and Ethics in the Twelfth Century*, ed. I. P. BEJCZY and R. G. NEWHAUSER, Leiden 2005, p. 133-154.

informed by grace when observed by true Christian believers and earn merit in the same way as faith, hope and charity⁸.

In the course of his exposition on the virtues, our author alludes to the Stoic doctrine of the four passions (gladness, hope, sadness and fear) which stand over against the four cardinal virtues. This doctrine was well known in Western Christendom; following Augustine, most authors rejected the idea that the passions, usually called *affectiones*, oppose the virtues and considered them instead as neutral powers which human beings could transform into either virtues or vices⁹. Our author further complicates this idea by presenting the passions as products of joy, the mental potency which also occasions the virtue of hope, and moreover as the passive counterparts of the four *actiones* produced by the will: love, desire, hate and caution. I have not found any parallel for this conception in writings composed around 1200, even though establishing connections between the passions and the virtues had by then become a common feature notably in Cistercian writing¹⁰. The names our author uses for the *passiones* (*gaudium, spes, tristitia, timor*) are unusual as well: in the twelfth century, they only occur in William of Saint Thierry's *De natura corporis et animae*¹¹, a work which breathes an interest in the relations between psychology and morality which comes close to the concerns of our treatise.

The discussion of the three theological virtues is limited to one paragraph. Faith comes first, charity second and hope third (below, p. 112-113). This view is in accordance with the opinion expressed earlier that faith and charity earn the eternal life of which hope gives a foretaste, but it fits rather ill with the orthodox doctrine that charity is the greatest theological virtue because it only will last in heaven¹². In fact, the theological virtues seem to have interested our author less than the four cardinal virtues, discussed in the following paragraphs. Justice is the executor of charity, argues our author, for lovers always want the same things; hence, those who love God want to follow his will, which amounts to justice. The remaining three cardinal virtues have mere auxiliary functions: prudence, which discerns good from evil, shows justice what it has to choose (*quasi quedam lucerna*, an image borrowed from the famous twelfth-century *Moralium dogma*

(8) See A. M. LANDGRAF, *Dogmengeschichte der Frühscholastik*, 4 in 8 vols., Regensburg 1952-1956, vol. 1.1, p. 161-183.

(9) See AUGUSTINE, *De civitate Dei* 14.9, ed. B. DOMBART and A. KALB, CCSL 48, Turnhout 1955, p. 425-430, followed by Isidore, *De differentiis rerum* 159-160, PL 83, col. 95. For an early thirteenth-century echo, see JOHN OF LA ROCHELLE, *Tractatus de divisione multiplici potentiarum animae* 2.50, ed. P. MICHAUD-QUANTIN, Paris 1964, p. 126-127.

(10) See BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Sermones de diversis* 50.2-3, *Opera* 6.1, p. 271-272; ISAAC OF STELLA, *Epistola de anima*, PL 194, col. 1878D-1879A (inserted into PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, *De spiritu et anima* 4, PL 40, col. 782); *Sermones* 3.1-2, 4.2, 4.16 and 17.11, ed. A. HOSTE, Sources chrétiennes 130, Paris 1967, p. 114, 130, 141, 318; GARNIER OF ROCHEFORT, *Sermo* 22, PL 205, col. 719A-720A. For GEOFFREY OF AUXERRE, see below, p. 112-113.

(11) WILLIAM OF SAINT THIERRY, *De natura corporis et animae* 2.88, ed. M. LEMOINE, Paris 1988, p. 175. Usually, *dolor* takes the place of *tristitia*.

(12) The orthodox view was formulated by AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana* 1.38.42-1.39.43, ed. J. MARTIN, CCSL 32, p. 30-31.

philosophorum), while fortitude and temperance help it to execute its task (below, p. 129). This view owes much to Abelard, who regarded justice informed by charity as man's central virtue, aided by prudence as its adviser and by fortitude and temperance as its executors¹³. Abelard's conception may have been mediated to our author through Bernard of Clairvaux who, for all his aversion to Abelard, classified the cardinal virtues in a similar way¹⁴. Moreover, Abelard was the only theologian in his century to consider prudence a science rather than a virtue. Our treatise includes prudence among the virtues, but earlier it defines virtue as the executor of moral science, that is, of the knowledge of what is good and evil. If it is prudence which provides that knowledge to justice, one is tempted to identify prudence with moral science, but our treatise does not explicitly make this association. Its remark that temperance moderates the three other virtues which otherwise would lose their value (below, p. 130), is less remarkable and echoes the opinion of a wide range of twelfth-century authors¹⁵.

The text continues with a long paraphrase of the theory of the cardinal virtues as expressed by Macrobius in his *Commentary on the «Somnium Scipionis»*, which served many authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who wrote on those virtues as a guideline. Having finished his paraphrase, our author does not comment on it but merely states that requirements of fasting and waking should be

(13) See J. MARENBOON, «Abelard's ethical theory: two definitions from the *Collationes*», in *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought: Studies in Honour of Edouard Jauneau*, ed. H. J. WESTRA, Leiden 1992, p. 301-314, here p. 303-306.

(14) See BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Sermo de diversis* 72.2, *Opera* 6.1, p. 308-309: «Iustitia est perfectio animae rationalis. Aliae virtutes sunt ad eius acquisitionem vel conservationem, fortitudo, temperantia, prudentia; iustitiam conservant ne amittatur aut minuatur». Shortly before, Bernard argues in contrast to our author that justice and fortitude are founded in the will, prudence and temperance in reason: «Iustitia et fortitudo sedem habent voluntatem, quia voluntas iusta debet esse et fortis... Prudentia et temperantia sedem habent in ratione, quia ratio prudens debet esse et temperata» (*ibid.*, 308).

(15) Cf. HILDEBERT OF LAVARDIN, *Ep.* 1.10, PL 171, col. 164C: «Temperantia plerumque infra licitum quiescit, ultra nunquam progreditur. Ea si desit, caeterae virtutes vel decidunt a summo, vel ad summum non ascendunt... Sic ipsa virtutes perennat, et ad praemium usque perducit»; ERNAUD (ARNAUD) OF BONNEVAL, *De operibus sex dierum*, PL 189, col. 1543A-B: «Ita prudentia, quae in bono est, sine temperantia nulla est; et quicumque intemperans est, nec de fortitudine gloriari potest, nec de iustitia»; HILDUIN (chancellor of the university of Paris 1178-1190), sermon cited in J. LONGÈRE, *Œuvres oratoires des maîtres parisiens au XII^e siècle*, 2 vols., Paris 1975, vol. 2, p. 238 n. 10: «Ceterarum vero virtutum quasi mater in forma, videtur esse temperantia. Fortitudo sine temperantia temeritas est. Sapientia sine temperantia insania est. Iustitia sine temperantia crudelitas est»; PETER THE CHANTER, *Verbum abbreviatum* 118, PL 205, col. 307B-C: «Temperantia... si desit, caeterae virtutes, vel decidunt a summo, vel ad summum non ascendunt, sed saepe sunt in vitio. Sine hac enim usus cujuslibet virtutis impetus est, non ratio»; RADULFUS ARDENS, *Homiliae in Epistolas et Evangelia Dominicalia* 2.12, PL 155, col. 1987C-D: «Modestia, fratres mei, est libra, condimentum, et temperantia caeterarum virtutum, et sine ea, non virtutes, sed vitia sunt... temperat etiam sapientiam ne cadat vel in caliditatem, vel in hebetudinem; temperat fortitudinem, ne cadat vel in audaciam, vel in timiditatem; temperat iustitiam ne cadat vel in credulitatem vel in negligentiam»; GERALD OF WALES, *De principis instructione*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* 8, ed. G.F. WARNER, London 1891, p. 21: temperance is «quasi condimentum quoddam caeterarum virtutum et colligamentum... hac sine virtus omnino nulla subsistat et, eadem ommissa, ad alias frustra virtutes eniti nusquam appetat».

adapted to the physical constitution of the persons in question (below, p. 131-132). However ill-placed this statement may seem in the context of Macrobius' *Commentary*, it fortunately allows one to assume that our treatise originated in a monastic environment.

The remaining parts of the treatise, though still mainly consisting of original work, make a less brilliant impression than the first half of the treatise. The author subsequently connects the virtues to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the beatitudes and the vices. His presentation involves schemes and definitions which sometimes make a rather technical impression, while his style tends to become more prolix, in contrast to the compelling succinctness which prevails in the first few paragraphs.

First, our author establishes the interrelations between the theological and cardinal virtues on the one hand and the gifts of the Holy Spirit on the other. The gifts are seven in number, so it would have been natural for him to link each of the virtues to one of the gifts, as happens in a number of moral writings from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries¹⁶. But our author again preferred a more complicated solution. The first gift, the fear of the Lord, engenders four other gifts : piety, knowledge, fortitude and counsel. Piety comprises the three theological virtues, knowledge equals prudence, fortitude is the same thing as a gift and as a virtue; finally, justice and temperance consist in counsel. By the two remaining gifts, understanding and wisdom, God affords some prelibation of eternal life (this reminds one of the earlier remarks on the virtue of hope, but our author, having subsumed hope under piety, does not take up the issue). Thereupon the treatise works out the interdependence of justice and charity by aid of Paul's dictum *Sobrie et iuste et pie vivamus in hoc seculo* (Tit. 2, 12), which defines the obligations of believers : they must be pious towards God, just towards their neighbour and sober towards themselves (a traditional view by 1200)¹⁷. As piety comprises the three theological virtues, argues our author, one may even regard Paul's dictum as a subaltern classification of the virtues (below, p. 135).

Next follows a discussion of the beatitudes. Our author demonstrates how the beatitudes flow from each other and are all based on humility, which he calls here the foundation of all virtues. Each beatitude stands for a different way of enjoying the one celestial reward, not for a different reward. The author devotes a long paragraph to the question of how the definitions of the special virtues, based on the beatitudes but also on the Decalogue, derive from the two (Boethius' and Aristotle's) definitions of virtue in general proposed at the beginning of his work.

(16) See PETER OF BLOIS, *Sermo* 38, PL 207, col. 673A-B; LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, vol. 3, p. 357-359 (anonymous Parisian master, 1230/35), 448-449 (Bonaventure); BEJCZY and NEWHAUSER, « Two newly discovered abbreviations » (Simon of Hinton). For other classifications, none of which corresponds to our treatise, see LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale*, vol. 3, p. 445-452.

(17) FULGENTIUS OF RUSPE appears to have introduced the view, see *De incarnatione* 37, ed. J. FRAIPONT, CCSL 91, p. 344; *De remissione* 1.28, ed. J. FRAIPONT, CCSL 91A, p. 677. See also, e.g., BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Sententiae* 3.7, *Opera* 6.2, p. 67; *Sermones de diversis* 12.2, *Opera* 6.1, p. 370.

Thereupon he explains that all special virtues are determined by the seven general virtues which admonish human beings in every particular situation to opt for rationality rather than sensuality, and hence to develop the appropriate form of virtuous behaviour rather than succumb to sin (below, p. 139-140).

The last section of the treatise is devoted to the vices. The author first introduces a most remarkable conception without precedent in medieval moral thought. The four potencies of the human mind have their counterparts in four *petulantiae* of the flesh: *sensus*, *affectus*, *impetus* and *libido*. These *petulantiae* effort to undermine human virtue. When they succeed, they pervert the four potencies of the mind: reason turns into *fatuitas*, the will into *iniquitas*, *facultas* is reduced to *impetus sensualitatis* as well as to *imbecillitas rationalitatis*, *alacritas* to *libido*. Together, *fatuitas*, *iniquitas*, *imbecillitas* and *impetus* constitute the four cardinal vices which militate against prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance, respectively (the fact that both perversions of *facultas* – *imbecillitas* and *impetus* – appear in the list whereas *libido* is excluded, corresponds to the earlier expressed idea that fortitude and temperance are both founded in *facultas*). The process of depravation is conducted by *superbia*, the *vitium generalissimum* which counteracts the *virtus generalissima*, humility, *omnium virtutum fomes et universale seminarium* (below, p. 140-142).

Our author's conception is forceful and original, although it includes a conservative element. The idea that pride is the mother of vices and humility the mother of virtues goes back to Gregory the Great and predominated moral thought in the Early Middle Ages. From the twelfth century, many authors came to regard charity as the basic virtue, in accordance with Augustine's views; in monastic circles, however, humility was often still regarded as the leading virtue, sometimes together with charity. Most authors who subscribed to Gregory's view regarded pride as the mother of the seven capital vices, with humility engendering either the theological and cardinal virtues or the seven «remedial» virtues directly opposing the capital vices. This conception governs most texts which depict a battle of the virtues and vices after the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, while it also dominates the iconography of trees of vices and virtues known from the twelfth century¹⁸. By contrast, the notion of the four cardinal vices rarely occurs in moral writing around 1200, and the idea that pride and humility stand at the roots of the cardinal virtues and the cardinal vices, respectively, is even more unusual. There is one twelfth-century author, however, whose work offers a close parallel. The Cistercian Geoffrey of Auxerre, Bernard's personal secretary and third abbot of Clairvaux, states in one of his sermons on the Cantic: « Sicut enim quatuor virtutes principales in humilitate fundantur, quae omnium firmamentum et radix noscitur esse virtutum, sic contraria sunt illis totidem vitia, quorum

(18) See NEWHAUSER, *The Treatise*, p. 160-161 (trees), 161-163 (battle); M. BAUTZ, « Virtutes »: *Studien zu Funktion und Ikonographie der Tugenden im Mittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1999, p. 24-26 (trees).

primum pessimumque initium omnis peccati superbia est»¹⁹. Also, Geoffrey connects the cardinal virtues and vices to the four *passiones*, which appear in his text as *timor*, *desiderium*, *laetitia* and *tristitia*; each of the virtues and vices occupies a place between two of these. This arrangement does not provide us with a literal parallel, as our treatise rather affiliates the virtues and vices with the four mental potencies while ignoring the passions, but our author and Geoffrey obviously share a keen interest in the interrelations between cardinal virtues and vices on the one hand and the emotive states of the human mind on the other.

The closing paragraphs of our treatise describe the successive stages of the depravation of the mind, taking recourse to the traditional image of a battle between virtues and vices. Once a breach occurs in the wall of virtue, all sorts of vices, presented here with their manifold subdivisions and interconnections, overwhelm the human being. Seven of these (the capital vices: *gula*, *luxuria*, *avaritia*, *superbia*, *invidia*, *ira*, *tristitia*) are habitually considered as a separate scheme. With pride acting as their chief captain, each of these seven commands a host of numerous other vices against which the Christian soldier has to defend himself in the warfare to which life on earth amounts. Christians should follow in this warfare the tactics described by Ambrose (Autpertus) in *De conflictu vitorum et virtutum*, as our author insists in a final admonition (in *Cp*, *De conflictu* actually follows upon our treatise). The text ends with a pious line resembling the closing formulas of sermons.

Our treatise does not appear to have exercised any particular influence on moral thought in the later Middle Ages. Its intellectual pretensions may have prevented it from serving as a guide for moral or spiritual development in the monastic circles where I believe it originated, whereas theologians may have disregarded the treatise because of its neglect of academic traditions. But these observations anticipate the discussion of the date and provenance of the text, to which I must turn now.

Provenance, date and authorship of the treatise

It seems safe to assume that our treatise originated in England. It survives in four manuscripts of undisputedly English provenance, preserved in Cambridge, Oxford and Paris.

(19) GEOFFREY OF AUXERRE, *Expositio in Cantica canticorum* 6, ed. F. GASTALDELLI, 2 vols., Rome 1974, vol. 2, p. 516. Geoffrey's names for the cardinal vices are *intemperantia*, *iniustitia*, *pusillanimitas* and *imprudencia*. GEOFFREY OF ADMONT (ca. 1100-1165), *Homiliae in Scripturam* 15, PL 174, col. 1119D-1120B, likewise stages a battle between cardinal virtues and cardinal vices; however, he does not present humility and pride as their chieftains. The authorship of the sermons ascribed to Geoffrey of Admont is open to debate, although their provenance from the Benedictine abbey of Admont is uncontested; Geoffrey's brother Irimbert († 1176) may have written some of them. See A. HÄRDERLIN, «God's visiting: a basic theme in the homilies ascribed to Godfrey of Admont», *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 27 (1992), p. 23-38, esp. p. 24; S. BORGEHAMMAR, «Who wrote the Admont sermon corpus – Gottfried the abbot, his brother Irimbert, or the nuns?», in *De l'homélie au sermon: histoire de la prédication au moyen âge*, ed. J. HAMESSE and X. HERMAND, Louvain-la-Neuve 1993, p. 47-51.

The oldest extant manuscript which contains our text dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. It seems possible to set the *terminus ad quem* of our treatise somewhat earlier, at about 1230. The reason is our author's unproblematic equation of the beatitudes and the gifts with the virtues. Hugh of Saint Victor and Peter Lombard already made a distinction between the gifts and the virtues, though not a very stringent one; by the 1230s, theologians generally came to regard virtues, gifts and beatitudes as concepts of a different nature²⁰. Our treatise does not betray any awareness of this development. Granted that the text stands apart from academic theology on any account, ignoring the standard distinctions between these key concepts of morality would have been grossly naïve on our author's part.

Some quotations in the text provide us with clues for a *terminus a quo*. Our author borrowed phrases from either *De sacramentis* or *De quinque septenis* of Hugh of Saint Victor (ca. 1096-1141) as well as from the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*. We do not know the exact date of composition of these works²¹, but fortunately our treatise contains another, more hidden reference to a Victorine writing which allows some greater precision. Aristotle's definition of *habitus* is rendered by our author as *qualitas veniens per applicationem subiecti difficile mobilis*, a formula which does not appear in the Latin translations of Aristotle's works but which occurs word for word in the *Liber exceptionum* compiled by Richard of Saint Victor (1123-1173) between 1153 and 1162²². Also, our author seems to have borrowed his distinction between *vitium*, *peccatum* and *delictum* from Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, composed around 1150. In addition, I have already attempted to demonstrate that the text displays resemblances with the work of Peter Abelard (1079-1142) and/or Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), William of Saint Thierry (c. 1085-1148) and Geoffrey of Auxerre (c. 1120-after 1194). Judging from this company of authors, the composer of our treatise might have lived in the late twelfth century. Some of his vocabulary has a Cistercian ring: the designation of the theological virtues as *virtutes christianorum proprie* may be inspired on the work of William of Saint Thierry²³; the reference to the armour of God (Eph. 6, 13-17) in the context of combating the vices recalls Bernard's association of this armour with the cardinal virtues²⁴; and calling *idem*

(20) See LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale* 3, p. 329-456.

(21) The date of *De quinque septenis* is unknown, whereas *De sacramentis* is dated after 1130; see R. BARON, « Hugues de Saint-Victor », in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 7, Paris 1969, p. 901-939, here p. 911-912. The debate on the date and authorship of the *Moralium dogma* has never been brought to an end; cf. J. R. WILLIAMS, « The Quest for the Author of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* », *Speculum* 32 (1957), p. 736-747.

(22) On the authorship of the work, see R. GOY, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St. Viktor*, Stuttgart 1976, p. 492-493. The first book, from which the quotation is taken, goes back to Hugh's *Didascalicon*, which does not contain a definition of *qualitas*, however.

(23) Cf. WILLIAM OF SAINT THIERRY, *Expositio super Romanos* 2, ed. P. VERDEYEN, CCCM 86, p. 54: « Sed antiquorum philosophorum de uirtutibus est sententia: omnes habere, qui aliquam habuerit. Sed et christianae religionis de eis uirtutibus, quae propriae christianae pietatis sunt, eadem sententia est ». Thereupon William turns to the theological virtues.

(24) BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Sententiae* 2.152, *Opera* 6.2, p. 52-53.

velle et idem nolle a characteristic of friendship, especially of man's friendship for God, alludes to the *Spiritualis amicitia* of Aelred of Rievaulx (c. 1110-1167), although the phrase originated with Sallust. However, some elements in the text argue in favour of a date after 1200, such as the possible influence of some commentators of Peter Lombard on our author's description of the four mental potencies (above, p. 107), his use of the expression *secundum philosophum* when Aristotle is meant and, finally, his use of 1 Ioh. 2, 16 (lust of the flesh, lust of the eyes and pride of life) as a tripartite scheme covering the vices²⁵. Moreover, the author twice refers to virtuous pagans as *gentiles bene morigerati*. A similar expression occurs in the ethical summa which Radulfus Ardens († 1200) composed at the end of his career, even though Radulfus personally rejected the existence of non-Christian virtue²⁶. I therefore think it probable that the treatise was written shortly after 1200, even though it is difficult to position the text in the framework of thirteenth-century thought, due to our author's disregard of the predominant modes of theological and philosophical discourse. In fact, the treatise may well have struck contemporary academics as an idiosyncratic product – original in the sense that nothing quite like it existed, but so much isolated from prevailing discussions that they would have found little use for it.

The Paris manuscript (*P*), dating from the early fourteenth century, calls Bernard of Clairvaux the author of our treatise. Irrespective of the presumably English origin of the text and its *terminus a quo* (1153 being the year of Bernard's death), the attribution is untenable for a couple of reasons related to contents. First, nowhere in his work did Bernard mention the seven deadly sins²⁷, despite the immense popularity of this catalogue since patristic times; by contrast, the seven sins play an important role in the final paragraphs of our treatise. Second, Bernard frequently dealt with the cardinal virtues in his writings, but only in a Christian context, consistently presenting them as self-evident ingredients of Christian morality and spirituality while neglecting their ancient past. Only once did he deign to reject the idea that non-Christian philosophers were acquainted with the virtues :

Dicendum et hoc quia frustra huius saeculi sapientes de quatuor virtutibus tam multa disputaverunt, quas tamen apprehendere omnino nequiverunt, cum illum nescierint, qui factus est nobis a Deo sapientia docens prudentiam, et iustitia delicta donans, et sanctificatio in exemplum temperantiae continenter vivens, et redemptio in exemplum patientiae fortiter moriens²⁸.

The author of these lines cannot possibly be responsible for our text, which not only discusses the virtues by explicitly referring to classical philosophers and

(25) On the use of this scheme see C. CASAGRANDE and S. VECCHIO, *Histoire des péchés capitaux au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2003, p. 319-323.

(26) RADULFUS ARDENS, *Speculum universale* 5.37, cited in J. GRÜNDEL, *Die Lehre des Radulfus Ardens von den Verstandestugenden auf dem Hintergrund seiner Seelenlehre*, Munich 1976, p. 178 n. 104 (« infidelis bene morigerati »).

(27) See NEWHAUSER, *The Treatise*, p. 121.

(28) BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Sermones super Cantica* 22.10, *Opera* 1, p. 136.

poets like Aristotle, Cicero, Horace, Virgil and especially Macrobius, but also repeatedly acknowledges that Christians and reasonable ancients possess the cardinal virtues in common.

For this last reason, Hugh of Saint Victor, to whom the fifteenth-century Cambridge manuscript (*Cj*) attributes the text, cannot have been the author of our treatise either. Hugh did not distinguish between the standards of morality and of salvation, and consequently left no room for the existence of virtue without grace²⁹. He treated the cardinal virtues primarily as tools of salvation³⁰, although in one instance he referred to them as instruments of political life, following Boethius³¹. Moreover, the author of our treatise quotes Hugh's *De quinque septenis*, acknowledging his dependence by stating that he expounds a view *secundum quendam sapientem*. Hugh was by no means so frivolous an author as to designate himself in such a way, whereas his pupils or later generations of Victorines would have mentioned him with greater deference.

Having said all this, one must admit that some aspects of our text smack indeed of authors like Bernard or Hugh. Our author must have been a self-assured and gifted mind who stood aloof from the schools and probably lived in a monastery. In just a few folios he presents a complete rearrangement of the basic concepts of moral psychology, drawing with ease from Biblical sources, the classics, the Fathers and some twelfth-century authors, notably Victorines and Cistercians. Not only do his novel ideas and formulas strike the reader, but also his authoritative tone, including pertinent remarks in the first person singular (*recte dixerim, inquam*). Finally, although Hugh and Bernard rejected the idea of non-Christian virtue, two Cistercians in Bernard's intimate circle left some room for it. In *De natura corporis et animae*, William of Saint Thierry designated the cardinal virtues as the elements which naturally (*naturaliter*) make up the rationality of the soul, while Aelred of Rievaulx stated in a sermon that natural reason allowed pagan philosophers to know the four (cardinal) virtues which the Bible acknowledges as the first fruits of Wisdom³². Against this background, the attribution of our treatise to Bernard in the Paris manuscript becomes

(29) See BEJCZY, « The problem of natural virtue », p. 138, 142-143.

(30) See HUGH OF SAINT VICTOR, *De sacramentis* 2.4.3, PL 176, col.434C; *Libellus de formatione arche* 4, ed. cit., p. 146; 6, *ibid.* p. 150-151; among the works of doubtful authenticity: *Scala celi*, ed. R. BARON, *Etudes sur Hugues de Saint-Victor*, Bruges 1963, p. 243; O. LOTTIN, « Questions inédites de Hugues de Saint-Victor », *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 26 (1959), p. 177-213, here p. 196 (I consider this passage spurious; see BEJCZY, « The problem of natural virtue », p. 142-143). For *De contemplatione*, attributed to Hugh but in my view dating from after his lifetime, see I. P. BEJCZY, « *De contemplatione et eius speciebus*: a work falsely attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor », *Studi medievali* 45 (2004), p. 433-443.

(31) *Didascalicon* 2.19, ed. CH. H. BUTTIMER, Washington 1939, p. 38 (= *Excerptiones priores* 1.13, PL 177, col.200A): « publica [sc. philosophia] est quae rei publicae curam suscipiens, cunctorum saluti suae providentiae sollertia, et iustitiae libra, et fortitudinis stabilitate, et temperantiae patientia medetur » (quoted from BOETHIUS, *In Isagogen Porphyrii* 1.3, ed. S. BRANDT, CSEL 48, Vienna 1906, p. 9).

(32) See BEJCZY, « The problem of natural virtue », p. 141-142.

understandable, the more so as the text was repeatedly transmitted together with Bernard's and William of Saint Thierry's authentic writings.

II. EDITION

The Manuscripts

Our treatise survives in four manuscripts of English origin. Two of these date from the thirteenth century (*Cp* and *O*), one from the fourteenth (*P*) and one from the fifteenth (*Cj*).

Cp is not only our oldest manuscript but also presents by far the best text. There can be no doubt that it must stand at the base of any edition. *O* and *P* contain numerous deviations, many of which are easily recognizable as textual corruptions; *Cj* shares many, but not all of these deviations, while it has many variant readings of its own. The text of *Cp* is obviously a copy: its numerous expunctions and marginal insertions, partly in the scribe's own hand, testify to its correction against an exemplar. The majority of these corrections restore readings attested in the other manuscripts. In one case, the scribe left a blank space which has not been filled later (below, p. 136: lacuna for *sine*).

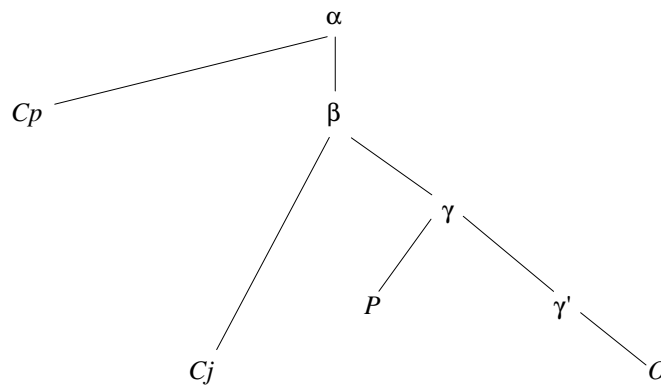
The exemplar of *Cp* must have stood rather close to the original text. Many passages occurring in *Cp* are lacking in one or two, but much less frequently in all three other manuscripts. This, as well as the circumstance that the text usually makes better sense if these passages are included, proves that *Cp* does not contain an extended version of our treatise but a fairly complete text which must have suffered from losses during its history of transmission. In one case only, a passage has presumably been cut out on purpose. *Cp* concludes the opening paragraph of the treatise with the remark that God created man « ut sua benignitas otiosa non esset si nullus extaret cui beneficentiam suam posset impendere ». One can easily imagine why this theologically dubious statement, which makes God dependent on his creation, is lacking in the other manuscripts.

O and *P* clearly belong to the same branch of transmission, as their large number of identical errors prove. Among the most manifest deficiencies are a long repetition introduced by the words « Nam etc. Universalis est habitus... » (below, p. 139) and a triple flaw in the enumeration of the theological and cardinal virtues: « Omnis ergo virtus spiritualis [*lege specialis*] per premissas septem virtutes generales, scilicet fidem, spem, caritatem et spem [!], pudicitiam [*lege prudentiam*], iustitiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem specificatur » (below, p. 139). Moreover, both manuscripts share some typical features of spelling: the use of *p* for *b* (*optemperare*, *optentu*) and of *-ngn-* or *-ngm-* for *-gn-* or *-gm-* (*repungnantia*, *insingnis*, *assingnare*, *angmine*) as well as the duplication of consonants and sibilants (*defferendum*, *supprema*, *asscendit*, *excercitus*) whereas the opposite phenomenon sometimes occurs as well (*comodus*, *lacivia*). In *O*, these features are somewhat less frequent than in *P*. Finally, *O* and *P* roughly contain the same set of texts, dominated by writings of Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint

Thierry; even many extracts and spurious pieces attributed to these authors appear in both manuscripts. However, *P* cannot depend on *O*, as it contains several readings corresponding to *Cp* which are not found in *O*, especially as far as the word order is concerned; in addition, *O* omits several passages retained in *P*. *O* and *P* must therefore go back to an unknown manuscript which already contained some important corruptions of the original text; the scribes of *O* and *P* copied these corruptions while adding some further mistakes of their own. Theoretically, *P* could derive directly from this unknown manuscript, in contrast to *O* which contains two blank spaces for words which the scribe apparently could not read in his exemplar but which do occur in *P* (below, p. 129, 140: lacunae for *universaliter/veraciter* and for *eternorum*).

Cj shares many variant readings with *O* and *P*, but not all of them. It apparently belongs to the same branch as *O* and *P*, but does not go back to their common source; it must derive, either directly or indirectly, from a manuscript representing an earlier stage of textual transmission. However, as *Cj* adds numerous mistakes of its own, mostly by leaving out words or passages preserved in the other manuscripts, it actually presents a poorer text than *O* and *P*, let alone *Cp*.

The following stemma illustrates the dependencies of the manuscripts :



As the four manuscripts have been insufficiently described in the catalogues, detailed descriptions concentrating on their contents follow here.

Cp : Cambridge, Peterhouse 119, VIff. 1ra-2vb

Description : M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse*, Cambridge 1899, p. 137-139. See also : J. W. GOERING, *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213) : The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Toronto 1992, p. 184, 319.

A convolute from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries comprising six sections, each foliated separately, though the numbering is not consistently found on each folio, nor is it always correct : I (22 ff.), II (8 ff.), III (10 ff.), IV (23 ff., last folio falsely numbered 22), V (18 ff., last folio falsely numbered 17), VI (75 ff., misnumbered following f. 9; last folio falsely numbered 77). Our text occurs at the beginning of the sixth section, dating from the middle of the thirteenth century, and contains marginal notes by the scribe himself and in a different hand, as well

as in dry pen. The sixth section is written in several hands; the first hand continues up to f. 20v.

Contents of the sixth section (using the flawed folio numbers from f. 9) :

ff. 1ra-2vb	<i>De origine virtutum et vitiorum</i>
ff. 2vb-4rb	Ambrose Autpertus, <i>De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum</i> (attr. : Ambrose of Milan)
ff. 4rb-6va	<i>De virtutibus per oracionem conciscendis</i> . Inc. : Auditus hactenus allegacionibus. Expl. : et palpando inueniens eum humectum pluua ait.
ff. 7ra-20va	Stephen Langton, <i>Moralitates super Ezechielem</i> ; see F. STEGMÜLLER, <i>Repertorium biblicum Medii Aevi</i> , 11 vols., Madrid 1950-1980, no. 7834.
ff. 21ra-62ra	Stephen Langton, <i>In XII prophetas</i> (recensio A) : Osee (ff. 21ra-35va), Ioel (ff. 35vb-38vb), Amos (ff. 38vb-45rb), Abdias (ff. 45rb-46ra), Ionas (ff. 46ra-47va), Micheas (ff. 47va-50vb); f. 51 blank; Naum (ff. 52ra-56vb), Abacuc (ff. 56vb-60ra), Sophonias (ff. 60ra-62ra); continued on ff. 65r-77r. See STEGMÜLLER, <i>Repertorium</i> , nos. 7843-58.
ff. 62va-64vd	Lists of Biblical references classified under different headings (<i>De humilitate, De paciencia, De apostolis, De euangelistis, De martiribus et confessoribus</i> , etc.). Inc. : De humilitate. In Regum de Saule. Nonne cum paruulus esses in oculis tuis [1 Sam. 15, 7]. Expl. : De oratione... In Psalmo. Et ueniat super me misericordia tua Domine [Ps. 118, 41] (followed by some more references added in a later hand).
ff. 65ra-77rb	Continuation of Stephen Langton, <i>In XII prophetas</i> (recensio A) : Aggeus (ff. 65ra-66va), Zacharias (ff. 66va-75vb), Malachias (ff. 75vb-77rb).
f. 77v	blank

O : Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 5.5, p. 265a-274b

Description : *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols., Oxford 1895-1953, repr. Munich 1980, vol. 5, p. 377-378 (no. 27875). See also : C. H. TALBOT, « A List of Cistercian Manuscripts in Great Britain », *Traditio* 8 (1952), p. 402-418, here p. 418; J. M. DÉCHANET, « Les manuscrits de la lettre aux frères de Mont-Dieu de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry et le problème de la préface dans Charleville 114 », *Scriptorium* 8 (1954), p. 236-271, here p. 248; H.-M. ROCHAS and E. MANNING, *Bibliographie générale de l'ordre cistercien : Saint Bernard*, Rochefort 1979-1990, no. 4210.

A convolute of two sections. The first part (p. 1-346/50), which contains our text, was composed in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably in a Cistercian environment. It is written in one hand and in one process of composition; spaces for initials are left open throughout the manuscript. The second part (p. 351-445) was written around 1100. Partly effaced notes in dry pen appear here and there, also at the top of p. 265 where our text begins.

Contents :	
p. VII-X	flyleaves, taken from a 13th-century ms. of canon law
p. 1a-8b	William of Saint Thierry, <i>De contemplando Deo</i> (rubr.: <i>Liber beati Bernardi de amore dei</i>)
p. 8b-25b	William of Saint Thierry, <i>De natura et dignitate amoris</i> (rubr.: <i>Tractatus beati Bernardi de ui caritatis</i>)
p. 25b-40b	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Liber de diligendo Deo</i>
p. 40b-71a	William of Saint Thierry, <i>Epistula ad fratres de Monte Dei</i> (attr.: Bernard of Clairvaux). Preceded by the spurious preface (inc.: <i>Misericors et miserator Dominus</i>) on which see Déchanet, p. 247-48.
p. 71a-112a	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>De consideratione</i>
p. 112a-131b	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae</i>
p. 132a-142a	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem</i>
p. 142b-153b	Unidentified text, apparently adapted from Hugh of Saint Victor, <i>De sacramentis</i> 2.13. Inc.: [R]egula dilectionis diuinitus instituta hec est: diliges dominum deum tuum... Expl.: et tamen reuerenciam creatori exhibere non desistemus. Explicit. See also ms. <i>P</i> , ff. 152va-157rb. Also in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1326, ff. 90-91v (according to the <i>In principio</i> database).
p. 153b-171b	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>De praecepto et dispensatione</i>
p. 171b-178b	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Ep. 7</i>
p. 178b-194b	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Liber de gratia et libero arbitrio</i>
p. 194b-197a	Unidentified text. Inc.: [E]x quo surgitur ad matutinas uel uigilias... Expl.: in quo possit pungnare. See also ms. <i>P</i> , ff. 123rb-125rb. Also in several other British mss.: Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 277, p. 313-14, see M. L. COLKER, <i>Trinity College Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts</i> , 2 vols., Aldershot 1991; Hereford Cathedral, ms. O.III. 11, f. 112r-v, see R. A. B. MYNORS and R. M. THOMSON, <i>Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library</i> , Cambridge 1993, mentioning several more mss.
p. 197a-209b	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>De moribus et officio episcoporum</i>
p. 209b-212a	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo in conversione Pauli</i>
p. 212a-b	Extract from Paulinus of Aquileia, <i>Liber exhortationis</i> 1-4, PL 40, col. 1047-48. Inc.: [P]erfectissima atque plenissima iusticia est deum toto corde amare... Expl.: quantum uales coram deo et omni populo amabilis appareas. See also ms. <i>P</i> , f. 70ra-71rb. The extract survives in many more mss., see I. MACHIELSEN, <i>Clavis patristica pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi</i> , vol. 2, Turnhout 1995, no. 3078; C. JEUDY and Y.-F. RIOU, <i>Les manuscrits classiques latins des bibliothèques publiques de France</i> , vol. 1, Paris 1989, p. 760.
p. 212b-247a	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Ep.</i> 254 (p. 212b-214a), 98 (p. 214a-216b), 174 (p. 216b-218b), 2 (p. 218b-220a), 8 (p. 220a-225a), 23-24 (p. 225a-b; fragments, inc.: [L]audatur iob, expl. plus nichil merebitur), 25 (p. 225b-226a), 26 (p. 226a-230a; fragment, inc.: [M]anum uestram misistis), 83 (p. 230a-233b), 12 (p. 233b-234b), 14 (p. 234b-236a), 18 (p. 236a-238a), 1 (p. 238a-242b), 462 (p. 242b-245a; expl.: Explicit epistole et excepciones earundem beati bernardi; yet, another letter follows), 113 (p. 245a-247a).

- p. 247a-249b Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homilia* 17 (rubr.: *Racio sancti Ambrosii de eukaristia*)
- p. 250a-252a *De septem uiciis principalibus* (thus rubr.). Inc.: [S]eptem sunt uicia principalia siue capitalia que sunt secundum crisostomum.vii. populi... Expl.: Ecce habemus quod ex.vii. uiciis criminalibus alia oriuntur (= BLOOMFIELD et al., *Incipits*, 5471?).
- p. 252a-262b Robert Grosseteste, Sermon 31; see S. H. THOMSON, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253*, Cambridge 1940, p. 176.
- p. 263-264 originally blank; filled by a later hand with notes in dry pen
- p. 265a-274b *De origine virtutum et vitiorum* (rubr.: *De uirtutibus et beatitudinibus*)
- p. 274b-346b Isidore of Sevilla, *Sententiae* (rubr.: *Isidorus De summo bono*)
- p. 347-350 originally blank; filled by a later hand with notes in dry pen
- p. 351-445 Gospel of Matthew with notes and glosses

P: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1727, ff. 52ra-55vb

Description: *Bibliothèque nationale: Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, vol. 2, Paris 1940, p. 145-146. See also: S. H. THOMSON, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bisshop of Lincoln 1235-1253*, Cambridge 1940, p. 163; H.-M. ROCHAIS and E. MANNING, *Bibliographie générale de l'ordre cistercien: Saint Bernard*, Rochefort 1979-1990, no. 4302.

The ms., written in a single hand, dates from the early fourteenth century. Its origin is English, notwithstanding its present location. A Cistercian provenance is likely. The parallels with *O* are conspicuous, but *P* does not depend on it (see above). The section containing Bernard's letters (89va-102rb) often merges bits of authentic and spurious letters together.

Contents:

- f. Iv table of contents of this and one other ms.
- ff. 1ra-36rb Ambrose of Milan, *Hexaemeron*
- f. 36v blank
- ff. 37ra-39vb Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 1 (ff. 37ra-vb), 462 (ff. 38vb-39vb)
- ff. 39vb-46va Bernard of Clairvaux, *De praecepto et dispensatione*
- ff. 46va-52ra Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber de diligendo Deo*
- ff. 52ra-55vb *De origine virtutum et vitiorum* (rubr.: *Incipit liber eiusdem de uirtutibus et beatitudinibus*; attr.: Bernard of Clairvaux)
- ff. 55vb-70ra Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*
- ff. 70ra-71ra Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo in conversione Pauli*
- ff. 71ra-rb Extract of Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber exhortationis* 1-4 (see ms. *O*, p. 212a-b)
- ff. 71rb-72ra Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 254
- ff. 72ra-82vb William of Saint Thierry, *Epistula ad fratres de Monte Dei* (attr.: Bernard of Clairvaux), preceded by the spurious preface (inc.: *Misericors et miserator Dominus*; see ms. *O*, p. 40b-71a)
- ff. 82vb-89va Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber de gratia et libero arbitrio*
- ff. 89va-102rb Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, often composed from extracts of several letters, sometimes mixed with spurious parts: *Ep.* 7 (ff. 89va-92ra; final part spurious, expl. *qui non reddierint monentur*), 98

- (ff. 92ra-93ra), 174 (f. 93ra-vb), 2-4 (ff. 93vb-94va; fragments, inc.: Bone indolis adolescenti, expl.: rem tam novam presumis), 8-11-12-18-8 (ff. 94va-96vb; fragments, inc.: Queris a me consilium an nolentibus, expl.: unum est esse ex filiis), 23-24 (ff. 96vb-97ra; fragments, inc.: Laudatur iob, expl.: plus nichil merebitur; see ms. *O*, p. 225a-b), etc. Expl.: Expliciunt epistule de discrecione obediendi.
- ff. 102rb-105rb William of Saint Thierry, *De contemplando Deo*
ff. 105va-112ra William of Saint Thierry, *De natura et dignitate amoris* (rubr.: *Incipit liber de caritate*)
- ff. 112ra-117va Bernard of Clairvaux, *De moribus et officio episcoporum*
ff. 117va-123rb Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, *Meditationes de humana conditione* (rubr.: *Incipit tractatus sancti bernardi abbatis clareuallensis de interiore homine quomodo inuenit deum*). Ed. PL 184, col. 485-508.
- ff. 123rb-124rb Unidentified text (rubr.: *Incipit sermo beati bernardi ad religiosos*). Inc.: Ex quo surgitur ad matutinas... Expl.: iam ei superest in quo possit pugnare. See also ms. *O*, p. 194b-197a.
- ff. 124rb-125rb *De septem viciis principalibus*. Inc.: Septem sunt vitia principalia sive capitalia. Que sunt secundum crisostomum vii. populi qui terram promissionis israel promissam tenebant. Expl.: Ecce habemus quod ex vij viciis criminibus alia oriuntur. Explicit libellus ad religiosos. See also ms. *O*, p. 250a-252a.
- ff. 125rb-134vb Robert Grosseteste, *De confessione II* (rubr.: *Incipit quomodo examinandus est penitens cum uenit ad confessionem*); see S. H. THOMSON, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253*, Cambridge 1940, p. 125 (no. 80).
- ff. 134vb-139rb Robert Grosseteste, Sermon 31 (rubr.: *Incipit sermo Roberti lincoliensis super de leuitis*). See also ms. *O*, p. 252a-262b.
- ff. 140ra-147va Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*
ff. 147va-148vb Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homilia 17* (rubr.: *Incipit racio sancti ambrosii de eucharistia*).
- ff. 148vb-152va Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*
ff. 152va-157rb Unidentified text (rubr.: *Incipit liber de gradibus caritatis*), apparently adapted from Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis* 2.13. Inc.: Regula dileccionis diuinitus instituta hec est: Diliges dominum deum tuum... Expl.: et tamen reuerenciam creatori exhibere non desistemus. Expliciunt tractatus sancti bernardi abbatis clareuallensis. See also ms. *O*, p. 142b-153b.
- f. 157v blank

Cj: Cambridge, Jesus College 70 (Q.G. 22), ff. 100v-107r

Description: M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge*, Cambridge 1895, p. 106-108. See also: A. I. DOYLE, «Book production by the monastic orders in England (c. 1375-1530): assessing the evidence», in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. L. L. BROWNRIGG, Los Altos Hills 1990, p. 1-19, here p. 9 and 18 n. 57.

The manuscript is one of the books made by the Benedictine monk Robert Emylton or Emyldon, possibly during his studies in Oxford between 1435 and

1444. The manuscript is entirely written in Emylton's hand, except for the last page.

Contents :

- ff. 1r-89r William of Conches, *Glosae super Boethium* (attr.: Robert Grosseteste).
- ff. 89r-90r *Recapitulacio metrorum consolacionis philosophice*. Inc.: *Scriptis autem boecius 5 libros philosophice consolacionis quos 24 varietatibus carminis respersit. Expl. (text): eciam reliquis per simplices computare.*
- ff. 90r-100r Ambrose of Milan, *De bono mortis*
- ff. 100v-107r *De origine virtutum et vitiorum* (expl.: *libellus... qui intitulatur de virtutibus et vicijs*; attr.: Hugh of Saint Victor)
- ff. 107r-109r Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, *De interiori domo*
- ff. 109r-111r Pseudo-Seneca, *De remediis fortuitorum*
- ff. 111v-119v Pseudo-Ovid, *De vetula*, book 3. Inc: *Iste sunt cause propter quas ammodo nolo. Expl. (text): Gracia sit nobis et mete nescia vita.*
- ff. 119v-121v *Incipit tractatus et causa quare singula volumina sua composuit iste ovidius* (thus rubr.). Inc.: *In librorum iniciis septem solent inquiri. Expl.: ideo in laudem illius virginis terminat librum suum. Deo gracias. Explicit.*
- ff. 121v-122r *Sequitur eciam prefacio leonis prothonotarii que preponitur isti libello vt cercius appareat quod ovidius erat eius auctor* (thus rubr.). Edited in the James catalogue (p. 107), but read « herorum » instead of « herois (um) ».
- f. 122r Pseudo-Boethius, *De scholarium disciplina*, with glosses. Only first page conserved, in a 15th-century hand different from Emylton's.

Principles of Edition

The edition follows *Cp*; the apparatus attests variant readings from *Cj*, *O* and *P* as well as relevant readings from all four manuscripts before their correction (*ac* after the siglum stands for: ante correctionem, *pc* for: post correctionem). The spelling of u/v, i/j, c/t, c/k, p/b, md/nd, mq/nq has been adapted; the punctuation and the use of capitals have been modernized; numbers have been written as words. Marginal comments and orthographical peculiarities of individual manuscripts, including minor misspellings, have been ignored. The division into paragraphs, based on *Cp*, is nearly identical in all four manuscripts.

Sigla

Cj = Cambridge, Jesus College, 70 (Q.G. 22), ff. 100v-107r [s. xv]

Cp = Cambridge, Peterhouse, 119, VI ff. 1ra-2vb [s. xiii]

O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 5.5, p. 265-274 [s. xiii]

P = Paris, BnF, lat. 1727, ff. 52ra-55vb [s. xiv]

DE ORIGINE VIRTUTUM ET VITIORUM^a

Creatura rationalis ad hoc condita est a rationali^b creatore^c ut quoddam felix et familiare commercium^d haberet cum suo conditore, id est^e ut ipsum agnosceret, ipsum amaret, ipsi obtemperaret, ipso fruere, ut sua benignitas otiosa non esset si nullus extaret cui beneficentiam suam posset impendere^{f1}. Et ad singula hec explenda singulas habet homo potentias naturales sibi^g originaliter insertas, scilicet^h rationalitatem, voluntatem, facultatem etⁱ alacritatem, ut singulis in actum prodeuntibus rationalitate^j Deum agnosceret, voluntate diligeret, facultate Deo^k obtemperaret, alacritate fruere. Hee autem potentie naturaliter in aptitudine consistunt et vicibus suis prodeunt^l in actus^m; actus vero interdum assuescendo in habitusⁿ conualescunt, sicut^o exempli gratia in exterioribus se habent risibilitas, risus et pronitas ridendi, que sunt ridendi^p aptitudo, actus et habitus. Sunt enim aptitudines naturales actus arbitrarii^q, habitus autem ex studio et assiduitate proveniunt et quasi inseparabiliter adherent^r. Ad hoc^s hee eedem^t potentie distrahuntur inter^u duas universales^v rationalis^w anime repugnantias, id est rationalitatem^x et sensualitatem. Rationalitate^y enim^z intendit et aspirat homo ad suum exemplar Deum. Fecit enim^a Deus hominem secundum animam^b ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam^c. Conditionaliter igitur hominis conversio debet esse ad Deum, nam ad hoc est conditus^d homo. Sensualitate vero condescendit^e homo sensibus sui corporis^f, ipsisque^g lenocinantibus terrena concupiscit ex quadam germanitate quam habet homo cum terra. Formavit enim Deus^h hominem secundum corpus de limo terre. Hinc egressaⁱ est^j illa^k impacabilis^l hostilitas, qua miser homo tam^m miserabiliter distrahitur, precipue post lapsum, illa scilicetⁿ qua^o sicut^p scriptum est *caro concupiscit adversus spiritum et spiritus adversus carnem*². Post lapsum recte dixerim, nam antea status hominis ita^q fuerat^r ordinatus ut creatore^s remigium hominis^t agente homo interior Deo et exterior homo homini interiori libenter et libere per omnia

(a) de origine virtutum et vitiorum *om.* *Cj* de virtutibus et beatitudinibus *O* incipit liber eiusdem (*sc. Bernardi*) de virtutibus et beatitudinibus *P* (b) conditore sive *add.* *Cj* (c) rationali creatore *inv.* *OP* (d) commercium] meritum *Cj* (e) id est] scilicet *Cj* (f) ut sua... impendere *om.* *CjOP* (g) sibi *om.* *Cj* (h) scilicet *om.* *Cj* et *O* (i) et *om.* *CjOP* (j) rationalitate] rationabilitate *OP* (k) deo *om.* *Cj* (l) prodeunt] procedunt *O* (m) hee... actus *om.* *Cj* (n) habitus] habitum *CjOP* (o) sicut] dicit *O* (p) que sunt ridendi *om.* *Cj* (q) arbitrarii] arbitrii *CjOP* (r) adherent] inherent *CjOP* (s) hoc] huc *O* (t) hee eedem] eedem *Cj* credit *O* heedem *P* (u) inter] in *CjOP* (v) duas universales *inv.* *Cj* universales *P*^{ac} universalis *P* (w) rationalis] rationis *OP* (x) rationalitatem] rationabilitatem *OP* (y) rationalitate] rationabilitate *OP* (z) enim *om.* *Cj* (a) intendit... fecit enim *om.* *CjOP* (b) secundum animam *om.* *OP* secundum hominem *Cj* (c) creavit *add.* *Cj* secundum animam creavit *add.* *OP* (d) est conditus *inv.* *OP* (e) condescendit] descendit *CjOP* (f) sui corporis *inv.* *O* (g) ipsisque] ipsis *Cj* (h) deus *om.* *CjOP* (i) egressa] ingressa *CjOP* (j) est *om.* *OP* (k) illa] nulla *O* ulla *P* (l) impacabilis] implacabilis *OP* (m) tam *om.* *CjOP* (n) de *add.* *Cj* (o) qua] que *Cp* (p) sicut *om.* *Cj* (q) recte *add.* *CjOP* (r) fuerat] fuit *Cj* (s) creatore] creator *O* (t) remigium hominis *inv.* *OP* hominis regimen *Cj*

(1) The passage « ut sua... impendere », only occurring in *Cp*, is theologically dubious and may well have been left out on purpose in the other manuscripts.

(2) Gal. 5, 17.

obtemperaret^u. Homo enim exterior non est nisi quasi quidam hominis interioris^v officialis. Postea vero propter^w hominis prevaricationem Deo remigium deserente exterior homo prevaluit et succubuit^x interior quasi quandam spontaneam sub illecebris carnis agens captivitatem. Denique homine interiore per gratiam mediatoris Christi respirante predicta carnis et spiritus hostilitas^y emersit, marte^z postmodum perpetuo sub tam^a ambigua^b sorte^c procurrente^d ut^e ad infestationes^f carnis *septies in die cadat^g iustus et resurgat^h*³ denuo spiritu opitulante. Nam sepe dicti homines interior scilicet et exterior tam naturaliter individui et tamen nichilominus tam infelicitⁱ divisi^j in illa militia de qua scriptum est : *Militia est vita^k hominis^l super terram* etc. ^m⁴ ad opposita castra seⁿ contulerunt^o, uterque suo principi congrua deferentes^p obsequia : interior homo cum omni^q virtutum agmine Deo regi iustitie, homo vero exterior cum universo vitiorum satellitio^r iniquitatis auctori^s militans diabolo.

In hoc ergo^t tempore hostilitatis^u hominis christiani communis virtus est^v et strenuitas, si mediatoris^w Christi gratia preventus^x sensualitate non obstante ita constanter rationalitati^y inheserit^z ut exercitia naturalibus potentiis predictis^a congrue^b secundum regulam sui^c exemplaris Dei directa eo studio^d et assiduitate in habitum converterit^e ut non^f inde facile moveantur^g. Quin^h rationalitasⁱ iugiter secundum Deum disserat, voluntas decernat^j, facultas operetur, alacritas interim spe tandem vero re Deo perfruatur. Quod si ab hac constantia elangerint^k sepe^l dicte potentie, relabuntur^m in sortem vitiorum. Est autem vitium virtutis detrimentum. Virtus vero detrimentumⁿ capit a levitate et^o a constantia^p firmitas. Inde est^q quod virtus tam generalis quam specialis notam constantie in suam recipit diffinitionem. Virtus enim generalis est habitus mentis bene constitute⁵. Et species virtutis iustitia^r est constans et perpetua voluntas tribuens unicuique quod sibi debetur⁶. Virtus igitur est habitus mentis etc. Illa enim mens humana bene constituitur, que mentem divinam imitatur, secundum

(u)interiori... obtemperaret] obtemperaret interiori... per omnia *CjO* obtemperat interiori... per omnia *P* (v)quidam hominis interioris] interioris hominis quidam *O* (w)propter] post *Cj* (x)succubuit] succumbuit *OP* (y)hostilitas] hostias *O* (z)marte] in arte *OP* (a)tam] casa *O* causa *lectio dubia P* (b)carnis et spiritus... ambigua *om. Cj* (c)sorte] forte *O* (d)procurrente] procurante *CjOP* (e)ut] et *Cj* (f)sortis *add. CjOP* (g)cadat] cadit *CjOP* (h)resurgat] resurgit *CjOP* (i)infelicit] felicem *OP* (j)divisi *om. Cj* (k)est vita *inv. Cj* (l)hominis] homini *P* (m)etc. *om. Cj* (n)se] sed *O* (o)contulerunt] optulerunt *Cj* (p)deferentes] deferens *OP* (q)omni *om. CjOP* (r)satellitio] satellite *Cj* (s)auctori] aut chori *Cj* (t)ergo] igitur *CjOP* (u)tempore hostilitatis *inv. OP* (v)virtus est *inv. Cj* (w)mediatoris] meditaris *Cj* (x)gratia preventus *inv. Cj* (y)rationalitati] rationabilitati *CjOP* (z)inheserit] inheserint *O* inheserunt *P* (a)potentiis predictis *inv. OP* (b)congrue *om. P* congrua *CjO* (c)sui *om. Cj* (d)eo studio] suo studio *Cj* constudio *P* (e)converterit] convertit *Cj* (f)ut non] necnon *Cj* (g)moveantur] moveatur *Cj* (h)quin *om. Cj* (i)rationalitas] rationabilitas *OP* (j)decernat] eligat *CjOP* (k)elangerint *om. OP* defluat *Cj* (l)sepe *om. Cj* (m)relabuntur] resolvuntur *Cj* (n)virtus vero detrimentum *om. Cj* (o)et *om. OP* (p)a constantia] inconstantia *Cj* (q)est *om. Cj* (r)species virtutis iustitia] iustitia que est species virtutis *Cj*

(3) Prov. 24, 16.

(4) Iob 7, 1.

(5) BOETHIUS, *De differentiis topicis* 2, PL 64, col. 1188c-d.

(6) *Corpus iuris civilis* D 1.1. 10 prol. (ULPIAN, *Institutiones* 1.1. 1).

illud Salvatoris: *Quicumque fecerit voluntatem Patris mei, ille^s intrabit in regnum celorum*⁷. Illa enim tria divine^t maiestatis insignia^u que ad frequentandam^v personarum distinctionem tribus personis summe Trinitatis mathematice solent distribui, cuilibet fideli propensius sunt^w imitanda. Que sunt sapientia Filii, benignitas Spiritus sancti et^x potentia Patris eterni. Homini itaque hec^y sunt^z imitanda ut ita disserat^a, ita decernat^b et sic operetur sicut divina sapientia dictat, benignitas suadet et urget potentia, et hoc in optentum glorie sempiternae. Imitatores enim Dei in virtutibus participes erunt et^c in gloria. Quod si hec^d tam insignis hominis imitatio studio et assiduitate eatenus invaluerit ut homo a suo exemplari Deo non facile valeat avelli, hec est illa^e constantia, hic^f ille habitus qui^g firmamentum^h etⁱ robor prestat^j virtutibus. Unde et^k virtus generalis ad^l consequentiam^m iustitiae diffiniri potest de virtutis descriptioneⁿ constans et perpetua voluntas^o humana divine voluntatis imitatrix. Est enim habitus secundum philosophum qualitas veniens per applicationem subiecti difficile mobilis⁸, ut virtus et scientia que sunt duo precipua et prestantissima hominis insignia. De virtutis habitu constat ex precedentibus. Est autem^p scientia demonstrativus habitus rerum frequentius aut semper similiter se habentium⁹: frequentius ut in probabilibus^q, semper ut in^r demonstrativis. Scientia dividitur in naturalem, moralem et rationalem. Est itaque virtus quasi scientie moralis executrix^s. Per moralem enim scientiam que agenda sunt videmus, per virtutem vero^t ad implenda ea que^u viderimus^v convalescimus^w. Porro scientiarum monumentis^x iam totus plenus est mundus^y, ut igitur honesta queque et salubria facilius expediantur. Virtutum series et summa breviter digeratur^z.

Virtutis^a igitur humane tam meritum quam merces^b est ex illis donis divinis de^c quibus scriptum est: *Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum est*

(s) ille] ipse CjOP (t) divine] divinitatis OP (u) maiestatis insignia inv. OP (v) frequentandam] frequendam O (w) propensius sunt inv. Cj (x) et om. Cj (y) hec om. O tria add. P (z) sunt] sint Cj (a) ita disserat om. CjOP (b) decernat] discernat CjOP et ita discernat add. OP (c) et om. Cj (d) hec] hoc O (e) illa om. Cj (f) hic om. Cj est add. OP (g) qui] hic Cj (h) firmamentum] fermentatum P (i) perpetua voluntas add. Cj (j) prestat] prestans Cj prestant OP (k) et om. Cj (l) ad] per Cj (m) consequentiam] sequentia P (n) de virtutis descriptione om. CjOP (o) voluntas om. Cj (p) autem] enim Cp=Cj (q) in probabilibus] improbabilibus P (r) in om. O (s) executrix] exercitrix Cj (t) vero] enim Cj (u) non add. sed exp. Cj (v) viderimus] videmus CjOP (w) convalescimus] convalescemus O (x) monumentis] monimentis CjOP (y) totus... mundus] mundus est plenus CjOP (z) digeratur] digerantur CjOP (a) virtutis] virtus O (b) tam meritum quam merces] meritum Cj (c) de] ex CjOP

(7) Matt. 12, 50.

(8) Cf. ARISTOTLE, *Categoriae* 8b25 seq.; RICHARD OF SAINT VICTOR, *Liber exceptionum* 1.1.4, ed. J. CHÂTILLON, Paris 1958, p. 105: «Est autem habitus qualitas veniens per applicationem subiecti difficile mobilis».

(9) This definition of *scientia* is cited and attributed to «ALEXANDER» in ANONYMUS AURELIANENSIS I, *Commentaria in Sophisticos Elenchos*, ed. S. EBBESEN, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi: A Study of Post-Aristotelian Ancient and Medieval Writings on Fallacies*, vol. 2: *Greek Texts and Fragments of the Latin Translation of «Alexander's» Commentary*, Leiden 1981, p. 378.

desursum^d etc.¹⁰. Est itaque tripartitum hoc donum, scilicet virtutes, eterna salus, subsidia temporalia. Donum autem virtutis liberum^e homo habet^f suscipere sive renuere^g. Libere enim potest rationalitatis sue potentiam vel sua sponte humanis coniecturis aut gratia divina celestibus oraculis inclinare, pro voluntate^h utrumlibet bonum sive malum eligere siveⁱ reprobare^j, de facultate sue voluntatis exequi^k decretum et ex alacritate bonis eternis sive temporalibus illecebris gaudere. Quod si hominis industria^l gratie divine concordaverit^m, hec sola conviventiaⁿ ad meritum salutis reputatur^o. Salutis igitur obtentu studium suum^p et annisum^q virtutibus devoveat alacriter homo christianus. Series itaque^r virtutum discutiendarum^s in scola christiana incipit a generalibus et^t in specialibus terminatur. Generales enim virtutes et christianorum^u proprie¹¹ et ad vitam contemplativam pertinentes sunt fides, caritas et spes^v. Generales et^w etiam^x quibusdam bene morigeratis gentilibus^y¹² communes et ad vitam pertinentes activam sunt ille quatuor^z quas cardinales^a dicunt, scilicet prudentia, iustitia^b, fortitudo et^c temperantia. Similiter^d enim se habent interdum christiani obtentu salutis eterne et gentiles honestatis^e intuitu et societatis communis. Virtutes vero speciales^f continentur in illo^g catholico^h evangelicoⁱ: *Beati pauperes spiritu* etc., *beati mites*, *beati qui lugent*, *beati qui esuriunt*, *beati misericordes*, *beati mundo corde* etc.^j¹³. Porro in memoratis potentiis^k naturalibus fundantur virtutes universales^l. In rationalitate^m fides et prudentia, in voluntate caritas et iustitia, in facultate fortitudo et temperantia. Parisⁿ enim facultatis est insistere virtutibus, quod^o est fortitudinis, et vitiis obsistere^p, quod est temperantie. Spes denique fundatur^q in alacritate. Virtutes itaque in prioribus tribus potentiis^r fundate meritorie sunt salutis eterne. Alacritas enim ipsius salutis quasi capax est et perceptibilis. Inde est quod spes fundata in alacritate quasi quedam prelibatio salutis est^s. Et notandum quod ex istarum quatuor^t potentiarum

(d) est desursum *inv. CjOP* (e) liberum] libere *Cj* (f) homo habet *inv. CjOP* (g) renuere] retinere *CjOP* (h) voluntate *om. O* (i) sive] vel *Cj* (j) reprobare] probare *OP* (k) exequi] consequi *Cj* (l) industria] industriam *O* (m) concordaverit] concordavere *O* (n) conviventia] convenientia *Cj* (o) reputatur] reportatur *Cj* reputabitur *O* (p) suum *om. Cj* (q) annisum *om. OP* ingenium *Cj* (r) itaque] enim *P* (s) discutiendarum] discuti *Cj* (t) et *om. P* (u) enim *add. O* (v) caritas et spes] spes caritas *CjOP* (w) et *om. CjOP* (x) etiam] enim virtutes et *P* (y) gentilibus] gentibus *Cj* (z) et ad... quatuor] etiam sunt ille et ad vitam pertinentes activam *Cj* insunt ille quatuor ad vitam pertinentes activam *OP* (a) quidam *add. CjP* quidem *add. O* (b) prudentia iustitia *inv. Cj* (c) et *om. CjOP* (d) similiter] sicut *Cj* (e) honestatis] hostilitatis *P* (f) speciales] spirituales *Cj* (g) illo *om. Cj* (h) catholico *om. Cj* catalogo *OP* (i) evangelico] evangelio *Cj* (j) etc. *om. Cj* (k) anime *add. Cj* (l) universales] utiles *Cj* (m) rationalitate] rationabilitate *OP* (n) paris] proprium *Cj* pars *P* (o) quod] que *OP* (p) et vitiis obsistere] resistere vitiis *Cj* (q) fundatur] firmatur *Cj* (r) prioribus tribus potentiis] tribus potentiis prioribus *Cj* (s) salutis est *inv. CjOP* (t) quatuor *om. Cj*

(10) Iac. 1, 17.

(11) Cf. WILLIAM OF SAINT THIERRY, *Expositio super Romanos* 2, ed. P. VERDEYEN, CCCM 86, p. 54.

(12) Cf. RADULFUS ARDENS, *Summa universalis* 5.37, cited in GRÜNDEL, *Die Lehre des Radulfus Ardens*, p. 178 n. 104: « infidelis bene morigerati ».

(13) Matt. 5, 3-8.

secunda et ultima oriuntur ille notissime^u humane anime^v quaterne actiones sive^w passiones: ex voluntate amor^x, desiderium, odium et cautela; ex alacritate gaudium, spes, tristitia et timor^y, quas^z etiam humane libertatis est secundum quod assignavimus in suis^a generibus utrumlibet inflectere. Dicuntur igitur^b ille actiones quia anima satagente, hee autem^c passiones eo quod etiam eadem^d feriente^e oriuntur. Denique nullius specialis virtutis meritum consummatur^f sine dispensatione cardinalium virtutum et prerogativa^g virtutum christianarum^h virtuti spiritualiⁱ patrocinantium.

In virtutibus itaque christianorum propriis^j prima est fides, secunda^k caritas et spes suprema^l. Itaque^m secundum quandam vulgatam et planamⁿ fidei circumlocutionem fides est qua quis proprio scrutinio deficiente probabiliter illectus aliene se committit^o assertioni, verbi gratia ad fidem catholicam christianorum. Cum igitur homo post lapsum caligantibus oculis interioribus, oculis autem^p exterioribus, oculis scilicet concupiscentie et sensualitatis, apertis, celestium et eternorum invincibili^q labore^r ignorantia^s, *Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*¹⁴, omnia que audierat a Patre^t suo^u in celis nota faciens hominibus^v in terris, omnem^w etiam sermonem suum confirmando sequentibus signis^x. Erat^y enim^z Christus potens in opere et sermone^a velud assertor omni maior exceptione^b. Tanti igitur assertoris tam probabili assertioni^c merito fidem habet fidelis quisque christianus, presertim secundum continentiam ipsius^d simboli apostolici, quod catholica tam iugiter recolitur ecclesia^e. Fides ergo^f Christi^g omni humane scientie, sive sensitive, sive intellective, sive etiam^h demonstrativeⁱ, preiudicialis esse debet^j omni christiano, adeo ut agnoscens fallaciam sensuum, intellectus hebetudinem^k et demonstrationis nexum non^l indissolubilem dicat cum^m philosopho secundum quod scientia diffinitur explorata rei certitudo: *Hoc solum scio me nichil scire*¹⁵ cum exceptione fidei christiane. Ad fidem Christi pertinet tota series sacre Scripture. Oracula enim divina tam antea per prophetas quam postmodum per apostolos quam etiam per Christum celitus sunt demissaⁿ. Christo itaque^o concionante didicimus^p quod primum et saluberrimum est preceptum^q: *Diliges*

(u)notissime] novissime CjP (v)humane anime inv. CjOP (w)sive] vel Cj (x)et add. Cj (y)tristitia et timor] timor tristitia Cj (z)quas] quasi Cj (a)suis] sui P (b)igitur] enim Cj ergo P (c)autem] et Cj (d)etiam eadem inv. CjOP (e)feriente] feriente Cj (f)consummatur] consumatur P (g)prerogativa] prerogata O (h)christianarum] christianorum P (i)spirituali] speciali P (j)propriis om. Cj (k)est add. OP (l)spes suprema inv. Cj (m)itaque] etiam Cj (n)planam] plenam P (o)committit] committat OP (p)oculis autem] oculisque P (q)invincibili] tenebrosa Cj (r)laboret] laborat Cp^{ac} laboraret CjOP (s)ignorantia] ignominia Cj ignorantiam O (t)audierat a Patre] a patre audierat P (u)qui est add. Cj que est add. OP (v)hominibus] homini OP (w)omnem] omnibus Cj (x)signis om. Cj (y)erat] sicut P (z)enim] autem O (a)in opere et sermone] in sermone et opere O (b)maior exceptione] maior assertione CjP viam (*lectio dubia*) assertionem maior O (c)assertioni] assertionem Cj (d)ipsius] illius CjOP (e)recolitur ecclesia inv. CjOP (f)ergo] igitur Cj (g)ergo christi inv. P (h)etiam om. Cj (i)etiam demonstrative] indemonstrative OP (j)esse debet inv. CjOP (k)hebetudinem] habitudinem OP (l)non om. Cj (m)dicat cum] eum O (n)demissa] dimissa CjP (o)itaque] ita Cj (p)didicimus] didiscimus Cj (q)est preceptum inv. CjOP

(14) Ioh. 1, 14.

(15) Cf. CICERO, *Academica priora* 74; *Academica posteriora* 1.45.

Dominum Deum^r ex toto corde tuo^s, ex tota anima tua et ex tota virtute^t tua¹⁶. Cuius dilectionis quasi causam allegans Iacobus ait: Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est descendens a Patre luminum^u¹⁷. Cuius profecto quanta bona^v prelibaverimus, sua cuiusque docet^w sese^x experientia. Quanta vero in posterum nobis reposita speraverimus^y, docet^z apostolus dicens^a: Nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit que preparavit^b diligentibus se¹⁸, bona itaque in posterum reposita ad spem salutis eterne. Utraque autem bona et iam^c prerogata et etiam preparata in posterum ad caritatem Dei nos invitant. Hec est abbreviata^d ratio christianorum in fide, spe et caritate sibi consciscendis.

Porro caritatis et iustitiae nexus est individuus, immo iustitia quasi caritatis est executrix^e et officialis. Veraciter enim se amantium est^f idem velle et idem nolle^g per omnia¹⁹. Divine enim voluntatis est universaliter^h reprobare malum et eligere bonum. Veraciter ergoⁱ Deum diligentis hominis voluntas quasi divine voluntatis imitatrix debet et ipsa pariter reprobare malum et eligere bonum, que profecto est humana iustitia^j universalis^k. Tres enim relique virtutes cardinales non sunt nisi iustitiae quedam accessiones. Nam prudentia iustitiae est quasi quedam lucerna²⁰, fortitudo enim^l et temperantia iustitiae sunt^m executiones. Prudentia enim disserendoⁿ distinguit inter bonum et malum^o ad innotescendum iustitiae quid eligere debeat quidve reprobare. Fortitudo vero^p bonum promovet^q quod iusta voluntas elegerit^r. Temperantia denique^s cohibet malum quod iustitia reprobaverit. Ad hec alia^t quadam consideratione promotio boni et mali cohibitio fortitudini solent ascribi^u²¹. Non enim minoris fortitudinis est impetuosum quemlibet retundere^v

(r) tuum *add. CjOP* (s) et *add. CjP* (t) [virtute] mente *CjOP* (u) et omne... luminum] etc. *Cj* descendens... luminum] etc. *OP* (v) bona *om. P* (w) cuiusque docet] docet cuiuslibet *Cj* (x) sese *om. CjOP* (y) speraverimus] speravimus *Cj* superaverimus *P* (z) docet] docens *CjO* (a) dicens] dicit *Cj* (b) deus *add. CjOP* (c) et iam] et *Cj* etiam *OP* (d) est abbreviata] autem abbreviata est *CjOP* (e) executrix] consecutrix *Cj* (f) quod *add. O* (g) idem nolle *inv. OP* (h) universaliter] veraciter *CjP lacuna O* (i) ergo] igitur *Cj* (j) humana iustitia] humane iustitiae *P* (k) universalis] utilis *Cj* (l) enim] autem *Cj* (m) sunt *om. Cj* (n) disserendo] discernendo *CjOP* (o) et *add. OP* (p) vero] autem *Cj* enim *OP* (q) bonum promovet *inv. O* (r) elegerit] eligeret *Cj* (s) denique] equidem *Cj* (t) ad hec alia] adhuc autem quasi *Cj* (u) ascribi] ascribi *P* (v) retundere] retendere *OP*

(16) Matt. 22, 37.

(17) Iac. 1, 17.

(18) 1 Cor. 2, 9.

(19) Cf. AELRED OF RIEVAULX, *De spiritali amicitia* 1.40, ed. A. HOSTE, CCCM 1, p. 296: « ubi talis est amicitia, ibi profecto est idem velle et idem nolle... ubi sic amantes nihil possunt velle quod dedecet, nihil quod expediat nolle »; SALLUST, *De coniuratione Catilinae* 20.4, ed. A. KURFESS, Leipzig 1957, p. 17: « nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est ».

(20) Cf. *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, ed. J. HOLMBERG, Uppsala 1929, p. 8: « prudentia reliquas tres precedit quasi ferens lucernam et aliis monstrans viam. Eius enim est consulere, aliarum trium agere; consilium autem preuenire debet actum ».

(21) Cf. MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.8.7, ed. J. WILLIS, Leipzig 1963, p. 38: « [est] fortitudinis animum supra periculi metum agere nihilque nisi turpia timere, tolerare fortiter vel adversa vel prospera ». AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* 244, ed. A. GOLDBACHER, CSEL 57, p. 581,

quam invitum renitentemve^w propellere^x. Temperantia vero est quasi quoddam universale^y moderamen et quasi specifica^z differentia trium^a reliquarum virtutum : prudentie, iustitie^b et^c fortitudinis. De immoderata^d prudentia scriptum est : *Non plus sapere quam oportet^e sed sapere ad sobrietatem^{f22}* et : *Vehemens scrutator maiestatis opprimetur^g a gloria²³*. Nimiam iustitiam dissuadet ille^h qui ait : *Noli nimis iustus esse²⁴*. Immoderatam fortitudinem insinuat illeⁱ qui ait : *Qui nimis emungit elicit sanguinem²⁵*. Quas singulas si temperantia^j accesserit, redigit in virtutes et ipsa virtus reputatur. Huic^k autem considerationi alludit illa diffinitio philosophica : *Virtus est medium vitiorum et^l utrinque^m redactum²⁶*. Est enim mediocritas mediaⁿ inter egestatem et habundantiam que egestate suppleta et superfluitate reiecta in mediocritatem rediguntur, que virtutis^o universalis^p est quasi forma specifica, in modico itaque si forte vel in aliquo differt hec assignatio a superiori. Ibi enim temperantie nomine mali cohibitio nuncupatur^q. Omnibus tamen quatuor virtutibus temperantia est intelligenda^r adiacere velud communis quedam^s circumstantia. Hiis^t autem promotione boni et mali cohibitione in fortitudinem^u redactis superest temperantia quasi quarta virtus ceteris^v coequa^w, sine qua tamen relique sunt infructuose, sicut in prioribus tribus fides^x spes inutiles^y sine caritate.

Ad hec^z autem Plotinus moralis scientie vir eruditissimus^a quatuor cardinalium virtutum singulas in quaternos gradus distinguit et singulis suas^b assignat accessiones²⁷. Ait enim Plotinus memoratas^c virtutes cardinales^d scilicet^e aut esse politicas, aut purgatorias, aut purgati animi, aut exemplares. Politice autem sunt virtutes quibus vir bonus sua suorumque deinde rei publice iuste et provide queque dispensat, sic infimis intendens ut tamen summa non deserat. Politica itaque^f prudentia nichil preter^g rectum, sed ad normam rationis humane secundum philosophum, divine vero secundum theologum christianum, omnia agenda

(w)renitentemve] renitentem vi Cj retinentemve O (x)propellere] repellere CjOP (y)universale] utile Cj (z)specifica] spesciosa P (a)trium add. alia manu Cp (b)prudentie iustitie inv. CjOP (c)et om. OP (d)immoderata] moderata Cj inmodera P (e)sapere add. CjOP (f)sed... sobrietatem] etc. Cj (g)opprimetur] opprimeretur Cj (h)ille om. Cj (i)ille om. Cj (j)si temperantia inv. CjOP (k)huic] heret Cj (l)et] ad CjOP (m)utrinque] utrunque O (n)media om. Cj (o)virtutis om. OP (p)universalis] utilis Cj (q)cohibitio nuncupatur inv. Cj (r)est intelligenda inv. CjOP (s)communis quedam inv. Cj quedam om. OP (t)hiis] hic Cp^{ac}CjOP (u)fortitudinem] fortitudine O (v)ceteris om. P (w)coequa] coequena Cj (x)et add. OP (y)sunt add. CjOP (z)ad hec] adhuc Cj (a)eruditissimus] evidentissimus P (b)suas] singulas OP (c)enim add. OP (d)virtutes add. OP (e)scilicet om. Cj (f)itaque] ita O (g)preter] potest OP

seperated these latter aspects : « non solum aeterna sapientia sed etiam humana praesentia docuit nos temperanter prospera saeculi huius contemnere et fortiter aduersa tolerare ». Accordingly, many medieval texts insist that humans need *temperantia in prosperis, fortitudo in adversis*.

(22) Rom. 12, 3.

(23) Prov. 25, 27.

(24) Eccl. 7, 17.

(25) Prov. 30, 33.

(26) HORACE, *Ep.* 1. 18.9.

(27) This entire paragraph paraphrases MACROBIUS, *In somnium Scipionis* 1.8. 4-10.

fore deliberat. Prudentie^h igitur adiacetⁱ ratio, intellectus, circumspectio, cautela, docilitas, providentia. Fortitudinis est animum supra^j periculum agere, nichil nisi turpia timere, adversa sive prospera equanimiter tolerare. Fortitudo prestat magnanimitatem, fiduciam, securitatem, magnificentiam, constantiam^k et^l firmitatem^m. Temperantieⁿ est nichil appetere penitendum, in nullo legem moderationis excedere, sub iugo rationis^o cupiditatem domare. Temperantiam sequitur modestia^p, verecundia, abstinencia, castitas, honestas, moderatio, parcitas, sobrietas, pudicitia. Iustitie est unicuique servare quod suum est^q. De iustitia veniunt innocentia, amicitia, concordia, pietas, religio^r, affectus, humanitas. Purgatorie virtutes sunt^s hominis qui se decrevit ab omni contagione^t purgare, humana fugere et^u solis divinis se inserere. Istius gradus prudentia^v est mundum et omnia que in mundo^w sunt^x divinorum contemplatione despiciere et omnem animum ad divina^y erigere^z. Temperantie est omnia relinquere que corporis^a usus exigit, in quantum patitur natura. Fortitudinis est animam^b non terreri^c a corpore quodam ductu philosophie recedentem^d nec altitudinem perfecte ascensionis ad superna horrere. Iustitie est ad unam huius propositi viam uniuscuiusque virtutis obsequium continuare. Tertii gradus virtutes sunt animi iam purgati et^e ab omni huius mundi aspergine^f deteresi^g. Illic prudentie est divina^h non quasi in electione preferre, sed ea sola nosseⁱ et tanquam nichil aliud sit intueri. Temperantie est terrenas cupiditates non reprimere sed ignorare. Fortitudinis est etiam passiones ignorare, non vincere^j, ut irasci quis nesciat, cupiat^k nichil. Iustitie^l est ita cum superna mente sociari, ut servet cum ea perpetuum fedus imitando. Exemplares denique virtutes sunt que in ipsa mente divina^m consistunt, a quarum exemplo relique per ordinem derivanturⁿ. Illic prudentia est ipsa mens sive sapientia divina^o, temperantia^p quod^q in se perpetua reciprocatione est^r conversa, fortitudo quod semper est idem nec aliquando immutatur, iustitia quod perhenni lege a sempiterna operis sui continuatione non flectitur.

Siquidem hec^s Plotini distinctio facta est^t secundum intensionem^u et remissionem virtutum predictarum. Spiritualia enim exercitia secundum magis et minus^v sub ea prescriptione sunt^w varianda^x, ut naturam non ledat intensio^y in robustioribus neque^z remissio peccatum incurrat in infirmis^a, verbi gratia ad ieiunia sive^b vigiliis, quibus profecto corpora robustiora sub ea severitate sunt

(h)prudentie] prudentia P (i)adiacet] adiacit P (j)animum supra] omni superius Cj (k)constantiam] iactantiam Cj (l)et om. Cj (m)firmitatem] confirmatam P (n)temperantie] temperantia O (o)iugo rationis inv. CjOP (p)modestia] modesta O (q)servare... est] quod suum est servare Cj (r)et add. O (s)virtutes sunt inv. CjOP (t)contagione] purgatione CjO^{ac} exp. O^{bc} (u)et om. CjOP (v)prudentia] prudentie Cj (w)mundo] eo Cj (x)sunt om. O (y)divina] divinum OP (z)erigere] dirigere Cj exigere P (a)corporis] corpus OP (b)animam] animum OP (c)non terreri] teneri CjOP terreri add. alia manu Cp (d)recedentem] recedente Cj (e)et om. Cj (f)aspergine] aspersione Cj (g)deteresi] deteresa Cj (h)est divina om. Cj (i)nosse] posse P^{ac} nolle P^{bc} (j)vincere om. Cj (k)cupiat] cupit P (l)iustitie] iustitiam P (m)mente divina inv. OP (n)derivantur] derivantur Cj (o)illic add. Cj (p)est add. Cj (q)quod] que O (r)reciprocatione est inv. CjP est om. O (s)hec om. Cj (t)est om. Cj (u)intensionem] intentionem OP (v)que add. Cj (w)sunt om. CjOP (x)varianda] veneranda Cj (y)intensio] intentio CjOP (z)neque] ne CjO (a)infirmis] infimis CjOP (b)ad add. OP

edomanda ne tamen deficiant^c, infirmioribus vero refectiones et sopores ita clementer sunt indulgendi ut tamen in lasciviam non resolvantur.

Porro septem principales virtutes fides, caritas et^d spes^e, prudentia, iustitia^f, fortitudo et^g temperantia pariter sunt coniecte^h in illo prophetico oraculoⁱ: *Egredietur virga de radice Iesse* etc.²⁸ ubi profecto continetur summa spiritualium gratiarum quantumlibet perfectum christianum in hac mortalitate contingentium. Quarum prima ascendentibus occurrit timor Dei^j. Naturalis itaque ratio cuiusque perspicaciter et sane philosophantis^k si^l hanc rerum universitatem quam mundum dicunt sedulo perlustraverit, et singularum rerum circumstantias sollicitate perspexerit. Ad causas vero perveniens, si seriatim singulas^m – proximas scilicet, medias et remotas – fuerit prosecutusⁿ, universorum causa primordialis sibi tandem occurret^o, causa videlicet causalissima, id est universalis^p omnium causatorum^q causa omnia supergrediens causata et ipsa sine causa et consequenter^r eterna, optima et beatissima que est ipse^s Deus creator et rector universarum^t rerum, omnium rationum iudex et salvator electorum. Ad hanc philosophandi^u seriem pertinet^v illud^w apostolicum: *Invisibilia enim Dei a creatura^x mundi per ea que facta^y intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque eius virtus et divinitas. Hanc autem Dei^z divinitatem*, sicut idem prosequitur apostolus, *cum iam plurimi cognovissent, non eam sicut Deum glorificaverunt aut gratias egerunt, sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis et obscuratum est insipientes cor eorum. Dicentes enim se esse sapientes^a stulti facti sunt^b*²⁹. Aliis autem moderatius et minus^c contumaciter sapientibus ipse^d Deus^e memoratas^f gratias contulit ad salutem timorem suum et reverentiam primo suis^g salubriter incutiendo^h contraⁱ hoc quod stulti philosophi minus timorati^j ipsum contumaciter glorificare detrectaverunt. Primus ergo^k gradus divine religionis est timor Dei et^l secundum illud poeticum: *Primus in orbe deos fecit inesse timor*³⁰. Hunc tamen^m salubrem timorem sequitur pietas, id est cultus divinus, qui secundum Augustini sententiamⁿ consistit in fide, spe et caritate³¹ ut sit^o pietas quasi^p quedam virtus ex his tribus virtutibus^q complexa. Et est optima consequentia

(c) in *add. OP* (d) et *om. OP* (e) caritas et spes] spes caritas *Cj* (f) iustitia *om. P* (g) et *om. CjOP* (h) coniecte] coniecte *CjOP* (i) prophetico oraculo *inv. Cj* (j) dei] domini *O* (k) philosophantis] prophetantis *CjOP* (l) si] secundum *Cj* (m) seriatim singulas *inv. CjOP* (n) prosecutus] persecutus *OP* (o) occurret] occurrit *OP* (p) id est universalis] scilicet utilis *Cj* (q) causatorum] creatorum *Cj* (r) consequenter] sequenter *Cj* communiter *OP* (s) ipse *om. Cj* (t) universarum] universorum *O* (u) philosophandi] prophetandi *CjOP* (v) seriem pertinet *inv. OP* (w) illud *om. Cj* (x) a *add. O* (y) sunt *add. CjOP* (z) dei *om. CjOP* (a) se esse sapientes] sapientes se esse *P* (b) facti sunt *inv. O* (c) minus] nimis *OP* (d) ipse *om. P* (e) deus *om. Cj* dominus *OP* (f) memoratas] memoratus *OP* (g) primo suis] pectus suum *Cj* (h) incutiendo] inutiendo *P* (i) contra] circa *Cj* (j) philosophi minus timorati] minus timorati philosophi *Cj* nimis timorati philosophi *OP* (k) ergo *om. O* igitur *Cj* (l) et *om. CjOP* (m) tamen *om. Cj* tam *OP* (n) augustini sententiam] augustinum *Cj* (o) sit] ac *P* (p) quasi *om. Cj* (q) composita sive *add. Cj*

(28) Is. 11, 1.

(29) Rom. 1, 20-22.

(30) PETRONIUS ARBITER, *Carmen* 28.1; STATIUS, *Thebais* 3.661.

(31) Cf. AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* 171A. 2, ed. A. GOLDBACHER, CSEL 44, p. 635.

divini timoris^r et cultus divini^s. Nam alias homo meticulosus, ne metus sibi perseveret, territoribus^t suis struere solet insidias. Post pietatem sequitur scientia, que est^u rerum in hac mortalitate scibilium, id est rerum temporalium, consideratio. Recte enim homo, cum iam cultui divino sese^v mancipaverit, usibus suis congrua singula temporalia considerat, ut eorum commercio celestium bonorum possessorem Deum^w sibi conciliet^x, et meritis temporalibus mercedem comparet eternam. Hec autem consideratio si sibi socie virtutes accesserint, eadem est^y virtuti prudentie, que consistit in quadam universali bonorum malorumque^z cognitione pariter et discretione^a, id est in^b scientia diffinitiva et divisiva. Deinde socie virtutes^c prudentie subsecuntur^d, fortitudo scilicet^e et consilium. Nomine autem^f consilii iustitia et temperantia^g pariter censentur. Bene enim^h libratiⁱ consilii est secundum quod novit homo per prudentiam et potest per^j fortitudinem^k, malis reprobatis^l bonis insistere per iustitiam et omnia agere cum moderamine per temperantiam. Quatuor ergo^m cardinales virtutesⁿ prudentia^o, iustitia, fortitudo et^p temperantia consistunt in his tribus gratiis: scientia, fortitudine atque^q consilio; fides vero, caritas et spes in pietate. Septem itaque virtutes principales et universales^r fides, caritas, spes^s, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo et^t temperantia continentur^u in quatuor gratiis spiritualibus, pietate, scientia, fortitudine et^v consilio. Summa vero humanorum meritorum consistit in his septem^w virtutibus sive quatuor gratiis, quarum profecto quasi quoddam^x seminarium est timor Dei precedens. Intellectus vero et sapientia sequentes quasi fructus sunt earundem. Anime enim christiane hac tam salubri gratia meritorum fideliter nitente adicit Deus, et gratiam mercedis eterne etiam in tempore prelibandam, tandem vero plene perfruendam in eternitate. Ad hanc itaque prelibationem pertinent^y spiritus intellectus et spiritus sapientie, id est notitia et sapor eternorum, oculis scilicet rationalitatis^z apertis, quibus eterna sapiunt et innotescunt^a, et clausis oculis sensualitatis quibus innotescunt et sapiunt sola temporalia. Hec autem omnia operatur unus^b atque idem spiritus in electis dividens singulis prout vult. Unde et^c spirituales singule^d infusiones nomine ipsius spiritus censentur, id est spiritus timoris, spiritus pietatis etc. Hoc^e est autem^f illud spirituale *unguentum* quod constitutum *in capite*, id est homine assumpto, veri et eterni sacerdotis *Aaron*, id est totius Christi capitis scilicet^g et corporis sponsi Christi et sponse ecclesie, *descendit in barbam* illius^h, id estⁱ apostolos et alios eminentiores

(r) divini timoris *inv. CjOP* (s) et cultus divini *om. CjOP* (t) territoribus] terroribus *Cj* (u) est] vel *O* (v) sese] se *OP* (w) deum *om. CjOP* (x) conciliet] consiliet *CjO* (y) est *om. O* (z) malorumque] et malorum *Cj* (a) pariter et discretione *om. P* (b) in *om. Cj* (c) socie virtutes *inv. O* (d) subsecuntur] consequuntur *Cj* sequitur *OP* (e) fortitudo scilicet *inv. Cj* (f) autem] enim *O* (g) temperantia] prudentia *Cj* (h) enim] autem *Cj* (i) librati] liberati *CjOP* (j) potest per *om. Cj* (k) id est *add. OP* (l) resistere *add. Cj* (m) ergo *om. Cj* (n) scilicet *add. P* (o) et *add. P* (p) et *om. Cj* (q) atque *om. Cj* (r) principales et universales] universales principales *Cj* principales *P* scilicet *add. CjOP* (s) caritas spes *inv. OP* (t) et *om. Cj* (u) scilicet *add. Cj* (v) et *om. Cj* (w) septem] sex *O* (x) quoddam *om. Cj* (y) pertinent] pertinet *P* (z) rationalitatis] rationabilitatis *O* ratio voluntatis *P* (a) innotescunt] notescunt *P* (b) unus *om. O* (c) et] etiam *O* (d) spirituales singule *inv. CjOP* (e) hoc] hec *P* (f) est autem *inv. OP* (g) scilicet *om. Cj* (h) illius] ipsius *CjOP* (i) in *add. CjOP*

christianos, et inde profluit *in horam vestimenti* eiusdem^j, id est^k usque in^l minimum electum³². Sanctus enim Spiritus non ad aliquam^m mensuramⁿ prefixam datus est homini Christo in quo omnis divinitas habitat corporaliter, sed de ipsius plenitudine accipiunt omnes^o electi Dei singuli secundum suas^p capacitates, prout vult ipse^q gratiarum distributor Spiritus sanctus.

Hiis ita^r digestis^s constat omnem hominis christiani^t perfectionem pendere^u ex tribus virtutibus christianorum propriis, fide, spe et^v caritate, et quatuor communibus christianis^w et gentilibus bene^x morigeratis quas cardinales dicunt, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudine et temperantia^y, que est precipua causa^z et^a urgentissima ratio^b quare ternarius et quaternarius et eorum coacervatio septenarius et multiplicatio duodenarius in sacra pagina tam celebres habentur, cui etiam alludit illa poetica^c exclamatio^d: *O terque^e quaterque beati^f*³³. Hiis itaque septem virtutibus quasi quibusdam publicis instrumentis omnes particulares virtutes^g eriguntur^h in electis et ad eternam salutem diriguntur secundum hunc negotiandi tenoremⁱ. Siquidem^j cum iustitia sit quasi quedam pedissequa caritatis, secundum latitudinem caritatis iustitia debet extendi^k, id est, ut^l omnibus obsequatur^m homo singulis sua tribuens per iustitiam quos amplectitur per caritatem. Hii autem sunt Deus, proximus, ipsemet. Unusquisque secundum illud unicum et universale preceptum caritatisⁿ, ex quo^o tota^p lex pendet et prophete, scilicet *diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde^q* etc. *et proximum tuum sicut te ipsum*³⁴. Quibus singulis quid debeatur apostolus insinuat dicens: *Sobrie et pie et iuste^r vivamus in hoc seculo*³⁵. Pietas ergo Deo, iustitia proximo, sobrietas sibi debetur. Pietas est^s cultus divinus^t et consistit in fide, spe et caritate et obsequio divino. Cui quanto studio sit obsequendum^u indicat ipsum preceptum caritatis: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo^v et ex totis viribus tuis et^w tota anima^x*³⁶, id est^y te^z totum tuaque omnia ex caritate Deo impende, presertim rationalitatem^a

(j) eiusdem] *om. OP* eius *Cj* (k) id est *om. CjOP* (l) in] ad *Cj* (m) aliquam] aliam *Cj* (n) mensuram] insissuram *P* (o) omnes *om. Cj* (p) suas] suos *P* (q) vult ipse *inv. OP* (r) ita] itaque *CjOP* (s) digestis] diestis *lectio dubia Cp^{ac}* disiectis *Cp^{pc}* (t) christiani *om. Cj* (u) pendere *om. Cj* (v) et *om. CjOP* (w) christianis *om. P* (x) bene] tantum *Cj* (y) fortitudine et temperantia] temperantia fortitudo *Cj* temperantia et fortitudine *O* temperantia fortitudine *P* (z) causa *om. Cj* (a) et *om. P* (b) ratio] intio *P* (c) poetica] portica *P* (d) exclamatio] acclamatio *Cj* (e) terque] ter *OP* (f) beati *om. CjOP* (g) hiis... virtutes *om. CjOP* (h) eriguntur] exiguntur *Cj* (i) negotiandi tenorem] timorem negotiandi *Cj* (j) siquidem] si quid *Cj* (k) secundum... extendi] iustitia debet extendi secundum latitudinem caritatis *Cj* (l) ut] ex *O* (m) obsequatur] exsequatur *O* exequatur *P* (n) id est ut... caritatis *om. Cj* (o) quo] qua *Cj* (p) tota *om. Cj* (q) ex toto corde *om. Cj* (r) et pie et iuste] iuste pie *Cj* et iuste et pie *OP* (s) est] enim *CjOP* (t) cultus divinus *inv. O* est *add. CjOP* (u) obsequendum] obediendum *Cj* (v) tuo *om. P* (w) ex *add. P* (x) ex toto corde... anima] etc. *Cj* tua *add. OP* (y) id est *om. Cj* (z) te *om. O* (a) rationalitatem] rationabilitatem *O* rationabilitate *P*

(32) Cf. Ps. 132, 2.

(33) VIRGIL, *Aeneis* 1.94. The line is cited by several stoic authors, e.g., SENECA, *Ep.* 67.8, so that the reading *portica* for *poetica* in ms. *P* would make sense as well.

(34) Matt. 22, 37-38; Marc. 12, 30-31.

(35) Tit. 2, 12.

(36) Matt. 22, 37; Marc. 12, 30.

et sensualitatem tuam et tibi supererogatam gratiam spiritualem. Te^b totum, inquam, et omnia tua in obsequio tui tuorumque conditoris Dei diligenter expende^c. Regula etiam iustitiae proximo impendente proportionalis^d est regule mutuae dilectionis. Regula enim^e dilectionis est^f: *Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum*. Regula autem^g iustitiae: *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne feceris*³⁷, et *quaecumque vultis ut vobis alii faciant^h, eadem et vos aliis faciatis*³⁸. Pariter ergoⁱ studeat omnis christianus commodis propriis et alienis. Sunt autem^j duo commoda precipua^k que quisque sibi ipsi desiderat, scilicet temporalis incolumitas^l et salus eterna^m. Pariter ergo studeat unusquisque alieneⁿ incolumitati et beatitudini^o sicut et proprie. Hoc est enim iuste vivere. Porro sobrietas, qua^p sibimet^q ipsi quislibet^r ipse^s tenetur, moderatum usum temporalium sibimet unicuique prescribit, quantum scilicet cuiusque necessitas exigit, non quantum gerit sua cuiusque petulantia. Nam ex quo^t quis necessitatis metas excedit in sectandis temporalibus, ilico pariter egreditur et fines caritatis, qua tantum^u dilectio Dei et proximi imperatur et^v sua ipsius cuiusque propria insinuat et relabitur in illam reprobam sensualitatis concupiscentiam qua caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, que profecto^w tripartita est, scilicet^x *concupiscentia carnis, concupiscentia oculorum et superbia^y vite*³⁹, cuius etiam^z incitamentum et fomes est quicquid in mundo est. Unde et ipsius^a mundi et eorum que sunt in mundo dilectio ita prohibetur: *Nolite^b diligere mundum nec ea que in mundo sunt*^c etc.⁴⁰, verbi causa *transit enim mundus et concupiscentia eius*⁴¹ et quicumque mundum^d diligit^e inimicus Dei constituitur tanquam illud diligens quod diligere prohibet Deus. Igitur^f hec^g tripartita pietatis, iustitiae et sobrietatis^h assignatio est quasi quedamⁱ subalterna^j spiritualium^k virtutum distinctio.

Ipse^l autem Salvator quasdam quasi salubriores^m et frequentiores virtutes specialissimas cum suis retributionibusⁿ assignat dicens: *Beati pauperes spiritu* etc.⁴². Hii autem sunt qui^o divinis^p preceptis sponte et humiliter obtemperantes, solum Deum diligentes *ex toto corde et ex tota anima et ex tota virtute*^q, mundum

(b)te] vere P (c)expende] expendere O presertim rationalitatem... expende om. Cj (d)proportionalis] proportionis O (e)enim om. Cj (f)est om. Cj (g)autem] etiam Cj (h)vobis alii faciant] alii faciant vobis CjOP (i)ergo] igitur Cj (j)autem om. Cj (k)precipua om. Cj (l)incolumitas] voluntas P (m)salus eterna inv. Cj (n)aliene om. CjOP (o)beatitudini] reatitudini OP aliene add. CjOP (p)quisque add. OP (q)sibimet] sibi Cj (r)quislibet] quilibet CjOP (s)ipse om. Cj (t)quo] hoc P (u)qua tantum] quantum CjOP (v)et] in Cj (w)profecto] profectio O (x)scilicet om. P (y)superbia] superba O (z)etiam] et O (a)ipsius] imperium P (b)ergo add. O (c)in mundo sunt] sunt in mundo Cj (d)mundum] mundus OP (e)mundum diligit inv. Cj (f)igitur] et Cj (g)hec] hoc O (h)sobrietatis] sobrietas OP (i)quasi quedam inv. OP (j)subalterna om. O (k)spiritualium] spiritualis OP (l)ipse] n se O (m)salubriores] salubres Cj (n)retributionibus] retribuentibus Cj (o)in add. O (p)divinis] vidimus P (q)et ex tota virtute] etc. CjOP

(37) Cf. Tob. 4, 16; literal parallels in many patristic writings.

(38) Matt. 7, 12; *Decretum Gratiani* 1.1 d.a.

(39) I Ioh. 2, 16.

(40) I Ioh. 2, 15.

(41) I Ioh. 2, 17.

(42) Matt. 5, 3.

et ea que in mundo sunt^r, ut liberius^s Deo^t vacent, contemntes, his solis^u sibi deductis que necessitas exigit, non ut natura lasciviat, sed ne deficiat, non solum possessionibus^v superfluis^w sed et illicitis concupiscentiis renunciantes, nichil sibi usurpantes sed per omnia se Deo devotentes, illo tumido superbie spiritu non inflati cuius incitamentum est scientia^x caritate destituta, secundum illud apostoli: *Scientia inflat et^y caritas edificat*⁴³. Huiusmodi^z enim^a iustitiam suam constituentes iustitie Dei nolunt esse subiecti, sicut econtrario sua ipsius notitia fidelem quenque humiliat^b et divine subicit iustitie. Predictis itaque verbis evangelicis sic^c humilitas quasi significante paupertatis spiritu insinuat. Ad hanc enim tam salubrem humilitatis^d virtutem consciscendam^e maxime facit illud verbum celitus demissum^f: *Notos eliton*^g, id est *agnosce te ipsum*⁴⁴, id est ut quilibet christianus^h fide Christi dictante secum recolat ad quid fuerit conditus. Et in quanta strenuitate constitutus, quamⁱ miserabiliter inde lapsus fuerit^j et depravatus, et quam^k nulla recuperandi sine^l gratia Salvatoris sibi suppetat oportunitas. Sic profecto^m recogitantiⁿ nulla suppetit ratio superbiendi^o quin^p potius ut^q Salvatoris arbitrio humiliter^r se substernat^s. Virtus igitur^t humilitatis fundamentum est^u omnium virtutum, unde primo loco pullulat virtus mansuetudinis, tranquillitatis scilicet^v et innocentie. Pauperes enim spiritu, non sicut pauperes inviti pauperes^w necessitate, aliis abundantibus tristitia tabescunt^x nec fervent iracundia quin potius^y equo animo et tranquillo in se sunt^z et ad omnes^a. Porro homini sic humiliato et mansuefacto^b accrescit^c tertia gratia^d, gratia compunctionis prodeuntis ex conscientia preeuntis culpe et metu pene imminentis, que scilicet gratia designatur nomine luctus. Consequens est enim ut homo^e humilis et mansuetus tanquam liber ab occasione peccandi conscientiam suam diligenter inspiciens lacrimis suis diluat precedentis^f peccati sordes quas invenerit^g. Hic est

(r) sunt om. OP (s) liberius] libentius P (t) deo] domino P (u) solis] solum O solummodo P (v) possessionibus] possessibus O (w) superfluis om. Cj (x) de add. Cj (y) et om. CjOP (z) huiusmodi] huius Cj est add. OP (a) enim] etenim Cj scioli add. CjOP (b) humiliat] illuminat Cj (c) sic om. Cj (d) tam salubrem humilitatis] humilitatis tam salubrem Cj (e) consciscendam] condiscendam Cj conscientiam P (f) demissum] dimissum CjOP (g) notos eliton] notos elicon Cj nothos ehiton P (h) christianus] sanus O (i) quam] quasi Cj (j) fuerit om. Cj (k) quam] quod Cj^{pc} (l) sine lacuna Cp (m) profecto] proficit O prosunt P (n) recogitanti] reconcilianti P (o) superbiendi] superbienti O (p) quin] qui Cj (q) ut om. Cj (r) humiliter] humiliatus Cj (s) substernat om. O consternat Cj subsissit P (t) igitur om. Cj (u) fundamentum est inv. OP (v) scilicet om. Cj (w) pauperes om. Cj (x) tabescunt] carescunt OP (y) potius] possunt P (z) in se sunt] insunt OP (a) in se... omnes] ad omnem Cj et ad omnes add. P (b) mansuefacto] mansueto CjOP (c) accrescit] accessit Cj (d) scilicet add. Cj (e) homo om. OP (f) precedentis] precedentes O (g) ab occasione... invenerit] a precedentis peccati sordibus quas invenerit ab occasione... diluat Cj

(43) 1 Cor. 8, 1.

(44) Corruptions of the Greek saying like *nothi lithos* are known from the twelfth century, see B. BISCHOFF, «Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters», in ID., *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, 3 vols., Stuttgart 1966-1981, vol. 2, p. 246-275, here p. 274-275. See also M.-Th. D'ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille: Textes inédits*, Paris 1965, p. 130 (mentions an unedited sermon of Alan, inc.: De celo descendit Gnoti seliton); ALEXANDER NEQUAM, *Meditatio de Magdalena*, ed. TH. H. BESTUL, «The Meditation on Mary Magdalene of Alexander Nequam», *Journal of Medieval Latin* 9 (1999), p. 1-40, here p. 24 («nothis elithos»).

enim luctus hominis vere penitentis. Habet etiam nichilominus homo iustus^h unde lugeat, de sui scilicet exilii productioneⁱ et celestis patrie delatione^j. Peccatis igitur et^k etiam^l occasione peccandi^m homo tam feliciterⁿ expeditus consequenter convalescit ad iustitiam et de iustitia proficit in^o misericordiam. Unde sequitur: *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam etc.*^p, et: *Beati misericordes*⁴⁵. Iustitia enim aliena merita pensat et iura, misericordia vero alienam tantum miseriam et egestatem. Ex hiis etiam, id est ex immunitate^q vitiorum et meritis virtutum, sequitur illa cordis munditia de qua subditur^r: *Beati mundo corde etc.*⁴⁶. Homo itaque tam bene compositus nulla alicuius hostilitatis laborat inquietudine, quin potius quoad^s ipsam pacem sectatur ad omnes, adeo ut etiam^t aliena persecutio pacis sue constantiam dirimere non valeat. Unde sequitur: *Beati pacifici etc.*^u et: *Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam*⁴⁷. Virtus enim consummata est illatam iniuriam non attendere. Hec^v illa turris evangelica⁴⁸, hec^w illa scala prophetica cuius utriusque gradibus electi ab area^x humilitatis ascendunt ad regnum celorum⁴⁹.

Porro precedens distinctio beatitudinum singulis virtutibus per varia nomina coaptata non res fruitas diversas, sed diversas^y beatorum indicat fruitiones^z. Uno enim summo bono, licet^a differenter secundum varias singulorum capacitates, fruuntur omnes beati. Singularitatem^b beatitudinis significat illud psalmiste^c: *Unam petii*^d etc.^{e50}; diversas vero fruitiones insinuat illud^f evangelicum^g: *In domo Patris mei multe sunt mansiones*^{h51}. Sive ergoⁱ censeatur^j regnum celorum sive terra viventium aut aliter quomodolibet, non est nisi illa vita eterna que est nosse Deum^k Patrem et quem^l misit Ihesum Christum^m. Ipsa autem veritas tam meritum quam mercedem eternam singulis appellationibus insinuatⁿ dicens: *Non quicumque dixerit mihi^o Domine, Domine intrabit in regnum celorum, sed quicumque fecerit voluntatem Patris mei qui in celis est, ipse intrabit in regnum celorum*^{p52}. Virtus igitur universalis est constans et perpetua voluntas faciendi

(h) nichilominus homo iustus] homo iustus nichilominus CjOP (i) productione om. Cj (j) delatione] dilatione CjOP (k) et om. CjOP (l) etiam om. P (m) occasione peccandi inv. CjOP (n) feliciter] fideliter P (o) in] ad Cj (p) etc.] quoniam ipsi saturabuntur OP (q) immunitate] mutatione Cj imitatione OP (r) subditur] scribitur Cj (s) quoad] ad CjOP (t) etiam om. Cj (u) etc. om. CjOP (v) est add. CjOP (w) est add. CjOP (x) area] aerea Cp^{ac} aera O (y) sed diversas om. O sed diversa P (z) beatorum indicat fruitiones] fruitiones beatorum Cj (a) licet om. Cj (b) tamen add. Cj (c) psalmiste] psalmi Cj (d) a domino add. Cj a te add. O (e) etc. om. Cj (f) illud om. CjOP (g) evangelicum] evangelium CjP (h) sunt mansiones inv. Cj (i) ergo] igitur Cj (j) censeatur] censeatrix P (k) et add. CjOP (l) quem] que O (m) ihesum christum inv. P (n) insinuat om. P (o) quicumque dixerit mihi] omnis qui dicit Cj (p) qui in... celorum om. Cj ipse intrabit... celorum om. OP

(45) Matt. 5, 6-7.

(46) Matt. 5, 8.

(47) Matt. 5, 9-10.

(48) Cf. Matt. 21, 33.

(49) Cf. Gen. 28, 12 seq.; NEWHAUSER, *The Treatise*, p. 157-158.

(50) Ps. 26, 4.

(51) Ioh. 14, 2.

(52) Matt. 7, 21.

voluntatem celestis Patris Dei^q, merces vero universalis est^r regnum celorum. Ex universali^s enim consideratione virtutis consequenter derivantur^t singularum^u virtutum singule^v considerationes. Cum^w itaque virtus sit habitus mentis bene constitute, mens autem humana tum^x demum^y bene constituitur^z si^a divinam mentem^b fuerit^c imitata. Mandata autem divina, id est precepta, prohibitiones atque consilia^d, divine voluntatis sunt indicia secundum rectam^e ratiocinandi consequentiam; singulorum mandatorum singule voluntates observatrices, si in habitum fuerint redacte, singulas speciales virtutes constituere perhibentur^f. Singulorum autem mandatorum universitas nomine decalogi designatur. Inde est quod commendabilis humana conversatio^g quadragenario numero figuratur^h, quasi denario numero ad specialiumⁱ virtutum universitatem, quaternario vero ad quatuor virtutes cardinales^j pertinente. Oritur enim^k quadragenarius^l ex denario per quaternarium multiplicato^m. Singule enimⁿ virtutes speciales ex chao mentis humane per quatuor virtutes cardinales excluduntur adiectis tribus virtutibus christianorum propriis si salus eterna desideretur. Porro cum due sint^o virtutis universalis^p universales diffinitiones, scilicet habitus mentis bene constitute, et^q constans et perpetua voluntas humana divine voluntatis imitatrix, specialium^r virtutum speciales diffinitiones ex generalibus facile est elicere secundum illam regulam predicamentalem^s: *Omnis species descendit a suo genere per superabundantiam unius differentie*^{t53}. Adiciantur ergo singule differentie ad diffinitiones universales et exhibunt^u singule diffinitiones speciales, verbi gratia ad iustitiam, que est constans et perpetua voluntas tribuens unicuique quod sibi debetur^v, scilicet^w ad divine voluntatis imitationem – sic enim^x subintelligendum^y est christiano, et si non sit ascriptum^z; huiusmodi^a utique^b subintelligentie^c frequentes^d sunt in sacra scriptura – vel etiam^e habitus mentis bene constitute ad tribuendum unicuique quod sibi debetur, ubi similiter subintelligendum^f est ad

(q) celestis patris dei] dei patris celestis Cj dei celestis O patris mei celestis P (r) est om. OP (s) universali] una Cj (t) derivantur] dirimantur P (u) singularum] singulorum P (v) singule om. Cj (w) cum] hec Cj (x) tum] tunc OP (y) demum om. Cp^wOP (z) mens autem... constituitur] bene enim constituitur mens humana Cj (a) si] sed O (b) mentem] voluntatem Cj (c) fuerit] fuit O (d) consilia] consimilia P (e) rectam om. P (f) perhibentur] prohibentur O (g) conversatio] conversio P (h) figuratur] finiatur Cj (i) specialium] spiritualium CjOP (j) virtutes cardinales inv. OP (k) enim om. CjP (l) quadragenarius] quadradenarius O quaternarius P (m) multiplicato] multiplicatum Cj (n) enim om. Cj (o) sint] sunt P (p) virtutis universalis] virtutes universalis P virtutes universales O (q) et om. Cj (r) specialium] spiritualium OP (s) predicamentalem] predictam universalem Cj (t) ad diffinitiones universales et exhibentur singule diffinitiones universales add. Cj (u) exhibunt] exhibentur Cj exhibent OP (v) sibi debetur] suum est P (w) scilicet om. CjOP (x) enim om. OP (y) subintelligendum] intelligendum CjO (z) ascriptum] scriptum CjOP (a) huiusmodi] huius OP (b) utique] ita O itaque CjP (c) subintelligentie] intelligentie Cj (d) frequentes] multotiens OP (e) iusticia est add. Cj marg. alia manu (f) subintelligendum] intelligendum Cj

(53) Cf. BOETHIUS, *In Porphyrii Isagogen* 5.7, ed. G. SCHEPSS and S. BRANDT, CSEL 48, p. 305; PETER OF SPAIN, *Tractatus Called Afterwards « Summule Logicales »* 2.12, ed. L. M. DE RIJK, Assen 1972, p. 21 : « differentia est qua habundat species a genere ».

imitationem divine voluntatis, per significantiam^g « bene » adverbii^h. Namⁱ tunc demum^j mens humana bene constituitur, si divinam imitatur. Ad consequentiam ergo^k iustitie diffiniatur et misericordia constans et perpetua voluntas tribuens hoc unicuique quo noverit ipsum^l indigere, sive etiam habitus mentis bene constitute adtribuendum unicuique quo noverit ipsum indigere^m. Sic pietas constans et perpetua voluntasⁿ deferendi^o Deo debitam reverentiam, aut habitus mentis bene constitute ad deferendum Deo debitam reverentiam. Sic et sobrietas constans et perpetua voluntas temperate^p se cohibens ab usu^q temporalium, aut habitus mentis bene constitute ad ita se cohibendum. Et universaliter omnis virtus specialis est constans et perpetua voluntas recte componens^r hunc^s vel illum vel alium quemlibet suum motum^t, vel habitus mentis bene constitute ad recte componendum hunc vel illum vel alium quemlibet suum motum^u, sive etiam^v constans et perpetua voluntas humana huius aut^w illius vel^x cuiuslibet alius^y divine voluntatis imitatrix. Sunt autem indifferentes iste virtutum^z assignationes. Indifferens^a enim est^b hominem in moderandis^c motibus suis divinam voluntatem imitari, et ad divine voluntatis imitationem motus suos moderari. Ethici autem^d gentiles in omnibus huiusmodi^e pro divina voluntate honestatem sectantur humanam. Denique secundum apostolum universalis et^f consummata sapientia iustitia sive virtus est fides que per dilectionem Dei operatur⁵⁴. Particularis vero est fides^g que per dilectionem hoc vel illud vel aliud quilibet^h operatur. Hec autem disserendi consequentiaⁱ nunquam deerit cuique^j satagenti quemlibet motum mentis sue^k recte componere sive quamlibet Dei voluntatem imitari et etiam hinc emergentem virtutem diffinire.

Series itaque denuo redeat ad locum diverticuli. Omnis ergo^l virtus specialis^m salutis eterne meritoriaⁿ per premissas septem virtutes generales, scilicet fidem, caritatem et spem^o, prudentiam^p, iustitiam, fortitudinem et temperantiam^q specificatur. Nam cum omnis^r anime potentia sit^s ad utrumlibet quolibet motu mentem pulsante ad elidendum^t vitium, ad quod omnis homo pronus est ab adolescentia, et ad virtutem excitandam, ad quam profecto quilibet tam invitus accedit^u quam

(g) autem *add. OP* (h) nam etc. universalis est habitus mentis bene constitute illud tribuendum unicuique quod sibi debetur, ubi similiter subintelligendum est ad imitationem divine voluntatis per significantiam bene adverbii *add. OP* (i) nam] quam *O* (j) demum] *om. Cj* deinde *OP* (k) ergo] igitur *Cj* (l) noverit ipsum] eum noverit *CjP* (m) sive etiam... indigere *om. CjP* (n) voluntas *om. Cj* tribuens hoc unicuique... voluntas *om. O* (o) deferendi] differendi *OP* (p) temperate] temperantie *Cj* temperante *OP* (q) ab usu] a visu *Cj* (r) ita se cohibendum... componens *om. OP* recte componendum *Cj* (s) hunc] illum *Cj* (t) suum motum *inv. Cj* (u) vel habitus... motum *om. Cj* (v) etiam *om. Cj* (w) aut] vel *Cj* (x) vel] aut *OP* (y) cuiuslibet alius *inv. Cj* (z) virtutum] virtutes *P* (a) indifferens] in differentiis *Cj* (b) enim est *inv. OP* (c) in moderandis] immoderandis *Cj* immoderandum *O* (d) autem] enim *Cj* (e) omnibus huiusmodi *inv. Cj* (f) et *om. P* (g) fides *om. CjOP* (h) aliud quilibet] aliquidlibet *Cp^{ac}* aliud quolibet *Cj* (i) consequentia *om. CjOP* (j) cuique *om. CjOP* (k) sue] sive *Cj* (l) ergo] igitur *Cj* (m) specialis] spiritualis *OP* (n) salutis eterne meritoria *om. CjOP* (o) caritatem et spem] spem et caritatem *Cj* spem caritatem et *OP* (p) prudentiam] spem pudicitiam *OP* (q) fortitudinem et temperantiam *inv. Cj* temperantiam fortitudinem *OP* (r) omnis *om. Cj* (s) sit] fit *O* (t) elidendum] eliciendum *Cj* eligendum *OP* (u) accedit] recedit *O*

(54) Cf. Gal. 5, 5-6.

pronus est^v ad malum, agendum est prudenter, iuste, fortiter et^w temperate^x, fide Christi dictante, caritate Dei suggerente, et hoc spe salutis eterne. Verbi gratia ad misericordiam. Cum igitur avaritia omnibus desiderabilibus iam apprehensis incubet inseparabiliter, cupiditas vero ad ea que restant insatiabiliter aspiret^y, Veritas ait e contrario: *Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis, qui vos recipiant in eterna tabernacula*⁵⁵, et: *Si diligitis^z me, mandata mea servate*⁵⁶. Porro prudentia decrevit veritati potius quam sensualitati fore^a deferendum ob amorem Christi imperantis et ex^b nostra obedientia nostre caritatis argumentum capientis^c. Et sic^d maxime disserit^e spe eternorum^f tabernaculorum^g. Hinc^h ergoⁱ instructa iustitia omnia sic imperat adimpleri^j, cui obtemperans fortitudo omnes alienas redimit egestates esurientem et sitientem reficiendo, nudos vestiendo et quomodolibet aliter destitutis subveniendo. Temperantia vero obsistentem cohibet sensualitatem vel^k alia speculatione, fortitudine utrasque partes agente, temperantia cetera queque moderatur^l. Est autem universalis hec^m disserendi consequentia ad omnes conflictus sensualitatis et rationalitatis salubriter dirimendos, id est ad excitandas virtutes et vitia cohibenda, verbi gratia ad humilitatem, sobrietatem, castitatem, largitatem, obedientiam, caritatem, mansuetudinem, spem salutis eterne mentisque constantiam excitandam, et e contrario ad superbiam, gulam, luxuriam, avaritiam, ambitionem, invidiam, iram, tristitiam, accidiam extinguendasⁿ. De quarum congressione ethici christiani quamplurima volumina construxisse^o memorantur, quibus profecto singulis adiecta presens regula theoreticis^p conferret^q evidentiam et practicis^r facilitatem.

E contrario^s vero mala nisi cognita vitari non possunt^{t57}. Ad cautelam itaque^u vitiorum sciendum quod si virtus humana a^v sua constantia elanguerit, homo illico in originalem corruptionem suam relabitur. Homo enim ab origine triplici involvitur incommodo, id est^w originalis culpe reatu, fomite peccati et ultrice penalitate. Culpa vero diluitur in baptismo, fomite et penalitate de cetero superantibus. Est igitur hominis origo perditissima et infelicissima vita. Circumfert enim secum iugiter peccati stimulum et crucem. Habet itaque caro quatuor^x petulantias: sensum, affectum, impetum et libidinem quatuor predictis potentiis spiritualibus^y rationalitati, voluntati^z, facultati et^a alacritati proportionales. Hiis autem petulantibus agit caro suum commercium cum sibi germanis elementis et

(v) est om. Cj (w) et om. Cj temperanter sive add. Cj (x) temperate] temperative OP (y) aspiret] appetat Cj (z) diligitis] diligas OP (a) fore] forte OP (b) illa add. Cj (c) capientis om. Cj (d) sic] sibi Cj (e) disserit] dilexit CjOP (f) eternorum] lacuna O (g) tabernaculorum] habitaculorum Cj (h) hinc] hunc CjOP (i) ergo] igitur Cj (j) adimpleri] ampleri P (k) aliam add. O (l) moderatur] moderat Cj moderantur O (m) universalis hec inv. CjOP (n) extinguendas] excitandas P (o) construxisse] construisse O (p) theoreticis] rethoris Cj retoricis OP (q) conferret] conferet CjO confert P (r) practicis] fracticiis Cj (s) e contrario] contraria O (t) vitari non possunt] non possunt vitari CjOP (u) itaque] igitur Cj (v) a om. Cj (w) id est] scilicet Cj (x) quatuor om. Cj (y) potentiis spiritualibus inv. CjOP (z) ala add. OP (a) et om. OP

(55) Luc. 16, 9.

(56) Ioh. 14, 15.

(57) Cf. BOETHIUS, *De differentiis topicis* 2, PL 64, col. 1184B.

elementaribus^b speciebus ipsas quodammodo^c animadvertendo, gestiendo, prosequendo et adeptis ipsis delectando. Iisdem^d etiam^e ipsis petulantibus caro spiritum persequitur^f, ipsi suas^g delectationes molestissime suggerendo. Habent etiam^h heeⁱ petulantie similiter^j distinctas suas aptitudines^k, actus et pronitates. In earum itaque pronitate consistit fomes peccati. Totus enim homo post lapsum ab earum pronitate traxit contagium. Unde scriptum est^l: *Homo ab adolescentia sua pronus est ad malum*⁵⁸. Hiis igitur invalescentibus^m habitus predicti, id est difficile mobiles mentis bone dispositiones, in vitio depravantur. Est autem vitium depravatio illarum predictarum quatuor virtutum cardinaliumⁿ ex prima prevaricatione^o contracta. In quarum bene constitutis exercitationibus^p e regione secundum predicta fundantur virtutes universales^q. Rationalitas itaque humana post lapsum depravata degeneravit in fatuitatem, voluntas in iniquitatem, facultas in impetum sensualitatis et rationalitatis imbecillitatem^r, alacritas in libidinem. Sunt autem fatuitas, iniquitas, imbecillitas et impetus quasi^s quatuor vitia cardinalia quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus^t prudentie, iustitie, fortitudini et^u temperantie proportionaliter repugnantia: prudentie fatuitas, iniquitas iustitie^v, fortitudini imbecillitas et impetus temperantie. Succumbentibus ergo^w virtutibus et hiis vitiis in homine avalescentibus^x ex singulis motibus sensualitatis singula vitia specialia^y libere prodeunt^z et inoffense^a. Quorum omnium unicum^b et universale seminarium est superbia, secundum quod omnis illicita presumptio dicitur superbia. Multa enim temeritas et illicita presumptio est quando^c homo plus sibi^d vendicat in suo statu in hoc mundo quam in^e ingressu suo^f obtinuit^g in hunc mundum^h, sicut e contrario humilitatis est illi soli statum suum usquequaque dispensandum committereⁱ cui soli suum imputat ingressum, id est ut nil agat homo, nil loquatur, nilve discernat nisi siquid suo conditori placere cognoverit. Et est huiusmodi humilitas^j omnium virtutum^k et universale seminarium sive potius quasi virtus generalissima omnium virtutum, sicut et^l illa superba presumptio predicta omnium vitiorum est quasi vitium generalissimum. Illa de singulis virtutibus et hoc de vitiis singulis^m predicabile. Porro vitium proprie dicitur corruptio virtutisⁿ sive detrimentum, peccatum vero rei illicite perpetratio, et

(b) elementaribus] exemplaribus *Cj* (c) quodammodo] quoque *Cj* (d) iisdem *scripsi*] isdem *Cp* hiis autem *CjOP* (e) etiam] et *CjOP* (f) persequitur] prosequitur *O* (g) suas] sua *P* (h) etiam] enim *CjOP* (i) hee *om. Cj* (j) similiter *om. Cj* (k) et *add. CjOP* (l) est *om. Cj* (m) invalescentibus] invalescentibus *P* (n) predictarum... cardinalium] quatuor virtutum cardinalium dictarum *Cj* quatuor cardinalium virtutum predictarum *OP* (o) prevaricatione] privatione *Cj* (p) exercitationibus] exercitationibus *Cj* excertionibus *O* excertionibus *P* (q) fundantur virtutes universales] virtutes universales fundantur *CjOP* (r) rationalitatis imbecillitatem] rationalitas in becillitatem *Cj* (s) quasi *om. Cj* (t) scilicet *add. OP* (u) et *om. CjOP* (v) iniquitas iustitie *inv. CjO* (w) ergo] igitur *Cj* (x) avalescentibus] convalescentibus *CjOP* (y) specialia] spiritualia *OP* (z) prodeunt] procedunt *CjOP* (a) et inoffense *om. Cj* (b) unicum] initium *Cj* (c) quando] quotiens *CjOP* (d) plus sibi *inv. Cj* (e) in *om. P* (f) suo *om. OP* (g) in ingressu suo obtinuit] obtinuit in ingressu *Cj* (h) mundum] vitandum *P* (i) committere *om. Cj* (j) fomes *add. Cj* (k) fomes *add. OP* (l) et *om. Cj* (m) vitiis singulis *inv. CjOP* (n) corruptio virtutis *inv. CjOP*

(58) Gen. 8, 21.

delictum omissio rei necessarie⁵⁹. Eorum tamen interdum *usus* est indifferens *penes* quem^o *ius* est *et norma loquendi*⁶⁰. In omnibus igitur huiusmodi analogia scienda^p sed usus imitandus.

Virtutibus itaque sic infeliciter enervatis^q vitia libere prorumpunt et occupant animam tam perditam et virtutum presidio desertam^r. Prodeunt ergo^s primo loco quasi ex matre vitiorum iniquitate malignitas et concupiscentia. Porro concupiscentia proprias voluptates sectatur, malignitas vero detrimentis studet^t alienis. Concupiscentia enim et malignitas oriuntur ex illis primis et notissimis^u rationalis anime repugnantibus perperam degenerantibus, concupiscibilitate^v scilicet^w et irascibilitate. Concupiscentia subdividitur in concupiscentiam carnis et^x concupiscentiam^y oculorum et ambitionem honorum^z, dignitatum sive^a prelationum⁶¹. Concupiscentia carnis subdividitur in gulam, somnolentiam, luxuriam et omnem aliam inordinatam carnis petulantiam. Concupiscentia oculorum ipsa est avaritia que profecto tam^b multiplex est quot sensuum oblectamenta constat esse sub sole. Ambitio etiam tam multiplex est quot humanarum adulationum possunt esse vana commenta. Malignitas^c subdividitur in invidiam et impietatem, que quandam consequentem^d ex concupiscentia habent originem. Bona enim^e temporalia incommutabilia^f sunt. Nam quantumcunque quis inde occupaverit, tanto necessario cuilibet alii constat esse cendum. Inde est quod alii frustrati suis concupiscentiis aliis invident suas occupationes. Sicque ex concupiscentia suboritur^g invidia que describitur odium felicitatis aliene⁶² et est mater et alumna omnium iniuriarum in proximos transeuntium. Porro invidia convalescente dum alii aliis suas occupationes evincere non possunt, repulsi in iram solent excandescere. Et sic ira gignitur ex invidia, quam cum alii aliis obsistentibus explere^h non possuntⁱ, iram^j frustra foris sevientem intra^k sese^l recolligunt in tristitiam, que profecto nisi maturiori solatio fuerit delinita, in ultimam et desperatam convalescit accidiam. Tanta denique mole flagitiorum et scelerum obruta^m mensⁿ humana^o a cultu Dei deficit et dissuescit, et nisi maturius resipuerit^p, usque ad ipsius Dei contemptum^q prorumpit^r, que est summa et detestabilis impietas sive sacrilegium. Impietas

(o) quem] que O (p) scienda] sciendi CjOP (q) enervatis] eliminatis Cj (r) desertam] destrictam P (s) ergo] igitur Cj (t) studet] studeat OP (u) notissimis] novissimis CjOP (v) concupiscibilitate] concupiscentia Cj (w) scilicet om. Cj (x) et om. OP (y) concupiscentiam om. Cj (z) ambitionem honorum] ambitionibus honoris Cj (a) sive] et O (b) tam] causa P (c) autem add. CjOP (d) consequentem] consequentiam P (e) enim] autem P (f) incommutabilia] incommutabilia Cp^{ac} comitalia Cj (g) suboritur] oritur Cj (h) explere] expellere OP (i) repulsi in iram... non possunt om. Cj (j) iram] ira P (k) intra] intrat Cj (l) sevientem add. O (m) obruta] olenta P (n) obruta mens inv. Cj (o) humana om. CjOP (p) resipuerit] respuerit Cj (q) ipsius dei contemptum] contemptum dei Cj (r) prorumpit om. P

(59) Cf. PETER LOMBARD, *Sententiae* 4.16.2.2, ed. BRADY, vol. 2, p. 338: « omnis uirtus patitur detrimentum ab uno uitio »; 2.42.5, *ibid.* vol. 1, p. 570: « Peccatum ergo est perpetratio mali, delictum desertio boni ».

(60) HORACE, *De arte poetica* 71-72.

(61) Cf. 1 Ioh. 2, 16.

(62) AUGUSTINE, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 104.17, ed. E. DEKKERS and J. FRAIPONT, CCSL 40, p. 1545; *Sermo* 353, PL 39, col. 1516.

enim subdividitur in infidelitatem et^s inobedientiam. Infidelitas^t est de Deo male^u sentire, inobedientia vero a Deo dissentire.

Ex hac tam confusa vitiorum congerie^v excepta sunt illa septem tam famosa vitia^w, scilicet gula, luxuria, avaritia, superbia^x, invidia, ira, tristitia. Est enim^y gula omnium carnalium petulantiarum^z et spiritualium corruptionum fomes et seminarium. Unde apostolus quasi ad cautelam omnium aliorum vitiorum^a ait: *Castigo corpus meum etc.*⁶³. Vitium ergo^b gule occasionem sumit ex necessitate^c. Inculpabilis enim est^d omnis^e necessitas dummodo procurata non fuerit, superfluitas vero in culpa. Necessitas enim^f et superfluitas victualium indiscriminabiles^g sunt. Inde est quod reficiendi^h voluptas inchoans a necessitate et in superfluis redundans citra fastidium non facile cohibetur. Est ergoⁱ gula pestis perniciosissima, cui necessitas prestat^j occasionis initium. Porro repletionem^k solvit evacuatio. Vitium ergo^l gule in repletionem, luxurie vero vitium consistit^m in evacuatione, que etiam ipsa nichilominus est hominiⁿ necessaria. Et^o est^p miserabilis hominis infelicitas, cuius perditioni necessitas sua prestat et accumulatur occasionem. Porro convivia splendida et muliebria^q lenocinia^r sive rerum opulentia^s transigi^t non possunt, in qua vitium fundatur avaritie. Sicque gula^u et luxuria^v causam prestant avaritie. Huic consonat illud Augustini: *Ubi voluntates multe^w, ibi et vocationes plurime que a Deo separant^x: gula et ebrietas, quarum et^y comes est^z corporalium permixtionum delectatio*^{a64}. Hec autem vitia magnas avaritie causas attrahunt, quia exuberantem^b copiam exigit vita luxurie^c et ideo multa acquirendi necessitas strangulat animam corpori servientis, ne desit effusis^d affluens sumptus impendiis^e. Hiis autem omnibus ad vitium^f nobis suppetentibus animus turgescit in superbiam. Quo tumore^g inexplebiliter excrescente succrescit^h invidia alienam felicitatem suamⁱ reputans detrimentum. Et deinceps secundum tenorem superius assignatum^j ex invidia ira, et^k ex ira irignitur tristitia. Hec autem tam consequens vitiorum generatio^l pertinet ad illos funiculos propheticos^m unde ait Ysaïas: *Ve qui trahitis iniquitatesⁿ in funiculis*

(s) in *add.* O (t) infidelitas] infelicitas P enim *add.* CjOP (u) de deo male] male de deo Cj (v) congerie] congerere O (w) vitia *om.* Cj (x) superbia *om.* Cj (y) enim] autem CjOP (z) carnalium petulantiarum *inv.* OP speculatarum carnalium Cj (a) quasi... vitiorum *om.* Cj (b) ergo] enim CjOP (c) necessitate] necessarie O (d) enim est *inv.* CjOP (e) omnis *om.* Cj (f) enim] vero O (g) indiscriminabiles] indiscriminales CjOP (h) reficiendi] reficiens O reficiendo P (i) ergo] igitur Cj (j) prestat] prestat P (k) repletionem] repulsionem OP (l) ergo] igitur Cj (m) consistit *om.* Cj (n) nichilominus est homini] homini nichilominus est OP (o) et *om.* Cj (p) enim *add.* Cj (q) et *add.* Cj (r) lenocinia] leonina P^{sc} leocinia P^{pc} (s) opulentia] opulentia Cj^{sc} opulentia P (t) transigi] transigi CjO (u) pariter *add.* CjOP (v) gula et luxuria *inv.* Cj (w) multe] nate CjOP (x) separant] separant P (y) et] etiam Cj (z) est *om.* OP (a) permixtionum delectatio *inv.* Cj delectationum permixtionum OP (b) exuberantem *om.* P ex illis Cj ex et *lacuna* O (c) vita luxurie *inv.* P (d) effusis] effusus Cj (e) impendiis] in prandiis CjOP (f) vitium] vitam CjOP (g) tumore] timore OP (h) succrescit] successit P (i) suum] suam P (j) assignatum] assignatur O (k) et *om.* CjP (l) generatio] genera Cj (m) funiculos propheticos *inv.* OP (n) iniquitates *om.* CjOP

(63) 1 Cor. 9, 27.

(64) Spurious, not identified.

vanitatum^o et quasi *vinculum*^p *plaustrum peccatum*⁶⁵, et David: *Funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt me*⁶⁶. Hii sunt illi laquei diaboli unde idem David: *Et funes extenderunt*^q *in laqueum iuxta iter scandalum posuerunt mihi*⁶⁷. Hiis vinculis ligatus in tenebras exteriores proici iussus est ille miser evangelicus qui sine cultu nuptiali nuptiis se inseruit^r⁶⁸. Hiis enim peccatis involutus peccator in fine detrudendus est in tenebrosam gehenne squalorem.

Hec^s septem vitia secundum prosopopeiam⁶⁹ quasi duces singuli quibusdam densis satellitiis popularium vitiorum constipati sub universali principe superbia militare describuntur in adversa acie illius militie de qua scriptum est: *Militia est vita hominis super terram*⁷⁰, miseram animam quam occupant secundum quendam sapientem ita mutato^t ordine devastantes: *superbia enim*^u *aufert homini Deum, invidia proximum, ira se ipsum*; hominem autem ita destitutum *tristitia flagellat, avaritia flagellatum* expellit, *gula* circumvenit expulsum, *luxuria* circumventum captivat⁷¹. Porro satellites superbie^v sunt inanis gloria, iactantia, inobedientia, ypocrisis, discordie, contentiones, presumptiones novitatum. Invidie vero obsecuntur odium, susurratio^w, detractio, in adversis proximi exultatio et afflictio spiritus in prosperis. Ire autem famulantur tumor^x mentis, rixe, contumelie, clamoritas, indignatio, blasphemie. Tristitie subiciuntur malitia^y, rancor, pusillanimitas, desperata desolatio. Ipsa^z est accidia torpor circa^a precepta, vagatio mentis circa illicita. Avaritie favent proditio^b, fraus, fallacia, periurium, inquietudo, immisericordia, violentia, cordis obduratio^c. Vitio^d gula obnoxia^e sunt inepta letitia, scurrilitas, immunditia, multiloquium et intellectus hebetudo. Luxurie tandem substernuntur cecitas mentis, inconsideratio, inconstantia, precipitatio, odium sive contemptus Dei tanquam voto suo adversantis, seculi presentis affectus, horror et desperatio futuri. Hec exemplorum vice^f sufficiant ex infinitis vitiis popularibus septem capitalibus vitiis^g subiectis^h breviter excerptaⁱ. Denique virtutibus et vitiis ita breviter annotatis^j noverit omnis christianus hec esse illa arma et munimenta spiritualia, quibus castra celi et inferni sub principibus Deo et diabolo instruuntur^k et exercitus invicem congregiuntur

(o) vanitatum] vanitant O (p) vinculum] vitulum Cj (q) extenderunt] exciderunt OP (r) inseruit] interseruit Cj (s) etiam add. CjOP (t) mutato] mitato O ymitatio P (u) enim om. Cj (v) satellites superbie inv. Cj (w) susurratio] surrario OP (x) tumor] timor P (y) malitia] malitie CjOP (z) enim add. Cj (a) circa] contra Cj (b) proditio] perditio OP (c) obduratio] obductio Cj (d) vitio] vitia CjOP (e) obnoxia] noxia P (f) exemplorum vice] exterioris vite Cj (g) capitalibus vitiis inv. Cj (h) subiectis] subrectis OP (i) excerpta] exceptio Cj (j) annotatis scripsi] annoatis Cp enodatis Cj om. OP (k) instruuntur] imprimuntur Cj instruitur O

(65) Is. 5, 18.

(66) Ps. 118, 61.

(67) Ps. 139, 6.

(68) Cf. Matt. 22, 11-13.

(69) This rare expression was introduced in the early twelfth century by Siebert of Gembloux and William of Conches.

(70) Iob 7, 1.

(71) HUGH OF SAINT VICTOR, *De sacramentis* 2.13.1, PL 176, col. 525C-D; *De quinque septenis* 2, ed. R. BARON, Paris 1969, p. 104; likewise *Expositio in Abdiam*, PL 175, col. 401C.

in illa militia^l que tota vita hominis est^m super terram. Omnes enim pie viventes in virtutibus vitiorum persecutionem patiunturⁿ secundum hanc enim^o repugnantiam virtutum et vitiorum: *Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum^p, spiritus adversus carnem⁷²*. Miles ergo^q christianus his initiatus confidenter illa arma christiana universalia, scilicet *scutum fidei, lorica iustitie, galeam salutis, gladium verbi divini^r* corripit⁷³. Et stipatus hoc tam fido agmine virtutum^s vitiorum exercitum sub obtentu salutis eterne securus aggrediatur^t, strenue se gerens per omnia^u per artem militarem beati Ambrosii que^v scribitur^w *De conflictu virtutum et vitiorum^x*⁷⁴. Illo opitulante^y qui *superbos humiliat et exaltat^z humiles^{a75}* Domino nostro Ihesu Christo qui est Deus^b benedictus in secula^c, amen^d.

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(l) militia] malitia O (m) vita hominis est] est vita hominis CjOP (n) vitiorum persecutionem patiuntur] persecutionem patiuntur vitiorum Cj persecutionem vitiorum patiuntur OP (o) hanc enim inv. OP (p) et add. CjOP (q) ergo] igitur Cj (r) verbi divini inv. Cj (s) agmine virtutum inv. Cj (t) aggrediatur] egrediatur OP (u) se gerens per omnia] per omnia se gerens CjOP (v) que] qui Cj (w) scribitur] conscribitur Cj inscribitur OP (x) virtutum et vitiorum inv. OP (y) opitulante om. OP (z) exaltat] exultat P (a) opitulante add. O optulante add. P (b) deus om. Cj (c) deus... secula] regnans in secula seculorum OP (d) explicit libellus hugonis de sancto victore qui intitulatur de virtutibus et vitiis. deo gratias. quod r. emylton add. Cj explicit liber de virtutibus et beatitudinis add. P

(72) Gal. 5, 17.

(73) Eph. 6, 13-17. Cf. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Sententiae* 2.152, *Opera* 6.2, p. 52-53: « Quattuor sunt arma quibus principaliter communimur : prudens et humilis intelligentia, quae est quasi galea et caput operit; mediocris et parca temperantia, quae est lorica et pectus tegit; perseverans et patiens constantia, quae est quasi scutum et dexteram munit; retributrix aequitatis iustitia, quae est gladius utrobique incidens ad divisionem animae et spiritus ».

(74) AMBROSIIUS APTERTUS (Pseudo-Ambrose of Milan), *Libellus de conflictu vitiorum atque virtutum*, ed. R. WEBER, CCCM 27B, p. 909-31.

(75) AUGUSTINE, *De civitate Dei* 17.4.