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NOTES

I

Hau.Mélanges p.51

Addressed to William of s.Calais (or Carilef), bishop of Durham (1081 - 1096, Gams Ser.Episc.p.187), counsellor of William the Conqueror, and of William Rufus, and builder of the cathedral. Previous to becoming bishop he had been abbot, first of s.Calais near Le Mans, and then of s.Vincent in the town itself. Hildebert may have known William from this period if, as is not unlikely, he attended the cathedral school at Le Mans (cf. Dict.Nat.Biog.III.990-5 under Carilef).

II

Hau.p.180

This poem is embodied in the Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum with the 'Petre' altered to 'crede' (p.179 in the ed.of Saint-Marc, Paris 1880. This portion of the Regimen is not given in the edition of Croke). It is also found in Carminum proverbialium totius humanae vitae statum breviter deliniantium... Loci communes. Basileae. Ex officina Oporin 1576, p.165 (cf.Walther Index no.18933).

III

Hau.p.120

A paraphrase of Gregory Moralia Bk.V.ch.1, ll.1 - 21. Quoted in its entirety by Geoffrey of s.Barbe epist.XI (P.L.205 col.858).

IV

Hau.p.157

These lines appear at the end of epist.III.11 (Dieudonné 82) written to Mathilda, wife of Henry I of England. Thus they were written between 1100 and 1118 (cf.note to XXXV). The text of Beaugendre, being incomplete, does not give them.

The poem may owe something to Hor.Odes I.4.13,14 'pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque turris', or less probably to Boethius Phil.Cons.Bk.II, metrum VII, ll.12 - 14 'Mors spernit altam gloriam,/ Involvit humile pariter et celsum caput / Aequatque summis infima'.

Quoted in full by Vincent of Beauvais De eruditione filiorum nobilium chap.41,l.112, with attribution to Hildebert. Cf.also Laurence of Durham Consolatio (as in MS.B.M.Cott.Vesp.B.XI, fol.16)

' Finis ad illud idem cuncta premendo trahit.
Purpura cilicio, sceptrumque ligonibus, aula
fit similis modice, fine premente, case.'

V

Hau.p.52

The reading 'cadunt' of A, and perhaps Hildebert's text also, is influenced by the proverbial 'arbore de dulci dulcia poma cadunt' (Werner Sprichworter no.103, p.5).

VI

Hau.p.205

Probably written for Odo's rotulus. Odo may be the Odo de Buris who succeeded Johel as abbot of La Couture in Le Mans around 1096 (Baudri couples his death with that of bishop Hoel, poem 53,ll.1,2). The latest evidence for his still being alive is a charter of 1112 (Dieudonné p.11 no.24).

VII

Hau.p.185

Introduced into the canon of Martial's poems with IX by A.Junius (Adrien Jonghe, 1511 - 1575) in his Animadversa (bk.5 chap.17). However though IX appears as epigram 102 in several 17th and 18th cent. editions, editors do not seem to have followed Jonghe in regard to 7. It appears as supposititia no.5 in the editions of Martial by Lemaire (1829) and Schneidewin (Par.,1842).

VIII

Hau p.147

Ed. from D by Pressel, Rev.de philol.1,p.408.

Hauréau gives the text of a similar poem beg: 'Obscuros versus facis,Hugo,parumque latinos', and of the two he says 'elles sont, à n'en pas douter, du même auteur', a view followed by Lehmann in 'Distinctiones monasticae', Münch.Sitzungsber.1922,Abh.2, p.12. Doubtless the theme and style are similar, but of the MSS. which contain VIII only L and Z follow it with 'obscuros versus'. Thus it would appear to have been attracted to Hildebert's poem in the anthologies because of its similar theme and style. Possibly it is written in conscious imitation of Hildebert's poem. Despite the similarity in style the last line has not the point of Hildebert's ending. Hauréau's guess that the Hugo is Hugh Primate has no foundation. Hugo like Milo is a type.

IX

Hau.p.186

Introduced into the canon of Martial with VII by Jonghe. Thereafter it appears in the editions of Pulmannus (Antwerp 1568), Calderinus (Par. 1601), Farnaby (Lond. 1655), the Delphin edition of 1701, and as suppos. 9 in the editions of Lemaire and Schneidewin already cited for VII. Edited from D by Pressel, Rev.de philol.1.p.408.

X

Hau.p.204

One of the few occasions on which the titles of Du and B on the one hand and T on the other differ radically. Du B seem more likely to be correct, in which case the poem is addressed to Adela of Blois (for Adela see the note on 15 and p.56). There is nothing in the poem to indicate a date. Hauréau suggests that the phrase 'prima dearum' indicates that it was composed after Adela entered the convent of Marcigny in 1122, but this does not necessarily follow. If the title in T is correct then Mathilda, wife of Henry I of England is the person addressed. (For poems written to her see notes to XXXV,IV and XXXVII).

2 Ovid E.Ponto IV.15.4 'a superis hic mihi primus erit'.

XI

Hau.p.205
Cf. poem IV on the same subject, also epist.II.12 (Dieudonné I.38) 'mortemque non pluribus stadiis ab aula quam a tugurio distare meminneris'.

XII and XIII

Hau.p.51
Probably intended as inscriptions for statues or pictures, as Baudri's poems III - XXVIII. XIII is pr. from MS.B.M.Arundel 507 by C.Horstman, Richard Rolle and his followers I, p.454. There it is followed by other verses of a similar nature.

XIV

Hau.p.158
Cited anon. by Geoffrey of s.Barbe epist.25 (P.L.205 col.351).

XV

Hau.p.150
To Adela, countess of Blois. For her patronage of poets and her correspondance with Hildebert see p. 55. The phrase 'Nolo manus sceptris, vel cervix apta corone' suggests that this was written during the years in which she ruled her husband's county of Blois. Thus the poem can be dated between Stephen's departure for the first crusade (1096) and 1122, when Adela entered the convent of Marcigny.

1 Augusti William the Conqueror.

XVI

Hau.p.53
First edited by P.Pithoeus (Opera sacra p.789). Included by Burmann in the Anthologia latina (I.p.574) but rejected by Riese (part I, fasc. II pref.p.39). Also ed. by Wattenbach N.A.II.403 and by V.Cousin (P.Abaelardi Opera inedita p.638) under the name of Bernard of Chartres.

We hear only once of a nephew of Hildebert's and this is a certain Gervais mentioned as 'nepote meo' in a charter granted by Hildebert to Marmoutîre in 1114 (Dieudonné, no.25, also cited by him at p.45 in connection with the alleged immoral conduct of Hildebert when archdeacon. Dieudonné is inclined to regard this Gervais as Hildebert's son, rather than nephew.).

1 Disticha Catonis I.3 'virtutem primam esse puta compescere linguam;'

2 Horace Epist.I.2.3 'qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile,
quid non'.

6 Horace Odes II.10.13,14 'sperat infestis, metuit secundis
alteram sortem bene praeparatum / pectus.'
Disticha Catonis IV.26 'tranquillis rebus semper adversa timeto:
rursus in adversis melius sperare memento.'

7 Horace Satires I.6.17 'qui stupet in titulis' - a good example of Hildebert recollecting a phrase and using it in a poem to mean something quite different.

XVII

Ed. (in part) by Pithoeus Epigrammata p.26 , and by Burmann (A.L.I.p.515), but rejected by Riese (part I fasc.2 pref.xxxviii). Riese published 11.15 - 20 elsewhere (A.L.1 fasc.2 p.540, no.927) from Barth's Polyhistor, without realising that they belonged to the poem already rejected by him. Also ed. by N.Chamart among the works of Phillipe de Borne Espérance ,p.803, and cited from Barth Adversaria XXV.19 by Baehrens Poet.Lat.Min.5.412.

Some of the medieval poets who touch on this well worn theme of the poverty of poets and the futility of learning are Serlo of Bayeux (Wright Sat.Poets II p.249 11.13 - 27), Walter of Chatillon (sat.Gedichte, ed.Strecker IV.20 sqq.), Vitalis of Blois (Geta 11.12 - 17), Matthew of Vendôme (ed.W.Wattenbach, Der poetische Briefsteller des M.von V., Bayer.Sitzungsber.II (1872) p.610 sqq. A good example is poem II.5 throughout.), and Radulphus Tortarius (Epist.ed.Ogle and

Schullian I.25 - 28 and 151 - 154). The locus classicus for this poet's complaint against contemporary society is Juvenal's seventh Satire, especially lines 1 - 104, but though Hildebert may be influenced by Juvenal's general idea there is no verbal borrowing. On the other hand he has clearly read the similar passages in Ovid Ars Amatoria II.275 - 80 and Amores III.8.

1 Ovid Heroides XVIII.67 'neu referam mores caelesti pectore dignos'.

3 - 5 Ovid Amores III.8.1 - 4 'Et quisquam ingenuas etiamnunc suspicit artes,
aut tenerum dotes carmen habere putat?
Ingenium quondam fuerat pretiosius auro;
at nunc barbaria est grandis habere nihil.'

7 Quoted anon.by Giraldus Cambrensis, De invectionibus VI.ch.27 (Brewer I.192), Gemma Ecclesiastica II.38 (Brewer II.360), Speculum Ecclesiae III.14 (Brewer IV.225) and IV.39 (Brewer IV.350).

9,10 Ovid Ex Ponto I.9.39,40 'Si modo nec census, nec clarum nomen avorum,
s^ed probitas magnos ingeniumque facit'.

9 - 12 Horace Epist.I.1.57 - 9
'est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua fidesque,
sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt / plebs eris.'

10 Horace Serm.II.5.8
'et genus et virtus nisi cum re vilior alga est.'

11 Ovid Ars Amatoria II.276
'dummodo sit dives, barbarus ipse placet.'

18 Ovid Ex Ponto II.5.14
'et gratis paenitet esse probum.'

19,20 cf.Bernard of Cluny III.290
'in lucra vendimus ora, cor, actus;'

24 Ovid Ex Ponto II.5.36
'externis virtus incomitata bonis'.

Hau p.24

Ed.Bibl.Maxima Patrum (1677) tom.XXI p.168 and Appendix ad fasc.rerum Expetendarum, opera E.Brown, Lond., 1690, p.7 (from William of Malmesbury). As Berengarius died in 1088[1] this poem must have been written shortly after that date. Baudri writing to Hildebert while the latter was still archdeacon (i.e.1091-6) shows that he has read the poem. He says (149.17)

'De Berengario Turonensi pauca locutus,
Es nobis visus, nisi fallor, magnus Homerus.'

William of Malmesbury quotes the poem in full (Gesta Regum III.284, ed. Stubbs II p.359 sqq.) and adds 'Videas in his versibus quod laudis excesserit modum episcopus! This remark is taken up by Baronius, whose violent antipathy to Berengarius leads him to traduce Hildebert's character as well. He quotes William of Malmesbury's text of the poem (Annales Eccles., year 1088 chap.XVI). Both Helinand (Bk.47, anno 1105, P.L.212 col.1001) and Alberic de Trois Fontaines (anno 1115, M.G.H. script.,vol.25 p.820) derive their knowledge of the poem and its author from William.

Another chronicler, Clarius (Chron.S.Petri vivi Senonensis, pr. D'Achery Spicilegium II p.476) quotes lines 1 and 2 with the words 'super cuius tumulum huiusmodi epitaphium est.' This is taken by Hauréau to mean that these first two lines were inscribed on the tomb. But it is possible that this is Clarius' way of referring to the poem as a whole. It is even more likely that Clarius did not in fact see the tomb, but had read the epitaph somewhere, and so refers to it in a casual and inaccurate way as being 'super tumulum.' Baudri's epitaph on Berengarius is no.89 in the edition by Miss Abrahams.

2 obiturus obit a common formula in epitaphs and rotuli. Cf. the rotulus of Vitalis of Savigny no.128 (Delisle Rouleaux p.522) 'non moriturus obit', the same rotulus no.186, Henry of Huntingdon, epitaph. Roberti episcopi l.2 (Wright Sat.Poets 2.p.168) and Hist.Angl.7.54 (ed.Arnold Rolls Series p.244), all three being 'non obiturus obit'. It

[1]According to the generally held view and the Chron.Magnum Turonense. Bernold of S.Blasien (M.G.H.script.,vol.5 p.439) puts his death in 1085.

is not impossible that some of these are copied from Hildebert, but most probably he is here making use of a well-known formula.

4 Cf.Pierre Peintre, Causa inter pauperem et divitem (ed.Boutemy Lat.8,1949,p.292) line 140

'Florilegum vulgus mors rapit, ausa nefas'.

6 Ovid Ex Ponto I.10.17

'scilicet is status est, ea rerum forma mearum'.

The reading of the a version imitates Horace Odes II.17.4

'grande decus columenque rerum'.

Cf. also Ausonius Epist.29 (418) 1.56 (ed.Peiper, Teubner p.288)

'Ergo meum patriaeque decus columenque senati'.

15 Horace Epist.I.7.22

'vir bonus et sapiens'.

22 One wonders whether this sententia owes anything to the famous remark'diem perdidi' made by Titus when he found no one whom he could help (Suetonius Titus 8).

25 Ovid Tristia V.13.8

'quippe mea est umeris fulta ruina tuis'.

25 Lucan Pharsalia II.382 (description of Cato)

'naturamque sequi patriaeque impendere vitam'.

30 Ovid Heroides VI.52

'pellere castra manu'.

49 Horace Odes II.16.28

'nihil est ab omni / parte beatum'.

51 Ovid Amores III.17

'Tecum, quos dederint annos mihi fila sororum,
vivere contingat teque dolente mori'.

52 Ovid Amores VI.46

'Heu melior quanto sors tua sorte mea'.

45 - 8 appear only in G and William of Malmesbury, Gesta regum III.284 (Stubbs II.339), but the testimony of the latter warrants their inclusion in the text.

XIX

Hau p.158
Ed. Aeneas Silvius, De pravis mulieribus, no place or date, fol.14^{v} (Bodl.shelfmark Douce A 357),repr. L.Bertalot, Die alteste gedruckte latein. Epitaphiensammlung (Collectanea Leo S.Olschki, Munich 1921, p.15). G.Fabricius Romae Antiquitatum (2nd.ed.1550,p.92; 3rd.ed. 1587,p.155). Anthologia Latina, Burmann II.no.172, Riese I.2.

no.787 p.267. Baehrens Poet.Lat.Min.IV.no.549 p.445. Corpus Insc. Lat.VI.5.p.3* no.2*h (from the collection of Marcanova in MS.Modena V.G.15 fol.82^{v}). The edition of Migne is by Bourassé from T.

The poem is quoted without name of author by Otto of Freising (Chron. II.9, M.G.H.script.,vol.20 p.148) and Conrad of Mure, Repertorium vocabulorum exquisitorum (completed 1273, ed.Basle c.1470. There is no pagination, but the quotation will be found printed as prose under the heading Lucretia). Godfrey of Viterbo (Speculum regum I.670-674, M.G.H. script.,vol.22 p.60) quotes the poem as Ovid's.

These verses have been more discussed than most of Hildebert's, probably due to the considerable popularity which they seem to have enjoyed in Renaissance Italy. Pascal discusses the poem twice, in an article 'Note sopra alcuni epigrammi dell'Antologia Latina' (Studi Italiani di filologia classica XV, 1907, p.108-110), and also in Poesia p.17. In his discussion of the poem he gives a number of MSS.in which it is found without attribution or attributed to Ovid, and repudiates the testimony of B and T. He admits that the editors of the C.I.L. are probably right in refusing to believe that the lines had been engraved on any ancient monument (- on the evidence of Marcanova the epitaph was 'in agro Tarquiniensi, ab Ovidio confectus'). He asserts that in the twelfth century 'non si scriveva con tanta correttezza, sobrietà, semplicità'. Finally he notes that in the majority of the MSS. the last distich does not appear, and that in any case it is a clumsy repetition of lines 3 and 4. This leads him to regard these lines as interpolated and the MSS. in which they do not appear as being the most ancient. He suspects that Hildebert is the interpolator, but does not press this point.

W.A.Oldfather in his note on the subject ('Anthologia Latina 787, Ovid, Hildebert of Le Mans, and Madeleine de l'Aubespine', Med.et Humanistica 4, 1946, pp.71 - 82) gives the full list of editions and citations as given above, but has little else to add to Pascal's arguments. The main purpose of his article is to make known the existence of a text of this poem on lead plates surrounding a figure. These were

described by their successive owners John Disney (Museum Disnelianum, Lond.,1848, vol.II p.185) and J.P.Heseltine (Trifles in sculpture from the collection of J.P.Heseltine, Lond.,1916, no.14). Disney regarded the work as French, Heseltine as probably Italian, the former dating it to the 16th cent., the latter to the late 15th or early 16th. There seems to be little reason for identifying the figure with Madeleine de l'Aubespine, the translator of Ovid Heroides II, as does Disney. However the existence of the verses on a monument of this period is hardly remarkable, considering the large proportion of Renaissance MSS. among those available. In fact the whole question of the inscription is irrelevant to any discussion of Hildebert's authorship.

Thus the three arguments put forward by Pascal and elaborated by Oldfather are:

1) the lack of any reliable attribution to Hildebert,

2) the high quality of the style which makes it unlikely that the poem is by a medieval author,

3) the absence of the last distich in the 'better' MSS. which, together with its ineptness and clumsiness, make it probable that it alone is the work of Hildebert added to an ancient poem. On Pascal's second argument, which we shall see employed elsewhere by him, it need only be pointed out that this is the exact inverse of Haurŕau's 'This is good therefore it is Hildebert's', and is equally unscientific. It is true that of the principal MSS. outside the Du group only I has this poem, although there it forms part of an enclave of which Wilmart remarks (p.169) 'Cet assemblage notable de pièces authentiques doit venir d'assez loin'. Neither Du,B or T expressly state that Hildebert is the author, but since there the poem is in the middle of an unbroken series the attribution to him is implicit. The only other definite attributions are both to Ovid, one in the inscription collected by Marcanova, the other in an unspecified MS. seen by George Fabricius. Pascal lists as MSS.in which the poem is anonymous: Valenciennes 145 s.xii, Paris 8415 s.xv, Milan Ambros.T.21, H.25 and H46 sup, all s.xv. With the exception of

the first these are far later than Du B T and I. Besides it is typical of these 15th cent. humanist collections to give groups of epigrams or epitaphs without naming the author.

Nevertheless, this evidence that the poem was accepted as Hildebert's in the Middle Ages would not be in itself a sufficient answer to Pascal's argument that the poem as a whole has become attached to Hildebert's poetry as the result of his interpolation of the last two verses on to an older anonymous epigram. The poem is found in the following MSS.: Valenciennes 145 = V, Paris 8415 = P, Cassell ph.4.17a s.xv, the three Ambrosian MSS. cited by Pascal, the MS. mentioned by Fabricius, I with the related Reims 759, the Medicean and Moronus used by Baehrens, Du,B, T, Munich clm.17212 s.xiii (fol.5^{v}), B.N.Nouv.Acq.162 (fol.9), Bodleian D'Orville 168 s.xv (fol.72) and Lat.misc.c.62 (fol.28^{v}), a collection made by Francisco Maturanzio (1443 - 1518).[1] Of these I B Du T, D'Orville 168, Lat.misc.c.62 and the Moronus MS. have lines 5 and 6, together with Tours 61, the MS. used by Bourassé for his edition. They also appear in the text given by Aeneas Silvius. Conrad of Mure, Godfrey of Viterbo, V,P, clm 17212, Cassell ph.4,17a and the Fabricius MS.have four lines only. Moreover these two lines do not appear in the text of Otto of Freising, who was writing not twenty years after Hildebert's death.

Connected with the presence of these two lines in some MSS. and not in others are the two different forms of the first part of l.4. Most of the four-line texts give us at line 4 'sanguis apud manes', while only P, Godfrey and the Fabricius MS. share the 'ante virum sanguis' of the six-line texts. One point which is immediately obvious is that in line 4 the MSS. which omit ll.5,6 nevertheless use the same phrase 'sanguis apud manes' as is found in the line which they do not have. For this there are two possible explanations. The first is that the original poem read 'sanguis apud manes, spiritus ante deos' and ended there. Then the 'interpolator' came along and changed the phrase in 4, while taking it over into his new line 6. There seems to be little reason for doing that. It seems more likely that 5 and 6 ~~were in the~~

[1] where it is accompanied by the words 'Hoc repertum fragmentum est in quodam codice vetustissimo: Satis tamen mendoso ut cernere licet. Faxit deus ut opus integrum aliquando in lucem redeat'.

were in the original text. At some later date an editor or scribe, thinking (like Pascal) that the expression of the last two lines was tautologous decided to shorten it, but did not wish to lose the contrast between manes and superos. He therefore transferred the 'alter apud manes' to 4, and left out the 'ante virum sanguis'. A third possibility is that the true original version is represented by P, Godfrey and the Fabricius MS. and that the four-line texts have become contaminated by line 6 of the other group. In view of the early date of V and Otto this seems improbable. To sum up then, there is no evidence for the first part of the poem being older than Hildebert. It seems more likely that the last two lines have been subtracted from the original than that they are an interpolated addition. There must thus be some doubt as to whether ll.5 and 6 are by Hildebert. About the first four lines there can be no such doubt.

As to the source from which Hildebert drew the idea for the poem, there can be little doubt that it is the story told in Livy I.58. There does seem to be an echo of Livy's 'animus insons; mors testis erit' in Hildebert's ll.3 and 4. Ovid (Fasti II.721) follows Livy almost verbatim at times, but Hildebert does not seem to be influenced by his treatment of the story.

1 Ovid Heroides III.146
'est mihi qui fosso pectore sanguis eat'.

2 Due to the weight of MSS. evidence against it I reluctantly give up the more forceful egereretur of Du V for the rather ordinary egrederetur.

XX

Hau.p.102

Ed. Chamart, Phillipe de Bonne Espérance p.805, Hommey p.461, Leyser p.590.

The poem 'Trina domus iusto est', no.6 of Pierre Riga's Floridus Aspectus (P.L.171 col.1383), clearly derives from this poem on the same theme, but there are differences. The idea of line 4 of Pierre's poem is not in Hildebert (i.e.'Praeterit haec, illa deficit, illa manet!),

and the thought of Hildebert's line 2 is in Pierre's poem expressed through persons rather than agents, by 'Hanc faber, hanc fossor, Christus parat hanc; lapis illam / Construit, hanc vermis, hanc pietatis opus', rather than 'Ligna larem, ligo sarcofagum, devocio celum / preparat'. Most striking is Pierre's elaboration of the theme in the last twelve lines. These have no parallel in Hildebert. Truly Pierre never uses six words when twelve will express his idea.

XXI

Hau.p.95

Ed. Hommey p.460, Beaugendre twice, at col.1155 and col.1350, P.Meyer from Digby 53 in Arch.d.Missions Scientifiques, 2nd.series no.5 (1868) p.175. Hauréau (p.101) prints another poem on the same subject beg:

'Tres in Natali debent missae celebrari',

and a third poem appears in M (fol.50) beg:'Tres in natali misse tria tempora signant', (Walther Alphab.Verzeichnis no.19392)

XXII

Hau.p.80-86

Ed.Hommey p.453, É.du Boulay Hist.Universitatis Parisiensis II. p.97, T.Wright A Selection of latin stories p.192 (from MS.Harley 5872), Pressel Revue de philologie I (1845), p.410 (from D). Quoted in its entirety as Hildebert's by Vincent of Beauvais Spec.Hist. bk.XXV, chap.110, and from him by Antonin of Florence Chron.part 2, tit.16, chap.10 § 1.

Hildebert's exile probably began in the summer of 1099 and lasted at the most until the spring of 1100 (cf.p.23), so we may assume that this poem was written either between these two dates or very shortly afterwards. It has generally been considered one of the best of Hildebert's poems, Of it Hauréau writes (N.E.XXIX.p.341) 'L'élégie la plus classique et la plus éloquente que le moyen âge nous ait transmise', and Delisle (N.E.XXXI.p.115) 'C'est un des plus beaux morceaux qui nous offrent les recueils du XII et du XIII siècle'. However it would be wrong to regard the poem as a passionate outburst of feeling occasioned by his exile, which was not very exacting, specially by medieval standards. Scivoletto does us a service by reminding us of the heavy

rhetorical content of the poem. For an outline of this see p.44. sqq. As indicated there Hildebert regards himself as a second Ovid embarked on a similar, if less rigorous, exile. It is not therefore surprising that he makes use of Ovid's descriptions of the storm which attended his journey to Tomi.

1,2 Ovid Ex Ponto II.3.25,26
'en ego, non paucis quondam mumitus amicis,
dum flavit velis aura secunda meis'.

2 Ovid Tristia I.5.27
'dum iuvat et vultu ridet Fortuna sereno'

5 - 8 Cf. Henry of Huntingdon 'De statu suo' (Wright Sat.Poets II.p.169)
ll.7-9 'horrea frumento, baco cellaria certant,
tecta bidente, grege pascua, lacte greges.
Hortus,saltus,apes in cenas,prandia,potus'

4 Cf.ibid.l.4
'innatam fraudi fraude carere dedi', Here Henry combines the idea of control over prosperity expressed by Hildebert's ll.12,15 with that of the fickleness of Fortune found in l.16.

9 Cf.ibid.l.11
'promunt obsequium famuli, tutamen amici'

11 Ovid Amores I.5.25
'singula quid referam?'

16 Ovid Ex Ponto IV.3.51
'haec dea non stabili, quam sit levis, orbe fatetur',

20 - 22 As the theme here is a rhetorical common-place I think that it is not very likely that these lines owe anything directly to Seneca Suasoriae I.9 as Scivoletto suggests (p.46). The words used by Seneca 'dixit deinde locum de varietate fortunae et, cum descripsisset nihil esse stabile, omnia fluitare et incertis motibus modo attolli, modo deprimi... deinde exempla regum ex fastigio suo devolutorum' are not very close to those used by Hildebert.

21 Cf.Bernard of Cluny I.970
'Carnea, terrea temporis alea versat in horas'

27 Perhaps Hildebert is here thinking of Juvenal Sat.VII.197,8
'si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
si volet haec eadem, fiet de consule rhetor'.

~~29 Ovid Tristia I.9.5,6~~
~~'Donec eris~~

29 Ovid Tristia V.8.13
'et tantum constans in levitate sua est'

30 Cf.Simon Chèvre d'Or, poem inc. 'Sol iuber' (pr.Boutemy R.M.A.L.3 (1947) p.145) l.20
'prerupis, absorbes et sine fine premis'

32 Ovid Tristia I.9.5,6
'donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos:
tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris'.

34 Ovid Heroides VII.106
'Invidiam nomne detrahit ille meae'.

35 Despite the rhetorical element so prominent here, Hildebert's letter II.8 (Dieud.17) shows that Maine generally and his own estates in particular did suffer a great deal during the war with William Rufus. In it he says 'Ea clades usque ad sanctuarium Domini devagata est, et primo quidquid extra muros nostrae fuerat potestatis, vel evanuit in favillas, vel dissipatum est in rapinas. Deinde similibus cecidere praejudiciis episcopales ecclesiae domus non paucae'.

39 tirannus i.e.William Rufus

42 Ovid Ex Ponto IV.3.34
'par illi (i.e.Fortunae) levitas, improbe, sola tua est'.

46 Cf.Simon Chèvre d'Or. poem inc.'Sol nebula' (pr.Boutemy R.M.A.L. 5 p.146) l.42
'vela fluunt, puppis solvitur, unda subit'.

56 Ovid Tristia I.4.11
'navita confessus gelidum pallore timorem', and
Tristia I.2.56
'et non aequoreis piscibus esse cibum'.

57 Ovid Tristia I.2.19,20
'me miserum, quanti montes volvuntur aquarum.
iam iam tacturos sidera summa putes'.

61 Cf.Henry of Huntingdon De contemptu visibilium (Wright Sat.Poets II.p.171) l.10
'Quid sint res hominum discute, vel quid homo'

65 Vulg. Iob I.21 'nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae, et nudus revertar illuc'. Boethius Philosophiae Consolationis Bk.II, prose 2 l.8,9 (Teubner ed.) 'cum te matris utero natura produxit, nudum rebus omnibus inopemque suscepi'.

71 Boethius Phil.Cons.Bk.II, prose 2 l.16 'Opes honores ceteraque talium mei sunt iuris'.

79 Boethius Phil.Cons.Bk.IV, prose 6 l.45 'ita deus providentia quidem singulariter stabiliterque facienda disponit, fato vero haec ipsa quae disposuit multipliciter ac temporaliter amministrat'.

80 loc.cit.l.35 'fatum vero singula digerit in motum locis formis ac temporibus distributa'

82,83 Boethius Phil.Cons.Bk.III, prose 12 l.22 'nisi unus esset qui has mutationum varietates manens ipse disponeret'.

83 Vergil Aeneid II.268
'Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris'

Cf.also the last two lines of Henry of Huntingdon's De statu suo
'en solus tantusque manens quantus voluisti,
omnia velle tuum sunt, et eras, es, eris'.

XXIII

Hau. p.141-7
Ed. Nestor Dionysius Vocabularium 1488 (Hain 6255) fol.7^{v}, ascribed to 'Pulex'; Joseph Scaliger Veterum poetarum catalecta Bk.I tit.XVII (p.251 in the 1595 Leyden edition of Lindenbruch, under the heading 'Pollucis'); J.Bonifacius De epitaphiis componendis, Rovigo 1629, p.159; P.Labbe Thesaurus Epitaphiorum, Paris 1666,part IX p.596; Anth.Lat. Burmann part III no.177 (p.620), Riese part I, fasc.2 no.786 (from G A D); Baehrens Poetae Latini Minores IV no.127 (from G L A D); Antonii Panormitae Hermaphroditus ed.F.C.Forberg, Coburg 1824, appendix I, p.108. The poem is also found in two incunables (Campbell Annales nos.1417, 1495) as described by L.Bertalot 'L'antologia di epigrammi di Lorenzo Abstemio (Studi e Testi 124, 1946, pp.305 -326, XXIII appearing on p.323). Corp.Inscr.Lat.VI.5.4*2 notes the poem as existing in various humanist collections but a full text is not given. A similar collection of epitaphs and inscriptions made by F.Maturanzio (Bodleian Lib. MS.Lat.misc.c.62) contains the poem on fol.25. The full text is quoted by the following: Laurentius Valla In Bartolemaeum Facium bk.II ch.4 (Opera pr.Basle 1540, p.548) as being by 'Duplex Vicentinus'; Lilius Gyraldus of Ferrara, Historiae Poetarum dialogue X (Opera pr.Basle 1580, tom.II p.565) as 'illud Pullicis poetae'; M.Freher Παλεογραφ, ed. Nuremburg 1622, bk.II,ch.26 p.169; C.de la Monnoye Menagiana IV (in Oeuvres Choisies, The Hague etc.,1770, vol.III p.410.

Like XIX, the poem on the Hermaphroditus attracted some attention in the Italian Renaissance and appears in the Latin Anthology. Likewise the poem has not always been regarded as Hildebert's. The most complete account of the vicissitudes through which the poem has passed since the 15th century is given in the masterly note of E.H.Alton 'Who wrote the Hermaphroditus?', Hermathena XLVII (1931) pp.136 sqq. There he seeks successfully to establish Hildebert's authorship without however being fully aware of the strong MSS. tradition which supported his case. Although his work is now seen to be scarcely necessary, since the poem is well attested in the MSS., nevertheless the main points bear repeating, as they throw a light on the past history of the poem.

As will appear from the bibliography given above, the Italian humanists of the Renaissance commonly ascribed the poem to Pulci of Custozza. On the other hand the view of the 19th century scholars Birt, Baehrens and Riese was that the poem belonged to Classical Antiquity. Hauréau however noted the presence of a longer poem on the same subject in the Floridus Aspectus (Ind.8 in the Migne edition, cf. Lat.8 p.161, no.14). It was clear that both were related, and though Hauréau was at first inclined to believe that XXIII was a condensation of the longer poem, his final view was that the longer poem was an expansion of the shorter, and that it was by Pierre Riga. He also noted the lines in which Matthew of Vendôme gives a list of his works as follows (Faral p.7)

'Venas quippe meas non hausit Milo nec Afra;
.....
Non Iovis incesti mugitus; nec sata Cadmi
Ferrea; nec hic et haec Hermaphroditus homo;'

Hauréau was inclined to consider our poem as that referred to by Matthew, but thought that Hildebert might possibly be the author. Traube (O Roma Nobilis pp.19-25) came down on Matthew's side ('es ist aber kein Zweifel... gehört der längere Hermafroditus dem Petrus Riga, so gehört der kürzere dem Matthaeus von Vendôme') as do Riese and Pascal (Poesia p.64). But Voigt in his revue of Traube's book (Berl.philol. Wochenschrift, 1892, p.48) made the valid criticism that the other poems mentioned by Matthew in his list are long full-scale works. He would not specifically mention a short epigram such as this. Faral (p.9) held a similar view.

As a defence of Hildebert's authorship Alton mentions the attribution of XXIII to Hildebert in MS.B.M.Addit.16580 fol.115^{v}. This MS. contains the Titan of Ralph of Beauvais, a grammatical commentary on Ovid's Metamorphoses and Lucan's Pharsalia (cf.R.W.Hunt, Studies on Priscian, Med.and Ren.Studies II pp.12-14) and on Met.IX.747 we read 'Unde in versu magistri hildeberti cum dictione neutri generis ponitur 'et quod sum natus hermafroditus eram' '. Alton concludes by reinforcing his point by noting the favourable position of the poem in H.

Apart from the close similarity in theme between Hildebert's and Pierre's poem, the following exact or nearly exact verbal resemblances occur: P 6 'femina vir neutrum = H 10 'vir mulier neutrum'
P 13,14 'ensis / labitur incauto labitur ipse super'= H 7,8
P 3,4 = H 5, but in H the three gods consulted are Mars, Juno, Phoebus, in P Venus, Neptune, Phoebus.

Poems on the same subject are to be found in K (fol.77^{v}, three distichs beg: natura faciente ed, Boutemy Lat. 2 p.32) and M (fol.67) beg: cum dubitat natura.

Contrary to what one might expect the language of the poem does not seem to owe anything to Ovid's story of the Hermaphroditus (Metam. IV.285-388). Possibly the play on 'neutrum' comes from Metam.IV.378,9

'nec duo sunt sed forma duplex, nec femina dici
nec puer ut possit: neutrumque et utrumque videntur'.

Hildebert can hardly have known of the myth from any other source (cf. O.Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa, art.Hermaphroditus col.716,7).

1 Cf. Hincmar of Reims (P.L.126 col.287), l.27 of the 'responsio', 'viscera qui matris, dum te gestaret in alvo'. It seems more likely that Hildebert and Hincmar are here drawing on a common source than that Hildebert has read and remembered Hincmar's poem. This source may be Ovid Heroides VI.61

'Quod tamen e nobis gravida celatur in alvo'

yet Hincmar's line is nearer to Hildebert's than is Ovid's. Cf. also Amores II.14.17

'Si Venus Aenean gravida tenerasset in alvo'

2 The ending with consuluisse as penultimate word is frequent in Ovid, thus: Fasti II.238 'consuluisse deos', Heroides II.88 'consuluisse meis', XII.210 'consuluisse viro', XX.222 'consuluisse deam'.

5 Cf. William of Blois Alda 553 'nescio quis mulier vel que vir quodve neutrum'. The reading Juno neutrum has induced both copyists and editors to substitute Junoque in order to avoid an apparent fault in the metre. But Hildebert scans eu as dissylabic also in De Myst.90

'Altari dat se dat sua: tu neutrum'

and may do so also in XVIII.44, B.E.ii.10 and De Myst.549. Besides, as Traube remarks (O Roma nobilis 21) 'Diese ist jedoch auch dem Mittelalter keineswegs fremd'. This he supports by citing five other instances in medieval poetry (for the dissylabic scansion of heu ceu seu in the M.A. cf.Traube Karolingische Dichtungen p.112). Birt (Rhein.Museum N.F.54, p.6, 'über die Vocalverbindung eu in Lateinischen') quotes the line, which he believes to be the product of antiquity like the rest of the poem, to reinforce his point that dissylabic eu is found in classical Latin poetry.

4 I accept the quod of K Z L and Ralph of Beauvais as opposed to either qui or ex quo. As Alton remarks (p.141) 'The version quoted by the commentator contains a jeu de grammaire (in the conjunction of the incongruous genders) which is exactly in keeping with both the style and the theme of the whole poem'.

10 The poem proper is brought to an end by this series of articuli. The distich which appears in D H would make a very flat ending. The second line may owe something to Ausonius Epigrammata (ed.Peiper, Teubner) no.103 (p.350)

'Felix virgo sibi si scit inesse virum'.

XXIV

Hau.p.178

Hauréau prints another poem very similar in subject to this (H.N.E.1.385) without however noticing the similarity. The second line of that poem

'Inque thoro famulam collocat illa suam'

is clearly very close to Hildebert's line 4.

XXV

Hau.p.58
5 Cf.Bernard of Cluny I.983,4, on 'orbis honos' and 'gloria terrea'
'Irritus est ratus, instabilis status est status eius.
It,redit, ut mare, denique nunc male, cras ibi peius'.

XXVI

Hau.p.155,6
Ed. Wilmart R.B.49 (1937) p.379 from K H D B.

The poem may be dated 1099 - 1100, for Hildebert states that he is writing as an exile (l.24).

Muriel, to whom this poem is addressed if we are to believe the title of K, having been forgotten for eight hundred years, suddenly became the focus of the attention of several medievalists after the publication of the poem which Baudri wrote to her. All that is known about her is to be gleaned from the following sources:-

1. The poem of Baudri. (Abrahams No. 199), from which we learn that Muriel wrote poetry (lines 11 and 12), that she was young, handsome and noble (lines 13 and 14), but had given up all to become a nun. Baudri (line 25) asks for a mutual exchange of poems and for her criticism of his poetry (line 44 - 'quo potes erratus attenuare meos').

2. A poem addressed "ad Muriel sanctimonialem" written by Serlo of Bayeux (Wright Sat. Poets II p. 253 to 240, Bohmer N.A.22 page 720). From this we learn that she has asked him to send her his poetry (line 1), is a nun (lines 15, 16 sqq.), and has probably left her native land (page 240 'cum patrii gentes neglexeris atque parentes').

3. An incident in the story of the travels in England in 1115 of nine canons of Laon, who were raising money for the restoration of their church. This is contained in the De miraculis sanctae Mariae Laudunensis, by Herman of Laon. In Book II ch. xiv the canons say of their stay in Wilton "Postea venimus ad quandam abbatiam sanctimonialium, quae vocatur Wiltonia, ubi nobis ostenderunt sepulturam Venerabilis Bedae presbyteri..... prope quam sepulta est inclyta versificatrix, quae proprio nomine vocata est Murier." That Murier is a corruption of Muriel there can be little doubt . All this information is ably summarized by Dom Wilmart (R.B. 49, 1937, pp. 370 - 380)[1] who is the first to draw attention to Hildebert's poem. His conclusion is that the ascription "Versus ad quandam virginem scilicet Muriel" of K, though it might be a clever guess on the part of an English scribe, is sufficiently backed up by the "Ad M. litteratam" of Du B.T,

[1] Besides Wilmart's article cf. J.S.P. Tatlock "Muriel: the earliest English poetess", Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 48 (1933) pp. 317 - 321, and "The English Journey of the Laon canons" Speculum VIII (1933) pp. 454 - 465. A. Boutemy "Muriel. Note sur deux poèmes de Baudri de Bourgueil et de Serlon de Bayeux' Moyen Age 45 (1935) pp. 241 - 251.

1 The allusion to ten sibylls is uncommon. As far as one can see, the only sources from which Hildebert could have taken this round number are Varro, Res divinae, quoted by Lactantius Divinae institutiones I.6.7. and the preface of the so-called 'Tiburtine sibyll, which seems to have had some circulation in 12th century France (cf.E.Sackur Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen, Halle 1898, p.129). This latter also mentions ten sibylls, drawing its information from Varro.

5 Ovid Ars Amat.III.549
'est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli'.

28 Ovid Ex Ponto I.9.15,16
'adfuit ille mihi,cum me pars magna reliquit,
Maxime, fortunae nec fuit ipse comes.'

30 Ovid Tristia V.15.12
'remque piamque praestas, sed mihi verba negas?'

XXVII

Hau.p.206
5 Perhaps from Juvencus Evangeliorum Libri III.481
'ut melius fuerit thalamis caruisse perosis'

XXVIII

Hau.p.53,54
Ed. in Tituli funebres de S.Brunone conf., Acta Sanctorum Octobris III.761.
Bruno (c.1030 - 1101), the founder of the Carthusian order was until 1076/7 master of the cathedral school and chancellor of Reims. As such he is mentioned by Baudri (poem 161, ll.99,100). For an account of his life cf.H.Lobbel, Kirchengesch.Studien V, heft 1, Münster 1899, p.57 sqq. This poem is one of the four anonymous contributions of the cathedral church of Le Mans to the rotulus of Bruno(pr.Acta Sanct.loc. cit.). The first line of Hildebert's poem appears also as the first line of a short poem found at the end of William of Malmesbury's description of the death of Aldhelm (Gesta Pontificum V.227, Rolls Series p.382). Hauréau considered that as the line appeared in the epitaph of someone who had died in the eighth century the whole poem was much earlier. Pascal (Poesia p.15) seized upon this poem, which he describes as an 'epigramma, dell' viii secolo, del poeta sassone Adelmo', as yet another proof that Hildebert was plagiarising older poets on a large scale. But William does not expressly say that this is an epitaph, and though this may be implied by the context, yet it does not mean that it dates from Aldhelm's time. It could have been written by William himself with Hildebert's lines in mind. This line also appears as line 9 in a poem contributed to the rotulus of Bertrand de Baux by St.Martin's of Tours (no.81, Delisle p.585). Also l.11 of the Tours poem = XXVIII.5, line 15 ('cantu celestes huic civi plaudite cives') is similar to XXVIII.6. This last line expresses a sentiment common among writers for rotuli (cf.rotulus of Fulk of Corbie tit.8 l.1, Delisle p.142, 'angelici cives gaudete' and rotulus of Vitalis of Savigny tit.70 l.5, Delisle p.309 'unde potest credi cives gaudere beatos').

3 agentem Prothea mundum i.e. the world which plays the part of Protheus by continually changing.

XXIX

Hau.p.54 - 6
Helias count of Maine died on the 11th July 1110 (Ordericus Vitalis XI.40). For the part played by him in the early years of Hildebert's episcopate cf.pp 6[illegible]. Baluze wished to attribute to Hildebert the much longer epitaph on Helias printed by Hauréau loc.cit., but without giving any reason for such an attribution. For the irregularity of the last line cf. the note on the Canon of genuine poems p.156.

XXX

Hau.p.191

XXXI

Hau.p.199
Fulk succeeded to the abbacy of Corbie in 1048 and during his tenure of the office restored many of the buildings and reformed the community itself. He died in 1095 (Gallia Christiana X. col.1275,4). This poem was probably meant to be inserted in Fulk's rotulus, fragments of which are in Delisle pp.138-144.

XXXII

Hau.p.177
The story of Iphis and Ianthe as told by Ovid (Metamorph.IX.676-797) is as follows. Lygdus threatened that if his wife should bear a daughter he would have the child killed. When a girl was in fact born, her mother passed her off as a boy and called her Iphis. At the age of thirteen the supposed boy was betrothed by her father to the maiden Ianthe, and both fell in love with each other. On the eve of the wedding Iphis' prayers were answered by Isis, who turned her into a young man.

In this poem Hildebert compares the different attitudes of the Gods towards the two similar situations of Zeus ('Saturnius') and Ganymede, and Iphis and Ianthe. They would not permit the marriage of the latter pair ('quo prohibente nephas', the quo being abl.abs. supplying coetu), but winked at the affair between boy and god. The result was that they had Iphis transformed (altera fit iuvenis'), but effected no such transformation in the other case ('fit femina neuter eorum'). Hildebert argues that if homosexual behavior were really 'scelus', instead of merely 'culpa', the gods would have transformed either Zeus or Ganymede, or else would have refrained from transforming either Iphis or Ianthe. I cannot quite see what he means by the last phrase ('neutrarnve duarum'), but the whole poem is rendered obscure by the play on genders similar to that found in XXIII.

XXXIII

Hau.p.187
Ed. Robinson Ellis Anecdota Oxoniensia, class.series vol.1, pt.5 p.25 (from L).

XXXIV

Hau.p.121
Ed. 'libellus de modo confitendi' (an edition of the poem 'Peniteas cito') Deventer 1491, Proctor no.8997, on the penultimate folio; 'Sententiae proverbiales de moribus, carminibus antiquis conscriptae, Basle 1568, fol.124 (not 177 as in Walther alph.Verzeichnis p.756); Carminum proverbialium totus humanae vitae statum breviter delinantium... loci communes, Basle 1576, fol.280. There are at least ten English editions of this:-

1) Lond.,1577 (Barker)
2) " 1579 (")
3) " 1588
4) " 1599
5) " 1595 (T.Dawson)
6) " 1605 (")
7) " 1637
8) " 1654
9) " 1659
10) " 1670.

Of these I have seen to date only 3,4 and 7, copies of which are in the Bodleian Library, and in these copies the poem is found on p.168; Proverbialia dicteria versibus rhytmaticis... per A.Gartnerum s.l., 1582, fol.124^{v}; Werner Beitrage no.82 p.56; C.Horstman, Richard Rolle and his followers (E.E.T.S.) I p.428 (from MS.B.M.Arundel 507). For the collections of proverbs I am indebted to Walther alph.Index, but have been unable to check his information in regard to the collection of Gartner last named.

The poem is attributed to Pierre Peintre by Hauréau following ascriptions of MSS. Ghent 16 and B.N.8865, fol.145. Apart from the strong MS. evidence in support of Hildebert's authorship, there is the early citation of the poem, albeit anonymously, by John of Salisbury, who was writing the Policraticus in 1153 (Policraticus VIII.21,797C, cf.Webb ad loc.). Hauréau regards the poem as an abridgement of the ten verses attributed to Eugenius of Toledo by Sirmond (Opera varia II.887) and Leyser (p.192) and edited by Werner Beiträge p.55,no.81 among others. This may well be so, as the subject matter is identical, but there is no verbal correspondence between the two poems.

Cited anonymously by John of Salisbury loc.cit., by Richard of S.Victor, Excerptiones priorum IV.7 (P.L.177 col.218) and included in the Liber Floridus of Lambert of S.Omer (cf.Delisle in N.E.XXXVIII. p.648 item 102.

XXXV

Hau.p.59
Addressed to Mathilda daughter of Malcolm Canmore of Scotland, who married Henry I of England in 1100 (William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum V.393, Stubbs II.p.470). As she is described as already reigning (l.18) the poem may be dated between 1100 and 1118, the year of her death (Ordericus Vitalis XII.1). The fact that her mother is introduced as praying for her daughter's welfare at the court (l.25) would seem to indicate that the poem was written soon after the beginning of her reign. For her association with and patronage of Hildebert cf.p.58.

not clear.

10,11 Through her mother Margaret, Mathilda (or Edith as she was called before her marriage) was descended from the royal house of Wessex.

21 Ovid Metamorphoses V.275
'vertitur, et nondum tota me mente recepi.'

XXXVI

Hau.pp.59 - 66
Ed. F.Schottus Itinerari Italiae, Antwerp 1600, Bk.II p.135 (lines 19-32 only); Martin Opitius Variae Lectiones ch.XIII p.41 (Gives the text of Schottus, then adds a complete text from a MS. in his possession); P.Pithoeus Epigrammata p.84 (no copy available in the Bodleian or British Museum libraries, so that I rely on Hauréau for this information); Hommey p.456[1](from E);N.Chamart in his edition of Philippe de Bonne Esperance, p.798; Burmann Anth.Lat.I.457; Wernsdorff Poet.Lat.Min. (1788), reproduced in the Lemaire edition, vol.IV.p.206; Brewer among the Juvenilia of Giraldus Cambrensis (Rolls Series vol.I p.370) from MS. Lambeth Palace 256; Stubbs, Radulfi de Diceto Opera Hist.II p.lxciv (from MS.Lambeth Palace 8, Ralph's own MS. left by him to St.Paul's).

It was Burmann who initiated the idea that parts of this poem derived from Antiquity and had been interpolated into the main body of the elegy by Hildebert. This idea was also that of Wernsdorff, although Riese (Anth.Lat.I.2.pref.38) regarded Hildebert as completely the author. So also did Hauréau, with indignant protests that Hildebert was quite capable of writing verse as good as this. Pascal (Poesia pp.19 - 55) readily took up once more the theory that the good passages in the poem belong to Antiquity, the less good to Hildebert. He has three lines of argument:-

1) The whole poem is full of a pagan atmosphere and contains few or no references to Christianity. For example Hildebert talks about 'superi' in line 31, and the 'cura deum' in line 30, and refers to the images of the gods as if they were still being worshipped (line 35). 'Tutto questo è inconcepibile in bocca a un cristiano del xii secolo.' But as has already been noted (p.85) several of these 12th century poets had two very distinct styles and states of mind, one the Christian and 'medieval', the other so strongly modelled on and influenced by the Classics that the whole apparatus of the pagan classical world was introduced. Moreover as Pascal himself is aware (p.24), the second poem on Rome takes the form of a reply to the question of whether the fall of Rome was not due to the neglect of the old pagan gods. This first poem implies that question, and so is deliberately pagan in tone.

2) A similar phrase to that of line 20
'Et sicut Troiam legimus post bella fuisse
Sic quoque quis dubitet dicere: Roma fuit?'
is used by Rangerius in his life of St.Anselm, some of which at least was written before 1099, as there are references to Urban II as still alive. Pascal is of the opinion that Rangerius cannot have copied the

[1] Hommey's version of the first line 'Parti Roma nihil Chrisippe tota ruina' deserves mention as a curiosity.

phrase from Hildebert, but both authors are drawing on a common source. Therefore an ancient epigram on the subject must have existed. Hildebert went to Rome first in 1101, and this poem may well have been written then. but there is no reason why it should not have been written sooner. Besides even if it were proved conclusively that both men were drawing on a common source, it does not follow that large portions of that source have been appropriated by Hildebert. One might compare XVIII.6 where the a version and Ausonius both borrow the same Horatian phrase.

3) Finally Pascal notes some alleged borrowings from Claudian and Rutilius Namatianus, namely:
Claudian VIII (IV cons.Hon.) 387
'vos impacatus Araxes, vos celer Euphrates timeat' and
XV (Bellum Gild.) 51 where Rome speaks to Juppiter
'Advenio supplex, non ut proculcet Araxem consul ovans'.
The first of these especially closely resembles line 5 'quem dirus Araxes/ et stantem tremuit'. Pascal's comparison of Bellum Gild.60
'Cum subiit par Roma mihi' with the first line of
Hildebert's poem is less apt. Hildebert must surely have taken as his model Martial XII.8.1,2
'Terrarum dea gentiumque Roma,
cui par est nihil et nihil secundum.'
In view of the manuscript tradition it seems very unlikely that, as Pascal suggests, Hildebert should have had access to Rutilius. But once again, even if Hildebert were as much indebted to Claudian as Pascal thinks, all that we have here is the imitation usual in medieval poets rather than large scale interpolation. In fact Pascal's argument breaks down for the simple reason that although he may allege the presence of the remains of a classical epigram beneath the surface of Hildebert's poem, no such epigram has ever appeared. Both Scivoletto (Spiritualità pp.52 - 65) and Oldfather (in his article on XIX, Med.et Human.IV.p.74) agree with Pascal without adding any fresh evidence or argument.

The poem is cited in its entirety by William of Malmesbury Gesta Regum IV.351 (Stubbs II.p.405). C.de Barth (Animadversiones in Cl.Claudiani de laude Stiliconis Bk.III.l.151, on p.290 of the Hamburg edition of 1650) quotes ll.19,20,29,30,51,52 from William with the remark 'Dicas de magis prisco vate transsumtos', but without giving further details.

2 Cf.Pierre Peintre (N.A.XVIII.p.511) poem ins.'Roma potens' line 13,14
'marmorei cives, Rome monumenta prioris,
contestantur adhuc, quanti fuit illa decoris.'

5 Cf.Pierre Peintre op.cit. lines 5,6
'Roma potens cecidit, heu heu, quam cura laborum
mundi constituit dominam sedemque sacrorum'

7 Lucan Pharsalia IV.801
'quid prodita iura senatus'

10 Cf. Bernard of Cluny I.942
'nec socer illius, aut socius pius esse tulisti.'

17 Lucan Pharsalia VII.705
'crede deis, longo fatorum crede favori.'

19 Pierre Peintre op.cit. line 15
'Pro dolor ecce iacet, iacet urbs precelsa, supina'
This, it will be noted, follows the a version. For lines 19 and 20 Z has the x version, but this is followed by the a version of the same two lines, a phenomenon due no doubt to Baluze collating a second MS.

20 Vergil Aeneid II.325,6
'Dardaniae. fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens
gloria Teucrorum;'
Cf. Carmina Burana no.101 distich 34
'Ve tibi, troia, peris. iam non michi troia videris.',
the lines of Nicolaus Borbonius in Schottus op.cit.p.136
'Roma fuit: nequeo brevius, te Roma perisse,
Dicere. Quid brevius dicere 'Roma fuit'?' and
Bernard of Cluny III.731
'Fas mihi dicere, fas mihi scribere 'Roma fuisti'.'

21 Horace Odes III.30.5
'annorum series'
and Ovid Metamorph. XV.871,2
'Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas,'

25 Horace Odes I.31.6
'non aurum aut ebur Indicum,'

29,30 Cited anon. by Alex.Neckham Super Mulierem Fortem

37,38 Cf. Carmina Burana no.101 distich 35
'Urbs fortunata, si posses vincere fata,
Vel possent fata segnius esse rata.'
Cited by Helinand Chron.XLVII (P.L.212 col.1001) following William of Malmesbury and by Vincent of Beauvais (Spec.Hist.XXV.108) following Helinand. Also by Bale Script.Britann. p.168, probably after Flacius Illyricus Varia Poemata p.417.
To whom do these last two lines refer? The older view, as exemplified by Flacius and Bale, was that the 'domini' are the Popes and the papal court. This suits their polemic purposes, but such a sentiment is impossible in a highly placed ecclesiastic like Hildebert. Hauréau thinks that the 'domini' are the German emperors, notably Henry III, IV and V, whose claim to the complete overlordship of Rome caused the Popes and the city so much trouble. But as Pascal points out (p.27), we are concerned here with a long drawn out process of ruin - 'Longa tuos fastus etas destruxit'. Pascal is of the opinion that Hildebert is thinking of the later Roman emperors, who by neglecting the upkeep of Rome's monuments contributed to her present ruin.

It seems quite possible that Hildebert is referring to the earlier Roman emperors. The words 'vel dominis esset turpe carere fide' would then fit in with what he says in lines 9 and 10 about Caesar and Pompey. Against that is the tense of esset, for which we would expect fuisset. But as has already been noted (p. 33) the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive are often used interchangeably in Hildebert. In view of the very epigrammatic nature of the distich we may fairly assume that Hildebert is more anxious to round off his poem with a bon mot than to consider very much what he means or to whom he refers.

XXXVII

Hau.p.135,134.
(N.B. For Ind.4 in G as described by Wilmart p.168 read Ind.5.)
This is again addressed to Mathilda, the first wife of Henry I, as can be seen from lines 14 and 19. Line 26 'qua Cesar plaudat coniuge, matre, socru' gives her relationship as wife of Henry, mother of William Adeling (d.1120), and mother-in-law of the Emperor Henry V, who married her daughter, also Mathilda, in 1114. As Mathilda the person here addressed died in 1118, it must be written between these two dates.
Lines 1 - 10 are quoted as Hildebert's by W.Camden, Remains, 1636 edition, p.6

1 Cf. the poem ed. Wattenbach 'Verse aus England', N.A.I (1876) p.601, line 1, 'Anglia terra ferax'
Perhaps Pierre Peintre's well known 'Flandria dulce solum' (ed.N.A.XVIII. p.509) is another imitation of this line.

9 Cf. the same poem l.8
'Quicquid letitie, quicquid amoris habet'

14 Ovid Ex Ponto II.8.33
'perque tuos, vel avo dignos, vel patre nepotes,'

22 Ovid Amores I.3.10
'temperat et sumptus parcus uterque parens'

28 Mathilda bore Henry only two children. William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum bk.5, ch.418 (ed.Stubbs II.p.494) says 'Haec igitur duobus partibus... contenta in posterum et parere et parturire destitit.'

31 Vergil Aeneid XII.65
'flagrantis perfusa genas, quoi plurimus ignem'

XXXVIII

Hau.p.64 - 66.
Ed. Homney p.457; N.Chamart Oeuvres de Philippe de Bonne Espérance p.64; Stubbs Radulfi de Diceto Opera hist. II,p.lxxiv (from MS.Lambeth 8).

Lines 5 - 8 only by P.Pithou Epigrammata p.84; Burmann Anth.Lat. I.p.457; Wernsdorff Poetae Latini Minores (1786) vol.V, as reproduced in the Lemaire edition no.91, vol.4 p.536.

Scivoletto (p.63,64) notes the resemblance of Hildebert's poem both in general design and in actual wording to certain passages in the middle of the second book of Prudentius, Contra Symmachum. There the aim of Prudentius is to refute the idea that Rome has lost her former power because she has forsaken the old pagan gods. In his own words (II.684,5)

'et sunt, qui nobis bella exprobrare sinistra
non dubitent, postquam templorum sprevimus aras'.

Rome herself is called up to answer the charge. Similarly Hildebert's poem XXXVIII is Rome's answer to the tacit question put by XXXVI, which lays emphasis on the contrast between her present decay and past greatness. The answer given by Prudentius is different to Hildebert's. He maintains that, far from having fallen on evil times, Rome is more prosperous than ever and has lately been secured against invasion. Such an answer is of course impossible for Hildebert, who saw the city fresh from the onslaught of the Normans. However he parries the question in a manner very similar to that of Prudentius by asserting that the new spiritual power of Rome is far preferable to her former temporal power. Despite this slight difference in the manner of replying, the idea of Rome speaking and the occasional similarities of phraseology show that Hildebert knew and used this part of the Contra Symmachum .

Here once again Pascal suspects not just the copying of phrases here and there, but the adoption by Hildebert into his poem of an epigram handed down from Antiquity. This time he has rather more evidence. Pithou, Burmann and Wernsdorff have all published the following fragment:

'Vix scio quae fuerim, vix Romae Roma recordor,
Quae populo, regnis, moenibus alta fui.
Cesserunt arces, cecidere palatia Divum,
Iam servit populus, degeneravit eques.
Quae fueram totum quondam celebrata per orbem
Vix sinor occasus vel meminisse mei.'

It will be seen that this consists of lines 7,5,6 and 8 of Hildebert's poem, together with two lines not found in Hildebert. Pascal argues quite reasonably that the poem as quoted by the editors cannot be merely an extract from Hildebert's poem because of the presence of the two extra lines. His view is that here we have an epigram of the classical period, from which Hildebert has taken over four of the lines and left the other two. On the evidence of Wernsdorff Heinsius said that he had found the poem in a Medicean MS. We do not know the precise age of this, and Pascal was unable to trace it. There is thus no real evidence that the lines are found in any pre-medieval MS. The other alternative to Pascal's view is that Hildebert's lines were taken over by a later writer and the other lines interpolated by him. The first of these 'extra' lines is simply a re-working of the second line of Hildebert's poem, so that only 'Quae fueram'etc. needs to be accounted for. There is no definite proof that the second explanation is the right one, but one small stylistic point may show how the wind blows. Hildebert's lines 7 and 8 are in his usual rhetorical vein, with vix repeated three times in the two lines. Now if we adopt Pascal's view then we have in the original epigram a line whose two membra begin with vix, and separated from it

by 4 lines, a second line also beginning with vix. If this is what Hildebert found then it suited his purpose very well and he was able to bring up the last line to make a rhetorical tour de force. But surely it is too much of a co-incidence that he should find the third vix in this way. It seems far more likely that the two lines were composed together by Hildebert, and that later someone who had not his passion for 'repetitio' separated them.

5,4 Prud. Contra Symm.II.765
'et madidas sanie deiecimus aras' and 768
'sed soli pacis domino mea serviat aula'

9 Id.ibid. II.619
'hoc actum est tantis successibus atque triumfis.'

12 Ovid Amores I.9.22
'caedere et armata vulgus inerme manu.'

15 Cf.Bernard of Cluny III.659
'indiga divite, languida sospite, diruta stante.'
The whole idea of this passage (11.655 - 676) where Bernard compares the state of christian and pagan Rome is borrowed from Hildebert.

19 Claudian XV (Bellum Gildonicum) 46
'armato quondam populo patrumque vigebam / consiliis.'

25 Ovid Ars Amat.I.459
'quam populus iudexque gravis lectusque senatus'

29 Perhaps derived from Vulg.ad Romanos VI.18 : 'Liberati autem a peccato, servi facti estis iustitiae.'

31 Ambrose in Psalmos XXXVI.62 'Fenerato ergo fidem gentibus ut tibi abundat gratia.'
Ovid Amores II.10.33
'Quaerat avarus opes et, quae lassarit arando' and
Amores III.7.50
'quid, nisi possedi dives avarus opes?'

32 locans The sense requires an indicative but all MSS. read locans, Z Z^2 having probably been corrected by those who copied them. There is no reason why all MSS. of the two different groups should misread locat, if that is what Hildebert wrote. One possibility is that a distich was removed from here at a very early stage, thus leaving the participle hanging. I retain the MS. reading despite its awkwardness.

33 - 5 Cf.Bernard of Cluny III.655
'Plus tibi Caesare sustimuit dare rex crucifixus.'

XXXIX

Hau.pp.89-94
Ed. Hommey pp.442 - 446; Denifle Revue des Bibliothèques 1896, p.54; (from MS.Tortosa 97); Wilmart R.B. 49 (1937) p.124 (part I only, from MS.Charleville 190). Beaugendre gives only IV (col.1151) and III (col.1549).

Neither Pascal (Poesia p.44) nor Hauréau have very much to say in praise of this poem. Hauréau thinks that in view of its bald and awkward style it may be a product of Hildebert's youth. However it might just as well belong to that later part of his life when we know from his part in the council of Redon (1127, cf.Dieudonné p.97) that he was strongly interested in the prohibition of marriage within the proscribed degrees of affinity. In each of the three parts dealing with the three sacraments of baptism, marriage and communion he stresses, as in De Mysterio, the ending of the sacraments of the Old Covenant and their transformation into those of the New. But of these three sacraments most emphasis is given to marriage.

As Hauréau remarks the parts of this poem have suffered much dislocation in the MSS. There are three self contained sections, one for each sacrament. Therefore the first problem which arises is the order of these, for in the various MSS. the sequence differs. Moreover each of the three topics is summarized in the rhythmical lines which form part I of the poem in our edition. Thus lines 1,2 (which we may call Ia for the sake of clarity) are a summary of the subject of II, lines 3 - 6 (Ib) of that of III, lines 7,8 (Ic) of that of IV, while lines 9,10 sum up the whole poem. Here the second problem presents itself, for in some MSS. part I is as we have it, while in others the separate parts a - c are prefixed to the part whose subject they summarize. In those of the MSS. collated which contain more than one part the order is as follows:

(= Ia)

Du Cl A	K	Z	E P	F I
I a b c d	II	II	I c	IV
II	III	Ib	IV	II
III	IV	III	I a	III
IV		I c	II	
		IV	I b	
			III	

Thus it is clear that there are two groups, that of Du Cl A, followed also by K, where the prologues are missing, and by Z where they appear separately, and by that made up by E P F I. In the first group the prologues form one poem, and the order of subjects is baptism, marriage, communion, while in the second the lines of the prologue are separated, and the order of subjects is communion, baptism and marriage. Hommey followed the order of his MS. E, while Wilmart printed the prologue as one poem. Hauréau treated the prologues as separate and from II.1 'hostia, coniugium, baptismus' deduced that the order ought to be IV, III,II. But none of the principal MSS. have this order, which is moreover more illogical than that of Du or E. From this point of view there is little to choose between the two groups, except perhaps that baptism is the first sacrament which one receives.

But the real point to be decided is that of the prologues. Of those MSS. which have these lines only Du Cl A have lines 9 and 10 which sum up the poem as a whole. These lines could not appear at the end of any of the summaries if these were separated, and it is significant that lines 9 and 10 and the united summary are only in those MSS. which belong to the a group. This difference both in order and in the position of the summaries looks as if it may be due to the difference between the two editions. If this is in fact the case, then this is a reason for thinking that the prologue as printed here represents the original form, and that at a later date someone has divided I into its separate parts and prefixed one to each section. It is easier to suppose that at this point verses 9 and 10 were dropped as no longer applicable than to take the alternative view that the parts of I were originally separate and brought together later. We should then have to suppose that the lines 9 and 10 were added by a later editor.

The peculiar form in which XXXIX is written was taken over by Pierre Peintre. He uses it in the poem inc. 'matronarum pudicarum' (ed. Boutemy Lat.7,p.65) and in the De sacra eucharistia (P.L.171 col.1195 - 1212) which both have short rhythmical prologues of 15 syllables followed by leonines and caudati. In 'tribus malis' and 'quisquis male mulieris' (ed.Boutemy Lat.7, p.55 and p.61 respectively) we have similar prologues, but this time in 8 /u. This seems to be another argument for grouping Hildebert's rhythmical prologues together. All Pierre's prefaces are of a length comparable to that of XXXIX, and as he imitates Hildebert's poem in other respects it seems clear that here also he is imitating. Therefore he must have seen Hildebert's poem in the form in which we have given it.

II.5 Thare Thara the father of Abraham (Vulg.Genesis 11.27).

III.15 Helcana, the father of Samuel, who married Hannah and Peninnah (Vulg. 1 Samuel 1.1).

19 The union of the vine and the elm is used by Ovid Heroides V.47 to express the close union of two lovers:

'non sic adpositis vincitur vitibus ulmus,
ut tua sunt collo bracchia nexa meo'.

36 amicicia ablative.

IV.1 Hildebert's view of Melchisedech as forerunner of Christ and of the priest offering the Bread and Wine in the Mass is that current from the time of the Fathers, and inspired by Hebrews VII.1-6. Cf. De Myst. 96 and 406, commenting on the 'et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech' of the Canon of the Mass. For the early history of this view of Melchisedech cf. G.Bardy 'Melchisedech dans la tradition patristique', Revue Biblique XXXV (1926) pp.496 - 509.

19,20 Cf. Pierre Peintre De Eucharistia ch.XXV, lines 31-3

'Qui semel occisus licet ultra non moriatur,
Mors tamen ad vitam nobis eius renovatur,
Christum quotidie devotio presbyterorum / mactat'

34 Et has here the force of 'also'. For an imitation of this line cf. Pierre Peintre De Euch.ch. line 29
'Qui patris in dextra pollens Deitatis honore'

XL

Hau.pp.48,9.
Ed.Hommey p.441 (from E).
Since XL clearly sets out to be a concise treatment in verse of the subject matter of Anselm's Cur Deus Homo it must have been written after 1098, the date given for Anselm's work by the latest editor (S.Anselmi Liber Cur Deus Homo, recens.F.C.Schmitt, Florilegium Patristicum 18 (1928) proleg.vii). For ~~the correspondence between Hildebert and Anselm cf.p. .~~

3,4 Cf. item 2 of the rotulus of Mathilda, abbess of Caen (d.1113) (Delisle Rouleaux p.183) line 5
'non erat hostia quae morientia morte piaret.'

9 Pascal (Poesia p.49) thinks that the presence of 'natura creatrix' here may indicate some knowledge of Lucretius. But the idea of Nature as the creator is part of the rhetorical stock-in-trade, and is found elsewhere in Hildebert (e.g. XLVI.7 and XXXVII.5). In view of the textual tradition of Lucretius, Pascal's second thoughts 'Si tratta forse di un incontro fortuito' are understandable.

15 Cf. the Rotulus of Mathilda, item 2, line 17
'ergo patet via, celica menia qua repetamus.'

XLI

Hau.p.200.
The title of Du 'Aducem R.' and the fact that Hildebert is here addressing someone who lives in Italy (line 3) lead to the conclusion that Hildebert's letter is addressed to one of the three Norman princes of Sicily and Apulia who were called Roger. These are Roger I, count of Sicily and brother of Robert Guiscard, Roger II who succeeded him as count (1105) and ultimately became king of Sicily, and finally Roger Borsa, the son of Guiscard and successor to him in the duchy of Apulia. Hildebert on his visit to Italy in 1101 had been received by both Roger I of Sicily and Roger Borsa, and both had given him presents for his church (Gesta pont.Cenoman. ed.Busson, Ledru p.404). Roger I died in that same year, and so we are left with the future Roger II, who became count only in 1105, and Roger Borsa. The general tone of the poem, and especially lines 14 and 15, would seem to indicate that it is directed to the active ambitious count of Sicily, rather than the weak Borsa. But Hildebert definitely refers to his patron as 'dux' (line 14), and so he must be addressing the duke of Apulia. We may suppose that he is writing to Roger II, but after he had made himself master of Apulia in 1128. This would be rather late, but not impossibly so, and this is the view taken by Hauréau. Alternatively, if we are to suppose it written to Roger Borsa, then it can be dated 1101 - 1111. But surely even Hildebert must have felt the unsuitability of lines 11,12 as applied to the feeble Borsa.

1 Ovid Fasti II.127
'sancte pater patriae, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen'

9 Suetonius Titus VIII 'non oportere ait quemquam a sermone principis tristem discedere.'

10 Cf. XVIII.22
'sed doluit quotiens cui daret hec aberat.'

14 Cesar Not necessarily the Emperor as Hauréau would have it. Cf.XXXVII. 26.

18 Despite the carelessness of the scribe of Du in conflating lines 17 and 18 I am inclined to accept his 'prosperiore' as against the 'prospiciore' of Z. The transcriber of Z makes elementary mistakes so frequently that he cannot be trusted, and prospicuus is a very rare word, no example of its comparative appearing in Lewis & Short. It does not appear ever to bear the meaning 'famous', nor does perspicuus, which the transcriber might have copied wrongly as prospicuus.

20 The first part of the line is missing in both MSS.

XLII

Hau.p.126

The lore about precious stones, their mystical meanings and properties came down to the Middle Ages from two sources, namely pagan antiquity and the Bible. Marbod's De gemmis is the most important example of the influence of the first, there being little trace of Christian sentiment in the work. The Christian symbolism for the precious stones had its origin in the account of the rationale of the High Priest sewn with twelve stones representing the twelve tribes of Israel (Exodus 28.17), and in the description of the twelve foundation stones of the Heavenly City, each of which again represented the tribes of Israel (Apocalypse 21, 19,20). For this Christian symbolism cf. L.Pannier Les lapidaires Français pp.209-16; P.Studer and J.Evans Anglo-Norman Lapidaries, intro.pp.xvi,xvii; J.Evans Magical Stones p.72).

Though the idea of the latter is no doubt derived from the passage in Exodus the names of four of the stones and the order of stones is different, and it is the symbolism of the Apocalypse which Hildebert has used here, both the names and order of the stones being identical . Moreover he makes reference to the building as 'aede' (lines 1,5,7) and 'templo' (line 15). According to Pannier this symbolism is commoner than that based on the twelve stones of the rationale, yet the treatises deriving from it appear to be accessible only in manuscript .

XLIII

Hau.p.115

There is no reason for doubting the assertion of the rubricator of K that the recipient of this abusive poem was Geoffrey, abbot of Vendôme. This poem cannot have been written before 1095, when Geoffrey was consecrated abbot of Vendôme (Chron.Vindocin.,year 1095, ed. Halphen Annales angevines et vendomoises, pp.66,67), and probably some

considerable time after this date. Hildebert had good reason for lampooning the abbot of this immune monastery, who was continually writing him irritating letters. There were two main causes of discord between the two. First of all there was a long drawn out dispute over land at Savigny-sur-Braye which the countess of Vendôme had seized from the monks. As Savigny lay in the diocese of Le Mans Geoffrey appealed to Hildebert, who called him to appear before his court to obtain satisfaction (Geoffrey epist.III.15, P.L.157 col.121). Geoffrey replied by complaining 'postquam... episcopus factus estis, in episcopatu vestro plusquam ducentas libratas amisimus, nec deinceps quod viginti solidos valeat per iustitiam vestram consecuti sumus'. He also hinted at Hildebert's inability to keep order in his diocese (epist.III.16 'Quis etenim potest in episcopatu vestro non timere vobis episcopante'). Indeed Hildebert had requested Geoffrey not to come to Le Mans with his large company of retainers (Geoff.epist.III.16 col.124B).

No less irritating were Geoffrey's continual requests for the return of John the Mason, a monk of Vendôme whom he had lent to Hildebert and whom the latter, to use Geoffrey's own words 'ob utilitatem suae artis secum detinet'. After a lengthy and fruitless correspondance on the subject (III.16,24,25,29,30) Geoffrey excommunicated the monk. He took both these disputes to Pope Pascal II (epist.I.5).

Marbod too wrote on this subject (Var.I.18), and Raby (Christian p.286) suspects but cannot prove that this poem also is directed against Geoffrey. Though his subject is the same Marbod developes the theme somewhat differently, for he compares the abbot to a centaur (line 5) or alternatively to an ass in a lion's skin (line 7).

2 Horace Odes III.13.8
'lascivi suboles gregis'

4 Cf.Marbod Var.I.18.4
'Esse potest neutrum, vel si dicatur utrumque'

XLIV

Hau.p.169
Ovid Tristia I.9.5,6
'donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos:
tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.'

XLV

Ed. W.Wattenbach N.A.VI (1880) p.450 (from MS.Schaffhausen 51); Denifle Revue des Bibliothèques VI (1896) p.515 (from MS.Tortosa 97), lines 21 - 32 only; M.Hamond 'Notes on some poems of Hildebert', Speculum VII (1932) pp.533,4 (from Harvard MS.Riant 56). Pascal (Lett.p.77) quotes lines 1 - 4 without realising that Hildebert id the author.

Beaugendre prints this poem (col.1149) among the mélange of short eucharistic poems which appear towards the end of his text of the De Myst. He has taken lines 24 a-c from his MS.Colbert 6101 (B.N.1249). Neither the MSS. collated nor the printed editions cited above have these lines. All follow the order of the text as given here, and Wilmart (R.B.49, 1937, p.125 n.1) agrees with this.

1 Ovid Tristia V.6.25
'non adeo toti fatis urgemur iniquis'

6 Why is the friend 'bought off' ('emptus')? It is surely the amicus who is buying the soul a place in Heaven, not the other way round. The only alternative explanation is to lengthen the -us. This makes some sense 'or a friend buys by the service of buying', but is unmetrical. Besides emptus -us = emptio is found only twice outside inscriptions (Thes.Lat.Ling.V.2.col.558). We cannot accept the tempting 'certus' of Cl as the scribe there is clearly following the line of least resistance.

15 - 22 Quoted anon. by Geoffrey of S.Barbe epist.XXXIV (P.L.205 col.866).

23,24 Quoted anon. by Geoffrey epist.VII, col.856.

The whole poem is quoted by Vincent of Beauvais Spec.Hist.,bk.25 ch.115.

XLVI

Hau.p.130 - 133
Ed. Pressel Revue de Philol. I, p.408. Lines 7 - 10 appear as Marbod Var.II.13 (Beaug.col.1619, P.L.col.1719).

Cecilia, daughter of William the Conqueror, was offered by her father to the abby of the Holy Trinity at Caen when it was founded in July 1066. According to Ordericus Vitalis (V.2) Mathilda, the first abbess, died in 1113, and was succeeded by Cecilia (cf. also Delisle Rouleaux p.177. The chronicle of Caen puts her death in 1126). As the titles of K do not appear to proceed from Hildebert himself it follows that although the copyist who wrote the titles knew Cecilia as abbess, she may not have been such when Hildebert wrote this poem. Thus we have only the rather unhelpful terminus ante quem of Cecilia's death in 1127 (Ordericus loc.cit. The chronicle of Caen puts her death also in 1126).

1,2 Cited anon. by Alex. Nequam, Gloss on psalm 139 in MS.Bodley 284, fol.286VB. There may be an echo of this in Nequam's Corrogationes novi Promethei line 549, in Paris B.N.lat.11867, fol.255VB:
'disserit interdum Cicerone disertior alter'

15 The idea of the incompatibility of virtue and beauty is perhaps derived from Ovid. Compare Amores III.4.42
'Quo tibi formonsam, si non nisi casta placebit?
Non possent ullis ista coire modis', and Her.XVI.290
'Iais est cum forma magna pudicitae.'

16 Ovid Ars Amat. I.747
'nil nisi turpe iuvat'

17 Ovid Metam.VI.524,5
'et reginam et unam / vi superat'

22 Cf.line 10 of the poem in Henry of Huntingdon Hist.Angl.7, ch.35 (Rolls Series 74 p.245)
'nec pudent dominam te, precor, esse meam.'

XLVII

Hau.p.105
Ed. in the editions of Martial by Scriverius, Leyden 1619 (appendix p.511) and D.F.G.Schneidewin, Grimma 1847 (p.637), and by Wernsdorff Poet.Lat. Min. V p.675, repr. Lemaire, Par., 1825, vol.III p.297; Pressel Revue de Philol. I, p.409. Herrade of Landsberg inserted it entire in her Hortus Deliciarum, and it is pr. from her MS. by Lenoble, Bibl. Ec. Chartes 1e serie, I (1839) p.260.

Perhaps the germ of the poem is to be found in Ovid Amores II.2.13,14

'sed gerat ille suo morem furiosus amori;
et castum, multis quod placet, esse putet.'

XLVIII

Hau.p.179
Ed. Riese Anth.Lat.no.795 (from D), following Pressel Revue de Philol. I, p.409.

2 Ovid Metamorph.X.155

'rex superum Phrygii quondam Ganymedis amore / arsit;'

4 Ovid Heroides IV.153

'Juppiter esse pium statuit quodcumque iuvaret'

7 Iliacus Cf.Ovid Tristia II.406 'IliacusQue puer.'

10 Cf.line 4 of the poem found in Bodleian MS.Rawl.G.109, page 68:

'Quintilius celare volens sua furta, puellam
hornat veste viri, fitque puella cliens.
Dupliciter servuit, vir cultu, femina sexu;
nocte dat amplexus, luce ministrat ei.'

XLIX

Hau.pp.16 - 19
This is an epitaph on bishop Peter II of Poitiers (1087 - 1115), or more likely a contribution to his rotulus. William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum V.439, ed.Stubbs p.510) tells how William, duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitiers put away his lawful wife and 'vicecomitis cuiusdam coniugem surripuit'. For this he was excommunicated by Gerald of Angoulême, and when Peter too began to excommunicate him he threatened him with death. Shortly afterwards, according to William at the persuasion of his mistress, whom Hildebert (lines 17-19) compares to Jezabel and Herodias, he exiled the bishop, who died in exile (Hildebert line 27).

1 - 6 The metaphor is taken from the story of the houses built on rock and on sand (Vulg.Matt.7.24-7).

5 Perhaps from Horace Serm.II.1.20

'cui male si palpere recalcitrat undique tutus'

7 Vulg ad Rom.9.21 'an non habet potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere aliud quidem vas in honorem aliud vero in contumeliam?'

21 Taking up the reference to Jezabel in 17, cf.Vulg.III Reges 21.19.

L

Hau.p.106 - 115
Ed. Hommey p.547 (from E) under Marbod's name; Chamart ,Oeuvres de Philippe de Bonne Espérance p.804; T.Wright, Reliquiae antiquae, Lond., 1840, II.p.270 among poems of Matthew of Vendôme (from a Vienna MS.).

Baudri mentions this poem in his letter to Hildebert (149.19-21):

'Denuo dixisti quoniam tria moribus obsint,
Quae tria, si superent, ducunt in perditionem:
Femina, census, honos, ferales moribus hostes'

As the poem is addressed to 'Audeberto Cenomannensi archidiacono' in the unique Vatican MS. we may suppose that Hildebert had written this poem at least some time before his elevation to the see of Le Mans in 1096, though this does not necessarily mean that he was archdeacon when he wrote it. The poem is also referred to by Alex. Nequam in the words:

'depinxitque stilo placide mores muliebres' (De laudibus divinae sapientiae, ed. Wright Rolls Series p.454, line 617).

We have seen (p.111) that Marbod in Decem capit.III imitates Hildebert's poem. However the exempla brought in by each poet do not coincide. Marbod introduces as well as David, Solomon and Jezabel, figures from pagan mythology, namely Exiphile, Clytaemnestra, Belis, Procne and Helen, also the Chimaera, Charybdis, the Siren, Circe and the biblical Athalia. It will be seen that Pierre Peintre imitates Hildebert in his poem against women ('de mala muliere' pr.Boutemy Lat.7 pp.61 sqq.), but here again we have some exempla not in Hildebert - the Minotaur, Biblis, Mirra and Scilla. The fact that these poets, whom we know are imitating Hildebert in some points, bring in exempla not found in his poem makes one suspect that the introduction of exempla in such anti-feminist poems is not due to any influence of Hildebert, but is an essential feature of the rather stereotyped form which Hildebert found and used.

Such imperfect evidence as there is on this point is instructive. Some poets limit themselves to biblical instances. Thus in the poem attributed by M.Delbouille to Gautier the correspondent of Marbod ('Le redoutable poète Gautier',Moyen Age 57, 1951, p.238) the exempla are Eve and Adam, Bersabee and David, Samson and Delila. In the poem pr. by Pascal from Paris B.N.lat.5718 (Lett.p.108) the exempla of Lot, Naboth, John the Baptist and St.Peter are added. The curious poem, every verse of which ends 'ars mulierum', (pr. Wattenbach, Anzeiger 27, 1880, col.157) gives Adam, David, Homer and Solomon. The poem ed. by Novati Carmina medii aevi p.22 adds Ammon to the list (line 37). These are only a few of the many poems on the subject, but they are sufficient to show that the exempla are part of the stock furniture of anti-feminist poetry, and that no two poems have exactly the same exempla.

Another feature common to several of these poems is the repetition of the word 'femina' at the beginning or end of a succession of lines. This appears in Hildebert lines 7 - 15 and 23 - 7, Marbod lines 28 -31, and to a lesser degree in Pierre Peintre lines 46,48,51,55. The poem 'Femina formosa' (pr. Wattenbach Anzeiger 20, 1873, p.256) begins every other verse with 'femina', and in the poem 'arbore sub quadam' (pr. Pascal Lett.p.108) lines 5 to 46 begin with this one word.

The following notes will show clearly the influence of Hildebert on Marbod, Pierre Peintre and Bernard of Cluny. Moreover several of the

later poems on the subject are mere centos of earlier works, and Bernard was a popular source for these, so that Hildebert has an indirect influence on these through him, while the maker of the cento often draws on Hildebert direct.

1,2 Cited by Petrus Cantor, Verbum abbreviatum ch.54 (P.L.205 col.166) with the words 'Item episcopus Cenomannensis'. A short poem in Vienna Nationalbibl. MS.5512 (pr. Anzeiger 20, 1873, p.134 by A.Schultz) borrows the idea of Hildebert's lines:

'Hec tria subvertunt sensum: affectio rerum,
Multus thezaurus et stultus amor mulierum', but deals only with the last topic.

7 Cf.Pierre Peintre lines 54,55

'Et cupit expleri rem qua rea possit haberi:
Nil fugit, incestum cupit, omne quod est inhonestum',

and line 72

'Femina res fragilis, pretio conducta monilis'.

Cf. also the version of 'arbore sub quadam' found in MS.Laud.misc.552, s.xiv, fol.171, line 45

'Femina res fragilis res lubrica res puerilis', and line 4 of the poem pr. by Pascal Poesia p.175

'Ad facinus tuta numquam nisi fraude locuta'

9 Cf.Pierre Peintre line 22

'Femina flamma furens, sed flammis acrius urens'

Bernard of Cluny II.475

'haec furor ultimus, hostis et intimus, intima pestis'.

This may explain the variant 'intimus hostis' of E Z L. On the other hand Bernard may have read this in his MS. of Hildebert.

11 Cf.line 15 of the poem pr. by Novati op.cit. p.21

'Femina vile forum, labor, cibus, causa dolorum'

line 24 of the poem beg:'Femina formosa scelus',pr.Wattenbach, Anzeiger 20.256

'Femina res vilis turbatrix promptaque bilis'

line 6 of the poem pr. Pascal Poesia p.175

'Res mala, res vilis, res invida, nulli fidelis'.

Line 84 of the poem beg:'Quondam colla', pr.Müemer, Wiener Studien VI (1884),p.293 from Wien Nationalbibl.4455 s.xv incorporates Hildebert's line . The first part of this poem is a narrative concerning a certain Hugo, but from line 75 the poem is a cento drawing largely on Bernard of Cluny. Bernard II.460

'res male publica, praedaque praedo', and II.458 'nataque fallere' clearly derive from this line and line 18. Cf. also the line quoted in Matthew of Vendome, Ars versificatoria ch.53 (Paral p.175)

'Femina suspirat ad crimina nata nocere'.

25,26 Cf. Pierre Peintre line 56

'Illa Joseph... Carcere dampnari fecit'.

55,54 Cited anon. by Petrus Cantor, Verbum abbreviatum ch.25 (P.L. 205 col.85). Hence Giraldus Cambrensis Gemma ecclesiae II.28 (Opp.Rolls Ser. II p.309). Ovid Ars Amatoria III.651-6 is an early complaint of the power of money. Perhaps this line is modelled on Ovid's line 656

'Ipse quoque accepto munere mutus erit'.

Hauréau's addition of two lines here has mislead Pascal (Poesia p.16). Since these lines appear in no MS. it is not surprising that they are absent also in the quotation of Petrus Cantor. Pascal appears to take this to mean that Hildebert has added these two lines to an earlier epigram represented by the quotation of Petrus. Unfortunately Hauréau does not tell us where he found these lines.

56 Ovid Amores II.14.4

'et caecas armant in sua fata manus'.

57,58 Cf. Bernard of Cluny III.795,6

'Munere sobrius ambulat ebrius, ipseque cuius
Os homo cor deus approbat et reus eius et huius'.

40 and 64 Ovid Heroides XVII.166

'Sed tu non ideo cuncta licere puta'.

Cf. P.Peintre poem 'Cur ultra studeam' (Flacius Illyricus , Pia Poemata p.352) line 15

'Fasque nefasque canens credit sibi cuncta licere' also

Serlo of Bayeux (Wright Sat.Poets II.p.189,line 11 from the foot of the page)

'Femina nil horret, cuncta licere putat'.

51,52 Cited as Hildebert's by Petrus Cantor, Verbum abbreviatum ch.54.

65 Ovid Tristia V.4.35

'cumque alii fugerent subitae contagia cladis', and

Horace Ars Poetica 475

'quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo',

64 Sallust Catiline V.6 (ed.Kurfess) 'neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat'.

LI

Hau.p.115

Ed. (lines 1 - 16 only, from S.Omer 115 and Munch ~~Mm~~.29110) M.G.H., Libelli de lite III.p.724. The collation of this edition on ours is 5 mergunt 7 quas expoliat 8 excoluit 9 patribus: ducibus 10 flent: sunt. Hauréau notes an edition by P.Louvet in his Histoire de Beauvais II.p.252, but I could not find it in the edition of 1615.

We have no means of guessing the name of the addressee. As Hauréau remarks, line 17 'quia nos hoc patre serenas' shows that Hildebert is talking about an ecclesiastical superior, who, if the poem was written before 1096 could be a bishop, archbishop or pope, but if it was written after this date only one of the latter two. Barth (p.341) thinks that the poem was written in honour of bishop Noel, but of this there is no proof.

2 Ovid Metamorphoses IX.604
'Flura loqui poteram, quam quae cepere tabellae'

3 Cf.Reginald of Canterbury, Malchus VI.404
'Angele quo fugiam? tot sunt contraria letis'.

5,6 Ovid Metamorphoses I.129,130
'fugere pudor verumque fidesque,
in quorum subiere locum fraudesque doliqne'

7 Horace Serm.I.2.45
'praedonum in turbam.... '

13 Vulg.Ezech.33.3 'Lac comedebatis, et lanis operiebamini,... gregem autem meum non pascebatis'.

14 and 19 Vulg.Evang.Joann.10.12 sq.

17 Perhaps derived from Ovid Ex Ponto II.1.19 'gratia, Fama, tibi' or Tristia IV.10.117 'gratia, Musa, tibi'.

24 Ovid Tristia V.5.62
'aequarint Pylios cum tua fata dies' and Ex Ponto II.8.41
'sic pater in Pylios, Cumaeos mater in annos / vivant'

The reference here to the traditionally long-lived Nestor of Pylos baffled Beaugendre, who 'emended' the word to 'prelii'.

LII

Hau.p.190
Geoffrey of Vinsauf, De arte versificandi II.3.73 (Faral p.298), in showing how several verbs can be governed by one adjective, says 'ut in versibus Cenomanensis episcopi

Est igitur proba iuncta probo, formosa decoro,
Callida sensato, religiosa pio'.

The form of this distich, and its attribution to Hildebert, make it seem possible that it originally formed the end of this poem of which only the first two lines have come down in the MSS. But there is no exact parallel, for in the first distich the three contrasts drawn are between youth and age, nobility and meanness, generosity and parsimony, while in the distich quoted by Geoffrey the four qualities shared by both parties are honesty, beauty, wit and piety. Besides, the two line version is found not only in the related K Z Di, but also in M, and nowhere are the two distichs found together. Alexander Nequam (De Natura Rerum, ch.59 (ed. Wright p.91) cites the two lines of our text with the words 'unde Hildebertus'. Thus it seems best to exclude the two extra lines from the text, in the hope that further MS. evidence will come to light.

LIII

Hau.p.190
Bertha died in 1085 (Latouche, Histoire du Maine p.53 n.2 from the chronicle of S.Croix d'Quimperlé p.68). Daughter of Eude II of Blois, she had been first the wife of Alan III, duke of Brittany, then of Hugh

II, count of Maine (Ord. Vitalis IV.12). Conan, the son of her first marriage, was count of Brittany, and that of the second, Herbert, was count of Maine (Ord. Vitalis loc.cit.). Hence line three:

'Consulibus nupsit totidem paritura duobus'

LIV

Hau.p.52

It is not unreasonable to suppose with Beaugendre that the addressee is Odo of Bayeux (d.1097) whom we have seen as a literary patron (p.54). The words 'erisque maioris digitum praesulis orbe ligans' may mean that Hildebert was not yet a bishop. But in that case would a mere archdeacon be so presumptuous as to send a ring to such a powerful prelate?

Hildebert probably took the idea of this poem from Ovid Amores II.15, where Ovid talks about a ring which he is going to send to his 'puella'. Ovid declares that if he were the ring he would refuse to be locked away in a box (line 19). In a slightly different way Hildebert endows the ring with personality.

4 Cf. Ovid line 20

'Adstringens digitos orbe minore tuos'

7,8 Ovid line 5

'Tam bene convenias, quam mecum convenit illi'

LV

Hau.pp.72-6

Editions

a text only:-

Ussher, De Symbolis, pr. Opera ed.Elrington, Dublin, 1847, vol.7 p.559; 'Ex veteribus membranis Cottonianis... et ex altero codice bibliothecae regiae'.

R.P.Labbe, Thesaurus Epitaphiorum, Paris 1666, pp.178-184.

Jonas propheta, Sebastiano Castalione auctore, excudeb. successores A.Anderson, Edinburgi, 1696, p.29. The poem is added at the end 'In gratiam iuvenum et utile et dulce spectantium (et ne duo foliola sint prorsus vacua)'.

J.Hommey, Supplementum Patrum p.446.[1]

F.J.Mone, Lateinische Hymnen d.Mittelalters vol.1, p.14 from MSS.Karlsruhe 36, Munich clm.5012, 12007 (Text of lines 1-90 only).

G.M.Dreves and C.Blume, Analecta Hymnica 50 p.409, from seven MSS., and from this in Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung, Leipzig 1909, p.213.

R.C.Trench, Sacred Latin Poetry, Lond., 1849, based on the texts of Hommey and Beaugendre.

Printed as Abelard's by Martènè, Amplissima Collectio IX, col.1092 'ex manuscripto Beccensis monasterii'; and by V.Cousin, Oeuvres vol.1.p.551.

[1]These 17th cent. editions are quite independant of each other. Each has readings peculiar to itself.

b text with verse translation:-
G.Crashaw, Manuale Catholicorum, Lond.,1616, pp.1-28 (for part of the translation cf. Raby Christian p.270). At pp.9,10 between ll.64 and 65 another short poem to the Son is interpolated.
J.Mason Neale, Hierologus, Lond.,1845, translation p.199, text p.306 (lines 105 - end only). A much revised translation with text appears in his Hymns on the Joys and Glories of Paradise, Lond.,1865, p.24.
Erastus C. Benedict, The hymn of Hildebert and other Medieval hymns, New York,1867, with a very uncritical text based on Beaugendre.
German translation by Dreves, Die Kirche der Lateiner in ihren Liedern, Kempten, 1908.

Sources

The poem falls into two parts, the first (ll.1 - 94) setting out the main points of the Athanasian Creed in theological terms, full of paradox. That it is in the main the Athanasian Creed which is behind Hildebert's work will appear from a comparison of the following (The text and verse numbers are those of the authorized Lambeth edition of 1909 as found in The Athanasian Creed, a revised translation, Lond. (S.P.C.K.),1918).

Hildebert line	Creed verse	
35	26	sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt: et coaequales
41,42	31	Deus est.. ante saecula genitus.. et homo est.. in saeculo natus
43	32	perfectus deus: perfectus homo. But this is probably from the Nicene 'Deum verum de Deo vero'.
49,50	33	aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem: minor Patre secundum humanitatem
65	8	increatus spiritus sanctus
65,66,68	23	Spiritus sanctus.. non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens
71,72	7	Qualis Pater, talis Filius: talis et spiritus sanctus
80	16	et tamen non tres dii: sed unus Deus
83,84	5	ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur
85,86	25	Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius; nihil maius aut minus
91	5	Fides autem catholica haec est

The phrase 'patri consubstancialis' (line 36) must come from the 'consubstancialem Patri' of the Nicene creed. Lines 59 - 64 could come equally from the Athanasian, Nicene or Apostles' creeds. Despite these exceptions, it is clear that Hildebert is drawing on the Athanasian creed to a considerable degree, and that at first hand, as far as one can see. However in the first thirty-four lines of the poem he is not using any of the creeds, and unless we are to believe that he is here being an original theologian, he must be drawing on some commentary or treatise on the creed.

The section as a whole amplifies the words of the ninth verse of the Athanasian creed 'immensus Pater', and it is here that we have the succession of paradoxes which give the poem what Raby calls its

'scholastic flavour'. Of the commentaters mentioned by Ommaney in his Early history of the Athanasian Creed, Oxford etc.,1880, and Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed, Oxford 1897, only two expatiate on this clause in a way similar to Hildebert, though neither of them at any great length. In the second commentary edited from MS.Troyes 804 by Ommaney pp.492-551 of the Dissertation we find (p.499) 'Est enim mundo superior, inferior, exterior et interior; regendo superior, portando inferior, circumdando exterior, replendo interior', and in the so-called Commentary of Bruno (P.L.142 col.563) speaking of the Father 'Ipse est intra omnia et non conclusus; extra omnia et non exclusus'. The latter corresponds to Hildeberts lines 9 and 10, while the former expresses in slightly different terms but the same order, the four attributes of the Deity given by Hildebert in lines 13 - 16. It seems clear that the authors of these commentaries share a common source with Hildebert. What that source is I have as yet been unable to discover.

The second, more lyrical part of the poem begins with a series of biblical metaphors and comparisons (lines 95 - 162). But the culminating point of the poem is the description of Hell and the fuller account of the joys of Paradise, this being the part which has commended itself most to modern anthologists. Clearly the description of Paradise has some connection with Apocalypse ch.23. Thus Hildebert line 181 may be compared with Apoc.23.11 'lumen eius simile lapide precioso, 179 with 23.18 'et erat structura muri eius ex lapide iaspide, and the rather uncommon 'plateis' of Apoc.23.21 re-appears in Hildebert line 201. But these similarities do not show that Hildebert was following the Apocalypse closely. He could well have taken the whole passage from some later description of Paradise which was itself based on the biblical account. There are a few resemblances in Hildebert's poem to those of Peter Damiani on the same theme. Thus Peter in Carm.225, line 23 (P.L.145 col.980) says of Hell 'Vermes nunquam satiantur', to be compared with Hildebert's line 170, and his lines 25,26 'Illic dolor, cruciatus,/ Fletus, stridor dentium', are not unlike Hildebert's lines 165,166. In Damiani's more famous hymn 'Ad perennis vitae fontem' (no.226) are the lines

'Nam quis promat summae pacis
Quanta sit laetitia',

similar in theme to Hildebert's 'Norunt illi qui sunt intus'. We also find a mention of perpetual spring

'Flos purpureus rosarum
Ver agit perpetuum'

which appears in Hildebert (line 182) but not in the Apocalypse. Compare also Damiani's 'Corruptela corruit' with Hildebert's line 185 'Non est ibi corruptela', Damiani 'Novas semper harmonias / Vox melodа concrepat' with Hildebert line 184, Damiani 'Christe, palma bellatorum / Hoc in municipium / Introduc me post solutum' with Hildebert line 173. There seems to be considerable evidence that Hildebert has read Damiani, rather than that both are drawing from a common source.

The poem is given in its entirety by Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Hist. bk.25, ch.114 (written as prose in the Venetian edition of 1591), and from Vincent by Antoninus of Florence, Chron. ed.Petrus Maturus, Lyons 1586, vol.II,pp.646,7. Its early popularity is evidenced by the existence

of at least one re-working, ed. by Dreves (op.cit.pp.413-418, from MS. Munich 8304 s.xii). This adds another 326 lines to the poem. Most of the additions are of an intricate theological nature, but additions are made even in the second and more lyrical part of the poem, moving Dreves to remark 'Dieselbe zeigt, was ein lyrischer Dichter zu gewärtigen hat, wenn er einem Theologen in die Hände fällt.' Though it is found in such a surprisingly early MS., yet the bald style of the additions, coupled with the absence of this version in all but a few German MSS., make it impossible to regard it as a second edition by Hildebert. Some lines of this re-working are to be found in another of the MSS. used by Dreves, Vorau 55 (111) s.xii/xiii, and in two MSS. related to each other used by Mone (Karlsruhe 56 s.xiv and Munich 3012 s.xv, op.cit.p.16) have some but not all of the additional lines. He is inclined to think that the additions were due to Conrad of Gaming, whose poems and re-workings of other peoples' poems appear in these three MSS., but in view of the much fuller version in the earlier Munich used by Dreves this cannot be so.

27 Vulg.Hebr.13.8 'Jesus Christus heri et hodie, ipse et in saecula.'

Cited anon. in the Commentary to the Granum sinapis, ch.9 (ed.M.Bindschedler, Basel, 1949, p.46).

37 Vulg.Hebr.1.3 'qui cum sit splendor gloriae, et figura substantiae eius.'

38 Perhaps from Augustine Serm.279.8 (P.L.38 col.1279) 'Ille factor factus, ille creator creatus.'

45 - 8 Augustine epist.170.9 'homo enim adsumptus est a deo, non in homine consumptus est deus.'

56 Tertullian, De carne Christi 5.4 'amittens quod erat, dum fit quod non erat.'

58 Vulg.Jac.4.12 'Unus est legislator et iudex, qui potest perdere et liberare.'

105 - 112 Based both on the raising of the widow of Nain's son (Vulg.Luc.7. 11-15) and on the raising of Lazarus (Vulg.Joann.11.38-44). 'Iam fetentem' (106) cf. Martha's words (verse 39) 'Domine, iam fetet', verse 107 of Hildebert cf.'Lazarus ligatus pedes et manus', Hild. verse 112 cf.Vulg. verse 43 'veni foras'.

115 - 120 Refers to the miracle of the calming of the waves (Vulg.Matt. 8.25-7). However the 'piratae' have no parallel in the Bible. For this reason Trench (op.cit.p.310) thinks that in the pirates we have only a bold personification of the winds and waves. As Neale (Joys and Glories p.27) observes, this is much too far-fetched. Hildebert experienced both storms and pirates, on his journey into exile and on his return from Rome respectively.

121 - 8 The parable of the barren fig-tree, Vulg.Luc.13.6-9.

150 The healing of the mentally disordered child (Vulg.Marc.9.15-26):
'et frequenter eum in ignem et in aquas misit.'

152 tibi soli This seems also to refer to the story in Marc, and may be expanded as 'I depend on your help alone, since the disciples have failed.'

143 Vulg.I Corinth.13.13 'Nunc autem manent fides, spes, charitas.' W.Meyer (Ges.Abh. I.p.518) going on the Migne text 'fidem spem' quotes this as an example of taktwechsel.

153 lyra Perhaps a reference to David playing to Saul (Vulg.I.Reg.18.10). Three words from lines 151 and 153 are found together in Horace Odes I.32.14
'testudo laborum dulce lenimen'.
Perhaps the idea of Hildebert's line is borrowed from here.

191,2 Cf. Bernard of Cluny I.337,338
'urbs Sion inclyta, patria condita littore tuto,
te peto, te colo, te flagro, te volo, canto, saluto.'

195 - 200 Quoted anon. by Richard of S.Victor, serm.85 (P.L.177 col.1164).

LVI

Hau.p.156
First ed. by Bourassé, col.1398. Quoted as Hildebert's by Ordericus Vitalis, bk.XI ch.30 (ed.Prevost p.270). Cf. p 155.

LVII

Ed. Jaffé, Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum V.p.460 (from G). I have collated F G R and S.Omer 710 as given by C.Pierville, N.E.31.154.

Textual notes on the poems of the supplement.

I

Most mss. of this poem have a text of six lines only, i.e. the first four printed by Beaugendre with the two lines added by Hauréau (p.47). Such are Oxford, Digby 65 (fol.64), Valenciennes 152 (fol.178), Lambeth 199 (fol.248) and the edition in the works of Philip of Bonne Espérance, P.L.203.1395. The text of this version (Hauréau collated on Digby 65 and P.L.203) is:

Sol, cristallus, aqua dant qualemcunque figuram
Virginei partus, eruditque fidem.
Si tingatur aquis et soli subiciatur,
Scintillas profert integer ille lapis.
Flamine sic imbuta sacro subiectaque soli
Iusticie, peperit integra virgo Deum.

(1 aqua cristallus Hau 5 imbuta Di: mundata Hau: abluta P.L.203)

The Elnonensis, its relative M, and E (as pr. Homsey p.460) omit the last two lines of this version and give a much longer text of twenty lines. Probably this represents a later re-working. Hauréau, by printing the twenty line text with the two last lines of the shorter text has produced a conflated version which does not appear in any ms.

II

11 ore. This cannot be a corruption of hora or horae, as both would be unmetrical.

III

I have collated the text of Hauréau, Mélanges p.181 based on D Z, and of Baehrens, Poetae Lat.Min. V.no.76.2 based on D and Florence Laurent. Aedilium Flor.Eccl.197. The text of Riese, A.L. no.794 is full of misreadings of D and is best left uncollated.

BIBLICAL EPIGRAMS: CONCORDANCE OF OLD WITH NEW NUMBERS

Vt 1 = 26
Vt 2 = Add 2
Vt 5 = 23
Vt 4 = 52
Vt 5 = 22
Vt 6 = 17
Vt 7 = 17 var.
Vt 8 = 33
Vt 9 = 34
Vt 10^1 = 50 var.
Vt 10^2 = 50
Vt 11 = 41
Vt 12 = 42
Vt 13 = 10
Vt 14 = 30
Vt 15 = 11
Vt 16 = 53
Vt 17 = 12
Vt 18 = 20
Vt 19 = 36
Vt 20 = 35
Vt 21^1 = 31
Vt 21^2 = 32
Vt 22 = 35
Vt 23 = 48
Vt 24 = 38
Vt 25 = 37
Vt 26 = 28
Vt 27 = 18

Vt 28 = 18 var.
Vt 29 = 8
Vt 30 = 4
Vt 31 = 6
Vt 32 = 31
Vt 33 = Add 8
Vt 34 = 39
Vt 35 = Add 1
Vt 36 = Add 3
Vt 37 = 43
Vt 38 = 13
Vt 39 = 60
Vt 40 = Add 4
Vt 41 = 49
Vt 42 = Add 10
Vt 43 = 16
Vt 44 = 64
Vt 45^1 = 36
Vt 45^2 = 37
Vt 46 = 46
Vt 47 = 24
Vt 48 = 25
Vt 49 = 63
* Vt 50 = 61
* Vt 51 = 47

Nt 1 = 5
Nt 2 = Add 7
Nt 3 = 39

Nt 4 = 7
Nt 5^1 = 14
Nt 5^2 = 14 var.
Nt 6 = Add 3
Nt 7 = 45
Nt 8
Nt 9 = Add 6
Nt 10 = 34
Nt 11 = Vt 40 = Add 4
Nt 12 = Vt 31 = 47
Nt 13 = 19
Nt 14 = 38
Nt 15
Nt 16
Nt 17
Nt 18 = 21
Nt 19 = 9
Nt 20
Nt 21 = 62
Nt 22 =
Nt 23 = 66
Nt 24^1 = 3
Nt 24^2 = 3 var.
Nt 25 = Nt 25 = 66
Nt 26

Supp.1 (11.4 - end) = Vt 2 = Add 2
Supp.2 = 27
Supp.3 = Add 9

(continued)

Supp.4 = 68
Supp.5 = 69
Supp.6 = 1
Supp.7 = 2
Supp.8 = Misc 151 = 65
Supp.9 = 61
Supp.10 = 61 var.
Supp.11 = 44
Supp.12 = 40
Supp.13

Ins.3 = 29
Ins.10 = Vt 45^1 = 56
Ins.55 = Supp.2 = 27
Misc 69 = 15

Biblical Epigrams. I Manuscripts.

(T) Tours 890, fol.28-59^{v}, as described by Wilmart, R.B.48,pp.25-27. Contains 1 - 66, omitting 56; 67,68 appearing separately at fol.28.

C S.Omer 115 s.xii (end), provenance Clairmarais. Written in 2 cols., 38 lines with large plain red, blue and green initials. Described Wilmart p.151 n.1. It contains beside the B.E.: item 37, poem 22; item 38, 21,45,59.VI; item 39, Misc 125,40,39.IV; item 40, 50; item 42, 25; item 43, 17; item 73, 57. B.E. begin on fol. 81A, and contain poems 11 - 66 in that order, except that 22,23 are inverted. There are titles.

X Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat.14958 s.xiii, provenance S.Victor. Written in 2 cols.,36-8 lines in a small but clear hand. Flourished red and blue initials, with the first letter of each line picked out in red. Contains (fol.245A - 248^{v}B) 1 - 49 (22,23 inverted),Ins.6,Ins.48^{1} 54,55,57,58,50,51,52,53,59 - 69,54 repeated. With titles. This is Wilmart's S (p.151 n.2)

E Vatican Reginensis 60 s.xii, provenance Normandy, written in 30 - 31 long lines to the page. Red, green and blue initials with rubrics. Of it Wilmart says 'la calligraphie est en effet remarquable'. The lines are ruled with a hard point. Contains (fol.1 - 14): De Myst., 59.II,IV,VI,Misc 51, De Querimonia cantus III,IV,II. The B.E., with titles, occupy fol.14^{v} - 15^{v}. They are numbers 1 - 11 and 16.

D British Museum Royal 8.B.IV s.xiii, provenance Bury St.Edmunds (cf.Wilmart p.151 n.3). No titles. The B.E. (fol.5-10) are: 1 - 69, with 3,4; 22,23; 58,59 inverted, 6,7,8 repeated after 62, and 63 omitted. The series ends with De Mysterio.

A B.M. Cotton Julius D.III s.xiii, provenance St.Albans. Written in 2 cols., lines with elaborate red and blue initials and abbreviated titles in red. The titles and some of the initials are badly faded. Contains (fol.191 -196^{v}) B.E.1 - 68, omitting 56,54.

W B.M. Cotton Domitian A.XIII s.xiii, provenance Winchester. At fol. 107^{v} is a fragment containing B.E. 1 - 5 without titles.

Be Berlin Staatsbibl. 201 (Phill.1794) s.xii, perhaps from W. France. Between Cicero's Phiippics and De Legibus, filling up the end of a quire, are B.E. 1 - 17, omitting 15, 22, Add 7; Add 8, 20, 61. The poems are headed 'Versus Rivallonis Archidiaconi Nannetensis', hence the B.E. are ascribed to him by Manitius III.814. For Wilmart's defence of Hildebert's authorship see R.B.51, 1939, pp.176 - 181.

Jo Cambridge, St.John's Coll. 154 s.xiii (early). Written in 2 cols., 50 lines in a small, fine hand. The titles are in red, rather faded, and the initials alternately green and red. This MS. belonged to William Crashaw, the translator of poem 55. The B.E., which appear

(fol.4A - 6^{v}A) between the passion of St.Agnes and the Aurora, are: 26,1,25,52,2,17,50,42,41,10,55,34,22,15,11,47,12,20,53,poem 34, Ins.6, 38,48,55,36,28,57,35,39,46,61,4,6,16,18,43,44,49,51,57,58,31,32,30, 25,24,13,8,56,'felle columba caret',63,64,65,5,Misc 4,45,9,66,59,60, 62,67,68,69,'alvus de celo', poem 20,'ara crucis', 54,45,40,14,3,7, Misc 152, 19,21, poem 3, 29,'Matheo Luce Marcho',Nt 15,Add 4,'Mundiciam munda'.

Es Escorial e.III.25. The part of the MS. (fol.65 onwards) which contains the B.E. belongs to the thirteenth century, and is written in 2 cols.,51 lines. There are initials and titles, now very faint. The B.E. are scattered through a very miscellaneous collection of some 150 short poems, containing also the Additional B.E., other poems printed by Beaugendre in the series, and a large number of similar poems in leonines, which we shall here ignore, together with other intervening poems. The contents then are: 1,Add 2,2,29,26 / 25,52 / 22,13,60,44,33,34 / 17,50,10,11 /41,42 / 30,18, poem 34, 53 / 12,47,20 55,36 / 37,38,39,31,32,55,48,58,49,43,15,24,63,65,25,28,4,16,Add 1, Add 3,Add 8,51,6,54,46,56 / 5, poem 21 / Add 7 / Add 6,19,8,40 / poem 40, 27,57, some poems of the Floridus Aspectus, 62,3,7,Misc 132,4,5,9, 59,66 / Add 4,Nt 16,Nt 22,Nt 20 / Nt 17,Add 5,14,Nt 15,54,61,21 / 68, 67,69.

V B.M. Cotton Vespasian D.V (Wilmart's L op.cit.p.171, and V^{2}). The supplement of this MS. is designated by him V and Cott.Vesp.B.XIII as V^{1}. To avoid confusion we have designated his V^{1} as H, the earlier part of Vesp.D.V as V, and the supplement as V^{2}.) After the Aurora we have in an early thirteenth century hand, written in double columns, a series of B.E. (fol.121 - 127) with titles: 1,2,25,26,29,22,50,10, 11,12,52,53,42,30,13,55, poem 34, 44,20,18,41,34,36,35,38,33,31,32,37, 45,24,47,48,4,6,8,51,49,46,15,57,60,25,63,64,28,56, poem 40,5,9,3,45, 7,14,54,16,58,59,19,21,61,62,27,65,66,67,68,69,Add 9,Nt 26, poems 20, 21,40,39,Ins 58 / 15,65, poems 40,34. This then is Wilmart's L and V^{2}.

V^{2} [B.E. At fol.136^{v}, in a more cursive English hand of the thirteenth century is a very heterogenous collection of short verses. Most of the poems which do not appear in Beaugendre's edition are found in I (Berlin Phill.1694) towards the end, and several are certainly Pierre Riga's, while others may be (cf.Wilmart p.156 n.3). The contents are Add 2,'Esau debetur','Empta labore','Nil agit',53,64,43,Add 8,'Inter opes' (Pierre Riga, cf.MS.Arsenal 1136), Add 5,'Pro sponsa','Geroboal', Add 1, Misc 2, Add 4,Add 7,Nt 22,Nt 20,Nt 15,Nt 17,Nt 16,Add 5,Nt 8, 'Iam passum','Ad domini','Natus homo',Add 10,'In petra'. This MS. is Wilmart's V.

H B.M. Cotton Vesp.B.XIII s.xiii, English provenance. Written in two columns, the foot of the pages having been cut off. Corrections are made in another hand, which also supplies the titles where these have been lost. The B.E. with titles, and headed 'Versus Hil (de) berti episcopi' are: 26,Add 2,1,2,29,25,52,22,17,55,34,50,42,41,10,30,11,47

'Explicit de genesi. Incipit de exodo',53,12,20,56(title only),55 (from line 5 only),55,31,58,28 (lines 1-5 only),48 (lines 5-10 only),57,Ins 6, Ins 48[1],'De iosue et libro iudicum',18,8,4,6,51,39,32. At fol.115[V] are 16 and Misc 132.

K B.M. Cotton Cleopatra C.1 (For a description of the MS. see p. 120). The B.E., without titles, are: 1,2,52,17,50,42,33,34,41,10,11,47,53, poem 34, 12,38,20,55,37,4,8,16,18,31,32,35,36,39,6,28,43,48,49,51,44, 64,56,57,46,63,24,25,23,13,60,58,30,22,26,29,5,9,14,7,62,59,45,21,3, 66,15,27, poem 3, poem 20, 40,19,54,60, poem 21, poem 45, Misc 53, 67, poem 5.

R B.M.Royal 8.A.XXI s.xiii (beg.), provenance perhaps St.Peter's, Gloucester. Written in two cols. with initials in red, green and blue. After Marbod's De ornamentis verborum we have the following (fol.116[V] - 118), without titles: Add 7,Nt 30,59,62,'Est caro nostra', Nt 8,Nt 16,Nt 22,Nt 17,Misc 132,7,48,14,Nt 15,'Adventus domini', 'Lectus ager'45,'ara crucis',61,54,3,'Anna tribus','Ius est forma', 26,'Ponte caret','Non pedes','est pecus',29,1,2,25,52,22,'Cham ridet',17,33,34,30,'Totum quod',42,41,15,30,11,'Loca sola',47, 'Explicit liber primus. Incipit secundus', 53,12,20,31,35,36,55,58, 48,38,'Umbra scenos',37,'Dissona sunt',28,18,8,4,51,39,Add 8,63,32, Add 1,Add 3,43.

Ca Cambridge, Gonville & Caius Coll. 238 (124) s.xiii, provenance St.Augustine's, Canterbury. Written in double columns of 31 lines, with red and green initials. This very miscellaneous anthology contains (fol.148) poems 39,40,45, (fol.150 - 154[V]) the B.E., concluding 'Explicit sententia episcopi mansensis super scripturam divinam', and (fol.163 - 168[V]) De Myst. The contents of the group of B.E. are: 1,15, 2,23,52,22,17,50,42,33,34,10,41,11,30,53, poem 34, 12,38,20,36,55,31, 32,28,35,48,58,18,37,8,4,6,51,39,24,25,63,43,16,13,60,44,49,64,57,56, 3,9,7,59,62,45,46 (line 6 only),47 (line 6 only),66,19,40,3,14,54,21, 61,67,68,69,65,27.

F Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Lat.misc.d.80 s.xiii, a fragment formerly owned by C.Webb, and edited in his appendix to his edition of John of Salisbury's Policraticus (vol.II,pp.427-34). Written in two columns, with titles in red and red and blue initials, except for fol.45[V]B where titles and the single initial are green. Contains (fol.44A - 45[V]B): 1,15,2,23,52,22,17,50,42,33,34,10,41,11,30,53, poem 34, 12,38,20,36,55,31,32,28,35,48,58,18,37,8,4,6,51,39,24,25, 63,43,16,13,60,44,49,64,57,56,3,9,7,59,62,45,66,19,40 (title only).

P B.N.lat.459 s.xiii, written in double columns without titles. Contains on fol.212[V] the end of De Myst., poems 21,39, B.E.67,44, 26,52,58,65. Here, at the end of the page, the series breaks off.

Di Oxford, Bodleian Lib.,Digby 53 s.xii (late). MS. originally written as an anthology in one column, the B.E. added to the right of the original column. On fol.52^{v}, however, both columns have B.E. Both columns are in the same hand. Contains as well as the B.E. some of the Shorter Poems scattered through the MS: (fol.12^{v}) Misc 152, (fol.14^{v}) 'ara crucis', attributed 'Hermannus Christi pauperum peripsima',i.e. Hermannus Contractus, (fol.17) B.E.67, (fol.20) Add 7, (fol.55)ppoem 57, (fol.12) 25, (fol.48^{v}A) 121. The B.E., with a few titles, found between fol.30^{r}B and 35^{r}B, then scattered through the later folios are: 45,54,56,58,59,62,66,68,69 / 6,7 / 5,9,10,11,15,14, 15,16,1,2,3,16 repeated (end only),29,17,19,20,21,22,24,25 - 28,57, 52, (fol.41^{v}) Nt 15, (fol.44^{v}B) 65,19,54 repeated, (fol.46) 18, (fol. 46B) Add 5, (fol.48^{v}B) 59.

Z Bodleian Lib.,Digby 65 s.xiii, written in 2 cols.,49-50 lines, with titles and small plain blue and red initials. In this extensive anthology the following Shorter Poems appear: (fol.9^{v}) 39.IV.VI, (fol.12^{v}B) 52, (fol.17^{v}) 'Versus Hildeberti episcopi' - Hau 51, (fol.36^{v}) St.Mary, (fol.57^{v}) 22, 39.II, (fol.59^{v}) 25,50,51,Misc 115, 21, (fol.61) 3,5,47, (fol.64) Misc 51,20, (fol.69^{v}) 54,Misc 152 / 2, 33. The B.E. (fol.22^{v}B - 25^{v}A) are: 26,29,52,42,34,41,33,50,51,16, 17,24,25,28,14,31,32,35,36,38,39,46,47,48,49, (fol.60) 69. There are no titles.

Paris B.N.6765 s.xiii (late), described H.N.E.1.305 - 324. After Seneca's De beneficiis (fol.62) we find: Misc 152, 'Tres in natale' (not 21), B.E.56,1,50,11.

Paris B.N.13404, desc. H.N.E.2.157. On the fly leaf at the beginning: 42,'Esau debetur',41,52.

Paris B.N.17295 s.xiii, desc. H.N.E.5.258. Following the Gemma animae of Honorius Augustodunensis (fol.93^{v}B and 94) are B.E. 15 - 18, 21,53,55,47,48,28,27,52,57,60,63,64,24,25,49,66,59,62,54,58,46.

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 11648. This is an anthology made after 1380 (cf.Cat.MSS.Vindobon. VII.25).Tucked into the front binding is a piece of paper with the words 'Miscellanea Leufhoner' written on it, and this may indicate the compiler. On fol.42^{v} there are poems on the same subject as 54. Then (fol.43 - 45^{v}) we have a series of B.E. without titles, headed 'Versus Hildewerti Cenomanensis episcopi de variis scripturae divinae expositionibus'. They are as follows: 1,2,26,52,23,22,17,33,34,30,11,30,42,47,55,55,20,12,46,65.

B Paris B.N. Baluze 120 (for description of the MS. see p.121). Contains (fol.367 - 370) with titles: Add 1,Add 2,Add 3,Add 4,Add 5, 51,50 variant version,4,3 v.v.,61 v.v.,5,7,9 - 15,8,15,Add 6, 14 v.v., 17 v.v.,18 v.v.,19,21,22,25,68,Add 7,66,Add 8,Add 9,Add 10,16,24,26, 27.

L Munich Staatsbibl. 11515 s.xiii, provenance Augustinians of Polling. Large red initials, and the first word in each line picked out in red. The B.E. (fol.126 - 129^{v}) are: Add 1 - 5,51,50 v.v.,4, 3 v.v.,61 v.v.,5,6,7,9 - 15,8,15,Add 6,14 v.v.,17,18 v.v.,19,21,20,22, 23,67,68,Add 7,66,Add 8,Add 9,1,2. With the title of Add 10 the page and series end.

Wi Vienna Nationalbibl.814 s.xiv. After the Aurora of Pierre Riga (fol.155 - 155^{v}) is a short series of B.E. written in a small fine hand with the titles in red. The numbers of the poems in Beaugendre's edition have been added in the margin. The B.E. are: Add 1 - 5,51, 50 v.v.,4,10,22, and in the middle of this last poem the fragment ends.

Evr Évreux Bibl.Mun.90 s.xii^{2}. Contains on fol.1, written in three columns, B.E.59 - 49 and 52 - 59. Then at fol.193 - 195^{v} in two columns, with title 'Versus Hildeberti Turonensis archiepiscopi': Add 1, Add 5,51,50 v.v.,4,3 v.v.,60 v.v.,5 - 11,12 (first line omitted),15, 8,15,Add 6,14 v.v.,17,18 v.v.,19,21,20,22,23,67,68,Add 7,66,Add 8, Add 9,1,Add 10,2,16,24,25,26 - 38.

Pt Poitiers Bibl.Mun.247 s.xiv, written in 2 cols.,40 - 42 lines, with initials and titles. Contains (fol.2A - 3B): Add 1 - 5,51,50 v.v., 4,3 v.v.,60 v.v.,5,6,7,Misc 132,9,10,11,12 v.v.,15,Add 10,2,15,Add 6, 14 v.v.,17 v.v.,18 v.v.,19,21,20,22,23,68,67,Add 7. Here the series ends half way down fol.3.

Dij Dijon Bibl.Mun.225 s.xii, provenance Citeaux. Written in 2 cols., 33 lines, with plain initials. At fol.141 are the following B.E.: Add 1 - 5,51,50 v.v,4,3 v.v,60 v.v.,5,6,7,9,10,11,12,13,8,15,Add 6, 14,17,18,19,21,20,22,23,68,Add 7,66,Add 8,Add 9,1,2,Add 10, (here the titles end) 16,24,26,27, poem 21,'Natus homo deus','Convive mater christus',Supp 13,B.E.67. (corrigenda: B.E.14,17,18 are all variant versions).

Tr Troyes Bibl.Mun.469 s.xii, provenance Clairvaux. Written in 2 cols.,45 lines, with one initial at the beginning of the series, but no titles. Contains (fol.132A): 26,1,2,25,15,17,41,42,34,22,10, 11,30,12,20,32,33,28,47,31,32,48,18,38,35,36,55,37,4,39,51,44,13,6, 24,27,25,8,16,45,57,60,49,63,64,65,56,58,5,9,7,21,3,19,40,45,46,54, 61,59,62,66,67,Add 1,Add 3,Add 8.

Biblical Epigrams II. The sources

In considering the possible source of Hildebert's allegorical poems on the Bible, one is apt to feel despondent when confronted with the considerable amount of material which he might have used. By the end of the eleventh century there was available a large number of commentaries on almost every book of the Bible, most of which concentrated on giving the allegorical sense of the passages expounded (cf. B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1952, pp.1-46). The authors of these commentaries can be said to fall into two classes, namely the patristic writers, and the Carolingian compilers such as Rabanus, Angelomus and Haimo, who excerpt from the works of the Fathers, sometimes acknowledging their debt and sometimes not. As most of the allegorical interpretations given by the second group are very similar, it will be seen how difficult it is to pin down the source for a work like Hildebert's. The fact that he has written a series of almost seventy of these epigrams helps to eliminate as possible sources many of the commentators referred to. We can hardly visualize Hildebert surrounded by the Bible commentaries of half-a-dozen authors and taking an interpretation now from one, now from another. It seems much more likely that he should consistently versify from one or perhaps at the most two prose originals. This means that we may safely rule out authors whose commentaries cover only a small part of the Bible. Thus Paschasius in his commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel gives several interpretations, also found in Hildebert, but even if all Hildebert's poems on subjects from Matthew were based on Paschasius this would account for only eight poems. It remains then to single out from among the more copious commentators those whose interpretation Hildebert follows most consistently.

A glance at the accompanying notes will show that there are only six B.E. in which interpretations similar to those of Hildebert are not to be found in the exegetical works of Gregory the Great or Rabanus

Maurus. These are nos. 3, 19, 24, 25, 62, 63. As the main way of finding these interpretations in Gregory is the index in Migne, while there is no index to Rabanus at all, it may well be that these six interpretations also can be traced to the two authors. The source of two poems, 21, 47 is unknown, but the same may be the case with them. Moreover, it will be seen that even where other commentators give the same interpretation, the words used by Hildebert are often very close to those used by both Gregory and Rabanus. Of the 69 B.H. 51 can be traced to Gregory or Rabanus.

The question now arises of whether Hildebert did in fact use both of these authors, or if he used one only, which one. This is complicated by the inadequacy of the indices to Gregory mentioned above and the large scale excerpting of Gregory by Rabanus. The manner of working of the two writers is very different, and each requires a different kind of investigation. Gregory's method, admirably described by Miss Smalley (op.cit.p.34), is to explain his text by a text from another part of the Bible and to explain that in turn, so that his works on Job and Ezechiel are full of allegories of most of the books of the Bible. These must be discovered by means of the indices. The commentaries of Rabanus, however, are straightforward, and an allegory on a text in St.Matthew's Gospel can be traced simply by looking at the appropriate chapter of his commentary on Matthew. It seems unlikely that the twelve interpretations in Rabanus but not in Gregory would be discovered even with the aid of an efficient modern index, especially as the existing index can be supplemented by that to the Gregorianum of Garnerus in P.L. 193. Nevertheless, only by reading Gregory from cover to cover could we be sure that these interpretations are not to be found there. There seems to be less possibility of the 20 interpretations found in Gregory but not in Rabanus eluding us. Of the passages which both Rabanus and Gregory interpret seventeen are identical or nearly so in language, or in other words they are excerpted from Gregory by Rabanus. Sometimes these borrowings are acknowledged in the

text, but more often they are not. But in several cases where Hildebert allegorizes a passage of scripture on which both have commented, though in entirely different terms, he appears quite clearly to follow Gregory. Thus in 23, 26, 37 and 43 Gregory gives the same interpretation as Hildebert, while that of Rabanus is entirely different. Notable is the case of 43, where Rabanus has had before him the Vulgate text, and Gregory the Septuagint (see Note ad.loc.). The opposite of this, i.e. agreement of Rabanus and Hildebert against Gregory, seems to happen only in the case of 14 and 51, and there too it is rather that there is no detailed allegory on the subject in Gregory than that the accounts of the two commentators differ. In 51 and 52 we have noted a distinct verbal resemblance between the accounts of Gregory and Hildebert, though on the other hand, in 11 the language used by Rabanus is also close to Hildebert.

A much stronger indication that Hildebert's primary source is Gregory himself, and not Gregory as excerpted by Rabanus, is the presence in the collection of no.27, which depends on no particular scriptural text, but is a versified quotation from Gregory's works, as the title 'Ex dictis beati Gregorii pape' shows. Another straw which shows in what direction the wind is blowing is Hildebert's allusion to Gregory at De Myst.1.153

'Si verbis hominis, quem nectar ubique supernum,
Eructasse liquet, vis adhibere fidem",

where many of the mss. have the gloss "se Gregorius'. This is as near as Hildebert ever comes to citing an author in his poems, and it seems to indicate the peculiar esteem in which he held Gregory.

Moreover, given the miscellaneous contents of Gregory's commentaries, it obviously means much more if some of Hildebert's allegories on Genesis can be traced to Gregory's Moralia than if those same pieces can be traced to Rabanus' commentary on Genesis. Thus, though the interpretations found in Rabanus and not in Gregory are difficult to explain away, yet there seems to be good reason for supposing that Hildebert

used Gregory alone. There is also the possibility that instead of picking out favourite pieces in Gregory's works and versifying them Hildebert used a short compilation from Gregory and versified it entirely, but failing the appearance of some such compilation, we have no proof of this at all.

Biblical Epigrams III. The Relationships of the MSS. and the Canon of Biblical Epigrams

For his work on Hildebert's short biblical poems, the so-called Biblical Epigrams (R.B.48, pp.148-158), Dom Wilmart had no preliminary work of Hauréau to start from, but had to tackle from the beginning the task of reducing to order the large number of short poems printed by Beaugendre under the titles of 'Diversorum sacrae scripturae locorum applicatio moralis ex veteri testamento' (col.1211-1220; P.L.171, col.1263-1272), 'ex novo testamento' (col.1224-1228, P.L.171 , col.1275-1279), and 'Alia versum argumenta (col.1229-1232, P.L.171, col.1279-1282). Dom Wilmart based his observations on the evidence of thirteen mss., our (T) CXEFBDAWVV^{2}RH. Since his article was published some fourteen further mss. have been discovered, together with a few other fragments, but his remarks on the Biblical Epigrams still stand, with a few modifications. Dom Wilmart first of all noted the presence of a double edition of two of the poems within the section. Thus Vt.40=Nt.11, Nt.23=Nt.25. Similarly Vt.21 consists of two separate poems. Then he pointed out that among the mss. which he had discovered there were three classes. First were those which followed what must have been the original order as written by Hildebert, since in this group the poems have no logical order. Their order, as Dom Wilmart remarks, is that in which it pleased Hildebert to write them. Second came those in which the scribe, like Beaugendre in his edition, tried to group the poems according to that part of the Bible with which they dealt. None of these however had exactly the same way of doing this, so that the order of the poems is different in each of the manuscripts. A third class was formed by the single manuscript B which had the poems in an order not very different from the original one, but which contained certain poems not found in any other manuscript, although they appeared in Beaugendre's edition. For this edition Beaugendre used four manuscripts; the ms. of Auxerre now lost, whose contents we can scarcely guess;

two mss. of Jumièges, nos.77 and 98, also lost; and finally Colbert.1367 (B.N.459, our P) which has lost a leaf since Beaugendre saw it.

The mss. which contain the epigrams in the original order are T C X D A, together with the fragments W E Be. It is noteworthy that three of the five complete mss.: C X D invert the two poems 22, 23, while T A have the order of our edition. We might be inclined to consider that the order supported by these three mss. was the right one, but the third group of mss. (BL Pt. Evr.) which, as we have said, generally keeps to the original order, agrees here with T A. The mss. C X D which exhibit this same idiosyncracy must be related somehow. It is unlikely that any of them could be copied from each other, for each has poems within the series not shared by the other[2]. It is more probable that all three were copied from the same ms.

The mss. in which the poems are intentionally re-arranged sometimes appear to have a faint resemblance in the order of the poems, but the reason for this is the co-incidence due to the arrangement according to the books of the Bible. Of all these mss. only two, F and Ca, are related. These have not only the same order but also identical titles and variants.

There is a small group of mss. in which the poems have dparted somewhat from the original order, but not very far, and that probably by accident rather than design. Such are Di, Z, both being anthologies where some dislocation is to be expected. Bn follows the original order fairly closely to start with, but some kind of re-arrangement does seem to appear towards the end. In K some traces of the original order are still visible, this time towards the middle of the series. For example the subject-matter of 48, 49,51 occurs at rather widely separated parts of the Bible.

The third group of mss. differs from the first two in that it introduces into the text a considerable number of poems found in Beaugendre's edition, but not in any other ms., and also has striking variants on the poems of the ordinary series. Whether these poems are in fact genuine will be discussed later, but obviously an examination

of the contents of these mss. and their relations with each other will clear the way for such a discussion[3]. A glance at the comparative table of contents of mss. will show that they appear in greatest numbers in the mss. R V^2 Es B L Wi Pt Evr Dij, but that a few are also found in V Di Be Jo and Tr, and one in H. The first three mss. are anthologies, and as might be expected, the order of poems in them does not correspond to that of any other ms. However the next six mss. do show their relationship clearly by having almost the same order of poems, both genuine and doubtful.[4] Again, within this group there are differences, not in the order of the poems but in readings. The following list of readings seems to indicate clearly that the group B L Wi differs both from the other mss. of the family, Pt, Evr and Dij, and from all the other mss. which contain the additional B.E.:

Add.1.3	B L Wi	agree against all other mss.
Add.5.3	B L Wi	agree against all other mss.
Add.6.3	B L	agree against Pt., Evr, Dij, Ed.
Add.8.3	B L	agree against all other mss.
15.1	B L	agree against all other mss.
19.2	B.L	agree against all other mss.
23.3	B L	agree against all other mss.

Moreover there is a striking similarity in the titles of B L Wi as against those of the other mss. in the group.

Dom Wilmart, who had seen B only, pointed out the resemblance between that ms. and one of the lost mss. of Jumièges used a great deal by Beaugendre. If we consider the poems and variant versions which Beaugendre says he has taken from the Jumièges mss. it will be found that they co-incide to a very great degree with the poems and variants found in this group of mss. The following poems and variants are designated by Beaugendre as being 'E Gemm' or 'In Gemmetic.', that is to say in a single Jumièges ms.: 3 variant version, 7 var.vers., 11.5 (variant reading), 12 (omission of first line), 14 var.vers., 17 var. vers., 18 var. vers., Vt 33 (Add.8), Vt 42 (Add.10), Nt 2 (Add.7), Nt 6 (Add.5), Nt. 9 (Add.6). Other poems or variants designated by Beaugendre as

being 'E Gemmeticensibus' i.e. taken from both Jumièges mss., are 50 var.vers., Vt 2 (Add.2), Vt 35 (Add.1), Vt 36 (Add.3), Supp.1.3 (Add.9). Whether the second Jumièges ms. was of exactly the same nature, and had the same contents as the first is difficult to say, as the indications given by Beaugendre are so vague. Perhaps it had the same order as the first but was in a fragmentary condition. However this may be, it will be seen from the above lists that with two exceptions, Add.4 and 61 (variant version) the poems and variants which are a distinctive feature of this whole group are stated by Beaugendre to have come from the Jumièges mss. As regards Add.4 and the variant version of 61, Beaugendre does not specify where he found them, but he may well have introduced them from the Jumièges mss, while omitting to say so. Dom Wilmart thought that perhaps B represented one of the Jumièges mss, but in fact the readings of Beaugendre always agree with those of the majority of the mss. in this group against B L Wi.

Now as we have said, the mss. which contain the additional poems can be divided into two classes. First there are those with close affinities of order and title; B L Wi Pt Evr Dij, together with the Jumièges mss. used by Beaugendre[6]. Then there are those with an order of poems which varies and is not that of the original series, but which also contain a greater or smaller number of the additional epigrams; greater in the case of R V^2 Es; lesser in that of Di Be Jo Tr. These present another difference from those of the Jumièges group apart from that of the order. The mss. of the Jumièges group give us not only poems not found in the majority of the mss., but also many variant versions of poems found in the ordinary series. These range from alterations of a few words to what amounts to a complete re-writing of the original poem. Such appear printed by Beaugendre as a second alternative version, after the original. However these variants, curiously enough, appear only in mss. of the Jumièges group, while the other mss. which contain additional B.E. nevertheless give the normal versions only.

This difference may have arisen in one of two ways. Hildebert may

have written the additional poems at a later date than the original series, and these may have circulated as a separate series.[7] Then at a later date either Hildebert or an unknown editor may have made an entirely new edition of the poems including these additional poems, and at the same time altering many of the poems in the original series. To judge from the order of the Jumièges group, which is that of T A etc., though somewhat dislocated, he used a ms. with the poems in the original order, and merely added the new poems to the beginning. Obviously the group Add.7, 8, 9, 10 belongs to that part of the ms. where the new series finished and the old began. This leaves only Add.2 isolated in the middle of the ms. and its presence there may also be due to dislocation. Presumably then our mss. Es V^2 R Di Be Jo Tr would be the result of a coalition by a scribe which would take place while both sets of poems were circulating separately. Either the complete re-editing had not yet happened, or the scribe had not seen such a re-edited text. So we would have four stages:-

1) (a) Original series with original order (b) with altered order.

2) The additional poems.

3) Additional poems added to 1 b (e.g. Tr Jo).

4) New edition with original order (B L etc.).

The joining together of 1) and 2) may have taken place in different ways. In the case of Be, Tr, and perhaps R we can see the few additional poems as the work of a scribe who simply added on the newer poems to the end of the old series. In Es especially, and perhaps also in Di, we see the scribe following the usual anthology practice of taking a few poems now from one group, now from another. The latter part of Jo. gives one the impression that the scribe had before him a florilegium of biblical poems not unlike Es.[8]

The only apparent alternative to this idea of a tradition in four stages is to suppose that the additional poems and the variants were 'published' at the same time in the same edition. Then the only way in which we could account for the presence of the variants in some mss. and their absence in others is to say that the mss. like Tr and Be were

copied by someone who had before him a text of the original series, and who also had a text of the second edition, with the variant versions in it. He would not bother to note variations, or might not even notice that they were there, and so would merely add those poems which he saw were not in the first edition. This is not however very satisfactory, for not only were 12th cent. scribes ready to record variations but also this theory would not take into account so easily a ms. like Es containing many of the additional poems. The first seems to be the best way of explaining this rather disquieting difference between the two sets of mss.

It is at this point that we must deal with what is the most important problem arising from the Biblical Epigrams, namely that of deciding which are genuine and which are spurious. The matter is complicated by the fact that we have to deal not only with the additional poems found in the Jumièges group and introduced thence by Beaugendre, but also with other poems which appear in his edition, but which are found only in a few mss. Dom Wilmart (op.cit.p.157) has given a table showing the frequency of appearance in the mss. of these poems. It seems unnecessary to repeat this as far as the poems contained in the Jumièges group of mss. are concerned. They must stand or fall together. However I include in the following table all other poems which appear in any of our mss., and are found in the edition under the headings of Old Testament, New Testament and Supplement.

Nt 8	R	V^2		
Nt 15	R	V^2	Es	Di Jo
Nt 16	R	V^2	Es	
Nt 17	R	V^2	Es	
Nt 20	R	V2	Es	
Nt 22	R	V^2	Es	
Nt 26	V			
Supp.1.1				
Supp.1.13	Dij			
Ins 6		X	H	Jo
Ins 48^1		X	H	
Ins 58		V		

It will be very clear from this table that, with the exception of the last five, these poems are confined almost entirely to the three anthologies R V^2 Es. The last three poems were presumably taken by Bourassé out of the florilegium of S.Gatien, and their presence in these mss. must be attributed to co-incidence. Such a co-incidence is not impossible to imagine when one considers that a collection of poems on the Bible is inclined to attract to it other poems on similar subjects. The same may be said for the distich Nt 26, and Supp.l.l taken by Beaugendre from his Auxerre ms. and found nowhere else. Now R V^2 Es have much in common, for they are all three anthologies in which the Biblical Epigrams form only a part of the whole. Moreover both V^2 and Es have poems extracted from the Floridus Aspectus of Pierre Riga. In both mss. we have the compact group Nt 22, Nt 20, Nt 16, Nt 17, Add 5. It does therefore appear probable that the two anthologies drew on a common source. Even in R, which does not seem to be very immediately related to V^2 Es, we have Nt 8, 16, 22, 17 in a group, and Nt 15, 20 separated from it by a few poems. In Es the compact nature of this series of five poems is very striking in view of the large number of poems in the ms. It is clear then that the first six poems on our list were all contained in a single ms., or single family of mss. available to the compilers of all three mss. There is no indication in Beaugendre where he has taken these poems from. Presumably he found them in the ms. of Auxerre which he used throughout for the B.E., but we cannot be sure of this. If Beaugendre's order was that of the mss. we could see whether in fact the first poems are taken from the Auxerre mss., as he normally expressly says if he has taken them from the Jumièges mss. or P. But as he has re-arranged the order we have no way of knowing how much he did use the ms. of Auxerre. Therefore we cannot say for certain whether this ms. contained epigrams of the ordinary series, a fact which would incline one to the belief that these six poems might possibly be genuine.

One curious fact about these six poems is that the subject matter of all of them is taken from the New Testament. This might possibly

mean that someone who had noticed that Hildebert wrote far more epigrams on Old Testament than on New Testament themes decided to make up the deficiency. However the only solid reason we can have for rejecting the poems on external grounds is that they appear in only three mss. out of almost thirty, and that these are anthologies. Moreover there is nothing in the grammar or metre of these poems which does not appear in the normal series of B.E. As we shall see when we come to deal with the other group of extraneous poems, the fact that these are written in elegaics while almost all the original B.E. are in hexameters need scarcely deter us. However Nt 15 is rather suspicious in that it is written in cavdati, a metre not otherwise used by Hildebert in the Biblical Epigrams. Some objection might be taken to the style of Nt 20 and Nt 8, which is rather more diffuse than we are accustomed to find in the Biblical Epigrams. But on the other hand we find in Nt 17 and 22 a style very like Hildebert's in its conciseness. It seems then that for want of information and until the appearance of more mss. we must consider these six poems in the same light as Dom Wilmart regarded all the poems not in the original series. In short, they may possibly be genuine, but this hardly seems likely.

The additional poems which appear not only in R V^2 Es but in the Jumièges group of mss., as well as a few others, are far more likely to be genuine. In four mss., L Wi Evr Dij, we find a heading 'Versus hildeberti turonensis archiepiscopi', which must go back to a common ancestor of the two families of L B Wi and Evr Pt Dij Gemn. The rare occurance of any ascription to Hildebert as archbishop makes this heading doubly interesting, but we can hardly draw any conclusion from that. We have already said that these poems could be either a second edition by Hildebert which became attached to mss. containing his earlier efforts, or that they might be the work of someone else. If they were more extensive their genuineness might be proved conclusively on internal grounds. As it is, there is nothing grammatically or metrically inconsistent with Hildebert's usage. The style is that of the other Biblical Epigrams, concise, unadorned and rather awkward. We find exactly the

same heavy pauses occurring at metrically unsuitable places in the line. The metres in which these poems are written do tend to cast suspicion on their authenticity, for while five are written in hexameters like the ordinary Biblical Epigrams (Add.3, 4, 5, 6, 9), five are in elegaics (Add.1, 2, 7, 8, 10). However this is not so startling as it may seem when we consider that two Biblical Epigrams whose authenticity cannot be questioned are also written in this metre. The first of these, 56, is found indeed only in ten mss., but always in the middle of the series. The second, 66, appears in all the mss. which give the full series and is moreover cited expressly as Hildebert's (cf. notes). The only point which can be made here is that it is odd that in sixty-nine poems of the normal series only two are written in elegaics, whereas among these ten additional poems five are in that metre.

The variant versions, which are presumably the work of the person who wrote the additional poems, do not throw much light on the composition of these as their evidence is somewhat contradictory. In at least two of these the new version is a distinct improvement on the old from the point of view of style. Thus in 3.1 the variant version gets rid of a rather ungainly 'an ..... an non'. In 61.2 the awkward 'cur hoc sit quaeritur: audi' of the first version is replaced in the second by a direct question. Perhaps also to be considered as an improvement is the change in 50.1 from 'significat', followed by a series of accusatives to the more simple 'est'. On the other hand one wonders whether Hildebert even in the Biblical Epigrams would write 'cum stulticia' (50 var. vers.5), for as we have seen[9] he only ~~twice~~ three times uses an analytical construction, and then not a very violent one. The revision of the text does not appear to aim either at increasing or curtailing the length of the original. It is worth noting that the only occasion on which the new version exceeds the old in length is when the writer introduces the theme of the Jews embracing Christianity in the last days (50.7). This is no doubt a common-place in the Middle Ages, but it is one which recurs in Hildebert[10], and it may well be that the author of these variant versions is Hildebert, and that he is here returning to a

well-loved topic.

To sum up, there is nothing in the style or metre of these additional poems and variants which gives a firm indication either way. The number of mss., and the ascription, to Hildebert in some seem to tip the balance considerably in favour of their authenticity. Therefore, as there seems to be far more likelihood of these poems being genuine than Dom Wilmart suspected, I include them as a supplement after the ordinary series, while omitting the third group of poems found only in R V^2 Es.

We may appear to have concentrated too much on these additional poems, and the mss. which contain them, but the other mss. present few difficulties and nothing has happened there to modify Dom Wilmart's conclusions. It may be appropriate to conclude by a classification of the various groups of mss. in tabular form.

1) Mss. following the original order (a) T A
(b) C D X
(c) W E Be, fragments which may belong to (a) or (b).

2) Mss. with traces of the original order Di Z Bn K.

3) Mss. with poems re-arranged in varying orders P V F Ca H Pa Fl Wi Jo Tr.

4) Mss. containing a large number of extraneous poems.

i. The Jumièges group (a) B L Wi
(b) Pt Evr Dij Beaugendre.

ii. Anthologies with large numbers of extraneous poems R V^2 Es.

Of these groups 2, 3 and 4(ii) are not families of mss. related to each other, but groups sharing a common characteristic.

Explanatory remarks to this edition

It will be seen that while there does appear to be one title shared by several mss. for each B.E., yet the mss. which give this common title change from one poem to the next. The most constant are V, which

shares the title with at least one otherms., and usually several, on 46 occasions, and Es which shares the title on 36 occasions. The absence of any sustained agreement of title among the mss. makes it less likely that any of the titles goes back to Hildebert, especially as they consist for the most part of the 'Quid significat' formula, followed by the Vulgate text on which each poem is based. To avoid pointless repetition I have given throughout that title which is shared by most mss. in any given poem. I have included in brackets the readings of some mss. which differ only slightly from the title as given.

Again to avoid the needless repetition of a long string of sigla, I have used the letter U to represent the mss. C X D A V F K Ca Es Jo which contain all, or nearly all of the B.E. When one of these omits a poem I have added its siglum in brackets with a minus sign. I have collated in addtion to the above mss. E R H B L Wi Be Pt. Tr. and Evr are collated only for the additional B.E. and the variant versions of the ordinary series, as I did not have time to make a full collation during brief visits to Troyes and Evreux. Since typing the text I have obtained films of both the Evreux and the Dijon mss.

Notes

1. This is the order followed in our text. A concordance with Beaugendre's numbering is given on p.294.

2. C could in theory be copied from D, but the early date of C makes this unlikely.

3. As these poems are outside the normal series I designate them as in Beaugendre's edition, Vt=Old Testament, Nt=New Testament, and Supp.= the poems of the supplement. I give in brackets the new number of my edition.

4. The most complete representative of this class is Evr. Slight variations on its order are Pt. adds Misc.132, omits 8, displaces Add.10,2. L inverts Add.10 with 2, B omits 20, 67, 2, Dij displaces 67, 2, omits 25.

5. Except Dij in 15.1 and 19.2.

6. For convenience we may call these mss. the Jumièges group.

7. For our purpose here, it makes no difference whether these additional poems were written by Hildebert or someone else, although this will have to be discussed later.

8. The two mss. share Misc 132, poem 34 'Felle columba caret', Nt.15, a poem not in the Jumièges group. Both show faint traces of the original order.

9. P.32.

10. Cf.B.E.67.5, De Myst.607.

Sigla

C = S.Omer, Bibl.Mun.115 s.xii^{2}

X = Paris, Bibl.Nat.14958 s.xiii

D = London, British Museum Royal 8.B.IV s.xiii

A = London, British Museum Cotton Julius D.III s.xiii

E = Vatican Reginensis 60 s.xii

V = London, British Museum Cotton Vespasian D.V s.xiii^{1}

F = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.misc.d.30 s.xiii

R = London, British Museum Royal 8.A.XXI s.xiii^{1}

H = London, British Museum Cotton Vespasian B.XIII s.xiii

B = Paris, Bibl.Nat. collection Baluze 120 s.xvii

K = London, British Museum Cotton Cleopatra C.1 s.xii

L = Munich, Staatsbibl. 11515 s.xiii

Ca = Cambridge, Gonville & Caius Coll. 238 (124) s.xiii

Wi = Vienna, Nationalbibl. 814 s.xiv

Es = Escorial e.III.25 s.xiii

Be = Berlin, Staatsbibl. 201 s.xii

Jo = Cambridge, St.John's Coll. 154 s.xiii^{1}

Pt = Poitiers Bibl.Mun.247 s.xiv

Evr = Evreux Bibl.Mun.90 s.xii^{2}

Tr = Troyes, Bibl.Mun.469 s.xii

Dij = Dijon Bibl.Mun.225 s.xii

In the list of mss. collated at the beginning of the critical apparatus of each poem U = C X D A V F K Ca Es Jo

THE BIBLICAL EPIGRAMS

1

De transgressione Ade triformi. X H Es Jo

Vicit Adam veterem gula, gloria vana, cupido.
Dum comedit vetitum, gula vincit; gloria, dum vult
Ut Deus esse; cupido, dum vult ommia scire.

U (-C) E R H B L Be
2 vicit D A H Ca

2

Quid nos faciat peccare. X V E H B L Pt

Quattuor esse reum faciunt: suggestio primum,
Delectacio, consensus, defensio. Demon
Suggerit, et caro delectatur: spiritus illi
Consentit: culpam defendit lingua proterva.
Sic suasit serpens; est delectata virago;
Adam consensit, nisus defendere culpam.

U (-C) E R H B L Be Pt
5,6 om.B L Pt Ed. 6 consentit X D V R H Jo Ed.

5

Quid significat quod Dominus ter interrogavit Petrum
an se diligeret. (T) E Ca Es Pt Evr

Ter Dominus Petrum rogat an se diligat, an non.
Ter Dominum Petrus se prorsus amare fatetur.
Non sine re fuit hoc. Sicut damnaverat illum
Trina negacio, sic confessio trina piavit.

Variant version of lines 1,2. (Gemm. B L Pt Evr)

Scit Dominus, rogat ille tamen si diligat ipsum
Petrus. Ter rogat ille, ter iste fatetur amare.

U (-C F) E R B L Be Pt Evr
2 prorsus se petrus A 3 ipsum Pt 1 (v.v.) ille: ipse Pt

4

Quid significat quod Dominus ter vocavit Samuelem. (T) E
F Ca Es Jo Pt

Quare ter Samuelem vox divina vocavit,
Cum tamen audisset sub prima voce vocantem?
Officium trinum notat ista vocacio trina,
Namque propheta, sacerdos, dux erat ille futurus,
Sicque ducem, sic pontificem vocat atque prophetam.

U (-C) E R H B L Wi Be Pt
2 audisset: audiret V K R H Ca Es Ed: audivit corr.-iret F:
audivit D: audita X 4 duxerat fuit ille fut.F Ca
namque: quippe Pt 5 sicque: sique Wi: sedque H

5

Quattuor sunt cause quare Dominus (deus)E) natus est
de desponsata virgine. (T) E

Cur voluit de desponsata virgine nasci
Christus? Causa fuit, quia si foret inmuba pregnans,
Mox lapidaretur, pariensque clientis egebat;
Et ne demonibus manifestus virginis esset
Partus, desponsata fuit; seriemque parentum
Per Ioseph, non per matrem scriptura referret.

U (-C) E B L Be Pt
1 de desponsata: de sponsata D: de sponsa X 3 egebat:
agebat Ed: egeret Jo 6 per: ut A

6

Pulcra moralitas. X V Es Jo

David per cytharam potuit lenire furorem
Regis: nos iram blando sermone potentum.

U (-C) E H L Be Pt

7

Quid significant operarii et sex hore. X E V L

Vinea culta Dei plebs est. Infancia mane;
Flamma iuventutis quasi tercia; nona virilis
Etas, iam frigescens; undecimamque senectam
Accipimus. Dum mane puer, iuvenisque sub estu,

Vir circa nonam, veteranus vespere fiunt
Cultores, precium datur unum: vita perennis.

U (-C) E R B L Be Pt
3 undecimamque: undecima atque B L etas est Pt
4 accipimus: exponit B L: exponunt Pt dum: quod Pt
5 vir: et B L 6 B L Pt: cultores datur his sua merces
vita perennis

8

Quid significat quod Sanson everso templo in morte sua
multos interfecit. V F Ca Es

Sanson significat Christum, subversio templi
Corporis occasum. Multos in morte peremit
Sanson. Post mortem Christi, dum crescit in orbe
Religio, viciis moriuntur quique fideles.

U (-C) E R H B L Be
A has order lines 3,4,1,2 2 corpus occisum B L 3 dum:
tum B: tunc L

9

Quid significat quod Dominus fecit aquam vinum, quid
ydrie et quare sex. (T) E Es

Sunt ydrie mentes doctrine fonte replete;
Historicus sensus aqua, vinum spiritualis.
Cum nos historiam revocamus ad allegoriam,
Tunc aqua fit vinum. Quia sex etatibus orbis
Volvitur, has ydrias scribit sex esse Iohannes.

U (-C) E B L Be Pt
2 spiritalis B L 4 quia: que D A: pro B L: per Pt
B L Pt om.5 and add: sunt ydrie sex, doctor (doctorum Pt)
collectio tota/ unius etatis ydriam simul efficit unam.

10

Quid significat quod Isaac dixit Iacob:"Ecce odor filii
mei sicut odor agri pleni." (T) E V H B L Ca Wi Es Jo

Plenus ager florum plenum virtutibus orbem;
Pocula doctrine flos uve, lilia castos,
Martirium rosa, flos viole, que serpit in imo,
Illos significat qui vitant culmen honoris.
Sic tamquam flores redolent exempla bonorum.

Filius est populus gentilis, cumque per orbem
Sparsus iam credat, odor illius est odor agri.

U (-C) E H B L Wi Pt
2,3 conflated: pocula doctrine flos viole que serpit
in imo Ed. 2 castos: iustos F Ca 6 filius: iacob F Ca
7 iam sparsus credat Ca B L Wi credit Ed.

11

Quid significat historia Ioseph. (T) C X E V H B L Jo Pt

Per Iacob Patrem, per Ioseph concipe Christum;
Per fratres eius Iudeos. A patre Ioseph
Fratribus est missus, Iudeis a Patre Christus.
Hi sunt in Dothaim: Dothaim defectus utrique.
Sunt in defectu fratres, occidere fratrem:
Querunt Iudei Christum. Spoliatur uterque;
Ioseph veste sua, carnali tegmine Christus.
Ingreditur Ioseph cisternam, Christus Avernum.
Venditur Hismaelitis hic, et gentibus ille,
Per sacre fidei commercia. Suscipit illum
Egiptus: Christum credendo suscipit orbis.
Hic dominatur ibi: Christus dominatur in orbe.

U E R H B L Be Pt
1 concipe: accipe R L: respice B Ed. 3 om.R 4 uterq. B L
5 occidere fratrem: fratri machinantur B L Pt Ed.(Gemm.)
6 querunt: mortem B L Pt Ed. Christo B L Pt Ed. 7 veste
sua ioseph C D 9 hic ismaelitis L 10 suscipit illum:
ductus egiptum B L Pt Ed. 11 B L Pt Ed: est Ioseph
Christique fides est nota per orbem

12

Quid significat exitus Israel de Egipto. (T) C X V H B L
Es Jo Pt

Egiptus mundus, Pharao Sathan, Israelite
Nos, baptisma rubrum mare. Rex submergitur undis,
Et regnum Sathane perit in baptismate. Tendit
Ierusalem populus, sed per deserta vagatur.
Nos per desertum mundi vivendo vagantes,
Tendimus ad patriam celestem. Plurima restant
His carnalia prelia, spiritualia nobis.

U R H B L Be Pt
1 B L Pt Ed.(Gemm.): Israelite nos Pharao Sathan orbis
Egiptus 2 nos baptisma: baptismus B L Pt Ed. 3 om.K
4 sed: hec K 6 prestant Be

13

Quid significat quod Iob testa saniem radebat. (T) C V
F B L Ca Es Pt

Peccatum sanies. Sanies hec defluit extra,
Cum crimen de corde foras confessio mittit.
Asperitas vite per testam significatur.
Iob testa saniem radit, cum crimina quisque
Confessus, tergit dure vivendo reatum.

U B L Be Pt
1 peccatum sanies oris confessio texta X 4 saniem testa radit C: saniem radit testa Ed.

14

Quid significat quod Dominus egrediens de Iericho duos cecos illuminavit. (T) C V B L Pt

Exit de Iericho Christus, cecisque duobus
Dat lumen. Iericho mundus: moriendo relinquens
Mundum, Iudeo, gentili lumina Christus
Dat fidei, quos fecerat ignorancia cecos.

U (-F) R B L Be Pt

Variant version. (B L Pt Evr Gemm.)

Exit de Iericho Christus, dat lumen utrique
Ceco. De mundo moriens exivit, utrisque
Dat fidei lumen: gentibus, Israelitis.

1 exiit L: exi Evr 2 utrique Ed. 3 om.israelitis B L

15

Quot modis temptamur vicio gule. (T) X V B L Es Jo Pt

Est certum quod quinque modis gula damnat edacem;
Cum comedit nimis, aut comedendi prevenit horam;
Cum nimio desiderio cupit et capit escas,
Cum vel delicias querit, vel deliciose
Preparat hoc etiam quod non est deliciosum.
Ut discernantur magis hec, exempla sequantur.
Causa fuit Sodome peccandi panis abundans.
Ieiunat populus, Ionathas ieiunia solvit.
Esuriens Esau petit escam, vendit honorem.
Manna datur, carnes plebs deliciosa requirit.
De sacro crudum puer Ophni postulat armum.
Sic ad velle suum studiose preparat illum.

U R B L Pt

1 certum: notum B L Ed.(Gemm.) damnat: temptat B L
3 et: aut R Es 4 divicias K 5 hoc: hec corr.hoc L:
hec V F B Ed. hoc etiam: interdum C 6 sequuntur Hau.Ed:
sequamur B L discernentur Pt 7 peccandi: peccati B L Es:
peccanti A K R Jo Ed. 9 petit: cupit B L Ed. escas A Es
10 manna: magna Ed. 11 ophni... armum om.B L 12 illud F Ca
F adds: omnibus his gula summa fuit subversio pridem

16

Quid significat liber qui datus est Ezechieli in quo
scripte sunt lamentaciones et carmen et ve. C E V F Ca Es

Mentis in excessu datus est liber Ezechieli.
In libro luctum,carmen,ve scripta videbat.
Pagina sancta liber, que predicat hec tria nobis,
In terra luctum compunctis, in paradiso
Carmen leticie, reprobis mala veque Gehenne.

U E B Be

1 excessu: excessus F: egressu D: excelso A 3 que:
quam B: qui C D A V Ea Ed.

17

Quid significat quod Deus dixit ad Abraham:"Egredere de
terra tua et cognacione tua et faciam te crescere in gentem
magnam." V Jo

Est Abrahe dictum:"Terramque tuosque relinque
Cognatos: magne gentis dux constitueris."
Terra caro, cognacio nostra genus viciorum.
Exit ab ambobus qui carnem mortificavit
Cum viciis. Datur huic gens maxima, plurima virtus.

U R H B L Be Pt

1,2 om.B L Pt Ed.(Gemm.) 2 dux gentis C D 3 genus:
gens Be Ed.(genus Gemm.) 4 ambobus: ambabus A Be:
hac terra B L Pt Es Ed.(Gemm.)

18

Quid significat quod Asa sedens in asino flens et susp-
irans petiit a patre suo Caleph irriguum superius et
inferius et datus est ei.F Ca

Asa Caleph nobis animam designat, asellus
Irracionales motus. Asinum regit Asa,
Et regit hos motus anime vis dignior. Illi
Irriguum pater inferius dedit atque supernum.
Sic suspiranti, lacrimasque timore Gehenne
Dat Deus, et lacrimas patrie celestis amore.

U R H B L Pt
2 irrationabiles A V 3 hec regit is regitur Ed.
4 supernum: supremum A Jo: superbum L 5 timore om. F, inserted in text Ca

Variant version of 1,2.(B L Pt Evr Gemm.)

Ut tradunt patres, animam notat Asa, iumentum
Irracionales motus. Regit Asa iumentum

2 irraticionales L: irrationabiles Ed.

19

Quid significat quod in passione Domini iuvenis abiecta sindone nudus evasit (aufugit V). C V Es

Qui res mundanas pro religione relinquit
Effugit hic hostes, abiecta sindone, nudus.

U B L Pt
1 reliquit C B L 2 eff.hic hostes: hostes evadit B L

20

Quid significat quod Domino loquente in monte fumante stetit populus de longe et Moyses accessit ad caliginem in qua erat Deus. C V F H Ca Jo

Mons fumat, Deus hic loquitur, stat turba deorsum;
Accedit Moyses. Moyses est quisque magister.
Nescia turba rudes, obscura parabola fumus,
Mons scriptura. Deus in fumo mistica profert.
Stant hebetes longe, capientes exteriora:
Accedunt docti, scrutantes interiora.

U R H B L Be Pt
2 ascendit Jo 5 cupientes B L Pt Be Ed.(Gemm.)
6 scrutantur et Ed. ascendunt Jo

Variant version of 2,3,4. (B L Pt Be Gemm.)

Accessit Moyses. Idiote turba, magistri
Dux populi, fumis obscura parabola fertur,
Cum Deus in sacra scriptura mistica profert.

2 ascendit Be idiotas turba figurat Pt 3 dux pop: mons virtus Pt 4 om.Be sacra: sancta B L

21

Quod discipuli cognoverunt Dominum in fractione panis. C X V B L

Panis significat scripturam. Frangere panem
Est exponere scripturas. Cognoscitur inde
Christus, cum sensus aperitur spiritualis.

U (-F) B L Pt
1 scripturas Ca Jo

22

Quid significat arcus in nubibus. (T) C X V H B L Wi Es Jo Pt

Iudicium per aquam transivit, eritque per ignem.
Ceruleus color et rubeus notat istud in arcu.
Ceruleus color est in aqua, rubicundus in igne.

U R H B L Wi Be Pt
2 istud: illud F Ca 2,3 inverted V R K Jo
3 om.Wi Pt R adds: ne timeant ymbres datus est in nubibus obses.

23

Quid significat quod Dominus (deus V) prius respexit ad Abel et post (et post: postea C) ad munera eius. (T) C V

Respexit Dominus ad Abel, respexit ad eius
Munera. Plus placet affectus quam munera dantis.
Unde prius dantem respexit, postea munus.
Non per munus Abel, per Abel sunt munera grata.

U R H B L Pt
1 dominus: deus Ed. 3 inde B L 4 non: nam Ed. sed per abel D sed presunt munera grata L: sed p.... munera B

24

Quid significat quod Salomon dicit (ait S. T): "Frustra ponitur rete ante oculos pennatorum". (T) C V Es

Coram pennatis tenduntur recia frustra.
Virtutes pennas, pennatos accipe iustos.

Recia peccati laqueos. A demone iustis
Hec opponuntur frustra, quia talia vitant.

U B
5 iustis: structos Ed. 4 hec: his Ed.

25

Item quod dicit:"Circulus aureus in naribus suis mulier pulchra et fatua". V F Ca Es (om. item q.dicit V Es)

Stulta decensque simul mulier quasi circulus auri
Est in nare suis, que ceno volvitur. Aurum
In ceno decor est in stulto corpore. Cenum
Sordidat aurum: sordidat insipiencia formam.

U
2 que: qui C K Es Jo 5 om.A stulte X

26

Quid significat quod Deus fecit prius celum et postea idem fecit firmamentum. C Es (idem f.om.C)

Celum factum firmamentum mistica res est.
Nam celum bonus angelus est, qui postea factus
Est firmamentum, firmatus ne queat ultra
Iam labi; quoniam stetit hic, dum labitur alter.

U (-F Ca) R H B P = B.N.459
1 firmamentum factum B 4 dilabitur P Ed.^{2}

27

Ex dictis beati Gregorii pape. (T) C V Ca (pape om.T C)

Quando facit mihi iusticiam pro munere iudex,
Exsequitur iustum non iuste. Cum facit idem
Iusticiam pro iusticia sine munere, iustum
Exsequitur iuste. Duo commendantur in illo,
Mens et opus. Mentem Deus, et plebs approbat actum.

U (-F Jo) B
1 iusticiam faciet, om.mihi X D 2,5 om.C
5 mens opus et mentem C

28

Quid significat quod dicitur:"Non indues vestem lana linoque contextam." (T) C V F Ca Es

Vestem contextam lana linoque recusa.
Interius tegitur linum sub tegmine lane.
Accipe propter ovem per lanam simplicitatem,
Per linum subtile dolum. Qui simplicitatem
Exterius monstrat, retinens in pectore fraudem,
Lanam,linum fert in veste, duplexque notatur.

U R H
4 om.C D K Jo Ed. 5 exterius monstrat: quam foris ostendit Ed. H ends 6 lanam et linum Ed: linum sub lanam F Ca: sub lana linum D qui fert Ed. in om.D F Ca Ed. Ed.adds: qui prius in verbo fraudes animo meditatur.

29

Quid significat quod Dominus (deus V) dixit serpenti: "Pectore et ventre repes." (T) C V Es

Antiquus serpens mihi serpit pectore, si quid
Cogito luxurie; si rem perfecero, ventre.

U (-F Ca) R H
2 ventre: mente R: sponte A

30

Quid significat hystoria de Dina:"Egressa enim Dina ut videret mulieres aliene regionis. Quam cum vidisset Sichem princeps terre illius, adamavit et vi virginem oppressit, tristemque blandiciis delinivit. F Ca

Exiit ignotas mulieres Dina videre,
Opprimit hanc Sichem dux terre, mulcet eandem
Blandiciis. Animam designat Dina vagantem
Extra propositum. Corrumpit protinus illam
Spiritus immundus, qui princeps dicitur huius
Mundi. Si velit hec resipiscens crimina flere,
Blandiciis mulcet corruptor, gaudia mundi
Opponens, multisque modis retinere laborat.

U R H
3 dina: digna Ed: diva D animam vag.dina figurat Ca
7 mundi: vite C

31

Quid significat quod in mensa Domini (tabernaculi C) preparabantur phiale et cyati. C V F H Ca Es

In mensa Domini phiale cyatique parantur.
Per mensam pastus doctrine significatur,

Per phialas verbi facundia maxima sacri.
Est cyatus mensura minor; minor ergo notatur
Per cyatos verbi mensura. Det utraque doctor;
Perfectis phialas, cyatosque minoribus, ut qui
Plus capiunt plus inde bibant, minus inde minores.

U R H
2 significantur C X Jo Ed. mensas Jo 4 notatur: vocatur V F Ed. 5 om.X magister utraque D

32

Quid significat quod in basibus templi sculpebantur cherubin et boves et leones. (T) C F Ca

In base sunt cherubin, sunt et bos et leo sculpti.
Ordo sacerdotum basis; hec fert pondera templi,
Hic onus ecclesie; cherubinque sciencia plena.
Sic in presbitero perfecta sciencia debet
Esse, bovis mansuetudo, feritasque leonis.
Virtutes plantet doctrina, nutriat illas
Mansuetudine, peccatum feritate repellat.

U R H
1 sculptus D: sculpta C R 6 plantet: placet A: vigeant D illos F Ca

33

Quid significat quod Sodomite non potuerunt intrare domum Loth. V F H Ca Jo

Vult intrare, nequit fera gens Sodomita domum Loth.
Vitam iustorum cupiunt reprehendere pravi,
Sed non inveniunt aditus qua parte subintrent.
Obstat eis paries firmissimus, actio sancta.

U R H
1 sodomitae Ed. 2 cupiunt: volunt F 4 actio sancta: hospite sancto Ed. fortissimus C H

34

Quid significat quod Loth fugiens Sodomam petiit montem. C V H Es

Loth fugit ardentem Sodomam, montesque requirit.
Vir fugiens venerem munde petit ardua vite.

U (-A) R H
1,2 inverted C H adds: in sodomis castus, peccans in monde monte figurat/ utentes mundo recte post hec male claustro

55

Quid significat quod in veste sacerdotali erant inserta tintinnabula et mala punica. (T) V Es

Aurea pontificis pendebant insita vesti
Tintinnabula malaque punica: mistica res est.
Vestis opus designat, tintinnabula verbum,
Punica mala fidem, que plurima grana sub uno
Cortice coniungunt. Sic plurima corda bonorum
Una fides nectit. Simul hec tria quisque sacerdos
Debet habere, fidem, doctrinam, religionem.

U R H
1 pontifici Ed. 5 coniungit F R Ca: subiungunt Jo

56

Quid significat quod Moyses precepit filiis Levi ut accincti gladio irent de porta ad portam et occideret unusquisque proximum et (ac T) fratrem suum. (T) C V

Accinctis gladio de porta precepit ire
Ad portam Moyses, fratres occidere. Res est
Mistica, nam gladius est verbum, portaque crimen.
Culpa per hanc ad nos intrat. Cum crimina doctor
Persequitur verbo, currens per singula, transit
Accinctus gladio, de porta perveniendo
Ad portam. Fratrem perimit, cum crimen in illo
Extinguit: perit hic vicio cui vixerat ante.

U R H
1 accinctus C X R Ca Ed: accingi (T) A precipit X R Es Ed. 4 intrat: ingreditur K 5 om.R currens om.Ed. proseq.X 8 qui vicerat F Ca

57

Moralitas hystorie ubi scriptum est quod Ruben et Gad et dimidia tribus Manasse petierunt gregibus suis pascua ultra Iordanem nolentes (volentes V F) intrare terram promissionis. (T) V F H Ca Es (quid sign. quod F Ca)

Cum multas pecudes habuissent, pascua querunt
Extra Iordanem, nec amant habitacula terre
Promisse Ruben, Gad, dimidiusque Manasses.
Sic nimis intenti terrenis rebus avari,
Extra celestem patriam remanere merentur.

U R H
~~1 pecudes multas Ed.~~ 2 extra: ultra C 4 sic; sed A

38

Quare filii Israel fuerunt in deserto XL annis. (T) X V
F Ca Es Jo

Exploratores Iericho tardasse diebus
Quadraginta dicuntur; cum castra redissent,
Iudeis laudant regionis fertilitatem.
Non credunt; Deus arguit hos incredulitatis.
Quotque dies habuit legacio, iure tot annis
Differtur populo dubitanti fertile regnum.

U R
4 infidelitatis Jo

39

Quare divisum est regnum Iudeorum in duas partes. X V
F H Es Jo

Terram Miphiboset David divisit inique
Inter eum, servumque suum Siba. Reddidit illi
Pro meritis Deus. Hoc in posteritate recepit.
Inter Ieroboam servum, Roboamque nepotem
David divisit regnum Deus, ulcio digna.

U R H
3 in potestate receptis Ed.

40

Quomodo (quod X) Iudei dicuntur colare culicem et
deglutire camelum. (T) X Es

Dum poscunt solvi Baraban, Christumque necari,
Iudei culicemque colant, sorbentque camelum.
Accipe per culicem Baraban, quia ledit uterque,
Ore culex, Barabas gladio; Christumque camelus
Signat. Fert onus hic, et mundi crimina Christus.

U (-F)
1 cum C X Jo Ed. salvi Ca 2 colant: colunt X D: liquant Ed. 3 laeditur utque Ed. utrique Jo

41

Quid significat quod Rebecca ad Ysaac veniens nuptum,
cum vidisset eum, descendit de camelo et pre pudore
operuit faciem suam pallio. (T) V H Es

Cum sponsum Rebecca videret, vecta camelo,

Descendit, faciemque suam suffusa rubore
Velavit. Sponsus Christum, Rebecca figurat
Ecclesiam de gentibus. Hec erat in viciosis
Moribus et tortis. Ut Christum novit, ad ipsum
Tendens, de fastu mundi descendit, et actus
Preteritos recolens, patitur confusa pudorem.

U R H
1 dum D F 5 tortis: notis V: mente D ut: cum D tortis christumque notavit ad ipsam A 7 pudorem: ruborem C A R Jo: dolorem corr.pudorem D suffusa Jo

42

Quid significat quod Abraham sepelivit Saram in spelunca duplici. V H Es Jo

Spelunca duplici Saram sepelisse vir eius
Fertur. Fossa duplex vitam designat utramque,
Activam, contemplativam, virque magistrum
Ecclesie; coniunx animam, que mortua mundo,
In duplici vita sepeliri debet, ut hic sit
Contemplator et activus, viciisque sepultus.

U R H
5 vita: ~~via Ed.~~ vita corr.via F 6 contemplatorque Ed.

43

Quid significat quod rex Babilonis destruxit muros Ierusalem per Nabuzardan principem cocorum. V Es

Per Nabuzardan destruxit rex Babilonis
Muros Ierusalem: princeps erat ille cocorum.
Est Babilonis rex Sathanas, princepsque cocorum
Venter, Ierusalem celestis menia iusti.
Unde Petrus:"Vivi lapides vos estis," et istos
Spiritus immundus per ventrem sepe fefellit.

U R
4 menia: mansio D 5 vivos Ed. estis et istos: aedificatos Ed. 6 repellit F Ca

44

Quid significat quod propheta dicit, tres viros salvandos tamen, scilicet Noe,Iob,Daniel, et quod duo erunt ad molam, duo pistrinam, duo in lecto, duo in agro. V (om.tamen sc.) F Ca

Iob,Daniel,Noe sunt salvandi, teste propheta.
Trinus in ecclesia viget ordo, notatus in istis.
Uxoratos Iob, Daniel se mortificantes,
Rectores Noe significat. Fuit ille maritus,
Carnem mortificans Daniel, Noe rector in archa.
Pistrinum,lectus,ager assignantur eisdem
Ordinibus. Mola significat mundana, quietem
Lectus, ager populum. Mola sponsis est data, lectus
Contemplativis, agricultura magistris.
Ordo quisque duos, reprobum gerit atque fidelem.
Hic manet ad penam raptus: capit ille coronam.

U P = B.N.459
1 om.P Ed.^{2} 2 notatus: notatur C: vocatus Ed.^{1}: notus Ed.^{2} line om.Jo 4 iste P Ed.^{2} 6 pistinum Jo: pristinum P X Ed.^{1} Ed.^{2} ("f.pistrinum") D Es: hec tria lectus ager mola sunt tribus apta notandis (mola designantur eisdem Es.) 7 signat Ed.^{1} 7,8 om.X 9 et agricultura P Ed.^{2}
11 raptus om.Ca: felix F

45

Summa evangelii ubi servis distribuuntur talenta. (T)

Traduntur servis unum,duo,quinque talenta.
Quinque talenta figurant sensus quinque. Duobus
Designatur et actus et intellectus; in uno
Intellectus. In intellectu quisque peritus
Peccat, cum per doctrinam nihil ille lucratur.
Qui sua pauperibus tribuit, que quinque paravit
Sensibus, hic Domino lucra fert de quinque talentis.
Qui verbo,vita prodest fert lucra duorum.

U R
3 designantur V R Ed. 4 in om.V F 5 ille: ipse Ed: inde C F Ca 6 que: qui Ed. 7 hic fert domino, om.lucra F
8 verbo et vita Ed. 8 om.F

46

Quid significat quod David (psalmista Es: propheta V) dicit:"Laudate Dominum in tympano et choro." (T) V Es

Exprimitur per tympana mortificacio carnis:
In cantu chorus est concors. Cum religiosus
Mortificat carnem, discors a moribus horum
Cum quibus est, laudat Dominum per tympana, sed non
Voce chori. Laudes in utroque referre iubetur,
Ut se mortificans, concors cum fratribus adsit.

U (-F Ca)
4 sed: si D 6 cum: sic D

47

Quid significat quod in Egipto populus libertatem non amisit cum ad victum reciperet fruges. Cum vero semen recepit (accepit Jo) factus est servus. V Es Jo

Accepit fruges ad semen servus, ad esum
Liber in Egipto populus: res ista notanda.
Est liber cui multa licent, cui regula laxa.
Si sacro verbo pascatur, liber ad esum
Accepit frugem. Si verbi semina querit,
Et fieri doctor, Domini sit servus oportet.

U (-F Ca) R H
3 licet Jo Order 6,4,5 Jo 6 servus sit Jo et doctor fieri K 5 accipiet Ed.

48

Quid significat quod in sacrificio iuvence (vitule F: vitulus Ca) comburitur cedrus et ysopus et coccus bis tinctus. (T) V F Ca Jo

Mactatam vitulam comitantur cedrus, ysopus,
Coccus bis tinctus. Dum carnem mortificamus,
Mactamus vitulam. Per ysopum significatur
Nostra fides Christo:"Petra Christus," apostolus inquit.
Nostra fides petre radicibus heret ysopus.
Eterne vite corrumpi nescia cedrus
Spem mihi designat; coccus rubicundus amoris
Flammam, qua pia mens ardet; bis tinctus utramque,
Et per quam Deus, et per quam vicimus amatur.
Dum caro mactatur, virtus hec trina sequatur.

U R H (om.lines 1-5)
1 iactatam K: lactatam C 4 nostra: vestra R: vera Ed.
5 om.F R H K Ca Jo Ed. 8 utramque om.K

49

Quid significat quod propheta dicit:"Cuius ignis in Syon et caminus in Ierusalem." (T) V Es

In Syon ignis, in Ierusalemque caminus.
Visio Ierusalem pacis, speculacio Syon.
Syon ecclesiam presentem denotat, unde
Mens quasi de longe Dominum speculatur in ista.
Ignis amoris adest sed nondum plenus, in illa
Ierusalem plenus, ubi paxque Deusque videtur.
Unde propheta refert:"Hic ignis, ibique camimus."

U
3 unde: unum Ed. 4 in ista: et isti F Ca 5 nondum: non Ed. sed in illa Ed. inest F Ca

50

Quid significat sacrificium Abrahe quando (qui V) voluit immolare filium suum. V H Es Pt

Patrem significat Abraham, sua victima Christum,
Israel et Iudam duo servi, bestia bruta
Stulticiam. Puer est ductus, remanentque clientes,
Et retinent asinum. Christi comes esse recusat
Insipiens populus, remanens sub lege vacante.
Ligna, puer, Christusque crucem portasse feruntur.
Hic tamen est aries, non infans sacrificatus;
Sic Christi caro, non deitas est in cruce passa.

U R H (lines 6-8 B L Wi Pt Evr)
6 placed after 8 F Ca Es after 6 Es has 5-9 of variant version 7 hic: hec D: hinc Pt: sic Evr Ed.

Variant version. B L Wi Pt Evr Ed.(Gemm.)

Est Abraham pater: est Ysaac Christus: duo servi
Divisus populus sub regum sorte duorum:
Stulticia est asinus. Ysaac ad sacrificandum
Ducitur: exspectant servi, retinentque iumentum.
Sic cum stulticia remanent, nec adesse merentur
Sacro Iudei nec Christum credere passum.
Exspectant potius venturum, donec ad illos
Ipse revertatur, cum circa tempora mundi
Ultima suscipient verbum, fientque fideles.
Ligna puer etc.

2 rege Wi 5 cum: est B 6 iudei: mysterio Ed. Christum nec Ed. 9 verbum: fidem Wi

51

Quid significat quod Ioab percussit Abner in inguine et mortuus est. (T) V L Ca Es Pt

Abner presbiteros signat:sermone Latino:
Lux patris est Abner. Deus est pater, et pater illos
Dat tam doctrina quam vita lumina mundi.
Inguine percussit Ioab hunc. Ioab hostis apud nos
Dicitur, et generis humani denotat hostem.
Quando sacerdotes prosternit subdolus hostis
Telo luxurie, Ioab inguine percutit Abner.

U R H B L Wi Pt
2 om.Jo deus illos C A B L Es Pt 3 lumina: et lumine Ed:

humana L Wi A: ditat doctrina quasi sint duo lumina mundo
F Ca Pt: claros doctrina dat tanquam lumina mundo
4 percutit F Ca 6 subdolis Ed.

52

Quid significat quod archa Noe fuit ampla deorsum, angusta sursum, consummata in cubito, habens inferius bruta animalia, in medio homines, superius volucres. X V Es

Archa Noe sursum fuit arta, sed ampla deorsum,
In cubito perfecta. Deorsum bruta locantur,
Et post hec homines, volucres super. Archa figurat
Ecclesiam. Multos in ea cognoscimus esse
Irracionales: sic dilatatur in illis.
Sunt homines in ea, sed pauci, qui sua querunt,
Et peccare cavent: sic angustatur in istis. 300
Sunt in ea rari, quibus est mens spernere mundum.
Virtutum pennis ut aves tolluntur ad astra.
Hi iuxta cubitum resident in parte superna,
Nam bene pro meritis loca distinguntur eorum.
Christum designat cubitus. Spes tendit ad illum
Ecclesie, quo perveniens nihil appetit ultra.

U R H P = B.N.459
5 homines signat quam diximus archa X hec: hoc Ed.^{2}
4 cognovimus C P Ed.^{2} 5 irrationabiles P Ed.^{2} sic sedes redditur illis D 6 non sua, om.sed C 7 illis R Ca P Ed.^{2} angustantur Ed.^{2} 8 mens om.Ed.^{1} 9 ad astra: in astra Ed.^{2}: in altum R 13 nil X D V R Ed.^{1}Ed.^{2}

53

Quid significat quod Moyses tenens virgam proiecit eam in terram et factus est coluber. Moyses timore percussus fugit, sed iussus a Domino apprehendit postea caudam serpentis et coluber facta est virga. V H (om.percussus)

Israel est Moyses, et virga superna potestas;
Serpens mortalis hominum natura. Per illum
Mors venit. Moyses virgam tenet: Israel olim
Virtutem Domini sensit, protectus ab illa.
In terram proiecit eam, Dominumque prophete
Incarnandum predixerunt. Virga fit anguis:
Factus homo Deus est. Moyses fugit: impia Christum
Plebs fugit atque negat. Serpentis postea caudam
Hic tenet. Ecclesie, que Christi corpus habetur,
Extremam partem credens Iudea tenebit.
Vertitur in virgam coluber. Qui venerat ante
Mortalis, Deus apparebit, crimina damnans.

U R H
2 illam Ed. 3 virgam proiecit ut illa Jo 6 incarnandum: in scripturis D 7 est deus D 10 iudam X

54

Quid significat quod angelus qui resurrectionem Domini nuntiavit (annunt.Es) erat sicut fulgur, et vestimenta eius sicut nix. V Ca Es

Angelus in cultu candorem, fulgur in ore
Fert, hoc significans, quod iustis blandus, iniquis
Terribilis veniet quem vivere nuntiat ille.

U (-F) R
1 cultu: vultu X D

55

Quid significat quod Moyses stans supra petram vidit posteriora Dei (domini T) pretereuntis (transeuntis V) et faciem eius videre non potuit. (T) V H

Dum staret Moyses in petra, pretereuntis
Terga videt, non ora Dei. Petra Christus: in illa
Stat Moyses, cum gens Mosaica credit in istum.
Non videt ora Dei: presentem noscere Christum
Noluit hic populus. Videt eius posteriora:
Post mortem cognovit eum pars maxima credens.

U R H
1 cum C X Es Jo Ed. 3 mosaica A K: permaxima D H R Es Ed: maxima C X F Ca: iam maxima Jo cum iam gens maxima, mosayca in marg.V

56

Quid significat quod psalmista dicit:"Simul in unum dives et pauper." V Es

Nostre nature deitas unita refertur.
In Christo sic sunt dives egensque simul.

U (-X)
1 nature nostre C A K 2 C: sic simul in christo sunt dives pauper in unum D: sic pro nobis fit dives egemus

57

Quid significat quod psalmista dicit:"In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra." Es

Ut fertur, salices sunt in medio Babilonis.
Hec arbor sterilis steriles notat, actio quorum
Fructum non affert. Habet hos confusio mundi.
Doctrinam tales fugiunt, quapropter in illis
Organa suspendunt, maluntque tacere magistri,
Quam sanctum canibus, quam gemmas tradere porcis.

U
3 non affert fructum V habet hos: sed sunt Ed.

58

Quid significat oblacio columbe et turturis. F H Es

Hostia turturis atque columbe mistica res est.
Est turtur castus, simplexque columba pudore.
Sit tua mens turtur, sit simplicitate columba.
Sic accepta Deo, sic fies hostia sancta.

U R H
4 fies: fias C: fides Ed.

59

Summa evangelii:"Exiit qui seminat seminare semen suum." (T)
X V Es

Petra capit semen,via,sentes,optima terra:
Aret,aves comedunt,suffocant,fructificavit.
Verbum semen,ager mundus,petra qui bene cepit
Sed radice caret, cui deficit humor et aret.
Est via cum verbum venit ad cor, et illico transit.
Hoc volucres comedunt, hoc nequam spiritus aufert.
Spine suffocant semen cum diviciarum
Sollicitudo Dei verbum de pectore tollit.
Ter denum fructum Domino fert copula casta,
Est duplus vidue, centenus virginitatis.

U R
2 fructificatque D 4 aret: ardet D K 6 hoc^{2}: hic C: hec X 10 duplex D

60

Quid significat quod dicitur in Iob:"Behemoth absorbebit fluvium et non mirabitur, et habet fiduciam quod influat Iordanis in os eius. (T) X V (iob dicit) F Ca Es

Absorbet fluvium Behemoth, speratque quod ori
Influat illius Iordanis: mistica verba.
Humanum genus est fluvius, baptismalis unda
Iordanis, Behemoth Sathanas in perdicionem.

Humanum genus hic Behemoth absorbuit ante
Baptismum: modo baptizatos temptat habere.

U
1 behemoth fluvium F Jo 2 verba: sunt hec Es 3,4 om.Ed.
5 quia sorbuit ante Es 6 temptat: optat Jo

61

Cur sollemnitas paschalis celebratur (-etur V Ca) per quadraginta dies.V Ca Es

Ad plus octo solent celebrari festa diebus,
Pascha quater denis. Cur hoc sit queritur: audi.
Per quadraginta morti se tradidit horas
Tam cruce quam tumulo Christus, totidemque diebus
Festa resurgentis celebramus ad eius honorem.

U (-F) R Be
2 fit K Es 3 se morti A Be

Variant version. B L Wi Pt Evr Ed.(Genm.)

Cum soleant actis compleri festa diebus,
Cur complent quadraginta dies sollemnia pasche?
Christus mortuus est horis quadraginta. Quot horis
Discipuli fuerant tristes, de morte resurgens,
Letificat totidem famulorum corda diebus.

1 actis: octo Pt compleri: celebrari Pt 2 cum Pt
complent: complere L

62

Quid significat quod Dominus satiavit quinque milia hominum de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus. V F Ca Jo

Panes quinque, duos pisces dat quinque virorum
Milibus, et satiat Deus hos, aliudque notavit.
Quinque libri Moysi sunt panes quinque, prophete
Et psalmi pisces duo; milia quinque figurant
Perfectos homines, qui sensus quinque refrenant,
Ne per eos peccent. Qui panes portat, Hebreus
Est populus, qui fert legem. Sed nec sibi panes
Ille, nec iste sibi legem fert. Pane reali
Turbe pascuntur, nos vero spirituali.

U R
6 qui... hebreus: qui portat hebreus est F Ca: qui fert hebreorum Ed. 7 nec: non V Jo 8 fert legem Es: ferens est A legem sibi F Ca

65

In canticis:"Filie Ierusalem venite et videte regem Salomonem in diademati qua coronavit eum mater sua." V Es Jo

Quomodo suscepit Salomon a matre coronam?
Est Salomon Christus, mater synagoga, corona
Spinea. De spinis Christo dedit illa coronam.

U (-D) R

64

In psalmo:"Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris." V F Ca Es

Doctrinam per aquam, per nubes sume prophetas.
Ut psalmista refert, in nubibus est tenebrosa
Hec aqua; nam scribunt obscure multa prophete.

U

65

Quid significat tonsura clerici. (T) X V Ca Es

Ut capitis rasura docet, rex atque sacerdos
Clericus est. Presul fert mitram, rexque coronam.
Accipitur quasi mitra quod est in vertice rasum:
Qui subtus remanent sunt ipsa corona capilli.

U (-F K) P = B.N.459
1 rasura: tonsura C D A Ed.^{2} docet: decet V: refert Ed.^{1}
2 est: et Ed.^{2} 3 quasi: qui Ed.^{2} quod: quid Ed.^{2}

66

Quid significant tres mortui a Domino resuscitati, quid quattuor dies Lazari. X V F Ca

Mens mala, mors intus; malus actus, mors foris; usus,
  Tumba: puella,puer,Lazarus ista notant.
Dixi quid tumulus designat quatriduani:
  Dicam quid tumuli singula queque dies.
Prima dies Ade peccatum, lex racionis
  Altera, lex vetus est tercia, quarta nova.
Dum tres transgredior leges in crimine natus,
  Est per quatriduum Lazarus in tumulo.

U R B L
3 designet B L 4 tumuli: signet Es 5 rationalis K
7 in magno crimine, om.leges C 8 est: sum Ca

67

De transmutacione locorum in missa. X Ca

Est racio quod pars altaris dextera misse
Principium finemque tenet, mediumque sinistra.
Dextera Iudeos, gentiles leva figurat.
Cepit ab his, transfertur ad hos, referetur ad illos
Nostra fides, et erunt sub mundi fine fideles.

U (-C F) L Pt
1 cur altaris pars tertia misse Ed.[1] altaris pars L
3 gentiles iudeos L 4 transfertur: defertur Ed.[1] hos: illos Ed.[2] referetur: refertur X D Ed.[1]Ed.[2] refertur corr. referetur V

68

De divisione Dominici corporis. B L

Signant tres partes de Christi corpore; prima
Ipsius carnem, sanctosque secunda sepultos;
Aut defunctorum purgatos prima, secunda
Qui purgantur adhuc viventes: tercia sanguis
Martyrium - pars est in sanguine tercia tincta.
Martyrii calicem gustant in carne fideles.

U (-C F) B L Pt
1 christi de Ed.[1] tres signant B L 5 martyrii X D Ed.[1]Ed.[2]
6 om.D fideles: comedendo Pt

69

Item de mutacione locorum in missa. X

Quid stacio dextra signat, vel parte sinistra,
Vel quid per mediam signetur, que fit ad aram,
Noscat qui poterit, sed notum postea prosit.
Nos in principio Dominum fecisse beatos
Dextera designat, breviterque manemus in ipsa.
Cedimus ad partem, culpa ducente, sinistram.
Hic evangelicus credentibus ordo refertur.
Rursus per mediam mediator noster ad urbem
Olim semirutam, proprium fundendo cruorem,
Ducit conservos in dextra parte locandos.

X D V K Ca Es Jo
1 signet Ed. quid statione patet dextera D line om.K statiove sinistra Ca 2 medium Ca Ed. 3 sed: ut Ca 5 in illa D Ed. 6 cedimus: credimus Jo: tendimus Es 9 om.D

ADDITIONAL BIBLICAL EPIGRAMS

1

Quid significat quod puer non potuit resuscitari per baculum Helisei nisi per eius presenciam. B L Wi Evr

Defuncto puero fertur misisse propheta
  Per famulum virgam: profuit illa nihil.
Sic venit: ad formam pueri se mensus, eundem
  Ad vitam revocat. Res notat hec aliud.
Legem virga, cliens Moysem, Dominumque propheta,
  Mortuus omnes nos significare potest.
Lex data per Moysen peccati morte sepultum
  Non valet humanum vivificare genus.
Se Deus ad formam servi contraxit, et ad nos
  Cum venit, humanum suscitat inde genus.

R V^2Hs Tr B L Wi Pt Evr
2 proficit Tr 5 sic: hic Tr Es: ut Pt formam: corpus Tr pueri: servi B L Wi mensus: fusus V^2 4 suscitat ad vitam Pt res notat: denotat Ed. hec: hoc Ed. 7 morte: lege B L Wi 8 mortificare genus non valet humanum V^2 9 se: sed Pt ad: ut Pt: in R contraxet ad nos R 10 cum: enim V^2: sic Pt convenit Ed.

2

Similitudo paradisi et ecclesie. B L Wi Pt Evr

Denotat ecclesiam paradisus, et in paradiso
  Est lignum vite, Christus in ecclesia;
Cetera ligna viri iusti, fructus bonus actus.
  Quattuor ex uno flumina fonte fluunt.
Sic evangelii: sunt libri quattuor horum.
  Nos doctrina rigat, fructiferosque facit.
Lignum per quod Adam que sint bona, que mala novit,
  Libertas nostri dicitur arbitrii.

H V^2Es B L Wi Pt Evr
7 sunt H V^2Es Pt

3

Quid significat quod precepit Eliseus (Elis.precep.Pt Evr) regi afferri sagittas et arcum, et aperire fenestram, et iacere sagittam. B L Wi Pt Evr

Regi precepit Eliseus ut afferat arcum

Atque sagittas: rex affert. Aperire fenestram
Iussit: rex aperit."Iace," dixit, at ille sagittam
Iecit. Mistica res est hec, aliudque notatur.
Utraque lex arcus: cornu vetus, et nova corda.
Corda rigens cornu flectit, veterisque rigorem
Legis ab historia nova flectit ad allegoriam.
Verba sagitte sunt, rex doctor, aperta fenestra
Doctrine lux est. Prius hec resplendeat intus,
Post doceat doctor, iactetque docendo sagittam.

R V^2Es Tr B L Wi Pt Evr
2 afferet V^2 4 hec est R Tr Evr Ed. 6,7 conflated Es
9 respondeat Ed. $RV^2$10 iactetq: iaciatq.R V^2Tr Ed: iaceatq.Pt

4

Quid significat quod dicitur Iob:"Numquid (numquis B: numquam Wi) capies leviathan hamo." B L Wi Evr

Piscator Pater est, mare mundus, Filius hamus;
Esca caro, deitas ferrum, generacio Christi
Linea. Leviathan piscis dum devorat escam,
Occidens carnem, captus deitate tenetur.

V^2Es Jo B L Wi Pt Evr
2 ferrum deitas Jo 3 vinea L dum: cum L Wi dum piscis Pt
4 occidens: absorbet Jo

5

Similitudo demrii et doctoris. B L Wi Pt Evr

Quale metallum sit, quod pondus, cuius imago,
Queritur in numo. Sic in doctore metallum
Sermo, figura patrum sentencia, pondus honestas.

V^2Es Di B L Wi Pt Evr
1 sitque pondus Wi cuius: eius V^2 3 patrem V^2; patris Ed.
sentencia: sciencia B L: sapiencia Wi honesta V^2

6

Quid significat quod in passione Domini ager emptus est triginta argenteis in sepulchrum (sepulturam Pt Evr Ed.) peregrinorum. B L Pt Evr Ed.

Ecclesiam notat emptus ager mercede cruoris.
Empta cruore Dei fuit hec. Datus ad tumulandum
Hic ager hospitibus. Qui mundum deserit, hospes
Est et defunctus mundo, talisque sub arcta
Ecclesie requiescit ad exteriora sepultus.

Es B L Pt Evr
2 datur Ed. 3 hic: sic Ed. hospes deserit B L 4 arcaE, BL:
ara Evr Ed: ala Pt 5 sepultos B
(arca Beaug.)

7

De tribus trium magorum muneribus. B L

Dat magus aurum, thus, myrrham. Rex suscipit aurum,
  Thura Deus, myrrham qui moriturus erat.
Thus orando damus, aurum sapiendo superna,
  Myrrham dum carnis mortificatur opus.

R V^2Es Be Di B L Pt Evr
4 mortificamus Ed.

8

Quid significat (-et B L) historia David et Bethsabee. B L Evr

Bethsabee lex est, rex David Christus, Urias
  Iudei. Regi nuda puella placet:
Nuda placet Christo lex non vestita figuris.
  Aufert Iudeis hanc sociatque sibi.
Vir non vult intrare domum, nec spiritualem
  Intellectum plebs Israel ingreditur.
Scripta gerit, per scripta perit deceptus Urias:
  Sic et Iudeus scripta sequendo perit.

R V^2Es Tr B L Evr
1 bersabee Es Ed. rex: per R 2 iudeus R: $_2$iudea Tr:
iudae B 5 figura B L lex... figuris om.V^2 6 israel:
filius Es 8 sic et: sic ut B

9

De quattuor personis in iudicio. B L

Sunt in iudicio persone quattuor. Una
Est accusator, reus altera, tercia testis,
Iudex quarta; manus tortoris crimina punit.
Has in me video personas: sum reus ipse,
Accusatrix est meditacio, conscia testis
Mens, racio iudex, torquet me terror Averni.

V Es B L Evr
2 reus: mens Es 6 terror: tortor V me torquet Es

10

Quid significat (-et B L) in Ezechiele propheta (om.B L)
stans et sublimis et terribilis rota. B L Pt Evr

Scripturam rota. Stans quia mores dirigit; alta
Celum prominens, horribilisque minans.

V^2Es Pt Evr
2 terribilisque Ed. -que: quia Pt 1 dirigit: diligat v^2.

Notes on Biblical Epigrams

1.

Gregory. Hom. Evang. col. 1136A 'Antiquus hostis contra primum hominem . . . in tribus se tentationibus erexit. . . . Et ex provectu avaritiae tentavit cum diceret 'Scientes bonum et malum'. Rab. Gen. col.489A is taken word for word from Gregory.

2.

Cf. Hugh of Pontigny (partial ed. of C. H. Talbot, Citeaux in de Nederlanden, Deel 7, 1956, p.14) 'Primus dies suggestio diaboli, secundus delectatio carnis, tertius consensus, quartus perpetratio mali operis'.

3.

(Joann. 21. 15) Gregory appears to have nothing to say on this. Alcuin Comm. in Joann. (P.L. 100 col. 1002A) 'Provida autem pietate Dominus tertio Petrum an se diligat interrogat, ut ipsa trina confessione vincula, quae illum ter negando ligaverant, absolvat'.

4.

(I Reg. 3.4-10) Rab. Reg. col.25 'Potest hac tertia vocatione praefigurari quod ipse puer futurus erat propheta, dux et sacerdos.'

5.

(Matt. 1.20) Rab. comment. in Matt. (P.L. 107 col.748B) 'Quare autem non de simplici virgine, sed de desponsata concipitur Salvator . . . . ut partus, inquiens, celaretur diabolo. . . .' Cf. also the similar interpretation of Paschasius Radbertus, in Matt. (P.L. 120 col. 104D).

Lines 1-4 are pr. from MS. Arundel 507 by C. Horstman, Richard Rolle and his Followers I, p. 430.

6.

(I Reg. 16.23) Rab. Reg. col.50 following Isidore, 'Plerumque enim superbus dives exhortationis blandimento placandus est' and Gregory Regulae Pastoralis Lib. (P.L. 77 col. 52D) 'Nonnunquam tamen etiam superbus dives exhortationis blandimento placandus est.'

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

7.

(Matt. 20.1) Greg. Hom. Evang. col. 1155 B 'Possumus vero et easdem diversitates norarum etiam ad unumquemque hominem per aetatum momenta distinguere. . . . . quasi diversis horis operarii ad vineam vocantur.' This is repeated almost word for word by Rabanus, in Matt. col. 1027A.

8.

(Jud. 16.29) Greg. Mor. xxix. 14, col. 491B 'destructo autem templo, hostes innumeros cum moreretur occidit, quia nimirum Dominus ab elatione superbiae paucos cum viveret, plures vero cum templum sui corporis solveretur exstinxit.' Rab. Comm. in Jud. col. 1193A repeats Gregory's interpretation word for word.

9.

(Joann. 2.6) Greg. Ezech. col. 851B 'Sed impleri hydrias aqua iubet, quia prius per sacrae lectionis historiam corda nostra replenda sunt. Et aquam nobis in vinum vertit quando ipsa historia per allegoriae mysterium in spiritalem nobis intelligentiam commutatur.'

This does not, however, account for the last two lines of Hildebert's poem. The similar account of Alcuin in Joann. (P.L. 100 col. 767C sq.) ends with a representation of the six ages of the world by the six wine-jars.

10.

(Gen. 27.27) Greg. Ezech. col. 830B 'Sicut enim in Evangelio veritas dicit 'Ager est hic mundus et quia gentilis populus ad fidem perductus per electos suos in universo mundo virtutibus redolet, odor filii odor est pleni agri.' He then (C) gives a list of the flowers found in the field and the qualities they represent, these being identical with those of Hildebert's poem, except that Hild. leaves out the 'oliva' and 'spica'. Rabanus Gen. 538C only gives the bare outline of this interpretation, while that of Ambrose, De Jacob II, 460B (C.S.E.L. vol.32, p.34) is rather different, in that there Jacob, the man of many flowering virtues, is the field.

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

11.

(Gen. 37) Rab. Gen. col. 624A 'et Deus Pater misit Filium suum unigenitum, ut genus humanum. .. .' 624D'-- De cisterna quoque levatus ille Ismaelitis, id est gentibus, venditur; et Christus postea quam de inferno egreditur, ab omnibus gentibus fidei commercio comparatur.'

Ambrose De Joseph Bk. I 486D sq. gives this explanation at greater length.

12.

(Exod. 14.27) Rab. Exod. col. 66A 'Ex Augustino'. 'Interfecit quippe exercitum spiritualium Aegyptiorum cum vero Pharaone quando diabolum. . . in aquis spiritualibus, ubi credentes per similitudinem mortis eius baptizati a morte peccatorum resurgunt, submersit.'

Bede Comm. in Pentateuch (P.L. 91 col.310) also gives this explanation.

13.

(Iob 2.8) Greg. Mor. III 30 col.628A 'Potest etiam testa fragilitas mortalitatis intelligi. Testa ergo saniem mundare est mortalitatis cursum fragilitatemque pensare, et putredinem miserae delectationis abstergere. Sanies itaque tergitur, cum culpa non solum ab opere sed etiam a cogitatione resecatur,' and III 18 col. 616C 'Quid vero per saniem, nisi peccatum debet intelligi?' However, there is no mention made in Gregory of either confession or 'asperitas vite'.

14.

(Matt. 20.29) Rab. Comm. in Matt. col.1033D 'Alii vero utrumque populum, et Veteris Testamenti et Novi, quod alter scriptam legem, alter naturalem sequens sine Christo caecus erat. . . . . quia ascendente ad caelos Domino . . . mox uterque populus . . . coeperunt et ipse sua salutis atque illuminationis spem habere.' The only account which appears in Gregory (Hom. Evang. col. 1082C) follows Luke rather than Matthew.

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

15.

Greg. Mor. XXX. 18 col. 556D 'Sciendum praeterea est quia quinque nos modis gulae vitium tentat. Aliquando namque indigentiae tempus praevenit; aliquando vero tempus non praevenit, sed cibos lautiores quaerit; aliquando quaelibet quae sumanda sint praeparari accuratius expetit, aliquando autem et qualitati ciborum et tempori congruit, sed in ipsa quantitate sumendi mensuram moderatae refectionis excedit. Nonnunquam. . . ipso aestu immensi desiderii deterius peccat.' He then gives just those five examples which are given by Hildebert.

The poem is cited anon. in Dist. Monast. Bk. IV de myrrha (Pitra II p.411).

8 1 Reg. 14.27.

11 1 Reg. 2.15

16.

(Ezech. 2.9) Greg. Ezech. col. 885A 'Lamentationes videlicet, quia in eo scripta est poenitentia peccatorum. Carmen vero, quia ibi praenuntiantur gaudia iustorum. Vae autem, quia illic expressa est damnatio reprobrorum.'

17.

(Gen. 12.1) Rab. Gen. col.533C (from Isidore) 'exeundum est de terra nostra, id est, de facultatibus mundi huius, opibus terrenis, et de cognatione nostra, id est, de conversatione et moribus vitiisque prioribus....' This, however, does not explicitly mention the necessary mortification of the flesh (Hild. 1.3) nor does it equate the 'gens maxima' with 'plurima virtus'. Rabanus interprets this last as the race of all true believers who would be the spiritual children of Abraham.

18.

(Josh. 15.19) Greg. Epist. VII.26 (col. 880B) 'Axa quippe quidem super asinam sedet, cum irrationabilibus carnis suae motibus anima praesidet. Quae suspirans a patre terram irriquam petit, quia a Creatore . . . quaerenda est lacrymarum gratia. . . . Irriguum quippe superius accipit anima, cum se in lacrymis regni celestis desiderio affligit; irriguum vero inferius

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

18 cont.

accipit, cum inferni supplicia flendo pertimescit.' Rabanus In Librum Josue col. 1076D gives this same passage 'ex Gregorio'.

19.

(Marc. 14.52) Nothing like this appears in Gregory but cf. Bede in Marc. (P.L. 92 col. 279B) 'Ita etiam iste adolescens qui . . . nudus profugit ab impiis, illorum et opus designat et animum qui, ut securiores ab incursibus hostium fiant, quidquid in hoc mundo possidere videntur abjiciunt. . . .'

20.

(Exod. 19.18,20.21) Rab. Exod. col.1060 'Turba quippe populi, allegoriarum caliginem non valet penetrare, quia valde paucorum est, spiritualem intellectum rimari. Quia enim mentes carnalium sola saepe historia pascuntur, loquente Deo, etetit populus de longe. . . .'

Bede Comm. in Pentateuch (P.L. 91 col.3170) similarly equates the 'nubes' with allegory, but does not go as far as Rabanus.

21.

(Luc. 24.35) Gregory's homily on this text (XXIII col.1182) does not contain this interpretation. Elsewhere he does refer to bread as the word of God. Cf. Mor. XV.13 col.1088B 'Vel certe, quia panis scripturae sacrae intelligentia non inconvenienter accipitur.'

22.

(Gen. 9.13) Greg. Ezech. col.867D 'Unde et in arcu eodem color aquae et ignis simul ostenditur, quia et ex parte est coeruleus, et ex parte rubicundus, ut utriusque iudicii testis sit, unius videlicet faciendi, et alterius facti, sed quia mundus quidem iudicii igne cremabitur, sed iam non ulterius faciendi, aqua iam diluvii non deletur.' Rab. Gen. col.524D is taken word for word from Gregory.

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

23.

(Gen. 4.4) Greg. Epist. CXXII (col.1053B) 'Dicturus quippe quia Dominus respexit ad munera, praemisit sollicite, quia respexit ad Abel. Ex qua re patenter ostenditur quia non offerens a muneribus, sed munera ab offerente placuerunt.' Rab. Gen. 501D does not give this explanation.

24.

(Prov. 1.17) Bede super Parabolas (P.L. 91 col.941D) 'rete dicat perniciosam malorum doctrinam. . . . Facile enim laqueos qui in terra tenduntur cavet, qui conversationem habet in coelis.' Gregory appears to say nothing on this point, though he often equates pennae with virtutes,

e.g. Ezech. col.898B).

25.

(Prov. 11.22) Nothing in Gregory. The interpretation of Bede Super Parabolas Salomonis (P.L. 91 col.972D) is similar to but not identical with that given here. There the woman uses her beauty 'ad evertendos ubique castitatis flosculos', and it is wickedness, not stupidity which spoils her beauty.

2 The relative 'que' refers to 'suis' not 'mulier', nor as the variant 'qui' would have it, to 'circulus'.

26.

(Gen. 1.8) Greg. Ezech. col.848D 'Possunt enim firmamenti nomine coelestes potestates intelligi. . . . Sed quia cadentibus aliis, sancti angeli in sua beatitudine perstiterunt, atque hoc acceperunt in munere, ut iam cadere omnino non possint. . . .' Rab. Gen. col.449C sq. gives no such explanation nor does Ambrose Exaemeron I 26.A (C.S.E.L. 32 p.47).

Ed^2 = Misc. 134 ll. 11-14 from P.

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

27.

Greg. Mor. IX.25 col.879B 'Injuste quippe quod justum est exsequitur, qui ad defensionem justitiae non virtutis aemulatione, sed amore praemii temporalis excitatur. . . . Juste ergo justum exsequi est in assertionem justitiae eamdem ipsam justitiam quaerere.'

28.

(Deut. 22.11) Greg. Mor. VIII.51 (col.855B) 'Per lanam quippe simplicitas, per linum vero subtilitas designatur . . . et simplicitatem foras innocentiae ostendit.' The version of Rab. Enarratio super Deuteronomium col. 926B is almost identical.

29.

(Gen. 3.14) Greg. Mor. XXI.2 (col.1910) 'Serpens videlicet ventre repit, quando hostis lubricus per humana membra sibimet subdita usque ad expletionem operis luxuriam exercet. Serpens autem repit pectore, quando eos quos, in opere luxuriae non valet polluit in cogitatione.' Rab. Gen. 495A has a similar account.

30.

(Gen. 34.1) Greg. Reg. Past. col.108 'Dina quippe ut mulieres videat extraneae regionis, egreditur, quando unaquaeque mens sua studia negligens, actiones alienas curans. . . . quatenus utilitatem tristitiae subtrahat.' This is found word for word in Rab. Gen. col.614B, apparently derived from Alcuin.

31.

(Exod. 37.16) Greg. Mor. XX.28 col.137A 'Quid enim per phialas nisi larga praedicatio, quid vero per cyathos nisi minima et tenuis de Deo locutio designatur....' Rabanus has nothing to say about this.

32.

(III Reg. 7.29) Greg. Hom. Evang. 1144D 'Hinc namque est quod in templi ministerio. . . , 1145A '. . .per boves vero patientia mansuetudinis figuratur.'

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

32 cont.

Rab. Reg. col.174D 'Habent inter coronulas. . .' is probably taken from Gregory, judging from the close similarity of phrases.

Cf. Hugh of Pontigny (partial ed. of C. H. Talbot op.cit. p.21) 'Quod mystice docens Salomon in base templi que prelatis aptatur, una cum cherubim bovem pariter sculpsit et leonem. In cherubim scientia in bove mansuetudo in leone terror innuitur. . . .'

33.

(Gen. 19.11) Greg. Mor. VI.22 (col.750B) 'Sodomitae autem viri in domo Loth. . . errantes nihil aliud quam parietem palpant.' Repeated word for word by Rab. Gen. col.556B.

34.

(Gen. 19.30) Greg. Reg. Past. 102D 'Ardentem quippe Sodomam fugere, est illicita carnis incendia declinare. Altitudo vero montium est munditia continentium.' Repeated word for word by Rab. Gen. col.557C.

35.

(Exod. 39.24) Greg. Reg. Past. col.31B 'Vestimenta etenim sacerdotis quid aliud quam recta opera debemus accipere. . . ? Vestimentis itaque illius tintinnabula inhaerent, ut vitae viam cum linguae sonitu ipsa quoque sacerdotis opera clament.' and C 'Quid enim per mala punica, nisi fidei unitas designatur? Nam sicut in malo punico uno exterius cortice multa interius grana muniuntur; sic innumeros sanctae Ecclesiae populos unitas fidei contegit. . . .' Cf. the underlined words with Hildebert's line 4,5. The same interpretation is given also in Epist. I.25 col.473A. It does not appear in Rabanus or Bede.

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

36.

(Exod. 32.27) Greg. Reg. Past. col.970 'De porta vero usque ad portam ire, est a vitio usque ad vitium, . . . increpando incurrere.' . . . Fratrem scilicet . . . interficit, qui cum punienda invenit, ab increpationis gladio nec eis quos per cognationem diligit parcit.' Rab. Exod. col.227A gives Gregory's interpretation verbatim.

37.

(Num. 32.1) Greg. Mor. XXVII.13 col.413D 'Multi quippe quamvis fideles, curis praesentibus occupati, quasi armenta extra Jordanem pascunt, quia contra fidem baptismatis tota mente omnique desiderio rebus perituris inserviunt.' Bede Comm. Pentat. col.373A gives a similar interpretation but Rabanus Ennarationes in libr. Num. col.806A equates these people who will not cross Jordan ~~te~~ with the Jewish nation as a whole.

38.

(Num. 14.34) 'juxta numerum quadraginta dierum, quibus considerastis terram: annus pro die imputabitur.'

39.

(2 Reg. 16.4) Rab. Reg. col.111A 'Pro eo quod in hoc loco David immemor fuit amicitiae et foederis, immo iuramenti, quod habuit cum Jonathan . . . idcirco Roboam et Jeroboam diviserunt eius regnum.'

40.

(Matt. 23.24) Greg. Mor. I.15 col.536B 'Culex enim susurrando vulnerat, camelus autem sponte se ad suscipienda onera inclinat. Liquaverunt ergo Iudaei culicem, quia seditiosum dimitti latronem petierunt; camelum vero glutierunt, quia eum qui ad suscipienda nostrae mortalitatis onera sponte descenderat exstinguere clamando conati sunt.' Cf. also Rab. in Matt. col.1071B.

41.

(Gen. 24.63-5) Greg. Mor. I.15 col.536C 'Unde et Rebecca ad Isaac veniens dorso cameli deducitur; quia ad Christum ex gentilitate Ecclesia properans in

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

41 cont.

tortis vitiosisque vitae veteris conversationibus invenitur . . . quia coram illo ex anteacta vita confunditur.' Repeated word for word by Rab. Gen. col.578A.

42.

(Gen. 23.19) Greg. Mor. VI.37 col.760C 'quia nimirum perfectus quisque praedicator exstinctam a praesentis vitae desideriis animam suam sub bonae operationis tegmine et contemplationis abscondit, ut a carnali concupiscentia sub activa, contemplativaque vita quasi insensibilis lateat. . . . Repeated word for word Rab. Gen. col.571A.

43.

(IV Reg. 25.8) Greg. Mor. XXX col.556B 'Quid enim per muros Jerusalem significans Scriptura exprimit, nisi virtutes animae . . . . Muros igitur Jerusalem princeps coqucrum destruit, quia virtutes animae dum non restringitur venter perdit.' The interpretation of Rabanus Reg. col.276 is entirely different. He has seen the text as 'Nabuzardan princeps exercitus', while the 'princeps coquorum' of Hildebert and Gregory is a Latin translation of the δεξιμάγειρος of the Septuagint.

Nabuzardan is similarly equated with gluttony in the poem ed. from MS. Digby 65 by Boutemy (Moyen Age 48, 1938, pp.255-7). Cf. lines 52,53:

'Non vis armorum sed princeps ipse cocorum,
Ierusalem muros destruxit vix ruituros.'

5 I Petr. 2.5.

44.

(Ezech. 14.14) Greg. Mor. I.15 col.535C 'Unde et Ezechiel propheta tres liberatos viros audisse se asserit, Noe scilicet, et Danielem et Job . . . . . Quid per Job nisi bonorum conjugum vita signatur'.

Ed^1 = Sup 1.11, Ed^2 = Misc. 134, ll. 1-10 from P. The passage of the Aurora included in Pierre Riga's Floridus Aspectus (Misc.4, P.L. 171 col.1387), though

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

44 cont.

written on the same theme, does not however show any close verbal resemblance. According to Talbot (op.cit. p.21) the theme of this poem is found several times in the sermons of Hugh of Pontigny.

45.

(Matt. 25.15) Greg. Hom.Evang. col.1106C 'Quinque ergo talentis donum quinque sensuum . . . exprimitur. Duobus vero intellectus et operatio designatur. Unius autem talenti nomine intellectus tantummodo designatur. . .. Cf. 'subtilia de internis intelligunt, mira in exterioribus operantur', with Hild. 1.8. This account is repeated practically verbatim by Rabanus, Comm. in Matt. 1089C. It does not contain the interpretation of the use of the five talents given by Hild. in lines 6 and 7. Perhaps this is his own.

46.

(Ps. 150.4) Greg. Ezech. col.858A 'Unde psalmista quoque nullam esse abstinentiam sine concordia designans, ait: Laudate. . . . In tympano enim corium siccum resonat, in choro autem voces concorditer cantant. Quid ergo per tympanum nisi abstinentia, et quid per chorum nisi charitatis concordia designatur. Qui itaque sic abstinentiam tenet, ut concordiam deserat, laudat quidem in tympano, sed non laudat in choro.' Cf. also col.694D, Reg. Past. col.89C and Epist. VII, col.890C.

47.

(Gen. 47,19 and 23) Neither Rabanus in Genesim col.650B nor Gregory appear to have this interpretation.

48.

(Num. 19,6) Greg. Mor. VI.37 col.761A 'Vaccam quippe mactamus, cum carnem a lascivia suae voluptatis exstinguimus . . . . . ut videlicet ante interni iudicis oculos charitas nostra Dei et proximi dilectione coloretur.' The brief reference of Rabanus Enn. in libr. Num. col.707C incorporates Gregory's words.

4 1 Corinth. 10.4.

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49.

(Isai. 31.9) Greg. Ezech. col.1048D 'Sion vero speculatio, Jerusalem autem visio pacis dicitur. . . . . Ex amore ergo Domini in Sion ignis est in Ierusalem camimus, quia hic amoris eius flammis aliquatenus ardemus . . . sed ibi plene ardebimus, ubi illum plene videbimus quem amamus.'

50.

(Gen. 22.5) Rab. Gen. col.568C (based on Isidore) 'Quis ergo in Abraham, . . . nisi Pater excelsus? Quis in Isaac, nisi Christus?' . . . 'Et sicut Isaac ipse sibi ligna portavit . . . ita et Christus gestavit in humeris lignum crucis suae.. . . Duo autem servi illi dimissi. . . . Judaeos significabant . . . Asinus autem ille insensata est stultitia Juddeorum.' Greg. Ezech. col.835B makes a brief reference to the similarity between Isaac and Christ but this appears to be all.

51.

(II Reg. 3.27) Greg. Cura Past. col.77B 'Unde et Abner, qui nostro sermone patris lucerna dicitur.' Greg. however does not appear to give the allegory behind the rest of the poem. This is found in Rabanus Reg. col.78B and C 'Nam et Joab . . . non alium quam hostem antiquum significat, qui fictis suasionibus quotidie fideles subvertere satagit, et per libidinis noxiae contagionem interficere molitur.' He also gives the equation of Abner with 'doctores sancti' but there is not the same verbal co-incidence as occurs between Gregory's 'nostro sermone' and Hildebert's 'sermone Latino.'

52.

(Gen. 6.15) Greg. Ezech. col.983A 'Recte itaque per arcam universa Ecclesia designatur. . . .'

Cf. especially Hild. 1.6 with Greg. 'Videmus alios iam aliena non quaerere.' Rab. Gen. 516C gives Gregory's version after that of Isidore.

$Ed.^1$ = Vt4, $Ed.^2$ = Misc. 134, ll. 15-27 from P.

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

52.

(Exod. 4.3) Rab. Exod. col.220 (Ex Augustino) 'Quis per Moysen, nisi Judaicus populus, et quid per virgam nisi potestas Divinitatis? Quid per serpentem nisi mortalitas nostri Redemptoris exprimitur? . . .' 23B 'super angelos videbitur Deus'. No such interpretation appears in Gregory.

54.

(Matt. 28.3) Greg. Hom. Evang. col.1171B 'In fulgure etenim terror timoris est, in nive autem blandimentum candoris. Quia vero omnipotens Deus et terribilis peccatoribus, et blandus est iustis. . . .'

55.

(Exod. 33.23) Rab. Exod. col.233C 'Hoc enim factum est in eis, quos tunc significabat persona Moysi, id est Israelitis, qui in Dominum Jesum . . . postea crediderunt.' There does not seem to be an interpretation of this passage in Gregory.

56.

57.

(Ps. 136.2) Greg. Mor. XXXIII.ch.5. col.676B 'Babylonis quippe medio inesse salices describuntur, quia nimirum infructuosi quiqui. . . . . vim suae praedicationis non exhibent, sed potius lugentes silent.'

58.

(Lev. 12.8) Rab. Levit. col.370D 'Columba ergo simplicitatem, turtur indicat castitatem.' Gregory often equates the dove with simplicity but has nothing to say about this sacrifice in particular.

2-4 Cited anon. by Geoffrey, sub-prior of St. Barbara, ep. 3 (P.L. 205 col. 832B).

Biblical Epigrams: Notes

22.

(Matt. 13.3) As the allegorical explanation of this subject is given in the Gospel itself it seems possible that Hild. should have taken it straight from there. The account of Rabanus (Comm. in Matt. col.939C) seems to have no verbal affinity with Hildebert's and that of Gregory (Hom. Evang. col.1131C) still less. Neither account gives the same interpretation of the 'fructum centesimum', 'sexagesimum', and 'trigesimum' as Hildebert's last two lines. This however is found in Paschasius Radbert, Expos. in Matt. (P.L. 120 col.490C) 'Depingitur autem iste numerus. . . . Porro centesimum fructum aeque virginibus vel martyribus consecratum et reconditum credimus. . . . .'

60.

(Job 40.18) Greg. Mor. XXXIII.6 col.677B 'Ac si aperte diceretur: Ante Redemptorem mundi mundum non miratus absorbuit, sed quod est gravius, etiam post Redemptoris adventum quosdam qui baptismatis sacramento signati sunt deglutire se posse confidit.'

62.

(Joann. 6.9) Alcuin in Joann. col.821C 'Quinque autem panes, quibus multitudinem populi saturavit quinque sunt libri Moysi. . . . Duo autem pisces quos addidit, psalmistarum non inconvenienter et prophetarum scripta significant, . . . Puer . . . populus est Israel. . . . Quinque millia virorum qui manducaverunt, perfectionem vitae eorum quo verbo reficiuntur insinuant. . . .' This interpretation does not appear to be in Gregory.

63.

(Cant. 3.11) The commentaries of Bede (P.L. 91 col.1127D) and Alcuin (P.L. 100 col.650C) regard the corona as Christ's humanity given him by his Mother. That of Haimo of Auxerre (P.L. 117 col.314C) gives this same interpretation but adds: 'Potest hoc et simpliciter totum ad passionem Christi referri iuxta litteram. . . . . .in diademate, id est in spinea, corona, quo coronavit eum mater sua, Synagoga. . . .'

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64.

(Ps. 17.12) Greg. Ezech. col.829A 'Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris quia obscura est scientia in prophetis.'

65.

Ed^1 = Supp 1.8 taken from P, Ed^2 = Misc. 131 taken from B.N. 7596 A (=A).

66.

For lines 1,2 Greg. Mor. IV.28 col.663B 'Unde et Redemptor puellam in domo . . . et mole pravae consuetudinis pressos, respectus sui lumine illustrat.'

Lines 1,2 are frequently cited: by Guido de Orchellis, Tract. de Sacramentis, ch.VI.103 (ed. Van den Eynde p.103); by Walter Map, De nugis curialium, dist. 1, ch. XV (ed. James p.24); both under Hildebert's name, and anonymously by Dist. Monast. Bk. III, de morte (Pitra III.273); Hugh of Pontigny (partial ed. of C. H. Talbot, op.cit. p.15); Odo of Cheriton, sermons (Hervieux, Fabulistes Latins, vol.4, p.356); edited as Giraldus Cambrensis[1] by Brewer (Rolls Series vol. I, p.373, from MS. Lambeth 236).

67.

Ed^1 = De Myst., Migne col.1192C, Ed^2 = De Myst., Migne col.1194A.

68.

Ed^1 = Supp. 1.4, Ed^2 = Misc. 53.

P gives an alternative version:

'Tres partes f⟨r⟩acte de Christi corpore signant
Prima suam carnem sanctosque secunda sepultos.'

This appears also in the collection of epigrams ed. by C. Horstman from MS. Arundel 507 (Richard Rolle and his Followers I, p.423).

5 To construe we must understand 'significat' with 'martyrium'.

Additional Biblical Epigrams: Notes

1.

(IV Reg. 4.29) Greg. Mor. IX.40 col.894D 'Quod bene Elisaeo Sunamitis filium suscitante signatur. . . . Et quia per Moysen terrorem legis protulit quasi per puerum virgam misit. . . .', repeated by Rab. Reg. col.229B. There is a poem on the same subject in the Floridus Aspectus of Pierre Riga (ed. Boutemy, Latomus 8 (1949) p.291), but there is no close imitation of this poem.

2.

(IV Reg. 13.14) For lines 5-7 cf. Greg. Mor. XIX.30 col.1330, 'Aliquando autem per arcum etiam sacra Scriptura signatur. . . . . duritia Testamenti Veteris mollitur'.

For line 8 cf. Greg. Ezech. col.1051D 'Intendunt arcum, atque sagittas mittunt, qui Scripturae sacrae sententias proponunt.' and Mor. VII.4 col.769A 'Sagittarum quippe nomine aliquando praedicationis verba, aliquando animadversionis sententiae designantur.'

But all this is found united in Rab. Reg. col.244A '. . . Nos ergo, cum Scripturae sacrae dicta pensamus, arcum intendimus. Cum verba doctrinae damus, sagittas emittimus. . . . Orientalem fenestram aperire mandat. . . quia lumine scientiae et verae doctrinae suos hortatur prius illustrari, et iacula verborum mittere.'

4.

(Job. 40.20) Greg. Mor. XXXIII.9 col.682C 'Sed Leviathan iste hamo captus est quia in Redemptore nostro dum per satellites suos escam corporis momordit, divinitatis illum aculeus perforavit. . . . In . . . abysso, id est in hac immensitate humani generis . . . linea illa est per Evangelium antiquorum patrum propago memorata.'

5.

(Matt. 22.19)

6.

Additional Biblical Epigrams: Notes

6.

(Matt. 27.7) Somewhat similar to this interpretation is that of Rab. Matt. col.1129C 'et hoc ad sepulturam peregrinorum, tanquam ad permansionem quietis eorum cum in hoc saeculo peregrinantur, consepelientur Christo per baptismum.'

7.

(Matt. 2.11) Rab. Matt. col.759D 'Per ista ergo munerum genera, in uno eodemque Christo et divina maiestas, et regia potestas, et humana mortalitas intimatur. Thus enim ad sacrificium, aurum pertinet ad tributum, myrrha ad sepulturam pertinet mortuorum.' Ed. N. Chamart, Oeuvres de Philippe de Bonne Espérance, p.802.

8.

(II Reg. 11.) Greg. Mor. III.28 col.626A 'Cujus autem David . . . typum tenet, nisi ejus de quo scriptum est: In sole posuit tabernaculum suum? Et quid est Bersabee ad se perducere, nisi legem litterae carnali populo conjunctam, spiritali sibi intellectu sociare? Quem vero Urias, nisi Judaicum populum signat? . . . hanc (i.e., legem) a Judaico populo extraneam demonstravit: sibique conjunxit. . . . quia idem ipse Judaicus populus legem portat, qua convincente moriatur.' The account of Rab. Reg. col.1000 is taken over from Gregory.

3.3 The line is taken over by Pierre e Riga in l. 5 of the poem beg: Designat Christum David, ed. Boutemy, Latomus 8 (1949) p.290.

10.

(Ezech. 1.18) Greg. Ezech. col.829B 'Quid autem rota, nisi sacram Scripturam signat' and col.837B 'Sciendum ergo est quia stare ad vitam congruit bene operantis. . . . Altitudo vero est celestis regni promissio. . . . Horribilis vero aspectus est terror gehennae.'

The De Mysterio Missae and its Source

Allegorical interpretation of the Mass, like that of the Scriptures, began in late patristic and early medieval authors. Allegorical expositions of the Mass were found as early as the seventh century (Sophronius, d. 638), but it was in the Carolingian period that they became frequent and popular. The reason for this popularity of the allegorizing of the Mass is obvious. By the eighth century many ceremonies had been added to the Mass and become customary through long observance. But often no reasonable explanation of them could be found, so that recourse was had to allegory. The foremost allegorist of the Carolingian age is Amalarius (c. 775-c. 850) a native of Gallia Belgica, and Bishop of Treves around 812. His works[1] are almost entirely devoted to the Liturgy and to ecclesiological questions. Of those works regarded by Hanssens as undoubtedly genuine, the principal are the Missae expositio, the Canonis Missae Interpretatio, the Liber de ordine antiphonarii, and the Liber officialis. Of these the last had the most influence upon his successors. It was very popular throughout the entire Middle Ages, as will be seen from the number of manuscripts listed by Hanssens (Op. dt. 138. 120). The Liber Officialis deals not only with the Mass (Bk. III) but also with the order and manner of celebrating feasts, the ranks of the clergy, their vestments, and the Hours. In the comentary on the Mass he devotes some time to purely liturgical matters. For instance when discussing the Agnus (III. ch 33. 1) he tells us "Sergius Papa constituit, ut Agnus Dei cantaretur". But he is

chiefly interested in the allegory of the Mass, and the allegory is generally directed towards the complete identification of the acts of the Mass with those of the life and passion of Christ. For instance, the Introit (III. 5. 1) "ipsius(i.e. Christs) adventum nobis ad memoriam reducit".[2] Besides this rememorative allegory there is also a great deal of the purely moral kind. The sudarium lying on the altar signifies "laborem quem habent angeli in ministerio humano, sive perfecti viri, qui non cessant orare pro nostra fragilitate." (III. 21, 10.). In his allegories we see the same inconsequence which Miss Smalley remarks upon, when talking of the Biblical commentators. Of this Franz (p. 355) gives striking instances. It is also interesting to note that just as the allegorical school of Origen was opposed by the Antiochenes in the sphere of biblical exegesis (Smalley, p. 15), so Amalarius was opposed by Florus of Lyons. In both cases the influence of the allegorists has far exceeded that of their opponents.

Three other Carolingian liturgical writers became standard authors for the later period: Walafrid Strabo, Rabanus Maurus, and Remigius of Auxerre, although none of these had the importance of Amalarius. Rabanus Maurus in his De institutione Clericorum (I. 33) gives us a short exposition of the Mass, which is a compilation from the earlier anonymous treatise "Primum in ordine"[3] In his later work De sacris ordinibus (P.L. 112, col 1177-1192) he repeats his exposition of the De institutione, and for the canon he draws on the "Canonis missae expositio" of Amalarius. The work of Walafrid Strabo is of a higher quality. His account "De exor-

919-66) and ed. Knöpfer, München 1890) is an attempt to trace the origin and gradual development of the Mass from the time of the Apostles. The work is obviously of importance to students of the liturgy itself, but Strabo, in that part of the work which deals with the order of the Mass (ch. xxi) omits all allegorical interpretations. This does not necessarily mean that, like Florus, he was opposed to such, but probably that, as he himself says in regard to the mystical meanings of the vestments (col 952B), he felt that this subject had been adequately treated by others. The exposition of Remigius of Auxerre, on the other hand, depends for its second part, (after the Preface) on the anti-allegorical work of Florus. The short first part is in the allegorical manner of Amalarius, but although he recognizes in the Mass the commemoration of Christ's passion and death, he does not seek to equate every part of the Mass with events in that passion.

After the Carolingian period, there are no further contributions to this branch of literature until about the middle of the eleventh century. Even at this period, we do not find works comparable to those of the Carolingian. One of the names which stand out is that of Bernold (d. 1100), author of the Micrologus (P.L. 151, 977 - 1022), in the first twenty-six chapters of which he deals with the Mass. His method is similar to that of Amalarius, whose work he mentions (col. 983 B). He too considers the Mass as a memorial of Christ's passion. Another writer, contemporary with Hildebert, is Rupert of Deutz (P.L. 170, col. 9 - 332, work described by Franz pp. 416, 7). His work "De Officiis Missae" is once again deeply indebted to Amalarius, as he himself as good as admits.[4]

But at once the most important and original exposition of the Mass in the eleventh and twelth centuries is that of the canonist, Ivo of Chartres, (c. 1040 - 1116) and is contained in his sermon "De convenientia veteris et novi sacrificii". (No. 5, P.L. 162, col. 535 - 562). At the beginning of this he states his purpose thus: "Quae autem dicturus sum, ad hoc intendunt, ut mediante evangelica veritate, pateat qualiter conveniant vetera sacramenta cum novis, cum Ecclesia... testificatur esse praeteritum, quod vetera sacramenta praenuntiavere venturum". With Amalarius and his successors, he regards the Mass as being a detailed commemoration of the events of Christ's life and passion. But he goes further in regarding each single part of the Mass as prefigured by the Jewish rite of sacrifice, which lost its validity with the advent of Christ. It was not original to make the triple equation: Old law prefigures Christ: Christ is commemorated by the Mass: the Mass recalls the acts of the Old Law. Amalarius himself, when expounding the Offertory (III. 19. 1.) says, "Primo ad memoriam reducenda est, oblatio legalis, ac deinde Christi, postremo nostra". But Ivo was, as far as we know, the first to carry this triple representation right through the Mass. In his exposition, the part of the Mass up to the Offertory as compared to that part of the Jewish ritual which took place in the outer court of the temple, and which was open to the people. That which happens after the Offertory is equivalent to all which was performed by the High Priest alone in the Holy of Holies. The immediate popularity of the tract was very great and it had imitators from an early date. But its importance for us lies in the

fact that the De Mysterio Missae of Hildebert is undoubtedly very closely linked to Ivo's work, so much so that in some places there is co-incidence of language. Hildebert did not versify Ivo's work en bloc, but made his own selection. It is curious to note that this is the only instance in which Hildebert versifies the work of a contemporary, but the following table should show how close the relationship between the two treatises is, as well as serving as a guide to the contents of both. For convenience sake I have numbered the lines of each section in P.L. 162. I do not include any allegory[1] of Ivo's which is not taken up by Hildebert (although these are not numerous), but I do mention points which Hildebert makes, and which are not made by Ivo. I hope that the paraphrase of Hildebert's text may go some way towards elucidating his rather obscure phraseology.

Interpretation of Hildebert	Lines	Ivo
Christ's coming ended the sacrifice of the Old Law. The priest commemorates the sacrifice of the Old Law and acts that of Christ.	1-12	col.555D.1 - 549B.11.
Introit = expectation by the prophets of the coming of Christ	15-22	549B.12.
Priest coming to the altar = advent of Christ.	25-30	549C.10.
Priest stands at the right of the altar because Israel was 'dexter'in worshipping the true God.	31,32	549C.15 Qui populus tanquam dexter, solus unius Dei cultum tenuerat.
Hymnus Angelicus recalls the song of the angels at the birth of Christ.	33-8	549D.4.
Collect: We must pray, for at the beginning of his ministry Christ taught the disciples the Lord's prayer.	39-42	549D.8.
Epistle = 72 disciples whom Christ sent two by two.	43,44	550A.2.
Gradual. The 'chorus' shows that it gives assent to the teachings of the gospel.	45,46	550A.7.
Alleluia.	47,48	550A.9. Alleluia sequitur.. ut impleatur illud 'Qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur.
Gospel. 1 People cross themselves 'neve superveniens zizania seminet hostis.' 2 Gospel read at left since Christ turned to the Gentiles when the Jews rejected the Gospel. 3 People uncover their head, signifying attention. 4 Lay aside their sticks, signifying that one must spare ones enemies. 5 Stand, signifying the struggle of the Christian life.	49-64	550A.15. Only 2 is in Ivo. For 1 see Amalarius,Lib. Off.III.18.9.12. For 4 see ibid.III.18.11, though Hildebert's interpretation differs from this.

Hildebert	lines	Ivo
Creed: Hinc etenim monstrat quantum profecerit, in quem / crediderit, que sit, quidve datura fides.	65-74	550B.12. ut ostendat quantum profecerit per Evangelium.
Offertory. 1 Note the apt order of gospel creed, offertory: you hear that you may believe; you believe that you may offer yourself. 2 Sung, because when Solomon dedicated the temple, the people offered up various kinds of music.	75-90	550B.14. Only 2 in Ivo.
We must offer a bread and wine; b wine mixed with water.	91-112	Not in Ivo, though he does mention Melchisedech (550D.1).
The secreta at the offertory = 1) Three prayers of Christ at Gethsemane; 2) Triple offerings of High Priest 'pro se, pro populo, pro principibus'.	113-150	553B.10.
Sursum corda = 3 commands of Christ to disciples between the 3 prayers at Gethsemane. 1 Vigilate. Saying this he salutes them, for 'salus animae' is present if we are watchful. 2 Orate. When he orders us to pray he orders us to [illegible]'sursum cor habere', for we are to pray only for the things of heaven, i.e. higher things. 3 Dormite et requiescite. He tells us to give thanks, for by peace of mind we give thanks to him.	151-148	553D.11. Ivo different. He does not mention the 'orate' and 'dormite'.
Preface Priest prays that their prayers may be joined to those of the angels who are present at the Mass.	149-160	554A.12. Ivo entirely different.
Sanctus. An expression of the Trinity. The second part is an expression of gratitude for being vouchsafed perception of the idea of the first.	161-174	Not in Ivo.
All that I have described thus far can be a commemoration of the sacrifice of the outer temple. All good actions in the Church are pleasing sacrifices to God.	175-200	Ivo 552A-D.

Hildebert	Lines	Ivo
Hildebert here summarizes his intention to deal with the canon, equating it with the rites performed inside the Holy of Holies.	201-12	553B.5.
Hildebert gives a brief account of the ceremonies of the Levitic sacrifice, and briefly equates each action with properties of Christ, God and man.	215-250	Not in Ivo.
Te igitur		
1 a High Priest entered the sanctuary with the blood of a calf.	251-262	554C.9.
b Christ entered Heaven with his own blood.		
c Our priest, because he is commemorating Christ's blood shed for us, also comes with blood to the altar.		
2 Haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia	263-278	554B.11.
a Dona, because God has given us them to nourish our bodies.		
b Munera, because we give these to God.		
c Sacrificia, because they are sacrificed.		
3 These also signify the ram, goat and bullock sacrificed.	279-286	554B.11.
4 una cum famulo tuo	287-296	554D.2.
a High Priest prayed for himself, his leader, nation and 'familia'.		
b Christ prays for himself, saying 'Pater clarifica filium tuum' (John XVII.1). For his familia, saying 'Pater serva illos quos dedisti mihi' (John XVII.11).		
c Priest in the Mass prays for ruler, Pontiff and people.		
Memento Domine		
1 a Priest carried live coal into the Holy of Holies and burnt incense.	297-300	554D.13-555C.8
b Christ took his body, filled with all virtue, into Heaven. These virtues may be taken by us from the fire to fight the lusts of the flesh.	301-4	
c Our priest does this when he commemorates the saints and martyrs.	305-20	

Hildebert	Lines	Ivo
The priest should always have this flame in his heart, inspired by the saints. The High Priest wore on his breast the names of the patriarchs. This shows that we must not only recall the saints' example but act on it.		Note that both Hildebert and Ivo expatiate on this last theme.
2 a The High Priest was covered by a cloud of incense so that he was invisible.	321,2	
b So much power resides in Christ's intercession that it is beyond all knowing, i.e. veiled in obscurity.	325-330	
c When the priest prays in the Mass, such a cloud of prayers is directed to God that no one knows its influence.	331-340	
Quem oblationem ... benedictam, ascriptam, ratam rationabilem. a benedictam: priest asks that the offering may be turned into something better. b ascriptam: he asks that God will take it unto himself. c ratam: he asks that their prayers may be ratified. d rationabilem: he asks 'ut recte dividat quae munera recte offert'.	341-356	555C.8. A different interpretation. Hildebert quickly paraphrases the first sentences of the prayer, and passes on to the words which Ivo expounds first. It is odd that though both differ, neither mentions acceptabilem.
Qui pridie, Simili modo, Hildebert here gives a bare account of the actions, with some reflections on the act of consecration and its commemoration of Christ's death.	357-390	556A.7. Ivo too passes over this. He mentions only the crossing at 'benedixit' as = the sprinkling of sanctuary and tabernacle = shedding of Christ's blood.
Unde et memores a Hostiam puram: Pure because nothing of the Old Law is mixed up in it. b sanctam: because he who discerns the sacred food is sanctified by it. c immaculatam: because that which was an immaculate sacrifice (i.e. Christ) becomes ours and gives in turn.	391-402	556D.1. Ivo differs: a puram i.e. sine fermento malitiae. b sanctam i.e. tibi consecratam. c immaculatam i.e. talem qualem significabant animalia quae immolanda sine macula quaerebantur.

Hildebert	Lines	Ivo
Supra quae Abel = lex naturalis Abraham = lex tradita Melchisedech = lex breviata (i.e. the New Covenant of the Communion).	405-414	556D.9. Ivo differs. Abel = Christ, who being innocent, was slain by guilty men. Abraham = obedience. Melchisedech = Christ turning the bread and wine into his own body.
a The High Priest sprinkled 1) the table; 2) the altar; 3) the outer shrine with blood. b The Son sprinkles with blood 1) the Father, as often as he sheds his blood (i.e. in the Mass); 2) the heavenly hosts, when he revives and repairs their number (i.e. makes up the loss of Satan and his followers); 3) men, when he renews them and sets them at peace with the Father. c Priest sprinkles 1) God the Father, for mention of his Son's blood shed placates him; 2) angels, for mention of blood shed makes good (their number?); 3) men, since mention of blood shed cleanses them.	415-434	556A.7. In Ivo the crossing at benedixit in Qui pridie = sprinkling of the sanctuary = shedding of Christ's blood.
Supplices te rogamus 1) Angel = priest's? (eius) or the angels which tradition says are present at the Mass. 2) ara = Dei conspectus 3) eo sacra ferri = meritis sacra placere Deo. 4) angelicas ea ferre manus = plaudere nostro affectu superos. When priest asks for the sacrifice to be carried to Heaven, Hildebert refers back to the goats offered by the High Priest.	435-472	557C.1 1) Angel = Christ. 2) altar = dextera Patris. Hildebert seems to develope Ivo's theme more fully here. 5540.1.
Memento etiam Domine and Nobis quoque peccatoribus. The double commemoration of the saints in the Canon = rationalis and superhumeralis of the Levitic priest, with	473-484	558B.14.

Hildebert	Lines	Ivo
the names of the 12 tribes thereon. These signify that we must imitate the fathers both in thought and action.		
Per quem haec omnia a 1 sanctificas, because such grace is given to inanimate objects (i.e. Bread and Wine) that he who well discerns them may be sanctified by them. 2 vivificas, because man, dying to himself, may be wakened to life by these. 3 benedicis, because he who takes these sacraments effectively (bene) is blessed. b There is honour to the Father 1 per ipsum, for through Christ the Father does all that is to be glorified. 2 cum ipso, for Christ himself is glorified, with whom the Father does all that is to be glorified. 3 in ipso , for both Son and Father are one God, therefore that which is in one is in the other.	485-508	558D.9 Ivo merely paraphrases the first part until per ipsum. b 1) per ipsum, i.e. quia per ipsum cuncta operaris. 2) cum ipso quia et ipse Filius, in operibus quae per eum facis, sicut coaequalis tecum honoratur. 3) in ipso Est tibi spiritalis gloria sicut ipse per columbae tuae vocem dixisti 'Hic est filius meus...' Ivo thus agrees with Hild. in 1) and 2), but differs somewhat 3).
a At the end of the ceremonies, the High Priest returns to the people. He washes his vestments, but is unclean until the sun sets. b The Church is Christ's vestment. He washes (i.e. redeems) it, but will be unclean until the end of the world, because of its blemishes. c The priest by making intercession, especially in the Pater, washes the people (i.e. his vestments). Yet, being a man, while he lives he will have sins to wash away.	509 - 534	558B.1 and 560D.7.
Pater noster and Libera nos Ivo passes over both here, but Hildebert here follows his non-allegorical exposition of the Pater (Serm.XXII.col.600D sqq.	535-566	

Hildebert	Lines	Ivo
At the end of the Canon in both authors it is noted that the priest changes his voice, symbolical of the re-entry of the Jewish priest into the outer temple.	525	559B.5.
The Fraction. a Likened to the High Priest's breaking off pieces from the wheat offering (Lev.2.6). b The three parts of the broken Host. 1 Part dipped in wine is offered for living, and expiates their sins. 2 For the just, now at rest: it gives thanks for them. 3 For those in Purgatory: it assists their journey to eternal rest. Note that Ivo's account begins, 'Nos quoque non otiose', Hildebert's 'Nos quoque non frustra'.	567-592	559B.9. Ivo's account of b is somewhat different. 1 = substantivum Christi corpus. 2 = illam Christi corporis, i.e. ecclesiae partem significat, quae in sabbato quiescit. 3 = Tertia portio, quam in sanguine ponimus, illam ecclesiae partem significat quae calicem Domini bibit = Hildebert's 1.
Agnus Dei. Repeated thrice. Prays 1 that they may be numbered among those who resist the flesh. 2 That they may be glorified in that kingdom where Christ the head has drawn his members (i.e.the faithful). 3 That spirit and flesh may live in concord.	595-606	560B.1. 1 That the Church may be numbered among the members of Christ. 2 That it may be united to that part of Christ's body (i.e.the Church) which rests in peace. 3 That it may not be over-come by the trials of the world.
End of Mass. Ad Christi reditura fidem Iudea notatur, Cum pater ad dextram cedit, et explet opus.		560C.11. Redit post haec sacerdos ad dexteram partem altaris, et ibi officium consummat, significans quia 'Cum plenitudo gentium intraverit, tunc omnis Israel salvus erit'.

It should be obvious from this table that Hildebert has versified certain parts of Ivo, though omitting some of Ivo's allegories. It should also be clear that the statement of Franz "In dem ersten Teile hält sich Hildebert an die seit Amalar üblich Allegorischen Auslegungen. Aber hier kehren Gedanken und Worte Ivos wieder" is inaccurate. In fact until the "sursum corda" he does not differ materially from Ivo, and there is at times a verbal resemblance between the two accounts. On the other hand there are considerable differences in the later parts of the works. The exposition of the "Te igitur" is in general the same, but that of the "dona, munera, sacrificia" differs. Those of the "Memento etiam", "Nobis quoque" and "Per quem" are almost the same. Moreover the descriptions of the end of the Mass are strikingly alike. We must consider then whether Hildebert is following some other source than Ivo, perhaps a source common to both, or whether that which is not in Ivo is original invention on Hildebert's part. Several reasons incline one to the latter opinion, strange as it may seem. In the first place I have been unable to find in Amalarius any of Hildebert's interpretations which differ from Ivo's. There are a few borrowings either from Amalarius himself or his successors. The most notable instance is the notion of the sursum corda implying thanks (Ivo 553 D.11, De Myst. 133, Liber Off. III. 21.4.11). But these borrowings are shared by Ivo and Hildebert. Moreover the whole tone of such moralizing as we have in the interpretation of the dona, munera, sacrificia (267 - 280) seems somewhat deeper than and alien to Amalarius and his tradition. It is notable that in one of those parts where Hildebert differs from Ivo

(Preface no. 16) he quotes Gregory, and one wonders whether a close reading of the Moralia or Dialogues would uncover some more ideas, for which Hildebert is indebted to him.

Again, while Hildebert omits some of Ivo's digressions, he seems to pass over exactly those parts of the Mass which Ivo passes over. For instance, both give paraphrases of the first portion of Unde et memores, concentrating on the Hostiam puram, sanctam, immaculatam, although of this they give different interpretations. Again, in the prayer Libera nos, which Ivo passes over, Hildebert gives a rather weak paraphrase and explanation without any allegory, whereas one would expect that if he were using other sources he would supply Ivo's omission with a proper allegorical explanation. The only firm conclusion we can reach is that Hildebert has not borrowed these explanations from Amalarius himself, though they might possibly have come from some other work on the Mass, Carolingian or contemporary. On the other hand, they may well be Hildebert's own, or be borrowed by him from a patristic, and not specifically liturgical, source such as Gregory.

Besides selecting from Ivo's work for his De Mysterio, Hildebert makes a few re-arrangements of allegorical subjects to conform to the order of the Mass. The most striking re-arrangement is that of the part of the Mass containing the Secreta after the Offertory, the Preface and Sanctus. Ivo and Hildebert both divide their works into two parts, representing respectively the actions of the High Priest in public in the outer temple and in private in the Holy of Holies. But whereas Hildbert equates (1) with the part of the Mass before the Canon, and (2) with the Canon, Ivo equates (1)

with prayers offered aloud, and the public parts of the Mass, while for him (2) is equivalent to the secrets of the Mass. Now the part of the Mass before the Canon is "public" until the secreta after the Offertory, and so Ivo closes his first section with the Offertory, gives an estimation of his purpose regarding the second section (553 B), and then describes the secreta of the Offertory, passing quickly over the Sanctus and continuing with the Canon. But Hildebert does not make his introduction to the part of the Mass which is equivalent to the actions of the Holy of Holies until after he has dealt with the Offertory Secreta, the Preface and Sanctus. Thus compared with Ivo's order Hildebert's is lines 1 - 90, 175 - 212, 113 - 174.

A less explicable alteration is that whereby Hildebert does not mention the sprinkling of the altar with blood until after his exposition of "Supra quae" (l. 415). Ivo has it (556 A.7) in the middle of his exposition of "Quam oblationem". If Hildebert takes up Ivo's meaning that these "aspersiones" are equivalent to the three crosses made at "benedictam, ascriptam, ratam", then one would expect his explanation to come earlier than it does. But he does not, as does Ivo, expressly say that he makes this comparison. On the other hand, he cannot be referring to a sprinkling of holy water within the canon as Beaugendre (Beaugendre Migne 1188, note 18) thought he might be. The meaning here must be wholly mystical.

Notes

1 Ed. J.M.Hanssens S.J. Studi e Testi 138-140. The long controversy on on the question of whether Amalarius of Metz and Amalarius of Treves were one person seems to be settled by Hanssens (138.pp.39-49), who gives a complete bibliography of the considerable literature on the subject.

2 For a fuller list of correspondances between the gospel story and the Mass see Franz, Die Messe p.356.

3 On this see Wilmart Ephemerides Liturgicae 50 (1936) pp.133-9.

4 Prologue col.13 'Neque enim auctoritati veterum quidquam detrahimus, Amalarii scilicet et aliorum, si qui forte scripserunt de huiusmodi, sed licuit semperque licebit cuique dicere, salve fide, quod senserit'.

Interpolations in the text of Beaugendré.

Beaugendre's text of De Mysterio is on the whole rather better than usual, but is marred by his inclusion in the text of a number of short extraneous pieces. These fall into two categories, namely the four additions which come from his ms. Colbert 6101 (B.N.1249), and the eucharistic pieces, drawn from various sources, which he has added at the end of the poem.

The first of the former sort of addition occurs after our line 112, where ten lines are added (col.1139). Four more verses from the same ms. are given in a note by Beaugendre (col.1140), but clearly even he did not consider them genuine. After 536 four more lines are added (col.1143), and after 592 the ten lines bracketed in our text. Of these only the last is found in any other ms. They appear in our ms. B, and in B.N.2905 s.xii, fol.70 at the end of the De Mysterio. But so obviously do they break into the line of thought that they cannot really be considered as genuine. The pieces added at the end are:

1. 'Interea unanimis', six lines found by Beaugendre in one ms. only. It is probably meant to supply what is felt to be an omission on Hildebert's part in not mentioning the 'Ite missa est'.
2 B.E.67.
3. 'Ecclesiae partes credunt tres esse fideles'. This is taken by Beaugendre from Colbert 4168 (now B.N.2905), where it appears on p.69 apparently at the end of the De Myst. As the volume is almost totally given up to Hildebert, containing the letters, 55 and De Myst., it is clear that the scribe at least considered it to be Hildebert's. In Vat.Reginensis 270 s.xiii, fol.48^{v} it occurs in the middle of Hildebert's poems just before B.E.68; in Amiens Lescalopier 11 s.xiii, fol.111 it is joined to poem 21, while in B it is found on fol.142. This last ms. must be treated with caution as containing several works on the Mass which are definitely not Hildebert's. It too shares the lines 'Non crudus..' with B.N.2905 and 1249. These three mss. are therefore very probably related. But the testimony of the other mss. is surprisingly good. There is nothing in the style to contradict this, except perhaps the ugly 'designat eos quos dixi semibeatos',

but it seems odd that Hildebert should have written three times about this subject, in the De Mysterio, in poem 45 and B.E.68, and should still feel that he had something new to say. (As my attention was not drawn to this poem until the chapter on the canon was in typescript, the preceding discussion has not been included there).

4. 45

5. 'ara crucis'. For this see Wilmart R.B.48.176 note 5. He regards the attribution of ms. Digby 53 to 'Hermannus Christi pauperum peripsima', i.e. Hermannus Contractus,as genuine, but one must doubt this. The distich has most probably come into Beaugendre's text from the edition of Hittorp or the Magna Bibliotheca, which Beaugendre seems to have used considerably.

Editions of the De Mysterio Misse.

Brevis et admodum dilucida in missae canonem exegesis, Parisiis, apud Carolam Guillard viduam Claudii Chevallonii... et Gulielmum Desbois, 1548.

M. Hittorp, De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis ac ministeriis varii... libri, Coloniae, 1568, pp.525 - 528.

(For the following list of reprints of Hittorp's text I am indebted to Hanssen's edition of Amalarius. As Hittorp included the work of Amalarius in his collection the list given by Hanssen, Studi e testi 138 p.152, holds good for Hildebert's poem also.)

Speculum missae a Ioanne Cochleo... collectum, nunc vero a F.Nicolao Aurifico Senensi Carmelita recognitum..., Venetiis,1572, pp.

Sacrae bibliothecae sanctorum patrum... per Margarinum de la Bigne.. Par.,1575, tom.IV.col.631 - 642; Par.,1589, tom.III.col.985 - 994.

De catholicae ecclesiae divinis officiis ac ministeriis varii.. libri, Romae 1591, apud Georgium Ferrarium, pp.456 - 461.

De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis et mysteriis.. Nunc primum auctarii loco caeteris Bibliothecae veterum Patrum tomis adiuncti.., Par.,1610,col.839 - 848, 2nd.ed. Par.1624, appearing as vol.10 of the 1654 Paris ed. of the Magna Bibliotheca veterum Patrum.

Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, Coloniae, 1618, tom.XII.pp.350 - 355.

Maxima bibliotheca veterum Patrum..., Lugduni, 1677, tom.XXI.col. 163 - 168.

German verse translation

Gotsälige hailige und kluge Ausslegung der furnemesten Gehaimnussen der Mess... Newlich durch.. Ioachimum Abte zu Staingaden inn Truck gegeben... Yetz aber.. in deutsche Reymen verdölmetschet durch Magistrum Augustinum Neser, Augspurg, 1572.

I have so far been unable to trace the Latin edition mentioned.

Sigla

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms.Bodley 605 s.xii^2 or xiii^1

V = Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll. 157 s.xii^2

X = Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms.Bodley 866 s.xii^1

A = Paris, Bibl.Nat. 7596A s.xii^1

K = London, British Museum, Additional MS. 24199 s.xii^2

E = Paris, Bibl.Nat. 14867 s.xii^2

F = Troyes, Bibl.Mun. 887 s.xii^2

I = Berlin, Staatsbibl. 180 s.xii

P = Munich, Staatsbibl. 16073 s.xii^2 or xiii^1

G = Vienna, Nationalbibl. 2521 s.xii

DE MYSTERIO MISSE

Incipit liber secundus in expositione super missam B
Versus Hildeberti Turonensis archiepiscopi de missa V
Incipiunt expositio misse edita ab Ildeberto episcopo Cenomannensium X
Incipit versus Hildeberti Cenomanensis episcopi in expositionem misse K
Tractatus de concordia veteris et novi sacrificii E
Incipit domini Hyldeberti Cenomannensis episcopi postea Turonensis archiepiscopi de expositione misse F
Incipit liber Hildeberti Cynomanensis episcopi de misse sacramentis et veteris legis I
De concordia veteris ac novi testamenti P
Versus Hildeberti episcopi Cenomanensis de officio misse G

Scribere proposui quo mistica sacra priorum
  Missa representet, quidve minister agat.
Pro multis una, pro cotidie repetitis
  Est oblata semel hostia vera Deus.
Involucrum legis Christus patefecit, ovemque
  Significativam vera removit ovis.
Presbiter hanc offert, et in hac cessare figuras,
  Remque figurarum testificatur agi.
Sic etenim templi, sic et crucis exprimit aram,
  Ut sacra commemoret illius, huius agat.
Ergo quid in missa vel agatur vel memoretur;
  Que quibus assimiles, sub brevitate canam.

De introitu misse.

Turba prophetarum, venturi nuncia Christi,
  Mysterium fertur precinuisse crucis.
Hunc desideriis, hunc laudibus, hunc prece multa,
  Presuspiravit, extulit, expetiit.
Hec tria commemorat, similique sub ordine ponit
  Introitus misse, quem chorus ante canit.

1 quo: que X: quod E: quid Ed. 7 cessasse P 11 quid: quod V 14 mysterium: antidotum A

Ante recensentur suspiria, postea laudes,
Inde preces, in quo queque notentur habes.
Exprimit officium suspiria, gloria laudes,
Kyrie eleyson ter triplicata preces.

De accessu sacerdotis ad altare.

Interea veniens in sacra veste sacerdos,
Altaris dextram, dona daturus, adit.
Illius adventus, quibus, o Iudea, revisit
Te tuus Emmanuel tempora plena notat.
Secreta siquidem procedit ab ede minister;
Ortu secreto venit ad ima Deus.
Vestibus ille sacris tegitur, texit caro Verbum,
Tota carens macula, tota sacrata Deo.
Ille stat a dextris, quam quesiit Auctor, inanes
Execrata deos gens, quasi dextra fuit.

De gloria in excelsis Deo.

Angelicum post hec sacrifex pater incipit ymnum:
Inceptum complet vociferando chorus.
Incipiens memorat que, Salvatoris in ortu,
Gaudia pastores angelus edocuit.
Cantica, que post hunc superi cecinere recenset
Gloria, quam complet vociferando chorus.

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Hinc oraturus, alios hortatur ut orent:
Discipulos Christus iussit, et egit idem.
Nam turbas in monte docens oravit, et ipsis
Orandi formam fratribus instituit.

De epistola.

Lectio que sequitur, doctrinam signat eorum
Qui sunt premissi septuaginta duo.

De responsorio.

Illorum monitis, dum responsoria cantat,
Edocet assensum se tribuisse chorus.

20 notantur B 24 datur K 31 quam: quia Ed. 32 exsecuta X
37 post: patres V G superi: alii K om.V G 40 discipulis Ed.
iussit christus I 43 et doctrinam K

De alleluia.

Alleluia sequens memorat que gloria mentis,
Quam pia laus oris sit comitata fidem.

De evvangelio.

Inde sinistrorsum Domini sacra verba leguntur.
Plebs baculos ponit, stat, retegitque caput.
Neve superveniens sizenia seminet hostis,
Frontibus imprimitur mistica forma crucis.
Reiciente fidem Iudea, gracia Christi
Transiit ad gentes: Israel errat adhuc.
Transitus is, quotiens evangelium recitatur,
Mentibus occurrit, exprimiturque loco.
Ad levam legitur, quia quo transivit aberrans,
Et velut a leva gens idolatra fuit.
Ut sis attentus, paciens, erectus in hostem,
Et caput, et baculus, et status ipse docet.
Quippe caput retegens attente audire moneris;
Parcere, cum baculum reicis, instrueris.
Stans discis, quoniam stantes pugnare solemus,
Quod te pugna gravis sub vigili hoste manet.
Doctrinam verbi simulas affingere cordi,
Cum super astringis pectus utraque manu.

Super credo in unum Deum.

Succinit ecce chorus fidei compendia nostre,
Assensum verbo se tribuisse docens.
Hinc etenim monstrat quantum profecerit, in quem
Crediderit, que sit, quidve datura fides.
Ordo bonus, quoniam quo rex vocat atque magister,
Respondet miles discipulusque, "Sequor."
Quamque notam pastor novit propriamque fatetur,
Hac se signatam testificatur ovis.
Queque probant opifex, et signifer, et caput idem,
His opus, his proceres, his sun membra favent.

De eo quod sequitur et de offertorio.

Sic confessa fidem pia plebs orare monetur,
Ut sit in hac stabilis, et super aptet opus.

48 quam: qua B E: que P 54 errat hebreus adhuc A 55 is: his B X: hic E F P 58 ad levam F 59,60 inverted with 61,62 B 62 X: ne lesus ledas virga remota docet 64 quod: quo F 64a,b appear only in E Ed. 65 compendia: cum premia P 66 docet P 67 hic Ed. profeceris P 68 crediderit P quidve: que ve E 72 hanc F I 73 quamque E F 76 et super: insuper Ed.

Effectum spondet chorus, offertoria cantans,
  Tamquam si dicat,"Credo,fatebor,agam."
Hinc est quod post hec offert sacranda minister
  Dona, dehinc populus, quod sibi lege licet.
Ordo decens: evangelium precedere cernis,
  Pone fidem pendi, dona deinde dari.
Audis ut credas, et credis ut hostia fias.
  Taliter incipimus esse, sumusque Dei.
Preterea donis, que plebs devotior offert,
  Dona domus Iude commemorare licet.
Cum Salomon templum, Salomon altare secraret,
  Oblata a populo victima multa fuit.
Exemplo,Iudea,tuo plebs usa fidelis,
  Altari dat se, dat sua: tu neutrum.

De oblacione panis et vini cum aqua.

Non sine mysterio, sine re, vel panis ad aram,
  Vel vinum fertur, cui superaddis aquam.
Utraque danda Deo presignavere figure,
  Tradicio docuit, sanctior usus habet.
Utraque sub tipico ritu formaque futuri,
  Melchisedech Domino sacrificasse ferunt.
Utraque discipulis cenantibus ipse Redemptor
  Tradidit, in corpus utraque versa suum.
Usus et ipse placet, quo sic mactatur in imis,
  Ut sit in excelsis inviolata caro.
Admixtum vino laticem miraris: id ipsum
  Grande sacramentum est, nec racione vacat.
Unda fluens homo preteriens: ea mixta lico,
  Est Christo, Christi sanguine, iunctus homo.
Dividit unitos, vel aquam vel vina ministrans,
  Et caput a membris separat ipse suis.
Preterea nil fons sine sanguine, nec sine fonte
  Sanguis. Uterque simul salvat: utrumque sacres.
Cum rimaretur pendentis viscera Christi
  Lancea, manavit sanguis et unda simul.
Sicut utrumque simul fluxit, simul offer utrumque.
  Unum deme, crucis non imitaris opus.

De secretis oracionibus.

77 affectum F 79 hinc: tunc A 91 myst.sine re: respectu tipico A re om.F 96 fertur K F 99 iste F mactetur E I Ed. P G 101 at ipsum Ed. 104 christi christo B E iunctus: vinctus P 106 separat: dividit A G 107 nil: nec P nec: nil K E F I G Ed. 108 uterq: utrumq.G Ed. utrumq: utraq.K sacres: sacrum F: sacrat I Ed. 111 sicut: sic P

His ita premissis, secreto presbiter orat,
Secretas memorans, assimilansque preces.
Quas egit Christus, cum iam te,Iuda,remoto,
Abscessit modicum, terque precatus eit,
"PATER SI FIERI POTEST TRANSEAT A ME CALIX ISTE!
His precibus veluti labiorum victima quedam
Est oblata, tipum legis et ipsa gerens.
Pro se, pro populo, pro principibusque sacerdos
Supremus Domino mystica dona dedit.
Nam sua, nam populi, nam pontificum malefacta,
Portarunt aries, et caper, et vitulus.
Pontificum vitulus, populi mala pertulit hircus,
Ipsius excessum dux gregis ipse luit.
Hec tria Salvator triplici prece commemoravit,
Iam tunc pro nobis omnibus unus agens.
Iam ter humi strato,contricio cordis et ille
Sanguineus sudor, crux fuit ante crucem.
Iam tunc anxietas, finem spondentibus umbris
Et veteri ritu, gratior una fuit.

De serie prefacionis

His actis, populum sublimi voce salutat
Presbiter, et sursum corda levare monet.
Inde Patri grates per Christum semper agendas
Asserit, et post hec dona sacranda sacrat.
Si bene cuncta notes, hoc totum Filius egit,
A prece discipulos, inde petendo crucem.
Primum iussit eos vigilare, statimque precari;
Post dormire: dehinc agnus et ara fuit.
Nimirum dum dicit eis,"Vigilate,"salutat,
Quippe salus anime, si vigilemus, adest.
Dum iubet orari, sursum cor habere sundet;
Orari siquidem sola superna iubet.
Dum tandem vocat ad requiem, monet edere grates,
Mentis enim requie gratificamur ei.
Nam grates agere, est Domino nos reddere gratos;
Quod facit a viciis mens, manus, osque vacans.
Ut talis fiat, quisquis sub iudice Christo
Sacrificat, sub quo iustus et ipse tremit.
Cum superum cantu, quos are constat adesse,
Admitti proprias postulat ille preces.

115 te iam Ed. te iuda: scariothe A 117 his vel precibus E 120 supremo F 124 ipse: igne X A E P 127 iam: nam F Ed. 129 iam: nam V F G 130 unda I P Ed. vet.ritu: vi chrismatis P 137 statimque: simulque A 138 fuit: tulit A I Ed: tulit vel fuit X: fuit vel tulit V: dei K et: in F I 141 orare V F I G: orare corr.-ari X sundet habere Ed. dum: cum F I 143 dum: cum F I 150 ille: ipse V K G

Postulat ut sua vox laudi concordet eorum,
Quos astare sacris pagina multa docet.
Si verbis hominis, quem nectar ubique supernum
Eructasse liquet, vis adhibere fidem,
Tempore quo supplex assistit presbiter aris,
Mactaturque Patri Filius ipse manens,
Ethra patet, celestis adest chorus, ima supernis
Iunguntur, fiunt auctor et actus idem.
Cetibus his dum mens, dum vox, dum vita ministri
Concordant, grates indubitanter agit.
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

Hinc bene cum populo ter "Sanctus," queque sequuntur,
Antea quam sacret mystica dona, canit.
Credimus has laudes assumptas ex Ysaia,
In quibus innuitur trinus et unus apex.
Ter positum "Sanctus" trinum notat esse, sed unum
Acclamat "Dominus" atque "Deus Sabaoth."
His tribus, huic uni, sacrifex litat, angelus offert,
Ascribit clerus, plebs veneratur idem.
Et quia percipiunt in sacro munere quiddam,
Pro sacro Dominum munere glorificant.
Laudibus his venerantur eum, quibus ethra resultat,
Quas duo de Seraphin nocte dieque canunt.
Has pro perceptis quasi grates rite repensant,
Ne quando frustra percipienda petant.

De his que fiebant in exteriori tabernaculo et modo fiunt in ecclesia.

Hactenus explicui quid representet in ipso
Officio misse, quidve minister agat.
Ex quibus hoc totum, quod in ede priore iubetur
Offerri, coram commemorare licet.
Quidquid enim fit in ecclesia, tantummodo prosit
Moribus aut fidei, victima grata Deo est.
Offerimus vitulos lingue, mactamus et hircum,
Solvimus in cineres thus, oviumque virum,
Dum canimus, vel dum legimus quod prava refrenet,
Quod populum, quod nos ad meliora vocet.
Tunc etiam vitulus, tunc sacrificatur et hircus,
Cum fastum calcas, luxuriamque premis.

157 patent B E F I Ed. 158 actus: auctus X F 159 vox... mens F P 161 cum: pro E hinc: sic P 166 declamat Ed. 170 munere pro sacro glorificant dominum F 171 resultant B K F I Ed. 175 repensant: rependunt E Ed. 175 repres: presentetur V exposui G 178 libet I P 180 aut: ac E: et F 181 hircos E Ed. 185 quod: quo K cum...cum F: cum...dum I

186a Tunc aries mactatur ab his qui semper obortis
186b Occurrunt viciis viribus oppositis.
Agnus ab innocuis, a simplicibusque columba,
Turtur ab his qui flent, premia summa procul.
In clibano coctos panes altaribus offers,
190 Si robur mentis nulla flagella movent.
Conspersos oleo, si ius pietas moderetur,
Inque reos infra quam liceat, libeat.
Non fermentatos, si mens tibi purior assit,
Excoquat et carnis fluxa supernus amor.
195 Offers et similam, si quos diviserat error
Colligis, inque fidem iungis, idemque facis.
Hos cathezizans molis, in baptismate mergens
Unis, informans aspera ferre coquis.
Sic eadem moresque docent, Christumque figurant;
200 Sic geminos usus cetera legis habent.

Veniam petit expositor si quid minus dixerit.

Quod vero misse superest ita sacra recenset
Legis, ut exhibeat sub cruce sacra crucis.
Quippe recensetur quidquid lex, preco futuri,
Intra sanctorum sancta iubebat agi.
205 Hec aperire labor, quia metro, nominibusque
Ignaris metri, materiaque premor.
Da lector veniam, rem tantum pandere et usum,
Non speciem, nostris versibus esse sat est.
Non tamen expectes ut singula verba, vel actus
210 Quoslibet, aggrediar clarificare tibi.
Ad summam rerum curret stilus, et quibus umbram
Legis opusque crucis exprimat ara, canam.

Qualiter sancta sanctorum soli patebant pontifici.

Et semel,et soli sanctorum sancta patebant
Pontifici, precibus plebe vacante foris.
215 Angulus is velo distabat ab ede priori,
Adventu superum colloquioque sacer.
Idem thuribulo, simul et thimiamatis ara,
Et testamenti federe clarus erat.
Clarus et insigni tabula, que preminet arce,
220 Quam superobmubit pronus uterque cherub.

186ab appear in B A only 188 premia: gaudia Ed.
189 panes coctos K 191 ius: vis A: vim I 192 libeat: feriat E 193 assit: adit Ed. 195 similam K diviserit F: dimiserat B K 197 hos: hoc Ed. mollis Ed. vergens K
201 recensent K 203 recensentur I Ed. 206 ignarus A
207 da veniam lector K F P Ed. tantum rem K et: se A
209 tamen: tantum K 212 exprimit B V K P 215 is: his B X A P: is corr.his E 219 insignis I G 220 superobnubilat Ed.

Summus eo presul semel accedebat in anno,
  Pro se, pro populo mystica dona ferens.
Scilicet illius hirci vitulique cruorem,
  Quos proles Aaron immolat ante fores;
Carbonesque simul, quos desuper exteriorem
  Sumendos aram, pagina sacra docet.
Hos in thuribulo ponit, tantumque sacerdos
  Thus cremat, ut fumus uber obumbret eum.
Aspergit tabulam, post hec aspergit et aram,
  Exteriusque sacrum sanguine pacifico.
Hinc redit ad populum, vestes lavat, attamen idem
  Non nisi sub sero vespere mundus erat.
Hic locus, hic sacrifex, ea munera signa fuere:
  Signa recesserunt, significata manent.
Exprimit ecclesiam prior edes, altera celum,
  Antistes Christum, sanguis amara crucis;
Carbones summam virtutum, Christe, tuarum,
  Thuribulum carnem, thura cremata preces;
Summa tabella Patrem, celestes ara cohortes,
  Veste notatur homo, vespere mors hominis.
Hec perstricta tibi rerum velamina pandunt:
  His ea, sed veluti semiretecta, vides.
Ex his non aliter fit res tibi pervia, quam si
  E foribus spectes interiora domus.
Interiora sacri, te Christe docente, patebunt,
  Cuius morte patent interiora poli.
Quas igitur partes perstringere nitor, easdem
  Sicut habet series canonis apposui.
Sic levius disces quod opus, que verba ministri,
  Quid reminiscantur legis agantve crucis.

Super te igitur usque hec sancta sacrificia illibata.

Intrabat presul vitulorum sanguine sacrum:
  Intravit proprio Christus et ipse polum.
Intrat agens sacrifex in sanguine semper ad aram,
  Effusi semper sanguinis ipse memor.
Nam quotiens fusum verbo,cruce,mente retractat,
  Hunc specie totiens in sacrosancta gerit.
Quippe velut quidam cruor est meminisse cruoris,
  Huius nos memores crux iterata facit.

221 presul summus eo K ascendebat A I 225 quos: quod E 230 exterius Ed. sacram A P G Ed: sacraI K 231 vestem K E F P Ed. 233 signa: sacra V G 234 recessere I 256 sanguinis ara crucem B 244 e: per A: a B foris B 248 apposui: exposui corr.appos.A: appos.vel expos.F: exposui Ed. 249 sic vel hic I: sic vel in his K 256 hunc: tunc A 258 huius: cuius B A

Mencio mortis adest ubicumque perennibus escis
Imprimit uncta manus mystica signa crucis.
Sic Aaron Christumque sequens, altare frequentat
Presbiter, hunc haustum sanguinis ipse gerit.
In primo siquidem versu, vexilla salutis
Ter super appositas prerogat ille dapes.
In quo iam mortis mitisque piusque recordans,
Appellat triplici nomine munus idem.
Dona vocat primum, mox munera nuncupat escas,
Postmodo sacrifici nomine censet eas.
Dona vocat, quoniam Deus has donavit ut inde
Sustentaretur lege modoque caro.
Munera sunt, quoniam Deus his donatur, et inde
Munerat Auctorem, cui dedit Auctor eas.
Nam quod sacrifici censentur nomine monstrat
Qua racione prius munera dicat eas.
Scilicet iccirco, quia sacrificantur, et apte
Munerat Auctorem qui data reddit ei.
Sic eadem que dona vocat cum sacrificantur,
Munera sunt, quoniam munerat inde Deum.
His quoque nominibus pulchre satis hostia triplex
Innuitur, scripto iam recitata meo.
Hec etenim totum quod spondebatur in illis
Completum memorant, sub specieque gerunt.
Nam quod speravit prius in vervece sacerdos,
In capro populus, in vituloque duces,
Crux dedit, esca sapit, totum canit esca tributum,
Nominibus trinis hec tria sacra notans.

In primis que tibi offerimus usque eterno Deo vivo et vero.

Ingrediens sacrasacrorum, leviticus orat
Pro se, proque suo principe, gente, domo.
Ante crucem Christus rogat, et se clarificari,
Et custodiri, quos dedit ipse Deus.
In celis etiam, semper pro plebe sacerdos,
Pro servo dominus, pro grege pastor agit.
Noster in hoc sacrifex, Aaron Christumque secutus,
Pro tota primum supplicat ecclesia;
Hinc etiam pro pontificis regisque salute,
Pro reliquis infra, sicut oportet, agens.

264 ter: te K: tot B 267 nuncupat: nominat A
268 postmodo: postea P: post B E Ed. 271 inde: idem A
272 cui: qui G 275 nam: iam A censetur A 276 data: sacra K ei: ea K 277 cum: dum E: que I 281 hec: hoc B P Ed. 285 esca: esse Ed. canit: sapit E F P
287 sacrasanctorum E F G Ed. 289 et se: ipsos F
292 agit: ait F P 296 agens: agit A P

Communicantes usque protectionis tue muniamur auxilio per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.

Lege iubebatur sumptos altaris ab igne
  Carbones vivos in sacrosancta geri.
Lege iubebatur Aaron festivus, eisdem
  Thuribulo positis, thus adolere Deo.
Thuribulum carnis, tamquam carbone refertum
  Virtutum cumulo, Christus ad astra tulit.
Has ex igne, Deo quo mentis fluxa cremantur,
  Quo laxe carnis lubrica, sumpsit homo.
Tamquam carbones intra sacrosancta sacerdos,
  Nomina sanctorum commemorando, gerit.
Hos etenim vivis carbonibus assimilamus,
  Qui splendent actu, iuris amore calent.
Denique si sequitur quod lex iubet, umbra figurat,
  Dum litat, hunc ignem mente minister habet.
Ingrediens etenim sanctorum sancta sacerdos,
  Pectore gestabat nomina scripta patrum.
Scilicet insinuans exempla fidemque priorum
  His imitanda, quibus mystica mensa patet.
Nec satis esse Deo verbis meminisse bonorum,
  Si non exhibeas moribus ipse bonos.
Sic sacrifex intusque calens, extraque choruscans,
  Carbones, carbo factus et ipse, gerit.
Sic bene contexit multorum nomina patrum,
  Si meritis multos exprimit ipse patres.

Hanc igitur oblacionem usque in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari per Christum.

Hac nebula fumi tegitur leviticus orans,
  Ut pateat nulli dum thimiama cremat.
Hac prece pro nobis, hac sedulitate precatur
  Christus, ut angelicum transeat intuitum.
Nescitur quantum sumpte presentia carnis
  Possit apud Patrem, quid sine voce preces.
His precibus cedit quidquid leviticus offert,
  Et quocumque modo, tempore, fine, gradu.
His precibus Patrem dediscere iudicis iras,
  Et flecti constat, et meminisse patris.
Tamquam sub nebula sacra dona frequentat et offert,
  Quisquis agit Christi, Christus et ipse, vices.

299 festinus Ed. 302 astra: alta A 305 has: hos G Ed. 304 laxe: lapse E F I: laxe corr.lapse P 305 inter B Ed. 306 commemoranda I P geret K 308 iuris: viris K 309 si: quod K: qui Ed. quod: que A 311 sacrorum K 316 bonis A 318 factusque K 319 contexis V G 320 si: sic B E P Ed. exprimis V K G pater A 328 fine: sive B I P Ed. 329 patrem precibus Ed. discedere E iram F P 332 christus: presul K quisque E

Hec etenim virtus, hec efficiencia verbi,
Et crucis est, ut mens linguaque cedat eis.
Nescit homo, latet et superos quo provehat escas,
Gracia verborum, mysteriumque crucis.
Incipit his precibus supplex instare sacerdos,
Que, salva specie, munus utrumque novant.
Incipit et toto contritus corde, cremansque
Thuribulo mentis lucida thura precum.

Oracio pro his que offeruntur et pro pace.

Orat ut accipiat placatus dona, suaque
Ordinet in pace tempora nostra Deus.
Orat ut eripiat de massa perdicionis,
Inter et electos nos numerare velit.

Quam oblacionem usque dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Orat ut hic idem benedicat quas dedit escas,
Orat ut ascriptas, atque ratas faciat.
Orat ut hoc altaris opus racione geratur,
Sitque quod acceptet, quod probet ipse Deus.
Dum rogat ut Dominus, que condidit, hec benedicat,
Ut novet in melius, promoveatque rogat.
Dum rogat ascribi, quod eam sibi preroget escam,
Atque dicet propriam sanctificando, rogat.
Dum rogat esse ratam, ne frustra speret in illa,
Sed sit que prosit, sint rata vota rogat.
Dum rogat hanc racione geri, que munera recte
Offert ut recte dividat, ipse rogat.
Istius ergo dapis benedictio, gracia maior,
Uberior fructus, perpetuansque vigor,
Hoc sane totum verbis confertur in illis,
Que subdit sacrifex, non sua sed Domini.
Quippe recensurus que protulit ille vel egit,
Cum cenans, idem cena beata fuit,
PREMITTIT DICENS,"QUI PRIDIE QUAM PATERETUR ACCEPIT PANEM."
Panis in hoc verbo, sed adhuc communis, ab ara
Sumitur, et sumptum tollit utraque manu
Presbiter. Hinc idem, cum pervenit ad "Benedixit,"
Imprimit elato mystica signa crucis.

334 lingua cedit K F 337 precibus: verbis Ed. astare K
343 eripiat: accipiat Ed. missa K 349 que: et qui K
350 ut novet: ut novit K: innovet F 353 illa: illam K
354 que: quod F: que vel quod I 355 hanc: hac B: hec I
358 perpetuusque K F I P 361 pretulit A G 365 hinc: hin A: hic G: huic F

Nec prius in mensa demittit quam tua,Christe,
Verba representans, explicet ista super:
ACCIPITE ET MANDUCATE EX HOC OMNES.
Hinc levat et calicem, signatque, nec ante reponit,
Quam super Auctoris verba retractet ita:
ACCIPITE ET BIBITE EX EO OMNES USQUE IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM.
Si qua fides patribus, quos vita beata perennat,
Esca fit hic anime, que modo carnis erat.
His verbis utrumque novas adquirere vires,
Maioresque suis, scripta probata docent.
Sub cruce, sub verbo, natura novatur, et aram
Panis honorificat carne, cruore calix.
Presbiter iccirco, cum verba venitur ad illa,
In quibus altari gracia tanta datur,
Tollit utrumque, notans quod sit communibus escis
Altior, et quiddam maius uterque gerat.
Queque parens anime carnis fomenta paravit,
Omnia sacratis inferiora cibis.

Hec quotienscunque feceritis usque panem sanctum vite eterne et calicem salutis perpetue.

Et quoniam quotiens libaverit ista sacerdos,
Christus eum memorem precipit esse sui,
Hoc sacramento nos commemorare fatemur,
Quod mortem tulerit Omnicreator homo;
Quod surgens celos ascenderit: hec tria sane,
Quale sacrificium vult cibus ille notant.
Scilicet ut carni moriatur, mente resurgat,
Ter quinis gradibus templa superna petat.
Sic memores passi,surgentis, ad astra meantis,
Et nos et pariter plebs tua, magne Deus,
De donis propriisque datis tibi munera pura,
Munera sancta, sed et immaculata damus.
Dona quidem nobis Domino data, nam quod in escam
Donat nos, ipsi sacrificando damus.
Pura damus, quoniam non his aut mixta vetustas,
Aut ad salvandum nos ope legis egent.
Sancta damus, quia qui sacras diiudicat escas
Proficit, et libans sanctificatur eis.

367 mensam B I P G Ed. dimittit A G 372 hic: hec B F G Ed. anime: diem K 380 uterq: utrumq.B E P I P Ed. 381 parens: parans Ed. 383 quondam Ed. 384 eum: cum K 385 sacramenta K 388 qualem B V X K Ed. sacrificum V K E: sacrificem B I Ed. 389 carne A E P Ed. 391 meantis: volantis Ed. 395,396 om.E 397 aut mixta: admixta E F P G: est mixta I Ed. 398 nos: non Ed.

Immaculata damus, quia quod fuit immaculata
Hostia, quodque dedit, nostra fit, et dat idem.

Supra que propicio usque immaculatam hostiam.

Presbiter insistens, implorat ut illa serenus
Respiciat, clemens approbet illa Deus.
Nec minus hec placeant, quam quod puer obtulit Abel,
Quam quod Abram, quam quod rex sacrifexque Salem.
His tribus innuitur variorum forma sacrorum,
Que racio, que lex, que sacra cena dedit.
Lex naturalis, lex tradita, lex breviata,
Placavere Deum munere queque suo.
Et tamen impariter, quia speque fideque supreme,
Dicitur in reliquis plena fuisse salus.
Hec sibi sufficiens, nec eget perfecta futuris,
Nec de preteritis unde iuvetur habet.

Supplices te rogamus usque cunni benedictione celesti et gracia repleamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Aspergi tabulam lex umbra iubebat, et aram,
Exteriusque sacrum sanguine pacifico.
Filius asseritur totiens aspergere Patrem,
Asperso quotiens sanguine placat eum.
Aspergit semper superos, quia semper eorum
Asperso reparat, restituitque gregem.
Aspergit semper homines, quia semper et ipsos
Asperso renovat, conciliatque Patri.
Hos astans aris aspergit et ipse sacerdos,
Cum, memor aspersi sanguinis, unit eos.
Unit eos placando Deum, supplendo ruinam
Spirituum, vitam restituendo reis.
Vita Deus moriens, hoc totum prestitit orbi;
Hoc per eum mortis mencio prestat adhuc.
Tunc igitur sacrifex aspergit sanguine Patrem,
Cum semel aspersi mencio placat eum.
Tunc idem cetus aspergit celicolarum,
Cum semel aspersi mencio supplet eos.
Tunc aspergit et hos, quos abluit unda salutis,
Cum semel aspersi mencio purgat eos.

404 approbet: ac beet (approbet) Ed. deus om.K
406 Abraham Ed. 411 et: at I 412 reliqua P
419,20 quia... gregem om.F 421 aspergit s. homines om.F semperque Ed. 422 aspersos Ed. renovat: revocat F
431,2 inverted with 435,4 X F

Presbiter hec satagens, sumpta sibi supplice forma,
In sublime geri mystica dona rogat.
Addit et erectus, ut participacio mense
Quotquot eam sument prosit et intus alat.

Memento etiam Domine usque locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Neve sepultorum pia mencio pretereatur,
Et bene defunctis et sibi poscit idem.
Poscit idem sibi, dum sanctis rogat associari,
Quos et nominibus nominat ipse suis.

De oracione superiori "supplices" iterum tractat.

Angelus is, cuius manibus sacer ille minister,
In sublime geri manus utrumque rogat,
Angelus est eius, vel quos reverenda vetustas
Desursum missos dicit adesse sacris.
Ara superna, Dei conspectus, eo sacra ferri,
Est etiam meritis sacra placere Deo.
Angelicas ea ferre manus, est plaudere nostro
Affectu superos, mysteriisque sacris.
Que tam secreto plausu perlata feruntur
In sublime, placent pacificantque Deum.
Ergo pius sacrifex aspergit sanguine Patrem,
Cum sic aspersi mencio placat eum.
Cum vivis veniam, refrigeriumque sepultis
Impetrat, et partem quam petit ipse sibi,
Et superos et mortales aspergere fertur,
Nam que nos purgat mencio, supplet eos.
Porro, cum sacrifex sublimem nominat aram,
Quo supplex orat dona sacrata geri,
Commemorat liquido velaminis interiora,
Que semel intrabat pontificalis apex.
Cum sacra perferri sursum rogat, innuit hircum,
Quem lex deserti vasta subire iubet.
Quippe duos foribus templi lex applicat hircos:
Uni desertum destinat, alter obit.
Christus diversis respectibus hircus uterque,
Nam tulit in ligno, vivit in arce poli.
Vivit et hic humilis, deserto regnat in illo,
Quo propriis humeris ipse revexit ovem.

439-441 om.P 442 om.I nominat: exprimit V K G: exp. vel nom.B 448 meriti A 450 superis V G 452 placant Ed.
456 partem: parcem P: pacem B imperat A 462 que: quo Ed.
470 revexit: reduxit Ed.

Sic meminit legis, meminit crucis ipse sacerdos,
In sublime vehi munus utrumque petens.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus usque sed venie quesumus
largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Idem dum memorat sanctos humerale recenset,
Quod bis sena patrum nomina scripta gerit.
Pectus enim logion, scapulas humerale tegebat
Presulis intrantis interiora sacri.
Hic in utroque gerens gemmis insculpta priorum
Nomina, venturi preco tipusque fuit.
Nos etenim gerimus logion, cum nomina patrum
Citra principium canonis exprimimus.
Nos gerimus humeralis onus, cum nomina patrum
Hac in parte sacri canonis inserimus.
Tunc etiam logion, tunc fert humerale minister,
Cum mores patrum, cum labor ipse placet.

Per quem hec omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et prestas nobis.

Ecce subinfertur quod tu, bone conditor orbis,
Per Christum semper hec bona cuncta creas.
Sanctificas, et vivificas, idem benedicis,
Glorificans prime condicionis opus.
Nam quia sic homini Verbum Deus heret, ut una
Sint persona creans atque creatus homo,
Quidquid per Verbum Deus ordinat aut operatur,
Per Christum fieri dicitur illud idem.
Ergo per Christum rerum natura novatur,
Communisque cibus fit speciale bonum.
Per Christum quoque sanctificat Deus unus utrumque,
Vivificat pariter, et benedicit idem.
Sanctificat, quoniam datur hec quoque gracia rebus,
Ut bene percipiens sanctificetur eis.
Vivificat, quoniam datur hec vegetacio rebus,
Ut moriens intus vivificetur eis.
Hic idem benedicit eas, quia provenit inde,
Ut benedicatur, qui bene sumit eas.
Est honor, est etiam per Christum gloria Patri,
Per quem cuncta Pater glorificanda facit.
Est et cum Christo, quia glorificatur et ipse,
Cum quo cuncta Pater glorificanda facit.

473 idem: ille E 477 gerens: ferens X E F I P: gerens vel ferens K 480,481 om.K F 480 citra: circa Ed. 481 humer. onus ger.E Ed. 488 condicionis: cotidianis A 498,499 om.F 498 ut: et K 499,500 om.I 500 intus: ut K 501 om.F hic: hinc Ed: sic B benedixit B K

Est simul in Christo, quoniam Deus unus uterque,
Et quod in hoc uno est, est in utroque simul.

Oremus. Preceptis salutaribus. Pater noster usque sed
libera nos a malo. Amen.

Ad populum regredi, vestesque lavare, supremum
Pontificem legis mystica iussa volunt.
Ipse tamen mundus - eadem sic iussa canebant -
Non nisi cum iam sol occubuisset, erat.
Ecclesie Christus, quam non abeundo reliquit,
Subveniens, ad eam compaciendo redit.
Hec eius vestes, has vivis abluit undis,
Fons qui perpetuo menstrua nostra lavat.
Fons tamen illa lavans, donec famulabitur orbi
Sol, velut immundus atque lavandus erit.
Eius enim membris, dum sol aget iste labores,
Herebunt macule, quodque lavetur erit.
Dicitur ad populum tamquam remeare sacerdos,
Pro populo rursus multiplicando preces.
Iamque velut foris est, cum vocem mutat, et orans
Admonet ut pariter oret et ipse chorus.
Admonet orandi formam, sublime retractans,
Quam statuit Christus, edocuitque suos.
Talibus officiis, interventuque sacrorum,
Et simul intinctu sanctificantis aque,
Ipse lavans populum, sua vestimenta lavare
Fertur, et apta Deo reddere fonte precum.
Est tamen immundus, donec sol occidat idem,
Nam dum vivit, habet quod lavet omnis homo.
Sic sacrifex remeans, ut dignus percipiendis
Fiat, et ad vitam sumat utrumque simul,
Iam quasi cum populo septem sibi dona precatur,
Que voluit Christus, instituitque peti.
Illorum tria prima quidem sine fine manebunt,
Sed reliquis finem spondet amara dies.
Semper enim sanctum nomen Patris, idque beato
Quod metuat, quod amet, quod vereatur, erit.
Semper et ipse bonis regnum Patris, unde profecto
Scandala cuncta procul, quodque resistat, erit.
Semper ut in celo, sic in tellure voluntas
Fiet, et in neutro quod reprobetur erit.

507 uterq: in ipso B 510 nolunt K 511 cavebant Ed.
515 hec: hoc E F P: hic I: sic B has: in Ed.
516 vulnera nostra sanat Ed. 520 et quodque A
525 om.P 527 interventuq: stans interutrumq.E: agit interutrumq.F 530 fonte: vota B I G 531 occidit K
535 remeat F 540 vereatur: revereatur K: veneretur B

Fit vero pariter in utroque paterna voluntas,
  Cum quod amat, quod vult angelus, hoc et homo.
Preterea, sicut quidem sensere priorum,
  Terra caro, celum spiritus accipitur.
Consummatur in his pariter divina voluntas,
  Cum caro subicitur spirituique favet.
Hec tria nunc iusto variis eventibus assunt;
  Post mundi finem nescia finis erunt.
Quattuor esse sinent, nam pasci nullus egebit,
  Cuive remittantur debita nullus erit.
Temptari nemo poterit: mala nulla deinceps,
  A quibus electos liberet Auctor, erunt.
Nam verbum vite panem puto cotidianum,
  Sive sacramentum, quo viget intus homo.
Tunc neque doctrina, nec ea dape iustus egebit,
  Qui sciet omne bonum, cui Deus ipse cibus.

Libera nos usque per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Et quia preteriti meminit, presente gravatur,
  Venturum metuit presbiter ipse malum,
Ut prece sanctorum Deus illum liberet, utque
  Pax data tranquillet tempora nostra rogat.
Officit ecclesie cum perturbacio fervet.
  Pax in spem fructus semina iacta fovet.

De tribus partibus hostie et de fractione panis.

Hinc sequitur panis infractio tradita nobis
  A Domino, quiddam legis et ipsa gerens.
Legis precepto minui similago iubetur,
  Non nisi frustatim sacrificanda Deo.
Sic sacrum panem cenans fregisse Redemptor
  Dicitur, et fractum distribuisse suis.
Nos quoque non frustra legem Christumque sequentes,
  Apte partimur dona dicata Deo.
Nam tres ecclesie sunt partes. Una laborat
  In terris. Partem iam fovet alta quies.
Partem que restat clementior excoquit ignis,
  Excocteque patet transitus ad requiem.
Diversas meritis, diversas sorte locorum,
  Tres istas partes hostia fracta notat.

555 pasci: paci E: pacis K: panis P 554 debitam K
559 nec: neque Ed. iustus: intus K 566 spe F I Ed.
567 hic E F 568 ferens E 570 frustratim X K P Ed:
frustr.corr.frustatim A E F 571 panem secrum V G
573 christum legemque B F E (corr.) 577 que: quod K

Pars intincta mero vivis aptatur, opusque
Sanguinis et carnis expiat ipsa caro.
Pro bene defunctis, quorum purgatior unus
Hoc interventu non eget, alter eget,
Offerri reliquas racio docet, obtinet usus.
Non tamen hinc idem fructus utrisque datur;
Nam dum pro iusto sacris assistitur aris,
Pro iusto grates ipse minister agit.
Cum pro salvandis, nunc penam temperat ultor,
Nunc et plena quies acceleratur eis.
His epulis, epulas illius sumimus Agni,
Quem lex precinuit, crux tulit, ara sapit.
(Non crudus nec coctus aquis, sed ab ignibus ustus,
Hic decet agnus edi plebibus et tribui.
Crudo purus homo Iesus, cocto quoque limphis,
Scisma notatur, id est scinditur Emanuel.
Usta caro prunis artatur et ossibus heret.
Celitus astricta est sic caro nostra Deo.
Nec sine lactucis hoc debet agrestibus uti,
Quisquis agit supplex sacrificantis opus.
Lactuce agrestes humilis compunctio cordis,
Qua commissa pie flendo gemendo luat.)
Presbiter hunc in mysterio sumpturus, ab ipso
Tam sibi quam populo munera trina petit.
Inter eos siquidem primum rogat enumerari,
Quos in carne pudet turbine carnis agi.
Hinc in eo regno petit idem glorificari,
Quo sua membra caput glorificanda trahit.
Postremo, quia spiritui caro lena resistit,
Cedit et infelix spiritus, ipse caro,
Implorat pacem, qua fiat uterque quod alter,
Concordesque velint atque sequantur idem.
Nam nisi re bene composita, nec iustificatur
Nunc, nec in eternum glorificatur homo.
Hoc intellectu distinguit prisca vetustas,
Quod clerus triplici voce precatur ita:
AGNUS DEI AGNUS DEI AGNUS DEI.
Ad Christi reditura fidem Iudea notatur,
Cum pater ad dextram cedit, et explet opus.

585 docet: iubet Ed. 586 non: nec Ed. utrique Ed.
587 assistimus E F 589 salvandis: fovendis Ed. 590 tunc I P
X ends. non crudus... luat appear in B Ed.only. 593 in myst:
ministerio A: panem altari B 594 trina: sacra A: digna G
596 G ends. 599 lena: leva P: lenta Ed. 601 qua: quia B P:
que I 603 nec: non Ed. vivificatur K 604 iustificatur Ed.
608 redit E implet F

1 Quoq 'how'.

Cf. Geoffrey sub-prior of St. Barbara, ep. 34 (P.L. 205 col.865) where immediately after a long quotation from the De Myst. he says 'Sed non omnia tibi proposui scribere.'

3,4 Cited with ascription 'Unde Cenomanus', Guido de Orchellis, Tractatus de Sacramentis, chap. 5, section.89. (ed. D. et O. Van den Eynde, New York, 1953, p.93).

21,22 Cited anon. Petrus Cantor, Verbum Abbreviatum chap.29 (P.L. 205 col. 104B).

22 The variations in the spelling of kyrie eleyson are too numerous to set out in the apparatus, but may be noted here for interest's sake as: kyrieleyson DA: kyryeleyson E: kyrieeleyson BI: kyrrieleyson FP: kyrieleison KV: kirieleison G: kyrrieleison X.

29-32 Cited anon., Geoffrey sub-prior of St. Barbara, ep. 34 (P.L. 205 col.865).

49 Cited anon. Geoffrey of St. Barbara loc. cit.

50 On this act of reverence during the reading of the Gospel cf. Jungmann Missarum Sollemnia I pp.552,553.

53-8 Cited anon. Geoffrey of St. Barbara loc. cit.

91 Cf. Bernardus Silvestris, Mathematicus (ed. Hauréau) l.590 'Non sine respectu, sine re. . . .'

101 Cf. Pierre Peintre, De Eucharistia (P.L. 171 col. 1195-1212) l. 107 (col. 1197D)

'Forsitan hunc ipsum miraris sanctificasse
Panem cum vino, nec aquam vino sociasse'

101-4 Cited anon. by Hugh of Pontigny (ed. C. H. Talbot, Citeaux in de Nederlanden, Deel 7, 1956, p.24, where it is printed as prose).

111 Cf. Pierre Peintre, de Eucharistia (P.L. 171 col. 1204B):

'Sicut utrumque sacro fluxit de vulnere Christi,
Sic et utrumque simul decet in libamine sisti.'

De Myst.: Notes

112 Cf. Pierre Peintre (P.L. 171 col. 1197C):

'Si vinum demas, nihil est quod sacrificasti'

130 Hildebert uses the comparative here without any apparent reason, thereby increasing the considerable obscurity of l. 129,130.

136 I.e., 'breaking off his prayer to seek the disciples, then seeking the cross.' Supply petendo in the first part of the verse.

153 MSS. AXV give 's. Gregorii' as a gloss over 'hominis', and G has his name in the margin; ~~I have not been able to trace the source of the citation in Gregory's works, but~~ Hildebert's opinion of Gregory's worth is well illustrated by his extensive borrowing of themes from his works in the Biblical Epigrams. A curiously similar opinion on Gregory is expressed by Reginald of Canterbury, poem 29, l.3,4 (ed. F. Liebermann N.Archiv 13 p.553):

Greg. Dialogues IV. 58 (P.L. 77. 426D)

'Hic est Gregorius, stilus et facundia cuius
Debriat arentes vitali nectare mentes.'

155-60 Cf. Pierre Peintre, De Eucharistia (P.L. 171 col. 1211 A):

'Tempore quo Christus Genitori victima cara
Presbyteri manibus sublimi offertur in ara,
Sanctorum chorus omnis adest, polus hic reseratur,
Praesentemque Deum grex angelicus comitatur'.

155-158 Cited anon. Petrus Cantor, Verbum Abbreviatum ch. 30 (P.L. 105 col. 410) and after him by Giraldus Cambrensis, Gemma Ecclesiastica I ch. 50 (Stubbs 2.142) and Speculum ecclesiae IV ch. 25 (Stubbs 4 p.318). In both cases Giraldus cites it as Hildebert's.

163 Vulg. Isaiah 6.3.

186 a,b appear only in A, where they are added at the foot of the page, and in B. They have a parallel in Ivo col. 552c:

'Ovem vel arietem immolamus cum veram
innocentiam conservamus'.

Thus despite the slender MS. evidence they may be Hildebert's. The early dating and authority of A would also incline one to believe so. The only alternative is to suppose that someone else has added the lines to complete the series of analogies taken over from Ivo by Hildebert.

De Myst.: Notes

187,8 Cf. Pierre Peintre, De Eucharistia (P.L. 171 col. 1212B, xxv.15,16):

'Agnum mactamus, cum iustitiam retinemus;
Haedum cum veniam poscentes crimina flemus'.

Hildebert in 188 equates the 'turtur', not the 'haedus', with penitence, but clearly Pierre has drawn the idea from Hildebert.

188 'premia summa procul', 'by far the best offerings', probably referring to all three gifts together.

196 'idemque facis', probably 'you act in the same manner as they do', i.e., when you have brought them into the Church.

206 Ovid Amores III. 1. 25:

'Materia premis ingenium'.

207 Ovid E. Ponto III. 9. 55:

'Da veniam scriptis'.

207,8 Probably the most awkward sentence in the whole poem. It seems possible to construe 'It is sufficient (for me) merely to set forth the bare subject-matter, and that there should be (literally) usefulness not appearance to our verses, i.e., that our verses should possess usefulness rather than an attractive form'. A much more attractive rendering would be 'it is sufficient for our verses merely to set forth the subject matter, and to be something useful and not merely decorative (speciem)'. The dative and infinitive construction with 'sat est' is possible, though not so common as the accusative and infinitive (Kuhner-Stegmann, Grammatik II. 1, p.680c).

Moreover, in phrases similar to this, licet is used with a dative object, esse, and a predicate in the accusative (op.cit. 679c), the best examples being Cic. pro Balbo 29:

'Civi Romano licet esse Gaditanum.'

and Caesar Bell. Civ. 3. 1. 1:

'Is erat annus, quo per leges ei consulem fieri liceret'.

De Myst.: Notes

But even allowing this to be so, we would expect the predicative dative 'usui' and 'speciei' rather than the accusative. Nevertheless, it seems better to adopt this second rendering and suppose that we have a loose construction on Hildebert's part than to adopt the first which, though more correct, is more stilted. The scribe of F reads ecce for esse and this would simplify the whole sentence, but this isolated reading is too easy and obvious a change for a scribe to make for it to be worthy of serious consideration. The German translation 'Gnůg sens zaigen was sen die sach/ Und brauch nedes soders mit acht' seems to be too much of a paraphrase to help us here.

213 Cf. Pierre Peintre, De Eucharistia (P.L. 171 col.1196B) l.37:

'Hic semel et solus intrabat sacra sacrorum'

219 VAI have the gloss 'i. propitiatorio', on tabula, 'x propitiatorium'.

268,273 For this shortening of the metrically impossible sacrificii cf. Ovid, E. Ponto III 2.57:

'Sacrifici genus est'.

299-304 Cited anon. Dist. Mon. Bk. 1 de carbone (Pitra II, p.185).

312 Cf. Pierre Peintre, De Eucharistia (P.L. 171, col.1196B) l.39:

'Ipse duos lapides humeris hic inde gerebat'.

371-382 Cited by C. E. du Boulay, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, Par., 1665, tom. II, p.31.

381 parens animae i.e., God. 'Sint' must be understood in 382.

397 vetustas, i.e., lex vetus.

401,2 Christ, the spotless victim, gave himself on the cross. Now as the 'host' he becomes ours and gives himself for us.

De Myst.: Notes

411 The 'lex naturalis' and the 'lex tradita' were only fully efficacious by reason of the hope and promise which lay in them of the future 'lex breviata' of the New Covenant.

465-70 Cf. Pierre Peintre, De Eucharistia (P.L. 171 col. 1212B, xxv, 19-28.

465-8 Cited as Hildebert's, Distinctiones monasticae bk. II de hirco (Pitra III, p.32). The first line is quoted as

'Ante fores templi binos lex applicat hircos'.

These lines are also cited anon. by the writer of the 'Allegoriae in sacram scripturam' once attributed to Rabanus and probably the work of Adam of Dryburgh. ~~Adam~~ (cf. Dom Wilmart, Mémorial Lagrange, Paris 1940, p.339, (P.L. 112 col. 954D). Somewhat earlier (col.875D) the writer says

'Sicut Hildebertus episcopus Cenomanensis:
Nunc est ⟨ecclesiae⟩ byssus, nunc purpura vestis
Quae per bella rosas, per pacem lilia profert.'

(text of Dom Wilmart, Rev.Ben. 32, 1920, p.50), two lines which not only do not appear among his poems but are not even attributed by anyone else.

480 citra, i.e., just after the beginning of the Canon.

581-4 = poem XLV. 15-18.

607-8 Cited anon. by Geoffrey of St. Barbara ep. 34 (P.L. 205 col.865).

Life of St.Mary. Introduction

The poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, like all medieval writers, were interested in the lives of the saints, and several new lives appeared in this period. But the number of new lives seems to have been exceeded by that of recastings of lives some of which had already been written several times. Most of Hildebert's contemporaries indulged in this literary exercise. Thus Fulcoius of Beauvais produced a life of Saint Blandinus and St.Faro, Marbod verse lives of St.Thais, St.Maurillius, and perhaps also of SS.Felix and Adauctus, together with passions of St.Laurence, St.Victor and St.Mauritius; Baudri a life of St.Samson and of St Hugh of Rouen, These lives, whether in prose or verse, were not intended to present new facts on the life of the saint, but rather to re-write earlier material in the prevailing style. This is shown in a very striking manner in Hildebert's preface to his prose life of St.Radegunde (Bemug.col.885-910; P.L. 171 col. 965-988). In this Hildebert says 'De eius tamen gratia praesumens, qui linguas infantium facit disertas, ad Fortunati simul et Baudoniviae sanctimonialis scripta recurri, quorum uterque praefatam prosecutus vitam, de pretioso apparatu pretiosa parum, sicut tibi videtur, fercula confecerunt. Eorum scriptis diligenter evolutis, Fortunatum sequi disposui, cui non minus ex vita, quam ex dignitate pontificis plurimum authoritatis accedit. Quaedam tamen miracula quorum Fortunatus quidem nullum attigit, sanctimonialis vero memoriae reperitur commendasse, superaddere disposui, nec tamen omnia, sed ea solummodo quae relatu digniora beatissimae mulieris et meritum declarant et praemium.' This shows that beyond the exercise of a certain critical faculty Hildebert does not pretend to investigate the history of the saint in question. The chief purpose of his recasting of the life would appear to be that of improving the style, which the person he is addressing and, we may suspect, Hildebert himself, regard as faulty and unworthy.

Hildebert then in his life of St.Mary was following a common practise in paraphrasing and versifying a previous life. It is generally

assumed[2] that Hildebert is paraphrasing the life of Paul the Deacon of Naples (P.L.73 col.671-690), which in its turn is a close translation of the life attributed to Sophronius (Migne P.G.87.3 col.3697-3726) the seventh century bishop of Jerusalem.[3] This statement however requires careful investigation, for the translation by Paul the Deacon was not the only one available to the 12th century. The Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina gives two other prose translations as well as the verse paraphrase of Flodoard (+966) which Hildebert shows no sign of having known. The first of thses (B.H.L. no.5416), by Anastasius Bibliothecarius is found in Migne 129.314,5 and Mansi Concilia XIII. 86-90. As we have only a fragment of it in both it is difficult to judge whether Hildebert's text is anywhere closer to it than to Paul, but in the portion we have there is no verbal resemblance at all between it and Hildebert. Moreover from the scarcity of references to it in the citations from mss. found throughout the Anal.Boll. it does not seem to have been circulating very widely at the time when Hildebert was writing St.Mary. Of much more frequent occurence is the second translation (B.H.L. no.5417) which seems to be anonymous and is printed in its entirety in Bibliotheca Casinensis (Monte Casino, 1877) vol.III, florilegium p.226-235 (from ms.Cas.140 fol.573). This is found almost as frequently as Paul's translation[4]. Hildebert follows closely the story as told by Paul, with a few amplifications and omissions of detail which we shall note later. But as both Paul's life and the Vita Casinensis are close translations from Sophronius this close co-incidence of subject-matter does not prove conclusively that Hildebert is paraphrasing Paul. To prove this it is necessary to find phrases in Paul's translation which are echoed in Hildebert, but which do not correspond to any similar phrase in Casinensis. Such are the following:-

1) Paul col.674, ch.II. 'Multoties enim asserunt quia et divinae illustrationis dignus effectus, a Deo sibi visiones ostensae sunt.'
   Hildebert 24. 'vidit celorum secreta futurus eorum.'
   Cas. makes no mention of this at all.

2) Hildebert 80. 'summus pastorum not nutriet.'
Paul 675.III.'ut omnes nos nutriet pastor bonus'. Though Casinensis with Paul mentions Jesus laying down his life for his sheep and knowing his sheep by name, the former makes no mention of his nourishing them.

3) Hildebert 135-137. 'non servaturi bona convenientia furi'.
Paul 676. III. 'non ut custodirent ea quae intus erant reposita (non enim erant apud illos aliquafuribus congrua).' Cas. merely says 'unum tantum vel duos fratres in monasterio relinquebant ne oratorium sine veneratione solemni postponerent.'

4) Hildebert 739. 'luna refulgebat, nec facta latere sinebat;'
Paul 686.XXII. 'Et respiciens senex, vidit eam vexillo crucis aquas Iordanis signantem. Totius enim tunc noctis tenebras splendor illuminabat lunae.' Cas. makes no mention of the moon revealing St.Mary's crossing of the Jordan.

5) Hildebert (788,9) speaking of Zosimas in the interval between the second and third visit to the desert says: 'totum tenet una querentem / Quod sit tam magnus, quod lente transeat annus'.
Paul 686. XXI, speaking of the interval between the first and second visits says: 'Suspirabat autem, annui cursus considerans tarditatem.'

It seems clear from this examination that Hildebert is certainly using Paul's account. But there are a few indications that he knew the other translation and used it as well. Thus in the narrative of St.Mary's life in Alexandria Hildebert (384) counts ebrietas among her other crimes. Cas. (p.230) in the same part of the narrative says 'Nam ludi ebrietates atque insomnietates michi pro thesauro esse videbatur.' Paul makes no mention of ebrietas at this stage, although when St.Mary is recounting her temptations after her conversion (684.XIX) he says 'multum enim delectabar in vino ..., et superabundantius usque ad ebrietatem bibebam, et nunc mihi erat valde in desiderio, eo quod multum uterer, dum essem in saeculo.' More convincing is the close resemblance between Hildebert and Cas. in the passage where St. Mary is driven from the temple. Hildebert 464 has 'Que dum feminae

contingere debilitate

Suspicor; Cas. 'existimans igitur ex feminae debilitate hoc mihi contingere', Paul.681.XV 'considerans autem per mulebrem infirmitatem hoc mihi accidere'. The appearance of the same three words in Hildebert and Cas. can hardly be a co-incidence. But there is one final point which seems to show without any doubt that Hildebert used this translation to some degree. When Zosimas finds St.Mary's corpse he finds with it words written on the sand forming a kind of epitaph, at the end of which the date of her death is given in the words 'τελειω θείσης μηνι φαεμουθι κατ' Αιγυπτίους, ὅς ἐστι κατὰ Ρωμαίους Απειλιος.' One manuscript (Vat.679, Cat.codd.Hag.Graec.bibl. Vat.p.21) reads Ἀπειλιου πρωτῃ. The Bollandists (col.68) consider this date as an insertion into the text by someone who knew that the saint's day in the calendar was the first of April[5]. Be that as it may, the first of April was the date of her feast day in the Eastern church (cf. the Synaxary of Constantinople, ed.H.Delehaye Acta Sanct., Propylaeum Novembris col.577). Paul of Naples however gives the date as the ninth (col.688.XXV), and it is hardly an accident that the calendar of Naples inscribed on marble c.840-50 (ed. Anal.Boll.LVII (1939) pp.8-44) also gives that date. One ought perhaps to be rather cautious about accepting the view of Mazochius (p.173) that the ninth was the day generally observed in the West. However that is immaterial. Paul in translating the Greek changed the date (or added it if the actual day was not given in the version from which he was copying) to that which he saw observed in his own church, and his epitaph reads 'ora tantum pro me propter Dominum transeunte mense Parmothi secundum Aegyptios, qui est secundum Romanos Aprilis die nona.' Hildebert however has (837) 'Victricem mundi dissolvit prima secundi'. The Bollandists interpret this as 'the first day of the second month' and point to the old reckoning of the year as beginning in March[6]. They (75 B) were led by this discrepancy to think that either Hildebert knew Greek and thus had access to the version of Sophronius, or else that he used another latin version which retained the Greek date. But if we turn to Casinensis the problem is solved, for there we read

'et ora pro me ad Dominum cuius praecepto sum Kalendis aprelis de hoc assumpta seculo.' Hildebert for some reason preferred the date of this translation to that given by Paul.

So it would appear that just as in writing the life of St.Radegunde Hildebert generally used the account of Forunatus, but occasionally also that of Baudonivia, so here he used Paul's account for most of the time, but occasionally also made use of this anonymous life. Unfortunately, owing to the close translation of each from the Greek and the consequent similarity of language, it is difficult to define more exactly how much Hildebert worked from one or the other.

Although,as we shall see, Hildebert does not take many liberties with the facts of the prose narratives, he does on occasion amplify and enlarge upon his subject material. This is noted by Scivoletto (p.113) who draws attention to the fact that these amplifications have a rhetorical style and content. The first of these is the description of the saintly life of the monks in the monastery to which Zosimas had gained admittance. Hildebert's account (87-123) is far longer than Paul's (675.IV), and while Paul does not mention the abbot at all, Hildebert spends some time in describing him. The style of this passage is worked out with carful balance (cf.especially ll.99-105), and membra make their appearance (120) together with the asyndetical lists of words which are a sure sign of an attempt at a rhetorical style (91,92). It would hardly be an exaggeration to call this whole passage a rhetorical description of the ideal monastery. It is perhaps significant that at the end of this description most of the mss. indicate the beginning of a new chapter. We may then regard this as a kind of decorative padding.

The account by St.Mary of her life in Alexandria (340-395) is considerably longer in Hildebert than in Paul (col.680.XIII), which covers only twenty-two lines of prose. Where Paul dismisses her relations with her parents in the words 'affectum illorum sperens' Hildebert introduces her mother (346) giving her advice which ends with a pair of sententiae. Besides these latter, other rhetorical devices

which appear in this section are the repetition of 378-80, the exclamation of 381,2, and a series of conceits 387-92. Hildebert does not in fact add any details of his own to those given by the prose lives, so that we can hardly accuse him of morbidly dwelling on the more sordid facts of St.Mary's life in Alexandria. Again this amplification occurs at the end of an episode.

When St.Mary is rebuffed from the sanctuary of the Holy Cross Paul depicts her repentance briefly and simply in the words (682.XVI) 'Tetigit enim mentem et cordis mei oculos intellectus salutis, recogitans quia squalida actuum meorum scelera mihi introeundi aditum obserabant.' Hildebert (474-492) makes this the occasion for a long soliloquy by St.Mary on her unworthiness to enter the temple. There is some rhetoric here too, as is attested by the repetition of hic in 477-9. St.Mary then sees a picture of the Virgin nearby and prays to her to persuade her Son to allow her to enter the temple. In the course of this she refers to her own depravity in the words (682.XVI) 'scio quia nec condecens nec opportunum sit me sic horridam adorare imaginem tuam vel contemplari oculis tantis sordibus pollutis.' Hildebert (506-515) amplifies this into a recapitulation of her previous wickedness.

A shorter amplification, but one full of rhetoric, occurs when Zosimas goes out into the desert to seek St.Mary for the last time. He does not know where to look for her, and so in Paul (688.XXIV) prays 'Obsecro , mihi ostende, Domine, in corpore angelum, cui totus comparari indignus est mundus.' Hildebert works this up (794-808) with repetition 803-5, exclamation 802, membra 805, and asyndeton 807. We have already noted the presence of sententiae in the advice given to St.Mary by her mother. Some short additions seem due to Hildebert's desire to import sententiae into his narrative. Thus at ll.240-44, Zosimas insisting that St.Mary should bless him rather than the other way round, introduces some sententiae which could well be taken out of this context and used separately as proverbs. These are all found in the collection of metrical proverbs edited from S.Omer MS.115 by E.Voigt, Roman.Forsch.6, 558-574. When he suspects that St,Mary is an evil spirit she explains to him that she is flesh and blood as he is. Hildebert adds several lines on the theme of continual change (289-295),

not unlike the sentiments expressed in poem 22, l.23,24. At the end of their first interview, in Paul's account, (686.XX) St.Mary gives Zosimas advice which he is to pass on to abbot John. In Hildebert at this point (l.686) she says that she will give the advice when she next sees him and does so in their second interview. Paul translating literally says: 'Joanni autem abbati monasterii, in quo habitas edicito: 'Attende tibi ipsi et grege tuo; aliqua enim fiunt ibi emendatione indigentia.'" In Hildebert the advice covers 26 lines (754-779) and contains such sententiae as 'Astu subtili lupus insidiatur ovili', 'Qui modo torquetur nescit quam magna lucretur', and 'Fratri qui peccat lex patrem qui silet equat', which as Scivoletto remarks, sounds more like a piece of canon law than the advice given by someone who is supposed to have been illiterate[7].

This last amplification of Paul's account brings us to the question of whether these additions of Hildebert are solely intended as ornaments to the story. In the fist of the passages which we noted Hildebert brings in an abbot who is not mentioned in the prose account and paints a very rosy picture of his character and of the monastery over which he presides. (Incidentally, surely Hildebert's insistence on the perfection of the monastery rather spoils the effect of St.Mary's instructions to Zosimas on correcting abuses among the monks. As no such stress is laid in the prose versions the inconsistency is not so obvious.) In this description there seem to be four points which Hildebert wishes to emphasize; the simplicity and austerity of the monks (92,95,99,100); the fact that they were completely cut off from the outside world (107-110); the complete absence of any privilege especially as between the abbot and the rest of the convent (96-98, and especially 111-116); and finally the character of the abbot himself. One feels that all this cannot be accidental and that Hildebert is using this addition as some form of propaganda directed towards contemporary monks. Returning to the passage last discussed (754-779) we find that Hildebert takes this opportunity of setting out the duties of an abbot at length (761-774). This emphasis on the part which an abbot should play is thus introduced

three times; by the mention of the lack of differntiations between abbot and monks, by the picture of the ideal abbot (118-123) and by this advice to abbot John. All this is perhaps not unconnected with the interest aroused in various forms of monastacism in the hundred years between 1050 and 1150, though this poem was probably written too early for any reference to the rivalry between the older Benedictine and the newer Cistercian monastacism.

It is interesting rather than important to notice that while Hildebert sometimes enlarges upon the account given him, he also omits some details of the prose accounts. Thus Hildebert (132) does not mention that the monks, before going out into the desert at the beginning of Lent sang the psalm 'Dominus illuminatio mea' (Paul col.676. VI. Cas.227 B). Hildebert does not specify the place where Zosimas first met St.Mary except to say that it was in the desert. In the prose account (Paul 677.8, Cas.228 B) they both come to a halt by a torrent bed and it is beside this same torrent bed that Zosimas later sees the light shining down on St.Mary's corpse. (Paul 688.25, Cas.234 B). Again in Paul (683.XVII) and Cas. (232 A) St.Mary, having bought her three loaves, asks the vendor the way to the Jordan. There is nothing of this in Hildebert, nor of her washing in Jordan before receiving the sacraments in the church of St.John the Baptist. (Paul 683.XVIII, Cas. 232 A). Hildebert does not specify when St.Mary crossed the Jordan, but the prose accounts (loc.cit.) tell us that she spent the night near the church and crossed by boat next morning. After her account is finished Zosimas asks St.Mary how she has survived in the desert without sufficient food or clothes. In her reply she shows a knowledge of scripture and this prompts Zosimas to ask (Paul 685.XX) 'Psalmos, o mater, didicisti, vel alios libros sacrae scripturae legisti?' She replies that though she cannot read, the Holy Spirit has revealed scripture to her. Hildebert (660,661) gives this answer, but omits to make Zosimas ask the question. Hildebert does not give the details of St.Mary's reception of the Host as given in Paul 687.XXII and Cas.234 A. In the prose accounts Zosimas says the Pater and Credo, and after she

has received the Sacrament St.Mary says the Nunc dimittis. There is the additional detail in the prose lives that Zosimas offers St.Mary the food he has brought with him, of which she takes only three morsels, 'sufficere dicens gratiam Spiritus, ut custodiret animae substantiam immaculatam' (Paul 687.XXII).

~~Finally~~, The prose accounts tell us that Zosimas on looking round for something with which to dig St.Mary's grave found a small piece of wood but was unable to use this owing to the hardness of the ground (Paul 688.XXVI, Cas.234 B). Hildebert does not mention this, but refers only to the hardness of the ground and Zosimas' weakness (861: 'Pre manibus nullus ligo, sed nec sarculus ullus').

There is one more interesting difference of detail between Hildebert and the prose lives. This is in the account of St.Mary's embarkation for Jerusalem. In the story as told by Paul (680.XIII) and Cas. (230 B) St.Mary goes up to a young man, asks him where the ship is going to, and tells him the 'price' which she is prepared to pay. In Hildebert's account (408,9) the young man turns on his heels 'quasi verborum spreta levitate meorum'. Paul however says 'Ille autem adolescens audiens sermonum meorum obscaenitatem ridens discessit'. The latter reaction was perhaps the more natural, but perhaps Hildebert's alteration is due to prudishness. Further, in Hildebert this first young man to whom St.Mary speaks is made the master of a ship (410 'nautas hortatur'), presumably that on which St.Mary travels, for we have no other details. But in the prose accounts, having questioned this first young man, she throws away the spindle which has provided her with her livelihood and then goes down to the shore. Seeing a group of young men 'satis corpore vultuque acerrimos, et ad id quod mihi erat placibile optimos', she goes up to them and asks them to take her with them. She adds 'Sed et alios sordidiores proferens sermones, omnes ad ridendum commovi'. Here, perhaps once more for the sake of decency, Hildebert telescopes the two interviews and makes St.Mary embark on the ship belonging to the man to whom in the prose accounts she spoke first.

Notes

1 The best account of twelfth century hagiography is that of De Ghellinck, L'Essor de la Litterature Latine II. 164 - 198. The account of R. Aigrain (L'Hagiographie: ses sources, ses methodes, son histoire, Paris 1955, pp.310 sqq.) is sketchy and not trustworthy in matters of detail. Thus he calls Baudri the pupil of Marbod (p.310).

2 For this last and its ancient source see D. Plaine, Analecta Bollandiana VI (1887) p.78.

3 A.S. Mazochius, who gives on pp.172-199 of the first volume of his In vetus marmoreum s. Neapolitanae ecclesiae Kalendarium commentarius, Naples, 1744, a note on St.Mary which despite its age is still useful, puts the translation of Paul at about 840 A.D. With most older critics, he does not consider the Greek Life to be the work of Sophronius the patriarch. He favours another less well known Sophronius, but his arguments (p.181) are inconclusive. F.Delmas, the latest person to work on the Life, regards Sophronius the Patriarch as very probably the author. He has shown in two articles (Remarques sur la vie de sainte Marie l'égyptienne, Échos d'Orient IV, 1900, pp.35-42, also Encore sainte Marie l'égyptienne, ibid.V, 1901, pp.15-17, reviewed in Anal.Boll.21, 1902, p.101 and 22, 1903, p.91) that the life of Sophronius depends for its frame-work on Jerome's life of Paul the Hermit. He also establishes with reasonable certainty that the long monologue which forms the centre of the life, and in which St.Mary tells of her shameful life and conversion, is derived in part from a similar account of another Mary in the life of St.Cyriacus written by Cyril of Scythopolis, and also from the Pratum Spirituale of John Moschus, whose disciple Sophronius was. The account of H.Knust, Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca, Halle, 1890, pp.193-228 gives useful notices of many prose and verse accounts of St.Mary in Latin and the vernacular tongues, but has little to say on Hildebert. Two more recent editions of French lives of St.Mary make some contribution to the subject generally. The first of these is the edition of an anonymous rhymed French life by A.T.Baker (Rev.des langues Romanes, LIX, 1916/17, pp.145-401). He first of all lists the various versions (after Knust) and makes a few general remarks about their relationship to each other. On Hildebert's life he says (p.153) 'nous n'avons pas noté dans notre examen des sources que Hildebert ait inséré des faits relevés par l'un des textes en prose a l'exclusion des autres'. He then (p.169) considers the sources of his rhymed life and shows that to a large extent it was the Vita Casinensis mentioned below. But he does point out that certain passages where Hildebert has elaborated on the story as he read it in the prose lives have been taken over from his life to the French one, and the other parallels between the two poems which he cites make it quite certain that the author of the French life used Hildebert. I have not been able to include these borrowings in my notes, which were already in typescript when this edition was brought to my notice. One serious error of Baker's is to include as a separate life the 'Acta' of the Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis II.pp.77-84. The Bollandists (p.74) make it fairly clear that this is a translation made by them from two Greek

manuscripts of Sophronius' life, and as such it is not included in the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina.

The second edition is that of Rutebeuf's life by Bernadine A. Bujila, Univ. of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, 12, 1949, but this impinges much less on Hildebert, as Rutebeuf seems to have drawn most of his material from the life edited by Baker.

4 It is used by Vincent of Beauvais, Bk.XVI.ch.68, and from Vincent by Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda Aurea ch.56.

5 If this is so it is odd that both Paul and Cas. give the date, and that Cas. translates exactly the Απριλιου πρωτη of the Vatican ms.

6 It could also be translated as 'the first hour of the second day'. It is thus interpreted by a gloss in our ms. C: prima hora secundi diei. Against this is the fact that dies is always feminine in Hildebert (e.g. 18.5;28.7;54.1). The most common way of reckoning the year in twelfth century France was from 25th March (Style of the Annunciation, A.Giry, Manuel de Diplomatique pp.106,7). The Venetian style of reckoning from 1st of March was rare, but was used by Fulbert of Chartres. In either case Hildebert might regard April as the second month. On the other hand, the Martyrologium Romanum (Acta Sanct. Propylaeum Decembris pp.121,122) gives her feast day as the second.

8 'obscuritatem' of Rosweyd cannot be right for τὸ ἀίδιον of Sophronius, which Cas. renders 'meos turpes sermones'.

7 This dwelling on the ideals of the monastic life is taken over by the writer of the French life edited by Baker (op.cit.p.179). Also like Hildebert he dwells on St.Mary's refusal to obey her parents (ll.75-115).

Sigla

Du = Trinity College, Dublin B.2.17 s.xii^2

Cl = London, British Museum, Cotton Cleopatra C.I s.xii

E = Paris, Bibl.Nat. 14867 s.xii^2

F = Berlin, Staatsbibl. 170 s.xiv

I = Berlin, Staatsbibl. 180 s.xii

G = Vienna, Nationalbibl. 2521 s.xii

K = London, British Museum, Additional MS. 24199 s.xii^2

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms.Bodley 603 s.xii^2 or xiii^1

L = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud.Misc.515 s.xiii^1

V = Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll. 157 s.xii^2

C = London, British Museum, Cotton Vitellius A.XII s.xii^2

R = London, British Museum, Harley 3016 s.xii^2

Bo = Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis II. col. 83

THE LIFE OF ST.MARY THE EGYPTIAN

Incipit vita beate marie egiptiace. E
Versus hyldeberti episcopi de vita sancte marie egyptiace. F
Incipit vita sancte marie egiptiace. G
Incipiunt versus hildeberti cenomannensis episcopi de zosima et maria egiptiaca. I
Incipit vita sancte marie egiptiace ab eodem cenomannensi episcopo versifice composita. K
Versus de sancta maria egiptiaca. R

Sicut hiems laurum non urit, nec rogus aurum,
Sic Zosimam puerum nec opes, nec gloria rerum,
Quas cito labentes, et noxia queque docentes,
Sprevit, devovit, animoque manuque removit.
Et monachus factus, monachi vigilavit in actus;
Proponensque sequi doctores iuris et equi,
Institit annorum legem cohibere suorum.
Institit, inque brevi, mutatis moribus evi,
Mores doctorum transcendit, doctor eorum.
Ut pueri metas evasit debilis etas,
Creverunt dona, crevit simul ipsa corona.
Nil magis huic oneri quam membra quiete foveri:
Nil magis ingratum quam non punire reatum.
Huius erat testis modicus sopor, aspera vestis,
Et cibus et stratus, modo gloria, tunc cruciatus.
Testis erat monachi,color et caro nescia bachi.
Non caro sed pellis macra, pallida, trita flagellis,
Docta reluctari sibi, spiritui famulari.
His in tormentis sacre modulacio mentis
Christo psallebat, si quando lingua tacebat.
A sanie busti mens semper conscia iusti
Se non dimovit: Deus hec, homo cetera novit.
Talibus ille modis dum psalmis instat et odis,
Vidit celorum secreta, futurus eorum.
Vidit et edidicit qua spe tot prelia vicit.
Spe Zosimas captus sacros ita crevit in actus,
Ut stagnum rivo, vel torpens ignis olivo.
Et memor ad mores prodesse, cavere favores,
Cum bene pugnaret, cavit ne fama volaret.
Quanto plus cavit, tanto magis illa volavit,

Title: cenemannensis K 5 docentes v.trahentes V: trahentes v.docentes I 6 preponensq. Cl K R: prepositq.V 8 moribus: legibus F I B V R: legibus corr.moribus (m^2) K line om.Bo 12 membra: velle E Ed. quam membra: homini umbra Du 14 om.I 21 mens... iusti: sacra pectora plenaque iusti Du Bo 22 se non: numquam Du Cl Bo demovit Bo: devovit F hoc B Bo 25 didicit Ed. 26 captus: tactus Du

Et contra votum retulit laudabile totum.
Illuc innumeri populi venere doceri,
Quos, ut poscebat locus,etas,ordo,docebat,
Vincens maiores ut stellas luna minores.
Hec dum consuevit Zosimas, elacio crevit,
Dixit et hoc secum:"Quidquid iubet ordo vel equum
Eligo,sector,amo, discenda tenendaque clamo:
Attenuant artus labor ingens et cibus artus.
Hec puer elegi, puer hec et plura peregi.
Iam tunc ordo gregis, iam remus et anchora legis,
Iam dignus celis, sacer actu,mente,loquelis,
Unus cum mundo pugnavi fine secundo.
Miratrix horum plebs,clerus,grex monachorum
Me petit,audit,amat, peragit quod vox mea clamat."
Talia dum iactat Zosimas, meritumque retractat,
Quidam subterit, cui Spiritus illa reterit:
"Iam bene certasti, bene qua licuit superasti:
Nil obluctatur, caro servit, mens dominatur.
Sed tamen est dubius finis certaminis huius,
Dumque potes subici, non debes dicere:'Vici.'
Nam quis vincatur vel vincat, fine probatur.
Premia victorum pendent in fine laborum.
Ut scriptura sonat, finis, non pugna coronat.
Cum bene pugnabis, cum cuncta subacta putabis,
Que post infestat, vincenda superbia restat.
Hec nisi vincatur, promissa corona negatur.
Pro dolor. His telis superatur sepe fidelis.
Hac lue nonnunquam rosa vertitur in seliuncam.
Isti portento, sodes obstare memento,
Nec vel te tantum presumas credere sanctum,
Vel te pre sanctis meritum promissa Tonantis.
Multi sunt qui te superant examine vite,
Quos ut cognoscas Iordanis littora poscas.
Regem celorum colit illic grex monachorum.
Cum monachis habites, quod agunt age: cetera vites.
Exi, festina: dilacio magna ruina."
Exit, abit propere, pulsatque, fores patuere.
Inde salutatus abbas est pauca profatus:
"Cur venias aperi." Zosimas ait:"Opto doceri,
Et peccatorum relevari mole meorum."
Asperitas cultus, vox supplex, gracia vultus,
Signa sacre mentis, votum iuvere petentis.

28 favores: furores Cl: furores v.favores I: fur.corr.fav.L
30 magis: plus K R: plus corr.magis V 32 illic I R
36 hoc: hec E F G I V Bo Ed. 38 cibus: sopor E R Ed.
44 audit: ardet Bo quod: que G V: quid F 46 ista R Bo
47 qua: que F: quod I 50 cumque I Ed. 52 victorum: iustorum I 58 lue: duce Cl E Ed. 60 credere: dicere E L Bo Ed. 62 certamine Bo 63 littora: flumina F G I V R: flumina v.litt.K 65 quid Ed. agit Cl Bo 68 prefatus Cl

Responditque pater:"Nemo, karissime frater,
Nemo levat morbis animam, nisi Conditor orbis.
Prava coerceri, bona poscas inde doceri.
Si tamen hic cetus placet, aut locus ipse quietus,
Si magnus modicis vis iungi palma miricis,
Stes, videas humilis si proderit usus ovilis,
Et lege nobiscum pastus istius hibiscum.
Summus pastorum nos nutriet,esca suorum,
Esca fovens mentem, post hanc nihil esurientem.
Nil anime satius quam pasci visibus huius."
Annuit his equidem Zosimas, et mansit ibidem.
Mansit, et in cella nova iura, sacerrima bella
Vidit,laudavit,didicit,servavit,amavit;
Tam gregis hortatu crescens quam tela rotatu.
Huius cura gregis summi dilectio Regis;
Legis doctores audire, docere minores;
Nolle favere cuti, ius pendere, legibus uti;
Nulla loqui temere; quasi dira venena cavere
Iram,livorem,lites,maledicta,tumorem.
Sal,pisces,vinum,pulmentum,stramina,limum,
Non attingebant, quibus uti crimen habebant.
Non sapor his olerum, non res, non mencio rerum,
Non crinis comptus, nec erat meditacio sumptus.
Nemo vel impensa vestis, vel dispare mensa
Invidit patri, non frater denique fratri.
Par cibus et cultus procul abstulit inde tumultus.
Potus erat flumen, festivior esca legumen,
Cilicium vestis, male mollia cingula restis.
Gaudia lapsorum reditus, dolor error eorum.
Lectio vita patrum, monitus concordia fratrum.
In verbis horum Deus, aut sacra gesta priorum.
In vigilando, more procul otia, psalmus in ore.
Attenuata caro cruce multa, fomite raro,
Fletibus et crebris vulgabat facta latebris.
Vulgi rumores, fora, causas exteriores,
Momentum morum, non noverat ullus eorum.
Huius erat causa locus abditus, hostia clausa,
Ianitor austerus,grex,pastor uterque severus.
Isti claustrales nec certos officiales,
Nec, si pastorem demas, habuere priorem.
Si quid poscebat res, aut pater ipse iubebat,
Cura fuit cuique parere reique patrique.

75 karissime Mss. 74 levat: lavat E Ed. 76 ipse: iste F B C R: ille I 80 nutrit Cl: nutrit et Du V 81 pre hic Bo 85 et om.Ed. 84 iura: vita Ed. 86 tela: teda Du G K B C x 87 regis: gregis Ed. 89 pandere Du V 91 iras Bo 92 stamina Bo 95 non: nec E G B L BoEd.nec erat: non est F I 96 dispare: impare R: in impare I B V 97 nec Du R 98 abstulit: abfuit R Bo: abstitit F: astitit I 103 piorum Ed. 104 invigilando Ed. 109 hostia Mss. 112 nec si: nisi Bo novere Bo 115 iubebat: videbat Ed. quod vis K C (corr.si quid K)

Pastor agenda quidem monstrabat, agebat et idem;
Plus quam prelatus, cunctis servire paratus,
Nec magis hortari consuetus quam familari.
Ille beatorum decus et speculum monachorum,
Lux erat in tenebris, ibi clausus, ubique celebris;
Morum primatus, scola iuris, virga reatus,
Crux sibi, forma gregi, via vite, gloria legi;
Gnarus gaudenti gaudere, dolere dolenti;
His gravis, his fractus, fuit omnibus omnia factus.

Res monet ut quedam que grex consueverat edam.
Tempore quo sacro plebs purificata lavacro,
In veniam scelerum summam decimare dierum
Incipit, ex cella prodibant ad nova bella.
Sed prius excessus abbati quisque professus,
Preconfortabat mentem, corpusque iuvabat
Sacramentorum gustu, modicoque ciborum.
Inde petebatur benedictio sueta: dabatur.
Oscula iungebant, tunc tandem claustra patebant.
Iamque valedicto cetuque, locoque relicto,
Grex simul exibat, heremum divisus adibat.
Pars, ut poscebat nos ipse, domi remanebat,
Non servaturi bona convenientia furi;
Sed ne sanctorum foret expers officiorum
Cella parata sacris studiis, animeque lavacris;
Ornatu festo pauper, sed dives honesto.
Edibus egressi, latebras heremumque professi,
Pergebant quorsum dabat optio quisque seorsum.
Quisque pari voto certabat, teste remoto,
Psallere prostratus, lacrimis delere reatus,
Supplicliis lacere carnis tibi, Christe, placere,
Letari de te socio, duce, fine, quiete.
Te pretendebat, dabat, exspectabat, habebat,
Belli tutamen, testem, diadema, iuvamen.
His insistebant studiis, pariterque fovebant
Corda sacris verbis, carnem radice vel herbis.
Pars quota gestabat panem: partem recreabat
Fructus palmarum pro mensis deliciarum,
Pro dape festiva glans aut silvestris oliva.
Hec in deserto sumebant tempore certo,
Et certis horis requiem modicumque soporis.
Taliter expletis triginta novemque dietis,

120 privatus F R 122 gnarus: natus I V L: natus v. gnarus G: notus Ed: nautus E 127 ex: e I K C R Ed: a F
128 quique E Ed. 131 sueta: sancta Du Cl V: sacra Bo
132 petebant V L: peteb.corr.pateb.(m^2) C 134 adibat: adibant Cl: abibat F: abibant L 136 conservaturi Ed.
139 orata Ed. 140 heremumq: heremiq.Cl: animumq.E Ed.
145 delere: abolere G Bo 149 sacra B Ed. herba Ed.
151 pro: prae Bo 152 pro: prae Bo 153 sumebat E Ed.

Cella petebatur, remeabant cum celebratur
Ramis palmarum pro canone Christicolarum.
Hec et miratus Zosimas, et ferre paratus,
Nil ratus est sacrius quam ritum canonis huius.
Hunc simul advenit revolucio temporis, exit.
Exit, et a cella proficiscitur ad nova bella.
Transit Iordanem, portans pro tempore panem.
Et sic ingressus latebras, heremique recessus,
Vota Deo solvit, nova cantica pectore volvit.
Solus agit vitam, sacra facta probant heremitam.
Ex quo lucescit iter urget, nocte quiescit.
Stratus humi plorat, socium sibi querit et orat,
Qui solaretur curas, pariter pateretur,
Actibus instrueret, superans superare doceret.
Quod petit assequitur, sociusque vie reperitur.
Nam maiore mora solita dum psalleret hora,
Tanquam currentem quendam, sed veste carentem,
Vidit et expavit, quoniam fantasma putavit.
Visu turbatus, signo crucis est revocatus.
Viribus hinc sumptis, iter investigat cuntis.
Currit, obestque parum labor, etas, lustra ferarum.
Sancte senex propera, visurus spe meliora.
Que legis et sequeris vestigia sunt mulieris.
Femina precedit, que nec tibi femina cedit.
Ut pede, sic vita, te preterit hec heremita.
Hec meruit latebris ut nunc sit ubique celebris.
In latebris didicit mundum bene vincere, vicit;
Imbribus infecta, nigra Phebo, curva senecta,
Hispida promendas partes, intecta tegendas.
Horrescunt illi nivei modicique capilli,
Vix attingentes humeros, vix colla tegentes,
Impexi, rari, soliti sine lege vagari.
Femina tota prius, iam totum despuit huius;
Tota caro pridem, modo tota rebellis eidem.
Femina mortales bene dedignata sodales,
Oblatum casu Zosimam fugit alite passu.
Hanc Zosimas sequitur, rogat ut stet: nec minus itur.
Ille magis solito clamat: "Moderatius ito.
Quisquis es, expecta: vetor ire labore, senecta.
Expecta fessum: non sum fera: supprime gressum.
Sum res parva quidem, sed homo, peccator, et idem
Christum confessus, monachumque frequento recessus.

156 patebatur Cl 158 et miratus: admiratus Du E F L R Ed.
160 advertit Ed. 161 nova: sacra Du Cl G: nova (v.sacra m.) C 165 facta: feta K 166 lucessit K V 167 sibi: si Ed. 168 pariter: simul et E Ed. 172 quendam B V
174 crucis est signo Bo 179 que: quem B: quia Bo 181 ut: quod F I V 182 bene mundum vincere Bo 184 promendas: per mendas Bo 187 impleri Du Cl 188 despuit v.despicit G V: despicit Cl I B R: respuit Du Bo 192 nec: non F I V
195 moderantius Cl B Ed. 197 professus F Bo heremiq.I: heremiq.v.monachumq.G: monachiq. Ed.

Hic delictorum veniam suspiro meorum.
Ne fuge: siste perum: verearis lustra ferarum.
Per nomen Christi, per prenda que meruisti,
Serve Dei resta: benedic mihi: quod rogo presta.
Numquid pro Christo deserto vivis in isto?
Qui non audisti, saltem pro nomine Christi?"
Illa gradum fixit, manibusque subobsita dixit:
"Femina sum, Zosima, scelerum molimine prima.
Expers pannorum confundor ad ora virorum,
Nec sinit os verti pudor inguinis haud cooperti.
Sed quia te Christi famulum scio, quod petiisti
Fiet, si dederis quo probra tegam mulieris.
Vis loquar aut restem? Versus retro da mihi vestem."
Inde cuculla datur, qua femina tecta profatur:
"Cur,pater,insequeris latebras misere mulieris?
Cur aut quo cursus? Fremit hic leo, murmurat ursus.
Quod sperare bonum potes in regione leonum?"
Hec ea dum memorat, monachus prosternitur, orat
Ut benedicatur, sed et hoc ea strata precatur.
Femina:"Sancte pater", monachus:"Sanctissima mater,"
Clamitat, inter que:"Benedic," inculcat uterque.
Hec racio litis, hec unica lis heremitis.
Cetera pars vite concors fuit, et sine lite.
Dum sic certatur sacra femina talia fatur:
"Mi pater offendis, nisi res ex ordine pendis.
Offendis vere, dum vir petis a muliere
Hoc tibi preberi, quod debet vir mulieri.
Vera loqui detur, transgressor iuris habetur,
Qui rogat illa dari, que possunt iure negari.
Tu vir, tu pridem monachus, tu presbiter idem.
His tribus urgeris parere preci mulieris.
Te peccatrici benedicere, non benedici,
Precipit ex more sacro manus uncta liquore,
Officii cuius est gracia muneris huius."
Intulit ista pater:"Claret satis, o sacra mater,
Claret quantorum, mater sacra, sis meritorum.
Nam licet ignotus fuerim, longeque remotus,
Nec dictum tibi sit que vita, quis ordo mihi sit,
Omnia novisti, nomen quoque non tacuisti.
Ista docent quanti sis, et quam grata Tonanti.
Cui sic ergo places, hunc flectas, hunc mihi places.
Si petis ipse dabit: pete, votum vita iuvabit.

198 sic F I 199 ne: nec Ed. 203 qui: quid F I C R Ed: en que aud.Cl 207 nec: non K R 208 quia: quod K R 209 probra: membra F G I K V C 216 hoc: hec E I K V R Ed. 218 inter que: uterque I Bo Ed. 224 hec K V C R vir debet Cl B V Bo: vir debes F 230 sacro: sacra E V R Ed. 251 officium E I B Ed. gracia est E I Ed. 252 claret sanctissima mater F I V 258 cui: qui Cl Ed.

Vita beatorum votis succurrit eorum.
Hanc Deus attendit et premia digna rependit.
Nullus ei flexus venit ex discrimine sexus,
Nec pro persona datur auferturve corona.
Gracia vel meritum dat munus cuique petitum."
His mulier cedit, lacrimisque rogantis obedit.
Surgitur, et paucis premissis illa requirit
Que pax sanctarum, quis sit status ecclesiarum,
Quo studio regum tractetur sanctio legum,
Qua populus cura servet mortalia iura.
Ille refert meritis eius, precibusque beatis,
Christicolas letos et festa pace quietos,
Et florere fidem. Post hec persuadet eidem
Ut, que nunc floret, ne quando marceat, oret,
Antidotoque precum confortet et excitet equum
In reverendarum rectoribus ecclesiarum.
Flura super memorat. Ea paret, sternitur, orat.
Astra subit mente: grates agit ore silente:
Mens in secreto pulsat clamore quieto;
Signaque clamoris dat motus, non sonus oris.
Dum sic oratur Zosimas stupet et veneratur
Ora, comas, cultum, pietatis habentia vultum,
Pallentesque genas iam funeris ordine plenas.
Quidquid spectatur virtutem testificatur.
Cuncta beatorum sunt argumenta laborum.
Sed subiere satis mirabiliora relatis.
Nam dum multimodas divini pectoris odas
Longius extendit, tamquam suspensa pependit
Aere, iam tota procul a tellure remota,
Et tamquam terre nollet contagia ferre,
Corpus purgatum surzum stetit, inde levatum.
Sic monacho coram superum fuit hospes ad horam,
Eternam superis socianda caro mulieris.
Talibus expavit Zosimas, monstrumque putavit,
Aut aliquid vere quod dissonat a muliere.
Sed quod fallatur docet hec, fratremque lucratur.
Qui male turbatus redit ad se, sic revocatus:
"Ei mihi quo raperis? Quid agis, pater? Unde moveris?
Quis stupor hic mentis? Bene sentio quod male sentis.
In me peccasti, dum me fantasma putasti.
Sum mulier misere sortis, rea plus muliere;
Sum caro mortalis, palpatica, materialis,

245 petentis I V R adds: strata precem fundit sed versat pectora tundit 247 sacrarum E L Ed. 252 persuasit K R:-sit corr.-det (m^2) C 260 et: ac K B C 261 vultum... multum E I B L Ed; vultum... cultum V C: //ultum... cultum K
264 laborum: bonorum B L: virorum E Ed. 266 dum: dudum Ed.
270 stetit: tulit F I V 271 monachum Bo 274 dissonet F I K V C R 275,6 inverted Cl

Et que, si nescis, anima viget, indiget escis,
Tempore mutatur, sanies cineresque minatur.
Hoc ego, quod modo sum, de me promittere possum.
Sed quod vidisti, quod pene nimis stupuisti,
Non ascribetur mihi, nam Deus hoc operatur.
Ex ope celesti fit, si quid habetur honesti,
Et venit a superis, vel agas bene vel mediteris.
Nos levis umbra sumus, nos actus turbine fumus,
Nos agri fenum, primum caro, postea cenum.
Forma perit rerum: datur altera quaque dierum.
Dum sic mutamur, taciti quoque testificamur
Quid res promittat, quo nos natura remittat,
Quod sumus aut erimus, quo tendimus, unde venimus.
Omnia sunt hominis quedam preconia finis.

Postea nil temere Zosimas ratus, ex muliere
Culpam cognoscit, veniam prece supplice poscit.
Urget eam lacrimis, et suspiratibus imis,
Ne qua sibi celet, sed que sit, et unde revelet,
Quo sustentetur victu, quis eam comitetur.
Addit et ista pater:"Refer hec, sanctissima mater.
Proderit audiri, vult et Deus hec aperiri.
Hoc iter ille seni suggessit, eo duce veni.
Ille timere parum dedit in regione ferarum.
Direxit gressum, firmavit robore fessum,
Lenuit algores, docuit tolerare vapores.
Quis nisi iuvisset Deus hec tam dura tulisset:
Ad speciale bonum veni per lustra leonum.
Inde reportetur quo Christus glorificetur.
Exeat e latebris hec fax, hec gemma celebris.
Non vult abscondi Deus inclita lumina mundi,
Ad radios quorum laxatur hiems animorum.
Ergo quod egisti refer in preconia Christi.
Quam bene narratur quo proximus edificatur.
Criminis est vere morum documenta silere."
Hec ait, et lacrimis ad vota recurrit opimis.
Quem mulier stratum levat, alloquiturque levatum:
"Ei mihi. Quantarum meminisse rogor lacrimarum?
Quam seriem scelerum, vel que contagia rerum,
Mi pater, exploras? Plus crimine nosse laboras.
Quem non offendam, si turpem, si reticendam,
Si nullum veritam facinus digessero vitam?
Quas aures poteris prestare probris mulieris?

283 minatur: miratur B: minetur K 284 praemittere Bo
285 nimis: intus Cl: nutnus E: mutus Ed. 286 hec K R: hec corr.hoc (m^2) C 287 sit G Ed. si... honesti: bene si quid meruisti Bo 293 quid: quod B: quis K: quis corr.quid (m^2) C 293 promitt: permittat Bo 294 quod: quid F B 295 om.Ed. 299 que: quid Ed. 301 hec: hoc K C: o Du E F I R Bo Ed. carissima Bo 302 et deus: Christus Ed. 307 iussisset Du G 309 christo E Ed. 310 latebris: tenebris Bo 315 quid E L Ed: quis Cl 319 vel: et V Ed.

Quisve memor moris feret hec monimenta pudoris?
Quid sequar aut quid agam? Pudet hanc ostendere plagam.
Sed si celetur, plage medicina luetur.
Obruta laus Christi luitur discrimine tristi.
Cum mala sanantur, nisi grates hinc referantur,
Ad caput ingratum constat remeare reatum.
Ne sic offendam, vitam recitabo pudendam,
Et quibus unguentis lavit Deus ulcera mentis.
Expedit ut coram monacho confundar ad horam,
Ne coram sanctis confundar in ora Tonantis."
Hec ait, et fletur, rubet atque referre veretur;
Suspicit et mutat, faciem confusio mutat;
Alligat ora pudor, largus fluit undique sudor.
Si pars incipitur, vix ad postrema venitur.
Tandem quesite perstringens crimina vite,
Sic dixit vultu cooperto, paupere cultu.

Germine non humili genuit me patria Nili.
Sed postquam crevi generis titulos abolevi.
Sepe mihi tenere vite precepta severe
Attulit inde pater, hinc et censoria mater.
Mater, ut est moris, relegens decreta pudoris,
Dedocuit questum quem non commendat honestum,
Appositisque minis dixit:"Par esto Sabinis.
Spem caste presta, verbo gravis, ore modesta,
Regnet et in tenera facie matrona severa.
Nemo nimis propere didicit nocitura cavere.
Quamlibet etatem niti decet ad probitatem."
Hec assistentes memini monuisse parentes.
Sed tribui ventis monitus utriusque parentis,
Et male contemni cepit pudor a duodenni.
Extunc indecorem traxerunt ossa calorem;
Extunc averti thalami conubia certi;
Et rata torporem nondum periisse pudorem,
Sustinui gratis dispendia virginitatis.
Neve resistentes differrent vota parentes,
Egredior patriam, proficiscor Alexandriam.
Nacta locum sceleri, statuo communis haberi.
Nec satis id fuerat, quia quando vir mihi deerat,
Tecta pererravi, nullique rogata rogavi;
Infamis cultu, vaga lumine, lubrica vultu,
Usibus impostis nature crimen et hostis.

328 sanantur: celantur Bo hinc: huic G 330 nec F I V
recitabo: recitando F: reticendo V 333 in: ad G B L
336 fuit Cl E Ed. 342 tenere: modice Cl K B: modice v. tenere C (v.ten.m^2) R severe: pudice Cl K B: pudice v. severe C (v.sev.m^2) R 346a in K B V (marg.m^2) C R Bo
350 docuisse R 358 alexandrinam Cl 359 statuo: status Ed.
363 usibus: visibus E F K R Ed: visibus v.usibus I
impositis Bo

Fractior incessus et lenam sermo professus
Clamavere foris- pudet hanc meminisse pudoris.
Clamavit gestus- nimis est furor iste molestus.
Sic oblita mei, dux et via perniciei,
Historiis scelerum consumpsi quemque dierum;
Fassa diem mestum quo forte monerer honestum.
Quod quotiens fregi festum celebratius egi.
Cantica que traherent scelus, incestumque docerent,
Dilexi,didici, mimas modulamine vici.
Cumque salitores exhaustos aut seniores
In nullam venerem iam fastidita moverem,
Sum blandita novis (hos emi munere quovis,)
Et sociis scelerum divisi singula rerum,
Quas acus et fusus vite donarat in usus.
His instrumentis manus accedebat egentis;
His domus,his victus,his est quesitus amictus;
His ad vota datus consors heresque reatus.
Quam male (nam memini) placuit mihi copia vini.
Quam captabatur cibus unde libido iuvatur.
Cumque duo magni sint hostes, sexus et anni,
Ebrietas istis fuit addita tercius hostis.
His mecum morbis, et per me perditus orbis.
Numquam labe pari potuit poteritve gravari.
Me minus erravit quisquis mala multiplicavit,
Et mihi defendi palmam male semper agendi.
Cum iam non nossem quem crimine vincere possem,
Crimine multiplici post omnes me quoque vici.
Nam velut errorem prius ausa, deinde furorem,
Quidquid peccavi mala, pessima iustificavi.
Nec sceleri metas posuit vel serior etas.
Talibus et tantis oculis invisa Tonantis,
Annos ter ternos exegi, bisque quaternos.
Ecce die quodam - sed qualiter hoc tibi prodam,
Quam misere cecidi - iuvenes in littore vidi.
Vidi, captavi, quo vellent ire rogavi.
Subridens primus dixit:"Terosolimis imus."
Sciscitor an comitem paterentur. Subdidit idem:
"Si naulum dederis, patet ere carina, veheris."
Tunc ego:"Pro navi precium tibi, nauta, paravi.
Si precium queris, me pro precio potieris.
Nil habeo nisi me, sed si placet utimini me.
Nil habeo melius, cape fructum muneris huius.
Ex hac fortuna faciam satis omnibus una,
Si de communi victus mihi provenit uni.

366 nimis: minus Ed. 368 quamque E B: quosque Ed. 369 fassa; fessa Cl K B: corr.fassa (m^2) C: passa G 372 mimos Du I: mimas v.mimos (m^2) C: minas Cl K V 377 et: aut G I B 381 quam male: quantum E Ed. 382 quam male captatur Cl 384 fuit: est E Ed. 386 num quae Bo 392 iustificavi: multiplicavi K B C 395 sceleris Bo: seculi V 401 nautum Ed. ere: ecce K C R Bo: ire Du 404 in Du Cl E B V Bo Ed. 404,5 inverted Du V 407 mihi victus V R Bo

His dictis iuvenis gressus impressit harenis,
Et quasi verborum spreta levitate meorum,
Nautas hortatur, socios vocat, urget eatur.
Ipsa comas stringo, vultus in crimina pingo;
Proicio fusum, succingor euntis in usum.
Prosequor intro ratem, spondet mare prosperitatem.
Blanditur ventus, ventum iuvat arte iuventus,
Et paucis horis captatis utimur horis.
Ei mihi. Quo labor? Qua lingua cetera fabor?
Da veniam misere: pudor exigit ista latere,
Et trahit horrorem tantum meminisse furorem."
Hec ait, et flevit: rubor ora verenda replevit.
Flentem solatur Zosimas, referatque precatur.
Paruit, et tandem sic est resecuta precantem:
"Mi pater, in navi mea crimina multiplicavi.
Nil illic egi, nisi que sunt obvia legi;
Et procul a curis fuit omnis mencio iuris,
Quo male proiecto, nautas in turpia flecto.
Excito torpentes, segnes voco probra verentes.
Cui scelus est gratum fortem puto, iuro beatum,
Docta viri voto famulari corpore toto.
Cura fuit sonti per mille pericula ponti
Blandiri sceleri, nil preter honesta vereri;
In venerem volvi, vino persepe resolvi;
Escis distendi, modulos variare canendi;
Omnibus his uti, que sunt infesta saluti.
Crede mihi, multum miror scelus illud imultum,
Nec mare nec ventum facimus rupisse nocentum.
Miror quod pravis servivit in hec probra navis;
Quod tot, quod tantis non obstitit ira Tonantis;
Quod tulit incestus et litus et auster et estus.
Inter mille fere mortes mala tuta fuere.
Sed dominus Iesus, qui novit parcere lesus,
Lesus parcebat, parcendo redire monebat.
Iamque mihi gratis monstrabat fons pietatis
Quod, licet iratus, differt punire reatus,
Invitusque ferit, quia culpe parcere querit.
Neve mee veneris longo sermone graveris,
Deferor ad portum: subeo sacra menia scortum.
Iuncta levi turbe moror hospes et hostis in urbe.
Circueo vicos, amplexus venor iniquos.
Cogitur in facinus tam civis quam peregrinus.

412 precingor F I 415 intro: intra Ed: inde K 414 iuvat: movet E Ed. 418 furorem: errorem I V: suorum K
419 rubor: pudor V Bo 425 in: pro K: mea B turpia: crimina B Bo 427 est: hoc F I V R Bo puto: voco G K C
455 rapuisse Bo 456 in h.probra: improba F Bo
440 lesus: Iesus Bo 446 sacra: nova E K Ed. 448 circumeo Cl F L Ed. 449 cogitat Du

Hos ego dum capto, dum me male sana coapto
Nequicie tante, crucis exaltacio sancte,
Que tunc instabat, cives ad templa vocabat.
Turba preit patrum, sequitur devocio matrum.
Urbs exhausta fere me compulit ire, videre,
Querere quid traheret populum, quid in ede placeret.
Ivi letalem mihi quesitura sodalem -
Et pudet, et dicam - qui subiectaret iniquam.
Sed secus hoc cessit, pietasque superna repressit
Incentivorum veneres estusque meorum.
Quippe volens intrare fores et sacra videre,
Non illas intrare sinor, non ista videre.
Porta patens populum venientem suscipiebat:
Me peccatricem vis celica reiciebat.
Que dum feminea contingere debilitate
Suspicor, eluctor quanta licet improbitate.
Sed nec tunc potui portas intrare patentes,
Quamvis intrarent preeuntes atque sequentes.
Miror et indignor quod ab ede sacra revocarer;
Inseror et turbis, ut ab his impulsa iuvarer.
Enitor, populoque manus oppono prementi,
Sed nihil istorum prodest intrare volenti.
Hos quoque conatus tenet enervatque reatus,
Nec patitur crimen sacrum contingere limen.
Ut sensi mecum, sic aio:"Non erat equum
Illa mihi misere mulieri templa patere,
Templa beatorum titulis reverenda laborum.
Hic est confractum mortis lacrimabile pectum;
Hic nostros actus Auctor luit, hostia factus;
Hic est damnatus, hic mortuus, hic tumulatus;
Hinc et surrexit, et vitam morte revexit.
Ad loca tam mire dulcedinis ausa venire,
Non olee rorem, non affero thuris odorem,
Nec mentem puram magis omnibus his placituram.
Qui probra testatur fetor pro thure paratur.
Pro titulis morum turbam gero flagiciorum,
Et quidquid miserum cadit in genus hoc mulierum.
Heu. Quid temptavi? Quo, qualis et unde migravi?
Ad mensam Christi, meretrix a fornice tristi,
His onerata malis adii loca talia talis.
Obstruit hoc aditum frustra mihi sepe petitum.

450 hos: hoc F: hec I 457 qui: quid Du V: quid corr.qui C
458 scelus v.secus I V 461 illas: istas Bo non ista vid: quamvis patuere R 462 recipiebat Bo 465 quantalibet F: quantalicet v.libet (m^2) C 470 appono Ed. 472 tenet: terit E Ed.
475 sanctum F I B L R Bo 477 miserabile Bo 478 his E Ed.
480 hinc: hic E G B V L C Bo et surrex: resurrex.Cl Bo Ed.
482 olei F G I K V R Bo offero G L 485 titulisque Bo fero B Bo 490 mihi frustra V Bo

Probra lupanaris Deus odit et arcet ab aris,
Et sordes mentis a vivificis alimentis."
Hinc vocem pressi, nec longius inde recessi;
Sed stans pre portis lacrimis immergor obortis,
Terque repulsa queror, gravat ora madentia meror;
Dissidet affectus, temptat conversio pectus.
Incipit et morum meminisse, pudere malorum,
Et, quamvis sero, tumulata resurgere quero.
Quod bene quero datur, et Lazarus extumulatur.
Forte fuit iuxta mulieris imago venusta
Illius eximie sub nomine picta Marie,
Que Salvatorem peperit, ceu stella nitorem.
Protulit e celis pueri presaga fidelis.
Hanc dum conspicio, novor intus et altera fio.
Accedo propius, flens supplico vultibus huius,
Atque genu flexo matrem Patris hac prece vexo:
"Ad te, virgo pia, virgo sacra, virgo Maria,
Virgo nove sortis venio, sed femina mortis,
Sed male vulgaris, sed sordida, sed stabularis,
Sed que ploravi nisi cum ploranda patravi:
Cum probra commisi, quasi probris inclita risi,
Et mestos vultus hilaravit concuba multus.
Nox fuit in somnis, dum vir subit, omnibus omnis,
Et crimen duxi, nisi multo crimine nupsi,
Concubitu vetito gaudens populoque marito.
Taliter explevi cursum miserabilis evi.
Taliter excessi: modo damno quod male gessi.
Penitet erroris, sordet sentina furoris;
Nec bene damnatum patiar vel amabo reatum.
Si sera laxetur qua peccatrix retinetur,
Si liceat misere lignum vitale videre,
Hoc per te spero, per te succedere quero.
Nam licet iratus, cedet te supplice Natus.
Cedet, enim siquidem Pater est et Filius idem,
Duplex affectus trahet exorabile pectus.
Ad quodvis munus flectetur uterque sed unus.
Ergo sub hoc pacto presta mihi quod bene capto.
Sis testis pacti, sis vindex tu quoque fracti.
Nolo parcatur mihi si facimus repetatur."
Erigor his dictis, viciis iam mente relictis.
Inde reflecto pedem: bona spes comitatur ad edem;
Impaciensque more feror intro sed absque labore.

494 pre: pro Bo 495 madentia: gementia E Ed. 496 conversio: confusio E Ed. 497 morum mea mens meminisse malorum G L malorum: priorum Bo 502 ceu: cui B L 502a B V L 509 nisi cum: cum non Cl B V L: non cum R ploranda: patranda F: perversa I 511 mestus Ed: incestos Bo 521 quero: spero K R 524 trahit I K V 527 fracti: facti F I K R: fracti E 531 intro: intus E F G V L C R Ed. sed: et F G L

Gratulor admitti, posco delicta remitti;
In veniam ploro, vexilla salutis adoro.
A sacramentis absterrent crimina mentis.
Illis oblatis, matrem repeto pietatis,
Et bene promerite grates ago, supplico rite.
Quid iubeat fieri, quo tendere quero doceri.
Quero viam morum, regat obsecro mater eorum.
Dum tam sollicite pulsatur ad hostia vite,
Sic respondetur, nec novi quis loqueretur.
Hoc novi tantum, quendam sic esse locutum:
"Iordanem si transieris, bonam invenies requiem."
Hinc stupor obrepsit, qui postquam tempore cessit.
Egredior celeri pede sic mihi visa moneri.
Queritur et rapitur via qua Iordanis aditur.
Dum propero quidam pro tempore convenienter,
Tres mihi denarios offert, tribuitque latenter.
Hinc emo tres panes, egressaque menibus urbis
Nitor et asportor et cedo profuga turbis.
Vesper erat: subeo Baptiste templa Iohannis,
Que placido cursu dictus preterfluit amnis.
Illic in lacrimis gemituque professa reatum,
Misteriis accedo gerens cor contribulatum.
Pane dehinc sumpto prefatum transvehor amnem.
Quero modum vite quo pristina crimina damnem
Tunc mihi delicias, tunc luxum carnis ademi;
Tunc scelerum tempus studio meliore redemi.
Sed te verborum tedet fortasse meorum,
Solque rota celeri volat indocilis retineri.
Ergo recede pater." Tunc ille:"Piissima mater,
Dic age quod sequitur: nihil aptius hoc aperitur.
Dic ancilla Dei: superest pars magna diei.
Nil magis ad votum cedit quam discere totum.
Digere, si memor es, quos sis ibi passa labores;
Unde tibi victus, quis et unde paratus amictus;
Si qua rebellavit temptacio, nec superavit;
Si prius infestus carnis deferbuit estus.
Sic ea, mota senis precibus, consedit harenis,
Et rorans lacrimis subiungit talia primis.
"Annos undenos, quadrupliciterque novenos,
Mi pater, explevi post lapsum flebilis evi.
Nec tamen absque gravi certamine crimina lavi.
Temptor enim rursus; fit post sacra vota recursus
Ad pigmentorum latices luxumque ciborum.

555 repeto matrem Bo 558 rogat Cl L 559 hostia: atria Du C
540 quis: qui Du Cl E B C Ed: quid K 542 bonam... requiem:
requie potieris E R Ed: requiem invenies K: requiem reperis
meliorem B 543 obrepsit: oppressit F G I V R Bo: obpress.B
544 sceleri Cl E moveri K B V: moveri v.moneri G 555 altaris
sacra libo gerens Du V (marg.) C 554 pene: mane B V L
559 sceleri K L 560 tunc: ait G B 561 hoc: hic Ed. reper-
itur F I V R Bo 563 discere Cl G K R Bo: dicere Du E F I B V
L C Ed. 564 digere: dic age E Ed: dicas B 565 paratur I K B

Pisces Egipti, vinique cupido relicti
Me miseram tangunt, et eo vehementius angunt,
Quo magis intendi dapibus studioque bibendi.
Dum mihi sordebat modus, ebrietasque placebat,
Urbibus et peregre vicium dediscitur egre.
Proposito morum subit hostis ubique locorum.
Pectora firma parum mala mencio deliciarum
Urget et infestat: furit Eva, virumque molestat.
Eva cibum mortis cupit in vitalibus hortis.
Ei mihi. Nam quedam pudet edere, sed tamen edam.
Disce nihil tutum nisi primo carne solutum.
Semper erit presto quod et instet et obstet honesto.
Estu nubendi, desiderioque canendi
Execrandorum modulos et carmen amorum
Uror, et ad mentem retro male respicientem
Amplexus vetiti redeunt, et mille mariti.
Oscula captantur, ad nuptum vota vagantur;
Virtus est oneri, pudet ultra lege teneri;
Tedet aque iugis, postpono seria nugis;
Solivagam turbis, heremum conventibus urbis.
Hec ad defectum pulsant fantasmata rectum,
Et germen moris suffocat imago furoris,
Donec ad eximiam precibus conversa Mariam,
A temptamentis revocarem lumina mentis.
Huc animo venio, gemo, lacrimor, hostia fio.
Quero reformari, precor inveterata novari.
Post holocausta precum redit et stat mens bona secum:
Post fletum cordis fugit omnis mencio sordis.
His medicamentis residebant tubera mentis,
Et redivivorum sartago flagiciorum,
Que male fervebat, penitus frigere solebat.
Preterea flentem miserabiliterque iacentem,
Circumfulgebat splendor totamque tegebat,
Missus aberrantem revocare, levare labantem,
Spem conferre bonam, dare vim, monstrare coronam.
Trina triennia, bina tetrennia sic abiere.
Lenibus aspera, mitibus effera mixta fuere.
Sed nova vulnera virgo puerpera cum bene flevi,
Tersit et abluit: inde salus fuit; inde quievi.
Per tot lustra fere duo panes esca fuere,
Quos mecum gessi simul huc ex urbe recessi.

V Bo: praeparatus Ed. 568 sic: hic E L Ed: tunc V
569 plorans Bo subiunxit E F I V Ed. 574 luxusque Du Bo
577 studiumque Bo 578 cum Bo 584 nam quedam: namque pudet
hoc edere B 589 om.male Ed. resipiscentem Ed. retro: refero F I
591 nutum F G L R 595 aque: atque E Ed. 598 lumina: crimina F I
599 animo: igitur E Ed. 601 mecum F I 605 tubera: ubera F
Ed: turbera Du: turbida B: vulnera V: ulcera IF residebat Cl L
605 fervebat: frigebat F I 608 labentem E V Ed: lebentem Du
oberrantem I L 610 tetrenn.sic;biennia bis Bo

Aruerant et durucrant, propriumque colorem
Perdiderant, et desierant conferre vigorem.
Inde tamen relevare famem perparca soleham:
Quid biberem, cum deficerem, vix invenieham.
Postquam sunt longo consumpti tempore panes,
Mens herens Domino curas abstersit inanes.
Extunc usque modo temptacio prisca resedit;
Extunc usque modo racioni sensus obedit;
Usque modo cibus exterior cum frondibus herba;
Usque modo cibus interior celestia verba.
Vestes quas habui scidit attrivitque vetustas:
Nuda dehinc temui regiones sole perustas.
In quibus algores nimios, nimiosque calores,
Horis nocturnis, horis perpessa diurnis,
Suppleo preterite scelus et dispendia vite.
Muto iocis ymnos, purgo merore cachinnos;
Pena voluptatem redimit, sitis ebrietatem;
Paupertas luxum, labor otia, glarea mulsum;
Crux mollem stratum, devocio sacra reatum.
Tot tormenta fere fero quot probra preteriere.
Quidquid peccavit caro carnis victima lavit.
Quid mihi penarum, qualis conflictus earum,
Quotque cruces eque renoventur nocte dieque,
Scit Deus, ipsorum testis mercesque laborum.
Sepe sub ardenti cancro, brumaque rigenti,
Frigore nocturno rigeo, cremor igne diurno,
Et nusquam tuta iaceo, quasi morte soluta.
Additur huic pene vis pulveris, ardor harene,
Nec gravitas horum lenitur sorte locorum.
Nam locus ut cernis, vacat arbore,monte,cavernis,
Et quibus arcetur canis ardor, hiemsve cavetur.
Scis hominem sane non solo vivere pane,
Nec vestimentis aut ede resistere ventis.
Omnibus est victus Deus, omnibus omnis amictus.
Celum Rex celi moderatur, adestque fideli.
Cum furit aura foris, premit auram fervor amoris:
Nec nive nec ventis alget devocio mentis.
Ardua nulla bonis spe sideree regionis.
Ut mihi despondi mundum, male conscia mundi,
Non mihi scripture cordi, non lectio cure,
Nec doctrinarum, vel mencio sola sacrarum.
Una fuit tantum devocio lapsus amantum,

616 diruerant F K B V (corr.dur.) 620 sunt: sed Bo
621 abstersit: abstrusit B R: abstruxit I K V: abstraxit E Ed. Cl
626 trivitq.E I Ed. 627 perusta I Ed. 628 calores: colores Cl: labores v.calores I 630 supplico E B L Ed. 655 pauperies K R
655 ferre Cl: fore K 637 penarum: larvarum Bo: parvarum F
638 renovantur Cl E Ed. 640 cancro: febo K: celo R brumave Bo
646 canis: carnis Cl: cutis K hiemsque F I L R Bo 655 spes E Ed. 654 ut: et E L Ed. 656 mencio: mentis Ed. 657 lapsus: luxus F I

Inque lupanari populo male morigerari.
Si quid honestatis, si morum, si pietatis,
Si divinorum monimenta retracto librorum,
Celitus ecce datur: Deus hec docet, hec operatur.
Spiritus absque mora mentem replet, erudit ora.
Nullus discenti, nullus labor erudienti.
Sic mihi preterite fluxerunt tempora vite.
Tempora que restant mercedis spem mihi prestant,
Merces solennis, quia merces vita perennis.

Ordine digessi quidquid male vel bene gessi,
Nec puduit retegi que flagiciosius egi.
Nil superest operis cur amplius hic remoreris.
Umbre procrescunt, venit Hesperus, astra nitescunt.
Nox cursu solito reditum iubet: ergo redito.
Queque tibi soli commisi pandere noli:
Queque dehinc soli committam spernere noli.
Sic te non spernat qui solus cuncta gubernat.
Quando monasterium claustrales egredientur,
Et pariter fluvium Iordanis transgredientur,
Ipse domi residens morbo remanebis agente,
Quem tamen evades, Domino tibi subveniente.
Incolumis factus exi cunctamine dempto,
Altarisque cibum tecum deferre memento,
Quem celis spero, terris presumere quero.
Spero rem puram: peto remque, reique figuram.
Hoc animata cibo quo tendo tutius ibo.
Hic mihi conductus,vector,via,patria,fructus.
Hoc duce carpe viam: tibi, mi pater, obvia fiam.
His oculis iterum te conferet una dierum.
Conferet, et quedam que prosint fratribus edam.
Tunc ego, tunc demum sum te visura supremum."
Inde valedicto Zosima fugit illa relicto.
Ipse recedentem nec vel prece respicientem
Prosequitur visu. Quam postquam prepete nisu
Sic asportari videt et frustra revocari,
Convertit gressus, redit egrediturque recessus.
Cella revertenti patet: heret femina menti.
Femina versatur in pectore, vixque putatur
Femina, sic superis par est habitus mulieris;
Sic est non hominis status,os,abiectio,crinis.
Hec et sola fere recolit, captatque videre;
Hec Zosimas eque suspirat nocte dieque.

660 librorum: virorum F: vir.corr.libr.C: laborum corr.libr.R
661 hec[2]: hoc F I 663 erudiendi E Ed. 666 merces[1]: mortis E Ed: mors est R: mor/ es K 670 procresc: gradescunt Bo
675 om.F I L Ed. dehinc: tibi Du E V C 675a in Du Cl B C Bo
675 iordanem Du G K V ingredientur I C Ed. 676 retinebis F V
677 que F V 678,9 inverted F I 681 remque: rem R Ed.
682 tutius: certius Bo 686 prosunt I B V 690 nisu: visu E Ed.
B: visu corr.nisu I 696 cinis Ed. 697 hoc Ed. captamq.E Ed.
698 hoc Ed.

Terminus optatur quo grex sacer egrediatur.
Terminus ecce redit, conventus ab ede recedit.
At morbo tactus Zosimas, et stare coactus,
Letus agit grates, quia quod sibi femina vates
Dixerat impletur. Iacet, at quandoque sequetur.
Dura libens tolerat quisquis sublimia sperat.
Spes egrotanti monacho, lectoque cubanti,
Subvenit, alludit, gemitum lacrimasque retrudit;
Anxia refrenat, curas levat, ora serenat.
Nec spe frustratur, quia prisca salus reparatur,
Incolumemque brevi defectus debilis evi
Non tenet: egreditur, labor exoptatus initur.
Et quasi pulmentis aut multimodis alimentis
Femina letetur, que nomina sola veretur,
Vas elixarum fert plenum lenticularum,
Tectaque sollicite super addens fercula vite,
Carpit iter plene sub sacre vespere cene,
Speque fideque citus properat contingere littus.
Utque gradum fixit, suspirans talia dixit:
"Ei mihi. Quam frustra sequor hec et circino lustra.
Aut oblita senis latet, aut tardatur harenis,
Aut prior accessit, sed spe frustratus recessit;
Et dum necto moras adiit quas incolit oras.
Fortassis veniet, sed que mihi copia fiet
Vel sacra tradendi, vel cum muliere loquendi?
Obstat Iordanis, niti pede nisus inanis,
Quippe vadum nusquam, sed nec pons, nec ratis usquam."
Plura senex questus circumfert lumina mestus,
Prospicit attente: mens non tacet, ore tacente.
Ecce gradu propero, nudo pede, vespere sero,
Sicut promisit venit illa, senemque revisit.
Subsistensque parum, quasi fessa labore viarum,
Erigit ad superos animum vultusque severos,
Et flens fecunde signum crucis imprimit unde.
Sic ea portento similis, pede pulverulento,
Interiectarum transit discrimen aquarum.
Nulli qui credit se mundo mundus obedit:
Menti sincere norunt elementa favere,
Quique bonis gaudet, bona poscere quelibet audet.
Nil frustra captat, qui se sine vulnere mactat.
Luna refulgebat, nec facta latere sinebat;
Ad radios cuius patefactus transitus huius

706 gemitus Bo 713 plenum: secum E R Ed. 718 quam: qui F Ed. circino: circuieo E Ed. 722 que: non F I 724 niti pede: via compede F: via cum pede I 726 circumfer Ed.(-fert Migne) 727 non: ~~etiam~~ Ed. 729-33 om.Cl 751 severos: serenos Du E F I C Bo Ed. 752 et: tum Bo fecundae Ed. 753 sic ea: et sic Bo 754 placed after 740 F I 758 vulnere: crimine B: frimine L 740 patefactis E Ed. transitus: visibus E Ed.

A sene multimodas extorquet et elicit odas.
Ecce piis votis, ambagibus inde remotis,
Femina virque vacant, sacra prece numina placant;
Fletibus ora rigant, singultu verba fatigant;
Pro reprobis orant, exemplis verba colorant.
Gaudent sincere mulier sene, vir muliere;
Summaque verborum Deus est, aut lectio morum.
His ea patratis venit ad calicem pietatis,
Et confessa prius quam quidquam tangeret huius,
Totam se mactat lacrimis, calicique coaptat.
Inde gemu posite dantur sponsalia vite,
Et capiti Christo libamine iungitur isto,
Affatu tali tradens mandata sodali:

"Mi pater, excessus fratrum scrutare regressus.
Doctrinam morum pars aspernatur eorum,
Et velut ignoret qua fallere fraude laboret,
Quis mentis postem petat hostis, negligit hostem.
Astu subtili lupus insidiatur ovili.
Si qua vagatur ovis perit obruta vulnere quovis,
Et patet ad morsum, dum respicit illa retrorsum.
His obstet damnis abbatis cura Iohannis,
Horteturque gregem monachi non spernere legem.
Fratri qui peccat lex patrem qui silet equat,
// Quos quia culpa ligat par quoque pena fatigat. //
Sic Regem celi contristans corruit Heli.
Ne sit ei talis transgressio iudicialis,
Pervigili cura pater exstirpet nocitura.
Excubet ante fores, ferat equa mente labores;
Scrutetur mentes, confortet honesta volentes;
Excitet aggressos, premat immoderata professos;
Arguat, hortetur, que predicat, hec operetur;
Mulceat inmitis, denunciet aspera mitis;
Hos coram pungat, modo verbis verbera iungat;
Ulcera culparum lavat, aut luat auctor earum.
Sit licet hic tutus, sit felix prava secutus,
Iudicium gravius Deus irrogat ausibus huius,
Continuatque gravis clemencia prospera pravis.
Qui modo torquetur nescit quam magna lucretur:
Cum furit atque ferit, Deus olim parcere querit.
Ista relaturus, et adhuc semel huc rediturus,
Vade, revise gregem, revereri precipe legem,
Assistens are pro peccatrice precare."

741 a: et Ed. 745 verba: ora Cl G K C: ora corr.verba R
746 sene: sine F Du 751 om.K C (inserted m^2) R 755 affectu Du Cl F G I V Bo 757 negligat Cl E G K Ed. petit Bo 760 dum: si F I Bo 761 cura: aura Bo 767 pro vigili Ed. 769 om.Bo
774 lavet DuEd luet I V 779 furit: ferit I: fert F

Sic ea fata redit. Redeunti fluctus obedit,
Et siccis plantis famulam testata Tonantis,
Desuper incedit, Zosimaque stupente recedit.
Ipse domum propere venit, et procul a muliere
Votis sinceris comes et memor est mulieris.
Obsidet hec mentem, totum tenet una querentem
Quod sit tam magnus, quod lente transeat annus.
Annus abit tandem: pater exit, querit eandem,
Egressusque fores fert absque labore labores,
Quoque potest nisu pede pervia, cetera visu
Circuit, explorat, flens hec et plura perorat:
"Christe figura Patris, pater et stirps unica matris,
Exaudi flentem, rege queso vasta sequentem.
Hanc ostende seni propter quam te duce veni;
Quam volo, quam quero, cuius prece celica spero.
Que licet in castris modo militet, insidet astris,
Iamque comes superum fastidit lubrica rerum,
Iam coniuncta Deo fructum petit hoc hymeneo,
Fructum longevum, fructum qui duret in evum.
Ve mihi. Ve misero. Frustra per devia quero,
Cui domus in latebris, solo cultore celebris;
Cui casa desertum, thalami specus haud coopertum;
Cui pudor est velum, comes angelus, atria celum.
Quo ferar, aut quid agam? Sequar ustam sidere plagam?
Multiplices pene; senium, sitis, ardor, harene,
His adversantur ceptis, et vota morantur."
Sic Zosimas questus circumfert lumina mestus.
Nescit utro properet, dubiusque quid eligat heret.
Clamitat, auscultat: non vox, non echo resultat;
Non sonus auditur, non forma pedum reperitur.
Dumque pererraret, dum visu cuncta notaret,
Desuper algentes artus animaque carentes
Illuxit radius, quasi dux et previus huius.
Omine letatus, Dominumque Deum veneratus,
Currit eo, reperit quam votis, quam pede querit;
Sed iam defunctam, iam Christo re quoque iunctam,
Iam superum castris rutilantem clarius astris,
Glorificanda caro decocto purior auro.
Sicut oportebat mulierem tecta iacebat.
Quam tristes questus monachi? Qui pectoris estus?
Qui gemitus lacere mentis? Que verba fuere?
Is modo suspirat, modo totam lumine girat;

783-5 redeunti... desuper incedit om.Du G L V 788 hec: hoc I: et L_2 792 queque K C pede pervia: per devia K C (corr.p.pervia m^2): pede devia R 795 exorat K C 795 rege: rogo Bo 797 cuius... celica: quam christo vivere I 800 hoc: hec E L Ed. 801 durat Du B 805 sola K C R 810 utro: utrum E G I L Bo Ed: quo K C R 815 mutaret E Ed. 820 glorificata F I B 821 iacebat v.latebat I 822 quam: qui Bo 825 qui: quot Cl F I K que: quot F I

Nunc oculos celis, nunc applicat ora querelis.
Prostratus meret, pedibus reverenter adheret;
Flet super, et sanctis pia dividit oscula plantis.
Neve revertatur votis et voce precatur,
Grande putans munus comitari funere funus,
Occasuque pari convivere, contumulari.
Dum dolet, et dubius de nomine fluctuat huius,
Suscitat ora senis inventum nomen harenis,
Et nubes mentis delabitur his documentis:
"Sancte pater, Pharie sepeli precor ossa Marie.
Gleba recondatur, cineri cinis adiciatur.
Mox ut ei Christi corpus calicemque dedisti,
Victricem mundi dissolvit prima secundi.
Misteriis plene, transacto vespere cene,
Nox gravis obrepsit, quia sol cum sole recessit."
His Zosimas demum nomenque diemque supremum
Agnoscit, dubius quis conditor extitit huius.
Nam nil legisse mulierem, nil didicisse
Noverat istorum, nec vel memorem studiorum.
Comperit hinc etiam post tradita sacra Mariam
Illuc traductam momento, moxque solutam,
Quo vix expletis bis quinque decemque dietis
Venerat is fessus, victumque labore professus.
Qui nova lamentis testatus vulnera mentis,
Assidet exanimi, madet imbre doloris opimi.
Iratus fatis studet officio pietatis;
Laudibus applaudit, tegit artus, lumina claudit.
Nunc amplexatur vestigia, nunc veneratur
Ora,comas,vultus. Erat his incuria cultus;
Horum maiestas,contemptus,squalor,egestas.
Femina munda satis lacrimis pietate vocatis.
Abluitur gratis, quia par prope glorificatis.
Ipse sepulture studet, huic vacat, hec sibi cure.
Sed quid agat nescit. Tellus perdura rigescit.
Multa senem frangunt; labor et calor et sitis angunt.
Cedit vis annis, sinuosis brachia pannis.
Pre manibus nullus ligo, sed nec sarculus ullus.
Dum dolet atque gemit, nova res suspiria demit.
Lumina siccantur, quia spe maiora parantur.
Nam leo lugenti similis, funusque colenti,
Obsequium spondens, iramque feramque recondens,
Vertice submisso venit, fastuque remisso,

825 nunc^2: nec Ed. 828 votis: verbis K C (corr.votis m^2)
833 dilabitur Cl E F Ed. 838 misteriis plene: iam siquidem sacre Du 839 irrepsit E Ed. 840 nomenque: noctemque L C (v.nomenq.m^2): nocteque K 842 nil^2: vel F Bo 847 is: his Du I K V C: huc Bo 848 testatur Cl I 849 exanimi: gramini K 858 predura K B 859 calor et labor F I Bo 865 maiora: meliora E G L Ed.

Adiecit sanctas humilis collambere plantas.
Miratus talem tam devotumque sodalem,
Attribuit meritis mulieris quod fera mitis,
Quod leo fit lenis, quod nomen inhesit harenis,
Quod super illuxit, et eum lux previa duxit,
Quod desolatam custode, quod intumulatam
Non infestavit fera, non volucris laceravit,
Non solvit magnus fervor, non integer annus.
Iam depingebat que gloria membra manebat
Sub calidis ventis incorruptela iacentis.
Tot simul et tantis expertus dona Tonantis
Cuncta recordatur, relegit quod ubique loquatur;
Alloquio tali tradens mandata sodali:
"Mi comes, urgemur et eam sepelire monemur,
Quam nescit mundus, cui maior in orbe secundus.
Quod si venisti missus sub nomine Christi,
Si famulaturus, tumulum fode, post rediturus.
Exue terrorem: solitum dedisce furorem.
Ad laudem Christi cedet quod feceris isti."
His nondum dictis, feritate minisque relictis,
Lenius incedit, et ei leo promptus obedit,
Ignarusque more, momento labilis hore
Implet mandatum, peragens opus acceleratum.
Interea monachus sacros asternitur artus.
Vestis eos nulla, nisi trita vetusque cuculla,
Que vix herebat sibi iam contusa, tegebat.
His indumentis involvit membra iacentis,
Scilicet ingentem thesaurum, iamque gerentem
Quiddam splendoris, quiddam solennis odoris;
Quiddam preclarum de nectare celicolarum.
Femina sanctorum mercede beata laborum,
Ad tumulum vehitur, famulante fera, sepelitur.
Inde senex repedat, iubet ut leo verna recedat.
Visa domi recitat, delictis parcere vitat;
Increpat, hortatur, spondet bona, dura minatur.
Sic ubi complevit viginti lustra quievit.

867 collabere E K: adlambere Bo 868 miratur Bo 870 fit: sit E F Bo Ed. 871 et: quod F G I B Bo 878 quid Cl Bo 880 mi: si Cl L 882 sub: si Cl G K B C 887 levius K C accedit G L 891 eum E Ed: ei I V L Bo: erat Cl F 895 om.Du Cl G V L 896 nectare: nomine K C (corr.nect.m^2)
After 901 G alone has:
In fratrum cetu medio stans non sine fletu,
Demudat gesta mulieris voce modesta.
Qualiter exuta viciis Dominumque secuta,
Facta foret meritis maior cunctis heremitis.
Que dum narrantur fratres leti lacrimantur,
Et pariter sanctus sonat inter gaudia planctus.
Extunc ecclesie venerantur festa Marie,

Que sua peccata plangens est facta beata.
Per mediatricem nostram Christi genetricem
Extulit hoc etiam non parva laude Mariam.

Explicit vita sancte Marie Egiptiace. K V C
Finitur Pharie perlucida vita Marie. I
Clauditur hic Pharie sanctissima vita Marie. R

St. Mary, Notes.

~~Note: edition of proverbs in St. Omer 115. Roman. Forsch. 6. 557.~~

5 Cf. Reingld of Canterbury, Vita Malchi, ed. Lind. VI.426
'dogmatis attactus sanctos vigilabat in actus', and I.12
'iam iuvenis factus sanctos ardebat in actus',

8 Cf. Vita Malchi I.139
'traditur inque brevi seniores praeterit evi',
and VI.509
'occupat inque brevi iuvenem senior docet evi';

10 Cf. Vita Malchi I.11
'Fit puer et metas pueri transiverat aetas';

24 Cf. Vita Malchi I.140
'. . . videt alta sophiae'

50 Cf. Vita Malchi I.256
'cum peteris subici, poteris nec dicere vici'.

54,55 Cited anon. by Alex Nequam, Solatium fidelis anime, MS. Cant. Cath. B.6, fol.9[R] and De naturis rerum chap. 190 (ed. Wright p.346); also by Odo of Cheriton Serm. (Hervieux Fabulistes Latins 4, p.350).

55 Cf. Vita Malchi VI.364
'Angele, multa premunt, vincenda superbia restat';

64 Cf. Vita Malchi I.77
'Coetus multorum degebat ibi monachorum'.

65 Cf. Vita Malchi I.149
'Quod vitant, vitat; quod agunt, agit; omnia ritat'.

67 A very similar episode occurs in the Vita Malchi I.95 where Malchus like Zosimas presents himself before the monastery for admission:
'Malchus adest porte, sed erat tunc obdita forte'.

68 Cf. Vita Malchi I.102
'Abba salutatus resalutat; pauca profatus,'

86 Whether we read 'tela' or 'teda' the simile is an apt one. The javelin gains momentum by being whirled or brandished by the thrower, and the verb rotare is occasionally used with telum in this connection (cf. Livy XLII.65.10 'cum maiore nisu librabatum (telum) funditor habena rotaret,' and Stat. Theb.IX.802 'telum immane rotat'. The simile of the torch becoming brighter through being brandished about is the more obvious one. As CK and probably also B are related, the testimony for teda is really that of DuGK, and it is to be noted that Cl reads tela. It does not seem too much of a coincidence that MSS. of 3 different groups should fall in with the slightly more obvious reading. But there seems little to choose between the two readings on any ground.

90 - 104 This ideal description of the monastic life is closely followed by Reginald, Vita Malchi III.533-538:

'Mensa vetat monachi carnes et pocula Bacchi;
Parcus ei victus, rarus sopor, asper amictus;
Iurgia, livorem fugiunt mentisque tumorem;
Cuncta gerunt parce positi virtutis in arce.
Pellibus aut lino, non piscibus, unguine, vino
Fortes utuntur monachi nec ad illa trahuntur.'

92 Cf. Rotulus of blessed Vitalis of Savigny, titulus 134 (Delisle Rouleaux p.324) l.4 'Pisces, lac et mel,' and 5 'Sal, condimentum'.

98 Cited as Hildebert's in the Distinctiones monasticae Bk. 5, de Virga (Pitra II p.389).

99 Cf. Rotulus of blessed Vitalis of Savigny, titulus 134 (Delisle, Rouleaux p. 324) l.3 'Culcitra, stramen erat; vinum fons; herba, legumen;'

99, 100 Cf. Bernard of Cluny II.84 'terra legumina, pocula flumina, cingula restis,'

123 Cf. lines 512, 649.

123 Cf. Vita Malchi VI.435
' hanc vitam nactus erat omnibus omnia factus.'

185 and 187 Ovid Her. XV.73
'Ecce iacent collo positi sine lege capilli'
and Metamorph. I.477
'Vitta coercebat positos sine lege capillos'.

193 sqq. This passage is somewhat reminiscent of the scene in Ovid, Metamorph. Book I (1.504-515 and esp. 510,11), where Apollo calls on the startled Daphne to halt.

195 Ovid Ars Amat. III.735
'Non est fera; supprime tela.'

211 Malchus also is depicted as protected from the sun only by a 'cucullа', Vita Malchi II.341:
'Vilem vel nullam ponebat sole cucullam.'
In the 'vilem vel nullam' there may be an echo of Hildebert's 1.892.

251 Perhaps Hildebert is here thinking of Ovid. Met. II.795
'Ingeniis opibusque et festa pace virentem.'

289, 290 Cited anonymously by Petrus Cantor, Verbum abbreviatum chap.147 (P.L.205, col.352).

290 Vulg. Ps.102.15
'Homo sicut foenum dies eius;
tanquam flos agri sic efflorebit.'

313 Cf. Vita Malchi III.103
'et quae vidisti refer in miracula Christi.'

341 Cf. Vita Malchi III.380
'quae simul excrevit Veneris commercia sprevit'.

361 For the 'dativum auctoris' after perfect participles passive cf. Stolz-Hofmann, Grammatik p.417.

378 The only way in which this can be construed is to give accedo the meaning of 'have recourse to', a slight shift from its usual meaning of 'go up to, approach' (cf. Thes. I col.262). We would then translate 'My needy hand betook itself to these instruments'. This involves a rather awkward change from the dative his of 379, to the ablative of 380, but there seems to be no alternative.

381,2 Cited anon. Distinctiones monasticae, ch.11.4 'murus' (Pitra 3.174).

393 The words 'serior etas' are also found at the end of a line in Ovid Amores II.4.45.

411 Ovid Her.XII.177
'In faciem moresque meos nova crimina fingas:'

411 Cf. Bernard of Cluny II.493
'In sua crimina se mala femina pingit, adornat,'

413 Cf. Vita Malchi V.391
'Quo vis scande ratem; spondet mare prosperitatem.'

439 Lucan Pharsalia III.689
'Mille modos inter leti mors una timori est.'
Gir.Cambr. Topog. Hibern. Dist.11 cap.54 (Brewer vol 5, p.136) quotes the verse as
'inter mille modos mortis' which is even closer to Hildebert's. Gerald goes on to say 'Sic igitur summi verique Tonantis iram, quam pravitas in terris provocavit, Neptunus in undis vindicavit.'

457 Ovid Remedium 407
'Et pudet et dicam.'

499 For Lazarus as the 'type' of the person 'buried' in sin cf. B.E.66.

512 'omnibus omnis' cf. line 123.

511,512,514,515 Cited anon. Distinctiones monasticae, Bk. I, de Aure (Pitra 2, p.226.)

531 The majority of MSS. read 'intus', but 'intro' is to be preferred because it is supported by the reliable MSS. Du, K and Cl, and as a more unusual word is more likely to have been corrupted to intus than from it. Hildebert also uses intro at l.413, where the only variant reading to be taken into account is that of the edition.

542 The sanctity of these words spoken by a supernatural voice has so impressed itself on Hildebert that he refrains from paraphrasing them, and turning them into poetry, giving us almost exactly the 'Si Jordanem transieris, optimam invenies requiem' of Paul the deacon (Acta Sanct. Apr. I p.80E) and the 'Si Jordanem transieris, illic bonam invenies requiem' (Bibl.Casin. III.232). For similar lines of prose in the middle of a poem cf. De Myst., lines 117, 363, 368, 370, 607.

572 Ovid Amores III.5.1
'Nox erat et somnus'.

580 Cited as Hildebert's, Distinctiones monasticae, Bk. 2 chap.133 (Pitra 3, p.171 note 11) and anon. Bk.3 chap.142 de loco (Pitra 3, 476 note 10).

585 Cited probably explicitly as Hildebert's, Distinctiones monasticae Bk. 3, ch.cxc (Pitra 3, p.480 note 2).

649 Cf. lines 512, 123.

653 Cited anon. Distinctiones monasticae, Bk. 2, ch.142 (Pitra 3, p.473 and 2, p.389).

CHECK '72 > 655 cf Horace Odes I. 3. 37

670 Vergil Eclogues X.77
'Ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite, capellae'.

684 Ovid. Met. III.12
'Hac duce carpe vias.' cf. also VIII.208
'me duce carpe viam'.

707 Cf. line 103.

748 and 750 Cited anonymously by Petrus Cantor, Verbum abbreviatum chap.30 (P.L. 205, col.109), and from there with Hildebert's name by Giraldus Cambrensis Speculum Ecclesiae 4.25 (Brewer IV p.322), and anon. Gemma Eccl. I.50 (Brewer II p.141). [Cf. E.M.Sanford, 'Giraldus Cambrensis' debt to Petrus Cantor', Med.et Human. 3, p.24.)

763 Cf. Werner Sprichwörter p.92, no.104
'Si quis delinquit - ut Paulus apostolus inquit -
Qui consentit ei, fit reus ipse rei.'

765 Vulg. I Reg.1.27 sqq.

833 Though dilabitur gives much the better meaning I follow the best MSS. in reading delabitur, 'falls away' which is occasionally found absolutely (Thes.Ling.Lat. V.1. col.413.84).

863 Probably the reading 'meliora' has come in by analogy with line 177 'spe meliora'.

867 For the use of adicio as a weak auxiliary verb cf. Thes.Ling.Lat.I, col.674.30. This usage comes from the Vulgate and generally means 'to do in addition' or 'to do again'. Here it has very little meaning at all.

892 'vilem vel nullam', cf. line 211.

898 Cited by Petrus Cantor, Verbum abbreviatum chap.132 (P.L. 205, col.326):
'Hac Zozimas unico leone obsequente sepelivit cadaver illius sanctae poenitentis Mariae, scilicet Aegyptiacae. Unde versificator ille "Ad tumulum. . . ."'

APPENDIX I

Minor MSS. containing the shorter poems and isolated Biblical Epigrams

Austria

Krems Stiftsbibl. 149 s. xv (fol.276) 50, 22.

Melk Stiftsbibl. D. 23 (186) s.xii (fol. 48^{v}) B.E. 67, 68.

*Reun[1)] Cisterc.-Stiftsbibl. 35 s.xii (fol. 136^{v}) 39 IV.

Sälzburg s. Peter Stiftsbibl. V. 32 oct. s.xii 40 (cf. Archiv. 10. 614)

*Sälzburg s. Peter a VI. 28 s. xii (fol. 26-39) misc. 123, 20, 'Hic leodormivit' (cf. Walther Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen. 49. 278)

*Vienna 388 s.xii (fol. 75^{v}) B.E. 67, 66.

*Vienna Nationalbibl. 313 s.xv (fol. 145-7) 2 (probably as part of the Regimen Salernitanum).

*Vienna 609 s.xiii (fol. 37^{v}) 38, 36.

Vienna 898 s.xiv-xv (fol 1) 55, (fol. 28) st. Mary, (fol. 50-62^{v}) De Myst., 39, 40, 45, (fol. 66-68^{v}) Hau 32, (fol. 68-80) 'Poemata viginti unum minora partim S. Hild. Cen. Partim Marbodi Red.'

*Vienna 901 s.xiii (fol. 53^{v}) 16, (fol. 57) 36, (fol. 61^{v}) B.E. 67.

Vienna 1565 s.xiii (fol. 125-126) 39, 45 'ligna voluptatis', 40, 21, 'Qui veteres renovare', 57.

Vienna 1637 s.xiii (fol. 248^{v}+) 34, B.E. 67, Sup. 1.13[1], 40.

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1) I have marked with an asterisk MSS. obtained from Walther's Alphabetisches Verzeichnis partly as acknowledgement of my debt to him, and partly because much of his information, especially where it relates to German and Italian libraries cannot be controlled.

*Vienna 2299 s. xiii (fol. 138^{v}) 22 (a misprint in Walther? In the catalogue 2299 is s. xv.)

*Vienna 2742 s. xii. 39.

Vienna 13584 s. xv (fol. 43) 7, 17.

Vorau Stiftsbibl. 33 s. xii (fol. 52) Misc. 68, 16, 17 (incomplete), (fol. 59) 55, 22, (fol. 71^{v}) 25 (cf. Wattenbach N. Archiv. 2. 401-11).

Vorau 335 s. xiii exeunt. (fol. 143) 40, 21.

Vorau 379 s. xv (fol. 10^{v}) 45, 17.

Belgium

Bruges Bibli. Publ. 83 s. xii (fol. 5) 45.

*Brussels Bibl. Royale 364 (5576 - 604) s. xii (fol. 165^{v}) 18.

Brussels 1435 (II. 1029) s. xii^{2}, (s. Martin Tournai) (fol. 121^{v}) 25, (fol. 122) De Myst., 45, (fol. 126^{v}) Hau. 30 // 21 // 23, Misc. 123, (fol. 127) 22, 17, (fol. 129) Misc. 132, 20 (cf. Boutemy, Rev. Belge 17. 728-746).

Ghent Bibl. de la ville 296 s. xv (fol. 1) 36.

Mons Bibl. Publ. 56/115 s. xiii. (fol. 28^{v}) De Myst., 20, st. Mary.

Czechoslovakia

*Prague, public library 1578 (VIII. F. 24) s. xii (fol. 39), 45, 39 IV.

Denmark

Copenhagen, royal library Gl. Kgl. S.45 s.xii (fol. 1-15) De Myst. (fol. 15-17) 55.

Copenhagen Gl. Kgl. S. 43 s. xii (fol. 10) 45, 40.

France

Arras 466 s. xiii (s. Vaast) (fol. 381) De Myst., 'de sacramento altaris' (B.E. 67, 45 or 39), st. Mary (fol. 435) De Myst. (iterum) st. Mary (iterum).

Auxerre 205 s. xvi (fol. 128) 22.

Amiens 71 s. xiii (Corbie) (fol. 155^{v}) 2.

Amiens 75 2 (cf. Hau. p. 180. Not. in Cat. Gen. XIV p.32).

Amiens 82 s. xii (fol. 162^{v}) 45, 39, 21, 40, 5, 2, 3, 34, De Myst.

Amiens 221 s. xii (fol. 202) 22 (incomplete).

Amiens Fonds Lescalopier 10 s. xii (item 7) De Myst., 39, 40, 57, 21, 5, 3, 20, (item 14) 'Versus domini Hild. Cenom. episc. de resurrectione carnis.'

*Angers 241 s. xii/xiii (fol. 19^{v}) 17.

Angers 294 s. xii (fol. 175^{v}) De Myst. B.E. 67.

Angers 299 s. xii (fol. 126) De Myst., (fol. 129) 46 ll. 7-10.

Angers 309 s. xii (fol. 1) st. Mary, (fol. 11) 22.

Angers 320 s. xv (fol. 150) 22m De Quer. cantus I and IV, 55.

Avignon 591 s. xiii (fol. 143) De Myst., 45, 57.

Beauvais 11 s. xii (Cathedral) (fol. 77) 51, 23, 45, 18, 22.

Boulogne 15 s. xii (item 3) st. Mary, (item 4) De Myst, (item 5) 39.

Cambrai 536-7 s.xiii (fol. 136) De Myst., (fol. 141) 45, (fol. 141^{v}) 21, 23, (fol. 142) Misc. 123, (fol. 143) 22, 17, (fol. 145^{v}) Misc. 132.

Cambrai 632 s. xiv (fol. 2) 2.

Cambrai 802 s. xii (fol. 80) 34, (fol. 80^{v}) 50, 22, 40, B.E. 67.

Cambrai 860 s. xiii (fol. 4) 34 || Misc. 132.

Charleville 190 S. XII exeunt. (fol. 149^{v}) De Myst., 39 IV, II, III (cf. Wilmart R.B. 49, 121).

Charleville 202 s. xii (item 8) 45.

Chartres 205 s. xiii (fol. 153) 40.

Douai 40 s. xiii (fol. 47) B.E. 68.

Douai 285 s. xii (Anchin) (item 11) 57, 43.

Douai 318 s. xii (Anchin) (item 10) 34, (item 20) Hau 31.

Douai 319 s. xii (") (item 8) 34.

Douai 320 s. xii (") (fol. 164^{v}) 34.

Douai 372 II (fol. 132) st. Mary (text fragmentary), (fol. 141) De Myst., (fol. 144) 39 I, 50, 39 III.

Douai 532 s. xiii (Anchin) (fol. 2^{v}) 22.

Douai 533 s. xiii (Marchiennes) (fol. 194) De Myst., 45, 39, (fol. 201) st. Mary, 22, (fol. 209) 2, (item 100) Misc. 123, (fol. 210) 34, (item 107) Misc. 51, (item 109) 40, (item 119) 21, (item 120) B.E. 67, (item 121) 57, (item 122) 3, (item 123) 5, (fol. 211) 4, (item 136) 20, (fol. 211^{v}) 55.

Douai 690 s. xiv (fol. 25) 22, (fol. 27) De Quer. ~~cant~~. cant. I, (item 74) 55, (item 83) 'Phildeberti versus de mysterio sacrae hostiae', (item 84) De Quer. cant. IV.

Douai 749 s. xii (fol. 61) 55, (fol. 98) 50, (fol. 100) 2, 34, (fol. 100^{v}) 5, (fol. 190^{v}) 25 (cf. Boutemy Latomus 3. 183-206).

Douai 796 (Liber Floridus of Lambert of s. Omer) (fol. 23) 34.

Evreux 54 s. xii (fol. 2) B.E. 67, (fol. 40) 55.

Laon 139 s. xii (item 1) De Myst., (item 2) 55.

Laon 471 s. xii (Vauclair) (item 3) 34 ?

Le Mans 10 s. xi (thus the cataloguers) (s. Vincent) (fol. 57^{v}) 34, 44, 16, 3, 5, 21.

Lille 6 s. xiii (fol. 27) 34.

Lille 447 s. xvii (fol. 6^{v}) 34, Misc. 132.

Lille 863 s. xv (fol. 71^{v}) 2.

Lyon université 14 s. xii (item 2) De Myst., (item 5) s. Mary.

*Lyon bibl, mun. 479 s. xv (first page) 23.

*Lyon, Palais des Arts 45 s. xii (fol. 147^{v}) 24.

Montpellier, École de Médecine 413 s. xi-xii (item 2) 40, (item 18) De Myst.

Paris Bibl. Nat. 561 s. xii (fol. 131) De Myst., (fol. 137) 54, 38, 1.

B.N. 564 s. xi (fol. 34-71) De Myst. (incomplete), st. Mary, 39.

B.N. 579 s. xi (end) (fol. 176^{v}) B.E. 61, B.E. 67, 21, 45.

B.N. 712 s. xi-xii (fol. 62^{v}) 25, Misc. 66.

B.N. 1249 s. xi (fol. 25-36) De Myst., 45, (fol. 39) 57, (Fol. 43) 21.

B.N. 2512 s. xii (fol. 71) 18 (extract from W. of Malmesbury G.R. III ⅔ 284).

B.N. 2595 s. xiii (fol. 102-9) De Myst., 40, 39, B.E. 67, 21, 55.

B.N. 2628 s. xii (fol. 155^{v}) 39, 45 (incomplete).

B.N. 2731 (fol. 122^{v}) 45 ll. 1-17.

*B.N. 2733 s. xii (end) (fol. 139^{v}) 55, 20.

*B.N. 2905 s. xii (fol. 68) B.E. 67.

B.N. 3087 (fol. 78) 3.

B.N. 3088 (fol. 25) 38, 1, (fol. 78) 3, 25, 39 (fol. 80) 34.

*B.N. 3163 (fol. 30) 16.

B.N. 3544 (fol. 168) 3.

B.N. 3652 s. xiii (item 5 in 1744 catalogue) De Myst., (fol. 26) 39, 56.

B.N. 3696 B (fol. 17) 20, 21, 40, 39, (fol. 46) 50.

B.N. 3705 (fol. 146) 19, 24, 7, 34, 57.

B.N. 4071 s. xiii (item 5, 1744 cat.) 22.

B.N. 5511 A s. xii (fol. 90) De Myst., 16.

B.N. 6415 (fol. 91) 16.

B.N. 8250 (fol. 5 and 59) 2.

B.N. 8321 (fol. 40) 36, (fol. 41) 40, 38.

B.N. 8413 (fol. 47) 23, 19.

B.N. 8427 fol. 5 (gloss) 52.

B.N. 8430 s. xiv (fol. 60) 2.

B.N. 8484 s. xiii (item 3, 1744 cat.) De Myst., (fol. 4) 21, (fol. 31) 3, 34, 39, 2, 5.

B.N. 11579 s. xii (fol. 142) B.E. 67, De Myst.

B.N. 13343 s. xii (fol. 37) 55, 39, 40, (fol. 104) 32, (fol. 171) 21.

B.N. 13468 s. xiii (fol. 131) 2.

B.N. 14193 s. xi-xvi (fragments) (fol. 8) 2, 3, 33 (incomplete).

B.N. 14593 s. xii^2 (fol. 105) Add. B.E. 9, (fol. 116) 14.

B.N. 15149 s. xii (fol. 1) De Myst., 39, (fol. 12) B.E. 67, (fol. 14) 40, 21.

B.N. 15155 s. xiii (fol. 54) 50, (fol. 56) 22, (fol. 163) 34.

B.N. 15172 s. xii? (fol. 105) 40, (fol. 106) 51.

B.N. 15291 s. xii (fol. 152) 40, (fol. ?) 57.

B.N. 16699 s. xii (fol. 233) 40, (fol. 37) 57, (fol. 111^{v}) Misc. 68.

B.N. 17354 s. xii (fol. 81^{v}) 39.

B.N. 18082 (fol. 2) B.E. 67, 57.

B.N. 18108 s. xii (fol. 152) 39, De Myst.

*B.N. 19867 (fol. 167) 39 II.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 162 (fol. 9) 19.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 333 (fol. 110) B.E. 15.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 451 s. xii^2 (Libri 50) (fol. 1) 1, 25.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 1544 s. xiv (fol. 108) 2.

B.N. Collection A. Duchesne 56 s. xvi (fol. 468) 18 (perhaps in Duchesne's own hand).

Paris Mazarin 593 s. xv (fol. 25) 2.

Mazarin 693 s. xii 'vers 1150' (s. Remi, Reims) (fol. 121-135^{v}) De Myst., 39 IV, 45, 21, 39 I 1, 2, II, 55.

Mazarin 738 s. xiii (fol. 200) 40.

Mazarin 778 s. xiii (s. Victor) (fol. 151) 45, 55.

Mazarin 1715 s. xiii (fol. 148^{v}) B.E. 67.

Mazarin 4310 s. xii 22.

Reims 431 s. xii (end) (fol. 168^{v}) 34, (fol. 199^{v}) s. Mary.

Reims 1275 Cf. the description of I, p. .

*Reims 1390 s. xi/xii on fly-leaf C fragments of De Myst., 45, 3, B.E. 66.

Rouen 546 s. xiii (fol. 152^{v}) De Myst., (fol. 156^{v}) 39 (incomplete)

Rouen 652 s. xiii (fol. 111) De Myst., 57.

*Rouen 1406, s. xii (fol. 135^{v}) 2.

Rouen 1419 s. xii^{2} (fol. 135^{v}) 2, 34, 57.

St. Omer 710 s. xiii (end) (s. Bertin) (item 9) 55, (item 10) s. Mary

Fierville (N.E. 31. 146-56) also gives 50 (his item 16) and 57 (his item 18).

Tours 300 s. xii (s. Martin) (fol. 75) Misc. 118, 22.

*Trier 591 s. xii (fol. 1^{v}) 39.

Troyes 215 s. xiii (Clairvaux) (items 73-76) De Myst., Pierre Peintre de Euch., 39, s. Mary, 22, (item 84) 2, (item 86) Misc. 123, (item 92) 34, (item 93) Misc. 51, (items 102-104) 21, B.E. 67, 57, (item 106) 5, (item 129) 55.

Troyes 663 s. xii (Clairvaux) (item 4) De Myst., (items 6-8) 39, (item 9) 40, (item 13) s. Mary.

Troyes 1331 s. xiii (item 2) 40, 5, 2, 3, 34, Misc. 66.

Troyes 1562 s. xii (item 6) 34, (item 7) 20.

Troyes 1612 s. xv (item 16) 50.

Troyes 1748 s. xiii (Clairvaux) (item 7) 45, De Myst., (items 8-10) 59, (item 11) 40, (item 12) s. Mary.

Valenciennes 152 s. xi (fol. 12) 19, (fol. 178) Misc. 51, (fol. 179) 40.

*Valenciennes 172 s. xii (fol. 12) 19.

Valenciennes 249 s. xii (fol. 60^{v}) De Myst., (fol. 70^{v}) 39, B.E. 67, 40, 21, Misc. 51 'salve festa dies'.

Vitry-le-François 5 s. xii (fol. 132) 21, (fol. 136^{v}) De Myst., (fol. 140) 45, 39, (fol. 141) s. Mary.

Germany

*Augsburg Bischöfl. Ordinariatsbibl. B. 9 s. xii (fol. 42^{v}) B.E. 67.

Bamberg kgl. Bibl. Q. vi. 41 (Catalogue 1. 3 p.472) s. xi/xii (fol. 1) 45.

Bamberg kgl. Bibl. B. iv. 29 (Catalogue 1. 3 p.515) s. xii (fol. 142) B.E. 67.

Berlin 70 (Phill. 1696) s. xii (fol. 111^{v}) 16.

Berlin 96 (Phill. 1742) s. xii^{2} (fol. 1) 34, (fol. 295^{v}) De Myst.

Berlin 181 (Phill. 1732) s. xi (fol. 9) De Myst., (fol. 22^{v}) 45, 21, 45 (iterum), 39 IV, II, III, Misc. 51, (fol. 136^{v}) 40.

Berlin 182 (Phill. 1734) s. xi^{2} (fol. 63) 55, (fol. 65) De Myst., (fol. 77) 45, (fol. 77^{v}) s. Mary (ends incomplete at l. 488).

Berlin 848 (Th. Oct. 28) s. xv (fol. 155) B.E. 67.

Berlin 955 (Lat. Qu. 106) (Lach) s. xi (fol. 25^{v}-27) De Myst., 57, 21, 40, 45, 5, 3, 34, 2, 50 (imperfect).

Berlin Görres 111 (Lat. Oct. 236) (Himmerod) s. xiii (fol. 96) 39.

*Berlin Lat. Fol. 591 s. xiii (fol. 77) 4, 20, B.E. 67, st. Mary.

*Berlin Lat. Qu. 915 (fol. 93^{v}) 2.

*Berlin Lat. Oct. 200 (fol. 305) 2.

*Berlin Th. Oct. 94. s. xii (mid) (Hautmont nr. Cambrai) (fol. 102) Misc. 51, (fol. 105) 20, 17, (fol. 107) 50 l. 52- end, (fol. 111) 22, 36, 38 (cf. Wattenbach Berl. Sitzungsber. 1895 pp. 123-157).

*Breslau Univ. Bibl. I.F. 114 s. xv (fol. 210) 16 11.3-7.

*Breslau Univ. Bibl. I.F. 495 (fol. 91^{v}) 2.

Dresden Stadtbibl. Dc. 171^{a} s. xiii (Merseburg) (fol. 38^{v}) 36.

*Donaueschingen Fürstl. Hofbibl. 37 s. xvi (fol. 92) 23.

*Erfurt Ampl. Fol. 2 s. xiv (fol. 104^{R} or ^{v}) 2.

*Erfurt Ampl. Qu. 324 s. xiv (fol. 161^{v}) 2.

*Erfurt Ampl. Qu. 345 s. xiv (fol. 17^{v}) B.E. 67 (but not on p. 575 of the catalogue).

*Erfurt Ampl. Oct. 25 s. xii (fol. 137^{v}) 39 IV.

Eichstädt Staatsbibl. 211 s. xv (fol. 244^{v}) B.E. 67 (H. Walther Zentralblatt f. Bibl. Wesen 49, 270)

*Freiburg-i-Br. Univ. Bibl. 371 (fol. 23) 39 IV.

*Göttingen Univ. Bibl. Theol. 105 s. xiii (fol. 46^{v}) 23.

*Göttingen " " Luneburg. 65 s. xv (fol. 121^{v}) 2.

*Göttingen Philol. 114 s. xv (fol. 6^{v}) 23 ascribed to 'Pulex poeta'.

*Hamburg Staatsbibl. hist. 31^{6} fol. s xv (fol. 259) 23.

*Hannover IV. 524 s. xiii (fol. 4^{v}) 2.

*Karlsruhe Reichenau perg. 39 s. x (later addition on fly-leaf) 57, 34, 39.

*Karlsruhe A VI. 36 (fol. 168) 22.

*Leipzig Univ. Bibl. lat. 197 s. xiii^{1} (fol. 156^{v}-157) 22.

Leipzig " " lat. 256 s. xiii (fol. 146^{v}) st. Mary, De Myst., 21, 39 IV, II, III, 40, 'Jussu divino dum missa pie celebratur.'

*Leipzig Univ. Bibl. lat. 351 s. xii (fol. 133^{v}) 55, st. Thais, (fol. 137^{v}) 22, (fol. 138) the last chapter of Marbod's 'Decem capitula'.

*Lueneburg D. 46 (fol. ?) 2.

Munich Staatsbibl. 350 s. xv (fol. 157) 23.

*Munich 4596 s. xiv (fol ?) 2.

*Munich 6911 s. xii/xiv (fol. 122^{v}) B.E. 67, (fol. 128) 25.

Munich 8304 s. xii (fol. 72) De Myst., 39, 40, (fol. 129) 55 and other poems unspecified.

Munich 10157 s. xii (fol. 8) 50.

Munich 12513 s. xii (1240) (fol. 1) st. Mary, (fol. 10) 55, (fol. 21) 39 III, IV.

*Munich 14126 s. xii (fol. 7) 39 IV.

Munich 14834 s. xi-xii (fol. 128) 40.

Munich 15832 s. xi (s. Rupert Sälzburg) (fol. 101) 45 ascribed to st. Anselm.

Munich 17212 s. xiii/xii (fol. 3^{v}) 19, (fol. 6) B.E. 67, (fol. 7^{v}) st. Mary, (fol. 20) 50, (fol. 25^{v}) Add. B.E. 9, (fol. 26) 25.

*Paderborn Theod. Bibl. B. a. ii (fol. 37^{v}) B.E. 67.

*Wolfenbüttel Gud. lat. 4° 150 (4454) s. xii (fol. 59^{v}) 1.

*Wolfenbüttel Gud. lat. 8° 332 (4639) (Italian humanist MS. s. xvi) (fol. 98) 23 ascribed to 'pulex poeta'.

*Wolfenbüttel Helmst. 344 s. xv (1434-6) (fol. 45) 2.

*Würzburg Univ. Bibl. th. fol. 54 s. xii (fol. 207) 22, 3.

*Würzburg " " M. ch. fol. 54 (fol. 207v) 1
(probably a mistake for the above MS.).

Great Britain

Cambridge Corpus Christi College 34 (p. 3) s. xii
late -xiv (Norwich Cathedral) (fol. 440) De Myst.,
39 IV, 21, 40, 20, 39 I, II, 45, 51, 55 // 22.

*Cambridge C.C.C. 277 (H. 9) s. xii (fol. 15v) 22.

*Cambridge C.C.C. 371 (15.1) s. xiv (p. 1) 37? (2 verses).

Cambridge C.C.C. 431 (Misc. 6) s. xvi printed, containing
a leaf each from De Myst. and st. Mary.

*Cambridge C.C.C. 481 (Misc. L) s. xii (p. 381) 2.

Cambridge Sidney Sussex Coll. 51 (Δ.3. 6) s. xii)
(Durham) (fol. 1) De Myst., (fol. 13) 39, B.E.
67 or 45.

Cambridge st. John's Coll. 90 (D. 15) s. xi-xii
(Franciscans of Hereford) (fol. 54) st. Mary,
(fol. 60v) 55.

Cambridge Trinity Coll. 895 (R. 14. 22) s. xii (fol. 44v)
Hau. 31, 'Fervet amore Paris', 37. ?

Cambridge Gonville & Caius Coll. 230 s. xv (fol. 72) 37,
(fol. 75) 18 (4 lines), (fol. 86) 36 (2 lines).

Cambridge Pembroke Coll. 103 s. xi/xii (fol. 61v)
B.E. 69, (fol. 69) 'hic leo dormivit', 'cura labor
meritum', 24.

Eton College Bk. 4. 8. (James 135, Schenkl 2964) s. xi
'probably Italian' (fol. 166v) 22.

Hereford Cath. O. 1. 2 s. xii1 (fol. 4v) 20.

London British Museum Cotton Titus D. xxiv s. xii1 (fol. 22^{v}) Misc. 51, (fol. 25) 23, 22, (fol. 30) 7 ll. 2,3, (fol. 85, item 81 c) 57, (fol. 90^{v}), Misc. 15a, (fol. 119) 45, (fol. 120^{v}) st. Mary (cf. Mozley Med. Aev. xi (1942) p. 1).

B.M. Cotton Appendix xiii s. xiii (fol. 106-111) De Myst., 39, 40, Marbod Var. l. 59, 22, 3, 21, 34 'Falleris et ventum sequeris', 5 'servus sis generosus', 2.

B.M. Royal 2 C. VI s. xiii (fol. 90^{v}) 40, 21.

B.M. Royal 6 E. II s. xii (fol. 176^{v}) B.E. 67, 68.

B.M. Royal 7 C. VII s. xiii (fol. 70^{v}) 40.

B.M. Royal 7 D. I s. xii (fol. 44) 5 ll. 1, 2, (fol. 42) Misc. 132.

B.M. Royal 8. E. XVII s. xiv (c. 1300) (fol. 2^{v}) B.E. 67.

B.M. Royal 8. F. I s. xiii (fol. 2) Misc. 132, (fol.111) 37 ll. 1-4.

B.M. Royal 10. A. VII s. xiii (fol. 150^{v}) 23.

B.M. Royal 11. B. II s. xii-xiii (fol. 168) 55 ll.184-204, De Myst. (fragment).

B.M. Additional 6158 s. xiv (fol. 146) 1-6, 8, 11, 12, 13 (cf. section on the relations of MSS. p.).

B.M. Additional 9959 s. xii (fol. 93^{v}) 45, 'Tres in natale domini misse celebrantur', 'Mistice tres partes fiunt de corpore Christi', 'Noe iob daniel designant viventes' (not Misc. 4), Misc. 51, Misc. 118, Misc. 119 'Pontus terra polus' ...

B.M. Add. 35112 s. xii/xiii (s. Martin, Tournai) (fol. 103) Misc. 51, (fol. 117) 50, (fol. 119) 2, 34, 25.

N B.M. Sloane 539 (fol. 160^{v}) 20.

London Lambeth Palace 8 s. xii (fol. 155) 38, 36 (pr. from this MS. by Stubbs Radulfi de Diceto Opera Historica II (Rolls Series) p. lxxiv.

Lambeth Palace 451 s. xii (fol. 82) 43, Hau. 10.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A. 44 s. xiii beg. (fol. 224) 22, (fol. 225^{v}) 50 (cf. Wilmart Med. and Ren. Stud. 1 pp. 41-84.
~~(i.e. Bodl. Library)~~

Oxford Barlow 10 s. xvii (cf. section on relations of MSS. p.).

Oxford Douce 89 s. xiii (fol. 73^{v}) Hau. 10, (fol. 76^{v}) st. Mary, (fol. 122^{v}) Misc. 51, 34 'sanguis rana culex'.

Oxford. Canon. misc. 102 s. xv (fol. 36) 23.

Oxford. D'Orville 168 s. xv (fol. 64) 23, (fol. 72) 19.

Oxford. Lat. misc. c. 62 s. xvi (collection made by F. Maturanzio 1443-1518) (fol. 23) 23, (fol. 28^{v}) 19.

Oxford. Lat. th. c. 37 s. xiv (English) (fol. 98^{v}) in the margin B.E. 68 (variant) ll.1,2,4, De Myst. ll. 575-7, B.E. 68 ll.5-6 and 45 ll. 31,32.

Oxford Laud. misc. 500 s. xii (fol. 94^{v}) st. Mary, (fol. 125^{v}-130) De Myst., B.E. 67, 21.

*Oxford Rawlinson D 339 s. xvi (p.204) copy of 18 made by William Crashawe.

*Oxford Laud. misc. 477 s. xii (fol. 77) B.E. 67 and 'ara crucis'. Tanner 8 s. xiii^{2} (fol. 589^{v} margin) 16.

*Oxford Oriel College 17 s. xiv (fol. 131) B.E. 67.

*Oxford Corpus Christi Coll. D. 43 s. xii^{1} (fol. 55^{v}) 42, 34.

Oxford Univ. Coll. 45 s. xiv (fol. 48^{v}) De Myst., 45, Hau. 32, 57, 55.

Longleat, Collection of Marq. of Bath (Schenkl 4742) s. xii 'Hildeberti versus'.

Italy

*Bologna Bibl. Univ. 401 (perhaps 378?) s. xv (no. 7) 23.

Fano. MSS. Ferrari 81 s. xvii (fol. 251) 37, 51.

Florence Laur. Plut. xx. 48 s. xii ineunt (fol. 39^{v}) 40, 21.

Florence Laur. Plut. xxx. 22 s. xv, after the 'Hermaphroditus' of Antony of Palermo (fol. 40) 'Pulex de ortu atque obitu Hermaphroditi.'

Florence Laur. Plut. LXXXIX. 21 (fol. 5) 34.

Milan Ambros. cod. Pinelliani H 46 sup. (fol. 70) 19.

*Monte Cassino 408 s. xiii (p. 126) 24.

Rome Vat. Reg. 172 s. xii-xiii. (fol. 60^{v}-62^{v}) 22, 3.

Vat. Reg. 270 s. xiii (fol. 43-48^{v}) De Myst., 39 IV, 'impia iudea ridet', 'ecclesie circa sacre. sollemnia mense', B.E. 67, 39 II and III, 40, 21.

Vat. Reg. 344 s. xiii. (fol. 38) 23, (fol. 40^{v}) 34, 7, (fol. 42) 22.

Vat. Reg. 440 s. xv (fol. 84) 34.

Vat. Reg. 477 s. xii^{1} (fol. 10^{v}) 45.

Vat. Palat. 219 s. xii or xiii. (fol. 54) 45, 21, 50.

*Vat. Palat. 559 s. xiv (fol. 120^{v}) 3, 5.

*Vat. Palat. 613 s. xv (fol. 86) B.E. 67.

*Vat. Palat. 619 s. xiii (fol. 68^{v}) B.E. 67.

*Vat. Angelici 401 (D. 3.7) s. xiii ineunt. (fol. 49) De Myst., 45, (fol. 51) Nau. 32, 'Adventum Christi', 22.

Venice s. Marco 30 s. xi (Valentinelli I. 214) 34.

*Volterra XL 2. 15 s. xv (fol. 59) 23.

Netherlands

Hague Royal Library 441 (fol. 14-14^{v}) De Myst., 45.

Leiden Univ. Bibl., Cod. Bibl. Publ. Lat. 102 's. xi' (fol. 54^{v}) 34, Misc. 132.

Poland

*Dantzig Stadtbibl. Mar. F. 238 s. xv. (fol. 182^{v}) 16. 5-7.

*Dantzig Stadtbibl. Mar. F. 286 s. xv (fol. 174) 36, 38, 22, De Quer. cantus 1, 2, 3, 4, 45, 55 11.105 - end.

*Dantzig Stadtbibl. Mar. F. 300 s. xv (fol. 193) as in F. 286 to which it is closely related though not copied from it.

Spain

Escorial g. IV. 30 s. xiii. (fol. 1) De Myst., 45, 40, (fol. 13) 21.

Escorial I. III. 10 s. xviii (fol. 28) De Myst., 45, (fol. 44) 40, 21 (copy of g. IV. 30).

*Escorial I. III. 21 s. xv (fol. 56) 23.

Escorial 0. III. 2 s. xiv (fol. 104) de Quer., (fol. 110) 40.

Tortosa, bibl. del cabildo 97 s. xii (no folio given) 45, 20, 16, 39 II, III, IV 11.1-6 (cf. Denifle, Rev. des Bibliothèques 6. 53).

Switzerland

*Basle Univ. Bibl. A XI. 67 s. xv (fol. 162) 57.

Bern Burgerbibl. 91 A s. xii-xiii (fol. 13) De Myst. (fragment), 39 II, III, IV, 45.

*Bern 52 s. xii (fol. 93) 39.

*Bern 90 A A 27 b (fol. 2) 39 IV.

*Bern 384 s. xv (fol. 153) 23.

Bern 704 s. xii (fol. 11^{v}) 34, (fol. 14) 50, 40, B.B. 67, (fol. 28) 16, (fol. 29^{v}) 20, 'ara crucis'.

Bern 710 s. xii-xiii (fol. 62^{v}) 17 11.7, 8, 11, 17; 3, 2, 57 (cf. Werner Beiträge pp. 189-197).

Schaffhausen 13 s. xii (fol. 88) 45 (N.A. 6.450).

*Zürich Zentralbibl. 88 (C.58) s. xii (fol. 21)

Zürich " 142 (C.111/390) s.xiii (fol. 3) 40.

Zürich " 312 (C.148) s. xiii (fol. 22^{v}) 45, (fol. 23) 23, (fol. 24) 34, B.B. 68. (cf. Werner N.A. 31. 579.

Zürich 494 (Rh. 124) s. xii (fol. 188) 40, (fol. 190), 45, 21, 57.

United States of America

Harvard Univ. Lib. Riant 36 s. xii^{2} (fol. 80^{v}-82) Misc. 132, 57, 45, 21, 55 (cf. Hammond Speculum 7, pp. 530-539).

MSS. containing the De Mysterio alone.

Austria

Gräz Univ. Bibl.492 s. xv, fol.49-72.

Göttweih Stiftsbibl. 121 s. xiii, fol.144.

Reun Stiftsbibl. 12 s. xii end, fol.87^{v}-103.

Vienna Staatsbibl. 1516 s.xiv, fol.133-136.

Vienna " 1639 s.xiii (ending incomplete at l.172).

*Zwettl Stiftsbibl. 254 s.xiii, fol.1-16.

Zwettl " 260 s.xii, fol.30-48^{v}.

Belgium

Ghent 150 s.xii/xv, fol.184^{v}-193^{v}.

Ghent 210.4 s.xii, fol.184^{v}.

Czechoslovakia

Prague Publ.Lib. 1880 s.xv, fol.131-169^{v} (incomplete, with commentary).

France

*Besançon 187 s.xii, fol.44^{v}.

Bordeaux 74 s.xiii, fol.150^{v}.

Carpentras 102 s.xiv, fol.3.

Charleville 35 s.xii, item 4.

Dijon 151 s.xii (Citeaux), fol.122.

Laon 470 s.xii (Notre Dame du Laon), item 2.

Paris Bibl. Nat. 14758 s.xiii, fol.85.

B.N. 18586 s.xii (N.E. 38.429).

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 873 s.xii, fol.17^{v}.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 878 s.xiii, fol.1 (incomplete).

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 879 s.xiii (S. Ghislain, dioc. Cambrai), fol.54^{v}.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 886 s.xi-xii.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 2352 s.xiii, fol.1.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 3019 s.xiii, fol.1.

Tours 137 s.xii, fol.126.

Tours 856 s.xiii end, fol.304 (incomplete, ending at l.370).

<u>Germany</u>

Munich Staatsbibl. 4710 s.xv, fol.228.

Munich " 9529 s.xiv, fol.74-8.

Munich " 11582 s.xv (1432), fol.130. 'Expositio missae', fol.233 'Summa mysteriorum in missa, id est commentarius in Hildeberti scribere disposui'.

Munich Staatsbibl. 14703 s.xv, fol.35.

Munich " 14887 s.xv, fol.83.

Würzburg Univ. Bibl. Th. Q. 50.

<u>Great Britain</u>

Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 470 (C. 13) s.xiii (Norwich), fol.24.

Cambridge, Trinity Coll. 1076 (O.1.52) s.xii (Byland Abbey, Yorks.), fol.41.

London, British Museum Royal 8.D.viii s.xii, fol.33.

London, " " Royal 10.A.x s.xiii-xiv, fol.173 (dislocated).

London, " " Additional MS. 18353 s.xiv, fol.32-44^{v}.

London, " " Additional MS. 22792 s.xii 'Versus Hildeberti Tur. de sacramentis'.

London, Lambeth Palace 360 s.xii (Lanthony) fol.101 (ends imperfect at l.286).

Oxford, Bodleian Lib. Auct. F.5.25 s.xii, fol.202-209^{v} (ends imperfect at l.464).

Oxford " " Canonici Misc. 95 s.xiii (S. Leonardo, Verona), fol.81 (ends imperfect at l.284).

Italy

Rome Vatican Reg. 158 s.xiii-xiv, fol.1 (dislocated).

Rome " " 341 s.xii, fol.142^{v} (the beg. only).

Venice St. Mark 50 s.xiii, fol.178-189 (lines 1-231 only).

Netherlands

Leiden Vulc. 48 s.xiv, fol.187-190.

MSS. containing the life of St. Mary alone.

Austria

Heiligenkreuz Stiftsbibl. 11 s.xiii, fol.145-9.

Heiligenkreuz " 112 s.xiii, fol.108^{v}-113.

Vienna Nationalbibl. 848 s.xiii, fol.20^{v} (incomplete).

Zwettl Stiftsbibl. 41 s.xiii, fol.200^{v}-6^{v}.

Belgium

*Bruges Bibl. Publ. 561 s.xv, fol.25^{v}-39.

*Brussels Bibl. Royale 8387 and 10049 (old numbering).

Mons Bibl. Publ. 56/115 s.xiii, fol.48.

Mons " " 115/199 s.xiii, fol.81.

France

Alençon 8 s.xiii, fol.118^{v}.

Angers 50 s.xii, fol.95^{v} (ends incomplete at l.799).

Angers 303 s.xii, fol.1.

Avranches 100 s.xiii, item 2.

Bourges 128 s.xii, fol.87.

Cambrai 221 s.xii, fol.82^{v} (ends incomplete at l.527).

*Evreux 38 s.xii, fol.52.

Loches 24 s.xv, item 7 (incomplete).

Montpellier Ecole de Medecin 294 s.xii-xiii (Clairvaux), item 2.

Paris B.N. 2417 s.xii-xiii, fol.156.

B.N. 8433 s.xiv, fol.130 (H.N.E. 1.387).

B.N. 8499 s.xii, fol.4.

B.N. 14877 s.xiii/xiv, fol.284 (H.N.E. 3.222).

B.N. 15025 s.xiii, fol.208^{v}.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 736 s.xii, fol.89.

B.N. Nouv. Acq. 1984 s.xi-xii, fol.89.

Paris Mazarin 1712 s.xii, fol.257^{v}.

Reims 1277 s.xv, fol.13.

Soissons 137 s.xiii, item 10 (ends incomplete at l.527).

Germany

Berlin 997 (Theol. fol.265) s.xvi ('nach 1510') (Lach), fol.64^{v}-70, with 8 verses of introduction added.

*Erfurt Ampl. Oct. 4 s.xiii, fol.107-120 (beg. imperfect at 256?).

Heidelberg Univ. Bibl. Salem 9.15 s.xii.

Munich Staatsbibl. 2600 s.xiii, fol.57^{v}.

Munich " 22016 s.xii, fol.156-9.

Munich " 22112 s.xvi, fol.156-66 (copy of 22016?).

*Wolfenbüttel 87.5 Aug. fol. s.xiii, fol.20-25^{v}.

Great Britain

London, British Museum Sloane 2569 s.xvii, fol.46-54.

London, " " Additional 24914 (S. Trond), fol.108^{v}-112.

Oxford, Bodleian Lib. Auct. F.5.16 s.xiv, fol.23.

Oxford " " Digby 26 s.xiv, fol.119.

Oxford " " Lat. misc. a.3 s. xiii, fol. (ll.104 - 244).

35

Cardiff Central Library (not numbered) s.xii^{2}, fol.129-135^{v}. (ends imperfect at 1.405) (cf. Analecta Bollandiana 56, p.24 note 4).

Italy

Rome Vat. Reg. 288 s.xii exeunt., fol.56^{v}-63.
Rome Vat. Reg. 346 s.xii, fol.52^{v}-58^{v}.
Rome Vat. Lat. 793 s.xiv, item 30 (short fragment).
*Rome Vat. Pal. 242 s.xii, fol.89^{v}.

Manuscripts containing 55 alone.

France

Laon 146 s.xv, item 14.

Troyes 1002 s.xii (Clairvaux), item 6 "Hildeberti Cenom. epi. collectum".

Rouen 543 s.xii (S. Ouen), fol.99.

Rouen 651 s.xiii (Jumieges), fol.167.

Rouen 1393 s.xii-xiii (Jumieges), fol.195^{v}.

Alençon 13 s.xiii (S. Evroult), fol.131.

Cambrai 211 s.xii^{2}-xiii^{1}, fol.70.

Tours 348 s.xv (Marmoutier), fol.143^{v}.

Toulouse 162 s.xii, fol.74^{v}.

Paris Bibl. Nat. 2390 s.xii, fol.111.

B.N. 2527 s.xii (Foucarmont, dioc. Rouen), fol.109^{v}.

B.N. 3388 (H.N.E. 1.207) "Aux derniers feuillets".

B.N. 3652, fol.26.

B.N. 4709, fol.98.

B.N. 11867 s.xiii^{2}, fol.179.

B.N. 12020 s.xii, fol.138^{v}. (cf. H.N.E. 2, p.55).

B.N. 13413 s.xii, fol.208.

B.N. 14993 s.xii/xiii, fol.1.

Germany

Berlin Görres 16 (Lat. Qu. 672) s.xiii, fol.166^{v}.

Karlsruhe 36 s.xiv (Reichenau), fol.51.

Munich 3012 s.xv, fol.1.

Munich 12007 (Prüfening, dioc. Ratisbon) s.xv, fol.222.

Great Britain

Cambridge Univ. Lib. 951 (Ee.II.33) s.xiii, fol.78^{v}.

Cambridge Trinity Coll. B.2.33 (76) s.xii, fol.127^{v}.

" Trinity Coll. B.14.33 (317) s.xiii^{1}, (Cerne Abbey, Dorset), fol.6^{v}.

London, British Museum, Royal 7 D XVII, s.xiii, fol.265^{v}.

London, " " Royal 8 A XIX s.xii, fol.68^{v}.

Oxford, Canonici Misc. 266 s.xii exeunt., fol.101.

" MS. Bodl. 79 s.xiii, fol.88.

" Laud Misc. 368 s.xiv (St. Cuthbert's, Durham), fol.201^{v}.

Lincoln Cathedral 122 (A.5.2) s.xii, fol.66.

Lambeth 149 (ii) s. xii late - xiii early (Lanthony), fol.199^{v}.

APPENDIX II

MSS. of the commentary on De Mysterio, written by magister Johannes in the second half of the fourteenth century. (Frenz, Die Messe p.499).

Admont Stiftsbibl. 165, written 1408, fol.108 - 157^{v}.

Berlin Staatsbibl. 306 (Th.qu.56) s.xv, fol.113 -

Berlin 371 (Th.fol.505) s.xv, fol.194.

Dantzig Marienkirche F.298 s.xv, fol.121.

Graz Univ.Bibl.584, fol.548.

Melk Stiftsbibl. 47 (B.11) s.xiv, fol.101(incomplete).

Melk 103 (B.75) s.xv, fol.1.

Melk 799, fol.1.

Melk 802, fol.1.

Magdeburg Dom Gymnasium 95.

Munich Staatsbibl. 11582, written 1432, fol.233.

Munich 26894 s.xv, fol.102.

Vienna Nationalbibl. 4645 s.xv, fol.271.

Wilhering Stiftsbibl. 90 s.xiii, fol.1 (incomplete).

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