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Disertační práce:

Francis of Meyronnes' *Tractatus de passione Domini*:

Critical edition and analysis

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V Praze, dne

.....

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Guardatela oggi, questa legge di Dio,
tre volte inchiodata nel legno:
[...]
io nel vedere quest'uomo che muore,
madre, io provo dolore.
Nella pietà che non cede al rancore,
madre, ho imparato l'amore".

[Look at this law of God today,
three times nailed to the wood:
(...)
watching this man dying,
mother, I feel pain.
In the compassion that will bear no grudge,
mother, I learned love.]

Fabrizio De Andrè, *Il testamento di Tito*.¹

¹ "Titus' testament", in *La buona novella*, Milano, Produttori Associati, 1970 [trad. by Mark Worden].

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA.SS. – *Acta Sanctorum*, 64 vols., Bruxelles-Antwerp 1643 sq. (3rd ed., Paris 1863-1887).

BHL – *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, Bruxelles, 1898-1901; *Novum Supplementum*, ed. FROS, Henryk, Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1986 (Subsidia Hagiographica 70).

CCCM – *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1966-ss.

CCSL – *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1953-ss.

CSEL – *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Wien, Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1866-ss.

PG – MIGNE, Jacques-Paul (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*, 161 vols., Paris, Imprimerie Catholique, 1856-66.

PL – MIGNE, Jacques-Paul (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, 221 vols., Paris, Imprimerie Catholique, 1844-5.

MVC – *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.

C. – *Consideracio* (Francis de Meyronnes, *Tractatus de passione Domini*)

ABSTRACT

Francis of Meyronnes (1288 – 1328) was a theologian and a sermonist, disciple of John Duns Scotus. He studied at the University of Paris and taught in several provincial *studia* in France and in Italy. He became master of theology in 1323 and he was named Provincial Minister of Provence in 1324; later, he moved to Avignon, where he worked as a preacher and a counselor. Francis of Meyronnes wrote an impressive number of works that can be classified as philosophical, political, and devotional.

Meyronnes' *Tractatus de Passione Domini*, the subject of this dissertation, could be dated between 1318 and 1320, when Francis was *Baccalarius Biblicus* in Paris. It was probably written for his brothers in order to provide them with a biblical commentary which could have been an instrument for helping them in the composition of their own sermons and works. As Tobias Kemper claims, the authors from the Late Middle Ages used to tell the Passion mainly in two ways: in form of “meditations” or in form of “narrative representations”. Meyronnes' treatise belongs to this second type, which allows the author to invent dialogues or to describe characters' emotions and thoughts, offering sometimes also his own point of view to the reader. Furthermore, this work seems to be the oldest known example of this textual type (i.e. *Historia Passionis*).

The present dissertation firstly provides a chapter on life and works of the author, then it focuses on his treatise on the Passion. Its main theological and literary features are discussed and the text is compared with other works belonging to the same textual type. Its definition of “Passion” is highlighted and, finally, the main authorial inputs present in the treatise are identified. This study also presents and analyzes also the main sources used by Francis of Meyronnes and it offers a contextualization for each of them: namely, the Bible, the Ordinary Gloss, the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and a particular case of usage of the vernacular tradition (i.e. the presence of an Italian proverb). A detailed table of the structure and contents of the edited work is provided.

The critical edition of the text is based on the only manuscript which hands down this work: a copy made hundred and fifty years after the author's death, which was bound in the Augustinian monastery in Munich and today it is kept in the State Library of the same city as Cod. *clm* 8393. The edition of the text follows the main guidelines of the *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*. The edition is followed by indices and other subsidies.

ABSTRAKT

František z Meyronnes (1288 - 1328) byl teolog a kazatel, žák Jana Dunse Scota. Studoval na univerzitě v Paříži a učil na několika provinčních studiích ve Francii a v Itálii. V roce 1323 se stal profesorem teologie a roku 1324 byl jmenován provinciálem Provensálska. Později se přestěhoval do Avignonu, kde působil jako kazatel a poradce. František z Meyronnes napsal impozantní množství prací, které bychom mohli rozdělit na filosofické, politické a náboženské.

Předmětem této práce je *Tractatus de Passione Domini*. Toto dílo můžeme datovat mezi roky 1318 a 1320, kdy František působil jako *baccalarius biblicus* v Paříži. Traktát pravděpodobně napsal pro své řeholní bratry s cílem poskytnout jim biblický výklad, který by jim posloužil jako pomůcka při přípravě jejich vlastních kázání a prací. Jak tvrdí Tobias Kemper, autoři pozdního středověku většinou popisovali Kristovo utrpení dvěma způsoby: formou "meditací", nebo formou "narativních reprezentací". Meyronnesovo pojednání patří do druhé kategorie, která umožňuje autorovi vytvořit dialogy nebo popsat emoce a myšlenky postav, které čtenáři nabízejí někdy také svůj vlastní úhel pohledu. Zdá se, že tato práce je nejstarším známým příkladem tohoto textuálního typu (tj. *Historia Passionis*).

Disertační práce začíná kapitolou o životě a díle autora a následně se zaměřuje na jeho pojednání o Kristově utrpení. Jsou analyzovány hlavní teologické a literární funkce díla, které je následně komparováno s jinými díly patřícími ke stejnému textuálnímu typu. Dále je specifikována jeho definice "utrpení" a na konci jsou ukázány hlavní autorské vstupy přítomné v pojednání. Studie představuje a analyzuje také hlavní zdroje používané Františkem z Meyronnes a nabízí kontextualizaci pro každý z nich; jsou to jmenovitě: bible, *Glossa Ordinaria*, *Historia Scholastica* Petra Comestora, *Meditationes Vitae Christi* a vernakulární vsuvky. Závěrečnou část tvoří rozbor obsahu díla.

Kritické vydání textu je založeno na jediném, dnes známém rukopisu díla: jedná se o kopii vytvořenou stopadesát let po autorově smrti, která se nacházela v augustiniánském klášteře v bavorském Mnichově a dnes je uložena v tamní Bavorské státní knihovně. Vydání textu sleduje ediční kritéria užívaná v řadě *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*. Na konci práce se nachází jmenný a biblický rejstřík.

FOREWORD

In 2007, when I enrolled in the Faculty of *Lettere e Filosofia* of the State University in Milan, I began studying the Middle Ages almost accidentally. In fact, I had to choose between four potential specialist areas in literary studies, so I opted for the only one concerned with a wider European context, rather than focusing only on Italy: *Origini linguistiche e letterarie dell'Europa* (“Linguistic and literary origins of Europe”). Initially, I did not know what this title would precisely mean, because in high-school programs, little is taught about literature written between the 5th and 13th centuries. Later, I realized it meant “Medieval Latin Literature” and “Romance Philology.” I also realized that this accidental case was a fortunate one; paraphrasing Umberto Eco: “The medieval dream crosses the entire Italian and European culture. We don’t dream about the Middle Ages because it is the past, but because it represents the crucible of Europe and of modern civilization”.¹ “Europe” and “Middle Ages” are two essential concepts for introducing this dissertation: it is an English study on a medieval Latin text, kept in a German library, written by a French author, analyzed by an Italian student for a Ph.D. thesis in a Czech university.

Aside from those two concepts, a third should be mentioned: “the Passion.” Following on from the aforementioned concept of the Middle Ages as the “crucible of Europe and of modern civilization,” I would like to quote a passage of a novel written by a very “European” author, namely Milan Kundera’s *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*:

All languages that derive from Latin form the word compassion by combining the prefix meaning “with” (*com-*) and the root meaning “suffering” (Late Latin, *passio*). In other languages – Czech, Polish, German, and Swedish, for instance – this word is translated by a noun formed of an equivalent prefix combined with the word that means “feeling” (Czech, *soucit*; Polish, *współczucie*; German, *Mitgefühl*; Swedish, *med-känsla*).

In languages that derive from Latin, compassion means: “we cannot look on coolly as others suffer”; or, “we sympathize with those who suffer”. Another word with approximately the same meaning, pity (French, *pitie*; Italian, *pietà*; etc.), connotes a certain condescension towards the sufferer. To take pity on a woman means that we are better off than she, that we stoop to her level, lower ourselves. That is why the word compassion generally inspires suspicion; it designates what is considered an inferior, second-rate sentiment that has little to do with love. To love someone out of compassion means not really to love.

In languages that form the word compassion not from the root “suffering” but from the root “feeling”, the word is used in approximately the same way, but to contend that it designates a bad or inferior sentiment is difficult. The secret strength of its etymology floods the word with another light and gives it a broader meaning: to have compassion (co-feeling) means not only to be able to live with the other’s misfortune but also to feel with him any emotion – joy, anxiety, happiness, pain. This kind

¹ Cf. Eco 1985, 78.

of compassion (in the sense of *soucit*, *współczucie*, *Mitgefühl*, *medkänsla*) therefore signifies the maximal capacity of affective imagination, the art of emotional telepathy. In the hierarchy of sentiments, then, it is supreme.²

Although this is one of the latest reworkings of this concept, which has been applied to a context other than the religious one, the origins of “Kundera’s compassion” lies in the Middle Ages. The last events, deeds and words of Jesus’ life, until the moment of his death on the cross, represent the foundation of Christianity;³ and the concrete act of this foundation is Christ’s passion: the self-sacrifice he made in order to save humanity. Meditation on this sacrifice⁴ was the topic at the very center of a large part of devotional literature since the Later Roman Empire and Late Antiquity, with martyrs’ hagiographies,⁵ passing through the Early Middle Ages, with the monastic orders,⁶ through the High Middle Ages, with the rise of universities and mendicant orders.⁷ However, the new theological approaches were always conscious of the previous traditions. This also holds true for the authors of the Late Middle Ages, who composed their works in full compliance with concepts, ideas and meditations elaborated on the Passion during the previous centuries.⁸ And Francis of Meyronnes, in his narrative treatise on the Passion, defines “passion” and “compassion” in the following way:⁹

² *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (1984), chapter 9.

³ The death sentence decreed by Pontius Pilate to the Jewish Rabbi Jesus was probably in April 7, AD 30 (Palm Sunday). The only two historical sources of this fact are the *Antiquities* (18, 3.3) of Flavius Josephus (37-100) and the *Annales* (XV 44,3) of Tacitus (56-120).

⁴ In its most archaic Indo-European root (**sak-*), *Sacrum* means “divided”, “cut out” (see POKORNY 1959, 868). Therefore, sacrifice is a pact between men and gods, where something precious is usually offered to the divinity in order to obtain a favor (cf. the Latin motto *do ut des*: “I give you something in order to obtain something back”).

⁵ The texts belonging to this genre can be divided into four categories: *acta martyrum*, *passiones*, *legendae* and *exhortations*, each focusing on one particular aspect of the narration, as the capture, the trial, the sentence, the martyrdom or the death of the protagonist; see CATTANEO–DE SIMONE–LONGOBARDO 2007, 248. See also DELEHAYE 1966, BASTAIAENSEN 1987, CREMASCOLI–LEONARDI 1996, 341-362 and MONACI-CASTAGNO 2010.

⁶ See chapter Textual-type, pp. 24-5: “Where we can see a passage from a *Triumphans* conception of the crucifix to a *Patiens* one”. In this regard, Tobias Kemper affirms that it is under Louis the Pious (814-840) that it is possible to trace the first testimonies of a suffering vision of Christ on the cross, KEMPER 2006, 57-8: *Erst im neunten Jahrhundert trat unter Ludwig dem Frommen neben die Darstellung des Christus Triumphans auch die des Chrsitus Patiens; das Kreuz wurde nun nicht nur als Zeichen des Triumphes, sondern auch ob recordationem salutiferae passionis Dominicae verehrt. Diese Hinwendung zum Tod Christi ist eng verknüpft mit der karolingischen Theologie und ihrer Beschäftigung mit der Frage der Realpräsenz Christi in der Eucharistie. Als sich die Überzeugung durchsetzte, der sakramentale Leib Christi sei identisch mit dem historischen, verbreitete sich etwa ab 830 die Darstellung des leiblichen Todes Christi am Kreuz, die auf den in der Messe wiederholten Opfertod und die Realpräsenz Christi im Sakrament verweisen konnte.*

⁷ See chapter Textual-type, p. 25: “A concrete evangelical style of life as a path of renunciation and joyful acceptance of God’s will”. In this regard Stephen Mossman says (MOSSMAN 2010, 38): “This literal imitation of Christ found its greatest and most obvious exponent in Francis of Assisi [...] and became a normative feature of late medieval piety”.

⁸ In this regard, see the essay of Kevin Madigan, which is especially focused on medieval philosophical and theological approaches regarding the concept of crucifixion: MADIGAN 2007.

⁹ See paragraph 2 of the chapter Textual-type, p. 32.

*In Christo fuit duplex pena fortissima: prima in carne ex ictibus pre passionibus et tormentis, quod dicitur “passio”; secunda fuit in anima seu mente, racione peccati commissi in Deum, que dicitur “dolor”, vel melius “compassio”. [...] Hee due pene totum hominem Christum occupabant: passio enim carnis et dolor racione coniuncti ex sensibus ascendebat usque ad animam, unde dixit: “Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem”, quia anima afficiebatur.*¹⁰

[Christ suffered a twofold very strong pain: the first in the body, due to sufferings and torments, which is called “passion”; the second was in the soul or mind, because of the sin committed against God, which is called “anguish”, or rather “compassion”. [...] These two pains involved all the man Christ: in fact, because of the corporal suffering and the anguish which were ascending together from the senses until the soul, he said: “My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death,” because the soul was affected.]

What for Meyronnes was “suffering” and “sadness,” for Kundera is “suffering” and “co-feeling;” however, in both the authors it seems to remain a necessity. The necessity of the compassion, rather a “necessary compassion,” as an essential aspect of human beings, enabling us to “stay human”.¹¹ Yesterday (i.e. in the Middle Ages), as much as today.

In his study on the medieval “Texts of the Passion,” Thomas Bestul has counted 21 works written between the 14th and 15th centuries, considering only the best-known authors; and in this regard he observes that:

The Latin Passion narratives, even though they are among the most popular, widely read, and influential of medieval texts, have received relatively little attention, at least in comparison with the literature of the Passion written in the vernacular languages.¹²

Due to this situation, the present research is primarily aimed to add one more text to the short list of the edited Latin Passion narratives, and to offer analysis both of its main formal aspects and its contents. On this basis, new connections, influences, and intertextual relationships will become apparent and will contribute to our knowledge of this exciting, though underresearch textual type.

¹⁰ C.II, 485-94.

¹¹ “Restiamo umani” was the motto of the war-reporter Vittorio Arrigoni, killed in the Gaza Strip in 2011.

¹² See BESTUL 1996, 1. See also p. 7: “The Latin works on the Passion [...] are neither obscure or arcane, but among the most popular writings of the late Middle Ages. The fact of their wide success is one very good reason for subjecting them to greater scrutiny than they have yet received.”

INTRODUCTION AND ANALYSIS

1. FRANCIS OF MEYRONNES: LIFE AND WORKS (ca. 1288 – ca. 1328)

A Venetian printed book of the year 1520¹ collecting together some of the most important philosophical works written by Francis of Meyronnes begins with a dedicatory elegy² written by Iacopo Filippo Pellenegra (1477 – 1553/60).³ The composition celebrates the rediscovery of the medieval philosopher by Maurice O’Finley (ca. 1460 - 1513).⁴ The poem, written in elegiac couplets, is copied here and is offered as an introduction for this biographical chapter.

Jacobi Philippi de pellibus nigris troyani⁵ pro Francisco de Marone, quem nuper excellentissimus omnium bonarum artium princeps frater Mauritius Hybernicus ex orco ad superos revocavit: Elegia.

- 1 *Mergint hesternus mediis dum Phoebus in undis
 Occeani et Phoebe surgit amata soror.
 Forte domum rediens obscura moestus in umbra,
 Italiae clades pernitiosque putans.*
- 5 *Ante fores Sophiae tetricas, pannosus egensque,
 Errabat tremulus, pallidulusque senex.
 Tendebatque manus supplex, assemque rogabat
 Denique et ex omni parte petebat opem.
 Vox sua mitis erat: flebant simul omnia circum,*
- 10 *Nec potui lachrymas ipse tenere meas.
 Occurrit tristis mihi, sic percontor amicum:
 Qui sis, unde genus, quis tibi in orbe locus?
 Ille nihil, sed flens tandem crudeliter inquit:
 Sic virtus errat, sic miseranda iacet.*
- 15 *Heu heu, quo fugiam? Progufus si tempore quo sol
 Lustrat humum, tenebris nocte silente premor.
 Quoque potest casus narrat modo, post ea flevit,*

¹ See MAYRONIS 1520.

² Elegy was the most ubiquitous type of neolatin and humanistic poetry, see PINOTTI 2002.

³ Italian medical doctor and poet, he was a Professor of the Univeristy of Padova. See “Pellenegra” in ICCU (*Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche*):

<http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm>

⁴ Known also as “Mauritius Hybenicus” or “Mauritius de Portu”, he was an Irish theologian and archbishop. See “O’Fihely” in *Catholic Encyclopedia*: <<http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=8665>>

⁵ Troia, city in the province of Bari (South of Italy).

Solamur ventis ocior ille fugit.
Iam nitidos aurora suos caelabat amictus,
 20 *Ducebatque citos sub iuga Phoebus equos.*
Nec mora, purpureo video velamine tectum
Nudus et ignotus qui fuit ante miser.
Protinus agnosco dudum tellure iacentem,
Quo magis hunc miror, hoc magis obstupeo.
 25 *Ille gradus firmans mirari desine (dixit):*
Si videor Croesus⁶ qui miser Hyrus⁷ eram.
Accipe quaesitum gelida quod nocte negavi,
Est mihi Franciscus nomen amice Maro.
Textilibus variis dedit haec mihi serica dono
 30 *Mauritius, per quem nox super astra micat.*
Hoc uno exempto (superos ac sydera testor)
Quod mea cum multis fama sepulta foret.
Sive forem Ausoniae dulcis semotus ab aruis,
Ultra Sauromatas⁸ sarmaticosque truces.

We could divide this composition into two parts: the first half (ll. 1-18) describes the sunset and culminates in the upper hand of a dark night — symbols of decadence and oblivion; the latter (ll. 19-34) begins with the arrival of the dawn and culminates in the image of Ausonia's altars (poetic name of Italy) — symbols of rebirth and knowledge. Therefore, the night brings together the poet and an unknown beggar, while the day reveals to the first man the great identity of the other: "Franciscus Maro". Naturally, this name refers to Virgil, to whom Francis of Meyronnes is then compared, implying immense authority. Such an authority is renewed even in the final verse, which is reminiscent of Ovid:⁹ the Sauromatians' land (i.e. Dacia) is the place where this Latin poet was exiled. The identity of the author is exactly the topic to be addressed in this chapter. Namely, we would try to answer the central question of Pellenegra's poem: *Qui sis, unde genus, quis tibi in orbe locus?* ("Who are you, where are you from, what is your place in the world?").

⁶ King of Lydia, famous for his riches.

⁷ Hyrieus was deceived by Trophonius and Agamedes, who stole his treasure.

⁸ The peoples who settled (c. 5th c. BC – 4th c. AD) at the very east border of the Roman Empire (beyond Dacia), were considered "barbarian" both by Greeks and by Romans.

⁹ Ovid (43 BC – 18 AD) has been considered for centuries the greatest model of imitation for the composition of elegies, see PINOTTI 2002.

1) Life

A substantial amount is known about the life of Francis of Meyronnes. A monograph was written by Bartholomäus Roth in 1936¹⁰ providing a very detailed biographic chapter, including the following: secondary literature on Mayronis; his name and a list of his epithets; the origins of his family; first period of his life until his bachelor degree; his bachelor and master of theology; the “actus sorbonicus”; life and works from the year 1323 until his death; and finally his death. All the subsequent studies on Francis of Meyronnes have based their biographical chapters on this Roth’s study, summarizing its main contents¹¹ or adding specific details.¹² The present biography, too, overviews the basics while including some new information and so far overlooked pictorial material.

Franciscus de Mayronis¹³ was a theologian and a sermonist. He was born in Meyronnes (Provence)¹⁴ probably before the year 1288. He was from the aristocratic family Bérard-Meyronnes, which was related to Charles I of Anjou (1226-1285).¹⁵ Nothing is known of Francis’ childhood, except that he joined the Franciscan convent of Digne (in Provence) to begin his studies.

Between 1304 and 1307, Franciscus de Mayronis studied at the University of Paris, where he attended the lectures of John Duns Scotus. Later, he taught in several provincial *studia* in France and in Italy. According to Francesco Fiorentino, it is possible that after having been acquainted with the *Doctor Subtilis* he went to England; moreover, it is likely that he was charged by Pope John XXII to settle the conflict between Philip IV of France and Edward III of England.¹⁶

From the year 1320, we find him again in Paris. Here he wrote commentaries on Peter Lombard’s *Sententiae* between 1320 and 1321. Two years later, he became master of theology, as attested by an epistle (dated 24 May 1323) sent by the Pope to the Chancellor of the University of Paris.¹⁷ With this letter, which represents the only official document on Mayronis’ life, John XXII

¹⁰ See ROTH 1936, 11-50.

¹¹ E.g. William Duba, who has provided an overview on Meyronnes’ biography, works and thoughts for the *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*; see DUBA 2011, 364-66.

¹² E.g. Francesco Fiorentino, who has included in the biographical chapter of his study the papal epistle which attest Meyronnes’ master degree; see FIORENTINO 2006, 9.

¹³ In this study the most common form of his Latin name, Franciscus de Mayronis, has been used, along with the English one, Francis of Meyronnes. The other variants include: Franciscus Mayronius, Franciscus de Mauronis – as f. 160rb of our ms. reads – Franciscus von Meyronnes, Franciscus de Mayronis de Digne, Franz von Mayronis, François de Meyronnes and Francesco di Meyronnes.

¹⁴ Meyronnes is situated on the Alps (the district of *Alpes-de-Haute-Provence*) at 1,800 meters above sea level. Today it is a village of fewer than 80 inhabitants,

¹⁵ Count of Provence since the year 1245 and later king of Sicily (from 1265) and of Naples (from 1282).

¹⁶ See FIORENTINO 2006, 10.

¹⁷ The epistle is kept in repertorium EUBEL 1898, 250.

granted him the *licentia ubique docendi*, as requested by the king of Naples, Robert of Anjou (1277-1343).

In this period, Francis of Meyronnes took part in several disputes: the most famous ones were with the Benedictine Pierre Roger and the Dominican John of Prato.¹⁸ In this regard, it is generally accepted¹⁹ that Meyronnes introduced the famous “Actus Sorbonicus” into the University of Paris.²⁰ In 1891, however, Heinrich D. Denifle denied this,²¹ because no document mentions anything about such an introduction by Francis of Meyronnes. Nevertheless, his great ability to teach is testified, on the one hand, by the epithets granted to him by his contemporaries: *Doctor Illuminatus*, *Doctor Acutus*, *Magister Abstractionum*. Later, he has been explicitly recognized among the most important disciples of John Duns Scotus and one of the greatest theologians of the University of Paris.²²

In the autumn of 1323, Francis was present at the death of the Provençal theologian Elzéar of Sabran, the preceptor of the king of Naples, who was visiting Paris on behalf of Robert of Anjou.²³ In 1324, named Provincial Minister of Provence, he moved to Avignon, where he worked as a preacher and a counselor. Francis of Meyronnes died in Piacenza in 1328. There are two images of him: a portrait on the benches of the Basilica Superiore of Assisi and a portrait in Cologne, among the medallions decorating the tomb of Duns Scotus. He is buried in the Franciscan Church of Piacenza and Robert Karris has described his tomb as follows:

In 1467 the General Minister, Franciscus Sampson, had a marble memorial erected in the choir of the Franciscan Church of Piacenza, near the sacristy “lest the bones of the Doctor Illuminatus lie unadorned.”²⁴ The memorial is decorated with a picture in relief that shows the Doctor Illuminatus seated in his magistral chair, surrounded by students. I translate and abbreviate the verse above the picture: “The glory and light of sacred doctrine lies here. Weep, O doctrines, for he labored for your sake without rest till the end. Just as Phoebus outshines the blazing stars, so too do you surpass others with your light, O illustrious doctor.”²⁵

¹⁸ On this topic, see BARBET 1961, who also discusses the debate between Francis of Meyronnes and the disciples of Henricus de Gandavo on financial agents’ rights. Moreover, he probably took a stand in favor of absolute poverty on the debate about apostolic poverty that occurred in Avignon before 1323.

¹⁹ See FIORENTINO 2006, 10.

²⁰ This would have occurred at a disputation lasting from 5 am to 7 pm, in which the advocate had to defend his theses against any and all opponents who might offer to attack them, without any assistance and without either food or drink.

²¹ See DENIFLE 1891, 273.

²² Peter of Candia (1454), William of Vourillon (1454), Dionysius of Chartreau (1471); see FIORENTINO 2006, 12.

²³ See D’ALENÇON 1929, 1634-45.

²⁴ *Illuminati doctoris ossa ne iacerent inculta. Franciscus de Mayronis.*

²⁵ KARRIS 2005, 131.

2) Works

Francis of Meyronnes wrote an impressive number of works on several topics. The *Mirabileweb*²⁶ counts 57 works. Many of them are still unedited and preserved only in manuscripts; many others are known only thanks to 16th century printed editions. We could divide his writing into academic (or philosophical), political, and devotional works.

Several basic manuals of medieval philosophy devote just a few lines to him,²⁷ often simply defining him as a “scotist”. However, according to William Duba, he should be rather considered an independent follower of Scotus:²⁸

Heavily influenced by John Duns Scotus, he does not hesitate to modify or abandon Scotus’ thought. His metaphysics is heavily realist: he explicitly declares his allegiance to Platonic ideas, which he understands as identical with quiddities and beings of essence, and he holds that propositions have real existence. Francis’ doctrine of divine knowledge largely derives from Scotus; his notion of intuitive and abstractive cognition, on the other hand, differs by positing that intuitive cognition is the mental seizing of an object with all its merely formally distinct modes, and can occur through species.²⁹

His major academic work is the commentary on the Sentences (preserved in more than 100 manuscripts), especially famous for the Prologue of its *Conflatus*,³⁰ which is the final part of the first book. This work is immediately followed in terms of importance by his *Quodlibeta*.³¹ Among his academic works,³² there is also the dispute with Pierre Roger (who later became Pope Clement VI), *Disputatio in libros Sententiarum cum Petro Rogerii*,³³ his treatise on the universals (*Passus super universalia, Praedicamenta et Perihermeneias*)³⁴ and on physics (*Expositio in VIII libros Physicorum*),³⁵ but many other philosophical works by Francis are still unpublished.³⁶

²⁶ Digital Archives for Medieval Culture by SISMEL and FEF, Edizioni del Galluzzo:

<http://www.mirabileweb.it/calma/franciscus-de-mayronis-n-1285-1288-m-1328-ca-/2356>.

²⁷ E.g. see FUMAGALLI – PARODI 2007, 391-2: *Fra gli scotisti francesi più originali vi è il provenzale Francesco di Mayronnes, il Dottore Acuto, “maestro di astrazioni”, che lesse le Sentenze a Parigi dove morì nel 1325. L’essere è veramente univoco per lui e si differenzia in Dio e nelle creature soltanto attraverso le “determinazioni sopraggiunte”: è infinito e necessario in Dio, finito e contingente nelle creature. Francesco afferma l’esistenza delle specie intelleggibili dichiarando che “le specie si conoscono in modo arguitivo [come tutti gli scotisti ama i neologismi]. Iniziando dalla conoscenza intuitiva ho esperienza del mio intendere che necessita per essere tale di specie dal momento che le cose non possono essere presenti nell’anima.”*

²⁸ See in this regard HOFFMANN 2002 and 2002b.

²⁹ DUBA 2011, 364.

³⁰ Partially edited by Francesco Fiorentino, see FIORENTINO 2005.

³¹ See DUBA 2007.

³² For an overview on Francis’ academic career, see BARBU 2005.

³³ For an edition, see BARBET 1961.

³⁴ See MÖHLE 2003 and 2004.

³⁵ Or *Epitome in libros naturales Aristotelis*; see LOHR 2005, 221-2 (XXIII.410).

Among his political treatises, a prominent position is occupied by the *Determinatio paupertatis Christi et apostolorum*,³⁷ where Francis sided with the supporters of poverty, even if without any radical attitude. Nevertheless, he “favored the subjection of secular authority to the Pope”³⁸ in his *Questio de subiectione*³⁹ or in *Tractatus de principatu temporali*.⁴⁰ There are other political works of Francis of Meyronnes still unpublished, such as *Quaestio de haereticis*⁴¹ and *De dilectione amicorum et inimicorum*.⁴²

As for the devotional literature, he wrote a large number of sermons and treatises. Some of the most prominent of them were collected and printed in 1493 under the title: *Sermones de sanctis*.⁴³ However, most of his treatises are unpublished⁴⁴ or published only in 16th century printed editions.⁴⁵ An important published work of Francis in this field is the *Tractatus diffusus de conceptione beatae Mariae virginis* edited by Johannes Juric⁴⁶ and later analyzed by Heribert Rossmann, who considered that Meyronnes’ works on ascetic and mystical topics are closer to the *devotio moderna* (i.e. an intimate and subjective religiosity) than those by Meister Eckhart (1260-1328).⁴⁷ On the other hand, as William Duba says, Francis of Meyronnes “focuses on detached, rational analysis:”⁴⁸ in his study on Francis’ *Flores Dionysii*, Guido Alliney⁴⁹ has indeed observed that “Meyronnes seems to hide his own religious experience behind the objectivity of the discussion.”⁵⁰

³⁶ E.g. *Moralia sive liber de virtutibus*, see ROTH 1936, 225-7, even though Charles Lohr doubts that this work belongs to Francis of Meyronnes, see LOHR 2005, 410; *Quaestiones XL tum in logica tum in physica tum in metaphysica*, see LOHR 2005, 410); *Tractatus de identitate et distinctione predicamentorum* (ms: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 18530b, ff. 131v-142v), see ROTH 1936, 210-1; *Tractatus de intuitiva et abstractiva notitia* and *Tractatus de modis intrinsecis*, see *MirabileWeb*, “2356”; *Tractatus de secundis intentionibus*, see ROTH 213-4; *Tractatus de signis naturae*, *Tractatus de univocatione entis* and *Tractatus de usu terminorum*, see *MirabileWeb*, “2356”.

³⁷ Also *De dominio apostolorum* or *Quaestio de paupertate Christi*, see ROTH 1936, 240-2 and ROSSMANN 1972, 106-7.

³⁸ DUBA 2011, 364.

³⁹ LAPPARENT 1942, 76-92. See also BARBU 2005a.

⁴⁰ See LAPPARENT 1942, 58-74; BAETHGEN 1959, 120-36; ROSSMANN 1972, 114-31; LAMBERTINI 1999 and 1999a; CAMARGO-SOUZA 2004.

⁴¹ See ROTH 1936, 246.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 235-6;

⁴³ It contains the following works: *Tractatus de angelis*, *Tractatus de articulis fidei*, *Tractatus de Baptismo*, *Tractatus de corpore Christi*, *Tractatus de humilitate*, *Tractatus de ieiunio*, *Tractatus de poenitentia*, *Tractatus de sanctis*, *Tractatus de septem donis Spiritus Sancti*; *Tractatus de suffragiis mortuorum*, *Tractatus de ultimo iudicio*, *Tractatus super Magnificat*, *Tractatus super Missus est*, *Tractatus super Pater noster*. See MAYRONIS 1493, SCHNEYER II.72-9 and ROTH 1936.

⁴⁴ E.g. *Brevis declaratio circa septem peccata mortalia*, see ROTH 1936, 236; *Quaestiones super III libros De anima* and *Sermo de virtutibus*, see MIRABILEWEB, “2356”.

⁴⁵ E.g. *Apologia sanguinis Christi in ecclesia Trevirensi adservati*, see ROTH 1936, 63; *Decalogi seu decem preceptorum Domini explanation*, see ROTH 1936, 84-5; *Expositio super Ave Maria*, see ROTH, 1936, 63 and 86; *Tractatulus de XII Christi consiliis*, see ROTH 1936, 63.

⁴⁶ See JURIC 1956. See also: POMPEI 1955 and ROSSMANN 1972, 65-72.

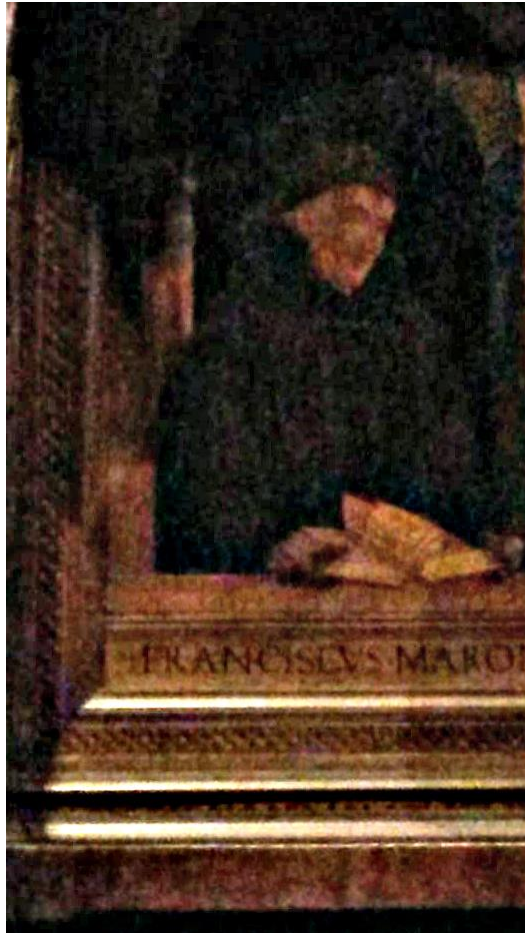
⁴⁷ See ROSSMANN 1972b.

⁴⁸ DUBA 2011, 365.

⁴⁹ See ALLINEY 2002.

⁵⁰ DUBA 2011, 365.

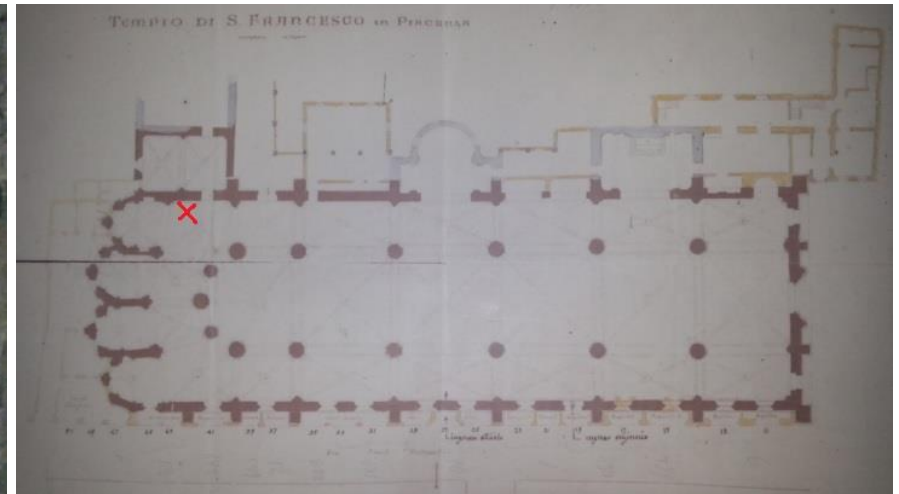
The *Tractatus de passione Domini* edited and studied here belongs to this last group of Meyronnes' works. Whether this treatise was meant to be meditated upon in private or to provide a practical instrument for preaching is one of the main questions of the present study. In any case, it is not easy to separate these aspects.



Assisi, Basilica Superiore, portrait of Francis of Meyronnes on the back of a choir chair.

CONDITVR·OBSCVRO·LVMEN·RES·PVLCHRA·SEPVLCHRO
DOCTRINE·HIC·SACRE·GLORIA·LVX·Q₃·IACET·
DOGMATA·FLETE·Q₃·BVS·FRANCISCVM·DE·MAIRONIS
EXTREMAM·CONSTAT·IMPOSVISSE·MANVM·
ET·QVIBVS·ARMA·DEDIT·CELESTIA·FLETE·MINORES·
HEN·CECIDIT·NOSTRI·FIRMA·COLVMNA·CHORI·
QVI·QVANTO·EXCELLIT·FVLGENTIA·SIDERA·PHOEBVS
TANTO·ALIOS·SVPERAS·LVMINE·DOCTOR·AVE

Under the epitaph there is no tomb. Meyronnes' bones may be in the cemetery below the church, found during renovation works between 1983 and 1987.



The "x" symbol indicates the place where the epitaph dedicated to Francis of Meyronnes is located.

2. MEYRONNES' TREATISE ON THE PASSION

This brief introduction is intended to provide three essential pieces of information on this work: its dating, recipient and purpose. In this study we accept the dating proposed by Heribert Rossmann: 1318-20, when Francis was *Baccalarius Biblicus* in Paris.¹ The reason for this dating is closely linked both to the typical order of academic careers at this time,² and to the identification of the recipients as Meyronnes' brothers,³ as can be discerned in the prologue of the treatise: *Adtendite autem carissimi et audite ordinem passionis Domini nostri* (Dears, pay attention and listen to the order of our Lord's Passion).⁴

With regard to the purpose of the work, it is threefold. First, once again, because the writing of such a treatise was part of an academic career:⁵ in this sense, it would be considered a biblical commentary.⁶ Second, for private meditation: as mentioned before,⁷ Rossmann has observed that Francis could be considered a precursor of the *devotio moderna*; in this regard, the following passage seems to suggest that our work could have been meant to be read during the Holy Week for a personal meditation:

*A vespere in vesperem illius diei in qua Dominus fuit crucifixus, nulla est hora in qua devota non possit devotum aliquid cogitare phase paschalis celebracionis et novi institucionem.*⁸

[From evening to evening, during those days in which the Lord had been crucified, there is no devotee hour in which a devotee could not think something about Easter's moments and the institution of an innovation.]

This passage continues by proposing a long list of specific topics upon which a devotee can meditate;⁹ however, it is the only direct reference for such a use. Third, it could have been an

¹ See ROSSMANN 1972a, 43-4.

² GRENDLER 2002 (.epub format): "The theological student was [...] required to attend lectures in theology in his order's *studia* for six years. Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and the Bible were the basic texts. After completing these studies and having reached the age of thirty, the candidate next spent three or more years lecturing on the Bible [...]. The lecturer was commonly called a *cursor*. At some point the *cursor* became a *baccalarius biblicus* (bachelor of the Bible), or simply *biblicus*, who was expected to deliver more detailed lectures with more extended exegetical and theological commentary. However, no baccalaureate degree was conferred. "Bachelor" meant only that a student had attained a certain level of achievement."

³ BESTUL 1996, 8: "The primary, but not exclusive, audience of Latin devotional writing [...] was ecclesiastical, male, and monastic. There are many instances of devotional works written by monks addressed explicitly to other monks, as shown by the evidence of countless prefaces and prologues."

⁴ *Prologus*, 27.

⁵ See note 2.

⁶ See chapter Textual type, paragraph 1.

⁷ See p. 17 and ROSSMANN 1972b.

⁸ C.VIII, 160-2.

instrument for helping his *carissimi* brothers in the composition of their own sermons and works. Roberto Rusconi, in an essay on the preaching of a well-known handbook,¹⁰ explained that:

*Gli intellettuali ecclesiastici, che nelle università svolgevano al massimo livello la riflessione filosofica, teologica e canonistica, erano l'espressione di un'élite clericale, la quale si prefiggeva anche lo scopo di elaborare **un'articolata serie di sussidi per i religiosi addetti al ministero pastorale**. [...] Ci si aspettava [...] che il singolo frate da sé redigesse in latino i propri sermoni, prima di rivolgersi in lingua volgare al pubblico dei fedeli. [...] Naturalmente nella lingua latina [...] erano redatti anche i diversi sussidi predisposti per agevolare la redazione dei sermoni.*¹¹

[The ecclesiastical intellectuals, who held the philosophical, theological and canonical reflection at the highest levels in the academies, were the expression of the clerical elite who wanted to develop a **comprehensive compendium of instruments for helping the pastoral activity**. (...) The individual friar was supposed to be able to draw up his sermons in Latin, before turning them in vernacular to the public. [...] Naturally, also the various supports to facilitate the composition of sermons were written in Latin.]

In this regard, Francis' work presents a similar structure¹² and several sources¹³ which suggest its use as a practical instrument for preaching. Moreover, we should not forget that Meyronnes was a Franciscan friar. It is a well-known fact that the figure of Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), who showed through his actions how life can be interpreted as a path of renunciation and a joyful acceptance of God's will, emphasised the importance of preaching.¹⁴

In conclusion, none of these three functions (closely linked to one another and complementary) can be excluded. Even the hypothesis about the dating, although it is very likely, cannot be founded on more solid bases than the speculative one which we have accepted: the only manuscript housing this work is a copy made one hundred and fifty years after the author's death and kept in an environment (an Augustinian monastery in Bavaria) different from those frequented by Francis of Meyronnes.

⁹ Ibid., 161-80.

¹⁰ *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*; see RUSCONI 1994.

¹¹ Ibid., 591-92.

¹² See the table in the chapter Structure and contents.

¹³ See chapter Sources.

¹⁴ MOSSMAN 2010, p. 38: This literal imitation of Christ found its greatest and most obvious exponent in Francis of Assisi (...) and became a normative feature of late medieval piety.

2a. TEXTUAL TYPE

Francis of Meyronnes' *Tractatus de passione Domini* belongs to the type classifiable as "devotional literature." This umbrella-term refers to various texts that are religious, but not necessarily theological or liturgical:

After the Bible, Christian devotional literature has provided the most popular and instructive kind of reading and guidance for believers. Most broadly considered, Christian devotional literature may be thought to encompass any inscribed verbal artifact employed to stimulate the production, sustenance, and direction of the unique interior Christian self, whether solely in relation to the divine or including also service to fellow believers, neighbor, and/or world.¹

Naturally, those materials can be analyzed and studied according to their language and period: so, more precisely, our text belongs to the "late medieval Latin devotional type." Furthermore, it is possible to categorize them by their form and topic: so, our work is a Latin treatise on the passion of Christ. Yet, this brings to face another problem: in every European library that preserves manuscripts, there are several texts on the passion of Christ: for many of these works we have no certainties about authorship,² dating and number of existing copies. Moreover, the majority of these works are not only unedited, but they have never been analysed by scholars; therefore, there are paradoxically few works we can use for a textual comparison.

No comprehensive history of medieval literature on the Passion exists yet: there are only summaries and partial studies, or articles on individual texts. As a result, it is impossible to draw clear lines of derivation and mutual influences. However, two recent studies try to bring order to this situation by presenting and describing the main features of several works on the Passion: Thomas Bestul's "Texts of the Passion," published in 1996 and Tobias A. Kemper's, "Die Kreuzigung Christi: motivgeschichtliche Studien zu lateinischen und deutschen Passionstraktaten des Spätmittelalter," published in 2006. The first is based on a contextual and synchronic reading of the Latin Passion narratives, paying particular attention to the history of this textual type from the 12th to the 16th century and to the modifications and enlargements of the canonical gospels; the latter is a historical study of the motif in late medieval Latin and German Passion treatises: a handbook which gives "new attention to the identification, categorization, and

¹ KURIAN-SMITH 2010, 58.

² BESTUL 1996, pp.13-4: "Matters of authorship and text are especially important in defining the characteristics of the Latin devotional prose. [...] The false attributions that accompany many medieval texts have often been taken to be merely naive, random, and unsystematic. When the question is looked at more closely, the usual explanation is that the false attributions are made to elevate the authority of the text, to increase its audience and claims to authenticity by attaching to it the name of a prestigious author. In the case of the devotional texts, those authors were often the great Latin fathers."

analysis of this literature”³ of the 14th and 15th centuries. According to these studies, a treatise on the passion of Christ starts with the priests’ conspiracy (before the Last Supper) and ends with the burial (it does not continue with the story of the Resurrection). In particular, Tobias Kemper has structured the second half of his study according to the episodes of the passion, namely: the preparation of the Cross,⁴ the crucifixion,⁵ Christ’s last words on the cross,⁶ the thirst,⁷ the death,⁸ and Longinus’ spear.⁹ And Francis of Meyronnes’ *Tractatus de passione Domini* with its eight *consideraciones*¹⁰ perfectly falls within this tradition. Moreover, these studies shows how the treatises on the Passion usually present characteristics which are typical of many different categories of theological texts; and, at the same time, it is not uncommon that such a work contains elements which make it close to the literary fiction (i.e. contents which do not belong to the Gospels; e.g. personal considerations of the narrator or apocryphal dialogues).¹¹ Also in this respect Francis’ work fits well into this literary type.

The aim of this chapter is to provide elements for a proper contextualization of the *Tractatus de Passione Domini* within medieval devotional literature. So, we will primarily analyze the main features of Meyronnes’ work both from a theological and from a literary point of view. Then, we will discuss Meyronnes’ definition of “Passion”. Finally, we will identify the main authorial inputs present in the treatise.

³ MOSSMANN 2010, 37-8.

⁴ See KEMPER 2006, 199-207.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 208-315.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 316-88.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 389-419.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 420-29.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 430-81.

¹⁰ See Structure and contents.

¹¹ See TÓTH 2011a.

1) Meyronnes' treatise from a theological and literary point of view

In the medieval commentary a rigidly formalized structure coexists with various degrees of speculative originality. This coexistence, the first essential characteristic of the medieval commentary, manifests itself as a polarity between, on the one hand, a strictly codified and relatively standardized form, and, on the other, a remarkable capability to adapt itself to the commentator's expression of his personal views.¹²

According to the *Verbum abbreviatum* of Peter Cantor († 1197),¹³ a master has three tasks: *lectio* (i.e. commentaries on the Bible or to the Sentences), *disputatio* (i.e. *quaestiones* and *quodlibeta*) and *predicatio* (i.e. sermons). Then, according to Concetta Luna, there are two theological genres which are not directly connected with teaching: *summae* and monographs.¹⁴ However, these categories should not be taken in a strict sense: a single work often presents characteristics of different categories.

This also applies, of course, to the treatise written by Francis of Meyronnes, which could be considered both a *lectio* and a *disputatio*. To be precise, it mainly belongs to the genre of the "monograph" (i.e. a treatise on a single theological question), but it also shows characteristics of the "continuous commentary" and of the "summa". Now, differently from the *glossa*, which is basically a compilation of extracts, a "continuous commentary" is a more personal work, in which the master, in addition to providing the exegesis of the text, can also debate issues directly suggested by the text or by the interpretations previously proposed by other authors. On the other hand, a "summa" is basically a compilation of biblical quotations, patristic texts, questions, arguments and objections that constitute a common heritage of a school; from a structural point of view, it is a rather free form, in the sense that every author can adopt the exposition style that she/he prefers.

Referring to those theological categories, we can conclude that, on the one hand, Meyronnes gets his work closer to the "continuous commentary" because he primarily provides synoptical analysis of the four canonical Gospels. On the other, he is creating a sort of *summa* because he often provides quotations of the main patristic *auctoritates* after the biblical verses.

From a literary point of view, according to Tobias Kemper, the authors from the Late Middle Ages used to tell the Passion mainly in two ways: in the form of "meditations" or in the form of "narrative representations". The first type originates in the monastic tradition,¹⁵ where we can find a

¹² See DEL PUNTA 1998, 139.

¹³ The *Verbum Abbreviatum* is a compendium of sermons where Petrus Cantor exhorts clergy (especially the monks) to virtue (edition: BOUTRY 2004).

¹⁴ See DEL PUNTA-LUNA 1993, 335.

¹⁵ Tomas Bestul says in this regard: "These spiritual innovations originated in the traditional Benedictine monasticism of the eleventh century [...], but they acquire force and dynamism in the new orders of the twelve century, particularly among the Cistercians" (BESTUL 1996, 35). Among the most important works on the Passion belonging to the monastic environment is possible to mention *Meditationes* by John of Fécamp (d. 1078; ed. BESTUL 1987), *Orationes sive*

passage from a *Triumphans* conception of the crucifix to a *Patiens* one:¹⁶ meditating on the Passion is the first step to follow Christ and to feel a proper spiritual compassion.¹⁷ The second typology allows the author to invent dialogues or to describe characters' emotions and thoughts, offering sometimes also his own point of view to the reader, in order to invite him to an imitation of Christ; namely, to a *sequela Christi*,¹⁸ a concrete evangelical style of life as a path of renunciation and joyful acceptance of God's will.

According to Tobias Kemper, Meyronnes' treatise belongs to this second typology. Furthermore, Kemper affirms that this work, written around 1318-20, is the oldest known example of this type.¹⁹ This statement might need a revision in future when new texts are edited. Nevertheless, it certainly remains valid with respect to the works considered today as the most important exponents of the literary type *Historia Passionis*, namely those of Michael of Massa (1298-1337)²⁰ and Ludolph of

meditationes by Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109; ed. SCHMITT 1938-61), *De septem verbis domini in cruce* by Arnold of Bonneval (d. 1156; see: PL 189: 1677-1726) and *Stimulus amoris* by Ekbert of Schönau (d. 1184; ed. ROTH 1884), *Meditatio passionis Christi per septem diei horas* (once erroneously attributed to Bede, it is often detectable under Ps. Bede, or sometimes under Bernard of Clairvaux, Augustine and Bonaventure; see KEMPER 2006, 70).

¹⁶ Cf. KEMPER 2006, 57-58.

¹⁷ Meditative works on the Passion spread also in Franciscan environments; e.g. *Lignum Vitae* and *Vitis Mystica* by Bonaventure (1217/21-1274), ed. QUARACCHI 1882-1902; *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu* by Ubertinus of Casale (1259-1325), ed. DAVIS 1961; *Meditationes vitae Christi*, ed. STALLINGS-TANEY 1997 (as for the question on the dating and authorship of this seminal work, see chapter Sources, paragraph 4).

¹⁸ According to the ancient biographies of Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), in 1208 he entered in St. Nicholas' church in Perugia and he opened the missal three times: his eyes dropped on three passages which finally convinced him about his vocation, his *sequela*, which we can find in more than one of his works: *Iesu Christi vestigia sequi* (indirect reference to 1Pt 2:21), see CREMASCOLI-LEONARDI 2006, 271.

¹⁹ KEMPER 2006, 107: *Dennoch verdient wenigstens der "Tractatus de passione Domini" Beachtung. Sieht man nämlich von den "Meditationes passionis Christi" als Kurzfassung der "Meditationes vite Christi" des Johannes de Caulibus ab, so ist der Passionstraktat des Franciscus de Mayronis das früheste bislang bekannte Beispiel einer "Historia Passionis". Diese im Spätmittelalter weit verbreitete Gattung der passionstraktate ist nach der Definition von KURT RUH dadurch charakterisiert, daß sie – im Unterschied zu Passionsmeditationem und zu Texten nach Art der "Vitis mystica" oder der "Arbor vitae" – "vor allem Erzählung sein" (1950, 20) will. Weiter beschreibt RUH: "Durch die Hervorhebung aller besonderen Umstände von Christi Leidensweg soll der Leser zur Betrachtung (meditatio, contemplatio) veranlaßt und dadurch zum Mitleid (compassio) und weiter zur Nachfolge (imitatio) geführt werden. In solchem Rahmen und in solcher Absicht kommt es der "historischen" Auslegung zu, die Passion Christi womöglich genauer und eindrücklicher zu erzählen, als die Evangelisten es getan; darzulegen, wie dieses oder jenes im einzelnen sich zugetragen; zu erwägen, was hier und dort das Evangelium im besonderen meinen könne." (1950,20).*

²⁰ Michael of Massa was born around 1298 probably in Massa Marittima, perhaps in the noble family Beccucci. He likely entered in the Augustinian Order in Massa Marittima and then he spent some time in Paris for a lectorate in theology. According to the normal academic career, Michael would then have to return to Italy in order to spend a few years teaching in the *Studia* of his Order before returning to Paris and dealing with the reading of the *Sententiae* to obtain the doctorate in theology (1325-26 or 1330). Later, Michael could have remained in Paris as *baccalarius formatus* or he might have returned to Italy (in June 1332, he was in fact in Venice for the General Augustinian Chapter). In these years he worked on the revision of his commentary on the *Sententiae* (Christopher Schabel notes that Michael's commentary of the *Sentences* is considered to be one of the "richest unedited, and for the most part unstudied texts of the fourteenth century"; see SCHABEL 2003, 443) and it is likely that his devotional works on the life and passion of Christ were composed in this period (1330-1337). Michael of Massa died in Paris in May 1336 or 1337.

Saxony (1295-1378).²¹ Michael of Massa wrote two works on the Passion: the first is *De passione Domini ex quatuor Evangelistis*, written around 1325,²² also known as *Angeli pacis*,²³ which is still unedited and extant in over than forty manuscripts; the second, written around the year 1330, is called *Extendit manum* and is extant in at least eleven manuscripts.²⁴ His works had been soon translated into German and they were used by Ludolph of Saxony for his *Vita Iesu Christi*,²⁵ probably completed in 1368.

In 1977, Walter Baier has published a study on the sources which could have influenced Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, "Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der *Vita Christi* des Ludolf von Sachsen: ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zu Leben und Werk Ludolfs und zur Geschichte der Passionstheologie," and he mentions the *Tractatus de Passione Domini* of Francis of Meyronnes, the subject of this dissertation.²⁶ As mentioned before, further exploration of this field is likely to bring about new results and intertextual links. For example, the comparison between Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* and an unedited treatise on the Passion written by Henry Totting of Oyta (1330 – 1397),²⁷ which was likely completed by the year 1363, could be useful for describing new lines of influence and to provide a better dating of Ludolph's work.²⁸ In fact, by the same year, Henry Totting wrote also a *Sermo de passione Domini*,²⁹ which was resumed by John of

²¹ Little is known about Ludolph of Saxony's life. He was born around 1295 and he entered in the Dominican Order when he was eighteen. In 1340 he moved in Strasbourg, entering in the Carthusians Order. He became prior of the Carthusian monastery in Koblenz (1343-48). He retired in Mainz and then in Strasbourg, where he died in 1377.

²² See BAIER 1977, 343 and KEMPER 2006, 111.

²³ This name is derived from the work's incipit, Is 33,7: *Ecce videntes clamabunt foris angeli pacis amare flebunt*. Michael of Massa wrote also a devotional treatise on the life of Christ (*Vita Iesu Christi*, completed by the year 1337), extant in 37 mss. (see KEMPER 2006, 116), which is apparently a re-elaboration of a seminal work of the beginning of the 14th century, the *Meditationes vitae Christi*: Péter Tóth and Dávid Falvay have shown this influence by comparing a dialogue between Jesus and Mary (which would have taken place during the dinner of Bethany), which is present both in the *MVC* and in Massa's *Vita* (see TÓTH – FALVAY 2014, 50-1). This apocryphal dialogue is absent in Francis of Meyronnes' work, who in this regards simply says: *Puto quia antequam recederet a matre, fuit cum ea familiarissime conversatus* (see C.II, 58-60).

²⁴ See KEMPER 2006, 115. Massa's *Extendit manum* has probably influenced also the *Extendit Manum* of Henry of St. Gallen (ca. 1350-1409), written in German language around the year 1400 and spread in over than 180 German and Deutch (deutsche) manuscripts (see KEMPER 2006, xxx).

²⁵ The *Vita Christi* by Ludolf of Saxony (ed. by RIGOLLOT 1865-78) is a complex biography of Christ, from birth to Ascension, with commentaries on the Gospels, large texts borrowed from the Fathers, a series of dogmatic and moral dissertations, spiritual instructions, meditations and prayers. This work was widely spread (according to BAIER 1977, 559: 49 codices and several fragmentary versions) and probably completed in 1374: see KEMPER 2006, 136-41.

²⁶ See BAIER 1977, 328.

²⁷ Incipit: *Ut igitur vitam et miracula eiusque mirabilia opera que gessit* (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II. 1. 2° 171, fols. 177ra–264ra; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 524, fols. 139ra–172rb).

²⁸ See ODSTRČILIK–BURGAZZI–BATTISTA 2015, in print.

²⁹ Incipit: *Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te*, Deut. 28:66; ed. by Riccardo Burgazzi, in print (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II. 1. 2° 171, fols. 173va–177ra; Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II. 1. 2° 172, fols. 178ra–181va; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A X 91, fols. 34v–37v, 148r–150r; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 524, fols. 136r–139r; Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 229, 264r–264v).

Zazenhausen (ca. 1310/20–1380) in the prologue of his two unpublished narrative treatises on the Passion (one in Latin³⁰ and one in German³¹). In search for intertextual relationships among the texts, passages that are not directly derived from the Gospels are relevant: including extra-biblical material in different Passion narratives may indicate a textual link among them. An example of such external material, one which appears also in Franciscus de Mayronis, is the nightmare of Procula.

Procula was Pontius Pilate's wife — a character appearing only in Matthew's Gospel:³² “When he had sat down on the judgment seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.”³³ Now, she would seem a positive character, who tried to save Jesus by interceding for him with her husband;³⁴ however, a long Catholic tradition considers her an instrument of the Devil: Pilate's wife was indeed trying to save Jesus because she was corrupted by the Devil, who realized that the Christ's sacrifice would have saved humanity from the evil caused by the original sin and, moreover, it would have saved many Patriarchs of the Ancient Testament from Hell.³⁵ According to William Marx, who tried to reconstruct the history of this tradition,³⁶ “the earliest interpretation of this incident as the work of the Devil is difficult to establish,” but “this view of the episode seems to have been well established by the ninth century,³⁷ and the twelfth-century *Glossa Ordinaria* contains an interpretation similar to that of Bede,” who “attributes the dream to the work of the Devil” and “the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor adds some details to the account of the dream,” even if “it is not possible to determine if Peter Comestor was responsible for the addition.”

Also Francis de Meyronnes follows this tradition and Peter Comestor was surely the primary source he used to write this episode, even if *ex silentio*.³⁸ However, the *Historia Scholastica* is not the only text he was basing on. Indeed, he inserts also a real invective against women, who are defined as “the usual weapons of Devil” (*contulit enim se diabolus ad consueta arma mulieres*), since the time Eve was used to corrupt Adam. Francis does not declare where this misogynous

³⁰ see KEMPER 2006, 141-3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 151-3.

³² However, her name is never mentioned by Matthew: it is in the Christian tradition that she is referred to as “Claudia Procula.”

³³ Mt 27:19, *Sedente autem illo pro tribunali misit ad illum uxor eius dicens nihil tibi et iusto illi multa enim passa sum hodie per visum propter eum.*

³⁴ In the Greek Orthodox Church she is celebrated on October 27, while in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is celebrated together with Pilate on June 25. The Ethiopian Church canonized Pilate in the 6th century, because he tried to mediate and save Christ from the crucifixion.

³⁵ According to this tradition, the saints are usually described as *gaudentes*, which is “an allusion to chapters 18 and 19 of the Gospel of Nicodemus which describe the rejoicing of the saints in Hell,” cf. MARX 1995, 53.

³⁶ MARX 1995, 52-3.

³⁷ Marx provides the example of Paschasius Radbertus (ca. 790-865), who includes Bede and Jerome in his commentary on Matthew's Gospel; see MARX 1995, 52: footnote 15.

³⁸ As for the relationship between the *Historia Scholastica* and Meyronne's *Tractatus de passione Domini*, see chapter Sources, paragraph 3.

expression come from, but we could detect it, one more time, in the *Glossa Ordinaria*³⁹ and also in Thomas Aquinas' *Catena Aurea*,⁴⁰ where it is attributed to John Chrysostom. So, Meyronnes says:

Iam enim Diabolus, Dei nutu, poterat mysterium crucis cognoscere et ideo laborabat ut Christus non moriretur, forte iam sancti gaudebant in inferno, unde hoc noverat.⁴¹ *Et sicut per mortem primum hominis, Adam, mortem in mundo introduxit, ita per uxorem Pylati impedire nunc volebat ne per mortem secundi Adam, innocentis Iesu Christi, vita in mundum intraret. Et ideo uxori Pylati multas illusiones in sompnis nox illa ostendit; unde Glossa: nunc demum Diabolus intellexit [...]*⁴² *ut enim dicunt sancti, perpendit Diabolus, ut dictum est, propter leticiam sanctorum in inferno. Scientes enim Christum filium Dei esse ac eius passionem instare per quam debebant ipsi et mundus de manibus Diaboli liberari, ideo gaudebant. Ex hoc ipse cognovit, omnia ista previdens, voluit mortem Christi impedire, ne mundus liberaretur et infernus spoliaretur. Unde ad arma se contuilit consueta, scilicet mulieres;*⁴³ *scilicet ad uxorem Pylati, ut per eam Christi mortem impediret et dominium mundi non perderet, quot per primam mulierem lucratus fuerat; et maxima mirabilia ostendit de Iesu ut sic moveretur ad suadendum viro suo ut Iesum dimitteret. Sicut enim Diabolus procuraverat cum pontificibus et aliis propter invidiam Christi occidi, sicut nunc procurabat per uxorem Pylati Christum liberari, sed obtinere non valuit.*⁴⁴

[Now, through the will of God, the Devil was able to recognize the mystery of the cross, and he made an effort in order that Christ might not die, while the saints were already rejoicing in hell because they had known this. As through the death of the first man, Adam, he introduced death in the world, so now through Pilate's wife he wanted to impede that life would have entered in the world thanks to the death of the second Adam, the innocent Jesus Christ. And so, that night he showed many nightmares to Pilate's wife, during her sleep; so, the Glossa: *Now that the Devil precisely understood [...]*; as indeed the saints say, the Devil decided, as it was mentioned, due to the saints' joy in hell. They know, indeed, that Christ was the Son of God and that his Passion, through which both they and the world would have been released from the Devil's hand, was imminent, they were rejoicing. He understood that for this reason and, by foreseeing all of this, he wanted to impede Christ's death, so that the world would not have been released and the hell deprived. *Therefore, he drew upon his usual weapons, that is the women*; namely, Pilate's wife, in order to impede Christ's death through her and in order to not lose the world's domination, which was stolen through the first woman; so he showed her greatest admirable thought about Jesus, in order to push her to persuade her husband to dismiss Jesus. Exactly as the Devil had planned to kill Christ through ministers and others through their envy before, so now he planned to release Christ through Pilate's wife. But he was not able to obtain that.]

³⁹ GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 452 (*glossa marginalis super Mt 27,19*, litt. G).

⁴⁰ THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953; t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 297, c. 20, lectio 3 (cit. 5020).

⁴¹ BEDA VENERABILIS, *In Matthaei euangelium expositio*, PL 92, liber 1, c. 27, col. 121.

⁴² See footnote 39.

⁴³ Cf. "Chrysostomus" in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953; t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 297, c. 30, lectio 3 (cit. 5020).

⁴⁴ C.VI, 28-46.

This same episode is present also in two works mentioned above: Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* and Henry Totting of Oyta's *Tractatus de passione Domini*.⁴⁵ Although Ludolph is quoting Chrysostom some lines before, he does not say anything about the origins of this tradition.⁴⁶ However, he seems to have used mainly the same sources of Francis of Meyronnes: the *Glossa Ordinaria*⁴⁷ and Peter Comestor.⁴⁸ Ludolph, however, provides more details on the episode to the reader than Francis; for instance he mentions the name of Pilate's wife⁴⁹ and he explains that (according to Augustine) the saints in Hell knew about the meaning of Christ's crucifixion through Lazarus' resurrection.⁵⁰ Moreover, Ludolph does not accuse only Procula (on the contrary, he says that, although this woman was a pagan, she was able to realize what Jews refused to understand),⁵¹ but also Pilate, because both of them were used by the Devil, as were Adam and Eve before them:

*Uxor Pilati et ipse Pilatus fecerunt tantum pro liberatione Christi; totum putatur fuisse ex instinctu diaboli, qui per Pilatum et eius uxorem nitebatur impedire nostram redemptionem, sicut olim per Adam et Evam fecit nostram damnationem.*⁵²

[Pilate's wife and Pilate himself made a lot for Christ's freedom; everything is thought to come from devil's inspiration, who through Pilate and his wife worked in order to impede our redemption, as well as once he decreed our damnation through Adam and Eve.]

With regard to this tradition, the only author who explicitly reveals his sources is Henry Totting of Oyta. Henry first explains the tradition by supporting it with quotations from Chrysostom and Theophylus, then he focuses on the central point of this tradition by asking twice "why did the Devil corrupt Pilate's wife?" And he answers with other two quotations, from Peter Comestor and John Chrysostom:

⁴⁵ This episode is not present neither in *MVC* nor in Michael of Massa, who comments on Mt. 27:19 only by saying: *Iam enim virtute Dei poterat Dyabolus cognoscere signum crucis et ideo laborabat ne Christus moreretur* (see the early printed edition MICHAEL DE MASSA 1474/78, 37v).

⁴⁶ See early printed edition: LUDULPHUS DE SAXONIA 1556, 642 M – 643 B.

⁴⁷ LUDULPHUS DE SAXONIA 1556, 643A: *Nunc enim demum diabolus intelligens per Christum sua spolia, sive in mundo, sive in tartaro se amissurum poenituit quod fecerat comprehendere eum, et ideo immisit visiones huic mulieri ut per eam impediretur mors Christi: et sicut prius per mulierem intulerat mundo mortem, ita modo satagit Christum de manibus Iudaeorum liberare per mulierem, ne per Christi mortem mortis amittat imperium.*

⁴⁸ Ibid.: *Iam quidem Dei nutu et virtute poterat mysterium crucis cognoscere et ideo laborabat ne Christus moreretur. Forte iam sancti in inferno gaudebant, unde hoc noverat.*

⁴⁹ Ibid., 642 M: *Tunc misit ad Pilatum pro tribunali sedentem uxor sua, nomine Procula.*

⁵⁰ Ibid., 643A: *Nam, ut ait Augustinus, anima Lazari revocata ad superos, animae in inferno cognoverunt dominum de proximo descensurum ad inferos: unde extunc laetabantur: et maxime diabolus hoc cognovit, cum dominus clamore valido animam exhalavit.*

⁵¹ Ibid., 642 M: *Uxor itaque gentilis viri hoc in visionibus et somniis intellexit, quod Iudaei vigilantes nec credere, nec intelligere voluerunt.*

⁵² Ibid., 643A.

Chrysostomus: Dyabolus iam cepit misterium redemptionis humane per Christi mortem certius agnoscere, eo quod anime sanctorum in lyngo gaudebat de vicina sibi liberatione [...] Volens mediante muliere impedire ne Christus moreretur [...]; Theophylus: Sedente Pylato pro tribunali [...] vexavit dyabolus uxorem eius terribilibus visionibus dormientem, que statim marito pronuncians intimavit, ne Iudeis in Christo necare consentiret, quia iustus et sanctus erat.

Sed quare [...] vexavit eam dyabolus et non Pylatum [...]?

Responsio: quare tanto de modo certus intellexit se mortem Christi spoliandum et hoc propter gaudium sanctorum in lyngo, secundum Magistrum in Historiis.

[...] Sed cur non Pylato?

Responsio Chrysostomi: quia fantasma putasset velut magis ex verbis uxoris emollietur, sicut Adam persuasionem Eve.⁵³

[Chrysostom: the Devil already started to understand more clearly the mystery of the human redemption through Christ's death, due to saints' souls who were rejoicing in limbo for their forthcoming freedom (...). He wanted to impede Christ's death through the woman (...); Theophylus: When Pilate had sat down on the judgment seat (...) the Devil distressed his sleeping wife with terrible nightmares, who unwaveringly said and ordered her husband to not allow Jews to kill Christ, because he was good and a saint.

Why, however (...), did the Devil oppress her and not Pilate?

Answer: because he very certainly understood he would have been despoiled by Christ's death, and [he understood] this due to the joy of the saints in limbo, according to the "Magister in Historiis".

(...) But why not Pilate?

Answer of Chrysostom: because the Devil [fantasma] had thought: he [Pilate] would have been convinced by the words of the wife, as Adam [was] by Eve's persuasion.]

From a stylistic point of view, Meyronnes' text is closer to a simple narrative (also because it does not explicitly refer its sources) than Totting's one, who, on the contrary, uses an academic-philosophical structure. These texts share another common passage: a prose which preserves poetic qualities. A list of people who have judged Jesus during the night of his capture, using the image of children playing with a ball: *de te ludebant, ut pueri cum pila*. And, in Francis' final part of this passage, a sudden change from a second (lyric) person to a third (narrative) one should be noted:

O dulcissime Iesu, de te ludebant, ut pueri cum pila, que ab uno ad alium proiectus fuisti: de horto ductus ad Annam, ab Anna ad Caypham, a Caypha ad Pylatum, a Pylato ad Herodem, a Herodem iterum ad Pylatum, a Pylato ad Iudeos, a Iudeis ad crucem, a cruce ad monumentum; sed nunquam ad mestissimam et afflictam matrem; sed retroducitur ad iudicem ut ducatur ad crucem.⁵⁴

[O sweetest Jesus, they played with you like children with a ball and you were thrown from one to the other: brought from the garden to Anna, from Anna to Caiaphas, from Caiaphas to Pilate, from Pilate

⁵³ CCCL 524, fols. 159rb-va.

⁵⁴ C.VI, 5-9.

to Herod, from Herod again to Pilate, from Pilate to the Jews, from Jews to the cross, from the cross to the sepulcher; but never to the very miserable and afflicted mother; but he was brought back to the judge in order to be sent to the cross.]

We could find this passage, more or less with the same words, only in Henry Toting of Oyta's *Tractatus de passione Domini*:

*O dulcissime Iesu quomodo adversarii veritatis, inimici omnis iusticie, tecum ludunt: sicut pueri cum pyla, que de uno ad alium proicitur fuisti; enim cum insultacione crudeli ductus de horto ad Annam ligatus, funibus manus ad tergum vinctas habens; de hinc ab Anna ad Caypham, a Caypha ad Pylatum, a Pylato ad Herodem, ab Herode iterum ad Pylatum, a Pylato, sedente pro tribunali, iterum ad conspectum malignancium Iudeorum.*⁵⁵

[O sweetest Jesus, how the adversaries of the truth, the enemies of any justice, play with you: as children with a ball, since you have been thrown from one to the other; in fact you were brought tied with cruel insult from the garden to Anna, hands tied behind the back by ropes; so, from Anna to Caiaphas, from Caiaphas to Pilate, from Pilate to Herod, from Herod again to Pilate, from Pilate, sat down on the judgment seat, again in front to the perfidious Jews.]

The two authors probably used a common source. Although we cannot affirm that this text does originally come from the pen of Francis of Meyronnes (in fact, it is rather doubtful), the quoted passage shows how this literary type needs to be more explored and studied. As it was mentioned above, the few existing editions of this type of texts do not allow a precise evaluation of their intertextual relationship at this point.

Instead, what this chapter aimed to show was the inclusive capability of this literary type: the *Historiae Passionis* are not simple retelling of the Gospel stories; they allow their authors to alternate personal considerations, dialogic moments, digressions and, indeed, lyrical moments. While it is quite scarce by Franciscus de Mayronis, this extra biblical material seems to be gradually included more and more frequently towards the end of the Middle Ages.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ See Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 524, fols. 158rb-va.

⁵⁶ See BESTUL 1996, 26: "In the later Middle Ages, however, it is increasingly common to find narratives that go far beyond the gospel record by including details that have no warrant in the biblical text."

2) Authorial inputs

In general, the level of originality of this type of devotional works appears to be very low: most of the comments are simply taken from ancient *auctoritates*, without even being reworked.⁵⁷ For this reason (and also in order to provide useful coordinates for further textual comparisons to other scholars), it is useful to highlight the points in which an authorial contribution seems to emerge in such a treatise. From this point of view, the contributions of the *Tractatus de passione Domini* which are possibly attributable to Meyronnes are those introduced by terms like *ut puto* (as I think) or *credo quod* (I believe that). Meyronnes uses six times the expression *puto* and three times *credo*, when he provides various specific details of a particular scene as he imagines it rather than as it is described in the gospels. Given the importance of such passages, all of them shall be discussed below: in fact, although those formulae do not guarantee the full authorship of the expressed concepts, we did not find any of the ideas that they introduce in other works.

The first occurrence of such verbs is in conclusion of a long passage where Meyronnes tells the episode of the flask of alabaster. This episode is very suggestive not only for its contents, but also from a formal point of view: an Italian vernacular proverb⁵⁸ is included which, strictly evaluating it on a narrative level, gives color and vitality to the story. Judas, who was angry seeing that, despite his protests, Mary Magdalene did not stop washing Jesus' feet, is described as a "rabid dog" (*canis rabidus*) commenting on Mark's Gospel (14:5).⁵⁹

Iudas autem, videns quem propter istas murmuraciones mulier non desistebat ab incepto, sicut canis rabidus ex avaricia et iracundia et dolore plenus, cepit, ut puto, palescere et iram ac dolorem animi prefaciem demonstrare et stridere dentibus, quasi Magdalenam devorare vellet. Et, videns quod ex hoc non desistebat unguentum effundere, clamavit dicens:

*"Multum hodie pauperes perdiderunt ac grande malum factum est: quod non est venditum unguentum istud et precium datum egenis"*⁶⁰

[Judas, then, seeing that the woman did not desist from her intention, like a rabid dog full of avarice, anger and grief, starts, as I think, to grow pale and show anger and grief and grind the teeth, as if he

⁵⁷ See in this regard the chapter: Sources, paragraph 1 and 2. From this point of view, John of Zazenhausen's German treatise distinguishes itself from the others because, immediately after the prologue, it explicitly declares the use of texts written by authors of the previous century or almost contemporary to him (as Nicolas of Lyra, 1270-1349) beside traditional sources and "other saints, philosophers and also *nonnullorum* (complete strangers)": *Incipit passio domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum omnes ewangelistas et concordias ipsorum, necnon secundum ewangelium Nazareorumque Nichodemi cum exposicionibus sanctorum Gregorii et Augustini, Ambrosii, Jeronimi, Basilij, Bernhardi, Crisostomi, Hugonis de Sancto Victore, Bede, Rabani, doctoris greci Damasceni, Origenis, Sedulij, Prepositini, Allexandri Nekam, Alberti magistri, Bonaventure, Nycolai de Lira, magistri historiarum, Orosij, interpretis Eusebij, Bartholomei et Egesyppi, aliorumque sanctorum, phylosophorum etiam nonnullorum*. See KEMPER 2006, 153.

⁵⁸ See chapter Sources, paragraph 5.

⁵⁹ C.I, 144.

⁶⁰ C.I, 137-43.

wanted to devour Magdalene. And, seeing that, despite this, she does not desist in spreading the ointment, he screamed by saying:

“Today the poor have lost a lot and a great evil has been done, that this ointment was not sold and its price given to needy people.”]

This first example shows how Meyronnes uses his own imagination to describe the effects of an almost demonic rage, where the Gospel uses only a few words. Commenting on Mark’s verse which comes immediately after (14:16), the *Doctor Acutus* focuses rather on Gospel’s *paraverunt Pascha* (“they prepared the Passover”) and he proposes a reconstruction of the actions they made:

[...] et paraverunt Pascha (*id est agnum*) et fecerunt omnia que necessaria erant ad esum agni; **puto quia** agnum assaverunt, salsamentum paraverunt Domino.⁶¹

[They prepared the Passover (i.e. the lamb) and they made all that was necessary to eat the lamb; I think that they roasted the lamb, they prepared the sauce for the Lord.]

A few lines later, still concerning the Last Supper, we can find three of the formulae that we are focusing on within a single passage. It is an important episode for this kind of treatise: the apocryphal dialogue that would have taken place between Jesus and his mother, before he left Bethany to go to Jerusalem and celebrate the Passover. Contrary to what happens in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* or in Michael of Massa’s *Angeli Pacis*,⁶² Meyronnes does not reconstruct this dialogue; he only assumes that such a dialogue could have happened:

*Hora autem vespertina in qua Christus debebat de Bethaniam in Ierusalem ire ad Pascha comedendum et a matre sua corporaliter divelli, quia ut puto ipsa in Bethania cum Lazaro et sororibus eius paschavit amarius Pascha quod nunquam feceret, quia sine hoc quem sciebat sibi debere auferri et hoc Domino revelante quia minus iacula feriunt que previdentur, ideo sibi revelavit et hoc fuit sibi magni doloris, sicut sensualitate in Christo fuit magnus dolor quando sibi revelavit divinitas passionem propter quem fundavit et quo ut infra habetur. Puto quia antequam recederet a matre fuit cum ea familiarissime conversatus; cum etiam ab ea recederet, credo quod post eum quantum poterat respiciebat.*⁶³

[Then, when it was evening and Christ had to go from Bethany to Jerusalem to eat the Passover and he had to physically leave his mother, I think in Bethany she ate with Lazarus and his sisters the most bitter Passover she ever had, because without this [Passover] she knew that he has to be taken away [from her] and that, as God reveals, the arrows, that we can foresee, cause a lesser pain, so this revealed to herself and she felt a great pain, as great pain was felt by Jesus when the divinity revealed to himself the Passion for which he was born and which is considered below. I think that before

⁶¹ C.II, 41-3.

⁶² See in this regard note 23 of this chapter.

⁶³ C.II, 52-60.

leaving the mother, he has been familiarly conversing with her; I believe also that as he was departing from her, she was looking after him as [long as] she could.]

In this passage, the “I” seems to be a proper narrator, who does not have to be necessarily identified with the author of the text. It is a “first-person narrator” who is not only able to deeply describe the pain of the mother, but also to provide a very effective image of this pain to the reader: the hopeless look of Mary while Jesus leaves her behind.

The interventions of the “Francis-narrator” are sometimes also very short and concrete, as in the following example, which is related to the apostles’ reaction after Jesus told them “one of you shall betray me.”⁶⁴

*Tunc discipuli, littera Luc. patet, inceperunt querere inter se quis hoc factus esset.*⁶⁵

*Puto quod eum occidissent, si cognovissent. Et specialiter Petrus, unde accensus zelo vindicte contra proditorem, quem si scivisset dentibus decrepisset.*⁶⁶

[*And they began, as Luke’s text shows, to inquire among themselves which of them it was that should do this thing.*

I think that they would have killed him, if they knew who he was. And especially Peter, from the moment that he was turned on by the desire of revenge against the traitor, whom he would have chewed up with his own teeth, if he knew him.]

Other times, however, the narrator offers his own opinion on the basis of what is claimed by other authors:

*Aurora vero appropinquante, mater eius pro ut puto civitatem Ierusalem intravit sororibus Magdalene sociata et ad domum Cayphe, ut dicunt Ieronymus et Beda, cum planctu et eiulatu venit.*⁶⁷

[While the dawn was coming, his mother, in my opinion, entered in the city of Jerusalem together with Magdalene’s sisters and went to the house of Caiaphas, as Jerome and Bede say, crying and hiccupping.]

As we have already seen, Francis demonstrates his descriptive capability especially in intensifying what the Gospel tells. In the following passage, he explains to the reader how he imagines the earthquake which followed Christ’s death. Meyronnes describes the “divine” (rather than “natural” in this case) calamity using an imagery which is much more detailed than Matthew’s words (27:51):

⁶⁴ Jn 13:21.

⁶⁵ Lk 22:23.

⁶⁶ C.II, 216-8.

⁶⁷ C.III, 437-9.

*Magnus et longus terremotus est et petre scisse sunt et credo quod scissure que in lapidibus sunt alterne tunc facte sunt et monumenta aperta sunt et multa corpora sanctorum que dormierant surrexerunt cum eo; scilicet tercia die quia ipse est primo genitus mortuorum et exeuntes de monumentis post resurrectionem suam venerunt in sanctam civitatem: apparuerunt multis in testimonium resurrectionis.*⁶⁸

[There is a great and long earthquake and the stones are broken and I believe that the breaks created in the stones are alternate and the tombs are opened and many bodies of saints, who were sleeping there, rose with him; namely on the third day, because he is the first son of the dead and after his resurrection, they came out from the monuments and went to the sacred city: many appeared in testimony of the resurrection.]

The last time where Meyronnes uses the verb *credo* (I believe) regards the episode of Mary at Christ's sepulchre. He has just quoted the Gospel according to Mark (15:46) and Luke (24:49) in order to show the presence of the Three Marys at the tomb and he feels the necessity to specify something that is not said in the Gospel. Namely, the fact that the mother remained there for all the day and that she went home only due to the falling of the night, not because she disbelieved the resurrection.

*Credo matrem omnibus affuisse ab hora prima diei usque ad completorium, qua hora causa noctis reversa est ad domum, ubi Christus cenaverat cum discipulis suis, quare vero ewangeliste nullam memoriam faciunt; dicitur ne quis suspicari possit ipsam de resurrectione filii, quam in proximo sperabat, videretur dubitare.*⁶⁹

[I believe the mother bowed down ahead of everyone from the first hour to the Compline, hour in which, due to the night, she came back to the house where Christ has dined with his disciples, because the evangelists do not tell anything about it; it is said so that no one might suspect that she seemed to doubt the resurrection of her son, which she was hoping to happen soon.]

In light of all these examples, on the one hand it appears that Meyronnes is making a critical reading of the sacred texts and not only a simple devotional exposition; on the other hand, i.e. from the contents' point of view, we should not expect to find innovative elements, but rather a substantial respect for the tradition. As it has been said, Meyronnes' treatise is in fact a *Historia Passionis*: thus we should focus on the analysis of traditional themes retold in a narrative way.

Beside *ut puto* and *credo*, Francis introduces several analyses and observations with the impersonal expression *notandum* ("it should be noted"). This formula recurs 26 times in the treatise. The majority of these instances are observations closely related to the evangelical texts, for instance, the

⁶⁸ C.VII, 240-4.

⁶⁹ C.VIII, 207-10.

following passage suggests an interpretation of four of Matthew's verses (26:22-5) with four correspondent attitudes, which Jesus would have addressed to Judas:

*Notandum quod Christus quattuor conatus est Iudam reducere: primo, dolore (ibi: et contristati sunt valde); secundo, amore (ibi: qui intingit manum mecum in calice hic me tradet); tercio, timore (ibi: ve autem homini illi per quem tradar!); quarto, pudore (ibi: tu dixisti).*⁷⁰

[It should be noted that Christ tried to reprimand Judas in four ways: first, by pain (here: *They were very sad*); second, by love (here: *The one who has dipped his hand into the bowl with me will betray me*); third, by fear (here: *But woe to that man who betrays the Son of Man!*); fourth, by embarrassment (here: *You have said so*).]

As can be seen from this passage, the main characteristic of these statements introduced by the formula *notandum* is a rigid structure, or rather, a list of points. Sometimes these passages can be extended and detailed,⁷¹ but their scheme never exceeds a maximum of four points. The result is a highly inflexible schematic approach, which was not present in the passages introduced by *ut puto* and *credo*. We could provide another example regarding the famous verse "Put your sword back in its place:"⁷²

*Dixit ergo Petro Iesus, littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: "Converte gladium tuum in locum suum". Est autem hic notandum quod Petrus accipit hic possessionem gladii, id est auctoritatem temporalem, [...]. Notandum quod duplex est gladius. Primus est terrene potestatis, [...]. Secundus est gladius divine iusticie [...].*⁷³

[So, Jesus said to Peter, as Matthew's text shows: "Put your sword back in its place."

Here, it should be noted indeed that in that moment Peter took possession of the sword, i.e. the temporal authority, [...]. It should be noted that the sword is twofold. The first is of the earthly power, [...]. The second is of divine justice.]

As it is known, the "two swords" mentioned in this passage were the quintessential symbol of the political authorities of the papacy and of the empire. Therefore, Meyronnes alludes to a very salient issue of his age, in which he also took a part, as we have said, in his political works. To remain in the field of exegesis, however, we can propose a final brief example, where the formula *notandum* is used to introduce an open question:

⁷⁰ C.II, 212-15.

⁷¹ See for instance C.II, 476-503.

⁷² Mt 25:52.

⁷³ C.III, 129-32.

*Sed notandum quod in scripturis Novi Testamenti non reperitur expresse a quo latere Chistus fuerit lanceatus. Doctores tamen et sancti dicunt quod a latere sinistro eo, quod cor ad latus sinistrum declinat, [...]Ezechiel vero dicit in sua prophecia quod a latere dextro aqua exivit. De templo, ecclesia usa est depingere Christum a dextro latere vulneratum.*⁷⁴

[But it should be noted that in New Testament's scriptures it is not precisely stated in which hip Christ was injured by the spear. However, the doctors and the saints say that it was his left hip, because the hearth is on the left side, [...] in his prophecy, Ezechiel says on the contrary that water came out from the right hip. Regarding the temple, the Church usually paints Christ as wounded in the right hip.]

In conclusion, it seems likely that Francis makes personal additions only when he uses the formulas *ut puto* and *credo*; while he uses the formula *notandum* in order to present topics for meditation or theological debate in an objective way. Naturally, there might be other minor additions not explicitly introduced by *puto*, *credo* or *notandum*; however, given the general rigid structure of all the treatise and its accuracy in using these phrases, we can state that the mentioned passages represent the major contribution of Francis of Meyronnes to the narrative of the Passion.

⁷⁴ C.VIII, 53-8.

3) Francis of Meyronnes' definition of the Passion

According to the monograph on Francis of Meyronnes written by Bartholomäus Roth, the *Doctor Acutus* authored three works on the Passion. The first is a *Planctus*,⁷⁵ the second is a sermon⁷⁶ and the third is the *Tractatus de Passione Domini*. The first two are still unedited and not yet studied; from the third, on the contrary, we can show at least five passages where Meyronnes explains the meaning of Christ's passion. The first one is probably also the most precise one:

*In Christo fuit duplex pena fortissima: prima in carne ex ictibus pre passionibus et tormentis, quod dicitur "passio"; secunda fuit in anima seu mente, ratione peccati commissi in Deum, que dicitur "dolor", vel melius "compassio". [...] Hee due pene totum hominem Christum occupabant: passio enim carnis et dolor ratione coniuncti ex sensibus ascendebat usque ad animam, unde dixit: "Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem", quia anima afficiebatur.*⁷⁷

[Christ suffered a twofold very strong pain: the first in the body, due to sufferings and torments, which is called "passion"; the second was in the soul or mind, because of the sin committed against God, which is called "anguish", or rather "compassion". [...] These two pains involved all the man Christ: in fact, because of the corporal suffering and the anguish which were ascending together from the senses until the soul, he said: "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death," because the soul was affected.]

At the beginning of the *prima consideracio*, we can find an explanation of the Passion's meaning given by a negative character, i.e. the Jewish high-minister Caiaphas. Francis, following John's Gospel (11:49-52), imagines what kind of speech Caiaphas made during the plot to kill Jesus. In his view, the minister did not have full knowledge of his own words, pronouncing a fundamental prophecy (*nesciens quid diceret, utilissimam propheciam dicit*), namely that the death of that man would have saved all the people:

Cayphas autem, qui erat pontifex illius, in consilio surrexit et, ira odio et avaricia ac invidia contra Christum motus, ait:
"Viri, nichil videmus de modo claro, nec de templi honore et Dei populi augmentatione: aliquis vestrum curare videtur nec pro causa pro qua hic sumus aliquis vestrum hic loquetur; sed dico vobis,

⁷⁵ *Planctus beatae Virginis* (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9022, fol. 276v – 280v; inc.: *Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium. Non est, qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris eius. Primo capitulo. Hodie non est predicandum, sed plangendum.* See ROTH 1936, 272.

⁷⁶ *Sermo valde pulcher de passione Domini* (ibidem: fol. 281r – 290r); inc.: *O vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte, si est dolor sicut dolor meus. Primo capitulo, Sicut in mundi creationis principio eterne rerum conditor in firmamento celi duo creavit magna liminaria; exp.: Explicit sermo valde pulcher de passione Domini secundum Franciscum de Maironis de provincia Provençie magistrum utique in sacra theologia et dignissimus, cuius anima in pace requiescat. Amen etc.* See ROTH 1936, 272.

⁷⁷ C.II, 485-94.

de duobus unum oportet fieri: vel quod iste solus vivat et nos omnes et tota gens nostra moriantur, vel quod homo iste (scilicet Christus), qui est unus solus, moriatur et sic pro morte ipsius tota gens non pereat. Ideo dico vobis oportet omnino quod iste moriatur.”

Et hoc est quod dicit Io.: [...].

Et videtur et ait ewangelium quod iste ratione pontificalis dignitatis inspiratus nesciens quid diceret, utilissimam propheciam dicit: scilicet quod non solum pro liberatione Iudeorum oportebat Christum pati, sed etiam pro liberatione totius mundi; et quod Christus non tantum mori debebat pro gente Iudeorum, sed ut filios Dei qui erant dispersi per mundum per nostram fidem mortis Christi in unum baptisma congregaret.⁷⁸

[Caiaphas, then, who was the pontiff of that council, stood up and, moved by anger, hatred, greed and envy against Christ, said:

“Men, we cannot see clearly, not even about the temple’s honor and of the welfare of God’s people: some of you do not seem to be aware of the reason we are here talking; but I tell you, one of these two things has to happen: either that only this man lives and all of us and all of our people die, or that this man (i.e. Christ), who is only one, dies and so, thanks to his death, all the people shall not perish. So I tell you: it is imperative that he is put to death.

And this is what John says: (...).

And from what the Gospel says, it looks like this man, inspired by his priestly dignity, although without awareness of what he was saying, pronounced a very useful prophecy, namely that Christ did not have to die only for the liberation of the Jews, but also for the liberation of all the world; and that Christ did not have to die just for Jewish people, but in order to reunify together in one baptism all the sons of God, who died for our faith in Christ, dispersed throughout the world.]

The philosophical and theological concept of pre-ordination emerged from the previous example is perfectly in line with the thought of Duns Scotus (1266-1308). “For Scotus the necessity of the Crucifixion meant that human redemption was necessary only because it was preordained by God in that particular way, so that it would be satisfactory in every sense.”⁷⁹ And this same concept appears also in the following passage in Francis of Meyronnes, where it is Jesus himself who explains to the disciples the meaning of his presence in the world: to redeem humanity from the original sin.

Et sic stantibus, ait discipulis suis: “Vere filii mei, ex quo mundus fuit creatus dulcissimus et Adam primus homo formatus peccavit, ex tunc usque modo, cum magno desiderio hoc Pascha mea, agni innocentissimi figatur et passionis et transitus mei per quem mundum derivavi, dyabolice potestatis eripiam, manducare vobiscum derivavi. Dico enim vobis quod [...].”⁸⁰

[And while they are standing like this, he says to his disciples: “Verily, my sons, since the very sweet world was created and Adam, the first formed man, sinned, from then until now, I expected with great

⁷⁸ C.I, 36-54.

⁷⁹ TÓTH – FALVAY 2014, 38.

⁸⁰ C.II, 65-72.

desire to eat with you my Passover, to sacrifice the innocent lamb and to eradicate evil forces with my suffering and with my passing away, for which I came into the world. *Indeed, I tell you, that (...)*]

With the original sin, the devil introduced evil in the world and only the Son of Man could remedy the situation (*diabolice potestatis eripiam*). This concept has been systematically treated for the first time by Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) in his *Cur Deus homo*.⁸¹ And, in Meyronnes' treatise, it is already present in the prologue, where we can find the same expression (*ut nos de potestate diabolice eriperet*), namely the necessity to eradicate the devil's dominance from the world:

*Adtendite autem carissimi et audite ordinem passionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi: nec nos tedeat omnes istas consideraciones et in eis contenta intelligere quia eum pro nobis pati non tedit, sed adhuc cum inimici eius essemus, ut nos de potestate diaboli eriperet et de faucibus inferni et mortis, eius simularet que audietis, passus est.*⁸²

[Therefore, beloved, be attentive and listen to the order of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ: we should not be bored by all these considerations and, from their contents, we should understand that he did not disdain to suffer for us, that he died in order to free us from devil's dominance and from hell's jaws, but from the moment that we still live with his enemies, you should imitate him in what you hear.]

For this reason, the sacrifice is necessary and it must be accepted. Even if it causes pain, especially to the mother:

*a matre sua corporaliter divelli [...], sine hoc quem sciebat sibi debere auferri et hoc Domino revelante quia minus iacula feriunt que preidentur, ideo sibi revelavit et hoc fuit sibi magni doloris, sicut sensualitate in Christo fuit magnus dolor quando sibi revelavit divinitas passionem propter quem fundavit et quo ut infra habetur.*⁸³

[he had to physically leave his mother [...], without this [Passover] she knew that he has to be taken away [from her] and that, as God revealed, the arrows, that we can see, cause a lesser pain, so this revealed to herself and she felt a great pain, as great pain was felt by Jesus when the divinity revealed to himself the Passion for which he was born and which is considered below.]

In conclusion, we can observe that from every line of Meyronnes' treatise a concept of Passion emerges as a "universal sacrifice." What is important to underline, however, is exactly this idea of "universality," because – as it can be seen through those three passages – it emerges that everyone who is involved with the Passion consequently has an awareness of the importance and of the sense of this sacrifice: not only for the protagonist (i.e. Jesus: *transitus mei per quem mundum derivavi*)

⁸¹ SCHMITT 1946, II, par. 18 (II, 112): *Summa quaestionis fuit cur Deus homo factus sit, ut per mortem suam salvaret hominem, cum hoc alio modo facere potuisse videretur.*

⁸² Prologus, 27-31.

⁸³ C.II, 53-8.

and the positive characters (i.e. Mary: *matre sua [...] sciebat*), but also for the evil ones (i.e. Caiphas: *oportet omnino quod iste moriatur*) and even for the readers (i.e. prologue: *quia eum pro nobis pati*). So, it seems that Meyronnes' answer to Anselm of Canterbury's question: *Cur Deus homo?* ("Why was God a man?") is not only "to save us" (*pro morte ipsius tota gens non pereat*) but also "because everyone has to know."

2b. SOURCES

Analysing the treatise on the Passion of Francis of Meyronnes enables us to detect a great number of quotations from authors considered *auctoritates*: some are explicitly quoted, others are not. However, it is not always possible to identify the works which the Franciscan obtained his quotations. Therefore, the following chapter will limit itself to the main sources used by the author and will offer a contextualization for each of them: namely, the Bible, the Ordinary Gloss, the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and the vernacular tradition.

1) Bible

*All medieval devotional writing on the Passion derives from the narratives of the Passion found in each of the four gospels. Some passion treatises follow the gospels closely, rarely departing from the sequence of events, and seldom offering commentary or explanation, much less suggesting hypothetical additions or elaborations of the data as set out in the Bible. In many cases, these treatises are mere centos of biblical passages or paraphrases that attempt to harmonize the variations in the different gospel accounts into a single coherent narrative.*¹

The main sources are, naturally, the Gospels. Namely, the passages concerned with the Passion, used in a synoptical way: Mt 26:1 – 27:66, Mk 14:3 – 15:46, Lk 21:37 – 23:56; Jn 11:47 – 19:42. The synoptic use consists of narrating the story of the Passion by recreating a precise chronology of the facts founded on the alternation of the gospels. One is not emphasized over the others, nor used as a model of comparison for the others. The Gospel of Mark is apparently used in a more occasional way than the other Gospels (e.g. it is never quoted during the fourth *consideracio*), but this is simply due to its shortness and due to the great number of passages in which it presents the same information as Matthew and Luke. In other words, it is not possible to affirm that the author takes less account of it compared to the others: in fact, it is used every time it presents peculiar information. See, for instance, the following passage, where the four Gospels use four different verbs to indicate the same action:

*Nam eius anima recedit vel seperatur [...], ergo quod Io. 19<:30> ait: inclinato capite tradidit spiritum; secundum Mat. 27<:50>: emisit spiritum, quo emisit; secundum Mar. 15<37>: exspiravit; quam secundum Luc. 23<46>: Patri commendavit.*²

[In fact his soul moves away or is separated [...], therefore what John 19:30 says: *he bowed his head and gave up his spirit*; according to Matthew 27:50: *emitted his spirit*, “emitted” he says; according to Mark 15:37: *he exhaled*; while according to Luke 23:46: *He committed [himself] to the Father.*]

Besides sporadic mentions of Gospel verses which do not concern the Passion, Meyronnes’ work also quotes from the following books of the New Testament: Acts of the Apostles,³ Revelations,⁴ Epistle to the Romans⁵ and Epistle of Jude.⁶ However, these quotations are not used for narrative

¹ BESTUL 1996, p. 26.

² C.VIII, 43-7.

³ Two times: 1:18 and 2:41.

⁴ Two times: 18:7 and 21:23.

⁵ 5:20.

⁶ 1:16.

reasons, but only to provide additional interpretations to the story. See, for instance, the use of Rom 5:20⁷ in the following passage:

*Quidam autem dicunt in hoc loco fuisse sepultum Adam, translatum de Ebron, iuxta illud: ubi habundavit delictum superhabundavit et gracia.*⁸

[Some then say that Adam was buried in this place, translated from Hebron as that: *where sin increased, grace increased all the more.*]

A similar “corollary” function is given to quotations from the Old Testament. This is especially valid for the use of Genesis, Leviticus, Song of Songs, Isaiah and Zechariah;⁹ while, as for Exodus and Ezekiel, they are mentioned in the text only for a generic reference, without any direct quotations. On the contrary, the Book of Psalms is the most quoted of the Old Testament: it occurs fifteen times in the treatise. Francis uses Psalms’ verses as prophecies which have come true; see, for example, the following passages regarding the use of Ps 21:19 as prefiguration:¹⁰

*Et milites quidem hoc fecerunt. Et tunc impletum est illud prophecie Psalmus metro: Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.*¹¹

[And soldiers made absolutely this. And so the prophecy of the Psalm is realized: *They part My garments among them, and cast lots upon My vesture.*]

This use is not Francis’ innovation: Psalm 21 (which Francis quotes three times)¹² is traditionally connected to the Passion, because it was seen as the accomplishment of Lk 23:34: [*...*] *dividentes vero vestimenta eius miserunt sortes* (“[...] they parted His raiment and cast lots”)¹³. However, Meyronnes does not reuse this book only for its prefigurations. In the following passage, for instance, Psalm 54:2 is used as a conclusion of the episode of Jesus praying in the garden of Gethsmane:

⁷ This letter is indeed about man’s liberation through Christ’ sacrifice.

⁸ C.VI, 155-6.

⁹ A part from Genesis (which is quoted twice), the other mentioned books have only one direct quotation. See in this regard the *index locorum Sacrae Scripturae*.

¹⁰ In this regard, see also the following example on the use of Ps 15:10 (C.V, 109-10): *Nam de puro homine disponebat et in hoc apparet quod nondum vere fidem rationis habebant, quia afferebant mirram et aloes, quasi corpus Christi conservare volentes, de quo tamen propheta dixerat, Psalmus 15 metro 10: Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.*

¹¹ Cfr. C.VII, 44-6.

¹² See *Index locorum sacrae scripturae*.

¹³ See BESTUL 1996, 27-8 and KEMPER 2006, 34-7.

*Et sic genuflexus et prostratus in terram, mentis oculos simul cum mente ad Patrem elevavit, cum propheta dicens, Psalmi: Exaudi Domine oracionem meam et ne despexeris deprecationem meam, et cetera.*¹⁴

[And so genuflected and prostrated on the ground, mind's eyes together with mind raised to the Father, as the prophet says in the Psalm: *Hear my prayer, O Lord, and give ear to the words of my mouth, etc.*]

In conclusion, although Meyronnes follows this traditional use of the Psalms, he does not quote this book only as a marginal element for wider contexts, but to be commented on and to support the narration. Indeed, the verses of the Psalms also represent his narrative solution for concluding an episode.

¹⁴ C.II, 473-5.

2) Ordinary Gloss

Francis of Meyronnes often reports *auctoritates*' commentaries to the biblical verses. However, it is unlikely that he was taking these passages directly from the works of these authors. He probably resorted to compendia and florilegia (such as glosses, commentaries and *catenae*) which collected ancient authors' opinions on the evangelical verses. Even when he quotes the title of a work, it is likely that this title was already present in the compendium which he was consulting.

In particular, we can detect many quotations deriving from the *Glossa Ordinaria*.¹⁵ In Meyronnes' *tractatus*, the word *glossa* appears 14 times. The comparison of these textual passages with the edition of the *Glossa* printed in Venice in 1603 (although it was surely not the version used by Francis) makes it possible to identify eleven of them.¹⁶ In all these cases, the textual comparison between the *Tractatus* and the Ordinary Gloss leaves no doubt on the use of this compendium by Francis, even though *Doctor Acutus*' work does not duly reflect the source word for word (however, this could be due to the version that he was using). The most obvious evidence of this use is represented by the following example.

In the third consideration, Francis, commenting on Matthew 26:74 and Luke 22:61, describes Peter's weeping after the third denial:

*Patet Mat. 26 qualiter littera Luc. 22 ibi: Et conversus Dominus respexit Petrum. Glossa: ille intuitus Domini mentalis et spiritualis fuit qui Petrum provocavit ad lacrimas. Ad mentem enim Petri reduxit quociens Christum negaverat et quando eidem Christus predixerat. Et ideo non potuit in tenebris remanere, quem lux mundi respexit.*¹⁷

[What it appears in Matthew 26 is similar to the text of Luke 22, here: *And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter. Gloss: he felt a mental and spiritual fear for the Lord, which pushed Peter to tears. In fact, it came to Peter's mind whenever he denied Christ and when Christ had predicted to him. And so it could not remain in the darkness what the world's light was showing.]*

Here, the word *glossa* is an explicit reference to the *Glossa Ordinaria* which demonstrates the use of this tool as a source of material for the composition of the treatise. See in this respect the following image, and in particular the letter "i" on the right column:¹⁸

¹⁵ SMITH 2009 and SALOMON 2012 are two recent monography on this seminal work.

¹⁶ For a list of the textual points corresponding to the word *glossa*, see the final notes of the critical edition; as for the bibliographical referrals to the used early printed edition, see GLOSSA ORDINARIA 1603.

¹⁷ See C.III, 281-5.

¹⁸ GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 981 (*glossa marginalis super Lc 22,61, litt. i*).

in medio ⁊ atrii, & circumfidentibus illis, ⁊ erat Petrus in medio eorum : Quem cum vidisset ancilla quædam fedentem ad lumen, & cum fuiffet intuita, dixit: Et hic cum illo erat.

a Quod negat Petrus, obreptionis est, quod penitet fidei.

At ille negauit eum dicens. Mulier non noui illum. Et post pusillum alius uidens eum, dixit. Et tu de illis es. Petrus uero ait. O homo non fum. Et interuallo facto quasi horæ unius, alius quidam affirmabat dicens: Vere & hic cum illo erat, nam, & Galilæus est. Et ait Petrus, Homo, nescio quid dicis. Et continuo adhuc illo loquente, cantauit gallus. ⁊ Et con-

a Respexit dominus recordaretur Petrus quia misericordia ad penitentiam uocat.

uersus Dominus respexit Petrum. ⁊ Et recordatus est Petrus uerbi domini, ⁊ sicut dixerat, quia priusquam gallus cantet, 5 ter me negabis. Et egressus foras Petrus fleuit amare. Et uiri-

i Et conuer. dom. 11.
Intuitu prouocant
ad lachrymas, quæ
in mentem ei re-
cens quotiens nega-
uerat, quod ei præ-
xerat, nec potuit
tenebris remanere
quem lux munde
spexit.
k Et egressus f. 11.
Ab impiorum con-
cilio seclusus cui
lauat, quæ non in
ob hoc permissum
hæsitare, ut in ec-
clia principe
deretur remedi-

This use of compendia seems to have been applied also to Augustine although he is Francis' favorite *auctoritas*. In fact, Francis composed a work of excerpts and quotations of the Bishop of Hippo called *Flores Augustini*, which is yet unpublished but it is spread in several manuscripts.¹⁹ On the importance of Augustine on the thought of Francis of Meyronnes, William Duba says:

Augustine [...] exerted a powerful influence on Francis' realism. While rejecting all arguments from reason for the necessary existence of divine ideas, Francis claims on the authority of Augustine that they do exist. He distinguishes these infinite and exemplary "theological ideas" from "metaphysical ideas." Ideas in the theological sense are foundational relations, distinct from formal relations in that foundational relations require only the foundation to exist, and not the term, whereas both must exist in the case of a formal relation. Francis identifies ideas in the metaphysical sense as the ideas of Plato, properly understood, and not as Aristotle presents them; indeed, Francis calls Aristotle the "worst metaphysician" for having misunderstood Platonic ideas. Presumably, Meyronnes interprets Platonic ideas through Augustine, for the only work Meyronnes cites as being written by Plato is Porphyry's *Isagoge* to the *Categories*.²⁰

¹⁹ The dating of this work is still unknown. According to *mirabileweb.it* (Digital Archives for Medieval Culture, see: <http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/flores-collecti-ex-libris-sancti-augustini-title/5683>; consulted on May 18th of 2015), it is kept in six manuscripts and five printed editions, but during our research we have detected several more manuscripts. Moreover, this is not the only work Meyronnes wrote in the form of the compendium. In fact, he compiled selected texts with commentary also for the Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite (see ALLINEY 2002), but this ancient authority is never quoted in the *Tractatus de Passione Domini*.

²⁰ DUBA 2011, 365.

Augustine is explicitly quoted 25 times²¹ in the treatise, but none of these references suggests that Francis took them from the actual works of the Bishop; they always reflect the Ordinary Gloss. The only exception could be Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*, which is named four times²² by Meyronnes. Therefore, it is likely that this work by Augustine was present on the table of Francis, along with the Bible, while he was composing his *Tractatus de passione Domini*.

We could propose similar examples for the other ten identified passages introduced by *glossa*.²³ As for the three remaining occurrences of the word *glossa*, one currently remains unidentified,²⁴ one has been found in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* of Augustine²⁵ and the third one in the *Catena Aurea* of Thomas Aquinas.²⁶ Concerning the latter work,²⁷ Francis never mentions it, so that we would normally exclude it from the list of sources. Nevertheless, it was possible to trace many quotations made by Francis of Meyronnes only from this work of Thomas;²⁸ especially when the *Doctor Acutus* appoints an *auctoritas* by offering little data to determine the correct passage elsewhere.²⁹

A last example of authors quoted through the florilegia, might be Flavius Iosephus, whose name appears three times in Francis' text.³⁰ On the one hand, it is known that the work of this historian, like those of many other authors who wrote in the Greek language (e.g. John Chrysostom or the John the Damascene), were read by the late scholastic scholars through anthologies of ancient writers. On the other hand, it is precisely the context in which he is mentioned which is very traditional. In fact, the first mention is to give a brief information about Caiaphas, the second to complete some information taken from the *Glossa Ordinaria* and the third one to comment Mt 27:25 ("All the people answered: His blood is on us and on our children") following the traditional

²¹ Jerome, the second *auctoritas* for a number of direct quotations, appears only 16 times in the treatise. No other authority reaches ten quotations (the third one is Bede the Venerable with seven recurrences).

²² Francis calls it one time *De consensu ewangelistarum* (C.I, 113-4) and three times *De concordancia ewangelistarum* (C.II, 377; C.VII, 106-7; C.VIII, 133).

²³ Moreover, we have found other 6 similar passages between Meyronnes' work and the *Glossa Ordinaria*: some of those are dubious because they are not quoted word by word; some others are clearly quotations *ex silentio*.

²⁴ See C.V, 63.

²⁵ AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers - J. Fraipont 1956. CCSL 39, ps. 55, par. 2, p. 677, ll 13-14.

²⁶ Cf. "Remigius" in THOMAS DE AQUINO, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, *Catena aurea*, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 402, c. 27, lectio 1 (cit. 5701).

²⁷ The *Catena Aurea* (dated 1261-64 for the part regarding Matthew and later the year 1264 for the other evangelists) is Thomas Aquinas' comment on the four Gospels. It consists of an analysis of the texts, verse by verse, performed using quotations from the Christian Greek and Latin authors of the first centuries. See THOMAS DE AQUINO, ed. A. Guarienti 1953.

²⁸ For instance, no similar passages have been found between Meyronnes' *Tractatus* and the famous *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1230-1298), edited by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni in 1998 (see MAGGIONI 1998).

²⁹ We have found around 22 similar entries between Meyronnes' work and Thomas' one. See the final notes of the Critical Edition to have an overall view of all these links and to find the precise cross references.

³⁰ See C.III, 192, C.IV, 68 and C.VI, 72-84.

prophetic interpretation,³¹ which is recalled also by Dante Alighieri through the character of Constantine,³² according to which forty years after the crucifixion (i.e. in the year 70 AC) the emperor Titus put fire to Jerusalem, destroyed the temple and massacred the inhabitants in order to punish the Jewish rebels. A prophecy was originally formulated by Jesus himself, according to Luke:

*Et ut adpropinquavit videns civitatem flevit super illam dicens: "Quia si cognovisses et tu et quidem in hac die tua quae ad pacem tibi nunc autem abscondita sunt ab oculis tuis, quia venient dies in te et circumdabunt te inimici tui vallo et circumdabunt te et coangustabunt te undique, ad terram prosternent te et filios qui in te sunt et non relinquent in te lapidem super lapidem eo quod non cognoveris tempus visitationis tuae."*³³

[And when He had come near, He beheld the city and wept over it, saying: "If thou had known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which must be for thy peace! But now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee around, and keep thee in on every side. And they shall lay thee even with the ground and thy children within thee; and they shalt not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."]

In the epilogue of her study on the Ordinary Gloss, Lesley Smith, having provided a series of essays on the use of the *Glossa* made by fourteen different medieval authors,³⁴ invites other scholars to focus on the use of this instrument.³⁵ In fact, "The Gloss was used by different people in different ways, at different times and in different places. There is not a single "purpose" we can assign to the Gloss, one thing that it was "for"; rather, part of the Gloss's continuing success was that it proved itself adaptable to the needs of various users in various contexts." In this regard, according both to the provided examples and to the number of its occurrences, it seems that the Gloss had a central importance for the *Tractatus de Passione Domini* of Francis of Meyronnes, which is, in a way, a sort of small and monographical *glossa* on the Passion of Christ.

³¹ See MICHELINI 2010, 322-8.

³² Dante Alighieri, *Paradiso*, VI, 90-3: *Or qui t'ammira in ciò ch'io ti replico: / poscia con Tito a far vendetta corse / de la vendetta del peccato antico.*

³³ Lk 19:41-4.

³⁴ See SMITH 2009, 193-228.

³⁵ SMITH 2009, 236.

3) Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*

Besides offering a synopsis of the Gospels and endowing it with comments, Francis of Meyronnes is concerned with explaining some uncommon words. At times, he does it by proposing a definition, other times, by placing side by side the Latin word and its Greek or Hebrew equivalent. Naturally, etymologies in a medieval text could not come without references to Isidore of Seville (ca. 560 - ca. 636). Indeed, as we can read in the following table, Francis directly quotes him; however, the reference to the eighth book is inaccurate: it would seem to be the eighth chapter, *De aromaticis arboribus* ("The aromatic trees"), of the seventeenth book. Moreover, the proposed definition would seem rather a reworking (although very close to the text of Isidore) of two passages of the chapter, firstly of paragraph nine, then of paragraph four:

Franciscus de Mayronis³⁶

Isidorus, libro 8 Ethimologiarum: Aloe est quedam herba valde medicinalis amarissimi succi et potest declamari hec aloa aloes, vel hec aloe genus huius aloes sive pro arbore, vel pro succo, vel herba summatur in India gignitur. Mirra vere arbor est in Arabia cum gutta viridis atque amara ac ab amaritudine dicta.

Isidorus³⁷

Aloa in India atque Arabia gignitur, arbor odoris suavissimi ac summi. Denique lignum ipsius vice thymiamatum altaribus adoletur; unde et nomen traxisse creditur.

Myrra arbor Arabiae altitudinis quinque cubitorum, similis spinæ quam ἄκανθον dicunt: cuius gutta viridis atque amara; unde et nomen accepit myrra.

It is possible to see a reference to the *Etymologiae* also in the *consideracio prima*. During the narration of the episodes concerning the Last Supper, Francis specifies that Mary Magdalene went to the banquet with an alabaster flask containing a precious ointment made from nard. In this case, there is no explicit reference to Isidore. Meyronnes' text, however, is certainly comparable with the ninth chapter, *De herbis aromaticis sive communibus* ("The aromatic or common herbs"), of the aforementioned seventeenth book of *Etymologiae*. Even though the reference to Isidore seems quite clear, this text is similar to the model in terms of content, but not in form. The content surely derives from Isidore, but it is mediated by another source. And this source would seem to be the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor († 1180). The following table allows us to compare the three texts:

³⁶ See C.VIII, 111-14.

³⁷ ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay 1911. Liber xvii, c.8, par. 9-10. And ibidem, Liber xvii, c.8, par. 4, where the text continues in this way: *Gutta eius sponte manans pretiosior est, elicita corticis vulnere vilior iudicatur. Sarmenis eius Arabes ignes fovent, quorum fumo satis noxio, nisi ad odorem storacis occurrant, plerumque insanabiles morbos contrahunt. Myrrha autem Trogodyte ab insula Arabiae dicta, ubi melior colligitur et purior.*

Isidorus³⁸

Nardus herba est spicosa, unde et a Graecis ναρόσταχυς appellata; quarum alia Indica, alia Syriaca vocatur; non quod in Syria nascatur, sed quod mons, in quo invenitur, alio latere Indiam spectat, alio Syriam [...].

Petrus Comestor³⁹

Nardus autem est frutex aromatica, crassa radice; sed brevi, nigra et fragili, cypressini odoris, folio perparvo, densoque, cujus cacumina in aristas se spargunt. Pigmentarii spicas, et folia nardi celebrant, unde ad commendationem unguenti, ait Marcus, spicati pretiosi. Erat enim de nardo Indica. Alia enim genera nardi vilia sunt.

Franciscus de Mayronis⁴⁰

Nardus autem est fructus aromatica preciosissimi odoris sine herba parva, hunc adherens spinosa rovigans in floribus crassa radice brevi et nigra, de huius herba spicis et foliis preciosa unguenta habent.

The references to Isidore would seem to be limited to these two mentioned examples. The ones concerning Peter Comestor, on the contrary, are many. To begin with, the analysis of the episode of the alabaster flask offers two other remarkable points of contact between the Meyronnes' *Tractatus* and the *Historia Scholastica*. On the immediately preceding lines to those mentioned above, Meyronnes explains what the alabaster is (1); then, as it has been said, he describes what nard is. Furthermore, he adds information regarding the traditional use of this ointment in Palestine⁴¹ (information which is absent in the text of Comestor). He concludes by commenting on a verse of John⁴² (2). These two passages are very close to what Peter Comestor says; hence, he is quoted *ex silentio*.⁴³ In the first case, he offers almost the same description of the alabaster. In the second one, he proposes the same etymological explanation for the meaning of the word "pistici."

Franciscus de Mayronis

1 *Est autem alabaster lapis marmoreus candidus et lucidus, variis coloribus intermixtus, qui incorrupta servat unguenta. Hec pixis plena plena erat unguento precioso de nardo facto.*

Petrus Comestor

*Maria ergo habebat alabastrum unguenti nardi, id est pyxidem de alabastro plenam unguento nardi. Sicut enim dicimus scyphum vini, scyphum lactis, et huiusmodi, sic dicitur haec habens alabastrum unguenti. **Et est genus marmoris candidi, et perlucidi variis coloribus interincti, quod incorrupta servat***

³⁸ ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay 1911. Liber xvii, c. 9, par. 3. The text continues in this way: *non quod in Syria nascatur, sed quod mons, in quo invenitur, alio latere Indiam spectat, alio Syriam. Est autem Indicum multiforme, sed melius Syriacum, leve, fulvum, comosum, spica parvum, odorissimum, cyperum similans. Quod si multum in ore tardaverit, linguam siccatur.*

³⁹ PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 116, coll. 1597D.

⁴⁰ See C.I, 88-92.

⁴¹ See C.I, 91-94.

⁴² Jn 12:3.

⁴³ Another important quotation *ex silentio* of Petrus Comestor in Meyronnes' treatise, is the one presented in the chapter Textual type: see page 27.

*unguenta.*⁴⁴

- 2 *Et hoc est quo dicit Io. 12: Maria ergo accepit Joannes qualitatem expressit, dicens: Libram libram unguenti nardi spicati seu pistici (“pistos” grece, latine “fidelis” dicitur; unguenti nardi pistici. Vel pistici, id est misti, de spicis et foliis confectum, quod est pretiosius, ut dixit “pisteon” dicitur “credo;” et “pistis”, “fides” Beda super Marcum. Et forte pixis misturam sonat, dicitur; inde “pistici” et nulla alia inde pixis, pixidis, id est fidelis. Pisteo enim credo, et pistis fides dicitur, nulla scilicet adulterina admistione corrupta.*⁴⁶

In general, when Francis of Meyronnes wants to linger on the meaning of a word, he seems to prefer the *Historia Scholastica* as primary reference source. For instance, commenting on Matthew,⁴⁷ the *Doctor Acutus* defines the word “corbona” in this way:⁴⁸

Principes autem sacerdotum, acceptis argenteis, dixerunt: “Non licet ea ponere in corbonam”, *id est reverti in archam in quam reponerentur pecunie pro oblationibus sacerdotum, quia inde accepte fuerant. “Corbona”, id est archa, quam nos vulgari sermone “Musach” vocamus, quia precium sanguinis est, id est quia pro sanguine fundendo date sunt.*⁴⁹

[*And the chief priests took the silver pieces and said, “It is not lawful to put them into the treasury,” i.e. put them in the coffer where money for offers to the priest were put, because thence they were accepted. “Corbona”, i.e. coffer, which we call “Musach” in vernacular language, because of the value of blood, i.e. because they are given by shedding blood.*]

This information is absent in the work of Isidore and it seems to come from Peter Comestor, who explains:

*Vide quia musac erat archa, in qua reponerentur donaria regum vel principum; corbona, in qua reponerentur donaria sacerdotum ad reficienda sarta tecta templi; Gazophylacium, in quo reponerentur donaria transeuntium.*⁵⁰

⁴⁴ PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 116, col. 1597C;

⁴⁵ See C.I, 99-103.

⁴⁶ PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 116, col. 1598C.

⁴⁷ Mt 27:6.

⁴⁸ Apparently, in the temple of Jerusalem there were three *gazophylacii* (chest or place where money was kept: *gazo* in Persian language means “treasure” and *phylaca* means “place of custody”). The first one was called *Musach* and it collected donations made by the princes; the second was called *gazophylacium* and it collected donations made by the people; the last one *corbona* and it collected donations made in favor of the ministers of the temple (*corbona* then passed to mean “canteen of the bishop”). See MORONI 1843, 277-8.

⁴⁹ See C.IV, 45-49.

⁵⁰ PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 53, coll. 1680C.

[Note that musac was the coffer in which offerings of kings and princes were put; corbona, in which priests' offerings to repair temple's roofs were put; Gazophylacium, in which peregrins' offerings were put.]

In fact, the *Magister Historiarum* is directly quoted two lines before, although for another reason.⁵¹ Peter Comestor is explicitly quoted three times in the treatise, but in these occasions he is used, as many other *auctoritates*, only to provide a commentary.⁵² It is very likely that, however, this author is indirectly quoted by Francis of Meyronnes on other occasions: always and especially to explain the meaning of unusual words (as in the case of *corbona*). For instance, Francis says about the term “Abba”:

*Littera Mat. patet ibi: Abba Pater (“Abba” est ebraicum, “Pater” grecum et latinum).*⁵³

[Matthew's texts shows here: *Abba Father* (“Abba” is Hebraic, “Father”, Greek and Latin)].

And in the *Historia Scholastica* we read:

*Idem est Abba, quod Pater. Et est Abba Hebraeum et Syrum, Pater Graecum et Latinum.*⁵⁴

[“Abba” is the same of “Father”. And “Abba” is Hebraic and Syrian, “Father” Greek and Latin.]

A further example is given by the definition of the words “Golgota” and “parasceve”. Both in Meyronnes' work and in Comestor's one, they are respectively located after the biblical quotations of John 19:13 (*Et sedit pro tribunalis*) and John 19:14 (*Erat autem parasceve, quasi hora sexta*). The *Magister Historiarum* is more succinct than Meyronnes in defining the word “Golgota.”⁵⁵ Indeed, he just says which are the Greek and Hebraic equivalent terms, proposing for both of them

⁵¹ See C.IV, 42-44: “*Causa quare Iudas occidit se fuit, ut dicit Magister Historiarum, Christi resurreccio quam non sperabat, unde se ipsum suspendit*”; as for the quotation, cf. PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 162, coll. 1625A-1625B.

⁵² See note 52 for the first one; as for the other two, see C.II, 321-3 for chapter 148 of the *Historia Scholastica* (PL 198, coll. 1614D) and C.IV, 68 for chapter 162 (PL 198, coll. 1625C-1626A).

⁵³ See C.IV, 574-5.

⁵⁴ PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 155, coll. 1621C.

⁵⁵ See C.VI, 10-19: “*Et sedit pro tribunali (id est pro iudicio, in loco iudicis). Et notandum quod sedes varie nominatur secundum veritatem et sedencium. Nam sedes iudicis ut hic vocatur tribunal solium regum, sed cathedra doctorum in loco qui dicitur “litostratus”, id est iudicium ebrayce vero “Golgota”, id est “collis”, vel “sublimitas”. Dicitur autem “litostratus” aliquot quod est lapis et stratos, quod est compositio vel variacio quasi congeries lapidum diversorum colorum collocata, vero interpretatur collis vel sublimitas quia ex congregacione lapidum erat locus sublimis valde et pavementum super vario stratu lapide elevatum. Erat autem parasceve, hora quasi sexta, “perasceve” grece, latine “preparacio” dicitur, quia sexta feria preparantur iuxta pro sabbato.*”

the meaning “floor.” On the contrary, Peter Comestor presents almost the same words of the *Doctor Acutus* in defining “parasceve.”⁵⁶

In the light of the given examples, it is possible to argue that Francis of Meyronnes was directly consulting the *Historia Scholastica*. Therefore, we might rule out the possibility that Meyronnes quoted the *Magister Historiarum* according to what he could have found in a compendium.⁵⁷ It follows that on the desk of the *Doctor Acutus*, we could have seen, in addition to the *Sacra Biblia cum glossa ordinaria*, the work of Peter Comestor. In conclusion, even though those two sources are not surprising, the use of the *Historia Scholastica* mainly in order to provide etymologies could be a topic for the comparison with its use by other authors of Passion narratives.

⁵⁶ PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 156, coll. 1627C: et sedit pro tribunali in loco qui dicitur Graece lithostrotos, Hebraice Gabatha, quod sonat varietatem pavimenti. Erat autem parasceve hora quasi sexta. Graecis admisti Judaei, crebro utebantur Graecis vocabulis. **Parasceve enim Graece, praeparatio Latine, sic dicebant feriam sextam, quia in ea parabant necessaria Sabbato, sicut et in deserto duplo colligebant manna.**

⁵⁷ We have made a similar comparison also with the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (1190-c.1264), but it was apparently not used by Meyronnes.

4) *The Tractatus de Passione Domini and the Meditationes Vitae Christi*

Francis of Meyronnes presents the episodes of the Passion in a chronological way, by synoptically following the four Gospels. So, when he describes the arrival of the archangel Michael in the garden of Gethsemane to comfort Jesus, Meyronnes has only one biblical source which can be quoted, i.e. Luke 22:43.⁵⁸ However, there are no canonical texts reporting the contents of the dialogue between the archangel and Jesus. Indeed, the narrator declares to the reader:

Et tunc afficit Michael angelus confortans eum. Quid vero angelus dixit certum non habemus, meditari tamen possumus ipsum dixisse: [...].

And so the Angel Michael comforted him. We don't know with certainty what the angel said, but we could imagine that he said: [...].

Such a declaration invites a careful reading of the episode that it introduces,⁵⁹ because it could be a creation of the author. Consequently, in order to verify whether the text was really an original invention of Francis of Meyronnes, it has been compared with several works which could have been his direct source. As mentioned before, since this dialogue is apocryphal, the source cannot be the Bible: as it was said the only biblical reference to this episode is Lk 22:43 and neither the *Glossa Ordinaria* on this verse, nor Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, nor Aquinas' *Catena Aurea* present a similar dialogue between the Archangel Michael and Jesus. So, it has been compared with the most important works on the Passion written before Meyronnes. None of them, however, presents a similar episode.⁶⁰ A similar dialogue (with similar characteristics and between the same characters) has been found in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi (MVC)*.⁶¹

The *MVC* is a work written by a Tuscan Franciscan, which consists of meditative paraphrases of all the major events in Christ's life based both on canonical and apocryphal sources and preserved in more than two hundred manuscripts, many incunabula and early printed editions. It has been ascribed to Bonaventure for several centuries (as it appears in many manuscripts), until the year

⁵⁸ Cf Lk 22:42-44: *Dicens Pater si vis transfer calicem istum a me verumtamen non mea voluntas sed tua fiat.* [43] *Apparuit autem illi angelus de caelo confortans eum et factus in agonia prolixius orabat.* [44] *Et factus est sudor eius sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram.* On the commentary tradition on Lk 22:43 and on the question "how could Christ be in need of consolation?", see TÓTH 2011, 109-114.

⁵⁹ Cf C.II, 541-580 (fol. 146ra-b).

⁶⁰ We have checked the following works: BEDA VENERABILIS, *De meditatione per septem diei horas*; PS. ANSELMUS CANTUARIENSIS, *Dialogus b. Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*; BONAVENTURA, *Lignum vitae, Officium de Passione Domini* and *Vitis mystica*; PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*; UBERTINO OF CASALE, *Arbor vitae crucifixae*.

⁶¹ Commentaries on Lk 22:43 are also present in the works of MICHAEL DE MASSA (see chapter Textual type, p. 26, footnote 23 and see, e.g., Nürnberg 1474/78, 68), and in the *Vita Christi* of LUDULPHUS DE SAXONIA (see chapter Textual type, p. 26, footnote 25; and see, e.g., Lion 1556, 614). However, they do not include any direct dialogue between Jesus and the archangel Michael.

1767, when the scholar Benedetto Bonelli identified the author with Johannes de Caulibus;⁶² however, the identity of this Franciscan is never specified in the medieval tradition: indeed, this text was recently re-ascribed to another Franciscan called Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano.⁶³ Nevertheless, two fundamental philological questions regarding this work are still open: the original language in which it was written and its date of composition.

As for the first point, it is uncertain whether the work was originally written in Italian or Latin,⁶⁴ but this problem will not be treated here. As for the second, the debate on the dating of the *MVC* is divided by two opinions. The first one is 1338-64. This dating, based on the identification of one of the sources used by the *MVC*, was proposed by Sarah McNamer in 1990⁶⁵ and it has been accepted by Mary Stallings-Taney, author of the critical edition of the Latin version of the work, published in 1997.⁶⁶ As for the second one, it would place the work around the year 1300, according to the *terminus post quem* fixed by Edmund Colledge in 1976.⁶⁷ This dating has recently been supported by Dávid Falvay⁶⁸ and Péter Tóth in an exhaustive study published in 2014,⁶⁹ where they show some consistent points of contact between the *MVC* and the *Extendit manum* of Michael de Massa († 1337), who would have used the *Meditationes* by reworking it.

Now, the textual comparison on the commentary on Lk 23:43 between the *MVC* and Francis of Meyronnes' treatise could offer new material(s) for this debate. As it was previously said, the *Tractatus de Passione Domini* was composed by Meyronnes between 1318 and 1320.⁷⁰ So, if we accept McNamer's date (post 1338), Meyronnes could have been used as a source by Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano. On the contrary, if we accept the date 1300 for *MVC*'s composition, Jacobus could have been quoted and partially reworked by Meyronnes. And we can say "partially

⁶² Who has been defined by Bonelli as "magnus predicator et devotus, qui meditationes super evangelia fecit pulchras", see AROSIO 2000, 768-74.

⁶³ See TÓTH–FALVAY 2014, 47, note 113.

⁶⁴ See on this regard FLORA 2009, MCNAMER 2009, 949-954 and FALVAY 2012, 270-2. Apart from some important essays written in the first half of 20th century (OLIGER 1922; FISCHER 1932; PETROCCHI 1952; VACCARI 1952), the Italian version of the work has not been deeply studied and there is no critical edition of that text. On the other hand, it seems that an Italian version of the *MVC* (*Meditazioni sulla vita di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo*) could have been used by the Tuscan painter Giotto (1267-1337) as a source for the image of the Virgin Mary fainting into the arms of Mary Magdalene, in Cappella Scrovegni's frescos (1303-05): see PISANI 2008, 98.

⁶⁵ Her hypothesis was based on a better identification of a text present in third chapter of the *MVC*: the *Revelations of the Virgin* attributed to Saint Elisabeth. According to McNamer, this text would have not been linked to Elisabeth of Hungary (†1231), but to Elisabeth of Toss (†1338); see: MCNAMER 1990; see also BARRATT 1992. Sarah McNamer has later modified a little her proposal of dating; however it remains, in her opinion, around the half of the 14th century, see: MCNAMER 2009, pp. 905-955.

⁶⁶ Cf. CCCM 153.

⁶⁷ His hypothesis was based on the identification of the source for chapter 80 of the *MVC* with the *Liber specialis gratiae* by Mechthilde of Hackenburg, completed around 1299; see COLLEDGE 1976, 105-7.

⁶⁸ Who has refuted McNamer's argument in two articles: see FALVAY 2005 and FALVAY 2011.

⁶⁹ See TÓTH–FALVAY 2014.

⁷⁰ Cf. p. 20.

reworked”, because the two texts are not identical, but they are indeed similar (even closer to each other than the correspondence between *MVC* and Massa’s *Extendit manum*).

The following table compares the two texts by showing, word for word, where they are identical and where they are similar. It also offers an *apparatus criticus* to compare the “similar but not identical” points. Words left in blank are present only in one of the two works. The result of the comparison shows that the two texts are equivalent in the structure and for almost 75% of the words.

Et tunc afficit Michael *angelus confortans eum*. Quid vero angelus dixit certum non habemus, meditari tamen possumus ipsum dixisse:

1 “Ave te,ⁱ Domine Iesu et Deus meus. Oracionem vestram acⁱⁱ sudorem sanguineum Deo Patri vestro obtuli in conspectu sue superne magestatis et omnes angelici spiritus procidentes rogavimus suppliciterⁱⁱⁱ ut calicem istum^{iv} transferret a vobis.”

2 Et respondit Pater dicens:

“Novit Filius meus dilectus^v, quod humani generis redemptio quam sic optavimus^{vi}, sine sui sanguinis effusione decenter fieri non potest,

3 quia sic in consistorio divini consilii in quo omnia decreta imprimibilia

Cum autem sic orat et anxius Dominus Iesus, ecce angelus Domini, princeps Michael, astitit *confortans eum*, dicens:

“Salvete Domine Deus meus Iesu. Oracionem uestram et sudorem uestrum sanguineum Patri uestro optuli in conspectu tocius curie superne, et omnes procidentes supplicauimus ut calicem hunc transferret a uobis.”

Et respondit Pater:

“Nouit dilectissimus Filius meus Iesus, quod humani generis redemptio quam sic optamus, sine sui sanguinis effusione sic decenter fieri non potest:

/

ⁱ Ave te] Salvete *MVC*. Stallings-Taney’s *apparatus criticus* offers only *salve* in alternative.

ⁱⁱ ac] et *MVC*.

ⁱⁱⁱ rogavimus suppliciter] supplicauimus *MVC*.

^{iv} istum] hunc *MVC*.

^v dilectus] dilectissimus *MVC*. Stallings-Taney’s *apparatus criticus* offers only *dulcissimus* in alternative.

^{vi} optavimus] optamus *MVC*. Stallings-Taney’s *apparatus criticus* offers only *optavi* in alternative.

sunt, existit diffinicio et propter hoc adveniendum in mundum se sponte et graciose optulit.

4 Et quia Ipse^{vii} animarum salutem vult enim^{viii} eum pro ipsis pati^{ix}.”

5 /

6 Tunc Dominus Iesus respondit angelo dicens:

“Salutem animarum peto, volo et eligo potius mori ut salventur anime ad eius^x ymaginem create et facte^{xi}, quam non mori et non solventur^{xii}, qua propter redimam libenter in meo sanguine si fieri posset cum salute gentium, salutem vellem et mei Iudeorum.

Fiat tum^{xiii} Patris mei voluntas”.

7 Et angelus ad eum:

“Confortamini et valet^{xiv}. Excelsum enim et immensum est^{xv} completa et magnifica facere et magnitudinem^{xvi} ardua et strenua tollerare.

^{vii} quia] ideo *MVC*.

^{viii} enim] oportet *MVC*.

^{ix} pati] mori *MVC*.

^x eius] suam *MVC*.

^{xi} create et facte] Pater creavit *MVC*.

^{xii} non solventur] etiam redimantur *MVC*.

^{xiii} tum] igitur *MVC*.

^{xiv} valet] viriliter agite *MVC*.

^{xv} est] decet *MVC*.

^{xvi} magnitudinem] magnanimum *MVC*.

et ideo, si vult salutem animarum eum oportet pro ipsis mori.

Quid ergo facere decernitis?”

Tunc respondit Dominus Iesus Angelo:

“Salutem animarum omnino uolo, et ideo potius eligo mori ut salventur anime quas ad suam imaginem Pater creavit, quam uelim non mori et etiam anime redimantur.

Fiat igitur uoluntas Patris mei.”

Et Angelus ad eum:

“Confortamini ergo et uiriliter agite. Excelsum enim decet magnifica facere et magnanimum ardua tolerare.

Cito enim transibunt^{xvii}, penosa et perpetua^{xviii} gloriosa succedunt^{xix}.

Dicit Pater quod semper vobiscum est et matrem vestram atque discipulos ipse servabit incolumes.”

- 8 Et ita humilis Dominus a sua creatura hanc confortacionem reverenter recepit^{xx}, considerans se iniquum esse^{xxi} in hac misera valle mortali^{xxii}, minoratus^{xxiii} ab angelis, ut et tamen orando humilieris angelus, autem vale faciens ei disparuit.

Et ipse confortatus surrexit et frontem in torrente, ut cumque cum facie lavit.

Total of words: 227

Total of identical words: 121

Total of equivalent/similar words: 30

Cito pertransibunt penosa et perpetuo gloriosa succedent.

Dicit Pater quod semper uobis cum est et quod matrem uestram et discipulos ipse seruabit, eos que uobis reddet incolumes.”

Et humilis Dominus reuerenter et humiliter suscipit hanc confortacionem eciam a sua creatura, considerans se esse minoratum paulo minus ab angelis dum est in hac lacrimarum ualle.

Et sic contristabatur ut homo et ualefecit ei. Sic ex uerbis Angeli fuit confortatus ut homo rogans ut eum Patri et toti celesti curie commendaret.

Total of words: 176

Total of identical words: 121

Total of equivalent/similar words: 25

^{xvii} transibunt] pertransibunt *MVC*.

^{xviii} perpetua] perpetuo *MVC*.

^{xix} succedunt] succedent *MVC*.

^{xx} recepit] suscipit *MVC*.

^{xxi} iniquum esse] esse minoratum *MVC*.

^{xxii} misera valle mortali] lacrimarum valle *MVC*.

^{xxiii} minoratus ab angelis] paulo minus ab angelis *MVC*.

We would highlight that detailed comparisons have been especially undertaken for all the 25/30 cases of “equivalent/similar words” between the two works. The result is that none of the forms present in Meyronnes’ treatise appear in Stallings-Taney’s *apparatus criticus*. At present, we will limit our study to present three possible explanations for these results:

- a) There is a common source. This common source could be a written or an oral one, but we would not suggest an oral one, because of the strong similarities of the texts. Nevertheless, we did not detect a similar dialogue in any other text, so this common source would still have to be discovered.
- b) Meyronnes is the source used by Jacobus, who wrote the *MVC* after 1338. On the one hand, it would be possible to consider Meyronnes’ sentence *Quid vero angelus dixit certum non habemus, meditari tamen possumus ipsum dixisse* as the proof that he is the creator of the dialogue. On the other hand, the use of the verb “meditari” in this sentence recalls the title *Meditationes* of Jacobus. Moreover, Meyronnes’ treatise was apparently not so popular and widespread enough to be used as a source for the *Meditationes*.
- c) Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano wrote the *MVC* around 1300 and Meyronnes used it as a source for his work. It is indeed possible to see a similarity to Jacobus’ work in two elements of the aforementioned passage: *A vespere in vesperem illius diei in qua Dominus fuit crucifixus, nulla est hora in qua devotus non possit devotum aliquid cogitare*¹ (“from evening to evening during those days in which the Lord was crucified, there is no hour in which a devotee cannot think something devoted”). Those elements are the words *hora* and *cogitare*. The first, because the *MVC* are structured according to the hours: the quoted passage continues in fact by proposing a series of possible topics on which is possible to meditate during the Holy Week. The second, naturally, because it is synonymous with *meditare*.

In his study on the sources of Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi*, Walter Baier suggests in a footnote that it might be possible to compare Meyronnes’ treatise and the *MVC* (which he was reading in Adolphe Peltier’s nineteenth-century edition).² To be precise, he offers five possible passages for the comparison: “Vgl. [Cfr.] *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi*: München, Stb., Clm 8393 f. 146^{tb}: *MVC* 601b; f. 151^{tb}: *MVC* 602b-603a; f. 151^{va}: *MVC* 603a; f. 155^{vb}: *MVC* 603a-b; f. 156^{va}: *MVC* 606a [...]”.³ So, we have compared the two works obtaining the following results:

⁷² C.VIII, 160-1.

⁷³ See BONAVENTURA 1868.

⁷⁴ See BAIER 1977, 328, footnote 26. The note continues with a reference to ROSSMANN 1972a about the dating of Meyronnes’ work: “s. weiter H. Roßmann, *Quodlibeta*, 3.44.”

1. f. 146^{rb} / *MVC* 601b: it is, indeed, the dialogue between Jesus and the Archangel Michael, which was just presented.
2. f. 151^{rb} / *MVC* 602b-603a: Baier probably refers to the fact that both the works first present a commentary on Mar. 14:65 (C.III, 419-36; *MVC*, 602b) and then a prayer to God made by the Virgin Mary (C.III, 437-49; *MVC*, 603a); however, the two texts are completely different and it is not possible to make a comparison like the one made above.
3. f. 151^{va} / *MVC* 603a: Baier might refer again to the prayer of the Virgin Mary, but as it was already said, it is completely different from Meyronnes' one; or he might be referring to the first lines of Chapter LXXVI (*Meditatio passionis Christi hora prima*). However, from the comparison, apart from some common words, the two texts seem to be independent from each other:

Tractatus

Mat. 27 ibi: *Mane autem facto, convenerunt omnes principes in Ierusalem seniores, scribe et Pharisei contra Iesum, ut eum morti traderet et, formato consilio modo quo super dictum est, Christum, victum et **ligatum manibus a tergo**, in manus ribaldorum **miserunt ad Pylatum**, qui dicebant ei: “**Latro, veni nobiscum ad iudicium**, nunc apparebunt maleficia tua et sapientia tua que operatus es.” Dixit: “*Quis ex vobis arguet me de peccato?* Sed nunc videbis et ipse sicut agnus innocens horribiliter sequebatur eos, tacens ut mutus et surdus transibat. **Cum autem** sic duceretur, occurrat ei **mater** in angulo viarum cum sororibus Magdalene **et Ioanne** et, in mutuo aspritu, uterque **maximus dolor** fuit filio, quia matrem ita afflictam vidit; et matri, quia filium ita mutatum consideravit, experiit et tormentis.*

MVC

Caput LXXVI

Meditatio passionis Christi hora prima

Mane autem tempestive radierunt principes et majores populi, et fecerunt eum **ligari manus post tergum**, dicentes: **Veni nobiscum, latro, veni ad iudicium**, hodie complebuntur maleficia tua, modo tua sapientia apparebit. Et **ducebant eum ad Pilatum**; et ipse tanquam nocens sequebatur eos, cum esset agnus innocentissimus. **Cum autem mater** ejus, **Joannes et sociae**, nam et ipse summon mane exierunt foras, ut venirent ad eum, occurrerunt ei in bivio et /603b/ videntes eum sic vituperabiliter et sic enormiter a tanta multitudine duci, **quanto replete sunt dolore, dici non posset**.

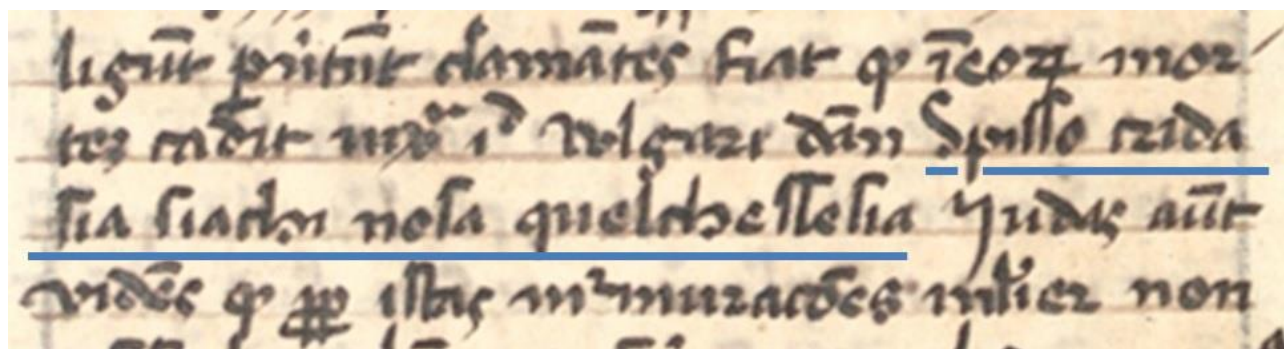
4. f. 155^{vb} / *MVC* 603a-b: such a reference is probably incorrect, because Meyronnes' text presents a long exhortation to Jesus made by Mary in the way of the cross and such content is not present in *MVC*'s indicated page.

5. f. 156^{va}/ *MVC* 606a: Baier probably refers to the description of the crucifixion; however, once again, the two texts present to very different versions of the episode (and Meyronnes description is much shorter than *MVC*'s one).

In conclusion, the dialogue between Jesus and the Archangel Michael seems to be the only common part between the two texts. As for points 3 and 5 proposed by Baier, although it is not possible to make a textual comparison like the one made for the mentioned dialogue, we cannot exclude with absolute certainty that one text could have influenced the other, although it seems rather unlikely. At present, we would wait for other documents, studies and data in order to be able to choose between the mentioned possibilities and we would suggest as the most likely the third hypothesis, namely that Francis of Meyronnes used the *MVC* as a source for his *Tractatus de Passione Domini*. In fact, although the first hypothesis (i.e. the possibility of common sources) cannot be rejected with certainty, it is not supported by concrete evidence; while the second (i.e. the possibility that Francis' work was used as a source for the *MVC*) is very unlikely due to the low spread of the *Tractatus de passione Domini*.

5) An Italian vernacular proverb

This section of the chapter is dedicated to a particular case, which is unique in the *Tractatus de passione Domini* written by Meyronnes. Actually, the *Doctor Acutus* reports a proverb written in a vernacular language. The fact is not only curious because of the presence of two lines belonging to another language within an entirely Latin context, but also because this vernacular is probably an Italian dialect. An Italian saying in a work written by a southern-French author and kept in a German manuscript (fol. 141rb):



*Spisso cada
sia siachi nosa quelchessesia*

This sentence was very probably not inserted by the copyist, but might instead come from Francis himself. It is true that he was from the South of France, but he could have had some knowledge of Italian vernaculars: he actually died in Piacenza, he was in contact with the King of Naples and, maybe, he would have wanted to read the works of Saint Francis of Assisi in their original language. But the most important reason is that this sentence is meaning-less and thus a most unlikely interference of the copyist, who was probably of German origin and may have reported the saying in that fragmentary way exactly because he was not able to understand it. On the other hand, the lack of meaning presents a problem, because there is no mention of a proverb formulated with these precise words in the main relevant repertories.⁴

So, in order to offer an interpretation we would firstly start with a contextualization. The proverb appears in the first consideration, before the starting of the Last Supper. Looking at Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Jesus, Judas argues that the master became a *prodigus* (prodigal), because he could have sold the alabaster flask in order to donate the profit to poor people. The other disciples, who were *homines simplicis fidei possessores* (possessors of a simple faith) believed him. So they were deceived, as the proverb says:

⁷⁵ E.g. NOVATI 1910, VV. AA. 1977 and Turrini-Alberti-Santullo-Zanchi 1995, Guazzotti-Oddera 2006. Such a proverb is not even registered in the *Corpus OVI dell'italiano antico* (last update made on April 29th of 2015).

Videns ergo ipse quod unguentum non venit ad manus eius [...], cepit discipulorum corda concitare dicendo:

“Ecce quomodo magister noster factus est prodigus: permisit enim amittere hoc unguentum et potuit vendi et melius fuisset precium egenis datum esse”.

Tunc apostoli, homines simplicis fidei possessores, putantes eum bona intencione loqui, intra se dicebant “ita esse” ut Iudas dicebat. [...] Et isto modo decepti sunt apostoli, [...] iuxta illud vulgari dictum: “Spisso cada sia ***, sia chi no sa quel che sse sia.”⁵

[So, seeing that the ointment does not arrive to his hands [...], he [Judas] started to instigate disciples’ hearts by saying:

“Look how our master became prodigal: indeed, he allowed himself to lose this ointment while he could sell it and it would have been better to give its value to the poor.”

So the apostles, possessors of a simple faith, believing that he spoke with good intentions, said to each other “It is like this”, [i.e.] as Judas said. [...] And in this way the apostles were misled, as that vernacular saying: “Often every both ***, and who does not know what himself is”

It was considered appropriate to include *cruces interpretationis* where it seems logical to assume the presence of a copy error, even if the text can be read in full. Within the edition no emendation was made at this point. Here, however, we would like to remedy the lack of sense of the phrase by proposing the following hypothetical reconstruction:

Spisso cada sia siachi nosa quelchessesia > *Spisso cada sia <chi è savio>, sia chi no<n> sa quel che sé [stesso] sia*

In this first formulation, we have included all the elements that could help to immediately understand how the saying should be interpreted: “Often falls both <who is wise>, and who doesn’t know him[self]”. If the meaning is the proposed one, then similar proverbs can be traced in *Il Grande Dizionario dei Proverbi Italiani* (“The great dictionary of the Italian Proverbs”);⁶ however, none is exactly meaning the same concept. However, the inserted elements might seem excessive: for instance, the addition of “n” to “no” is not strictly necessary, or the accent mark on “sé” is historically unlikely. On the contrary, the arrangement of the proverb on two lines is likely. So, we would rephrase the couplet into a more philologically correct version, which we propose here as our final conjecture:

⁷⁶ See C.I, 124-36.

⁷⁷ GUAZZOTTI–ODDERA 2006. E.g.: *Chi vuol sapere quel che il suo sia, non faccia malleveria* (p. 115); *chi vuol sapere, sappia Cristo* (p. 127); *il giusto cade sette volte al giorno* (p. 270); *non è sempre savio chi non sa essere qualche volta pazzo* (also: *anche il pazzo dice talvolta parole da savio*, p. 344), *per troppo sapere, l’uomo si sbaglia* (p. 344); *spesso si dà per forza quel che si nega per cortesia* (p. 492).

*Spisso cada sia <chi è savio>,
sia chi no sa quel che sse sia*

From a linguistic point of view, it is possible to observe that:

- *Spisso*: a Central-Southern Italian variant for *spesso* (“often”), as confirmed by all the results of the *Corpus OVI dell’italiano antico*;⁷⁷
- *cada*: the reading of this word is problematic for both the letters “a”. The first one could be also read as “ui”, by giving “cuida”; but the Latin context helps: before the appearance of the Italian proverb, the verb *cadit* is found. The second is clearly an “a”, even if in this context it would be better to have an “e” and so an indicative instead of a subjunctive;
- *<chi è savio>*: these words were inserted both to preserve the sounds /k/ and /s/ and to give sense to the entire sentence, as will be shown later;
- *sia chi*: we made a simple separation: *siachi* > *sia chi*;
- *no sa*: as mentioned before, it would be possible to add an “n” to “no”; followed by a simple separation;
- *quel che sse sia*: another series of simple separations of words: *quelchessesia* > *quel che sse sia*; where the spelling *sse* for *sé* is absolutely plausible.

The proposed separations and the simple insertion of *<chi è savio>* (“who is wise”) provide the proverb with meaning and musicality. These interventions, in fact, make it a couplet formed by an “ottonario” (main accent on the seventh metric syllable) and a “novenario” (main accent on the eighth metric syllable), with a number of assonances based on the sounds /k/ and /s/. These assonances and the syllables’ computation are shown by the following tables:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Spis</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>si_a</i>	<i>chi_è</i>	<u>sa</u>	<i>vi_o</i>
<i>si_a</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>qu_el</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>sse</i>	<u>si_a</u>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
/s/	/s/	/k/	-	/s/	/k/	/s/	-
/s/	/k/	-	/s/	/k/	/k/	/s/	/s/

⁷⁷ The check for “spisso” was made on May 17th of 2015, <http://gattoweb.ovi.cnr.it>.

There might be, of course, other possible interpretations. Nevertheless, we would conclude with two further considerations. The first is that we cannot exclude that this proverb comes from a compendium or a florilegium, or perhaps an Italian version of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. The second is that a better identification of this saying serves as a new piece of evidence for the dating of this work and for the reconstruction of Meyronnes' biography. In conclusion, the case remains undoubtedly fascinating: on the one hand the presence of a vernacular proverb can be seen in line with the aims of the treatise (a handbook for preaching and creating sermons addressed to the brothers), on the other it is curious that this is the only popular saying inserted in the whole work.

2c. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The *Tractatus de passione Domini* consists of a prologue and eight chapters called *consideraciones* or *partes principales*.¹ The equivalence between the two terms is made explicit in the *incipit* of the sixth consideration: *Sexta pars principalis vel consideracio sexta sequitur*² (“Sixth principal part or sixth consideration follows”). Franciscus then divides each *consideracio* into sub-topics, which he calls *capitula*. This further subdivision is made explicit in the third consideration, which starts with a list of arguments that will be discussed: *Ista sunt capitula tercie partis vidende*³ (“these chapters must be seen with the third part”). Finally, we could further divide these *capitula* into smaller “sections” or “narrative frameworks.” Even if this division is not authorial, it could be useful for readers who are looking for specific passages of Meyronnes’ work. Having clarified this terminology, it is possible to provide a detailed table of contents.

In the following table, the entire work is schematized by topics, making precise references to the manuscript and the edition. Taking into account the terminological division previously explained, the *partes principales* (or *consideraciones*) are ordered by using numeral adjectives (*prima*, *secunda*, etc.), as in the manuscript; the *capitula* are ordered by using Roman numerals (I,II, etc.), by using italics (*III*, *IV*, etc.) when they originate with Francis of Meyronnes; the sections are ordered by using lowercase letters of the Latin alphabet (a, b, c). Each part of the scheme corresponds a description which summarizes its content.

¹ C.II,1: *Circa secundam partem [...]*; C.IV,1: *Quarta pars sequitur [...]*; C.V,1: *Quinta pars principalis sequitur [...]*; C.VI,1: *Sexta pars principalis [...]*; C.VII,1: *Septima pars principalis sequitur [...]*; C.VIII,1: *Octava pars principalis sequitur [...]*.

² C.VI,1.

³ C.III,10.

Table of contents

<i>Pars principalis</i>	<i>Capitulum</i>	Section	Description
Prologus	140ra – 140rb		List of contents and purpose of the treatise
<i>Prima consideracio</i>	140rb – 142va		Causes of the conspiracy of Pharisee ministers against Christ and reasons for Judas' betrayal
	I (1-60)		Causes of the conspiracy of ministers against Jesus
		a (1-15)	Envy and avarice of ministers. Reason for envy: the miracles of Jesus
		b (16-26)	Sanctions against Jesus taken during two councils: during the first, prohibition of preaching; during the second, excommunication
		c (27-35)	Reason for avarice: Jesus said to the believers not to make contributions to the ministers
		d (36-62)	<i>Utilissimam prophetiam</i> pronounced by Caiaphas: the only way to save themselves and their people, is to kill the man
	II (61-180)		Episodes of the banquet of Bethany
		a (63-83)	Description of the house of Simon the Leper
		b (84-108)	Mary Magdalene at Jesus' feet. Description of the alabaster flask filled with nard
		c (109-138)	Reaction of the Apostles: thick murmuring followed by malicious words of Judah

		d (139-154)	Angry reaction of Judah in seeing Mary Magdalene not desist from performing her gestures
		e (155-181)	Jesus' discourse on the end of the dinner (large quote from the Gospel of Mark)
	III (182-219)		Days of Jesus during Holy Week
	IV (220-257)		Actions of the antagonists
		a (220-237)	Meeting of the ministers on Wednesday morning
		b (238-257)	Judah takes part in the council to plot the conspiracy: <i>O Iuda mercator pessimus</i> ("Oh Judas, bad merchant")
<i>Secunda consideracio</i>	142ra – 147ra (1-9)		Episodes of the Last Supper. Summary of topics which will be narrated and commented on
	I (10-60)		Preparation of the paschal food
	II (61-88)		Immolation of the lamb
	III (89-267)		<i>Oblacio corporalis</i> (cleansing of the body)
		a (89-134)	Washing of disciples' feet and dialogue with Peter
		b (135-205)	Announcement of the betrayal of an apostle
		c (206-215)	Dialogue between Jesus and Judas. Four emotions that Christ felt in sequence: pain, love, fear, scruple
		d (216-244)	Apostles' reaction to the announcement of the betrayal. Dialogue between Jesus and John
		e (245-267)	Humility and respect of Jesus as models to be imitated

	IV (268-335)	Establishment of the Eucharistic rite
	a (268-305)	Gestures and formulas
	b (306-335)	Satan and Judas
	V (336-434)	<i>Salutaris doctrina et informacio salutaris</i> (“Useful doctrine” and “Useful information”)
	a (336-365)	<i>Salutaris doctrina</i> : Jesus gives thanks to the Father (John's Gospel). Mayronis' commentary, which extracts three teachings from Jesus' sermon
	b (366-434)	<i>Informacio salutaris</i> : dialogue with Peter (first before other disciples, then in private)
	VI (435-563)	Garden of Gethsemane
	a (435-476)	Information about Gethsemane garden and description of the arrival of Jesus and the Apostles
	b (477-504)	Four theological reflections
	c (505-538)	Dialogue between the Son and the Father
	d (539-563)	Dialogue between Jesus and Michael the Archangel
	VII (564-654)	The three prayers of Jesus. Arrival of Judah and an armed group
<i>Tercia consideracio</i>	147ra – 151ra	Capture of Jesus and Judas' kiss. Jesus before Annas and Caiaphas.
	I (12-33)	Judas' betrayal by kissing
	II (34-80)	Capture and ligature of the Lord

<i>III</i> (81-102)	Debate of the Jews
<i>IV</i> (102-105; 112-113)	Lord's prophecy about apostles' liberation
<i>V</i> (106-111; 114-120)	Ear's cut and healing
<i>VI</i> (121-141)	Reproach to Peter
<i>VII</i> (142-148)	Sense of the capture
<i>VIII</i> (149-168)	Preaching to the disciples
<i>IX</i> (169-216)	Presentation of Christ to Annas
<i>X</i> (217-233)	Christ's interrogation by Annas
<i>XI</i> (234-245)	Christ hit on the face by ungrateful servants
<i>XII</i> (203)	John's arrival [according to the introduction of this <i>consideracio</i> , it's the twelveth argument, but it recures before]
<i>XIII</i> (246-311)	Peter's refusal and conversion
<i>XIV</i> (312-354)	Interrogation of the minister
<i>XV</i> (355-364)	Christ reproached
<i>XVI</i> (365-369)	Clothes' tearing
<i>XVII</i> (370-408)	Decision to condemn Christ
<i>XVIII</i> (409-437)	Reproach for Christ's pains

	XIX (438-471)	Mother's journey from Bethany to Jerusalem towards the son
Quarta consideracio	151ra – 153va	Submission of Jesus to Pilate and accusations of the ministers. Submission of Jesus to Herod and suffered derisions
	I (1-19)	Prologue
	II (20-68)	Judas
	a (20-49)	Suicide
	b (50-68)	Flashback on the episode of 30 dinars
	III (69-120)	Accusations to Jesus presented by the ministers to Pilate
	a (69-84)	Description of the episode
	b (85-105)	Analysis of the accusations
	c (106-120)	Response and reaction of Pilate
	IV (121-192)	First dialogue between Pilate and Jesus
	(121-160)	Dialogue
	(161-179)	Commentary on the contents of the dialogue
	(180-192)	<i>Quid est veritas?</i> (“What is truth?”)
	V (193-246)	Encounter between Jesus and Herod

		a (193-207)	Decision of Pilate to send Jesus over to Herod
		b (208-222)	Herod's questions
		c (223-245)	Mockeries turned to Jesus and his redressing in white. Commentary on the significance of the colors of the robes carried by Jesus during the passion
<i>Quinta consideracio</i>	153va – 154vb	Christ brought to Pilate, people's choice between Jesus and Barabbas Flagellation and bodily suffering	
	I (1-17)	Attitude of Jesus before Pilate and to accusations of the Jews	
	II (18-48)	Reasons why Pilate defers to the people the responsibility for the verdict	
	III (49-79)	The people choose to save Barabbas and calls for the crucifixion of Jesus	
	IV (80-148)	Flagellation	
		a (80-106)	Collection of comments to the flagellation from various authorities
		b (107-151)	Narrative description of the episode
	V (152-175)	Second presentation of Jesus flagellated to the crowd (<i>Ecce Homo</i> , “Behold the man”) and further request for crucifixion by the Jews	
	VI (176-197)	Last dialogue between Jesus and Pilate	
	VII (198-209)	Pilate’s concern	

<i>Sexta consideracio</i>		
	(154vb – 156va)	Death sentence
	I (1-17)	Meaning of the word "Golgota"
	II (18-49)	Meaning of the word <i>Parasceve</i> ("Preparation")
	a (18-32)	Allegory linked to the sixth hour (the same one in which Adam was expelled from Eden)
	b (33-46)	Pilate's wife
	III (47-101)	Further request of the Jews to crucify Jesus
	a (47-71)	Commentary on Jn 19:15 ("We have no king but Caesar!") and on Mt 27:25 ("His blood be on us, and on our children!")
	b (72-86)	Historical-allegorical prophecy: forty years after such statements, Jerusalem was destroyed by the Roman emperors and its inhabitants were killed
	c (87-101)	Degrees of culpability of those responsible for the crucifixion
	IV (102-121)	Description of the cross
	V (122-152)	Mary's pain
	VI (153-189)	Calvary
	a (159-165)	Simon of Cyrene
	b (166-171)	Lamentations pronounced by Mary in the middle of the street
	c (172-189)	Conclusion of the Calvary followed by the crowd

	VII (190-244)	Crucifixion	
<i>Septima consideracio</i>	156va – 158ra	Jesus on the cross: mockery made by the ministers and last sentences	
	I (1-8)	First words of Jesus on the cross: <i>Pater, dimitte illis</i> (“Father, forgive them”)	
	II (9-33)	Analysis and commentary on the writing that Pilate put on the cross (<i>I.N.R.I.</i>) and reaction of the priests in reading it	
	III (34-107)	Evil characters present in the vicinity of the cross	
		a (34-46)	Soldiers playing dice for Jesus' garment
		b (47-72)	Ministers and soldiers deride Christ
		c (73-84)	Words of the Evil Thief
		d (85-98)	Analysis of the three kinds of men who mocked Christ
	IV (99-155)	Magnanimous characters in the vicinity of the cross	
		a (99-113)	Words of the Good Thief
		b (114-128)	<i>Stabat mater</i>
		c (129-155)	Jesus' words referred to Mary (“Woman, behold thy son!”) and John (“Behold thy mother!”)
	V (156-200)	Jesus' thirst and sponge soaked in vinegar	

	VI (194-253)	Cries of Jesus on the cross during the ninth hour
	a (194-222)	Cries <i>Heloii Heloii</i> (“Eli, eli”) and <i>Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid derelinquisti?</i> (“My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?”) Meditation on the meaning of the Passion.
	b (223-229)	Reaction of Roman soldiers
	c (230-253)	Jesus' last word and earthquake
<i>Octava consideracio</i>	158ra – 160rb	Death. Longinus' spear. Deposition of the body.
	I (1-33)	Request of the Jews to remove Jesus from the cross, in order to respect the Sabbath
	II (34-82)	Longinus' spear
	a (34-52)	Piercing of the side: <i>Emisit spiritum</i> (yielded up the ghost)
	b (53-62)	Digression on the piercing (the right side or the left one?)
	c (63-83)	Meditation on the effects of this gesture, as completion of the scriptures
	III (84-168)	Deposition
	a (84-104)	Joseph of Arimathea gets the custody of the body
	b (105-118)	Arrival of Nicodemus, who brings aromatic herbs

	c (119-139)	Joseph and Nicodemus put the body down, rub it and wrap it in the shroud
	d (140-159)	Description of the sepulchre
IV (160-180)		Invitation to meditate addressed directly to the reader. List of themes on which a devout soul can meditate by thinking about the Passion
V (181-214)		Closure of the sepulchre and arrival of the three Marys
VI (215-260)		Surveillance of the sepulchre as the evidence of the miracle of the resurrection
VI (261-263)		<i>Explicit</i>

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The present edition is based on a manuscript kept in the Bavarian State Library in Munich and it is part of the *clm* collection (*codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*), which contains around 15.000 codices from various monastic libraries. It is a miscellaneous paper codex probably composed in Tyrol or Bavaria in the second of the fifteenth century.¹ It contains 3 works: the *Mariale* (1r–113v) of Iacobus de Voragine (1230 - 1298), the *Sermones de festis totius annis* (114r–139v) of Dimaldutus de Forlivio († 1336)² and Francisus de Mayronis' *Tractatus de passione Domini* (140r-160v). The first work survives in around 70 manuscripts and several early printed edition,³ while the other two are known only from this codex. Each of the three parts presents different features with respect to the others: there are indeed three different hands, three different watermarks⁴ and three originally separate sets of quires.

¹ Cf. watermark on fol. 111v similar to PICCARD-ONLINE 69906 and 69907: Munchen, 1457; watermark on fol. 138v similar to PICCARD-ONLINE 100244: Innsbruck, 1462/3; watermark on fol. 160v similar to PICCARD-ONLINE 82601: Ravenna, 1451.

² Augustinian friar (see “Dimaldutus” in FABRICIUS 1858, 421). According to the CALMA database, he was mainly a sermonist, who wrote the following works: 1. *Sermones ad clerum*, 2. *Sermones de festis totius anni* (sive *Opus festivum*), 3. *Sermones Quadrigesimales* 4. *Sermones super epistolas dominicales*, 5. *Sermones super Evangelia dominicalia* (sive *Opus postillarum*) 6. *Tractatus de finali resurrectione mortuorum* 7. *Tractatus de septem Sacramentis*; see: PAMPHILUS 1581. The sermons kept in our ms. are not mentioned by SCHNEYER 1965.

³ See “Literature”, pag. 80.

⁴ 1r-113v: bull-head (107x35 mm; chainlines distance: 70 mm); 114r-139v: column above crown (70x23 mm; chainlines distance: 35 mm); 140r-160v: tetrapod (90x45 mm; chainlines distance: 60 mm).

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 8393

Paper. I + 1-160. 210x320 mm. Bavaria (?), mid-XV cent.

14 quires containing 144 extant folios⁵ numbered by pencil. The numeration also counts missing pages,⁶ with two errors: presence of an uncounted folio ("29a") between fols. 29 and 30 and absence of number 148.⁷ Composition:

I–III: 12 (fols. 1–12, 13–24, 25–35+29a); IV: 12⁻² (fols. 36–47); V–VI: 12 (fols. 48–59, 60–71); VII: 12⁻² (fols. 72–83); VIII–IX: 12⁻⁶ (fols. 84–95, 96–107); X: 6 (108–113); XI: 12 (fols. 114–125), XII: 14 (126–139); XIII: 10 (fols. 140–151); XIV: 10⁻¹ (152–160)⁸.

Page size: fols. 1–113, 138–160: 205x310 mm; fols. 114–137: 205x306 mm. Three different hands writing in gothic script on double columns. Columns' dimension: fols. 1r–113v: 70x240 mm; fols. 114r–139v: 60x220 mm; fols. 140r–160v: 65x200. Lines' number: fols. 1r–113v: 50/54; fols. 114r–139v 56/58; fols. 140r–160v: 48/55. There are no illuminations. Fols. 1r–110r; 114r–137v are rubricated. The bottom external corner of fol. 19 is bent. Fols. 60v–160v are damaged on the bottom part by humidity, but readable. The first fourteen lines of fol. 150ra are crossed out.⁹

Owners:

According to the few internal data, this manuscript had two different owners:

- 1) Augustinian hermits monastery in Munich¹⁰ until 1803¹¹ (see the stamp on protection sheet and notes on fol. 1r: *N. 106* and *Monⁱⁱⁱ Monac. Cr. Cr. S.P. Aug. 1606*).
- 2) *Bibliotheca regia monacensis* from 1803 (see shelf mark on the protection sheet *N2193* and label on the spine *Monac. Augustin. 93*).

Literature:

HALM – LAUBMANN– MEYER 1968, 23 (*clm*'s catalogue); KAEPPELI – PANELLA, 367-7: II, 2158; KELLNER–SPETHMANN 1996.

⁵ Partial remains of many removed folios are visible. The greatest removal affects VIII and IX quires. In order to signal this gap, librarians have inserted a label on the left margin of fol. 105.

⁶ The numbering jumps from 43 to 46 in quire IV, from 81 to 84 in quire VI, from 86 to 93 in quire VIII, from 97 to 104 in quire IX.

⁷ The fact was noticed by the second owner, who wrote *148 vacat* in pencil, on fol. 149.

⁸ The quire should end at fol. 161, which has not been numbered because it is glued to the back cover of the book.

⁹ Their script is smaller and their ink is lighter than the rest. They could be the incipit of a work written by Michael of Massa (1298 – 1337): *Angeli pacis amare flebunt* [ys. 33].

¹⁰ Founded in 1294, see KELLNER–SPETHMANN 1996, 284-5.

¹¹ see KELLNER–SPETHMANN 1996, 284.

Contents

I. 1ra–113vb [IACOBUS DE VORAGINE:¹² MARIALE.]¹³

[1ra] Incipit: *Abstinencia fuit multipliciter in beatissima Maria virgine gloriosa. Est enim quadruplex species abstinentie. Prima est abstinentia ab omnibus nocivis, de qua dicitur I Cor. 14: Omnis, qui in agone contendit, ab omnibus se abstinet. Glossa: nocivis. Ista nociva sunt vicia et peccata a quibus semper est abstinendum.* [43vb] *penalitates ideo in sui assump†: 44r–45v vacant; [46v] ancilla domini. Benedictum qui erat apud Deum [...]. [81vb] graciaram exhibicione. Spiritualiter †: 82r–83v vacant; [84ra] Psalmus ait fuit fine originali conceptus et fine originali natus. Virgo Maria [...]. [86vb] et fructibus bonis quia consciencia que †: 87r–92v vacant. [93ra] infans ab uberibus. Tercio convertit tenebras [...]. [98vb] Facta autem communitas erat inter matrem et filium. Facta omnia que filii fuerunt, fuerunt matris et †: 99r–104v vacant; [105ra] est congiuncio omnii preteritorum et futurorum item congiuncio omnis articulorum item naturarum omnis creaturarum hoc datur [...]. [110rb] Explicit: *Nos igitur agamus secundum consilium Augustini dicentis toto affectu ad auxilium beate Marie virginis omnes transferamus omninisu eius patrocina imploremus ut dum nos eam simpliciti obsequo frequentamus in terris, ipsa nos sedula prece commendare dignetur in celis. Quod prestare dignetur pater et filius et Spiritus Sanctus.**

[110vb-113vb: blank].

LITERATURE:

Manuscripts: See KAEPPELI – PANELLA, 367-7: II, 2158;¹⁴ AUGSBURG, University Library, II. 1.2° 25, fols. 142ra-165rb (Catalogue: HÄGELE 1996, 158-60); AUGSBURG, University Library, II. 1.2° 18, fols. 29vb-135vb (Catalogue: HÄGELE 1996, 138-43); BRESLAU, University Library 326 (I F 308), fols. 84r-160r (Catalogue: GOEBER–KLAPPER 1920-44, 10-2); KASSEL, Murhard-State Library, Ms. theol. 152, fols. 1va-88ra (Catalogue: WIEDEMANN 1994, 212-3); MÜNSTER (fragments), University Library, 374, fols. 63rb, 135rb, 291rb, 299rb (Catalogue: OVERGAAUW 1996, 103-4); KÖLN, Historical archive, GB f° 119, fols.

¹² Ca. 1230 – 1298.

¹³ According to the catalogue HALM – LAUBMANN– MEYER 1968, 23: *Dictionarium Marie secundum ordinem alphabeticum.*

¹⁴ It counts around 60 mss., including our ms.

109r-170v (Catalogue: VENNEBUSCH 1976, 92-8); VALENCIA, Catolonian Library, 271, fols. 8-244 (Catalogue: OLMOS Y CANALDA 1943).

Early printed editions: HAMBURG 1491 (see also HAIN 1826: 9940); VENICE 1497 (see also COPINGER 1895, 223-4: 6525); PARIS 1503; MAINZ 1616; ANTWERP 1712.

Repertories and secondary literature: SCHNEYER 1958, 73; SCHNEYER, 1969-90, vol. 3, 273-283: 671-832; STEGMÜLLER 1950-80, vol. 3, 218, l. 34: 3999. SALZER 1967, 487-8.

II. 114ra – 139vb. Dimaldutijs de Forlivio: [SERMONES DE FESTIS TOTIUS ANNI *sive* OPUS FESTIVUM].

[114ra] Rubric: *Sermones illi sequentes recollecti sunt de opere festivo fratris Deomulducii.*

a. [114ra] Rubric: *De invencione sancte crucis.*

[114ra] Incipit: *Deus exaltavit illum et donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur celestium terrestrium et infernorum, Phil. 2o.*¹⁵ *Premissa verba dupliciter exponere volumus. Primo de Christo Ihesu Domino nostro sicut ad litteram de ipso leguntur et isto modo ex eis faciemus propheta.*

[117ra] Explicit: *Ad te itaque sancta crux tuorum memor beneficiorum, flecto genua mea dicens: O crux, ave spes unica hoc invencionis tempore auge piis iusticiam etc. Amen.*

b. [117ra] Rubric: *De sancta Maria Magdalena.*

[117ra] Incipit: *Lacrimis cepit rigare pedes eius et capillis capitis sui terge<re> et oscu<lavit> pe<des> e<ius> et ungento ungebat, Luce 5.*¹⁶ *Quamvis [117rb] predicator verbi dei ceteras debeat virtutes inserere, ceteraque vi exstirpare, quod fuit signatum in moralibus preceptis, que accepit Moyses a domino.*

[120va] Explicit: *Et talis fuit magnalia, nam bene graciosa fuit in oculis salvatoris que promeruit absolucionem omnium peccatorum et sic habuit perfeccionem operis, etc.*

c. [120va] Rubric: *In assumptione beate virginis Marie sermo a populum.*

¹⁵ Phil 2:9.

¹⁶ Recte Lk 7:38.

[120vb] Incipit: *In omnibus requiem quesivi et in hereditate domini morabor, Ecclesiasticus 24.*¹⁷ *Loquitur beata virgo in premissis verbis quemadmodum consuevit facere mercator aliquis qui multa emenda [...].*

[122ra] Explicit: *Hec est flos*¹⁸ *campi de qua natum est preciosum lilium convallium. Hec est per cuius partum mutatur natura prothoplastorum qua etiam deletur et culpa etc.*

d. [122ra] Rubric: *In die sancti Augustini patris sermo primus ad clerum.*

[122ra] Incipit: *Fons <h>ortorum puteus aquarum vivencium, que fluunt impetu de libano, Canti 4.*¹⁹ *Auctoritatem premissam primo volumus exponere de predicatore verbi Dei et facere inde thema. Igitur propter primum notandum quod predicator verbi Dei debet esse fons <h>ortorum perfectam predicacionem.*

[125vb] Explicit: *Et sic ista eadem, que tacta sunt ex parte glorie respondent gracie ipsius intellectuali sicut materiali. Diximus respondere et sic in omnibus eius premium quo in celo gaudet, correspondet meritis, quod sic in vinea domini laboravit.*

e. [125vb] Rubric: *Sermo ad populum.*

[125vb] Incipit: *Quasi stella matutina in medio nebule et sicut luna plena in diebus suis lucet et sicut sol refulgens, sic ille effulsit in templo Dei, Ecclesiasticus 50.*²⁰ *Beatus Augustinus fuit in triplici statu, nam quandoque fuit sanctus, in sua adolescencia gentilibus erroribus involutus.*

[126vb] Explicit: *Non sic fecit beatus Augustinus, quia ipsum ad corrigendum non incitavit iracu<n>die calor nec retraxit frigus timiditatis ut sic dicere possumus. Iustus es, Domine, et rectum iudicium tuum. etc.*

f. [126vb] Rubric: *In nativitate beate virginisi sermo ad populum.*

[126vb] Incipit: *Dominus possedit me in inicio viarum suarum, proverbiorum 8.*²¹ *Duo tangit virgo Maria in premissa auctoritate. Describitur in principio epistole hodiernae. Nam primo dicit se a Domino fuisse: possessam ibi Deus, inquit possedit.*

[128ra] Explicit: *In quo nobis ostendit de plenitudine virginis in conceptu filii sui nos omnes accepimus sicut de plenitudine dicitur Ioh. I. Multa pulchra et ad propositum habes in legenda, que recitanda et ordinanda cum premissis prudentis predicatoris studio relinquantur.*

¹⁷ Ecc 24:11.

¹⁸ flos] flas *ms.*

¹⁹ Ct 4:15.

²⁰ Ecc 50:6-7.

²¹ Prov 8:22.

- g. [128ra] Rubric: *De exaltacione sancte crucis sermo primus carens prothemate.*
 [128ra] Incipit: *Nunc iudicium est mundi nunc princeps mundi eicietur foras. Et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me ipsum, Ioh. 12.*²² Sancta [128rb] mater ecclesia considerans sublimacionem seu exaltacionem sanctissime crucis quam hodie celebramus cantar in introitu misse hodie di.
 [130va] Explicit: *O crux splendidior cunctis astris <modo> ce<lestis> huminibus multum amabilis sactior universis que sola fuisti digna porta*²³ etc. ut cantas ad magnificandum.²⁴
- h. [130va] Rubric: *Sermo secundus, valet ad populum.*
 [130va] Incipit: *Mihi absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Gal. ultimi.*²⁵ *Quatuor sunt illa inter alia in quibus homines consueunt gloriam. In primis duobus gloriantur boni, in aliis ultimis gloriantur mali. Primo [...].*
 [131vb] Explicit: *Apock 3, Vincenti dabo edere de ligno vite.*²⁶ *Esus iste nichil aliud est nisi fruicio Dei, Ieronimus super Marci: ligno crucis vehimur per mare undosum ad terram vivencium.*
- i. [131vb] Rubric: *In kathedra sancti Petri sermo secundus.*
 [131vb] Incipit: *Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, Mathi 16.*²⁷ *Beatus Petrus dupliciter in verbis propositis commendatur. Primo ostenditur perfectus et sanctus ex parte persone cum promittitur, cui es Petrus. Secundo [...]*
 [133ra] Explicit: *Est igitur ex duobus eius magna dignitas declarata.*
- j. [131ra] Rubric: *In anu<n>cciacione beate virginis sermo, videlicet ad clerum.*
 [131ra] Incipit: *Spiritus sanctus et usque ibi vocabitur filius Dei, Luce 1.*²⁸ *Primam premissae auctoritatis partem, scilicet Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te. Primo volumus exponere de predicatore verbi dei [...].*
 [136ra] Explicit: *Ecce Deum dixit superventurum, Dei filium nasciturum, quomodo ergo aut Dei filius non est aut que Deum edidit, theotocos, id est Dei genitrix dici non debet.*

²² Io 12: 31-32.

²³ Cf. liturgical chant: *O crux splendidior cunctis.*

²⁴ magnificandum] mg'l (?) ms.

²⁵ Gal 6:14.

²⁶ Ap 2:7.

²⁷ Mt 16:18.

²⁸ Lk 1:35.

k. [136ra] Rubric: *Sermo secundus.*

[136ra] Incipit: *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen eius Emanuel, Ys 5.*²⁹ *Beata virgo in premissis verbis a tribus magnis dignitatibus commendatur. Primo a virginali puritate. Secundo a conceptionis fecunditate. Tercio [...]*

[137vb] Explicit: *Ergo in nomine Emanuel et potencia et clemencia importatur quibus predictus puer fuit hodie conceptus in utero virginali et ideo dignissimus est predicandus.*

[138r – 139v: blank].

LITERATURE:

Manuscripts: /

Early printed editions: /

Repertories and secondary literature: ZUMKELLER 1966, 107-8: 231; PERINI 1931: 80.

III. 140r – 160r. FRANCISCUS DE MAYRONIS: [TRACTATUS DE PASSIONE DOMINI].

[140ra] Incipit: *<P>assio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi continet multas consideraciones. Prima consideracio continet causas co<n>siliorum pontificum, sacerdotum, scribarum et Phariseorum interficie<n>di Christum et Iude prodende eum, que incipit ibi, IO 11 que incipit ibi: Collegerunt pontifices et Pharisei,*³⁰ *et cetera.*

[160rb] Explicit: *quia sepulcrum clausum est et lapis signatus, quia eius mater <h>ortus conclusus est et fons signatus, Canticorum capitulo. Et cetera. Explicit Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi secundum fratrem Franciscum De Mauronis, ordinis minorum sacre pro theologie professorem dignissimum de provincia Prov<i>ncie, et cetera.*

[160va-b: blank].

²⁹ Is 7:14.

³⁰ Io 11:47.

LITERATURE:

Manuscripts: /

Early printed editions: /

Repertories: STEGMÜLLER 1950-80, vol. 9.1, p. 8, l. 1: 2317,1.

CRITICAL EDITION

EDITORIAL NOTE

The edition of this text has been undertaken according to the main guidelines of the *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*.¹ However, since the edition is based on only one manuscript, we did not follow the orthographic conventions regarding *u/v* and *i/j*, but we have preserved the orthography of the codex.² As for the *apparatus criticus*, the abbreviation *ms.* has been used to refer to the sole surviving manuscript, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 8393.

¹ http://www.corpuschristianorum.org/series/pdf/Corpus_Guidelines.pdf, 11-13.

² E.g. *Pylatus*, not *Pilatus*; *hiis*, not *his*; When a word that is usually abbreviated, it is written in full, the writing of the manuscript has been followed (e.g.: *Yer*⁹ vs. *Yeronymus* > *Ieronymus*, not *Hieronimus*).

<Prologus>

/140ra/ <P>assio Domini nostri Iesu Christi continet multas consideraciones.

Prima consideracio continet causas co<n>siliorum pontificum, sacerdotum, scribarum et Phariseorum interficie<n>di Christum et Iude prodende eum, que incipit ibi, Io. 11¹: *Collegerunt pontifices et Pharisei*,ⁱ et cetera.

5 Secunda consideracio continet² cene preparacionem et ea que facta sunt in illa cena mirabili Christi mirabilem concertacionem, que incipit ibi, Luc.: *Venit autem dies azymorum*.ⁱⁱ

10 Tercia consideracio continet Domini capcionem, Iude prodicionem in osculo, Domini presentacionem Anne et Cayphe, que incipit ibi, 26: *Adhuc eo loquente ecce Iudas unus*,ⁱⁱⁱ et cetera.

Quarta consideracio continet Domini presentacionem Pylato factam et accusaciones contra eum per pontifices factas et accusacionum per Pylatum factarum excusaciones; et ipsi Christi Herodi presentacionem et Herodis de Christo illusionem, que incipit ibi Mat. 27: *Et vinctum adduxerunt eum et tradiderunt eum Poncio Pylato presidi*.^{iv}

15 Quinta consideracio continet Christi reduccionem ad Pylatum, Iudeorum proclamacionem contra Christum et Barrabe dimissionem et Christi flagellacionem et corpori crucifictionem, que incipit ibi: *Pylatus autem convocatis magistratibus sacerdotis et plebis*.^v

20 Sexta consideracio continet mortis Christi consumacionem et crucis Christi fixionem, que incipit ibi, Io.: *Pylatus autem cum audisset hos sermones magis timuit*;^{vi} vel ibi, Mat.: *sedente autem illo pro tribunali misit ad illum uxorem*,^{vii} et cetera.

Septima consideracio continet pontificum derisiones, Christi in cruce proclamaciones et signorum demonstraciones, que incipit ibi, Luc.: *Iesus autem dicebat: Pater dimitte illis*.^{viii}

25 Octava consideracio continet Christi mortem, Christi lateris apercionem et de cruce deposicionem et corporis tumulacionem, que incipit ibi: *Centurio autem*,^{ix} et cetera.

30 Adtendite autem carissimi et audite ordinem passionis³ Domini nostri Iesu Christi: nec nos tedeat omnes istas consideraciones et in eis contenta intelligere quia eum pro nobis pati non teduit, sed adhuc cum inimici eius essemus, ut nos de potestate diaboli eriperet et de faucibus inferni et mortis, eius simula/140rb/ret que audietis, passus est, eundum ad primam consideracionem.

¹ 11] que incipit ibi *add. ms.*

² continet] contenet *ms.*

³ passionis] et audite *add. ms.*

ⁱ Io 11:47.

ⁱⁱ Lc 22:1.

ⁱⁱⁱ Mt 26:47.

^{iv} Mt 27:2.

^v Lc 23:13-14.

^{vi} Io 19:8.

^{vii} Mt 27:19.

^{viii} Lc 23:34.

^{ix} Mt 27:54.

<Consideracio prima>

<Q> quantum ad primam consideracionem ac principialem narrant doctores et sancti, ut ex ewangelio Ioannis eliciunt, quod scribe et Pharisei seniores et sacerdotes et pontifices, videntes populum sequi Christum propter miracula que faciebat et precipue propter ceci nati illuminacionem (que ut creditur facta fuit ante quartam¹ dominicam 5 quadragesime, sive anno que Christus mortuo est, quarta vel secunda² die³ marci, modo nostro menses incipiendo, et dies illa sabbati erat) et propter Lazari resuscitacionem (que inter omnia Christi miracula fuerunt facta⁴ hora que suscitacio facta fuit ad horam ante Christi passionem tot diebus quo legitur ante, scilicet xv diebus) - cogitaverunt Iesum interficendum invidia motis, eo quod populus totus post eum ibat et eos 10 dimittebat, propter eorum mala opera.

Et hoc est quod dicit Io. 12: Non solum Christum sed *et Lazarum cogitaverunt interficere princeps sacerdotum, quia multi post illum ibant, et credebant in Iesum,*^x et cetera.

Et avaricia⁵ eos movit, pro ut patet Io. 11, ubi legitur quod *collegerunt*⁶ *pontifices et Pharisei consilium,*^{xi} ubi est advertendum quod predicti pontifices et Pharisei, precipia invidia et avaricia moti, multa consilia fecerunt ut Iesum caperent. 15

Primum factum fuit et immediate publicatum post ceci nati illuminacionem, ut si quis Christum confiteretur extra sinagogam fieret Iudeorum et velud excommunicatus haberetur; et hoc factum fuit immediatamente post Lazari resuscitacione et ex tunc 20 *Christus non in palam ambulabat apud Iudeos sed abiit in regionem iuxta desertum, id est iuxta Iordanem, in civi<ta>tem que dicitur Effrem,*^{xii} ut Io. 11 littera.

Secundum fuit feria tertia ante Dominicam Palmarum in domo Cayphe, sive in loco quo pontifices conveniunt: coniciebant per⁷ consiliis arduis, ubi destinatus est Christus moreretur.

25 Congregatis enim pontificibus et Phariseis in unum, ex illis unus loqui incipit et dicere:

“Domini, quid facimus?”

Quasi dicens: propter signum et mirabilia que homo hic facit, populus eum sequitur. Et ideo veniet populus Romanus et auffert nobis templum et locum (ecce avaricia!) et

¹ quartam] quatuor *ms.*

² quarta vel secunda] q (?) *vel* ip (?) *ms.*

³ die] h. die *add. ms.*

⁴ facta] facto *ms.*

⁵ avaricia] est (?) *add. ms.*

⁶ collegerunt] cogelegerunt *ms.*

⁷ per] pro *ms.*

30 gentem eo, quod ipse predicat abolen/140va/da nostra sacri<ficia>, tamquam vana quod
audientes Romani impune tollendas accipient ea. Et sic, locus qui antea a Romanis et
gentilibus venerabilis habebatur in contemptu veniet et nos erimus in despectu
mendicitate textum huius habes.

Io. 11: *Collegerunt et cetera, usque nostrum locum et gentem.*^{xiii}

35 Et ita diversi mode de Christo sunt locuti et in malum omnes et nullus in bonum.

Cayphas autem, qui erat pontifex illius, in consilio surrexit et, ira odio et avaricia ac
invidia contra Christum motus, ait:

“Viri, nichil videmus de modo claro⁸, nec de templi honore et Dei populi
augmentacione: aliquis vestrum curare videtur, nec pro causa pro qua hic sumus aliquis
40 vestrum hic loquetur; sed dico vobis, de duobus unum oportet fieri: vel quod iste solus
vivat et nos omnes et tota gens nostra mori<a>ntur, vel quod homo iste (scilicet
Christus), qui est unus solus, *moriatur et sic pro morte ipsius tota gens non pereat.*^{xiv}
Ideo dico vobis oportet omnino quod iste moriatur.”

Et hoc est quod dicit <Io.>: *Unus autem ex ipsis, Cayphas nomine, cum esset*
45 *pontifex anni illius ait: “Vos nescitis quidquam nec cogi<tatis> expedit⁹ vobis ut unus*
mori<atur homo> pro populo et non tota <gens> pereat^{xv} (id est totus mundus).

Et videtur et ait ewangelium quod iste ratione pontificalis dignitatis inspiratus
nesciens quid diceret, utilissimam propheciam dicit: scilicet quod non solum pro
liberacione Iudeorum oportebat Christum pati¹⁰, sed eciam pro liberacione totius mundi;
50 et quod Christus non tantum mori debebat pro gente Iudeorum, sed ut filios Dei qui
erant dispersi per mundum per nostram fide<m> mortis Christi in unum baptisma
congregaret.

Et est quod dicit Io. 11: *Hoc autem a semet ipso non dixit, sed, cum esset pontifex*
anni illius, prophetavit quod moriturus erat Iesus pro gente, et non tantum pro gente,
55 *sed ut filios Dei qui erant dispersi per mundum congregaret.*^{xvi}

Confirmatum est autem per totis consiliis post verba Cayphe quod Christus omnia
moriretur; et tunc querebant omnia modum capiendo eum.

Et hoc est quod dicit Io.: *Ab illo ergo die cogitaverunt eum interficere.*^{xvii}

Et tunc propter hoc consilium et principue propter populum, ut ex predictum e<st>,
60 *Christus non <in> palam ambulabat apud Iudeos.*^{xviii}

⁸ videmus de modo claro] videmum demudo sciro *ms.*

⁹ expedit] excipet *ms.*

¹⁰ pati] pate *ms.*

Sabbato, ergo ante Dominicam Palmarum, sciens Iesus quod dies¹¹ mortis eius apropinquaret (et ipse erat agnus paschalis qui commedi debebat in memoriam liberacionis populi Israelis de Egipto, ut littera Exodus 12), ut /140vb/ figuram confirmaret, *venit in Bethania in domo Symonis leprosi*^{12, xix} quo erat Lazari possessione¹³, sed huius Symonis habitacione, qui ideo servavit sibi nomen Leprosi, ut predictum curatus a lepra, huius beneficii memor esset, hic discipulus erat Iesu oculte, tamen propter <iram> Iudeorum.

Et in domo predicta Symonis preparari fecit cenam Christo, in qua ipse cum discipulis suis comedit. Ad hanc eciam cenam fuit Lazarus invitatus, Iudeorum eciam multi qui ad diem festum convenerunt, ut Lazarum viderent quem Iesus suscitavit¹⁴. Cena autem cum necessariis preparata, Iesus discubuit cum praedictis. Et Lazarus unus erat ex discumbentibus, qui commedebat et loquebatur continue¹⁵ de inferorum loco nova narrando.

Unde Augustinus, *De verbo Domini: <dum> convivis*¹⁶ *interrogantibus loca sedes inferni, diligenti narratione indicavit et ita inferni legis temporibus ignorati tandem inve<ne>runt proditorem*,^{xx} id est Lazarum, qui eorum mala prodiit suscitatus.

Et hoc est quod dicit Io. 12: *Iesus ergo ante sex dies Pasche, includendo scilicet primum et ultimum, venit Bethaniam ubi Lazarus mortuus fuerat quem suscitavit Iesus*.^{xxi}

80 Mar. 14: *Et cum esset in domo Symonis leprosi*¹⁷ *et recumberet*.^{xxii}
Martha autem ministrabat et Lazarus unus erat ex discumbentibus.^{xxiii}

Sed dices, quid erat de Maria Magdalena ministrabat, ne ipsa commedebat ne ipsa certe¹⁸, sed non invitata, non iussa, venit domus convivii. Est ingressa et super convivantes respexit, ut videret eius magistrum, quem sic quantissime diligebat. Quo viso statim eum ivit et se posuit ad pedes eius, ubi suorum peccatorum miseriam et veniam acceperat et tenens in manibus pixidem unam de alabastro. Est autem alabaster lapis marmoreus¹⁹ candidus et lucidus, variis coloribus intermixtus, qui incorrupta servat unguenta²⁰. Hec pixis plena plena erat unguento precioso de nardo facto. Nardus

¹¹ dies] ei *add. ms. sed del.*

¹² leprosi] qui ideo servavit sibi nomen leprosi *add. ms. sed del.*

¹³ possessione] possessiue *ms.*

¹⁴ suscitavit] erunt *add. ms. sed del.*

¹⁵ continue] t *add. ms. sed del.*

¹⁶ convivis] cum vanis *ms.*

¹⁷ leprosi] erit *add. ms. sed del.*

¹⁸ certe] non *add. ms. sed del.*

¹⁹ marmoreus] mormorreus *ms.*

²⁰ unguenta] unguentum *ms.*

90 autem est fructus aromatica preciosissimi odoris sine herba parva²¹, hunc adherens spinosa rovigans in floribus crassa radice²² brevi et nigra, de huius herba spicis et foliis preciosa unguenta habent.^{xxiv} Hoc erat factum de spicis tamquam preciosis, hoc unguento unguebant nobiles in Palestina, ubi regnat caliditas ad cerebrum confortandum²³, ad carnes consolandas et cor retrahendum²⁴ preservabat et sic corpora a putredine vermium sta/141ra/turicione.

95 Talis igitur unguenti et preciosi herbis Maria libram unam sui magistri, amore hebrea verecundie muliebris oblita, pixidem discooperuit et, fracto alabastro, predicte illius ungue<n>ti effundit super pedes Iesu et domus statim in apercione pixidis et refragancia unguenti odore repleta est²⁵; et pedes Iesu capillis suis tersit.

100 Et hoc est quo dicit Io. 12: *Maria ergo accepit libram unguenti nardi spicati seu pistici*^{xxv} (“pistos”²⁶ grecie, latine “fidelis” dicitur; “pisteon” dicitur “credo;” et “pistis”, “fides” dicitur; inde “pistici” et nulla alia cummixione corrupti);^{xxvi} Mar. 4: *spicati*²⁷ *preciosi et fracto alabastro*;^{xxvii} Io.: *Unxit pedes Iesu et capillis suis tersit et domus repleta est ex odore unguenti*.^{xxviii}

105 Videns autem ipsa quod patientur eam facere permittebat sumpta fiducia, reliquam partem effundit super caput ipsius et tunc maior fragancia facta est.

Et hoc est quod dicit Mar.: *Et effundit super caput ipsius*.^{xxix}

Recumbentis hoc autem facto omnes murmuraverunt²⁸, aliqui autem indigne et impacienter tulerunt de discipulis, et intermurmuraverunt dicens:

“Melius fuisset unguentum istud venundari et precium pauperibus dari”.

110 Et isti bono zelo hoc cogitabant, sed indiscrete, quia eis summe placer debunt quidquid Christo fiebat.

Et hoc est quod dicit Mar.: *Erant autem quidam indigne inter semetipsos ferentes*.^{xxx}

115 Isti erant boni, vel alter quia Augustinus videtur sentire *De consensu ewangelistarum*^{xxxi} quod nomine discipulorum Iudas, solus intelligitur more scripture que sepe ponit plure pro singularia et addit quantum ad Iudam illos ad murmurandum inducentem et dicentem:

“*Ut quid perditio facta ista est? Potuit enim unguentum istud venundari plus quam 300 denariis et dari pauperibus.*”^{xxxii}

²¹ parva] spicis et preciosa *add. ms. sed del.*

²² radice] redice *ms.*

²³ confortandum] confortandi *ms.*

²⁴ retrahendum] reteranda *ms.*

²⁵ est] et domus *add. ms.*

²⁶ pistos] pias *ms.*

²⁷ spicati] pr *add. ms. sed del.*

²⁸ murmuraverunt] dicens melius fuisset *add. ms. sed del.*

120 Vero verba ponit expressius, ideo scire debetis quod Iudas (*quia fur erat et latro et
loculos habens*^{xxxiii}) recipiens omnia que Christo dabantur pro usu suo et discipulorum et
de superfluo pauperibus beneficeret; ipse, ut fur asportabat decimam omnem quem
offerebantur et dabat uxori et filiis.

Et ideo de ipsis ait David: *Fiant filii eius orphani.*^{xxxiv}

125 Videns ergo ipse quod unguentum non venit ad manus eius, avarus ductus existimans
se ibi amississet 300 denarius, tamquam decimam partem de 300, cum dolere cepit²⁹
discipulorum corda concitare dicendo:

“Ecce quomodo magister noster factus est prodigus: permisit enim amittere³⁰ hoc
unguentum et potuit vendi et melius fu/141rb/isset precium egenis datum esse”.

130 Tunc apostoli, homines simplicis fidei possessores, putantes³¹ eum bona intencione
loqui, intra se dicebant “ita esse” ut Iudas dicebat.

Et hoc est quod dicit Mar.: *Erant autem quidam,*^{xxxv} et cetera.

135 Et isto modo decepti sunt apostoli, sicut hodie in consiliis et aliis comunitatum
agendis³², incipientes bonum comune diligere sub specie bona et utili ab aliis, qui
bonum proprium et non comunitatis diligunt pervertunt clamantes fiat quod in eorum
mortem cadit, iuxta illud vulgari dictum: “Spisso cada sia ***³³, sia chi no sa quel che
sse sia³⁴.”^{xxxvi}

140 Iudas autem, videns quem propter istas murmuraciones mulier non desistebat ab
incepto, sicut canis rabidus ex avaricia et iracundia et dolore plenus, cepit, ut puto,
palescere et iram ac dolorem animi prefaciem demonstrare et stridere dentibus, quasi
Magdalenam devorare vellet. Et, videns quod ex hoc non desistebat unguentum
effundere, clamavit dicens:

“Multum hodie pauperes perdiderunt ac grande malum factum est: quod non est
venditum unguentum istud et precium datum egenis, valoris enim erat”, et cetera.

Et hoc est quod Mar. dicit: *Et fremebat dentibus in eam.*^{xxxvii}

145 Et quod Iudas stare intencione verba retulerit, ut dictum est; declarat Io., qui ait: *Dixit
ergo unus*³⁵ *ex discipulis eius, Iudas Iscariotha, qui eum tradidit: “Quare hoc
unguentum non venditum est pro 300 denariis et datum est egenis?” Dixit autem hoc
non de egenis protimeret ad eum, sed quia fur erat et loculos habens ea que mittebantur
asportabat*³⁶.^{xxxviii}

²⁹ discipulorum] do a.c.

³⁰ amittere] amitti* (?) ms.

³¹ putantes] potantes ms.

³² agendis] a geridis ms.

³³ sia ***, sia chi] sia siachi ms.

³⁴ sia chi no sa quel che sse sia] siachi nosa quelchessesia ms.

³⁵ unus] Iudas add. ms.

³⁶ asportabat] asporportabat ms.

150 Ministerio asportabat furto avaricia Christum vendidit 30 argenteis, et non propter hoc verum dicunt sancti, quod ab illa hora in antea Iudas cogitavit Dominum tradere Iudeis, ut ex prodicione eius luceretur, quod perdiderat in unguento.

Tunc autem ille piissimus et innocentissimus agnus, audiens proditoris vocem et discipulorum corda cognoscens ac istius pessimam intencionem, voluit Magdalenam
155 excusare et ipsum ad rectam viam reducere, vel aliquos saltem si istum non posset. Ideo, ait:

“Fili non turbemini contra hanc mulierem, nec dure per totis quod ipsa facit in me, nec vos pauperum amor plus quam me moneat quorum curam plus vobis gero, quia magis pertinet ad me. Ad hoc enim veni in mundum factus egenus, ut egenus divitem et
160 si de pauperibus nobis cura est, quia et esse debet, cum plus vobis dein³⁷ cura esse debet; sed illi semper vobiscum errant in mundo quam diu ibi fueritis et ideo, cum volveritis, poteritis illis benefacere. Et si non maneo³⁸, /141va/ semp<er> tamen effecitur. Ego autem non ero semper vobiscum corporaliter in vita mortali, immo cito sum per mortem a vobis corporaliter separatus. Et per talem mortem quod michi non³⁹
165 poteritis benefacere, quod a Spiritu Sancto magis edocta videns, quod ea que sepulture in esse necessaria sunt facere non poterit. Tempore mortis mee prevenit ungere corpus meum in sepulturam (id est in sepulturam ungere debebar⁴⁰) et dico vobis quod opus pium et <s>umme gratum Deo fecit, interim quod ubicumque predicabitur ewangelium passionis mee, dicetur quod in memoriam eius fecit”.

170 Et hoc est quod dicit Mar.: “*Sinite illam* (id est: nolite prohibere illam, quia bene facit ut in die sepulture mee, serum illud gloria quedam partem unguentum servavit ut mortuum ungeret, nisi de nocione et ideo inspirata divinitus prevenit sepulture in uncionem), *quid*⁴¹ *molesti estis? Bonum opus operata*⁴² *est in me, nam semper pau<peres> habetis vobiscum* (vita mortali, corporaliter) *et cum volu<eritis> pote<stis> illis benefacere me autem non semper habebitis modo corporaliter. Quod enim hoc fecit prevenit corpus meus in sepulcro*”.^{xxxix} Id est: fecit quod potui<t> et dum potuit et quod facere debebat, quia cum hora faciendi erit, facere non poterit. “*Amen dico vobis ubicumque pre<dica>tur fu<erit> ewangelium istud in universo mundo, quod fecit in memoriam eius*^{xl} dicetur.

³⁷ dein] deinc *ms.*

³⁸ maneo] manu *ms.*

³⁹ michi non] non michi *a.c.*

⁴⁰ ungere debebar] debebar ungere *a.c.*

⁴¹ quid] quot *ms.*

⁴² operata] operatus *ms.*

180 Die vero sequenti, Dominicam in Palmis, de mane ingressus est civitatem ad templum Dei sedens super asinum et ibi honorifice receptus, ut die Dominica audistis.

Et illa die flevit super civitatem, videns futura mala que ventura erant super illam propter sacerdotum peccata et clericorum illius populi. Et eiecit illi civites et vendentes de templo; et usque ad vesperam ibi stetit et nemo eum vocavit ad comedendum.

185 Et ideo de sero reversus est Bethaniam ad domum Marthe.

Die vero lune reversus est ad templum et docebat et ablata est illi adultera et liberavit eam. Et illa die arefacta est ficulnea, secundum quosdam quam Dominus maledixit et quod famesceret et non invenit in ea fructum, sed solum foliam. Et mirabile de ista meledicione non enim erant tempus ficuum quod sciebat Dominus; et ideo in signum maledicere sinagoge Iudeorum, tamquam perverse.

190

Et aruit quia ex tunc a Christi passion<e>, vel a missione Spiritus Sanctus super apostolos, nichil salutis erat in cerimoniis Iudeorum.

Die vero eodem usque ad vesperam docebat in templo, de sero rediens Bethaniam.

Et hoc est quod Luc. ait: *Erat autem dies docens in templo*⁴³: *nocte non exiens, morabatur in monte Oliveti;*^{xlii} id est: in Bethania, que⁴⁴ sita est iuxta montem Oliveti.

195

Die vero martis, reversus ad templum, Phariseos con/**141vb**/futavit, sicut littera Mat. 23 usque ad 25 capitulum.

Et inter cetera doctrine sue verba ante exitum templi⁴⁵ dixit illud, Mat. 26: *Amodo non me*⁴⁶ *videbitis* (scilicet in gloria divinitatis, vel secundum faciem) *donec dicatis: "Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini"*^{xlii} (quod erit in fine mundi, quando relique Israel salve fiant intellige); id est: nisi primam egeritis et confessi fueritis me filium omnipotentis Patris, faciem meam non videbitis.

200

His dictis, Dominus hora vespertina⁴⁷ exivit de templo et civitate cum discipulis suis ut iret in Bethaniam, ultra non reversus in Ierusalem usque ad vesperam et ferie quando Pascha erat comedenda⁴⁸ transiens per⁴⁹ montem Oliveti ad quem per Ierusalem aliter non ibatur.

205

Et tunc, sedente illo monte, omnia que Mat. 24 continetur dixit discipulis suis. Et signa extremi iudicii et excidii Ierusalem et quod ipse filius virginis debebat tradi ad crucifigendum et quod post duos dies comedit Pascha, in quo tradendus erat.

⁴³ templo] templo *ms.*

⁴⁴ que] ave *ms.*

⁴⁵ templi] templu *ms.*

⁴⁶ me] no *ms.*

⁴⁷ vespertina] vaperrina *ms.*

⁴⁸ comedenda] comedendi *ms.*

⁴⁹ per] multem *add. ms. sed del.*

210 Et hoc est quod Mat. dicit 26⁵⁰: *Post hos sermones ait Iesus discipulis suis: "Scitis quia post biduum Pascha fiet"*.^{xliii} Inclusive intelligitur quia die martis in vespere dixit Iesus hec verba et die jovis in vespere comedit Pascha (id est⁵¹ agnum), et cetera.

Feria igitur tertia post predicta, in sero venit⁵² Bethania cum discipulis suis ad domum⁵³ hospite sue⁵⁴ Marthe; et ibi illo sero dixit quod post biduum debebat fieri
215 Pascha in quo comedebatur agnus cum azymis⁵⁵ et lactutis agnibus⁵⁶ et ibi verus agnus⁵⁷ debebat tradi.

Et hoc est quod dicit Mat.: *"Scitis et cetera usque tradetur et crucifigatur"*.^{xliv}

Die vero sequenti, scilicet feria quarta, principes sacerdotum et seniores populi, scribe et Pharisei simul de mane congregati sunt in atrium principis eorum, scilicet
220 Cayphe, consiliaturos quomodo omnia Iesum caperent et occiderent. Et hoc ideo fecerunt, quia Christus, ut dictum est, die martis Phariseos confutatis dixerat: *Amodo me non videbitis donec dicatis benedictus*,^{xlv} et cetera.

Ideo, putantes eum velle subterfugere manus eorum et conspirati sunt ut caperent eum ad occidendum; et diversi diversi mode loquabantur quomodo capere possent.
225 Nemo tamen in bonum aliquum dicebat, sed omnes affirmabant ut caperetur et morietur. Et inter alios unus dixit:

"Nunc dies appropinquant, videamus⁵⁸, ut eum ante festum habeamus et ordinemus quod capiatur sine turba eo, quod eum sicut prophetam habent et ideo, si in festo, quando turba magna erit, forte turba vellet eum /142ra/ eripere de manibus nostris et sic
230 multis de nobis mortuis eum amittere possemus."

Et hoc est quod dicit Mat.: *Tunc congregati sunt principes sacerdotes et seniores populi in atrium principis sacerdotum, qui dic<ceba>tur Cayphas, et consilium fecerunt ut Iesum dolo tenerent et occiderent*^{59,xlvi} *autem non in die festo* (scilicet feria quinta, que est post dies Azymorum⁶⁰), *ne forte tumultus fieret in populo*.^{xlvii}

235 Luc.: *Timebant vero plebem*.^{xlviii}

⁵⁰ 26] 23 ms.

⁵¹ id est] v *add. ms. sed del.*

⁵² venit] bet *add. ms. sed del.*

⁵³ domum] spi *add. ms. sed del.*

⁵⁴ sue] mee *a.c.*

⁵⁵ azymis] asinis *ms.*

⁵⁶ lactutis agnis] latutis agnoscibus *ms.*

⁵⁷ agnus] verus *add. ms. sed del.*

⁵⁸ videamus] *iter.*

⁵⁹ occiderent] occidendi *ms.*

⁶⁰ azymorum] asimorum *ms.*

Audiens autem Iudas eos congregantes, abiit ad eos et pepigit cum eis de tradendo Iesu pro 30 argenteis.

240 Et hoc est quod dicit Luc. 22: *Intravit autem Sathanas in Iudam qui cognominabatur Iscariotis, unus de duodecim,*^{xlix} sed ut eum firmius possideret et abiit; scilicet non invitatus, non coactus spontem, non enim repente, sed diucius meditatus scelus peregit, nam a sabbato usque ad quartam feriam stetit.

Quarta feria abiit et Christum vendit: et ab hoc multi⁶¹ abstinent a carnibus, quia hac die vendita fuit caro salvatoris.

245 *Et locutus est principibus sacerdotum et magistratibus, quamadmodum traderet eum illis, Luc., et gavisissimi sunt et pacti sunt pecuniam illi dare.*^l Mat. 26: *Et ait illis: "Quid vultis michi dare ut ego vobis eum tradam?" Et constituerunt ei 300 argenteos.*^{li} Luc.: *Et spondit*⁶² *et querebat opportunitatem* (temporis et societatis⁶³, scilicet Iudeis) *quomodo traderet eum sine turbis.*^{lii}

250 O Iuda mercator pessime⁶⁴, quis tibi in tua potestate tradidit filium Dei, agnum innocentem, quia dicis: "*Quid vultis michi dare*"^{liii} et cetera. Heu res impreciabilis ponitur in precio filius Dei, quasi vile mancipium venditur ere modico.

O⁶⁵ Iuda mercator pessime⁶⁶, si tibi darent Iudeam⁶⁷, Samariam et totum mundum, nec sint omnie possent Dei filium; et tu dicis: "Date michi triginta argenteos ut ego vobis eum tradam."

255 Hec est igitur nostra prima consideracio.

⁶¹ multi] hac *add. ms.*

⁶² spondit] spondit *ms.*

⁶³ societatis] societis *ms.*

⁶⁴ pessime] pessimus *ms.*

⁶⁵ O] Ou *a.c.*

⁶⁶ pessime] pessimus *ms.*

⁶⁷ Iudeam] Iudam *ms.*

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- ^x Io 12:10-11.
- ^{xi} Io 11:47.
- ^{xii} Io 11:54.
- ^{xiii} Io 11:47-48.
- ^{xiv} Io 11:50.
- ^{xv} Io 11:49-50.
- ^{xvi} Io 11:51-52.
- ^{xvii} Io 11:53.
- ^{xviii} Io 11:54.
- ^{xix} Mt 26:6.
- ^{xx} AUGUSTINUS INCERTUS, *Sermo* 96, PL 39, c. XI, ll. 1-44, col. 1929.
- ^{xxi} Io 12:1.
- ^{xxii} Mc 14:3.
- ^{xxiii} Io 12:2.
- ^{xxiv} Cf. ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay 1911. Liber xvii, c.9, par. 3.
And cf. PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 116, coll. 1597C-D.
- ^{xxv} Io 12:3.
- ^{xxvi} Cf. PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 116, coll. 1597D.
- ^{xxvii} *Recte* Mc 14:3.
- ^{xxviii} Io 12:3.
- ^{xxix} Mc 14:3
- ^{xxx} Mc 14:4.
- ^{xxxi} Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904.
CSEL 43, liber iii, cap. 1, par. 3, p. 270, l. 6 – par. 4, p. 272, l. 23.
- ^{xxxii} Mc 14:4-5.
- ^{xxxiii} Io 12:6.
- ^{xxxiv} Ps 108:9.
- ^{xxxv} Mc 14:4
- ^{xxxvi} See chapter Sources, paragraph 5.
- ^{xxxvii} Mc 14:5.
- ^{xxxviii} Io 12:4-6.
- ^{xxxix} Mc 14:6-8.
- ^{xl} Mc 14:9.
- ^{xli} Lc 21:37.
- ^{xlii} Mt 23:39.
- ^{xliii} Mt 26:1-2.
- ^{xliv} Mt 26:2.
- ^{xlv} Mt 23:39.
- ^{xlvi} Mt 26:3-4.
- ^{xlvii} Mt 26:5.
- ^{xlviii} Lc 22:2.

^{xlix} Lc 22:3.

ⁱ Lc 22:4-5.

^{li} Mt 26:15.

^{lii} Lc 22:6.

^{liii} Mt 26:15.

<Consideracio secunda>

<C>irca secundam partem, sic se habet ordo in hac die benedicta, scilicet in die cene:

Primo, processit preparacio cibi paschalis.

Secundo, immolacio agni legalis.

Tercio, oblacio corporalis.

5 Quarto, cibacio sacramentalis quem est constitucio sacra¹ altaris.

Quinto, salutaris doctrina et informacio salutaris.

Sexto, oracio summe efficacie commendacio visceralis qua commendavit Deo patri fideles².

Septimo post hec omnia sequitur consumacio finalis per mortem³.

10 Die⁴ vero hac, scilicet die jovis de mane, Christus in domo Marthe exedens cum discipulis suis incepit dicere quomodo illo die de sero incipiebat Pascha (id est dies Azymorum, qui durabat per septem /142rb/ dies) et in illo vespere Pascha (id est agnus legalis) comedi debabat in memoriam liberacionis filiorum Israelis de Egipto, ut littera Exodus 12.

15 Et hoc est quod Luc. dicit: *Venit autem dies Azymorum* (more Iudeorum, qui a vespera ad vesperam diem constituunt) *in qua necessaria est occidi Pascha*^{liv} (id est comedendi agnus paschalis qui Christum figurabat).

Et concenantibus⁵ sic depastare, comedendo Christus vocavit duos de discipulis suis, scilicet Petrum et Philippum, et dixit eis ut irent in civitatem et pararent Pascha, id est agnum legalem, et que necessaria erant ad esum agni.

20 Tunc Petrus et Ioannes in persona omni *dixerunt*:

“*Ubi vis paremus*^{lv} ut manduces Pascha (id est agnum legalem)?”

Et hoc est quod Luc. ait: *Venit autem dies Azymorum in qua necesse est occidendi Pascha necessitate legali et misit Petrum et Ioannem; dixit eis: “Eunte<s> parate nobis, ut manducemus Pascha”*.^{lvi}

At illi dixerunt ad Iesum inter quos, ut Remigius ait, est⁶ Iudas proditor.

Mat.: *ubi vis paremus tibi ut manduces Pascha?*^{lvii}

Miser, non erat ei domus nec tugurium nec eciam discipuli habebant profecto rogassent eum illuc venire.

¹ sacra] sacram *ms.*

² fideles] fidelis *ms.*

³ post...mortem] *in marg.*

⁴ Die] *iter.*

⁵ concenantibus] roncinantibus *ms.*

⁶ est] sunt *ms.*

30 *Tunc Dominus dixit eis: “Vobis introeuntibus in civitate<m> occurret homo amphoram⁷ aque portans sequimini eum in domum in qua intrat et dicite patri familias domus: “Et magister dicet: ubi est refeccio mea et discipulorum meorum?”^{lviii}*

Quid est locus manducandum pro refeccione mea et discipulorum meorum, *ubi Pascham cum discipulis meis manducem?”* Id est: agnum paschalem.

35 *Et ipse ostendet vobis cenaculum grande stratum⁸;^{lix} id est solum, vel locum planum et latum in superiori parte domus more Palestinorum.*

Domus autem hoc dicitur fuisse Salomonis cenaculum quod habebat in Ierusalem quod “Melo” dicebatur. Cuius fuit hoc domus non dicitur, secundum creditur fuisset alicuius⁹ occulti discipuli Iesu, ut Nichodemi¹⁰, vel alicuius alterius cuius mentem
40 Dominus inspiraverat¹¹.

Et abierunt discipuli eius in civitate<m> et invenerent sicut illis Iesus et paraverunt Pascha^{lx} (id est agnum) et fecerunt omnia que necessaria erant ad esum agni; puto quia agnum assaverunt, salsamentum paraverunt Domino; eciam Domino ministrante liberaliter ad ipsum pertinebant.

45 Et nota quamvis iste secundum consilium Iudeorum quia ordinaverunt captari et occidi Iesum, tamen auditis verbis¹² Iesu, quod¹³ Mat. 26 narrat dicens: *Ait Iesus discipulis suis: “Ite ad civitatem /142va/ ad quendam et dicetis ei: Magister dicit tempus meum propre est”* (id est appropinquat hora in qua capi et occidi debeo); sed antequam capiar, *apud te facio Pascha cum discipulis meis;*^{lxi} omnibus hiis auditis
50 statim concessit. Et notadum quod nunquam legitur Christum carnes comedisse, nisi agni paschalis.

Hora autem vespertina in qua Christus debebat de Bethaniam in¹⁴ Ierusalem ire ad Pascha comedendum et a matre sua corporaliter divelli, quia ut puto ipsa in Bethania cum Lazaro et sororibus eius paschavit amarius Pascha quod nunquam feceret, quia sine
55 hoc quem sciebat sibi debere auferri et hoc Domino revelante quia *minus iacula feriunt que prevedentur,*^{lxii} ideo sibi revelavit et hoc fuit sibi magni doloris, sicut sensualitate in Christo fuit magnus dolor quando sibi revelavit divinitas passionem propter quem fundavit et quo ut infra habetur. Puto quia antequam recederet a matre fuit cum ea familiarissime conversatus; cum eciam ab ea recederet, credo quod post eum quantum
60 poterat respiciebat.

⁷ amphoram] anifferam *ms.*

⁸ stratum] strade *ms.*

⁹ alicuius] I *add. ms. sed del.*

¹⁰ Nicodemi] Nichodemi *ms.*

¹¹ inspiraverat] inspiraveant *ms.*

¹² verbis] verbum *ms.*

¹³ quod] que *ms.*

¹⁴ In] ihn *add. ms. sed del.*

Hora vero vespertina Dominus pervenit Ierusalem et intravit domum ubi paratum erat Pascha cum discipulis suis et, parata mensa agno et salsamento de indivia (que est lactuca agrestis) et posito catino et agno super mensam quadratam, in medio posito
65 ecia<m> discipulis ad mensam illam tercius pro quadra, et ipse ex una parte cum eis comedentibus illis. Et sic stantibus, ait discipulis suis:

“Vere filii mei, ex quo mundus fuit creatus dulcissimus¹⁵ et Adam primus homo formatus peccavit, ex tunc usque modo, cum magno desiderio hoc Pascha mea, agni innocentissimi figatur et passionis et transitus mei per quem mundum derivavi, dyabolice potestatis eripiam, manducare vobiscum derivavi. *Dico enim vobis quod*
70 *amodo non manducabo*¹⁶ *de hoc agno, donec resurgam*¹⁷ *a mortuis immortalis quod est regnum Dei venire.*”^{lxiii}

Et hoc est quod dicit Luc.: *Et cum esset hora facta, discubuit et duodecim cum eo et, edentibus illis, dixit eis: “Desiderio desideavi hoc Pascha (id est “agnum paschale”) manducare vobiscum, antequam periam*”^{lxiv} Id est: moriar et passionem meam
75 evacuetur nova institutio¹⁸. Et¹⁹ hoc ut hora que transitus mei de hoc mundo ad Patrem veniat. *Et accepto calice* (in quo erat potus vini) *gracias agens* (manete²⁰ hic cum ad mensam sederem²¹ orare) *ait: “Accipite et divi<di>te inter vos. Dico enim vobis: non bibam amodo de hoc generatione vite, donec regnum Dei veniat;*^{lxv} id est: resurrectio mea ad horam, vel donec bibam illud novum, id est de novo. **/142vb/** Iam novus homo
80 factus in diem illum, scilicet mee resurrectionis in regno Patris mei²², scilicet in ecclesia militante, quia ab illa hora non bibit vinum corporale, usque post resurrectionem, quando cum discipulis manducavit et bibi<t> probans resurrectionem suam; quia vero omnis perfecta amicitia perseverat usque in finem. Et Christus fuit discipulorum perfectus amicus ideo in fine suis discipulis dilectionem ostendit.

85 Io. littera patet: *Cum dilexi<isse>t discipulos suos in finem dilexit eos* (scilicet apostolos perfectiores²³ sue dilectionis figura o<ste>ndendo iuxta mortem) *et ideo cum iam diabolus mi<si>ssset in cor<de> ut tra<deret> eum Iudas scilicet Scarioth, sciens quia omnia dedit ei Pater <in> manus.*^{lxvi}

¹⁵ dulcissimus] dulcissimum *ms.*

¹⁶ manducabo] maducabo *ms.*

¹⁷ resurgam] resurgat *ms.*

¹⁸ institutio] instituto *ms.*

¹⁹ Et] ut *a.c.*

²⁰ manete] menote *ms.*

²¹ sederem] sederum *ms.*

²² mei] meus *ms.*

²³ perfectiores] perfectore *ms.*

90 Surgens Dominus a cena et omnes discipuli cum eo, post quam aliquamtulum
comederunt. Et Dominus, hoc facto, fecit apostolos sedere (id est super tunicale
pulcrum quod fecit ei mater sua) et remansit in tunica inferiori. Et accepit linteum (vel
sugatorium) et precinxit se et, miratis²⁴ apostolis, ab²⁵ timore concussit, quia audiverant
eum dixisse cum eis non amplius commesturum²⁶, nisi morietur nichil dicentibus
95 Christus Dei Filius misit aquam in pelvim (id est in concha seu catino) *cum illis
manibus cum quibus mundum fabricavit et portavit ad pedes Iude*, ut dicit
Augustinus,^{lxvii} qui permisit se lavari et nichil dixit, licet certum non sit cui post laverit,
secundum potio ego, a Petro incepit et ad pedes eius se divina magestas declinavit
genuflectendo. Et mani sua pedem Petri ducens, volens lavare eum²⁷ cernens Petrus,
summe expavescens, retrahens pedem, dixit Domino, scilicet Iesu Christe Fili Dei
100 verus²⁸ Deus verus filius virginis omni creaturarum creator et factor et magister:

“Tu michi, vilissimo homini, lavas pedes?”

Littera Io. patet ibi: *Surgit a cena et ponit vestimenta sua et cum accepisset linteum,
precinxit se. Deinde misit aquam in pelvim et cepit lavare pedes discipulis suis
extergere linteo quo erat precinctus,*^{lxviii} id est paraverat se ad lavandum, si ad Petrum
105 incepit, si ad alios construo, ut sonat. *Venit ergo ad Simonem Petrum* primo, scilicet vel
ad alios qui ex pavescens cepit clamare et cum fervore dicere:

“*Domine*, tu qui verus Deus es michi, qui secudum lucum sum, qui Dominus et ma
gister meus es, michi piscatori vilissimo. *Tu michi lavas pedes?*”^{lxix} (Id est lavare vis
certe) Non lavabis michi in eternum”.

110 Littera Io. patet ibi: *Dicit ei Petrus Domine: “Tu michi lavas pedes? Non lavabis in
eternum”*.

/143ra/ Tunc Dominus, videns Petri humilitatem, ignoranciam et reverenciam,
respondit Petro et dixit:

115 “*Quod ego faciam nescis modo*”, id est: non intelligis, scies autem postea, scilicet
cum te laverio et docuero, quid et a mortuis resurrexero.

Dicit ei Petrus:

“*Non lavabis michi pedes in eternum*”, id est: nunquam permittam ut tu, qui Deus es,
michi vilissima et cetera.

Respondit ei Iesus:

120 “*Si non laverio te, non habebis partem mecum.*”^{lxx}

²⁴ miratis] miratibus *ms.*

²⁵ ab] ac *ms.*

²⁶ commesturum] commestirum *ms.*

²⁷ eum] eorum *ms.*

²⁸ verus] vrui *ms.*

Unde Augustinus: Petrus, *amore et timore perturbatus, plus expavescens*²⁹ *sibi Christum negari, quam usque ad pedes humiliari, dixit ei: “Domine non tamen pedes meos, sed et manus et caput.”*^{lxxi} *Dicit ei ille qui lotus est,*^{lxxii} *surget aqua baptismalis sicut nos et in hac creditur Dominus apostolos (id est*³⁰ *baptizatus fuisset) non indiget,*
125 *nisi ut pedes lavet* (id est affectiones suas mundet, quia sicut pulvis terrene affectionis ad horam quam lavari dicunt, id est purgari), *sed est mundus totus et vos mundi estis, sed non omnes sciebat enim quis nam esset qui tradire eum, scilicet Iudas. Et ideo dixit*³¹, *non estis mundi omnes*^{lxxiii} ad distinctionem Iude. Petrus autem, ut dicit Augustinus^{lxxiv}, amore scilicet essendi cum Christo et timore non existendi, pedem
130 quem retraxerat porrexit et Christus sibi et omnibus sigillatim lavit, ut postquam vero omnibus apostolis et Iude proditori lavit pedes, reinduit se et iterum cum discipulis suis resede<n>s in mensa, modo quo supra. Et in mensa sedendo ministerium locucionis declaravit, scilicet quod hoc fecerat eis, scilicet exemplum mutuo sibi serviendi et mundicie puritatis ac humilitatis figuram.

135 Habet Io.: *Postquam ergo lavit pedes, accepit vestimenta sua et cum recubisset; iterum dixit eis: “Scitis quid fecerim vobis, vos vocatis me magister et Domine et benedicitis sum etenim si ergo ego lavare vobis pedes Dominus et magister et vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes* (id est mutuo vobis servire) *exemplum enim dedi vobis* (scilicet mundicie pauperitatis, caritatis et humilitatis), *ut quemadmodum ego*
140 *feci vobis, ita et vos faciatis. Amen amen, dico vobis: non est servus maior Domino suo, nec apo<stolus> ma<ior>*^{lxxv}; id est qui misit illum si hoc feceritis, bene eritis.

Quasi dicens: ego sum ut Dominus, vos ut servi; ego ut magister, vos ut discipuli; et tamen hoc vobis feci, ergo multo magis vos facere debetis.

145 “*Non /143rb/ de omnibus dico, ego scio quos elegerim* - et quasi cum tedio et horrore addidit - *sed ut impleatur sermo qui scriptus est. Qui manducat mecum levabit contra me*³² *calcaneum*^{lxxvi} (id est me conculcabit), quantum miserit et tamquam proditor in signum amicitie, me tradet”.

Ipsis vero modo intelligentibus quam unus eorum traditurus esset, unde dicit:

150 “*Amodo*³³ *dico vobis, antequam fiat ut cum factum fuerit*^{lxxvii} *reminiscamini et cetera; quia ego sum Dei filius qui futura et occulta solus noscere possum. Amen amen dico vobis* (id est in veritate qui accipit), *si quem miserum me accipit et qui me* (scilicet Dei filium) *accipit, accipit <eum>* (scilicet Deum Patrem), *qui misit me.*^{lxxviii}

²⁹ pavescens] pasuescens *ms.*

³⁰ id est] affectiones suas mundet quia sicut *add. ms. sed del.*

³¹ dixit] dilexit *ms.*

³² me] mea *ms.*

³³ Amodo] amen *ms.*

Quasi dicens: qui me prodit et Patrem meum similiter; sed inde anima christiana clamencium³⁴ salvorum, inde Dominum flentem et cum homo dixisset, cepit pro casu Iude eidem misericordiam compaciendo, eciam pro fuga apostolorum et matris sue a passionorum et Iudaici perdicione; et sic flendo diceret:

“Unus de vobis, quos ego elegi de toto mundo in filium et apostolos, tradet me.”

Littera Io. patet: *Cum hoc dixisset turbatus est spiritu et protestatus est*; intelligens, compaciens Iude, ut fecit Lazaro. “Amen amen dico, qui estis socii et discipuli mei quia unus ex vobis tradet me,^{lxxix} Dominum et magistrum vestrum”.

Sed queritur quare elegit Dominus Iudam cum prestat illum malum. Et dicitur per hoc vobis intelligere quod <n>ulla hominum societas futura erat sine alicuius mali admixione³⁵.

Unde Augustinus in quadam epistula dicit: *Non audeo me arrogare quod domus mea melior sit*^{lxxx} apostolorum cetu, heu habens quantus dolor et quanta mesticia exstitit, hic discipulis et quomodo conversum est festum Pasche, et amaritudinem quamvis enim cetera fide certa; id est: verum quilibet apostolorum Iuda excepto se numquam cogitasse quando vivo credebant potius se morti exposituros, quam dicebant tamen in suis cordibus magister noster mentiri non potest et quod dicit impleri oportet, heu³⁶ quilibet inter se oportere possem, ne ego ille pessimus esse, qui in futurum hoc facturus sum, utinam ante non ceteris dubitantibus Petrus tristitiam in corde non valens amplius /143va/ essem ego natus, si hoc cogitare debeo et sic eis dantibus Petrus hanc tristitiam in corde non valens amplius tollerare, volens de se ipso certificari aut, aliquando hoc esset facturus pro omnibus, cepit querere et dicere:

“Sum ego Domine ille³⁷ maledicus qui hoc facturus sum.”

Et similiter post eum omnes dixerunt et sic, suam fragilitatem timentes, querent peccato cuius conscienciam non habent.

Littera Io. patet ibi: *Aspiciebant se ad invicem hesitantes de quo diceret.*^{lxxxii}

Mat. dicit: *Et contristati valde singuli ceperunt dicere: “Numquam ego sum Domine?”*^{lxxxii}

Excepto Iuda, comedentibus vero omnibus in eodem consistorio³⁸ agnum et intingentibus panem in eodem cathino omnibus quam retrahentibus manum propter verborum dolorem, Iudas, ex pertinacia et cordis malicia audacior effectus, unde corrigi debebat non retrahentem manum a catino, sed actualiter bolum intingentem³⁹.

185 Dominus apostolis dixit respondendo:

³⁴ clamencium] clamanciam *ms.*

³⁵ admixione] admixionem *ms.*

³⁶ heu] ee *add. ms. sed del.*

³⁷ ille] l *add. ms. sed del.*

³⁸ consistorio] scisorio *ms.*

³⁹ intingentem] integentem *ms.*

“*Qui intingit mecum manum in paropside*⁴⁰, *hic me traditurus est.*”^{lxxxiii}

Apostoli vero qui gressi erant et pre angustia stupefacti non perpenderent Iudam, actualiter intingentem et ideo⁴¹ verba Christi non intellexerunt, vel quia in eadem cena omnis comunitate in eodem cathino intingebant, ut Domino.

190 Sic ergo Christus Iudam occulte manifestavit, ut eum a facinore⁴² retraheret, vel ne deterior efficeretur si eum manifestaret, vel ad internam⁴³ constrictionem, ne peccato quam diu occultum est manifestetur. Et proposse semper caveat in summa cuiuscumque, que eciam post actam primam vix doletur, tunc peccatum occultum et omne correccionis ab eo qui corrigendi potestate habet, manifestari potest cum tamen per
195 viam confessionis, vel consilium non sibi notum secreti sigillo manifestum.

Filius quidem hominis vaditis, ego filiusque sum De*<i>* vado⁴⁴ ad mortem turpissimam⁴⁵, tradente Iuda, sicut scriptum est de illo: “Si ego traditur, moriam: sicut scriptum est propheta.” Scilicet quod tradi debeo a discipulo meo et ut diffinitum fuit in consistorio, divine maiestatis antequam incarnaretur.

200 Psalmus: *Homo pacis me<e> in quo sperabam qui edebat panes meos magnificavit super me supplantacionem.*^{lxxxiv}

Isaia: *Tradidit in mortem animam suam et cum sceleratis deputatus est.*^{lxxxv}

Mat. 26: *ve autem homini illi, per quem Filius hominis tradetur! Bonum erat illi, si natus non fuisset homo ille*^{lxxxvi}; id est: melius fuisset ut cum statim egressus est de utero
205 matris mortuus fuisset, quia minorem penam passus fuisset, scilicet⁴⁶ dampnatum.

Tunc Iudas ne ex taciturnitate indicaretur esse quoderat audaciter.

/143vb/ Respondet verbis Christi littera Mat. patet ibi⁴⁷: *respondit autem Iudas, qui tradebat eum, dicens: “Numquid ego <sum> Rabbi?”*; non vocavit Dominum sicut ceteri, quia iam quantum ex se erat tollere⁴⁸ a suo Domino subtraxerat. *Ait illi Iesus: “Tu dixisti.”*^{lxxxvii} Quasi dicens: non ego te, sed tu te ipsum manifestas, vel quod ore te dubitare fingis mente ratum habes.

Notandum quod Christus quattuor conatus est Iudam reducere: primo, dolore (ibi: *et contristati sunt valde*);^{lxxxviii} secundo, amore (ibi: *qui intingit manum mecum in calice*

⁴⁰ paropside] paraside *ms.*

⁴¹ Ideo] Ego *add. ms. sed del.*

⁴² a facinore] affacinore *ms.*

⁴³ ad internam] adintram *ms.*

⁴⁴ vado] *iter.*

⁴⁵ turpissimam] torpissimam *ms.*

⁴⁶ scilicet] *pa add. ms. sed del.*

⁴⁷ ibi] respondebat *add. ms. sed del.*

⁴⁸ tollere] tollant *ms.*

215 *hic me tradet*);^{lxxxix} tercio, timore (*ibi: ve autem homini illi per quem tradar*);^{xc} quarto, pudore (*ibi: tu dixisti*).^{xcj}

Tunc discipuli, littera Luc. patet, *incepterunt querere inter se quis hoc factus esset*.^{xcii}

Puto quod eum occidissent, si cognovissent. Et specialiter Petrus, unde accensus zelo vindicte contra proditorem, quem si scivisset dentibus decrepisset.

220 Innuit Ioanni, qui in mensa prope Christum sedebat et, ex verborum auditu mesticia plenus inclinatus versus caput pectus Iesu stabat (id est supra pectus, ut dicit Mar.), scilicet peteret tamen quisnam esset. Cui submissa voce dicens post ea Iesus, ne quis eum audiret, huic autem dicens tam quam magis familiari et suo dolori magis compaciens Ioannes, vero non statim intellexit⁴⁹ quia non statim panem intinctus porrexit.

225 Patet littera Io. *ibi: Erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis eius in sinu Iesu, quem diligebat Iesus innuens, ergo huic Simon Petrus et dicit ei: "Quis est de quo dicit?"*^{xciii} (Glos<s>a: appellaret⁵⁰ pectus).

230 Et hic Ioannes de fonte sapientie potavit et didicit que post adventum Spiritus Sancti docuit et scripsit et Christum Dei filium verum esse cognovit. Huic ergo Simon Petrus innuit, id est non solum sono vocis sed etiam corporis gestu innuit, quasi dicerat pater ab eo:

"Quis est de quo dicit?"

Et Ioannes quesivit, littera Io. patet: *Itaque cum recubisset discipulus ille supra pectus Iesu* (id est sit inclinatus) *dicens:*

235 "*Domine quis est qui tradet te?*"

Et tunc Dominus respondit Ioanni dicens:

"Ille est cui ego pecuniam intinctum porrexero."^{xciv}

240 Et notandum⁵¹ Dominus Ioanni⁵² occulte manifestavit proditorem, ne eum preagnoseret quod patet, quia statim intinctum panem, indit non tradidit. Et tunc Ioannes non cognovit propter causam predictam de proditore, post hec verba apostoli inter se querere ceperunt et cogitare quisnam hoc facturus esset, non enim estimabant Iudam illum esse; et dicebant⁵³: "Cordibus suis forte, ille qui tradet Dominum et magistrum nostrum, forte hoc facit /144ra/ ut dominetur nobis videamus, ergo quis inter nos maior et sic sciemus quis est ille?"

⁴⁹ intellexit] intellexiit *ms.*

⁵⁰ appellaret] appelerat *ms.*

⁵¹ notandum] pre agno *add. ms. sed del.*

⁵² Ioanni] Ioannei *a.c.*

⁵³ dicebant] s *add. ms. sed del.*

245 Patet littera Luc. cum sequitur: *facta est autem contencio inter eos quis eorum indicaretur esse maior;*^{xcv} vel alter facta est contencio, alia dicta est, ut scilicet maiorem cognosceret qui eos mortem Christi prederet.

Et Christi locum teneret audientes, quod ipse tradi et mori deberet Dominus, autem videns eorum contencionem ortum habere ex appetitu prelationis duplici argumento ad trahendum eos usus est.

250 Primo exemplo sui modum spirituali, qui humiliavit se pedes eorum lavando. Quasi dicens: “Si ego⁵⁴ qui Dominus sum, Dominus usus sum humilite et prioritate, vel multo⁵⁵ vos qui equales istis debetis hoc facere. Luc. littera patet ibi: *Reges gentium dominantur eorum* (quia reges et dominum dominant⁵⁶ servis et po<testatem>) *habent super eo<s> bonum vocantur*^{xcvi} (scilicet donando), *vos autem non sic de hiis qui dans non estis auctores gloria, nam quam maior est in vobis* (scilicet in virtutibus fiat), *sicut minister*^{xcvii} vester in servitute⁵⁷ (id est servat omnibus et princeps est in gradu dignitatis), fiat sicut minister (scilicet, exemplo mei).

260 Secundo exemplo sui contra morem mundi, *nam quis maior <est> qui re<cumbit> an qui min<nistrat>*. Quasi dicens: secundum opinionem populi, quis est maior? Qui sedet in mensa et servit, qui stat et servit nove et cetera (quasi dicens, certe). Et ideo sequitur: *Ego autem*⁵⁸ *in medio vestri sum sicut qui mi<nistrat>*.^{xcviii} Quasi dicens: Ego qui secundum veritatem magister sum et Dominus semper fuit, in medio vestri sicut⁵⁹ minister serviens omnibus.

265 Videns autem Dominus apostolos huiusque honorem apponere quam habituri et erant in alio mundo si facerent quid precipiebant illis et ut electi tali⁶⁰ humano desiderio hunc appetere et mundanum superve<he>rent.

270 Littera Luc. patet ibi: *Vos autem estis qui Permani<stis> in tem<ptacionibus> me<is>, si<cut> dis<pono> michi Pa<ter> me<us> re<gnum> ut eda<tis> et bi<bat>is <super> me<nsam> me<am> in regno et se super t<h>ro<nos> iudi<cantes> <duodecim> tri<bus> Israel.*^{xcix} Sup<p>le: si feceritis quod exortor comedentibus vero et cenantibus post esum agnum tipici in mensa ex cenantibus.⁶¹

⁵⁴ ego] prioritate vel honora *add. ms. sed del.*

⁵⁵ multo] *iter.*

⁵⁶ dominant] *dominantur ms.*

⁵⁷ servitute] *servitutis ms.*

⁵⁸ autem] qui secundum veritatem *add. ms. sed del.*

⁵⁹ sicut] *iter.*

⁶⁰ electi tali] *electi talis ms.*

⁶¹ ex cenantibus] *exntibus ms.*

275 Accepit Iesus panem triticeum et azymum et benedixit, dicens illa verba que dicunt sacerdotes⁶² quando conficiunt corpus Christi, quorum virtutum desinit esse panis et efficitur corpus Domini; est ibi corpus Christi totum natum de beata vergine, totum in toto et totum in qualibet, eius parte transubertato de pane illo in corpus Christi.

280 Et divisit illum in partes 12 et cuilibet discipulorum /144rb/ partem sperum tribuit, ubi erat totum corpus Christi et partem pro se sumpsit. Et sic Iudam ceteros apostolos et seipsum comitavit suo sacratissimo corpore. Et comitando dixit hoc: suum corpus redditurum esse pro salute totius mundi, in peccatorum remissionem. Et eos et Iudam sacerdotes fecit, tribuens eis potestatem conficiendi corpus suum quocienscumque verba illa cum intencione conficiendi proferrent.

285 Et hoc addit sacram se instituere in memoriam passionis sue, patet littera Mat. ibi: *Cenantibus autem <eis>, accepit Iesus panem et benedixit ac fregit et <dedit> discipulis suis et ait “Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meus;^c hoc facite in meam commemoracionem.”*^{ci}

290 Hic instituit eos sacerdotes et se, ut patet littera Mat. ibi: *Sisi modo accipit calicem gra<cias> e<git>: de<dit>*⁶³ *discipulis suis dicens: “Bibite ex hoc omnis: hic est sanguis meus (scilicet in calice contentus) novi testamenti (scilicet conformacio) qui pro multis effundetur in remi<ssionem> peccatorum.”*^{cii}

Et dedit eis potestatem similiter faciendi, dicens:

“*Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem*” (scilicet passionis mee).

295 Ideo dicit apostolos, id est corpus in integrum quocienscumque manducabitur panem: “Hunc et calicem bibetis, mortem Domini annunciabitis donec veniat” (scilicet ad iudicium).

Et hoc est quod ipse dicit apostolis in persona totius ecclesie; Mat.: *Ultimo ecce ego vobiscum sum ad consummacionem seculi*^{ciii} (scilicet sacramentaliter).

300 Et ipsis comitantis dixit: *Dico autem vobis: non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum* (scilicet resurrexionis mee) *cum illum bibam no<vum> vobiscum in regno Patris mei.*^{civ}

305 “Advinaliter”, id est novo modo, scilicet quomodo bibunt beati in regno patris mei. Quasi dicens: *non bibam* et cetera; quia novo modo bibam, quia non incorporabo michi illud sed consumabo, sicut consumit virtus solam⁶⁴ aquam non illa que manducavit Christus post resurreccionem (scilicet piscem assatum et favus mellis non in corporabantur ei sed inconsumabatur).

⁶² sacerdotes] sacerdotos *ms.*

⁶³ egit dedit] de e *ms.*

⁶⁴ solam] solarum *ms.*

Tunc post hoc omnia Dominus accepit panem non consecratum et intinxit illud in salsamento. Et sic intinxit, dedit Iude proditori, ad insinuandum quod⁶⁵ corpus suus sumpserat cum tinctura peccati mortalis; et quod amaro salsamento fuerat intincta significabat felle peccati et amaritudine dyabolica esse intinctum.

310 Et ideo post bucellum⁶⁶ panis intraoivit in eum Sathanas; littera Io. patet ibi: *Et cum intinxisset panem, dedit <I>sca<riota>. Et post bucellam panis intravit in eum Sathanas*^{cv} (post enim intravit, ut Christum perderet). /144va/ Nunc autem ut quod conceperat ad effectum mandaret quod cognoscens, Christus dixit Iude *quod facis fac citius*^{67 cv}.

315 Et notandum fuit verbum preceptum nec consilii, sed fuit verbum exprobrantis; quasi dicens: si facis ut concepisti et ego non impediam te, quia magno desiderio ex passione⁶⁸ exspecto hec gloria hoc dicit pulchra.

Et exivit continuo Iudas post hec verba, causa ordinandi ut illo sero caperetur secunda⁶⁹ die, mercurii, locutus fuerat in diis et convenerat cum eis de triginta argenteis modo nero. Exit ut caperetur et ut haberet armatos causam assignat Magister Historiarum⁷⁰, quasi scilicet *Iudas audierat Christum dixisse se tercia die moriturum et quia putavit Christum morte detineri voluit sibi mortem lucrativam facere*^{cvi} et ideo statim exivit hoc autem quod Christus dixit, scilicet *quod facis fac citius*,^{cvi} nemo sciebat discipulorum ad quod dixit ei, id est non intellexerunt verbum et reddit causam putabant enim discipuli quia oculos habebat Iudas, quod dixerat ei Iesus, eme ea que opus sunt ad diem festum autem quod egenis ad dandum⁷¹.

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Et sic littera IO patet: *Erat autem nox. Cum ergo exiit, dixit Iesus:*

“Nunc clarificatus est Filius hominis, quia absente palea triticum mundum est, absente tenebroso remanserunt soli mundi cum suo mundatore.

330 *Et Deus clarus est in eo*,^{cix} quia Patris gloriam filius querit et non propriam.

Si Deus glorificatus est in eo, si pro quia ita est et Deus clarificato est in semet ipso,^{cx} id est ut humane nature verbo unita mortalis, eciam eternitatis donetur et hec glorificacio continua est et immortalis resurreccio et hoc continuo glorificatus est. Vel alio modo pro resurreccione sua intelligitur, scilicet pro imminente tradicionem et morte, per quam Christus mortuis apparuit hiis in inferno, eum exspectabant.

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⁶⁵ quod] quot *a.c.*

⁶⁶ bucellum] borcellum *ms.*

⁶⁷ citius] cicius *ms.*

⁶⁸ passione] passionem *ms.*

⁶⁹ secunda] *fortasse* tercia

⁷⁰ Historiarum] Historiorum *ms.*

⁷¹ dandum] daret *ms.*

Et cena cumpleta, Deo gracias egit, dans nobis exemplum graciaram accionis pro receptis beneficiis Dominum pro discipulis oravit, dixit:

340 *“Pater Sancte, serva eos in nomine tuo, quos dedisti michi ut sint unum sicut vos cum essem, cum eis ego servabam eos in nomine tuo, quos dedisti michi custodiri et nemo ex eis periit, nisi filius perdicionis ut scriptura impleatur. Nunc autem⁷² ad te venio et hec loquor in mundo ut habeant gaudium meum impletum in semet ipsis, ego dedi eis sermonem tuum et mundus eos odio⁷³ habuit (id est habebit recipiens preteritum pro futuro propter cortitudine veritatis), quia non sunt de mundo, sicut et ego non sum de mundo, non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo, [144vb] sed ut servies eos a malo⁷⁴,^{cxi} sanctifica eos in veritate sermo tuus veritas est et sicut tu me misisti in mundum et ego misi eos in mundo, ego pro eis sanctifico me⁷⁵ ipsum ut sint et ipsi sanctificati in veritate, non pro eis autem tamen rogo, scilicet pro eis qui tamen tradituri sunt, pro verbum eorum in me, ut omnes unum sint ut mundus credat, quia tu me misisti et ego claritate quam dedisti michi dedi eis, ut sint unum sicut unum sumus, ego in eis et tu in*
345 *me, sicut consumati in unum ut cognoscat mundus quia tu me misisti et dilexisti eos, sicut me dilexisti, Pater, quos dedisti michi volo ut ubi sum ego⁷⁶ et isti sunt mecum, ut videant claritatem meam quam dedisti michi, quia dilexisti me ante constitutionem mundi.^{cxii}*

Patet littera Mar. ibi: *Et hymno dicto^{cxiii} et cetera.*

355 Et graciis⁷⁷ exhibitis duo pulcherrimum sermonem fecit eis, duo capitula continentem, in quo maxime tria fecit.

Primo certificavit dubios⁷⁸ per fidei intelligenciam intellectivam, illustrando: *qui videt⁷⁹ me, videt et patrem meum.^{cxiv}*

360 Secundo, roboravit infirmos propter fidei constanciam, memoriam forticando; ibi: *in domo Patris mei multe mansiones sunt.^{cxv}*

Tercio, excitavit pigros pro caritatis fragrantia⁸⁰ viscerose conferendo. *In hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei discipuli estis si dilectionem habueritis⁸¹ ad invicem.^{cxvi}*

Et apostolis⁸² dixit: *“Filiis vado⁸³ et a vobis recedo”*; et sicut dixit Iudeis: *“Non potestis me modo sequi^{cxvii}”*, id est: mori pro me; quasi dicens: ad mortem vado ad quam
365 sustinendam forte non estis hoc audiens.

⁷² Nunc autem] *iter.*

⁷³ odio] *odeo ms.*

⁷⁴ malo] *molo ms.*

⁷⁵ me] *ipsos add. ms. sed del.*

⁷⁶ ego] *licet add. ms. sed del.*

⁷⁷ graciis] *gracias ms habere add. ms. sed del.*

⁷⁸ duobus] *duobus a.c.*

⁷⁹ videt] *fidet ms.*

⁸⁰ fragrantia] *fragranciam ms.*

⁸¹ habueritis] *humane ms.*

Petrus Christo respondit dicens: "Domine quo vadis?" Et respondit Christus: "Quo ego vado non potes me modo sequi",^{cxviii} id est: mori pro mori pro me, sed ego pro me mori vado sequeris autem postea, scilicet post adventum Spiritus Sanctus, morieris pro me et sic me sequeris.

370 *Petrus, vero in amore Christi fervidus secundum spiritum licet secundum carnem fragilis, dicit ei: "Quare non passum te modo sequi animam meam pono pro te"*,^{cxix} id est: paratus sum pro te mori.

Respondit Iesus: "Animam tuam pro me ponis, amen dico tibi; non cantabit gallus ter, donec ter abneges nomen meum",^{cxx} id est: postquam gallus cantare incipiat trinam meam negacionem incipies.

375 Ter enim Christus Petro prenunciavit ipsum eum ter negaturi esse; et hec fuit prima prenunciatio, ut ait Augustinus libro *De concordancia ewangelistarum*.^{cxxi} Sermo vobis completo predixit illis discipulis suis quod omnes in nocte illa a fide resurrectionis sue recederent et cum solum reliquerent, /145ra/ prout predictum fuerat Zacharias:^{cxix} pro
380 omnes exemplum pastoris et ovium: Sic asili percusso me pastorem et capto dispergemini me solum derelinqentes.

Patet littera Mat. ibi: *Omnes vos scandalum paciemi in me, in ista nocte scriptum est, enim percuciam pastorem et dispergentur oves gregis. Postquam autem resurrexero precedam vos nos in Galileam*^{cxiii} (scilicet die tertia post mortem ibi me videbitis resuscitatum).

385 Petro in speciali locutus est, dicens:

*"Symon ecce Sathanas expeti<vit> vos ut cri<braret> si<cut> triticum"*⁸⁴; *ego autem pro te rogavi*⁸⁵, *Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.*^{cxxiv}

390 Quasi dicens: Sathanas quesivit a Patre licenciam ut temptaret te in ista nocte et impetravit et taliter temptabit quod quamlibet vestrum cadere faciet a fide resurrectionis mee conabitur nos facere a me doctrina recedere et suis cribrans frumentum, tamen cribrat quod purum frumentum remanet et nichil aliud sit, tamen vos temptabit in hac nocte, quod purum granum fidei mee solum in cribro anime nostris mee remanebit.

395 Unde ***⁸⁶ libro moralium capitulo: in hora mortis Christi omnes apostoli infideles ferunt et in sola Beata Virgine Christi fides rema<n>sit.

Et ideo dixit Christus: *"Ego pro te rogavi, Petre, ut non deficiet fides tua non tua quia in te non deficiet sed quam tu confessus es, et tu aliquando conversus firma fratres tuos, quia tu remabis pastor ecclesie."*^{cxv}

⁸² apostolis] apostolos *ms.*

⁸³ vado] fado *ms.*

⁸⁴ triticum] reti *ms.*

⁸⁵ rogavi] rogavit *a.c.*

⁸⁶ ***] gre (?) *ms.*

400 Respondit primum una dilectione flammescens: “*Domine, paratus sum in carcerarem*⁸⁷ *et in mortem ire*”.

Et dicit illi Iesus:

“*Amen dico tibi antequam gallus bis vocem dederit, ter me es negaturus*”,^{cxxvi} id est: trinam negacionem mei prius fines.

405 Mat. 26 dixit autem illi Petrus:

“*Et<iam> si opertuerit me mori, tecum non te negabo*”,^{cxxvii} id est ante pertus sum mori.

Hic magnam habemus doctrinam, scilicet quod non sufficit humanum propositum absque divino subsidio⁸⁸; quamvis Petrus fervans esset derelictus, tamen a Domino subplantatus fuit ab hoste; hoc Theodosius^{cxxviii} similiter et omnes apostoli dixerunt.

410 Post hec autem docuit apostolos ut secundum diversitatem temporis, diverso modo⁸⁹ se regerent, quia aliter tempore pacis, aliter tempore graciae; sed sunt quidam qui non mutantur <sci>licet tempora, mutantur scilicet misericordia, fides, spes, caritas, humilitas et cetera. Et quodam sunt pro tempora mutanda, scilicet fames vigilie oraciones et laborandi⁹⁰, operandi et docendi tempore persecucionis /145rb/ docet necessaria tolerare donec Christus evadendi veniat, sopita persecucione.

415 Littera hinc patet ibi: *Dixit Iesus “Ante misi vos sine sacco”* (pro pecunia portanda) *et pera* (pro cibariis) *et calciamentis, nunquid aliquid defuit vobis*”, ad illum dixerunt *nichil*; ecce tempus pacis *dixit ergo eis, sed*⁹¹ *nunc qui habet saccum tollat similiter et peram*. Et tempus persecucionis *et qui non habet vendat tunicam suam et emat gladium*.^{cxxix}

425 Ambrosius: *Hoc peccavit non adducionem seu offensionem, sed solum ad defessionem*;^{cxxx} vel secundum specialem intelligencia<m> impera<re> notatur effectus pietatis in gladio zelos veritas, qui duo multum conferunt ad pacienciam, ut scias autem quia Dominus de passione locutus est, ne turbaret apostolorum animos, de se ipso exemplum supponit, dixit: *Dico enim vobis quoniam hoc quod scriptum est oportet impleri in me* (scilicet Isaiam⁹²) *et cum iniustis deputatus et enim ea qua sunt de me* (scilicet per prophetas dicta) *finem*⁹³ *habent*”,^{cxxxii} id est formaliter nunc impletur. Ergo valevit dicere “Tollete tunicam” et⁹⁴ enim “emat gladios,^{cxxxii} quia⁹⁵ iam tempus

⁸⁷ carcerem] carcerari *ms.*

⁸⁸ subsidio] subdisidio *ms.*

⁸⁹ diverso modo] diversi^{de} (?) *ms.*

⁹⁰ laborandi] laq *a.c.*

⁹¹ sed] et *add.*, quod *add. ms. sed del.*

⁹² Isaiam] iiB y3 (?) *ms.*

⁹³ dicta finem] dictum *fa a.c.*

⁹⁴ et] o *add. ms. sed del.*

⁹⁵ quia] ut *m add. ms. sed del.*

430 persecucionis instat”, at illi dixit: “Ecce duo gladii hic”; et dixit <eis> “Satis est”.^{cxxxiii}

Gladii duo promittuntur: unus novum testamentum, alius vetus, quibus verbis⁹⁶ divinis⁹⁷ prenciat⁹⁸ insidias et dixit “Satis est”, quia novus veterusque testamenti doctrinam ad sufficienciam innuit hec gloria.

435 Hiis autem finitis Iesus de sero hora tarda⁹⁹ egressus est extra civitatem Ierusalem et venit ad quendam vallem que est intra monte Syon et radices montis Oliveti que vallis Cedron, appellatur propter cedrorum multitudinem per quem fluit torrens de monte Syon et Oliveti et irrigans loca cedrorum, apud quam torrentem erat villa cui nomine erat Gethsemani quod interpretatur dicitur villa pinguetudinis¹⁰⁰ per miliare dista<n>s a
440 Ierusalem. Et erat in villa illa ortus pulcher olivis, cedris et arboribus aliis consitus, quam oracionis et recreacionis causa Christus frequenter intrabat, et hoc tota Iude<a> erat¹⁰¹ notum. Hunc ortum Christus cum 11 discipulis suis ingressus est.

Littera Io. 18 patet ibi: *Hec cum dixisset Iesus egressus trans torrentem Cedron.*^{cxxxiv}

Littera Luc. 22: *Et ibat secundum consuetudinem in montem Olivarum.*^{cxxxv}

445 Littera Mat. 26: *Tunc venit Iesus* (scilicet cum egressus est de domo) *cum illis in villam que dicitur Gethsemani*^{cxxxvi} (que erat iuxta montem /145va/ sita et iuxta campum qui dicitur Gethsmani, quod est transcurrens¹⁰² Cedron).

Littera Io. patet ibi: *In quo erat <h>ortus quam intravit cum discipulis suis.*^{cxxxvii}

450 Et ex hoc enim ipsum voluntarie passionis¹⁰³, quia non iniverit locum nec consuetudine ingressus, autem ortum reliquet apostolos dixit eis, littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Sedete hic donec vado illuc et orem,*^{cxxxviii} quod pertiut ad Christi humanitatem, quia minor erat precedere.

Et, illis dimissis, assumpto Petro, Ia<cobe> et Io<anne> tamquam magis familiares, in ortum per spacium secessit et, ut isti sue humanitatis et deitatis testes essent, peri
455 cepit coram eis contristari, pavere et tede. Et in hoc ostendit se esse hominem, hec autem tristus mentem cum sua tranquillitate non traxit propter deitatem coniunctum dicunt aliqui, quia tristabatur propter ruinam discipulorum, propter dolorem matris sue et Iudeorum perdicionem.

⁹⁶ verbis] verobus *ms.*

⁹⁷ divinis] dya (?) *ms.*

⁹⁸ prenciat] prenuuzum *ms.*

⁹⁹ tarda] tra *a.c.*

¹⁰⁰ pinguetudinis] preiguendis *ms.*

¹⁰¹ erat] erit *a.c.*

¹⁰² transcurrens] transcorrentem *ms.*

¹⁰³ passionis] passionem *ms.*

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Et a<d>su<m>pto Petro et duobus filiis Zebedei, cepit*
460 *contristari et mestus esse;*^{cxxxix} *et ait:*

“Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem”, scilicet de prodicionis.

Et ait illis¹⁰⁴:

“Sustinente hic et vigilate mecum”,^{cxl} scilicet ut me verum Deum et hominem
testificare possitis ex hiis quem statim videbitis¹⁰⁵. *“Vigilate et orate ne intrepitis in*
465 *temptacionem”;* id est ne in temptacione succumbens¹⁰⁶ et enim predixi vobis fortiter
temptabimini et orate, scilicet ne vos qui spiritu prompti estis vel fuistis ad
promittendum magna ex carnis infirmitate minima facere valeat. Unde sequitur:
“Spiritus quidem promptus est caro autem infirma”,^{cxli} id est spiritus multa promittit
que caro refugit et hiis Dominus ipse ab hiis tribus apostolis se cessit, quantum quis
470 lapidem proicere possit.

Littera Luc. 22 patet ibi: *et ipse avulsus est ab eis, quantum iactus est lapidis et*
intrare prostratus genuaflexit^{cxlii} *faciem in terram inclinatus, ut formam orandi*
ostenderet. Et sic genuflexus et prostratus in terram, mentis oculos simul cum mentem
ad Patrem elevavit, cum propheta dicens, Psalmi: *Exaudi Domine oracionem meam et*
475 *ne despexeris deprecationem meam*^{cxliii} *et cetera;* sed ut oracionis dominice et anxie,
agonie, intellectum et utilitatem habeas, o anima christiana.

Notandum quatuor.

Primum est quod in Christo est triplex substancia in duplici natura, scilicet divina et
humana. In divina natura est substancia spiritualis, ut anima corporalis, ut caro de
480 vergine sumpta; /145vb/ et hec duo simul unam naturam constituunt. Ex humana
natura¹⁰⁷, ratione carnis, Christus perhorrebat mortem plus omnibus hominibus, quia
melius omnibus complexio<ne> natus et significat, hanc passionem, <quod> horribiles
et fortes passus est. Racione¹⁰⁸ vero spiritus et anime materialis affretabat mori pro
humano genere liberando, ut Dei patris obedienciam proficeret.

485 Secundum est quod in Christo fuit duplex pena fortissima: prima in carne ex ictibus
pre passionibus et tormentis, quod dicitur “passio”; secunda fuit in anima seu mente,
racione peccati commissi in Deum, que dicitur “dolor”, vel melius “compassio”; et sic
quelibet fuit gravis, tamen secunda gravior et accerbior, quia tanta pena est gravior,
quanta quod prediligitur offenditur. Secundum autem ordinem caritatis qui in Christo
490 vigeat¹⁰⁹, Christus¹¹⁰ prediligeat Deum et proximum corde suo proprio, ergo magis

¹⁰⁴ illis] al a.c.

¹⁰⁵ videbatis] vi9 a.c.

¹⁰⁶ succumbens] susci a.c. succubans ms.

¹⁰⁷ natura] 2 a.c.

¹⁰⁸ racione] in marg. resur^{oe} sed del.

¹⁰⁹ vigeat] vigeabant a.c.

dolebat ex ipsorum iniuria¹¹¹ que inferebat peccatum. Hee due pene totum hominem Christum occupabant: passio enim carnis et dolor ratione coniuncti ex sensibus ascendebat usque ad animam, unde dixit: “*Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*”,^{cxliv} quia anima afficiebatur. Tristitia, dolor autem compassionis ex mente descendebat usque ad carnem et eam afficiebat durissime, unde Christus in cruce dicebat “*Sicio*”,^{cxlv} id est peccatorum salutem desiderio quam non video, id est sum<m>e patior.

500 Tercium est quod in Christo, secundum deitatem, omnia creata et creabilia melius relucet existencialiter et vere et essentialiter, quam in propria natura existant vel ex propria natura. Et secundum hanc Patri est equalis; sed secundum humanitatem minor est Patre.

Quartum est quod, in omnibus sumentibus, virtutes naturales vadunt ad cor tamquam ad regem suum et vite principia et cetera membra requirendo, qui quod in Christo secundum triplicem substantiam fuit triplex voluntas et unus appetitus, scilicet carnis sive sensualitatis.

505 Istis quisque premissis, Christi oracionem videamus. Inclinatus igitur Christus patrem suum, secundum divinitatis naturam, ceperit exorare dicens:

510 “Pater benignissime et omnipotentissime, rogo ut oracionem meam exaudies et ne despexeris deprecationem meam; intende michi et exaudi me, quia conturbatus sum et contristatus sum in exercitacione mea quoniam cerno, Pater, naturam carnis mee valde teneram¹¹² et delicatam tibi confiteor, quod vel commisi unde pati debeam et tamen video, unde passio michi paratur durissima valde et mei intellectus perspicacite<r>; cognosco ergo matrem meam et apostolorum meorum fugam ac mundana<m> populi infidelitate<m> /146ra/ ac humanam generis ingratitude<n> et grave peccatum super quo me<n>tis meo cognosce compassionis, unde anxius est spiritus meus et cor meum conturbatur. Deus meus adiuva me et exaudi me in hac durissima et acerbissima passione.

520 Oracio: “Pater, quia tibi omnia possibilia sunt, transfer calicem hunc a me et non bibam illum et per alium modum¹¹³, ultra mortem meam sic acerbissimam proinde salutis generis humani et Iudaici¹¹⁴ populi, hec fiunt in Christo ex parte carnis; verumtamen, mi Pater, si alter tibi non placet, ecce rationes¹¹⁵, fiat voluntas tua, quia

¹¹⁰ Christus] Christum *ms.*

¹¹¹ iniuria] iniuriam *ms.*

¹¹² teneram] tenerem *ms.*

¹¹³ modum] mortem *a. c.*

¹¹⁴ Iudaici] iudaicu *ms.*

¹¹⁵ rationes] voluntas *add. ms.*

scilicet paratus sum mori, terrores et <ob>probria¹¹⁶ et queque passionis¹¹⁷ et tormenta leto animo et constanter pati.”

525 Et sic in oracione persistens prolixius, mente, corde et ore preces continuando factum¹¹⁸ est in agonia eo, quia virtutes divinitatis ante sensualitate sue carnis, sensualiter omnes passionis¹¹⁹ ictus tormenta et obprobria que passurus erat per fantasiam intellectus oculte ostendit. Que omnia¹²⁰ caro ta<m>quam delicatissima expavescens perhorrescens melius omnia oculis carnis mente concernens, quam numquam se <h>umiliter in speculo videre possit. Tunc ex hoc omnes vires¹²¹ naturales ad cor confortandum iverunt partes exteriores relinquendo. Caro hec renuebat omnia
530 tamquam nociva et penosa sibi, spiritus autem propter Patris reverenciam pati volabat libenter et sic fiebat agonia, scilicet carnis et spiritus, id est luctacio; sed voluntas divinitatis hoc spiritui et carni precipiebat assequi acceptanter et reverenter et ex hoc vires ad cor carneum confortandum exteriora relinquens totum Christum anxietate spiritus et dolore carnis vertit in sudorem inter¹²² craneum decurrentem in terra ratione
535 vivorum¹²³, unde exhibant; et propter passionem carnis et mentis tristitiam gutte illius sudoris facte sunt sanguinee in magna habundancia, in tantum quod terram in sua oracione sanguine aspersit et sic, prolixo orando, ratione deitatis carnem et mentem, quilibet erat convincta confortatus vires supsit.

540 Et tunc afficit Michael *angelus confortans eum*.^{cxlvi} Quid vero angelus dixit certum non habemus, meditari tamen possumus ipsum dixisse:

“Ave te, Domine Iesu et Deus meus. Oracionem vestram ac sudorem sanguineum Deo Patri vestro obtuli in conspectu sue superne magestatis et omnes angelici spiritus procidentes¹²⁴ rogavimus suppliciter¹²⁵ ut calicem istum trasferret a vobis.”

Et respondit Pater dicens:

545 “Novit /146rb/ Filius meus dilectus, quod humani generis redempcio quam sic optavimus *sine sui sanguinis effusione*^{cxlvii} decenter fieri non potest, quia sic in consistorio divini consilii in quo omnia decreta imprimibilia sunt, existit diffinicio¹²⁶ et

¹¹⁶ obprobria] propria *ms.*

¹¹⁷ passionis] passiones *ms.*

¹¹⁸ factum] factus *ms.*

¹¹⁹ passionis] passiones *ms.*

¹²⁰ omnia] a *add. ms. sed del.*

¹²¹ vires] *in marg.*

¹²² inter] interu *ms.*

¹²³ vivorum] vivarum *ms.*

¹²⁴ procidentes] procedentes *ms.*

¹²⁵ suppliciter] supliter *ms.*

¹²⁶ diffinicio] diffinicionem *ms.*

propter hoc adveniendum in mundum se sponte et graciose optulit. Et quia Ipse animarum salutem vult, enim eum pro ipsis pati.”

550 Tunc Dominus Iesus respondit angelo dicens:

“Salutem animarum peto, volo et eligo potius mori ut salventur anime ad eius ymaginem create et facte, quam non mori et non solventur, qua propter redimam libenter in meo sanguine si fieri¹²⁷ posset cum salute gentium, salutem vellem et mei iudeorum, fiat tum Patris mei voluntas.”

555 Et angelus ad¹²⁸ eum:

“*Confortamini et viriliter agite*¹²⁹.^{cxlviii} Excelsum enim et immensum est completa et magnifica facere et magnitudinem ardua et strenua tollerare¹³⁰. Cito enim transibunt, penosa et perpetua gloriosa succedunt¹³¹. Dicit Pater quod semper vobiscum est et matrem¹³², vestram atque discipulos ipse servabit incolumes.”

560 Et ita humilis Dominus a sua creatura hanc confortacionem reverenter recepit, considerans se iniquum esse in hac *misera valle mortali*¹³³,^{cxlix} *minoratus ab angelis*,^{cl} ut et tamen orando humiliter angelus, autem vale faciens ei disparuit.^{cli} Et ipse confortatus surrexit et frontem in torrente, ut cumque cum facie lavit.

Et flebiliter ad Petrum et ad duos filios Zebedei revertit et invenit eos dormientes, per
565 tristitia et pavore eorum que a Christo audierant.

Et ter oravit et ter revertit¹³⁴ ad predictos apostolos.

Et primo Petrum redarguit, tamquam eum qui plura promiserat se facturum, secundo omnes simul.

Mat. 26 ibi: *Et procedens in faciem suam*.^{cliii}

570 Littera Luc. et Mar. patet ibi: *Ut si fieri posset transeat ab eo hora*,^{cliii} id est cito mutetur dolor mortis in gaudium resurrectionis, vero quod mortis hora non veniret, sed quod hora transiret et cito mutaretur dolor mortis in gaudium resurrectionis.

Littera Mat. patet ibi: *Abba Pater*¹³⁵ ^{cliv} (“Abba” est ebraicum, “Pater” grecum et latinum); et quia verum dixit, ostendit Deum Patrem esse omni gentium.

575 Littera Mar. patet¹³⁶ ibi: *Omnia tibi*¹³⁷ *possibilia sunt*.^{clv}

¹²⁷ si fieri] fu fili a.c.

¹²⁸ ad] aad ms.

¹²⁹ viriliter agite] valete ms.

¹³⁰ tollerare] bb'are a.c.

¹³¹ succedunt] succedunt ms.

¹³² matrem] monstram ms.

¹³³ mortali] mortalis ms.

¹³⁴ revertit] revenit ms.

¹³⁵ Abba Pater] pater abba pater ms.

¹³⁶ patet] IX add. patet iter.

¹³⁷ Omnia tibi] omnibus ms.

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste;*^{clvi} id est ut non moriente me fac, ut mors moretur¹³⁸ et homo redimatur et celum aperiatur. Alter a me, id est a meis Iudeis, id est ne ab eis propinetur et ceci fiant, vel in eis finaliter peccatum non remaneat sed permanet doleatur, vel ab meis apostoilis transfer calice<m>, /146va/
580 id est timorem, vel scandalum mee passionis ne scilicet omni remaneant in errore, vel a meis fidelibus transfer passionis timorem et mortis, ut scilicet pro me et pro meo nomine mori non timeant, verumtamen non sicut ego nolo secundum sensualitatem, sed sicut tu cuius voluntatem meam per omnia submitto et fermo dans omnibus exemplum nostram voluntatem, divine voluntati esse supponendam.

585 Littera LC 22 patet ibi: *Apparuit autem angelus Domini de celo confortans eum. Et factus est in ago<nia> prolix<ius>*^{clvii} orans. Hec agonia superius est expressa: *et factus est su<dor> e<ius> si gutta sanguinis decur<rentis> in ter<ram>*.^{clviii}

Unde Christus subdit verumtamen “Non sicut ego nolo, sed sicut tu et cum surrexit.”

Ab oratione venit ad discipulos suos et invenit eos dormientes pre tristitia, quia
590 so<m>pnium non poterant invicem opprimere.

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Et di<cit> Petro* (supple: qui pre ceteris gloriabatur, pre ceteris est increpandus): *“Non po<tuistis> una hora vigilare mecum?”*^{clix}

Qui scilicet confortamini et sibi et aliis duobus dicit: *“Vigilate oculis mentis et corporis et orate ut non intretis in tentacionem”*;^{clx} non dicit ut non tentacionem
595 naturam humanam, quia secundum Ieronymum ad Eustachium *impossibile est non temptari natura humana*,^{clxi} sed ut temptator vos non superet nec teneat, ex vagitis¹³⁹ surgite et orate ut non intretis in temptacione; quasi dicens: ne passio mea faciat vos succumbere, *Spiritus quidem promptus*¹⁴⁰ *est, caro autem infirma*;^{clxii} id est ad tollerandum, sed spiritus ad sisidendum, quasi dicens spiritum quidam habetis, habuistis
600 ad promittendum mori vellem pro me. Nunc autem patet carnis infirmitas, hiis verbis dictis, iterum per iactum lapidis secessit ab istis tribus apostolis ipsis in eodem loco remanentibus.

Et iterum secundo procidit similiter interam, ut dictum est, et secundo oravit eundem sermonem.

605 Dicit littera Mat. 26 ibi: *Iterum secundo abiit et orabat eum sermo, dicens: “Pater, si non potest hic calix transire* (id est salus humani generis non potest fieri mediante mea morte, nisi bibam illum) *fiat voluntas tua*^{clxiii} (id est oro ut cito mutetur dolor passionis in gaudium resurreccionis).

610 *Et iterum venit et invenit eos dormentes erant, enim oculi eorum gravati*^{clxiv} pre tristitia et eciam vigiliarum longitudine.

¹³⁸ moretur] morratur *ms.*

¹³⁹ vagitis] vacitos (?) *ms.*

¹⁴⁰ promptus] prointus *ms.*

Et relictis illis, ut supra, iterum abiit per simile¹⁴¹ spacium ab eis. Tunc se cessit et oravit tercio eundem sermonem,^{clxv} id est eandem oracionem replicavit in quo libet eum loco, ubi oravit pro futuro tempore edificata, facta enim est, ecclesia prima, cuius¹⁴² esse patent vesti/146vb/gia¹⁴³, ut dicit quidam Frater Minor qui longo tempore fuit in
615 *regione illa et se videsse dixit.*

Tercio igitur finita oracione cum Christus¹⁴⁴ virtute sue deitatis iam vidisset Iude cohortem militum, accepisse et ministros a pontificibus et sacerdotum principibus, cum armis la<n>ternis lumi<ni>bus faucibus et portam civitatis, causa eum tradendi egressum fuisse, quia ut luppi agnum mansuetissimum et innocentissimum, virginis
620 *filium, devorandum capiendum ac ligandum veniebant, qui peccatum non fecerat nec dolos inventus est in eo, qui eos de servitute pharisea omnes liberaverat et in terra promissione adduxerat quadraginta annis, pane de celo paraverat ab estu et zelum sustinuerant vestimenta et calciamenta conservaverat, qui suos mortuos suscitaverat ad iudicium ducebant ad mortem dapnandum festinabant.*

625 *Sciens eciam quod Iudas proditor, magnus ac diabolicus homo, ne Christus manus eius effugerat, iam signum dederat Iudeis in osculo pacis et ut Christus, verus Deus appareat et non purus homo, ostendit se mortem non timere.*

Unde dicit cum hoc vidit surrexit de loco in quo erat venit ad tres discipulos et videns eos sompno gravatos compaciens eis dixit ut paululum dormirent^{clxvi} et cum sic
630 *fecissent et iam proditor, ut eum caperet vallem intrasset, eos excitavit dicens:*

“Filioli satis dormivisti, surgite et nolite dormire, quia hora apropinquat qua a discipulo meo traditus ligatus tradar in manus Iudeorum et peccatorum”.

Ecce iam vallem intravit cum magna multitudine armatorum.

635 *“Eamus obviam eiis, ne fratres vestris discipulos meos a vobis separatos inveniant et capia<n>t. Eamus eciam illis obviam, ut appareat me purum hominem”; non eciam Deus, qui mori non timet, sed libenter vadit ad mundum redimendum et cum ipso Deo hominem qui capi non mori potest; et vult pro humani generis salute.*

Ipsis timore concussis, iterum ait¹⁴⁵:

640 *“Eamus, vel Iudam non Iude quomodo non desinit, sed festinat tradere me Iudeis; filioli nolite expavescere, quia tercia die resurgam. Surgite, eamus!”*

Et venerunt ad reliquos apostolos, /147ra/ quos reliquerant ad hostium introitum <h>orti et, ipsis perge factis et verbis predictis auditiis, in similis omnibus undicibus¹⁴⁶ retinentibus, ait:

¹⁴¹ simile] st a.c.

¹⁴² cuius] quarum ms.

¹⁴³ vestigia] vestigiis ms.

¹⁴⁴ Christus] cu add. ms. sed del.

¹⁴⁵ ait] ca add. ms. sed del.

645 “Eamus obviam proditori nostro et usque ad <h>orti hostium Christus cum undecim¹⁴⁷ ve<n>it et, ut dictum est Iudas dictum locum sciebat, et ita destinate¹⁴⁸ venit ad locum.

650 Littera Io. 18 patet ibi: *Iudas autem cum accepisset cohortem* (scilicet militum a preside et pontificum supple accepisse) *venit illuc* (scilicet ubi sciebat Christum esse, quasi doctor aliorum¹⁴⁹) *cum laterius, fa<cibus> et armis*,^{clxvii} ne Christus latens in tenebris fugeret.

655 Littera Mat. patet 26 ibi: *Tunc venit Iesus* (supple oracione finita et previdens predicta) *ad discipulos et dicit illis: “Dormite iam et requescite* (id est hoc dicto soluit ad quantulum) *Filium hominis tra<detur> in ma<nus> peccatorum*.^{clxviii} *Surgite, eamus huic et qui me tradet”*;^{clxix} prope est: ne nos inve<n>iat, cannetos ultra eamus, et cetera.

¹⁴⁶ undecibus] xi ms.

¹⁴⁷ undecim] xi ms.

¹⁴⁸ destinate] de teriante (?) ms.

¹⁴⁹ aliorum] iter.

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- ^{liv} Lc 22:7.
^{lv} Lc 22:9.
^{lvi} Lc 22:7-8.
^{lvii} Cf. Mt 26:17.
^{lviii} Lc 22:10-11.
^{lix} Lc 22:12.
^{lx} Mc 14:16.
^{lxi} Mt 26:18.
^{lxii} GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, ed. R. Eitax 1999. CCSL 141, liber 2, hom. 35, par. 1, p. 321.
^{lxiii} Cf. Lc 22:16.
^{lxiv} Lc 22:14-15.
^{lxv} Lc 22:17-18.
^{lxvi} Io 13:1-3.
^{lxvii} Augustinus, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus cxxiv*, ed. R. Willems 1954. CCSL 36, tr. Iv, par. 6, p. 466, ll. 8-13.
^{lxviii} Io 13:4-5.
^{lxix} Io 13:6.
^{lxx} Io 13:7-8.
^{lxxi} AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus cxxiv*, ed. R. Willems 1954. CCSL 36, tr. lvi, par. 2, p. 467, ll. 13-15.
^{lxxii} Io 13:9.
^{lxxiii} Io 13:10-11.
^{lxxiv} Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *In Iohannis Evangelium*, ed. R. Willems 1954. CCSL 36, tr. lvi, par. 2, p. 167, l. 13 – par. 3, p. 468, l. 2.
^{lxxv} Io 13:12-15.
^{lxxvi} Io 13:18.
^{lxxvii} Io 13:19.
^{lxxviii} Io 13:20.
^{lxxix} Io 13:21.
^{lxxx} AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *Epistulae*, ed. K.D. Daur 2005. CCSL 31A, ep. 78, c. 8, p. 90, ll. 203-7.
^{lxxxi} Io 13:22.
^{lxxxii} Mt 26:22.
^{lxxxiii} Mt 26:23.
^{lxxxiv} Ps 40:10.
^{lxxxv} Is 52:12.
^{lxxxvi} Mt 26:24.
^{lxxxvii} Mt 26:25.
^{lxxxviii} Mt 26:22.
^{lxxxix} Mt 26:23.

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- ^{xc} Mt 26:24.
^{xcⁱ} Mt 26:25.
^{xcⁱⁱ} Lc 22:23.
^{xcⁱⁱⁱ} Io 13:23-24.
^{xc^{iv}} Io 13:25-26.
^{xc^v} Lc 22:24.
^{xc^{vi}} Lc 22:25.
^{xc^{vii}} Lc 22:26.
^{xc^{viii}} Lc 22:27.
^{xc^{ix}} Lc 22:28-30.
^c Mt 26:26.
^{ci} Lc 22:19.
^{cⁱⁱ} Mt 26:27-28.
^{cⁱⁱⁱ} Mt 28:20.
^{c^{iv}} Mt 26:29.
^{c^v} Io 13:26-27.
^{c^{vi}} Io 13:27.
^{c^{vii}} Cf. PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 148, col. 1614D.
^{c^{viii}} Io 13:27.
^{c^{ix}} Io 13:30-31.
^{c^x} Io 13:32.
^{c^{xi}} Io 17:11-15.
^{c^{xii}} Io 17:17-24.
^{c^{xiii}} Mc 14:26.
^{c^{xiv}} Io 12:45.
^{c^{xv}} Io 14:2.
^{c^{xvi}} Io 13:35.
^{c^{xvii}} Io 13:33.
^{c^{xviii}} Io 13:36.
^{c^{xix}} Io 13:37.
^{c^{xx}} Io 13:38.
^{c^{xxi}} Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904. CSEL 43, liber iii, cap. 2, par. 7, p. 275, l. 13 – p. 278, l. 9.
^{c^{xxii}} Cf. Zac 13:7.
^{c^{xxiii}} Mt 26:31-31.
^{c^{xxiv}} Lc 22:31-32.
^{c^{xxv}} Lc 22:32.
^{c^{xxvi}} Lc 22:33.
^{c^{xxvii}} Mt 26:34-35.
^{c^{xxviii}} *Fortasse Theophilactus sed non inveni.*
^{c^{xxix}} Lc 22:35-36.

^{cxxx} Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, PL 15, liber x, par. 86-7, coll. 1824D-1825B.

^{cxxx}ⁱ Lc 22:37.

^{cxxx}ⁱⁱ Cf. Lc 22:36.

^{cxxx}ⁱⁱⁱ Lc 22:38.

^{cxxx}^{iv} Io 18:1.

^{cxxx}^v Lc 22:39.

^{cxxx}^{vi} Mt 26:36.

^{cxxx}^{vii} Io 18:1.

^{cxxx}^{viii} Mt 26:36.

^{cxxx}^{ix} Mt: 26:37.

^{cx}^l Mt 27:38.

^{cx}^{li} Mt 27:41.

^{cx}^{lii} Lc 22:41.

^{cx}^{liii} Ps 54:2.

^{cx}^{liv} Cf. Mt 26:38; Mc 14:34.

^{cx}^{lv} Io 19:28.

^{cx}^{lvi} Lc 22:43.

^{cx}^{lvii} Hebr 9:22.

^{cx}^{lviii} I Mach 2:64.

^{cx}^{lix} Ps 83:7.

^{cx}^l Ps 8:6.

^{cx}^{li} Cf. from l. 541 (*Ave te ...*, etc.) to l. 562 (*... ei disparuit*) with JOHANNES DE CAULIBUS, *Meditationes Vitae Christi olim s. Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. M.J.Stallings-Taney 1997. CCCM 153, par. LXXV, pag. 259-60, ll. 88-111.

^{cx}^{lii} Mt 26:39.

^{cx}^{liii} Lc 22:42; Mc 14:25.

^{cx}^{liv} *Recte* Mc 14:36

^{cx}^{lv} Mc 14:36.

^{cx}^{lvi} Mt 26:39.

^{cx}^{lvii} Lc 22:43.

^{cx}^{lviii} Lc 22:44.

^{cx}^{lix} Mt 26:40.

^{cx}^{lx} Mt 26:41.

^{cx}^{lxi} HIERONYMUS, *Dialogi contra Pelagianos libri iii*, ed. C. Moreschini 1990. CCSL 80, *Prol.*, par. 1, l. 25, p. 4.

^{cx}^{lxii} Mt 26:41.

^{cx}^{lxiii} Mt 26:42.

^{cx}^{lxiv} Mt 26:43.

^{cx}^{lxv} Mt 26:44.

^{cx}^{lxvi} Cf. Mc 14:41.

^{cx}^{lxvii} Io 18:3.

clxviii Mt 26:45.

clxix Mt 26:46.

<Consideracio tertia>

Tercia consideracio sequitur in qua ponitur primo, Iude prodicio in osculo; secundo, Domini capcio et ligacio; tercio, Iudeorum casus; quarto, Domini preceptum de apostolorum liberacione; quinto, auricule abscisio et sanacio; sexto, Petri reprehensio; septimo, capiencium reprobacio; octavo, discipulorum¹ pregacio² et nostri anunciacio; 5 nono, Christi Anne presentacio; decimo, ipsius coram Anne examinacio; undecimo, servi³ ingrati in faciem Christi percussio; duodecimo, Ioannis introduccio; tercio decimo, Petri negacio et conversio; quarto decimo, Christi reprehensio; quinto decimo, pontifici⁴ interrogacio⁵; sexto decimo, vestimentorum scisio⁶; septimo decimo, Christi ad mortem determinacio; duodevicesimo, Christi penas exprobracio; undevicesimo, 10 matris de Bethania Ierusalem ad filium itineracio. Ista sunt capitula tercie partis⁷ videnda⁸.

Circa primus notandum quod, stante⁹ Christo cum undecim apostolis suis circa¹⁰ ostium¹¹ orti et dicente Christo: “*Ecce qui me tradit¹² prope est!*”^{clxx}

Ecce Iudas comitiva, ut predictum, quos omnes antecedebat ipse et comitantibus 15 secum dixit¹³ ut caperent illum tamen ipse osculum daret, ut scilicet Iacobum iustum Christo in omnibus liniamentis¹⁴ corporis simillimis¹⁵ ac, si eiusdem uteri Domini frater gemellus esset, non caperent loco Christi et insuper consuetudo discipulorum de foris venencium erat a Christo in osculo pacis recipi. Et ideo in figuram discipuli et putaretur esse cum eis, quos antecedebat, promisit se /147rb/ Dominum osculaturum eciam ne 20 discipuli eum caperent, si sine signo consueto accessisset proditorem putantes, ut erat, vel quia putaba<t> Christum arte, manca manus capiencium posse evadere; sed

¹ discipulorum] apostolorum *a.c.*

² pregacio] progacio *ms.*

³ servi] sergi *a.c.*

⁴ pontifici] pontificibus *sed corr.*

⁵ interrogacio] interobus *a.c.*

⁶ vestimentorum scisio] vestimorum scisco *ms.*

⁷ partis] partes *ms.*

⁸ videnda] vidende *ms.*

⁹ stante] stanre *ms.*

¹⁰ circa] circum *ms.*

¹¹ ostium] hostium *ms.*

¹² tradit] tradet *ms.*

¹³ dixit] dice *a.c.*

¹⁴ liniamentis] liniamento *ms.*

¹⁵ simillimis] simillimum *ms.*

proditor diabolicus hoc de Christo potuit cogitare, quia totus erat in potestate diaboli traditus et sic omnes esse existimabant.

25 Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *adhuc eo loquente, ecce Iudas, unus ex duodecim, venit* (scilicet ad Christum tradendum) *et cum eo turba multa cum gla<diis> et fus<tibus> et la<pidibus> et fa<scibus> et armis.*^{clxxi}

Littera Mar. 14 patet ibi: *missi a summis*¹⁶ *sacer<dotibus> et scribis et senioribus*^{clxxii} et cetera.

30 Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Qui autem tradiderat eum, dedit eis figuram, dicens: "Quemcumque osculatus fuero"*.^{clxxiii}

Origenes in *Mattheum* dicit causa quare osculum in signum fuit, quia *omnes proditores veritatem se amare fingentes, osculi signo utuntur. Omnes eciam heretici*^{clxxiv} sub signo pacis Iesum tradunt dicentes: "Ave"¹⁷, Rabi! *Ipsa est, tenete eum!*"^{clxxv}

Littera Mar. 14 patet ibi: *Et ducite caute.*^{clxxvi}

35 Littera Io. 18 patet ibi: *Iesus autem sciens omnia, que ventura erant super eum, ut verus Deus processit voluntarie, non coactus furenti proditori se obtulit capiendus, et dixit: "Quem queritis?"*^{clxxvii}

Non ignorans quem vellent, sed ut scirent eum esse quem querebant, quem agnoscere non poterant nisi nolente<s> multo minus capere.

40 *Responderunt:*

"Iesum Nazarenum querimus", scilicet non ad honorandum, ad conservandum, audiendum, sed ad perdendum. Iesus ergo, volens sue deitatis virtutem ostendere, ut cognoscerent quod eum capere <non> poterant nisi voluisset.

Respondit eis et dixit:

45 *"Ego sum"*,^{clxxviii} quasi diceret: si salvatorem generis humani queritis, ecce me offero gratis.

Stabat autem Iudas, qui tradebat eum, cum ipsis.

50 *Cum ergo dixit eis "Ego sum", <abierunt> retrorsum et ceciderant in terram*^{clxxix} et in signum quod eum male intencione querebant. Tunc est autem notandum quod cadere retrorsum est casus malorum, quia sic cadentes non vident quo vadunt, ut casui suo providere non possunt; bonorum autem est cadere in faciem, quia, remoto timore superbie, quo vadunt p<er> humilitatem vident; et sic manus id est super bona opera se recolligunt.

55 Ceciderant isti et Iudas cum ipsis /147va/ propter duo: primo, quia Christus voluit eis ostendere quod capere non poterant nisi volente et non violenter sed gratis, voluntarie; secundo, quia percussit eos Iesus cecitate. Secundum Chrysostomum *super*

¹⁶ a summis] assummis ms.

¹⁷ Ave] b add. ms. sed del.

Matthaeum,^{clxxx} eo modo quo percussit sodomitas ostio¹⁸ domus Loth, patet Genesis 19 capitulo *cecitate*,^{clxxxi} dicto interius.

60 Augustinus: *est una vox, que turbam odiis ferocem, armis terribilem, sine ullo telo*¹⁹ *percussit, repulit, stravit virtute latentis*²⁰ *deitatis. Quid iudicaturus faciet cum iudicandus hoc fecerit? Quid regnaturus poterit, qui moriturus hoc potuit hec ille?*^{clxxxii}

Sic vero prostrati nichil penitus videbant²¹ nec virtutem surgendi habebant, quo usque eis ipse utrumque concessit. Cumque per morulam stetisset eos virtute deitatis videre et surgere faciebat. Quibus erectis, ipse magis appropinquavit et interrogavit
65 dicens:

“Quem queritis?”

Et illi ut prius responderunt:

“Iesum Nazarenum”.

70 Tunc ipse se optulit capiendum se illum esse quam querebant et precepit eis, ne aliquem alium caperent, sed apostolos libere abire permittere<t>, ut sermo quo Patrem rogaverat in cena, ne aliquis periret, nisi filium perdicionis in Iudas impleretur.

Littera Io. 18: *Iterum ergo interrogavit eos scilicet ut eum bene cognoscant): “Quem queritis?” Illi autem dixerunt: “Iesum Nazarenum”*^{clxxxiii}, *respondit eis: “Dixi vobis quia ego sum”*.

75 Alinquantulum distulit ut discipuli spacium fugiendum haberent, postea dixit:

“*Si ergo me queritis, sinite hos abire.*”^{clxxxiv}

Et hoc fuit preceptum *ut impleretur sermo quem dixit* (scilicet in cena): *quia quos dedisti michi Pater non perdiidi ex eis quemquam*,^{clxxxv} nisi filium perdicionis Iudam, ut scriptura impleretur, scilicet David psalmus metro: *cum iudicatur exeat condemnandus et oracio eius fiat in peccatum.*^{clxxxvi}
80

Littera Luc. 22 patet ibi: *Et appropi<n>quavit Iudas ut oscularetur eum.*^{clxxxvii}

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Et dixit: “Ave Rabi”*,^{clxxxviii} ne apostoli causam sui adventus cognoscerent, Christus vero intencionem eius sciens et a malo proposito eum revocare volens dixit illi:

85 “*Amice, ad quid venisti?*”^{clxxxix}

Ironice, secundum Augustinum, qui dicet: *Novi ad quid venisti: oscularis et insidiaris amicum; te silearis cum sis proditor et pessimus insidiator, vide si penitens amicus efficeris.*^{cxc}

¹⁸ ostio] hostium *ms.*

¹⁹ telo] tello *ms.*

²⁰ virtute latentis] virtutis *la a.c.*

²¹ videbant] *in marg.*

/147vb/ Iudas vero, in malo obstinatus, non respondit Christo, sed statim occurrens in
90 signum pacis osculatus est eum.

Littera Mat. 26: *Confestim accedens ad²² Iesum et osculatus est eum.*^{cxc}

Augustinus^{cxcii}: Ab osculo incipit bellum et per pacis iudicium pacis rumpitur sacramentum. Et per hoc consuerunt homines bella finire, per hoc prophanus voluit bellum inchoare.

95 Littera Luc. 22 patet ibi: *Iesus autem dixit: "Iudas, osculo filium hominis tradis?"*^{cxciii}

Ambrosius super Lucam: *amoris pignore vulnus infligis²³ et pacis instrumento mortem derogas? Servus Dominum, discipulus magistrum^{cxciv} perdit hunc ille.*

Tunc a<r>mati²⁴ scilicet cohors et tribunus et milites presidis et servi pontificum
100 comprehenderunt Iesum.

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Tunc accesserunt et manus²⁵ iniecerunt in Iesum et tenuerunt eum.*^{cxcv}

Tunc undecim discipuli, videntes Christum captum, recordati quia dixerat Iesus ("Qui habet gladium"), eciam putantes Christum velle eos cum gladio pugnare,
105 dixerunt:

"Domine, vis ut pro te pugnemus cum gladiis, quos habemus et percutiamus?"

Petrus vero, Christi amore ebrius²⁶, et capcionis dolore ab tanto²⁷ non exspectavit responsionem, sed extraxit gladium, volens interficere unum de servis pontificis, qui forte audacior et crudelior contra Christum videbatur, sed solum illius servi auriculam
110 amputabat quam Christus tactu sue²⁸ manus sanavit et Petrum de percussione reprehendit.

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Videntes autem hi qui tum eo errant quod fiebat, ei (id est Christum capi) dixerunt: "Domine si percutimus in gladio?"*^{cxcvi}

Littera Io. 18 patet ibi: *Simon ergo Petrus, habens gladium unum (scilicet de²⁹ duobus quos tenuisse³⁰ dixerant in cena) eduxit eum et percussit servum pontificis et abscidit auriculam eius dexteram,*^{cxcvii} volens ipsum interficere libencius omnes qui contra Christum venerant.

²² ad] *in marg.*

²³ infligis] *pinguis ms.*

²⁴ armati] *ame add. ms. sed del.*

²⁵ manus] *magnus ms.*

²⁶ ebrius] *ebreus ms.*

²⁷ tanto] *tantus ms.*

²⁸ sue] *sua ms.*

²⁹ de] *gl add. ms. sed del.*

³⁰ tenuisse] *se huisse (?) ms.*

Littera Luc. 22 patet ibi: *Respondens autem Iesus ait: "Sinite usque huc"*, (id est: adducite eum ad me vulneratum, ut sanem eum), volens eos ex hoc a malo retrahere; *et cum tet<igisset> auriculam eius, sanavit eum.*^{cxcviii}

Dixit ergo Petro Iesus, littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *"Converte gladium tuum in locum suum"*.^{cxcix}

Est autem hic notandum quod Petrus accipit hic possessionem gladii, id est auctoritatem temporalem, quod dicens "tuum" sed eum de usu reprehendit, quia uti gladio³¹ /149ra/ non competebat nisi per ministrum, qui minister est imperator, qui recte est minister iusticie in cuius figuram tum gladium consecratum accipit³² et hec est summa veritas. Omnis enim, qui accipit gladium ratione vindicte, gladio peribit, scilicet secularis potestatis vel divine ulcionis, si non penituerunt non accipit gladium qui datur a Deo³³, a iudice, vel a lege.

Notandum quod duplex est gladius.

Primus est³⁴ terrene potestatis, quo perire debet quicumque iniuste offenderat sanguinem alienum; sanguinis enim interfecti clamat dextra ut sanguinis a bell<o>.

Secundus est gladius divine iusticie a pos<ito> primo, id est gladius procedebat ex ore eius, ex utraque parte acutus³⁵, sed, si homicida voluerit astucia effugere primum gladium, tertium nichilo modo effugierit, quia verum est quod veritas dicit: *Omnes enim qui acceperit gladius, gladio peribit*^{cc} (scilicet terrene potestatis quod tenet iudex vel divine iusticie). *An putas quia non possum rogare Patrem meum et exhibebit michi modo plus quam duodecim legiones angelorum?*^{cci} ("legio" est sex milium sexcentorum sexaginta sex).

"Vero quomodo non veni ad interficendum, nec ad³⁶ me defendendum, sed ad moriendum et genus humanum redimendum."

Littera Io. 18 patet ibi: *Calicem quem dedit michi Pater meus, id est passionem quam ordinat quod ego sustineam, non vis ut bibam illum,*^{ccii} id est quam vis ut moriar.

Littera locus Mat. patet ibi: *quomodo*³⁷ *ergo implebuntur scripture*, quia dicunt *quia sic oportet fieri,*^{cciii} id est omnino oportet ut scripture impleantur, et ut dicunt quod moriar. *In illa hora dixit Iesus turbis: "Tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus comprehendere me, cottidie apud vos eram docens in templo et non me tenuistis."*^{cciv}

³¹ 149ra] f. 148 vacat.

³² accipit] add. appa ms.

³³ Deo] vel ad add. ms. sed del.

³⁴ est] iter.

³⁵ acutus] accutus ms.

³⁶ nec ad] sed et ms.

³⁷ illum ... quomodo] in marg.

150 Remigius³⁸: *latronis officium est nocere et latitare*³⁹, *ego autem nulli nocui, sed plures publice sanavi et sepe in synagoga docui.*^{ccv}

Unde sequitur: *cottidie apud vos eram docens in templo et non me tenuistis.*^{ccvi}

155 Ieronymus: *stultum est cum gladiis et fustibus Iesum comprehendere, <quasi> latitantem*⁴⁰ *et proditorem investigare, qui cottidie in templo docet; sed in templo eum non tenuerunt propter turbam,*^{ccvii} *secundum Chrysostomum.*^{ccviii} *Sed hec est ho<ra> <vestra> et po<testas> ten<ebrarum>;*^{ccix} *quasi diceret adversum me in tenebris congregamini, quia potestas nostra que contra me lucem mundi armata est in tenebris est.*^{ccx}

Littera Mar. ibi: *Pater hoc autem*⁴¹ **/149rb/** *totum factum est ut implerentur scripture prophetarum.*^{ccxi}

160 Remigius *omnes prophete predixerunt passionem, ideo non posuit*⁴² *fixum testimonium, sed generaliter dicens impleri noticiam prophetarum.*^{ccxii}

Hoc autem non tenetur causative sed consecuciam, id est ex hoc consecuta est implecio scripturarum.

165 Littera Mar. patet ibi: *Tunc discipuli*⁴³, *relicto eo, fugierunt omnes dolore et timore percussi.*^{ccxiii} *Adolescens autem qui amictus sindone super nudo* (subaudi<tur> corpore, quia aliud non habebat indumentum sequebatur eum semper⁴⁴ a longe)^{ccxiv} *et tenuit eum; at ille, relicta*⁴⁵ *sindone, nudus profugit ab eis*^{ccxv} *timore percussus. Tradunt quidem eum fuisse Ioannem ewangelista. Tunc adolescens et accipitur ex gloria.*

170 *Cohors autem* (id est gentiles) *et magistri Iudeorum comprehenderunt eum et ligaverunt eum*⁴⁶ ^{ccxvi} *manibus a tergo et funem posuerunt incolum eius prout latronibus homicidis et sichariis pessimis, hi sed clamare*⁴⁷ *super eum, ut solent clamare victores captam predam; et duxerent ad Annam illum sic ligatum, sed quantus fuerit dolor discipulorum videntium*⁴⁸ *magistrum suum sic capi, ligari, ac contra eum vociferari quelibet anima devote consideret.*

³⁸ Remigius] Reg a.c.

³⁹ latitare] lataratitare a.c.

⁴⁰ latitantem] nautem ms.

⁴¹ autem] add. autem ms.

⁴² posuit] possuit ms.

⁴³ discipuli] add. vi9 (?) ms.

⁴⁴ semper] suppose ms.

⁴⁵ relicta] relicto ms.

⁴⁶ eum] ancig add. ms. sed del.

⁴⁷ clamare] in marg. clamantes a.c.

⁴⁸ videntium] videntes ms.

175 Gregorius Nazarenus dicit quod^{ccxvii} quando Christus ducebatur in civitatem⁴⁹, omnes principes sacerdotum, scribe et Pharisei cum maxima multitudine suorum sequacium venerunt ad portam civitatis et, cum viderunt eum, vociferabant⁵⁰ dicentes: “Ecce captus est, latro demoniacus seductor populi vim protator⁵¹!”

Et sic multi huiusmodi ducebant lutum firmum atque vilissima stercora super eum proiciebant. Et ideo anima devota conspice et considera quoniam festinant detenere te ducitur sursum versus Iesum ab illis nequissimis et crudelissimis ligatis manibus exclamidatus et tractus capite discoperto⁵² clamantibus vociferantibus super eum et dicentibus:

185 “Ecce modo percipiet mercedem operum suorum seductor ille populi, modo venit hora tua! Credebas namque inter principes nostros pervalere, sed certe ut latro morieris!”

Ipse vero ut agnus innocens et, velut⁵³ impotens et in peccato comprehensus⁵⁴, verecunde se suis nichil dicebat et clamantibus et strepentibus presentaverunt /149va/ eum primo autem eo quod esset honorabilior et socer Cayphe et fuerat pontifex in anno precedente et sibi Christum putaverunt.

Littera Io. 18 patet ibi: *Erat autem scilicet Annam socer Caypha qui erat pontifex anni illius.*^{ccxviii}

Iosephus refert Caypham unius anni sacerdocium precio redimisse.^{ccxix}

195 *Erat autem Cayphas qui consilium dederit Iudeis quia expedit nobis ut unus homo moriatur pro populo,*^{ccxx} id est expedit Christum mori pro humana natura liberanda.

Et cum autem ducebatur, sequebatur eum Simon Petrus a longe propter timorem et alius discipulus, scilicet Ioannes Ewangelista secundum glos<s>am, *discipulus autem ille erat notus pontificis*^{ccxxi} et per consequens familiaris domus et intravit in atrium pontificis cum⁵⁵ Iesu.

200 *Petrus autem stabat ad hostium foris, scilicet non audens intrare, exivit ergo discipulus ibi, qui erat notus pontifici et ancille hostiarie ut dimit<t>eret ingredi Petrum.*^{ccxxii}

Et dimissit ad preces Ioannis quo ingresso ancilla eum scilicet Petrum respiciens, dixit:

205 “Nonne tu ex discipulis es hominis istius?”

Quod audiens Petrus, timore mortis, se nosse Christum negavit.

⁴⁹ in civitatem] in cir *a.c.*

⁵⁰ vociferabant] vociraferabant *a.c.*

⁵¹ vim portator] viro potat'o *ms.*

⁵² discoperto] disco operto *ms.*

⁵³ velut] velud *ms.*

⁵⁴ comprehensus] compreh *a.c.*

⁵⁵ cum] l *add. ms. sed del.*

Littera Io. patet ibi: *dixit ergo Petro ancilla hostiaria:*
“*Numquid et <tu es ex> his discipulis istius hominis?*”

Respondit Petrus:

210 “*Non sum.*”^{ccxxiii}

Luc. 22 patet ibi: “*Mulier non novi hominem!*”^{ccxxiv}

Littera Io. 18 patet ibi: *Stabant autem ministri et servi ad prunas quia frigus erat et calefaciebant se, erat autem cum Ioanne et Petrus et calefaciens se,*^{ccxxv} scilicet cum illis ne cognosceretur et ut unus ex illis qui comprehenderunt videretur. *Pontifici vero,*
215 scilicet Anna, *interrogavit Iesum de discipulis suis,*^{ccxxvi} scilicet quid esset de⁵⁶ eis et huic questioni nichil respondit, scilicet Iesus.

Vel secundum Chrysostomum: *hoc dicebat quasi seditiosus*⁵⁷ *et novarum rerum institucione*^{<m>} *volens eum redarguere.*^{ccxxvii} De doctrina eius utrum esset secundum legem Moysi^{ccxxviii} vel contraria volens impinguere quod esset falsa et suspecta, vel quid
220 et qualiter et quare populum docuisset ut rationis eius dignemini mortem possent proclamare de vita, vero nichil interrogat quia apparentur contra ipsum nichil poterat prodicere.

Respondi autem Iesus, littera Io. patet ibi:

225 “*Ego palam locutus sum mundo*⁵⁸; *ego semper Docui in synagogis et in templo, quo omnes Iudei conveniunt, et in occulta locutus sum /149vb/ nichil.*”^{ccxxix}

Quasi dicens: doctrina mea fuit publice tradita et coram magnis et parvis et in occulto nichil sumo⁵⁹ si apostolos meos docui⁶⁰ in secreto percepi illud in omni vide<licet> loco predicare et semper in solempniis locis et coram scribis et Phariseis et doctoribus predicavi.

230 “*Quid me interrogas? Interroga*⁶¹ *eos qui audierunt quid locutus sum omnibus et ipsis sciunt que dixerim.*”^{ccxxx}

Quasi dicens: ne meam responsionem valeas culpae ut suspectam pete ab auditoribus: eciam inimicis meis quia veritate coacta verum respondebunt.

Hoc autem cum dixisset Iesus de suis et fuit Malchus cui Petrus abscidit auriculam
235 quam Christus sanavit, ne Christi putaretur discipulus propter beneficium receptum tamquam⁶² ingratus ma<num> audaciter levavit et Chrsitum percussum in faciem dando ei alapam fortissime et eum velut irreverenter reprehendit dicens:

“Sic respondes pontifici?”

⁵⁶ de] d *add. ms. sed del.*

⁵⁷ seditiosus] *desidiose ms.*

⁵⁸ mundo] *ego add. ms. sed del.*

⁵⁹ sumo] *ymo ms.*

⁶⁰ docui] *add. ad ms.*

⁶¹ interroga] *interrogai sed corr.*

⁶² tamquam] *na acidact' add. ms. sed del.*

Littera Io. patet ibi: *Hec autem cum dixisset unus ministrorum assistens dedit alapam*
240 *Iesu dicens: "Sic respondes pontifici?"*^{ccxxxii}

Ecce quomodo facies in qua angeli desiderant respicere propter hodie percutitur.

Respondit ei Iesus: "Si male locutus sum, testimonium perhibe de malo; si autem
bene, cur me cedis?"^{ccxxxiii} Certe quia docuit eos veram doctrinam et eorum infirmos
245 *curavit unum impletum est illud Psalmus Metrus: . Retribuebant michi mala pro bonis*
*sterilitate*⁶³ *anime mee.*^{ccxxxiii}

<Et misit> *eum ligatum Annas ad Caypham pontificem,*^{ccxxxiv} scilicet illius amicum.

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Scribe et Pharisei querebant*⁶⁴,^{ccxxxv} scilicet ut Christum
illuderent et morti adiudicarent Petrus autem sequebatur eum a longe, scilicet ne
250 *cognitus caperetur ad atrium principis*⁶⁵ *sacerdotum, scilicet Cayphe.*

Exeunte autem illo ad ianuam, gallus cantavit et Petrus non pependit; vidit quam eum
*alia*⁶⁶ *ancilla et ait hiis qui erant ibi:*

"Et hic erat cum Iesu Nazareno!"

Et ipsum Petrum negavit dicens quia:

255 *"Non novi hominem."*^{ccxxxvi}

Et ingressus intra, stabat ut videret finem.

*Utrum pontifex iudicaret eum ad mortem*⁶⁷ *vel flagellatus cesus dimitteret, hec est*
*opinio Ieronymi*⁶⁸ *.ccxxxvii*

Ecce quantum malum facit mala societas, nisi enim Petrus fuisset cum eis ministris,
260 *Christum non negasset; et nisi fuisset in atrio principis, non negasset Christum*
noscendo.

Et post pusillum (id est post parvam /150ra/⁶⁹ morulam) accesserunt qui astabant
(scilicet de illis qui stabant ad ignem) et dixerunt Petro:

"Vere tu ex illis es, nam loquela tua manifestum te fecit".^{ccxxxviii}

265 Littera Mar. 14 patet ibi: *"Nam et Galileus es."*^{ccxxxix}

Littera Io. 18 habet ibi: *Dixit unus ex servis pontificis cognatus eius, cuius Petrus*
abscidit auriculam:

"Nonne ego vidi te in orto cum illo?"^{ccxli}

⁶³ sterilitate] sterilitatem *ms.*

⁶⁴ querebant] quererunt *ms.*

⁶⁵ principis] principes *ms.*

⁶⁶ alia] iter.

⁶⁷ mortem] a *add. ms. sed del.*

⁶⁸ Ieronymi] Ieronymus *ms.*

⁶⁹ 150ra] <A>ngeli pacis amare flebunt . YSAHIA 33 . Capitulo VII-III angeli pacis s^c flebunt *et cetera*
add. ms. sed del.

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Tunc cepit detestari et iurare quia non noscisset*
270 *hominem,*^{ccxli} id est dicere: “Hoc homo in veritate⁷⁰ non facias michi hec mala sibi
imprecando! Ego non cognosco hominem istum de quo loqueris.”

Et statim post Petri iuramentum, secundum littera Mat. 26: *Et continuo gallus*
cantavit,^{ccxlii} scilicet secundum post terciam negacionem Petri. Et notandum hic quam
periculosum est peccatum non statuu perperam diluere: Petrus enim peccatum prime
275 negacionis non diluit ideo duo maiora commisit quia bis postea Christum iurando
detestando negat. Ideo dicit Gregorius: *Peccatum quod per penitenciam non diluitur*
mox sui pondere ad aliud trahit,^{ccxliii} vide hic quam periculosum est in magnatorum
curiis commoraris, Petrus enim semul inferivit curiam et ibi vigorem tum perdidit et
Christum negavit; quid si ibi mansisset et stella in domo Herodes magos reliquit et inde
280 regressus se eis sociavit.

Patet Mat. 26 qualiter littera Luc. 22 ibi: *Et conversus Dominus respexit Petrum.*^{ccxliv}
Glossa: *ille intuitus*⁷¹ *Domini mentalis et spiritualis fuit qui Petrum provocavit ad*
lacrimas. Ad mente<m> *enim Petri reduxit quociens Christum negaverat et quando*
eidem Christus predixerat et ideo non potuit in tenebris remanere, /150rb/ quem lux
285 *mundi respexit.*^{ccxlv} *Et recordatus est Petrus verbi Domini quod dixerat ei quia*
“Antequam gallus cantet, ter me negabis”,^{ccxlvi} id est prius quam gallus mittet vocem
trinam, meam negacionem incipies. *Et egressus foris flevit amare;*^{ccxlvii} Glossa: *ut*
liberum haberet locum flendi egressus est foras, similiter ut occasionem non profandi
*non haberet flevit ut verum tum*⁷² *dilueret amare ut peccatum propter offensam*
290 *satisfaceret.*^{ccxlviii}

Et dicitur quod Petrus postea diu recordabatur huius negacionis verbo semper
flebat. Qualiter dispensacione permisit Dominus ut Petrus, qui futurus erat Christi
vicarius, addisceret occasione maxime et a passione⁷³ respicere peccatores et asperum
pietatis ipsos ad primam renovare.

295 Circa hanc negacionem sunt novenda aliqua.

Primum, circa locum de quo ducitur est opinio. Prima quod omnia facta⁷⁴ sunt in
domo Cayphe, que est opinio Augustini⁷⁵;^{ccxlix} secunda est opinio Ieronymi⁷⁶ ccl et
Bede^{ccli}, qui dicunt quod prima fuit in domo Anne ipso Petro exeunte cum Domino, vel
postquam intraverat antequam Anna ipsum interrogaret Christum de discipulis suis et

⁷⁰ in veritate] *in marg.*

⁷¹ intuitus] *in teyus ms.*

⁷² verum tum] *veratum ms.*

⁷³ passione] *passionis ms.*

⁷⁴ omnia facta] *omnis facte ms.*

⁷⁵ Augustini] *Augustinus ms.*

⁷⁶ Ieronymi] *Ieronymus ms.*

300 doctrina eius. Alie due in domo Cayphe facte sunt, antequam servus daret alapam, veriori reputatur opinio Ieronymi.

Secundum, circa personas que fuerunt causa negacionis Beda^{cclii} et Augustinus^{ccliii} dicunt quod prima negacio fuit mediante ancilla, secunda mediante servo, tercia mediante servis.

305 Tercium, circa verba provocancia ad negacionem. Et dicitur secundum Augustinum^{ccliv} et omni<s> est sententia quod ferunt verba Petri. Est eciam notandum quod prima negacio fuit similiter facta, secunda cum iuramento, tercia verbo cum obtestacione. Et ideo continuo gravius peccavit modo revertamini ad agnum inter lupos mansuetissimum et sic omnis coram se, tondente Christo, igitur, stante coram Caypha, et, toto Iudeorum consilio congregato, ut mortis causam invenirent falsos testes
310 procurabat cum de veritate invenire non possemus.

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Et non inveniebant, cum multi falsi testes accessissent,*^{cclv} autem principes sacerdotum scilicet Anna et Caypha, et omne consilium eorum querebant falsum testimonium contra Iesum ut eum morti traderent et non invenerunt
315 cum iam multi falsi testes accesserunt, id est multa falsa dixerunt, que digna morte non erant; *novis/150va/sime vero* (id est post omnes) *duo falsi testes venerunt*^{cclvi} et dixerunt falsus est quamvis eodem sensu dicta intelligit quo dicuntur.

Littera Mar. 14 habet ibi: *Quidam nos audivimus eum dicentem: "Ego dissolvam templum hoc ma<nu> fac<tum> et aliud non ma<nu> fac<tum> reedificabo"*^{cclvii} et
320 *non erat conveniens testimonium illorum.*^{cclviii}

Primo quia non dixerat de templo materiali in Ierusalem de quo loquebatur, sed de templo cordis sui; et ideo falsi testes erant. Et eciam si de illo dixisset, verum dixisset, quia potuit mundum et que in eo sunt de nichilo curare et in solo verbo producere ergo multo magis et cetera.

325 Secundo ex hoc non erat Christus morte dignus, quia hoc non erat contra legem Moysi nec contra Cesarem ideo secundum ewangelium et non erat conveniencia testimonia illorum.

Tunc Caypha, summus sacerdos, videns se non posse per aliquos adipisci quot volebat, surrexit in medio consilii et Iesum interrogare cepit et, experte dicens,
330 coniurare ut ei respondeat si est Christus, ut ex verbis eius iudicaret eum mortis reum, quia lex mandabat quemcumque interficiendum qui se Christum (supple et non esset).

Littera Mar. 14 patet ibi: *Surgens summus pontifex*^{cclix} (scilicet Cayphas; supple de solio suo).

Ira enim et impacienciam non inveniens locum calumpnie extravit hominem de solio suo, Ieronymus dicit, *ut mentis vesaniam motu corporis demonstraret.*^{cclx}
335

In medio interrogavit Iesum dicens: “Non respondis quidquam ad ea que tibi audivisti ab istis? Ille autem tacebat et nichil respondit.”^{cclxi}

Augustinus: *adducimus calumpniam omnium falsorum testium voces contempnere non ut responsiones dignas habeamus.*^{cclxii}

340 Littera Mat. 26 habet ibi: *Princeps autem sacerdotum ait illi: “Adiuro te per Deum, ut dicas nobis si tu es Christus”*,^{cclxiii} scilicet quantum ad humanitatem, filius Dei vivi quantum ad Deitatem.

Iesus: “Quare⁷⁷ me interrogatis, cum verbis meis credere nolitis, nec meis interrogacioni bus respondebitis? Unde igitur propendo aliquid tenditis tum propter
345 Patris mei reverenciam, cuius gloriam quero et in eam vobis respondeo.”

Unde ewangelium sequitur: *“Et si dixero vobis veritatem eius quot non creditis michi, si autem interrogo non respondebitis neque dimit<tetis>,”*^{cclxiv} *ex hoc aut* in eo quomodo credere noluit nec mee obtemperare doctrine, me verum Deum conficendo, *erit filius hominis* (id est ego filius virginis) *sedens a*⁷⁸ *dextris virtutis Dei,*^{cclxv} scilicet
350 ego quam ut hominem con/150vb/tenuistis per supplicium crucis ero exaltatus, habens nomen super omne nomen.

Littera Mar. 14 ibi: *Et videbitis eum venientem in nubibus celi,*^{cclxvi} quasi dicens amodo non est doctrine sed indicium qui iudicem hominem iudicatis verum de secundo⁷⁹ adventu eius intelligi.

355 Littera Luc. 22 patet ibi: *Dixerunt autem ei: “Tu ergo filius Dei es?”*

Qui ait:

“Vos dicitis quia ego sum.”^{cclxvii}

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *“Tu dixisti”*.^{cclxviii}

360 Littera Mar. 14 patet ibi: *“Ego sum”*⁸⁰;^{cclxix} quod idem est et similiter contra Pylatum et Caypham respondit.

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *Tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit vestimenta sua* (Glossa dicit: *furor de solio surgere facit et vestimenta scindere*)^{cclxx} *dicens: “Blasphemavit!”*^{cclxxi}

365 Consuetudinis Iudaice gentis erat, audita blasphemia, scindere vestimenta sua cum furore et clamore si enim alius aspero unde istud huius cernodi dixisset, bene fuisset secundum legem in Deum blasphemia et quod omnis alius aspero falsum diceret se⁸¹ esse falsum Dei in lege promissam. Quid ad huc egemus testibus et audistis blasphemiam.

⁷⁷ Iesus: “Quare] Quare Iesus quare *ms.*

⁷⁸ a] ad *ms.*

⁷⁹ secundo] de *add. ms. sed del.*

⁸⁰ sum] in *marg.*

⁸¹ se] sil *a.c.*

370 Littera Luc. 22 patet ibi: *Ipsi enim audivimus de ore eius*,^{cclxxii} in persona summus pontifex loquebatur.

Littera Mat. 26 patet ibi: *At illi responderet dicentes:*

“Quid vobis videtur?” Quasi dicens: lex blasphemus iudicat mori; quid igitur vobis videtur de isto blasphemo?

375 *At illi responderunt dicens:*

“Reus est mortis!”^{cclxxiii} Id est dignus est mortis, moriatur ergo⁸² qui se filium Dei fecit et nominavit.

Et ipsi fuerunt accusatores disquisitores et proferentes sententiam contra totum ordinem mortis. Et quod ab ista hora usque ad horam qua populi “crucifigatur, crucifigatur” fluxerunt sex hore tres noctis et tres diei, in quibus Christus semper fuit in penis et tormentis atrocissimis.

380

Modo carissimum Christum aliquantulum dimittamus in manus ribaldorum crudelium et pecavimus de illa mestissima matre, que eum genuit, lactavit et educavit; quid de ea erat et ubi cum taliter filius eius tractaretur?

385

Et fuit et ei dicamus:

O domina mundi, regina celi et terre, virgo immaculata, rosa celi purissima, nunc in celis gloriosa, tunc a multiplicis doloris⁸³ gladio corde tuo⁸⁴ verberata, responde nobis: ubi eras et quid faciebas vel meditabaris, cum tuus dulcissimus natus Dei filius, mundi creator, hominis salvator, Deus et filius⁸⁵, mediator agnus innocen/**151ra**/tissimus ab impiis et perfidis Iudeis velud latro pessimus peccator maximus et Dei inimicus male tractabatur, exprobrabatur et convincebatur?

390

Super quem adversarii continuerunt aures suas et alios eius sanctissimam percutiebant, alii eius barbam extrahebant, alii capillos ducebant, alii eum exuebant et sic primum tuum genitum, mundi creatorem et salvatorem, tota nocte tormentabant. Et cathena ferrea, ut scriptum, impium ligaverunt eum ad columpnam in pede scale eum sic captum et ligatum verberaverunt et totum sic sanguem cruentaverunt.

395

Omnis mesta quod quando hec agebantur ubi eras?

Certe punto quod in camera, in domo Marthe in Bethania, et ibi in planctu lacrimis, singultibus et suspiriis orans Patrem pro filio precabaris. ut scilicet eum de manibus impiorum eripere dignaretur.

400

Et ut alter, quam per mortem filii, genus humanum liberaret dicens:

⁸² ergo] ego^{xxx} (?) *ms.*

⁸³ multiplicis doloris] multiplici dolores *ms.*

⁸⁴ tuo] tus *ms.*

⁸⁵ Deus et filius] Dei et filium *ms.*

O omnipotente⁸⁶, tibi nihil impossibile est, si tibi placeat⁸⁷, transeat ab⁸⁸ isto primo genito tu o calix istius acerbissime passionis quod si sic non, Pater, fiat voluntas, ipsa
405 enim sola in fide, omnibus aliis errantibus, usque ad resurrectionem filii firma et stabilis stabit⁸⁹ conservando voluntatem de me sicut filius⁹⁰.

Et mater et filius in magna agonia isto tempore fuerunt; nam spiritus⁹¹ utriusque firmus⁹² erat sed caro infirma, quot autem filius ita fuerit⁹³ tractus.

Littera Luc. patet ibi: *et viri*⁹⁴ *qui tenebant eum*, scilicet legatum, *illudebant ei*^{cclxxiv}
410 coram toto consilio et similiter tota nocte. *Et velaverunt faciem eius*,^{cclxxv} id est panno vilissimo ligaverunt oculos eius, qui totam celestiam primam illuminabant; Apocalypsis: *lucerna eius est agnus*.^{cclxxvi}

Gregorius Nazarenus dicit^{cclxxvii}: omnes videntes faciem eius et oculos convertebatur ad mansuetudinem propter faciei benignitatem et placibilitatem.

Ideo Iudei faciem eius velaverunt et oculos ne verberantes eum mansueti fierent et
415 mites et expuerunt in faciem eius. Consuetudo⁹⁵ Iudeorum erat in faciem eius spuere quem abiecerant; postquam faciem et oculos velaverunt, sputo et luto eius faciem fedaverunt, *calaphis eum ceciderunt*, id est in collo pugnus percusserunt. Qui calaphi sunt percussores colli cum pugnus, *alii autem palma dabant*,^{cclxxviii} dicens:

420 “*Prophetiza nobis, Christe, quis /151rb/ est qui te percussit?*”^{cclxxix}

Littera: *et alia multa blasphemia dicebant in eum*,^{cclxxx} scilicet obprobria et penas tota nocte exercuerunt in eum.

Ex quibus percussionibus facies Christi fuit immutata quod faciem humanam
425 pertendebant sed videbatur horribilis leprosus, sicut predictum fuerunt Isaia 53 capitulo: *non erat species ei neque decor*.^{cclxxxi} *Et parum in facta et nos putavimus eum quasi leprosum et percussum et humiliatum*.^{cclxxxii}

Est notandum quod intrasgressione primi hominis fuit immoderatus visus ligni vetati et ideo cepit Iesus oculorum velaturam, fuit ambicio honoris et sacri⁹⁶; et ideo sputum in faciem receipt.

430 Fuit masticacio et ideo bibit amaram potacionem.

⁸⁶ omnipotente] pt *add. ms. sed del.*

⁸⁷ placeat] *placiat ms.*

⁸⁸ ab] *ad ms.*

⁸⁹ stabit] *statit ms.*

⁹⁰ filius] *ita fuit tractus add. ms. sed del.*

⁹¹ spiritus] *in marg.*

⁹² firmus] *fernens ms.*

⁹³ fuerit] *fii erunt a.c.*

⁹⁴ viri] *fili a.c.*

⁹⁵ consuetudo] *consuetudinis ms.*

⁹⁶ sacri] *sacre ms.*

Fuit transglucio ideo calaphos recepit fuit descensio ad stomachum et lanceatus in pectore fuit.

435 Fuit extensio manium ad recipiendum et iter pedum ad approximandum et pro ideo pedes et manus fuerunt affixi cruci et de illa transgressione Deo Patri perorationem satis fecit, pontificibus ergo maioribus ex civibus ad dormiendum Christum in manibus ministrorum et scutiferorum dimiserunt, qui totam noctem in eum tormentando et exprobrando exposuerunt.

440 Aurora vero appropinquante, mater eius pro ut puto civitatem Ierusalem⁹⁷ intravit sororibus Magdalene sociata et ad domum Cayphe, ut dicunt Ieronymus et Beda, cum planctu et eiulatu venit⁹⁸ ante fores palacii cum predictis duabus et Ioannes ewangelista et ibi flendo lamentabatur audiens suum filium dulcissimum cruciari tormentis illorum crudelium. Et dicebat:

445 “O fili dulcissime, singulare gaudium, firma spes anime mee, quomodo audio te crudelissime flagellari (id est impiissime tractari) innocentissime disciplinari et exprobari, lumen oculorum meorum, pax et requies anime mee, unica consolacio mee effeccionis. Quis michi det ut ego mestissima pro te moriar. Non ego, filis, nunc illa Maria gracia plena, ut dixit Gabriel, sed Maria quia amaritudine plena sum, nimis et enim mater sola infelicissima et omniam feminarum mestissima”, que, sic lamentando, quando fores palacii stabat non valens ingredi, sed ab illis vilissimis repulsa cum
450 obrobriis⁹⁹ et ictibus.

Mane vero principes surrexerunt et, inito consilio, decreverunt eum tradere Poncio Pylato presidi. Morti ad iudicandum sicut sero decreverunt, et sic, aurora lumen dante, et lucescente die, campane pulsare ceperunt et instrumentum audiri sicut mortis est in iudicandorum condempnacionibus, sicut et rumor ministrorum et strepitus pedum
455 exeuncium in palacio clamantium contra /151va/ Christum, audiente afflicta matre et abscultante quando separabant ut Christum traherent ad domum presidis iudicandus et statim vidit portas aperiri et cursum populi a<d> spectaculum horribiliter contra Christum clamantis ut saltem semel filium videret, rauca voce dixit ad Magdalenam:

460 “Heu carissima filia ad aliquem angulum cur<r>amus, quia statim videbis filium meum alias gaudium alia gloria a lias leticia et refrigerium et corona mea nunc autem dolor¹⁰⁰ affliccio et tribulacio et angustia anime mee magistrum tuum duci ad domum Pylati”.

⁹⁷ Ierusalem] *il a.c.*

⁹⁸ venit] *venerunt ms.*

⁹⁹ obrobriis] *obpbriis ms.*

¹⁰⁰ dolor] *in marg.*

Et ait:

465 “O sorores mee sumus scito in angulo trinu ut videam semel filium meum antequam iudicetur”. Cumque duceretur prima facie non congruit eum propter tormenta sed cum bene fuisset eum in turba, magno rugitu et alto eiulato, dixit ad facies¹⁰¹ angelorum:

“Ubi est claritas celi, sol mundi lux discipulorum ordo et regula apostolorum et meste matris leticia? Comutatus est color optimus de iugerta est facies angelica et fructus est sicut saccus cillicius, unde vix eum congressere possum.”

470 Et similia¹⁰² diceris quasi animam¹⁰³ cecidit.

Et hec de tercia consideracione.

¹⁰¹ ad facies] affacies *ms.*

¹⁰² similia] sillia *ms.*

¹⁰³ animam] amans *ms.*

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- clxx Mc 14:42.
clxxi Mt 26:47.
clxxii Mc 14:43.
clxxiii Mt 26:48.
clxxiv GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 435 (*glossa marginalis super Mt 26:48*).
clxxv Mt 26:48.
clxxvi Mc 14:44.
clxxvii Io 18:4.
clxxviii Io 18:5.
clxxix Io 18:6.
clxxx Cf. GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 436 (*glossa marginalis super Mt 26:54*).
clxxxi Gn 19:11.
clxxxii AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus cxxiv*, ed. R. Willems 1954. CCSL 36, tr. cxii, par. 3, p. 634, ll. 9-15.
clxxxiii Io 18:7.
clxxxiv Io 18:8.
clxxxv Io 18:9.
clxxxvi Ps 108:7.
clxxxvii Lc 22:47.
clxxxviii Mt 26:49.
clxxxix Mt 26:50.
cx Non inveni in Augustinu; sed cf. "Augustinus" in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 394, c. 26, lectio 13 (cit. 5651).
cxci Mt 26:49.
cxcii Fortasse: Augustinus, *De consensu euangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904. CSEL 43, liber iii, cap. 5, par. 5, p. 286, ll. 16-21.
cxci Lc 22:48.
cxciiv AMBROSIIUS MEDIOLANENSIS, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam*, ed. M. Adriaen, 1957. CCSL 14, liber x, par. 63, l. 627-9, p. 364.
cxcv Mt 26:50.
cx cvi Recte Lc 22:49.
cx cvii Io 18:10.
cx cviii Lc 22:51.
cx cxix Mt 26:52.
cc Mt 26:52.
cci Mt 26:53.
ccii Io 18:11.
cciii Mt 26:54.
cciv Mt 26:55.
ccv GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 437 (*glossa marginalis super Mt 26:55*, littera "a*").
ccvi Lc 22:53.

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- ^{ccvii} HIERONYMUS, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, ed. D. Hurst - M. Adriaen 1969. CCSL 77, liber iv, ll. 1356-61, p. 258.
- ^{ccviii} Cf. “Chrysostomus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 395, c. 26, lectio 15 (cit. 5655).
- ^{ccix} Lc 22:53.
- ^{ccx} BEDA VENERABILIS, *In Lucae euangelium expositio*, ed. D. Hurst 1960. CCSL 120, liber vi, c. 22, p. 389, ll. 1066-1072.
- ^{ccxi} *Recte* Mt 26:56.
- ^{ccxii} Cf. “Remigius” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 395, c. 26, lectio 15 (cit. 5655).
- ^{ccxiii} *Recte* Mt 26:56.
- ^{ccxiv} BEDA VENERABILIS, *In Marci euangelium expositio*, ed. D. Hurst 1960. CCSL 120, liber iv, c. 14, ll. 950-5, p. 619.
- ^{ccxv} Mc 14:51-52.
- ^{ccxvi} Io 18:12.
- ^{ccxvii} Cf. GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSUS, *In dictum evangelii Cum consummasset Jesus hos sermones*. PG 37, Sermo 37, c. 1, par. 4.
- ^{ccxviii} Io 18:13.
- ^{ccxix} Cf. “Alcuinus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.2 (*In Ioh.*), p. 559, c. 18, lectio 4 (cit. 13815).
- ^{ccxx} Io 18:14.
- ^{ccxxi} Io 18:15.
- ^{ccxxii} Io 18:16.
- ^{ccxxiii} Io 18:17.
- ^{ccxxiv} Lc 22:57.
- ^{ccxxv} Io 18:18.
- ^{ccxxvi} Io 18:19.
- ^{ccxxvii} Cf. “Chrysostomus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.2 (*In Ioh.*), p. 560, c. 18, lectio 6 (cit. 13819).
- ^{ccxxviii} Cf. “Teophilactus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.2 (*In Ioh.*), p. 560, c. 18, lectio 6 (cit. 13819).
- ^{ccxxix} Io 18:20.
- ^{ccxxx} Io 18:21.
- ^{ccxxxi} Io 18:22.
- ^{ccxxxii} Io 18:23.
- ^{ccxxxiii} Ps 34:12.
- ^{ccxxxiv} Io 18:24.
- ^{ccxxxv} Mt 26:59.
- ^{ccxxxvi} Mt 26:71-72.
- ^{ccxxxvii} HIERONYMUS, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, ed. D. Hurst / M. Adriaen 1969. CCSL 77, lib. iv, ll. 1377-81, p. 259.
- ^{ccxxxviii} Mt 26:73.

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- ^{ccxxxix} Mc 14:70.
- ^{ccxl} Io 18:26.
- ^{ccxli} Mt 26:74.
- ^{ccxlii} Ibidem.
- ^{ccxliii} GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, ed. M. Adriaen 1971. SL 142, liber 11, c. 24, p. 179.
- ^{ccxliv} Lc 22:61.
- ^{ccxlv} GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 981 (*glossa marginalis super Lc 22:61, litt. i*).
- ^{ccxlvi} Ibidem.
- ^{ccxlvii} Lc 22:62.
- ^{ccxlviii} GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 642 (*glossa marginalis super Mc 14:72, litt. c*).
- ^{ccxlix} Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904. CSEL 43, liber iii, cap. 6, par. 19, p. 290, ll. 3-9.
- ^{cccl} Cf. HIERONYMUS, *In Matthaeum euangelium*, PL 26, coll. 211A-B.
- ^{cccli} Cf. BEDA VENERABILIS, *In Lucae euangelium expositio*, ed. D- Hurst 1960. CCSL 120, liber iv, c. 14, l. 1106-11, p. 390-1.
- ^{ccclii} Cf. BEDA VENERABILIS, *In Marci euangelium expositio*, ed. D- Hurst 1960. CCSL 120, liber iv, c. 14, l. 1136-8, p. 624.
- ^{cccliii} Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904. CSEL 43, liber iii, cap. 6, par. 23, p. 293, l. 18 – par. 26, p. 299, l. 20.
- ^{cccliv} Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904. CSEL 43, liber iii, cap. 2, par. 5, p. 272, l. 3, – par. 6, p. 273, l. 20.
- ^{ccclv} Mt 26:60.
- ^{ccclvi} Mt 26:60.
- ^{ccclvii} Mc 14:58.
- ^{ccclviii} Mc 14:59.
- ^{ccclix} Mc 14:60.
- ^{ccclx} HIERONYMUS, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, ed. D. Hurst - M. Adriaen 1969. CCSL 77, liber: iv, ll. 1399-1401, p. 260.
- ^{ccclxi} Mc 14:60.
- ^{ccclxii} *Recte Origenes*: cf. THOMAS DE AQUINO, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, *Catena aurea*, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 396, c. 26, lectio 16 (cit. 5659).
- ^{ccclxiii} Mt 26:63.
- ^{ccclxiv} Lc 22:67-68.
- ^{ccclxv} Lc 22:69.
- ^{ccclxvi} Mc 14:62.
- ^{ccclxvii} Lc 22:70.
- ^{ccclxviii} Mt 26:64.
- ^{ccclxix} Mc 14:62.
- ^{ccclxx} GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 981 (*glossa marginalis super Mt 26:65, litt. c*).
- ^{ccclxxi} Mt 26:65.
- ^{ccclxxii} Lc 22:71.

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- cclxxiii Mt 26:66.
cclxxiv Lc 22:63.
cclxxv Lc 22:64.
cclxxvi Apc 21:23.
cclxxvii *Recte GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS sed non invenitur.*
cclxxviii Mt 26:67.
cclxxix Mt 26:68; Lc 22:64.
cclxxx Lc 22:65.
cclxxxi Is 53:2.
cclxxxii Is 53:4.

<Consideracio quarta>

<Q>uarta pars sequitur.

Mat. 27 ibi: *Mane autem facto, convenerunt omnes principes in Ierusalem seniores, scribe et Pharisei contra Iesum, ut eum morti traderent*^{cclxxxiii} et, formato consilio modo quo super dictum est, Christum, victum et ligatum¹ manibus a tergo, in manus
5 ribaldorum miserunt ad Pylatum, qui dicebant ei:

“Latro, veni nobiscum ad iudicium, nunc apparebunt maleficia tua et sapientia tua que operatus es.”

Dixit: “*Quis ex <vobis> arguet me de peccato?*”^{cclxxxiv}

Sed nunc videbis et ipse sicut agnus innocens horribiliter sequebatur eos, tacens ut
10 mutus et surdus transibat. Cum autem sic duceretur, occurrat ei mater in angulo viarum cum sororibus Magdalene et Ioanne et, in mutuo aspritu, uterque maximus dolor fuit filio, quia matrem ita afflictam vidit; et matri, quia filium ita mutatum consideravit, experiit et tormentis. Et invito, quia ei in nullo obsequium prestare poterat et vix cognoscere poterat, et sic Christus cum propheta dicere poterat. Dicit Psalmus:
15 *considerabam ad dexteram et videbam et non erat qui me cognosceret.*^{cclxxxv}

Mater ergo filium suum lamentabatur, considerans filium verberatum percussum et male tractatum et prospicio² forma per filiis homini<s> videre solebat. /151vb/ Nunc autem novissimum virorum non habentem speciem neque decorem omne credebat³ et quam firmo in tactu vix cognoscebat pro dolore nimio quasi mortua est effecta.

20 Sequitur littera Mat. 27: *Vinctum adduxerunt eum et tradiderunt Poncio Pylato presidi. Tunc videns Iudas qui tradebat eum quot dampnatus esset*^{cclxxxvi} et, audito quod adductus esset coram preside ligatus secundum⁴ modum Iudeorum (scilicetque vinctum coram preside adducebant morti ac⁵ iudicabant), tunc ut dicit Ieronimus,^{cclxxxvii} prima ductus, sed infructuose⁶, *retulit triginta argenteos*, quia Dei amore penituit sed diabolus,
25 qui eum possiderat, postquam de eo fecit quod voluit ad tempus eum derelinquit. Nam, relictis argenteis, domum rediens laqueo se suspendit et crepuit medius, effusis visceribus, ne per ob quo Christum prodendo osculaverat, anima exiret, vir autem eodem die se suspendit an distulerit dubium est.

Et dicunt tamen quidam quod audita responsione que non sperabat laqueo se
30 suspendit, quod tamen attentivum non est prima ductus, scilicet infructuosa

¹ ligatum] pedi *add. ms. sed del.*

² prospicio] *prospiciosus ms.*

³ credebat] *c'iebat ms.*

⁴ secundum] *sciens ms.*

⁵ ac] *ad ms.*

⁶ infructuose] *infructuosa ms.*

retri<bucio> ab eisdem acceperat pro tradendo Christum, *dicens: "Peccavi, tradens sanguinem iustum", at illi dixerunt: "Quid ad nos? tu videris"*,^{cclxxxviii} id est vidisti quid feceris et sic est perterritum subiunctum modi, vel tu videris quando te peccasse penam solves et sic est futurum subiunctum. Glossa, quasi dicens: *si iustus est, quid ad nos? Tu videris, id est, opus tuum quale sit mirabitur.*^{cclxxxix}

Et proiectis argenteis⁷ in templo⁸, abiit (scilicet domum) et laqueo se suspendit.^{ccxc}
Et suspensus crepuit medius et diffusa sunt omnia viscera eius.^{ccxc}

Et notandum quod peccatum Iude fuit maximum, quia, dicit Ieronymus *Super Psalmos:*^{ccxcii} plus peccavit Iudas per desperationem se ipsum occidens quam per prodicionem filium Dei tradendo, quia misericordia Dei revertentibus ad se infinita est. Dicit eciam Gregorius:^{ccxciii} sicut una gutta aque se habet ad totam aquam oceani⁹ sic breviter omnis malicia ad Dei misericordiam. Causa quare Iudas occidit se fuit, ut dicit Magister Historiarum¹⁰, *Christi resurreccio quam non sperabat, unde se ipsum suspendit.*^{ccxciv}

45 *Principes autem sacerdot<um> acceptis argenteis, dixerunt: "Non licet ea ponere in corbonam",*^{ccxcv} id est reverti in archam in quam reponebantur pecunie pro oblacionibus sacerdotum, quia inde accepte fuerant. "Corbo/152ra/na", id est archa, quam nos vulgari sermone "Musach" vocamus, quia precium sanguinis est, id est quia pro sanguine fundendo date sunt.

50 *Consilio autem inito (id est firmato) emerunt agrum figuli (nomen est vendentis, sicut diceretur Nicolaii vel Martyri)^{ccxcvi} in sepulturam peregrinorum (vel forensium qui venientes Ierusalem ad templum moriebantur) propter hoc vocatus est ager ille Acheldemach, hoc est ager sanguinis usque in hodiernum die¹¹.*^{ccxcvii}

Id est usque quo Mat. scripsit ewangelium: *tunc impletum est quot dictum est per*
55 *Ieremiam prophetam dicentem: Et acceperunt triginta argenteos (scilicet principes sacerdotum, vel sacerdotes, vel vendatores, vel Iudas, quo precio apreciaverunt sanguinem Iesu Christi, ideo sequitur precium apreciati), quem apreciaverunt (id est precio emerunt) a filiis Israhel.*^{ccxcviii}

60 *Et non legitur hoc in Ieremia, sed in Zacharia, pena idem est sonsus, sub aliis verbis*^{ccxcix} unum quidam codiciosus habent propheciam indefinitam.

Et dederunt eos in agrum figuli (id est tanto precio emerunt a figulo agrum simul in sepulturam peregrinorum), sicut constituit michi Dominus.^{ccc}

⁷ argenteis] ano a.c.

⁸ templo] templum ms.

⁹ oceani] oceanis ms.

¹⁰ historiarum] hostoriarum ms.

¹¹ die] diem ms.

65 Glossa: *Secreto Dei iudicio factum est ut in animo Matthei occurreret Zacharias, Ieremias quia uno¹² spiritu omnes prophete locuti sunt, ita ut singula sint¹³ omnium, id est omnia singulorum, ut quot apud Ieremiam invenitur de nomine agri, non de nomine precii, apud¹⁴ Zachariam de triginta argenteis et nichil de empzione¹⁵ agri quam apreciaverunt apud¹⁶ neutrum invenitur, ex persona ewangeliste accipi debet.^{ccci} Ieronymo¹⁷ vero scriptorum veterum hoc ascribit, vide Magistrum.^{cccii}*

70 Littera Io. 18 habet: *Deducunt igitur Iesum ad Caypham in pretorio, id est in domo Cayphe, in consistorio Pylati gentilis, qui pro Romanis regnabat in Ierusalem. Erat autem mane (scilicet quando tradiderunt Iesum Pylato) et ipsi non introierunt in pretorio (id est in domo Pylati), ut non contaminarentur, sed manducarent Pascha,^{ccciii} scilicet mundi manducarent azymam magis peccatum a<r>bitrantes domum Pylati gentilis et pagani intrare, quam sanguinem innocentem morti adiudicare ceci facti sunt*
75 *quantum malicia et odium excecaverat eos.*

Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *Iesus autem stabat ante presidem^{ccciv} sic vinctus et ligatus.*

Littera Io. 18 /152rb/ habet ibi: *Exiit ergo Pylatus ad eos foras dimisso intus Ierusalem et dixit:*

“Quem accusationem affertis adversus hominem hunc?”^{cccv}

80 Quasi dicens: sine causa nolo eum recipere neque da<m>pnare, quia non est consuetudinis Romanorum da<m>pnare aliquem antequam accusetur.

Responderunt:

“Si non esset hic malefactor non tibi tradidissemus eum.”^{cccvi}

Littera Luc. 23 patet ibi: *Ceperunt autem accusare eum dicentes.^{cccvii}*

85 Triplicem accusationem contra eum exposuerunt Pylato, arguentes¹⁸ pro quale morte dignus, sed due falsa erant simpliciter et tertia non erat recitata secundum Christum intellectum.

Primo dixerunt: *“Hunc invenimus subvertentem populum”^{cccviii}.*

90 Ecce prima accusacio quasi dicens: iste homo deceptor est populi et subversa equale doctrine et perverse et ideo occidendus, quia propter suam perversitatem post se trahit homines; quod falsum erat omnino; sed contra quia bonus et sciens converteris a malo ad bonum quia Salvator contra doctrina sancta erat et immaculata; testimonis ipsis legis doctoribus coram populo dicentibus:

¹² uno] una *ms.*

¹³ sint] sunt *ms.*

¹⁴ apud] adpd *ms.*

¹⁵ empzione] empcionis *a.c.*

¹⁶ apud] adpd *ms.*

¹⁷ Ieronymo] Ieronymus *ms.*

¹⁸ arguentes] argente *a.c.*

“Magister, scimus, quia verax es.”^{cccix}

95 Et quia palam (scilicet in templo et in sinagoga) docebat et in occulto nichil, sed ubi omne<s> conveniebant et dedit eius doctrina<m> omnibus¹⁹ doctores mirabantur.

Secundo dixerunt: *“Et prohibet²⁰ tributum dari Cesari”*.^{cccix}

Et sic adversarium²¹ Romanorum Rei Publice existimabant eum et dignum morte; quod falsum erat omnino, quia principibus et militibus Pylati docuit reddenda Cesari que erant Cesaris; Pylatus igitur, sciens istas duas conclusiones falsas, de eis nichil
100 curavit.

Et ideo terciam accusationem fecerunt, dicentes se ipsum Regem esse et sic iudicabant eum dignum morte, quia contra Cesaris iussionem se regem nominabat. Et tales statuerat imperator occidi, item quia contra legem Iudeorum fecerat dicens se
105 ipsum regem esse<t> promissum et lex mandabat tales occidi.

Et sic prima accusatio fuit bifurcata²², Pylatus non curavit de²³ secundo membro, scilicet dicens se messiam²⁴, sed de primo quia dixerat se regem et eciam de hoc Iudei falsum dicentes accusantes eum velle regnum Iudeorum Romanis auferre et se regem constituere unio<nem> cum populus vellet eum regem facere, fugit in montem.

110 Patet Io. capitulo quia eciam hoc Pylato satis innocuerat hanc accusationem non approbavit, dicit Io. 18:

“Acci/152va/pite eum vos, et secundum legem vestram iudicate eum”; quasi dicens: vos accusatis eum tam quam legi vestre contrarium et ideo iudicate eum secundum legem vestram et secundum Romanorum, scilicet et Cesaris statuta, quasi dicens, sine
115 causa nolo eum recipere nec da<m>pnare.

Dixerunt ergo: “Nobis non licet interficere quemquam.”^{cccxi}

Chrysostomus:^{cccxi} volebant Christum mori ignominiose, scilicet morte crucis et hoc non licebat eis quia omnis iudici anima precii ab eis oblata erat et nolebant *ut sermo eius impleretur* (scilicet Iesu) *significans qua morte esset moriturus*,^{cccxiii} quia scilicet a
120 Iudeis tradendus erat gentibus.

Igitur iterum Pylatus in pretorium et dicens ei:

“Tu es rex Iudeorum?”^{cccxiv}

¹⁹ omnibus] doctrina *add. ms.*

²⁰ prohibet] prohibent *ms.*

²¹ adversarium] adversaria *ms.*

²² bifurcata] bifurcata *ms.*

²³ de] Christo *add. ms. sed del.*

²⁴ messiam] messiam *ms.*

Non querit ut credat hoc verum esse secundum Theophil~~act~~um,^{cccxv} sed subsanando, quasi dicens: Tu es pauper et desperctus et accusaris de regni ambitione ad quod opus est adiutorium multorum.

Respondit Iesus et respondendo Pylatum detegat quia ei imponebant quod se regem faciebat, ideo Pylato ait: “*A temetipso hoc dicis an*²⁵ *alii tibi dixerunt de me?*”,^{cccxvi} scilicet hoc de quo me tibi accusant. *Respondit Pylatus:*

“*Numquid ego Iudeus sum?*”

Quasi dicens: non sum Iudeus et ideo hoc a me non dico sed *gens tuas* de qua natus es et pontifices tui *tradiderunt te michi, quid fecisti?*^{cccxvii} Quia, scilicet, ita te accusarent.

Respondit Iesus:

“*Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*”,^{cccxviii} quasi dicens: rex sum, sed regnum meum non est (id est regniculi mei); non sum de hoc mundo, scilicet credentes in me perfecta²⁶ non sunt de hoc mundo, quia eorum conversacio in celis est quantum eos de potestate tenebr~~ar~~um et transtuli eos in regnum claritatis.

Et autem notandum quod quis esse propter de regno Christi dicitur uno modo ut Christus, regnum super²⁷ eos per potestatem et iurisdictionem, et sic omnes qui sunt in mundo sunt de regno Christi.

Psalmus metro: et *Dominis excelsus, terribilis rex magnus, super omnem terram*^{cccix} et metro; id est rex omnis creature Deus, filio modo ut scilicet regnum super eos per gratiam et hoc modo solum²⁸ super bonos regnat, de quorum numero non erant isti. Et sic regnum Christi non est de hoc mundo prout mundus; non dicere ***²⁹, sed peccatores super quos Christus non per gratiam, sed per potencia solum regnat. Si enim de hoc mundo esset regnum meum, ministri mei utique decertarent mei, ut non traderetur Iudeis sicut mundani reges /152vb/ habent pro se certantes.

Nunc autem regnum meum non est hinc,^{cccxx} id est mea potestas non est terrena, sed celestis, vel regnum meum non est hinc, scilicet si credentes essent de hoc mundo per affectum utique conrarentur me de manibus Iudeorum eripere; sed regnum meum non est de hoc mundo nec de mundi affectis.

Dixit Pylatus:

“*Ergo rex es tu?*”

Respondit Christus:

“*Tu dixisti quia rex sum ego* (quasi dicens: tu dicis suspensive, dicis assertive vel adhesive quia rex sum ego; Glossa: *quasi carnaliter dicis*);^{cccxxi} *ego ad hoc natus sum et*

²⁵ an] t *add. ms. sed del.*

²⁶ perfecta] perciffucum *ms.*

²⁷ super] *iter.*

²⁸ solum] *iter.*

²⁹ ***] *vmursum (?) ms.*

160 *in hoc veni in mundum, ut testimonium perhibeam veritati* (Glossa: *non nego me esse regem, quia in hoc natus sum*)^{cccxxii} *omnis qui est ex veritate* (supple: per gratiam vel donum a Deo datum) *audit vocem meam*^{cccxxiii} (id est: est de meo regno et mea iussa perficit et in me credit fide).

Formata est enim multiplex veritas.

Prima nature, in qua homo creatus est et in ista veritate sunt omnis creati a Deo, et hoc est in omnibus.

Secunda doctrine et fidei, et de ista loquitur hic Christus, sed obscura.

165 Tercia iusticie, et hoc est obligata.

Quarta iure, et hoc est depravata.

170 Vel sic: *tu dicis quia rex sum ego*, quasi dicens: non nego quod dicis quia rex sum, sed non veni ut regnaret simpliciter, ut tu credis, sed spiritualiter, super iustos. Probacio quia *ad hoc veni in mundum* ut perdocerem veritatem, ut quicumque obedierit veritati per me predicate cuius sic regni mei. Regnum enim meum, regnum spirituale est; regnum autem spirituale sunt fideles, qui veritati a me predicate credunt et obediunt. Unde dixi³⁰ *ego in hoc*, id est: ad hanc rem natus sum (scilicet nativitate corporali) *et ad hoc veni in mundum* per incarnationem et adventum in carne, *ut testimonium perhibeam veritati*,^{cccxxiv} id est ut doceam veritatem. *Omnis autem qui est ex veritate, audit vocem meam*, id est mee voluntati obedit ac doctrine, propter quam oblatam fiunt de regno meo.

175 Unde duo requiruntur ut simus de regno Christi: primum, ut veritas audiatur; secundum, ut recipiatur quia propter hoc dicit se Christus /153ra/ venisse in mundum, scilicet propter regnum spirituale et non temporale.

180 *Dicit ei Pylatus: "Quid est veritas?"*

Querit non propter veritatis deffinitionem, quam sed que sit veritas, qua quis de regno Christi constituitur, sed³¹ quia Christo credere nolebat et fidei eius subiacere ideo meruit non veritatis diffinitionem audire.

185 Unde, facta³² igitur questione, non exspectavit responsionem, sed volens eius liberationem procurare *exivit ad Iudeos foras dicens se nullam causam mortis invenisse in eo*^{cccxxv} (littera Io. 18 habet ibi), scilicet propter qua sit dignus morte.

Littera Luc. 23 habet ibi: *At illi invalescebant dicentes*, id est clamabat contra Christum primam ac cusacionem agravando, *dicentes commovet populum docens per universam Iudeam incipens a Galilea usque huc*,^{cccxxvi} id est post se populum adunavit

³⁰ dixi] dixit *ms.*

³¹ sed] l *add ms. sed del.*

³² facta] fca *a.c.*

190 novam sectam et propalat doctrinam dicendo ac multos³³ homines pervertendo et hoc incepit facere, incipiens a Galilea usque huc Ierusalem congregavit enim post se homines, quasi humano imperio volens rebellare.

Pylatus autem gavisus interrogavit e<um> si homo Galileus esset,^{cccxxvii} id est si erat de provincia Galilea natus, vel nutritus.

195 Et Christus vere Galileus erat, quia de domo David, cuius erat Bethlehem, in qua natus erat Christus et in Nazareth civitate conceptus³⁴ et educatus provincie Galilee. Erat³⁵ enim provincia Galilee multas continens civitates sub se, et in ea regnabat Herodes pro Romanis. Et Herodes propter solemnitatem paschalem³⁶ venerat illuc³⁷ (tempore passionis Christi); interrogaveret autem Pylatus si homo Galileus erat ut ad
200 <ea>m dampnationem alienus efficeretur.

Ideo sequitur: *ut quem congnovit quot de Herodis potestate erat* (quia scilicet Galileus erat) *remisit illum ad Herodem ut administratorem Galilee* (scilicet ut hominem Galileum absolveret vel condemnaret), *qui et ipse Ierusalem erat illis diebus.*^{cccxxviii}

205 Ivit autem³⁸ causa accusandi eum omne consilium Iudeorum.

Mater vero sequebatur eum a longe cum sociabus, sed nullo modo eum videre poterat; lum<inis> velut amens toto illo tempore eum sequeretur.

*Herodes autem videns Iesum gavisus est, valde*³⁹ *erat enim cupiens*⁴⁰ *ex multo tempore videre eum;* non ut in eum crederet sicut studiosus, sed ut curiosus, non ut veritatis et operum Christi amator, sed ut temptator.

210 Unde sequitur: **/153rb/** *Eo quot multa audierat de eo et sperabat ab eo aliquum signum fieri.*^{cccxxix} Christus vero in conspectu Herodis facere noluit quia homo peccator et pessimus erat, et indignus videre secreta celestia que ut curiosus videre non potuit, vel forte quia dominum liberasset, si ad signum vidisset tamquam hominem sue potestatis subditum. Et Christus nostrum salutem omnino differre volebat.

Interrogavit eum multis sermonibus^{cccxxx}, scilicet Herodes multas interrogaciones fecit Iesu at ille nichil respondit ei; Glossa: *Tacuit et*⁴¹ *nichil fecit, quia Herodis incredulitas non mirebatur audire divina, sed nec videre.*^{cccxxxi}

³³ multos] montes *ms.*

³⁴ conceptus] est *add ms. sed del.*

³⁵ Erat] p *add ms. sed del.*

³⁶ paschalem] pascatis *ms.*

³⁷ illuc] ulum *ms.*

³⁸ autem] *in marg.*

³⁹ valde] vad *a.c.*

⁴⁰ cupiens] cup *a.c.*

⁴¹ et] ut *ms.*

- Et staba<n>t autem principes sacerdotum et seniores constanter accusantes.*^{cccxxxii}
- 220 Augustinus:^{cccxxxiii} Non erat constancia sed pertinacia, non ex amore legis sed ex vindicte⁴² livore: livore eciam invidie armaverat cor invidi ad oppugnandum proximum⁴³.
- Et pervenit autem illuc*⁴⁴ *Herodes cum exercitu suo,*^{cccxxxiv} ut omnes in eadem culpa pares esse monstrentur et illudentes induerunt veste alba; Christus enim illusus fuit a militibus ex ignorancia a⁴⁵ Iudeis autem ex malicia et in veste alba illusus fuit in signum quod corpus eius, quod est vestis anime conceptum et natum fuit absque originali peccato, et in veste rubra in signum quod i<n>gratus amor fecit eum sustulere, scilicet passionem in qua corpus suum, propter sanguinem, rubricatum fuit.
- 225 *Et remisit eum ad Pylatum indutum veste alba,*^{cccxxxv} ut ob omnibus videretur quam album magister lucet, participat enim albedo, detempto nigro, de omni alio colore et ideo hac veste et non alia indui eum fecit Herodes⁴⁶, ut magister illusus videretur.
- 230 Est autem notandum quod Christus fuit in sua passione triplici veste indutus.
- Primo veste cocinea, qua induerunt eum milites Pylati, que significat homicidas necandus cum vestimentum mixtum sanguinem erit in combustione et cibus ignis.
- 235 Secundo veste alba, qua induerunt eum milites Herodis, que significat carnales: leviter color enim alba est graciosior et multum facit ad pulchritudinem occasio est peccati carnalis.
- Tercio, veste purpurea, qua induit eum mater sua, scilicet inconsutilis, que significat ypocritas et rex (id est David), cum operiretur pannis non calefiebat.
- 240 Et finaliter, milites Pylati omnibus his vestibus expoliaverunt eum.
- Psalmus metro: *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.*^{cccxxxvi}
- Littera Luc. 23 habet ibi: *Et facti sunt amici Herodes et Pylatus ipsa*⁴⁷ *die* (id est /153va/ Herodes reconciliatus est Pylato ex presentatione Domini super Galileorum necem); *nam ante inimici erant ad invicem,*^{cccxxxvii} scilicet Pylatus et Herodes, quia sibi putaverunt, domini pacis inimici, permanere non potuerunt, et cetera.
- 245

⁴² ex vindicte] exlucl a.c.

⁴³ oppugnandum proximum] impugnandum pxi^m (?) ms.

⁴⁴ illuc] illum ms.

⁴⁵ a] ad a.c.

⁴⁶ Herodes] ei add ms. sed del.

⁴⁷ ipsa] ipso ms.

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- cclxxxiii Mt 27:1.
- cclxxxiv Io 8:46.
- cclxxxv Ps 141:5.
- cclxxxvi Mt 27:2-3.
- cclxxxvii Cf. HIERONYMUS, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, ed. D. Hurst - M. Adriaen 1969. CCSL 77, liber: iv, ll. 1477-91, p. 263.
- cclxxxviii Mt 27:4.
- cclxxxix Cf. "Remigius" in THOMAS DE AQUINO, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, *Catena aurea*, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 402, c. 27, lectio 1 (cit. 5701).
- ccxc Mt 27:5.
- ccxci Act 1:18.
- ccxcii Fortasse cf. HIERONYMUS, *Tractatus sive homiliae in Psalmos*, ed. G. Morin 1958. CCSL 78, ps. cviii, par. 7, ll. 97-110, p. 212.
- ccxciii *Non inveni.*
- ccxciv Cf. PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 162, coll. 1625A-1625B.
- ccxcv Mt 27:6.
- ccxcvi Cf. "Hilarius" in THOMAS DE AQUINO, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, *Catena aurea*, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 347, c. 24, lectio 4 (cit. 5409).
- ccxcvii Mt 27:7-8.
- ccxcviii Mt 27:9.
- ccxcix GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 449 (*glossa marginalis super Mt 27:9, litt. a*); sed etiam: PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 162, coll. 1625C-1626A.
- ccc Mt 27:10.
- ccci GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 449 (*glossa marginalis super Mt 27:9-10, litt. A-B*).
- cccii PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 162, coll. 1625C-1626A.
- ccciii Io 18:28.
- ccciv Mt 27:11.
- cccv Io 18:29.
- cccvii Io 18:30.
- cccvi Lc 23:2.
- cccviii Ibidem.
- cccix Mt 22:16; Mc 12:14.
- cccix Lc 23:2.
- cccxi Io 18:31.
- cccxi Fortasse recte ORIGENES, cf. THOMAS DE AQUINO, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, *Catena aurea*, t.2 (*In Ioh.*), p. 450, c. 8, lectio 5 (cit. 12821).
- cccxiii Io 18:32.
- cccxiv Io 18:33.
- cccxv GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 1303 (*glossa marginalis super Io 18:33, litt. a-b*).
- cccxvi Io 18:34.
- cccxvii Io 18:35.

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- cccxviii Io 18:36.
cccxi Ps 46:3.
cccxx Io 18:36.
cccxxi GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 1303 (*glossa marginalis super* Io 18:33, litt. C).
cccxxii Ibidem, col. 1304 (*glossa marginalis super* Io 18:33, litt. c).
cccxxiii Io 18:37.
cccxxiv Io 18:37.
cccxxv Io 18:38.
cccxxvi Lc 23:5.
cccxxvii Lc 23:6.
cccxxviii Lc 23:7.
cccxxix Lc 23:8.
cccxxx Lc 23:9
cccxxxi GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 986 (*glossa marginalis super* Lc 23:9, litt. f).
cccxxxii Lc 23:10.
cccxxxiii Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *Sermones*, PL 38, ser. 275, col. 1284.
cccxxxiv Lc 23:11.
cccxxxv Lc 23:11.
cccxxxvi Ps 21:19.
cccxxxvii Lc 23:12.

<Consideracio quinta>

<Q>uinta pars principalis sequitur.

Nam, postquam Dominis ab Herode ad Pylatum fuit remissus, Pylatus, convocatis principibus sacerdotum et magistratibus et plebeis, *dixit ad eos* (littera Luc. 23 habet ibi): “*Obtuulistis michi hominem istum primum advertentem populum, id est sicut subversionem, et ecce coram vobis interrogans et nullam causam invenio in homine isto, ex his iniquibus eum accusatis. Sed neque Herodes et ego examinavimus eum, et nec ipse nec ego invenimus aliquid de his, iniquibus accusatis eum; nam remisit illum ad vos et ecce nichil dignum mortis actum est illi. Placeat igitur vobis ut illum demittam*”^{1 cccxxviii}

10 Tunc Iudei in multis accusabant eum.

Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *Et cum accusaretur a principibus sacerdotum et senioribus populi, nichil respondit.*^{cccxxxix}

Tunc dicit ei Pylatus, littera Mat. 27:

“Non audis quanta adversum te dicunt testimonia?”^{cccxi}

15 Littera Mar. 15 habet ibi: “*Vides in quantis te accusant?*”^{cccxli}

Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *Et non respondit ei ad illum verbum ita ut miraretur preses vehementer.*^{cccxlii}

Pylatus autem non volens Christum mori nec ipsum innocentem iudicare sciens noviter consuetudinem Iudeorum ut semper in paschale² unum vinctum quem vellent peterent eis deberi dari per presidem in memoriam quod eo die egressi erant de Egipto et de servitute Pharaoinis et Egipciorum compellentibus eos exive<runt>.

20 Aliquos autem occidebant in memoriam primo genitorum Egipti, eodem die mortuorum; preseis proposuit eiis Iesum Christum et Barrabam latronem, credens omnino ipsos petitorios Iesum dimitti et Barrabam perdi; turba vero, a pontificibus seducta, contrarium fecit³.

25 Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *Per diem autem solempnem, scilicet Pasche, consueverat preses, consuetudine noviter introduceta, dimittere populo*⁴ *unum vinctum quem volebant.*^{cccxlili} *Habebant autem vinctum unum insignem* (id est inter alios nobiliter pessimum) *qui dicebatur Barrabas.*^{cccxliv}

¹ dimittam] dimitte *ms.*

² paschale] paschate *ms.*

³ fect] fecerunt *ms.*

⁴ Populo] populou *sed corr.*

30 Littera Mar. 15 habet ibi: *qui cum sedicione*, id est cum hiis sedicionem, in populo
committebat erat vinctus et *fecerat homicidium*.^{cccxliv}

Et ideo latro notabilis sediciosus et homicida erat, et propter hoc tertia i<n>missus
fuerat in carcerem.

*Et cum ascendisset*⁵ *r<ogar>e*, id est *sicut sem<per> fa<ciebat> eis*^{cccxlvi}
35 consuetudine quia occasione eis per presidem data petere debebant unum victum quem
volebant.

Et ideo rogabat populum ut unum /153vb/ elige<re>nt quem peterent.

Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *Congregatis autem illis ait Pylatus*.^{cccxlvii}

Littera Io. 18⁶ habet ibi: *Est autem consuetudo vobis ut unum vinctum dimittam in*
40 *Pascha; vultis ergo dimitti regem*⁷ *Iudeorum?*^{cccxlviii}

Sciebat enim quod propter invidiam contra eum^{cccxlix} *sum<mos> sacer<dos>* et ideo
libenter voluisset eum liberare, si comode potuisset.

Principes autem sacerdotum et seniores populi persuaserunt turbis,^{cccl} scilicet per
internuncios corda populi perverterunt vel induxerunt ad perdendum Christum et
45 petendum Barrabam more hodierno, cum magnates volunt aliquid a comitate aliquando
per internuncios sug<g>erunt turbis; ideo sequitur: *ut peterent Barrabam* (scilicet
dimitti⁸) *et Christum perderent*.^{cccli}

Ieronymus:^{ccclii} Qui male agit Barrabam solvi desiderat et Christum vinculari.

Respondit autem preses, scilicet Pylatus, videns turbam paratam ad perdendum
50 Christum et ait:

*“Quem vultis vobis*⁹ *de duobus dimitti?*^{cccliii} an Barrabam an Iesum, qui dicitur
Christus?”

Credens omnino querere eos Iesum, Barrabam vero perdere; sed persuasi a
principibus fecerunt contrarium, mortem vite p<er>eligentes.

Littera Luc. 23 habet ibi: *Exclamavit autem universa turba* (scilicet simul) *dicens:*
55 *“Tolle hunc* (id est Christum interfectum) *et dimitte nobis Barabam*”;^{cccliv} quasi dicens:
dona nobis homicidam, latronem et sediciosum.

Littera Io. 18¹⁰ habet ibi: *Erat autem Barraba latro*.^{ccclv}

Littera Luc. 23 habet ibi: *Qui erat sedicionis facta in civitate et homicidio*¹¹ *missus*
60 *fuerat in carcerem*.^{ccclvi}

⁵ ascendisset] accendisset *ms.*

⁶ 18] 19 *ms.*

⁷ regem] *iter.*

⁸ dimitti] *ut add. ms. sed del.*

⁹ vobis] *in marg.*

¹⁰ 18] 19 *ms.*

¹¹ homicidio] *i add. ms.*

Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *Dixit eis Pylatus: “Quid ergo faciam de Iesu¹², qui dicitur Christus?”*

Dicunt omnes:^{ccclvii}

“Crucifige, crucifige eum!”

65 Et tunc populus Iudeorum vocibus Christum cruci afflixit. Et hoc hora tertia diei.

Littera Mar. 19 habet ibi: *Erat autem hora tertiā et crucifixerunt eum.*^{ccclviii}

Littera Mat. et Luc. habet ibi: quod *hora sexta*^{ccclix} (quod verum est) quantum ad crucifixionem corporalem militum.

Littera Luc. 22 habet ibi: *Iterum Pylatus locutus est ad eos, volens dimittere Iesum*^{ccclx} (id est ipsos inducebat ut Iesum possent¹³ liberari); *at illi subclamabant:*

“*Crucifige eum!*”^{ccclxi}

Ille vero tercio dixit ad eos:

“*Quid enim mali fecit iste? Nullam causam mortis invenio in homine isto* (Glossa: *absolvebant Iudei crucifigebant misterio*):^{ccclxii} *corripiam igitur illum et dimittam.*^{ccclxiii}

75 Beda: *Flagellis et ludibriis affligam quantum optatis, dum tantum innoxium sanguinem non effundatis.*^{ccclxiv} Hec Pylatus eis dicebat, volens inducere populum /154ra/ ad relaxandum Christum, sed nichil proficiebat at illi instanter vociferabant magis quam prius, scilicet ut *crucifigeretur et invalescebant voces eorum*¹⁴,^{ccclxv} id est fortificabatur ex nimia multiplicacione et exaltacione.

80 Tunc apprehendit Pylatus Iesum et flagellavit eum.

Petrus Ravennas dicit quod^{ccclxvi} Christus fuit flagellatus cordis nodosis et grossis; Augustinus quod cathenis ferreis;^{ccclxvii} Ieronymus dicit quod^{ccclxviii} in catheni erant aculei annexi¹⁵, qui carnem totam lacerabant et aliquando frustra carnes auferebant; Chrysostomus dicit quod^{ccclxix} erant quatuor verberantes, sed duo vicinissimi flagellabant.

85 Tunc Pylatus furorem populi acclamantis “Eum crucifigi”, timens, Christum introduxit et tradidit militibus. Secundum Chrysostomum: custodiendum non flagellandum; milites vero, pecunia corrupti, Christum flagellaverunt et verberaverunt durissime cum corrigiis, fracturam super fracturam et dolorem super dolorem ad dentes
90 non tum mandato Pylati. Secundum Chrysostomum, Augustinum autem dicentes quod sic Ieronymus vero dicit quod Romanis legibus sancitum erat et crucifigendus

¹² Iesu] u *add. ms. sed del.*

¹³ possent] poterent *ms.*

¹⁴ eorum] eos *a.c.*

¹⁵ aculei annexi] aucuu anecti *ms.*

prius cederetur; Glossa:^{ccclxx} vel flagellandus tradidit volens populum Iudaicum mittigare.

95 Credebat enim Pylatus ex ira procedere furorem et zelum pontificum et sacerdotum Iudeorum contra Christum; sed deceptus erat quia ex odio procedebat; differt enim ira et odium, iratus enim, cum videt illum contra quem irascitur, despici et affligi et humiliari ex hoc mittigatus ira eius, sed cum odit ex talibus magis accenditur nec usque¹⁶ ad extremum prosequi cessat et propter hoc ira a Christo festuca vocatur et odium trabes.

100 Patet Luc. 6:^{ccclxxi} Iudei autem quia Christum odiebant ex eius flagellatione conspicione et coronacione spinarum, ex quibus credebat Pylatus eorum furorem mittigari magis tamquam Christum odentes¹⁷ accensi sunt.

105 *Milites vero presidis Christum suscipientes*^{ccclxxii} exverunt vestibus suis et eum nudum ad columpnam ligaverunt lapideam, que erat in palacio Pylati et ibi tantum percusserunt eum, quod tota illa caro verginea ex flagellorum fracturis sanguine defluebat in terram et usque in presens columpnam illa cruoris vestigia ostendit.

Mater vero mestissima actus et verba illusions et flagella audiebat nec eum vivere vel liberare poterat /154rb/ et non autem sic flagellato Iudeorum procuracione et veniduto recordatis militibus quod iste se regem Iudeorum dixerat, iterum veste quam ei fecerant mater sua exverunt et Pylato dixerunt:

110 “Domine, recordati sumus quot iste se regem fecit, vestiamus eum et coronemus eum more regio!”

Pylatus vero non contradixit, credens propter maiores illusiones placare Iudeos.

115 Et tunc milites presidis, numerosa milicia coadunata, circundederunt ei clamidem coroneam et veterem in similitudinem purpure, qua regem utebantur et plectentes coronam de spinis posuerunt in capite, que spina dicuntur fuisse inimici maximi quorum acuties non unus est dura spina et penetrativa ut acus et per totum erat spinosa in modum triviarum mali eu quarum quedam spine erant sursum quedam deorsum, alie introsum site undique sive mitteretur in capite sive extrahetur sive in capite remaneret caput cruentabatur et fluebat sanguis a capite pro usque per totum corpus; pro captivo autem dederunt arundinem in manu et illudebant ei tamquam volenti regnare et non¹⁸ volenti *et genuflexis ante eum veni<erunt> dicentes:*

“*Ave rabbi, rex Iudeorum!*”

Et accipientes arundinem de manu eius, percutiebant caput eius^{ccclxxiii} et intromittebant spinas corone os capitis perserctantes; quia secundum Bernardum:^{ccclxxiv}

125 Os capitis fuit spinis corone perforaverunt, usque ad eius cerebrum pervenerunt et

¹⁶ usque] e *add. ms. sed del.*

¹⁷ odentes] oderentes *ms.*

¹⁸ non] v *add. ms. sed del.*

penetraverunt; secundum vero Chrysostomum:^{ccclxxv} Corona os non penetravit sed mille puncturis caput volneravit et cruentavit ita quot cruor sanguinis de capite fluebat et totam faciem madefaciebat.

130 Cerne, ergo, o anima christiana, corpus Christi quomodo fuit sanguine evacuatum. Nam corona spinea sanguinem extraxit in flagellis cruor dorsi diminuit et sudor sanguineus de aliis partibus corporis usque ad terram descendit; unde igitur illud sanctissimum fuit sanguine evacuatum et dabant ei alapas scilicet in faciem et exspuerunt in eum et dixerunt:

“Ave rex Iudeorum!”

135 Et taliter Domino illuserunt ut non nature humane effigiem haberet et horribilis leprosi toti mundo despectus ad videndum appareret, interim ut mater que lactaverat vix cognosceret.

140 Qua propter littera Mar. 15 habet ibi: *Tunc milites presidis suscipientes Iesum, scilicet postquam flagellaverunt eum, in pretorio congregati ad eum cohors*¹⁹ ^{ccclxxvi} (scilicet ad illudendum eum).

Et exverunt eum vestimentis suis (scilicet propriis) et clamide coccinea (id est purpura) circumdederunt ei;^{ccclxxvii} secundum Origenem: *unius materie sunt purpura et cocus;*^{ccclxxviii} Augustinus dicet quod est quadam purpura coccinea,^{ccclxxix} /154va/ similia ideo dicitur coccinea.

145 *Et plectentes (id est componentes) coronam de spinis, posuerunt super eius caput et arundinem in dexteram eius et, genua flectentes ante eum illudebant, dicentes:*

“Ave rex Iudeorum,”^{ccclxxx} sicut de regno abiectus et lumine.”

150 Hoc fecerunt gentiles quia, Iudeis auctoribus, faciebant ideo in parasceve²⁰, cum oratur pro perfidis Iudeis genua non flectimus et tum gentiles milites cum Iudeis hoc faciebant.

Sic Domino tractato, existimans Pylatus furorem mitigatum adduxit Iesum foras.

Littera Io. 19 habet ibi: *Exit iterum Pylatus ad eos foras et dixit:*

“*Ecce adduco vobis eum foras, ut cognoscatis quod nullam causam mortis invenio in eo*”.^{ccclxxxi}

155 Exiit ergo Iesus.

Augustinus: *Non clarus imperio sed plenus opprobrio portans spineam coronam et*²¹ *purpureum vestimentum;*^{ccclxxxii} *et dixit eis Pylatus: “Ecce homo!”*^{ccclxxxiii} Quasi dicens (secundum Augustinum): *Si regi invidetis, ecce iam parcite*²² *quia deiectus est,*

¹⁹ cohors] choor *ms.*

²⁰ parasceve] perasceve *ms.*

²¹ et] ve *add. ms. sed del.*

²² parcite] percipite *ms.*

160 *flagellatus est, spinis coronatus est, ludibri veste indutus est, amaris conviciis illusus est, alapis cesus est, feruet ignominia, frigescat invidia, sed non frigit nec tepuit, invaluit et increvit;*^{ccclxxxiv} sitiunt sanguinem expetunt mortem, liberant latronem et condemnant in innocentem.

*Cum ergo viderent eum pontifices*²³ *et magistri*²⁴ *clamaverunt dicentes:*

“Crucifige, crucifige eum!”^{ccclxxxv}

165 Ter populus Christum crucifigi petiit, in quo ostenditur magnum desiderium mortis Christi.

Dixit eis Pylatus:

“Accipite eum vos et crucifigite eum.”^{ccclxxxvi}

170 Non fuit verbum mandatis sed excitantis factum Iudeorum et ab accusatoribus retrahentes.

“Ego enim nullam causam mortis invenio in eum.”^{ccclxxxvii}

Responderunt:

“Iudei nos legem habemus et sed legem dicit mori, quia filium Dei se fecit,”^{ccclxxxviii} et ideo blasphemavit et talis debet mori.”

175 *Cum autem audisset Pylatus hunc sermones*²⁵, *magis temuit.*^{ccclxxxix}

Beda:^{cccxc} ne scilicet Dei filium interficeret et ne contra legem Iudeorum faceret, que mandabat interficere omnem, qui se filium Dei faceret suspiciens²⁶ Christum esse filium Dei sicut a multis audiverat. Et quia signa et mirabilia que nullus, nisi filius Dei esset, facere potuisset et audiverat eum hoc fecisse; volens autem certificari an²⁷ esset Dei
180 filius, plus timens filium Dei iudicare quam legi Iudeorum contra ire.

Sequitur: et ingressus pretorium duxit secum Iesum et dixit ad eum:

“Unde es tu?”

185 *Iesus autem responsum non dedit ei*²⁸ ^{cccxc} *in signum pacis*²⁹ ne eciam Pylatus credens in eum omnio liberaret eum vel si non liberaret eum magis peccaret, vel quia Pylatus rem altam et sibi inconprehensibilem postulavit, scilicet eius guaricionem quia nobis dicit guaricionem eius quis enarrabit, quasi dicens: nullus.

Littera Mar. 15 habet ibi: *Ita ut miraretur preses.*^{cccxcii}

/154vb/ Littera Io. 19 habet ibi: *Dixit ergo ei Pylatus:*

“Michi non loqueris? Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittendi te?”^{cccxciii}

²³ pontifices] pontifici *ms.*

²⁴ ministri] magistri *ms.*

²⁵ debet ... sermones] *in marg.*

²⁶ suspiciens] suspicans *ms.*

²⁷ an] ante *ms.*

²⁸ ei] tp *add. ms. sed del.*

²⁹ pacis] paciem *ms.*

190 Chrysostomus^{cccxciv} in hoc enim Pylatus condemnavit se, cum innocentem non liberavit et absoluit ex quo³⁰ in eius potestate erat:

“Et potestate habeo crucifigere te.”^{cccxcv}

Respondit Iesus:

195 *“Non haberes potestate<m> adversus me ullam, nisi data fuisset tibi desuper non a Cesare sed a Deo, qui est super omnes, propterea qui tradidit me tibi maius peccatum habet”*,^{cccxcvi} scilicet quam tu iudicas Cesaris potestatem metuendo.

Et exinde querebat Pylatus dimittere eum,^{cccxcvii} scilicet audiens quia eius predictum minus esse dicebat peccato Iudeorum.

200 *Iudei autem clamaverunt:*

“Ei hunc dimittis non es amicus Cesaris,”^{cccxcviii} quia scilicet super legem suam proponit se, et ideo secundum legem mori debet, quia filium Dei se fecit!”

Et ideo quia Pylatus legem gentis aliene non timuit sed magis timuit Dei filium occidere, ideo proponunt, legem Cesaris, cuius potestatem non putant posse³¹ effugere.
205 Statuerat imperator cum senatu Romanorum, ut quicumque sine sui remissione et licencia speciali se regem nominabat, incideret in crimine lese magistatis³² et sic mori deberet. Pylatus igitur plus terrenum regem quam Dei filium regem celi terre quot factorem sedit pro tribunali ut Dei filium condemnaret.

³⁰ ex quo] *in marg.*

³¹ posse] esse *a.c.*

³² maiestatis] magistatis *ms.*

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- cccxxviii Lc 23:14-16.
- cccxxix Mt 27:12.
- cccxl Mt 27:13.
- cccxli Mc 15:4.
- cccxlii Mt 27:14.
- cccxliii Mt 27:15.
- cccxliv Mt 27:16.
- cccxlv Mc 15:7.
- cccxvi Mc 15:8.
- cccxvii Mt 27:17.
- cccxviii Io 18:39.
- cccxl ix Mt 27:18.
- cccl Mt 27:20.
- cccli *Ibidem.*
- ccclii Cf. *fortasse* “Hieronymus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 404, c. 27, lectio 4 (cit. 5715).
- cccliii Mt 27:21.
- cccliv Lc 23:18.
- ccclv Io 18:40.
- ccclvi Lc 23:19.
- ccclvii Mt: 27:22-23.
- ccclviii Mc 19:25.
- ccclix Cf. Mt 27:45; Lc 23:44.
- ccclx Lc 23:20.
- ccclxi Lc 23:21.
- ccclxii GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 639 (*glossa marginalis super* Mc 23:9, litt. a).
- ccclxiii Lc 23:22.
- ccclxiv Cf. BEDA VENERABILIS, *In Lucae euangelium expositio*, ed. D. Hurst 1960. CCSL 120, liber vi, cap. 23, ll. 1369-71, p. 397.
- ccclxv Lc 23:23.
- ccclxvi *Non inveni.*
- ccclxvii AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *Quaestiones euangeliorum*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher 1980. CCSL 44B, liber ii, quaestio 13, l. 7-9, p. 56.
- ccclxviii *Non inveni.*
- ccclxix *Non inveni.*
- ccclxx *Non inveni.*
- ccclxxi *Non inveni.*
- ccclxxii Mt 27:27.
- ccclxxiii Mt 27:29-30.
- ccclxxiv *Non inveni.*
- ccclxxv *Non inveni.*

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- ^{ccclxxvi} Mc 15:16.
- ^{ccclxxvii} Mt 27:28.
- ^{ccclxxviii} Cf. “Origenes” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.2 (*In Io.*), p. 567, c. 19, lectio 1 (cit. 13901).
- ^{ccclxxix} Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904. CSEL 43, liber iii, cap. 9, par. 36, p. 320, ll. 8–11.
- ^{ccclxxx} Mt 27:29.
- ^{ccclxxxi} Io 19:4-5.
- ^{ccclxxxii} AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, ed. R. Willems, 1954. CCSL 36, tr. cxvi, par. 2, p. 647, ll. 8-9.
- ^{ccclxxxiii} Io 19:5
- ^{ccclxxxiv} AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, ed. R. Willems, 1954. CCSL 36, tr. cxvi, par. 2, p. 647, ll. 11-15.
- ^{ccclxxxv} Io 19:6.
- ^{ccclxxxvi} Ibidem.
- ^{ccclxxxvii} Ibidem.
- ^{ccclxxxviii} Io 19:7.
- ^{ccclxxxix} Io 19:8.
- ^{cccxc} *Non inveni.*
- ^{cccxc i} Io 19:9.
- ^{cccxcii} Mc 15:5.
- ^{cccxciii} Io 19:10.
- ^{cccxciv} *Non inveni.*
- ^{cccxcv} Io 19:10.
- ^{cccxcvi} Io 19:11.
- ^{cccxcvii} Io 19:12.
- ^{cccxcviii} Ibidem.

<Consideracio sexta>

<S>exta pars principalis vel consideracio sexta sequitur, in qua, ut dictum est, Pylatus, plus Cesarem quam Deum timens, sedit pro tribunali in loco iudiciario.

Littera Io. 19 habet ibi: *Pylatus autem cum audisset* (scilicet cum Iesum dimitteret, Cesari contradiceret), *adduxit Iesum foras, scilicet coram populo.*^{cccxcix}

5 O dulcissime Iesu, de te ludebant, ut pueri cum pila, que ab uno ad alium proiectus¹ fuisti: de <h>orto ductus ad Annam, ab Anna ad Caypham, a Caypha ad Pylatum², a Pylato³ ad Herodem, a Herodem iterum ad Pylatum, a Pylato ad Iudeos, a Iudeis ad crucem, a cruce ad monumentum; sed nunquam ad mestissimam et afflictam matrem; sed retroducitur⁴ ad iudicem ut ducatur ad crucem.

10 *Et sedit pro tribunali*^{cd} (id est pro iudicio, in loco iudicis).

Et notandum quod sedes varie nominatur secundum veritatem et sedencium. Nam sedes iudicis ut hic vocatur tribunal solium regum⁵, sed cathedra doctorum in loco qui dicitur “litostratus”, id est iudicium ebrayce vero “Golgota”, /155ra/ id est “collis”, vel “sublimitas”. Dicitur autem “licostratus” aliquot⁶ quod est lapis et stratos, quod est
15 composicio⁷ vel vari<a>cio quasi congeries lapidum diversorum colorum collocata⁸, vero interportatur collis vel sublimitas quia ex congregacione lapidum erat locus sublimis valde et pavementum super vario stratu lapide elevatum.

*Erat autem parasceve*⁹, hora quasi sexta,^{cdi} “perasceve” grece, latine “preparacio” dicitur, quia sexta feria preparantur iuxta pro sabbato.

20 Glossa: *hoc tempus fuit congruum condempnacioni Salvatoris ut reparacio conresponderunt lapsui, quia primus homo*¹⁰ *quasi hora sexta illius diei mandatum Dei transgressus est; congruum fuit et secundus Adam, sexta feria illius diei condemnaretur ad mortem, per quem lapsum primi hominis repararet.*^{cdii}

25 Sequitur littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *sedente autem illo pro tribunali misit ad eum uxor eius, dicens: “Nichil tibi et iusto illi”*; quasi dicens quid tibi si hic homo iustus est noli eum dampnari; *multa enim passa sum parvis propter eum.*^{cdiii}

¹ proiectus] proicitur *ms.*

² Pylatum] ad phari *add. ms. sed del.*

³ Pylato] ad iudeos *add. ms. sed del.*

⁴ retroducitur] rcio ducitur *ms.*

⁵ regu] rege3 *a.c.*

⁶ aliquot] alicos *ms.*

⁷ composicio] componicio *ms.*

⁸ collocata] gollgata.

⁹ Parasceve] Perasheve *ms.*

¹⁰ primus homo] homo primus *a.c.*

Iam enim Diabolus, Dei nutu, poterat mysterium¹¹ crucis cognoscere et ideo laborabat ut Christus non moriretur, forte iam sancti gaudebant in inferno, unde hoc
30 noverat.^{cdiv} Et sicut per mortem primum hominis, Adam mortem in mundo introduxit, ita per uxorem Pylati impedire nunc volebat ne per mortem secundi Adam, innocentis Iesu Christi, vita in mundum intraret.

Et ideo uxori¹² Pylati multas illusiones in sompnis nox¹³ illa ostendit; unde Glossa: nunc demum Diabolus intellexit per Christi spolia, que missurus, sicut primum
35 hominem per mulierem mortem intulerat, ita¹⁴ modo per mulierem vult Christum de manibus Iudeorum liberare, ne per eius mortem mortis ammittat imperium,^{cdv} ut enim dicunt sancti, perpendit Diabolus, ut dictum est, propter leticiam sanctorum in inferno. Scientes enim Christum filium Dei esse ac eius passionem instare per quam debebant ipsi et mundus de manibus Diaboli liberari, ideo gaudebant. Ex hoc ipse cognovit,
40 omnia ista previdens, voluit mortem Christi impedire, ne mundus liberaretur et infernus spoliaretur. Unde ad arma se contulit consueta, scilicet mulieres¹⁵; ^{cdvi} scilicet ad uxorem Pylati, ut per eam Christi mortem impediret et dominium mundi non perderet, quot per primam mulierem lucratus fuerat; et¹⁶ maxima mirabilia ostendit de Iesu ut sic moveretur ad suadendum viro suo ut Iesum dimitteret. Sicut enim Diabolus
45 procuraverat cum pontificibus et aliis propter invidiam Christi occidi, sicut nunc procurabat /155rb/ per uxorem Pylati Christum liberari, sed obtinere non valuit.

Littera Io. 19 habet ibi: dixit Pylatus Iudeis:

“Ecce rex vester. Regem vestrum crucifigam?”

Respondit populus:

50 “Non habemus regem, nisi Cesarem.”^{cdvii}

Theophyl<act>us:^{cdviii} Conabatur Christum dimitteret sicut innocentem consciencia¹⁷ remordente¹⁸.

Ieronymus dixit:^{cdix} Ecce qualem regem habere factum humilis. Namquam est ut nil tale captare, vel appetere possit at illi magis clamabant:

55 “Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum!”

Scilicet primo quando latronem ei pertulerunt; secundo quando dixit: “Ecce homo¹⁹”; tercio nunc eis exprobrando, dicens “Regem vestrum crucifigam”, quasi dicens

¹¹ mysterium] ministerium *ms.*

¹² uxori] ex *a.c.*

¹³ nox] nocte *ms.*

¹⁴ ita] item *a.c.*

¹⁵ mulieres] mulieris *ms.*

¹⁶ et] Iesu add. *ms.*

¹⁷ consciencia] 9m add. *ms. sed del.*

¹⁸ remordente] remordentem *ms.*

moveamini ab eius humilitate, salutem moveat opprobrio²⁰ quod erit vobis si rex vester crucifigatur; sed nequissimi Iudei nec moti Christi ludibrio, nec proprio obprobrio
60 Christum de genere suo et sanguine regio quia David renuerunt et regi alie in<di>geno sed Cesari submiserunt.

Unde dixerunt:

“Non habemus regem, nisi Cesarem, et ideo vobis non sit ignominia iste tamen crucifigatur.”

65 Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *videns autem Pylatus quia nichil proficit sed magis tumultus fieret, accepit aquam coram populo, lavit manus suas dicens:*

“*Innocens ego sum a sanguine iusti huius;*”^{cdx} quasi dicens: contestans ego innocentem liberare nolui.

Respondit universus populus dicens:

70 “*Sanguis eius super nos et supra filios nostros*”,^{cdxi} id est: ultimus sanguis istius veniat super nos et super nostros.

Et recte post quadriginta annos quibus eos Dominus ad primam exspectavit. Nam anno quadringentesimo venerunt Ierusalem Titus et Vespasianus, Romani principes et eam oppressam et circumdatam ceperunt ac funditus subverterunt²¹ et Iudeos, qui in ea
75 erant, occiderunt.

Et dicit Iosephus²² quod^{cdxii} undecies centena milia gladio et fame perierunt, et vendiderunt dantes triginta pro uno denario, sicut Christus venditus fuit pro triginta denariis. Iudei vero, qui ab illa captivitate evaserunt, latuerunt in silvis, et cum postea venissent ad civitatem et vellent eam reedificare, audientes Romani miserunt Helium
80 Adrianum, qui postea fuit imperator, qui totam civitatem destruxit et tunc edictum fuit a Romanis ne Iudeis portas illas liceret habitare, nec stare presumerent. Et sic per totum mundum usque in presentem diem, dispersi vagantur²³, quod totum factum est in vindictam sanguinis Christi. Recte ergo sanguis Christi super eos et super filios eorum usque hodie²⁴. Dicitur etiam quod tali die multum de sanguine per secessum emittunt.

85 Glossa²⁵: *perseverat usque hodie Iudeis hec imprecacio et sanguis Christi non auffertur.*^{cdxiii}

Littera LC 23 habet ibi: *Tunc Pylatus adiudicavit fieri petitionem eorum.*^{cdxiv}

¹⁹ homo] *in marg.*

²⁰ opprobrio] *obprobrio ms.*

²¹ subverterunt] *subersorunt ms.*

²² Iosephus] *yophe a.c.*

²³ vagantur] *fatigantur ms.*

²⁴ hodie] *in marg.*

²⁵ Glossa] *glosa ms.*

Pylatus paganus et gentilis Iudeis iustior /155va/ erat, quia Christum solum timore iudicavit; pontifices autem et sacerdotes Pharisei et legis doctores, invidia moti, clamabant: “Crucifige!” Est autem notandum quod tam maxime dampnaverunt Christum.

Primum fuit timor Pylati qui fuit gentilis, unde minus peccavit propter ignoranciam.

Secundum fuit invidia ex qua processit odium pontificum, sacerdotum, Phariseorum et scribarum, qui fuerunt litterati et in legis et in scripturis docti, unde gravius peccaverunt.

Tercium fuit avaricia Iude, qui fuit discipulus familiaris Christi et sciebat Christum filium Dei declaratum per Petrum, unde maxime peccavit.

Nam gravitas peccati dixit eum in desperationem, quilibet enim istorum peccavit mortaliter, sed Pylatus graviter, pontifices gravius, sed Iudas gravissime, unde defecit in Spiritum Sanctum et s<tim>avit²⁶ Christum regem Iudeorum pena crucis et morte latronum debere mori, et Barrabam dimitti.

Sequitur: dimisit autem illum eis qui propter sedicionem et homicidium positus²⁷ fuerat in carcerem; Iesum autem flagellaretum tradidit vo<luntati> eorum.^{cdxv}

Littera Io. 19²⁸ habet ibi: *et susceperunt;*^{cdxvi} scilicet milites Pylati eum, scilicet Christum spinis coronatum, purpura indutum, ludibriis affectum et pena crucis dampnatum et eduxerunt eum in pretorium.

Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *postquam illuserunt ei ex<uerunt eum> clamide et indue<runt> eum vesti<mentis> eius, coronam in capite ut estimo dimittendus²⁹ et eduxerunt extra civitatem ut scilicet crucifigerent.^{cdxvii}*

Littera Io. 19 habet ibi: *Et baiu<lans> sibi³⁰ crucem,*^{cdxviii} scilicet erat duorum magnorum signorum dederunt Christo, ad portandum usque ad locum in quo malefactores pervinciebantur.

Erat autem crux, quam super humeros eius posuerunt, ad modum “tau” et lignum longum, sine astile erat de cipresso longissimum: quatuordecim pedum transversale vero lignum erat de palma longitudinis id est pedum, statera Christi erat sex pedum in longitudine. Et ut dictum est caro Christi, mundissima ex flagellationibus diurnis et nocturnis tota erat lacerata et que³¹ ad modum pellis vestibus adherebat Christo, vero nobilissime et ordinatissime complexionis, ex predictis penis debilitatis, eciam sine

²⁶ stimavit] s***avit ms.

²⁷ positus] posutus ms.

²⁸ 19] in marg.

²⁹ dimittendus] dimittentos ms.

³⁰ sibi] dederunt add. ms. sed del.

³¹ que] e add. ms. sed del.

120 cruce³² vix ambulare poterat. Unde lac fecerat seu faciebat et ex gravedine carnes³³
fractus apriendo dolorem maximum renovabat, et unum brachiale crucis sepe terram
tangebatur³⁴ et sicut vestes movendo carnem³⁵ ad herentem laniabat.

Mestissima vero mater eius audita filii sui iniusta summa semimortua est effecta,
videns multitudinem armatorum militum ac populorum suum filium circundantium, ita
quod minime ei poterat appropinquare /155vb/ elevata de terra a Magdalena et sororibus
125 et Ioanne, Magdalena eum voce rauca, nimio dolore et plactu devicta, cum singultibus et
suspiriis dixit³⁶:

“O Domine surgite, quia ante vos ducitur³⁷ natus verum, duobus latronibus sociatus,
crucem maximam baiolando.”

130 Ad cuius vocem domina quasi mortua, oculis elevatis, filium videre non valens
clamare volebat, sed vox eius pro nimio dolore rauca vix audiri poterat, unde, palmis
iunctis, dolens aiebat:

“O mi fili dulcedo anime robur et fortitudo celi et terre, ubi video spes anime mee
vinctum solacium, vite mee unicum refugium, desolate matris lumen ocularum meorum
et pax leticia cordis alias nunc vehemens dolor ante me ducis cum latronibus et te
135 videre non valeo. Quis michi det ut tecum feram crucem latronum crucium³⁸ portator, et
tu tuam baiolas de crudelissimi<s> Iudei<s>. Hec est recompensatio graciaram mei
filii”.

Et sic lamentando stratam dimiserunt et per semitam, portam civitatis exiverunt ante
Christum turbis circumdatum ut filio exeunti appropinquaret, vel saltem in viis³⁹
140 videret; Christus vero propter percussiones spinarum, compunciones, alapas, et
conspuiciones, faciem hominis non pretendebat.

Et ideo, primo aspectu mutuo, mater filii effigiem non cognovit perfecte et pro dolore
sciens filium stransgossavit in quo in loco in signum pro futuro tempore facta est
ecclesia que vocatur Sacta Maria ad spasimum et tunc verificatum est illud Psalmi
145 metro: *Considerabam ad dexteram et videbam et non erat qui cognosceret me.*^{cdxix}

Filius⁴⁰ vere non potuit appropinquare eo quod dolor comprehensibilis et indicibilis
apprehendit eam unde se movere non potuit.

³² cruce] crucisce *sed corr.*

³³ carnes] carnis *ms.*

³⁴ tangebatur] tangebant *ms.*

³⁵ carnem] carnis *a.c.*

³⁶ dixit] *in marg.*

³⁷ ducitur] dicitur *a.c.*

³⁸ latronum crucium] latronibus cruces *ms.*

³⁹ viis] vini *ms.*

⁴⁰ filius] filio *ms.*

Filio vere⁴¹ maior dolor erat ex compassione doloris matri, quam⁴² ex proprio dolore pene et ideo propter dolorem et penam quam oculis propriis vidit, erat transfixus interius
150 et agravatus exterius et fatigatus gravedine, quasi ire non poterat ex quo fuit extra portam civitatis cum tantum usque ad locum calvarie esset circa medium miliare ubi crucifigendus erat.

Unde sequitur: *Exivit in eum locum qui dicitur calvarie*,^{cdxx} id est “decollatorium”, hebraice autem “Golgota”, id est “collis” vel “sublimitas”; hic autem locus erat
155 igno<mi>niosus. Quidam autem dicunt in hoc loco fuisse sepultum Adam, translatum de Ebron, iuxta illud: *ubi habundavit /156ra/ delictum superhabundavit et gracia*.^{cdxxi}

Milites vero et magistri Iudeorum videntes Christum gravatum cruce non ire, non compassione, sed odio timentes ne Pylatus revocaret⁴³ sententiam et sic liberaret quem dolenter dampnaverat ceperunt fustibus stimulare Iesum, et quasi circumdare eum post
160 se, ut citius se expediret sed cum Christus non posset ire⁴⁴ minimum fatigatus, tunc angarriaverunt Simonem.

Luc. 23 habet: *apprehenderunt quem<dam> Sy<monem> Ci<reneum>* (Cirena est civitas in provincia Libie, id est dicens illa civitate) *venientem de villa*.^{cdxxii}

Littera Mar. 15 habet ibi: *Patrem Ale<xandri> et Rufi, hos⁴⁵ putantes fuisse discipuli*
165 *Iesu*.^{cdxxiii}

Tunc regina celi mater, media stans in via dicebat quasi semi mortua:

“O fili dulcissime, cum quanto gaudio michi annunciatus fuisti, cum quanta leticia te genui et peperit⁴⁶, sed cum quanto dolore te video nunc ad mortem duci peccatorum et latronum, nam⁴⁷ loco angelorum in circumditate habens latrones in morte et loco⁴⁸
170 pastorum iubilancius⁴⁹ modo sic cito abiit pulcritudo tua, quia mutatus est color optimus quod amodo faciam mestissima mater tua vellem tecum mori”.

Et imposuerunt illi ut portaret post Iesum.^{cdxxiv}

Cum autem Dominus sic procederet, convertit se, vertens faciem versus Ierusalem.

⁴¹ vere] vero *ms.*

⁴² quam] xpo *add. ms. sed del.*

⁴³ revocaret] invitaret *ms.*

⁴⁴ ire] iret *ms.*

⁴⁵ hos] his *ms.*

⁴⁶ peperit] pereperi *ms.*

⁴⁷ nam] an *add. ms. sed del.*

⁴⁸ et loco] *in marg.*

⁴⁹ iubilancium] iubilantiis *ms.*

175 *Sequabatur autem illum turba magna populi et mulierum que pla<ngebant> et lam<entabant> eum;*^{cdxxv} quibus ipse dixit:

180 “*Filie Ierusalem nolite flere super me*”, quasi dicens quia cito subsequetur⁵⁰ mea resurreccio, <sed super> vos ipsas flete et super filios vestros^{cdxxvi} (qui post paucos dies, scilicet quadriginta annorum per respectum ad finem mundi): *venient dies, in quibus dicent beate steriles et ventres que non genuerunt et ubera que non lactaverunt*^{cdxxvii} (scilicet quando vestros filios comedetis ***⁵¹) *tunc in<cipient> di<cere> mo<ntibus> cadite super nos et coll<ibus> operite nos*^{cdxxviii} (scilicet tempore Titi et Vespesiani), *quia si in viridi signo hoc faciunt* (id est michi qui sine peccato sum, ymmo viridis virtute et vigore, tot et tanta fecerunt pro vestris et aliorum peccatis) *in arido quid fiet*^{cdxxix} (id est in Iudaico populo, humore gracie delicatus et omnibus peccatis pleno; quasi dicens fari non patet).

185 *Duceba<n>tur autem alii duo nequam cum eo*^{cdxxx}, scilicet ad maius vituperium et, ut cum eis sileri⁵² videretur et post quam venerunt in locum, qui dicitur calvarie locus, ubi multa ossa mo<r>tuorum malefactorum erant, hinc in despensa ubi crucifixerunt eum.

190 Modus autem crucifixionis /156rb/ fuit iste.

Et attende, o anima christiana, Christi sanguine redempta et Christo crucifixo hodie pro te cumpatere.

Crux enim de quatuor lignis fuit cum tabula tituli.

195 Calvaria enim locus est⁵³ altus vel monticulus in altiuri igitur loco montis calvarie fixerunt crucem, sic quia in saxo⁵⁴ eminentiori fecerunt⁵⁵ foramen, in quo foramine unum truncum magnum posuerunt forte quatuor pedum et grossum erat de cedro, et hoc fuit primum lignum crucis, in quo trunco medio fecerunt foramen, in quo posuerunt thau crucis, de quo dictum est, quod po<r>tavit Christus in humeris suis, et sic sunt tria ligna.

200 Primum scilicet “truncum” de cedro, secundum scilicet “hastile” de cypresso, tertium scilicet “brachiale” de palma.

205 Cruce sic elevata de terra, qua a saxo usque ad brachiale erant 14 pedes, tunc ministri diaboli Christum denudaverunt, expoliando coram matre et populo, sicut ex utero matris egressus est. Tunc mater, videns nudum filium, dolore cordis sauciata pro ut citius potuit velum capitis dedit quem sorores virginis circa lumbos circumdederunt, que a crucifixoribus statim expulse sunt.

⁵⁰ subsequetur] s’bq a.c.

⁵¹ ***] pre in opia fanus (?) ms.

⁵² sileri] sileris ms.

⁵³ est] l add. ms. sed del.

⁵⁴ saxo] sexo ms.

⁵⁵ fecerunt] crucem add. ms. sed del.

Demum duas scalas longas erexerunt brachiale crucis appodiantes ex parte posteriore⁵⁶ versus orientem, aliam vero a parte anteriore⁵⁷ quam ascenderunt ministri Sathane; agnus vero innocentissimus, nudus, spinis coronatus, ad preceptum militum presidis, ad victimam ductus sine voce aliam scalam⁵⁸ ascendit vertens dorsus versus orientem, ubi est paradysus terrestris, in quo Adam peccavit; quasi dicens Deo Patri: a modo Pater peccatum primi hominis postpone, quia tibi factus sum obediens usque ad mortem crucis.

210
215 Vero faciem versus occidentem quasi respiciens genus humanum, quod redimebat, quasi diceret secure intendite in me quia omnis iniuria est dimissa et ideo, cum ecclesia orat, vertit faciem ad orientem⁵⁹, respiciendo in faciem auctoris vite, Iesu Christi.

Cum autem sic staret Christus, tunc ille qui erat super scalam⁶⁰ brachi dextri, dextrum Christi brachium quasi tum potuit traxit, scilicet usque ad clavum crudelissime forme ad modum vectis et non clavum qui totam Christi manum quasi laceravit, cum maximo dolore fixit, quo facto accepit scalam et ad sinistrum latus posuit et, sic pendente Christo, a brachio dextro manum traxerunt sinistram usque ad ligni foramen⁶¹ que retractata erat ex doloris vehemencia, quam crudeli clavo transversali ligno affixerunt et sic totum corpus super brachia pendere fecerunt demum, remotis scalis, pedes traxerunt et sic unus super alium crudelissimo clavo stipiti vel <h>astili affixerunt, unde totum corpus tam ex gravitate quam extractu /156va/ totum erat extensum⁶² et tunc adimpletum est illud Psalmi metro: *dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea*,^{cdxxxii} id est enumerari potuerunt propter ossuum impulsu et cutis extensionem.

230 Nam omnem crudelitatem et acerbitatem operantibus pontif<ices> et phari<sei>, sacerd<otes> et scribis, ministri diaboli in crucifixione exercuerunt. Quidquid autem sic demonio assignandi verissimum est quod manibus et pedibus nudus in alto ligno crucifixus est crudelissime; Domino Iesu sic pendente et capite inclinato, ad osculum invitans genus humanum in signum pacis inter Deum et hominem ad maiorem sui penam et confusiones, duos latrones hinc inde cum eo crucifixerunt; unum ad dextris et alium ad sinistris, medium autem Iesum.

235 Littera Luc. 23 habet ibi: *Et tum crucifixerunt duos latrones, unum ad dexteris*, qui vocatus est Dismas, qui memoriam consecutus est, *alterum ad sinistris*,^{cdxxxii} qui vocatus est Gestam, qui cum Iuda ad eterunum supplicium ivit.

⁵⁶ posteriore] posteriori *ms.*

⁵⁷ anteriore] anteriori *ms.*

⁵⁸ scalam] scanlam *ms.*

⁵⁹ orientem] l *add. ms. sed del.*

⁶⁰ scalam] d *add. ms. sed del.*

⁶¹ ligni forman] lignum foramine *ms.*

⁶² extensum] extensis *ms.*

Littera Io. 19 habet ibi: *Medium autem Iesum.*^{cdxxxiii}

Sic igitur Iesus, filius virginis in cruce nudus a terra levatus, oculos cordis ad Patrem erexit dicens:

240 “Ecce Pater, hic sum: usque ad crucem humiliare me voluisti amore generis humani, quasi michi placet et tibi pro eis offero, quos inter fratres esse voluisti; accepta, igitur et tu Pater et deinceps placabilis esto, <per> mei amorem et omnem maculam ab eis absterge, gracia mei ad crucem ascensus et accerbissime passionis.”

Et hec de sexta consideracione.

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- ^{cccxcix} Io 19:13.
- ^{cd} **Ibidem.**
- ^{cdi} Io 19:14.
- ^{cdii} GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 649 (*glossa marginalis super* Mc 15:33, litt. B). Cf. also THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953; t.1 (*In Mar.*), p. 558, c. 15, lectio 8 (cit. 7542) et t.2 (*In Lc.*), p. 308, c. 23, lectio 10 (cit. 11350).
- ^{cdiii} Mt 27:19.
- ^{cdiv} PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, cap. 167, coll. 1620.
- ^{cdv} GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 452 (*glossa marginalis super* Mt 27:19, litt. G). Cf. also THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953; t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 297, c. 20, lectio 3 (cit. 5020).
- ^{cdvi} Cf. “Chrysostomus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953; t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 297, c. 30, lectio 3 (cit. 5020).
- ^{cdvii} Io 19:14-15.
- ^{cdviii} Cf. *fortasse* “Theophilactus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953; t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 553, c. 15, lectio 2 (cit. 7506).
- ^{cdix} Cf. *fortasse* “Hieronymus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953; t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 406, c. 27, lectio 4 (cit. 5715).
- ^{cdx} Mt 27:24.
- ^{cdxi} Mt 27:25.
- ^{cdxii} Cf. FLAVIUS IOSEPHUS, *De bello iudaico*, liber vi, c. 5, par. 274.
- ^{cdxiii} GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 453 (*glossa marginalis super* Mt 27:25, litt. d).
- ^{cdxiv} Lc 23:24.
- ^{cdxv} Lc 23:25.
- ^{cdxvi} Io 19:16.
- ^{cdxvii} Mt 27:31.
- ^{cdxviii} Io 19:17.
- ^{cdxix} Ps 141:5.
- ^{cdxx} Io 19:17.
- ^{cdxxi} Rom 5:20.
- ^{cdxxii} Lc 23:26.
- ^{cdxxiii} Mc 15:21.
- ^{cdxxiv} Lc 23:26.
- ^{cdxxv} Lc 23:27.
- ^{cdxxvi} Lc 23:28.
- ^{cdxxvii} Lc 23:29.
- ^{cdxxviii} Lc 23,30.
- ^{cdxxix} Lc 23:31.
- ^{cdxxx} Lc 23:32.
- ^{cdxxxi} Ps 21:18.
- ^{cdxxxii} Lc 23:33.

cdxxxiii Io 19:18.

<Consideracio septima>

<S>eptima pars principalis sequitur.

Luc. 23 ibi: *Iesus autem dixit: "Pater, dimitte illis (scilicet crucifixoribus): non enim sciunt quid faciunt."*^{cdxxxiv}

5 Eo quia omnis malus est ignarus et nemo aliquid agit aspiciens ad malum. Et hoc fuit primum verbum Christi in cruce, quod fuit magne benignitatis, in quo se Christus ostendit mediatorem inter Deum et hominem, exemplum nobis tribuens remissionis et indulgentie quia ad hoc verbum, audita Christi passione, corda vestra dicunt scindi ad iniurias remittendas.

10 Littera Io. habet ibi: *scripsit autem Pylatus tytulum* (scilicet in tabula¹ olive que addita fuit capiti thau inclavata ligno cypressino et palme), scripsit autem causam passionis Christi *et posuit super crucem*, ut ibi caput reclinaret et tunc forma cruces fuit perfecta. *Erat autem scriptum: Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum*,^{cdxxxv} quasi dicens: ideo autem crucifixus est quia Rex Iudeorum erat.

15 Talis autem tytulus positus fuit secundum Remigium *ut cognoscerent perfidi² Iudei quoniam nec occidendo facere potuerunt ut regem non haberent.*^{cdxxxvi} Est autem tytulus /156vb/ redicio cause mortis Christi triplex autem tytulus est.

Primus: memorialis, qui sit in memoriam mortuorum, sicut scribitur supra sepulcralis³ iacentis, vel iacencium.

20 Secundus: preconialis, qui fit in preconium virorum proborum laudem, scilicet quando officiales in edificiis pontificum palaciorum vel tribunorum⁴ et in spectaculis notabilibus ponunt epitaphiam suam; Genesis 26: *erexit Iacob lapidem in tytulum.*^{cdxxxvii}

Tercius: triumphalis, qui continet ordinem et causam triumphi.

25 Et isti triplici modi⁵ fuit⁶ positus iste tytulus et specialiter tercio modo hunc autem tytulum multi legerunt Iudeorum, quia proprie civitatem erat ubi crucifixerunt eum, scilicet ad medium miliare. Erat autem scriptum grece, hebraice et latine, ut diversarum linguarum homines qui convenerant ad diem festum illum legere possent et intelligere.

¹ tabula] tabule *ms.*

² perfidi] perfidei *ms.*

³ sepulcralis] sepuc^a laris *ms.*

⁴ tribunorum] trinum *ms.*

⁵ modi] moni *ms.*

⁶ fuit] fuerunt *a.c.*

Dicebat ergo Pylato pontifices Iudeorum: "Noli scribere Rex Iudeorum, sed quia ipse⁷ dixit rex sum Iudeorum."^{cdxxxviii} Quasi dicens: Pylato suggerendo "muta tytulum", sed noluit ymmo confirmavit.

30 *Respondit Pylatus: "Quot scripsi, scripsi."*^{cdxxxix} Quasi dicens: quot scripsi volo fecisse; sed dicunt aliquos quod ad sugestionem Iudeorum Pylatus ter noluit mutare tytulum et semper idem scribebat. Tunc tercio dicit: "Quod scripsi, scripsi".

Glossa: *Non corrumpo veritatem, sed vos diligitis falsitatem.*^{cdxli}

35 *Milites ergo, cum crucifixissent eum, acceperunt vestimenta eius et fecerunt quatuor partes, excepta tunica quam fecerat ei mater sua, quia erant quatuor milites, scilicet apparitores (id est principaliores familiarium⁸ Pylati, qui crucifixerunt Iesum), unicam partem et tunicam, id est quilibet miles partem unam habuit, quia quatuor partes facte sunt secundum quod quatuor erant. Et tunicam scilicet non diviserunt et sortiti sunt de ea cuius esset.*

40 *Et quia tunica illa erat inconsutilis ***⁹ opere facta, ideo scindi non poterat desuper contexta per totum (id est habens pannum aliquem ex transmisso super humeros propositum ad modum corrigie in pelliciis), dixerunt igitur:*

"Ad invicem non scindamus eam, sed sortiamur de ea, cuius sit."^{cdxli}

Et milites quidem hoc fecerunt.

45 *Et tunc impletum est illud prophecie Psalmus metro: Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.*^{cdxlii}

Sedentes autem (scilicet milites) servabant eum,^{cdxliii} ne evaderet aut de cruce deponi posset.

50 *Et notandum quod hec militum et pontificum di/157ra/ligencia profuit nobis ut, scilicet resurgentis¹⁰ veritas maior et clarior apparet hoc Augustinus.*^{cdxliv}

Stabat¹¹ autem populus expectans^{cdxlv} ut videret finem.

Pretereuntes autem basphemabant eum moventes capita sua^{cdxlvi} (scilicet ad maiorem derisionem) et dicebant: "Va qui destruit¹² templum Dei et in triduo redificat¹³ illud."

55 *Affractus populus concordat cum vocibus filiorum testium: "Salva temet ipsum si filius Dei es, descende nunc de cruce".*^{cdxlvii}

⁷ ipse] *iter.*

⁸ familiarium] *familiorum ms.*

⁹ ***] *rectulerato (?) ms.*

¹⁰ resurgentis] *resurgentes ms.*

¹¹ stabat] *stabant ms.*

¹² destruit] *destruis ms.*

¹³ redificat] *redificas ms.*

Augustinus: *Si insultantibus crederet virtutem pacie non mutaret descendendo de cruce noluit*¹⁴ *tum descendere ut nobis perseveranciam et in bona opera exemplum tribueret.*^{cdxlviii} Vere¹⁵ salutis auctor de crucis patibulo propter doloris angoscias, propter matris suspiria¹⁶, propter crucifixorum convicia de cruce non descendit sed Patris imperium consummavit, ut nobis neque religionis austeritas vel asperitas, nec calamitas ine mundanorum gravitas a Dei servicio retrahere valeant, donec unum sacrificium compleamus.

Magister Summarum *dicit quod deri<si>ones senciebant virtutes suas fractas agebant modo quantum poterat per principes ei insultantes ut descenderet de cruce.*^{cdxlix}
65 In Tobia eciam super verbo Tobie exacerare pestem demonem stetisse super dextrum brachium crucis, ut consideret si Christus aliquam maculam peccati haberet, ut scilicet vere cognosceret si esset filius Dei an non.

Similiter et prin<cipes> sacer<dotum> (in quibus erat prelacio dignitatis) *illudebant*¹⁷ *ei cum scribis* (in quibus erat magisterium legis) *et Phariseis* (in quibus obliteracio religionis) *dicebant: “Alis salvos fecit, se ipsum non patet salvum facere.”*^{cdl}

70 Quasi dicens: apparet quod non ex se, sed ex Be<l>zebulis sanabat, quia se ipsum salvare non potest.

Si rex Israel est, descendat nunc de cruce et credimus; confidit in Deo liberet eum nunc, si vult, dixit enim quia filius Dei sum: id ipsum et latrones qui crucifixi erant cum Iesu, improperebant ei.^{cdli}

Littera Mar. 15 habet ibi: *unus autem ex his latronibus qui pendebant, blasphemabat, (id est in blasphemia persistebat) dicens: “Si tu es Christus, salva temet ipsum et nos.”*^{cdlii}

80 Respondi<t> alter, scilicet iam conversus: *“Neque tu times Deum qui in eadem dampnacionem es?”*^{cdliii} Quasi dicens modo saltem salutem tuam querere deberes, qui es hic, ad partem¹⁸ dampnatus et nos quod iuste patimur. Nam digna factis recepimus hic autem quid fecit, manifeste fecit; secundum Ambrosium et Ieronymum uterque latronum conviciabatur, sed unus ad alterum conversus, alter stetit in /157rb/ sua malicia.

85 Et milites eciam illudebant ei ideo predicatur sedentes servabant eum, scilicet illudendo et dicendo: “Si tu es Christus” et cetera.

Est notandum 4 genera homini Christum illuserunt.

¹⁴ noluit] voluit *ms.*

¹⁵ vere] veris *ms.*

¹⁶ suspiria] sp *a.c.*

¹⁷ illudebant] illuderebant *ms.*

¹⁸ ad partem] ad in partem *ms.*

Primi fuerunt isti sedentes, qui deliciosos et ociosos significant. Apocalypsis 18: *quantum glorificavit set et fuit in deliciis tamen date illi tormentum et luctum.*^{cdliv}

90 Secundi fuerunt stantes, presumptuosos significant. Luc. 18: *Phariseos autem*¹⁹ *stan<te>s hec apud se orabat.*^{cdlv}

Tercii sunt pretereuntes, qui significant cupidos transseuncia diligentes sapiencie et diviciarum iactancia, quid contulit nobis transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra et tamquam ***²⁰ percurrens.

95 Quarti sunt pendentis, qui significant impacientes et querulos. Iuda in epistula sua: *hii sunt murmuratores querulosi, secundum desideria sua ambulantes et os eorum*²¹ *loquitur*²² *superbiam, mirantes personas questus causa,*^{cdlvi} ii sunt genuiflectentes, quod significat invidios, golosos et carnales mundi, et cetera 26.

Manus debiles et genua dissoluta multorum qua non beneficat virum suum hii omnis
100 Christum blasphemant.

Et dicebat ad Iesum:

“Memento mei Domine, dum venieris in regnum tuum.”^{cdlvii}

Hylarius^{cdlviii}: latro qui pendebat a latere dextro videns Christum, cum pedes clavo
105 cruci affigerentur, cum clamore et lacrimis pro crucifixioribus exoravit quem apostoli
negabunt verum Dei filium est confessus.

Augustinus, *De concordancia ewangelistarum:*^{cdlix} latro primo blasphemaverat²³
postea vero confessus est et meruit indulgenciam peccatorum.

Et dixit ei Iesus: “Hodie mecum eris in paradiso”;^{cdlxx} secundum verbum Christi est,
110 et est verbum infinite libertatis: donavit enim latronis regnum eternum. Ob tantam
passio<nem>, qua in isto triduo de inferno paradisum fecit. Nam animam
latronis et animas sanctorum Patrem in inferno exsu<l>tantium ex Dei im<mun>da
derisione, de<l>icia eterne vite anime Christi beneficat, quasi dicens vita est esse cum
Christo quia ubi Christus ibi et regnum.

Stabat autem iuxta crucem Iesu mater eius, cuius animam doloris gladius
115 *pertiansibat, sed parum dicens ewangelista quia certe corde in cruce cum filio erat*
*confixa*²⁴ *et soror matris eius Maria Cleophe et Maria Magdalene*^{cdlxi} *eciam et Maria*
Salomee et Ioanna uxor Cime, procuratoris Herodis, et Ioannes.

¹⁹ autem] *iter.*

²⁰ ***] ***icius (?) ms.*

²¹ eorum] *s add. ms. sed del.*

²² loquitur] *loquor ms.*

²³ blasphemaverat] *plaspemaverat ms.*

²⁴ confixa] *confixat a.c.*

Stabat mater lacrimosa, dolore plena, corde percussa filium amplecti cupiebat, sed non poterat, crucem stringebat manibus et cruci adherebat. Unde si facie destruebat
120 propter crucis nodositatem, clamabat et respondebat, unde dicens:

“Non me cognoscis, fili mi? Non audis? Non me vides? Scio quod summo dolore devictus, quia tenent te angustie mortis, amor meus, leticia mea, robur meum et fortitudo mea! O anima mea tantum modo me derelinquis /157va/ a me recedis²⁵, sine verbo fac ut tecum moriar, ut ita sit una mors, sicut est unus dolor et eadem ut michi
125 Simon prophetavit! Nam Iudeis, Pylato, militibus es locutus et mulieribus es loctus Ierusalem et michi dolenti matri, me non facis verbu<m>!”

Sed, o domina, cur dolore consumeris, cur tuum natum plus crucias, qui plus propter te dolet, quam propter proprias passiones plus tu ipsum crucias quam ipsa crux!

Unde sequitur: *cum vidisset*²⁶ *ergo Iesus matrem et discipulum stantem*,^{cdlxii} scilicet
130 matrem que eum genuerat, lataverat, miserat in Egiptum, fugerat in Israelem et templo quatierat ardencius diligebat eius mortis iaculo vulnerabatur. Qua propter Christus versus ad eam gracia alitus refrigerii, dedit refrigerium.

Et hoc est quod sequitur. *Cum vidisset ergo Iesus matrem et discipulum stantem, dixit matri sue:*

135 “*Mulier, ecce filius!*”^{cdlxiii}

Quasi dicens: “Quid clamas, mulier? Quod tibi respondeat? Vide qualiter tractatus sum, averte quia iam quasi totus sanguis capitis exivit nec habeo reclinatum colligaverunt oculi mei. Nam loqui non possum quod alias de me dixi nunc adimpletur (scilicet Mat. 8 et Luc.: *Cum vulpes foveas habent et volucres celi nidos, filius autem
140 hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet*)^{cdlxiv} et ideo loquivi non possum, mulier.” Non vocavit eam “matrem” ne dolorem augeret alium in filium et custodem acciperet.

“*Ecce filius tuus*”, qui fuit Ioannes nulli dubium esse; dent quod ad hanc vocem animam virginis dulcissime igne fervit accensa, scilicet doloris, amoris doloris, ex commutacione fili Dei in filio hominis, unde dicere poterat illud primum. Respondit:

145 “Mulier infelix, minimus ego sum amoris”

Cum audivit a filio se recommissam esse Ioanni. *Unde conversus discipulo, dicens:*

“*Ecce mater tua.*”^{cdlxv}

Quasi dicens: matri Ioannem tibi loco mei dimitto, ecce ergo filius tuus.

O quam amarum verbum, quam amara commutacio accipere servum pro domino,
150 discipulum pro magistro, nepotem pro filio, creaturam pro creatore, piscatorem pro mundi factore, pro filio Dei filium Zebedei.

Et exinde accepit eam discipulus in suam^{cdlxvi} scilicet curam.

²⁵ recedis] recedit *ms.*

²⁶ vidisset] *in marg.*

155 Quasi dicens: specialem curam habe semper de matre mea, secundum magistrum nec legitur quod mater Ioannem accepit in suum, sed bene equo et ideo mater si non verbo tamen facto.

Postea sciens Iesus quod iam consummata sunt omnia que de eo propheata erant et figurata, ut perficerentur que scripta sunt de illo, dicit:

“Sicio.”^{cdlxvii}

Et hoc fuit verbum summe indigencie et <a>trucitatis²⁷.

160 Bernardus: *Domine, quid sitis? Peto: ne plus sitis quam crux? De cruce taces et de siti clamas?*^{cdlxviii} Sed attende, o anima devota, quis es qui certe fons aque vive facientis salire in vitam eternam, ille est qui sitit; sed /157vb/ quid Dominus siciebat? Numquam mirratum aut acetum felle mixtum, quod accelerat mortem eorum qui crucifiguntur, certe vero sed siciebat lacrimas contricionis et devocionis sancte, crudelitatis Iudeorum erga ipsum dicat igitur Christus:

“Attendite et videte quam per meam mortem accerbissimam vestram vitam desidero, quia sitis mea vestra est salus que plus me tenet, quam corpus mei cruciatus Domini sic vos ingratos experior”.

170 *Vas ergo apposuerunt ei, scilicet aceto plenum, illi autem spongiam aceto plenam, <h>ysopo circumponentes²⁸ obtulerunt ori eius,*^{cdlxix} scilicet unus ex militibus hoc fecit: fuerent quidam qui dixerunt crucifixum acius mori si acetum felle biberet et dederunt ei talem potum milites, ut citius a custodia liberarentur. Dicitur eciam quod in poculo erat venenum talis condicionis, quasi ex eo bibisset, crepuisset, intestinis effusis.

Cum accepisset Iesus acetum, dixit:

175 *“Consummatum est.”^{cdlxx}*

Autem hic notandum quod in Christi morte omne sacrificium legis nove et veteris et precium nostre redempcionis et meritum eterne vite consum<m>ata sunt, vel alter consum<m>atum est, id est:

“Pater, in obedienciam quam michi dedisti complevi”

180 Et insuper quod, quasi dicens: “Mandare vos faciam ego enim in flagella peritus sum et totum quod de me scriptum est, consummatum est et perfectum a modo. Si placet revoca²⁹ me.”

Et Pater ad eum:

“Veni, dulcissime fili, quia omnia perfecta sunt et omnia accepto.”

185 Et ex tunc more moriencium cepit oculis caligare claudendo et aperiendo cum labore.

²⁷ <a>trucitatis] ***itatis ms.

²⁸ circumponentes] circumposito ms.

²⁹ revoca] renova ms.

Et facta hora sexta, tenebre facte sunt super universas terras,^{cdlxxi} lumen ubique maxime in terram Iudeorum *usque ad horam nonam*^{cdlxxii} nec fuit eclipsis naturalis ut quidam mentiti sunt.

190 Unde sequitur quod Athenis, ubi tunc florebat studium, inquesierunt Pharisei causam huius eclipsis et non inveniendo dixit Dyonisius Areopagita³⁰, magnus philosophus et astrologus, qui postea propter hoc ad predicacionem Pauli est conversus, adhesit sibi et factus est verus eius discipulus, aut Deus nature patitur aut mundi machina destruetur multe cause assignantur. Unde non fuit eclipsis naturalis que hic gracia brevitatis dimittitur³¹.

195 *Et hora nona clamavit Iesus voce magna.*^{cdlxxiii}

Ideo autem vocem magnam emisit secundum Chrysostomum,^{cdlxxiv} ut usque ad ultimam horam testimonium per hibuisse videretur, quia honoravit Patrem et fuit Deo contrarius; ebraycam emisit vocem, ut eis esset cognita et manifesta.

200 Et hora nona clamaberat, /158ra/ quia novem ordines angelorum reperat, *dicens:* “*Heloi Heloi*”^{cdlxxv} vel “*Helii Helyla mazabatam*”; una dicio est in qua ostenditur natura humana parvi<ss>ima angustia eciam virtus deitatis, si enim purus homo esset, vel fuisset in pacto mortis sic clamare non potuisset, ewangelium vero interpretatus est quid est illa vox dicens quod est interpretatum.

“*Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid derelinquisti?*”^{cdlxxvi}

205 Et Psalmus qui eisdem verbis incipit de Christo scriptus; clamabat enim Christus fortissime ad Patrem incipiens illum Psalmus: *Deus, Deus meus, respice in me,*^{cdlxxvii} et cetera. Et perficiens omnes versus, qui sunt in ordine psalmorem *in manus*³² *tuas commendo spiritum meum*^{cdlxxviii} et sunt versus 124.

210 Et pro ut Ieronymus dicit quod dicens clamando fortissime, *sicut leo rugit,*^{cdlxxix} intonavit ut acerbitatis sue passionis ostenderet more loenis in tormento consituti et fuit verbum maxime humilitatis, in quo deplorat Dominus illorum miseriam quorum suscepit: nam quia humanitas quam Dei filius susceperat sine peccato a Deo Patre, derelicta profato videbatur, quia obprobriose mortis erat tradita et manibus Iudeorum derelicta, ut sic peccatum primi hominis suo sanguine lavaret et pignore sue mortis expiaret et propterea dereliquit eum Deus Pater, quia multis doloribus et passionibus expositus fuit pro alieno peccato. Et tunc passio fore inutilis videbatur quia de toto genere hominis, pars redimi, nisi eius mater et solus latro qui credebat in eum; si igitur Deus Pater proprium unigenitum pro alieno peccato tot penis exposuit. Et sic dereliquit ut nobis peccati gravitatem ostenderet quid facient illi qui in peccatis concipiuntur
215 nascuntur et nutriuntur ullius debium, quod tradentur infernalibus flammis, ut quid
220

³⁰ Areopagita] Aripagita *ms.*

³¹ dimittitur] dimittuntur *ms.*

³² in manus] ad in manus *ms.*

igitur me derelinquisti, id est tot penis et doloribus pro peccato humani generis exposuisti.

Quidam illic stantes, dicens: "Heliam, vocat iste."^{cdlxxx}

225 Hii erant Romani, non intelligentes hebreum idioma³³ *et continuo occurrens*³⁴ *unus ex eis acce<pit> spon<giam> et impl<ivit> acce<to> et impo<suit> <h>arundini.*

Bis enim potatus fuit Dominus: primo ante crucifixionem, ut dicunt Mat. et Mar.; secundo ante consumacionem, ut hic ponitur et de hac omnes locuntur.

Et dabant ei bibere,^{cdlxxxii} id est dare volebant.

Ceteri autem dicebant: "Sine videamus an veniat Helias liberans eum!"^{cdlxxxiii}

230 Littera Luc. 23 habet ibi: *et /158rb/ clamans voce magna*³⁵ (sup<p>lendum eciam et lacrimando, spiritum committendo) *Iesus ait:*

"Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum."^{cdlxxxiiii}

235 Quasi dicens: Pater perfecti omnia que imposuisti michi, hora est ut veniam ad te. Pater recomendo tibi matrem meam, quam relinquo, in qua sola remansit fides mea, et corpus exanime in cruce relinquo sepeliendum. Tibi vero Patri animam et spiritum meum recomendo.

Et matri valefaciens, capite inclinato, emisit spiritum. Et velum templi scis<s>um est a summo usque deorsum apertum³⁶, scilicet ante fores templi attingendas fores, vel velum erat quedam cortina purpurea que stabat ante sacra sanctorum qua erat vultum.

240 Magnus *et longus terremotus est*³⁷ *et petre scis<s>e sunt*^{cdlxxxiv} et credo quod scissure que in lapidibus sunt alterne³⁸ tunc facte sunt et monumenta aperta sunt et multa corpora sanctorum que dormierant³⁹ surrexerunt cum eo; scilicet tertia die quia ipse est primo genitus mortuorum et exeuntes de monumentis post resurrectionem suam venerunt in sanctam civitatem: apparuerunt multis in testimonium resurrectionis.

245 Utrum autem aliquod eorum ita remanserint et cum Domino ascenderint nescimus credere enim possumus, quod sic quia veri testes non essent, nisi esset vera eorum resurrectio. Hoc Ambrosius.^{cdlxxxv} Beda dicit: *Ii credendi sunt cum Domino ascensisse simul cum corpore.*^{cdlxxxvi} Orosius dicit:^{cdlxxxvii} Terremotus et solis obscuratio⁴⁰ fuit per totum mundi, maxime autem Rome. Nam tunc maximo terremoto per orbem facto, saxa

³³ idioma] ydeoma *ms.*

³⁴ accedens] accarens *ms.*

³⁵ magna] vi *add. ms. sed del.*

³⁶ apertum] a pensum *ms.*

³⁷ magnus et longus terremotus est] magna et longa et terra mota est *ms.*

³⁸ alterne] alverne *ms.*

³⁹ dormierant] dorierant *ms.*

⁴⁰ obscuratio] os *a.c.*

250 in montibus scissa sunt, maximarum urbium plurime partes plus solita concussione ceciderunt. Eodemque die ab hora similiter sexta solis in totum obscuratus est. Terra, quem noctis tenebras subit abducta est, adeo ut stellas tunc diurnis horis toto celo visas⁴¹ fuisse referatur, et cetera.

⁴¹ visas] et *add. sed del.*

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- cdxxxiv Lc 23:34.
- cdxxxv Io 19:19.
- cdxxxvi Cf. “Remigijs” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.2 (*In Luc.*), p. 47, c. 3, lectio 2 (cit. 5735).
- cdxxxvii Gen 31:45.
- cdxxxviii Io 19:21.
- cdxxxix Io 19:22.
- cdxl AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers - J. Fraipont 1956. CCSL 39, ps. 55, par. 2, p. 677, ll 13-14.
- cdxli Io 19:23-24.
- cdxlii Ps 21:19.
- cdxliiii Mt 27:36.
- cdxliv Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904. CSEL 43, liber i, cap. 31, par. 48, p. 51, l. 21 – p. 53, l. 3.
- cdxlv Lc 23:35.
- cdxlvi Mt 27:39.
- cdxlvii Mt 27:40; Mc 15:29-30.
- cdxlviii Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, ed. R. Willems, 1954. CCSL 36, tr. xxxvii, par. 10, p. 337, l. 1 – p. 338, l. 29.
- cdlix *Recte*. OTFRIDUS WIZANBURGENSIS, *Glossae in Matthaum*, ed. C. Grifoni 2003. CCCM 200, cap. 27, par. 40, p. 335, l. 287 – p. 336, l. 298.
- cdl Mt 27:41-42.
- cdli Mt 27:42-44.
- cdlii *Recte* Lc 23:39.
- cdliiii Lc 23:40.
- cdliiv Ap 18:7.
- cdliv Lc 18:11.
- cdlvi Iud 1:16.
- cdlvii Lc 23:42.
- cdlviii *Non inveni*.
- cdlix Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904. CSEL 43, liber iii, cap. 16, par. 53, p. 339, l. 12 – p. 341, l. 4.
- cdlx Lc 23:42.
- cdlxi Io 19:25.
- cdlxii Io 19:26.
- cdlxiii *Ibidem*.
- cdlxiv Mt 8:20 et Lc 9:58.
- cdlxv Io 19:27.
- cdlxvi *Ibidem*.
- cdlxvii Io 19:28.

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- cdlxviii *Recte* DROGO OSTIENSIS CARDINALIS, *Vitis mystica seu tractatus de passione Domini*,
PL 184, coll. 0741 – 0768D.
- cdlxix Io 19:29.
- cdlxx Io 19:30.
- cdlxxi Mt 27:45.
- cdlxxii Lc 42:44.
- cdlxxiii Mt 27:46; Mc 15:34.
- cdlxxiv GLOSSA ORDINARIA, v. 5, col. 459 (*glossa marginalis super* Mt 27:45-46, litt. C-D).
- cdlxxv Mt 27:46; Mc 15:34.
- cdlxxvi *Ibidem*; *Ibidem*.
- cdlxxvii Ps 21:2.
- cdlxxviii Ps 30:6.
- cdlxxix Cf. *fortasse* HIERONYMUS, *Commentaria in Apocalypsis*, PL 29, c. 10, col. 859.
- cdlxxx Mt 27:47.
- cdlxxxi Mt 27:48.
- cdlxxxii Mt 27:49.
- cdlxxxiii Lc 23:46.
- cdlxxxiv Mt 27:51.
- cdlxxxv *Non inveni*.
- cdlxxxvi Cf. BEDA VENERABILIS, *Expositio in Marci evangelium*, ed. D. Hurst. CCCS 120,
liber iv, c. 13, l. 343. p. 603 – l. 352 p. 604.
- cdlxxxvii *Non inveni*.

<Consideracio octava>

<O>ctava pars principalis sequitur et ultima¹ in qua dicitur centurio autem et qui cum eo erant ad spectaculum illud et videntes que fiebant percuciebant pectora sua unanimiter², scilicet dolentes, de hiis que facta fuerant. Et his forte fuerunt illi³ qui ad predicacionem apostoli Petri, post adventum Spiritus Sancti conversi sunt *in die peniten<cie> circiter tria milia*,^{cdlxxxviii} ut patet Actuum, secundo capitulo.

*Stabant autem omnes fori a longe et muli<eres> que ineru<nt> eum erant a Gal<ilea> hoc*⁴ *videntes*.^{cdlxxxix} Littera Mar. 14 habet ibi: *inter quas erat Maria Magdalene, Maria Iacobi minoris et Ioseph <mater> et Maria Salomee, que cum esset in Galilea sequen<tes> eum, ministrantes ei et alie multe que simul cum eo ascen<erant> de Ierusalem*.^{cdxc}

Littera Io. 19 habet ibi: *Iudei igitur, quoniam parasceve (id est preparacio) erat, /158va/ que fiebat secundum legem sexta feria, die proximo ante sabbatum, necessaria preparabant ut non remaneant corpora in cruce die sabbati*⁵,^{cdxc} erat enim magnus dies ille sabbati, quia scilicet infra phase cadebat qua erat solis⁶ primor festivitas Iudeorum. Et omne sabbatum in se solempne erat, sed solempnius quod cadebat infra solempnitates septem dierum de quorum numero erat Pascha. *Rogaverunt Pylatum ut crucifigerentur eorum crura*,^{cdxcii} scilicet Christi et latronum, scilicet ut citius morerentur, ne festum eorum horrore cruciatus sedaretur. Vel quia secundum legem eorum si suspensus ultra solis occasum in cruce remanere non debebant.

Venerunt igitur milites et primi quidam fregerunt crura (scilicet primi latronis) et alterius qui crucifixus est cum eo; ad Iesum cum venissent et viderunt eum iam mortuum non fregerunt eius crura (id est hos ei non comminuerunt), sed unus militum (nomine Longinus, qui pro Christi nomine martyr factus est) la<n>cea latus eius aperuit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua.^{cdxciii}

Est notandum quod Christus septies suo sanguine aram crucis aspersit, scilicet de duabus manibus et duobus pedibus, de capite coronato spinis, de toto corpore flagellato et de latere la<n>ceato, iuxta figuram Levitici 16: *Tollet de sanguine vituli, asperget quam septies contra propiciatorium*.^{cdxciv}

Ubi notandum quod Christus hora nona exspiravit et tunc eius anima exivit de corpore, scilicet ea hora quando Adam de paradiso exivit et tunc aperta est porta

¹ ultima] ultimo *ms.*

² unanimiter] r'ner *ms.*

³ illi] *in marg.*

⁴ hec] hoc *ms.*

⁵ sabbati] *in marg.*

⁶ solis]solem *ms.*

paradisi, nam ab ea hora qua Adam fuit expulsus usque ad hanc horam fuit clausa et quia ad eius custodiam fuerat angelus positus, habens gladium versatilem et ignitum.

Ideo *unus militum la<n>cea latus eius aperuit*^{cdxcv} ut sic angelus cum⁷ gladio a<d>moneretur; sed notandum quod exivit aqua ut ignis peccati extingueretur et sanguis
35 ne amplius gladius utetur. Vel sic per aquam intelligitur sacrum regenerationis, scilicet baptismum per sanguinem vero nostre redempcionis precium et hoc stat contra errorem manicheorum, qui asserebant Christum assum<p>sisse corpus fantasticum de quo aqua et Sanguis exire non potuissent.

Et, inclinato capite, tradidit spiritum^{cdxcvi} quo, scilicet emisso, exspiravit. In hoc
40 ostendit se habere veram animam rationalem. Quantum nullius spiritus aliquod corpus vivificat, sed anima, quam sic sola habet iustus spiritus quod in eius separacione aliquod vivens moritur, quando exspirat et nulla anima commendatur Deo nec similiter traditur, nisi anima rationalis eciam vivens proprie dicitur exspirare nisi cor humanum. Nam eius anima recedit vel seperatur nisi sola rationalis. In hoc, ergo, quod Io. 19 ait:
45 *inclinato capite tradidit spiritum;*^{cdxcvii} secundum Mat. 27: *emisit spiritum*^{cdxcviii} quo emisit; secundum Mar. 15: *exspiravit*^{cdxcix} quam; secundum Luc. /158vb/ 23: *Patri commendavit,*^d ostendit quod ille spiritus erat.

Unde anima rationalis quantum multum corpus animale vivificatur in informacione anime rationalis, sed neque moritur eiusdem emissionem nisi corpus humanum. Cum
50 ergo corpus illud est et organi causam et tali anima animatum erat⁸, verum humanum corpus fuit et verus Deus, ut Pater et Sanctus Spiritus et ipsimet testati sunt sed probaciones dimitto cum brevitate⁹.

Sed notandum quod in scripturis Novi Testamenti non reperitur expresse a quo
55 latere Christus fuerit lanceatus. Doctores tamen et sancti dicunt quod a latere sinistro eo, quod cor ad latus sinistrum declinat, aqua amoris procedit, et Christus ex dileccionem humani generis latus sui amoris aperiri voluit ut vide emanarent thesauri gracionum. Ezechiel^{di} vero dicit in sua propheciam quod a latere dextro aqua exivit. De templo, ecclesia usa est depingere Christum a dextro latere vulneratum; eo quod, ut dictum est, Christo mortuo, eius latus apertum fuit et ideo immortalis fuit effectus et impassibilis,
60 vero latus sinistrum possibilitatis presentis vite demonstrat, dextrum vero impassibilitatem vite future depingitur; ergo in dextro ut ostendatur quod Christus impassibilis est.

⁷ cum] *in marg.*

⁸ erat] *in marg. esset a.c.*

⁹ brevitate] *brevitatis ms.*

Effectus in apercione lateris Christi fuit propheta Simeonis impleta que dixit beate virgini,^{dii} Luc. 2: *Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius.*^{diii} Quasi dicens: O virgo, 65 filius tuus tempore quo crucifigetur¹⁰ lanceabitur et tunc gladius ipsius, scilicet suo lateri infixus, tuam pertransibit animam, quia tu vero ipse dolorem senties, quia mortuo transfigetur.

Petrus Damascenus dicit: *dolores quos virgo effugit pariens hos tempore passionis sustineat.*^{dii} Similiter in bolla papali Petrus ponitur in sinistro quia a Christo mortali 70 vocatus, Paulus vero in sinistro, quia a Christo immortalis ymmo glorioso vocatus fuit, hoc tamen non assero, sed summe sapienciori committo.

Tum in sermonibus qui beato Antonio de Padua ascribuntur: *Invenitur et qui vi<dit> test<imonium> per<hibuit>*,^{dii} scilicet Ioannes Ewangelista, qui vidit latus Domini mortui translancari et continuo sanguinem et aquam emanari. Quasi dicens: non ab aliis 75 audivi, sed ego ipse prius vidi Longinum¹¹, autem qui latus Domini aperuit, cum fere oculis calligaret et casu sangu<in>is salvatoris eum tangere¹² clare vidit.

Et post adventum Spiritus Sancti conversus est *et verum*¹³ *est testimonium eius et ille scit*, scilicet Ioannes, *q<ui> v<era> d<icit> ut et v<os> cre<datis>*^{dii}, non nominat se propter humilitatem. Hec autem /159ra/ scripta sunt *ut cre<datis>; facta sunt hec* 80 (scilicet ut Christo non frangerentur crura) *ut scriptura impleretur* (quod dicit Exodus 12) *os*¹⁴ *non comminuetis*¹⁵ *ex eo*,^{diii} quantum ad primum. *Et interim alia scriptura que dicit videbunt in quem transfixerunt.*^{diiii}

Hoc implebitur, in die iudicii post hoc, scilicet post passionem et mortem salvatoris.

Littera Mar. 15 habet ibi: *et cum iam sero factum esset* (id est hora vespertina 85 approximaret), *quia erat parasceve, quod est ante sabbatum*,^{dix} quod erat solempne propter Pascha. Littera Luc. 23 habet ibi: *ecce vir* (scilicet a mentis¹⁶ probitate ut Iob) *nomine Ioseph qui erat nobilis decurio* (scilicet qui preat¹⁷ decem militibus), *vir bonus* (scilicet interius in corde) *et iustus*^{dx} (scilicet in operibus), *hic non consen<serat> consi<lio> et acti<bus>*^{dxi} et sic fuit bonus scilicet ad quantum cavendum et exprimo 90 quantum ad bonum agendum. Unde de isto putant aliqui scriptum esse primum Psalmum, scilicet: *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum*,^{dxii} scilicet Iudeorum.

¹⁰ crucifigetur] b *add. ms. sed del.*

¹¹ Longinum] Loginus *ms.*

¹² tangere] tanget *ms.*

¹³ verum] verus *ms.*

¹⁴ os] nobis *add. ms.*

¹⁵ comminuetis] ex eis *add. ms.*

¹⁶ mentis] l *add. ms. sed del.*

¹⁷ preat] leat (?) *ms.*

Ab Arimathia civitate^{dxiii} Ioseph, scilicet dives eo quo esset discipulus Iesu; scilicet per veram fidem non de duodecim, sed de undecim, secundum Chrysostomum.^{dxiv} Vel de credentibus, nam a primo omnes credentes discipuli dicebantur occultus tamen propter metum Iudeorum.

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Littera Mar. 15 habet ibi: *qui et ipse erat expectans re<gnum> Dei* (scilicet per firmam spem) *et audacter*¹⁸ *introivit ad Pylatum,*^{dxv} quia in hoc non timuit Iudeos, quia non videbatur causa discipuleratus sed magis causa pietatis venisse, vel quia sedata erat sevicia Iudeorum, eo quod adversus Iesum se prevaluisse credebat unde non curabat de sepultura, unde modicum timuit. Littera Io. 19 habet ibi: *et rogabat Pylatum ut tollerent corpus Iesu,*^{dxvi} ut scilicet eum sepeliret. *Pylatus autem mirabatur si iam obisset, acce<rsito> cen<turione>, int<er>ro<gavit> eum si iam mortuus esset*^{dxvii} *et cum cognovisse a centurio<ne>, (scilicet mortuus esset), donavit corpus Ioseph.*^{dxviii} Quasi dicens: sepelit eum. *Et tulit corpus Iesu.*^{dxix}

100

105 *Venit autem et Nicodemus, qui venerat ad Iesum nocte (scilicet occulte) ferens*¹⁹ *mixturam* (scilicet confeccionem preciosam) *mirre et aloes,*^{dx} que servabant corpora mortua apud fraccionem et vermibus. Nam de puro homine disponebat et in hoc apparet quod nondum vere fidem rationis habebant, quia afferebant mirram et aloes, quasi corpus Christi conservare volentes, de quo /159rb/ tamen propheta dixerat, Psalmus 15 metro 10: *Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.*^{dxxi}

110

Isidorus, libro 8 Ethimologiarum: Aloe est quedam herba valde medicinalis amarissimi succi et potest declamari hec aloa aloes, vel hec aloe genus huius aloes²⁰ sive pro arbore, vel pro succo, vel herba summatur *in India gignitur.*^{dxxi} *Mirra vere arbor est <in> Arabia cum gutta viridis*²¹ *atque amara ac ab amaritudine dicta.*^{dxxiii}

115

Et quantum hic homo dives erat non parum tulit, scilicet *libras centum*^{dxxiv} ambo enim iste divit<i>a et potentes iusti erat. Unde secundum Chrysostomum:^{dxv} Celitus provisum est ut Ioseph erat dives ut ad perfidem accederet et ut esset iustus ut corpus acciperet morietur.

120

Acceptit igitur corpus Iesu,^{dxvii} scilicet Ioseph qui a Pylato ipsum petierat et Nicodemus qui unguentum detulerat et deposuerunt eum de cruce, quo positus fuerat, extrahentes clavos de manibus et pedibus, de dextera, qua pendente beata virgo osculabatur eam querulosis verbis rauca voce gemebat.

¹⁸ audacter] et *add. ms.*

¹⁹ ferens] scilicet *add. ms.*

²⁰ aloes] aloes *a.c.*

²¹ viridis] viridas *ms.*

Deposuerunt eum, sic quia Nicodemus ascendit unam scalam, extraxit clavum manus dextre et Ioanni annuente porrexit demum, clavum sinistre abstaxit et dedit eidem, qui cum Ioseph sustentaverunt corpus demum clavum pedum extraxit et corpus deitatis²² unicum exanime in terra posuerunt.

Tunc beata virgo a capite usque ad pedes deosculando, amplexando, lacrimosis singultibus emittendo. Nam super qualem membrum²³ novum dolorem²⁴ lantum ymmo dolore dictabat, volentes vero corpus honorifice sepeliere, beata virgo ligavit velo capitem²⁵ sui, caput Magdalene²⁶, pedes Domine beate²⁷ virginis sorores cum aliis duabus totum corpus condientes aromatibus aportaverunt.

Ioseph et Nicodemus linteo²⁸ caput ligaverunt, velo pedes linteis et totum corpus et omnia de lino fuerunt, ut Augustinus, *De concordancia ewan<gelistarum>*,^{dxxvii} dicere videtur nec obstat quod ibi syndonis dicitur fuisse et corpus dominicum non inseritis aurotentis, sed immunda sindone construat.

Ideo dicitur: *et ligaverunt eum linteis cum aromatibus*,^{dxxviii} scilicet²⁹ corpus Iesu condentes³⁰ in syndone, id est linteis³¹ erant firmiter textis sicut mos est Iudeis sepeliere. Quasi dicens: eum non ut condempnatum, sed honorifice sicut magnum et nobilem, sicut enim mos erat Iudeis magnorum et nobilium corpore sepeliere.

*Erat*³² *autem ubi crucifixus est <h>ortus*,^{dxxix} quasi dicens: ibi proprie erat <h>ortus in quo erat monumentum novum. De quo Mar. 15 dicit: *Ioseph qui mer/159va/catus fuerat syndonem*,^{dxxx} secundum Mat. 27: exciderat pro sui sepultura, ideo dicitur quod posuerunt corpus Iesu *in monumento suo novo, quod exciderat in petra*,^{dxxxi} et dicitur novum quia Io. 19 dicitur, in quo notandum quisquam positus fuerat.

Notandum quod Christus fuit positus in monumento, in quo nullus positus fuerat, ne alterius estimaretur resurreccio et erat excisum in petra, ne dicere possent si multis fuisset lapidibus edificatum, quod suffosis lapidibus furatum fuisset.

Forma dominice corporis sepulc<rum> sic erat prout narrat Beda *super Mar*, ita *de monumento dicunt feruntque qui nostra etate de Hierosolimis*³³ *Brittanium*³⁴ *venerunt*,

²² deitatis] deitate *ms.*

²³ membrum] membro *ms.*

²⁴ dolorem] doloris *ms.*

²⁵ capitem] capitis *ms.*

²⁶ Magdalene] mad *a.c.*

²⁷ beate] l *add. ms. sed del.*

²⁸ linteo] linteum *ms.*

²⁹ aromatibus] id est linthei erant firmiter *ant. ms. sed del.*

³⁰ condentes] condientes *ms.*

³¹ linteis] linthei *ms.*

³² Erat] erat ubi *a.c.*

³³ Ierosolimis] Ierusalem *ms.*

- 150 *quod domus rotunda fuerit de subiecente rupe³⁵ excisa tante altitudinis, ut intus consistens homo vix manu extensa culmen possit attingere, introitum habens ab oriente cum lapis positus fuerat pro hostio in parte vero aliqua lacri³⁶ sepulcrum ipsum (id est locus dominici corporis) de eadem petra factum est, septem habens pedes longitudinis, tribus vero palmiis cetero pavimento altius eminens, id est sarcophagus suppositus*
- 155 *pavimento, vel ipso locus pariter factus est sicut sit in marmo domorum ad utensilia reponenda. Nam dicit idem Beda: Locum illum non desuper³⁷ sed a latere meridiano patula<m> per totum unum corpus inferebatur, quod ut pre ori<s> summe convenit ut esset sarcophagus inclinatus super latus aperturam a latere habens, non desuper³⁸. Color vero monumenti etiam locus rubicundus et albus dicitur permixtus.^{dxxxii}*
- 160 A vespere³⁹ in vesperem⁴⁰ illius diei in qua Dominus fuit crucifixus, nulla est hora in qua devotus⁴¹ non possit devotum aliquid cogitare, quia in primis vesperis⁴² potest cogitare phase paschalis celebracionis et novi institucionem. In primo illius noctis salvatoris predicacionem et apostolorum informacionem tercia deduccionem. In sera vigilia noctis Christi oracionem et capcionem. In tercia hora, deduccionem ad Annam
- 165 primum, accacionem in facie cesionem et illusionem, in galli cantu Petri negacionem, filiorum testium quisicionem, ad domum Cayphe adduccionem. In media nocte, pontificum interrogacionem, Christi expoliacionem, ipsius coronacionem et verbacionem. Mane Christi ad Pylatum presentacionem, presidis interrogacionem, Herodi⁴³ missione<m>, Christi desprecionem et ad Pylatum remissionem. In mane, per
- 170 Pylatum Iudeis Christi presentacionem, per milites Pylati Christi verberacionem, expoliacionem et reinducionem Iudeis, Christi condempnacione, Pylati locucionem, Barrabe dimisionem et clamancium crucifixionem Christi. In hora sexta tenebrarum manifestacionem Christi ad filias Ierusalem, locucionem ipsius, crucifixionem, pro crucifixoribus oracionem, matris recommeadacionem et vestium suarum dimisionem. In
- 175 hora nona, Christi ad Patrem spiritus recommeadacionem ipsius, exspiracionem, /159vb/ centurionis conversionem, veli templi scisionem, terre commocionem et monumentorum apercionem. In hora vespertina, de cruce deposicionem et post lateris

³⁴ Britanniam] Bethaniam *ms.*

³⁵ Rupe] ripa *ms.*

³⁶ lacri] lonari *ms.*

³⁷ desuper] dei *a.c.*

³⁸ desuper] desy *a.c.*

³⁹ vespere] vespera *ms.*

⁴⁰ vesperem] vesperam *ms.*

⁴¹ devotus] devota *ms.*

⁴² vesperis] *in marg.* vperis *a.c.*

⁴³ Herodi] Herode *ms.*

apercionem⁴⁴ linteorum et aromatum preparacionem in hora completoris, Chirsti
sepelicionem, monumenti signacionem et custodiam et mulierum lamentacionem et
180 multa alia que dimitto devote anime perscrutanda.

Demum declinabat dies et imminebat vespera quando propter sabbatum non licebat
operari. Et ideo veniente temporis urgencia⁴⁵, posuerunt Christum in monumento
propinquo. Io. 19: *Ibi ergo* (scilicet in monumento novo) *propter parasceve Iudeorum*
(id est propter sextam feriam precedentem sabbatum, in qua necessaria poterant operari
185 non licebat) *quia iuxta erat monumentum posuerunt Iesum*^{dxxxiii} (id est corpus Iesu
deitati<s> vinctum).

Idem modo⁴⁶ manens quod fuit in utero beate verginis et quod vivens mortuum
pependit in cruce et requievit in sepulcro et anima separata ab eodem corpore coniuncta
deitati descendit ad infinitum.

190 Teophil<act>us dicit quali modo sepulcro requievit attente *susceptam pro nobis*
*abundanciam*⁴⁷ *pauperitatis. Nam qui domum*⁴⁸ *in vita non habuit, post mortem quoque*
*in alieno sepulcro reconditur et nudus existens*⁴⁹ *Ioseph operitur*^{dxxxiv} et in suo sepulcro
sepelitur.

Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *et a<d>volvit* (scilicet Ioseph asistente sibi Nicodemo et
195 aliis fidelibus devotis) *saxum magnum ad hostium monumenti et abiit*^{dxxxv} ne
calumpniaretur corpus Iesu. Si eciam primus lapis fuisset appositus⁵⁰ possent dicere
“*Nobis dormentibus fuerunt furati*”,^{dxxxvi} sed non potuit saxum magnum nisi per multos
homines amoveri.

Augustinus in sermone sabbati sancti dicit: divina factum est dispensacione, *si enim*
200 *fuisset in terra sepulcrum Christi, possent dicere Iudei: “Suffoderunt terra<m> et furati*
sunt corpus Iesu!”^{dxxxvii}

Erat autem Maria Magdalene et <altera> Maria^{dxxxviii} (scilicet Iacobi minoris).
Littera Mar. 15 habet ibi: *et Maria Ioseph sedentes contra sepulcrum,*^{dxxxix} aspicientes
scilicet ubi posuerunt corpus predilecti magistri. Littera Luc. 23 habet ibi: *Hec*
205 *videntes,*^{dxl} scilicet quomodo sepulcrum erat positum et corpus Iesu ut tempore congruo
possent ei minus sue devocionis offerre.

⁴⁴ apercionem] apercionis *ms.*

⁴⁵ urgencia] urgenta *ms.*

⁴⁶ modo] mio *ms.*

⁴⁷ abundanciam] habundanciam *ms.*

⁴⁸ domum] demum *ms.*

⁴⁹ existens] extensus *ms.*

⁵⁰ appositus] apponitus *ms.*

Credo matrem omnibus affuisse ab hora prima diei usque ad completorium, qua hora causa noctis reversa est ad domum, ubi Christus cenaverat cum discipulis suis, quare vero ewangeliste nullam memoriam faciunt; dicitur ne quis suspicari possit ipsam de
210 resurreccione filii, quam in proximo sperabat, videretur dubitare.

/160ra/ Marie vero reverentes a tumulo post Christi sepulturam paraverunt unguentum et aromata, quibus, post sabbatum, unguerent Iesum magistrum eorum predilectum, quia nondum perfectam fidem habebant; et sabbato siluertunt id est, quieverunt, secundum legem et ma<n>datum.^{dxli}

215 Littera Mat. 27 habet ibi: *altera autem die, que est post Pa<ra>sce<ve>^{dxlii}* (scilicet sabbato post sextam feriam, in qua Dominis crucifixus est et sepultus). Sexta enim die Christus mori voluit pro homine et sabbato quie sacre in sepulcro a custodibus obsesso. Non enim suffecit Iudeis crucifixisse salvatorem nisi eciam facerent custodiri sepulcrum, quantum in ipsis erat manum imponetur resurgenti et sic hec custodia
220 imposita⁵¹ fuit sabbato.

Conveniencior autem modus exponendi est modus Remigii, qui credit^{dxliii} quod sexta feria fuit apposita custodia et lapis signatus, dicens quod hoc sabbato non licet fieri nec licebat; sed solvitur quia graviora peccata committebat quam hoc fuit facere quia hec servilia erant. Et non putabat Remigius, vero appellat parasceven Dominicie passionis
225 que incepta⁵² fuit a prima vigilia noctis precedentis legis gracia altera autem, die que est post parasceven, id est post preparacionem passionis Christi.

Et hec feria sexta *convenerunt* (scilicet conventis malignis⁵³) *Iudeorum principes et Pharisei ad Pylatum,*^{dxliv} *dicentes:*

“Domine, recordati sumus quia se illa die ad huc vivens, post tres dies resurgam.”^{dxlv}

230 Ubi ponitur Psalmi pro toto: *iube ergo custodiri sepulcrum usque in diem tercium.*^{dxlvi}

Notandum quod hec diligencia Iudeorum Rome profuit fidei, quia quanto magis servabant, tanto magis fides resurrectionis ostendebatur licet ipsi contrarium intenderent unde subducitur causam, dicens: *Ne forte venient discipuli eius et furentur eum.*^{dxlvii}

235 Ambrosius:^{dxlviii} magna malicia Iudeorum et sacerdotum, qui magistro et discipulis detrahebant.

Et dicant⁵⁴ plebi surrexit a mortuis et erit error novissius peior peiore.^{dxlix} Verum dicunt ignorantur quia *peior fuit infidelitas resurrectionis quam crudelitas passionis.*^{dl} Et peior contemptus prime quam prioris⁵⁵ ignorancie; confitentur ergo plane qui error fuit

⁵¹ imposita] imponita ms.

⁵² incepta] acpt a.c.

⁵³ conventis malignis] conventiis malignitus ms.

⁵⁴ dicant] dicent ms.

⁵⁵ prioris] crio* ms.

240 peior in Domini morte. Item secundum Ambrosium: *ignorantes verum dicunt quoniam discipuli spirituales fures fuerunt qui scripturam ab ingratis Iudeis in usus ecclesiam et fidei catholice conferebant.*^{dli}

Ait illis Pylato: "Custodiam habete." Quasi dicens (secundum Ambrosium): sufficit vobis quod in morte innocentem consensi, de cetero error /160rb/ vobiscum permaneat.

245 *"Ite, custodite sicut scitis."*^{dlii} Quasi dicens: ego de ista custodia non curo, nec curabo: faciatis quod vultis. Milites quos dedi vobis ad crucifigendum illum innoxium, adhuc habetis; illi custodiant quia alios non dabo vobis.

*Illi autem abeuntes munierunt sepulcrum, accepta licencia a preside custodiendi et habita de gentibus*⁵⁶ *sufficienti custodia munierunt sepulcrum homini<bus> vel*
250 *custodum signantes lapides* (scilicet quod erat ad hostium monumenti) *cum custodibus,*^{dliii} id est in presencia custodum, in quo eorum milia patet, quia nec de custodibus confidebant, quia eciam sigilla apponunt.

Chrysostomus: *non permisit Pylatus solos milites sigillare, si enim sol<i> sigillassent, possent dicere quod ipsi permiserunt quod discipuli corpus Domini*
255 *furarentur et resurrectionis fidem infringere.* Hoc autem dicere non possunt, cum ipsimet sepul<crum> sigillassent. Et *vide* (ait Chrysostomus) *eciam concertant et denudant irrefragabilem veritatem: irrefragabilis enim demonstratio resurrectionis facta est per ea que precesserunt, quia custoditum est sepulcrum lapis est signatus, nulla fractio facta est,*^{dliiv} quia sepulcrum clausum est et lapis signatus, quia eius mater
260 *<h>ortus conclusus est et fons signatus,*^{dliiv} Canticorum capitulo. Et cetera.

Explicit passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum fratrem Franciscum De Mauronis, ordinis minorum sacre⁵⁷ theologie professorem dignissimum de provincia Provenchie⁵⁸. Et cetera.

⁵⁶ gentibus] lu *add. ms. sed del.*

⁵⁷ sacre] pro *add. ms.*

⁵⁸ Provenchie] provincie *ms.*

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- cdlxxxviii Act 2:41.
cdlxxxix Lc 23:49.
cdxc Mc 15:40-41.
cdxci Io 19:31.
cdxcii Ibidem.
cdxciii Io 19:32-34.
cdxciv Lv 16:14.
cdxcv Io 19:34.
cdxcvi Io 19:30.
cdxcvii Ibidem.
cdxcviii Mt 27:50.
cdxcix Mc 15:37.
^d Lc 23:46.
^{di} Cf. Ez. 4.
^{dii} Simeon's prophecy: see Lc 2:25-35.
^{diii} Lc 2:35.
^{div} *Recte* IOANNES DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, PG 94 – 1192, liber iv, c. 14.
^{dv} Io 19:35.
^{dvi} Ibidem.
^{dvii} Io 19:36.
^{dviii} Io 19:37.
^{dix} Mc 15:43.
^{dx} Lc 23:50.
^{dxii} Ps 1:1.
^{dxiii} Lc 23:51.
^{dxiv} Cf. "Chrysostomus" in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 415, c. 27, lectio 11 (cit. 5757).
^{dxv} Mc 15:43.
^{dxvi} Io 19:38.
^{dxvii} Mc 15:44.
^{dxviii} Mc 14:45.
^{dxix} Io 19:38.
^{dxii} Io 19:39.
^{dxxi} Ps 15:10.
^{dxxii} Cf. ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay 1911. Liber XVII, c.8, par. 9.
^{dxxiii} Cf. ibidem. Liber xvii, c.8, par. 4.
^{dxxiv} Io 19:39.
^{dxv} *Non inveni*. Cf. *fortasse denuo* "Chrysostomus" in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 415, c. 27, lectio 11 (cit. 5757).
^{dxvvi} Io 19:40.

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- ^{dxxvii} Cf. AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. F. Wehrich 1904. CSEL 43, liber iii, cap. 23, par. 60, p. 350, ll. 3–25.
- ^{dxxviii} Io 19:40.
- ^{dxxix} Io 19:41.
- ^{dxxx} Mc 15:46.
- ^{dxxxix} Mt 27:60.
- ^{dxxxii} BEDA VENERABILIS, *In Marci evangelium expositio*, ed. D. Hurst 1960. CCSL 120, liber 4, c. 15, ll. 1680-1692, p. 638.
- ^{dxxxiii} Io 19:42.
- ^{dxxxiv} Cf. “Theophilactus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.2 (*In Ioh.*), p. 576, c. 19, lectio 11 (cit. 13938).
- ^{dxxxv} Mt 27:60.
- ^{dxxxvi} Mt 28:13.
- ^{dxxxvii} AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *Sermo xxiv: 4 (de Pascha)*, ed. D. Caillau – D. Saint-Yves 1836, p. 41. Cf. *etiam* cf. THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 416, c. 27, lectio 11 (cit. 5762).
- ^{dxxxviii} Mt 27:61.
- ^{dxxxix} Mc 15:46.
- ^{dxl} Lc 23:49.
- ^{dxli} Lc 23:56.
- ^{dxlii} Mt 27:62.
- ^{dxliii} *Non inveni.*
- ^{dxliv} Mt 27:62.
- ^{dxlv} Mt 27:63.
- ^{dxlvi} *Recte* Mt 27:64.
- ^{dxlvii} *Ibidem.*
- ^{dxlviii} *Non inveni.*
- ^{dxlix} Mt 27:64.
- ^{dl} *recte* BEDA VENERABILIS, *In Matthaei euangelium expositio*, PL 92, liber i, c. 27, col. 127D.
- ^{dli} Cf. BEDA VENERABILIS, *In Matthaei euangelium expositio*, PL 92 liber i, c. 27, coll. 127B-C.
- ^{dlii} Mt 27:65.
- ^{dliii} Mt 27:66.
- ^{dliiv} cf. “Chrysostomus” in THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Catena aurea*, ed. A. Guarienti 1953, t.1 (*In Matth.*), p. 417, c. 27, lectio 12 (cit. 5762).
- ^{dlv} Ct 4:12.

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i. s. o. d. i. t. s. e. g. o. d. p. r. i. m. q. d. p. e. p. e. m. n. a.
d. i. l. u. i. t. i. n. o. x. s. i. n. i. p. o. d. e. a. d. a. l. i. u. d. e. h. u. c.
v. i. d. e. h. u. c. q. u. a. p. i. c. h. o. s. e. i. i. m. a. g. n. a. t. u. r.
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h. uat. te

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Oportet non recedere a iuramento post
 septem dies panem unguentum et o
 mnia quibus post septem unguentum
 mensem eorum dicitur quod non dicitur si
 de sepulchro et libro siluati. i. quaua
 aut h' leges et mandata. h' a mat.
 u. h' ubi dicitur aut die q est post pasc
 s. libro post septem h' a q ad dicitur eru
 n' h' us est et sepulchro. cu die x
 m'eri no luit p' h' o' et s' h' o' que
 h' e' i' sepulchro a custodi' b' o' h' s' alle
 no cu' h' i' f' e' a' u' d' e' r' a' u' n' t' i' s' t' e' s' a
 u' a' m' e' i' m' i' e' a' a' f' a' c' i' t' u' r' c' u' s' t' o' d' i' u' s' e
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 h' o' c' d' i' l' a' c' i' a' i' u' d' e' o' r' u' m' p' o' s' t' p' f' u' i' t' f' i' d' e' i'
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 d' e' a' p' o' s' t' e' r' i' o' r' d' e' b' a' t' h' a' q' u' i' p' r' i' m' i' i'
 r' a' u' d' e' n' t' u' n' d' i' c' i' t' a' d' n' e' f' a' c' i' t' e' r' e
 n' i' e' t' d' i' s' t' i' c' t' i' o' e' i' u' s' e' t' f' u' e' r' e' t' u' r' i' m' b' i' t'
 m' a' g' i' s' t' r' u' i' u' d' e' o' r' u' m' e' t' s' a' d' d' o' t' i' i'
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 a' h' u' r' i' n' d' e' l' i' c' i' u' s' e' r' o' n' i' s' q' u' i' r' u' d' e' l' i' c' i' u' s'
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 i' u' d' e' o' r' u' m' i' n' t' i' s' e' n' i' a' e' t' f' i' d' e' i' r' a' t' i' o' n' i'
 e' t' q' u' e' s' t' i' o' n' e' s' i' l' l' a' p' u' l' a' c' u' s' t' o' d' i' a' r' u'
 h' o' c' e' t' q' u' o' d' s' e' p' t' e' m' d' i' e' s' i' s' t' i' t' i' s' i' o' b' q' u' i'
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nobis pmaneat ite custodia sic fatir
 q. d. ego desca custodia no ruro ut rudo fa
 nans q. illis o. d. lites quos dedi nob. ad
 a. h. e. d. i. illi i. noru ad huc h. e. n. illi
 custodia q. alios no dabo nob. y. l. i. u. t.
 ab. e. i. u. r. m. u. m. e. n. i. t. s. e. p. t. e. m. a. r. t. e. p. a. h. i. e. a.
 u. s. i. d. e. c. u. s' t. o. d. i. a. e' t' s' e' n' t' d' e' g' e' n' t' i' b' u' s' h' i' s' i'
 q' u' i' a' n' c' u' s' t' o' d' i' a' m' u' n' e' n' t' u' r' s' e' p' t' e' m' t' o' m' i'
 u' l' c' u' s' t' o' d' i' a' s' e' q' u' i' t' u' r' l' a' p' i' d' e' s' e' t' q' u' i' e' a' t' a' d'
 h' o' s' t' r' u' m' m' o' n' i' t' u' i' c' u' s' t' o' d' i' b' u' s' q' u' i' p' r' i' m' a
 c' u' s' t' o' d' i' a' i' n' q' u' a' e' o' r' u' m' i' n' t' e' r' p' o' s' t' e' r' i' o' r' u' m'
 a' n' t' i' d' e' b' a' n' t' q' u' i' a' e' n' i' s' i' g' i' l' l' a' a' p' p' o' n' i' t' u' r' e' t'
 n' o' p' u' n' t' u' r' p' u' n' t' a' t' u' s' s' o' l' o' s' m' u' l' t' e' s' s' e' g' i' l' l' a'
 u' o' s' e' t' e' n' i' s' o' l' s' i' g' i' l' l' a' s' s' e' t' p' o' s' s' e' t' d' e' f' e' a' q' u' i' p' i'
 p' r' i' m' i' s' e' r' u' t' q' u' i' d' i' s' t' i' c' t' i' o' n' i' s' d' i' n' i' f' i' n' i' t' e' r' e' t' u' r'
 p' r' e' c' e' n' t' i' s' f' i' d' e' i' n' s' i' n' g' u' l' a' r' i' o' r' u' m' d' i' e' n' o'
 p' r' i' m' i' s' i' n' i' p' i' m' e' t' s' e' p' t' e' m' s' i' g' i' l' l' a' s' s' e' t' e' n' d' e'
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 h' i' s' q' u' i' b' e' t' u' r' u' n' d' e' p' r' e' s' t' i' g' i' b' i' l' e' s' e' i' d' e' m' o'
 s' t' r' a' n' t' i' d' i' s' t' i' c' t' i' o' e' s' t' p' e' a' q' u' i' p' r' e' s' t' i' t' u' r'
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KEY WORDS

- Francis of Meyronnes
- The Passion of Christ
- Narrative treatise
- Critical Edition
- Devotional literature
- Medieval Latin literature
- Medieval university
- Medieval preaching
- *Devotio moderna*
- Franciscans
- Manuscript: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8393
- 14th century
- *Meditationes vitae christi*
Michael of Massa
- Ludolph of Saxony
- Henry Totting of Oyta
- Francis of Assisi

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA

- František z Meyronnes
- Utrpení Krista
- Narativní pojednání
- Kritická edice
- Devocionální literatura
- Středověká latinská literatura
- Středověká univerzita
- Středověké kazatelství
- *Devotio moderna*
- Františkáni
- Rukopis: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8393
- 14. století
- *Meditationes vitae christi*
- Michal z Massy
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