

The Alphabetum catholicorum of Arnaldus of Villanova:
An Edition and Study

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Ph. D.
Graduate Department of Medieval Studies
University of Toronto

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0-612-27780-1

"The Alphabetum catholicorum of Arnaldus of Villanova: An edition and Study" (PhD Thesis) by Hope Lampert Burnam. University of Toronto, Centre for Medieval Studies, 1996.

ABSTRACT

On the title page to the 1553 edition of his catechism, John Calvin defined a catechism as "a formulary for instructing children in Christianity set as a dialogue." Although catechisms have traditionally be regarded as an innovation of the Reformation and an outgrowth of late medieval lay devotional manuals, they were known as early as the thirteenth century and were based on a centuries-old tradition of instructing children in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary. This dissertation includes an edition of the Alphabetum catholicorum, a catechism written by Arnaldus of Villanova in Montpellier about 1295, and a study of its place in religious history.

There is no modern history of children's catechetical instruction in the Middle Ages, and it is difficult to trace because it was generally conducted by illiterate parents and godparents outside a formal setting. However, surviving church canons and liturgical documents suggest that beginning in the eighth century parents and godparents were expected to teach their children the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. This duty was reemphasized in the wake of the the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), and the first documents explaining to parents how to do so seem to have appeared in the mid-thirteenth century.

We do not know why Arnaldus, a doctor and would-be theologian, composed the Alphabetum for his patron King James of Aragon, but it appears to be the earliest dialogue explication of religious basics for children. Although the Alphabetum includes an explication of the Ten Commandments, a text not mentioned in contemporaneous catechetical teaching statutes, its contents are entirely orthodox; it contains none of the apocalyptic and spiritualist ideas that led church authorities to condemn a dozen of Arnaldus' later religious works in 1316.

Ten manuscripts of the Alphabetum survive, including translations in Greek and Catalan. Although the Catalan version was recently edited, the Latin original has previously been available only in an edition based on a manuscript mistakenly thought to have been presented by Arnaldus to Clement V.

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Acknowledgments

This dissertation grew out of research on the background for Erasmus' Institutum christiani hominis conducted for Robert Somerville's Reformation seminar at Columbia University in the spring of 1991. It could not have been completed without the generous help and encouragement of Prof. Somerville, Milton McC. Gatch of Union Theological Seminary, Jocelyn N. Hillgarth of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and Joseph Goering of the University of Toronto. I would like to thank Roger Reynolds of the Pontifical Institute, Paul Grendler of the University of Toronto and Michael McVaugh of the University of North Carolina for helpful suggestions on matters outside my field of expertise. Virginia Brown of the Pontifical Institute and Father Leonard Boyle of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana kindly looked at hands for me. Father Paul S. Russell of the St. Joseph of Arimathea Theological Seminary in Berkeley graciously assisted in tracking down references. I could not have completed this dissertation as quickly as I did had not my husband Bruce been so willing to find books and articles for me; I would have completed it much more quickly had not my son Henry had so many other ideas as to how I could best use my time.

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Prologue:

The Children's Catechism and the Alphabetum Catholicorum

Catechism, that is, the formulary for instructing children in Christianity set as a dialogue in which the minister asks and the child answers.

--John Calvin¹
Catechism (1553)

Catechisms have traditionally been regarded as an innovation of the Reformation, pioneered by Martin Luther and refined by John Calvin, Peter Canisius and Roberto Bellarmino.² Certainly, dialogue explanations of the basics of Christianity,

¹Catéchisme, title page: "Catéchisme, c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Christienté, faict en maniere de dialogue, où le Ministre interroque, et l'enfant respond." Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

²See, for example, Bainton, Here I Stand, p. 263. There were many "Lutheran" catechisms before Luther's. Among them: Peter Schultz' Büchlein auf Frag und Antwort (1520); Urbain Rhegius' Erklärung (1523); Philip Melancthon's Enchiridion elementorum puerilium (1524) and Büchlein für die christlichen Kinder (1528); Benedict Gutzinger's Haupt Artikel (1524); Christopher Hegendorf's Zehen Gepot (1526); Bartholomew Userius' Pedagogia Christianorum (1527); Brenz' Fragstück (1528); and Johannes Agrikola's Fragestücke (1528). See Léonard, Histoire générale I, p. 108.

usually defined to be the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments,³ proliferated in both Protestant and Catholic Europe after the 1529 publication of Luther's Kleine Katechismus.⁴

Recently, scholars have seen late medieval works on the art of Christian living and dying as forerunners for Luther's catechism.⁵ The popularity of such layman's manuals as the Le somme le roi (1279) of Laurent of Orléans⁶ and Deitrich Kolde's Spiegel der cristene mynschen (1470)⁷ were unquestionably

³Luther's catechism explicated the Ten Commandments, Creed and Lord's Prayer with a supplement on the sacraments he recognized (Baptism and Eucharist); Calvin's, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Commandments and, in a supplement, sacraments; Cramner's, the Creed, Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Sacraments; Trent's, Creed, Sacraments, Commandments, Lord's Prayer. See respectively: Luther, Werke 30, pp. 239-345; Calvin, Ioannis Calvini Opera 22 (contains various editions from 1545-1565); Book of Common Prayer, pp. 296-300; Catechismus 12, pp. 5-6.

⁴The following works describe Reformation and Counterreformation catechisms and catechetical teaching. England: Tudor, "Religious Instruction," pp. 391-413. France: Dhotel, Les Origines du Catéchisme. Germany: Strauss, Luther's House of Learning, pp. 151-175; the texts of many German catechisms are found in Reu, Quellen Part I, volume 2. Italy: Turrini, "'Riformare il mondo,'" pp. 407-489. Spain: Huerga, "Sobre la Catequesis," pp. 299-345 and Sánchez Herrero, "La literatura catequética," pp. 1051-1117.

⁵See, for example, O'Malley, The First Jesuits, p. 116.

⁶There is no edition of the Somme le roi. Its contents are summarized in Langlois, La vie en France, pp. 123-198. There is a partial facsimile of one Somme manuscript in Millar, An Illuminated Manuscript. A Middle English translation is edited in Francis, The Book of Vices and Virtues.

⁷The text is edited in Moufang, Katholische Katechismen, pp.

symptomatic of the religious atmosphere that made Luther's revolution possible, but they can be considered precedents for his catechism only in the general sense of being handbooks for laymen; after all, they were not for children, not in dialogue, and not on the basics of Christian doctrine (they expound sin and confession).

Whether or not Luther had these manuals in mind when he wrote his catechism, he was certainly thinking of another medieval tradition, the teaching of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments to children by their parents and godparents.⁸ This duty had been imposed by church law since Carolingian times--in some versions of the baptismal liturgy, parents or godparents were instructed to perform it--and although the frequency with which pastoral regulations remind priests to exhort parents to fulfill it suggests that it was often ignored, it was also, clearly, sometimes followed.

How parents, or teachers chosen by them, taught these texts to their children is difficult to reconstruct because few sources describing their methods have survived. Church canons tell us only what was taught (usually the Creed and the Lord's Prayer,

I-L. There is an English translation by Robert B. Dewell, in Janz, ed., Three Reformation Catechisms, pp. 29-130.

⁸Luther specifically objected to two Catholic children's books, the Pearl of Passion and The Little Gospel because they admonished readers to appeal to the saints. See Tjernagel, "Forerunners of the Catechism," p. 51.

later the Hail Mary and, occasionally, the Ten Commandments) and when (beginning at a child's seventh birthday). Unlike church canons requiring priests to preach to their adult parishioners which include lengthy discussions of what material such sermons should cover and how it should be presented, canons concerning the teaching of children contain no information as to scope or method.

Most medieval catechisms--in the Reformation sense of dialogues for children on the basics of Christianity--date from the fifteenth century: the Libreto dela dotrina cristiana of the Florentine bishop Antonio Pierozzi (d. 1459),⁹ the Christiliche untterwensung der klannen Kinder im Gelauben of the Bohemian Brethren (1498), the related Waldensian Interrogacions menors (late 15th century),¹⁰ a now lost Hussite catechism (1420),¹¹ and the Kinderfragen (1502) of the Moravian Brethren (Luther is said to have used a 1524 German translation of this as his model).¹² Earlier catechisms remain buried in archives, or lost, the victims, perhaps, of overuse. Although the Brethern of

⁹There is no modern edition of this work, but it was one of the earliest and most widely printed incunables; see O'Malley, The First Jesuits, p. 119.

¹⁰von Zezschwitz, ed., Die Kateschismen, pp. 9-38.

¹¹Reu, Catechetics, p. 82.

¹²Reu, Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism, p. 10. On Luther and the Bohemian catechisms, see also Muller, Die deutschen Katechismen.

the Common Life are thought to have taught religion in their network of primary schools, any catechism they might have used has been lost;¹³ so have teaching materials used at catechetical schools for poor children in fourteenth-century Venice and fifteenth-century Bologna.¹⁴

Other evidence is limited. There is no mention of the teaching of Christian doctrine in treatises on the education of children or in commentaries on the elementary school curriculum. The earliest known manual on teaching religion to children, the anonymous French C'est dou pere qui son filz enseign (before 1267), a dialogue on Christian morals, does not quote or explicate the texts of the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments.¹⁵ Ramon Lull's Catalan Doctrina pueril (before 1276), a monologue from father to son explicating the Creed, the Commandments and a dozen other subjects (it omits the Lord's Prayer), seems too long to have been aimed at a seven-year-old.¹⁶ The Enseignements St. Louis addressed to his

¹³Reu, Catechetics, p. 78. Bainton, Erasmus of Christendom, p. 8-12.

¹⁴Galicciolli, Della memorie venete, pp. 347-350. Mesini, "La catechesi a Bologna," pp. 232-267.

¹⁵There is no edition of the C'est dou pere, but its contents are summarized by Langlois in La vie en france, vol. 2-2, pp. 51-65.

¹⁶The text explicated the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Seven Beatitudes, the Seven Joys, the Seven Virtues, the Seven Mortal

son in 1270 are on morals, not doctrine, and they are addressed to a teenager, not a seven-year-old.¹⁷ Although he recommended that a question-and-answer catechism be written for children, Jean Gerson's own ABC des simple gens (1404) consists of a collection of mnemonic verses to help children remember the virtues, vices and such like.¹⁸ The French Buene introduction de la foy chretien (early fifteenth century) contains simple explanations of the Creed and the sacraments, the texts of the Hail Mary and the Veni Creator Spiritus, brief excerpts from the Gospels of Luke and John, and a mnemonic version of the Ten Commandments.¹⁹ The verse Catechezon/Institutum christiani hominis (1512-1514) of John Colet and Desiderius Erasmus summarizes the Creed, the Sacraments, the Vices and the living of the Christian life.²⁰ Two fifteenth-century manuals written

Sins, the Three Laws, the Seven Arts, Morality and Destiny (Lull, Doctrina pueril, pp. 39-243).

¹⁷Text in Delaborde, "Le texte primitif," pp. 255-262. French translation in Langlois, La vie spirituelle, pp. 35-46.

¹⁸Oeuvres complètes, vol. 7, pp. 154-157.

¹⁹Reproduced in facsimile in Plimpton, The Education of Chaucer, plates xiii.1-xiii.39.

²⁰Erasmus' Institutum christiani hominis is usually said to be a translation of the Catechezon. However, since Erasmus, who spoke no English, claims it as his own, it seems more likely that Colet, who spoke English and Latin, was the one who did the translating. Colet's English version is in Lupton, The Life of John Colet, pp. 283-289. Erasmus' Latin Institutum christiani hominis, is found in Reedjik, The Poems, pp. 307-313. On date and authorship, see Reedjik, The Poems, pp. 304-305 and Padberg,

for a child's first confession, usually made at the age of seven, imply that the child was expected to know the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments by that time, but do not include texts or commentaries.²¹

But we do have one catechism dating from the high Middle Ages, the Alphabetum catholicorum (c. 1295), a dialogue explication of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, written by Arnaldus of Villanova, a doctor and would-be theologian, for his patron James II of Aragon. As one of the earliest texts for the religious education of children,²² and the first one to fit our notion of what a catechism should contain, Alphabetum Catholicorum clearly has an important place in the history of the Catechism.²³

Erasmus als Katechet, p. 46.

²¹The confession manual of Frankfurt chaplain Johannes Wolff (1478) in Falk, ed., Drei Beichtbüchlein, pp. 17-23. An anonymous fifteenth-century manual in Holtrop, Confessionale Beichtspiegel, p. 6.

²²Carreras y Artau, "Un texto didáctico," p. 7-9.

²³In his listing of Spanish catechetical canons and treatises, Sánchez Herrero cites a question-and-answer catechism contained in the Pontifical of Saragossa that its editor Galindo Romeo dates to 1270-1280 ("La literatura catequética," pp. 1081-1082). According to Sánchez Herrero, this catechism contains question-and-answer explications of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Unfortunately, I have been unable to obtain either Galindo's article on this "catechism" ("El catecismo cesaraugustano") or his edition of the Pontifical (El breviario).

There is nothing to suggest that Luther saw Arnaldus' catechism, but the work does seem to have been reasonably well-known. Nine copies of it were found in a Valencia scriptorium underwritten by Arnaldus at the time of his death;²⁴ those manuscripts (and any additional copies made by the scriptorium) have been lost, but ten others survive, including translations into Greek and Castilian.

Although the Castilian translation was recently edited by Josep Perarnau,²⁵ the only Latin edition is based on a sole manuscript traditionally, but incorrectly, thought to have been presented by Arnaldus to Pope Clement V.²⁶ Arnaldus' later religious works, some of which were banned after a posthumous heresy conviction, have been extensively analyzed,²⁷ but the orthodox Alphabetum remains unstudied. This dissertation shall consist of an edition of the text based on the eight known Latin

²⁴Chabás, "Inventario," pp. 189-203: Items 1 (6 copies of Arnaldus' works including the Alphabetum, unbound), 2 (2 copies of Arnaldus' works including the Alphabetum, bound) and 89 (1 copy of the Alphabetum). Items 3 (6 copies of Arnaldus' works) and 4 (3 copies of Arnaldus' works) may also have contained the Alphabetum. On the theory that the Valencia house contained a scriptorium, see Perarnau, L' "Alia informatio," pp. 112 and 125.

²⁵Perarnau, Dos tradados, pp. 78-126.

²⁶Burger in "Römische Beiträge," pp. 163-167. The manuscripts are discussed in Chapter 4 below.

²⁷See, for example, Santi, Arnau de Vilanova; Perarnau, L' "Alia Informatio"; Lee, "Scrutamini Scripturas," pp. 33-56, and Manselli, "La religiosità," pp. 1-49.

manuscripts and an essay sketching its place in the history of religious education.

#

A Note on Terminology

In the ancient church the term catechesis referred to the process of instruction that someone who wanted to convert to Christianity went through prior to baptism. The course covered both Christian morals and Christian doctrines and culminated in instruction in the meaning of the Creed, then regarded as a symbolum or secret password indentifying members of the religious sect; the course usually included explications of the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer as well, although these were sometimes imparted to the candidates immediately following baptism rather as part of preparation for it. Catechesis was conducted orally, generally over a period of three years and was aimed at educated adults, many of whom had already read portions of the Bible in the course of their decision to convert.²⁸

The term catechismus was rarely used in the Middle Ages. When it did appear, it was generally in reference to the portion of the baptismal liturgy in which the (infant) baptismal candidate was "instructed" in the faith; often the term was used

²⁸On the use of the term "catechesis" in the ancient church, see Augustine, The First Catechetical Instruction, p. 93, note 4. See also, Fausset, De Catechezandis, pp. 123-124.

interchangeably with exorcismus, the portion of the baptismal liturgy immediately preceeding the catechismus in which the candidate renounced the devil, received a blessing and had his eyes and ears "opened" to receive the lessons of faith.²⁹

In the Reformation, the terms catechismus took on a new meaning. Wishing to link the educational texts that they wrote for baptized children to the pre-baptismal program of the ancient church, Luther, Calvin and other Reformers called these texts "catechisms."³⁰ As the full title of Calvin's Geneva Catechism quoted above suggests, these works covered the basics of faith and were written in dialogue (the obvious exception is the so-called Catechism of the Council of Trent which was written in prose for parish priests.³¹).

Modern scholars of the Middle Ages have used the term "catechism" to apply to any devotional work for the education or

²⁹Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 6; Bradley, The Roman Catechism, pp. 84-85.

³⁰Tudor, "Early Reformation," p. 392.

³¹Although the bishops at Trent described the catechism as "una quaedam brevis et compendiosa introductio . . . pro pueris autem et adultis indoctis erudiendis quibus lacte opus est, non solido cibo" (Societas Goerresiana, Concilium Tridentinum V, p. 72-73), they may not have intended that it be a document for children: Thomas Aquinas begins his Summa Theologiae with a statement that the work is for "incipientes erudire," and the Tridentine statement may simply be an echo of that (Summa Theologiae, Prologus).

personal use of laymen.³² While these works often include discussions of the basic texts explicated in ancient catechesis and Reformation catechisms, they are not to be confused with either. Since the use of the term catechism in this broad sense tends to obscure the fact that there were medieval catechisms in the narrower Reformation sense, I have avoided it. In this dissertation, the term catechism will refer to a basic educational work intended for a child; I will use the expression catechetical literature to refer to lay devotional texts on basic topics like the Creed, Lord's Prayer and art of dying.

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³²See, for example, Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities, pp. 27-32.

Chapter 1:

The Children's Catechism in the Middle Ages

Christian mother, your child is God's reflection; when you hold him on your knee, make the sign of the cross on his forehead, mouth and chest, and, when he can talk, pray with him so that he will pray along with you; you should bless your child, teach him the Faith and prepare him for confession at an early age by teaching him what good confession entails.

--Anonymous³³

Die Seelenführer (late 15th century)

Before considering the Alphabetum catholicorum itself, it will be helpful to summarize what we know of the religious education of children in the High Middle Ages. Unfortunately this is difficult to do for the most recent attempt to trace the

³³Die Seelenführer (Mainz, 1498), p. 31: "Cristenliche mutter, wan du din kind das ist gottes ebenbilde, uff din knien hast, so mache im has zeichen des henligen crußes uff stirne, mund und brust und bete mit im, wan es sprechen kin, das es nachbetet. Du solt din kind segnen; den glauben leren, un es füren zur bicht fruzitig, es auch unterwensen was es bedarff, gut zu bichten" (as quoted in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 34).

history of the catechetical instruction of children between the sixth- and sixteenth- centuries was published by Peter Göbl in 1880.³⁴ More recent works on medieval religion and education have given short shrift to the catechetical education of children. Eamon Duffy's otherwise comprehensive Stripping of the Altars ignores the question altogether; the chapter titled "How the Plowman learned his Paternoster" discusses not how young Piers learned the basic Christian texts, but how his father and his father's priest learned about Christian confession, sacraments and death.³⁵ Nicholas Orme's From Childhood to

³⁴Göbl's Geschichte der Katechese is difficult for modern scholars to use because his primary source citations are to sixteenth- and seventeenth- century collections rather than Migne's Patrologia Latina, Mansi's Sacrorum conciliorum or more modern collections. Most subsequent works on the religious education of children in the Middle Ages depend heavily on Göbl. Among them: Jansen, Canonical Provisions; Reu, Catechetics; Sloyan, Shaping the Christian Message. Other recent works include: Bradley, The Roman Catechism; Colin et. al., Aux origines du catéchisme and Germain, Langages. Many catechetical texts are discussed in Hézard, Histoire du Catéchisme.

³⁵Stripping the Altars, pp. 53-87. Duffy tacitly acknowledges that material for the religious education of children exists in his discussion of a Cambridge devotional manuscript of the fifteenth century; as he puts it, the opening tractates are followed by a group of "much simpler and more accessible texts probably aimed at children and young people and directly geared to catechizing: rhymed versions of the Ten Commandments, the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, the five bodily and spiritual wits, the seven deadly sins and their contrary virtues, a prose exposition of the Creed . . . and an account of the seven sacraments" (p. 70). Duffy's discussion of the Primer, by which he means not a first reader but a Book of Hours, also ignores materials directed at children (pp. 210-265).

Chivalry dismisses catechizing as something that "must have occurred informally."³⁶ Only Paul Grendler's Schooling in Renaissance Italy, which relies heavily on textbooks actually in use, addresses the question of how children learned religion, but because Grendler has limited his study to the years 1300 to 1600, the book sheds little light on the period in which the Alphabetum was written.³⁷

Although it is the best guide to the history of the catechetical education of medieval children, Göbl's study is of limited use for an introduction to a thirteenth-century Aragonese catechism for it focuses primarily on German materials, largely church canons, with additional references to German confession manuals, sermons and lay handbooks. Although Göbl occasionally cites French, English, Spanish and Italian church legislation, he almost ignores such sources as liturgical manuals and primary school textbooks. So many canonical, liturgical and primary educational materials have become available since Göbl published his book that it would be appropriate to reconsider the history of the children's catechetical instruction. Unfortunately doing so is beyond the scope of this dissertation. To provide a context for the Alphabetum catholicorum, a text written in

³⁶Orme, From Childhood to Chivalry, p. 129.

³⁷Grendler, Schooling, pp. 3-11, discusses the medieval background of "Renaissance," that is fourteenth- to sixteenth-century, education so far as is known.

Montpellier in the late thirteenth century for a Catalan patron, I will summarize briefly what we know about children's catechesis across Europe before the twelfth century and outline at greater length what the recently edited sources say about the process in Southern France and Spain in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Katecheîn, the Greek word from which Luther derived the term catechism, originally referred to the process of oral instruction provided to Christian converts preparing for baptism, then administered as part of the Easter vigil. Candidates were educated adults who would learn the Creed, the Church's secret symbolum or password only after a course of instruction in Christian morals and the leading of the Christian life. Often would-be Christians, including the Emperor Constantine (d. 336), chose to be baptized on their death beds, to insure that they did not sin again after their ritual cleansings.³⁸ As late as the fifth century, Augustine's De catechizandis rudibus, a work describing what a bishop should say to someone who comes to him wishing to convert to Christianity, clearly does not contemplate the catechesis of children.

(Parents often registered children as catechumens in their infancy, but there is nothing to suggest that such children were

³⁸Jones, Constantine, pp. 195-200. Jones et al., The Study of the Liturgy, p. 96.

catechized until they grew up. Indeed, by the end of the antique period, actual baptismal candidates were referred to as competentes to distinguish them from the many inactive catechumens.³⁹ Thus, for example, Monica, Augustine's mother registered her son as a catechumen as a young boy, but he did not become a competens--or a Christian--until he was in his early thirties.⁴⁰)

By the fourth century, catechesis, which had initially extended over a period of three years, was given during the forty days of Lent. The text and meaning of the Apostle's Creed, the statement of Christianity that the converts would formally embrace in the baptismal ceremony, were "handed over" to candidates on Palm Sunday, sometimes in conjunction with the text and meaning of the Lord's Prayer.⁴¹ "Augustine"'s sermons to competentes on these texts (some of which are now attributed to Caesarius of Arles and others)⁴² were much read in the Middle

³⁹Jones et al., The Study of the Liturgy, pp. 96-97.

⁴⁰Augustine, Confessiones I.cxi.17 (p. 15, ll. 14-15), VI.xi.18 (p. 133, l. 2) and VI.xi.18 (p. 132, l. 18).

⁴¹On baptism in the ancient church, see Jones et. al., The Study of the Liturgy, pp. 79-110 and Kavanagh, The Shape of Baptism, pp. 3-78. On baptism in the medieval church, see Fisher, Christian Initiation. Many documents relating to baptism in the ancient and medieval church are discussed and partially translated in Whitaker, Documents.

⁴²Augustine's sermons on the Creed to catechumens are #212, 213, 214, 215 in the Benedictine edition; his sermons to catechumens on the Lord's Prayer are #56, 57, 58, 59.

Ages, as was the Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum of "Cyprian" (now attributed to Rufinus of Aquileia).⁴³ (Because catechetical teaching began as preparation for baptism, it always concerns the baptismal Creed, usually called the "Apostles'," rather than the "Nicene" Creed used at the Mass; in this essay, I shall use the term "Creed" to refer to the Apostles' Creed).

Obviously this sort of oral instruction makes no sense if the baptismal candidates in question are babies. We know from Cyprian's dispute with Fidus that infant baptism had been introduced in North Africa as early as the third century,⁴⁴ and it appears to have become prevalent in Rome by the fifth century.⁴⁵ Whether baptized infants later participated in some sort of catechesis we do not know. By the time that Charlemagne

Pseudo-Augustine's sermons to catechumens on the Creed are #237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243.

⁴³PL 21, cols. 335-386; according to Thompson, the text of this treatise varies substantially from manuscript to manuscript (see Thompson's introduction to Erasmus, Inquisitio de Fide, p. 75. The Expositio is cited by the Council of Trent as a precedent for the Roman Catechism (Concilium Tridentinum V, p. 120). See Bradley, The Roman Catechism, pp. 128-129, note 9.

⁴⁴Ep. 64, pp. 717-721.

⁴⁵The earliest reference we have to the mandatory baptism of children is among a series of canons promulgated by Pope Celestine I in 424: "Infantes quamprimum baptisentur et parochi et concionatores frequenter fideles de hac gravi obligatione commoneant" (Cited by Mesini, "Catechesi a Bologna," p. 237). See also Gatch, "Basic Christian Education," p. 84.

ordered that children in Saxony be baptized by the age of one, catechesis had been reduced to a portion of the baptismal service formally referred to as the catechismus.⁴⁶ By the thirteenth century, when babies were routinely baptized at the age of a few days, even this shortened catechismus had disappeared, replaced by admonitions to parents and godparents to teach the newly baptized the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary.⁴⁷ The only remnant of the ancient catechetical program was the tradition of preaching on the meaning of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments during the forty days of Lent; indeed, the best-known medieval "catechism," Thomas Aquinas' Collationes, was composed as a series of forty sermons preached at the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Naples during Lent

⁴⁶Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae (775-790), c. 19: "Similiter placuit his decretis inserere quod omnes infantes infra annum baptizentur; et hoc statuimus ut si quis infantem intra circulum anni ad baptismum offerere contempserit sine consilio vel licentia sacerdotis, si de nobili genere fuerit centum viginti solidos fisco componat, si ingenuus triginta, si litus quindecim" (Boretius, Capitularia I, p. 69). Gy suggests that the text meant that children were to be baptized within a year of their region becoming Christian and not by the age of one; see "Evangélisation," p. 566. Texts of baptismal ceremonies in Lowe and Legg, The Bobbio Missal, pp. 183-185; Mohlberg, Liber Sacramentorum, pp. 48-53 and Andrieu, Les Ordines Romani 2, pp. 435-440.

⁴⁷See, for example, Andrieu, Le Pontifical Romain III, p. 335 (Pontifical of Guillaume Durand, 1293-1295); Franquesa, "El Ritual Tarraconense," pp. 262-263 (15th century); Martène, De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus I, col. 215 (Limoges Rituale, 14th century), and Collins, Manuale, pp. 32 and 37-38 (Sarum, 14th century).

1273.⁴⁸

As catechesis disappeared no new catechetical program seems to have been instituted for the already baptized. Although confirmation had become separate from baptism by the late thirteenth century and was eventually reserved for children no younger than seven,⁴⁹ it was apparently not associated with a teaching program until the Reformation.⁵⁰ Medieval liturgical books contain no ritual for the instruction of children, and there is nothing to suggest that there was one. An eleventh-century question-and-answer explication of the baptismal ceremony in the library of the University of Barcelona states that a priest should instruct adult baptismal candidates directly

⁴⁸Opuscula Omnia, pp. 349-460. A Leonine edition is in preparation. There are two English translations: Collins, Catechetical Instructions and Shapcote, Three Greatest Prayers. The sermons on the Creed are translated, along with a facing, otherwise unpublished Leonine text, in Ayo, Sermon-Conferences.

⁴⁹Synod of Cologne (1280), Mansi 24, p. 349. The Limoges Rituale (14th century) and the Sarum Manuale also specify that children are to be confirmed no younger than seven. The Counter-reformation councils of Milan (1565), Genoa (1574), Sorrento (1584), Benevento (1599) and Narbonne (1609) prohibited confirmation of children under seven. See Fisher, Christian Initiation, p. 135.

⁵⁰The confirmation services in both Bucer's Ziegenhain Order of Church Discipline (1538) and Cramner's two Books of Common Prayer include examinations of the children by the priest in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, along with other matters of faith. Although Luther denied that confirmation was a sacrament and forbade it to be practised in his churches, he barred from communion those who had not learned his Kleine Katechismus. See Jones et al., Study of the Liturgy, pp. 128-132.

and juvenile ones through another, presumably a parent or godparent.⁵¹ Aquinas noted in the discussion of baptism in the Summa Theologiae that although a child needed a "nurse and tutor" in the faith just as he needed a nurse and a tutor in the world, prelates of the church could not perform that role for they were too busy with the care of souls in general.⁵² (In light of this comment, it seems puzzling that some scholars consider preaching manuals and sermons an important tool for studying the catechism; although such materials are an indicator of how catechetical topics were presented, they were not intended as a guide for teaching the basics of religion to the young.)

The catechetical instruction of children fell into what Paul Grendler calls "the shadowy phenomenon of 'informal schools,' that is, instruction occurring outside a formal academic"--or, in this case ecclesiastical--"setting: parental and sibling tutoring, autodidacticism and instruction in the workplace."⁵³ As such, it is extremely difficult to document. Like Joan of Arc's mother, who, according to the saint's testimony taught her

⁵¹Casas Homs, "Dos antiguos tratados," p. 80-81.

⁵²Summa Theologiae III, q. 67, a. 7: "In generatione autem carnali parvulus nuper natus indiget nutrice et paedagogo. Unde et in spirituali generatione baptismi requiritur aliquis qui fungatur vice nutricis et paedagogi, informando et instruendo eum qui est novitius in fide, de his quae pertinent ad fidem et ad vitam Christianam, ad quod praelati Ecclesiae vacare non possunt, circa communem curam populi occupati."

⁵³"Schools, Seminaries," p. 325.

daughter (d. 1431) the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary,⁵⁴ most of these informal "teachers" were illiterate; even those who could read probably taught by traditional methods passed down by word of mouth. Any books children might have learned from can be expected to have disappeared. In the days before the printing press, few books were made for children; schoolmasters could not afford luxury editions and used books until they fell apart. Although textbooks like Donatus, a Latin grammar that was used by beginners as well as advanced students, do survive in collections that also include more difficult texts, manuscripts of texts which were used only by the youngest students are rare indeed.

However, we do have some clues as to what kind of religious education medieval children received. Catechizing children is sometimes mentioned in statutes concerning the duties of priests; it is occasionally referred to in sermons, confession manuals and records of episcopal visitations; by the later Middle Ages, it is even the subject of a handful of manuals and textbooks.

The evidence divides itself into three periods: Carolingian (8th-11th centuries), High Middle Ages (1200-1400) and Late Medieval (1400 to the Reformation). I will consider each period

⁵⁴Doncoeur, Minute française, pp. 87-89: "Et oultre dist que sa mere luy apprint le Pater Noster, Ave Maria et Credo, et que aultre personne que sadicte mere ne lui apprins sa creance."

separately. The first references we have to catechizing children are found in eighth- and ninth-century church canons. In his Regula Canoniorum (762), Bishop Chrodegang of Metz admonished priests to educate the adolescent boys of their congregations;⁵⁵ the Council of Arles (813) urged that parents be zealous to instruct their children since they had received them from God;⁵⁶ Bishop Jonas of Orléans, in his De Institutione laicali (825), emphasized the duty of a parent to educate his child in the faith at home.⁵⁷ These sources do not specify what the children were to learn, but two other sources do: a capitulary of 809 urged priests to teach not only men and women but also children the Creed and the Lord's Prayer;⁵⁸ the

⁵⁵"Solert(er) Rectores Ecclesiarum vigilare oportet, ut pueri adolescentes qui in congregatione sibi commissi nutriuntur, vel erudiuntur, ita jugibus Ecclesiasticis disciplinis constringantur; ut eorum lasciva aetas, et ad peccandum valde proclivis, nullum possit reperire locum, quo in peccati facinus proruat" (Hartzheim I, 110). See Janson, Canonical Provisions, p. 13.

⁵⁶"Ut parentes filios suos erudire summopere studeant, quia eos genuerunt et eis a Domino dati sunt" (Harduin 4, 1006).

⁵⁷Book 2, c. 14, 15 and 16 (PL 106, cols. 192-199).

⁵⁸"Ut orationem Dominicam, id est, Pater noster et Credo in Deum, omnibus sibi subjectis insinuent et sibi reddi faciant tam viros et feminas quamque pueros" (PL 97, cols. 323-324). The text of this capitulary is sometimes said to be part of a pastoral letter of Jesse of Amiens (d. 836), but Stephen Baluze, the Patrologia editor, believed that it is actually by Charlemagne; according to Baluze's note following the Patrologia text, the confusion arose from the Capitulary's location in a St. Gall manuscript containing part of a letter by Jesse. In his Geschichte der Katechese, Göbl attributes the

Council of Mainz (813) required that parents send their children to school or a priest to learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer so that the children might teach others in the household.⁵⁹ That the two required texts should be the Creed and the Lord's Prayer is no surprise; those were the texts that were taught in the ancient catechetical program, and, according to repeated church canons, in Carolingian sermons.⁶⁰ As Charlemagne's adviser Théodulf of Orléans put it: "to be considered a Catholic, a man must know the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, believe them with all his heart and repeat them frequently in prayer."⁶¹

text to both Jesse (p. 250) and the Capitulary (p. 84).

⁵⁹"Symbolum, quod est signaculum fidei, et orationem dominicam discere semper admoneant sacerdotes populum Christianum. Volumusque ut disciplinam condignam habeant qui haec discere negligunt, sive in jejuniis, sive in alia castigatione emendentur. Propterea dignum est, ut filios suos donent ad scholam sive ad monasteria, sive foras presbyteris, ut fidem catholicam recte discant, et orationem dominicam, ut domi alios edocere valeant. Et qui aliter non potuerit, vel in sua lingua hoc discat" (Mansi 14, col. 74).

⁶⁰For example, the Synod of Frankfurt (794), c. 33: "Ut orationem dominicam et symbolum fidei omnes doceantur" (Mansi 13, col. 908) and a Capitula of 802: "Ut unusquisque sacerdos orationem dominicam et symbolum populo sibi comisso curiose insinuet ac totius religionis studium et christianitatis cultum eorum mentibus ostendat" (MGH, Capitularia I, p. 106).

⁶¹Capitula ad presbyteros, c. 22: "Nisi quis has duas sententias et memoriter tenuerit et ex toto corde crediderit et in oratione saepissime frequentaverit, catholicus esse non poterit" (as quoted in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 42, note 3).

Carolingian leaders were especially concerned that godparents know the Creed and the Lord's Prayer both so that they could swear the faith on behalf of the child they sponsored, and so they could later instruct that child in it.⁶² The councils of Leipzig (743),⁶³ Chelsea (787),⁶⁴ and Vesoul (early ninth century)⁶⁵ as well as the so-called Capitula sub Carolo Magno⁶⁶ all required that godparents know and teach the Creed

⁶²Alcuin, opp. II, p. 521: "Docemus orationem dominicam paternos et maternas, ut ipsi similiter faciant, quos suscepturi sunt a sacro baptismo. Similiter docemus symbolum, quod signum in nostra lingua vertitur vel cognita" and p. 523: "Deinde perscrutamus paternos et maternas si possunt cantare dominicam orationem et symbolum, sicut praemonuimus" (as quoted in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 44, note 2).

⁶³c. 26: "Annuntient presbyteri ut neque viri neque feminae de sacro fonte filios suscipiant, si non memoriter symbolum et Orationem Dominicam tenuerint" (PL 89, col. 822).

⁶⁴Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents III, pp. 448-449, canon 2: "Secundo docuimus, ut baptismus secundum canonica statuta exerceatur, et non alio tempore, nisi pro magna necessitate; et ut omnes generaliter Symbolum et orationem Dominicam sciant; et illi qui parvulos de sacro fonte suscipiunt, et pro non loquentibus respondent, ob renunciationem Satanae, et operum et pomparum ejus, seu fidei credulitatem, sciant se fidejussores ipsorum esse ad Dominum pro ipsa sponsione: ut dum ad perfectionem aetatis pervenerint, doceant eos praedictam orationem Dominicam et Symbolum, quia nisi fecerint, districte ab eis exigetur, quod pro non loquentibus Deo promittitur. Ideo generaliter omni vulgo praecipimus, hoc memoriae mandari."

⁶⁵c. v: "Adnuntient presbyteri ut neque viri neque femine de sacro fonte filiolas vel filiolas suscipiant, si non memoriter symbolum et orationem dominicam tenuerint" (de Clercq, La législation religieuse, p. 368).

⁶⁶c. 3: "Ut si patrini vel matrinae, qui infantes de fonte suscipiunt, sive masculos sive feminas, ipsum symbolum et

and the Lord's Prayer;⁶⁷ the Aachen Capitulary (802)⁶⁸ and a letter from Charlemagne to Gerbald of Liège⁶⁹ both require that godparents recite the Creed and the Lord's Prayer before being allowed to stand as sponsors at a baptism. This concern endured into the High Middle Ages; at the beginning of his treatise on

orationem dominicam sciunt, filios et filias spirituales, quos et quas de fonte susceperunt, pleniter instructos habeant de fide, de qua pro eis fide iussores existerunt" (Hartzheim 1, 424).

⁶⁷The council of Clovesho (747) notes that priests should teach parishioners the Creed so that they will be able to pass it on to those they sponsor in baptism (c. 11: "Symbolum quoque [omnibus ad se venientibus] diligenter [presbyteri] insinuant, ut intelligant quid credere, quid sperare debeant, infantibusque illud vel eis, qui eos in Baptismate suscipere voluerint, tradant" (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents III, p. 366)). An undated Admonitio synodalis (c. 79) of the early ninth century requires that godparents teach their godchildren the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, or have someone else do it ("Patrini filioli suis symbolum et orationem dominicam insinuent aut insinuari faciant" (Amiet, "Un Admonitio synodalis," p. 64)). The Council of Paris (829) insists that priests teach parishioners the meaning of the faith and the sacrament of baptism so that they will be able to explain both to their godchildren, should they stand as sponsors at a baptism (c. 7: ". . . secundo, quia illi, qui in sua sponsione aliquos de sacrosancto fonte suscipiunt, nec fidei nec baptismatis sacramento sunt instructi et idcirco eos, quos suscipiunt et secundum sanctorum patrum documenta docere debuerant, erudire nequeunt" (MGH Concilia, p. 614)).

⁶⁸c. 15: "Nullus infantem vel alium ex paganis de fonte sacro suscipiat, antequam symbolum et orationem dominicam presbytero suo reddat" (PL 97, col. 247).

⁶⁹"Qui in posterum in Pascha et Pentecosten filios et filias de sacro fonte suscepturi sunt, sciant se orationem dominicam et fidem symboli apostolorum reddere rationem, ut scimus qualiter verus fidejussor sit unusquisque illius quem susceptum est a sacra fonte" (MGH Capitularia, p. 240).

the Apostle's Creed, Peter Abelard noted that no one was allowed to serve as a godparent who had not first chanted the Creed and the Lord's Prayer to the officiating priest.⁷⁰

None of the legal documents just cited hint at how children--or godparents--were taught⁷¹ and whether they were expected to know just the words of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer or something of the meaning.⁷² The only direct reference to catechetical teaching methods, Hrabanus Maurus' statement in the De disciplina ecclesiae that illiterates were to be catechized "by stories, exhortations and humor,"⁷³ does not

⁷⁰"Illud etiam observandum, ut nullus suscipiat infantem in baptismo a sacre fonte, antequam idem symbolum et Orationem Dominicam coram presbytero decantet" (PL 178, col. 619).

⁷¹A handful of Carolingian texts discuss what missionary preachers were to teach, but only two touch on method. Alcuin recommended that the preaching be based on the two sample sermons of Augustine's De catechizandis rudibus, a treatise discussing how to introduce Christianity to a pagan claiming to be interested in converting (Ep. 110, MGH Epistolae iv, pp. 157-159); an anonymous missionary handbook Ratio de catechizandis rudibus suggests language for discussing the superiority of Christianity over paganism as well as for explaining the contents of the Ten Commandments and Christian morals (Heer, Ein Karolingischer Missions-Katechismus, pp. 77-88). One missionary sermon survives, the so-called Scarapsus, written by Pirminius of Reichenau c. 710; the text is edited in Jecker, Die Heimat des hl. Pirmin, pp. 34-74. See also Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary," pp. 705-740.

⁷²In "Evangelisation et Sacrements," Gy raises this question but does not attempt to answer it (p. 567).

⁷³Book I: "Quomodo rudes catechizandi sunt. Hoc officium faciendum est narratione, exhortatione atque hilaritate" (as quoted in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 249, note 1).

shed much light on the question. Bede's Letter to Egbert (734) suggests that laymen learned only the words and that they learned them by repetition.⁷⁴ Repetition makes sense as a learning method since it was the method of basic instruction in the ancient and medieval eras, and the only one practicable in a world in which books were rare and parishioners largely illiterate. (Although later church leaders seem to have expected that children be taught the meanings of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer as well as the words, they continued to expect them to learn by repetition right up to the end of the Middle Ages. In an early-fifteenth-century manual for priests, University of Paris chancellor Jean Gerson explains that godparents were for the most part excused from the duty of teaching children the Creed and the Lord's Prayer both because teaching children those texts was also a duty of parents and because the texts were

⁷⁴"In qua videlicet praedicatione populis exhibenda, hoc prae ceteris omni instantia procurandum arbitror, ut fidem catholicam, quae apostolorum symbolo continetur, et dominicam orationem, quam sancti evangelii nos scriptura edocet, omnium, qui ad tuum regimen pertinent, memoriae radicatus infigere cures. Et quidem omnes, qui Latinam linguam lectionis usu didicerunt, etiam haec optime didicisse certissimum est; sed idiotas, hoc est, eos qui propriae tantum linguae notitiam habent, haec ipsa sua lingua discere, ac sedulo decantare facito. Quod non solum de laicis, id est, in populari adhuc vita constitutis, verum etiam de clericis sive monachis, qui Latinae sunt linguae expertes, fieri oportet. Sic enim fit, ut caetus omnis fidelium, quomodo fidelis esse . . . discat" (Plummer, Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, pp. 408-409).

recited so often in church;⁷⁵ the Seelenführer, a late fifteenth-century devotional handbook, instructed mothers to pray with their children as soon as they could speak so that the children would learn to pray along.⁷⁶)

Although laymen do not seem to have been expected to be able to explicate the Creed and the Lord's Prayer themselves, they almost certainly heard commentaries on both texts. Bede apparently intended that priests preach on the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and many sermons on the two texts survive.⁷⁷ Although the infant being baptized did not learn anything at the Carolingian baptismal ceremony, older attendees might have for the baptismal liturgy still contained explications of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, nominally directed at the catechumens. The Bobbio Missal (northern Italy, eighth-century) included a

⁷⁵Gerson, comp. theol. opp. II, p. 77: "Dicit autem Magister Albertus, quod patrini ad istam diligentiam obligantur, si tamen aliter non instruantur parvuli. Sed quia parentes sunt communiter in istis circa parvulos diligentes, Credo etiam et pater noster cantantur in ecclesia, et mores praedicantur ac in bonis operibus ostenduntur, in magna parte excusantur patrini. Secus autem fuit in primitiva ecclesia, quando parvuli inter infideles nutriebantur" (as quoted in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 34, note 1).

⁷⁶Text above, p. 12 and note 33.

⁷⁷See, for example, Joscelyn of Soissons' "Expositio symboli et orationis dominicae" (PL 186, cols. 1479-1496) and Hugh of Amiens' "Super fide catholica et oratione dominica" (PL 192, cols. 1323-1346).

lengthy commentary on the Apostle's Creed;⁷⁸ the Gelasian Sacramentary (Paris, eighth-century), briefer explications of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer (these are repeated word for word in the Ordo Romanus XI, the version of the Roman liturgy that Charlemagne propagated across his empire).⁷⁹

There is nothing to suggest that during the Carolingian period children (or adults) learned religion from a question-and-answer catechism. But the dialogue format was familiar for teaching purposes and textbooks for both grammar and religion were written in it; it was also used for "scrutinizing" priests as to their knowledge of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer as part of the ordination process.⁸⁰ Alcuin's Disputatio Puerorum (c. 813), a dialogue written for the education of priests,⁸¹ contains brief question-and-answer explications of the Creed and Lord's Prayer that sometimes circulated separately,⁸² usually attributed to Bruno of Würzburg, an

⁷⁸Lowe and Legg, The Bobbio Missal, pp. 183-185.

⁷⁹Mohlberg, Liber Sacramentorum, pp. 48-53. Andrieu, Les Ordines Romani 2, p. 435-440.

⁸⁰Roger Reynolds, conversation with the author January, 1992. Several such scrutinies are cited by de Clercq in La Législation, p. 323, note 5.

⁸¹PL 101, cols. 1097-1144. The attribution to Alcuin is dubious. The text seems too long to have been intended for a child and the work includes a discussion of the mass, something one would not expect in a work intended for laymen.

⁸²Ten works with the incipit "In oratione dominica quot

eleventh-century German bishop.⁸³ These Questiones, as they are called in some manuscripts and which appear to have been interpolated into the text of the Disputatio, were probably not by Alcuin,⁸⁴ and they do not seem to have been written by Bruno either, since they are found in a Disputatio manuscript of circa 900.⁸⁵

Whoever wrote the Questiones, they do seem to have been popular, appearing, as they do, in manuscripts copied two centuries apart. How they were used is uncertain. They were also probably not intended as a catechism as many authors,

petitiones habentur? Magister: septem. Discipulus: quae est prima? Magister: sanctificetur nomen tuum" are listed in Bloomfield et al., Incipits.

⁸³It is so attributed in Bloomfield et al., Incipits and also in PL 142 where the text is edited (cols. 557-559). In this edition, the explications of Lord's Prayer and the Creed are followed by the titulus "Laudes post nocturnum / Hymnus quem Sanctus Ambrosius et Sanctus Augustinus invicem condiderunt," the text of the Te Deum and a prose explication of the Athanasian Creed; this additional material was probably not part of the original Questiones.

⁸⁴The text of the Disputatio already includes explications of the Creed and the Prayer, the latter neatly included in the discussion of the prayers of the Mass, the former, ending with the words "which three and one liveth and reigneth from generation to generation. Amen," seems to have been intended as the final section of the work. "Bruno's" brief Creed explication has been inserted immediately before Alcuin's much longer one, and his Prayer explication has been tacked on after Alcuin's ending.

⁸⁵Salisbury 67. See PL 101, col. 1096.

following Göbl, have suggested.⁸⁶ As Heinrich Denzinger noted in his biographical sketch of Bruno in the Patrologia, the text of the Questiones is similar to that of surviving ordination scrutinies,⁸⁷ and the Questiones may have been intended for that purpose.⁸⁸

There are few further references to the religious education of children until the thirteenth century. Canons in England (960),⁸⁹ Germany (1009)⁹⁰ and Spain (1050)⁹¹ repeat that children are to be taught the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. A

⁸⁶Göbl describes this dialogue, which he attributes to Bruno, as the first catechism (Geschichte der Katechese, p. 254).

⁸⁷PL 142, col. 26.

⁸⁸I have not investigated two Carolingian works that might be children's catechisms. Bloomfield et al., Incipits lists a second Carolingian dialogue explication of the Lord's Prayer (9009); the text is not edited and I have not consulted the manuscripts, but I doubt that it was intended for lay use since it is found among liturgical texts clearly assembled for priests. In her The Frankish Church, McKitterick mentions a manuscript (Munich, Clm. 6325) containing an ordo for the catechizing of rustics (p. 40); the other texts in the manuscript concern a priest's duties concerning baptism, and this text may simply be a transcription (or translation) or the catechetical portion of the baptismal liturgy.

⁸⁹Canones sub Edgare, c. 17: "Docemus etiam, ut quilibet christianus infantem suum ad christianismum diligenter adsuescat, et eum Pater Noster et Credo doceat" (Wilkins, Concilia 1, p. 226)

⁹⁰"Ut patrini filioli suis symbolum et orationem dominicam insinuent aut insinuari faciant" (Hartzheim 3, 3).

⁹¹Synod of Coyanza (Léon) c. 3: "Doceant autem clerici filios Ecclesiae et infantes, ut Symbolum et orationem Dominicam memoriter teneant" (Saenz de Aguirre, Collectio III, p. 210.

German confession manual of the eleventh century lists teaching the faith as one of the duties of a parent.⁹² But neither the canons nor the confession manual suggest how that is to be done, and no catechisms survive from the period. What do survive are two works labeled catechisms by modern editors, but probably not intended for the use of children since both contain the Athanasian Creed, a text that children were not expected to know, but was canonically required of priests.⁹³ The earlier of these, the so-called Weissenburg catechism (10th-century) contains a German translation and German prose--that is, not dialogue--explication of the Lord's Prayer followed by Latin texts with interlinear German translations of the cardinal sins, the Apostle's Creed, the Athanasian Creed and the Agnus Dei; the Notker catechism (11th-century) consists of a Latin text, German

⁹²"Unde ein jeglich virt in sinem huse lere in [den Glauben] sinu chint under sine undertan (and a master should teach the faith to the children and servants in his house)" (as quoted in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 25, note 1).

⁹³Second diocesan statute of Théodulf of Orléans (c. 820) c. 2: "Itaque vos, o sacerdotes Domini, admonemus, ut fidem catholicam et memoriter teneatis et corde intellegatis: hoc est 'Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem,' et 'Pater noster qui es in coelis,' et 'Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem'" (de Clercq, La législation, p. 323); the Statutes of Waltraud of Liège c. II: "Fidem catholicam sancti Athanasii et cetera quaecumque de fide; symbolum etiam apostolicum, orationem dominicam ad intellegendum pleniter cum expositione" (Ibid., p. 364) and an anonymous Admonitio synodalis (early ninth century) c. 90: "Sermonem athanasii episcopi de fide trinitatis, cuius initium est quicumque vult, memoriter teneat et omni die cantet" (Amiet, "Un Admonitio synodalis," p. 66).

translation and German commentary on the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed and the Athanasian Creed.⁹⁴

The second period of the development of children's catechetical education, and the one of most importance to the understanding of the Alphabetum catholicorum, spans the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The evidence is more plentiful and more varied than that for the Carolingian period just discussed, and I will consider it in greater detail. Most histories of the catechism trace its beginning to the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). This is somewhat misleading since the assembly made no specific reference to the teaching of children, requiring only that parish priests instruct all parishoners in the faith.⁹⁵ Although the Lateran decree does not specify what such preaching should entail, the matter is taken up in some detail at the synods of Lambeth (1281),⁹⁶ Toledo (1323)⁹⁷ and Lavour (1368).⁹⁸

⁹⁴Müllenhoff and Scherer, Denkmaler, pp. 204-209 and 249-259.

⁹⁵Alberigo et. al., Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta, pp. 203-247. On the repercussions of the preaching canon, see Rouse and Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons, pp. 3-90. On preaching the faith, see Martin, Le métier, pp. 295-351.

⁹⁶c. 9 (Powicke and Cheney, Councils & Synods II, pp. 900-905).

⁹⁷Sánchez Herrero, Concilios Provinciales, pp. 173-176. The Toledo preaching canons circulated separately as the Tractatus brevis de articulis fidei of John of Aragon; see Lomax, "El catecismo," pp. 225-233.

The decree issued by John Peckham at Lambeth required that at least four times a year, priests explain to their parishoners in the vernacular the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Two Precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven virtues, and the seven sacraments. This decree had a lasting influence in part because it was included in the so-called Provinciale, a commentary on English conciliar decrees by William Lynwood (d. 1446) that circulated widely among English priests.⁹⁹ In the mid-thirteenth century, in response to the quasi-heretical Lollard movement, Canon Thoresby ordered that Peckham's decree be rendered into English verse, apparently for the use of laymen. Although this work was later dubbed the "Lay-folks' Catechism," it is not in dialogue, and there is no evidence that it was intended for children.¹⁰⁰

The synods of Tortosa and Lavaur both included among their proclamations Summas on Christian doctrine and specified that priests in their dioceses should carry books containing this material for reference in preparing didactic sermons. The materials that the decrees require priests to teach parishoners

⁹⁸Mansi 26, cols. 484-493.

⁹⁹Tudor, "Early Reformation," p. 397-398. See also, Duffy, Stripping the Altars, pp. 53-54.

¹⁰⁰The text of the Lay Folks Catechism is found in Simmons and Nolloth, Thoresby's Lay-Folks Catechism, text T. The editors note (p. xxix) that the name does not appear in manuscripts and seems to have been attached to the text only in modern times.

are far more extensive than those that contemporaneous decrees required that parents and godparents teach their children (below, pp. 36-38); instead of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary, the texts that parents were expected to teach, priests in the diocese of Tortosa were expected to preach on the Creed, the Sacraments, the Ten Commandments and the Seven Virtues and Vices; those in Lavaur, on the Creed, the Sacraments, the Virtues and Vices, the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Beatitudes and the Ten Commandments. Interestingly, the presiding official at Tortosa was John of Aragon, the second son of James II of Aragon,¹⁰¹ the king to whom the Alphabetum catholicorum is dedicated. The summa promulgated by the Council of Lavaur is sometimes referred to as the first catechism.¹⁰²

But although Pope Innocent III himself made no pronouncement on the education of children, many of the synods held in the wake of Lateran IV do discuss it. Regulations issued at Durham in

¹⁰¹Lomax, "El Catechismo," pp. 218-219.

¹⁰²In The Roman Catechism, Bradley says that the first use of the term "catechism" to refer to a text was the Catechismus Vaurensis promulgated by the Council of Lavaur. However, the term is not used in the text of the conciliar proceedings. Bradley cites Tacchi-Venturi, Storia I, p. 336 which cites an entry in Kirchenlexicon 7, col. 292. Although the latter does refer to the Lavaur text as a catechism, it neither describes the text as the first to use the word in its title nor discusses how the term catechism was used historically. I do not know whether the title "Catechismus" is found on medieval copies of the Lavaur statutes; it may have been attached to the work by modern commentators; see note 100 above.

1217, and repeated at Salisbury (1228), said that parents should frequently assemble their children to teach them the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary.¹⁰³ The Council of Bordeaux (1234) ordered that godparents teach "the children they lifted from the font" the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.¹⁰⁴ At the Council of Logroño (1240), priests were ordered to admonish parishioners to teach their children the Lord's Prayer and the Creed on Sundays.¹⁰⁵ Béziers (1246)¹⁰⁶ and Albi (1254)¹⁰⁷ ordered

¹⁰³"Exhortentur sepius sacerdotes parochianos suos ad discendum symbolum et dominicam orationem et salutationem beate Marie. Pueros quoque frequenter convocent et unum vel duos instruant vel instrui faciant in predictis. Et quia parentes circa huiusmodi sunt periculose negligentes, moneantur ut pueros et familiam suam, prout deus eis inspiraverit, instruant in predictis" (Powicke and Cheney, Councils & Synods II, p. 61).

¹⁰⁴c. 4: "Ad elevandum de fonte infantem, tres patrini tantum utriusque sexus admittantur, qui doceant puerum vel docere faciant tempore suo: 'Pater noster' et 'Credo in Deum' et hoc omnibus patrinis post baptismum a sacerdotibus injungatur" (Pontal, Les Statuts I, p. 46). Pontal notes that the teaching of the Creed and Prayer is not mentioned in the earlier Synodal de l'Ouest (c. 1216-17) or in statutes issued at Paris (1219-24) or Albi (1230) (p. 47, note 5). Longère suggests that Bordeaux was influenced by Durham (see "La Prédication," p. 406).

¹⁰⁵Sánchez Herrero, "La literatura catequética," p. 1054.

¹⁰⁶c. 7: "Pueri quoque a septimo et supra, ad ecclesiam a parentibus adducantur diebus Dominicis et festivis, et in fide catholica instruantur, et doceant eos salutationes B. Mariae, Pater Noster, et Credo in Deum" (Mansi 23, col. 693).

¹⁰⁷"Quia comperimus quod propter ignorantiam articulorum fidei plurimi erraverunt: pueri quoque a septennio et supra, ad ecclesiam a parentibus adducantur diebus Dominicis et festivis, ut in fide catholica instruantur, Credo in Deum et Pater Noster et salutationem Beata Virginis addiscant" (Mansi 23, col. 837).

that children be brought to church to be instructed in the faith. (These two statutes are slightly different than others cited in this section in that they require that parents bring their children to church on Sundays and feast days, and they suggest that it is the priest, not the parent, who is to do the teaching. The synods at which these statutes were issued were both primarily concerned with fighting heresy; perhaps priests were concerned that heretical parents or godparents might teach their children to understand the texts in heretical ways (see below, p. 55 and pp. 58-59).)

The much-copied statutes that Peter of Albalat, Archbishop of Tarragona, issued in 1248, commanded priests to exhort their parishioners to teach their children the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary.¹⁰⁸ The Synod of Sisteron (1249) admonished priests to instruct parents to teach their children the Creed and Lord's Prayer, bring them to church on Good Friday to kiss the cross and be sure that they confessed and received communion on Easter Sunday.¹⁰⁹ The statutes of Rodez (1289) specified that

¹⁰⁸"Exhortentur sepe presbiteri populum ad dicendum Orationem Dominicam et Credo in Deum et Beate Virginis Salutationem et quod doceant filios Oracionem Dominicam et Credo in Deum et Salutatione[m]" (Linehan, "Pedro de Albalat," pp. 27-28). This text is repeated in the Statutes of Valencia (1255) (Mansi 23, cols. 892-893).

¹⁰⁹c. 19: "Moneant autem sacerdotes parochianos suos, ut pueros a septennio et supra 'Pater noster' et 'Credo' doceant, ac in die sancto Parasceven ad ecclesiam adducant ad osculandum crucem, et in die sancto Pasche, ut corpus Christi, prius

parents know and teach their children the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and how to make the sign of the cross.¹¹⁰ Those of Soissons (1334) stated that as soon as a child was six or seven, his parents should send him to school, or, where there were no schools, to a priest, to learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and the words of the confession.¹¹¹

Indeed, by the mid-thirteenth century, the job of exhorting parents to teach religion to their children had become so important that it was included as a priestly duty in pastoral texts. According to a short treatise on the capital vices

confessi, recipient" (Pontal, Les Statuts, p. 192).

¹¹⁰"Item per sacerdotes frequenter laici moneantur, ut sciant Pater Noster et Ave Maria et Credo in Deum et se signo crucis signare et quod ista docere suos liberos non omittant" (Mansi 24, col. 970).

¹¹¹c. 6: "Item, praecipimus omnibus curatis et capellanis nobis subditis sub poenis suspensionis et excommunicationis quas in non obedientes ex nunc prout ex tunc, in his scriptis ferimus et promulgamus quatenus, diligenter moneant omnes et singulos parochianos suos semel in mense, die dominicali in plena prono et magnis festivitibus sub poena excommunicationis, quatenus liberos suos, cujuscunque sexus existant, mittant ad scholas in villis ubi sunt scholae, et ubi non sunt scholae, curatis seu capellanis locorum et orationem dominicalem scilicet Pater noster, Ave Maria, Credo in Deum, Benedicite in anno sexto vel septimo quibus in domibus patrum suorum nihil faciunt addiscere faciant" (Martène-Durand VIII, col. 1537-1538). Although the term Benedicite could refer to the canticle, it seems more likely that what officials had in mind was the first word of the confession ("Benedicite") asking the priest for a blessing (Tentler, Sin and Confession, p. 83). This would be consistent with the statutes of Segorbe (1367) which require that children be taught to confess; see below, p. 51-52 and note 148.

attributed to Raymond of Penyafort, it was the priest's job to be sure that there were no more than three godparents at a baptism, and to exhort them to teach the child they were sponsoring the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.¹¹² In his Instructions (before 1296), Guillaume Durand stated that priests were to admonish godparents to teach their godchildren the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and to raise them to have upright morals.¹¹³ Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1340), in his Praeceptorium, required priests to exhort godparents to teach their godchildren the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, and to instill in them morals and the fear of God.¹¹⁴ By the beginning of the fourteenth century, exhortations to godparents to teach are included in the rites for baptism and confirmation in France, Spain and

¹¹² Germain, Langages, p. 18. This treatise, found in Paris, BN lat. 12387, fols. 55- , is unedited; the attribution to Raymond of Penyafort is uncertain. See Kuttner, "The Barcelona Edition," p. 56.

¹¹³ "Patrinos ut filios suos spirituales symbolum et orationem dominicam doceant vel docere faciant bonisque moribus informant, admonete" (Berthelé and Valmary, Les Instructions, p. 13). On the importance of this manual, see Longère, "La prédication," p. 409.

¹¹⁴ "Item parentibus puerorum tam publice quam private injungant [sacerdotes], quod similiter pueros suos praedicta [Pater noster, Ave Maria, XII articulos fidei et X praecepta decalogi] doceant, quodque eos instituant in bonis moribus ac timore et reverentia erga Deum et sanctos ac presbyteros et parentes etc. Et quod parentes eis praebeant bonum exemplum in verbis et factis" (as quoted in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 28 from the Cologne edition of 1505).

England.¹¹⁵

There is some evidence that priests--and parents--followed these directives. In a sermon on Psalm 123:7 (Our soul is delivered as the sparrow from the hunting net), Berthold von Regensburg (d. 1276), a wandering Franciscan, admonished godparents to discuss the education of each godchild with his parents and to teach him the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and the Ten Commandments if he did not already know them.¹¹⁶

At about the same time, two manuals began to circulate explaining to fathers how to teach religion to their sons. The popular French C'est dou pere qui son filz enseigne (before 1267),¹¹⁷ outlined how a father should answer his son's

¹¹⁵See above page 18, note 47.

¹¹⁶"Sie [die Pathen] sullent sprechen ze sinem vater oder muoter: gevater, ir sult mir minen totten daz pater noster und den gelouben leren, oder ir lat in zuo mir gen: so lere ich ez! Künnt sie daz ave Maria dar zuo, daz ist vil wunderquot. Ist aber, daz daz kint sin totte nicht leret, so soltu ez selber leren, wan velich mensche vierzehn jar alt wirt unde kan ez des pater nosters niht, man sol es ein velt legen. Und da von soltu din kint quoter dinge wenen, so wirt der geloube veste an sinem herzen" (Vollständige Ausgabe, p. 41).

¹¹⁷This text is still unedited; it is found in the following twenty manuscripts:

- Avignon 344 (anc. fonds 295)
- Brussels Bibl. roy., 16574-10586 fols. 86- (14th-century)
- Cambrai 246 (early 14th-century)
- Chantilly 137
- Lille 130 (14th-century)
- Lyon, Bibl. univ. 15
- Paris, Arsenal 2059 fols. 107- (1351)
- Paris, Arsenal 2071, fols. 38- (14th-century)
- Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 726, fols. 192- (14th-century)

questions about salvation history, Christian morals and sacraments.¹¹⁸ The Catalan Doctrina pueril (c. 1282-83) of Ramon Lull explained how a father should teach his son in the vernacular the material the boy would later learn at school in Latin.¹¹⁹ Not long afterwards, Arnaldus of Villanova composed the Alphabetum catholicorum (c. 1295), sometimes referred to as the Dyalogus de elementis catholice fidei, to prepare the King of Aragon to instruct his children in the Catholic faith, and at the beginning of the fourteenth century, an anonymous Franciscan drafted the Catechismus Scholarium novellorum for the young

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- Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 1036, fols. 58-88 (13th-century)
 - Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 1136, fols. 33- (14th-century)
 - Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 1546, fols. 159- (late-13th-century)
 - Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 12581, fols. 344-360 (dated 1284)
 - Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 13342, fol. 1- (14th-century)
 - Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 25408, fol. 106v- (1267)
 - Paris, Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 4338, fol. 47v- (before 1373)
 - Paris, Bibl. nat., Moreau 1718
 - Rouen 1052 (Y 20), fol. 41- (1464)
 - Salins 12
 - Soissons 224 (anc. 210), fols. 1- (14th-century).

¹¹⁸Lefèvre believes that the C'est dou pere is related to a French translation of the Elucidarium, a text for missionary priests written around 1100; see Lefèvre, L'Elucidarium, p. 327.

¹¹⁹"E fassa hom confegir en vulgar a son fill, al començament de açò que apendrà, per tal que entena ço que configerà; enaprés cové que a aquell sia feta construcció en aquell libre matex, lo qual sia traladat en latí, cor enans he entendrà lo latí" (Doctrina pueril, pp. 39-40).

prince Andrew of Hungary.¹²⁰

The content of thirteenth and fourteenth century statutes on children's religious education is not very different from those issued in Carolingian times; for the most part they add only a text, the Hail Mary, and an age, seven, at which the teaching is to start. Why, then, were they so much more common, and why did they produce more tangible results?

The answer seems to lie in the times. The thirteenth century was a period of increased lay religiosity. Books of Hours were popular among laymen, as were other kinds of religious tracts, many written in (or translated into) the vernacular for those who could not read Latin. Among the most popular was the La Somme le Roi, a French treatise compiled about 1279 by Laurent of Orléans for the French king Philip the Fair, and quickly translated into English.¹²¹ The Somme, like most pastoral works of its time, focused on sin and confession, but it also included explications of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments (the other three sections of the work concern the seven mortal sins, the seven virtues and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit). Laymen who were not sufficiently literate to read a work like the Somme, learned religion from mnemonics taken from such popular

¹²⁰ Germain, Langages, p. 32, note 14. Sr. Germain gives no citation for this work, and I have not been able to locate it.

¹²¹ See note 6 above.

works as the Poeniteas cito, a Latin poem summarizing how to confess,¹²² or from collections of catechetical verses like the ones found by A. de Poorter on the flyleaf of a manuscript containing Peter Lombard's Sentences and texts on canon law¹²³ and by Casas Homs in a manuscript of Alexander of Villadei's Doctrinale, an advanced grammar.¹²⁴ Verses of this kind, both in Latin and the vernacular, are scribbled in the margins of many medieval manuscripts.¹²⁵

More importantly, the thirteenth century was marked by an increased interest in the education and salvation of children, perhaps as a corollary to the emergence of a widespread devotion to the Child Jesus.¹²⁶ Although the mandate of the Third Lateran Council (1179) that every cathedral have a grammar teacher (c. 18) was intended to insure that priests in the

¹²²Goering, William de Montibus, pp. 107-138. Poeniteas cito was one of the most printed incunables.

¹²³"Un catéchisme," pp. 70-74. This "catechism" includes three different verse versions of the Ten Commandments, two of the Creed and a mnemonic for remembering the petitions of the Lord's Prayer.

¹²⁴Casas Homs, "Un catecismo," pp. 113-114.

¹²⁵In his Stripping of the Altars, Duffy notes that devotional material copied into the margins of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English Books of House was almost exclusively in verse (p. 224). There is no reason to think that materials copied into thirteenth-century French and Catalan manuals were any different.

¹²⁶Herlihy, "Medieval Children," p. 127.

diocese could read the Mass and Office, not to encourage literacy among laymen, by the thirteenth century, elementary schooling began to be available to children whether or not they were intended for the Church.¹²⁷ A doctor puerorum is mentioned in a Florentine document of 1275, another witnessed a Venetian charter in 1287 and by 1288, Milan boasted at least seventy grammar masters teaching below the university level.¹²⁸ Wealthy benefactors established schools for children in Reims (1245), Wroclaw (1267), Paris (1339) and Cambrai (1348).¹²⁹ Giovanni Villani claimed in his Chronicle that by the 1330s, eight to ten thousand Florentine boys and girls, about half the school-age children in the city, were attending grammar school, while another 1,600 to 1,800 received some sort of secondary education.¹³⁰ Other sources

¹²⁷ Alberigo et al., Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta, p. 196; this canon was repeated as c. 11 of Lateran IV (p. 216). Orme, English Schools, p. 174. However, priests were occasionally instructed to admonish parents that, because the illiterate were not eligible to receive ecclesiastical benefices, they should send their sons to school; see Longère, "La Prédiction," p. 400.

¹²⁸ Thorndike, "Elementary and Secondary Education," p. 402; Grendler, Schooling, pp. 4-5.

¹²⁹ The Collège des Bons-Enfant in Reims (boys 9-15) is described in Cauly, Histoire; Ave Maria College in Paris (Boys 8-15), in Gabriel, Student Life; the College of Cambrai in Félibien and Lobineau, Histoire II.1, no. 5; Wroclaw, in Frey, "Uber das mittelalterliche Gedicht," p. 1.

¹³⁰ "Troviamo ch'è faniciulli e faniciulle che stanno a leggere, da otta a dieci mila. I fanciulli che stanno ad imparare l'abbaco e algorismo in sei scuole, da mille in milledugento. E quegli che stanno ad apprendere la grammatica e

suggest that even children who did not go to school were taught at home using psalters and alphabet cards rather than formal textbooks.¹³¹

Although educating children was still new enough at the turn of the fifteenth century that Jean Gerson had to defend his interest in it, the subject did interest church leaders as early as the thirteenth century. Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1246), "Boethius" (now identified as Peter Alfonsi), William of Tournai (d. 1274?) and Giles of Rome (d. 1316) wrote treatises on education.¹³² Bartholomaeus Anglicus' De proprietatibus rerum included a book on the rearing and education of children while

loica in quattro grandi scuole, da cinquecentocinquanta in seicento" (Cronica, pp. 183-184). See also, Fiumi, "Economia e vita privata," pp. 207-241.

¹³¹McLaughlin, "Survivors and Surrogates," p. 125. On alphabet cards and such like see Peter Damian, De sancta simplicitate, col. 698: "In litterario quippe ludo, ubi pueri prima articulatae vocis elementa suscipiunt, alii quidem abecedarii, alii syllabarii, quidam vero nominarii, nonnulli etiam calculatores appellantur; et haec nomina cum audimus, ex ipsis continuo quis sit in pueris profectus agnoscimus." See also Gloria, "Vulgare illustre," p. 103.

¹³²These works are: Vincent of Beauvais, De eruditione filiorum nobilium; "Boethius," De disciplina scholarium; William of Tournai, De instructione puerorum, and Giles of Rome, De regimine principum. There is no modern edition of Giles' work, which was written at the request of Philip the Fair for his son Philip IV, but a French translation by Henri de Gauchy is edited by Molenaer as Li Livres. Of these four treatises on the education of children, only the De regimine principum discusses a child's religious education, and only to say that children should be taught the Creed (Li Livres, p. 193-195). On the authorship of the De disciplina scholarium, see Peter Alfonsi, The Scholar's Guide.

Hugh of St. Victor's Didascalicon sets out an ideal plan of education for boys at his secondary school in Paris.¹³³

These theoretical works are sketchy as to what went on in the classroom, but we have a notion of the books that were used from three eleventh-century German introductions to the teaching texts popular in their day and two thirteenth-century lists of pre-university level text books¹³⁴ and an idealized plan for educating select youth to become missionaries to convert and govern the Holy Land drawn up by Peter Dubois in 1309.¹³⁵ Although few manuscripts survive containing only the texts listed as elementary in these works, there are many manuscripts containing a selection of those cited, plus secondary and university level works.¹³⁶ This suggests that the works listed

¹³³Books iii and iv of Bartholomaeus' De proprietatibus are edited by Long in On the properties; a medieval English translation of the work by John Trevisa is edited by Seymour et. al. as On the Properties of Things. The Didascalicon is edited in Buttner, Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon.

¹³⁴An anonymous Benedictine from Tegernsee in Accessus ad auctores. Bernard of Utrecht (d. 1099): Commentum in Theodolum. Conrad of Hirsau (12th c.): Dialogus super auctores in Accessus ad auctores. Eberhard the German's Laborintus (before 1280) in Faral, Les Arts poétiques, pp. 358-361. Hugh of Trimburg's book list (1280) in Langosch, Registrum. Some textbook requirements are included in the constitutions of the four schools cited above in note 129.

¹³⁵Thorndike, "Elementary and Secondary Education," pp. 404-405.

¹³⁶Sanford, "The Use," pp. 190-248; Boas, "De librorum catonianorum historia," pp. 17-46; Avesani, Quattro Miscellanee and "Il primo ritmo," pp. 455-488.

were in fact the works used.

Unfortunately none of these works touch on what children were taught or what books they used before they began to parse Latin, but it is clear that religion and primary education were closely tied for both theoretical and practical reasons. Educational theorists, following Quintillian, believed that you were what you read, and, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that meant that even the most basic schoolbooks had to be morally correct, that is, Christian.¹³⁷ Although texts by Ovid and Vergil had been popular in the twelfth century, by the fourteenth century, these had been replaced in elementary readers by more modern--and less "Latin"--texts like the Chartula, a poetic condemnation of worldly things attributed to St. Bernard, and the moralistic Parabolae of Alan of Lille.¹³⁸ Religion was so much a part of life, that religious topics slipped into exercises that were not themselves religious or moralistic; a list of 115 translation sentences in an early fifteenth-century English

¹³⁷Thomson and Perraud, Ten Latin Schooltexts, pp. 7-32. Quintillian, On the Teaching I.8.4, p. 64; see also p. xxxix.

¹³⁸Thomson and Perraud, Ten Latin Schooltexts, pp. 28-29. A shorter version of the Chartula is edited from seven manuscripts by Schroeder in "Ein niederrheinischer 'Contemptus mundi,'" pp. 346-354; Mabillon's edition of the shorter text, based on Vat. Chigi 54 is reprinted in PL 184, cols 1307-1314. There is no edition of the longer version that appears in many manuscripts and incunables. On the relationship between the versions, see Bultot, "La Chartula," pp. 802-809. Alan of Lille, Doctrinale altum seu parabolarum liber PL 210, cols. 581-594.

grammatical miscellany includes fifteen dealing with Christian doctrine or customs.¹³⁹ The only two non-Christian texts that remained in the elementary school curriculum were a Latin grammar usually referred to as Donatus (it was written by the fourth-century grammarian Aelius Donatus)¹⁴⁰ and a collection of moral couplets said to have been written by Cato the censor.¹⁴¹

On a more practical level, religion was mixed with education because that was what most books laymen owned were about: since books were scarce and expensive, children rarely learned to read from books written for that purpose; instead they used the most legible book available, which was frequently a Psalter or Book of hours. In his Bonum Universale de Apibus, Thomas of Cantimpré tells the story of a six-year-old girl from Brabant who begged her father to buy her a Psalter; he could not afford it, and when he sent her to "to the mistress who teaches the Psalter to the daughters of rich folk," she miraculously read it at first sight,

¹³⁹Orme, "A Grammatical Miscellany," items 29, 36, 48, 50, 55, 57, 61, 72, 74, 89, 97, 102, 103, 110 and 113.

¹⁴⁰Keil, Grammatici Latini, pp. 355-366. In Italy, children used a verse abridgement of Donatus known as the Ianua from its incipit "Ianua sum rudibus primam cupientibus artem;" see Schmitt, "Die Ianua (Donatus)," pp. 43-80

¹⁴¹Boas and Botschuyver, Disticha Catonis. This edition is so complete that it is unwieldy to use; an older, more user friendly edition, is in Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores III, pp. 205-246). On the popularity of the Distichs, see Chase, The Distichs of Cato, pp. 1-11 and Nève, Catonis Disticha.

so impressing the ladies of the parish that they bought her a psalter of her own.¹⁴² Indeed, learning to read from the psalter was so common that the expressions "psalmos dicere" and "legere psalterium" meant "to learn to read."¹⁴³

Although the evidence for what went on in the medieval primary classroom is limited, what there is suggests that learning to read included learning the basics of Christianity. According to a thirteenth-century Spanish manuscript, the first step in teaching children to read was to teach them to make the

¹⁴²Book I, c. 23: "Filia fuit viri pauperrimi et cum puella nondum septenis miro interiorius fervore spiritus traheretur, rogavit patrem cum lachrymis, ut sibi Psalterium compararet. Cui pater: Unde, inquit, filia Psalterium comparabo, qui vix tibi quotidie panem lucrari sufficio? Mox illa conversa suppliciter ad matrem Christi, oravit, et dixit: O beata Maria, mater Christi, da mihi Psalterium, quod pater dare non potest, et ero perpetuo ancilla tua. In hac igitur simplicitatis prece perseveravit illa per annum et ecce in somnis apparuit ei beata virgo Maria, ferens, ut ei videbatur, in manu duo Psalteria et dicens ei: Accipe nunc filia mea ex duobus quodcumque elegeris. Nec mora, ubi cum maximo tripudio elegit unum, disparente beata Virgine, puella de somnis evigilans nihil invenit in manibus suis, et illusam se conquerens a matre Christi, flere coepit uberrime. Quod ut audivit pater, irrisit filiae et consolans eam: Vade, inquit, tantum diebus Dominicis et Festivis ad magistram, quae filias divitum Psalterium docet, et primo discas legere et postea B. Maria tibi Psalterium forsitan procurabit. Mira res, quod ubi puella simpliciter accepit et ad magistram quae divitum filias docebat, venit, Psalterium inspexit, et legit et sic B. Maria multo miraculosius promissum suae dignationis implevit. Quod ut viderunt honestae et divites matronae parochiae, emerunt puellae Psalterium et subsequenti tempore, cum eam in Christi servitio alacrem cernerent et devotam eidem iuxta cellulam pro reclusorio locaverunt" (Bonum universale, pp. 93-94).

¹⁴³Kempf et. al., The Church, p. 314; Grendler, Schooling, p. 146.

sign of the cross. Then they were to learn the Ten Commandments in the vernacular, followed by the four prayers that the author notes all Christians over the age of six were required to know: the Hail Mary, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Salve Regina (only the first three of these are required by the contemporaneous canons quoted above). Third, the students learned the alphabet, then syllable combinations like ba, be, bi, bo, bu and finally the four required prayers in Latin.¹⁴⁴ The materials described are precisely what are found in the medieval "first reader," which began with the sign of the cross and the

¹⁴⁴"Item nota el orden que has de tener en enseñar a ler. Lo primero enseñale la señal de la crux e los .x. mandamientos en romance e demostrarle todas las preguntas para en defension de la gente pagana e hebrea. Lo segundo, iiii oraciones dominicales: ave Maria, pater noster, credo, salve regina i vulgarmente (porque todo fiel christiani, siete años pasados, es obligado), e otras cosas que de necesidad como a verdadero christiano ocurrir pueden. Lo tercero, el a. b. c., conocer las letras ansi vocales como consonantes, e juntar, e por sillabas detetrear, scilicet: ba, be, bi, bo, bu; e las iiii oraciones sobredichas en latino sermone con adjutorio de misa, kirios" (Palacio 1344, fol. 113v, as cited in Castro, Glosarios, p. xix). I am aware of only one other description of what went on in the pre-seventeenth century primary classroom, that given by Jacobus Ledesma of the Collegio Romano, a pre-university school (1564-5): "1. Qui alphabetum tantum legunt. 2. Qui iungere literas incipiunt ba, be, etc., aut etiam syllabas. 3. Qui legere continuo tractu incipiunt, ut sanctam +, etc. 4. Qui scribunt alphabetum, quibus omnibus docetur Ave, Pater, Credo, Salve. 5. Qui legunt librum aliquem vulgari sermone, et scribunt continue ex exemplo, ductis lineis vel etiam non ductis. 6. Qui legunt latine, ut Donatum seu rudimenta, et discunt memoriter doctrinam christianam parvulam; et hi etiam poterunt discere practicam arithmeticam numerare, addere, subtrahere, partiri aliquosque." Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu II, p. 560.

alphabet, followed by a list of syllables and the texts of the Commandments and the four required prayers (it sometimes also contained several psalms.)¹⁴⁵ This book, perhaps best described by the French term "abécédaire," was confusingly referred to as a "psalterio" in Italy and a "primer" in England, presumably because the Psalter and the Primer, the medieval English term for a Book of Hours, were so often used for the same purpose.¹⁴⁶ Because the term is familiar to twentieth-century readers, I shall refer to these books as "primers," in the modern sense of basic reading text.¹⁴⁷

Although we know little of how children were taught at home, a fourteenth-century Spanish church canon suggests that the methods--and materials--were not much different from the ones used by schoolmasters. According to the statutes of Segorbe (1367), parents were supposed to teach their children the fundamentals of the faith and the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Creed

¹⁴⁵Bischoff, "Elementarunterricht," p. 11. Grendler, Schooling, pp. 142-156. One such book, dating from England in the mid-fourteenth century, is reproduced in Plimpton, The Education of Chaucer, plates ix.1-ix.15.

¹⁴⁶Grendler, Schooling, pp. 143-146. Duffy, Stripping the Altars, pp. 210-213.

¹⁴⁷According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the term "primer" has been used in the modern sense of beginning reading textbook since the eighteenth century; the earliest use cited by the editors is Chaucer's "Prioress' Tale" of c. 1386, and the word seems to have been used to mean both Book of Hours and reading text book for several centuries (OED, s.v. "primer").

and confession "according to the form of the abécédaire."¹⁴⁸

Did children simply learn to read from these primers, or were they also instructed in the meaning of the texts the primers included? If the answer is the latter, then it is not surprising that there are so few documents specifically designed for teaching religion to children and it would explain Giovanni Domenici's otherwise puzzling remark in a 1405 diatribe against humanist education that traditionally the first things a child learned were the "psalter" and "sacred doctrine."¹⁴⁹ The question is difficult to answer. Although many copies of the primer survive, I know of no contemporaneous commentary discussing how it was actually used--and no modern studies exploring how it might have functioned. However, commentaries and glosses on the distichs of Cato, the first Latin reader, suggest that Cato was explained to students word by word, with

¹⁴⁸"En la primera se manda que se instruya a los niños en las verdades fundamentales de la fe y se les enseñe las oraciones de más frecuente uso: Padre nuestro, Ave Maris, Credo, Confesión, etc. iuxta modum et formam abecedarii sive alphabeti. A los remisos y negligentes en este magisterio se les aplica la pena de dos sueldos" (itals. original) (Lloréns y Raga, Episcopologio I, p. 172).

¹⁴⁹Regola del Governo, p. 134: "Intendo i nostri antichi viddono lume dottrinando la puerizia, e i moderni fatti son ciechi, fuor della fede crescendo lor figliuoli. La prima cosa insegnavano era il saltero e dottrina sacra . . ." In his discussion of the Regola in an essay on education in thirteenth century Florence, Davis rendered "dottrina sacra" as "catechism" ("Education in Dante's Florence," p. 417); that is how the term seems to be understood in medieval and Renaissance Italian usage.

the teacher noting both dictionary definitions as well as spiritual meanings--patria, for example, was said to mean both "homeland" and "heaven"--and there is no reason to think that the primer was used differently.¹⁵⁰ Medieval sermons on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, being little more than word-by-word glosses on the texts, would have lent themselves well to this purpose.

In support of this theory, it should be noted that the catechism was associated with elementary educational texts right up to the dawn of the Reformation: Erasmus' catechism, the Institutum christiani hominis, was included as an appendix to his popular edition of Cato's distichs.¹⁵¹ Similarly, Peter Canisius' Catechismus minimus (1556) was often printed with the primer.¹⁵² (At some schools, the catechism, and perhaps the primer as well, were assumed to have been learned before the student arrived; the statutes of St. Paul's school, in London, for example, state that entering students were to know the

¹⁵⁰Hazelton, "The Christianization of Cato," pp. 157-173. Commentaries on Cato by Robert of Euremodio and Philip of Bergamo were popular in the fifteenth century. Neither is available in a modern edition. In his Declamatio de pueris, Erasmus complained about word by word glossing as a teaching technique, suggesting that it was used at all levels of education (§514d, p. 461): "sed infelicius erat aetas, quae me puero modis significandi et quaestiunculis ex qua vi pueros excarnificabat, nec aliud interim docens quam perperam loqui."

¹⁵¹Reedjik, The Poems, p. 306.

¹⁵²Germain, Langages, p. 40; Jungman, Handing on the Faith,

Catechezon, the founder John Colet's English translation of Erasmus' Institutum.¹⁵³)

Certainly some Christian leaders expected schoolmasters to teach religion. Although it did not mention specific schooltexts, the late fifteenth-century Seelenführer exhorted schoolmasters to teach children the Christian faith and the Ten Commandments because priests could not do everything in their preaching.¹⁵⁴ Some schoolmasters clearly ignored this duty. In 1357, Bishop Grandisson of Exeter complained that students in his diocese were learning to read "the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed and . . . other things pertaining to their faith and the health of their souls without knowing or understanding what they mean."¹⁵⁵ A century and a half later, Luther's colleague Johannes Mathesius complained that the texts of the primer were neither translated for pupils, nor explained.¹⁵⁶ Other teachers used the schoolroom to spread their unorthodox

p. 21.

¹⁵³Carlisle, A Concise Description, pp. 75-77.

¹⁵⁴"Die schulmeister sullent die kinder mit underwensen in der christenlichen lere und den gebotten gottes und der kirche. Sie sullent all das tun, was die vätter der lere [die Priester] nicht all tun kunnen in der predigt und sunstigen genstlichen underweisungen, und denen helffen" (Janssen, Geschichte, p. 21, as cited in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 105).

¹⁵⁵Register II, ed. F. L. Hingeston-Randolph (1894-9), pp. 1192-3, as cited in Moran, Education and Learning, p. 22.

¹⁵⁶Quoted in Grisar, Luther 5, p. 490.

ideas. In his anti-Lollard Constitutions of 1408, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, forbade those primary school teachers to teach the Catholic faith or expound scripture as had been customary.¹⁵⁷

Whether or not heretics were using the classroom to indoctrinate believers, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were certainly marked by the rise of three heretical or quasi-heretical sects that emphasized the education of children. The Waldensians, founded in Lyon around 1170 to teach ordinary people the basics of Catholicism,¹⁵⁸ established schools for local children and are thought to have taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in them, as well as the meaning of the Bible;¹⁵⁹ Stephen of Bourbon (d. 1261), bishop

¹⁵⁷c. 5: "Similiter, quia id quod capit nova testa inveterata sapit, statuimus et ordinamus, quod magistri sive quicumque docentes in artibus aut grammatica, pueros seu alios quoscunque in primitivis scientiis instruantes, de fide catholica, sacramento altaris, seu aliis sacramentis ecclesiae aut materia aliqua theologica . . . nec de expositione sacrae scripturae, nisi in exponendo textum . . . nec permittant scholares suos sive discipulos de fide catholica . . . publice disputare vel occulte" (Wilkins, Concilia III, p. 317). Arundel also required (c. 6) that the parts of the primer which included scripture be written in Latin. The first of these two canons was repeated in Lynwood's Provinciale and hence circulated widely among English priests.

¹⁵⁸Gui, Manuel de l'Inquisiteur I, p. 34.

¹⁵⁹Selge, Die Ersten Waldenser, p. 137 and 262-264.

of Paris, was impressed at how much of the Bible an illiterate Waldensian was able to recite.¹⁶⁰ (By the fifteenth century, after they had been chased from southern France to Germany, the Waldensians did have a children's catechism, Las interrogacions menors, a question and answer explication of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; whether this was based on an earlier Waldensian catechism is uncertain.¹⁶¹)

Waldensians were famous for their schools at which both children and adults were taught;¹⁶² the sect did not permit any one to take communion who could not explain the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments, and most members of the sect could do so by the time they were adults, twelve for women and fourteen for men.¹⁶³ The Waldensians were critical of orthodox Catholics

Waldensian schools are mentioned by Alan of Lille in his De fide catholica, col. 380C. See also Lambert, Medieval Heresy, p. 72 and pp. 150-151.

¹⁶⁰"Vidi ego iuvenem bubulcum, qui solum per annum moram fecerat in domo cuiusdam heretici Valdensis, qui tam diligenti attencione et sollicita ruminacione affirmabat et retinebat que audiebat, quod infra annum illum firmaverat et retinuerat quadraginta evangelia dominicalia, exceptis festivitativibus que omnia verbo ad verbum in lingua sua didiscerat, exceptis aliis verbis sermonum et oracionum" (de la Marche, Anecdotes, p. 308).

¹⁶¹See page 4, note 10 above. Von Zezchwitz believes that this fifteenth century Waldensian catechism was based on the catechism of the Bohemian Brethren and not brought from Southern France (Die Katechismen, pp. 61-86).

¹⁶²Lambert, Medieval Heresy, p. 73.

¹⁶³Tjernagel, "Forerunners of the Catechism," p. 50.

for allowing as sponsors at baptism people who did not know the basic Christian texts and who did not see being godparents as a holy burden.¹⁶⁴

We know less about the teaching efforts of other contemporaneous heretical groups, but the Cathars, popular in Southern France by the mid-twelfth century, are said to have had schools for their children,¹⁶⁵ and, as noted above, the Lollards, who flourished in England in the fourteenth-century, were so famous for their attempts to teach children that church regulations specifically forbade all elementary school teachers from including religion in the curriculum. The Hussites are thought to have had a catechism by the 1420 which was adapted into question-and-answer form by the Bohemian Brethren in the late fourteenth century.¹⁶⁶

Catholics fought heresy partly by preaching the basics of Christian doctrine,¹⁶⁷ that is, the meanings of the basic

¹⁶⁴Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 59, citing Reinerus, Contra Waldenses c. 5, Biblioteca maxima 25, p. 265. Unfortunately, Göbl does not quote the text, and I have been unable to consult it.

¹⁶⁵Vicaire, Histoire I, p. 205. Lambert, Medieval Heresy, p. 113.

¹⁶⁶Tjernagel, "Forerunners of the Catechism," p. 50.

¹⁶⁷Ladner, "L'ordo praedicatorum," pp. 11-68. For an example of such preaching see the sermons of Alan of Lille in Häring in "A Commentary on the Apostle's Creed," and Häring, "A Commentary on the Our Father," pp. 149-177.

Christian texts, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. Missionaries in Southern France put special emphasis on preaching the meaning of the Lord's Prayer since it was the only prayer the Cathars recognized, although in a radically unCatholic interpretation.¹⁶⁸ By the mid-thirteenth century, heresy fighting in Southern France had come to focus partly on children who were required to abjure heresy when they became adults, men at fourteen, women at twelve,¹⁶⁹ the same age at which they would have been expected to explain their faith, had they been members of the Waldensian sect.

(Was there a relationship between heresy fighting and the emergence of the children's catechism? Although the fact that the statutes requiring catechetical education cited earlier in this chapter come primarily from the parts of France and Catalonia where heresy was rampant, there is not necessarily a connection: after all, I limited my search for statutes to precisely those areas, and there may have been similar statutes on the books in dioceses across orthodox Europe. However, what research there is on this matter does not suggest that such

¹⁶⁸Guiraud, "Le 'Consolamentum' Cathare," pp. 78-82. A Cathar explication of the Lord's Prayer is found in Dondaine, Un Traité Néo-Manichéen, pp. 151-155.

¹⁶⁹Council of Albi (1254): "Praeterea universos tam masculos, quam feminas, masculos a 14, feminas a 12 anno et supra faciatis abjurare omnem haeresim: et jurare quod fidem servant et defendant catholicam & haereticos persequantur" (Mansi 23, col. 721).

statutes were common. In his Geschichte der Katechese, Göbl cites only a handful of post-Carolingian catechetical canons, all of which come from this region, and more recent studies do not include additional citations. Although I cannot conclude that there was a relationship between heresy fighting and catechizing of children, the text of the Albi catechetical canon suggests that there was one, for it says that children needed to be taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary "because many err out of ignorance of the articles of the faith."¹⁷⁰)

By the late Middle Ages, the final period for which we will consider background to for the children's catechism, teaching Christianity to children had become a central concern of church leaders. Because this evidence comes after the composition of the Alphabetum and therefore sheds less light on its place in the development of the catechism and because it is discussed in works on sixteenth-century piety, I will discuss it more briefly. Jean Gerson (d. 1429), the Chancellor of the University of Paris, devoted considerable energy to the matter. Although his best known "introductory" text the so-called Opus Tripartitum (1405),¹⁷¹ a Latin explication of the Ten Commandments, the proper way of confessing, and the art of dying,

¹⁷⁰Text in note 107 above.

¹⁷¹In Oeuvres Complètes 7 (L'oeuvre française), pp. 193-206, 393-400 and 404-407.

was written for parish priests,¹⁷² Gerson did write an elementary work, the ABC des simples gens, apparently intended to be copied onto placards that could be hung from classroom walls, and a more advanced Donatus spiritualis, a Latin dialogue on religion following the format of the well-known grammar text.¹⁷³ Gerson urged the theology faculty at Paris to produce a series of booklets on matters of faith for simple folk, presumably laymen and children, just as the medical faculty had prepared a booklet on the plague when the disease was ravaging the city.¹⁷⁴ In defense of his interest in children, Gerson explained that the future of Catholicism lay in their religious education, and that anyone hoping to reform the church had best start there.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷²In Sin and Confession (pp. 45-46), Tentler notes that the French translation of the work was referred to in incunables as the "Instruction des curez." The preface to the bilingual edition of 1508 noted that it was for the teaching of "curates, chaplains, and masters of schools and hospitals."

¹⁷³Oeuvres complètes, 9 (L'oeuvre doctrinale), pp. 689-700.

¹⁷⁴"Item forte expediret sicut olim tempore quarundam pestilentiarum facultas medicorum composuit tractatulum ad informandum singulos ita fieret per facultatem vel de mandato eius aliquis tractatulus super puntis principalibus nostrae religionis, et specialiter de praeceptis, ad instructionem simplicium, quibus nullus sermo aut raro fit, aut male fit" (Oeuvres complètes 2 (L'oeuvre Epistolaire), p. 28).

¹⁷⁵De parvulis ad Christum trahendis: "Non fallebatur ergo sed circumspectissime considerabat, qui affirmavit reparationem morum ecclesiasticorum si quaeratur fieri, inchoandum esse a parvulis" (Oeuvres complètes 9 (L'oeuvre doctrinale), p. 671).

Although Gerson was unusual, he was not alone. Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464) insisted on including stops at homes and schools on his visitations, and posted placards containing the texts of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments where children would see and learn them.¹⁷⁶ (Cusa owned a copy of the Alphabetum, but no one has suggested that it influenced his interest in the religious education of children or his methods for providing it.¹⁷⁷) In 1498, Jiménez de Cisneros, the Archbishop of Toledo, ordered priests in his diocese to gather children on Sundays and feast days and teach them the four Latin prayers, the articles of the faith, the Ten Commandments and sacraments, the works of mercy and the seven capital sins, as well as how to make the sign of the cross.¹⁷⁸

By that time, teaching religion to poor children had become

¹⁷⁶Vansteenberghe, Le Cardinal Nicholas de Cues, p. 102.

¹⁷⁷The manuscript is Bernkastel-Kues 42. See below, pp. 146-148.

¹⁷⁸Quoted in Huerga, "Sobre la catequesis," p. 305, note 13: "Lo que los curas o aquellos a quien ellos encomendaren son obligados por las Constituciones Sinodales a enseñar a los niños todos los domingos después de vísperas es esto que sigue: (1) Lo primero cómo se han de signar y santiguar diciendo: Per signum Crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos, Domine Deus Noster . . . (2) Las cuatro oraciones, en latín . . . (3) Después enseñarles específicamente lo que todo cristiano ha de creer [the creed] y lo que ha de obrar [Commandments and sacraments] (4) Item es obligado todo cristiano de obrar las obras de misericordia de que muy estrechamente nos ha de ser demandada cuenta el día del juicio (5) Item de lo que todo cristiano debe fuyr y apartarse son los siete pecados capitales."

the mission of several lay religious organizations. The Brethren of the Common Life, founded by Gerard Groote in the early 1380s originally encouraged lay religious education by copying the Bible. After the printing press made that unnecessary, the Brethren established a network of elementary schools in Germany and the Low Countries (both Erasmus and Luther were educated by the Brethren);¹⁷⁹ it seems likely that the Brethren emphasized the teaching of religion, and may even have had a formal catechism, but if so, it has been lost.¹⁸⁰ In the fourteenth century, the Venetian confraternity of San Giovanni Evangelista, founded in 1261, ran a catechetical school for poor boys and girls; in his account of Venetian ecclesiastical institutions, the eighteenth-century historian Giambattista Gallicciolli noted that he had seen the confraternity's catechism and that it was "much older than that of Bellarmino" which appeared in 1597; whether this catechism was the popular Libretto dela dottrina cristiana cited below or something else is uncertain for it has disappeared, along with all other materials concerning the confraternity.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹Bainton, Erasmus of Christendom, p. 8-13. Oberman, Luther, p. 96. Bainton discusses the nature of the schools.

¹⁸⁰John van Engen doubts that such a text existed (conversation with author in January, 1992).

¹⁸¹"Il Libretto della Dottrina . . . molto più antico dell'instruzione composta dal Bellarmino" (Gallicciolli, Delle memorie venete, pp. 347-350). I would like to thank Paul

We know much more about a Bolognese catechetical school started about 1417 by schoolmaster Matteo dal Gesso and, with the encouragement of Bishop Nicolò Albergati, expanded into a confraternity of teenage boys, although any teaching materials they used have also been lost.¹⁸² In 1473, Tommaso Grassi, a wealthy Milanese merchant, endowed five schools to teach reading, writing, arithmetic and Christian doctrine to 250 local poor boys; these schools operated until 1544 when they were taken over by the Confraternity of the Schools of Christian Doctrine. The Schools of Christian Doctrine taught religion from two standard Counter-Reformation manuals, the Summario and the Interrogatio; what materials were used to teach doctrine before the change in management is not known.¹⁸³

One pre-Reformation Italian children's catechism does survive, the Libreto dela dotrina cristiana per i putti i piccoli e giovanetti, usually attributed to Antonio Pierozzi (d. 1459), the Archbishop of Florence. Although the Libreto seems long for seven-year-olds to memorize, it was extremely popular; indeed, it was one of the earliest and most widely reprinted

Grendler for this reference.

¹⁸²Mesini, "La catechesi a Bologna," pp. 232-267. Turrini, "'Riformare il mondo,'" pp. 407-489. Italian Schools of Christian Doctrine are also discussed in Grendler, "The Schools of Christian Doctrine," pp. 319-331 and Black, Italian Confraternities, pp. 223-228.

¹⁸³Tamborini, La compagnia, pp. 34-36.

incunables.¹⁸⁴ The contemporaneous Buene introduction en la foy chrestien seems more appropriate for children, containing, as it does, just verse summaries of the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Sentier of Paradise, as well as French and Latin texts of selected prayers.¹⁸⁵ As noted above, Erasmus' verse catechism circulated widely in the early sixteenth century. A year before Luther published his catechism, Juan de Avila, a Spanish reformer influenced by Erasmus, published a verse catechism, apparently intended to be set to music, the Doctrina cristiana que se canta.¹⁸⁶

And several catechisms circulated in Germanic territories on the eve of the Reformation. By 1498, the Bohemian Brethren had drafted a children's catechism, from which the Waldensians, now resettled in Germany after being chased from France by the Inquisition, derived their Los interrogacions menors.¹⁸⁷ The Moravian Brethren published a catechism in 1502 which was translated into the German as the Kinderfragen in 1524.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴O'Malley, The First Jesuits, p. 116.

¹⁸⁵Columbia University, Plimpton 82. This manuscript is reproduced in Plimpton, The Education of Chaucer, plates viii.1-viii.39.

¹⁸⁶Nennei, La "Doctrina cristiana," and Bilinkoff, The Avila of Saint Teresa.

¹⁸⁷See above, note 162.

¹⁸⁸Reu, Catechetics, p. 82.

Johann Michael Reu believes that it was the publication of the Kinderfragen that prompted Luther to write his own catechism four years later.¹⁸⁹

But although catechisms did circulate in quasi-heretical circles by the late Middle Ages, they were not nearly as well-known as the lay handbooks on sin and confession that modern historians cite as precedents for Luther's catechisms. Although these were not intended for children, they do include the religious education of children among the duties of a parent. Dietrich Kolde's Spiegel der cristene mynschen (1470), the most frequently printed lay manual of the later Middle Ages, reminded parents that children were to learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary in German.¹⁹⁰

And two late fifteenth-century German confession manuals include references to children's knowledge of the basic Christian texts. The confession manual of the Frankfurt chaplain Johannes Wolff (1478) begins with a Mirror for first confession, usually made at the age of seven, which includes, but does not explicate,

¹⁸⁹Reu, Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism, p. 10.

¹⁹⁰c. 37: "Die Kinder in deutscher Sprache lehren: das Vater Unser, Ave Maria, das Glaubensbekenntniß und noch andere Punkte, die in diesem handbuche stehen. Item, ferner soll man sie lehren, Maria die Mutter Gottes, ihren Schußengel und alle heiligen Gottes zu ehren. Und des Abends und Morgens sollen sie die Kinder segnen und des Abends sie vor ihren Betten knien lassen und Gott danken" (as quoted in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, p. 31).

German incipits of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and Latin verses summarizing the Ten Commandments and the Seven Vices.¹⁹¹ A contemporaneous manual for first confession includes a statement that the child had failed to learn the texts necessary for salvation: the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹Falk, Drei Beichtbüchlein, p. 22-23.

¹⁹²Holtrop, Confessionale: "[Ich weiß] daß die Dinge, die meiner seligkeit zustehen, als das Vaterunser, den Glauben, die zehn Gebote nicht gelernt habe; auch nicht die, welche mir empfohlen find, gelehrt habe" (as quoted in Göbl, Geschichte der Katechese, pp. 24 and 60).

Chapter 2:

Arnaldus of Villanova and the Alphabetum Catholicorum

My first work in order of composition is entitled Dyalogus de elementis catholice fidei [also known as the Alphabetum catholicorum] and begins: "Are you faithful?"

--Arnaldus of Villanova¹⁹³
Protestatio facta Perusii (18 July 1304)

During his lifetime, Arnaldus of Villanova was not known as a teacher. To Giovanni Villani, who mentioned Arnaldus' death in Book IV of his Cronica of Florence, he was a "learned philosopher" who tangled with the Paris Inquisition and died on a mission from Frederick of Sicily to the papal court in Avignon.¹⁹⁴ To Boniface VIII for whom he wrote a (lost) treatise on medicine, Arnaldus was the "greatest [medical] genius" that ever lived.¹⁹⁵ Long after his prediction of the

¹⁹³Finke, Aus den Tagen, pp. cxciv-cxcv: "Primum scilicet ordine temporis intitulum Dyalogus de elementis catholice fidei et incipit: Es tu fidelis?"

¹⁹⁴Cronica IV, pp. 6-7.

¹⁹⁵Paniagua Arellano, "Maître Arnau," p. 66. Arnaldus' medical and religious careers are best described in the following four works: Paniagua Arellano, "Vida de Arnaldo de

coming of the Antichrist was forgotten, Arnaldus was read for his advice on epilepsy, gout, and kidney stones;¹⁹⁶ his brief Regimen Sanitatis was something of a medieval Dr. Spock, at least as measured by manuscript distribution,¹⁹⁷ and the seventy treatises of his Opera medica omnia played the same role for the cognoscenti, going through seven editions between 1504 and 1586.¹⁹⁸ Even today, Arnaldus is considered "perhaps the most important physician of the medieval Latin world."¹⁹⁹

And he was that rare phenomenon in the Middle Ages: a self-made man. Born, by his own account, into a poor family, and educated as a charity of the local Dominicans, he rose to be a trusted advisor to kings and popes, a key negotiator in the struggle between Philip the Fair and the Templars and in the settlement between the Aragonese and Angevins over the fate of Sicily. He brought the Franciscan spiritualist cause to the attention of Clement V, even winning a formal hearing before the

Vilanova," pp. 3-83; Perarnau, L' "Alia Informatio"; Manselli, "La religiosità," pp. 1-49, and Carreras y Artau, Relaciones. There is a useful chronology of Arnaldus' life by Paniagua in Archivos 11 (1959), pp. 420-432. The best account of Arnaldus' magical and scientific theories is found in Thorndike, A History, pp. 841-861.

¹⁹⁶Thorndike, A History, p. 853.

¹⁹⁷Paniagua, "Maître Arnau," p. 68 and note 18 (p. 78). See also Arnau de Vilanova, El Maravilloso regimiento, pp. 36-46.

¹⁹⁸Paniagua, "Maître Arnau," note 19 (p. 72).

¹⁹⁹Ubieta Arteta, "Arnau de Vilanova," cols. 266-267.

Curia for the case. At his death, he owned a villa in Valencia, a house in Barcelona²⁰⁰ and a collection of 175 books,²⁰¹ including Bibles, medical texts, tractates on poverty and such well-known religious texts as Richard of St. Victor's De preparatione animi ad contemplationem, Alan of Lille's Anticlaudianus and Raymond of Penyafort's Summa de casibus.²⁰²

Where and when Arnaldus of Villanova was born is a matter of some dispute. Most likely it was in Aragon or Valencia around 1240.²⁰³ It seems likely that he learned the three catechetical texts around the age of seven: in a letter to Boniface VIII, he said he received his primary education from

²⁰⁰Yet such was his reputation as an ascetic that Francisco Eiximenis noted in his El Crestià (book 1, c. 68) that Arnaldus always rode on a donkey and did not possess a house ("E anava cavalcant tostemp en un ase, ne havia casa ne alberch, e era de la terça Regla de sant Francesch")(as cited in Pou y Martí, Visionarios, p. 409, n. 3).

²⁰¹This is a huge number of books for a personal library. In his Bibliothèques ecclésiastiques, Williman notes that at his death a cardinal had an average of 120 books in his library, a bishop, just 32 (pp. 99-101).

²⁰²An inventory of Arnaldus' belongings in Valencia at the time of his death is edited by Chabás in "Inventario," pp. 189-203. The books on the inventory are partially identified by Carreras y Artau in "La llibreria," pp. 63-84. Chabás's text contains numerous errors and many of the works are either not identified or incorrectly identified in the Carreras article; I am preparing a new edition of this text.

²⁰³The traditional views on Arnaldus' birthplace are discussed in Paniagua, "Vida," pp. 6-10. See also Benton, "The Birthplace," pp. 248-249 and Paniagua, "Maître Arnau," p. 64 and note 3 (p. 70).

the Dominicans, then active fighting heresy in both Languedoc and Spain. Arnaldus took minor orders,²⁰⁴ but whether he had any formal theological training is unclear. Statements in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of his Opera medica that he had a theology degree from the University of Paris are apparently apocryphal;²⁰⁵ Arnaldus himself left contradictory accounts: in a letter to Benedict XI, he apologized for having devoted himself to science to the complete exclusion of theology; at a debate before the bishop of Gerona in 1302, he boasted that he had not only studied theology, but also taught it.²⁰⁶

The earliest documentary record of Arnaldus is a 1260 listing as a student at the new medical school at Montpellier, a territory then controlled by the Crown of Aragon.²⁰⁷ He later studied with Arab doctors at the renowned medical school in Naples (he dedicated an early book to one of the teachers there) and appears to have moved to Rome in the 1270s. In the introduction to the Breviarium, he mentions treating a nephew of Pope Alexander V and he is thought to have treated Pope Innocent

²⁰⁴Paniagua, "Vida," p. 11.

²⁰⁵Ibid., p. 10.

²⁰⁶Ibid., p. 13-14.

²⁰⁷Paniagua, "Maître Arnau," p. 65.

V in 1276.²⁰⁸ By 1281, Arnaldus had moved to Valencia with his wife Inez Blasi, the daughter of a prosperous Montpellier merchant, and their daughter Maria, who would become a nun at the Dominican convent of St. Mary Magdalene in Valencia in 1291.²⁰⁹

Arnaldus must have been well-known by then for in the middle of 1281, he was called to Barcelona to be court physician to King Peter at a salary of 2,000 sueldos a month, plus the use of a local castle.²¹⁰ The duties were light enough that Arnaldus had time to translate half a dozen Arabic medical works into Latin, including several important treatises of Galen, and to enroll as a Hebrew student at the Dominican studium in Barcelona.²¹¹ According to the incipit of the Allocutio super significatione nominis Tetragrammaton (1292), Arnaldus studied under Ramon Martí, an expert in Jewish exegesis.²¹² What else Arnaldus might have studied is unclear. Although the Barcelona studium had been set up to train missionaries, we do not know what, if anything, was taught beyond "oriental" languages

²⁰⁸Paniagua, "Vida," pp. 16-17.

²⁰⁹Paniagua, "Vida," p. 17.

²¹⁰Ibid., p. 19.

²¹¹Ibid.

²¹²Finke, Aus den Tagen, p. cxxvii. See also Lee, "Scrutamini Scripturas," p. 48.

(Arabic and Hebrew);²¹³ but possibly Arnaldus was familiar with Martí's most famous work, the Pugio fidei, a treatise on how to present Christianity to Jews.²¹⁴ Arnaldus may have been introduced to the ideas of Joachim of Fiore, the Calabrian mystic at this time; certainly he was familiar with them by the time he began to work on the De tempore adventus Antichristi, inspired by a vision in 1288-1290.

Peter III died in November 1285, and Arnaldus was not retained as physician to the new king, Alfonso III. Arnaldus returned to Valencia a year later and devoted himself to translating Arabic medical treatises into Latin and composing medical works of his own. The latter are unusual for integrating material from so many sources into a coherent whole; the popular Breviarium, for example, combines techniques learned from Galen with Latin medical theories and folk remedies learned from local faith healers.²¹⁵

By 1292, Arnaldus was teaching at the University of Montpellier.²¹⁶ There Arnaldus met Peter John Olivi, the Spiritualist Franciscan leader who had joined the theology

²¹³Mulchahey, Dominican Education, p. 135.

²¹⁴Berthier, "Un Maître orientaliste," pp. 281-286 and 299-311.

²¹⁵Paniagua, "Vida," p. 15.

²¹⁶McVaugh, "The Development," p. 78.

faculty in 1289.²¹⁷ Although Olivi was among the most important and perceptive Franciscan theologians, he was best known to contemporaries--and modern historians--for his advocacy of apostolic poverty in its most literal sense. This position, which would have required that Franciscans renounce not only personal goods, but those held by the order, won him deep enmity from Franciscan leaders, but it earned him the respect of a group of lay followers known as Beguins.²¹⁸

By the time Arnaldus met him, Olivi had been cleared of heresy charges, but his views on Franciscan poverty and church reform remained controversial. So was his interest in the apocalyptic theories of Joachim of Fiore, the twelfth-century Calabrian mystic. Around 1292, Olivi suggested that Arnaldus write an introduction to the De semine scripturarum, a treatise then attributed to Joachim (but now assigned to a monk of Bamberg, c. 1204-1205) that assigned centuries to letters of

²¹⁷Carreras y Artau, Relaciones, p. 32. On Olivi, see also Bernard Gui, Manuel, pp. 138-142.

²¹⁸I am using the term Beguin (capital B, no e) to differentiate these laymen from the better known beguine women of the low countries. Accord to Lambert, the word Beguin was "a pejorative term from the same root as beguine [and] applied to tertiaries and others of either sex associated with Olivi and other Spiritual Franciscans, chiefly in the Franciscan province of Provence, with exaggerated views on the place of poverty; [they were] suppressed after the issue of Quorundam exigit by John XXII in 1318" (Medieval Heresy, p. 387). On Provençal and Spanish Beguins, see Lee et al., Western Mediterranean Prophecy, pp. 47-88 and Biget, "Autour de Bernard Délicieux," pp. 75-93.

the alphabet, and Arnaldus used to opportunity to apply Pythagorean mathematics and Joachist numerology to predictions of the time of the Apocalypse.²¹⁹ By then, Arnaldus was already at work on an apocalyptic work of his own, the De tempore adventus antichristi in which he explained that, properly interpreted, the prophecies of Daniel and the Erythrean Sybil said that the Antichrist would appear in 1355, followed by the destruction of the world 109 years later.²²⁰

Arnaldus' move to Montpellier in 1292 did not imply a break with the Aragonese royal family. He remained on especially close terms with Alfonso's younger brother James who became King in 1291;²²¹ James liked doctors and surrounded himself with many of them, and although he never recalled Arnaldus to Barcelona to be on his personal staff, James did depend on Arnaldus for special cases like Queen Blanche's difficult pregnancy of 1301.²²²

In 1299, James visited Arnaldus in Montpellier to ask him to join a diplomatic mission to the French King Philip the

²¹⁹Manselli, "La Religiosità," p. 15; Lee, "Scrutamini scripturas," pp. 42-48; Lee et al., Western Mediteranean Prophecy, pp. 34-35.

²²⁰Finke, Aus den Tagen, p. clix. The sequence of Arnaldus' early works is a matter of some dispute; see Lee et. al., Western Prophecy, pp. 28-29.

²²¹Carreras y Artau, Relaciones, pp. 31-32.

²²²Paniagua, "Vida," p. 22.

Fair.²²³ While in Paris, Arnaldus arranged to present his as yet unpublished De tempore adventus antichristi to the University theologians. Hours after the treatise was read, Arnaldus was arrested; he spent a night in jail and was released only after the intervention of one of King James' officials and the payment of 3,000 livres bail. Even that did not prevent him from being condemned of having expressed rash ideas, one legal step away from heresy. Arnaldus appealed the ruling to the Pope and was summoned to the curia for an investigation.²²⁴

Boniface VIII refused to reconsider the condemnation--as did both Benedict XI and Clement V²²⁵--but he did give Arnaldus a job as papal physician, and, after Arnaldus cured him of a kidney stone, a castle at Scorcola near Anagni.²²⁶ The Scorcola sun was so hot that it made Arnaldus hallucinate, so he rarely spent time there, but during one visit he heard the voice of the Holy Spirit tell him to take dictation. The resulting De mysterio cymbalorum marked a new direction in Arnaldus' spiritual opus; although it still suggested 1368 as the date

²²³Carreras y Artau, Relaciones, p. 21. See also Paniagua, "Vida," p. 32.

²²⁴Paniagua, "Vida," p. 33.

²²⁵Manselli, "Arnaldo da Villanova," pp. 148-149. Paniagua, "Vida," p. 38.

²²⁶Paniagua, "Vida," pp. 34-35 and 37.

for the appearance of the Antichrist, it now also presented Arnaldus as a prophet sent to reform the church, a cause that would be central to his future religious works. Most of his later writing, including the Philosophia catholica (1301) and the Allocutio christiani (1304-1305) emphasize the need to refocus the church on spirituality and contrasted the worldliness of the official hierarchy to the poverty of the apostles. The De mysterio marked a turning point for Arnaldus of a second kind: he sent copies of the work to a select group of Church leaders, including Bertrand de Got, the Archbishop of Bordeaux. Bertrand was apparently impressed, and soon became one of Arnaldus' staunchest supporters.²²⁷

Arnaldus seems to have left his papal post in 1302. During his years at Montpellier, he had almost certainly come in contact with Beguins; now he started or joined a Beguin fellowship in Valencia, even opening a scriptorium in his house for the production of Beguin books, especially his own.²²⁸ His apocalyptic preaching quickly earned Arnaldus the enmity of the Dominicans, who formally opposed him in a debate before the Bishop of Gerona in 1302,²²⁹ Arnaldus responded by preaching against them as well, even announcing that the development

²²⁷Ibid., p. 38.

²²⁸Perarnau, L'"Alia Informatio," pp. 112 and 125.

²²⁹Paniagua, "Vida," pp. 40-41.

of Thomist Aristotileanism was a sure sign that the Antichrist was on his way.²³⁰ After Boniface VIII died in disgrace in 1303, Arnaldus wrote to the new Pope, Benedict XI, to warn him that such was the fate of popes who did not reform the church fast enough. Benedict had Arnaldus thrown in jail--James of Aragon got him out--only to die of the plague a few months later, with Arnaldus in attendance.²³¹ Arnaldus was immediately accused of having poisoned Benedict, partly on the basis of a letter worrying about the Pope's health written in the spring of 1304 to Bernard Délicieux, the leader of the Provençal Beguins.²³²

Arnaldus' status changed dramatically on June 5, 1305 when Bertrand de Got, Arnaldus' friend from Bordeaux, was elected Pope. Bertrand, now Clement V, recognized that however odd Arnaldus' religious ideas might be, he was known and trusted by most of the key secular leaders of southern Europe, and would

²³⁰In the treatise Gladius iugulans Thomatistas partially edited in Ehrle, "Arnaldo de Villanova," p. 500: "Sed quia perversitate dogmatis supradicti multitudinem innumerabilem suorum sequacium in illa opinione abduxit a veritate sacra, proprius [Thomas Aquinas] per aliquam stellam designari non potest, quam designetur per illam, quam Spiritus Sanctus describit, ubi per Io[hannem] futuras ecclesie adversitates prenuntiat."

²³¹Paniagua, "Vida," pp. 44-45.

²³²Manselli, "Arnaldo," p. 152.

make an ideal diplomat.²³³ With Clement's blessing, Arnaldus interceded for the Aragonese Templars when they became caught in the dispute between James II and Philip the Fair over the future of the order;²³⁴ he helped mediate the longstanding feud between the houses of Anjou and Aragon for control of Sicily.²³⁵

Such was Arnaldus' reputation as a power broker that the Carthusians of Mount Athos sent a delegation to ask him for help when the Catalan Company, an independent group of Aragonese soldiers, threatened their monastery.²³⁶ Although Clement ignored Arnaldus' request to reconsider his Paris condemnation, he did, in September 1308, make Arnaldus head for life of the medical school at Montpellier,²³⁷ and a year later, partly at Arnaldus' urging, agreed to consider charges of the Franciscan Spirituals against their Conventual brothers (in 1313, Clement ruled for the Conventuals).²³⁸

²³³Ibid., p. 155. Arnaldus had treated James of Aragon, James' brother Frederick of Sicily and James' brother-in-law Charles II of Anjou; he had negotiated with Philip of France and was on good terms with James' brother-in-law Robert of Naples.

²³⁴Lee et al., Western Prophecy, p. 42.

²³⁵Manselli, "Arnaldo," pp. 153-155.

²³⁶Carreras y Artau, "La llibreria," p. 70. On the Catalan Company, see Hillgarth, The Spanish Kingdoms, pp. 268-270.

²³⁷Paniagua, "Maître Arnau," p. 65.

²³⁸Leff, Heresy, p. 154.

Arnaldus continued to campaign for Church reform. He wrote numerous treatises and letters, and, at the end of 1308, interpreted the dreams of his Aragonese patrons--Frederick, of his mother imploring him through a veil; James, of his father showing him four pieces of gold--as a message that God wanted the two kings to renounce the secular world to devote their lives and resources to the reform of the Church.²³⁹ King James apparently did not object to that interpretation in private, but he was outraged when, on September 1, 1309, Arnaldus repeated it to the College of Cardinals, and added that the kings had agreed to follow his advice.²⁴⁰ As soon as he heard what Arnaldus had said, James wrote to Clement V denying any such intent, and remained unmollified when Clement wrote back saying that he attached no importance to Arnaldus' words²⁴¹

(Clement's successor John XXII was not so tolerant; he did not intervene when, in 1316, the acting bishop of Tarragona condemned a half a dozen of Arnaldus' works critical of the clergy for failing to observe apostolic poverty).²⁴²

²³⁹Paniagua, "Vida," p. 61-62.

²⁴⁰Manselli, "Arnaldo," p. 160.

²⁴¹Paniagua, "Vida," pp. 71-72.

²⁴²Lee et al., Western Prophecy, p. 45. The text of the condemnation is edited in Villanueva, Viage literario XIX, pp. 320-329 and reproduced in Santi, Arnau de Vilanova, pp. 283-289. The manuscript from which Villanueva made his edition has been lost.

Arnaldus fled to Sicily where Frederick received him with open arms. Indeed, a year later, Arnaldus convinced Frederick to lead a crusade to the Holy Land and traveled to Naples to try to arrange the purchase of the crown of Jerusalem from Frederick's brother-in-law Robert of Naples; he failed to buy the crown and Frederick dropped the crusade.²⁴³ Arnaldus then moved to Naples where he served as Robert's court physician; there he wrote his final treatise, De conservanda juventute.²⁴⁴

Arnaldus died on September 6, 1311 just off the coast of Genoa on his way from Naples to Avignon.²⁴⁵ Under the terms of a will dated July 20, 1305,²⁴⁶ he left his properties in Montpellier to his wife and those in Valencia to the care of his daughter, then a nun at the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene in Valencia.²⁴⁷ He directed that his theological books be given

²⁴³Manselli, "Arnaldo," p. 158.

²⁴⁴Paniagua, "Vida," p. 74.

²⁴⁵Ibid., p. 75.

²⁴⁶Chabás, "Testamento," pp. 87-90.

²⁴⁷Ibid., p. 88: "Item volo et ordino quod omnia bona mea tam immobilia quam mobilia, que habeo in monte pessulano, teneat et possideat domina Agnes uxor mea in tota vita sua," and p. 89: "Item volo et ordino quod dum vixerit Maria filia mea, provideatur ei de necessariis suis ad plenum de proventibus censualium meorum, quod habeo in civitate vel in territorio Valentie. Et in eo quod in presenti ordinatione dicte filie mee dimitto et in aliis bonis, que eidem filie mee sive monasterio dominarum Sancte Marie Magdalene Valentie quem intravit pro ea et nomine suo de bonis meis dedi et obtuli instituo ipsam filiam meam nunc heredem" (italics in Chabás).

to Scala Dei, a Carthusian monastery in Catalonia, on condition that his friends Bernard Oliveri and Andreas Ferrandi, and his nephew Peter of Villanova be allowed to live at the monestary (he provided that the monastery receive one hundred pounds each for Bernard, Andreas and Peter's upkeep).²⁴⁸ In addition, Arnaldus left instructions for the care of an unnamed and thus far unidentified poor boy of Valencia²⁴⁹ from "the age of discipline"--seven?--to fourteen, the boy was to be educated in grammar, morals and Christian doctrine, at a cost of ten pounds per year. Should the boy choose at that time to join the Carthusians in Catalonia, he would be supported by a 100 pound bequest.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸Ibid, pp. 88-89: "Item volo et ordino quod omnes libri mei in theologia ponantur in deposito in monasterio scala dei ordinis carthusie in Catalonia; et quod bernardus oliverii et Andreas ferrandi et Petrus de Villanova nepos meus possint eis uti in vita sua, sic scilicet quod in monasterio resideant sub quoque habitu honestatis, et studio sacre scripture vaccent ac divino officio; et ut monasterium possit portare honera expensarum in necessariis eorumdem, volo quod pro unoquoque dentur dicto monasterio de aliis bonis meis centum libre. Etsi qui eorum nollet in monasterio residere, dentur ei quinquaginta libre, et sic vadat cum dei benedictione quocumque voluerit. Et eis decedentibus aut omnino recentibus, volo quod in dicto monasterio sint perpetuo libri predicti tam in consolatione fratrum quam in remedium anime mee" (italics and capitalization in Chabás). The books appear to have been distributed to Arnaldus' Beguin sympathizers and not to the monks at Scala Dei; see Chabás, "Inventario", p. 190 and Perarnau, L'"Alia Informatio," p. 125.

²⁴⁹Paniagua, "Vida," p. 48.

²⁵⁰Ibid., p. 89: "Item volo et ordino quod puer ille, quem Michael Antiga notarius barchinone afranguivit contemplatione

Whether Arnaldus left more specific instructions for the boy's education we will probably never know. But it seems likely that Arnaldus intended him to begin at the place he had previously designated as the starting point for the prudent Catholic scholar: the Alphabetum catholicorum.²⁵¹

#

We do not know anything about the composition of Arnaldus' Alphabetum except that it says that it was written "for the renowned King of Aragon," presumably Arnaldus' patron James II.²⁵² It was probably written after 1292 when James became king and likely after the marriage of James to Blanche of Naples on November 1, 1295 (it is possible that the final portion, separated from the main text by the heading "Here begins the objectio" in the best manuscript, was not part of the

mei, cum pervenerit ad etatem disciplinabilem erudiatur gramaticalibus et moralibus et divinis per Petrum de Villanova supradictum; vel eo deficiente per alium ex tunc. Donech compleverit quatuordecim annos, volo quod annuatim pro suis necessariis dentur ei decem libre de bonis meis; ultra quatumdecimum annum etatis sue, si voluerit in supradicto monasterio perpetuo residere sub exercicio supradicto, volo quod pro eo similiter dentur dicto monasterio centum libre de bonis meis" (italics in Chabás). Michael Antiga was a notary in the court of James II and a close friend of Arnaldus; he was convicted of heresy in 1309. See Perarnau, L' "Alia Informatio," pp. 116-118.

²⁵¹Mesini, "Il Tractatus," p. 322. The text of this comment is given on p. 97, note 265 below.

²⁵²Edition, lines 1-3.

original).²⁵³ The Alphabetum can be assumed to have been written before 1297 since Arnaldus told the papal camerarius that it was the first of his religious compositions and that it predated the Tractatus de adventu antichristi, self-dated 1297.²⁵⁴ Between 1292 and 1297, Arnaldus was teaching medicine at Montpellier and fraternizing with Peter John Olivi.

It is uncertain how Arnaldus intended the Alphabetum to be used. Possibly it was meant to be memorized as a dialogue between king and student, as later catechisms like Luther's and Calvin's were. But unlike sixteenth-century works that were clearly intended for classroom use, the Alphabetum seems maladapted for that purpose; the answers are long and complicated, and the text is a discussion of Christian beliefs and behaviors rather than an explication of basic texts. Alternatively, Arnaldus might have intended that the text be studied by King James as a preparation for his teaching his sons the Catholic faith, much as the contemporary C'est dou pere and Doctrina pueril seem to have been intended.

Why Arnaldus wrote the catechism is unclear. In his recent study of Arnaldus' theological works, Francesco Santi speculates

²⁵³Edition, line 1050.

²⁵⁴Actually Arnaldus told this to the camerarius twice; first at Perugia in 1304 (Finke, Aus den Tagen, pp. cxciv-cxcv) and again at Bordeaux in 1305 (Finke, Aus den Tagen, pp. cciv-ccv). See pp. 138-140 below.

that "Arnaldus, having helped Blanche to give birth in the flesh wanted to help James give his sons spiritual rebirth."²⁵⁵ However, Arnaldus did not help Blanche give birth until 1300; her first child, James was delivered in 1296 by Guillaume of Toulouse; Maria and Alfonso, born in 1298 and 1299 respectively, seem to have been delivered by Master Hugh, one of James' many court physicians.²⁵⁶

Alternatively, Arnaldus might have been inspired by intellectual currents around him. Instructing the youth in religion seems to have been in the air at the time. Ramon Lull, the Catalan mystic patronized by King James, is thought to have written his Doctrina pueril in Montpellier in the mid 1270s.²⁵⁷ The Dominican general chapters held in Montpellier in 1283 and 1293 both included discussions of the education of novices, some of them boys.²⁵⁸

Perarnau suggests that although the Alphabetum was presented to King James, perhaps on the occasion of a visit of Queen

²⁵⁵Francesco Santi, Arnau de Vilanova l'obra espiritual Historia i Societat 5 (Valencia: Diputació Provincial de Valencia, 1987), p. 116. See also Carreras Artau, "Un texto didático," p. 7.

²⁵⁶McVaugh, "The births," pp. 7-8. See also Sablonier, "The Aragonese royal family," pp. 211 and 218.

Blanche's brother St. Louis of Anjou, Bishop of Toulouse, to Barcelona in July of 1297, it was actually written as an introduction to the spiritual life for Beguin tertiaries and sympathizers.²⁵⁹ This seems to me unlikely. First, although the Beguins were interested in educating themselves and, according to Bernard Gui, frequently gathered on Sundays and feast days in a home of one of their members to read the Ten Commandments, the articles of the faith, saints' lives and works of Peter John Olivi, they are not known to have taken a special interest in the education of children.²⁶⁰ (Olivi wrote two commentaries on the Lord's Prayer, but Gui does not mention these as works the Beguins studied.²⁶¹)

Second, the Alphabetum does not provide a coherent introduction to the spiritual life as Beguins understood it, and although the text is somewhat unusual as a catechism (see Chapter 3 below), it seems simple enough to have been intended

²⁵⁷Ramon Lull, Doctrina pueril, p. 17.

²⁵⁸Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica III, p. 223 lines 8-12 and p. 272 line 37 to p. 273 line 6.

²⁵⁹Perarnau, Dos tratados, pp. 72 and 76.

²⁶⁰c. 110: "In diebus festis et in dominicis sepius conveniunt in unum et ibi legunt aut legi audiunt in vulgari de predictis libellis aut opusculis [libris seu opusculis fratris Petri Johannis Olivi videlicet ex postilla eiusdem super Apocalipsim . . . item ex aliquibus tractatibus quos ipsum fecisse Beguini dicunt et credunt, unum videlicet de paupertate et alium de mendicitate et quemdam alium de dispensationibus] ex quibus suggunt venenum, quamvis etiam

as a primer in the faith for young boys. Indeed, there is some evidence that instructing boys in the faith was an important aspect of Arnaldus' understanding of Christianity. In his Informacio espiritual written about 1310 for Frederick of Sicily, Arnaldus notes that from the age of seven boys should be nourished in the evangelical life so that they would know and love Jesus Christ.²⁶²

#

Here begins the Alphabet of Catholics dedicated to the renowned lord King of Aragon that he might educate his sons in the elements of the catholic faith.

Arnaldus of Villanova²⁶³
Alphabetum catholicorum (c. 1295)

The Alphabetum text begins with the question (line 4): "Are you faithful?" Indeed he is, responds the student, for he believes what the universal church of God teaches, that is, the

quedam alia legantur ibidem de preceptis et de articulis fidei et de legendis sanctorum et de Summa de vitiis et virtutibus" (Gui, Manuel, p. 114).

²⁶¹The text are edited in Delorme, "Textes Francisçaines," pp. 185-202.

²⁶²"Los infants mascles devets, de .vii. ans a amunt, fer nodrir en la escola de la vida evvangelical, al los altres, per tal que no aprenquen en començament alrre a conèxer e amar, sinó Jesuchrist" (Obres Catalanes I, p. 232 ll. 3-7).

²⁶³Edition, ll. 1-3: "Incipit Alfabetum catholicorum ad inclitum dominum regem Aragonum pro filiis erudiendis in elementis catholice fidei."

fourteen articles of the faith (ll. 5-20). These are: God is one in essence; God includes the person of the father; God includes the person of the Son; God includes the person of the Holy Spirit; God created all things; God justifies the impious by remitting their sins; God will resuscitate the dead to the damnation of the impious and the glorification of the just; Christ was conceived of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Spirit; he was born leaving her virginity intact; he was crucified, dead and buried; his soul descended into Hell; he rose on the third day; he ascended into heaven and sits at the right hand of the Father; he will come again to judge the living and the dead (ll. 36-69).

"How do you recognize a faithful man?" asks the catechist (ll. 78-80). By the following five signs, replies the student: a faithful man has a salubrious and honest way of speaking; he hates the evil words that come from a cursed tongue; he cannot be corrupted by hearing venomous words; he heals the sick by the imposition of hands (ll. 81-90). Although these signs identify a faithful man, continues the student, they are not enough to earn him salvation. For that, a faithful man must praise God, contemplate God and pray to God (ll. 106-150). He praises God by blessing God in his heart, by praying to God with his lips and by imitating God in his works (ll. 151-170). He contemplates God by admiring God's majesty, by remembering the benefits God gives, by contemplating God's righteousness and by

expecting fulfillment of God's promises (ll. 171-183).

"You said that a faithful man must pray to God?" notes the catechist, "define to pray (line 184-185)." "To ask God with the uprightness of a pure heart and the inclination of the body," replies the student (l. 186-187), adding that when we pray we should use the prayer Christ taught. The Lord's Prayer is better than any other prayer because it is more appropriate and because it contains in fewer words everything a complete prayer should contain (ll. 214-223).

The student then explains that a complete prayer should do two kinds of things: first, win the goodwill of the one being prayed to; second, ask for the things that are appropriate to ask for. The Lord's Prayer wins God's goodwill by using the words "father" which says that God can make things happen for us; "our" which says that we are subject to Him; "who art in heaven" which shows He is surrounded by worthy helpers, and "hallowed be Thy Name" which shows that we want good things, namely that God's name--which is Christ--to be hallowed (ll. 235-252). The catechist queries how Christ can be God's name since he is God's "face," and the student explains that he can be both according to Psalm 139:14: "The righteous shall confess your name; the upright shall dwell with your countenance" (ll. 253-297).

What does Christ teach us to ask for in the Lord's Prayer? asks the catechist (ll. 298-308), and in what order? Christ

teaches us to ask for two kinds of things, explains the student, those pertaining to eternal life and those pertaining to temporal life. The things we are to ask for in regard to eternal life are blessing in this life (with the words "Hallowed be Thy Name"), glorification in the future ("Thy Kingdom Come") and conformation of our will to the divine will ("Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven") (ll. 309-355). The catechist interjects that the student has already said that the words "Hallowed be Thy Name" were used to win God's goodwill (356-366), but the student explains that a petition of the Prayer can have two meanings, as long as the words are understood according to different definitions--and indeed that Christ gave this petition two meanings to emphasize that Christ spreads his holiness among the people and blesses the supplicant through the same thing: his virtues (365-389).

The student digresses to name and define the seven virtues (ll. 390-436), noting that although both Christ and his followers share in the virtues, the followers exhibit them less perfectly, just as the moon shines less brightly than the sun (ll. 442-466). Then he returns to the question of what Christ teaches us to ask for in the Lord's Prayer. Regarding the temporal life, he explains, Christ teaches us to ask God to give us the things necessary to sustain the present life ("Give us this day our daily bread") and to take away evil that can befall us in this life ("forgive us our trespasses"). The evil we ask

God to take away can either be evil of the spirit alone, or it can be shared by body and soul; spiritual evil can be evil already committed ("And forgive us our trespasses") or the evil luring us to sin ("and lead us not into temptation") (ll. 483-514).

Surely those petitions are in the wrong order, objects the catechist. Should we not ask God to take away evil shared by body and soul before we ask him to take away evil of the spirit since the shared should always be considered before the individual (ll. 515-522)? No, replies the student. Although we should consider the shared before the individual, we should also consider the more worthy before the less worthy which is what Christ did here, the soul being more worthy than the body (ll. 523-535). Why are the first three petitions of the prayer joined without a conjunction and the final four are linked by ands? asks the catechist. The student responds that there are no conjunctions between the petitions concerning eternal life to show us that eternal benefits can be enjoyed simultaneously; the petitions concerning temporal life are separated by conjunctions because temporal goods are enjoyed one at a time (ll. 536-552).

You said that we must pray to God, notes the catechist. What are the benefits of prayer? There are four, answers the student: the first is meriting the grace of eternal salvation, the second is receiving what you asked for; the third is

forgiveness for sins; the fourth is the refreshing of the mind (ll. 553-572). The student then explains that one loves God for His own sake because God is the source of all good; one loves one's neighbor for God's sake both because Christ ordered us to love our neighbor and because the good in the neighbor that makes him loveable comes from God (ll. 587-641).

You said that it is necessary for one wishing to love God to fulfill His precepts, the catechist reminds the student. Tell me what the precepts of God are (ll. 642-644). The student replies that there are ten universal ones. Three pertain to the love of God: Have no other Gods before me, Do not use the name of your God in vain and Keep the Sabbath holy; seven pertain to the love of the neighbor: Honor your father and mother; do not kill; do not commit adultery; do not steal; do not give false testimony against your neighbor; do not desire your neighbor's house; do not lust after his wife or handmaid (ll. 645-704). Why do you say that these ten are the special commandments of God? asks the catechist. The student replies that according to the book of Exodus they are the ones that God gave to the people of Israel through Moses (ll. 705-709).

On the contrary, says the catechist, the special commandments of God are the ones Christ gave the disciples as recounted in Matthew: love your Lord God with all your heart, mind and soul; love your neighbor as yourself. The student then explains that the ten commandments God gave to Moses do not

contradict the ones Christ gave in Matthew since the final intent of Moses's first three commandments is to love God and the final intent of Moses' other seven is to love one's neighbor (ll. 710-747). It works like this, continues the student: a man who who loves God with all his heart, soul and mind fulfills Moses' first three commandments since he does not idolize, use the name of God in vain or violate God's feast; similarly, a man who loves his neighbor as himself fulfills Moses' second seven commandments since he honors his parents just as he wishes to be honored by his sons and does not kill just as he wishes not be be killed and so forth (ll.748-777).

Is it enough to love God with all your heart and all your soul and all your mind? asks the catechist. After all, according to Luke a man should love God with all his heart, soul, strength and mind, while Mark and Moses say that a man should love God with all his heart, soul and strength (ll. 778-803). The student replies that the various books of the Bible do use slightly different words in the directives to love God, but not because the authors want to suggest that Matthew's three ways of loving God are insufficient. Rather Luke and Mark add strength meaning "efficacy", so that there will be four ways to love God--wisely (with all one's heart), fervently (with all one's soul), strongly (with all one's strength) and persistently (with all one's mind)--just as there are four reasons for loving Him: as Creator, Conservator, Redeemer and Glorifier (ll.

804-853). The reason that in Deuteronomy Moses said love God with all your strength and not all your mind was that he was talking to people who were scared and concerned only with physical things (ll. 856-883).

Is it really possible for a man to love God with all his heart and mind? asks the catechist. After all, our human nature is so defective that we allow our hearts and minds to be distracted all day. The student replies that a man can love God fully if you mean the kind of fullness that we can achieve in this life and not the kind of fullness we will be able to achieve in heaven. Loving God fully in the fullness of this life means avoiding all mortal sin. Loving God in the fullness of heaven means committing no sins at all, not even venial ones, something we will only be able to do in heaven (ll. 883-909).

The catechist then asks the student to explain the precept of loving the neighbor, especially the part about loving the neighbor as oneself. Can we love our neighbor as much as we love God? he wants to know, can we love God as much as we love ourselves? God did not order anyone to love his neighbor as much as he loves God, replies the student; God ordered him to love the neighbor in the same way that he loves God, that is with a love that is just, upright, holy and manifest in works (ll. 910-948). The student then explains that although we cannot love our neighbor as much as we love ourselves, we can love God as much as we love ourselves because it is His presence

in us that makes us alive (ll. 951-966). We can perfectly love God and the neighbor at the same time because whenever we love our neighbor we are also loving God, and this is true of all neighbors, not just of Christ (ll. 954-986).

Why do you say that Christ is our neighbor? asks the catechist, Christ is God. The student replies that Christ is our neighbor according to all definitions of neighbor: He is our neighbor by species since He has a human nature; by religion since He is the head of the Christian religion; by compassion since He gave His life for us; by family since He said in Luke: whoever does the will of my father is my father and mother and brother and sister (ll. 987-1019). Therefore, continues the student, all the faithful should zealously turn themselves to Christ, since in Him the law of God is fulfilled.

How do you turn your soul to Christ? asks the catechist. The student says he does this daily, in three ways. When he wakes up in the morning he makes the sign of the cross across his chest and says "In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, arise and walk; set forth, be happy, go forward." He greets Christ everywhere, especially before the altar. And he adores Christ, giving thanks to Him and saying: "I love you Christ, I bless and glorify you; I give thanks for the great glory which you are worthy to show to men; I thank you for the benefits that you confer to me as my God and my master, my king, my father and my teacher. I pray that you will make me live and die in your

glory. Who lives and reigns with God the father in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God forever and ever. Amen" (ll. 1024-1049).

That is the end of the Alphabetum proper, but the text is immediately followed by an "obiectio," a discussion of the proposition that children should study the Bible set as a dialogue between a teacher and several students. The catechist begins by saying that he finds the idea presumptuous and foolish since Paul wrote that when he was a boy, he spoke, thought and understood as a boy, indicating that boys should think and speak differently from adults whose job it was to study the Bible. The students reply that what Paul meant was that children should study the Bible in a different way from adults, and not that they should not study it at all. In other passages of the Bible, they argue, God makes it clear that he does want children to study it as well as adults. Indeed, according to the book of Wisdom, "Vain"--that is useless--"are all men who have no knowledge of God," implying that knowing God, which you do by studying the Bible, is fruitful to all men (ll. 1051-1111).

The catechist counters that a man does not need to study the Bible to reap the benefits of understanding it; what matters is that he does the word of God--and even children who can understand the scriptures cannot apply the wisdom to doing good works. The students respond that there are two benefits of understanding the Bible: first, the student's mind learns what to believe, how to act, and what to avoid, fear or hope for;

second, the student earns eternal salvation. Although children cannot reap the second benefit because they cannot perform good works, they can reap the first. (ll. 1112-1166).

But understanding the scriptures is not necessary for reaping that benefit, says the catechist; all you need to do is show God your heart. The students concede that to obtain salvation one must only know the teachings of scripture, but they add that it is better to know something from studying it oneself than from hearing it from others, and because one knows better--and thus loves more fervently--the things one has studied oneself. Furthermore, it is necessary to understand the teachings of the faith not only for oneself, but also so that one can defend the faith, for, as Paul said in his first letter to Titus "a bishop must embrace the faithful word that is according to doctrine so that he may exhort with sound teaching and argue against gainsayers (Titus 1:9)" (ll. 1167-1232).

Chapter 3:

The Alphabetum catholicorum in context

If someone asks, "what are the teachings of the Christian faith that should not be ignored by the Catholic scholar?" he should read the Alphabetum Catholicorum, in which all those things are gathered in the style and order of teaching for the instruction of both scholars and other catholics.

--Arnaldus of Villanova²⁶⁴
Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum
scholarium (c. 1295)

Having reviewed the history of catechetical teaching and the contents of the Alphabetum catholicorum, it is time to consider the place of the Alphabetum in the history of religious thought. In this chapter, I will consider three aspects of this question: first, the place of the Alphabetum in the history of the religious education of children; second, its place in the thought of Arnaldus of Villanova, and finally, its place in

²⁶⁴"Si vero quaeratur: quae sunt illa documenta fidei christianae quae scholaris catholicus ignorare non debet, legat alphabetum catholicorum, in quo sunt omnia recollecta stilo et ordine doctrinali ad communem informationem scholarium et quorumcumque catholicorum" (Mesini, "Il 'Tractatus,'" p. 322).

contemporaneous theology.

The contents of the Alphabetum are, at first glance, somewhat peculiar. Until the end of the fourteenth century, most laymen's catechetical materials were based on the scheme of five "sevens" outlined by Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141) in his Septenarium (the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven virtues, the seven vices and the seven beatitudes)²⁶⁵--clearly not the system employed by Arnaldus. Nor does Arnaldus focus his Alphabetum to the topics generally required in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French and Spanish statutes pertaining to the religious education of children cited above: the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary. Although children's catechetical books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries sometimes include expositions of the Ten Commandments and the teaching of them is included in the statutes of Jaén (1498) and the Catechism of the Council of Trent (1565), there is no mention of the Commandments in any of the earlier statutes cited in Chapter 2 above. Why, then, are the Commandments included in the Alphabetum, a

²⁶⁵De quinque septenis seu septenariis PL 175, cols. 405-414. On the popularity of the Septenarii in catechetical materials, see Germain, Langages, p. 22; Bedouelle, "Das Entstehen," p. 29. Discussions of the Ten Commandments seem to have appeared in confession manuals aimed at priests in the mid-thirteenth century; see Goering and Payer, "The 'Summa,'" p. 18.

dialogue written in 1295?²⁶⁶

I would like to suggest two possibilities. First, although the Ten Commandments were not included among the texts that church canons required parents to teach their children in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, they had been understood as related to the Creed and the Lord's Prayer since the fifth century, and they were often grouped with the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in contemporaneous scholastic treatises and preaching canons concerning the basic Christian texts.²⁶⁷ At the time Arnaldus was drafting the Alphabetum, the three texts seem to have been frequently linked at the popular level. They were the subjects of the Collationes Thomas Aquinas preached during Lent of 1273; they were also the three subjects that the pilgrim of Dante's Paradiso (c. 1310) is tested in

²⁶⁶The Ten Commandments are discussed in Lull's Doctrina pueril, but, as noted above, this was hardly a basic text, containing as it does, expositions of, among other things, the seven liberal arts, morality and destiny.

²⁶⁷As Augustine put it in his influential Enchiridion, faith is summarized in the Creed, hope in the Lord's prayer and charity in the Law and "ex ista fidei confessione, quae breviter symbolo continetur, . . . nascitur bona spes fidelium, cui caritas sancta comitatur . . . Fides namque impetrat quod lex imperat" (Enchiridion c. 114 and c. 117, pp. 110 and 112.) Aquinas' Opusculum 3 begins with the statement that "Tria sunt homini necessaria ad salutem: scilicet scientia credendorum, scientia desiderandorum et scientia operandorum. Primum docetur in symbolo, ubi traditur scientia de articulis fidei; secundum in oratione dominica; tertium autem in lege" (Opera omnia 16, p. 97). Medieval catechetical canons frequently list faith/Creed, hope/Lord's Prayer and charity/Law as the things that a Christian must know and do to attain salvation; see, for example, the canons of Lavour (1368) (Mansi 26, col. 486).

before he may enter the gates of Empyrean.²⁶⁸

But although the Ten Commandments were considered an important part of church dogma, until the mid-thirteenth century, it was the seven deadly sins that were used as the framework for confession, and were therefore the focus of parochial preaching and teaching. Then, notes Philippe Delhaye in his study of the place of the decalogue in Christian morals, the Commandments gradually began to supplant the Sins under the influence of Franciscans.²⁶⁹ The first French episcopal regulations to suggest that priests preach on the Commandments in addition to the Deadly Sins were issued by the Council of Clermont in 1268.²⁷⁰ That Arnaldus should have included an

²⁶⁸Dante, Paradiso 1, Cantos XXIII, XXIV and XXV, pp. 266-299. Dante gives a second explication of the Lord's Prayer in Purgatorio's Canto XI which the Prideful were required to recite as propitiation for their sins (Purgatorio 1, pp. 108-110). The formal topics of the pilgrim's exams are Faith, Hope and Charity, and in his The Roman Catechism, Bradley argues that the linking of Faith to the Creed, Hope to the Lord's Prayer and Charity to the Ten Commandments can be traced from Augustine to the Catechism of the Council of Trent (pp. 1-109).

²⁶⁹Delhaye, Le décalogue, p. 68. Goering and Payer suggest that Dominicans played an important role in the rise of the Ten Commandments as a confessional standard ("The 'Summa,'" p. 18).

²⁷⁰Longère, "Le prêtre," p. 306. The first English statutes referring to the teaching of the Ten Commandments--along with the seven sacraments, the Hail Mary and making the sign of the cross--appear to have been issued by Walter of Canterbury (1240) and Walter of Kirkham (1255); see Wilkins, Concilia I, pp. 669 and 704 respectively.

explication of the Ten Commandments in his catechism so soon after Clermont--and so long before explicating the Commandments to children is mentioned in local church canons--may reflect his Franciscan connections; although he had been educated by Dominicans, he was, at the time he wrote the Alphabetum, fraternizing with Peter John Olivi and his Beguin followers.

In the High Middle Ages, the most common format for elementary teaching texts was verse.²⁷¹ Of the dozen primary texts most familiar in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, only one, Donatus, the basic grammar text was cast as a dialogue between master and student (the Ianua, an alternative first grammar popular in Italy, was also in dialogue).²⁷² Verse was the preferred format for didactic material, a reader noted in the margin of a versified Priscian, an advanced grammar, "a verse text is more useful (than a prose one) because it can be received more easily, learned more quickly and

²⁷¹Göbl devotes a section of his Geschichte der Katechese (pp. 252-257) to the question of dialogue format, but can find no closer precedents for Luther's catechism than Alcuin's Disputatio puerorum and Honorius's Elucidarium, works that were written not for children but priests. On the Disputatio, see pp. 29-31 above.

²⁷²Thomson and Perraud, Ten Latin Schooltexts, pp. 1-32. The text of the Ianua is edited in Schmitt, "Die Ianua (Donatus)," pp. 74-80. Several popular elementary works, including the Eclogue of Theodolus and Pamphilus were verse dialogues between characters.

memorized more securely."²⁷³

Verse was also the preferred form for catechetical mnemonics, presumably for the same reason. By the thirteenth century, verse summaries of catechetical topics, including a version of the creed attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, circulated widely.²⁷⁴ As noted above, many such verses are scribbled in the margins of lay devotional manuals. The statutes of Lavaur (1368) even offer half a dozen verses that priests might want teach to their parishoners.²⁷⁵

Nonetheless, dialogue was familiar as a teaching format. Although modern readers are most familiar with the pedagogical dialogues Erasmus wrote at the turn of the sixteenth

²⁷³"Sermo metricus, quem sequitur auctor iste ad plura, se habet quam prosaicus quem sequitur Priscianus et hoc ita probatur sermo metricus utilius factus est, ad faciliorem acceptionem, ad venustam et lucidam brevitatem et ad memoriam firmiorem." Quoted Paetow, "The Arts Course," p. 35.

²⁷⁴The text of "Bernard's" version of the Creed is in Hahn, Bibliothek, p. 53, note 88. See also de Ghellinck, "Medieval Theology," pp. 336-354.

²⁷⁵Among them: a summary of the Creed ("Unum crede Deum, Patrem, Filium, quoque Flamen, / Qui creat et recreat homines, quos salvificabit. / Conceptus, natus, passus, descendit ad ima, / Surgit, et ascendit, veniet discernere cuncta" (col. 486)), a the acts of physical and spiritual charity ("visito, poto, cibo, redimo, rego, colligo, condo/ Consulte castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora' (col. 491)) and a summary of the Ten Commandments ("Unum cole Deum, nec jures per ipsum. / Sabbata sanctifices, et venerare parentes. / Non sis occisor, fur, moechus, restis iniquus. / Vicinique torum, resque caveto suas" (col.491)).

century,²⁷⁶ many medieval schoolmasters also wrote dialogues, covering everything from grammar to morals.²⁷⁷ The anonymous author of the C'est dou pere begins his text with a brief prologue explaining that he has written this portion of his work in "the manner of teaching" so that the student will listen better (the dialogue is part of an otherwise prose didactic work including a summary of the Bible and a series of French saints' lives).²⁷⁸ Similarly, in the Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum scholarium, a work that appears to have been intended as a companion to the Alphabetum, Arnaldus notes that his catechism is written in the "style and order of the

²⁷⁶Twelve of these are translated or edited by Thompson and Pascal in Erasmus, Ten Colloquies, Erasmus, Inquisitio de Fide and Erasmus, Julius exclusus. It should be noted that modern scholars read these dialogues primarily because they contain Erasmus' comments on issues of the day and not for their didactic lessons. However, although Erasmus certainly intended literate adults to grasp his social commentary, he aimed the colloquies at the schoolboys and they were a standard textbook for three centuries (see Thompson's introduction to Ten Colloquies, pp. xxiii-xxiv).

²⁷⁷Six such dialgues are edited by Stevenson in Early scholastic colloquies.

²⁷⁸Meyer, "Les sermons," pp. 257-258: "Et pour ce que je vuel vos entendés miex que vous ne faites as auctorités des sains et des saintes qui ce sont escrites, je les vous dirai et conterai en maniere d'enseingnement, tout ainci conme li peres enseingne et doctrine son enfant, et conment li enfens li demande les choses dont il se doute, et li peres l'eseingne et li respont de ce que il li demande. Si commencerai de par Diu en ceste maniere qui s'en suit."

classroom."²⁷⁹

The format of the Alphabetum differs from that of the traditional teaching dialogue in two ways. In most ancient and medieval examples, including Donatus and the C'est dou pere, the student asks the questions and the teacher answers; in the Alphabetum, the teacher asks and the student answers (in the second part of the Alphabetum, the so-called obiectio, the students, plural, answer). Most ancient and medieval didactic dialogues are between teacher and student; in the Alphabetum, the teacher is addressed as "sire" rather than "master" because the intended user was a king.

It should be noted that unlike the rambling C'est dou pere, the Alphabetum has a scholastic feel. It is riddled with such scholastic terms as substance, accident, movement, proposition and objection. Its numerical organization seems to go beyond what would be necessary to make an elementary text easy to memorize. Indeed, the numerical logic of the Alphabetum sometimes overwhelms the theology. For example, in his reconciliation of the Ten Commandments and the Two Precepts (ll. 864-868), Arnaldus "doctored" his "Augustine" quotation concerning the precept to love God so that it would have four parts--making the four ways of loving God correspond to the four reasons for doing so. The scholastic influence is even more

²⁷⁹See page 97 note 265 above.

apparent in the obiectio. Here the questions are always of the form "you say X is true, but authorities a, b, and c say otherwise" and the answers of the form "I prove X thus and respond to a, b, and c as follows." This is very close to the format used in such thirteenth-century scholastic treatises as Bonaventure's commentary on Peter Lombard and Aquinas' Summa theologiae.

Although many of his later religious works were composed in the Catalan vernacular, Arnaldus chose to draft the Alphabetum in Latin. This seems peculiar since recent literature on preaching and teaching has tended to emphasize that such material was usually conveyed in the vernacular. And indeed, from the eighth century, laymen had often been taught religion in the vernacular. The statutes attributed to St. Boniface required that converts be taught the Creed in their mother tongue so that they would understand it,²⁸⁰ and later German church regulations frequently repeated that precept. Most of the children's catechetical materials cited in the Prologue above are in the vernacular, and many of the catechetical materials aimed at adults are as well.

But the fact that few Latin children's catechisms have been

²⁸⁰c. 27: "Nullus sit presbyter qui in ipsa lingua qua nati sunt baptizandos abrenuntiationes vel confessiones aperte interrogare non studeant, ut intelligant quibus abrenuntiant" (PL 89, cols. 822-823).

edited does not imply that they did not exist, or that all basic religious instruction was done in the vernacular. Although German regulations often specified the language in which catechetical lessons were to be taught, none of the French and Spanish canons cited in Chapted 2 do, with the exception of those issued by Jiménez de Cisneros in 1498 which specified that children should learn the four basic Christian prayers in Latin.²⁸¹ When officials at the Council of Trent began to discuss in 1546 whether a vernacular Bible should be allowed to circulate, Cardinal Madruzzo, Bishop of Trent and a native German speaker, explained that where he came from catechetical texts were taught in the vernacular, implying that that was not the case in the home countries of some of the other bishops.²⁸²

Some children apparently learned the catechism in both Latin and the vernacular. In the thirteenth century, most formal schooling was conducted in Latin, and even in the sixteenth century, many children learned to read in Latin rather than their native tongue. Children who went to Latin schools surely

²⁸¹See p. 61 and note 179 above.

²⁸²Concilium Tridentinum V, p. 30-31: "Scio ego, germana nostra lingua per matrem traditam esse orationem Dominicam, symbolum fidei et pleraque alia, quae omnes patresfamilias in tota Germania filiis infantibus docere solent, ex qua institutione nullam unquam scandalum hominum memoria advenit." The bishop of Jaén replied that use of vernacular bibles was prohibited in Spain; although the bishop did not mention it, they had also been prohibited in France since the mid-thirteenth century.

learned or relearned the catechism in Latin.²⁸³ Ramon Lull notes at the beginning of his Doctrina pueril that the things that a father should teach his son in the vernacular are the same ones that the boy will later learn in Latin from his schoolmaster, and these include the meanings of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.²⁸⁴ In the discussion of sixteenth-century Latin literacy in England in Stripping the Altars, Duffy cites the example of an English boy who taught himself to read English by using a bi-lingual Book of Hours--apparently he had already learned to read Latin at school.²⁸⁵

And even if Arnaldus assumed that his catechism would ultimately be taught in the vernacular, he might have chosen to draft it in Latin because Latin was the language of record in thirteenth-century Europe. At that time, texts often circulated in Latin even if they had been or were intended to be delivered in the vernacular. Aquinas' Collationes, although preached in Neopolitan, survive only in a Latin transcript;²⁸⁶ as late as

²⁸³Paul Grendler, conversation with the author, October, 1992. Grendler discusses the division between Latin and vernacular schools in Schooling, p. tk.

²⁸⁴See p. 41 and note 119 above.

²⁸⁵Duffy, Stripping the Altars, pp. 222-223.

²⁸⁶Ayo, The Sermon-Conferences, p. 2. The text of the Collationes was not recorded by Thomas himself, but by a scribe or student, generally thought to have been Reginald of Piperno, Thomas's long-time secretary.

1545, Calvin published his catechism in Latin so that the texts would be more widely available.²⁸⁷

Although there is no Catalan text of the Alphabetum, Joseph Perarnau nonetheless hypothesizes that it was drafted in Catalan, for he believes that the Castilian translation was made from Catalan rather than Latin. Perarnau argues that the Castilian term "el omne" used in the explication of the Creed is an over-literal translation of the Catalan "hom" and that the Castilian text of the Lord's Prayer must have been made from Catalan because like the Catalan, it does not include the phrase "lead us not into temptation."²⁸⁸ Although it is possible that the Castilian translation was made from a Catalan text rather than a Latin one--and I do not find either of Perarnau's arguments convincing²⁸⁹--it is highly unlikely that the text was composed in Catalan rather than Latin. The most telling indication that the Alphabetum was composed in Latin is that it contains several etymological explications that would be nonsensical in the vernacular. For example, the Latin

²⁸⁷See the "Dedication" to the 1545 catechism (Opera 22).

²⁸⁸Dos tradados, pp. 70-72 and 88-89, note to lines 221-227.

²⁸⁹The Castilian "el omne" would seem to be a literal translation of the Latin "in quantum homo," an infelicitous but common phrase in explanations of the Creed. The Castilian text of the Lord's Prayer might read as if it were made from Catalan rather than Latin because the translation was made by a native Catalan speaker.

Alphabetum explains that the cardinal sins are called cardinal (cardinalis) because "just as a door rotates in an orderly way on a hinge (cardo), so human life is drawn in an orderly manner by these four virtues" (ll. 421-423). This explanation was a commonplace in Arnaldus' day and was repeated in such widely circulated contemporaneous works as Aquinas' commentary on Peter Lombard's Sententiae and John of Aragon's "Tractatus brevis de articulis fidei."²⁹⁰ And it is an explanation that makes no sense in Catalan where the word for hinge is "frontissa" (in Castilian, it is translated as "porque byen asy commo la puerta se buelve ordenada e rreglada mente sobre el quesçial, bien ansi vida humana," also missing the play on "cardo.")²⁹¹

A second reason to doubt the existence of a contemporaneous Catalan Alphabetum is the inventory of Arnaldus' Valencia goods made just after his death. The inventory lists eight anthologies of Arnaldus' Catalan religious works prefaced by the Latin Alphabetum;²⁹² surely if there had been a Catalan version, Arnaldus would have used that text as a preface, rather than the Latin one.

Finally, the differences between the Latin and Castilian texts suggest that the Alphabetum was originally drafted in Latin. Although sixteenth-century catechisms are structured as

²⁹⁰In tertio sententiarum dist. 33, q. 2 a. 1; Lomax, "El catechismo," p. 322.

²⁹¹Perarnau, Dos tradados, pp. 98-99, ll. 429-433.

²⁹²Chabás, "Inventario," pp. 189-190.

explications of the basic Christian texts, the Alphabetum is not. Rather it is a discussion of the basics of Christian behavior as inspired by those texts. Thus including the texts within the dialogue is not only unnecessary, but also inconsistent. The Latin version does not include texts of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. The fact that the Castilian text does--in both Latin and Castilian--suggests that they were interpolated, and that the text is, therefore, a later, translated version.

#

[The] true lover of God should praise God not only in words, but in works. In private, by greeting and thanking and entreating . . . as is described at the end of the Alphabetum.

Arnaldus of Vilanova²⁹³
Allocutio christiani (1304-1305)

Arnaldus referred to the Alphabetum twice in his subsequent religious works. In the contemporaneous De prudentia catholicorum scholarium, he described it as a text in which all the things that a Catholic needed to know were gathered in the style of teaching.²⁹⁴ Ten years later in the Allocutio christiani, written to explain the spiritual life to his patron

²⁹³"Verus amator Dei, non solum verbo, sed eciam opere debet laudare Deum. Verbo dupliciter, scilicet, in privato colloquio et in publico. In privato, salutando et regraciando et obsecrando. Salutando et regraciando sicut in Dyolago scriptum est, in fine" (Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 221r-v).

²⁹⁴See page 97 and note 265 above.

Frederick of Sicily, Arnaldus pointed to the Alphabetum as a place to find the prayers with which the true Christian praised God.

Those references notwithstanding, the Alphabetum does not have a central place in the exposition of Arnaldus' major religious ideas. There is, after all, little place in a treatise on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, for a discussion of the coming of the Apocalypse or of the need to reform the Church.

Nonetheless, two scholars of Joachism, Harold Lee and Marjorie Reeves, suggest that the reason that Arnaldus discussed the Creed in fourteen articles rather than twelve was that pairs of sevens were critical in Joachist thought.²⁹⁵ That explanation seems to me unnecessary. By the 1230s, a fourteenfold division had appeared in Scholastic circles, and it was adopted by both Bonaventure and Aquinas in their theological works. Although local officials continued to explain the Creed in twelve articles in some parts of Europe, the fourteenfold division seems to have been preferred in Southern France; indeed canonist Guy de la Tour du Pin notes in his discussion of the Credo in the statutes of Clermont (1268) that although he was aware of the tradition of dividing the Creed into twelve articles, he believed that the division into fourteen articles

²⁹⁵Lee and Reeves, Western Prophecy, p. 36. See also Cánovas and Piñero, Escritos Condenados, p. 21.

was the best and most common.²⁹⁶ Ramon Lull uses the fourteenfold division outlined in the statutes in his Doctrina pueril²⁹⁷--and Arnaldus follows it in the Alphabetum.

Similarly, Francesco Santi believes that Arnaldus' decision not to include the seven sacraments among the topics discussed in the Alphabetum is a reflection of his particular brand of Apocalypticism. In his discussion of Arnaldus' Expositio super Apocalypsim: Santi notes that unlike Joachim of Fiore and Peter John Olivi, Arnaldus fails to link the seven sacraments to the seven ages of the Church. Santi believes that this lack of interest in the sacraments is characteristic of Arnaldus' thought and adds that readers had seen it before, in Arnaldus' failure to discuss the sacraments in the Alphabetum.²⁹⁸ Although a lack of interest in the sacraments may have been a defining point of Arnaldus' thought, it is not necessarily the reason that the sacraments are not discussed in the Alphabetum. As I have noted above, in Chapter 2, the sacraments were not on the short list of topics that church canons suggested that

²⁹⁶"Alii autem alio modo distinguunt articulos fidei secundum numerum Apostolorum quorum quilibet dicitur apposuisse in symbolo suum articulum et sic sunt secundum duodecim Apostolos. Sed primus modus [into fourteen articles] melior et communior judicatur" (Mansi 23, col. 1188).

²⁹⁷Doctrina pueril, pp. 40-64. The reubric at the beginning of this section states that there are 14 articles, but the subheadings in the text list only twelve. However the first article is actually composed of three: God is father, God is son and God is Holy Ghost. Arnaldus and many of his contemporaries referred to such a division into articles as fourteenfold.

²⁹⁸Santi, Arnau de Vilanova, p. 237 note 258.

parents and godparents teach their children, and although the sacraments were viewed as the fourth "head" of doctrine by the Council of Trent,²⁹⁹ they were not always included in pre-Reformation catechetical materials.

Other parallels between Arnaldus' religious corpus and the Alphabetum are difficult to find. In his introduction to the Castilian translation of the Alphabetum, Perarnau points to only twelve lines of the text to which he can find parallels in Arnaldus' other works (one of these is an addition found only in the translation).³⁰⁰ Of these, only a handful seem to me to contain any real parallel. In most cases, these are not examples of characteristic thought, but of "similar" language, something that is tricky to assess since many of Perarnau's "parallel" texts were written in Catalan or Italian rather than Castilian or Latin. For example, Perarnau notes that the term "verdadero e fiel christiano" of line 92-93 of the Castilian Alphabetum ("verus fidelis" of line 78 of the Latin text) is the same as the "verace crestiano" of fol. 45v. of the Italian translation of De helemosina et sacrificio. Obviously the actual words are not the same, and, since the Latin original of the De helemosina has been lost, it is impossible to know

²⁹⁹"Sapientissime maiores nostri totam hanc vim et rationem salutaris doctrinae in quattuor haec capita redactam distribuerunt: Apostolorum Symbolum, Sacramenta, Decalogum, Dominicam orationem" (Societas Gorresiana, Catechismus 12, pp. 5-6).

³⁰⁰Perarnau, Dos tratados, pp. 81, 82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 100, 101, 103 and 107. These parallels are discussed in my "Endnotes" to lines 78, 85-6, 114-115, 168-170, 186-187, 227,

whether the words of the two Latin texts were, in fact, the same.

Even when the language of the Alphabetum does match that of another of Arnaldus' works, it is not necessarily indicative of anything. For example, the term captatio benevolentiae is used by Arnaldus in both the Alphabetum and the Expositio super Apocalypsi to refer to the beginning of the Lord's Prayer. However, the term was not unique to Arnaldus. Rather it came from letter writing theory and means the part of a speech or letter designed to put the reader in the right frame of mind; it seems to have first been used to describe the opening of the Lord's Prayer in Peter Abelard's Expositio orationis dominicae (before 1142) and quickly became standard. The term is used in Lord's Prayer explications of Joscelin of Soissons, Alan of Lille and Albertus Magnus.³⁰¹

The place of Beguin thought in the Alphabetum is difficult to evaluate. There is nothing overtly Beguin about the text. As noted above, Arnaldus himself pointed to the Alphabetum's prayer ritual as an example of how Beguins should pray. One of

276-7, 330, 345-346, 455-457, 469-482, 508-514 and 611-612.

³⁰¹ Alan of Lille describes the captatio benevolentiae as the part of a text that "principium mentem movet, erigit aurem, excitat auditum, cor iudicis apparat illi, quo magis attentus, docilis magis atque benignus redditur auditor et mentem dedicat auri" (Anticlaudianus, Book III, vv. 184-187, p. 94). In his discussion of the term captatio benevolentiae in Rhetoric, Murphy notes that Italian ars dictaminis theory did not reach Paris until around 1150, about the time that Abelard composed his treatise on the Lord's Prayer. Arnaldus discussed the term twice in his Expositio super Apocalypsi (p. 16, line 366 and p. 30, line 60).

the three prayers the student quotes is based on the Gloria, a prayer that Bernard Gui singled out in his Practica inquisitionis as being especially favored by the Beguin sect (the Alphabetum contains no reference to the Salve regina, the other prayer cited by Gui in his discussion of Beguins),³⁰² but so were many mainstream Christian prayers. One of the daily prayers quoted by Ramon Lull in his Doctrina pueril--"Adoramus te Christe, benedicimus tibi, quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum"--is also based on the Gloria, yet no one has suggested that Lull's work was influenced by Beguins.³⁰³

Perarnau notes that the Alphabetum's definition of prayer as prostrating oneself (lines 186-187) is consistent with Gui's statement that the Beguins, unlike other Christians, prayed lying down.³⁰⁴ But other contemporaneous sources, including Peter the Chanter's De oratione, Alan of Lille's commentary on the Lord's Prayer and the Anonymous "Nine Ways of Prayer of St. Dominic" also mention lying down as one of the three positions of prayer.³⁰⁵

³⁰²"Item, in mensa, in prandio, post benedictionem mense, dicunt illi qui sciunt Gloria in excelsis Deo, flexis genibus, ceteris audientibus. In cena vero dicunt Salve Regina illi qui sciunt, similiter flexis genibus." Manuel, p. 118.

³⁰³Doctrina pueril, c. 84, p. 184.

³⁰⁴"Item, orantes in ecclesia vel alibi sedent acrupiti . . . vel ad terram capuciat; et raro videntur stare flexis genibus et compositis manibus, sicut faciunt ceteri homines" (Manuel, p. 118). See also Perarnau, Dos tratados, p. 88.

³⁰⁵The anonymous "Nine Ways of Prayer of St. Dominic" begins his treatise by explaining that although the theoretical aspects of prayer have been adequately addressed by others, "the way of

The notion that Christians should study the Bible is a common one in Arnaldus' works, although usually to refute the argument that all Christians, lay or otherwise, were forbidden to investigate prophecies of the time of the coming of the anti-Christ. Arnaldus believed that such investigation was not only permitted but encouraged; as he put it in the De tempore Adventus Antichristi, "God through John says "Study the Scriptures" and the above exposition, as it is Catholic, pertains to the examination of Holy Scripture . . . it follows that whoever forbids the study of Catholic matters to the faithful, puts himself in direct opposition to the divine admonition and to the Holy Spirit."³⁰⁶ Arnaldus repeats this notion in the Apologia de versutiis et perversitatibus.³⁰⁷

praying in which the soul uses members of the body in order to rise more devotedly to God" has not been and will therefore be the subject of his exposition; one of the positions he discusses is lying down (this work is unedited; see the English translation in Tugwell, Early Dominicans, pp. 94-117). Alan of Lille discusses three positions of prayer--lying, kneeling, standing--in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer ("A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer," sections 12 and 13, p. 161). The illustrated De oratione attributed to Peter the Chanter discusses and pictures eight position of prayer, including a prostrate one (Trexler, The Christian, pp. 35-39, 181-192 and 194-195).

³⁰⁶"Nam cum Dominus inquit per Johannem: "Scrutamini Scripturas," et predicta expositio, cum sit catholica, pertinet ad scrutinium divine scripture . . . constat, quod, qui eam interdicat fidelibus et abducit a studio catholicorum, directe contrariatur divine monitioni et sancto Spiritui se opponit" (Finke, Aus den Tagen, p. cxlvi).

³⁰⁷"Quibus verbis innuit expresse, prout tangitur in glossa,

Although Gui does not mention reading the Bible as a practise of the Beguins, the fact that a Bible, two Psalters and a glossed Epistles were among the books at Arnaldus' Valencia home reserved for the use of the "pauperes" suggests it was.³⁰⁸

Although the Alphabetum contains few explicitly Beguin ideas, Perarnau nonetheless believes that it was composed for Catalan Beguins and not for King James of Aragon as the dedication states.³⁰⁹ In support of this theory, Perarnau notes that the Alphabetum was the first text in each of four manuscripts in progress found in Arnaldus' Valencia scriptorium at the time of his death, a placement that he believes implies that Arnaldus viewed the Alphabetum as an introduction to his thought.³¹⁰ According to Perarnau, the text of the Alphabetum breaks logically into two parts, a doctrinal summary similar to those found in contemporaneous catechetical literature and a longer and more personal discussion of how an authentic Christian behaves; Perarnau labels the two sections "ortodoxia"

quod illis fidelibus, ad quos ultima tempora seculi pervenirent, magis necessaria foret noticia veritatis, quam sacra continet scriptura, propter multitudinem impugnantium veritatem evangelicam et subvertentium imperitos" (Finke, Aus den Tagen, p. clxxi).

³⁰⁸Chabás, "Inventario," items 268, 270, 271 and 273.

³⁰⁹Perarnau, Dos tratados, p. 76.

³¹⁰Perarnau, Dos tratados, p. 123.

and "ortopraxis."³¹¹

This argument seems strained to me. Although it is possible that Arnaldus later viewed his Alphabetum as a primer to his version of Beguinism, it seems to me unlikely that it was written for this purpose. After all, at the time the Alphabetum was composed, Arnaldus had only recently been exposed to Beguin ideas. As far as we know he was not yet active in the sect; his intellectual energies seem to have been focused on Apocalypticism at the time and he was composing or had just composed three works on the subject, including the De tempore adventus Antichristi that later resulted in his first clash with church authorities. Surely it is more likely that his introduction to Beguinism would have prompted him to write an introduction to the faith for his patron than a primer for the sect he had recently encountered.

#

Finally, we must consider the place of the Alphabetum in orthodox catechetical literature. Treatises on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments were very common in the High Middle Ages. Most widely circulated authors--Peter Abelard, Albertus Magnus and William Perardus to name but three--wrote a commentary on each text, sometimes several times,

³¹¹Perarnau, Dos tratados, p. 81, notes to lines 89-90 and lines 91-92. In the Latin text, the first of Perarnau's sections ends at line 77.

and authors known to have been familiar to Arnaldus are no exception. Arnaldus' Dominican mentor Ramón Martí analysed the Creed in detail in his Explanatio symboli.³¹² Joachim of Fiore whose apocalypticism so influenced Arnaldus wrote a lengthy De articulis fidei,³¹³ and Peter John Olivi, Arnaldus' Beguin mentor, penned two commentaries on the Creed.³¹⁴ In addition to his Doctrina pueril, Ramón Lull preached a series of sermons on the Lord's Prayer, the so-called Liber de Pater Noster.³¹⁵ Alan of Lille, many of whose works were found in Arnaldus' Valencia house at the time of his death, wrote several commentaries on the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.³¹⁶ Thomas Aquinas, whose Summa theologiae, seems to have been familiar to Arnaldus, wrote a treatise on the Creed, began a Compendium on faith, hope and charity (that is, Creed, Lord's Prayer and Law),

³¹²The Explanatio is discussed in Cavallera, "L'Explanatio;" the text is edited in March, "En Ramón Martí."

³¹³The text is edited by Buonaiuti in De articulis fidei da Gioacchino da Fiore.

³¹⁴The two commentaries are edited in Delorme, "Textes franciscaines," pp. 185-202.

³¹⁵Lull, Opera Latina 15, pp. 56-78.

³¹⁶Four of Alan's works are listed on the Chabás inventory: De fide catholica contra hereticos (#71), Super cantica canticorum (#108), De planctu nature (#335) and Anticlaudianus (#356). A pair of treatises on the Creed and Lord's Prayer are edited by Häring in "A Commentary on the Apostle's Creed," and "A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer;" another lecture on the two texts, probably recorded by a student, is edited in de Lage, "Deux questions," pp. 323-336.

and preached a widely circulated series of Collationes on them during Lent of 1273.³¹⁷

None of the works mentioned above appears to have been a model for the Alphabetum, nor does the Alphabetum appear to be related to earlier catechetical texts like Augustine's De catechizandis rudibus, Alcuin's Disputatio puerorum or Honorius' Elucidarium. The Alphabetum may have been based on a now lost catechism. As I have already noted, the Saragossa Rituale included a brief catechism, and other now-lost local service books may have contained similar texts (there was no such catechism in the ritual of Tarragona).³¹⁸

Whatever text Arnaldus might have been using as a model for his catechism, the ideas expressed in it are entirely orthodox. Most, indeed, were commonplace in the late thirteenth century. This can be seen by comparing the Alphabetum's questions and answers to discussions of the same points found in contemporaneous theological materials and then standard reference works. The former includes church statutes from

³¹⁷Although Arnaldus is not known to have been familiar with the Collationes, two of Thomas' other works were found in Arnaldus' Valencia house at the time of his death: a table to the Summa theologiae (Chabás #336) and the De concordantiis (Chabás #341) (the latter is now attributed to Thomas Sutton, an English Dominican). The De articulis fidei et Ecclesiae sacramentis is edited in Opuscula Theologica I, pp. 141-151 and the Compendium theologiae in the same volume, pp. 13-138. On the Collationes, see page 19 note 48 above.

³¹⁸See page 7, note 23 above.

Southern France, Aragon and Valencia from the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries, Peter Lombard's Sententiae and commentaries on them by Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas, and Aquinas' Summa theologiae, a work to which Arnaldus owned an index;³¹⁹ the latter, Augustine's De doctrina christiana, Isidore's Etymologiae, Girolomo Balbi's Catholicon, Alan of Lille's Liber in distinctionibus dictionum theologicarum and William Peraldus' Summa de virtutibus.

Although it is impossible to know whether Arnaldus had access to any of these materials, the explanations in them would have been familiar to educated Christians, especially to ones trained at a Dominican studium, as Arnaldus was.³²⁰ Thus Arnaldus' etymology of theologicus (line 410) matches that of Balbi;³²¹ his explanation of the meaning of cardinalis (line 421) that of Aquinas,³²² and his definitions of "creare" (line

³¹⁹Chabás, "Inventario," #341. The Summa was not part of the standard Dominican teaching syllabus until 1320; however, it was used at many Dominican schools, particularly in Southern Europe before that, and Arnaldus may have studied from it. See Mulcahey, Dominican Education, p. 167.

³²⁰Arnaldus certainly attended the studium in Barcelona in the early 1280s; whether he also attended a studium before entering the medical school at Montpellier is unclear. On the syllabi of studii in Italy and France see Mulcahey, Dominican Education, pp. 156-167 and Douais, Essai, passim.

³²¹Catholicon, unpagged, s.v. "theologicus -a -um."

³²²In tertio sententiarum, dist. 33, q. 2.1.

841) and "proximus" (line 990) those Alan of Lille.³²³ Arnaldus' comments on the meaning of the conjunction "sicut" (ll. 922-924) are close to those of Alan and of Peter John Olivi.³²⁴ Although I have not located an explanation of the difference between a comma and an et (ll. 546-552) similar to that of the Alphabetum in a medieval reference work, analysis of punctuation was common in Biblical commentaries in the High Middle Ages and was the subject of lengthy treatises by Peter the Chanter and Alan of Lille.³²⁵

I have detailed the relationship between the Alphabetum and orthodox catechetical literature in the notes to the edition, so I will provide only a summary here. As I noted earlier in this chapter (p. 111), the Alphabetum's discussion of the Creed follows that used in Scholastic circles and in Southern France and Aragon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Arnaldus' explanation of the derivation of "articulus" is similar to the one Bonaventure gave in his commentary on Peter Lombard.³²⁶ Like Arnaldus, both Aquinas and Bonaventure

³²³Liber in distinctionibus, cols. 754 and 913 respectively.

³²⁴Olivi explains the "sicut" of "on earth as in heaven" thus: "non enim li 'sicut; est ibi nota aequalitatis, sed conformitas" (Delorme, "Textes franciscains," p. 123, ll. 17-18).

³²⁵Evans, The Language, pp. 72-100, esp. 92-100.

³²⁶Sent. liber III, dist. 24, art. 3, q.1: "Articulus est indivisibilis veritas de Deo, arctans nos ad credendum."

compared the articles of the Creed to the parts of the body which although separate work together,³²⁷ but neither went on to compare the fourteen joints of the hand to the fourteen articles of the Creed; this notion appears to have come not from Arnaldus' anatomical knowledge--a hand then (and now) has fourteen joints--but from contemporaneous primary teaching methods where hand analogies were common.³²⁸

The most notable aspects of the Alphabetum's discussion of the Creed are its emphasis on Christ's humanity and its discussion of the signs by which a true Christian is recognized, based on Mark 16:17. Both passages may have been influenced by the Church's fight against Catharism. Cathars denied the humanity of Christ, claiming that he was a wholly spiritual being,³²⁹ and Catholic polemics therefore emphasized his human person. Although the Marcan passage does not appear in standard catechetical literature, it is included in the consolamentum ceremony that the Cathars used to initiate followers into their corps of elite "good men."³³⁰

³²⁷Aquinas: Summa theologiae II-II, q. 1.6. Bonaventure: Sent. Liber III, dist. 25, art. 1.

³²⁸Orme, English Schools, fig. 4 (facing page 35).

³²⁹Lambert, Medieval Heresy, p. 124, and Runciman, The Medieval Manichee, p. 149.

³³⁰Dondaine, Un traité, p. 159. On the ceremony, see also Lambert, Medieval Heresy, p. 106-111, Runciman, The Medieval Manichee, pp. 152-157 and Guiraud, "Le 'Consolamentum'

The Alphabetum contains two other passages that might have been influenced by anti-Cathar polemics: first, the opening exchange emphasizing that the Catholic faith is "recta" and "universalis" (ll. 5-13); second, the statement that God is the maker of both body and soul (lines 609-610). Whether the terms "catholica," "recta" and "universalis" implied orthodox as opposed to heretical is unclear; although the term "catholica" is sometimes used in medieval treatises against heretics, as, for example, in Alan of Lille's De fide catholica (before 1201), it is also used as a synonym for Christian, and that may be Arnaldus' intent here.³³¹ As for God's role in creation, Cathars believed that God made only the (good) soul, not the (evil) body; the body, along with other (evil) material things were made by the devil.³³²

There may be a hint of anti-Catharism in Arnaldus' decision to devote so much of the Alphabetum to an analysis of the Lord's prayer: the Lord's Prayer was the only prayer recognized by

Cathare." Duffy notes that this passage sometimes appeared in late medieval English primers as part of the devotion to Christ's name (Stripping of the Altars, p. 284).

³³¹Biller does not discuss the use of any of these terms in his essay on the medieval vocabulary relating to Christianity, Judaism, Islam and heretical Christian sects ("Medieval notions," esp. pp. 364-369).

³³²See Lambert, Medieval Heresy, p. 118-125 and Runciman, The Medieval Manichee, p. 148.

Cathars, although in a radically unCatholic interpretation.³³³ Such anti-Cathar works as Alan of Lille's commentary on the Lord's Prayer devoted considerable attention to refuting the Cathar understanding of it.³³⁴ However, unlike Alan, Arnaldus makes no reference to the Cathar understanding of the Prayer in his discussion of the text, and he might have chosen to discuss it at such length in the Alphabetum simply because it was so important in contemporaneous piety. Indeed what Arnaldus has to say about the Prayer and its petitions differs little from Scholastic analyses by Aquinas, Abelard, Albertus Magnus and Peter John Olivi. (Perarnau believes that there are strong parallels between the Alphabetum and Lull's obscure Liber de Pater noster;³³⁵ I find the ideas and language closer to the better-known works just mentioned.)

Although Arnaldus' system of understanding the Lord's Prayer is more complicated than those used in the works cited above, it nonetheless follows the basic divisions laid out by Augustine in four sermons to competentes delivered in 412-416: three petitions for eternal life, three petitions for temporal life

³³³Dondaine, Un traité, pp. 151-164. Wakefield and Evans, Heresies, pp. 607-630.

³³⁴"A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer," #35 and #36, pp. 166-167.

³³⁵Dos tradados, p. 94, note to ll. 354-355.

and one relevant to both.³³⁶ The detailed analysis of the meanings of these petitions is close to that presented by Peter Abelard in his Expositio orationis dominicae, supplemented occasionally with passages from the explication of the Lord's Prayer in Albertus Magnus' commentary on the Mass, De sacrificio missae.

Interestingly, Arnaldus does not comment on the fact that the Prayer is worded differently in Matthew and Luke; in the standard Catholic version, as recounted by Luke, the supplicant prays that God provide him with "daily" bread (Luke 11:3); in Matthew's variant he asks for bread that is "supersubstantial" (Matt. 6:11). This change of wording is noted in Alan of Lille's treatise on the Prayer and is discussed in some detail by Arnaldus' mentor Peter John Olivi in his analysis of the text.³³⁷ Arnaldus' omission is especially noteworthy because the contemporaneous Cathar explication of the Prayer, which followed Matthew's text, is almost entirely devoted to an explanation of the term "supersubstantial" and its absence from

³³⁶Sermones 56, 57, 58 and 59. On the dating of these sermons see A. Kunzelmann, "Die Chronologie," p. 515. These sermons were the basis for the Lord's Prayer explication of the Gelasian sacramentary, and, through that, were transferred to the medieval and Renaissance church. See de Puniet, "Les trois homélies," and Bradley, The Roman Catechism, pp. 33-45. I am preparing a study of the relationship between Augustine's understanding of the Lord's Prayer and that of his predecessors, Tertullian and Cyprian.

³³⁷Delorme, "Textes franciscains," p. 195, ll. 22-33.

the Lucan text.³³⁸

The Alphabetum's discussion of the Ten Commandments follows closely explanations given in canon law texts. Indeed the statement that God gave Moses two tablets, the first containing the three commandments pertaining to the love of God the second, the seven pertaining to the love of the neighbor is also made in the statutes of Lambeth issued a decade before the Alphabetum was written.³³⁹ The Alphabetum's emphasis on idolatry presumably stems from the fact that idolatry was considered the most grievous sin.³⁴⁰ The notion that the ninth commandment referred to immobile things, the tenth to portable ones was a common one in Arnaldus' day; it is discussed in the explication of the Commandments in Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica³⁴¹ and repeated in the statutes of Rodez.³⁴²

Reconciling the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament and the Two Precepts of the New was a common task in catechetical literature. Augustine devoted a portion of his sermons on the Ten Commandments to it;³⁴³ Aquinas addressed it in the

³³⁸See page 125, note 334 above.

³³⁹Powicke and Cheney, Councils and Synods II, p. 902.

³⁴⁰Aquinas, Summa theologiae II-II, q. 94.1.

³⁴¹PL 198, cols. 1165-1166.

³⁴²Mansi 25, col. 971.

³⁴³Sermons 8 (PL 38, col. 74) and 9 (col. 81).

Collationes. Discussions of the difference between the wording of the Two Precepts in the three Synoptic Gospels were also not unusual. Even Arnaldus' notion that loving God with all one's heart, mind and soul meant "ex toto intellectu tuo et ex tota voluntate tua et ex tota memoria tua" was a common one in the High Middle Ages.³⁴⁴ The only thing that is unusual about his discussion of the first precept is his attribution of the above quotation to Augustine, an attribution that seems to be repeated only in Bonaventure's commentary on Peter Lombard.³⁴⁵

Where Arnaldus got the idea that the First Precept meant that one should love God "sapienter," "ferventer," "fortiter" and "perseveranter" (ll. 856-872) is unclear. In his commentary on the Song of Songs, Bernard of Clairvaux said the one should love God "dulciter," "fortiter" and "prudenter."³⁴⁶ William

³⁴⁴It appears in works by Anselm of Laon (PL 162, col. 1441), Peter Lombard (Sententiae III, dist. 27.5); Peter of Poitiers (Sententiae Liber Quingue 3:23, PL 211, col. 1095) and Aquinas (Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 44.4).

³⁴⁵The editors of Bonaventure's commentary on Peter Lombard suggest that the quotation is based on a similar line in Pseudo-Augustine's Liber de Diligendo Deo (c. 2) which Arnaldus would have assumed was Augustine (Bonaventure, In liber sententiarum, p. 81, note 8). In his Catena aurea, Aquinas attributes a similar passage to "quidam;" the interlinear gloss on the passage reads (Matthew 22:37): "intellectu, ut nullum in confessione divinitatis relinquo errori locum . . . id est voluntate, ut nihil ei contrarium velis . . . in memoria nil reminiscens quo minus de eo sentias" (Nicholas of Lyra, Bibliorum 5, fol. 70r).

³⁴⁶Super cantica 20, I:114-121.

Peraldus (mis)quoted this in his Summa de virtutibus as "dulciter," "perseveranter" and "prudenter."³⁴⁷ Interestingly the Cathars used the longer version of the Two Precepts as found in Luke, but, in contrast to Arnaldus, understood it to mean "with honesty, blessing, humility, mercy and chastity."³⁴⁸ Arnaldus' statement that one should love one's neighbor with an affection that is "iusta," "recta," "sancta" and "operosa" (ll. 926-927) seems to be related to Aquinas' statement that the love of the neighbor should be "justa," "sancta" and "vera."³⁴⁹

The notion that life is a journey ("via") towards our homeland ("patria") in heaven is a common one in medieval theology; it appears in the Bible and is repeated frequently by commentators.³⁵⁰ In his Historia scholastica, Peter Comestor, explained that "Noah was perfect in his generation, not with the kind of perfection that he would have in Heaven, but the kind he could have on earth."³⁵¹ What the levels of perfection meant

³⁴⁷Citation to come.

³⁴⁸"Unde debetis intellegere quod oportet vos diligere deum cum veritate, cum benignitate, cum humilitate, cum misericordia, cum castitate et cum aliis virtutibus bonis" (Dondaine, Un traité, p. 162).

³⁴⁹Summa theologica II-II, q. 44.7 Note that Arnaldus' "justa" includes both Thomas' "justa" and his "vera."

³⁵⁰Biblical references include Philippians 3:30, Philemon 3:20 and Hebrews 11:19. See also, Smalley, The Study, pp. tk-tk.

³⁵¹"Noe vero erat perfectus in generationibus suis quasi non illius perfectionis, quae est in patria, sed secundum modum

in practice was also frequently discussed. Augustine said in Enchiridion 8 that a perfect man ("perfectus viator") was one who tried as hard as he could, spending his life driving evil out of himself and becoming good. Aquinas said that perfection in heaven meant turning oneself completely to God; perfection on earth meant never committing a mortal sin.³⁵²

The final section of the Alphabetum, the student's description of the religious ritual he followed each day, is more closely related to schoolroom materials than to the sort of scholastic treatises we have thus far considered. Although medieval children's catechisms are rare indeed, medieval children's books of "courtesy" (that is, manners) are relatively common;³⁵³ one, the Facetus, was intended as a companion to the popular distichs of Cato and sometimes circulated under the

generationis suae, scilicet terrenae" (PL 38, col. 76).

³⁵²The former being "perfectio quae attenditur secundum totalitatem absolutam ex parte diligentis, prout scilicet affectus secundum totum suum posse semper actualiter tendit in Deum." The second being "quae neque attenditur secundum totalitatem ex parte diligibilis, neque secundum totalitatem ex parte diligentis quantum ad hoc quod semper actu feratur in Deum; sed quantum ad hoc quod excludantur ea quae repugnant motui dilectionis in Deum" (Summa theologiae II-II, q. 184.2). Aquinas also identified a third level of perfection which could be attained only by God.

³⁵³Orme, From Childhood to Chivalry, pp. 133-141. There is a helpful overview of such works in Knox, "Disciplina," pp. 115-118.

title Supplementum Catonis.³⁵⁴ Many books of manners included a section describing the religious customs that a child should observe. An English manual of the fifteenth century, for example, advises a boy to cross himself three times and say the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Creed when he wakes up and continues with suggestions for his routine, both secular and sacred throughout the day.³⁵⁵ Although Arnaldus' later comments suggest that the routine described in the Alphabetum was particularly Beguin, it does not differ substantially from the routine described by Lull in c. 84 ("De oratione") of his Doctrina pueril.

The prayers Arnaldus quotes in this section do not seem to come from the standard Catholic repertory. However, the second prayer--"Hail blessed Jesus, hail love immeasurable . . ." (ll. 1029-1038)--may be related to the devotion to the Holy Name which was popular in Franciscan circles in the second half of the thirteenth century.³⁵⁶ Although Arnaldus is not known to have been a devoté of the Holy Name, Louis of Toulouse, the brother-in-law of his patron James of Aragon and a spiritual

³⁵⁴The Latin Facetus is edited in Schroeder, Der deutsche Facetus, pp. 14-28. Several contemporaneous French translations are found in Morawski, Le Facet en françois, pp. 3-19.

³⁵⁵Orme, From Childhood to Chivalry, p. 138 citing an anonymous English Book of Courtesy printed by Caxton in 1477-8.

³⁵⁶Biasiotto, The History, pp. 69-82.

Franciscan, was and the devotion may have been widespread in James' court.³⁵⁷ As noted above, the third prayer is related to the Gloria, and may or may not be a Beguin devotion.³⁵⁸

The final portion of the Alphabetum (lines 1051-1250) is of a rather different character from the rest of the text, and, as I have suggested above, may not have been part of the dialogue as originally composed. As noted above, the format of this obiectio is different from that of the first portion of the text: the answers are in the plural and the structure is highly Scholastic. In the best manuscript, Vat. Borgh. 205, the section appears after the rubric "Incipit obiectio" (fol. 18v); in the St. Petersburg manuscript, a Greek translation made during Arnaldus' lifetime, it is treated as an entirely separate text (fol. 107v).

Although the content of the obiectio is somewhat controversial--since the early thirteenth century laymen in France were forbidden to own vernacular Bibles for fear that they would develop heretical ideas from reading them³⁵⁹--Arnaldus nonetheless employs several orthodox arguments

³⁵⁷Biasiotto, The History, p. 80.

³⁵⁸See pp. 114-115 above.

³⁵⁹The Council of Toulouse (1229) forbade laymen to own vernacular Bibles, Psalters or Books of Hours; this prohibition was strengthened at Narbonne in 1244. See Wakefield, Heresy, Crusade, p. 136.

in his defense of the reading of the Bible by children. The five things that he says that children will learn from reading the Bible--what to believe, what to do, what to avoid, what to fear and what to hope for (ll. 1141-1143)--are the same five things that Robert Holcot says that Paul wanted believers to learn from the story of Christ's passion.³⁶⁰ His distinction between the implicit faith that laymen must have and the explicit faith required for ministers of the church is also made by Bonaventure in his commentary on Peter Lombard.³⁶¹

³⁶⁰Holcot, Super libros sapientiae, Lectio 96 (unpaged): "Isti per qui narium passionis Christi predicantes edificant ad sufficientiam corda simplicium et in persona talium loquitur apostolus 1 Cor. 14: 'In ecclesia volo quinque verba meo sensu loqui ut alios instruam.' Ista verba sunt Quid credendum, quid faciendum, quid timendum et quid cavendum [et quid appetendum]."

³⁶¹Bonaventure, In tertio sententiarium, liber III, dist. 25, art. 1., q. 3 (p. 535).

Chapter 4:

A Note on the Manuscripts

There are eight Latin manuscripts of the Alphabetum catholicorum and two vernacular translations. These are:³⁶³

- Bernkastel-Kues, Cod. 42, fols. 210b-217b (15th-century)
- Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadtbibliothek Ms. Praed. 58, fols. 81ra-86vb (14th-century)
- Graz, Univ. Bibl. Ms. 1226, fols. 21ra-26rb (14th-century)
- Oxford, Can. Lat. Misc. 370, fols. 36v-52r (14th-century)
- Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 292, fols. 130v-139r (1359)
- Vatican City, Vat. Borg. 205, fols. 9r-20r (1302)
- Vatican City, Vat. lat. 3824, fols. 29-43 (1305)
- Vatican City, Vat. lat. 5732, fols. 83-89 (15th-century)
- Rome, Casanatense 1022, fols. 115a-132a (late 14th-century) (abridged Castilian translation)
- St. Petersburg, Publichnaja Bibliotheka CXIII, fols. 81v-112v (between 1305 and 1316) (Greek translation)

Ever since excerpts from it were first published in Spanish by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Vat. lat. 3824 has been regarded as the authoritative copy of Arnaldus' religious works.³⁶⁴ Menéndez believed that the manuscript was the presentation copy of his works that Arnaldus had given Clement V at an audience

³⁶³In his recent Arnau de Vilanova, Santi lists seven manuscripts and two vernacular translations (pp. 251-252). The Frankfurt manuscript is listed in Powitz, Kataloge, vol. 2.1, pp. 138-140.

³⁶⁴Historia I, Appendix pp. 720-781. The first Latin publication was in Finke, Aus den Tagen, pp. cxvii-ccxi.

August 23, 1305,³⁶⁵ a view that was echoed by José Pou i Marti,³⁶⁶ Joaquim Carreras y Artau³⁶⁷ and Anneleise Maier.³⁶⁸

Among modern scholars, this theory has been challenged only by Candido Mesini who noted that a manuscript as riddled with scribal errors and corrections as Vat. lat. 3824 would not have been presented to a Pope.³⁶⁹

However, Vat. lat. 3824 does not contain the best readings of the Alphabetum. The manuscript that does is Vat. Borgh. 205, first described by Maier in 1948³⁷⁰. In her discussion of the codex, Maier stated that the Borghese manuscript must have been written in 1302 or 1303, shortly after the last dated item it contained, a letter of November 17, 1301 to the French king Philip the Fair.³⁷¹ Maier noted that the Borghese manuscript was extensively corrected in a non-scribal hand that she believed

³⁶⁵Heterodoxos II, p. 263: "parece ser el mismo que Arnaldo presentó en Aviñón a Clemente V."

³⁶⁶Visionarios, p. 41 note 2.

³⁶⁷"La llibreria," p. 66. In his discussion of the work in "Les obres teologiques," Carreras y Artau states that the manuscript is dated 5 June 1305, which is three months before the date of its next to last text (p. 2); the date of the manuscript is discussed on p. 140 below.

³⁶⁸"Handschriftliches," p. 60.

³⁶⁹"Il 'Tractatus,'" p. 313 note u. A more typical modern view is that of di S. Teresa, "Il 'Tractatus,'" p. 824.

³⁷⁰"Handschriftliches," pp. 53-66.

³⁷¹"Handschriftliches," p. 56. The letter in question was the one that accompanied a copy of Arnaldus' De mysterio cimbalarum. See pp. 143-144 and 158 below.

to be Arnaldus' own (Maier apparantly did not have access to a sample of Arnaldus' hand). Additions to the Philosophia catholica in this hand were so substantial that Maier called the uncorrected Borghese' version a "first draft;"³⁷² a second copy of this first draft survives in Vat. lat. 9968, but the version in Vat. lat. 3824 reflects all of the changes, both scribal and non-scribal, noted in the Borghese manuscript. Maier concluded that Vat. lat. 3824 must therefore have been copied from the Borghese one.³⁷³ That conclusion has not been challenged in the scholarly community, and it seemed to give weight to the argument that Vat. lat 3824 was the manuscript on which to base editions since it suggested that the 3824 manuscript contained Arnaldus' own corrections.

The status of Vat. lat. 3824 and its relationship to the Borghese manuscript must be reconsidered. Vat. lat. 3824 does not look like a presentation copy. It is written in a workaday littera textualis rotunda, not the finer littera textualis formata of the Borghese manuscript. Even the most cursory glance at its folios confirms Mesini's statement that the copy is riddled with errors and corrections. The manuscript is not complete; it is missing a dozen rubrics, including two that give the titles of the works that follow; within the Alphabetum, paraph markers are missing at lines 80, 96, 113, 153, 173, 203,

³⁷²"Handschriftliches," p. 60.

³⁷³"Handschriftliches," p. 60.

208, 316, 392 and 465, and have been incorrectly inserted at lines 629, 672, 768, 773, 887, 968, 989, 1038, 1107 and 1214. The final treatise, the De zona pellicea, was added later in an angular textualis. Although one would expect a book presented to Clement V to have found its way into the papal library, no manuscript corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824 is listed on any of the four Avignon inventories, nor does one appear on the list of books moved from Avignon to Rome in the mid-sixteenth century.³⁷⁴

The manuscript does not appear in a Vatican catalogue until Domenico Ranaldi's inventory of 1597.³⁷⁵

Vat. lat. 3824 contains no dedication or presentation. The text usually so described, the Presentatio facta Burdegalis coram summo pontifice domino Clemente V, is not a presentation at all, but rather a notary's account of the speech that Arnaldus made to the Pope in Burgundy on August 23, 1305.³⁷⁶ Although Arnaldus notes in this speech that he had given copies of his religious works to Boniface VIII, he makes no mention of also presenting

³⁷⁴The 1369 and 1375 inventories were published by Ehrle in Historia bibliothecae Romanarum pontificum. Those of 1411 and 1594 and the 1566 inventory of books moved from Avignon to Rome by Maier in Ausgehendes Mittelalter.

³⁷⁵It is listed there as 68* (Vat. lat. 6949, fol. 133v). See Maier, Ausgehendes Mittelalter, pp. 611-612. The * indicates that the manuscript came from a collection other than the original Vat. lat. deposit; see Petitmengin, "Recherches," pp. 592-593.

³⁷⁶The original of this document was found among Arnaldus' belongings in Valencia after his death. See Chabás, "Inventario," item 305: "Item quoddam instrumentum publicum quo presentavit Magister Arnaldus opera sua Domino Pape Clementi V qui tunc erat" (p. 200).

copies to Clement;³⁷⁷ apparently he did, for the notary records that Clement responded that he would insure that the works he had received from Arnaldus would be carefully studied.³⁷⁸

It seems unlikely that the copy Clement was referring to was Vat. lat. 3824. Vat. lat. 3824 includes a copy of the Presentatio, something that could not have been included in a manuscript given to him on the day that it was made. And the works in Vat. lat. 3824 do not appear to be the ones that Arnaldus listed in the Presentatio as his religious works to date and they are not in the order given there. (What exactly Arnaldus said at that time is open to some conjecture because there is no complete copy of the text: the copy in Graz is only a fragment; the one in Vat. lat. 3824 is missing a folio (the

³⁷⁷"Coram vobis sanctissimo patre domino Clemente quinto Dei provisione summo pontifice propono et confiteor ego Magister Arnaldus de Villa Nova me scripsisse multa opuscula super evangelica veritate secundum lumen michi concessum a domino Jhesu Christo. Quorum opusculorum pars maior fuit per dominum Benedictum olim papam et immediatum antecessorem vestrum in camera sedis apostolice collocata, licet per modum prede silenter occupasset omnes scripturas, quas ego spontaneus ad presentandum eidem portaveram. Deinde post obitum eius per dominos cardinales scilicet dominum Theodericum Urbeuetanum et dominum Robertum Cisterciensem et dominum Jacobum Guayethani constitutos per collegium ad recognoscendum et consignandum bona papalis camere simul cum camerario sedis apostolice domino Johanne de Penestra electo Spoletano fuerunt predicta opuscula consignata" (Finke, Aus den Tagen, p. cciii).

³⁷⁸"Adiciens idem dominus papa, quod opera per ipsum magistrum Arnaldum eidem reddita diligenti examinatione ac maturo consilio indigebant nec constabat eidem, ut dixit, quod essent a Deo, nec noverat quicquam de tenore ipsorum et ideo ipse nec approbabat nec reprobabat ad presens, set recipiebat ea et examini ac iudicio suo et sedis apostolice reservabat" (Finke, Aus den Tagen, p. ccx).

surviving portion includes only the first seven works--the Alphabetum catholicorum, the Prudentia catholicorum scholarium, the De tempore adventus Antichristi, the De mysterio cimbaltorum, the Philosophia catholica, the Apologia de Pseudotheologis et pseudoreligiosis, and the Eulogium de noticia verorum et pseudoapostolorum--and ends with the Antidotum contra venenum effusum per fratrem Martinum de Athecca). However, it seems reasonable to assume that the works listed were the same as the ones listed in the (complete) text of the Protestatio facta Perusii which Arnaldus made before the papal camerarius on July 18, 1304, a week after the death of Benedict XI. In that speech, Arnaldus said that his religious works were, in order of composition, the seven given above, followed by the Denunciatio Gerundensis, the Confessio Ylerdensis, the Gladius iugulans Thomatistas, the Tres denuciationes publice facte Massilie, and the De morte Bonifatii VIII.³⁷⁹ Neither presentation mentions the Carpinatio which follows the Gladius in the Vat. lat. 3824 manuscript or the three denunciations of Massilia which are interspersed between the Confessio, the Gladius, the Carpinatio and the De morte Bonifatii in Vat. lat. 3824. The Vat. lat. 3824 manuscript also includes three works not mentioned in Arnaldus' listing of works: the Allocutio super nomine tetragrammaton, the Introductio de semine scripturarum, and the Tractatus epistolarum christiani, the twelve cover letters he wrote to accompany copies

³⁷⁹Finke, Aus den Tagen, pp. cxciv-cxcv.

of the De mysterio cimbalarum when he sent it to church officials in November 1301; however, Arnaldus said later in his presentation that he wanted Pope Clement to consider those three as well.³⁸⁰⁾

The date of Vat. lat. 3824 is also uncertain. The colophon stating that it was "completed" on 5 June 1305 comes not at the end of the final column, but on fol. 237vb. Presumably the first portion of the manuscript was completed in June 1305; the next 28 folios were copied later in the same set hand but by a different scribe on an inferior grade of parchment. There is no colophon dating the second portion of the manuscript. If the final treatise, the De zona pellicea which is copied by a third scribe on the unused pages of the final quire, had a colophon it has been lost, along with the final folio of the text.

Although Vat. lat. 3824 does contain the changes indicated on the Vat. Borg. 205 manuscript, it may not have been copied directly from it. The order of the letters in the Tractatus epistolarum is different in the two manuscripts; in addition, the Tractatus of the Borghese manuscript includes an undated letter to Bartholomea Montaneri, a Beguin sympathizer; in Vat. lat. 3824 this letter is not included in the Tractatus, but copied separately a hundred folios later.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰Finke, Aus den Tagen, pp. cciv-ccv.

³⁸¹The letter to Bartholomea letter is undated, and it is difficult to guess when it might have been written. Carreras y Artau, assuming that the works in Vat. lat. 3824 were in chronological order, placed in between July 1304 and August

Nonetheless the Vat. lat. 3824 Alphabetum contains several variants that seem to have arisen from the scribe's having misread poorly shaped letters in the Borghese manuscript. For example, he has understood the stretched l abbreviation of Vat. Borgh. fol. 10vb (primo, line 731) as scilicet and he has rendered the tuum of folio 18va (line 1047) as tui because the sideways m has only the slightest kink in it.

Although it is unquestionably a better text, the date and provenance of the Borghese 205 manuscript are unclear. The manuscript is listed on the final Avignon inventory of 1594,³⁸² but it does not appear to be the copy that Arnaldus presented to the camerarius after the death of Benedict XI or the one he gave to Clement V since it contains only the first six texts mentioned in his presentation speeches and because it contains a text that Arnaldus did not write, the Oratio angelorum of pseudo-Cyril

1305, the dates of the documents that precede and follow it in the manuscript (L'epistolari, p. 26). Since it is included in the Borghese manuscript which was probably completed in 1302 or 1303, the letter was probably written several years earlier than Carreras thought; its inclusion in the Tractatus epistolarum, which otherwise consists of cover letters written in November 1301 to accompany copies of the De mysterio cymbalorum, suggests that it was written in late 1301.

³⁸²#128 "D. Cyrilli epistolae. Apologia de versutiis pseudo-theologorum et religiosorum." See Maier, Ausgehendes Mittelalter, p. 222. Vat. Borgh. 205 may be item #36 ("Joachimus") on the list of works brought from Avignon to Rome by Domino Mario in August 1566; see Maier, Ausgehendes Mittelalter, p. 184.

of Jerusalem, a work popular in Franciscan spiritualist circles.³⁸³

As Maier noted, there are extensive comments on the Oratio in a non-scribal hand. This same hand has also corrected, but not commented on, the Arnaldian texts in the manuscript, usually by scraping off the original scribal text and writing new text in the writing space. Because the original scribe used an ink with low iron content, the original readings cannot be determined, even under ultra-violet light, but the corrected ones agree with those of Vat. lat. 3824 and other manuscripts. The non-scribal correcting hand has also marked substantial additions to the text of the Philosophia catholica. These non-scribal additions, as well as lengthy additions added by the original scribe, have all been incorporated into the text as it appears in Vat. lat. 3824.³⁸⁴

Maier's conclusion that the annotating hand was Arnaldus' was based solely on the content of the annotations themselves. But her thesis can be further confirmed by comparing the non-scribal commenting hand to Arnaldus' autograph, extant in two documents in the Archivo Casa Aragona (ACA) in Barcelona, a letter from

³⁸³A copy of this text is listed as #145 in the Chabás inventory. See note 13 above.

³⁸⁴The only edition of the Philosophia catholica, two excerpts published by Pou y Martí in his Visionarios (pp. 56-57 and 61-62), was based solely on the Vat. lat. 3824 manuscript. Santi lists six other manuscripts, including Vat. Borgh. 205. The copy in Vat. lat. 9968 contains the uncorrected text as originally copied in the Borghese manuscript. I do not know what version of the text appears in the other four manuscripts.

Arnaldus to James II (ACA Autógrafs, Caja 2 A3) and a letter nominally from Frederick of Sicily to James but clearly by Arnaldus (ACA sine numero (tempore Jacobi II)).³⁸⁵ Although it is always difficult to confirm that two samples are written in the same hand, especially when one is cramped in the margins of another text as the Borghese example is, the hands in question do share obvious peculiarities, namely the indication of a loop in the bowl of the g, the curved descender of the x, the i that drops below the line in the middle of words as well as at the ends, the open-bowled b, the d with an angled ascender and the compressed Tironian et. Where the Borghese annotator had room to expand, as for example on folio 105v, the similarity of the hand with that of the ACA letters is striking.

Like Vat. lat. 3824, Vat. Borgh. 205 was copied by two scribes in the set hand. The section copied by the first scribe ends with the words "finito libro Deo Gratias amen" (fol. 74r). Neither scribe includes a colophon or other indication of date. (The scribal additions to the Philosophia catholica are made in Hand 2, the hand that copied the "first draft" text.)

The Vat. Borgh. manuscript cannot be precisely dated. The final treatise of the manuscript, the Apologia de versutiis, is usually dated to late 1302 (it is unlikely that the manuscript originally contained additional texts because the final folio is

³⁸⁵I would like to thank Jaume Riera i Sans of the ACA for bringing this second letter to my attention and for providing me with copies of both letters.

blank). Certainly the manuscript was made before 5 June 1305, the date of the copy of Vat. lat. 3824 containing the corrections to the Philosophia catholica marked in the Borghese manuscript.

As noted above, where the Vat. lat. 3824 and Vat. Borgh. 205 manuscripts differ, Vat. Borgh. usually offers a better reading. For example, splendeant has been changed to splenderent (line 453), docueris to edocueris (line 1087) and nihil aliud exhibitum to nihil exhiberi (line 1204). The text of 1 Cor. 13 (line 1055) is jumbled in Vat. lat. 3824 (it reads "cum essem parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus" for "loquebar . . . sapiebam . . . cogitabam") apparantly because the copyist did not understand the scribe's note on Vat. Borgh. fol. 18va that the partial quotation "cogitabam ut parvulus" should be completed by adding first "loquebar" and also "sapiebam," confusingly written above "loquebar" rather than below it.

Vat. lat. 3824 drops the rubric separating the two portions of the Alphabetum (edition line 1050). It adds sections at lines 483, 573 and 910 and omits the section of the Borghese manuscript at line 704. Thus the text of the Alphabetum is divided into sixteen sections in the Vat. lat. manuscript, compared to fourteen in the Borghese manuscript. If the text is divided into fourteen parts because fourteen had Joachist significance, as Lee and Reeves argue,³⁸⁶ the fact that only the Borghese manuscript

³⁸⁶Lee and Reeves, Western Prophecy, p. 36.

is so divided suggests it was the original; why the scribe of the Vat. lat. manuscript should have changed the section divisions is unclear. Unlike the Borghese manuscript, the Vat. lat. manuscript is almost unabbreviated. The scribe placed paraph markers only at the beginning of questions, not answers; in the Borghese manuscript, both questions and answers are marked with paraphs. Oddly, Vat. lat. 3824 omits the final sentence of the Borghese text, quoting Proverbs and Titus in support of the statement that understanding of the scriptures must be accompanied by good works to merit salvation.³⁸⁷

The Borghese Alphabetum is not, however, a perfect exemplar. Like all the manuscripts, Vat. Borgh. 205 substitutes anima for cor on line 1203 although the surrounding text and Bible quotations make it clear that the body part in question is the heart. It substitutes gloriam for gratiam at line 350, fracit for facit at line 376, de for in at line 618 and bonum for donum at line 626. The manuscript was not originally marked for reading; the paraph markers that precede each question and answer were squeezed between the words by a later reader, perhaps Arnaldus himself. Like many of the texts in the Borghese manuscript, the Alphabetum has no explicit.

Although Vat. Borgh. 205 contains the best text of the Alphabetum, none of the other manuscripts is directly descended

³⁸⁷For examples of differences in readings between Vat. Borgh. 205 and Vat. lat. 3824 in treatises other than the Alphabetum, see Maier, "Handschriftliches", p. 61-62.

from it. Rather all are related to Vat. lat. 3824, sharing not only its variants, but also its section divisions, orthography, and, in some cases, punctuation. Of the later manuscripts, the best is Frankfurt-am-Main Städtbibliothek Ms. Praedicatorum 58, a late fourteenth-century copy bound with other Dominican works, including Theobaldus of Saxony's Pharetra fidei contra Judeos, a dialogue on Christian dogma. The Alphabetum in this manuscript follows the Vat. lat. 3824 text closely and contains four lengthy omissions due to homoeoteleuton: of fol. 81ra (edition lines 30-32) corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 29rb, lines 11-14; of fol. 81rb (edition lines 92-93) corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 30ra, lines 14-17; of fol. 82vb (edition lines 390-392) corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 33rb, lines 16-18; and of fol. 85rb (edition lines 964 to 966) corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 40ra, lines 26-28. Unlike other manuscripts, the Frankfurt Alphabetum ends with the words "et sic patet," suggesting that the exemplar from which it was copied continued (no such manuscript survives).

A second German manuscript containing the Alphabetum, Bernkastel-Cusa 42, was owned by reform bishop Nicholas of Cusa. This manuscript contains two groups of texts: the first, works of church fathers including Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom and Tertullian, copied in a neat littera textualis for Alfonso of Aragon, James II's older brother; the second, a selection of works by Arnaldus copied in a fifteenth-century Spanish

cursive.³⁸⁸ Perarnau believes that this manuscript is related to the Borghese manuscript rather than Vat. lat. 3824, but the pattern of Alphabetum variants does not support that conclusion; the Bernkastel manuscript also contains two Arnaldian treatises that are not included in Vat. Borgh. 205: the Introductio in librum Joachim de semine scripturarum and the Allocutio on the Tetragrammaton.

This manuscript is noteworthy in that it shares punctuation with Vat. lat. 3824. Just as the scribe left room for the rubricator to add not only enlarged capitals, so he also left room before each question--but not before each answer--for a paraph marker. These paraph spaces correspond closely to the existing paraph markers in Vat. lat. 3824; in all six of the places where the Bernkastel scribe has incorrectly left a space before an answer (lines 672, 768, 887, 1038 and 1214) there is also an incorrect paraph marker in the Vat. lat. 3824 manuscript.

The Bernkastel manuscript includes two omissions that appear to be due to homoeoteleuton. These are the omission of fol. 215ra (Edition, line 842) which corresponds to Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 38va, line 25; and the omission of fol. 215vb (Edition, lines 857-861) which corresponds to Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 38vb, lines 15-22.

One of these omissions is shared with Vat lat. 5732, a

³⁸⁸See Perarnau, "Tractats Espirituals," p. 82. Marx believes that the hand is fourteenth-century Dominican (Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung, p. 56).

fifteenth-century manuscript copied in four hands that contains works of Joachim of Fiore, Arnaldus and Peter d'Ailly.³⁸⁹ The portion of the manuscript copied in Hand 2 contains the De seminibus scripturarum of Pseudo-Joachim, the final portion of the letter of Pseudo-Joachim to Pseudo-Cyril (several folios have been cut out of the manuscript at this point--it may originally have contained not only the entire letter, but the Oraculum angelorum as well), In Ieremiam prophetam, a well-known Joachite commentary thought to have been written in southern Italy in the 1240s,³⁹⁰ and four works by Arnaldus.

The Vat. lat. 5732 copy of the Alphabetum is late and poor; the scribe frequently misread and transposed words; he consistently changed the verb dixisti to dicis and particle quod to quot; occasionally his eye wandered and he copied a word or more of the wrong line of text; on fol. 85va, for example, after the section break following divisim possidentur aut successive (line 552), the scribe has skipped forward and copied the beginning of the section after the next one (line 603-611); these lines are copied again on fol. 86rb. Like the Bernkastel manuscript, the Vat. lat. 5874 copy was made to include paraph markers that were not later inserted by the rubricator; on fol.

³⁸⁹There is no modern description of this manuscript. It is listed in Tome VI of the Vatican's seventeenth-century inventory (1627) (see Petitmengin, "Recherches," p. 617). My description is based on personal observation.

³⁹⁰Lee et al., Western Prophecy, p. 56. Arnau owned a copy of this commentary at the time of his death; see Chabàs, "Inventario," p. 200, item #311.

83va (Edition lines 78 and 98), it contains two paraph markers added by a later hand.

The Vat. lat. 5974 manuscript includes four lengthy omissions due to homoeoteleuton. These are the omission of fol. 84ra (Edition, lines 86-88) corresponding to Vat. lat. fol. 30ra, lines 3-8; of fol. 85ra (Edition, lines 393-395) corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 33rb, lines 19-21; of fol. 87va (Edition, lines 857-865) corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 38vb, lines 15-22; and of fol. 88ra (Edition, lines 946-948) corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824, lines 26-28. The manuscript also includes one omission, on fol. 86va (Edition, lines 658-660), that does not match lines of Vat. lat. 3824.

The Oxford manuscript contains fourteen of Arnaldus' treatises copied in a fifteenth-century French hand (the Arnaldian portion of the manuscript is not dated, but a text bound with it, Alkindi's De radiis stellaris, is dated September 21, 1484).³⁹¹ Unlike the other copies of the Alphabetum, the Oxford copy is not divided into sections. Interestingly, although the Oxford copy is generally poor, it contains a handful of correct readings not found in Vat. lat. 3824 Alphabetum: vel immobilem (line 701), debet (line 927), and exhibitum (line 1204).

However, the Oxford manuscript does appear to be descended

³⁹¹Coxe, Catalogi 13, col. 712-713. Coxe's description of the contents is slightly inaccurate. In addition to the treatises he lists, the manuscript also contains the Alphabetum and the Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum scholarium; see Bohigas, "El Repertori," pp. 418-419.

from Vat. lat. 3824 and contains three lengthy omissions due to homoeoteleuton: the omission of fol. 23rb (edition lines 559-561), for example, corresponds to lines 29-32 of Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 35ra; the omission of 23vb (edition lines 654-655), to Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 36rb, lines 18-21; and the omission of fol. 45r (ck) (edition lines 697-698) to Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 36vb, lines 16-17.

A second French manuscript, St. Omer 292, is self-dated 1359, and bound with three works of Henry Suso, the Horlogium sapientiae, one of the most popular mystical texts of the later Middle Ages³⁹², the Cursus de eterna sapientia, an office to the Divine Wisdom, and the Centum meditationes de passione dominica. Although the other treatises in the manuscript begin on fresh folios, the Alphabetum is copied immediately after the Cursus, as if it were part of it. Like the Oxford Alphabetum, the St. Omer version has no section breaks, but the two copies do not appear to be closely related.

The St. Omer manuscript is descended from Vat. lat. 3824 and contains two omissions due to homoeoteleuton, on fols. 130v (edition lines 62-65 corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824, fol. 29vb, lines 2-5) and on fol. 134r (edition lines 294-296 corresponding to Vat. lat. 3824 fol. 32ra line 29 to 32rb line 2). It contains a third omission on fol. 130v (edition lines 53-65) not related

³⁹²Ernest H. Sondek, "Heinrich Susa," Dictionary of the Middle Ages, vol. 11 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), p. 516.

to Vat. lat. 3824 and one addition (fol. 130 v, edition line 50). The text of the Alphabetum ends with the reconciliation of the Ten Commandments with the two precepts (line 777) and the discussion of the Ten Commandments is substantially abridged (see below, pp. 30-31).

Two other copies of the Alphabetum are also substantially abridged, although neither of the shortened manuscripts seems to be related to the others. Graz Univ. Bibl. 1226 contains works by Arnaldus and Peter John Olivi, copied in a fourteenth-century Spanish cursive. The four Arnaldian texts in the manuscript are preceded by Pseudo-Cyril's Oraculum angelicum, the same text that opens Vat. Borgh. 205, but the Graz texts do not appear to have been copied from the Borghese manuscript (two of the texts, the Introductio in librum Joachim and the Presentatio are not included in the Borghese manuscript).³⁹³ The Arnaldian treatises are not in the order Arnaldus listed them in his papal presentations, and the text of the Alphabetum is substantially abridged.³⁹⁴ The text from which the Graz manuscript was copied (or abridged) must have been marked for reading for the Graz scribe has included a dozen paraph markers in his text; oddly, he appears not to have understood what the markers meant: he usually placed the markers at the end of a line or section,

³⁹³Fussenegger, "Littera Septem Sigillorum," pp. 48-51.

³⁹⁴The other Arnaldian texts in the manuscript may be abridged as well. I have not yet compared them to their respective editions.

rather than the beginning--as if the paraphs belonged to the words preceeding them rather than the words that follow.

Although the Graz text varies substantially from that of the other manuscripts (see pages 165-170 below) it appears to belong to the Vat. lat. 3824 family since it shares many of Vat. lat. 3824's variants; however, none of the many Graz omissions appear to be due to homoeoteleuton from an existing manuscript.

The second abridgement of the Alphabetum, the Castilian translation found at the Casanatense library, is included in a miscellany of Latin and Castilian theological texts formerly owned by the Franciscans of Zamora. The Alphabetum is copied with two anonymous Castilian texts and a Castilian translation of another of Arnaldus' works, the De helemosina et sacrificio, a work condemned by the bishop of Tarragona in 1316. Although the Alphabetum is substantially abridged, primarily by compression of the questions and answers, and the objectio on Bible reading is missing, the text does include occasional additions and elaborations as well as the full Spanish and Latin texts of the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments. Most of the text's citations to Matthew are wrong for the scribe has misunderstood the abbreviation M of the manuscript he was copying from to mean Matthew rather than Mark.

As discussed in Chapter 3 above, Perarnau believes that the Alphabetum was prepared in the late fourteenth century for the use of Beguins and that the translation was made from Catalan and

not Latin.³⁹⁵ Even if this is so, it is unlikely that the Castilian version is a better witness to the original text than the surviving Latin copies; the questions and answers of the version are highly compressed in comparison to the Latin version, and it seems unlikely that someone translating into Latin would have expanded them; probably the compression took place when the work was translated into Castilian, whether from a Latin or Catalan original. For this reason I have not included the Casanetense manuscript in my list of variants; however, variants from Vat. lat. 3824 are included in the apparatus to Perarnau's edition of the Castilian text.

The St. Petersburg manuscript, Pulichanaja Bibliotheka CXIII, contains Greek translations of eight of Arnaldus' works, four early Latin works and four later Catalan works long known only from the titles listed on Arnaldus' 1316 heresy condemnation.³⁹⁶ Miquel Batllori believes that the manuscript was made in two parts, one translated from Latin, the other from Catalan, and that the Latin portion, including the Alphabetum, was copied in 1302, the date of the colophon of the final work, the Allocutio on the Tetragrammaton, a treatise that was written in 1292.³⁹⁷ Batllori believes that the Catalan texts were translated before 1316 when they were ordered destroyed.

³⁹⁵Perarnau, Dos Tratados, p. 126.

³⁹⁶Carreras y Artau, "La versió," pp. 127-134.

³⁹⁷Batllori, "Les Versions," p. 401.

Why eight of Arnaldus' works should have been translated into Greek, a language Arnaldus did not read, is not clear.³⁹⁸ Carreras y Artau believes that the translation was made for the Greek monks at Mount Athos on whose behalf Arnaldus had interceded before James II of Aragon;³⁹⁹ Carreras y Artau believes that the monks gave Arnaldus the four Greek theological treatises that were found in his library after his death.⁴⁰⁰ According to a description in an eighteenth-century catalogue, the translator, following Arnaldus' original (edition line 45) states that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son; a later reader has crossed the statement out.⁴⁰¹

In the St. Petersburg manuscript, the Alphabetum is copied as if it were two treatises, one beginning "Es tu fidelis," and the second, "Videtur mihi presumptio et simplicitas." In his description of the manuscript, Batllori suggests that this "second" treatise is a translation either of the "Responsiones ad cavillationes adversarii veritatis" or of a lost Latin text. What it is, of course, is the obiectio of the Alphabetum.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁸Panaigua, "Vida," p. 12.

³⁹⁹Carreras y Artau, "La versió," p. 134.

⁴⁰⁰Carreras y Artau, "La llibreria," p. 70.

⁴⁰¹Carreras y Artau, "La versió," quoting B. de Montfaucon, Biblioteca Coisliniana (Paris, 1715), p. 263.

⁴⁰²Batllori, "Les versions italianes," pp. 401-402. According to the Montfaucon catalogue (p. 263), this second treatise consists of "trois réponses a ceux qui prétendent que l'Ecriture Sainte ne doit être lue ni par les enfants, ni par les laïques." The Obiectio does indeed consist of three answers.

Descriptions of Manuscripts

Bernkastel-Cusa, Ms 42 (B)

(See Marx, Verzeichnis der Handschriften Sammlung, pp. 36-38; Perarnau, "Tractats espirituals," pp. 77-88.)

Paper (289 x 215 mm), 285 folios in two hands, the first, a Gothic bookhand, on folios 1-193 and 253-285; the second, a Spanish cursive, on folios 194-252. Both sections are copied in two columns per page. The Arnaldian works are not attributed to an author and were only recently identified as his by Perarnau. My collations were made from microfilm.

The manuscript contains:

- fol. 1-120v Cyril of Alexandria, Liber Thesaurorum traductus a Georgio Trapezuntino
- fol. 121-155v Isidore of Seville, Libri testimonium Christi contra iudeos
- fol. 162-193vb Tertullian, Apologeticus
- fol. 194ra-201rb Arnaldus of Villanova, Introductio in librum Joachim de semine scripturarum
- fol. 201ra-210rb Allocutio super significatione nominis tetragrammaton
- fol. 210rb-217vb Alphabetum catholicorum
- fol. 218ra-219va Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum scholarium
- fol. 219va-238ra Tractatus de tempore adventus antichristi
- fol. 238ra-249rb Tractatus de mysterio cimbolorum
- fol. 249vb-252ra Tractatus epistolarum Christiani
(first four letters)
- fol. 253-285 John Chrysostom, Orationes de incomprehensibili Dei natura translatae a Theodoro Greco Thesalonicensi

Frankfurt-am-Main, Ms. Praedicatorum 58 (F)

(Powitz, Kataloge 2.1, pp. 138-140.)

Paper (295 x 200 cm). 86 folios copied in two hands: hand 1 (fols. 1-68), an early Bastarde; hand 2 (fols. 70-86), a notula. According to the colophon to the first portion (fol. 68vb), the texts in hand 1 were copied by scribe Johannes Mulich for Henry Sturz in Wasselnheim in 1410; the texts in this section are rubricated and enlarged initials are decorated with red pen and ink flourishes. The folios in hand 2, dated by Powitz as late 14th-century, are not

finished with initials; this portion of the manuscript was originally a single gathering of ten bifolios now missing three folios after fol. 74vb. There is a fragment of a Wasselnheim document of 1400 bound between folios 78 and 79; on the inside front cover is a German receipt dated 1396 for a knight Johannes Rudolf von Wasselnheim; on the inside back cover is a German document concerning the establishment of an altar by Johannes von Wasselnheim and "Heinrich sturcz Lupriester zu Wasselnheim" and a Latin document with a signature mark MS. The Alphabetum is not attributed to Arnaldus. My collations were made from microfilm. The manuscript contains:

- | | |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| fol. 1ra-68vb | Jacobus de Voragine, <u>Sermones Quadragesimales</u> |
| fol. 69vb | Anon., <u>De potestate pape et concilii generalis</u> (fragment) |
| fol. 70ra-74vb | Anon., Treatise on virtues and vices (fragment) |
| fol. 75ra-80rb | Theobaldus of Saxony, <u>Pharetra fidei contra Judeos</u> |
| fol. 80v | blank |
| fol. 81ra-86rb | Arnaldus of Villanova, <u>Alphabetum catholicorum</u> |

Graz Codex 1226 (G)

(Fussenegger, "Littera Septem Sigillorum," pp. 45-53.)
Paper, 128 folios (210 x 150 mm) written in two hands, the first on folios 1-32 and 63-120, the second folios 33-62 and 121-128. My collations were made from microfilm. The manuscript contains:

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| fol. 1ra-18ra | Pseudo-Cyril, <u>Oraculum angelicum</u> with the letters of Pseudo-Joachim and Pseudo-Cyril concerning it. |
| fol. 18rb-21ra | Arnaldus of Villanova, <u>Tractatus De prudentia catholicorum scholarium</u> |
| fol. 21ra-26rb | <u>Alphabetum catholicorum</u> |
| fol. 26va-32vb | <u>Introductio in librum de semine scripturarum</u> |
| fol. 32va-b | <u>Presentatio facta Burdegalis coram summo pontifice domino Clemente V</u> (fragment) |
| fol. 33ra-43vb | Peter John Olivi, <u>De usu paupere</u> |
| fol. 43va-61ra | <u>Expositio Regulae Fratrum Minorum</u> |
| fol. 61rb-62vb | <u>Quod regula Fratrum Minorum excludat a se omnem proprietatem</u> |
| fol. 63rb-104vb | <u>De voto paupertatis</u> |
| fol. 105ra-120ra | Pseudo-Joachim, <u>De semine scripturarum</u> |
| fol. 121ra-122va | Jerome, <u>Epistola ad Dardanum</u> |

- fol. 122va-124vb Peter John Olivi, Quaestio de veritate indulgentiae Portiunculae
 fol. 125rb-128rb fragments
 fol. 128rb-va Littera septem sigillorum

Oxford, Can. lat. misc. 270 (O)

(Coxe, Catalogi III, cols. 639-640; Bohigas, "El Repertori," pp. 411-457.)

Late 15th-century French hand. 259 folios, copied in long lines. The Alkindi treatise is self-dated September 21, 1484. My collations were made from microfilm. The manuscript contains:

- fol. 1r-16v Arnaldus of Villanova, Introductio in librum Joachim de semine scripturam
 fol. 17r-35v Allocutio super significatione nominis tetragrammaton
 fol. 36r-52r Alphabetum catholicorum
 fol. 52v-60r Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum scholarium
 fol. 60v-91r Tractatus de tempore adventus antichristi
 fol. 91-118 Philosophia catholica
 fol. 118-149 Apologia de versutiis
 fol. 149-155 Eulogia de notitia verorum et pseudorum apostolorum
 fol. 155-160 Confessio Ylerdensis de spurciciis pseudo religiosorum
 fol. 160-177 Gladius iugulans Thomistas
 fol. 177-184 Carpinacio poetriae theologi deviantis
 fol. 184-193 Allocutio christiani
 fol. 193-217 Antidotum contra venenum effusum per fratrem Martinum de Atheca
 fol. 217-238 Tractatus de mysterio cymbalorum
 fol. 238 Epilogus operis prelibati
 fol. 240-259 Alkindi, De radiis stellaris

St. Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 292 (from the Abbey of Saint-Bertin) (S)

(Catalogue général, p. 145.)

Parchment 191 x 133 (155 x 100 writing space), bound in calfskin bearing the arms of Benoit I of Béthune who is identified on fol. A as the Abbot of St. Bertin. Copied in long lines in Gothic cursive with red and blue pen flourished initials. Two hands: hand I on fols. 1r-139r (scribe's mark in lower left hand corner of fol. 139v) and hand II, fols. 140r-148r. The colophon of the Alphabetum says that it was written in 1359. My collations were made from the manuscript. The manuscript contains:

fol. 1r-126v	Henry Suso, <u>Horlorgium Sapientiae</u>
fol. 127r-130v	Henry Suso, <u>Cursus de eterna sapientia</u>
fol. 130v-139r	Arnaldus of Villanova, <u>Alphabetum Catholicorum</u>
fol. 139v	Blank
fol. 140r-148r	Henry Suso, <u>Centum meditationes de passione Dominici</u>

Vat. Borgh. 205 (VB)

(Maier, Codices Burghesiani, pp. 261-263.)

Parchment 201 x 140 (writing space 154 x 111), formerly in the papal collection at Avignon. 116 folios written in two columns. Littera textualis formata with red and blue two line initials. Written in two hands: hand I, fols. 1-78; hand II, fols. 75-117. The section copied in hand I, which ends with a letter dated November 17, 1301, concludes with the words "finito libro Deo gratias amen." Texts in both sections have been corrected and emended in a non-scribal hand that that may be Arnaldus' own. My collations were made from the manuscript. The manuscript contains:

fol. 1r-9ra	Pseudo-Cyril, <u>Oraculum angelicum</u> and the letters of Pseudo-Joachim and Pseudo-Cryil concerning it.
fol. 9rb-116r	Arnaldus of Villanova, <u>Opera selecta</u>
fol. 9rb-20r	<u>Alphabetum catholicorum</u>
fol. 20v-25v	<u>Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum scholarium</u>
fol. 26r-48r	<u>Tractatus de tempore adventus antichristi</u>
fol. 48v-63r	<u>Tractatus de mysterio cimbalarum</u>
fol. 63r-74r	<u>Tractatus epistolarum Christiani ad principes catholicos et praecones</u>
fol. 75r-96v	<u>Philosophia catholica</u>
fol. 97r-116r	<u>Apologia de versutiis</u>

Vat. lat. 3824 (V1)

(No modern catalogue description).

Parchment 222 x 154 (writing space 159 x 109). 263 folios in two columns. The former shelf mark 68* suggests that it was not part of the original Vatican collection. The manuscript was copied in three hands, hand I, fols. 1r-237r; hand II, fols. 237v-261v; hand 3, fols. 262-263. According to the colophon on fol. 237rb, the first portion of the work was completed on the vigil of Pentecost, 1305. The second portion must have been copied after August 23, 1305. The first 240 folios are copied in the same format

with red rubrics (some missing) and red and blue pen flourished initials. The final section has space for initials, but no initials or rubrics. The contemporary table of contents lists only works on fols. 1-261. My collations were made from the manuscript. The manuscript contains:

fol. 1ra-12vb	<u>Introductio in librum Joachim in semine scripturarum</u>
fol. 13ra-28vb	<u>Allocutio super significatione nominis tetragrammaton</u>
fol. 29ra-43rb	<u>Alphabetum catholicorum</u>
fol. 43va-50rb	<u>Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum scholarium</u>
fol. 50va-78va	<u>Tractatus de adventu antichristi</u>
fol. 78vb-97ra	<u>Tractatus de misterio cimbolorum</u>
fol. 97rb-110va	<u>Tractatus epistolarum christiani</u>
fol. 110vb-135va	<u>Philosophia catholica et divina</u>
fol. 135vb-160ra	<u>Apologia de versutiis</u>
fol. 160rb-166rb	<u>Eulogium de noticia verorum et pseudo apostolorum</u>
fol. 166va-174va	<u>Tres denunciationes Gerundenses</u>
fol. 175ra-180ra	<u>Confessio Ylerdensis</u>
fol. 180rb-181rb	<u>Prima denunciatio facta Massilie</u>
fol. 181va-192rb	<u>Gladius iugulans Thomatistas</u>
fol. 192rb-193vb	<u>Secunda denunciatio facta Massilie</u>
fol. 193va-202ra	<u>Carpinatio poetrie theologi deviantis</u>
fol. 202rb-204rb	<u>Tercia denunciatio facta Massilie</u>
fol. 204va-214rb	<u>De morte Bonifatii VIII</u>
fol. 214vb-217va	<u>Protestatio facta Perusie</u>
fol. 217vb-225vb	<u>Allocutio christiani</u>
fol. 226ra-230rb	<u>Tractatus de esu carniū pro substantiatione ordine Carthusiensis contra Jacobitas</u>
fol. 230va-231vb	<u>Epistola domini Bonifacii</u>
fol. 231vb-232vb	<u>Epistola dominorum cardinali</u>
fol. 232vb-233vb	<u>Epistola domini Bremundi</u>
fol. 233vb-234vb	<u>Epistola Bartholomee montaneri</u>
fol. 235ra-237rb	<u>Dancia illustris domini regis Aragonum</u>
fol. 237va-254va	<u>Antidotum contra venenum effusum per fratrem Martinum de Atheca</u>
fol. 254vb-261vb	<u>Presentatio facta Burdegalis coram summo pontifice domino Clemente V</u>
fol. 262ra-263vb	<u>De zona pellicea</u>

Vat. lat. 5732 (V2)

(No modern catalogue description.)

Paper 404 x 289 (writing space 264 x 162). 15th-century Italian. 238 folios copied in four hands. Hand 1: fols.

1-50; Hand 2: fol. 51-92; Hand 3: fols. 93-151; Hand 4: fols. 156-236. Fols. 152-155, 178-179 and 237-238 are blank. All texts are copied in two columns; all texts are lacking initials, although the Psalterium decem chordarum is illustrated with red and blue diagrams and the Imago mundi and Epilogus super mappa mundi with pen and ink ones. The pages containing all but the final portion of the Letter of Pseudo-Joachim to Pseudo-Cyril have been cut out; the text of the commentary on Jeremiah is missing folios between fols. 128 and 129 and between 132 and 133. My collations were made from the manuscript. The manuscript contains:

fol. 1ra-36	Joachim of Fiore, <u>Psalterium decem chordarum</u>
fol. 36va-50vb	<u>Liber concordiae novi ac veteris testamenti</u>
fol. 51ra-57ra	<u>Expositio super Merlino Britannice et Ethyrea Sybilla ad imperatorem</u>
fol. 57rb-70vb	<u>De seminibus scripturarum</u>
fol. 71ra-75va	Arnaldus of Villanova, <u>Introductio in librum Joachimi de semine scripturarum</u>
fol. 75vb-81va	<u>Allocutio super significationem nominis tetragrammaton</u>
fol. 82ra-83ra	Pseudo-Joachim, Letter to Pseudo-Cyril (fragment)
fol. 83rb-89va	Arnaldus of Villanova, <u>Alphabetum catholicorum</u>
fol. 89va-92rb	<u>De prudentia catholicorum scholarium</u>
fol. 93ra-151rb	Anonymous, <u>In Ieremiam propheta</u>
fol. 152-155	Blank
fol. 156ra-175ra	Peter Alliacus, <u>Imago Mundi</u>
fol. 175rb-177rb	<u>Epilogus super mappa mundi</u>
fol. 178-179	Blank
fol. 180ra-221ra	<u>Tractatus de Compendia Theologia et Astronomia</u>
fol. 221va-236vb	<u>Tractatus de concordia discordancium astrorum</u>
fol. 237-238	Blank

Rome, Casanatense 1022

(Perarnau, "Los manuscritos," pp. 185-248.)

Paper 290 x 220. Formerly in the libraries of the Franciscan house at Zamora, of the University of Majorca and of John Angelus, the Duke of Altemps, in Rome. The manuscript contains a miscellany of quires copied in six hands: hand I, fol. 5r-6r; hand II, fol. 6v. 35r; hand III, fol. 37r-56r; hand IV, fol. 56v-60v; hand V, fol. 61r-70r; hand VI, fol. 73r-132r. All sections except fols. 61-70 are

copied in two columns; all sections contain rubrics, but not initials. The works in Hand VI are in Spanish. I did not collate this manuscript. The manuscript contains:

fol. 1	Beginning of an act
fol. 2r-2v	Anon., <u>Nota Christi vitam in representacionem</u>
fol. 3r	list of Sundays and feast days and associated churches
fol. 4	Blank
fol. 5ra-35rb	Ramon Llull, <u>Liber de ente reali et rationali</u>
fol. 36	Blank
fol. 37ra-44va	<u>Liber de noticia Dei</u>
fol. 45ra-56rb	Ramon Astruc of Cortielles (?), <u>Disputatio secularis et Jacobite</u>
fol. 56va-60vb	Anonymous, <u>Cantilene in Dei servitium</u>
fol. 61r-70r	Anonymous, <u>Sermones quinque</u> (fragment)
fol. 73ra-97ra	Anonymous, treatise on predestination
fol. 97rb-102vb	Anonymous, <u>Disputacion fue entre un moro filosofo</u>
fol. 102vb-114vb	Arnaldus of Villanova, <u>De helemosina et sacrificio</u>
fol. 115ra-132ra	<u>Alphabetum catholicorum</u>

St. Petersburg, Pulichnaja Bibliotheka CXIII

(Carreras y Artau, "La versio Grega," pp. 127-134; Batllori, "Les versions italianes," pp. 401-404). Parchment (octavo), 222 folios. Formerly in the collections of Séguier; de Cosilin, archbishop of Metz (#379 in the catalogue of 1715), the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Pres, and, after the French revolution, the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg (#20 in the Catalogue of 1840). The manuscript contains Greek translations of eight of Arnaldus' works; the first four treatises were originally written in Catalan (Latin titles notwithstanding), the second four in Latin. In this manuscript, the Alphabetum is treated as if it were two treatises, one entitled Dialogus de elementis catholicae fidei, and the second entitled Responsiones adversus predicta; the second, which begins "Videtur mihi praesumptio et simplicitas [sic]," is, of course, the objectio that is included without a break, in most of the other manuscripts. I did not collate this manuscript. The manuscript contains:

fol. 1r-17r	<u>Expositio vitae christianae</u>
fol. 18r-50r	<u>Ad priorissam vel de caritate</u>

fol. 51r-72v	<u>Llicó de Narbona</u>
fol. 72r-81r	<u>De humanitate et patientia Ihesu Christi</u>
fol. 81v-107r	<u>Alphabetum catholicorum</u>
fol. 107v-112v	<u>Responsiones adversus predicta</u>
fol. 113r-173r	<u>Philosophia catholica</u>
fol. 173v-184r	<u>Eulogium de notitia verorum et pseudorum apostolorum</u>
fol. 185r-222r	<u>Allocutio super significatione nominis tetragrammaton</u>

Collation

The folios of the eight manuscripts correspond as follows. If the scribe did not observe the section break, I have enclosed the folio number on which the text occurs in parentheses. Note that the manuscripts related to Vat. lat. 3824 have three divisions not found in Vat. Borgh. 205, at lines 483, 573, and 910, and they omit the Vat. Borgh. 205 division at line 704.

	VB	V1	V2	B	F	G	O	S
1.	9rb	29ra	83rb	210va	81ra	21rb	(36r)	(130v)
2.	10vb	31ra	84ra	211vb	81vb	21vb	(38r)	(132v)
3.	10vb	31vb	84rb	212ra	82ra	22ra	(39v)	(133v)
4.	11ra	32ra	84ra	212ra	82ra	22ra	(39r)	(133v)
5.	11va	32rb	84va	212ra	82rb	22rb	(39v)	(134r)
6.	12ra	32vb	84vb	212va	82va	22va	(40v)	(134v)
7.	12vb	33vb	85rb	213ra	82vb	22vb	(41v)	(135v)
7a.	(13rb)	34rb	85va	213rb	83ra	(22vb)*	(42r)	(136r)
8.	13va	34va	85va	213va	83ra	23ra	(42v)	(136v)
9.	13vb	35ra	85vb	213vb	83rb	23rb	(43r)	(137r)
9a.	(14ra)	35rb	86ra	213vb	83va	23rb	(43r)	(137r)
10.	14rb	35vb	86rb	214ra	83va	23rb	(43v)	(137r)
11.	14va	36rb	86va	214rb	83vb	23va	(44r)	(137v)
12.	15ra	(36vb)	(86vb)	(214va)	(84ra)	(23vb)	(45r)	(138r)
13.	15vb	37vb	87ra	215ra	84va	24ra	(46r)	(138v)
13a.	(17ra)	39va	87vb	215vb	85ra	(24vb)	(47v)	----

14.	17va	39vb	88ra	216ra	85rb	25ra	(48r)	----
15.	18va	41rb	88va	216va	85vb	25va	(49v)	----
16.	19ra	42ra	88vb	217rb	86rb	(26vb)	(50v)	----

1. Es tu fidelis (line 4)
2. Tu dixisti quod Deus est orandus (line 183)
3. Tu dixisti quod Christus est nomen Dei (line 253)
4. Tu dixisti quod in illis verbis (line 272)
5. Tu dixisti quod Dominus (line 298)
6. Tu dicis quod per hec verba (356)
7. Tu dixisti quod vii virtutibus (line 442)
- 7a. Quot sunt ea que docet petere (line 483)
8. Tu dixisti quod Dominus in hac oratione (line 515)
9. Tu dixisti quod Deus est orandus (line 553)
- 9a. Tu dixisti in diffinitione karitatis (line 573)
10. Tu dicis quod totum bonum (line 603)
11. Tu dixisti quod necesse est (line 642)
12. Unde scis tu quod ista sunt x precepta (line 704)
13. Postquam tu dicis quod ad hec duo (line 778)
- 13a. Postquam exposuisti preceptum dilectionis Dei (line 910)
14. Tu dixisti quod nemo diligit bonum separatum (line 949)
15. Videtur mihi quod sit presumptio et stulticia (line 1051)
16. Ex dictis vestris, arguo contra vos (line 1112)

* This question does not occur in the Graz manuscript, but the text surrounding it is found on the folio indicated.

Principles of Edition

Except where it is obviously wrong, I have followed the text and orthography of the Borghese manuscript, clearly the best copy of the Alphabetum. Thus I have not normalized c's to t's or y's to i's, nor have I made single m's into double m's in words like imo or imobilem where a double m would be more standard. I have supplemented the Borghese version with readings from the other manuscripts where the Borghese text is illegible; I have departed from the Borghese version only where

the Borghese text is clearly wrong: gratiam (line 350), facit (line 376), in (line 618), donum (line 626). I have inserted missing paraph markers before questions or answers on lines 5, 71, 74, 265, 315, 559, 901, 929, 934, 940, and 1025. For reading convenience, I have indicated paraps that precede questions and answers with a --; I have indicated paraps within paragraphs with a paraph marker (§). I have indicated sections marked in the manuscript by enlarged capitals with a line space. I have enclosed in quotation marks passages underlined by the scribe.

I have not included variants from the St. Omer manuscript after line 650 because the text there is so substantially abridged from that of the other manuscripts. The abridgement of lines 650-777 reads as follows (the line numbers indicated correspond to those of the Alphabetum edition):

650 ideo michi nota.
 651 Duo enim sunt in genere et decem in specie.
 652 duo in genere sunt
 653 declinare a malo et facere bonum. Decem in specie sunt
 658 quorum tria pertinent ad dilectionem Dei et vii
 659 ad dilectionem proximi. Primum preceptum pertinens ad
 dilectionem Dei est istud
 671 Non habebis deos alienos nec facies
 670 tibi sculptile.
 681 Secundum: non
 682 assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum.
 687 Tercium: Memento ut diem sabbati
 688 sanctifices, id est, in sanctiati celebres ad
 689 honorem vel cultum Dei. Septem pertinentum ad
 dilectionem proximum, primum est
 693 Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam et cetera.
 696 Secundum: Non occides. Tercium: Non mecaberis, id
 697 est, non fornicaberis. Quartum: Non furtum

698 facies. Quintum: Non loqueris contra
 699 proximum tuum falsum testimonium. Sextum:
 700 Non concupisces bonum proximi tui, hoc est, rem
 701 (lacuna) carentem vel immobilem. Septimum:
 702 Non desiderabis uxorem eius aut servum aut ancillam
 703 aut bovem et cetera.
 Precepta decem sic hic supra ponuntur
 707 scribuntur in xx capitulo Exodi ubi Moyses recitat
 708 x predicta precepta a deo facta communicata populo
 709 Isrel per eundum, scilicet, Moysen. Et ista x precepta
 plenarie perficit quicumque perfecte peregerit illo duo
 mandata que Dominus ponit in Matthei xxii* capitulo
 dicit enim ibi sic: Primum et maximum mandatum est
 712 Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo
 713 et cetera; secundum vero
 714 est illud: Diliges proximum tuum sicut
 715 teipsum.
 737 Unde qui diligit
 738 Deum eo modo quo Dominus in Mattheo dicit perfecte
 739 adimplet illa tria mandata que superius ponuntur
 pertinencia ad dilectionem Dei
 740 et que primo expressa fuerunt in Exodo; qui vero
 741 diligit proximum dicit Dominus docet perfecte etiam
 742 adimplet illa vii precepta que pertinent ad dilectionem
 743 proximi que etiam fuerunt expressa in Exodo
 750 quia qui diligit Deum
 751 ex toto corde suo et cetera
 752 perficit tria prima mandata quia neque
 753 ydolatriat neque abutitur nomine Dei neque vilat
 754 festum eius.
 768 Similiter
 769 qui diligit proximum suum sicut seipsum perficit
 770 alia septem mandata que pertinere dixi ad dilectionem
 771 proximi quia parentes honorat sicut ipse
 772 a filiis suis honorari desiderat, et neminem occidit
 sicut ipse a
 773 nemine vallet occidi, et sic de aliis. Patet igitur ex
 774 hiis quia tota virtus illorum x preceptorum
 775 consistit in istis duobus que Dominus expremittit in
 776 Mattheo et quod illa x precepta reducuntur finaliter
 777 ad hec ii mandata.
 Iste liber fuit scriptus anno domini m ccc lix.

Because it is an abridgement, and not another witness to the
 text, I have not included the Graz manuscript in my list of
 variants to the Alphabetum. However, because the Alphabetum did

circulate in an abridged edition, it seems important to note how the original text was shortened. The changes are of several types. The abridger frequently eliminates questions, consolidating several short answers into a single longer one (lines 225-230). Where the original text gives two synonyms linked by seu or vel, the abridger uses a single one (line 500); elaborations following id est or scilicet are frequently omitted (lines 247-248). Often the abridger shortens (lines 145-146) or eliminates (lines 788-791) quotations or attributions (line 138; line 150).

The following five collations should make these various methods of abridgement clear:

Edition (lines 136-150)

Quod autem Deus sit mirabilis in se et in operibus suis, probo utrumque, et primum quia legitur Hester xv circa finem: Valde mirabilis es, Domine, et facies tua plena est gratiarum. ¶ Quod autem sit mirabilis in suis operibus patet per auctoritatem Psalmiste supra memoratam et iterum per Iob qui dicit v capitulo quod Deus facit magna et inscrutabilia et mirabilis absque numero. Tercium probo per Psalmistam qui dicit: Orabit ad te omnis sanctus in tempore oportuno, omnis sanctus, id est, omnis fidelis quia omnis vere fidelis est sanctus; et in Matheo: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur, domus autem Dei est universitas fidelium teste Apostolo ad Thimotheum.

Graz

Quod autem Deus sit mirabilis in se et in suis operibus probo utrumque. Primo patet Hester xv: Valde mirabilis es, Domine; facies tua plena est gratiarum. Quod etiam sit mirabilis in suis operibus patet per Psalmistam mirabilis Deus in omnibus operibus suis et etiam per Iob v capitulo Deus facit magna et inscrutabilia et mirabilia absque numero. 3m probo per illud psalmum: Orabit ad te omnis sanctus et cetera; omnis sanctus, hoc est, omnis fidelis quia omnis verus fidelis est sanctus. ¶ ¶ Matheo: Domus mea domus orationis, domus autem Dei est universitas fidelium.

Edition (lines 224-252)

--Quot sunt illa que perfecte
orans debet proponere?
--Duo in genere.
--Que sunt?
--Primum est captare
benivolenciam rogati.
¶Secundum est recte petere que
petenda sunt ab eodem et
istorum duorum primo docet
dominus facere primum;
secundo, secundum.
--Quot sunt ea quibus Dominus
docet hic captare
benivolenciam Dei?
--Quatuor.
--Que sunt?
--Primum est auctoritas
rogati. ¶Secundum est
subiectio rogantis. ¶Tercium
est dignitas assessorum.
¶Quartum est bona affectio
rogantis.
--Ubi docet ista?
--Primum docet hic cum dicit
pater. ¶Secundum cum dicit
noster. ¶Tercium cum dicit qui
es in celis. ¶Quartum cum
dicit sanctificetur nomen
tuum. Quod sic ostendo: quia
per hoc quod docet deum vocare
patrem denotat ipsum habere
auctoritatem et primineciam
causalitatis respectu nostri.
Per hoc quod dicit noster
denotat subiectionem nostri ad
ipsum. Per hoc quod dicit qui
es in celis denotat comitivam
celestium creaturarum,
scilicet, angelorum et aliorum
beatorum. Per hoc quod dicit
sanctificetur nomen tuum
innuit orantem desiderare
sanctificationem Christi qui
est nomen Dei, hoc est,
divulgationem sanctitatis eius
in populis.

Graz

--Quot sunt illa que perfecte
orans debet proponere?
--Duo in genere.

Primum est captare benivolentia
rogati.
2m est petere recte que petenda
sunt ab eodem et utrumque
istorum docet Dominus Ihesus in
hac oratione facere.

--Quot sunt quibus
docet captare benivolentiam
Dei?
--4or.

Primum est auctoritas
rogati. 2um est
subiectio rogantis. 3um
est dignitas assessorum.
4 est bona affectio
rogantis ad rogatum.

Primum nobis ibi:
pater. 2m ibi:
noster. Tercium: qui
es in celis. Quartum:
sanctificetur nomen
tuum. Quod sic ostendo: quia
per hoc quod docet dicere
patrem docet habere eum
auctoritatem.

Per hoc quod dicit noster
denotat subiectionem nostri.
Per hoc quod dicit qui
es et cetera denotat comitivam.

Per hoc quod dicit
sanctificetur nomen tuum
innuit orantem desiderare
sanctificationem Christi qui
est nomen Dei, hoc est,
divulgationem sanctitatis eius
in populis.¶

Edition (lines 495-514)

--Quot sunt mala quorum remocionem docet ibi Dominus petere?
 --Duo in genere.
 --Que sunt?
 --Primum est malum spirituale tantum. Secundum est malum commune tam corpori quam anime vel spiriti. Primum docet petere cum dicit Et dimitte nobis debita nostra et cetera. Secundum docet petere cum dicit sed libera nos a malo.
 --Quot sunt mala spiritualia quorum remocionem docet ibi Dominus petere?
 --Duo.
 --Que sunt?
 --Primum est malum culpe iam comisse. ¶Secundum est malum inpellens ad comittendum eam. Primum docet petere cum dicit et dimitte nobis debita nostra, id est, culpas quibus obligamur ad penam. Secundum docet petere cum dicit et ne nos inducas in temptationem, illam, scilicet, per quam aliquis labitur in peccatum.

Edition (lines 778-803)

--Postquam tu dicis quod ad hec duo reducuntur illa x precepta, quero a te utrum sufficiat Deum diligere ex toto corde et ex tota anima et ex tota mente?
 --Respondeo et dico quod sic.
 --Contra xii capitulo Marci scriptum est: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota

Graz

--Quot sunt mala quorum remotionem docet Dominus petere?
 --Duo in genere.
 Primum est malum spirituale tantum. 2m est commune tam corpori quam anime. Primum docet cum dicit et dimitte nobis debita nostra. 2m cum dicit sed libera nos a.
 --Quot sunt mala spiritualia quorum remotionem docet Dominus petere?
 --Duo.
 Primum est malum culpe iam comisse. 2m est malum inpellens ad comittendum eam. Primum docet cum dicit et dimitte nobis debita nostra, id est, culpas quibus obligamur ad penam. 2m docet cum dicit et ne nos inducas in temptationem, illam, scilicet, per quam aliquis labitur in peccatum.¶

Graz

--Postquam tu dicis quod ad hec duo reducuntur illa x, quero a te utrum sufficiat Deum diligere ex toto cordo et ex tota anima et ex tota mente?
 --Respondeo, domine, et dico quod sic.
 --¶Contra 12o capitulo Marci scriptum est: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota

mente tua et ex tota virtute tua. Ecce hic beatus Marcus addidit tribus predictis, scilicet, cordi et anime et menti, virtutem. Et iterum x capitulo Luce super eadem materia scribitur: Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex omnibus viribus tuis et ex omni mente tua. Ecce hic expresse beatus Lucas interposuit predictis tribus vires. Ergo videtur quod non sufficiant illa tria et sic videtur quod Matheus fuerit insufficiens aut alii duo superflui. ¶ Iterum si tria sufficiunt ad Deum diligendum, videtur mihi quod illud tertium potius debeat esse virtus quam mens tum quia de virtute sit mentio per Marchum ut dixi tum quia in vi capitulo Deuteronomii ponitur virtus pro tercio illorum que requiruntur ad dilectionem Dei quoniam ibi expresse dicitur: Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota virtute tua et nulla sit ibi mentio expresse de mente.

Edition (lines 1201-1224)

¶ Ad auctoritates autem allegatas, respondimus quod ibi non docetur cor exhiberi deo singulariter, sed principaliter, quia nichil aliud exhibitum deo prodest exhibenti nisi exhibeatur cum sinceritate vel puritate cordis. Sed nichilominus oportet etiam deo alia praeter cor exhibere sicut testatur Apostolus qui dicit: Corde creditur ad iusticiam,

mente tua et ex totis viribus tuis. Ecce hic beatus Marchus addidit tribus predictis

virtutem. Et sicut

beatus Luchas addit ad predicta tria vires. Et sic videtur quod

Matheus fuerit insufficiens vel alii duo superflui. ¶ Iterum si tria tantum sufficiunt ad Deum diligendum, videtur mihi quod id tertium potius debeat esse virtutis quam mens tum quia de virtute sit mentio per Marchum ut dixi tum cum quia vi capitulo Deuteronomii ponitur virtus pro illo tercio que requiruntur ad dilectionem Dei quam ibi expresse dicitur: Diliges dominum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota virtute tua et nulla facit ibi mentionem expresse de mente.

Graz

¶ Ad auctoritates autem allegatas, respondimus quod ibi non docetur animus exhiberi deo singulariter, sed principaliter, quia nichil exhiberi deo prodest exhibenti nisi exhibeatur cum sinceritate vel puritate cordis. Sed nichilominus oportet exhiberi aliquid deo propter cor sicut testatur Apostolus qui dicit: Corde creditur ad iusticiam,

sed ore fit confessio ad salutem. Idem Iacobus testatur qui dicit quod: Fides sine operibus est ociosa, id est, inutilis. Ex quo patet quod ad consequendam salutem eternam non sufficit exibere cor Deo nisi rectitudo cordis operibus confirmetur suo loco et tempore. ¶ Dicitur etiam quod fidelibus non solum est necessarium habere noticiam documentorum sacre scripture, sed etiam propter fidei defensionem sicut patet per beatum Petrum qui dicit: Dominum Iesum Christum sanctificate in cordibus vestris parati ad satisfactionem omni poscenti vos rationem de ea fide et spe que in vobis est, quibus verbis expresse innuit quod non sufficit Deo servire corde, sed etiam necessarium est ut opere serviamus ei.

sed oris confit ad salutem. Idem apostolus Iacobus qui dicit: Fides sine operibus ociosa est, id est, inutilis. Ex quo patet quod ad consequendam eternam salutem non sufficit exibere cor Deo nisi rectitudo cordis operibus conformetur suo loco et tempore. ¶ Dicitur etiam quod fidelibus non solum est necessarium habere noticiam documentorum sacre scripture, sed etiam propter fidei defensionem sicut patet per Petrum qui dicit: Dominum Iesum Christum sanctificate in cordibus vestris parati semper ad satisfactionem omni poscenti vos de ea fide et spe que in vobis est, quibus verbis satis innuit quod non sufficit Deo servire corde, sed etiam necessarium est ut opere serviamus ei.

Chapter 5:

Edition of the Alphabetum Catholicorum

(Vat. Borgh. 205, fols. 9rb-20rb)

(fol. 9rb) Incipit Alfabetum catholicorum ad
inclitum dominum regem Aragonum pro filiis
erudiendis in elementis catholice fidei.

--Es tu fidelis?

5 --Sum, domine.

--Quare dicis te esse fidelem?

--Quia habeo rectam fidem.

--Que est recta fides?

--Fides catholica.

10 --Que est fides catholica?

--Illa quam docet universalis ecclesia Dei.

--Quid docet universalis ecclesia Dei?

--Credere in Deum patrem et cetera.

--Quid est ergo credere?

15 --Credere est assentire per intellectum alicui
assertioni cuius veritas non est cognita credenti
experimento vel ratione.

--Quot sunt ea que docet ecclesia credere?

--Domine, xiiii sunt principalia que vocantur xiiii
20 articuli fidei.

--Quare vocantur xiiii articuli fidei?

--Quia sicut in una manu sunt xiiii articuli ad
sensum distincti, sic in una fide catholica xiiii
credenda principaliter proponuntur.

25 --Quid est articulus fidei?

--Articulus fidei est id quod distincte et
principaliter proponitur ad credendum per ecclesiam
de veritate divina. In summa, ergo, sunt xiiii.

--Qui sunt?

30 --Vii pertinentes ad divinitatem et vii pertinentes
ad humanitatem Christi.

--Qui sunt vii pertinentes ad divi(fol. 9va)nitatem?

--Iiii pertinentes ad naturam divinam et tres
pertinentes ad operationem divinam.

35 --Qui sunt iiii pertinentes ad naturam divinam?

--Unus pertinens ad essenciam divinam et tres
pertinentes ad personas divinas. Necesse est enim
credere quod Deus est unus in essencia et trinus in
personis, et sic ¶primus articulus est credere quod

40 Deus est unus in essencia. ¶Secundus est credere
quod in deitate est persona patris. ¶Tercius est
credere quod in deitate est persona filii
eternaliter geniti a patre. ¶Quartus est credere

quod in deitate est persona Spiritus Sancti
 45 eternaliter procedentis a patre et filio.
 --Qui sunt tres pertinentes ad operationem divinam?
 --Unus pertinens ad opus creationis et alius
 pertinens ad opus iustificationis et alius ad opus
 glorificationis. ¶ Et sic primus istorum trium est
 50 credere quod solus Deus creavit omnia. Secundus est
 credere quod solus Deus iustificat impium remittendo
 ei peccata. Tercius est credere quod solus Deus
 resuscitabit mortuos ad dampnationem impiorum et
 glorificationem iustorum.
 55 --Qui sunt vii pertinentes ad humanitatem Christi?
 --Primus est credere quod Christus in quantum homo
 fuit conceptus de virgine per solam operationem
 Spiritus Sancti. ¶ Secundus est credere in quantum
 homo fuit natus ex illesa virginitate. ¶ Tercius
 60 (fol. 9vb) est credere quod in quantum homo fuit
 crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus. ¶ Quartus est
 credere quod anima eius descendit ad inferos.
 ¶ Quintus est credere quod in quantum homo tertia die
 resurrexit a mortuis. ¶ Sextus est credere quod in
 65 quantum homo ascendit ad celos et sedet ad dexteram
 Dei patris, id est, quiescit in beatitudine vel
 gloria eius. ¶ Septimus est credere quod in quantum
 homo iterum veniet iudicare vivos et mortuos in sua

humanitate.

70 --Quid est Ihesus Christus?

--Ihesus Christus est eternus Dei filius in tempore
natus ex virgine.

--Unde dicitur articulus?

--Ab "arto, artas . . ."

75 --Quare?

--Quia credentem artat vel obligat ad dirigendum
mentem in veritatem divinam.

--Quot sunt signa quibus agnoscitur verus fidelis?

--V.

80 --Que sunt?

--Primum est electio demonorum, id est, pravorum
temptationum a mente propria. ¶Secundum est
innovatio lingue ad loquendum, id est, nova
assuefactio eius ad salubriter et honeste loquendum.

85 ¶Tercium est ablatio serpentum, id est, detestatio
venenosi sermonis procedentis a lingua maledicta.

¶Quartum est illesio a potu mortiferi, id est, non
corrumpi ab auditu venenosi sermonis. ¶Quintum est
sanatio egrorum per imposi(fol. 10ra)cionem manuum,

90 id est, conversio peccatorum vel pravorum hominum per
exempla bonorum operum.

--Qualiter scis tu quod per ista v signa cognoscatur
verus fidelis?

--Quia dominus expresse tangit ea in evangelio beati
95 Marci.

--Ubi?

--In ultimo capitulo evangelii eiusdem cum dicit:
Signa autem eos qui crediderint hec sequuntur:
in nomine meo demonia eicient. Ecce ubi tangit
100 primum. Linguis loquentur novis. Ecce ubi tangit
secundum. Serpentes tollent. Ecce ubi tangit
tercium. Et si quid mortiferum biberint non eis
nocebit. Ecce ubi tangit quartum. Super egros
manus imponent et bene habebunt. Ecce ubi tangit
105 quintum.

--Sufficiuntne ista quinque vero fideli?

--Domine, sufficiunt in quantum fidelis habet
conversari cum proximo suo, sed in quantum habet se
ipsum ordinare ad Deum non sufficiunt.
110 --Quot ergo preter iam dicta sunt neccessaria fideli
prout habet seipsum ordinare ad Deum?

--Domine, tria.

--Que sunt?

--Primum est laudare eum. Secundum est meditari in eo.
115 Tercium est orare ipsum.

--Quare est laudandus?

--Quia bonus.

--Quare est meditandum in eo?

- Quia mirabilis est in se et in omnibus suis
 120 operibus.
- Quare est orandus?
- Quia Deus.
- Proba ista tria.
- Primum probo per Psalmistam (fol. 10rb) qui dicit:
 125 Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus. Secundum probo primo
 per rationem, quoniam res quanto mirabilior tanto
 forcius ad sui considerationem invitat vel allicit
 animam cogitantis, idcirco quia multiplicior est in
 forma vel in virtute. Secundo probo per
 130 auctoritatem Ysaïas dicentis in principio xxv
 capitulo: Fecisti mirabilia cogitationes antiquas
fideles, quibus verbis innuit expresse quod in
 mirabilibus Dei debent cogitationes fidelium
 antiquari vel assiduari. Hoc etiam innuit Psalmista
 135 qui dicit: Mirabilia opera tua, et anima mea
cognoscet nimis, id est, meditabitur valde. ¶ Quod
 autem Deus sit mirabilis in se et in operibus suis
 probo utrumque, et primo primum quia legitur Hester
 xv circa finem: Valde mirabilis es, Domine, et
 140 facies tua plena est gratiarum. ¶ Quod autem sit
 mirabilis in suis operibus patet per auctoritatem
 Psalmiste supra memoratam et iterum per Iob qui dicit
 v capitulo quod Deus facit magna et inscrutabilia

et mirabilia absque numero. Tercium probo per
145 Psalmistam qui dicit: Orabit ad te omnis sanctus
in tempore oportuno, omnis sanctus, id est, omnis
fidelis quia omnis vere fidelis est sanctus. Et
in Matheo: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur,
domus autem Dei est (fol. 10va) universitas fidelium
150 teste Apostolo ad Thimotheum.

--Quot modis est Deus laudandus?

--Tribus.

--Quibus?

--Corde benedicendo. ¶ Ore annunciando. ¶ Opere
155 imitando.

--Proba ista tria.

--Primum probo per Psalmistam qui dicit: Benedic
anima mea Domino, et omnia que intra me sunt nomini
sancto eius. ¶ Secundum probo per eundem qui dicit:
160 Domine, labia mea aperiens, et os meum annunciabit
laudem tuam. ¶ Tercium probo per Apostolum qui dicit:
Estote imitatores Dei sicut filii karissimi,
scilicet, in operibus que subiungit. Quod autem
imitari Deum bonis operibus cedat in laudem eius
165 probo per dominum qui dicit in Matheo: Sic luceat
lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant vestra bona
opera et glorificent patrem vestrum qui est in
celis. Ecce expresse testatur Dominus istis verbis

quod per bona opera fidelium glorificatur Deus ab
 170 hominibus, id est, excellenter et publice laudatur.

--Quot modis meditandum est in eo?

--Quatuor modis principaliter.

--Quibus?

--Primo modo admirando maiestatem eius, non solum
 175 quantum ad trinitatem personarum, sed etiam quantum
 ad puritatem vel simplicitatem essencie et
 infinitatem potencie et claritatem sapientie et
 eternitatem existencie et sic de aliis
 perfectionibus eius. ¶Secundo modo rememorando
 180 beneficia col(fol. 10vb)lata, tam in bonis nature
 quam gratie. ¶Tercio modo contemplando iudicia eius.
 ¶Quarto modo attendendo et expectando promissa
 ipsius.

--Tu dixisti quod Deus est orandus. Quid est
 185 orare?

--Deum rogare cum erectione puri cordis et
 inclinatione corporis.

--Proba.

--Probo per exemplum quod Dominus dedit nobis
 190 instante passione sua, sicut scripsit Matheus cum
 dicit quod: Dominus, progressus pusillum, procidit in
faciem suam, orans et dicens: "Pater mei, si possibile

est, transeat a me calix iste." Ecce, per hec verba
patet expresse quod Dominus orando rogavit patrem
195 corpore inclinato, et est certum quod corde non
deviabat ab eo.

--Quare est certum?

--Quoniam in Domino non poterat cadere fallacia vel
duplicitas falsitatis.

200 --Qua ergo oratione debet rogari Deus?

--Domine, illa quam salvator noster dominus Ihesus
Christus docuit.

--Que est illa?

--Hec, scilicet: Pater noster, qui es in celis, et
205 cetera.

--Qualiter scis tu quod ipse docuerit sic orare?

--Quia sic scriptum est in evangelio beati Mathei.

--Ubi?

--Vi capitulo cum dicitur: Sic vos orabitis:

210 Pater noster, et cetera.

--Quare melius est orando dicere hanc orationem quam
aliam?

--Quia est melior ceteris aliis.

--Quare melior?

215 --Quia dignior. Quia brevior. Quia plenior.

--Quare (fol. 11ra) dignior?

--Quoniam edita est a summo doctore.

--Quare brevior?

--Quia paucioribus verbis exprimit quicquid debet
220 perfecta oratio continere.

--Quare plenior?

--Quia nichil ommittit de hiis que perfecte orans
debet proponere.

--Quot sunt illa que perfecte orans debet proponere?
225 --Duo in genere.

--Que sunt?

--Primum est captare benivolenciam rogati. ¶Secundum
est recte petere que petenda sunt ab eodem. Et
istorum duorum, primo docet Dominus facere primum;
230 secundo, secundum.

--Quot sunt ea quibus Dominus docet hic captare
benivolenciam Dei?

--Quatuor.

--Que sunt?

235 --Primum est auctoritas rogati. ¶Secundum est
subiectio rogantis. ¶Tercium est dignitas
assessorum. ¶Quartum est bona affectio rogantis.

--Ubi docet ista?

--Primum docet hic cum dicit "pater." ¶Secundum, cum
240 dicit "noster." ¶Tercium, cum dicit "qui es in celis."
¶Quartum, cum dicit "sanctificetur nomen tuum."
Quod sic ostendo: quia per hoc quod docet Deum

vocare "patrem" denotat ipsum habere auctoritatem et
 priminenciam causalitatis respectu nostri. Per hoc
 245 quod dicit "noster" denotat subiectionem nostri ad
 ipsum. Per hoc quod dicit "qui es in celis"
 denotat comitivam celestium creaturarum, scilicet,
 angelorum et aliorum beatorum. Per hoc quod dicit
 "sanctificetur nomen tuum" innuit orantem desiderare
 250 sanctificationem Christi qui est (fol. 11rb) nomen
 Dei, hoc est, divulgationem sanctitatis eius in
 populis.

--Tu dixisti quod Christus est nomen Dei. Proba.

--Probo, domine, per Psalmistam qui dicit: Iusti
 255 confitebuntur nomini tuo, et cetera. Ecce hic
 expresse testatur Psalmista quod iusti confitebuntur
 nomini Dei. Sed confessio non fit nisi substantie
 rationali, ergo Psalmista intelligit per nomen Dei
 substantiam rationalem et non vocem qua nominatur
 260 Deus quia talis vox quoddam accidens est, et nullam
 habet cogitationem. Sed substantia rationalis cui
 omnes iusti confitentur non est nisi Christus, ergo,
 per nomen Dei, Psalmista Christum intelligit.

--Proba quod omnes iusti confiteantur Christo.

265 --Probo, domine, per hoc: quia nemo potest esse
 iustus nisi credat in Christum. Et sic omnes iusti

confessione fidei confitentur Christo.

--Quare Christus dicitur nomen Dei?

--Quia sicut per nomen significatur res nominata,
 270 sic per Christum significatur Deus. Ideo quia
 Christus non solum est verus homo, sed verus Deus.

--Tu dixisti quod in illis verbis Iusti
confitebuntur et cetera, Psalmista intelligit per
 nomen Dei Christum, et tamen immediate post dixit:
 275 Habitabunt recti cum vultu tuo. Ergo secundum
 rationem tuam per vultum Dei Christum intelligit,
 quia recti habitant cum Christo per fidem et
 caritatem, sicut iusti confitentur ei (fol. 11va) per
 fidem et caritatem, ut tu dixisti.

280 --Concedo, domine.

--Hoc videtur esse inconueniens quod tu concedis
 quia nomen et vultus sunt diversa, et tamen Christus
 est unus tantum.

--Respondeo, domine, et dico quod non est inconueniens
 285 quod Christus denotetur per diversa diversis
 rationibus, sed si ego dicerem quod denotaretur per
 diversa sub una ratione, procul dubio dicerem
 inconueniens.

--Ostende, ergo, quam differenti ratione denotetur
 290 Christus per nomen et vultum.

--Ostendo, domine, per hoc: quia Christus, ut dixi,
 dicitur nomen Dei prout Deus significatur per ipsum,
 vultus autem Dei convenienter dicitur, prout Deus
 expresse cognoscitur per ipsum. Sicut enim homo
 295 expresse cognoscitur per vultum, sic Deus expresse
 cognoscitur per Christum quoniam in ipso sensibiliter
 fulgent divine perfectiones.

--Tu dixisti quod dominus Ihesus Christus in hac
 oratione pater noster primo docet captare
 300 benivolenciam Dei. Secundo docet recto ordine
 petere que petenda sunt ab eodem, et iterum ostendisti
 quot sunt ea quibus docet captare benivolenciam Dei
 et quibus verbis. Restat, ergo, ut ostendas quot sunt
 ea que docet in hac oratione Dominus petere, et quo
 305 etiam ordine.

--Respondeo, domine, et dico quod duo sunt in genere
 que docet hic petere.

--Que sunt?

--Primo ea que pertinent ad vitam eternam vel que
 310 sunt (fol. 11vb) necessaria petenti ad vivendum
 eternaliter. ¶Secundo ea que necessaria sunt ei ad
 vivendum temporaliter.

--Quot sunt ea que docet petere propter vitam
 eternam?

315 --Tria.

--Que sunt?

--Primum est sanctificatio in presenti vita.

¶Secundum est glorificatio in futura. ¶Tercium est
conformatio nostre voluntatis ad voluntatem divinam
320 quod est commune sanctificationi et glorificationi
quia nemo potest sanctificari nisi conformavit in
omnibus Deo voluntatem suam.

--Ubi docet petere ista tria?

--Primum docet petere cum dicit "sanctificetur nomen
325 tuum." ¶Secundum, cum dicit "adveniat regnum tuum."
¶Tercium, cum dicit "fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo
et in terra." Que tria sic declaro: cum dicit
orans "sanctificetur nomen tuum" convenienter petit
huiusmodi verbis ut ipse sanctificetur quoniam ipse in
330 quantum est creatura et maxime rationalis est nomen
Dei. Sicut enim conceptus humane mentis in homine
manifestatur vel exprimitur per nomen seu per vocem
significativam ad placitum, sic et conceptus divine
mentis manifestatur vel exprimitur per quamlibet
335 creaturam et maxime per hominem qui est ad ymaginem
Dei factus. Sicut enim voces ab homine proferuntur
in signum conceptus humane mentis, sic et creature
producuntur a Deo in signum conceptus Dei et
secundum (fol. 12ra) hanc rationem, omnis creatura

340 est vox Dei. Propter hoc Iohannes Babtista, sicut
 legitur in primo Iohannis, dixit de seipso: Ego vox
clamantis in deserto. Unde cum orans dicit
 "sanctificetur nomen tuum," in quantum per hec verba
 intendit aliquid a Deo petere, sensus est illorum
 345 verborum iste, scilicet: "michi qui sum nomen tuum
 tribue sanctitatem." ¶Quando vero dicit: "Adveniat
 regnum tuum," petit glorificari eternaliter vel in
 celis, quia regnum Dei est gloria eterna sive
 celestis. ¶Quando vero dicit "fiat voluntas tua
 350 sicut in celo et in terra," petit ut ei det gratiam
 conformandi voluntatem suam Deo, sicut beati qui sunt
 in celis habent conformem voluntatem cum eo, quasi
 diceret: "sic facias me conformare voluntatem meam
 tue, sicut habitantes in celo tecum habent eam
 355 conformem tue."

--Tu dicis quod per hec verba "sanctificetur nomen
 tuum," docet Dominus orantem petere sanctificationem
 sui; sed ante, dixisti quod per eadem verba docet
 captare benivolenciam Dei adoptando divulgationem
 360 sanctitatis Christi. Sed ista duo sunt diversa quia
 primum pertinet ad captandum benivolenciam et
 secundum ad petendum necessaria; ergo, videris
 inconvenienter exposuisse, cum eadem verba diversis

in(fol. 12rb)entionibus adaptaveris.

365 --Respondeo, domine, et dico quod non est inconueniens
eadem verba diversis intentionibus adaptare secundum
diversos respectus vel rationes, et sic ego feci quia
ostendi quod hoc vocabulum "nomen" diversis rationibus
denotat Christum et creaturam orantem, et ideo verba
370 predicta convenienter possunt servire vel adaptari
diversis intentionibus orantis que fuerunt expresse
obiciendo.

--Ex verbis tuis colligitur quod fuerit de
intentione salvatoris quod verba iam dicta servirent
375 duabus intentionibus orantis, sed ipse qui doctor est
eternus et omnia in sapientia operatur, nichil facit
frustra, sed cum invincibili ratione. Ostende ergo
rationem propter quam ordinavit ut illa verba
servirent utrique intentioni predictae.

380 --Respondeo et dico quod sic fieri ordinavit ut
nobis innueret quod unum et idem est in genere id
per quod divulgatur sanctitas Christi in populis et
id per quod sanctificatur orans vel quilibet
fidelis.

385 --Quod est illud?

--Splendor virtutum. Per virtutes enim quibus
splenduit Christus in se et in suis sequacibus,
divulgatur eius sanctitas per orbem terrarum, et per

easdem virtutes, sanctificantur sequaces eius.

390 --Quot (fol. 12va) sunt ille virtutes?

--Domine, vii sunt principales.

--Que sunt?

--Tres que dicuntur theologicæ, et quatuor que dicuntur morales.

395 --Que sunt theologicæ?

--Fides, spes, karitas.

--Quid est fides?

--Fides est virtus per quam animus fidelis adquiescit firmiter et simpliciter veritati divine

400 supernaturaliter hominibus revelate.

--Quid est spes?

--Spes est virtus per quam animus fidelis erigitur ad sperandum constanter bona supernaturaliter a Deo promissa.

405 --Quid est karitas?

--Karitas est virtus per quam Deum diligimus propter se et proximum propter Deum.

--Quare dicuntur theologicæ?

--Quia specialiter pertinet earum consideratio ad
410 scientiam vel sapientiam que theologia dicitur a theos quod est "Deus" et logos quod est "sermo" quasi "divinus sermo," id est, consideratio vel scientia de veritate communicata per solam doctrinam Dei.

--Quot sunt virtutes morales?

415 --Domine, iiii sunt principales.

--Que sunt?

--Prudencia, iusticia, fortitudo, temperancia.

--Vocanturne aliter?

--Domine, sic, scilicet, cardinales.

420 --Quare dicuntur cardinales?

--Quia sicut porta volvitur ordinate supra cardinem,
sic vita humana deducitur ordinate per istas iiii
virtutes.

--Quid est prudencia?

425 --Prudencia est virtus per quam discernuntur bona a
malis (fol. 12vb) et bona ad invicem et mala ad
invicem.

--Quid est iusticia?

--Iusticia est virtus per quam redditur unicuique

430 quod suum est.

--Quid est fortitudo?

--Fortitudo est virtus per quam animus roboratur ad
spemendum terribilia et ad sustinendum difficilia.

--Quid est diffinitio temperancie?

435 --Temperancia est virtus per quam conpescuntur
illiciti motus animi.

--Postquam tu dicis quod quelibet illarum vii est
virtus, quero a te, quid est virtus in communi?

--Dico, domine, quod virtus est laudabilis qualitas
 440 vel habitus animi faciens habentem operari bonum
 delectabiliter et faciliter cum voluerit.

--Tu dixisti quod vii virtutibus enumeratis et
 descriptis a te splenduit Christus et splendent
 sequaces eius. Ergo videris innuere quod in
 445 splendore virtutum sint equales Christo quicumque
 secuntur eum, quod videtur esse inconueniens quia
 nunquam servi equales sunt domino.

--Respondeo, domine, et dico quod splendere
 virtutibus iam expressis, licet sit commune Christo
 450 et sequacibus eius, non tamen propter hoc debet
 intelligi quod equaliter eis conveniat, sicut sol
 et luna splendent eadem luce, non tamen equaliter.
 Unde non dixi quod equaliter splendeant, sed quod in
 splendore predictarum virtutum conveniunt. Unde dico
 455 (fol. 13ra) quod Christus splenduit in virtutibus
 sicut sol; sequaces autem ipsius splendent in eis
 sicut luna. Quod sic declaro quia luna non splendet
 nisi per lucem a sole communicatam, sic et sequaces
 Christi non splendent nisi per virtutes a Christo
 460 comunicatas. ¶ Iterum, quia sicut sol splendet luce
 quam communicat lune excellencius quam luna, sic et
 Christus excellencius splenduit in omnibus

virtutibus quas credentibus in eum communicat.

Unde tam in illis vii quas dixi, quam etiam in aliis
465 ipse perfectissime splenduit, sed alii secundum
mensuram ab eo concessam.

--Ergo videris innuere quod alie sint virtutes quam
vii enumerate.

--Certe, domine, sic. Ego enim non enumeravi
470 virtutes nisi necessarias ad salutem eternam quibus
fidelis efficitur gratus Deo. Set alie sunt
virtutes, ut est sapientia et profetia et virtutes
faciendi miracula, in quibus omnibus splenduit
Christus excellencius ceteris aliis, tum quia non
475 solum presencia, sed etiam preterita et futura
perfecte noscit, tum quia miracula vel opera supra
naturam auctoritate propria et imperio proprie
potestatis semper est operatus. Sequaces autem
ipsius nunquam habuerunt noticiam omnium
480 preteritorum aut futurorum nec operati sunt aut
operari possunt miracula, nisi in nomine (fol. 13rb)
vel invocatione ipsius.

--Quot sunt ea que docet petere propter vitam
temporalem?

485 --Duo in genere.

--Que sunt?

--Primum est collatio boni necessarii principaliter

ad sustentationem vite presentis. ¶Secundum est
remotio mali possibilis accidere nobis in presenti
490 vita. Primum docet petere cum dicit "Panem nostrum
cotidianum da nobis hodie." Per panem enim qui est
principalis materia nutrimenti denotat quidquid
necessarium est ad fomentum nostrum. ¶Secundum docet
petere cum dicit "Et dimitte nobis debita nostra."
495 --Quot sunt mala quorum remocionem docet ibi Dominus
petere?
--Duo in genere.
--Que sunt?
--Primum est malum spirituale tantum. Secundum est
500 malum commune tam corpori quam anime vel spiritui.
Primum docet petere cum dicit "Et dimitte nobis
debita nostra," et cetera. Secundum docet petere cum
dicit "Sed libera nos a malo."
--Quot sunt mala spiritualia quorum remocionem docet
505 ibi dominus petere?
--Duo.
--Que sunt?
--Primum est malum culpe iam comisse. ¶Secundum est
malum inpellens ad comittendum eam. Primum docet
510 petere cum dicit "Et dimitte nobis debita nostra,"
id est, culpas quibus obligamur ad penam. Secundum
docet petere cum dicit "Et ne nos inducas in

temptationem," illam, scilicet, per quam aliquis
labi(fol 13va)tur in peccatum.

515 --Tu dixisti quod Dominus in hac oratione primo
docet ut petatur remotio mali spiritualis vel anime,
secundo vero mali communis corpori et anime. Iste
petitiones videntur inconvenienter ordinari quia
communia priora sunt propriis vel particularibus.

520 Ergo videtur quod Dominus in hac oratione non
servaverit ordinem rectum in doctrina petitionis
istorum.

--Respondeo, domine, et dico quod Dominus
rectissime ordinavit illas petitiones secundum

525 considerationem necessariam nostre saluti. Licet
enim secundum considerationem communis et proprii
vel generalis et particularis debuissent sicut vos
dicitis ordinari, tamen secundum considerationem
dignioris et minus digni possunt ordinari sicut
530 dominus ordinavit. Anima enim dignior est quam
corpus. Voluit ergo Dominus ut primo peteremus
remotionem malorum anime quam mali communis utrique
ad denotandum quod magis debemus curare de bono
anime quam de bono corporis, et sic patet qualiter ab
535 eterno doctore nichil procedit inordinatum.

--Contra, Dominus in oratione proposita exprimit tres

primas petitiones absque aliqua copula cum dicit
 "Sanctificetur nomen tuum, adveniat regnum tuum,
 fiat voluntas tua," et cetera. Quatuor vero ultimas
 540 exprimit coniugendo per (fol. 13vb) dictionem
 copulativam cum dicit "Panem nostrum cotidianum da
 nobis hodie et dimitte nobis," et sic de aliis.
 --Respondeo, domine, et dico quod non est
 inordinatum vel ineptum quod sit cum verissima
 545 ratione, sicut Dominus fecit in petitionibus
 nominatis. In primis enim tribus petitionibus
 nominatis que pertinent ad vitam eternam, noluit
 ponere copulativam coniunctionem ad denotandum quod
 bona eterna possidentur simul et non successive, sed
 550 in petitionibus que pertinent ad vitam temporalem,
 posuit coniunctiones ad innuendum expresse quod bona
 temporalia divisim possidentur aut successive.

--Tu dixisti quod Deus est orandus. Ad quid prodest
 orare?

555 --Ad consequendum plures utilitates.

--Quot sunt?

--Quatuor sunt principales.

--Que sunt?

--Prima est mereri gratiam salutis eterne. Oratio
 560 enim, in quantum est actus karitatis, est meritoria

salutis eterne. ¶Secunda est impetrare quod petitur.
 Nam oratio, in quantum est actus preordinatus a
 Deo ad postulandum salubria sive iusta, est
 impetratoria optati quod Deus inspirat. ¶Tercia est
 565 satisfacere de commissis. Nam oratio, in quantum est
 unus de actibus penitencie, est satisfactoria pro
 delicto; qui enim offendit (fol. 14ra) Deum
 satisfacit ei aliquantulum quando per orationem se
 humiliat coram eo. ¶Quarta est reficere intellectum.
 570 Nam oratio, in quantum est sermo continens sacrum
 colloquium, quasi divino documento pascit animum
 orantis attente. Et sic est rectoria quarto modo.
 --Tu dixisti in diffinitione karitatis quod Deus est
 amandus propter se et proximus, propter Deum. Quare
 575 est Deus amandus propter se?
 --Quia est summum bonum quod sic ostendo: quia Deus
 non solum est bonus imo proprie est ipsa bonitas. Si
 enim esset bonus proprie, esset bonus per bonitatem
 et sic bonitas esset melior eo. Cum autem nichil
 580 sit melius Deo, necesse est quod ipse sit summum
 bonum quod est bonitas infinita. Sed nichil
 diligitur nisi quia bonum, ergo rationabile est quod
 Deus per se diligatur, cum sit per se bonum.
 --Quare est diligendus proximus propter Deum?
 585 --Propter duo.

--Que sunt?

--Primum est quia Deus eum precipit diligere. Unde si quis voluerit diligere Deum necesse est ut preceptum Dei adimpleat, sicut dominus testatur in
 590 Iohane cum dicit: Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit. Sed Deus precepit diligere proximum, ergo necesse est ut diligatur precepto ipsius. Unde cum diligitur precepto Dei, diligitur propter Deum. ¶Secundum (fol. 14rb) etiam est diligendus propter
 595 Deum quia id propter quod proximus est diligibilis est totum a Deo. Quod sic declaro: quia nemo est diligibilis nisi propter bonum quod habet in se, sed omne bonum quod in se habet quilibet proximus est a Deo. Ergo, quilibet est diligibilis propter bonum
 600 Dei quod relucet in eo. Et sic patet quod, cum nichil boni habeat in se propter quod sit diligibilis quin totum sit a Deo, solum diligendus est propter Deum.

--Tu dicis quod totum bonum propter quod proximus est diligibilis est a Deo. Declara ista.

605 --Declaro, domine, sic, quia omne bonum quod est in proximo aut est bonum nature aut est bonum gratie, sed utrumque est a Deo. Ergo patet propositum.

--Proba quod utrumque sit a Deo.

--Probo per hoc, quia Deus est conditor nature

610 humane, scilicet, tam corporis quam anime. De anima
 enim humana certum est, non solum per theologiam, sed
 etiam per philosophiam quod per solam creationem
 in esse producitur quando infunditur corpori. De
 corpore vero expresse dicit Psalmista: Qui finxit
 615 singillatim corda eorum et cetera, et iterum alibi:
In te proiectus sum ex utero et cetera et iterum
 alibi: Tu formasti me, et cetera, et iterum Iob:
In utero fecit me, scilicet, Deus, et formavit me in
vulva. De bonis etiam tam nature quam (fol. 14va)
 620 gratie dicit Apostolus: Quid habes quod non
accepisti, per quod expresse testatur quod nullus
 habet in se bonum nisi a Deo collatum. Iterum etiam
 de utroque bono expresse Iacobus testatur qui dicit:
Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum
 625 est descendens a patre luminum. Sed datum optimum est
 bonum nature, et donum perfectum est bonum gratie,
 ergo, omne bonum hominis est a Deo.

--Proba quod datum optimum sit bonum nature.

--Probo, domine, per id quod dicitur in Genesi de
 630 rebus in esse productis quantum ad naturam,
 scilicet: Vidit Deus cuncta que fecerat, et erant
valde bona. Sed valde bonum et optimum idem sunt,
 ergo patet propositum.

--Proba quod donum perfectum sit bonum gratie.

635 --Probo per hoc: quia donum perfectum est quod
perficit hominem. Homo autem est perfectus quando
habet complementum bonitatis. Bonitas vero completa
est illa per quam efficitur homo gratus vel placens
Deo. Talis autem bonitas est bonitas gratie,
640 scilicet, virtutum, et sic patet quod donum perfectum
est bonum gratie facientis gratum.

--Tu dixisti quod necesse est ut volens diligere
Deum adimpleat eius precepta. Dic, ergo, quot sunt
precepta Dei.

645 --Respondeo, domine, et dico quod precepta Dei
particularia plura sunt secundum multitudinem eorum
que convenit (fol. 14vb) nos agere propter salutem
nostram, et hec non possum ego enumerare. Sed
precepta universalialia ad que cetera reducuntur sunt
650 pauca, et ideo michi nota.

--Quot sunt ergo precepta universalialia Dei?

--Domine, duo sunt in genere et decem in specie.

--Que sunt duo in genere?

--Discedere a malo et facere bonum. Sic enim
655 dicitur per Psalmistam: Discede a malo et fac
bonum.

--Que sunt x secundum speciem?

--Domine, tria pertinentia ad dilectionem Dei et vii

pertinencia ad dilectionem proximi.

660 --Que sunt tria pertinencia ad dilectionem Dei?

--Duo negativa et unum affirmativum.

--In quo differt negativum ab affirmativo?

--In hoc, domine: quia per negativum prohibetur fieri malum vel precipitur evitari. Per

665 affirmativum vero precipitur fieri bonum.

--Que sunt ergo duo negativa que dicis pertinere ad dilectionem Dei?

--Domine, primum est preceptum vitandi ydolatriam, cum dicitur: Non habebis Deos alienos nec facies

670 tibi sculptile, et cetera.

--Quid est ydolatria?

--Ydolatria vel ydolatrare nichil aliud est nisi attribuere vel exhibere creature quod soli convenit creatori, scilicet, honorem in adorando vel fidem in

675 credendo, aut cuncta similia que pertinent solum ad cultum Dei.

--Quod est secundum preceptum (fol. 15ra) pertinens ad dilectionem Dei, ut tu dixisti.

--Domine, secundum preceptum est illud per quod
680 prohibetur abusus nominis Dei seu periurando seu aliter utendo ipso in vanitatibus, cum dicitur: Non assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum.

--Quod est tercium quod dicis esse affirmativum?

--Domine, tercium pertinens ad dilectionem Dei est
 685 illud per quod precipitur coli vel celebrari
 sabbatum, hoc est, dies deputata solum ad cultum vel
 laudem Dei, cum dicitur: Memento ut diem sabbati
sanctifices, id est, in sanctitate celebres ad
 honorem vel cultum Dei.

690 --Que sunt vii pertinencia ad dilectionem proximi?

--Domine, unum affirmativum et vi negativa.

--Quod est affirmativum?

--Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam ut sis longevus
super terram.

695 --Que sunt vi negativa?

--Non occides. Ecce primum. Non mecaberis, id
 est, non fornicaberis. Ecce secundum. Non furtum
facies. Ecce tercium. Non loqueris contra
proximum tuum falsum testimonium. Ecce quartum.

700 Non concupisces domum proximi tui, hoc est, rem
 cognitione carentem vel immobilem. Ecce quintum.
Non desiderabis uxorem eius aut servum aut ancillam
aut bovem aut asinum, et cetera. Ecce sextum.

--Unde scis tu quod ista sunt x (fol. 15rb)

705 precepta Dei specialia?

--Domine, quia sicut enumeravi et explicui, sic
 scribuntur in xx capitulo Exodi ubi Moyses recitat

predicta x fuisse a Deo communicata populo Isrelis
per eundem, scilicet, Moysen.

710 --Contra, Dominus dicit xxii capitulo Mathei quod
primum et maximum mandatum est istud, scilicet:
Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex
tota anima tua et ex tota mente tua; secundum vero
est istud, scilicet: Diliges proximum tuum sicut
715 teipsum. Set tu dixisti quod primum mandatum est
non ydolatrare, et secundum, non assumere nomen Dei in
vanum. Ergo, aut tu vel Moyses inconvenienter
exprimitis primum et secundum mandatum, aut Dominus
in evangelio Mathei, quod est nephas de Domino
720 dicere.

--Respondeo, domine, et dico quod neutrum dictum est
inconveniens, immo ambo concordant secundum rationem
quia loquendo de preceptis Dei quantum ad ea que
specialiter prohibentur aut precipiuntur, primum et
725 secundum mandatum sunt ea que dixi; sed loquendo de
preceptis Dei quantum ad finalem rationem ipsorum,
non sunt nisi illa duo que dominus exprimit in
Matheo. Quod sic declaro: quia finis vel finalis
intencio preceptorum Dei non est nisi dilectio Dei
730 et proximi, sicut Apostolus testatur qui dicit (fol. 15va)
prima epistola ad Thimotheum primo quod Finis
precepti est karitas, et iterum xiii ad Romanos quod

Plenitudo legis est dilectio. Et ideo dixi ante
 quod x preceptorum tria pertinebant ad dilectionem
 735 Dei et vii ad dilectionem proximi et tam illorum
 trium quam illorum vii virtutem seu finem exprimit
 dominus in evangelio supradicto. Unde qui diligit
 Deum eo modo quo dicit Dominus perfecte adimplet
 illa tria mandata que pertinent ad dilectionem Dei,
 740 et que primo fuerunt expressa in Exodo; qui vero
 diligit proximum sicut Dominus docet perfecte
 adimplet illa vii que pertinent ad dilectionem
 proximi, et fuerunt secundo expressa. Et sic patet
 quod non est inconueniens ut sint x, sicut ego dixi
 745 et in Exodo legitur, et duo, sicut Dominus tetigit in
 Matheo, quoniam illa x, ut dixi, virtualiter sive
 finaliter ad illa duo que dominus tetigit reducuntur.
 --Ostende, ergo, qualiter illa x reducuntur ad ista
 duo.
 750 --Ostendo, domine, per hoc: quia qui diligit Deum
 ex toto corde suo et ex tota anima sua et ex tota
 mente sua perficit prima tria mandata quia neque
 ydolatriat, neque abutitur nomine Dei, neque violat
 festum eius, cuius ratio est quia omnes vires suas
 755 dirigit (fol 15vb) in Deum, scilicet, desiderium
 quod per cor designatur. Nam sicut cor est
 principium motus corporalis, sic desiderium est

principium motus spiritualis. ¶Dirigit etiam in Deum
omnia opera vite sue que per animam designantur, quoniam
760 nemo vivit nec exercet actum vite nisi per animam.
¶Dirigit etiam in Deum totam cognitionem interiorum
que per mentem designatur. Ad mentem enim pertinet
intelligere et memorari et etiam largo modo
ymaginari et estimare. Unde qui diligit Deum
765 predictis modis, scilicet, toto desiderio et tota
cognitione et tota operatione, non transgreditur
aliquod illorum trium preceptorum que primo dixi
pertinere ad dilectionem Dei. ¶Similiter dico quod
qui diligit proximum suum sicut seipsum perficit
770 alia vii mandata que dixi pertinere ad dilectionem
proximi quia parentes honorat, sicut ipse vellet
honorari a filiis suis; et neminem occidit, sicut a
nemine vellet occidi, et sic de aliis. Patet ergo ex
hiis quod tota virtus illorum x preceptorum
775 consistit in istis duobus que dominus exprimit per
Matheum, et quod illa x reducuntur finaliter ad hec
ii.

--Postquam tu dicis quod ad hec duo reducuntur illa
x precepta, quero a te utrum sufficiat Deum diligere
780 ex toto corde et ex (fol 16ra) tota anima et ex tota
mente?

--Respondeo, et dico quod sic.

--Contra, xii capitulo Marci scriptum est: Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima
 785 tua et ex tota mente tua et ex tota virtute tua.

Ecce hic beatus Marcus addidit tribus predictis, scilicet, cordi et anime et menti, virtutem. Et iterum x capitulo Luce super eadem materia scribitur: Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex
 790 tota anima tua et ex omnibus viribus tuis et ex omni mente tua. Ecce hic expresse beatus Lucas interposuit predictis tribus vires. Ergo, videtur quod non sufficiant illa tria, et sic videtur quod Matheus fuerit insufficiens aut alii duo

795 superflui. ¶ Iterum, si tria tantum sufficiunt ad Deum diligendum, videtur michi quod illud tercium potius debeat esse virtus quam mens, tum quia de virtute sit mentio per Marchum, ut dixi, tum quia in vi capitulo Deuteronomii, ponitur virtus pro tercio illorum que
 800 requiruntur ad dilectionem Dei quoniam ibi expresse dicitur: Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota virtute tua, et nulla sit ibi mentio expresse de mente.

--Respondeo, domine, ad hec duo, et primo ad primum
 805 dicendo quod nec Matheus est diminutus nec alii evangeliste superflui quoniam illa (fol. 16rb) tria

que tanguntur per Matheum continent secundum rationem
 illud quartum quod additur ab aliis. Quod sic
 declaro: Quia qui diligit Deum ex tota anima sua
 810 proprie loquendo de anima diligit ex omnibus
 potentiis sive ex omnibus viribus sive ex tota
 virtute, nam anima est principium omnium virium vel
 omnium virtutum humanarum. Unde quantum ad rationem
 sufficit illud quod dicit Matheus, tamen ad maiorem
 815 expressionem Marchus et Lucas addiderunt alia,
 scilicet, virtutem et vires, per que nichil aliud
 designatur nisi efficacia, tanquam si vellent
 dicere: Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo,
 ex tota anima tua, et ex tote mente tua et ex tota
 820 efficacia tua. Unde Marchus et Lucas addiderunt
 efficaciam predictis tribus, non ad denotandum quod
 alia quam illa tria sint instrumenta dilectionis
 divine quantum ad humanam potenciam, quoniam sub efficacia
 diligendi comprehenduntur illa tria expressa per
 825 Matheum et sub illis comprehenditur efficacia, set
 ideo addiderunt efficaciam tanquam quartum ut per
 hoc expressius denotarentur rationes propter quas
 Deus est diligendus et conditiones quibus est
 diligendus quoniam et rationes sunt iiii et conditiones
 830 (fol 16va) sunt iiii.
 --Que sunt rationes iiii propter quas Deus est

diligendus?

--Domine, prima est quia est creator. ¶Secunda, quia est conservator. ¶Tercia, quia est redemptor.

835 ¶Quarta, quia est glorificator.

--Proba quod Deus sit diligendus propter istas iiii rationes.

--Probo, domine, per Psalmistam qui dicit: Diligam te, Domine, fortitudo mea. Ecce ubi tangit

840 beneficium creationis quia nulla operatio fortior quam creare quod est proprie aliquid de nichilo in esse producere, et per hoc differt a generare et facere quia generare est proprie aliquid de aliquo in esse producere; facere vero est ad utrumque

845 commune. Dominus firmamentum meum. Ecce ubi tangit beneficium conservationis per quod firmamur in esse. Et refugium meum. Ecce ubi tangit beneficium redemptionis vel iustificationis quia, in periculis culparum nostrarum, solus ipse est refugium

850 nostrum, redimens nos a captivitate diaboli. Et liberator meus. Ecce ubi tangit beneficium glorificationis quoniam per eam liberatur homo ab omni tribulatione sive miseria.

--Que sunt conditiones iiii quibus Deus est

855 diligendus?

--Domine, prima est ut diligatur sapienter quod

denotatur cum dicitur ex toto corde tuo quia, ut ait Augustinus, sensus est ut diligatur intellectu sine errore, quod non faciunt heretici.

860 ¶Secunda conditio est ut diligatur ferventer et hoc denotatur cum dicitur ex tota anima tua quia, ut ait Augustinus, sensus est ex voluntate sine contradictione, quod non faciunt tepidi.

¶Tertia conditio ut diligatur fortiter seu
865 efficaciter quod denotatur per vires aut per virtutem, hoc est, ut parati simus amore ipsius agredi ardua et pati terribilia, quod non faciunt timidi. ¶Quarta conditio ut diligatur perseveranter quod denotatur per totam mentem quia, ut ait

870 Augustinus, cum dicitur ex tota mente sensus est ex tota memoria sine oblivione, quod non faciunt inconstantes.

--Responde ad secundum.

--Respondeo, et dico quod quantum ad rationem tantum
875 valet dicere quod Deus diligatur tota mente, intelligendo per mentem, totam cognitionem interiorem, quantum si diceretur tota virtute. Sed quia sub nomine "virtutis" comprehenditur efficacia vel fortitudo, ideo Moyses, qui loquebatur populo timido et carnali
880 consideranti tantummodo sensibilia, dixit: Diliges tota virtute, et non tota mente. Sed nichilominus

tantum valet hoc modo dicere quantum illo.

--Videtur esse impossibile quod Deus diligatur in
presenti vita tota mente vel toto corde et cetera
885 quoniam cor vel mens ad multa necessaria distrahitur
tota die propter defectus humane nature.

--(fol.17ra)Respondeo, domine, et dico quod loquendo
de totalitate vie possibile est Deum diligere
tota mente vel toto corde. Sed loquendo de
890 totalitate patrie non est possibile.

--Que est totalitas vie?

--Totalitas vie est totalitas pertinens ad
presentem vitam in qua sumus viatores, et hic
diligitur Deus totaliter quando nichil sit
895 contrarium ei, scilicet, quando diligens amore
ipsius cavet sibi omnino a peccato mortali. Sic enim
diliget Deum quod nullo modo comitteret peccatum
mortale quod est contrarium Deo quia directe
contrariatur caritati.

900 --Que est totalitas patrie?

--Illa que pertinet ad statum beatorum in qua
diligens Deum nichil facit dissonum ei, sicut est
peccatum veniale quod in presenti vita non potest
omnino vitari propter infirmitatem nostram, et ideo
905 per ipsum retardatur hic fervor caritatis. Sed in
patria, ubi tota nostra infirmitas erit absorpta,

fervebit ad plenum caritas et continuo, quia nec
peccato veniali nec aliqua infirmitate vel defectu
nostro fervor eius poterit impediri.

910 --Postquam exposuisti preceptum dilectionis Dei,
rogo te ut exponas preceptum dilectionis proximi, et
specialiter ut ostendas quid sit diligere proximum
sicut seipsum. (fol. 17rb) Videtur enim michi
quod si dilexero proximum quantum meipsum, aut minus
915 diligam Deum quam preceptum sit, aut tantum diligam
proximum quantum Deum. Sed utrumque videtur esse
inconveniens.

--Respondeo, domine, et dico quod Deus non precepit
quod aliquis diligat proximum quantum se, quia hoc
920 preceptum esset irrationabile quoniam bonum separatum
non potest tantum diligi quantum coniunctum. Sed
precepit ut quisque diligeret proximum sicut se, nam
per hoc adverbium "sicut" non importatur quantitas vel
mensura dilectionis, sed similitudo. Unde sicut
925 quisque diligit seipsum, aut debet diligere
secundum rationem dilectionem iustam et rectam et
sanctam et operosam, sic debet diligere proximum.

--Que est dilectio iusta?

--Illa per quam diligens vult bonum dilecto. Unde
930 sicut quisque diligendo se vult sibi bonum, sic debet
diligere proximum propter bonum eius, non propter

usum vel propter utilitatem sui.

--Que est dilectio recta?

--Illa per quam diligens vult vel appetit dilecto

935 semper maiora bona. Unde sicut quisque

diligendo se vellet potius esse sapiens aut

virtuosus quam dives in bonis temporalibus, ita

similiter debet velle de proximo.

--Que est dilectio sancta?

940 --Illa per quam diligens vult (fol. 17va) bonum

dilecto in ordine ad Deum. Unde sicut quisque

diligendo se vult sibi bonum per quod placeat Deo,

similiter debet velle de proximo.

--Que est dilectio operosa?

945 --Illa per quam non solum diligens corde vult bonum

dilecto vel appetit, sed etiam opere procurat. Unde sicut

quisque non solum appetit sibi bonum, sed etiam procurat

cum potest, ita similiter debet de proximo facere.

--Tu dixisti quod nemo diligit bonum separatum

950 tantum quantum coniunctum, neque tenetur ad hoc. Ergo

videtur quod nemo teneatur tantum diligere Deum

quantum seipsum, cum sit Deus separatus ab homine,

sicut proximus a proximo.

--Respondeo, domine, et dico quod Deus quantum ad

955 distinctionem essencie separatus est ab unaquaque

creatura quia alia est essencia Dei et alia est
essencia creature, sicut unusquisque proximus est
distinctus vel separatus ab alio per propriam
substantiam. Sed tamen quantum ad actum essendi vel
960 existendi, Deus non est separatus a creatura imo est
intimus ei, et nichil ipsa creatura habet intimius
quam ipsum Deum quantum ad influenciam essendi, quia
totum esse et totum bonum quod habet creatura est
vel procedit a plenitudine Creatoris, ita quod si
965 unico momento subtraheretur (fol. 17vb) creature
influentia Creatoris confestim in nichilum verteretur.
Et ideo quisque debet Deum diligere super omnia et
plus quam omnia et etiam plus quam se, cum in se ipso
nichil boni habeat vel habere possit quin sit a Deo.
970 --Ad huc dubito circa predicta propter hoc: quia, cum
Deus et proximus sint diversa, videtur mihi quod nemo
possit simul perficere dilectionem Dei et proximi.
--Respondeo, domine, et dico quod simul possunt
perfici simultate habitus quoniam uno habitu caritatis,
975 ut supra dixi, diligitur Deus propter se et proximus
propter ipsum. Sed loquendo de simultate actus vel
temporis mensurantis diversos actus dilectionis,
quandoque adimplentur ille dilectiones simul
quandoque separatim, quia quandoque in actu
980 dilectionis fertur intentio tantum in Deum quandoque

vero in proximum propter Deum, et hoc dico loquendo
 de aliis proximis a Christo, quia in Christo semper
 perficiuntur ambo precepta dilectionis, ideo quia
 ipse est Deus et proximus. Unde qui perfecte diligit
 985 Christum, perfecte adimplet ambo precepta
 dilectionis.

--Quomodo dicis tu quod Christus est proximus cum
 sit Deus?

--Dico, domine, quod Christus est proximus noster
 990 secundum omnem acceptionem proximitatis, quia, ex
 parte humane nature quam habet, est proximus noster
 idemtitate nature vel (fol. 18ra) speciei, sicut est
 proximus unusquisque cuilibet alii. Quod patet per
 Augustinum qui dicit super illo verbo: Diliges

995 proximum tuum sicut teipsum quod per proximum
 debemus intelligere quemlibet hominem. ¶ Iterum etiam
 est nobis proximus religione; illi enim qui sunt
 unius religionis aut secte proximi vocantur.

Secundum quam acceptionem dicitur per Psalmistam in
 1000 persona Christi: Proximi mei adversus me
loquebantur; proximos suos vocabat iudeos qui
 loquebantur adversus Christum, qui erat iudeus. Unde
 et Christus unius et eiusdem religionis est cum
 omnibus Christianis, quia caput est Christiane
 1005 religionis. ¶ Iterum etiam est nobis proximus

compassione; sic enim accipitur proximus tercio
 modo, sicut patet in Luca ubi dicitur de vulnerato a
 latronibus quod proximus illi fuit qui fecit in
 illum misericordiam, quamuis non fuisset eiusdem
 1010 religionis cum eo. Sic et Christus fecit in nobis
 misericordiam summam, quia compaciendo nobis tradidit
 corpus suum morti ut nos a morte perpetua liberaret.
 ¶ Iterum etiam possumus dicere quod ipse est proximus
 noster cognatione vel parentela saltem spirituali
 1015 quia Christus dicit in Luca: Oui facit voluntatem
patris mei, hic pater meus et mater mea et frater
meus et soror mea est. Et sic patet quod perfecte
 diligendo Christum simul (fol. 18rb) perficiuntur et
 actu et habitu ambo precepta dilectionis. Unde
 1020 videtur michi quod quisque fidelis debeat studiose
 convertere animum suum ad Christum cum lex Dei
 sufficienter in eo adimpleatur. Ipsi ergo sit laus
 et gloria in secula seculorum.
 --Quomodo, ergo, convertis tu animum tuum ad Christum?
 1025 --Domine, tribus modis quantum ad observanciam
 cotidianam. ¶ Primo, invocando in mane quando surgo et
 dicendo cum signo crucis muniens pectus meum: "In
 nomine Ihesu Nazareni, surge et ambula; intende,
 prospere et procede." ¶ Secundo, salutando ubique et
 1030 maxime coram sacramento altaris et dico: "Ave,

- benigne Ihesu. Ave, amor inmensurabilis. Ave, manna absconditum. Ave, dulcedo eterna. Ave, gaudium interminabile. Ave, splendor patris. Ave, lux mundi. Ave, pax cordium. Ave, salus hominum. Ave, gloria
- 1035 electorum Dei. Ave, suavissime fructus dulcissime atque salutifere virginis per quem salvati et liberati sumus, in cuius nomine flectitur omne genu celestium, terrestrium et inferorum." ¶Deinde tercio, adoro ipsum, gratias agens et deprecans sic
- 1040 dicendo: "Adoro te, Christe, benedico te, glorifico te, gratias ago tibi (fol. 18va) propter gloriam magnam tuam quam dignatus es manifestare atque communicare hominibus; gratias ago tibi propter beneficia que michi confers ut Deus meus et ut
- 1045 dominus meus et ut rex meus et ut pater meus et ut magister meus. Te, ergo, deprecor ut me vivere facias et finire vitam ad gloriam tuam. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo patre in unitate spiritus sancti, Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."
- 1050 Incipit obiectio.
- Videtur michi quod sit presumptio et stulticia quia vos qui estis pueri studetis in sacra scriptura, quoniam Apostolus dicit: Cum essem parvulus loquebar ut parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus, cogitabam ut

1055 parvulus; cum autem factus sum vir, evacuavi que
parvuli erant. Quibus verbis expresse denotat vel
testatur quod in aliis debent pueri sive parvuli
cogitare et loqui quam viri. Sed ad viros vel
adultos pertinet studere in sacra scriptura, non
1060 ergo ad parvulos.

--Domine, salva pace vestra, dicimus quod parvulis
sive pueris convenit studere in sacra scriptura non
solum legendo, sed loquendo et meditando, tum quia
est utile, tum quia est a Deo sic ordinatum. ¶Quod
1065 autem sit utile patet per hoc: quia per doctrinam
sacre (fol. 18vb) scripture habetur vera noticia de
Deo, et quod hoc sit utile homini patet per id quod
scribitur in libro Sapientie ubi dicitur quod:
Vani sunt omnes homines in quibus non est Dei
1070 scientia, et si vani ergo inutiles et carentes omni
fructu utilitatis. Et sic patet per oppositum quod
habere scientiam vel noticiam de Deo est valde
fructuosum vel utile. Et iterum patet per id quod
dicitur in Ecclesiastico, scilicet, quod Noscere
1075 Deum est consummata iusticia. Et sic patet quod ad
habendum noticiam de Deo que noticia est
utillissima, convenit studere in sacra scriptura.
¶Et iterum patet quod utile sit in ea studere per id
quod dicitur in fine Ecclesiastes, scilicet: Time

1080 Deum et mandata eius observa, hoc enim est omnis
homo. Cum, ergo, omnis homo sit ordinatus ad
observanciam mandatorum Dei, et illa tradantur in
sacra scriptura, patet quod omni homini prodest in
ea studere. ¶ Iterum patet etiam per hoc quia doctrina
1085 sacre scripture cum sit doctrina Dei beatificat
hominem, teste David qui dicit: Beatus homo quem tu
erudieris, Domine, et de lege tua docueris eum.
Quod autem sit ordinatum a Deo ut parvuli studeant in
sacra scriptura declaratur per id quod dicitur in
1090 primo Proverbiorum: quod parabole Salomonis scripte
sunt ut detur parvulis astucia. Iterum declaratur
per id quod dicitur in Psalmo, (fol. 19va) scilicet:
Declaratio sermonum tuorum illuminat et intellectum
dat parvulis. Confirmatur etiam per hoc quia Deus
1095 admittit parvulos et etiam eligat ad laudem sui,
sicut testatur Psalmista qui dicit: Laudate,
pueri, Dominum, et cetera. Et iterum alibi: Ex ore
infancium et lactencium perfecisti laudem, et
cetera. Et sic patet quod non est opus presumptionis
1100 aut stulticie nos studere in sacra pagina, imo
pocius est opus discrecionis et prudencie, ¶ non
obstante eo quod dicitur per Paulum, quia per verba
beati Pauli non habetur vel innuitur quod parvulis
et viris non sit commune studere in sacra pagina,

1105 sed quod diversimode convenit eis in ea studere vel
loqui, quoniam viris convenit altius et perfectius
quam conveniat pueris. ¶ Quod autem non fuerit
intentionis eius dicere quod parvuli non debeant
studere in sacra pagina patet per hoc quia commendat
1110 Thymotheum: Eo quod ab infancia studuerit in
litteris sacris, vel didicerit eas.

--Ex dictis vestris, arguo contra vos. Vos enim
dixistis quod utile seu fructuosum est studere in
sacra scriptura quoniam ex intellectu eius utilitas
1115 provenit in ea studentibus. Sed ex intellectu sacre
scripture non consecuntur utilitatem illi qui non
adimplerint opere intellectum eius, quales (fol. 19rb)
sunt parvuli, ergo non prodest eis in ea studere.
Quod autem volentibus consequi fructum ex
1120 intellectu sacre scripture sit necessarium operibus
exequi documenta eius patet per illud Psalmi:
Intellectus bonus omnibus facientibus eum. Et iterum
per id quod dicit beatus Iacobus in exortatione sua
cum dicit: Estote factores verbi et non
1125 auditores tantum. Per quod innuit quod necesse
est ut auditor verborum sacre scripture prosequatur
operibus documenta illius. Parvuli vero seu pueri,
licet audire possent et intelligere verba sacre

scripture, tamen opere non adimplent, quia propter
1130 indiscretionem seu imperfectionem etatis potius
applicant animum stulticie quam sapientie, sicut
testatur scriptura in Proverbiis que dicit quod:
Stulticia alligata est cordibus puerorum, id est,
a natura ligata propter imperfectionem etatis.

1135 --Ad hoc, domine, respondemus, et primo ad id quod
dicitis esse necessarium ut alumpnus sacre
scripture, si voluerit utilitatem ab ea consequi,
opere adimpleat intellectum eius, dicendo quod duplex
est utilitas que provenit ex verbis vel documentis
1140 sacre scripture. ¶Prima est utilitas vie, scilicet,
informatio intellectus ad noticiam credendorum et
agendorum et vitandorum et timendorum et
sperandorum. ¶Alia vero est utilitas termini
communis, (fol. 19va) scilicet, eterne salutis, et
1145 istam non consequitur auditor tantum sacre scripture
sed etiam factor, et de ista utilitate locuntur
auctoritates per vos allegare superius. Sed
utilitatem primam, scilicet, noticiam eorum que
propter salutem eternam sunt cognoscenda, bene
1150 consequitur seu consequi potest auditor, tantum dum
tamen audita intelligat. Unde, licet pueri non
consequerentur secundam utilitatem meritis
propriorum operum, primam tamen consequi possunt

per studium sacre scripture. ¶Nec tamen propter
 1155 imperfectionem etatis tollitur eis omnino, quin
 possint aliquo modo intellectum sacre scripture
 operi applicare, sicut possibile est imperfectioni
 ipsorum, quoniam, licet naturaliter pueri sint ad
 stulticias proni, tamen possunt ab eis elongari vel
 1160 eripi per bonitatem discipline cui subici possunt
 quoniam disciplinabiles sunt, sicut patet in auctoritate
 superius allegata ex libro Proverbiorum, scilicet,
 cum dicebatur: Stulticia alligata est cordi pueri,
 quoniam immediate post dicitur: Et virga discipline
 1165 fugabit eam. Et per hoc patet responsio ad
 secundum.

--Iterum, ostendo vobis quod propter Deum non oportet
 vos studere in sacra scriptura quia sufficit ut cor
 applicetur ei, sicut patet in Proverbiis ubi dicitur:
 1170 Prebe michi (fol. 19vb) cor tuum. Et iterum in
 primo Sapientie: Sentite de Domino in bonitate et
in simplicitate cordis querite illum. Sed quisque
 potest exhibere cor et querere ipsum in simplicitate corde
 absque noticia sacre scripture, sicut faciunt laici. Ergo
 1175 videtur quod non sit necessarium eis in ea studere.

--Ad hoc, domine, respondemus dicentes quod ad
 consequendam salutem eternam necessarium est habere
 noticiam documentorum sacre scripture, vel per studium

proprium, vel per traditionem factam a doctoribus
1180 ecclesie, quoniam ad minus oportet ea scire de sacra
scriptura que pertinent ad rectitudinem et
plenitudinem fidei, vel implicite vel explicite.
Unde, quamuis laicis et ignorantibus literas non sit
necessarium in ipsa studere, tamen est necessarium
1185 ut documenta fidei recipiant a studentibus in ea, ex
quo patet quod ad salutem humani generis necessarium
est quod aliqui studeant diligenter in sacra
scriptura. ¶ Et iterum etiam patet ex dictis quod
melius est proprio studio habere noticiam
1190 documentorum sacre scripture quam traditionem
alterius, quia melius est seipsum et alios posse
instruere quam ab aliis instrui. ¶ Iterum etiam, dato
quod non esset necessarium in ea studere propter
acquisitionem salutis eterne, tamen semper esset
1195 utillissimum in ea studere pro tanto quia per
studium in ea perfectior de Deo haberetur noticia. Et
omne bonum (fol. 20ra) quanto perfectius cognoscitur,
tanto fervencius diligitur sive devocius, et ideo
dixi "sive" quia devotio nichil aliud est nisi fervor
1200 affectionis amantis erga amatum. Et sic patet
responsio ad id quod fuit obiectum de laicis. ¶ Ad
auctoritates autem allegatas, respondemus quod ibi
non docetur cor exhiberi Deo singulariter, sed

principaliter, quia nichil aliud exhibitum Deo prodest
 1205 exhibenci, nisi exhibeatur cum sinceritate vel puritate
 cordis. Sed nichilominus oportet etiam Deo alia
 praeter cor exhibere, sicut testatur Apostolus qui
 dicit: Corde creditur ad iusticiam, sed ore fit
confessio ad salutem. Idem Iacobus testatur qui
 1210 dicit quod: Fides sine operibus est ociosa, id
 est, inutilis. Ex quo patet quod ad consequendam
 salutem eternam non sufficit exhibere cor Deo, nisi
 rectitudo cordis operibus confirmetur suo loco et
 tempore. ¶Dicimus etiam quod fidelibus non solum est
 1215 necessarium habere noticiam documentorum sacre
 scripture propter predictas utilitates, sed etiam
 propter fidei defensionem, sicut patet per beatum
 Petrum qui dicit: Dominum Ihesum Christum
sanctificate in cordibus vestris parati ad
 1220 satisfactionem omni poscenti vos rationem de ea fide
et spe que in vobis est, quibus verbis expresse
 innuit quod non sufficit Deo servire corde, sed
 etiam necessarium est ut opere (fol. 20rb)
 serviamus ei. Et huic exortationi beati Petri
 1225 concordat illa Proverbiorum xxvii: Stude sapientie,
fili mei, et letifica cor meum ut possis exprobranti
respondere sermonem. Et simile est quod ait
 Apostolus Titi primo, scilicet, quod Oportet

episcopum esse amplectentem eum qui secundum
1230 doctrinam est fidelem sermonem, ut potens sit
exortari in doctrina sana et eos qui contradicunt
arguere.

Explicit Alphabetum catholicorum. Deo gratias.

FONTES

Variations from the Vulgate text of the Bible are given following the citation, with the varying words underlined.

98	Mark 16:17 (Et si mortiferum <u>quid</u>)
125	Psalm 134:3 (<u>quia</u>)
131	Isaiah 25:1
135	Psalm 138:14
139	Esther 15:17 (Valde, <u>enim</u> , mirabilis es)
143	Job 5:9 (<u>qui</u>)
145	Psalm 31:6
148	Matthew 21:13 (also Mark 11:17) quoting Isaiah 56:7
157	Psalm 102:1
160	Psalm 50:17
162	Ephesians 5:1 (Estote, <u>ergo</u> , imitatores)
165	Matthew 5:16 (ut videant <u>opera</u> vestra bona . . . qui in celis <u>est</u>)
191	Matthew 26:39
209	Matthew 6:9 (sic, <u>ergo</u>)
254	Psalm 139:14
275	Psalm 139:14
341	John 1:23
590	John 14:23
614	Psalm 32:15
615	Psalm 21:11
616	Psalm Psalm 138:5
617	Job 31:15 (<u>in</u> vulva)
620	1 Corinthians 4:7 (Quid <u>autem</u> habere)
623	James 1:17
631	Genesis 1:31 (vidit <u>que</u>)
655	Psalm 33:15 (<u>Diverte</u> a malo); Psalm 36:27 (<u>Declina</u> a malo)
669	Exodus 20:3-4 (non habebis deos aliens <u>coram me</u> . Non facies tibi sculptile)
681	Exodus 20:7 (<u>Domini</u> Dei)
687	Exodus 20:8
693	Exodus 20:12
696	Exodus 20:13; Exodus 20:14
697	Exodus 20:15
698	Exodus 20:16
700	Exodus 20:17
702	Exodus 20:17 (<u>nec</u> desiderabis . . . <u>non</u> . . . <u>non</u> . . . <u>non</u>)
712	Matthew 22:37 (<u>in</u> tota anima)
714	Matthew 22:39
731	1 Timothy 1:5 (Finis <u>autem</u>)
733	Romans 13:10 (Plenitudo <u>ergo</u>)
783	Mark 12:30
789	Luke 10:27

801	Deuteronomy 6:5 (<u>fortitudine</u>)
838	Psalms 17:2
845	Psalms 17:3
847	Psalms 17:3
850	Psalms 17:3
994	Matthew 22:39
1000	Psalms 37:12 (Proximi mei adversus me <u>appropinquaverant et steterunt</u>)
1015	Matthew 12:50 (Quicumque enim fecerit voluntatem Patris mei qui in celis est ipse meus et frater et soror et mater est); Mark 3:35 (Qui enim fecerit voluntatem Dei, hic frater meus et soror mea et mater est)
1053	1 Corinthians 13:11 (<u>erant</u> parvuli)
1069	Wisdom 13:1 (Vani <u>autem</u> . . . <u>subest</u>)
1074	Wisdom 15:3 (<u>Nosse enim te</u> consummata iustitia est)
1079	Ecclesiastes 12:13 (<u>Deum</u> time)
1086	Psalms 93:12
1091	Proverbs 1:4
1093	Psalms 118:130
1096	Psalms 112:1
1097	Psalms 8:3
1110	2 Timothy 3:15 (et quia ab infantia sacris litteras nosti quae te possint instruere ad salutem per fidem qui est in Christo Jesu)
1121	Psalms 110:10
1124	James 1:22 (Estote <u>autem</u>)
1133	Proverbs 22:15 (<u>colligata</u>)
1164	Proverbs 22:15
1170	Proverbs 23:26 (Prebe, <u>fili me</u> , cor tuum <u>mihi</u>)
1171	Wisdom 1:1
1208	Romans 10:10 (Corde enim creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem)
1210	James 2:20 (<u>otiosa</u>); James 2:26 (<u>mortua</u>)
1218	1 Peter 3:15 (poscenti vos rationem de ea, quae in vobis est, spe)
1225	Proverbs 27:11
1228	Titus 1:7-9 (Oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse sicut dei dispensatorem . . . amplectentem eum)

VARIANTS

Sigla

B	Bernkastel-Kues, Cod. 42, fols. 210b-217b
F	Frankfurt-am-Main, MS Pr. 58, fols. 81ra-86rb
G	Graz, Univ. Bibl. 1226, fols. 21ra-26rb
O	Oxford, Can. Lat. Misc. 370, fols. 36v-52r
S	Saint-Omer, Bibl. Municipale 292, fols. 130v-139r
VB	Vatican City, Vat. Borgh. 205 fols. 9r-20r
V1	Vatican City, Vat. lat. 3824, fols. 29-43
V2	Vatican City, Vat. lat. 5732, fols. 83-89

<u>add.</u>	addidit
<u>om.</u>	omittit
<u>tr.</u>	transponit
<u>ill.</u>	illegible

- 1 Alfabetum] Alphabetum V1, B catholicorum] chatholicorum F
 2 inclitum] inclytum B
 3 Incipit (line 1) . . . fidei] add. et cetera F, (2nd hand)
 B, Incipit dialogus sive allocutio didascalica de elementis
 catholice fidei O, Incipit colluctio dydascolica super
 elementis catholice fidei S
 5 Sum] no preceding ¶ VB; domine] tr. sum V2
 8 Que] Quid O; est] add. ergo B
 10 Que] Quid O; Que . . . catholica?] in box in margin VB
 11 ecclesia] ecclesiam V2
 13 et cetera] om. V2
 14 ergo] add. recte B, om. O, S
 15 alicui] om. S
 18 ea] in margin B
 19 xiiii (first)] quatuordecem V1, V2, F, B, O; xiiii
 (second)] quatuordecim V1, B, O
 20 articuli] add. dei B
 21 vocantur] ill. VB; xiiii] quatuordecem V1, F, B
 22 Quia sicut] ill. VB; xiiii] quatuordecem V1, F, B;
 articuli] add. fidei O
 23 distincti] om. S; xiiii] quatuordecem V1, B, O
 24 principaliter] om. B
 25 fidei] om. VB
 28 divina] tr. veritate V1, V2, F, B, O; ergo] autem S;
 xiiii] quatuordecem V1; F
 30 vii] Septem V1, V2, B, O; et] om. V2; vii] septem V1, V2,
 B
 32 vii] septem V1, V2, B, O, S; et vii (line 30) . . .
 divinitatem] om. F; tres] interlinear F
 33 Iiii] Quatuor V1, V2, B, O, S; divinam] ill. VB; tres
interlinear F.

35 iiii] quatuor V1, V2, B, O
 37 personas] potentias S
 40 essencia] add. et trinus in personis et sic primus
 articulus est credere quod Deus est unus in essencia O
 41 quod] add. Deus est unus in essencia quod O; deitate]
 divinitate V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 42 deitate] divinitate V1, V2, F, B, O, S; patris (line 40)
 . . . persona] added in margin in box VB
 43 geniti] genitus F
 44 deitate] divinitate V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 45 et] in B
 46 tres] om. V2; pertinentes] operantes V2
 47 et] om. S
 48 pertinens] om. V1, V2, F, B, O; et] om. S; alius] aliud V2
 49 istorum] add. est B; trium] om. F
 50 solus . . . omnia] omnia per ipsum deum sic facta sunt et
 sine ipso factam est nichil quia ipse dicit et facta sunt, ipse
 mandant et creata sunt S; secundus] add. istorum F
 52 credere] om. V2
 53 resuscitabit] suscitabit S
 55 vii] septem V1, V2, F, B, O
 56 credere quod] ere quod corrected in Arnau's hand VB
 57 conceptus de virgine] corrected in Arnau's hand VB; de] ex
 V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 58 solam (line 57) . . . Sancti] corrected in Arnau's hand
 VB; credere] ere quod corrected in Arnau's hand VB, add. quod
 V2, B, S
 59 ex] add. ea V1, V2, F, B, O
 61 crucifixus] add. m crossed out V1, add. et S
 63 tertia] 3a V2
 65 tertia (line 63) . . . homo] om. S; et] sextus quod S
 67 quod] om. B, V2
 68 veniet] tr. iterum S; iudicare] diiudicare V1, F, B, O, S;
 vivos] add. ? B
 71 ¶] not in ms VB; eternus] eternum V2
 72 ex] de S
 74 ¶] not in ms VB; arto] arcto V1, B; artas] arctas V1, B,
 artos O
 76 credentem] credenti B; artat] arctat V1, B
 78 Quot] add. preceding ¶ (2nd hand) V2, Quod F; signa] ill.
 VB, add. in B; agnoscitur] cognoscitur V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 79 v] Quinque V1, V2, B, O
 80 Que] om. F, qui B; sunt] om. V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 82 temptationum] add. cogi crossed out V1; secundum] secundus
 O
 84 eius] eiusdem V1, V2, B, O, S
 86 maledicta] -ale---ta VB
 87 mortiferi] m-r---f---- VB, mortiferus ? B; mortiferi]
 mortifero S; id est] ill. VB; potu] add. n crossed out V1; non]
interlinear V1, om. B
 88 auditu] ---itu VB; procedentis (line 86) . . . sermonis]
om. V2; est] om. O
 89 sanatio] add. egrum crossed out B
 91 operum] homoninem S
 92 Qualiter] Quare S; tu] om. B; ista] hec V1, V2, B, O; v]

quinque V1, B, O, S
 93 verus] add. catholicus aut B; Qualiter (line 92) . . .
 fidelis] om. F
 94 tangit] tr. expresse V2; ea] ista quinque signa V1, V2, F,
 B, O, S
 96 Ubi] om. B, S
 97 ultio] ultimos S; eiusdem] tr. evangelii V1, V2, F, B, S;
 cum] quando V1, V2, F, B, O, ubi S
 98 Signa] add. preceding ¶ (2nd hand) V2; ubi tangit] om. S
 100 loquuntur] loquentes MS?; ubi tangit] om. S
 101 ubi tangit] om. S
 102 mortiferum] tr. quid S; biberint] add. nomine meo F,
bibere S; eis] eos V1, B, S
 103 ubi tangit] om. S
 104 bene] bona S; ubi tangit] om. S
 106 quinque] ill. VB; vero] homini S
 107 habet] om. V2
 110 Quot] Quod V2; ergo] om. O; sunt] ill. VB, om. V2;
 neccessaria] sufficiunt V2
 112 Domine] add. before tria crossed out B
 113 sunt] om. V2, F, B, O, S
 114 eum] deum S; secundum] secundus F; meditare] meditari V2,
 B
 115 Tercium] Tercius F
 116 est] om. O; laudandus] add. Deus S
 118 Quare] preceded by / B; meditandum] med---andum VB,
 meditant] V2, tr. est V1, V2, B
 119 est] om. V2, B; et] add. etiam S; omnibus] ill. VB, om. O
 120 operibus] tr. suis (line 119) V1, V2, B, O, S
 123 Proba] ---ba VB
 124 Primum] Primo B
 125 dominum] corrected in Arnau's hand VB; secundum] secundus
 F; primo] om. S
 126 quoniam] qui O
 127 forcius] fortius V1, V2, B; vel] et F; allicit] alicit O
 128 est] om. O
 129 in] interlinear V1; virtute] veritate V2
 130 secundo] secundum O; Ysaia] Ysaye V1, B
 131 capitulo] capituli V1, V2, S, om. O; mirabilia] add. et V2
 132 quibus] per que V1, V2, F, B, O, S; verbis] verba V1, F,
 B, O, S, umbra V2; innuit] renuit V2
 133 debent . . . fidelium] debetur S
 136 Quod] quot V2
 137 Deus] om. O; in] om. V1; in se et] om. S; suis] tr.
 operibus V1, V2, F, B, O
 138 quia] ut B; Hester] he sunt O
 139 es] est V2
 140 gratiarum] gloriarum V1
 141 mirabilis] tr. sit (line 140) B; operibus] tr. suis O;
 patet] om. B; utrumque (line 138) . . . patet] om. S
 142 memoratam] memorandum F; et] etc. F; qui] om. B
 143 v] 4o F; et] om. V2
 144 et mirabilia] om. S; per] add. se crossed out B
 145 Orabit] corrected in Arnau's hand VB; omnis] add. in
 tempore crossed out B

- 146 omnis sanctus] underlined V1
 147 vere] verus V1, V2, B, O, S, vero F, tr. fidelis O;
 tempore (line 146) . . . fidelis] corrected in Arnau's hand VB;
 Et] om. F, add. iterum V1, V2, F, B, O; omnis . . . et]
corrected in Arnau's hand VB
 148 Matheo] Marci V1, V2, B, Matheus O; domus] corrected in
Arnau's hand VB
 149 universitas] unitas crossed out with universitas added in
margin V1
 150 teste] testante S; Apostolo] ill. VB; Thimotheum]
 Thymotheum followed by lacuna B
 151 Quod] Quot S; est] tr. Deus F, O
 152 tribus] add. modis S
 154 Opere] Opera O
 157 Primum] primo B; per] add. ppt crossed out B; qui dicit]
 dicentem S; Benedic] Laudes V2
 158 domino] dominum V2; intra] inter V2; sunt] tr. intra me V2
 159 dicit] add. Estote crossed out V2
 160 et os] not underlined V1
 161 meum (line 160) . . . tuam] m a l t VB; qui dicit]
 dicentem O
 162 karissimi] carissimi O
 163 que] qui B; Quod] quot V2
 164 imitari] imitare F; bonis operibus] om. F
 165 Matheo] Marci V1, V2, B, M O
 166 luceat (line 165) lux vestra] ill. VB
 167 opera] tr. vestra bona (line 164) S; vestram] ill. VB
 168 in celis] tr. est (line 167) V2, S; Ecce] om. V2;
 expresse] om. V2; Dominus] tr. testatur V2, add. in F, B, O
 169 glorificatur] glorificatus V2; ab] ad B
 170 id est] ill. VB; excellenter] ex----- VB; laudatur] ill.
 VB, laudatus V2
 171 Quod] Quot S
 174 modo] add. in V2, om. S; admirando] mirando V2; add. n
crossed out V1; eius] ei V2
 175 etiam] et S
 176 essencie] essentie V1; et] vel S
 177 et (line 176) . . . potencie] om. V2
 178 et] etiam O
 179 modo] om. S; rememorando] re interlinear V1
 180 collata] tollata V2
 181 quam] add. persone vel V2; Tercio] Tertio B; modo] om. S
 182 modo] om. S; attendendo] om. V2; et] om. V2, S
 183 ipsius] no section break O
 184 dixisti] dicisti V2
 185 orare] add. Deum S
 186 Deum] add. before Orare est V1 (at bottom of column), V2,
 F, B, O, add. scilicet S; erectione] ratione O
 187 inclinatione] is V1
 191 Dominus] underlined VB, add. puili crossed out V1;
progressus] add. et S; pusillum] add. et S
 192 mei] mi S; si] add. si (crossed out) F
 193 Ecce] om. S
 194 rogavit] rogaverit O
 196 ab] ill. VB

198 Domino non] ill. VB
 199 duplicitas] --plicitas VB; falsitatis] karitatis VB
 200 Qua] add. ergo crossed out B; ergo] igitur V2, B, S;
 oratione] ratione O
 201 noster] add. docuit crossed out V1; dominus] ill. VB, add.
 noster O
 203 Christus docuit] -----uit VB
 204 Hec] add. before Domine, per O; Pater noster] ill. VB; qui
 . . . celis] om. V2, F, B, O
 205 et cetera] om. O
 206 tu] -u VB; docuerit] ill. VB, docuit B, S; sic] ill. VB;
 orare] ora-- VB
 207 sic] ita V1, V2, B, O, S; scriptum] ---tum VB
 208 Ubi] om. S
 209 cum] interlinear V1, om. O, ubi S; vos] nos V2; orabitis] add. dicentes S
 211 melius] m--us VB; orando] or--o VB, add. hunc (expuncted)
 F, tr. dicere C, om. S; hanc] tr. orationem O
 212 aliam] ill. VB, etiam V2, alias S
 213 melior] tr. est S; ceteris] cunctis V1, F, B, O, S;
 cunctis V2; aliis] ill. VB
 214 melior] add. aliis S
 215 Quia] et V2
 216 dignior] melior B
 217 Quoniam] quia V1, V2, B; summo] in margin V1; doctore] add. summo expuncted V1
 219 quicquid] quidquid B
 222 ommittit] obmittit F, dimittat S
 224 illa] om. B
 225 Duo] ill. VB, lacuna V2
 227 secundum] Quoniam O
 229 Dominus] Deus O, add. in hac oratione V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 231 Dominus] Deus O; hic] tr. Dominus docet F, hec O, tr.
 captare S
 235 est (both)] om. O
 236 Tercium] 3m B; est] om. O
 237 Quartum] 4tum B; rogantis] add. ad rogatum V1, V2, F, B,
 O, S
 238 ista] illa V1, V2, F, B, O
 239 docet] ill. VB, om. F; hic] om. F; cum] om. V2, autem O;
 secundum] 2m B
 240 Tercium] 3m B
 241 Quartum] add. docet F, 4tum B
 242 Quod] quid O, add. patet S; quia per] ill. VB; Deum] add.
 in V2
 243 vocare] invocare V2
 244 primineciam] preeminentiam V1, V2, pereminentiam B;
 respectu] in O
 245 noster] n-- VB
 246 ipsum] eum V1, V2, B, O, S, Deum F
 247 celestium] tr. creaturarum S; creaturarum] cre--turarum VB
 248 angelorum] -gelorum VB; beatorum] sanctorum F, add.
 dignitatem S; Per hoc] ill. VB
 249 innuit] add. oranem crossed out B; orantem] orant-- VB;
 desiderare] om. V2

250 Christi] ill. VB
 252 populi] po interlinear VB, no section break O
 253 dixisti] dicisti V2; Christus est nomen] ill. VB
 255 confitebuntur] confite--- VB; nomini] ill. VB; et cetera]
om. F, S; hic] hoc S
 257 nomini] ill. VB; sed] scilicet O; fit] in margin V1; nisi]
interlinear VB; substantie] add. in V2, substantione F
 258 Dei] add. Psalmista crossed out B
 260 quia] ill. VB; accidens] tr. quoddam B; accidens] artus O
 261 cognitionem] cognitationem S; Sed substantia] autem V1,
 V2, F, B; rationalis] ration-- VB
 262 est] om. O
 263 Christum] om. B
 264 Christo] Deo V2
 265 Probo] no preceeding ¶; hoc quia nemo] ill. VB
 266 in] ill. VB; Christum] ill. VB; sic] scilicet O; omnes]
ill. VB
 267 fidei] Dei O; confitentur] add. in V2
 268 dicitur] add. esse V1, V2, F, B, O
 270 per] ill. VB; significatur] nominatur V2; Ideo] ymo V2
 271 Christus] ill. VB; Christo B; non] ill. VB; sed] add.
 etiam V2, F, B, S; Deus] add. et cetera F, no section break O
 272 dixisti] dicisti V2
 273 confitebuntur] add. nomini tuo S; et cetera] om. S
 274 dixi] underlined VB, dicit V1, V2, F, B, S
 275 recti] om. O; cum] coram B
 276 tuam] tr. rationem V1, V2, F, B, O, S; intelligit] tr.
 Christum V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 277 habitant] habitabunt B, habitanto S
 278 caritatem] karitatem V1, B, claritatem V2, om. O; ei] om.
 F, Dei V2
 279 et caritatem] om. V1, V2, B; caritatem] add. quod autem
 iusti confitentur et per fidem S; dixisti] dicisti V2
 281 videtur esse] esset O; tu] add. dixistis O
 284 Respondeo] add. igitur S
 285 denotatur] tr. Christus S
 286 ego] ergo F
 289 quam] qua O
 291 Christus, ut dixi] dici quod Christus V2
 292 et (line 290) . . . nomen] added in box in margin VB
 295 sic] ita V1, V2, B
 296 per (line 295) . . . cognoscitur] om. O; sicut (line 294)
 . . . Christum] om. S; ipso] Christo V1, V2, B, O
 297 fulgent] add. ill. V2; perfectiones] no section break O
 298 dixisti] dicisti V2
 299 noster] et cetera V1, V2, F, B, O
 300 secundo] 2o B
 302 benevolenciam Dei] tr. captare S; Dei] om. O
 303 et] in O; ergo] igitur V2, B, S; ostendas] add. si V2;
 sunt] om. F
 304 quot (line 303) sunt ea] om. V2; Dominus] Deus O
 305 etiam] om. V1, V2, F, B, O, S, add. Dominus petere et quo
 ordine F
 311 sunt ei] tr. necessaria] S
 313 propter] ad S

315 Tria] preceding ¶ not in VB
 316 sunt] om. S
 318 Secundum] /2m B; glorificatio] sanctificatio V2; Tercium]
 /3m B; est] om. S
 319 voluntatis] tr. nostre O; divinam] tr. voluntatem O
 320 commune] tenere O
 321 sanctificari] add. aut glorificari V1, V2, F, B, O;
 conformauit] corrected from conformtauit (t marked expurgated)
 VB, conformaverit S
 323 ista] illa V1, V2, F, B, O; tria] verba S
 325 Secundum] 2m B
 326 Tercium] /3m B
 327 cum] add. enim V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 329 huiusmodi] huius O; petit (line 328) huiusmodi verbis] in
 iis verbis deposcit S; quoniam] quia V1, V2, F, B, O; ipse] in
 se S
 332 manifestatur] magnifestatur V2; seu] sive S
 333 placitum] -lacidum VB
 334 manifestatur] magnifestatur V2; exprimitur] exprimit B
 336 factus] formatus S; ab] ad B
 337 in] et B
 338 humane (line 337) . . . conceptus] om. S; Dei] add. sic S
 340 hoc] quod V1, V2, B, O; Babtista] Baptista V1, V2, F, B, O
 341 primo Johannis] evangelio S; dixit] dicit V2
 342 dicit] tr. orans V1, V2, F, B, O
 345 michi] om. S
 346 tribue] tribua O; vero] corr. from ill. V2
 347 glorificari] gloriari S; eternaliter] eternali V1; vel]
 velis B, om. S
 350 gratiam] gloriam VB
 351 sicut] add. in celo et in terra V2
 352 celis] celo F
 353 tue] add. quamdiu vixero hic in terra V1, V2, B, O
 354 tecum] secum S; eam] suam V1, V2, F, B, O
 355 tue] add. et cetera F, V2, sue S; Deo (line 351) . . .
 tue] voluntati divine quamdiu vixerit hic in terra S
 356 dicis] dixisti V1, B, O, dicisti V2; hec] followed by hole
in parchment VB
 358 dixisti] dixit B
 359 adoptando] ad optando V2, B
 360 ista] illa V1, V2, F, B, O
 363 exposuisse] add. ea B
 367 quia] add. ego V2
 368 quod] per O
 370 adaptari] tr. adaptari S
 371 diversis] add. rationibus crossed out B; que] qui O
 373 Ex] add. hiis F; colligitur] tollitur B; fuerit] fuit V1,
 V2; B, O
 376 est eternus] tr. doctor V1, V2, F, B, O, S; facit] fracit
 VB
 377 ergo] igitur B, S
 378 ut illa] quod ista S
 380 Respondeo] add. domine V2, B, O; quod] add. ideo V1, V2,
 F, B, O, S; sic] om. V2, S
 381 innueret] tr. nobis V1, V2, F, B, O, S

383 quilibet] quisque O
 386 quibus] quilibet F
 387 splendit] add. et V2, om. O
 389 eadem] eas S; eius] tr. sequaces V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 391 Domine] Unde V2; vii] septem V1, V2, B, O, S
 392 Que] quarum S; Quot (line 390) . . . sunt] om. F
 395 et (line 393) . . . theologice] om. V2
 396 karitas] caritas V2, O
 397 Quid est fides] om. F
 398 fidelis] tr. animus V1, V2, F, B, O
 399 simpliciter] semper F
 403 bona] add. supernater crossed out B
 405 karitas] caritas O
 406 karitas] caritas O; Deum] Deus O
 408 theologice] tr. dicuntur B
 409 earum consideratio] tr. pertinet S
 410 a] om. B
 411 logos] golos B
 412 quasi (line 411) . . . sermo] om. F; id est] et O, S
 415 iiii] quatuor V1, B, O, S
 416 Que] Quot O
 417 fortitudo] add. et B, S
 418 ne] ve O
 419 scilicet] om. V1, V2, F, B, O, quomodo S; cardinales] tr.
 Domine, sic] F
 421 volvitur] volvit B; cardinem] add. et V2
 422 deducitur] ducitur S; iiii] quatuor V1, B, O, S, 4or V2
 425 Prudencia] om. V2
 426 bona . . . et] om. B
 427 et mala (line 426) . . . invicem] om. O
 429 redditur] reddit V2
 432 virtus] igitur B
 433 spernendum] spernend-- VB; difficilia] ill. VB; a (line
 432) . . . et] om. B
 434 diffinitio] om. V1, V2, F, B, O, S; temperancie]
 temperanc-- VB, temperancia V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 435 Temperancia] --perancia VB
 436 illiciti] illi V2
 437 Postquam] om. S; tu] om. B; illarum] tr. vii S; vii]
 septem V1, V2, B, O, S
 438 virtus] virtutum O
 439 domine] tr. Dico S
 440 vel] add. annibus crossed out B; habentem] habenti O;
 bonum] tr. operari O
 441 faciliter] interlinear corr. from facile V1; voluerit]
add. et cetera F, V2; no section break O
 442 dixisti] dicisti V2; vii] septem V1, V2, F, B, O, S;
 enumeratis] add. et scriptis B
 443 a te] om. S; splenduit] resplenduit S
 444 videris] added by second hand in blank S
 446 quia] quoniam O
 447 servi] followed by hole in VB; sunt] tr. equales] V1, F,
 B, O, S
 448 quod] om. V2
 450 debet] est V1, V2, F, B, S, om. O

451 intelligi] intelligendum V1, V2, F, B, S, includit O
 453 unde . . . equaliter] om. V2; splendeant] splenderent V1,
 V2, B; quod] om. O; in] om. S
 454 virtutum] tr. predictarum S
 455 in virtutibus] tr. splenduit V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 456 ipsius] om. V2; in eius] tr. ipsius splenduerit V2
 457 sicut] ut V1, B, O
 460 sicut] om. F
 461 excellencius] tr. luce (line 460) . . . lune S; quam] qua
 O; lune] add. ergo O
 462 splenduit] corrected from splenduerit VB
 463 in eum] tr. credentibus V1, V2, F, B, O
 464 viii] septem V1, V2, F, B, O, S; etiam] om. V1, V2, B, O,
 S; in] om. V1, V2, B
 466 concessam] concessa S
 467 sint] sunt B
 468 vii] septem V1, V2, B, O
 469 enim] om. S
 470 salutem] vitam S
 471 Set] sed V1, V2, B, O; alie] alii B
 472 virtutes] tr. sunt (line 471); et] om. F; profetia]
 prophetia V1, B, O; virtutes] virtus V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 473 in] om. V1, V2, B, O; splenduit] splendet S
 474 Christus] ill. VB; ceteris] cunctis V1, V2, F, B, O, S;
 tum] cum V2, F, tamen O; non] ill. VB
 476 noscit] novit S; tum] cum F, tamen O
 477 proprie] om. V2
 479 nunquam] ill. VB; habuerunt] habent S; omnium] om. V1, V2,
 F, B, O
 481 operari] add. qui O; nomine] add. Dei crossed out B
 482 ipsius] add. ideo et cetera V2, F
 483 ea . . . docet] om. V2; docet] decet O; propter vitam] tr.
 petere S
 486 Que] Quot O
 491 hodie] add. et cetera F, om. S; enim] om. S
 492 materia] cibus nostris S; quidquid] quicquid V1, V2, S
 493 est] tr. necessarium V2
 494 nostra] add. sicut et nobis dimittimus debitoribus nostris
 V1, V2, F, B, O, add. et cetera S
 495 mala] om. V2; docet] remocionem S; Dominus] tr. ibi] S
 496 Duo] due V2
 498 Que] Quot O
 500 commune] om. F; quam] tam V2
 502 nostra] om. F, O; et cetera] om. S
 503 sed] add. ibi crossed out B
 504 Quot] corr. from ill. O
 505 Dominus] tr. ibi B; remocionem (line 504) . . . Dominus]
 Dominus docet remocionem ibi F
 506 Duo] add. in genere S
 507 Que] Quot O
 510 nostra] add. et cetera V1, B
 511 culpas] culpa O; ad penam] corrected by Arnau VB
 513 temptationem] add. et cetera F; aliquis] animus O
 514 peccatum] peccatis add. et cetera V2, F
 515 dixisti] dicisti V2; oratione] add. pater noster V1, V2,

F, B, O; primo] om. S
 517 communis] tr. mali] S; communis] add. tam S; corpori]
 corporis V2; et] quam S
 522 istorum] om. V2
 526 enim] om. S
 528 generalis] proprii (line 527) S; ordinari] tr. sicut . . .
 dicitis V1, V2, F, B, O, S; tamen] tum S
 529 possunt] possit add. etiam S
 530 enim] eius V2
 531 peteremus] pater eius V2
 532 malorum] mali V1, V2, F, B, O; communis] corporis O, S;
 utrique] itaque S
 536 Contra] Enim O; proposita] om. V2
 537 adveniat regnum tuum] added by scribe in box in margin VB
 539 fiat voluntas tuas] add. sicut in celis F, om. S; quatuor]
 iiii] S; ultimas] om. S
 540 per] pro O; dictionem] dictione O
 542 dimitte nobis] cetera S; nobis (2nd)] add. debita nostra
 et cetera V1, V2, F, B, O; et sic] om. O
 544 vel ineptum] om. S; quod] cum F
 547 In (line 546) . . . nominatis] added by scribe in box in
margin VB; nominatis] om. V1, V2, F, B, O, S
 548 coniunctionem] tr. copulativam F, om. S; denotandum] add.
 vel ostendum V1, V2, F, B, O
 549 possidentur] possidere O
 550 petitionibus] successionibus S
 551 coniunctiones] coniunctionem add. copulativam V1, V2, F,
 B, O
 552 successive] add. et cetera F, add. Tu dicisti quot Deus
 est orandus sit diligibilis est a Deo. Declara ista. Declaro,
 domine, sic: Quia omne bonus quod est (lacuna) aut est bonum
 nature aut est bonum gratie. Sed utrumque est a Deo, ergo patet
 propositum. Proba quod utrumque sit a Deo. Probo per hoc quia
 Deus est conditor nature humane, scilicet tam corporis quam
 anime. De anima enim humana certum est non solum per theologiam
 sed etiam car V2 (see lines 603-611)
 553 dixisti] dicisti V2; Deus] om. B
 555 consequendum] sequendum F
 556 Quot sunt] Quarum S
 557 Quatuor] 4or V2; sunt] om. O
 559 Prima] no preceeding ¶ VB
 560 est] ill. VB
 561 Oratio (line 559) . . . eterne] om. O
 562 est actus] tr. in quantum O
 564 optari] adoptari F
 565 oratio] om. V2
 567 satisfactoria] satisfactio S
 568 quando] om. V2
 570 in quantum] om. S
 571 colloquium] eloquium V1, V2, F, B, O, S, add. et sic S
 572 quarto] iiii O; refectoria . . . modo] refectio S; modo]
add. et cetera F
 573 karitatis] caritatis O
 576 ostendo] ostenditur S
 577 imo] ymo V1, V2, F, B, O; ipsa bonitas] bonitatis S; Si]

Sed F

578 bonus (1st)] tr. esset V1, V2, B, O; proprie] tr. bonus
(1st) S; per bonitatem] tr. esset bonus (2nd) S
579 autem] om. B
580 melius] melior O, tr. sit S; quod] ut O
583 bonum] bonus V1, V2, B, O
584 diligendus] tr. est S
586 Que] Quot O
587 eum precipit] tr. Deus S; eum] tr. precipit V1, V2, F, B,
O, S; Unde; Inde S
588 voluerit] voluert V1; voluit O; Deum] tr. diligere V1, V2,
F, B, O; Deum] eum V2; est] om. V2
591 Sed] si V2
594 Secundum] secundo V2, F, B; est] tr. etiam S
595 diligibilis] diligendus S
596 Quod] Quid O
597 propter] add. Deum crossed out B
598 omne] totum V1, V2, F, B, O, S
599 est] in margin S; est] tr. diligibilis S; propter] add.
Deum, id est, propter F
600 eo] add. Quod S; quod] quia S
602 est] tr. diligendus O; Deum] add. et cetera F
603 quod] quot V2
604 est] sit V2; Deo] add. Proba crossed out V1, add. solum
crossed out B; ista] om. S
605 sic] tr. domine B
606 est] om. O
609 Probo] add. domine S
611 enim] in margin V1, quidem S; per] pro O; theologiam]
ethologiam V2; theologia O
612 etiam] om. B; per (1st)] pro O; philosophiam] philosophia
O; quod] quia O, S; per (2nd)] added in margin VB
613 in] om. B; esse] ill. O; corpori] corde O; De] Dei O
614 expresse] om. F; Psalmista] add. cum dicit F; finxit]
fingit O
615 singillatim] sigillatim V1, V2, F, B, O; et cetera] om. S;
alibi] add. tu formasti me V2
616 et cetera] om. F, S
617 me] add. utero O; et cetera] om. V2, F, B, O;
618 me] in margin V1, om. O; et] om. O; in] de VB; vulva]
vulvam B; et . . . vulva] not underlined V1
619 tam] quam V2; gratie] tr. nature S
621 testatur] tangitur S
622 de] e B
623 testatur] tangit S
625 et (line 624) . . . luminum] et cetera S
626 bonum (1st)] tr. nature S; donum] ill. VB; est (line 625)
. . . perfectum] added by scribe in box in margin VB; bonum
(2nd)] donum F
627 est] om. V2
628 datum] bonum S
630 naturam] corrected from naturalis V1 (lis crossed out)
631 scilicet] in margin V1, om. S; vidit] add. preceding Et S
633 patet] tr. ergo O
634 sit] est B; bonum] donum S

636 perfectus] tr. est V1, V2, F, B, O
 638 homo] om. S
 639 gratie] om. S
 640 scilicet] om. S; sic] add. perfectum O
 641 gratum] add. in Deo V2
 642 dixisti] dicisti V2
 645 domine, et dico] om. S
 646 plura] multa V2; secundum] per O
 648 ego] tr. non possem B; enumerare] numerare V1, V2, B, O
 649 universalia] alia O; que] ad alia B, om. S; reducuntur]
 reducuntur V2; et] om. O
 650 ideo] vero O
 651 ergo] in margin V1
 652 sunt] om. V2
 653 Que] Quot V2, he O
 655 Discedere (line 654). . . Psalmistam] om. O; Discere]
Discedetur V2
 657 Que] qui O; x] decem V1, V2, F, B, O
 658 vii] septem V1, F, B, O
 659 pertinencia] add. ill. B
 660 et vii (line 658) . . . dilectionem Dei] om. V2
 665 vero] enim F, non V2
 666 Que] Quot O
 670 et cetera] om. V2
 671 ydolatRIA] add. vel ydolatrare O
 675 que] qui O
 676 Dei] in margin V1
 677 Quod] Quid O; pertinens] quod pertinet V1, V2, F, B, O
 678 dixisti] dicisti V2
 680 seu] vel F
 684 Tercium] 3m B
 689 vel] add. ad O
 690 Que] quot O; vii] septem V1, V2, F, B, O; dilectionem]
add. dei B
 691 vi] i in Arnaldus' hand VB, sex V1, V2, B, O; negativa] n
in Arnaldus' hand VB
 695 Que] quot O; vi] sex V1, V2, B, O
 696 mecaberis] mechaberis V1, V2; id] om. F
 697 est] om. F; Non (1st)] om. V2; Non mecaberis (line 696). .
 . secundum] in scribal hand in margin, B
 698 Non furtum (line 697) . . . tercium] om. O; tercium] 3m B
 701 cogitatione] cogitationi O; carentem] om. O; vel immobilem]
om. V1, V2, F, B
 703 et cetera] om. B
 704 Unde] no section V1, V2, B, O; tu] om. O; ista] ita V2;
 sunt] sint V1; x] sex B, decem O
 705 specialia] spiritualia V2
 706 enumeravi] numeravi O
 708 x] decem V2, F, O, add. et B; a] add. dicto O
 709 Moysen] Moysem V2
 710 Contra] Quoniam O; contra . . . dicit] om. B; quod] om. B;
 capitulo] om. O; Mathei] Marci V1, V2, B
 711 maximum] proximum O
 714 scilicet] om. V1, V2, B, O
 715 set] sed V1, B, O, sicut V2; tu] tamen O; dixisti] dicisti

V2

- 716 secundum] add. est V1, V2, B, O
 717 aut] ut O; vel] aut V2
 719 Mathei] Marci V1, V2, B; nephas] nefas V1, B; de] quia V2
 722 immo] ymo V1, V2, F, B, O; concordant] concordantur V2
 723 Dei] om. V2, de B; que] om. V2
 724 specialiter] spiritualiter V2
 726 ad] add. ea qui specialiter prohibentur (crossed out) O;
 finalem] add. rat (crossed out) V1; ipsorum] illorum V1, V2, F,
 B
 728 Matheo] Marco V1, B; Quod] uod in Arnaldus' hand VB; quia]
om. F
 731 Thimotheum] Thymo V1, tymo V2, Thymuo B, Thymotheo O;
 primo] scilicet V1, i V2, B, O
 732 karitas] caritas O; xiii] viii V2, B
 733 legis] ill. O; ante] om. V2
 734 x] decem O
 735 vii] septem V1, V2, B, O
 736 vii] septem V1, V2, B, O
 738 Deum] corr. from ill. V1
 740 et] om. O
 742 adimplet] implet V2; vii] septem V1, V2, B, O; que] qui O;
 dilectionem] lacuna of a line and a half followed by eum V2
 743 et] add. que V1 (in margin), V2, O
 744 sint] sive O; x] decem V1, F, B; dixi] dici V2
 745 et] om. O
 746 Matheo] Matthei O; x] decem V1, V2, B, O; dixi] dici V2;
 x] decem V1, V2, F
 748 x] decem V1, B; Ostende . . . reducantur] om. V2, O
 752 et (line 751, 3rd) . . . sua] om. F; tria] tr. prima V1,
 V2, B, O
 753 nomini] nomine V2
 756 per] add. quam O; cor] add. significatur (crossed out) B
 758 etiam] enim V1, B, O
 761 etiam] om. O
 763 etiam] om. F
 765 toto] add. corde (crossed out) B; et] om. V2
 766 transgreditur] transgredit O
 767 aliquod] aliquid B, ad O
 769 seipsum] semetipsum B
 770 alia] illa V1, V2, B, O; vii] septem V1, V2, F, B, O;
 dixi] dici V2
 771 quia] qui V2; sicut] sic V2; ipse] om. V2
 772 a filiis] tr. honorari V2; suis] om. V2
 773 nomine] nemem B; ergo] igitur B, O
 774 hiis] his V1; quod] qui V2; tota] add. in V2; x] decem F,
 O
 775 in] add. hiis (crossed out) V1; istis] add. ex hiis V2
 776 x] decem V1, F, O; finaliter] generaliter V1, V2, B, O;
 hec] om. O
 777 ii] duo V1, V2, F, B, O
 779 x] decem V1, F, B, O
 780 est (first)] om. O
 781 mente] tr. anima (line 780) V2
 782 Respondeo] add. domine V1, V2, B; dico] dic V2; sic] add.

n (~~crosssed out~~) V1
 783 Contra] dicitur O
 785 mente] tr. anima (line 784) V2
 786 hic] add. expresse V1 (in margin) V2, F, B, O; beatus]
 sanctus F
 787 et] tr. mente V2
 789 Deum tuum] om. V2
 790 ex 1st] om. B; tuis] suis B
 791 hic] hoc O; Lucas] Luchas O
 792 predictis] add. i (~~marked cancelled~~) VB
 794 Matheus] Marcus F
 796 quod] per B; potius] potius V1, O
 797 virtus] add. q (~~crossed out~~) B; tum] tamen V2, O; sit] fit
 V2, B
 799 Deuteronomii] Deutero B, O add. ad dilectione dei quam ibi
 expresse V2
 802 et] om. F, B; virtute] corr. from virte (in margin) VB
 803 ibi] tr. nulla sit F; expresse] add. dicitur (~~crossed out~~)
 B
 804 Respondeo] add. Deum (~~crossed out~~) B; domine] om. V2
 805 dicendo] et dico O
 808 quod] add. dicitur (~~crossed out~~) B
 809 qui] cum V2; Deum] Dominum O; tota] add. mente ~~crossed out~~
 F
 812 vel] et F
 814 tamen] tantum B
 815 Marchus] Marci O; et] om. O alia] illa B, aliam O
 818 tuo] add. et V1, V2, B, O
 823 quantum] quam O; quoniam] quantum O
 825 Matheum] ill. F; illis] ill (~~crossed out~~) B, add. tribus
 V1, V2, F, B, O; Set] Sed V1, O, B
 826 ut] et F, B
 829 et condiciones (line 828) . . . diligendus] om. F; et]
 etiam O; iiii] quatuor V1, B, O, 4or V2, F
 830 iiii] quatuor V1, B, O, 4or F
 831 Que] quot O; iiii] quatuor V1, B, O; quas] quos V2
 833 Secunda] add. est O
 834 est] om. B; conservator] tr. est O; Tercia] 3a B, add. est
 O
 835 Quarta] 4a B, add. est O
 836 sit] sic est F; iiii] quatuor V1, V2, B, O, 4or F
 841 nihilo] add. ill. (~~crossed out~~) B
 842 per . . . et] om. B
 843 quia] in margin VB; de aliquo] in margin B
 844 vero] non V2, autem B
 845 Dominus] add. et B
 846 beneficium] add. creationis quia nulla (~~crossed out~~) V2;
 quod] hoc F; firmamur] firmamentum B, firmatur O
 848 beneficium] add. reservationus (~~crossed out~~) B
 850 diaboli] dyaboli V1, B, dyabola F; Et] add. ll (~~crossed out~~) B
 852 eam] ea V2; omni] add. omni per (~~crossed out~~) B
 854 Que] quot O; iiii] quatuor V1, B, om. V2, 4or F; quibus]
add. enim ~~cancelled~~ VB
 856 Domine] om. B

857 cum] add. cum V2
 859 sine errore] om. O
 861 ex tota corde (line 857) . . . dicitur] om. V2, B
 862 ex] cum V2
 863 quod] add. quod (interlinear) VB
 864 Tertia] 3a B; conditio] add. est V1
 866 est] om. O
 867 agredi] aggredi F; pati] parati O
 868 conditio] ergo O, add. est B
 874 Respondeo] add. domine V1, B, O
 875 diligatur] add. ex B
 876 intelligendo] diligendo O
 880 consideranti] add. soli (crossed out) V1; tantummodo] quam
 F; dixit] dicit V2
 881 Diliges (line 880) . . . virtute] not underlined V1
 884 presenti] add. ut (crossed out) B
 885 neccessaria] om. F; distrahitur] trahitur O
 886 defectus] add. huma (crossed out) B
 887 domine] ill. V2
 888 vie] corrected from vite (t expuncted) VB
 889 Sed] secundum V2
 892 totalitas (2nd)] corrected (interlinear) from totlitas VB,
om. V2
 894 sit] fit F
 896 sibi] se O; omnino] add. id est F; peccato] add. scilicet
 O
 901 Illa] no preceeding ¶ VB
 903 quod] add. est (crossed out) B; vita] om. B
 905 Sed] sic V2
 907 nec] neque V2, F
 908 nec] neque V1, F, B, O; aliqua] aliquam V2, B
 909 fervor] om. O
 911 et] interlinear V1, om. O
 913 enim] interlinear VB; michi] om. V2
 914 quod] om. F; dilexero] corrected from dilectio B
 915 aut] add. aut O
 916 quantum] quam O
 918 domine] om. V2; dico] corrected from dixist B
 919 quod] ut V2; diligat] add. diligat (crossed out) V1
 920 esset] est B; irrationabile] add. et F; bonum] om. B
 923 sicut] dot on each side V1
 925 quisque] quilibet F; seipsum] ill. VB; autem] ac V1;
 debet] ill. VB
 926 dilectionem] ill. VB, dilectionis O; iusta] iuxta V2,
 justam O; et (first)] om. V1, V2, F, B, O; et (second)] om. V1,
 V2, F, B, O
 927 et] om. V1, O; sic] add. etiam V1, F, B, O; debet] ill.
 VB; enim V1; sic . . . proximum] om. V2
 928 dilectio] ill. VB; iusta] iuxta V2
 929 Illa] no preceeding ¶ VB; vult] om. B, ultra O
 930 sicut] si O; quisque] quisquis V2, quis O; vult] et
 ulelilet O
 931 non] nam F
 932 propter] om. O
 933 Que] quid O

934 Illa] no preceeding ¶ VB; vult] ultra O; vel] tr. vult O;
 appetit] add. lacuna VB, add. pro V1, V2, B, O
 935 quisque] quisquis V2
 939 Que] quid O
 940 Illa] no preceeding ¶ VB
 941 sicut] om. V2; quisque] quisquis V2
 942 vult] vellet F, ultra O
 945 vult] ultra O
 946 appetit] add. sibi bonum (crossed out) B
 947 quisque] om. O; sibi] om. F
 948 unde (line 946). . . procurat] om. V2
 949 dixisti] dicisti V2
 950 tantum] om. B; quantum] quam O; neque] nec O; Ergo] om. B
 952 quantum] quam O
 954 domine] om. V2
 955 distinctionem] diffinitionem B
 956 et] om. V2; alia est] om. V2; essentia] alessentia V2
 957 sicut] add. unus V2, sic O; proximus] add. proximus V2
 958 per] om. F
 960 imo] ymo V1, V2, F, O
 961 intimus] add. lacuna --usima V2
 962 quam] quantum O; intimus (line 961) . . . Deum] om. F;
 quantum] quam O
 965 subtraheretur] haberetur O
 966 ita quod (line 964) . . . Creatoris] om. F; nichilum]
 nihil B; vertetur] convertitur B, O
 967 et] ei O; Deum] add. dell (crossed out) B; super] add. o
 (slashed) B
 969 quin] quique O
 971 Deus] tr. cum (line 970) O
 973 domine] om. V2
 974 perfici] perficere F; simultate] simul F, stzmultiplicitate
 O, add. caritate F
 975 dixi] dici V2
 979 quia] om. B
 981 vero] om. V2
 982 aliis] alio V1, V2, F, B; proximis] proximo V1, V2, F, B;
 Christo] proximo V2
 984 proximus] corrected from ill. B
 987 Christus] Deus V2
 989 quod] om. O
 990 secundum] super V2
 992 idemptitate] eidemtitate O
 993 cuilibet] quilibet F; alii] om. F
 995 quod] quoniam V1, V2, B, O, que F; per] om. F
 996 etiam] om. B, O
 997 enim] etiam B
 1001 proximos suos] proximus suus F; judeos] judeus F
 1002 qui] quia F
 1003 et (1st)] om. F
 1004 est] tr. caput B; Christiane] universis V2
 1005 etiam] om. F, B; proximus] add. cum B
 1006 sic] sicut O; proximus] proximi V1
 1007 modo] tr. tercio] tr. modo O; ubi] quanto O; dicitur]
 dicit V2

1010 cum eo] tr. fuisset (line 1009) . . . religionis O; in] om. O
 1012 nos] om. V2
 1015 Christus] ipse V1, V2, F, B, O; facit] fecit V2
 1018 et] om. F
 1019 habitu] ---tu VB
 1021 anima . . . Christum] tr. convertere V1, V2, F, B, O
 1023 et gloria] in margin VB
 1024 tu] om. F
 1025 Domine] no preceeding ¶ VB; quantum] quo O
 1027 meum] 2nd m interlinear VB
 1029 et] crossed out B, add. recpu (crossed out) B; procede] ill. V1
 1030 sacramento] sacro O; altaris] altari O
 1031 benigne] bone O; manna] macula V2
 1034 salus] salis O
 1035 Dei] om. F; dulcissime] altissime O
 1038 inferorum] infe--orum VB; infernorum F, O
 1039 gratias] add. agendo (crossed out) B; et] interlinear B
 1040 Adoro] A enlarged and decorated V1; benedico te] ill. VB
 1041 glorifico (line 1040) te] added in box in margin VB; te] om. F
 1042 magnam] tr. gloriam (line 1039) V1, V2, F, B, O; quam] quoniam O; es] post V2; manifestare] magnifestare V2, add. q O
 1044 que] qui O; michi] om. O
 1047 et finire] confinare O; ad] add. laudem et O; tuam] tui V1, F; et] om. F
 1048 patre] add. et B; in] om. F
 1049 Amen] om. V2
 1050 Incipit obiectio] om. V1, V2, F, B, O
 1052 pueri] puer V2
 1053 dicit] tr. Apostolus F; ut] et V2
 1054 loquebar (line 1053). . . parvulus] om. O; ut] et V2
 1055 cogitabam (line 1054). . . parvulus] om. O; loquebar (line 1053). . . sapiebam (line 1054). . . cogitabam] sapiebam . . . cogitabam . . . loquebar V1, V2, F, B
 1056 erant] tr. parvuli O; loquebar (line 1053). . . erant] not underlined VB
 1062 convenit] con-- VB
 1063 tam] tamen O
 1064 est] interlinear V1; utile] add. est (crossed out) V1; tum] om. O; quia] om. O; sic] om. O
 1067 id] hoc F
 1070 scientia] tr. Dei (correction marked) V1; Vani (line 1069) . . . scientia] not underlined V1; carentes] carenti B
 1071 per oppositum] propositum O
 1072 noticiam] tr. scientiam F
 1074 Ecclesiastico] Ecclesiast V1, Ecclesiasticis B
noscere] nosse V1, B, O, nosce V2, add. Deus (crossed out) B
 1075 ad] om. V2
 1076 noticiam] iustitiam B
 1077 utillissima] ma interlinear VB, utilima V2, ultima B
 1078 iterum] add. ti (crossed out) B; studere] tr. in ea B; id] illud F
 1080 est] add. o (crossed out) V1

1081 hoc (line 1080). . . homo] underlined VB, om. F; ergo]
 igitur V1, F, B; cum . . . homo] om. V2; homo] om. F; sit] om.
 O; ordinatus] add. igitur V2
 1083 omni homini] omne homo V2
 1084 Iterum] add. quia O; etiam] tr. patet B, O
 1086 quem] quam V2
 1087 erudieris] tr. tu V2; domine et de] ill. VB; docueris]
edocueris V1, V2, B
 1088 autem] ill. VB; sit] add. ita V1, V2, B, O
 1089 id] illud F
 1090 primo] ill. VB
 1091 astucia] add. et O; parabole . . . sunt] underlined V1
 1092 id] illud F; scilicet:] om. V2
 1093 tuorum] tuarum V2; illumiatur] illuminatur B; et] om. B
 1094 dat] ad B; etiam] autem O; quia] quod V2
 1095 etiam] om. V2, B, O
 1096 testatur] add. per O; Psalmista] Psalmistam O
 1097 et cetera] om. V1, V2, B, O
 1098 et (2nd)] om. V2, O
 1099 cetera] om. V2, O
 1100 imo] ymo F, O
 1102 eo] om. V2
 1103 vel] add. non V2
 1104 non] ill. V1, om. F; commune] communis F
 1105 quod] om. O; convenit] add. in V2
 1106 viris] vires V2; altius] om. F
 1107 Quod] Quot V2
 1109 quia] quod V1, V2
 1111 litteris] scripturis O; Eo (line 1110) . . . eas] not
underlined VB, V1; eas] add. et cetera F
 1112 vestris] om. V2
 1113 quod] ill. VB; seu] vel O; seu est] tr. fructuosum O
 1115 in ea studentibus] intelligentibus V1, V2, F, B,
 collentibus O
 1117 adimplerint] adimplerit VB
 1121 fructum (line 1119) . . . exequi] added in margin in box
 VB
 1122 eum] om. V2, add. et cetera F; Et] om. F
 1124 Estote] add. m (crossed out) VB, V1
 1125 auditores] factores (interlinear correction to auditores)
 F
 1126 ut] quod V2
 1128 licet] hec O
 1129 tamen] tantum B; opere] add. illius F; quia] quod V2;
 propter] om. O
 1130 indiscretionem] discretionem O
 1132 Proverbiis] Proverbio B
 1133 est] tr. alligata V2; cordibus] corporibus B; id est] om.
 F
 1134 propter] per O
 1135 hoc] hec V1, B; et] om. V1, V2, F, B, O
 1136 alumpnus] allumnus F, allumpnus O
 1143 vero] non V2
 1144 salutis] --utis VB
 1146 sed . . factor] om. B; utilitate] auctoritate V2

1151 Unde] ill. O
 1152 secundam] 2am B
 1154 propter] per V2
 1156 aliquo modo] aliquomodo O
 1157 possibile] impossibile V2
 1160 eripi] arripi F; cui] aut O
 1161 quoniam] quando O
 1163 est] tr. alligata V2; cordi] cordibus V1, V2, F, B, O;
pueri] puerorum V1, V2, F, B, O, add. et cetera F
 1165 eam] add. et cetera F
 1167 non] add. ill. B
 1171 de] interlinear V1
 1172 quisque] quisquis V2, quibus O
 1173 et querere ipsum in simplicitate cordis] om. VB; add. et
 querere ipsum in simplicitate cordis querite illum V2, add.
 etiam querere ipsum in simplicitate cordis F
 1174 laici] layci F, B
 1175 in ea] tr. eis F, om. O
 1176 dicentes] dicendo B
 1180 ea] eos F
 1182 inplicite] implicite F
 1183 laicis] laycis B; et] om. V2
 1184 ipsa] ea V2, B
 1185 fidei] de B
 1186 humani] habendi F
 1187 diligenter] in margin in box VB
 1188 dictis] predictis O
 1191 posse] om. F
 1193 propter] in margin VB
 1194 acquisitionem] acquisitionem O
 1197 quanto] quanta V2
 1199 sive] add. devotius V1, F, O; et (line 1198) . . . sive]
om. V2
 1200 amantum] ea mentum V2
 1201 laicis] laycis B
 1203 cor] animus VB, V1, V2, F, B, O
 1204 aliud] om. V1, V2, F, B, O; exhibitum] exhiberi V1, V2, B,
 exhibere F
 1205 nisi] vero O; exhibeatur] exhibeamur O
 1206 alia] tr. cor V2
 1207 praeter] om. V2
 1208 dicit] add. quod: Fides sine operibus est ociosa, id est,
 inutilis. Ex quo patet quod ad consequendum V2 (see line 1210)
 1209 Idem] Id O
 1211 id est] et F, sive O; quod] ill. O
 1212 eternam] tr. salutem V1, V2, F, B, O
 1214 Dicimus] vidimus O; etiam] et F, enim B
 1216 predictas] om. B
 1217 fidei] add. confessionem (crossed out) B
 1218 Dominum] add. nostrum O
 1219 parati] add. semper V1 (in margin), V2, F, B, O
 1220 omni] omnia V2
 1223 etiam] om. V2, O
 1224 exortationi] repeated in margin in second hand VB; ei]
add. Et sic patet et cetera F

1232 Et (line 1224) . . . arguere] om. V1, V2, F, B, O
1233 Explicit . . . catholicorum] om. VB, V2, O; Deo gratias]
om. VB, O, add. Amen F

ENDNOTES

1] The title Alphabetum was frequently used for medieval works, usually denoting an alphabetized sourcebook, as, for example, the Alphabetum narrationum of Arnold of Liège, an alphabetized collection of exempla for use in composing sermons (see Welter, L'Exemplum, pp. 304-319). The term was sometimes used as a title for elementary works; Gerson's ABC des simples gens is also titled the Alphabetum puerorum.

14] Aquinas defines "credere" as "cum assensione cogitare" concerning matters not known "per manifestam visionem" (Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 2.1).

19] The Creed was traditionally broken into twelve articles said to have been composed by the twelve apostles on Pentecost. On the history of the fourteen-article Creed, see Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, pp. 1-6 and de Lubac, The Christian Faith, pp. 19-23. Harold Lee and Marjorie Reeves believe that Arnaldus' division of the Creed into fourteen articles reflects his Joachist sympathies (Lee et al., Western Mediterranean Prophecy, p. 52), however, it seems more likely that Arnaldus' division simply reflects local usage. Canonist Guy de la Tour du Pin notes in his discussion of the Creed in the 1268 statutes of Clermont just north of Montpellier that although he is aware of divisions of the creed into twelve articles or into seven, the fourteen article division is the best and most common (Mansi 23, col. 1118; see also the Statutes of Rodez (1289), Mansi 25, col. 968). Ramon Lull's contemporaneous Doctrina pueril divided the Creed into the same fourteen articles as the Alphabetum.

20] It is unclear when the term "articulus" began to be used to describe the parts of the Creed. Early commentators refer to the units of the Creed as "sententia" and "capitula." Nikolas Häring believes that the first person to use the term "articulus" for the units of the Creed was Alan of Lille; see "A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed," p. 12.

22] According to Michael McVaugh, co-editor of Arnaldus' Opera medica, Arnaldus is not referring here to medieval anatomical theory; rather, Arnaldus is using the simple fact that there are (and were) fourteen joints in the hand, three per finger and two in the thumb. Hand analogies were common in medieval teaching texts; see Orme, English Schools, fig. 4 facing page 35. Although both Aquinas (Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 1.6: "articulus . . . significat quandam coaptatae aliquarum partium distinctarum. Et ideo particulae corporis sibi invicem coaptatae dicuntur membrorum articuli . . . Unde et credibilia fidei Christianae dicuntur per articulos distingui in quantum in

quasdam partes dividuntur habentes aliquam coaptionem ad invicem") and Bonaventure (Sent. Liber III, Dist. 24, art. 3, q. 1, p. 517: "Et primo quidem modo accipitur in scientia naturali in qua dicuntur articuli membra sive partes quae non resolvuntur in alias, sed in eis stat resolutio, sicut dicuntur articuli digitorum") explain the words article with reference to body parts, the idea of comparing the fourteen articles of the Creed to the fourteen joints of the hand seems to be Arnaldus' own.

26] According to Bonaventure (Sent. Liber III, Dist. 25, art. 1, q. 3) laymen must know the articles of the Creed "distincte et implicite" in order to be saved.

26-69] Arnaldus follows division of the Creed given in the statutes of Rodez and Clermont (see note to line 19). On the various ways of dividing the Creed into fourteen articles see Ayo, The Sermon Conferences, p. 184-185.

41-44] The Borghese manuscript reads deitate, the others divinitate. The Borghese reading would seem to be the correct one. John of Aragon's treatise on the catechism uses deitate in this context (Lomax, "El catechismo," p. 226). In the Castilian translation, the word is rendered deydat (Perarnau, Dos Tradados, p. 80, ll. 56-61).

56-69] The emphasis on the humanity of Christ in this section may be anti-Cathar. Cathars thought that Christ was purely divine and denied his human nature. See Lambert, Medieval Heresy, p. 124 and Runciman, The Medieval Manichee, p. 149.

65] This is similar to the following question and response from the Elucidarium: "Quid est Christum in dextera Patris sedere?" "Humanitatem in gloria divinitatis requiescere."

73-74] That is, from the verb "artare," to constrain.

76] The notion that the term articulus was derived from the verb artare and that the articles of the Creed "bound" us to correct belief was common in Arnaldus' day; see, for example, Bonaventure's Sent. Liber III Dist. 24, art. 3. q. 1 which is a discussion of the proposition "Articulus est indivisibilis veritas de Deo, arctans nos ad credendum."

78] In the Castilian translation of the Alphabetum the term "verus fidelis" is rendered "verdadero e fiel christiano" (lines 91-92). Arnaldus uses the expression "verace crestiano" for a member of the Beguin sect in the Italian translation of his treatise De helemosina et sacrificio (fol. 45v); unfortunately, the Latin original of the De helemosina, which was condemned in

1316, has been lost, so it is uncertain whether that phrase was a translation of the words "verus fidelis" used here. Perarnau believes that it is and that Arnaldus' use of the term shows that the Alphabetum, like the De helemosina, was aimed at a Beguin audience (Dos tratados, p. 81, note to lines 91-92).

85-86] In the Exposit. super Apoc., Arnaldus discusses the "detestatio vel odium cuiuscumque venemosi sermonis" in conjunction with the "vivacitas honestorum eloquiorum" (p. 275, ll. 479-483); whether these phrases were his own or he was quoting from another source is unknown.

98-105] The Marcan text does not seem to be standard in orthodox catechetical texts; however, it is used in the Cathar consolamentum ceremony; see Dondaine, Un traité, p. 159. It sometimes occurs in late medieval English Books of Hours as part of the devotion to the Holy Name (Duffy, Stripping the Altars, p. 284).

114-115] Perarnau believes that this section discussing how a "true christian" turns himself to God is a continuation of the exposition of Beguinitism that began at line 78. He likens the text to the following two passages in Arnaldus' later works: the first from the Raonament d'Avinyó: "La un és sent Paul, qui diu que Déus per ço apparech en la humanitat de la persona de Jesuchrist, que monstràs a fer .iiii. coses. La primera és abnegar o aorrir tots desigs d'aquest segle, ço és, honors e riqueses e delits corporals. La terça és viure tempradament quant és en si, e justament ab los altres, e piadosament, ço és, ab devoció d'amor e de temor ab Déus. La quarta és que en tota la vida present nos alegrem ens conortem en la esperança de la glòria celestial" (Obres catalanes I, p. 172, ll. 3-14); the second from the De helemosina et sacrificio (fol. 35v-36r): ". . . la creatura humana è facta principale mente per tre cose. La primera è per conoscere lo sio creatore; e ca naturale mente homo deo amare lo bene que conosce, e creatura racionabele pote conoscere que dyo è non tanto solamente bono, ma bonate senza fine, d'aquesta conoscenza deue nascere la secunda causa per què è facta la dicta creatura, zo è amare dyo . . . Et qua naturale mente homo lauda zo que conosce e ama, de queste doy cose deo nascere la terza, zo è, que deo laudare syo creature cotanto como la conoscenza e la amore si estenduno" (Perarnau, Dos tradados, p. 83, note to lines 119-120).

Although the passages Perarnau cites are parallel to the lines of the Alphabetum in that they discuss how a Christian should behave, they differ from them in an important way. The behaviors described in the later passages are specifically Beguin--denying the delights of this age--while those of the Alphabetum are simply Christian--praise, contemplate and pray to God.

150] Paul actually said that the house of God was the church not the universe of all Christians (1 Timothy 3:14-15) : "Haec tibi

scribo, sperans venire ad te cito; si autem tardavero, ut scias quomodo oportet in domo Dei conversari, quae est ecclesia Dei vivi, columna et firmamentum veritatis." This line is followed by an addition in the Castilian text (Perarnau, Dos tradados, p. 86, ll. 163-169).

168-170] Perarnau likens this line to the following statement of De helemosina (fol. 52v): "non è neguna iusticia o derictura maiore que reconoscere de core e de paravola e de facti lo beneficio receputo" (Dos tradados, p. 87, note to lines 200-202).

186] The idea that you prayed with your body was a popular one in Arnaldus' day. The anonymous author of the "Nine Ways of Prayer of St. Dominic" begins his treatise by explaining that the theoretical aspects of prayer have been sufficiently discussed by Augustine, Ambrose, Bernard, Aquinas and brother Albert, but that no one has adequately addressed "the way of praying in which the soul uses members of the body in order to rise more devotedly to God, so that the soul, as it causes the body to move, is in turn moved by the body, until sometimes it comes to ecstasy like Paul, sometimes to agony like our Savior and sometimes to rapture like the prophet David" (there is no edition of this work; I have relied on the translation in Tugwell, Early Dominicans, p. 94). In his treatise on the Lord's Prayer, Alan of Lille says that there are three positions in which to pray, prostrate with the body on the ground, kneeling with the face turned toward God, or standing as if saying "in domum domini letantes ibimus" (cf. Psalm 121.1): "in primo exprimitur conditio nostra, in secundo desiderium, in tertio spes" (Häring, "A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer," p. 161 sections 12 and 13). The illustrated De oratione attributed to Peter the Chanter discusses--and depicts--eight postures of prayer, including a prone one (Trexler, The Christian, pp. 35-49, 181-192 and 194-195).

However, Perarnau believes that praying lying down was a specifically Beguin practise. He notes that Bernard Gui includes praying prostrate as a way of identifying Beguins and that Arnaldus, in his Expos. super Apoc. (p. 201, lines 133-134), defines "adorabunt" as "devote se humiliabunt."

189-193] In the treatise De oratione attributed to Peter the Chanter, the prooftext for the notion that one of the positions of prayer is lying down is this same quotation from Matthew (Trexler, The Christian, pp. 194-195 and p. 188).

201] At the beginning of his De Oratione Dominicae, Peter John Olivi says that "quod enim materia orationis perfecte ibi contineatur, sic breviter patere potest" (in Delorme, "Textes franciscains," p. 185, lines 5-6; see also, p. 190, lines 18-19). On the same point, Aquinas (Summa Theologiae II-II, q.

83-9) quotes Augustine's letter to Proba (PL 38, Epistola 130: 12.22): "Nihil aliud dicimus quam quod in ista dominica oratione positum est, si recte et congruenter oramus."

211] The reasons for saying the Lord's Prayer rather than another prayer was a popular topic for sermons. See, for example, the "Sermon on Prayer" of William Peraldus which lists five reasons: rank of author, brevity, richness, spirituality, power (this text is unedited; I have consulted the translation in Tugwell, Early Dominicans, p. 169.)

224] Olivi says that a perfect prayer should have seven qualities: it should be "piissimus, reverentissimus, confidentissimus seu fiducialissimus, humilissimus, universalissimus seu communissimus, ordinatissimus seu moderatissimus et assiduus seu continuus" ("Textes franciscains," p. 190, ll. 20-24).

227] The term captatio benevolentiae comes from letter-writing theory and means the part of a speech or letter designed to put the reader in the right frame of mind, or as Alan of Lille put in Anticlaudianus, a book that Arnaldus owned, the part of the text "principium mentem movet, erigit aurem, excitat auditum, cor iudicis apparat illi, quo magis attentus, docilis magis atque benignus redditur auditor et mentem dedicat auri" (Anticlaudianus, Book iii, vv. 184-187, p. 94). See also, Rationes dictandi, an anonymous treatise on letter writing, in Murphy, Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts, p. 16-18.

Early commentaries on the Lord's Prayer do not use the term captatio benevolentiae in the discussion of the first petition. According to Häring ("A Commentary on the Our Father," p. 162 note 27), the first commentator to use the term was Peter Abelard (see note to line 239 below). Certainly the first Parisian use cannot have been much earlier than that since Murphy notes (Rhetoric, p. 211-212) that Italian ars dictaminis theory did not reach Paris until about 1150. After that, the term quickly became standard in Lord's Prayer explications; it is also used by Joscelyn of Soissons, Albertus Magnus and Alan of Lille. Arnaldus discusses it twice in his Expos. super Apoc. (p. 16 line 366 and p. 30, line 60).

227] Albertus Magnus makes the same distinction in his treatise De Sacrificio Missae III (20.1): "In hac oratione Dominica duo dicuntur, scilicet captatio benevolentiae ad eum a quo petitur, id quod petitur et ipsae petitiones."

231] Although Arnau's way of breaking the Lord's Prayer into units is more complicated than any others I have seen, it nonetheless follows the system of the ancient church--as exemplified, for example, in Augustine's catechetical sermons (PL 40, Sermons 56, 57, 58 and 59)--three petitions for eternal life,

three petitions for temporal life and one relevant to both. See also the anonymous Expositio in Orationem Dominicam (PL 184, col. 813A). In this section, Arnaldus seems to follow Abelard and Albertus Magnus who similarly link the various petitions to the needs of the supplicant, although he adds considerably to their formulations. See Abelard, Expositio Orationis Dominicae (PL 178, cols. 610-612) and Albertus Magnus, De sacrificio missae, pp. 143-157.

239] In his Expositio Orationis Dominicae, Abelard gives three reasons which are different from the reasons Arnaldus lists here: "Qui dicit 'Pater' captat benevolentiam; quo dicit 'noster' excludit superbiam. Quot dicit 'qui es in coelis' exhibet reverentiam" (PL 178, col. 612).

245] In Sermon 57 (PL 38, col. 387), Augustine explains why the we call God "Our" Father; Alan of Lille (Häring, "A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed," p. 19) explains why the Prayer is plural and the Creed singular. These topics are not mentioned in the Alphabetum.

246] Joscelin of Soissons says that words "qui es in celis" were added so that we would not confuse God with our carnal father (PL 186, col. 1491).

269] In De fide et symbolo, Augustine says: "Verbum autem Patris ideo dictum est quia per ipsum innotescat Pater" (PL 34, col 183).

276-277] In the Expos. super Apoc., Arnaldus explains the expression "faciem eius" of Rev. 22:4 as "scilicet Christum, qui est facies et forma et pulcritudo ipsius" (p. 285, lines 140-141).

283] Aquinas says that Christ is both the Name and the Image of God, but does not identify him as God's face (Summa Theologiae, ref tk).

294] In the Etymologiae VII 1:37, Isidore of Seville notes: "Nam et facies Dei in Scripturis sanctis non caro, sed divina cognitio intellegitur, eadem ratione qua per faciem conspectam quisque cognoscitur. Hoc enim in oratione dicitur Deo (Psalm 80:4): 'Ostende nobis faciem tuam': ac si dicatur: 'Da nobis cognitionem tuam.'"

295] Cf. Col. 1:15: "qui est imago Dei invisibilis primogenitus omnis creature."

312] See comment on line 231.

330] Arnaldus discusses the meaning of "nomen Dei" three times in the Expos. super Apoc.; he notes that "per nomen significatur qualitas rei nominatae, sic et per opera" (p. 53, line 29); later he says "ipsa opera, que nomen sunt operantis" (p. 56, line 112); finally, he explicates the command "Non negasti nomen meum" as "scilicet veritatem, que est nomen Christi" (p. 58, lines 163-164).

336] In the Summa Theologiae, Aquinas noted that "Secundum Philosophum, voces sunt signa intellectuum, et intellectus sunt rerum similitudines. Et sic patet quod voces referuntur ad res significandas, mediante conceptione intellectus. Secundum igitur quod aliquid a nobis intellectu cognosci potest, sic a nobis potest nominari . . . Sic igitur potest nominari a nobis ex creaturis" (I, q. 13.1). That man was made in the image of God is stated in Genesis 1:20.

345] This idea is first stated in Tertullian's De oratione (c.1, p. 259) and is repeated in Cyprian's Liber de oratione dominicae (PL 4, col. 541) and in Augustine's four catechetical sermons (PL 38, cols. 377-402). It is quoted in Albertus Magnus, De sacrificio missae III 20.2: "Nomen autem quod hic sanctificare petimus, hoc est quod generat in nobis tantus Pater . . . 'Sic sanctificatur nomen Dei in nobis: quia sanctum est idem quod forte vel firmum.'"

345-346] Perarnau points to these lines as parallel to the following passage from the Informacio espiritual written for Frederick of Sicily: "Quar offici propri de crest[i]à és axí manifestar en si la veritat de Christ, que tota la Trinitat divinal, que és cap e font del c[r]estianisme, ne sie loada e honrrada públicament, quar açò és g[l]orificar Déus en terra" (Obres catalans, p. 225, ll. 1-5). I do not find the relationship close.

346] Abelard, Expositio orationis dominicae, (col. 613): "Adveniat ergo regnum tuum o Pater coelistis, ut per naturam carnis generentur ad regnum tuum praedestinati, et per gratiam baptismi regenerentur et fiant, iusti, et per claritatem iustitiae omnibus manifestentur esse filii regni tui." See also De sacrificio missae III 20.6.

349] Abelard, Expositio orationis dominicae (col. 614): "'Fiat,' ergo, o Pater, 'voluntas tua sicut in coelo' per angelos, et per sanctos per primam stolam jam glorificandos, ita in terra per homines justificandos et glorificandos ut sicut illi faciunt

voluntatem tuam in coelo, ita eam faciant isti in terra etsi non secundum aequalitatem, tamen secundum similitudinem, tamen secundum perfectionis illorum imitationem." See also De sacrificio missae III 20.6.

387] In the final portion of his catechetical treatise Super fide catholica et Oratione Dominica, Hugh of Amiens links the petitions of the Lord's Prayer to the seven days of creation and the seven virtues. He says that the petition "sanctificetur nomen tuum" corresponds to the creation of light on the first day and that it is that light which shines the virtues into the supplicant (PL 192, col 1339). In contrast to Arnaldus, who says that God shines all seven virtues into the supplicant, Aquinas says that God provides only the theological virtues; according to Aquinas, the cardinal virtues are part of human nature, not an extra added grace (Summa Theologiae I-II, q. 63.1).

395] cf. Corinthians 13:13.

398] cf. Paul's definition of faith in Hebrews 11.1: "Fides est substantia rerum sperandarum, argumentum non apparentium." In the Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 4.1, Aquinas says that "Fides est habitus mentis, qua incohatur vita aeterna in nobis, faciens intellectum assentire non apparentibus."

402] Hope is defined by Peter Lombard, Sententiae III and by Aquinas, Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 17.6: "Spes autem facit Deo adhaerere prout est nobis principium perfectatae bonitatis inquantum scilicet per spem divino auxilio innotimur ad beatitudinem obtinendam."

406] Aquinas defines charity thus: "caritas non est qualiscumque amor Dei, sed amor Dei quo diliguntur ut beatitudinis obiectum, ad quod ordinamur per fidem et spem" (Summa Theologiae I-II, q. 65.5).

410] In his Summa Grammaticalis, better known as the Catholicon, Girolamo Balbi defines theology thus: "Theologus componitur cum logis, quod est sermo, et dicitur, theologus -ga-gum, id est, de divinis loquens vel tractans." In the Summa Theologiae, Thomas says "et huius modi principia virtutes dicuntur theologicae tum quia habent Deum pro obiecto inquantum per eas recte ordinamur in Deum tum quia a solo Deo nobis infunduntur; tum quia sola divina revelatione in sacra scriptura, huiusmodi virtutes traduntur" (Summa Theologiae I-II, q. 62.1).

414] Ambrose defines the moral virtues in Super Lucam v (PL 15, col. 1738). Aquinas equates the cardinal and moral virtues in Summa Theologiae I-II, q. 61.

419] The term cardinal comes from Cicero; see Aquinas, In tertio Sententiarium, distinctione 33, ques. 2, artic. 1.

421] In his commentary on Lombard, Aquinas notes "virtutes cardinales dicuntur ad similitudinem cardinis in quo motus ostii firmatur (In tertio sententiarium, dist. 33, q.2, a.1). John of Aragon, bishop of Tarragona and son of James II, noted in his treatise on the catechism "que cardinales vocantur, quia in eis debet nostra vita sicut hostium in cardine semper verti." (Lomax, "El catecismo," p. 232).

There were other explanations of the meaning of the term cardinal; in his Summa brevis of the early thirteenth century, Richard of Wetheringsett explains that "item quedam virtutes appellantur cardinales propter istam rationem, quia sicut per cardinales habemus accessum ad dominum papam, ita per istas virtutes ad Deum" (quoted in Goering, "The Summa," p. 149, note 26).

425] Summa Theologiae I-II, q. 61.4: "Prudentia nihil sit aliud quam quaedam rectitudo discretionis in quibuscumque actibus vel materiis." See also Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 47 and Isidore Etymologia II.24.6.

428] Summa Theologiae I-II, q. 61.4: "Iustitia vero sit quaedam rectitudo animi, per quam homo operatur quod debet in quacumque materia." See also Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 58.1 and Isidore, Etymologia II.24.6.

431] Summa Theologiae I-II, q. 61.4: "Fortitudo vero sit quaedam dispositio animae per quem firmetur in eo quod est secundum rationem contra quoscumque impetus passionum vel operationum labores." See also Isidore, Etymologia II.24.6.

435] Summa Theologiae I-II, q. 61.4: "Temperantia vero sit quaedam dispositio animae quae modum quibuscumque passionibus vel operationibus imponit, ne ultra debitum efferantur." See also Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 141; Isidore, Etymologia II.24.6, and Augustine, De moribus ecclesiae 15 (PL 32, col. 1322).

439] Aquinas frequently cites this definition from Aristotle (Ethics. ii.6): "virtus est quae bonum facit habentem, et opus eius bonum reddit" (Summa Theologiae I-II, q. 55.3).

452] Isidore, Etymologia III 53.2: "Alii e contra aiunt lunam non suum lumen habere, sed solis radiis inluminari."

455-457] Arnaldus likens Christ to the sun and the saints to the clouds in the Expos. super Apoc. in his discussion of the meaning of the passage "venit cum nubibus" (p. 14, lines 292-296).

469-482] Arnaldus also distinguishes between the virtues that

the Christian receives from Christ ("gratias gratis datas") and those worked in him by Christ ("gratias gratum facientes") in the Raonament d'Avinyó (Obres catalanes, p. 208-210).

472] For Aquinas' definition of Wisdom, which he categorizes as a gift of the Holy Spirit, not a virtue, see Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 45.1

472] Aquinas considers prophecy and miracles "gratuitous graces." On prophecy, see the Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 171.2.

473] Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 178.2: "Miracula possunt fieri per quemcunque qui veram fidem praedicat et nomen Christi invocat."

491] The notion that the "bread" of the Lord's Prayer means everything that man needs for living goes back to Tertullian (De oratione 4.2). Abelard distinguishes between corporeal food and spiritual food, the latter being the teaching of the Church (Expositio Orationis Dominicae, col. 615-616). Tertullian also links "daily bread" to the Eucharist in De oratione. See also the Anonymous Expositio (PL 184, col. 814D) and Alan of Lille (p. 167, #38-39).

Interestingly, Arnaldus does not comment on Luke's substitution of the term "supersubstantial" for Matthew's "daily" bread. By contrast, Olivi discusses the point in some detail. Olivi says that both words are right for different reasons: "Cibus etiam corporalis potest dici 'supersubstantialis' quia pro nutrimento nostrae substantia nobis desuper ministratur; quotidianus vero dicitur quia ipso quotidie indigemus et quia non debet peti superfluous, sed solum necessarius" (Delorme, "Textes franciscains," p. 195, ll. 22-33). The different wording of the prayer in the two Gospels is also discussed by Augustine in his Enchiridion 116 and by Aquinas in the Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 83.9. Arnaldus' omission is particularly interesting since the two Cathar commentaries on the prayer translated by Wakefield and Evans is almost entirely dedicated to explaining the meaning of Matthew's word. See Wakefield and Evans, Heresies, pp. 607-630; there is also a brief explication of the Lord's Prayer in the Consolamentum ceremony edited in Dondaine, Un traité, pp. 151-164.

495] Albertus Magnus, De Sacrificio Missae III (20.8): "'Debita' sunt quae reddere debemus per satisfactionem Deo, tum ex malo commisso, tum ex bono ad quod tenemur omissio, tum ex talento nobis credito."

499] Abelard, Expositio orationis dominicae, col. 617-618: "Malum enim aliud est corporis, aliud animae. Item aliud est malum, quod est culpa aliud quod est poena. Item aliud praesentis saeculi et aliud futuri. Ab omnibus istis, et ab aliis, quae per ista comprehenduntur petimus liberari." See also De Sacrificio Missae III 20.10.

508] Olivi makes this same distinction: "Nam cum sit duplex genus mali, malum scilicet culpa et poenae, et malum culpa aut sit factum aut sit imminens et quasi futurum" (Delorme, "Textes franciscains," p. 189, ll 4-5).

508-514] Perarnau notes that Arnaldus discusses the things that lead a Christian into temptation far more fully in the Alia Informatio, lines 319-359.

512] Abelard, Expositio orationis dominicae, col. 616-617: "est igitur sensus: Ne nos inducas in tentationem, non ut numquam permittas tentari, sed ut nunquam permittas a tentatione superari, sed da ut per tentationes probemur non reprobemur." Abelard distinguishes between minor and serious temptations, between covered and uncovered ones, and among temptations of the flesh, world and Devil. He does not distinguish between temptations of body and spirit. See also De sacrificio missae III 20.9.

523-535] I have not found a source for this particular explanation of the order of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer, but Peter John Olivi notes that the first petitions concern the things that are most important to the love, honor and glory of the Lord (Delorme, "Textes franciscains," p. 185 lines 11-19 and p. 191 ll. 32-37). See also, note to line 231 above.

546-552] I have not been able to find a similar discussion of the difference between a period and an et. However, this type of grammatical analysis was common in Biblical commentaries in the high Middle Ages, and was the subject of lengthy treatises by Peter the Chanter and Alan of Lille. See Evans, The Language, pp. 72-100, esp. 92-100.

559-572] Note that these benefits are different from those given in Aquinas' Collationes (Ayo, p. 159). However they do follow the Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 83.14 which lists the benefits of prayer as its being a meritorious act, an impetration, that is fulfillment of God's will, and a spiritual refreshment, Arnaldus' benefits 1, 2 and 4.

562] Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 83.2: "Non enim propter hoc oramus ut divinam dispositionem immutemus: sed ut id impetremus quod Deus disposuit per orationes sanctorum esse implendum."

565] Aquinas defines satisfactio as "quod est recompensatio injuriae illatae, secundum aequalitatem justitiae vel secundum Anselmum, est debitum honorem Deo reddere, vel secundum Augustinum est peccatorum causas excidere et eorum suggestionibus auditum non praebere" (In quarto Sententiarium, dist. 15, q. 1, a.1, q.2.1).

567] I have not located a parallel discussion of the idea that prayer is an act of penance.

609-610] The statement that God is the maker of both body and soul might be anti-heretical. Cathars believed that God made only the soul, not the (evil) body. See, Lambert, Medieval Heresy, pp. 118-125 and Runciman, The Medieval Manichee, p. 148.

611-612] Perarnau notes that proofs relying on philosophy as well as theology were common in Arnaldus' works (Dos tradados, p. 107).

636] Aquinas frequently cites the following definition of perfect from Aristotle Physics iii 6: "totum et perfectum est cui nihil deest." See, for example, Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 44.4.

658] The notion that the two tablets God gave Moses contained, respectively, commandments concerning the love of God and the love of the neighbor goes back at least to Augustine (Sermon 8, PL 38, col. 74 and Sermon 9, PL 38, col. 81). It is repeated in the statutes issued by the Council of Lambeth in 1281 (Powicke and Cheney, Councils and Synods II, p. 902).

663-665] Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae VI 8.10: "Praecepta sunt quae aut quid faciendum aut quid non faciendum, ut: 'Dilige [Dominum] Deum tuum,' et 'honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam.' Quid non faciendum, ut 'Non moechaberis,' 'Non furtum facies.'"

671-676] The emphasis on idolotry is presumably because it was considered the most grievous sin. See, for example, the Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 94.1

695] These six are also considered together without further elaboration by Aquinas in the Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 122.6.

700-703] Aquinas reverses the order of the final two commandments in the Collationes. According to editor Joseph Collins, he did this because the tenth commandment "is wider in extension than the ninth which is specific" (Collins, The Catechetical Instructions, p. 131, note 1). Aquinas himself does not say this, and I do not know where Collins got this idea, but Arnaldus makes a similar statement about order in lines 523-535. See the note concerning that passage.

701] The ninth commandment was understood to refer to immobile things, the tenth to mobile ones. See Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica Liber Exodi c. 40 (PL 198, cols. 1165-1166) and the explication of the commandments in the Statutes of Rodez (Mansi 25, col. 971).

707] Moses was thought to have been the author of the Pentateuch.

714] Note that the Cathars used the version of the Two Precepts found in Luke (Dondaine, Un traité, p. 162).

737-743] Aquinas says that the Two Precepts are really the same since we love the neighbor on account of God. However, God gave two "et ideo non solum oportet dari praeceptum de dilectione Dei, sed etiam de dilectione proximi propter minus capaces, qui non de facili considerarent, unum horum praeceptorum sub alio contineri" (Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 44.3).

757] I have not found a similar discussion of desire as the source of all movement of the soul.

768-773] cf. Romans 13:8-10: "Nemini quidquam debeatis, nisi ut invicem diligatis: qui enim diligit proximum, legem implevit. Nam 'non adulterabis, non occides, non furabis, non concupisces,' et si quod est aliud mandatum, in hoc verbo recapitulatur: 'Diliges proximum tamquam operatur' plenitudo ergo legis est dilectio."

782] Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 184.3.

801] Deuteronomy 6:5. This is a misquotation. The Vulgate uses word fortitudine. However, virtute is used in the summary of Deuteronomy given in II Kings 23:25: "Similis illi non fuit ante eum rex, qui reverteretur ad Dominum in omni corde suo et in tota anima sua et in universa virtute sua iuxta omnem legem Moysi."

820-825] This same analysis is presented by Aquinas in the Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 44.5.

833-834] I have found no reference that uses these four terms. In his summary of the Lord's Prayer, Francis of Assisi calls God "Creator, Redeemer, Consoler and Savior" (Francis and Clare, p. 104). Possibly Arnaldus is misquoting 2 Kings 22:2-4 (strength, salvation, refuge) or 1 Cor. 1:30 (wisdom, justice, sanctification, redemption). The latter is cited in precisely Arnaldus' context in Bonaventure's Itinerarium Mentis in Deum, a book Arnaldus owned (Chabàs, "Inventario," #264).

841] In his Liber in distinctionibus dictionum theologicalium, Alan of Lille defines "to create" as "proprie ex nihilo aliquid facere, quando scilicet materia et forma creantur insimul, unde potest dici Deus creator, opus eius creatio" (PL 210, col. 754).

856-872] According to Bernard of Clairvaux, there were three ways of loving God: "dulciter," "fortiter" and "prudenter" (Super Cantica 20, I:114-121). William Peraldus misquoted these in his Summa virtutibus as "dulciter," "perseveranter" and "prudenter."

858] This is not Augustine. It seems to have been copied from Bonaventure's In libro sententiarum, dist. III, pars ii, art 1 ques. 1: "Ad illud quod obicitur, quod memoria, non reformatur; dicendum, quod immo memoria reformatur et quantum ad statum viae et quantum ad statum patriae; in primo per spem; et hoc patet per expositionem Augustini super illud verbum Matthaei vigesimo secundo: Diliges Dominum Deum ex toto corde, id est, intellectu sine errore, ex tota anima, id est, voluntate sine contradictione, ex tota mente, id est memoria sine oblivione." In the note to this passage (p. 80), the Quaracchi editors explain that there were unable to locate the text attributed to Augustine in Augustine, although they did find a similar passage in Pseudo-Augustine's Liber de Diligendo Deo: "id est, ex toto intellectu tuo et ex tota voluntate tua et ex tota memoria tua." Versions of the Bonaventure text Arnaldus quotes are found with or without the Augustine attribution, in half a dozen twelfth- and thirteenth-century works, among them: Anselm of Laon, PL 162, col 1441; Peter Lombard, Sententiae, Book III, dist. 27, chapter 5; Aquinas, Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 44.4 and Peter of Poitiers, Sententiae Libri Quingue, 3:23 (PL 211, col 1095). In the Summa theologiae II-II, q. 44.4, Aquinas attributes this idea to "quidam," and the quotation is similar to that of the interlinear gloss on Matthew 22:37: "intellectu, ut nullum in confessione divinitatis relinquo errori locum . . . id est voluntate, ut nihil ei contrarium velis . . . in memoria nil reminiscens quo minus de eo sentias" (Nicholas of Lyra, Biblicorum 5, fol. 70r). Arnaldus might have read Bonaventure himself, or he might have heard the Augustine explanation from Peter John Olivi who had been Bonaventure's pupil. Arnaldus' explication of the precepts is in contrast to the Cathar one: "Unde debetis intellegere quod oportet vos diligere deum cum veritate, cum benignitate, cum humilitate, cum misericordia, cum castitate et cum aliis virtutibus bonis" (Dondaine, Un traité, p. 162).

864-868] Since the "Augustine" quote is a comment on the commandment that appears in Matthew rather than the Marcan version the pupil is using, Arnaldus had to make this up himself.

873] That is, the second of the two questions that the interrogator asked on line 791-803: "Iterum si tria tantum

sufficiunt ad Deum diligendum, videtur michi quo illud tercium pocuis debeat esse virtus quam mens."

887-890] The notion that life on earth a journey (via) towards our homeland (patria) in heaven goes back to the Bible. As a corollary, perfection in this life was understood to be something short of perfection in heaven. As Peter Comestor, explained in the Historia Scholastica (PL 198, col. 1082): "Noe vero erat perfectus in generationibus suis (Gen. 6) quasi non illius perfectionis, quae est in patria, sed secundum modum generationis suae, scilicet terrenae." See Smalley, The Study, pp. 242, and, for example, Philippians 3:30, 1 Peter 2:11, Philemon 3:20 and Hebrews 11:9.

891-909] In the Summa Theologiae II-II, q. 184.2, Aquinas defines three levels of perfection in life: "potest ergo triplex perfectio considerari. Una quidem absoluta: quae attenditur non solum secundum totalitatem ex parte diligentis, sed etiam ex parte diligibilis, prout scilicet Deus tantum diligitur quantum diligibilis est. Et talis perfectio non est possibilis alicui creaturae, sed competit soli Deo, in quo bonum integraliter est essentialiter invenitur.

"Alia autem est perfectio quae attenditur secundum totalitatem absolutam ex parte diligentis, prout scilicet affectus secundum totum suum posse semper actualiter tendit in Deum. Et talis perfectio non est possibilis in via, sed erit in patria.

"Tertia autem perfectio est quae neque attenditur secundum totalitatem ex parte diligibilis, neque secundum totalitatem ex parte diligentis quantum ad hoc quod semper actu feratur in Deum; sed quantum ad hoc quod excludantur ea quae repugnant motu dilectionis in Deum . . . Et talis perfectio potest in hac vita haberi. Et hoc dupliciter. Uno modo, in quantum ab affectu hominis excluditur omne illud quod caritati contrariatur, sicut est peccatum mortale. Et sine tali perfectione caritas esse non potest. Unde est de necessitate salutis. Alio modo, caritati contrarium, sed etiam omne illud quo impedit ne affectus mentis totaliter dirigatur ad Deum. Sine qua perfectione caritas esse potest: puta in incipientibus et proficientibus."

Augustine distinguished only between perfection on earth and heaven; he called a "perfectus viator" a man who tries as hard as he can, spending his life driving evil out of himself and becoming good (Enchiridion 8).

920-921] Although he does not use the words in this context, Aquinas uses separate to mean individual (as in the soul alone) and conjoined to mean shared (as in shared by body and soul). See Schutz, Thomas-Lexicon, pp. 155, 543 and 744-745.

923] Olivi explains the "sicut" of "sicut in celi et in terra" thus: "Non enim li 'sicut' est ibi nota aequalitatis, sed

conformitatis" (Delorme, "Textes franciscains," p. 123 ll. 17-18). See also comment on line 275 above.

925-948] In the Summa theologiae II-II, q. 44.7, Aquinas says that there are three kinds of love, "sancta," "justa," and "vera." Aquinas' "sancta" is the same as Arnaldus'. His "justa" and "vera" are combined into Arnaldus' "justa."

940] The order of the questions on "sancta" and "operosa" is reversed in the Castilian translation (Perarnau, Dos tradados, pp. 122-123, ll. 974-984.

964-966] Summa Theologiae I-I 8.1: "cum autem Deus sit ipsum esse per suam essentiam oportet quod esse creature sit proprius effectus eius; sicut ignire est proprius effectus ignis . . . Quamdiu igitur res habet esse, tandiu oportet quod Deus adsit ei, secundum modum quo esse habet . . . Unde oportet quod Deus sit in omnibus rebus et intime."

968] Augustine explains in De doctrina christiana 25:26 and 26:27 that man loves nothing more than himself.

980-981] Peter Lombard, Sententiae, liber III xxviii (3-3). See comment on line 757 above.

990] Augustine never defines a neighbor as such, but in De doctrina christiana (I:30:31), he suggests that all neighbors are neighbors in three ways: by location, species and compassion. In his Liber in distinctionibus (col 913), Alan of Lille says that there are six kinds of neighbors: by place, time, imitation, origin, devotion and thought. In his sermon on the Lord's Prayer (Häring, "A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer," p. 163, section 22), Alan says that there are four kinds of brothers, "imitatione, adoptione, natura, doctrina." Arnaldus uses the later definition of brother as his definition of neighbor. Christ is described as a neighbor in 1 Peter 3:18.

994] De Doctrina Christiana I:27:28: "omnis homo, inquantum homo est, diligendus est propter Deum" and De vera religione 57:87 "Hanc voluntatem [dilectionis] erga omnes homines servat." See also De Doctrina Christiana I:22:21 and II:7:10.

1007] Luke 10:36-37. This parable is told in answer to the question "Et quid est meus proximus?"

1043] This is a quotation from the Gloria. Perarnau suggests that the prayer is specifically Beguin since, according to Bernard Gui, the Beguins made a special practise of reciting the Gloria (Manuel, p. 118). However, Lull quotes a similar prayer in his orthodox Doctrina pueril (c. 84, p. 184).

1069] Wisdom 13:1. This is not quite a quote. The Vulgate text is: "Vani autem sunt natura omnes homines in quibus non subest scientia Dei."

1100] Arnaldus refers to the scriptures as both the "sacrae scripturae" and the "sacra pagina." Both terms were current; see Smalley, The Study, p. 271.

1110] 2 Timothy 3:14-15: "Tu vero permane in iis quae didicisti et credita sunt tibi sciens a quo didiceris et quia ab infantia sacras litteras nosti, quae te possunt instruere ad salutem, per fidem que est in Christo Jesu." Interestingly, Arnaldus does not invoke Wisdom 10:21: "Quoniam sapientia apperuit os mutorum et linguas infantium fecit disertas."

1141-1143] These are the "five words of understanding" given by Robert Holcot in explanation of 1 Cor. 14:19 in Lectio 96 on the Book of Wisdom: "Isti per qui narium passionis Christi predicantes edificant ad sufficientiam corda simplicium et in persona talium loquitur apostolus 1 Cor. 14: 'In ecclesia volo quinque verba meo sensu loqui ut alios instruam ista verba sunt Quid credendum, quid faciendum, quid timendum et quid cavendum [sic]. Quid credendum duodecim articuli, quid faciendum decem precepta, quid cavendum septem vitia capitalia, quid timendum inferni supplicia, quid appetendum paradisi gaudia."

1176-1188] Bonaventure explains that doctors and other ministers of the church are responsible for teaching the lessons of the faith to laymen. Doctors are required to have both explicit and implicit faith, laymen, only implicit (In sent. liber III, dist. 25, art. 1, q. 3, p. 535).

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Abbreviations:

- CCCM Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis
(Turnholt: Brepols).
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum Scriptores Latines (Turnholt:
Brepols).
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
(Vienna: F. Tempsky).
- Harduin Jean Harduin, ed., Acta Conciliorum Epistolae
Decretales ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificum
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Amplissima Collectio (Florence and Venice,
1759-1798).
- Martène-Durand Edmond Martène and Ursine Durand, Veterum
Scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum,
dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio
(Paris, 1733).
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historiae
 Capitularia regum francorum I, ed. A. Boretius
 (Hannover: Societas Aperiendis Fontiae, 1883).
 Concilia aevi Karolini, ed. A. Werminghoff
 (Hannover, 1906-1908).
 Epistolae Karolini aevi iv, ed. E. Dümmler
 (Berlin, 1895).
- OED Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press,
1933).
- PL J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, Cursus Completus
(Paris, 1844-1864).

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-----, De fide et symbolo, PL 34, cols. 181-196.

-----, De moribus ecclesia, PL 32, cols. 1309-1378.

-----, Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive de Fide, spe et caritate (PL 40, cols. 231-290)

-----, Quaestiones in Heptateuchum, PL 34, cols. 547-824.

-----, Sermones ad competentes 212, 213, 214, 215 (on the Creed) PL 38, cols. 1058-1076 and 56, 57, 58, 59 (on the Lord's Prayer) PL 38, cols. 377-402.

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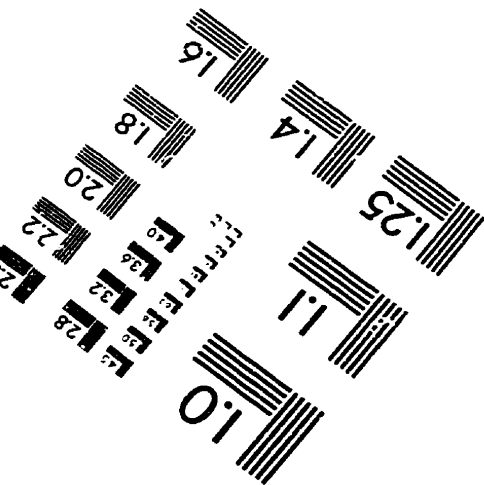
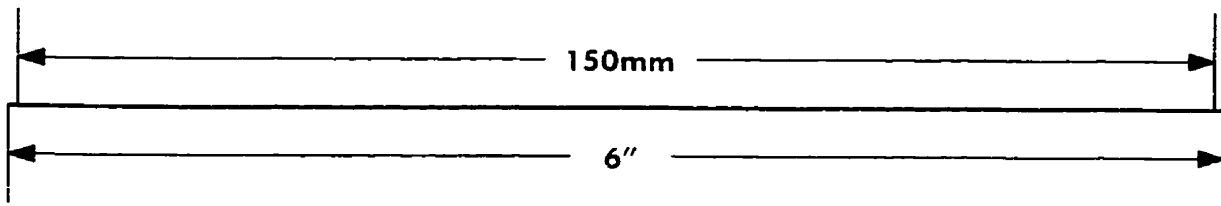
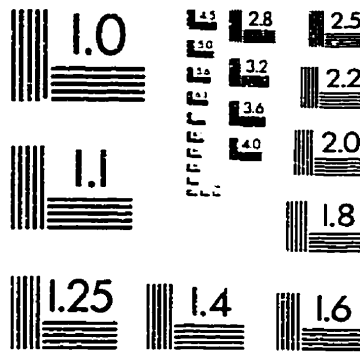
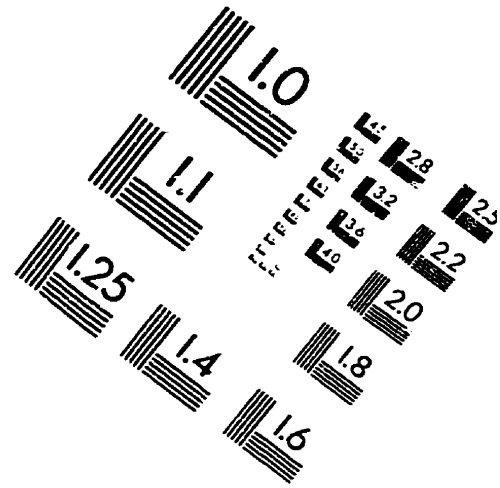
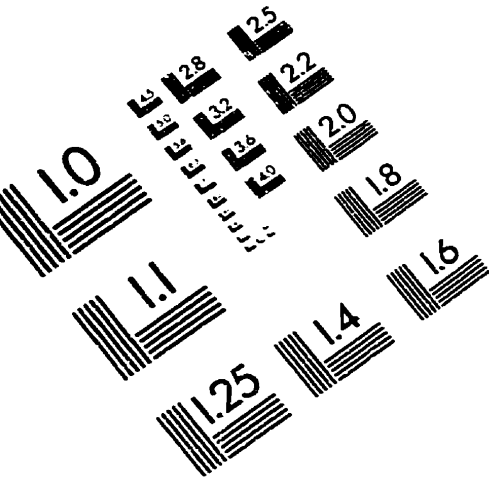
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