THE LIBER EXEMPLORUM OF MASTER WIGER OF UTRECHT:
STUDY AND TEXT

by

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Abstract of Thesis


The dissertation is divided into three sections. Chapter one is biographical and prosopographical. In it, I have identified the compiler of the Exscripta sub titulis, a collection of preaching exempla preserved uniquely in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 32, ff. 12vb-49va as Master Wiger, Provost of St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Utrecht (fl. ca. 1210-ca. 1240). Using the diplomata of the Utrecht diocese and allied texts, I have traced Wiger's career from his first mention in the diocesan records to 1228, at which time Wiger appears to have converted to the Order of Friars Minor. I have thereafter attempted to reconstruct Wiger's subsequent career as a Franciscan friar and visitator for the nascent order. Throughout chapter one, I have examined Wiger's connection to important noble and ministerial families of the German Empire.

Chapter two introduces the text. It is divided into two sections: in the first, I describe Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 32 from a paleographic and codicological perspective, in the second, I outline the collection's plan and attempt to put the work in the context of twelfth- and thirteenth-century exemplaria. Special emphasis has been placed on the rubrication of the text, which, I believe, reveals much about the compiler's intentions and spiritual formation.

The third section of the dissertation contains an edition of the Exscripta sub titulis of Master Wiger of Utrecht. In the apparatus of the edition, I have identified the sources employed by Wiger and indicated parallel and analogous texts.
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This thesis is dedicated to my parents.
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Preface

Master Wiger of Utrecht spent almost twenty years in the service of St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Utrecht. It is a storied church. Situated due east of the Domplein, in the enrolling shadows of the Pieterskerkhof and adjacent to the course of the Kromme Rhine, it has withstood more than its share of ravages and depredations. Conceived as a college for secular canons in the eleventh century, St. Peter's acquired an extraordinary amount of wealth during the course of the Middle Ages. Indeed, by the fifteenth century, there were 22 altars scattered throughout the church. In 1581, the altars and many of the treasures of the chapter were destroyed during the Beeldenstorm, that iconoclastic frenzy of the Dutch Reformation. Thirty years later, the Earl of Leicester used St. Peter's as a barracks in his campaign against the Spanish. For some time after the departure of the Spanish, St. Peter's became the "English Church." In 1656, the city of Utrecht gave the church to the Protestant Walloons after their diaspora from the southern regions of the Low Countries. It has been l'Eglise Wallonne ever since. After its change in status, St. Peter's continued to experience misfortune: its twin towers were toppled by a storm late in the seventeenth century, its library was rifled by Napoleon's men, and it endured a protracted Nazi occupation in the early 1940s.¹

However, one of the most enduring legends connected with the church, at least for the student of medieval history, concerns the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV. According to local tradition, Henry was in Utrecht when he learned of his excommunication by Pope Gregory VII. Undaunted by this information, Henry attended Easter services in the Pieterskerk on March 27, 1076. The emperor's retinue, incited by their master's bravado and disregard for the papal censure, set their torches to St. Peter's. This was the first of three fires in the church during the Middle Ages, and its interior was all but consumed. Henry, who was about to commence his celebrated journey to Canossa, assumed responsibility for the conflagration, and repaired the damages out of his own coffers.¹

No doubt this story has been told time and again during the nine and a half centuries of the church's existence. It had probably already acquired legendary status by the time that Wiger of St. Peter's entered the chapter early in the thirteenth century. It was, moreover, a fitting mise en scène for the erudite and well-connected Wiger. Indeed, the grandest story of the most venerable collegiate chapter in the oldest diocese of the Low Countries was, in essence, an exemplum—an illustrative or didactic tale. That one of the earliest extant collections of Christian exempla was compiled and redacted by Wiger, a provost of this church, is almost too symmetrical.

Until recently, virtually nothing was known about Wiger of St. Peter's or his collection of preaching tales. There is only one surviving copy of his compendium; it is held in the muniments room of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. It is found on folios 12v to 49v of Oxford, CCC MS 32. Wiger's collection might also have been represented in the library holdings of the Franciscan convent at Braunschweig (Brunswick), where a medieval book-list recorded the existence of a Summa

¹van Akerlaken, Korte Beschrijving van de Pieterskerk, p. 23. For a summary in English, see p. 50.
Unfortunately, this work has been lost. There might well exist other copies of the text in other libraries, but to date none has been found. In addition to his *Liber exemplorum*, there is a body of charter evidence for Wiger's capicular career, much of which is contained in the Rijksarchief of Utrecht. The *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, edited by K. Heeringa in 1940, is the principal published repository of Utrecht's episcopal documents. In volume two, there are almost two dozen recorded instances of Wiger's name between the years 1209 and 1228. In addition to his appearance in these sources, Wiger's conversion to the order of Friars Minor was recorded by Caesarius of Heisterbach in his *Libri octo miraculorum*. As well, there is mention of a "Wigerus Alemannus" in chapter eight of Brother Thomas of Eccleston's *De adventu fratrum Minorum in Angliam*.

In the following pages, I have attempted to assemble this information in such a way as to provide a context for his *Liber exemplorum*. There remain, of course, a number of lacunae concerning several important aspects of his life and work. We know nothing, for example, about the date of his birth, his cognomen (if he had one), the names of his parents or from which social class his forbears came. It would also be helpful to know more about the so-called *Summa Wiggeri* of Braunschweig. Was it another copy of Wiger's collection of exempla? Was it some other work? Indeed, was it even written by the provost of St. Peter's, Utrecht?

This introduction has been divided into three sections. In the first section, the structural dimensions of Wiger's physical environment will be discussed. Wiger lived, prayed and worked within the somewhat limited confines of the *Pieterskerkhof* for close to 20 years. Apart from his collection of preaching tales, the physical remains of St. Peter's are, in many respects, his most tangible legacy.

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For at least seven years during the 1220s, Wiger was charged with the *cura* of the church and of those who dwelled therein. An examination of the edifice, its features and dimensions yields information that is otherwise inaccessible. The second section considers the collegiate church as an institution. The secular canons of the Middle Ages occupied a singular status within the church. Their office was sacerdotal, yet they lived the common life. While they were obliged to live in chastity and obedience, they were exempted from a vow of poverty. Indeed, many secular and cathedral canons managed to amass considerable personal wealth during the course of their association with the church. Traditionally, the rich and luxurious canon has been a stock character or *topos* for anti-clerical polemics. While I do not intend to dwell on the economic fortunes of capitular clergy, I suggest that there was a justification, at least within the vast constellation of medieval *mentalité*, for the possession of such spectacular wealth. The third section of this introduction is biographical and prosopographical. In detailing the life and career of Wiger of St. Peter's, I have often found it necessary to explore his connections and relationships with a number of more-or-less illustrious prelates and nobles from Holland, the Ruhr valley and the Rhineland. On balance, Wiger appears to have moved within some rather important and rarified circles. And while Wiger had access to the very centre of imperial wealth and power, he ultimately rejected this caste, and went begging. Of course, I cannot account for the impulse which led him to this decision, though I suspect it might be found in a reading of his *Liber exemplorum*.
Chapter One: The Life and Career of Wiger of Utrecht

I. Saint Peter's Church, Utrecht: The physical environment

St. Peter's Collegiate Church was founded by Bernulf (Bernoldus, Benno), the twentieth bishop of Utrecht (1027-1054). Erected between the years 1039 and 1048\(^1\), the building of St. Peter's seems to have represented a continuation of bishop Adelbolt's (1015-1023) programme of ecclesiastical construction and urban development. It also provides evidence of a general economic burgeoning in the area.\(^2\) Indeed, St. Peter's was the first of four churches established during the episcopal reign of Bernulf, the remaining three include: the collegiate church of St. John, Utrecht, the abbey church of St. Paul, Utrecht, and St. Lebuinus' Church in Deventer.\(^3\) It was Bernulf as well who first envisaged the so-called "cross of churches" (\textit{het kerkenkruis}) which today circumscribes the pivotal late-Gothic Cathedral Church of St. Martin, Utrecht's \textit{Domkerk}. St. Peter's church, lying to the east of the \textit{Domkerk}, forms the head of the cross, the aforementioned churches of SS. John and Paul lie to the north and the south respectively, leaving St. Mary's church to represent the "base" of the cross in the west. Bernulf did not live to see the

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\(^1\)Calkoen cites these dates based on van der Monde, \textit{Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis}, 1838, p. 231.


construction of the last structure, as it was completed in 1082 by his successor, Konrad. Bishop Bernulf was interred somewhere within St. Peter's after 1054, though the precise location of the original grave is today unknown. At some point after 1525 the bishop's remains were discovered in a certain sanctuarium and translated to a site below the choir. Bernulf's monument was a popular site of pilgrimage throughout the Middle Ages, though his cult was never formally recognised.

Conceived originally as a Roman-Byzantine basilica with a transept along a north-south axis, St. Peter's has suffered many architectural changes and has endured a number of depredations during its 950 years of existence. Perhaps the most obvious of these was the demolition of the twin towers at the western end of the church after they were damaged during the great storm of August 1, 1674 (this was the same storm that destroyed a significant portion of the Domkerk's nave). These towers were never rebuilt. The tempest also damaged the remaining sections of St. Peter's Pand, or the cloister.

Erected against the southern wall of the church, west of the south arm of the transept, St.

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4Calkoen, Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk, p. 3. Cf. van Akerlaken, Korte Beschrijving van de Pieterskerk, who notes that Bernulf's grave became a "much visited place of pilgrimage" during the Middle Ages (p. 50).

6There is a late seventeenth-century engraving in the municipal archive (Gemeente-archief) by Herman Saftleven depicting the storm-battered towers. It has been reproduced in van Akerlaken, p. 51. In the same archive there also exists a nineteenth-century drawing based on an eleventh-century image from the town hall. The drawing has been included in C. L. Temminck Groll, "De St.-Pieterskerk te Utrecht", Bulletin KNOB: Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond 81, 1982, pp. 75-117, p. 114. In his monograph on St. Peter's, Calkoen includes an account of the storm's effects on the architecture of the church. See Calkoen, Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk, pp. 107-108.
Peter's cloister enclosed a small central courtyard. The courtyard still retains more-or-less its original dimensions, though it is now surrounded by more recent buildings—most of which are early modern structures. The Pand is square in shape, with a small annex extending out from the southern part of the east exterior wall. The cloister proper was separated from the courtyard by an arcade running along the west, south and east interior walls. It was here, in the buildings surrounding the courtyard that much of the day-to-day business of the chapter was conducted.

From ca. 1461, in the north-west corner of the Pand, adjacent to the southern wall of the nave, stood the library where, according to van Akerlaken, "the costly books lay chained to the tables". This room was not, however, the earliest repository of the chapter's books. From the scant evidence available, it appears as though the chapter had scattered its collection throughout the church and cloister. There are early references to the existence of certain libri ecclesie in the choir, and Calkoen observes that the first reference to the existence of a collection of books antedates the construction of the library by two centuries. The first mention of a codex is from 1277, when the chapter purchased chains to secure a copy of the Decretals (Decretalen) sent by the abbot of St. Mary's cloister in Middelburg, Zeeland. M. T. Clanchy reminds us that such an arrangement was not only customary, but that it was functional as well: books and documents

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7 Temminck-Groll informs us that a thorn tree grew in the centre of this courtyard during the Middle Ages. He quotes Dr. J. Hollestelle, who carried out an investigation of the chapter's archive, nr 191, band I 1370-1432, band II 1460-1492 and following. JH 1424, rek. 106, 7v: "reparatione spine stante in medio circumiti (sic) claustri"; JH 1470, 4v: a bench under the thorn tree; JH 1512, 7v: the thorn tree has fallen and is again righted.


were kept where they would be useful and were dispersed throughout the place so as to obviate the risks posed by fire, flood, theft or any other potentially calamitous event—effectively reducing the chances that an entire collection might perish at once.\(^{10}\) Thus, breviiaries and missals were often found in the church while saints' lives or other devotional literature might be kept in cupboards or chests for reading aloud at meals, or for individual study. Throughout the medieval period and, indeed, well into early modernity this seems to have been the pattern at St. Peter's.

Of the chapter's early holdings and acquisitions very little is known. No medieval book list appears to have survived. P. M. M. Geurts recently examined the state of the library's collection in 1672.\(^{11}\) His catalogue provides us with some idea of the size and scope of its holdings towards the end of the seventeenth century. This, however, is the earliest glimpse into St. Peter's literary remains. The catalogue includes incunabula and later printed editions of a wide variety of sources: theological books, liturgical and devotional manuals, tomes on natural philosophy, works of biblical exegesis and canon law, histories (both sacred and profane), hagiography as well as grammar.\(^{12}\) No manuscripts are listed in Geurts' catalogue. He does suggest that even as late as


\(^{11}\)The collection was confiscated in accordance with a resolution passed by the municipal council on 8 November, 1581, and was placed in the town's library where it remained until 1636. At that time, the holdings from each of the five chapters were rationalised into the larger collection of the University Library, Utrecht. During the Napoleonic occupation the books were removed to the Rijks Domein Archief (1811) and remained there until 1843 when they were returned to the University collection. P. M. M. Geurts, "Een catalogus van de bibliotheek van het kapittel van St. Pieter te Utrecht, gemaakt bij de opheffing van deze bibliotheek in 1672: Met een inleiding over de Utrechtse Kapittelbibliotheken in het algemeen vanaf de Beeldenstorm tot 1672", *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, jaargang 22, 1980, pp.191-253, pp.191-2.

\(^{12}\)Over 110 separate books are listed in Geurt's catalogue. Among the theological works are: an *Opera omnia* of St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* and an *Opera Boetii*; works of natural philosophy include the *Cosmographia* of Sebastianus Munsterus and the *Geographica Strabonis*; for canon law there is a *Decretum Gratiani*, and for biblical exegesis there is *Annotationes in libri Evangeliorum*;
ca. 1590 there was only a rudimentary systemization of the library's holdings. Books were kept on desks or tables in the library and had 'not yet been placed on shelves'.\textsuperscript{13} This would suggest that throughout the period under discussion, the raw number of manuscripts immediately available to members of the college was perhaps not great. It is axiomatic that technologies and systems generally arise in response to circumstances that warrant change, and the development of an efficient method for the storage and retrieval of books seems to have been unnecessary for what was very likely a "bare-bones" collection of only the most essential texts. In any case, a simple counting of titles often provides a poor indication of the quality or quantity of literature at hand. Items from the earliest catalogue for Durham cathedral, for example, are described variously as \textit{libri} (books), \textit{paria} (sets), \textit{particuli} (parts) or \textit{quaterniones} (quires)—the size of each volume and the layout of the page differ markedly from text to text.\textsuperscript{14} In the appendix to his \textit{Middeleeuwsche Bibliotheken}, K. O. Meinsma provides an exhaustive repertory of late-medieval book lists from churches and monasteries of Utrecht and environs; in it, he includes lists from two of the five churches of the \textit{Kerkenkruiis}: St. Mary's collegiate church and St. Paul's abbey. In both cases, the collections were small (Forty-three manuscripts are listed for St. Mary's, while St. Paul's list includes 31 titles—though many of the texts appear to have been composite manuscripts) and while there are a few works of natural philosophy, medicine and history listed for either of the chapters, there seems to have been a preponderance of codices concerning theology, the life of the

\textsuperscript{13}...\textit{de boeken in de bibliotheek van St. Pieter nog niet in kasten stonden, maar op lessenaars lagen...} Geurts, "Een catalogus van de bibliotheek van St. Pieter," p. 227, n. 128.

\textsuperscript{14}Clanchy, \textit{From Memory to Written Record}, pp. 104-105.
cloister and law. Despite the limitations of their collections, the libraries of these neighbouring institutions appear to have suited at least the bare administrative and didactic requirements of a collegiate chapter or abbey.

Ultimately, very little can be deduced about St. Peter's medieval literary resources from the current state of the evidence. Comparisons among the libraries of Utrecht's churches, while providing some limited insight into the prevailing scholarly environment of the city, are bound to prove themselves faux amis. While there was certainly a considerable amount of commerce and traffic amongst the chapters—and this at a number of levels—the relative paucity of sources for this traffic forces us to depend almost exclusively on the extant records of St. Peter's itself. And despite the general silence of the records as well as the likelihood that its library was indeed rather limited in its scope, the chapter appears to have taken seriously its custodial responsibilities regarding what collection it did possess. Calkoen cites no less than a dozen structural repairs and improvements to the choir and library between 1379 and 1465. Moreover, for the same period there are a number of provisions for the care and maintenance of individual books. These are the only passing references to titles in St. Peter's collection before ca. 1500. Calkoen adds that "in

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15For St. Mary's collection, see Meinsma, *Middeleeuwsche Bibliotheken*, pp.265-266. For St. Paul's, see Meinsma, pp. 282-284.

16Calkoen, *Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk*, p. 30. In the majority of instances, the scribe has recorded the purchase (or bequest) of chains for the books as well as of voetsteens or voeltijsten—paving stones, i.e., "...1379: Item de diversis reparatoribus cathenarum et de una nova cathaia ad quibus? libri ecclesie...; ...1461: Item dedi pro 60 voetsteens, vulgariter dictes lijsten, jacentia ad muros liberarie..." More substantial repairs are also recorded, as when the chapter appears to have purchased beer to slake the thirst of stone-cutters or masons working above or near the library: "...1464: Item dedi...pro cervisia, propinata lathamis, laborantibus in turri ad gradum (i.e., shelves, platform?), transeundo super liberiam..."

17Apart from the aforementioned copy of the *Decretals* (*Decretalen*) the records indicate that the following books were in the possession of the chapter before ca. 1550: a *Scolastica historia*, a collection of graduals or anthems, a psalter (1389), a document referred to as the *Historia Sancti Werenfridi* (1410), as well
the beginning" the chapter possessed only 12 books. He does not elaborate.

Calkoen has very little to report on the state or nature of St. Peter's school. He notes that by the early fifteenth century it was located near the Maria Magdelenkapel, or Proostkapel, off the cloister. He also states that the ou dew school had been situated in the chapterhouse and that the scholasticus had quarters above this room. Unfortunately, there are no references to students or to a curriculum before the second half of the fourteenth century. It is difficult to know what sorts of boys the school drew in earlier times, what had been taught, or how many of the canons had received their primary education within the chapter. A much later (fifteenth century?) juramentum scholastic i Sancti Petri is extant, providing some indication of what was expected of the school master. Nevertheless we do not know when the custom of taking an oath of office began.

A good deal more is known about the cathedral school of Utrecht. In Dom en Onderwijs, F. W. N. Hugenholtz (et al.) states that "During this time (i.e. the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), education was an affair of the Church." Indeed, the primary function of the cathedral

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as a liber capitulorum antiquum (1407), a liber statuorum ecclesie (1539) and a liber memoriarum (1540). Calkoen, Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk, pp. 20, 30.

18 De biblio theek bezat in den aanvang slechts 12 boeken. Calkoen, Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk, p. 31

19 Calkoen, Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk, p. 33.

20 1374 S. Item scolaribus. qui portavunt lapides. dictos quer estene ad hostium custodis et de hostio illo ad criptam... Calkoen, Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk, p. 3.

21 UB Utrecht, Hs 416, f. 191v.

22 "Het onderwijs was in deze tijd een zaak van de kerk." F. W. N. Hugenholtz (and others), Dom en Onderwijs, Utrechtse Historische Cahiers, no. 3, Utrecht, 1983, p. 38.
school was to create competent churchmen. By the thirteenth century, students were taught their lessons by a master who had received the *licentia docendi*. It was Bishop Theoderic van Are who in 1209 created the *scholastria*, or office of the *scholasticus*, at Utrecht. While this office was created before the issuance of the Lateran conciliar statutes of 1215, the context for its creation was one of ecclesiastical renewal and the desire for pastoral excellence.\(^{23}\) By the beginning of the thirteenth century, many theologians and canonists came to believe that, in order to create a godly society, primacy ought to be placed upon the proper recruitment and education of the clergy. A priest ought to be a 'discerner of souls' and well-versed in the rudiments of the faith. In order to accomplish this goal, emphasis was placed upon teaching those subjects necessary for appropriate spiritual formation. According to Hugenholtz, the schoolmaster "*droeg hen voor de lagere wijdingen voor en onderwees hen in de kerkelijke tucht en goed gedrag.*"\(^{24}\) This is to say, students were schooled in the basics of practical theology. They also learned the liturgy and were taught to say antiphons and responses by rote. They studied the *trivium*: grammar, logic and rhetoric.\(^{25}\) While St. Peter's school is less known than the *Domschool* of Utrecht, it probably shared many of its features.

By the time of Wiger's first mention in the records of the chapter, St. Peter's collegiate church had existed for over 150 years. It housed the relics of the church's founder, Bishop

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\(^{23}\)Canon 11 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) reiterated canon 18 of the Third Lateran Council (1179) which established that each cathedral church ought to provide for a "master of the school," whose function it was to teach grammar and the other liberal arts to diocesan clergy and poor scholars. No doubt such a provision was intended to facilitate the priest's performance of his *cura animarum*. See Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1 (Nicaea I to Lateran V), pp. 220 and 240.

\(^{24}\)Hugenholtz, *Dom en Onderwijs*, p. 40.

\(^{25}\)Hugenholtz, *Dom en Onderwijs*, p.40.
Bernulf, who, as I have noted above, had become the subject of many pilgrims' devotions. The physical features of the church, which included chapels, a school, a modest collection of books, and many landed properties were significant to the culture and the economy of the city. In short, St. Peter's was an important and familiar landmark on the city-scape of Utrecht. As the backdrop for Wiger's capitular career, St. Peter's and the Pieterskerkhof provide an indication of his social, intellectual and ecclesiastical milieux. Even today, to walk along the nave of the church, through the transept and into the dean's chapel is to recognise what must have been the extraordinary physical presence of the St. Peter's community.

II. St. Peter's Church, Utrecht: The institutional environment

For almost twenty years, Wiger belonged to a college of secular canons that worshipped in the church I have just described. If I have spent an immoderate amount of time in this description, it is because I wish to emphasise the ecclesiastical and sacerdotal functions of the chapter. If in the following pages, I focus heavily on Wiger's place within the vast network of tithes and leases and systems of personal and economic obligation within the diocese of Utrecht, it is because of the nature of the surviving sources. There is a considerable body of extant financial data from the Utrecht chapters. While these sources are exceedingly useful in reconstructing the social and economic relationships that once existed within the ecclesiastical community of Utrecht, one ought to use extreme caution with regard to their application. Indeed, the charter evidence can tell us a great deal about what Wiger did, it cannot however illuminate why he did it. The real work of the chapter does not survive in documentary form.
It is important to remember that the capitular church was an institution whose principal function was the worship and glorification of the risen Christ. This point is often lost upon consideration of the usually opulent physical remains of medieval collegiate churches and upon calculation of their invariably impressive liquid and fixed assets. However, to emphasise the raw economics of the chapter over its liturgy or the opus Dei is to fail to appreciate the most prominent feature of life within the close. The canon's day-to-day existence was entirely circumscribed by the liturgical calendar; he reckoned time according to the cadence of holidays, fasts and feria1 days. And while liturgical manuals, missals, and breviaries are the tangible, surviving manifestations of this cadence, they can only hint at the generations of continuous, audible corporate prayer that once filled churches like St. Peter's. The collegiate chapter was, above all else, a prayerful community.

In some ways, the charter evidence does provide us with corroboration of this point. Upon closer scrutiny, the legal documents of Utrecht emerge as profoundly Christian in both form and content. Indeed, the fact that they were preserved at all seems to reveal certain assumptions about the nature of time and the purpose of a Christian people. For example, in a charter concerning the relatively mundane business of transferring advowson, Bishop Otto van Gelre included the following salutation: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis amen. Otto, Dei gratia Traiectensis episcopus, universis Christi fidelibus in perpetuum...26 It is easy to view such language as ornamental, a pro forma embellishment. It is tempting to view this transfer as little more than a commercial transaction. This, however, is to misapprehend the intellectual horizons

of the age. Bishop Otto's greeting was written for an audience as yet unborn. It takes for granted or anticipates the linear movement of history towards an apocalyptic consumption and a Christian telos. To suggest that a state of affairs will exist in perpetuum indicates a profound belief in the fundamental order, stability and continuity of the cosmos. It emanates from a worldview that is decidedly providential. Indeed, the charter ends where it began: Actum anno dominice incarnationis MCCXVII, pontificatus nostri anno primo... Time is calculated from the point when Christ entered the human narrative. The transfer of advowson therefore exists within a divine framework, it is a component of God's greater plan for the diocese and for the world.

In another document, Bishop Otto van Lippe agreed to discharge a debt in two payments, the first on the octave of Easter, and the second on the octave of the Pentecost. While a payment schedule of this type might have been conceived primarily for mnemonic purposes, it must be allowed that the level to which ecclesiastical finances and church rite were integrated was considerable. I have noted above that the urban design of medieval Utrecht permitted the pedestrian to walk through a continuous re-enactment of the crucifixion (i.e., within the kerkenkruis). In a similar manner, the circuit of the sun, the succession of the seasons, indeed, the very cycle of one's life was marked and ordered by the central episodes of Christ's earthly mission. This curious intersection between finance and ritual must then be viewed as part of a much larger process or phenomenon, and appears to be representative of some of the inescapable axioms of the epoch. To twine such seemingly disparate human activities as worship and commerce seems to us almost contradictory. Christians of the Middle Ages, however, appear not to have shared our scruples. Indeed, the Christian religion was to them as much a heuristic device as it was a system of belief: it organised and exalted the visible, sub-lunary world as much as it offered
salvation. We should perhaps have been more surprised if medieval authors had separated earthly from celestial affairs.

Secular canons had their place within this order, and their worshipful or prayerful behaviour extended beyond the point where the modern world might recognise it. In *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Caroline Walker Bynum stressed that the behaviour of regular canons might be viewed as "an agent of moral education in its own right."27 In elucidating this point, she noted:

The phrase *verbo et docendo, vita et doctrina*, takes on in twelfth-century canonical authors a broader meaning than its earlier identification with preaching or with leadership. Several of the twelfth-century authors who explicitly use the phrase have in mind not preaching but rather ordinary human intercourse either inside or outside the cloister.28 Accordingly, the canon's every action and behaviour should be interpreted as though it contained a godly lesson. Therefore, when a canon assisted in the administration of the diocese he was engaged in an act of worship, in tending his God-given patrimony he performed a sacerdotal act. By bestowing hospitality and by teaching, the canon assumed his appointed place within Christian society. In his discussion of 'charismatic culture' in *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*, C. Stephen Jaeger provides us with an approximation that may be applied to the secular canon. He observes: "The king is charged with a force instilled directly by God: his authority is God's, his will is the will of God. In the context of

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28Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, p. 55.
cathedral school learning, the teacher is the bearer and conveyor of real presence. His person is the lesson; it communicates 'knowledge,' wisdom, and eloquence. In a similar way, the canon's person is not only the lesson, it is the prayer; he might engage in any number of activities, either within the chapter or in the service of a prince or bishop. He might study or teach—it did not matter. Whether he possessed great wealth or scratched out his existence on marginal land—it was unimportant. His life was itself an act of praise. His opulence or poverty merely reflected God's majesty and glory.

To the medieval mind, there was no contradiction in the fact that a cleric such as Wiger might, on the one hand, compose a preaching manual in which the majority of the characters were poor desert monks and, on the other, administer the vast landed wealth of a prosperous collegiate chapter. Both aspects of the canon's experience could exist quite readily within an individual psyche. And while we are accustomed to reading of the wealth and business acumen of secular canons, this view must be balanced against their necessarily or inherently prayerful condition. While, clearly, it is impossible to access the interior world of the secular canon, in any attempt to understand his mentalité, one must consider both the charter evidence and the sorts of pastoral manuals written and compiled by clerics such as Wiger of St. Peter's.

III. Dominus Magister Wiger, prepositus ecclesie sancti Petri in Traiecto (et Frater Wigerus Alemannus, Visitator, O. F. M.)

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Little is known about the author of the text preserved uniquely in Oxford, CCC MS 32, ff. 12vb-49va. Virtually nothing that is certain can be said about his family or his social origins. The extent and place of his education can only be guessed. Even the details of his career as a diocesan administrator or of his subsequent admission into the Order of Friars Minor are limited by the formidable strictures imposed by the state of the evidence. Despite his seeming prominence amongst the clerics of the city and perhaps with a humility that properly bespattered a servant of Christ, Master Wiger of Utrecht, provost of the collegiate church of St. Peter and author of a Liber exemplorum, emerges only fleetingly and with some reluctance from the ancient shadows of the Dom.

Sources for the life of this presumably esteemed associate of the episcopal mensa, and relatively accomplished pedagogue, are few. The name Wiger is rendered variously as Wigger, Wicher, Wieger, Wiegher and even Wikker in the source material. Though an onomastic analysis of the designation "Wiger" has borne little fruit, an examination of its occurrence in the northern Low Countries during the early thirteenth century has provided some clues as to the possible location of Wiger of St. Peter's familial roots. As a praenomen, Wiger was an unusual, though not entirely rare, appellation in the Germanic regions of Europe during the Middle Ages. There are but five Wigers listed among the extant charters of the diocese of Utrecht during the first 50 years of the thirteenth century. Of these five, it is curious to note that four of them appear to have had some connection with lands or estates located around Steenwijk and Ruinen, near the point where the modern provinces of Friesland, Drenthe and Overijssel meet. In addition to Wiger of St. Peter's, the Utrecht cartulary records the existence of: 1) Wiger Benting or Bentynck, a knight (miles), 2) Wiger Lapinch, 3) Wiger Sturm, and 4) Wiger, a canon of St.
Mary's church, Utrecht. There is no evidence to link this last Wiger, the canon of St. Mary's, with either Steenwijk or Ruinen.

While Wiger Benting had no explicit connection to Ruinen or Steenwijk, his son Bernhard presented Bishop Otto with tithes from two estates in Appelscha. These tithes were then conferred on the monastery at Ruinen with the consent of the bishop. In addition, the document outlining this transaction was witnessed at Ruinen during March, 1247.30 The name Wiger Benting (Bensinck) also appears in the list of *milites* who died while defending the jurisdiction of Bishop Otto II, van Lippe, of Utrecht at the Battle of Ane on St. Pantaleon's Day in 1227.31 However, the name is also recorded in an Utrecht charter from 1230.32 It is uncertain whether Benting actually survived Ane or whether the 1230 occurrence of the name represents one of his kinsmen.

The name of Wiger Lapinch appears only once in the *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht* when he witnessed a transaction between Bishop Theoderic and Frederick, abbot of the Ruinen monastery. Frederick relinquished the monastery's rights over churches in Steenwijk and Borne (in south-eastern Overijssel). While there is no indication as to where the document was signed or whether Wiger Lapinch actually lived in the area, many of those who witnessed the charter were referred to as "de Rune" or "de Stenwic."33 Wiger, son of the ministerial Hugo Sturm who accompanied Bishop Otto van Lippe on his crusading pilgrimage to Egypt in ca.

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33 OSU, vol. 2, pp. 43-44 (no. 575).
1219, witnessed at least two documents connected to the Ruinen monastery during the early years of the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{34} In 1209, the bishop Theoderic approved a request by Hugo and Wiger Sturm regarding the transfer of a tithe to St. Mary's, Ruinen.\textsuperscript{35} In 1210, father and son witnessed a similar transaction, whereby the ministerial Arnold Wilde ceded a tithe from a house in Eemster, within the parish of Diever, to the Ruinen cloister in exchange for a house in Wannepe, presumably near present-day Wanneperveer.\textsuperscript{36} In both of these instances, Wiger of St. Peter's also acted as a witness. It remains uncertain whether the name Wiger is regional or whether it might be associated with a particular social class or kinship group. Nevertheless, its unusually frequent occurrence in connection with legal documents from so limited a geographical area leads one to consider the possibility that some form of familial or territorial relationship existed amongst at least four of the five Wigers.\textsuperscript{37}

Wiger of St. Peter's name appears in the \textit{Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301} on some 23 occasions between the years 1209 and 1228. In the vast preponderance of these instances, he acted simply as a witness or guarantor to a variety of financial and administrative transactions of the chapter of St. Peter and the diocese of Utrecht. While these charters make it

\textsuperscript{34}OSU, vol. 2, p. 130 (no. 668).

\textsuperscript{35}OSU, vol. 2, pp. 54-55 (no. 589).

\textsuperscript{36}OSU, vol. 2, p. 64 (no. 598).

\textsuperscript{37}The name continued to occur in documents from the region throughout the next 75 years. In \textit{Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht}, vol. 3, no. 1540, p. 292, a Wicherus appeared as an ally of a certain Mewekin of Ruinen in a charter from 1261. In J. W. Berkelbach van der Sprenkel (ed.), \textit{Regesten van Oorkonden betreffende de Bisshoppen van Utrecht uit de jaren 1301-1340}, Utrecht, 1937, two more instances of the name were recorded. There is mention of Wiger, dean of Steenwijk (no. 30, pp. 10-11) as well as of Wiger, dean of Drenthe and rector of Fries (no. 163, pp. 66-67, no. 217, p. 89, no. 225, p. 92, no. 458, pp. 183-184).
possible to trace the path of Wiger’s career and permit us to speculate on his responsibilities in connection with the various offices that he held, they do not afford us much of a glimpse of Wiger outside of these particular contexts.

Of the 23 extant charters, however, there are two exceptional documents wherein Wiger figures as an important participant in diplomatic initiatives conducted by Conrad of Urach, Cardinal Bishop of Porto, legate of Pope Honorius III. In a third charter, Wiger appears to have alienated a portion of his prebend to members of the chapter of St. Peter. Nevertheless, these episodes are exceptional. They transpired late in Wiger’s capitular career, after he had become provost of St. Peter’s and had achieved some measure of fame. In the earlier documents, we learn little more than the fact that Wiger was present at the conclusion of certain diocesan or capitular affairs. Apart from the material to be gleaned from the Oorkondenboek, the biographer of this period of Wiger’s life and career must rely upon the internal evidence provided in the text of Oxford, CCC MS 32, ff. 12v-49v, and to a lesser extent upon the various honorifics connected with his name. Even here, however, the prosopographer has been dealt a poor hand as there remains but one known copy of Wiger’s work, and part of the text might have been lost.

On the basis of the surviving evidence, Wiger’s life can be divided into five periods: 1. Early life to 1209 (the first mention of Wiger in the records); 2. Tenure as a Canon of St. Peter’s (ca. 1209 to before 14 October, 1213); 3. Tenure as Dean of St. Peter’s (before 14 October, 1213 to ca. 1220); 4. Tenure as Provost of St. Peter’s (ca. 1220 to ca. April, 1228); 5. Conversion to the Order of Friars Minor after April, 1228.

1. Early Life to ca. 1209
For the earliest period, only four assertions might be made with any confidence, namely that Wiger was probably born near Ruinen or Steenwijk, he was schooled, he entered the clergy at Utrecht, and at some point, he very likely taught. While the circumstances and details surrounding this phase of Wiger's life must remain inaccessible, a few observations concerning the normal patterns of a canon's formation and integration into the community might be cautiously advanced. In his important article, "Kanunniken, kloosters en kerkgebouwen in laat-middeleeuws Utrecht", Professor Bram van den Hoven van Genderen provides a useful summary and description of the canons' activities, obligations and manner of life during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. And while there is evidence that Wiger moved through the ranks of the capitular hierarchy at a comparatively rapid pace, and must consequently fall somewhat outside the parameters of the "ordinary" canon's experience, Professor van den Hoven van Genderen's description will nevertheless serve as a template against which to measure the one-time provost of St. Peter's.

In the first place, van den Hoven van Genderen reminds us that in order to be eligible for full membership in a collegiate church, a prebendary candidate at Utrecht had to have attained at least 18 years of age. This practice seems at variance with the traditions of, say, English secular cathedrals whose constitutions stipulated that canons "were supposed to be in holy orders and therefore at least twenty-two years of age, that is, the earliest age at which by canon law a clerk

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could be ordained a subdeacon." In Germany, east of the Rhine, the procedure for collation to a prebend differed yet again and there existed something of a "hierarchy of different types of prebend," ranging from those set aside for the so-called domicelli, those for the junior, "unemancipated" canons and those reserved for the "senior" canons. There were exceptions to the rules governing the age of admittance in both England and the Low Countries, and younger boys were sometimes admitted into minor orders, though this was usually accomplished by means of a papal dispensation and might be assumed to have happened only in fairly unusual circumstances. If Wiger followed the traditional path with respect to admittance, then the latest possible date for his birth is ca. 1191, as he was first described as canonicus in 1209. There is little reason to suppose that Wiger was at that time younger than the stipulated 18 years—indeed, there might be evidence to suggest that he was somewhat older.

In addition to the age requirements, canons were subject to a number of regulations and customs concerning the condition of their birth and their family's social standing. For a candidate to be received by the community, it was necessary to establish that both of his parents were free-born and legitimately married, and that he had been born within the bonds of wedlock.

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42 van den Hoven van Genderen, "Kanunniken, kloosters en kerkgebouwen", pp. 201-202. See Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 34: "...the statutes of Salisbury and Wells made provision for (boys in minor orders) to sit on the lowest form in choir among the boy choristers".

43 *OSU*, vol. 2, pp. 54-55 (no. 589).

44 van den Hoven van Genderen, "Kanunniken, kloosters en kerkgebouwen", p. 201.
if not the majority of instances, the canons of Utrecht came from wealthy or noble families. And while personal or familial wealth was not regarded as an indispensable requirement for admittance, the burdens of hospitality often necessitated a deep purse—this was certainly the case for those who aspired to the status of dean or provost. Van den Hoven van Genderen estimates, based on records from the Oudmunster, that between 1350 and 1530, at least 23 per cent of its canons came from the noble or knightly classes of Utrecht, Holland, Zeeland or Gelderland and that a similar percentage could claim descent from the ranks of the municipal magistracies of these same jurisdictions.\(^{45}\) Figures for the early thirteenth century are unavailable, though one suspects that they would be similar.

Very little can be established about the course of Wiger of St. Peter's education. Whether his primary studies commenced in the cathedral or capitular schools of Utrecht or whether he learned the trivium and quadrivium elsewhere is impossible to say. While the facilities for an elementary education certainly existed within the bounds of the city, and while many canons no doubt began their careers in its chapter schools, there is no evidence to suggest that Wiger learned the puerilia at Utrecht; nor is there any indication that he was privately tutored. Whatever form his early schooling might have taken, it is extremely likely that he eventually pursued advanced studies in a university setting. This assertion is based on the fact that Wiger was identified as magister twice in the extant literature. The explicit of Oxford, CCC Oxford MS 32, ff. 12v–49v reads as follows:

\[\text{Explicitum exscripta Gregorii pape de Dialogo et Vitas Patrum sub titulis redacta a}\]

\(^{45}\)van den Hoven van Genderen, "Kanunniken, kloosters en kerkgebouwen", p. 203.
magistro Wigero preposito sancti Petri in Traiecto.\textsuperscript{46}

Caesarius of Heisterbach also referred to the provost of St. Peter's as \textit{magister} in his \textit{Libri octo miraculorum}. In book 3, chapter 9, Caesarius claimed:

\begin{quote}
Retulit mihi magister Wigerus, praepositus Traiectensis, nunc in ordine fratrum minorum conversus, quod dicturus sum.\textsuperscript{47}
\end{quote}

Wiger's magisterial status is also hinted at in Thomas of Eccleston's description of the third Franciscan \textit{visita\textordmas{r}} in chapter eight of \textit{De adventu fratrum Minorum in Angliam}, when he observed that in addition to his other qualities, Brother Wigerus Alemannus was "...\textit{vir valde famosus in peritia juris}..."\textsuperscript{48}

By the close of the twelfth century, the title \textit{magister} implied that an individual had been granted the \textit{licentia docendi} either from a representative of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (often from the bishop, \textit{scholasticus} or archdeacon of a given diocese) or from a university. The acquisition of teaching credentials from a university and the possession of honorifics such as \textit{doctor} or \textit{magister} were usually based upon a candidate's successful completion of certain tasks which were conceived and scrutinised by a masters' association. In the tradition of the medieval craft guilds,

\textsuperscript{46} Oxford, CCC MS 32, f. 49va, lines 6-8.


\textsuperscript{48} Thomas of Eccleston, \textit{Tractatus de adventu fratrum Minorum in Angliam}, cap. 8. Wiger of St. Peter's appears to have been the second Wiger from Utrecht to be dubbed "Alemannus." During the First Crusade, a knight of Utrecht, also called Wiger, distinguished himself in battle against the Saracens. According to Caesarius of Heisterbach, when he died, the Moslems decapitated him and paraded his head through their lines as a trophy. The Christians buried the remainder of his body and erected a church over the site. See Caesarius, \textit{The Dialogue on Miracles} 11. 23. Translated by H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton-Bland, London, 1929, pp. 258-259. On the attribution of "Alemannus" to the knight Wiger see Röhricht, \textit{Die Deutschen in Heiligen Lande}, pp. 20-21.
new masters were usually required to engage in model disputations or to deliver model lectures, that is, to provide a "masterpiece" for inspection and assessment.\(^4^9\)

While Wiger might have received the *licentia docendi* from the Bishop of Utrecht or from one of the capitular *scholastici*, internal evidence in Oxford, CCC MS 32, ff. 12v-49v suggests that the provost of St. Peter's had an intimate familiarity with the sorts of theological concerns that had animated the academic *milieux* of Paris and other northern European schools from the closing decades of the twelfth century. That he might have actually attended one of the Parisian schools is, indeed, a distinct possibility. And though the text of Wiger's *exempla* collection is sometimes unprepossessing and perhaps even prosaic, the document's rubrication suggests an affinity with the works of Peter the Chanter's circle and the opinions of the School of St. Victor. The rubrics of Wiger's *Liber exemplorum* suggest an over-arching preoccupation with sacramental theology and appropriate Christian deportment. These themes underscore Wiger's tacit recognition of the sinner's need for repentance and God's grace. Throughout the compendium there is a strong emphasis on the need to examine one's behaviour and motivations, to make a full confession, and to lead a godly life. Wiger viewed the cleric's ability to discern souls as paramount, and he depicted the priest in his role as the *medicus animarum*. While there is no fully-articulated schematic to the collection's rubrication or layout, a rough pattern still emerges. And while the following divisions are not quite uniform or discrete, the *topoi* of Wiger's *Liber* may be outlined, thus:

1. Chapters 1-19: Demonological *exempla*

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Wiger's organisation of the text emanates from a source very near to that of the practical theology of the Victorines, which offered guidance on hearing confession, administering penance, baptism, celebration of the Eucharist, preparation of sermons, ordination and excommunication. Such are also Wiger's concerns. Confession and penance are addressed directly in many of the sources which Wiger used, and are especially evident in his heavy reliance on tales from the *Vitae patrum*. The form of interrogation employed by the *seniores* to extract truth from their disciples may be seen as one of the prototypes for medieval models of auricular confession: discernment was a chief virtue of the desert fathers, just as it ought to have been for Wiger's sacerdotal colleagues.

Though his course of study is nowhere stated explicitly, the evidence suggests that Wiger not only had formal training in theology but also in the law. As I have noted above, "Wiger the

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German" was referred to as "greatly famous in the academic study of law (valde famosus in peritia iuris)" by the Franciscan chronicler, Thomas of Eccleston. In Masters, Princes and Merchants, John Baldwin notes that it was theologians such as Robert of Courçon and canonists such as Huguccio, i.e., associates of Peter the Chanter, who were among the first to use the term jurisprudent to distinguish those who were "learned in the law," from those who sold their legal counsel (consilium), who pled in the court (advocati or causidici), or who sold their legal assistance (patrocinium). The use of this term, taken together with Wiger's prominence in the Utrecht charters would seem to imply that the provost of St. Peter's possessed considerable legal erudition. While it is often difficult to reconstruct Wiger's precise role in diocesan affairs, there is at least one instance where he almost certainly provided legal counsel for his bishop, Otto van Lippe. Between 1221 and 1225, Wiger travelled to Duisberg with Goswin Randenrode, the provost of St. John's college, Utrecht, and two laymen. There they met with representatives of the Count of Gelre as well as with the papal legate, Conrad of Urach and the archbishop of Cologne, Engelbert of Berg. At Duisburg they conferred on irritations that had developed in the relationship between the count and the Bishop of Utrecht. The parties ultimately arrived at a mutually satisfactory resolution to their problems and later signed a document to this effect in the presence of the papal legate, Conrad, at Utrecht in January of 1226. The agreement, which is discussed below, concerned the placement of water barriers in the northern part of the diocese and the freedom of both parties to travel through Frisia.

Another clue to Wiger's legal training exists in the very structure of his Liber exemplorum.

That the collection was arranged *sub titulis* (*i.e.*, under titles), probably suggests a familiarity with the work of the decretalists. By the thirteenth century, the twin notions of abridgement and summation were amongst the primary meanings of the term *titulus*. Further, in Latham's *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, an early meaning of the verb *titulo* is to *divide into sections*.

In the works of the decretalists, the *titulus* of a legal argument was placed immediately above the body of the argument and expressed its central features: it served as a sort of rubric. According to Constant van de Wiel, jurists of the thirteenth century who wanted to provide a synopsis of their legal erudition often composed treatises that abbreviated legal arguments: "Joannes Hispanus de Petesella, who became professor in Bologna in 1223 and later in Pavia, Goffredus of Trano, Bernardus Parmensis de Bottone, and Balduinus Brandeburgensis, a Franciscan, published writings with a brief systematic treatise on each of the titles, hence, the *summae titulorum*." In a similar way, Wiger's *exempla* served as *rationes scriptae* (*i.e.*, written reasons) for the *tituli* of the collection.

In addition to the theological and legal issues raised in Wiger's *Liber exemplorum*, the text contains many geographical clues which suggest that Wiger might have spent time in Paris. Many of the contemporary stories in the compendium, the so-called *adiuncta*, if they provide any geographical information at all, tend to centre on activities and personalities from Paris, the Ile de France as well as Normandy and Picardy. What is more, the compiler has included many references to the sorts of characters one found in a university setting: the collection contains a

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number of allusions to magistri, scholares and stolid burghers. There are also some rather unflattering portraits of physicians and lawyers. Throughout Wiger's Liber exemplorum, one detects the sensibilities of someone who has spent considerable time in the hurly-burly of an urban environment, perhaps even Paris itself.

While the following is not an exhaustive list of those exempla which have France or a university as their setting, they demonstrate Wiger's familiarity with these contexts: 1) a young scholar is converted to the Cistercian order much to the chagrin of his family and friends (64. B. 1), 2) a Parisian citizen is convinced by an academic master to collect and distribute alms for the poor (64. B. 2), 3) a demon-possessed citizen confesses to the bishop of Paris, Odo of Sully (115. A. 1), 4) a Paris prostitute tearfully repents (161. A. 5), 5) Fulco of Marseille rejects his sinful past (64. B. 3), 6) a theologian suffers a painful disease of the tongue for his inability to convert Albigensian heretics (184. A. 1), 7) 'quidam stultus' injures himself jumping from Saltus Galteri, an early "lovers' leap" near Mont St. Michel in Normandy (116. A. 4), 8) a canon of St. Victor bewails his bodily infirmities (116. B. 1), and 9) a luxurious cleric at Chartres encounters the Blessed Virgin (190. A. 6). It is equally noteworthy that in addition to the abundance of stories that featured France as their mise en scène, there are very few references in any of the adiuncta to locations in England, Flanders, the northern Low Countries or Germany.

Two of the aforementioned adiuncta in particular suggest that Wiger had knowledge of recent affairs in France. The exemplum concerning Fulques of Marseille stated that the erstwhile jongleur and bon vivant was nunc bishop of Toulouse, a datum which suggests that Wiger had current information about the French prelate and that his collection was written after ca. 1205.
Fulques served as bishop of Toulouse between 1205 and 1231. So far as I am able to tell, Wiger’s account of Fulques’ conversion story is the earliest extant, perhaps written shortly after Fulques’ expulsion from Toulouse and exile to Oignies, near Cambrai in ca. 1213. It should also be noted that Fulques was a friend and patron of James of Vitry, one of the great preachers of the first half of the thirteenth century, an encyclopedic collector of preaching tales, and a later member of Peter the Chanter’s circle at Paris. Indeed, many of the exempla in Wiger’s compendium also appear in the works of James of Vitry.

Odo (or Eudes) of Sully’s name appeared in Wiger’s Liber exemplorum under one of the many rubrics dealing with confession, contrition, penance or satisfaction: De penitencia et eius uirtute. Odo was a cognatus of Maurice of Sully and was bishop of Paris from 1197 to 1208. The exemplum concerned a Parisian citizen who had had his hand scorched by a demon. For ten years the man concealed his disfigurement, until he made a full confession to Bishop Odo. The man’s hand was immediately healed. Unfortunately in this instance there are no helpful modifiers to indicate whether Wiger transcribed the story during Odo’s life time or whether it was composed shortly thereafter. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Odo died in 1208 and Wiger was first mentioned at Utrecht in 1209. If Wiger had studied at Paris in the period before he was first mentioned in the Utrecht cartulary, then Odo would have been bishop during the time that Wiger took his degree. Odo was the only Parisian bishop to have merited comment in Wiger’s

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54 Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi, vol. 1, p. 488.

55 Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants, p. 38. I offer my gratitude to Dr. Nicole Schulman for her helpful comments on Fulques and the story of his conversion.

56 See Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants, vol. 1, pp. 10; 110.
compendium.

It is not inconceivable that Wiger might have attended the Parisian schools. There were at least two other notable Utrecht canons who made the journey to France in the first half of the thirteenth century. Before taking up permanent residence at Cologne during the winter of 1221/1222, Henry, the second prior of the Cologne Dominicans, had been a canon of the cathedral chapter at Utrecht. Henry was the "best friend" of Jordan of Saxony, the second master general of the Dominican order (1222-1237). It was in Paris on Ash Wednesday, 1220, that they both converted to the Order of Preachers. Another example is Andrew, dean of St. John's, Utrecht, who was granted non-resident status to pursue theological studies at Paris in December of 1238. Andrew must have been known to Wiger, as they had both stood as fidejussores for Otto van Lippe, bishop of Utrecht, in 1226.

2. Tenure as Canon of St. Peter's

As I have noted above, the earliest occurrence of Wiger's name in the Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301 is in a charter dating from 1209. This is the first of only three documents witnessed by Wiger during the period before ca. 1213, the probable date of his elevation to the deanship of the chapter. Despite the small number of sources from this phase of

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57 Freed, The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century, pp. 82-83.

58 OSU, vol. 2, p. 329 (no. 931). The charter reads in part, "...et quia decanus noster Andreas absens est transferendo se ad studium Parisiense, ad theologiam videlicet (studiendi)...."

59 OSU, vol 2, pp. 185-186 (no. 742).
his career, it is clear that by 1209, Wiger had already gained the trust of some rather influential allies. In charter no. 589, Theodoric II, van Are, the thirty-third bishop of Utrecht, acknowledged the bequest of a manse or house which had been made by Hugo Sturm to St. Mary's monastery at Runa (Ruinen). The van Are (Ahr, Neunahr) were a leading Rhineland noble family, whose seat was near the town of Altena, by Dortmund. They were related by marriage to the powerful van Lippe clan (see below) and wielded considerable secular authority in Utrecht and the Vecht in the early thirteenth century. Theodoric's brother, Gerhard, the count of Are, continued to witness episcopal documents from Utrecht long after his brother's death. According to the Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, Theodoric van Are had been the provost of Maastricht before his elevation to the See of Utrecht and was reputed to have been virum nobilem et personatum, multa sapiencia preditum, in consiliis, sicut infra patebit, discretum et expeditum, nutritum in curiis imperatorum, et omnium discretorum discretissimum.  

There were seventeen named witnesses to this document in addition to an unspecified number referred to simply as "aliis quam pluribus." In the vast majority of the charters, the names of witnesses or guarantors seem to have been listed according to precedence, dignity or an individual's relative importance within the lay or ecclesiastical community of Utrecht. Thus, the name of Otto van Lippe, provost of the cathedral chapter (and thirty-fifth bishop of Utrecht after ca. September, 1215) appeared as the first witness to Bishop Theodoric's charter. Otto van

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60 OSU, vol. 2, pp. 54-55 (no. 589).


Lippe was a younger son of the prolific Count Bernhard and Countess Heilwig van Lippe, whose power was centred at Lippstadt and Lemgo in north-western Germany. Together with Bernhard, Lady Heilwig bore at least 11 children, many of whom became important prelates of the German church; in addition to Otto, they included such notables as Theoderic, provost of Deventer, Bernhard, bishop of Paderborn and Gerhard, archbishop of Bremen. Heilwig van Lippe was also a daughter of the house of van Are, she was the sister of Gerhard and Bishop Theoderic. Otto van Lippe's name is followed in the charter by the names of the capitular dignitaries: Wouter, provost of both St. Peter's and St. Saviour's collegiate churches, Rembold, the dean of the cathedral chapter and Henry, the dean of the chapter of St. John, in that order. Wiger's name appeared in the next grouping: "...Presentibus hiis:...Johanne, Wichero sancti Petri, Theoderico sancti Johannis canonici...". The remaining witnesses were identified as either priests (sacerdotibus) or lesser nobles (ministerialibus), most of whom appear to have formed part of the wider ecclesiastical and secular community of Utrecht.

The case is much the same for the next two instances in which Wiger's name appears. In charter no. 597, dated 1210, Bishop Theoderic made it known that one Arnoud Wilde, a ministerial of St Martin's cathedral, had ceded possession of a house called "Waldrincinge" at Eemster to the diocese of Utrecht which in turn presented it to St Mary's monastery at Ruinen. In exchange, the monastery gave Arnoud a manse at Wannepe. Again, Otto van Lippe's name took precedence over the other dignitaries in the list of those who testified to this exchange. Wiger was once more referred to as a canon of St Peter's and was mentioned fifth of 17 named

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63 OSU, vol. 2, p. 54 (no. 589).
64 OSU, vol. 2, pp. 63-4 (no. 597).
witnesses. As in the first example, Wiger's name is placed between those of the canons John of St Peter's and Theoderic of St John's.

In charter no. 601, dated 1211, the bishop granted a tithe from a house at Vollenhove to St. Mary's, Ruinen. Apparently, the cloister at Ruinen had been using the house already, and here Theoderic seems only to have sanctioned a pre-existing state of affairs. For whatever reason, Otto van Lippe appears not to have seen this business at Ruinen through to its conclusion, and Rembold, the dean of the cathedral chapter, took Otto's place as the first witness to this transaction. Wiger's name appeared fourth in a list of 19 named witnesses. He was again referred to as a canon of St. Peter's and is placed after John of St. Peter's and before Theoderic of St. John's.

Although Wiger's precise role in the events concerning the monastery at Ruinen is difficult to ascertain, it seems that he and John represented the chapter of St. Peter's interests. If Wiger were a former resident of the area, he might have been particularly useful in expediting the proceedings. These matters were important enough to have drawn the attention of a number of locals, and perhaps Wiger's presence was meant to indicate Bishop Theoderic's good-will towards a community that was located in a relatively remote and, as we shall see, restive part of the diocese. As well, by 1209 Wiger had almost certainly acquired whatever legal training he possessed. While there is a large enough gap in the records of the chapter for Wiger to have attended university between ca. 1217 and 1221, I am inclined to believe that Wiger was otherwise occupied during this period (see below). It is also noteworthy that in each instance mentioned above, Wiger's superior, Wouter, also witnessed the documents. This fact, together with Wiger's comparatively rapid rise through the chapter might indicate that he was being groomed for higher
3. Tenure as Dean of St. Peter's

Between early 1211 and October 14, 1213, Wiger became dean of St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Utrecht. The former date represents the final reference to Wiger as simply canonicus in one of the Ruinen charters, while the latter is his first undisputed appearance as decanus sancti Petri.65 The circumstances surrounding his elevation are murky, though he probably advanced during the episcopal reign of Otto van Gelre (1213-1215), who held the title electus throughout his brief period of office, which is to say, Otto's election was never confirmed.66 Otto was a scion of the noble van Gelre clan (Gelrie, Geulders, Gelder), who possessed large parts of Gelderland, Overijssel and north-western Germany. He assumed the cathedra of Utrecht at the age of eighteen, and was described as "iuuenis bone spei...corporis longus et pulcher, conversacione et moribus compositus, qui in secularibus et maxime in iudiciis sic cepit esse discretissimus, ut ab omnibus non inmerito amaretur."67 According to the Veteris aevi analecta of Antonius Mattheaeus, Otto's election was orchestrated by Adolf, archbishop of Cologne, Otto, bishop of Münster, Gerhard, bishop of Osnabrück, Willem, count of Holland, and Gerhard, count of Gelre.

65 Wiger is also mentioned as decanus in a document which might have been written as early as December 5, 1212—the date of Bishop Theoderic II's death (charter no. 604). Heeringa stated that the charter was composed between 1212 and 1216 (when Otto van Lippe was elected to the See of Utrecht). As Wiger had definitely become dean by October, 1213, it is clear that the terminus ad quem for charter no. 604 should be contracted somewhat. See OSU, vol. 2, pp. 69-70.


67 Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, cap. 17.
Matthaeus suggests that these princes importuned the cathedral chapter of Utrecht to elect their
candidate. Unhappily, this young man of such apparent great promise died almost before his
episcopate began. According to the *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, "gravis eum febris apud
Vorthusen (i. e., Voerthusen) prope Altinis arripuit..." He died a short time later. Bishop Otto
had at least two siblings, a brother, Gerhard, who was the count of Gelre between 1204 and 1219,
and a sister Margaret, who married into the van den Berg (de Monte) family. She was the mother
of the martyred archbishop of Cologne, Engelbert van den Berg. Whether Wiger started his rise
as a client of Otto van Gelre or whether in the wake of Theoderic's death there was a wide-spread
jockeying for preferment is uncertain. It remains, however, that within four years of his first
appearance in the Utrecht cartulary, Wiger had become dean of the chapter of St. Peter's. The
records do not state what became of Wiger's immediate predecessor. In a charter from 1205,
Bishop Theoderic responded to a request from the dean and chapter of St. Peter's concerning the

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70 The *vita* of Archbishop Engelbert was written by Caesarius of Heisterbach, shortly after his murder
in November 1225. See Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Vita, passio et miracula S. Engelberti*, ed. Albert Poncelet,
Brussels, 1910.
71 Wiger was not the only Utrecht canon to have been promoted in the months after Theoderic's death.
Between 1210 and 1213, the collegiate church of St. John's elected a new dean. In 1210, the dean of St. John's,
Henry, appeared as a witness to Bishop Theoderic's confirmation of certain concessions to the
Premonstratensian cloister of St. Mary on the Island (no. 598). By 1213, another Theoderic had become the
dean of St. John's (no. 611).
72 A. Hamilton Thompson observes that, "...we often meet with appointments to canonries and prebends
obviously intended to anticipate elections to deaneries." *The English Clergy*, p. 76. There is not enough data
to speculate whether such was the case for Wiger's comparatively rapid ascent to the deanship of St. Peter's.
While Wiger's name is first recorded in 1209, he might have acquired his prebend some years before.
building of a new parish church in Brigdamme. The dean was at that time a certain Elias. This is the only reference to a holder of the deanship during the period 1205 to ca. 1211-13, i.e., when Wiger was promoted.

Upon his elevation, Wiger assumed a greater responsibility for the government of the chapter and its holdings. It was also assumed that he would support his provost and the bishop in their administration of the diocese. Among the tasks and obligations which fell within the purview of the dean were: 1) the maintenance of the church and its fabric, 2) the management of the property and estates of the chapter, real or otherwise, 3) acting as the agent of the canons in any dispute with the provost, and 4) providing moral leadership for the canons and the community of St. Peter's as well as meting out discipline as circumstances warranted. In the corporate structure of many Germanic collegiate churches, the dean occupied an intermediate position between the canons and the provost. According to A. Hamilton Thompson, the dean of an English secular cathedral was the ex officio chairman of the chapter, "but only as primus inter pares." During the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a similar pattern began to emerge within the diocese of Utrecht as bishops employed the services of their provosts more frequently in diocesan affairs. As dean, Wiger was the provost's lieutenant, but he likely had considerable latitude in

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73OSU, vol. 2, pp. 35-36 (no. 570). It appears that construction did not begin for quite some time. A reiteration of Theoderic's permission was issued in 1213 by the authority of the cathedral provost, Otto van Lippe (see below).

74Thompson, The English Clergy, p. 75. While Thompson's definition referred specifically to the English context, it may also be applied, with some qualification, to the institutional structure of collegiate chapters of the northern Low Countries. Borrowing from Thompson's analogy to the hierarchy of modern corporations, it might be said that the dean acted as the chief operating officer of the chapter, while the provost was its chief executive officer.

75See E. N. Palmboom, Het kapittel van Sint Jan te Utrecht: Een onderzoek naar verwerving, beheer en administratie van het oudste goederenbezit (elfde-veertien eeuw), p. 32: "Zijn positie (i.e., the dean's)
the exercise of his office. It is probably not an over-statement to suggest that Wiger accrued considerable personal authority during his years of service in the deanship. Throughout Wiger's capitarian career, Provost Wouter's loyalties were divided. As I have noted above, Wouter was provost of both St. Peter's and St. Saviour's collegiate churches. It is unclear whether Wouter received dispensation for this arrangement or whether he held the cura animarum over only one of the two communities. So far as we know, Wiger possessed only his stall at St. Peter's and was perhaps more effective than his predecessor as Wiger appears to have been responsible for a single office.

There are seven extant charters witnessed by Wiger from the period of his deanship. In each instance, Wiger acted on behalf of his chapter, and in support of his superior, Wouter.76 These seven documents may be divided into four groups, based upon the issues and locations to which they pertain. The first charter deals with the establishment of a church at Brigdamme (no. 604), while the next three pertain to the Premonstratensian abbey of St. Mary's on the Island as well as to the abbey's lands in Naaldwijk (nos. 611, 612, 630). Two more documents concern affairs at St. Mary's, Ruinen (nos. 642, 643), and the final document involves the transfer of advowson (jus patronatus, or patronaatrecht) over a church at Steenderen, in Gelderland, to St.

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76Wouter (or Walter) appears to have preferred "prepositus sancti Salvatoris," a title which he used throughout his career (see, for example, OSU, vol. 2, charters no. 605, 611, 612, 642, 643, 645). The title "prepositus sancti Petri" is used in charter no. 653. He was referred to as Walterus prepositus sancti Salvatoris et sancti Petri only once, in a document dating from 1210 (no. 598). St. Saviour's collegiate church was on the Domplein, adjacent to the cathedral. Its proximity to St. Martin's was not merely physical. Though it did not form part of the kerkenkruis, it appears to have had a privileged relationship with the Dom. Many of the cathedral and capitular dignitaries began their diocesan careers at St. Saviour's (i.e., Sint Servaas, or the Oudmunster).
Mary's, Bethlehem, at Elkerzee op Schouwen in the diocese of Utrecht (no. 645). A brief analysis of these four groupings of documents should provide at least a partial elucidation of Wiger's role as dean, at least insofar as his diocesan responsibilities were concerned.

In charter no. 604, the cathedral provost, Otto van Lippe, acknowledged the legitimacy of a decision taken by the late bishop, Theodor II, concerning the erection of a new parish church at Brigdamme in Walachria (i.e., Walcheren, at the north-western end of the great isthmus in the Scheldt estuary, Zeeland). He allowed construction to proceed and conceded that the matter had been brought to his attention at the request of (ad peticinonem) dean and chapter of St. Peter's, who held the jus patronatus over the original church. In acceding to the request, Otto noted that,

(Theoderic) auctoritatem contulit Willelmo et parrochianus in Brigdamme construendi novam ecclesiam in terminis parrochie sue, tum ut ibidem [divinus] cultus augeretur, tum etiam ut parrochianorum necessitati paternae provideretur

The document was merely a reiteration of an earlier arrangement. The charter also stipulated a number of conditions concerning the financial and administrative status of the new church. Provision was made for the remuneration of a priest from the benefice of the original church, to which was added a tithe from lands at Alarshskintskirke (Alartskindeskirke). Parishioners who lived within the bounds of the new parish, but who desired to remain at the existing church were

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7OSU, vol. 2, pp. 35-36 (no. 570). During episcopal vacancies, local customs and statutes stipulated that the cathedral provost should assume responsibility for the administration of the diocese.

7OSU, vol. 2, p. 69 (no. 604).

7OSU, vol. 2, p. 69 (no. 604).
allowed to do so, though they were encouraged to worship at the new one. As well, baptismal and burial rights were conferred upon the new site. It appears also that a party of ecclesiastics from Walcheren, including the aforesaid personus, Willelm, were privy to the drafting of the charter. The agreement was authorised by the archydiaconus, the personus of Brigdamme and the patronus. In this case, the patron was the entire chapter of St. Peter’s, Utrecht, embodied on this occasion in the person of the dean, Wiger. It should also be noted that there is no mention of a devolution or re-location of the chapter of St. Peter’s authority vis-à-vis the new church, and it must therefore be assumed that the chapter continued to enjoy its right of advowson.

This charter is as much a statement of pastoral concern as it is an administrative or legal document. Throughout is expressed the language of spiritual solace: its writers referred to the augmentation of the "divine cult," and to the provision of "paternal necessities." That it was a reiteration of an earlier document confirms not only the legitimacy of the agreement, but also speaks to the spirit of gravity in which both were composed. The authors continued to recognise their custodial obligation towards the souls of Brigdamme, and this recognition was nowhere more evident than in the provision of a priest and the conferral of baptismal rights. Moreover, in petitioning the cathedral provost for a resolution to the building impasse at Brigdamme, in maintaining its jus patronatus over the new church, and in confirming the details of the agreement, the chapter of St. Peter’s, and especially its dean and provost, bore a special responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the new parish, a responsibility for which they would

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80 There are two copies of this charter, A and B. Both versions are in the possession of the Rijksarchief, Utrecht, and are from the cartulary of St. Peter’s (f. 93). In charter B, the testators Wilhelmus, Woltherus, Gerulfus, Symon and Lambret, are referred to as "in Wallacria sacerdotes." Charter A provides no such information. See OSU, vol. 2, p. 70.
have to make an account at the Final Judgement.

Though his name appears more often in the documents, Wiger was not so intimately involved in events at St. Mary's on the Island (Mariënweerd, Sancta Maria in Insula) as he had been in the matter of the parish church at Brigdamme. St. Mary's was a Premonstratensian abbey in Gelderland, within the bounds of the diocese of Utrecht. In 1213, the abbey sought to build an oratorium on lands which it owned in the parish of Naaldwijk. There are two surviving charters which confirm the abbey's request: the first (no. 611), issued on October 14, was written in the name of the bishop-elect, Otto van Gelre, and the second (no. 612), dated October 18, was issued by the cathedral provost, Otto van Lippe. In the third Mariënweerd document, written between 1216 and 1220, St. Mary's acquired a chapel at Zennewijnen from the provost and chapter at Tiel in exchange for a monetary payment and a manse at Scalwich (Schalkwijk). This transaction was attested and confirmed in a diploma issued jointly by three Utrecht dignitaries: Otto van Lippe (who was by that time bishop of Utrecht), Rembold, the cathedral dean, and Wouter, provost of St. Saviour's (no. 630). Wiger's name also appeared prominently amongst those who witnessed each of the three documents. There were 19 witnesses to the first charter, 17 witnesses to the second and six for the third. While many individuals witnessed one or perhaps two of the charters, there were only four clerics and one ministerial who witnessed all three: Bishop Otto, Dean Rembold, Provost Wouter, Wiger, and the layman, Gisilbert of the Amstel.\textsuperscript{51} This would appear to suggest that either Wiger had a greater interest in affairs at Mariënweerd than the other, more transient signatories of the charters, or that his stature within the ecclesiastical community

\textsuperscript{51}The Lords of the Amstel presided over an area which now encompasses Amsterdam and its suburbs.
was growing.

As dean, Wiger also continued his involvement in the affairs of the monastery at Ruinen. In two documents from 1217, the dean of St. Peter's witnessed the bishop of Utrecht's confirmation of various possessions which St. Mary's monastery held, as one of the documents stated, "quieite sine interrupcione prescriptonis." The first charter (no. 642) contained a substantial list of the monastery's holdings throughout the modern provinces of Drenthe and Overijssel. It was written during the first year of Otto van Lippe's episcopacy, and re-stated his predecessor Theoderic's survey of St. Mary's patrimony. It included references to estates very near to Ruinen, such as those at Eemster, IJhorst and Diever, as well as to those further afield, in places such as Oosterhesselen, Vollenhove and Anloo. The next document (no. 643) confirmed the Ruinen monastery's possession of a tithe from an estate called 'Woltraminghe' at Anderen, near Assen, reference to which had also been made in charter no. 642. It appears that a certain Ermegard, daughter of Volrad, held the tithe in fief from the church at Utrecht. It had been purchased by the church from Walter of IJsselmuiden and she bequeathed the estate to St. Mary's monastery, "ob remedium anime sue et parentum suorum."

The final document from Wiger's time as dean (no. 645) involved the transfer of advowson over a church at Steenderen, Gelderland, from the ministerial Henry of Smithuizen to the convent of St. Mary's, Bethlehem, also in Gelderland. The agreement was ratified by Bishop Otto at the general (diocesan) synod of 1217. Henry of Smithuizen, with the consent of his wife and heirs, relinquished "jus et dominium fundi" over the church, an action which the authors of the

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82 For a complete list of the Ruinen properties and tithes, see OSU, vol. 2, pp. 105-106 (no. 642). Heeringa provides modern equivalents for most place names.
document referred to as a "domum spirituale." Willem, the provost or prior of St. Mary's, was charged with providing a priest for the church and ensuring that all of the sacramental comforts were readily available.

This agreement is perhaps noteworthy for what it conveys about Wiger's participation in the diocesan synod, but it is the list of *testatores* which is most illuminating. In addition to the customary presence of a number of Utrecht clerics, one finds the inclusion of some very prominent prelates and nobles. Listed among the witnesses to the transaction were such luminaries as: 1) Theodoric van Lippe, provost of Deventer and brother of Otto, Bishop of Utrecht, 2) Bernhard van Lippe, provost of Emmerich (and subsequently bishop of Paderborn), also a brother of Otto, 3) Willem I, the count of Holland, 4) Gerhard, count of Are, uncle to the current bishop and brother of the former bishop, Theodoric van Are, and 5) Theodoric van Randenrode, who would become choripiscopus (archdeacon) of Cologne as well as provost of the cathedral chapter at Utrecht (see below). While Wiger probably had some rather powerful patrons and allies from very early in his career, princes such as these existed at the very core of the ecclesiastical and temporal power structures of Holland, the Ruhr valley and the Rhineland.

From this point onwards, it becomes increasingly common to find Wiger's name associated with these great families of north-western Europe. In particular, his connection with the van Lippe and the van Randenrode appears to have grown rather strong. There are very few charters from after ca. 1217 in which a member of the van Lippe or the van Randenrode was not mentioned alongside Wiger.

It would be helpful to know just how far Wiger's relationship with families such as the van Lippe, van Randenrode or de Monte (van den Berg) extended at this point in his career. Did
Wiger, for example, know the celebrated and influential *cognatus* or client of the van Lippe and de Monte clans, Master Oliver Saxo of Paderborn? The paths of Oliver and Wiger appear to have crossed at many points during their careers. Oliver first comes to our attention during a dispute between the diocese of Paderborn and the monastery of Helmarhaus in 1196.\(^5\) While the details of this quarrel are unimportant in the present context, Oliver's presence in Paderborn warrants mention. Paderborn was the *Heimathustum* of the van Lippe family. The principal family seat was at Lemgo, *i.e.*, within the bounds of the diocese. From the early thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth, the van Lippe and their allies maintained a strong presence in the See of Paderborn. Indeed, at least four thirteenth-century bishops of Paderborn were either related or allied in some way with the van Lippe family. These include: Oliver Saxo (1223-1225, see below), Wilbrand of Oldenberg (1225-1228, a confederate of the van Gelre family who assumed the *cathedra* at Utrecht upon leaving the See of Paderborn),\(^4\) Bernhard van Lippe (1228-1247, a known acquaintance of Wiger and brother of Otto van Lippe, bishop of Utrecht)\(^5\) and Simon van Lippe (1247-1277, a nephew of Bernhard and Otto).\(^6\) Oliver was teaching theology at the

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\(^{5}\)The most extensive and useful source for Oliver's life and career remains Hoogweg's *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters. späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinalbischofs von S. Sabina*, Tübingen, 1894. See especially p. ix.


\(^{6}\)Brandt and Hengst, *Das Erzbistum Paderborn*, pp. 75-76. See also Pöppel, *Das Hochstift Paderborn*, p. 87.
cathedral school in Paderborn by 1200, but left to become scholasticus for the archdiocese of Cologne in 1201. He studied at Paris between ca. 1207 and 1209. Oliver was elevated to the See of Paderborn in 1223; however the appointment was contested and he was not confirmed in the office until 1225. Shortly thereafter, Oliver became Cardinal-Bishop of St. Sabina under Pope Honorius III. He died in 1227. It is the period between ca. 1207 and 1223 that concerns us here.

It is possible, perhaps even likely, that Wiger and Oliver encountered each other at Paris. Both clerics appear to have been clients of the van Lippe and most likely would have been members of what was at that time the comparatively small "German nation" at the university. As well, the two magistri probably pursued a similar course of study. It is certain that Oliver numbered among his Parisian associates Robert of Courçon and James of Vitry, two of the most celebrated practical theologists of their day. One also suspects that it was Oliver's Paris friends who introduced him or recommended his talents to that illustrious erstwhile visitor to Paris, Lothario of Segni, i. e., Pope Innocent III.

Between 1214 and 1215, that is, during Wiger's occupation of the deanship of St. Peter's,
Oliver preached the cross through Frisia. Oliver had been charged with the task by Innocent III. His evangelism in the Low Countries and north-western Germany formed part of a concerted preaching campaign designed to advance the cause of the Fifth Crusade. While Oliver preached in Frisia, the papal legate, Robert of Courçon, worked his way through north-eastern France, Brabant and Flanders. Part of Cardinal Nicholas of Tusculum's mission to England included rallying support for the crusade. As well, James of Vitry preached the cross through France and Italy, however his efforts were also focussed on the goal of excising the Albigensian religion.

Oliver's campaign was particularly notable for the miracles which were said to have attended his sermons. On three occasions, crosses appeared in the sky directly above the locations where Oliver addressed the crowds. Accounts of the visions are preserved in the Dialogus miraculorum of Caesarius of Heisterbach, as well as in Oliver's own Historia Damiatina. Oliver also mentioned the events in letters to Robert Courçon as well as to the

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90During this period, Oliver preached through Liège, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, Gelderland, Utrecht and Friesland. See Hoogeweg, Die Schriften des Oliverus, p. xxiv. See also H. Hardenberg, De Nederlanden en de Kruistochten, Amsterdam, 1941, pp. 174-175.

91Powell, Anatomy of a Crusade, p. 75.


93In 1215, one of those who attended his sermon was the young Thomas of Cantimpré. See G. J. J. Walstra, "Thomas de Cantimpré, De natura rerum: Etat de la question," Vivarium 5 (1967), pp. 146-171; p. 148. After ca. 1217 (i. e., after his elevation to the See of Acre), James preached the cross through the Latin settlements of Syria. See Wolff and Hazard, A History of the Crusades, vol. 2, pp. 381-382.

count and countess of Namur. The visions took place at Bedum, Surhuizum and Dokkum and, in each case, were apparently witnessed by many hundreds or thousands of observers. Also present on at least one occasion were Henry, the abbot of Heisterbach, and one of his monks, a certain Brother Winand. It is uncertain whether Caesarius accompanied his co-religionists on their visitation of Cistercian monasteries in Frisia or whether the apparitions were reported to him at some point afterwards.

While Bedum and Surhuizum lay within the medieval bounds of the diocese of Münster, Dokkum is located in the See of Utrecht, in the archidiaconate of the Oudmunster, and in what is today the Dutch province of Friesland. The vision at Dokkum took place on June 5, 1214, which is to say, the feast day of St. Boniface. Indeed, it was said that the saint had acquired his martyr's crown not far from the site where Oliver preached. St. Boniface's Day was a feast of considerable local import in Frisia and the date of Oliver's sermon was expressly chosen so that it might have been heard "by as many people as possible." As he preached, "an enormous dull white cross" moved slowly through the sky in the direction of the Holy Land. Oliver later claimed that all who were in attendance (the medieval figure is put at 10,000) saw this majestic progress of the cross.

At the time of the Dokkum apparition, Wouter was provost of the Oudmunster (St. Servaas Collegiate Church). The archidiaconal jurisdiction of St. Saviour's extended through the

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96 van Moolenbroek, "Signs in the heavens in Groningen and Friesland in 1214," p. 258.

97 van Moolenbroek, "Signs in the heavens in Groningen and Friesland in 1214," p. 258.
entire region where Oliver preached that week. Whether Wouter or his lieutenants (among them
Wiger of St. Peter's) chose to join the Cologne scholasticus as he preached the cross within their
diocese, or whether they accompanied the esteemed abbot of Heisterbach on his visitation of the
near-by Cistercian house of Klaarkamp, can never be known. It is difficult to imagine, however,
that news of such passing strange events in Frisia failed to reach the ears of the prelates of
Utrecht. Regardless of what people had seen, or what they thought they had seen, news of the
apparitions created a stir throughout the north of the Low Countries. According to Oliver,
multitudes of Frisians took up the crusading vow as a result of this apparent divine intervention.
Indeed, they would prove to be among Oliver's most loyal allies once they arrived in the desert.98

The Fifth Crusade was very much a project of Innocent III. He sought and received
approval for the venture at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Its goals were incorporated into
canon 71 of the council, which begins Ad liberandam Terram sanctam.... Innocent died shortly
after the council, and the cause was taken up by his successor, Honorius III. The primary
objective of the crusade was to seize the Egyptian port city of Damietta, considered by many at
that time as a lynch-pin of the eastern Mediterranean and the Arab-speaking world. Though
Cardinal Pelagius was the nominal military and administrative head of the campaign, de facto
leadership fell to Oliver of Paderborn for the first phase of the attack.99 Also present were

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99According to James of Vitry, who was present in Egypt throughout the crusade, Oliver persuaded
the Christian armies to attack Damietta: "Advenit itaque quidam magister Oliverus nomine, Coloniensis
ecclesie canonicus, qui in partibus suis auctoritate domni pape crucem predicaverat, qui multos cogones, cum
in Hyspania hiemassent, eo tempore Accon applicuerunt. Congregato igitur quadem die capitaneorum omnium
consilio cum ad aliquid faciendum ipsos vehementer dictus magister ex parte suorum incitaret peregrinorum,
inspirante Spiritu sancto ab omnibus unamimiter concordatum est Babyloniam ire, sicque factum est quod in
die Ascensionis Domini iter ab Accon arreptum est per mare, quousque favente domino Damiatam civitatem
Egyptiorum permaximum supra ripam fluvii paradisi sitam prospera perventum est." See R. B. C. Huygens
Innocent's former Parisian colleagues, Robert of Courçon (who died in Egypt) and James of Vitry.\textsuperscript{100}

The scions of a number of important noble- and gentle-born Dutch, Flemish and Rhineland families eventually took up the cross and joined the Fifth Crusade. Among them were: Henry, the duke of Brabant, Louis, the duke of Bavaria, Willem of Holland, Baldwin of Flanders, Henry of Namur, Arnold of Cleves, Gerhard van Gelre, Henry and Adolf van den Berg as well as Otto of Bentheim.\textsuperscript{101} Many German prelates also made the vow. Some of these included: the bishops of Münster, Liège, Würzburg, Strasbourg, Passau, Bamberg, Bremen and Trier.\textsuperscript{102} Another bishop who joined this crusading pilgrimage was Otto II, van Lippe, the Bishop of Utrecht.\textsuperscript{103} There is also evidence that Otto was accompanied by members of his famiglia. In the first place, a considerable number of German nobles and prelates who made the long journey to the Holy Land appear to have brought retainers or servants. There are a number of references to diocesan

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{100}The Syro-French contemporary, Ernoul, observed, "there arrived two cardinals, the Cardinal Robert, an Englishman; and Cardinal Pelagius, a Portuguese; the former died and the latter lived, which was a great misfortune." Donovan, Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade, p. 1. On the participation of Courçon and de Vitry, see Powell, Anatomy of a Crusade, pp. 240, 231 as well as Wolff and Hazard, A History of the Crusades, vol. 2, pp. 377-428, passim. Cf. Cole, The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, p. 128.
\item \textsuperscript{101}See Cronica comitum & principum de Clavis & Marca, Gelriae, Iuliae & Montium in R. Röhrich (ed.), Testimonia Minora de Quinto Bello Sacro e chronicis occidentibus, Osnabrück, 1968, p. 345.
\item \textsuperscript{102}Cronica comitum & principum, pp. 345-346.
\item \textsuperscript{103}Holwerda and Post, Geschiedenis van Nederland, vol. 1, pp. 215-217. See also Röhrich, Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande: Chronologisches Verzeichnis derjenigen Deutschen, welche als Jerusalem pilger und Kreuzfahrer sicher nachzuweisen oder wahrscheinlich anzusehen sind (c. 650-1291), Innsbrück, repr. 1968, p. 116.
\end{itemize}
administrators and capitular clergy in the extant records of the crusade. For example, the dean of Bamburg cathedral travelled with his bishop.\textsuperscript{104} Anselm, the provost of Leon was also in attendance.\textsuperscript{105} Both Herman, the dean of Cologne and Henry, a canon of the same archiepiscopal city journeyed to Damietta.\textsuperscript{106}

While his name does not occur in any of the extant records of the crusade, there is some reason to suppose that Wiger, the dean of St. Peter's, Utrecht, travelled to the *Terra Sancta* with his bishop. Wiger's name appears more or less regularly between 1209 and 1228 in the charters of the *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht*. Indeed, the only extended period for which there is an absence of cartulary evidence is *ca.* 1217 to 1221. These years coincide precisely with the duration of the Fifth Crusade. There is an oblique reference to the *decanus sancti Petri Traiectensis* in a diocesan document dated 23 May, 1218 (no. 657). However, this charter was sent to Utrecht by the papal chancery, which most likely would not have known about the dean's absence. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Bishop Otto departed for the Levant not earlier than July of 1218, which means that Wiger might also have made a late departure. Wiger is also alluded to in one of three testaments left by his dying superior, Wouter, in *ca.* 1220 (no. 687). In the document in question, there is some doubt as to when certain portions were composed. According to the editor Heeringa, the section of the will that contains reference to the dean of St. Peter's was for some reason added at a later date.\textsuperscript{107} Also, the document

\textsuperscript{104}Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 212.

\textsuperscript{105}Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 213.

\textsuperscript{106}Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 228, 229.

\textsuperscript{107}OSU, vol. 2, p. 144n.
demonstrates quite clearly that despite his bodily infirmities, the attentions of Wiger's predecessor were at least partially focussed on the siege of Damietta. Wouter's final testament provided for a generous financial contribution to aid in the liberation of the Holy Land.

Moreover, it seems clear enough that at least a few Utrecht ministeriales travelled to Damietta with their bishop. In charter no. 668, Sweder van Dingede (Dingden), a crusader from Utrecht, granted possession of two properties to the domus Theutonicorum (het Duitsche huis) in Jerusalem. These included his hof at Lankarn, and a house at Schalkwijk. He also transferred the feudal rights (leenroerig) that pertained to his hof at Dieren to the Teutonic Order. The document outlining this transaction was prepared in Egypt "in obsidione Damiethe" at some point during 1219. The list of witnesses includes a number of milites and ministeriales from the Sticht and environs: Ernst van Wuluede (Wluen), Andreas van Werkune, Friderick van Lorike (Houtem), Luttolf van Lopeke (Lepik), Werenbold van Wernkune (Werkune), Hugo Sturm, Albert van Batburk (Bedbur?), Forast van Vorst, Herman van Senden, Gotfrid "the monk" and Reinpot van Batburk (Rempot van Bedbur?). While all of the ministeriales mentioned above appear to have had some connection with Utrecht, the names of Sweder van Dingden, Ernst van Wuluede and Hugo Sturm warrant further mention. Sweder van Dingden was the "Heer van Ringenberg" (about 30 km south east of Emmerich). He served as bailiff (schout) of Utrecht for a

108Cf. Powell, Anatomy of a Crusade, p. 243. Powell, who bases his claim on material from R. Röhrich, Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges, pp. 61 and 97, and Huillard-Bréholles, Historia Diplomatica Friderici secundi..., vol. 2, p. 806, states that Sweder was from the diocese of Münster. According to Caesarius of Heisterbach, Sweder's nephew, Gerlach, was a cathedral canon at Utrecht before his conversion to the Cistercian Order. Thus, it appears that the van Dingden had fairly close personal connections to the ecclesiastical community of Utrecht. Caesarius, Dialogus miraculorum 1. 18.

number of years in the first half of the thirteenth century. Between 1200 and ca. 1247, Sweder witnessed a number of Utrecht charters, one of which, composed about eight years after the transaction at Damietta, was also signed by Wiger of St. Peter's.\textsuperscript{110} Ernst van Wulude also appears to have been rather well known at Bishop Otto's \textit{mensa}. While his brother Albert van Wulude and his nephew, also Albert, witnessed many more documents than did Ernst, his name appeared periodically in charters composed between ca. 1212 and 1248. In one instance, Ernst also witnessed a diploma in the presence of Wiger.\textsuperscript{111} As we have also seen, Hugo Sturm served Bishop Theoderic II, van Are, of Utrecht in the early years of the thirteenth century. Indeed, Hugo's name was often connected to the same business at Ruinen that had occupied Wiger between ca. 1209-1211. On at least one occasion, Bishop Theoderic referred to Hugo Sturm as "\textit{ministerialis sancti Martini et nostri}..."\textsuperscript{112} Though one might expect Wiger's name to have been included in the list of witnesses if he were present in Damietta at the time of the document's composition, it should also be noted that Bishop Otto's name does not appear in the charter.

Less certain, though highly suggestive, is the fact that such a journey would have provided Wiger with the occasion to meet individuals who would play a significant role later in his life. For example, Brother Elias of Cortona, who as Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor would send Wiger to the English province as \textit{visitator} in 1237-1238, was throughout the Fifth Crusade Provincial Minister of Syria.\textsuperscript{113} Elias probably visited the crusader camps during the course of the

\textsuperscript{110}\textit{OSU}, vol. 2, p. 197 (no. 757).

\textsuperscript{111}\textit{OSU}, vol. 2, p. 197 (no. 757).

\textsuperscript{112}\textit{OSU}, vol. 2, p. 54 (no. 589).

\textsuperscript{113}Elias served in this capacity from \textit{ca.} 1217 to \textit{ca.} 1222, when he returned to Italy with Brothers Francis, Peter of Catano and Caesar of Spayer. The authoritative biography of Elias is \textit{Frère Elie}
campaign. As well, William, the fourth marquis of Monferrato, who was ultimately prevented from sailing to Damietta by ill winds, was involved in organising the assault.\(^{114}\) By most accounts, Cardinal Otto of Tonengo (Candidus) began his career as a client or relation of the Monferrati. Otto's connection with the marquis was apparently close enough that in the *Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi* of Conrad Eubel, Otto is actually referred to as *de Monteferrato*.\(^{115}\) In *Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, Thomas of Eccleston informs his readers that Cardinal Otto and Brother Wiger were *familiarissimi* (see below). Participation in the planning or in the execution of the assault could well have afforded the two clerics an opportunity for a measure of intimacy or familiarity.

If Wiger were in the German camp during the long seige of Damietta, no doubt he would have heard tales of the courage (or perhaps, foolhardiness) of the *Poverello*. St. Francis and twelve companions embarked for Damietta in June, 1219.\(^{116}\) Upon their arrival in the Holy Land,


the Minonites stayed for a few days in Syria with Brother Elias. Francis then commissioned some of the brothers to work and preach throughout the region while he and Brother Illuminato set off for the Christian lines. Eventually, word spread throughout the Christian encampment that Brother Francis and his companion had crossed the no-man's land separating the Christians from the Muslim force. They did so with the audacious intention of converting the sultan, Malik al-Kamil. Failing this, the two Minorites expected martyrdom. Instead, Brothers Francis and Illuminato were received with cordiality and an almost tender indulgence by the Muslim leader. Though they failed to convert the sultan to Christianity, the friars enjoyed the generous hospitality and lively debate of the Islamic court. Upon leaving, al-Kamil guaranteed the two mendicants safe conduct to the Christian camp.

According to James of Vitry, actions such as those described above won many converts to the Franciscan calling. The Bishop of Acre lamented the loss of many excellent clerics to the Minorite Order:

Colin, the Englishman, our clerk has also entered this Order along with two other companions of ours: Master Michael and Dom Mathew to whom I had entrusted the parish of the Holy Cross....And I am having a difficult time holding on to the chanter, Henry, and a few others. I am worn-out and have a heavy heart; nothing more do I desire than to finish my life in peace and tranquillity.

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117 Sabatier, Life of St. Francis of Assisi, p. 228.

118 This episode has been widely reported. See, for example, R. Brown (ed.), The Little Flowers of St. Francis, Garden City, N. Y., 1958, pp. 93-96 (1. 24). See also Fortini, Francis of Assisi, pp. 427-435.

119 Quoted in Fortini, Francis of Assisi, p. 424; see also Sabatier, Life of St. Francis, p. 229.
According to the historian Marino Sanudo, after the fall of Damietta, St. Francis performed a number of miracles in order to put an end to "the adulteries, the robberies, (and) the murders" that were plaguing the Christian camp. Perhaps the most famous of the Damietta wonders is the story that has been called "Francis and the Prostitute." According to the Fioretti, a beautiful woman offered herself to Francis and asked him to follow her to the bed she had prepared. The Poverello of course demurred, and instead led the woman to a large brazier in another part of the house. Francis undressed, threw himself into the fire and then asked the woman to join him "in that splendid and wonderful bed." Though he remained in the flames for quite some time, Francis was not burnt or injured in any way. The woman was greatly astonished and repented of her sin.\textsuperscript{120}

Whether this particular story was known in the crusader camps is uncertain. It remains, however, that the presence of Francis in Egypt during the Fifth Crusade appears to have had a profound effect on Christian clerics in the Levant.

4. Tenure as Provost of St. Peter's

The term provost is derived from the Latin \textit{praepositus} (sometimes \textit{propositus}), which means \textit{one who is placed in front of, or before another}.\textsuperscript{121} In medieval usage, a notion of "supervisory authority" was conveyed by the word. Certainly the idea of supervision was implicit in the term's later application to university officials and certain royal functionaries as well as to the

\textsuperscript{120}Brown, \textit{The Little Flowers of St. Francis} 1. 24 (pp. 93-96). Cf. Fortini, \textit{Francis of Assisi}, pp. 421-422

heads of smaller monastic houses. In the context of the cathedral chapter and collegiate churches of Utrecht in the thirteenth century, the prepositus was not only a temporal lord who controlled the substantial landed wealth and corporate assets of the chapter, he also possessed the cura animarum (zielzorg) over his canons. As E. N. Palmboom has observed,

Zijn (the provost's) taak bestond aanvankelijk uit de zorg voor zowel het geestelijke als het lichamlijke welzijn van de kanunniken. Hij had de verantwoordelijkheid voor de zielzorg (cura animarum) van de kanunniken, moest zorgen voor een goed verloop van het koorgebed, oefende toezicht uit op het gemeenschapsleven en had het recht om disciplinaire straffen op te leggen.

The provost's responsibilities encompassed a number of aspects of life within the immunity (immuniteit) of the chapter. He supervised the liturgy (koorgebed) and encouraged the regular attendance of the canons in choir. He prescribed the rules governing the Common Life of the chapter and provided discipline for errant canons. He also granted or refused their requests for non-residence. In essence, the provost was the abba, or spiritual father of the chapter.

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122 Dictionary of the Middle Ages, vol. 10, pp. 195-197, passim. See also C. H. Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages, New York, 1990. Lawrence reminds us that the term praepositus was used to denote the prior in the Rule of St. Benedict.

123 Palmboom, Het kapittel van Sint Jan te Utrecht, p. 31.

124 In this sense, the term "immunity" connotes a geographical area, or a district that is subject to the rules and customs of the chapter; the laws of the temporal jurisdiction do not apply. It is analogous to the "close" in English usage.


126 Palmboom, Het kapittel van Sint Jan te Utrecht, p. 31.
And indeed, while they were *de jure* subordinate to the bishop in temporal affairs, the provosts of the cathedral chapter and collegiate churches often exercised considerable power as secular landlords and administrators. In addition to managing their own chapter’s assets, they also played a consultative role in the management of the property of the *Sticht*. The primary "temporal" responsibility of the *prepositus*, however, was the provision of the canons’ daily necessities. The provost dispensed communal meals and distributed incomes, though his most important function, at least from the perspective of the canons, was his authority to award prebends. Indeed, these tasks were apparently so central to the provost's duties that in at least one mid-twelfth-century document, the provost of a German capitular church was referred to as the *dispensator*. As Julia Barrow has noted, "The success of the chapter as an economic organisation depended largely on the personality of the provost, and if he was an absentee or a poor administrator there was considerable friction between him and the rest of the chapter." Thus, the canon waiting for collation to a prebend, or looking to profit from his situation, often had more to gain by currying favour with his provost than in looking to his bishop for recognition.

Van den Hoven van Genderen observes that while the chapter was subject to both the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction of the bishop, the collegiate churches also had considerable economic freedom: the chapters established their own rules and statutes, they convened their own assemblies and presided over their patrimonies generally without the overt interference of the

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127 In this context, *het Sticht* refers to the bishopric of Utrecht. The word means something akin to "establishment" or "foundation" and commemorates Utrecht’s place as the original Christian jurisdiction of the Netherlands.


bishop. As van den Hoven van Genderen has stated, "De kapittel waren baas in eigen huis". Thus, in his capacity as chief executive officer of the capitular corporation, the provost, in addition to his considerable moral authority, had almost unrestrained access to the chapter’s vast financial and proprietary wealth. If he were a resident dignitary then the provost became, simply put, an extraordinarily formidable presence in the city and in the diocese.

The cathedral provost’s authority was especially evident during episcopal vacancies when he and the cathedral chapter acted not only as financial and administrative custodians for the diocese, but also provided continuity at a pastoral level. On this point, the Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique states, "l’importance des chapitres se manifeste plus nettement encore si c’est possible durant la vacance du siège épiscopal. Dans sa célèbre décretale Ad abolendam, Lucius III (1181-1185) mentionne que les évêques jugent les hérétiques cum consilio clericorum suorum et que sede vacante les clercs de l’église cathédrale ont aussi le pouvoir de les juger." Certainly by the time of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), the assumption of a cathedral chapter’s authority in these circumstances had become a commonplace. Boniface stated in a decretal that, "si episcopus paganis aut schismaticis capiatur, non archiepiscopus sed capitulum, ac si sedes per mortem vacaret, in spiritualibus et temporalibus ministrare debet." Their authority was not, however,


131 The exercise of this authority may be viewed in charter no. 603, where, during the vacancy between the reigns of Theodoric II and the electus Otto van Gelre, the provost and dean of the cathedral chapter issued a document recognising the decimae de novalibus of a parish church at Zwolle. Promulgated on behalf of the priores of Utrecht, the charter did little more than confirm a gift of Theodoric’s. Nevertheless, it demonstrates the active agency of the prelates during an interregnal period in the Sticht.

absolute: during episcopal vacancies, "le chapitre ne peut conférer les bénéfices dont la collation appartient à l'évêque, il a néanmoins le droit d'admettre les bénéficiaires que présentent des patrons et de leur donner l'institution canonique."\(^{133}\) They might confirm existing statutes or legislation, but they could not grant benefices or alienate the property of the diocese. Thus, the provosts of Utrecht were important allies of the episcopal palace as well as powerful temporal lords in their own right. It is perhaps noteworthy that virtually without exception, the names of prepositi were recorded in charters before those of the deans, abbots, magnates or princes of the region.

Wiger assumed the provostship of St. Peter's collegiate church between ca. 1220 and June 10, 1221. His predecessor, Provost Wouter (Walter), composed at least three testaments or wills during the course of 1220. It appears that Wouter had been debilitated by some chronic illness and knew that he was not long for the world. He mentioned the state of his health at the beginning of one of the testaments, stating:

\[\text{Ego Walterus, Dei permissione dictus prepositus sancti Salvatoris in Traiecto, infirmitate gravi detentus, ut omnem discordiam amicorum meorum adnichilarem, de rebus meis in hunc modum ordinavi.}\(^{134}\)

It should be noted that of the three testaments, it was only in this one that Wouter explicitly named his six executors--to be sure, six is a considerable number to vouchsafe an inheritance in any age. Clearly, Wouter did not want his final wishes to be clouded in controversy.

Wouter appears to have amassed a considerable fortune, and perhaps we ought not be

\(^{133}\)R. Naz (ed.), Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique, vol. 3, p. 542 (l. 3, tit. 6, c. 1 in VI°).

\(^{134}\)OSU, vol. 2, p. 143 (no. 687).
surprised that he expected disagreements over the disposition of his worldly goods as his life drew to a close. In the first of the three testaments to appear in the Oorkondenboek, he ceded possession of a stone house adjacent to St. Saviour's church to his relatives, Reimar and James.\textsuperscript{135} He also gave £ 25, Utrecht money, to St. Saviour's church and a further £ 25 to the Domkerk. In the next document, Wouter presented St. Peter's church with eight jugera of land and two hunt\textsuperscript{136} in the city meadows near the present day waterschap of the Hooge and Lage Weide. In return for this bequest, memorial masses were to be said for Wouter and his parents.\textsuperscript{137} In the third testament, the one in which Wouter made reference to dissension amongst his friends, the dying provost gave property which he owned ultra Remum (i. e., the Rhine) prope civitatem to assist the Holy Land (\textit{in subventionem terre Sancte}). Ten pounds, Utrecht money, were to go in terra Jherosolimitana and another £ 15 were to be given to the chapel of the Holy Cross. He established a further £ 30 for his funeral. In the remaining portion of the will, Wouter reiterated his wishes concerning the stone house on the Domplein and presented various friends and relatives with small sums of money and sundry possessions. As his executors, Wouter chose individuals with whom he had presumably worked and whom he might trust to fulfil his wishes: the deans of the cathedral chapter, of St. Peter's and of St. John's as well as the three brothers Reimar, Walter and James.

While Wouter might have been wealthier than the average Utrecht cleric, these documents

\textsuperscript{135}OSU, vol. 2, p. 142 (no. 685). A portion of this house still stands near the Domplein, though it has been considerably altered.

\textsuperscript{136}The precise dimensions of a \textit{hunt} are unclear.

\textsuperscript{137}OSU, vol. 2, p. 143 (no. 686).
provide some indication of the sorts of financial resources immediately available to the Utrecht prelacy during the first half of the thirteenth century. And though it is uncertain whether Wouter had acquired his fortune by virtue of his office or his birth, access to such immense wealth amongst ecclesiastical office-holders appears to have been quite unextraordinary. The provostship was by no means a sinecure, nevertheless, possession of the office certainly had its earthly rewards.

Upon his elevation to the dignity of provost, Wiger appears to have accompanied Bishop Otto van Lippe on a number of administrative or managerial visitations throughout the diocese. Indeed, this is one of the most striking features of the documents when they are taken together. While the majority of the charters still appear to have been witnessed at Utrecht, there is evidence that on at least four occasions Wiger travelled to the reaches of the diocese and perhaps beyond.

In one of his earliest actions as provost, Wiger witnessed the transfer of a property at Borgele owned by Dean Antony of the Deventer chapter. The house belonged to Antony by hereditary law and he made the bequest, "pro salute anime sue et parentum suorum." Otto van Lippe presided over this transaction in his capacity as bishop of Utrecht, and the two van Lippe *prepositi*, Theodoric of Deventer and Bernhard of Emmerich, were also present. The charter was dated and witnessed at Deventer in June of 1221, and it represents the first documented reference to Wiger's travels on behalf of the chapter or diocese.

Wiger accompanied the bishop once again during the winter of 1223 when he witnessed a document at Vollenhove in Overijssel, about 80 km north east of Utrecht, concerning the

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138 *OSU*, vol. 2, p. 149 (no. 697).
monastery at Ruinen. In this instance, the bishop presided over the status of a tithe at Gieten in Oostermoer, which apparently belonged to the episcopal hof at Anloo. Upon payment of 50 silver marks (each mark worth £ 5 and three ounces, Groningen money), the Gieten tithe was transferred to the Ruinen abbey in accordance with an agreement into which the abbey had entered with the burghers of Groningen. The details of this agreement were not specified.

Wiger's name appeared second in a list of 21 witnesses. He was mentioned after Henry, abbot of Stauria, but immediately before the powerful and well-connected provost of Deventer, Theoderic. This document represents the only occasion during his tenure as provost that Wiger was mentioned in connection with the Ruinen monastery. Nevertheless, it is perhaps noteworthy that at every stage of his capitular career, the provost of St. Peter's assisted the house in managing its patrimony.

Towards the end of his provostship, Wiger travelled to Oudenhorst in Gelderland, almost 20 km due east of Utrecht, on diocesan business. The short journey took place in late May of 1227, about a year before he left St. Peter's chapter and about three months before the Battle of Ane. The matter does not appear to have been an especially difficult or taxing one, and seems quite similar to many of the other routine administrative concerns of the diocese, yet there is no indication as to why the business was conducted in person. Bishop Otto confirmed the existence of an agreement that had been made between his predecessor, Bishop Andrew of Utrecht and the abbey at Berne, concerning the disposition of ten houses, of the sort that were called malscep in

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140 OSU, vol. 2, pp. 201-202 (no. 763).
On this occasion, the only prelate to accompany Bishop Otto and Provost Wiger was Goswin van Randerode of St. John's; in one of the few exceptions to a general trend, neither Bernhard nor Theoderic van Lippe appear to have joined their brother or Wiger at Oudenhorst.

Wiger made at least one other journey during his provostship, when he travelled to Duisberg in the company of Goswin of St. John's, Gisilbert of the Amstel and Arnold Luf. Though the date of this sojourn is not recorded, it must have occurred at some point before ca. November, 1225, as Engelbert of Berg was in attendance. Since the reasons for this journey were somewhat complicated, and as they pertain more directly to Wiger's relationship to Cardinal Conrad of Porto and to Archbishop Engelbert, this visit will be discussed below.

It appears that the remaining ten documents in which Wiger's name appeared as provost were witnessed at Utrecht. In most cases, the events described in these charters were unexceptional. In 1224, for example, Wiger witnessed a charter in which Bishop Otto granted his permission to the knight, Henry of Amersfoort regarding the alienation of certain estates. Henry, with the permission of his wife Rekese, sought to give his properties at Spijk, Enspijk and Beesd to the convent at Mariënweerd. The affair was witnessed by Goswin van Randerode, Wiger, and Bernhard van Lippe. In 1225, Wiger's name appeared prominently amongst a list of witnesses to a document in which Bishop Otto sought to transfer certain tithes from Gaanderen to the cloister of St. Mary's, Bethlehem in Gelderland. The tithes had been held in fief by

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143 OSU, vol. 2, pp. 166-167 (no. 721).
144 OSU, vol. 2, pp. 178-179 (no. 737).
Everhard and Kunegonde van Wilp; Otto wanted to purchase them and present the tithes to St. Mary's. In the list of witnesses, Wiger appeared second, after the cathedral dean, Reinbold. However, the provost of St. Peter's name was placed before those of Goswin van Randenrode and the two van Lippe brothers, Theoderic and Bernhard. On this occasion, there were 33 named witnesses to the transaction.

The case is much the same for the majority of the remaining charters: Wiger simply put his seal to some official business of the diocese, indicating that he was present and that he perhaps advised his bishop in a given matter. Most of these documents yield very little that is new about Wiger's status as provost. There are however, three documents which fall outside this description. Two charters from 1226, written during the legatine visit of Cardinal Conrad of Porto, indicate that Wiger was probably employed in a diplomatic or consultative capacity by Otto van Lippe. Another document, written in 1227, tells us something about the relationship between Wiger and his dean, Hugh. Let us first turn our attention to Cardinal Conrad's visitation.

Shortly after the murder of Archbishop Engelbert of Berg by Count Frederick of Isenberg on November 7, 1225, the papal legate Conrad of Urach, Cardinal-Bishop of Porto, was despatched to Cologne.145 Conrad was a son of the Swabian Count Egeno IV and Countess Agnes of Urach, a family which had been traditionally hostile to the Hohenstaufen. The Cistercian cardinal appears to have possessed this particular family trait in abundance. Indeed, it has been suggested by John Freed that Conrad's liberal patronage of the friars in the 1220s stemmed, at

least in part, from anti-imperial sentiments. According to Freed, the counts of Urach "had been bitterly resentful of the Hohenstaufen Hausmacht in Swabia since the death of the childless Duke Berthold V of Zähringen in 1218." Conrad's mother, Countess Agnes, was the sister of Berthold V, and the Urach family believed that Frederick II had deprived them of their rightful share of the Zähringen inheritance. While it is difficult to assess Conrad's influence and reputation, there is a curious story concerning him in the chronicles of Villers monastery, where Conrad had been abbot until ca. 1214. Apparently, after the death of Pope Honorius III in 1227, there was considerable disagreement amongst the cardinals as to who should succeed him. Eventually, they chose three of their number to resolve the dispute. According to the chronicle, one of these was Conrad. The remaining two chose the Cardinal Bishop of Porto to succeed Honorius, but Conrad responded to the suggestion by exclaiming: "Never shall it be said that I had any hand in electing myself." It was only upon Conrad's rejection of the honour that Ugolino (Gregory IX) was elected.

The purpose of Conrad's 1225-1226 legation was to protect the mendicants of Cologne, as well as to calm the city and archdiocese which had been justifiably appalled by Engelbert's violent death. In late January 1226, the cardinal travelled to Utrecht, where he met with the prelates and nobles of the region. There, Conrad addressed a number of contentious local issues.

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146 Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 158.

147 Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 158.


149 *Chronica Villariensis monasterii*, *MGH SS* 25, 1880, p. 198. This story is reported in H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, vol. 13 (London, 1925), pp. 204-205.
which had simmered for some time. In the episcopal palace at Utrecht, Conrad mediated a
dispute between Bishop Otto and Floris IV, the count of Holland, concerning the placement of
certain *sluzas*,\(^{150}\) the exchange of servants as well as passage through the *comitatum* of Frisia.
The document which detailed the agreement (no. 740) recalled a preliminary meeting at Duisberg,
during which Conrad and Archbishop Engelbert met with the litigants and their representatives.
Among those who argued the bishop's case were Wiger of St. Peter's and Goswin, provost of St.
John's.

In addition to his Utrecht provostship, Goswin was dean of the cathedral chapter at
Cologne. Lord Goswin was also the brother of Gerhard, Count van Randenrode, and the uncle of
Theoderic, who was, in 1226, the provost of the cathedral chapter in Utrecht. By the time of his
death, the nephew Theoderic van Randenrode had become *chorepiscopus* (archdeacon) of
Cologne, and had asked his uncle Goswin to execute his will. Theoderic's testament seems to
indicate that the van Randenrode (Randerath) were in some way related to the van Are/van Lippe
families. In this document from 1247 (no. 1126), Theoderic asked that memorials be established
in the Cologne cathedral for his parents, Gerhard and Beatrix, for his sister, Jutta, as well as for
two of the (three) bishops under whom he had served at Utrecht. These were Theoderic II, van
Are and Otto II, van Lippe; the *electus* Otto van Gelre was conspicuous in his absence from the
will. Had Theoderic intended simply to honour the bishops who were active during his time at
Utrecht, one expects that Otto van Gelre's name most likely would have been included for
remembrance. That he made provisions for the bishops as well as for his immediate relations

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\(^{150}\) A dam or lock. The word appears to be etymologically connected to the modern Dutch "*sluis*" and the English "*sluice*."
probably indicates a bond of kinship with the prelates.  

The agreement between the bishop of Utrecht and the count of Holland established seven points, covering, among other things, the number of dams to be permitted at Zwaanendam and Spaarndam, the width of any apertures in these barriers, their management and care, as well as the rules that would govern the exchange of servants and the conditions under which the bishop or the count might be allowed to move through Frisia. The charter emphasised compromise between the bishop and the count at a number of levels. It is a well-crafted and methodical document, and does not seem to have been composed in haste. Considering that Conrad's time in Utrecht was short and that he issued at least four major statements during the course of four days, it would seem that the Duisberg meeting had been rather productive. And while there is no extant record for the Duisberg gathering, this charter would seem to indicate that, as participants in the initial discussions, Goswin and Wiger were important members of the bishop of Utrecht's familia, though it should also be noted that the presence of the ministerials Gisilbert of Amstel and Arnold Luf was also recorded. It is unclear when this meeting might have taken place, though of course it had to have been before November 7, 1225, the date of Archbishop Engelbert's assassination.

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151 The testament also made the following provision: Et similiter in festo beati Bernhardi abbatis Clarevallensis. et tunc legantur novem lectiones. et eius cantus cantetur et una collecta dicatur de beato Malachia archiepiscopo Ardmachano (Armagh). St. Malachy (Maoi, Maedoc, 1094-1148) was an early Gregorian reformer in Ireland. On a journey to Rome to receive the pallium for the Church of Ireland, Malachy is said to have died in the arms of St. Bernard. The abbot of Clairvaux would come to champion Malachy's cult. At the time that Theoderic van Randenrode composed this testament, the Cologne Dominican, Master Albert Suerbeer, had only recently moved to Prussia after serving as archbishop of Armagh from 1240-1245/6. Suerbeer belonged to the familia of Otto of Tonengo, who became Cardinal-deacon of St. Nicholas in carcere Tulliano a week before the death of Conrad of Urach (Otto was subsequently made Cardinal-Bishop of Porto, 1245-1247). There is also some evidence to suggest that Suerbeer patronised the Franciscans. In 1241, he consecrated the O. F. M. church at Athlone and he was also a source for an exemplum in the anonymous Irish collection, Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium, (ed.) A. G. Little, Aberdeen, 1908.
The records indicate that Conrad was in Maastricht and Liege in June, 1224 and in Roermond in June, 1225. Perhaps it was during one of these visits.

The cardinal also assisted in the resolution of a matter which had clouded relations between Gerhard, the count of Gelre (brother of the former bishop, Otto van Gelre), and Bishop Otto van Lippe concerning the jurisdiction of the *comitatum* of Salland in Overijssel. In the bishop's palace on January 27, 1226, Conrad addressed the issue in the presence of a number of German, Dutch and Flemish nobles. Among those in attendance were Floris, the count of Holland, Bernhard of Bentheim, Henry de Monte (van den Berg), Gisilbert of the Amstel and Theoderic of Falkenburgh (in Limberg). The document which resulted from this conference (no. 742) was one of at least three issued by Conrad that day. It stipulated that van Gelre would renounce all title and claim over Salland in favour of the Bishop of Utrecht in exchange for £1100, Utrecht money. The debt would be discharged in two payments, one on the octave of Easter, the other on the octave of the Pentecost. If Bishop Otto failed to meet the terms of the agreement, he and ten *fidejussores* would be obliged, on pain of excommunication, to remove themselves to the van Gelre town of Nijmegen, where they would be forced to remain until the debt was paid. Five of the *fidejussores* were *ministeriales ecclesie* and five were *priors* from Utrecht and out-lying regions. The prelates who pledged themselves to honour the debt of Bishop Otto II, van Lippe, included: Theoderic, provost of Deventer, Bernhard, provost of

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153 *OSU*, vol. 2, pp. 185-186 (no. 742).

154 They included H. de Worden, A. de Insula, E. de Minde, H. de Vorst, Sr., and L. de Selvolde. These names do not appear in the Utrecht cartulary with any frequency.
Emmerich, Wiger, provost of St. Peter's, Goswin, provost of St. John's and Master Andrew, dean of St. Mary's, Utrecht. Bernhard and Theoderic were both van Lippe, brothers of the Utrecht bishop. As we have also seen in the evidence from his nephew's will, Goswin van Randenrode of St. John's collegiate church was probably related in some way to the van Lippe. Thus, at least three of the five prelates who agreed to underwrite Otto's loan were his kinsmen. While the administrative roles and kinship connections of Wiger and Master Andrew remain unclear, it is tempting to suppose that they as well were consanguineos of the van Lippe or one of the other noble families of the northern Low Countries or the Rhineland.155

Wiger's new-found mobility as provost and Cardinal Conrad of Urach's legation to the north-western regions of the Empire were set against the unhappy back-drop of the Drenther rebellion of ca. 1226-1232.156 The uprising of the Drenthers appears to have begun as a protest over feudal obligations, but eventually took on war-like dimensions and culminated in the deaths of Otto II, van Lippe, the Bishop of Utrecht, and his brother Theoderic, the provost of Deventer and Oldenzaal.

The Drenthers were free peasants who lived and worked the land in what are today the Dutch provinces of Drenthe and Groningen. For the most part, the region lies within the medieval boundaries of the diocese of Utrecht and in the archdeaconries of Deventer and Oldenzaal.

155In a charter from 1238 (no. 931), representatives of the chapter of St. Mary's noted that, "...et quia decanus noster Andreas absens est transferendo se ad studium Parisiense, ad theologiam videlicet, qui vices suas per omnia nobis commisit..."

According to the *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, which appears to have been written by some unknown eye-witness to the events, the peasants were led in their revolt by the local grandees Rodolf of Coevorden, his brothers, Frederick and Godefrid, as well as by Menzo of Gravesdorp and his son, Henry.\(^{157}\) The *Gesta* is somewhat unclear as to the motives for the revolt, preferring instead to call its leaders "rapacious" and stating that they were simply and constitutionally inclined towards violence. According to the chronicler of the *Gesta*, Rodolf and his fellows, "*semper in fine dentem caninum sibi ostendeabant*.\(^{158}\) It appears that the Drenthers and their leaders simply refused to accept the temporal jurisdiction of the bishop of Utrecht. In *Preaching the Crusades*, Christoph Maier implies that Gregory IX ultimately interpreted this defiance as *contemptus clavium*, and considered the rebels heretical.\(^{159}\)

Hostilities between the Drenthers and the bishop began shortly after Bishop Otto's ally, Egbert, the prefect (*burggraaf*) of Groningen, found himself embroiled in some internecine conflict with his kinsmen, the rich and powerful Gelkingen.\(^{160}\) The Gelkingen were a party of burgers with significant trade and financial interests throughout the northern Low Countries. While the chronicler of the *Gesta* did not provide his readers with the dates of this conflict, it seems that the disturbance erupted late in 1225 or early in 1226, not long after the murder of Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne. And though the writer provided no clue as to the cause for this civil unrest in Groningen, he noted that Rodolf of Coevorden and his allies used the hostilities

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157 *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, pp. 412 (cap. 23); 414 (cap. 25).

158 *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, p. 412 (cap. 23).

159 Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 168.

160 *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, pp. 412 ff.
as a pretext for invasion: *Quibus accidit, ut se cuidam civili guerre in Groninge inmiscerent.*

Rodolf sent his army to support the Gelkingen against Egbert. When Bishop Otto heard of the events taking place at the northern *limes* of his diocese, he immediately intervened and urged the combatants to stop their fighting. A truce was orchestrated, but did not hold, and it appears that sporadic engagements continued. After re-issuing his demands for peace, the bishop withdrew to Utrecht, vowing to return, presumably once he had mustered his own force.

Alarmed at the intervention of the Drenthers, Egbert and his army moved to Glimmen, about 10 km south east of Groningen. There they began to construct a defensive line. Egbert claimed that his actions were not meant as a provocation, and that he had the right to erect whatever fortifications he desired within his own jurisdiction. The Count of Coevorden and the Drenthers seem to have interpreted the building project as an aggression and promptly razed the Glimmen site. They took many prisoners and drove Egbert's army westward into Friesland. There Egbert gathered friends and allies to re-build his tattered force. Shortly thereafter, Egbert and his Frisian supporters returned to Groningen, which the Drenthers by this time occupied. After fierce fighting in the city and its suburbs, the Drenthers were expelled from Groningen.

Rodolf and his army retreated to their home precincts.

According to the *Gesta*, it was at this point that the Bishop of Utrecht returned to defend his interests.\(^\text{162}\) In an attempt to relieve pressure at Groningen, Otto assembled his supporters at

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\(^{161}\) *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, p. 412 (cap. 23).

\(^{162}\) *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, p. 413 (cap. 25).
Ommen, a river town on the Vechte, about 30 km south west of Coevorden. Many of the bishop's allies against the Drenthers had been with Otto in Egypt during the Fifth Crusade. The main force included contingents supplied by Otto's brothers: Herman, count of the Lippe, and Gerhard, the archbishop of Bremen. The episcopal army was supplemented by the soldiers of Theoderic, bishop of Münster and Gerhard, count of Gelre, as well as by milites provided by the counts of Holland and Kleef (Cleves), the archbishop of Cologne, Baldwin of Bentheim, and Gisilbert of the Amstel. It is curious to note that the chronicler of the *Gesta* reported Bishop Otto's mood only twice in his account of the Drenther rebellion. In the first instance, he recorded Otto's joy at the expulsion of the Drenthers from Groningen. In the second, he observed that Otto was exceedingly pleased by the sight of the gathering host at Ommen: *Quos omnes domnus episcopus letissimo vultu et animo iocundo apud Umme recept...*

Otto van Lippe led his troops from Ommen along the Vechte, through Hardenburg and Gramsbergen to Ane, a town lying 10 km south west of Coevorden. A large flotilla of boats carrying ballistae, seige weapons and victuals followed the bishop's army up the river. The Utrecht army advanced, in ragged formation, under the standard of St. Martin, the Patron of the

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163 There are two rivers in the Netherlands called the Vecht, both within the diocese of Utrecht. The first, which lends its name to the region immediately north of the city of Utrecht, flows south to north through the city and into the IJmeer near Amsterdam. The second Vecht runs through Westfalia and Bentheim, and into the Netherlands between Coevorden and Hardenburg. It then passes through the northern part of the province of Overijssel and empties into the Zwarte Water near Zwolle. In order to distinguish between the two rivers, I have maintained the final -e in the German spelling of the latter river.

164 As Archbishop of Bremen, Gerhard van Lippe was soon to face his own peasant revolt. During the 1230s, the Stedinger, free peasant farmers whose forbears had cleared the land west of the Weser River, rose up against the archiepiscopal authority.

165 *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, p. 413 (cap. 25).

166 *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, p. 413 (cap. 25).
Sticht. Rodolf of Coevorden, Menzo of Gravesdorp and the entire Drenthe force met them on marshy ground outside Ane on St. Panthaleon's Day (July 28), 1227.167 As the author of the Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium put it: Venitur ad locum mortis, ymmo martirii. Bellum hinc inde incipitur.168

The front lines of the bishop's force found themselves almost immediately mired in the swamps along the Vechte: Nostri qui primi erant in acie contra hostes procedentes, statim paludi fetide et mortue paulatim inmerguntur et tandem propter armorum gravedinem penitus absorbentur.169 Drenther archers and lancers showered these unfortunates with a rain of missiles. Once the front lines had been substantially depleted, Rodolf sent in his foot soldiers to cut down the remainder of the Utrecht force. There was wide-spread panic and Otto's army fled the field. Many of the retreating milites became trapped in the swamps and died either at the hands of their enemy or from suffocation by sinking into the mud.

The battle was a rout. According to the Gesta, casualties amongst the bishop's troops were heavy.170 This point was corroborated by Albert, the author of the Annales Stadenses who observed that "...plurimi circa 200 omnes milites aut filii militum perimuntur" at Ane on St. Panthaleon's Day, 1227.171 The count of Gelre and Gisilbert of the Amstel were both gravely

167 It is uncertain whether the author of the Gesta thought that the date held some symbolic significance. St. Panthaleon was a third-century martyr and doctor of the Church. He is often named as one of the so-called "Fourteen Holy Helpers," whose cult flourished in the Rhineland and the Low Countries after ca. 1300. See A.A.S.S. Iul. VI (1729), 397-426; cf. H. Delehaye, Les Origines du culte des Martyrs (1912), pp. 181 ff.

168 Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 414 (cap. 25).

169 Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 414 (cap. 25).

170 Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 414 (cap. 25).

wounded in the conflict. The celebrated miles Bernhard van Horstmar, who had served a number of popes and at least four emperors, a man who possessed "virtutes famosissimus," also perished in the mud. By day's end, the battle also claimed the lives of Otto van Lippe and his brother, Theoderic of Deventer. Theoderic, whom the chronicler of the Gesta called "vir prudens et parcus," was "graviter in capite vulneratus." His body was taken to Deventer for burial. The greatest indignity appears to have been reserved for Bishop Otto. During the retreat, Otto was captured and subjected to an exceedingly cruel demise:

\[ Et ne aliquid desit eorum crudelitati, ipsum episcopum, quem (Drenthones) ceperunt, expoliantes, coronam suam gladio cum tota carne abradunt, guttur suum cultellis incidunt, et diversis plagis maciant et conficiunt. Tandem carnem et corpus exanime paludi inculcant et inmergent... \]

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172 The chronicler dedicated a greater portion of his narrative to the death of Bernhard van Horstmar than he did to that of Otto van Lippe. Bernhard appears to have been quite a celebrated miles and servant of the imperial court. He was a member of Otto IV's personal guard during the battle of Bouvines in 1214. Bernhard distinguished himself by offering the Emperor his mount after Otto's horse was shot out from under him. The Emperor escaped the field, but Bernhard was captured and eventually shared his incarceration with, among others, Gerhard van Randerode, who had also been a member of Otto's personal entourage at Bouvines. See J. H. Ramsay, The Angevin Empire, or the Three Reigns of Henry II, Richard I, and John (A.D. 1154-1216), London, 1903, pp. 448-465, passim; M. Guizot (ed.), Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, vol. 11, Paris, 1825, pp. 295-297; J. Bradbury, Philip Augustus: King of France, 1180-1223, London, 1998, p. 308. Gerhard van Randerode's freedom was secured by the payment of a ransom of 300 marks (Cologne money). Among those who acted as fideiussores were: Otto van Lippe, Adolf de Monte, Gerhard van Are and the brothers Theoderic and Gozwin van Randerode. See Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins, vol. 2, pp. 32-33 (no. 59). Record of Bernhard van Horstmar's release does not survive. Bernhard also participated in the Third Crusade, where he served under the banner of King Richard I, of England. See R. Röhrich, Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande, pp. 63-64. In ca. 1223 he and Arnold (Emulf?) de Gimenich were sent to England as imperial nuncii, and assisted in arranging the marriage between the German king, Henry VII, and Isabella, the sister of the English king, Henry III.

173 Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 414 (cap. 25).

174 Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 414 (cap. 25).
Antonius Matthaeus, the author of the *Veteris aevi analecta*, described the death of Otto in similar terms:

*Item Otto iste de Lippe captus est ante Coevorden, et multis poenis est interfectus. Primo excoriabant tonsuram ejus, & sic projecterunt eum in sterquilinio, & conculcabant eum ibi.*

The chronicler of the *Gesta* hastened to add: *sed animam tanto martirio coronatam Deo et beato Martino transmittunt.*

After the defeat at Ane, the bishop's corpse was recovered from the swamp and taken to Utrecht. Otto was buried in the *Domkerk* next to the remains of his uncle and predecessor, Theoderic van Are. At this point, the chronicler of the *Gesta* broke off from his narrative to offer a fairly damning indictment of Otto’s episcopal reign. While he observed that Otto was greatly mourned by all who knew him, and that the election of a successor was delayed by the overwrought emotional states of many of the electors, the chronicler portrayed the bishop as exceedingly wasteful. When Otto assumed the Utrecht *cathedra*,

*Clerici et milites et claustrales in omnibus sibi necessariis affluebant; civitates, oppida et ville de pacis et rerum habundancia exultabant; litones et coloni de suis laboribus*

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175 Antonius Matthaeus, *Veteris aevi analecta*, p. 337. In his summation of the Drenther rebellion, Matthaeus includes the following piece of (fairly inscrutable) doggerel. He provides no clue as to when it might have been composed.

*Lippia me pavit. Trajectum pontificavit
Tandem sors nocuit, quia me Coverdia stratit
Annis bis denis septenis M que ducentis
Ad vada vaccina patitur miseranda ruina
Bernhard Tyronis in festo Panthaleonis.*

176 Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 414 (cap. 25).

177 Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 415 (cap. 26).
The chronicler cited four examples of Bishop Otto's wastefulness: 1) he started a war in Vollenhoeve, 2) he caused discord in Salland while raising monies for the crusade, 3) he entered into a fray with the count of Gelre, and 4) he was complicit in starting the war against the Drenthers. Perhaps with a degree of hyperbole, the chronicler concluded that Otto had left the diocese "ita quod in omnibus finibus illis non est auditum nisi ploratus et ululatus."\(^{179}\)

According to the *Gesta*, there followed in the wake of the bishop's death a fairly pitiable scene at Utrecht, where the episcopal armies had retreated in order to plan their counter-offensive. Gisilbert, Count of the Amstel and Gerhard, Count of Gelre, both gravely wounded, and in the words of the chronicler, *semivivi*, were carried into a restive assembly of nobles, *milites* and *ministeriales ecclesiae*.\(^{180}\) There, the two men wept, displayed their wounds, and entreated the gathering to nominate Wilbrand van Oldenburg as the successor to Otto van Lippe. Wilbrand was a nephew of the counts of Gelre and Holland.\(^{181}\) He had assumed the *cathedra* of Paderborn upon the elevation of Master Oliver to the curia in 1225. At the time of the Drenther rebellion, Wilbrand was also Emperor Frederick II's *muncius* at the Papal court.\(^{182}\) He was a crusader of long-standing, having participated in the Fourth Crusade, and he had described his travels to the

\(^{178}\text{Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 415 (cap. 26).}\)

\(^{179}\text{Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 415 (cap. 26).}\)

\(^{180}\text{Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 415 (cap. 27).}\)

\(^{181}\text{Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 415 (cap. 27).}\)

\(^{182}\text{Pöppel, Das Hochstift Paderborn, pp. 84-85; see also Brandt and Hengst, Das Erzbistum Paderborn, p. 74. Cf. Maier, Preaching the Crusades, pp. 167-169.}\)
Levant in a work called the *Peregrinatio*. At the time of his nomination to the See of Utrecht, Wilbrand was at the court of Pope Gregory IX. In fact, he did not arrive in Utrecht till August, 1228, i.e., more than a year after the murder of Otto van Lippe. His entry into Utrecht appears to have been widely anticipated and according to Christoph Maier, "Wilbrand was expected to be a strong and resourceful avenger and defender of the episcopal rights and honours."

Though his precise role is unclear, there can be little doubt that Wiger served his bishop in some capacity during the Drenther Rebellion. Whether he was actually at Ane on St. Panthaleon's Day, 1227, is uncertain, nevertheless his association with the van Lippe was certainly close enough to have warranted Wiger's presence during the conflict. Indeed, throughout his career, Wiger was an ecclesiastical and political intimate of the van Lippe. He went on episcopal visitations with Otto, supported the financial and administrative initiatives of his bishop, and most likely travelled with the van Lippe to the Holy Land. When controversy erupted between the bishop and the count of Gelre, Wiger joined in the mediation of the dispute and he stood as surety on a van Lippe monetary settlement. Moreover, Wiger was no stranger to the troubled northern regions of the diocese. During his tenure as dean, and later during his provostship, Wiger witnessed a number of documents from Groningen, Overijssel and Drenthe. He clearly

\[\textit{\cite{a183} Wilbrand of Oldenburg, \textit{Reise nach Palaestina und Kleinasien (Peregrinatio)}, J. C. M. Laurent (ed.), Hamburg, 1859.}\]

\[\textit{\cite{a184} Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, pp. 416-417 (cap. 28).}\]

\[\textit{\cite{a185} Maier, \textit{Preaching the Crusades}, p. 167.}\]

\[\textit{\cite{a186} It was not uncommon for household clergy to pray and say the Liturgy behind the lines of the combatants. Indeed, religious often participated enthusiastically in battle. At Bouvines (1214), the Bishop of Beauvais, 'in most unbishoply manner,' clubbed William Longsword, the Earl of Salisbury (an illegitimate brother of John Lackland) and broke his helmet. See J. Bradbury, \textit{Philip Augustus: King of France}, p. 307.}\]
understood the shifting fortunes of the Imperial political landscape and knew the players in the uprising. In 1223, for instance, the provost of St. Peter's put his seal to a document that was also witnessed by two of the key participants in the Drenthe war, namely, Egbert, the burggraaf of Groningen and Rodolf of Coevorden.\footnote{OSU, vol. 2, p. 159 (no. 711).} Perhaps the greatest clue to his association with these events is the fact that within a year of Otto's death, Wiger seems to have left the Utrecht orbit.

Clearly, Master Wiger of St. Peter's appears to have had gained the confidence of his bishop, Otto van Lippe. Indeed, Otto employed Wiger's services time and again in a number of fairly delicate and complicated affairs. And while we can only speculate on his contribution to earlier disputes and episcopal initiatives, his role in diocesan affairs during his time as provost of St. Peter's was significant and seemingly helpful to the bishop, prelates and church of Utrecht. Moreover, he appears to have been a conscientious and attentive pastor. In short, from a medieval perspective, Wiger seems to have been a relatively successful dean and provost. Not only did he attend to his temporal duties, he clearly demonstrated a profound concern for the spiritual welfare of his charges. He appears to have taught \textit{verbo et exemplo}.

5. Conversion to the Order of Friars Minor

At some point, probably during the spring or summer of 1228 Wiger relinquished his responsibilities as provost, retired from St. Peter's collegiate church and subsequently entered the order of Friars Minor. These facts are attested by no less an authority than Caesarius of
Heisterbach, who cited Wiger as a source for one of his narrations in *Libri octo miraculorum*. In the story marked 2. 21, Caesarius told of a certain female recluse who had been deceived by a demon in the guise of the Blessed Virgin. This "angel of Satan" attempted to persuade the woman that she ought to kiss the Virgin's foot. The recluse, apparently quite a pious woman and readily able to discern the machinations of an infernal fiend, steadfastly refused. She was certain that the 'Domina... dulcissima' and the 'mater humilitatis' would never demand such obsequies from a petitioner. The power of this demon was immediately overthrown and the vision receded amidst a foetid and vaporous odour. In Caesarius' moralisation of the story, he lamented the fact that agents of the devil always "transfigura[n]t se in angell[es] lucis" [2 Cor. 11: 14], and observed that the true Mary succoured her children and protected them from fear. He further clarified his contention that the Mother of God was not in the habit of using petty intimidations to effect her ends.

As I have noted above, Caesarius introduces the *exemplum* by observing: "*Retulit michi magister Wigerus, prepositus in ecclesia Traiectensi, nunc in ordine fratrum Minorum conversus, quod dicturus sum.*" This statement suggests at least a passing acquaintance between the two men and implies the existence of a professional correspondence or dialogue. It is, so far as I know, the only explicit reference to Wiger's conversion to the Franciscans, and Caesarius of Heisterbach's only mention of the Utrecht cleric.

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189Hilka, *Wundergeschichten des Caesarius*, p. 101. I owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Bram van den Hoven van Genderen for drawing my attention to this reference.
Both Albert Poncelet and Alfons Hilka accept that the Wiger to whom Caesarius referred was indeed the provost of St. Peter's collegiate church, Utrecht. Nevertheless Poncelet appears somewhat uncomfortable with this identification and suggests, however tentatively, that Caesarius might have confused Wiger of St. Peter's with Wiger, a Cistercian monk of Villers. This second Wiger is cited as a source for Caesarius's narrations in at least four instances elsewhere in the text. There is little reason to suppose, however, that Caesarius made an error in attributing his source, and Poncelet ultimately acknowledges that Caesarius must have been familiar with the religious community of Utrecht, observing that Césaire rapporte plusieurs traits qui lui ont été fournis par les ecclésiastiques d'Utrecht. Indeed, Wiger of St. Peter's was well-connected to the ecclesiastical establishment of Utrecht and probably had many allies in Cologne as well. Further, Caesarius was quite familiar with the complex network of familial relationships and patronage ties that existed amongst the leading noble families of the Rhineland and the northern Low Countries; he displayed this knowledge in a number of references to the van Lippe, the van Gelre and the van Randenrode in Libri octo miraculorum. In addition, Caesarius probably


191 Poncelet directs the reader to MG Scr. t. 25, pp. 224, 230. See Caesarius, ch. 2, "Retulit mihi idem Wigerus aliud miraculum..."; ch. 3, "Haec nobi relata sunt a domino Godefrido de Bergen, qui anno praeterito in Polonia domos ordinis nostri visitavit; et quia nuper ibidem contigit, veraciter intellexit."; ch. 6, "Anno praeterito monachus quidam ordinis nostri de Polonia veniens apud nos, interrogatus a me de statu terrae illius, inter cetera retulit mihi hoc..."


193 In Libri octo miraculorum, Caesarius related a story concerning a certain pagan lord named Caupo. The narration relata sunt a nobili viro Bernhardo, quondam domino Lyppe, tum abbate in Livonia domo ordinis Cysterciensis et postea episcopo (pp. 56-59). Bernhard van Lippe was the father of the Utrecht bishop, Otto II. The exemplum also appears to contain a reference to Albert Suerbeer, O. P., a member of
knew Ludwig, the brother of Theoderic II, van Are, bishop of Utrecht, who was a monk of Heisterbach. I do not think that we need concern ourselves with Poncelet's initial hesitations. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that Poncelet wrote before the publication of the diocesan charters in the Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht, and may not have had ready access to many of the documents pertaining to Wiger of St. Peter's.

It is certain that Master Wiger remained a canon until April, 1228, at which time he made his last appearance in a charter as provost of the chapter of St. Peter's. By autumn, he had been replaced by his successor, Reimar. In this final document from his time at St. Peter's (no. 778), the provost made a bequest to the brothers and to the chapter involving the disposition of certain lands as well as the distribution of revenues from the gift of the provost. The charter stated that a local land-holder who held Wiger's tithe at Otterspoor in fief, Theodenc Reyger by name, should be remunerated and that the rights and privileges pertaining to the tithe should return to the use of

Cardinal Otto of Tonengo's familia (see p. 56). Another member of the van Lippe clan, Herman II, is listed amongst a group of nobles on p. 252. On pp. 236-237, there is mention of Margaret, the daughter of Henry III, Count of Gelre—who was, according to Caesarius, '(vir) divitis atque potentis'. Another Margaret, the Countess of Gelre (in this case, she was the daughter of Henry I, of Brabant and the wife of Gerhard IV, van Gelre), is referred to in two other exempla: one story concerned her camerarius (p. 289), the other story involved Margaret, her husband, and Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne (pp. 289-290). Count Gerhard III, van Randenrode is named in a story on p. 306.


195 OSU, pp. 216-217 (no. 784). In this charter, Bishop Wilbrand van Oldenberg, who had been transferred from the See of Paderborn to that of Utrecht on August 20, 1228, conferred the right of advowson over a church in Doesburg to the Bethlehem cloister. Reimar appeared as provost of St. Peter's in the list of witnesses.
Revenues from the land, or rather from the tithe connected to the land, were to be added to the prebends of the brothers and paid annually, on the Kalends of January in Wiger's memory. This arrangement was to continue so long as Wiger lived. After he had died however, monies were to be distributed "in anniversario meo," presumably the date of Wiger's death—one half at Vigils and the other half at a Mass for the Dead. Wiger further insisted that should the canons desire a share from the bequest, their attendance in choir on the aforesaid occasions was mandatory.

Similar arrangements were made with respect to the alienation of other properties. Wiger held "areas quasdam cum justitia" at Jansdam. These properties would have been located just outside the Immunity of St. Peter's, adjacent to the Janskerk and, curiously, very close to the site of the first Franciscan establishment in Utrecht. They had been held in fief by Henry of Lente. Another of the properties was a manse of undetermined location managed by a certain Gisilbert. It is not specified whether these lands were connected to the provost's dignity or whether Wiger possessed them independently from his office. Wiger asked that if these estates

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196 Theoderic Reyger was the nephew (nepos) of Nicholas Troibant, a canon of St. Peter's during Wiger's tenure as provost. See OSU, vol. 2, pp. 235-236 (no. 806).


198 While the relationship between Henry de Lente and Wiger of St. Peter's is uncertain, it is curious to note that in the financial records of the county of Gelre, 1294-1295, there is reference to a certain Wiger de Lente. In a list of monies received at Nijmegen, the account states: "Item in Bethua a Wigero de Lente 100 maldra." Could this latter Wiger have been named for an illustrious forbear or friend of the family? See L. S. Meihuizen (ed), De Rekening betreffende het Graafschap Gelre, 1294-1295 (Werken uitgegeven door Gelre vereeniging tot beoefening van Geldersche geschiedenis. oudheidkunde et recht. No. 26), Arnhem, 1953, p. 98.
could be 'bought back' or redeemed by the chapter (i. e., "si redimere poterunt..."), they might be added to the prebends of the brothers. Any surplus revenue generated by the Otterspoor estate was to be put towards the purchase of more or better wine for the chapter. The provost did not stipulate whether the beverage was meant for sacramental use or whether he simply intended to continue his hospitality from afar. Wiger sought to safeguard his bequest by stating that the conditions he had established should exist in perpetuity and that his successors should not countermand his wishes.

Charter 778 is a rather curious document. In the first place, there are no other examples of dignitaries from St. Peter's having made similar bequests during the period circa 1198-1249. Indeed, the sort of generosity that Wiger displayed towards the chapter might have been rare within the episcopal jurisdiction of Utrecht. I have located very few documents from the diocese of Utrecht dating from the first half of the thirteenth century wherein a capitular dignitary has divided or altered his gift for the use of the chapter.199 To be sure, there are many examples of episcopal benefaction, as when the bishop, Theoderic van Are, bestowed on the church of St. Mary's the rights to a house in Vollenhove in 1211200 or when the bishop-elect Otto van Gelre provided the monastery at Ruinen with a tithe at Leeuwte in 1215.201 In addition, there is

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199In charter no. 569, the cathedral provost Lodewijk gave four parish churches from his gift to the dean and the cathedral chapter, in return for the payment of so-called 'fish pennies'. These churches included: the Civil church, St. Nicholas' church, St. James' and St. Gertrude's. In 1220, Wouter, provost of St. Saviour's (the Oudmunster), divided a stone house in his possession between two canons, Reymar and James (no. 685). These canons were, however, Wouter's relations (consanguinei mei). Around this same time, Wouter composed his will and made provisions for a number of churches and friends. See charter nos. 686 and 687. The dean of the Oudmunster, Wulfram, gave the cleric Willem Mudde a tithe from lands lying between Assenede and Biggendilff in 1238 (no. 924).


considerable evidence to suggest that the provosts and deans of Utrecht's capitular churches were
concerned with the redistribution or equalization of prebends throughout the first half of the
thirteenth century; nevertheless, it appears as though this concern was not usually extended to the
redefinition of their own levels of compensation or remuneration. And while the existence or
survival of charter no. 778 might represent an historical accident of sorts, and other examples of
similar donations might once have existed, it seems unlikely that bequests such as Wiger's were
common.

In the only other truly analogous example, dating from 1227, Rembold, the provost of St.
Mary's College sought to confer the rights to a church in Alblas on his dean and chapter. In this
case, Rembold had gained the permission of Theoderic of Randenrode, provost of the cathedral
chapter and, according to the charter, "archidiaconus loci." Presumably, Wiger considered such
permission unnecessary for his bequest. Rembold claimed *jus patronatus* over the church and, at
turning over the rights, he insisted that the chapter of St. Mary's establish a vicarage at Alblas, and
that its revenues be added to the prebends of the brothers. It is perhaps noteworthy that, as with
Wiger's bequest, this document represented Rembold's final appearance in the Utrecht cartulary,
and that by May, 1230, he had been replaced by his successor, Wouter.

Charter no. 778 is also compelling for its date of composition. That it was written or
signed in April and that Wiger's successor had been appointed within five months of the
document's composition probably indicates that Wiger had established his plans for the future by
the spring of 1228. It is perhaps suggestive that, according to the Franciscan chronicler, Brother

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202 *OSU*, vol. 2, p. 205 (no. 769).
203 *OSU*, vol. 2, p. 231 (no. 801).
Jordan of Giano, the first chapter of the German province of the Order of Friars Minor was held at Cologne between Easter and Pentecost, 1228, that is, between March 26 and May 14. While it is uncertain whether the date of charter no. 778 was influenced in any way by the Franciscan conference, we do know that Wiger had ready access to information concerning ecclesiastical affairs in Cologne. The provisions contained in the document suggest, at the very least, that Wiger intended to alter in some manner his relationship with the chapter of St. Peter's. The document contains structural elements and a content similar to the wills and testaments of the age. The manner in which he intended to dispose of his property is not entirely dissimilar, for example, to the provisions contained in the three wills of his predecessor Wouter. Despite the fact that this document is manifestly not a final testament in the usual sense of the term, there is a decided air of finality to the bequest. Indeed, Dr. K. Heeringa, the editor of volume two of the *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, thought it so final that he concluded Wiger must have died shortly after its composition.

The existence of this charter also suggests that, despite the dire assessment of the general economic situation made by the anonymous author of the *Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium*, the provost of St. Peter's had amassed revenue and property in excess of that which was required for the exigencies of the office. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that, upon leaving the provostship, Wiger might have knowingly bankrupted his successors or consciously imposed severe economic

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205 In the notae to a document from 1235 (no. 889), Heeringa observed that "Daar (St. Peter's) provost Wigger nog in 1228 leefde..." Such a statement seems to imply that Heeringa believed that Wiger had died in the intervening period. See *OSU*, vol. 2, p. 300. Like Dr. Heeringa, I had reached a similar conclusion until learning that Wiger entered the order of Friars Minor.
restrictions on those who were to come after him. Nevertheless, in giving away the superfluity of his income (or at least a portion thereof), Wiger demonstrated an ambivalence towards what must have been a personally advantageous financial situation. It was not customary for the provost to sub-divide his holdings, and he appears to have been under no formal obligation to do so. That the succession of the provostship passed over the dean, Hugh, and on to the heretofore unmentioned Reimar is perhaps suggestive in this context. The circumstances of Reimar's rise to high office are unknown, and there are many questions surrounding it. Was he, for instance, the Reimar listed amongst the consanguineos of Wiger's predecessor Wouter? Did Reimar have any previous connection to the chapter? Why did Hugh not succeed Wiger to the provostship as Wiger had succeeded Wouter?

If Reimar were an outsider, or a recent arrival to the chapter, then perhaps Wiger's division of the gift of the prepositura was intended to ensure the continued viability of St. Peter's financial assets. Certainly, by distributing the tithe on the Otterspoor property ad prebendas fratrum, i.e., amongst the friends and colleagues with whom he had worshipped and travailed for almost twenty years, Wiger seems to have indicated not only a fondness for his associates, but also a respect for their managerial acumen. That the bequest was divided evenly amongst the canons and subject to a residency requirement probably also reflects Wiger's (and by extension, the chapter's) concept of clerical community. They appear to have placed a strong emphasis on living the "Common Life" at the chapter of St. Peter's, Utrecht. As David Lepine observed in A Brotherhood of Canons Serving God, this model of communal living often strengthened the chapter as a social and economic unit: "The cohesion of residentiary chapters rested on close-knit networks of canons that grew up based on patronage and friendship often through shared
Thus, a donation to the prebends of the brothers, restricted solely to those in residence, would seem to re-affirm the founding principles of the collegiate chapter and point to Wiger's concern for the continued spiritual and financial vitality of St. Peter's College.

Perhaps, then, Wiger's bequest is the sort of document we might expect to have been written by a prelate on the verge of conversion to a life of mendicancy. When he converted to the order of Friars Minor, not only was he expected to divest himself of all his worldly possessions, he was also compelled to discharge his debts. Upon acceptance of the provostship, Wiger had assumed responsibility for both the spiritual and temporal welfare of his canons. In relinquishing possession of his assets to his former brothers as he left the chapter, Wiger fulfilled this duty one final time.

There is evidence to suggest that Wiger of St. Peter's continued to exercise a rather formidable authority after his conversion to the Order of Friars Minor. In Tractatus de adventu fratrum Minorum in Angliam, Brother Thomas of Eccleston outlined the extent and scope of the Grey Friars' early mission to the British Isles. Eccleston composed his chronicle over a period of roughly 26 years, between ca. 1232-1258.207 His work spanned the initial period of Minorite expansion into England, the development and administration of the English province during its first 40 years as well as the early controversies within the burgeoning Order. In chapter eight,


"De capitulis visitatorum," Eccleston described the establishment of officially sanctioned visitations to the English province by representatives of the Minister General of the Franciscans, Brother Elias of Cortona. Among the so-called visitatores, Brother Thomas made reference to a certain "Frater Wigerius (or Wigerus) Alemannus", whom he described as "valde famosus in peritia iuris" and "in omni honestate conspicuus." Furthermore, Thomas claimed that Wiger was "familiarissimus" with the cardinal, Otto of Tonengo, who was in 1237 papal-legate to Britain.

This Wiger was the third of three visitatores mentioned in chapter eight. The first was Brother William (or Walter) of Colville the Elder, who held a chapter in London during the provincialate of Brother Agnellus. At least a portion of this chapter seems to have been devoted to the normalising of economic and administrative operations of the Franciscan Order in England; Thomas tells us that Brother William preached against contracting debts and also

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209 Thomas of Eccleston, De adventu fratrwm Minorum in Angliam, ch. 8, p. 38. It is curious to note that Eccleston's words are very similar to those used by Pope Gregory IX to describe Cardinal-Deacon Otto of Tonengo. Gregory called Otto "virum morum honestate conspicuum, praeeditum scientia litterarum." See Paravicini-Bagliani, Cardinali di Curia e 'familiae' Cardinalizie, p. 79.

210 This visitation could not have occurred later than 1229, at which time de Colville was sent to Germany. See Jordan of Giano, ch. 55. See also Thomas of Eccleston, De adventu fratrwm Minorum in Angliam, p. 37n.
outlined the role of the procurator. The second visitator was Brother John of Malvern who circulated the bull, *Quo elongati* (28 September, 1230), which was an elaboration of the Rule for Franciscan houses. Malvern also convened chapters in London, Leicester and Bristol. At Gloucester he instructed the friars on appropriate decorations for churches and even censured a brother and his custos for an ostentatious painting on the convent's pulpit.

Eccleston is somewhat less clear on the purport of the third visitator's mission. He tells us that Brother Wiger convened assemblies in London, Oxford, Gloucester and Southampton as well as a provincial chapter at Oxford after he had completed his investigations. He had also been given extraordinary authority by the Minister General to excommunicate any brother who "concealed anything" from him during the course of his visitation. Precisely what sort of information Wiger was meant to glean is unspecified, and it should be noted that the weapon of anathema was an unusual addition to the arsenal of any visitator. Regardless of why he had been given such an encompassing mandate, Brother Thomas was careful to note that only the visitator could grant absolution from these sentences.

According to Eccleston, the visitation was a disaster. In executing his Ministerial mandate, Wiger the German caused a great and unprecedented turmoil to erupt within the province. Eccleston observed that, "...per mutus accusationes intus, per suspiciones foris,  

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211 Eccleston, *De adventu fratrum Minorum*, ch. 8, p. 38: "Hic tam districtam formam et tam exquisitam a ministro generali acceperat. et praeceipue ut excommunicati essent de facto. quicunque sibi quocunque modo celarent aliqua vel dicta velarent..."

212 Eccleston, *De adventu fratrum Minorum*, ch. 8, p. 38: "a qua sententia nullus absolvere posset nisi ipsi..."
intolerabilis subito per totam provinciam tempestas orta est." At the Oxford provincial chapter, the brothers brought forth a unanimous appeal against the Minister General for calling a visitation without the consent of the General Chapter. The appeal was later carried to Elias, but it fell upon deaf ears. In addition to visiting and assessing the province, Brother Wiger had been canvassing subscriptions towards the erection of the great Franciscan church at Assisi, a plan which many of the brothers considered at odds with the Order's avowed principle of corporate poverty. Brother Wiger left the seething English province and went to Scotland with the intention of calling a chapter and conducting a visitation. The Scottish Grey Friars refused him, citing the ruling of the General Chapter that they should be visited only by the minister of Ireland (Hibernia). Frustrated, Brother Wiger returned to Cologne, whence we are told he came. He was joined in the Rhenish city by William of Esseby, whom Wiger had previously sent on a visitation of Ireland. Eccleston tells us that Brother Wiger took a report of his findings with him to Cologne. The following year, representatives from the English province journeyed to Rome in order to lodge their protest with Pope Gregory IX. They were joined by delegates of the German brethren who intended to make similar complaints regarding visitations in Saxony.

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214 Eccleston, De adventu fratrum Minorum, ch. 8, p. 39.

215 See A. G. Little, The Grey Friars in Oxford, Part II: Biographical Notices of the Friars, pp. 125-126. Little suggests, based on Jessop's observations in The Coming of the Friars, that William came from Ashby in Norfolk. He was the first Oxford warden and one of the original four clerics who had come to England with Brother Agnellus in 1224. It is believed that he joined the Order in France and that he assumed the professus only after he had become warden at Oxford (Mon. Franc. 1, p. 6). He was one of the very first Franciscans authorised to preach in England. As well, Brother William was the first custos for Oxford after England had been divided into custodies. He was also sent to found a convent at Cambridge. In the Phillipps MS of Eccleston's work (MS 3119, fol. 71), there is a rather unhappy marginal note which reads: Hic (W. de Esseby) aliquando temptatus a carne amputavit sibi genitalia zelo pudicicie; quo facto papam pecuit et ab eo graviter correptus celebrandi divina meruit dispensacionem. Hic etiam Willemus post multos annos quievit London.
Together they condemned the arbitrary nature of the visitations and spoke to their general unhappiness with Brother Elias's rule. Among those sent to Rome were the chronicler, Jordan of Giano, as well as the great Franciscan preacher and custodian, Haymo of Faversham. Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, and Arnulf, the pope's penitentiary (and nephew), submitted documents supporting the grievances of the friars.216

Brother Thomas himself appears to have disapproved of Wiger's visitation, though it seems that he ultimately blamed Brother Elias for the turmoil surrounding it. While he did not absolve Wiger from his role in causing such consternation, Eccleston portrayed the visitor as the exasperated agent of an overweening superior, stating that Brother Wiger left England, "turbatus et ipse non modicum."217 Thomas was careful to note that in their subsequent protest to Rome, the English Franciscans had objected to the visitation itself and not necessarily to the person of the visitator. They argued that visitations should proceed in accordance with the constitution of the order and under the authority of the General Chapter, and not at the whim of the Minister General. In summation, Brother Thomas paraphrased Brother Arnulfus, the penitentiary to Gregory IX, who lamented, "quod si diabolus esset incarnatus, non invenerit subtiliorum et fortiorem laqueum ad illaqueandas animas, quam fuit illa visitatio."218


217Eccleston, De adventu fratrum Minorum, ch. 8, p. 39.

218Eccleston, De adventu fratrum Minorum, ch. 8, pp. 39-40. For many of the brothers, the manner in which the visitations of 1229-1237 were conducted represented the culmination of a long series of abuses on the part of the Minister General. According to Eccleston, Elias's refusal to convene a Chapter General, his method for selecting and appointing provincial ministers and especially his treatment of Brother Leo contributed to his overthrow. Cf. C. H. Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages, 2nd edn., London, 1989, pp. 250-251.
While it is impossible to establish incontrovertibly that Wigerus Alemannus is to be identified with Wigerus sancti Petri, there is a compelling circumstantial case to be made. In advancing this argument, I shall examine four statements made by Eccleston concerning Wiger the German and compare them against what is known about the erstwhile provost of St. Peter's, Utrecht. These statements concern: 1) nomenclature and geographical origins, 2) education and authority, 3) the course of Wigerius's visitation in relation to the provenance of Oxford, CCC MS 32, ff. 12-49, and finally 4) connections and associations with the curia.

1) Nomenclature and geographical origins: In Eccleston's description of Brother Wiger, one of the primary modifiers used to identify the visitator was "Alemannus". Before he acknowledged the visitor's probity or learning, before he noted Wiger's connection to a prelate of the highest order, Brother Thomas informed his audience that the visitor was German. In the case of the other two visitatores mentioned in chapter eight, Eccleston provided the names of the towns or convents from which they presumably came: the first visitator was "de Colevile" and the second was "de Malvernia." In identifying Wiger according to his nationality, Eccleston emphasised the visitator's foreignness and perhaps reflected or at least recognised his audience's unfamiliarity with the life and habits of the seemingly distinguished representative of the Minister General. Indeed, for the two other visitatores, Eccleston provided only their names and places of origin; in the case of Wiger, Brother Thomas was careful to include an additional summary of his qualifications and associations—which probably indicates that such an introduction was necessary. Of course, Eccleston's picture of Wiger was framed within a larger context. Brother Thomas sought to explain and then justify his own misgivings about the imperial style of Brother Elias's generalate. Eccleston appears to have rejected the notion that the Minister General should wield
supreme executive authority within the Order of Friars Minor, a sort of Franciscan *plenitudo potestas*, and fashioned his account of the visitation, at least in part, as a response to those who would have supported Elias's claims. The effect of Eccleston's description of Wiger, that is to say his emphasis on Wiger's nationality, was to portray the *visitator*—despite his well-placed and influential connections—as an outsider, unknown to the community of English Franciscans and himself unaware of the province's customs and practices. Furthermore, the failure of Wiger's mission was magnified by the relative success of the other two *visitatores*. Brother William de Colville's mission was remembered for the establishment of Sir William Joynier's Franciscan chapel in London, along with the attendant ceremonial that marked its opening. Brother John of Malvern's visitation witnessed the arrival of an elaboration of the Rule for Minor Friars according to Pope Gregory IX, i.e., the bull *Quo elongati*. And while this second *visitator* was depicted as severe and unyielding, Eccleston found justification for his strictness: Malvern was an agent of the lord Pope, and therefore, in Eccleston's view, a law-giver; his mission was to reveal a distilled interpretation of God's will for the Friars. In Brother Thomas's interpretation of events, neither de Colville nor Malvern sought the aggrandizement of an individual friar or the validation of a political program. They simply improved the workings of the Order and disseminated a more perfect Franciscan model amongst their fellows.

But if Brother Wiger, the controversial Franciscan *visitator*, was also the erstwhile provost of St. Peter's, Utrecht, then how are we to account for the sobriquet *Alemannus*? There are a number of possible explanations. The most obvious and straight-forward of these is that Utrecht was an imperial city, and an outsider would have had little reason to distinguish between the Dutch or the Frisians, the Thuringians or Swiss: to an English observer, they were all German.
This does not, however, explain why Brother Thomas referred to the first two visitatores according to their municipal identities, and to Brother Wiger according to his "national" identity. Eccleston clearly knew that Brother Wiger had some connection to Cologne, yet he did not call the visitor "de Colonia." Brother Thomas's words appear to have been rather carefully chosen. In order to understand this assignation, it might prove useful to examine further Eccleston's motivations for writing De adventu fratrum Minorum in Angliam.

Eccleston's chronicle represented something of an apologia for the nascent English province of the Minorite order. In the introduction to her translation of Eccleston's work, Emma Gurney Salter challenged that, "Eccleston has little sense of proportion—of what is trivial and what is valuable. Heretails on gossip, visions and anecdotes with naive eagerness, and dwells on anything that glorifies the English Province." She dismissed much of his account as discursive and provisional. Gurney Salter concluded that portions of Eccleston's work appeared to be "a rough draft." Such is a rather jaundiced assessment of Eccleston's priorities and the over-all quality of his work. Eccleston sought to account for the early successes of the Franciscans in England and to establish their godliness and orthodoxy against the accusations of their detractors as well as to protect them from those who appeared to threaten the order's stability from within. "The brethren of those days," he wrote, "having the first-fruits of the Spirit, were serving the Lord, not by the rules of men, but by the spontaneous impulses of their devotion." Thus,

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220 Gurney Salter, The Coming of the Friars Minor, p. xii.

221 Gurney Salter, The Coming of the Friars Minor, p. 34.
Eccleston acknowledged the relative novelty and distinctness of the Franciscan program within the context of traditional expressions of the monastic impulse. Indeed, he welcomed it, for Eccleston saw these differences as having been authored by the Holy Spirit. What Gurney Salter dismissed as "gossip, visions and anecdotes" were to Brother Thomas, and presumably to his audience as well, the tangible manifestations of a providential Hand moving through history. Miracle stories, anecdotes and visions do not appear randomly in Eccleston's chronicle. He uses them as proofs or bolsters to his claims. For example, in telling the story of Brother Haymo of Faversham's conversion to the Friars Minor, Eccleston recounts the brother's vision of heaven, and explains how it effected Haymo's entry into the Order. Brother Haymo was both one of the earliest scholars and greatest preachers of the Franciscan Order. During the course of his career, he was custos at Paris as well as lector at Tours, Bologna and Padua. In 1233, Brother Haymo was sent by Pope Gregory IX as an ambassador to the Greek Emperor, Vatatzes. The life of Haymo of Faversham was, from an apologetical or rhetorical perspective, an English jewel in the crown of the order. Moreover, Brother Haymo was intimately involved in the process of removing Brother Elias from his office—a cause which Brother Thomas unreservedly supported. Eccleston noted that when Haymo and three others were received by Brother Gregory of Naples at Saint Denis during Lent, 1224, Haymo preached from the text, "In convertendo Dominus captivitatem Sion, facti sumus sicut consolati" (Psalm 125: 1). While the inclusion of this

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While praying before the crucifix in his church at Faversham, Haymo saw a rope or cord descending from heaven. He took hold of it and was carried into God's presence. According to Brother Thomas, Haymo remembered this vision when he was with the Franciscans at Paris. He discussed the vision with Master Simon of Sandwich and two others. Haymo asked them what would be the most expedient route to salvation. They concluded simultaneously that they should become Minorites. Seeking confirmation, they approached Jordan of Saxony, Master of the Friars Preacher, who, "inspired by truth," told the four men to convert to the Order of Friars Minor. See Eccleston, *De adventu fratrum Minorum*, ch. 6.
anecdote might be the sort of datum which Gurney Salter regarded as irrelevant, it appears singularly well-chosen for an individual who would later challenge the controversial Minister General. The inclusion of this particular scripture would seem to confirm that Brother Thomas viewed Haymo's conversion as providential and that his use of Brother Haymo's vision was deliberate, rhetorically effective and integral to the narrative structure of the story he told. By demonstrating to his readers that Brother Haymo's entry into the order was the result of Divine intervention, Eccleston magnified Brother Haymo's authority and added significantly to the case against Elias. Indeed, from the perspective of many of the brethren, the removal of Elias could certainly have been interpreted as a Franciscan "deliverance from captivity."

It seems clear that, contrary to Dr. Gurney Salter's objections, Brother Thomas of Eccleston was mindful of the magnitude of his task and fairly meticulous in the construction of his narrative. His use of the term "Alemannus" in connection with the third visitator was probably not accidental. Rather, Eccleston sought to construct a portrait of Wiger that, while accurate, also buttressed his own interpretation of the "affaire Elias," as Gurney Salter has termed it. In this construction, Wiger's nationality was perhaps no small detail.

After he was deposed, Brother Elias of Cortona refused to submit to the authority of the new Minister General, Albert of Pisa. Elias was excommunicated, and ultimately looked to the Holy Roman Emperor, and fellow excommunicate, Frederick II, for patronage and protection. The emperor welcomed Elias and employed his services in a number of private and public initiatives.223 For many of the brethren, Elias had, by this point, descended irrevocably into the

223See Salimbene de Adam, The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam, J. L. Baird and others, trans., ed., Binghamton, N. Y., 1986, p. 152. According to Brother Salimbene, Elias' alliance with Frederick II and his perceived dissolute manner of life after his excommunication prompted many Tuscans to quote the
depths of an ignoble and shameful alliance. By accentuating Wiger's German identity, perhaps Eccleston sought to foreshadow Elias's eventual disgrace and to put the Minister General in the company of those whom he perceived as a threat to the order's stability. Despite its brevity, Eccleston's portrait of Wiger is nuanced and somewhat cagey. While he informs us that the visitator is extraordinarily virtuous and celebrated for his legal training, Eccleston also puts him in the company of the dangerous Brother Elias and the papal legate, Otto of Tonengo. By referring to Wiger as "Alemannus," rather than calling him de Colonia or even Traiectensis, Brother Thomas might imply that Brother Wiger possessed imperial loyalties, and that his mission was a threat to the burgeoning of the Franciscan order in England. If Brother Wiger were simply German, that would be fine, the great majority of German brethren were good and honest. If he were simply well-connected or a friend and confidant of princes, prelates and the literati, that too would be of little concern. The Order had begun to exploit the talents of many similarly connected individuals. If Brother Wiger merely resided in Cologne, it would be no great matter. The combination of these traits and qualities, however, presented the visitator as someone who appeared to have an agenda, or some political axe to grind. By calling the visitor Alemannus, Eccleston might very well have been suggesting Brother Wiger's closeness to the centre of the imperial power structure: indeed, he may have been hinting at Wiger's association with such powerful families as the van Lippe, van Gelre, van Randerode, and the van den Berg.

following poem when any friar passed:

Hor atorno fratt' Helya.
ke pres'ha la mala via.
(There he goes, Old Brother Elias,
Not too good and not too pious.)

By the late 1230s, the Franciscan presence in Cologne was well-established. It was one of the earliest centres of Minorite penetration north of the Alps, probably because Cologne was also one of the largest cities in Northern Europe: it has been estimated that the city's thirteenth-century population was in excess of 40,000. By contrast, cities such as Augsburg and Strasbourg are estimated to have had approximately 25,000 people each.224 After their arrival, the Franciscans worked assiduously to make room for themselves within the congested ecclesiastical climate of the city.225 They had also created an environment of robust evangelisation—Cologne served as a point of embarkation for a number of mendicant proselytising initiatives and administrative missions in north-western Europe.

If the provost of St. Peter's, Utrecht, made his profession to the Order of Friars Minor in the late 1220s, then his relocation to Cologne would not have been unlikely. According to John R. H. Moorman, the first Minorite house in Utrecht was established after 1240, and probably not

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224 These figures are from John B. Freed, The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century, Cambridge, Mass., 1977, p. 79. Freed obtained them from Josiah Cox Russell, Medieval Regions and their Cities, pp. 83-87, 90-96, 106-111. In Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages, R. W. Southern put the number at Cologne much lower. He quoted a figure of 15,000 for the beginning of the thirteenth century, and stated that the maximum in 1320 was 37,000. He does not provide a source for these numbers. See Southern, p.322.

225 According to Hermann Keussen, at the time of the Friars' arrival in 1221, the religious houses and foundations included: a cathedral, 16 parish churches, 11 collegiate churches, three Benedictine monasteries, two Benedictine nunneries, two Augustinian nunneries, a Cistercian convent, a church of the Teutonic Knights, and 16 chapels. See Keussen, Topographie der Stadt Köln im Mittelalter, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1910), 1:147-148.

The Franciscans won the protection of several patrician families, most notably the Quartermarts and the Scherfgins, who belonged to the Overstolz clan. For most of the thirteenth century, the Overstolzes were the main rivals of the Weise family, who controlled two of the main civic institutions of the city, the Schoffenkollegium and the Richerzeche; the Weise clan had also allied themselves with the archbishops of Cologne. See Freed, "The Friars in Cologne," ch. 3, The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century, pp. 79-105, passim; for the records of this conflict, cf. Hans Planitz and Theo Buyken, Die kolner Schreinsbcher des 13. und 14. Jahrhundert, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, 46 (Weimar, 1937).
before 1244. Of course, these dates represent only the first documented references to the existence of a Franciscan house in the city, and any mention of the Friars' initial entry into Utrecht, if it ever existed, has been lost. The Grey Friars could well have arrived before Wiger's conversion, and the former provost might have joined their ranks in the familiar surroundings of the city in which he had lived for more than twenty years. Nevertheless, the incipient community of Utrecht Franciscans did not, so far as we know, record the existence of a 'Brother Wiger' in their midst. Indeed, the only references to Franciscan clergy before ca. 1253 are to Brothers Gottschalk and Menzo—there are no other friars mentioned by name in the Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht before this date. Wiger of St. Peter's simply left the diocesan records after 1228. While it is unwise to make an argument based on an absence of evidence, it is perhaps noteworthy that a cleric of Wiger's stature seems to have "disappeared" from Utrecht upon conversion to the Grey Friars. It is tempting to suppose that Wiger left Utrecht to join a convent elsewhere.

Cologne would have been a natural place for the Utrecht prelate to go. By the time of Wiger's profession, the city had become one of the administrative centres for the burgeoning Minorite order in northern Europe, and the Franciscans required capable administrators there as they developed a vast network of provinces and custodies. Wiger of St. Peter's was precisely the sort of cleric whom the new order would have found useful. By 1228, he had almost two decades' worth of experience as a capitular administrator and had travelled widely on behalf of the

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226 See Schlager, Beitrage 27; Monast. Batav., i, 150. Moorman gives another date in History of the Franciscan Order stating that the Grey Friars acquired a house at an old convent in 1234. See pp. 163-164.

chapter, he was probably trained in theology as well as canon law and had participated in
diplomatic initiatives under the auspices of the bishop of Utrecht and Cardinal Conrad of Porto.
Furthermore, he had compiled and edited a compendium of *exempla* for the use of preachers. In a
decidedly apologetic mood, Brother Salimbene of Adam described the manifold qualities of the
friars of the first and second generations. The passage, which reads like Wiger's *curriculum vitae*,
states:

> There are many in both orders of friars who, if they had been in the world, would have
possessed the prebends they hold, and perhaps much better, for they are just as nobly
born, as rich, as powerful and learned as they, and would have been priests, canons,
archdeacons, bishops and archbishops, perhaps even cardinals and popes, like them. They
should recognise that we have given up all these things to go begging. \(^{228}\)

A man of Wiger's skill and experience most likely would have had a place at the order's heart.

What is more, Wiger of St. Peter's had a number of personal and professional connections
with members of the religious and lay communities of Cologne. During the course of his capitular
career, Wiger had worked closely with representatives of many of the leading families of the
Rhineland. The list of inter-relations is, as we have seen, quite substantial: Wiger's contemporary
Theoderic van Randenrode was *domproost* of Utrecht as well as *chorepiscopus* of Cologne; in
turn Theoderic's uncle, Goswin, was both provost of St. John's, Utrecht, and the dean of the
Cologne cathedral. Both Theoderic and Goswin were very likely related to the van Are and the
van Lippe clans. As well, Otto van Gelre, the former bishop of Utrecht, was the uncle of

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\(^{228}\) Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam*, (ed.) O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS (1913),
Archbishop Engelbert van den Berg of Cologne. Otto's sister, Margaret, had married into the van den Berg family. In her widowhood, Otto's mother became the abbess of Roermund.

Otto van Gelre had also been the uncle of Bishop Henry of Liège (1247-1274). The anti-Hohenstaufen Henry was a van Gelre, a cousin of the pretender to the imperial throne, William II of Holland, and one of Innocent IV's most notorious political appointments. Throughout the twenty-six years of his episcopal reign, Henry never entered major orders and seems to have been placed in the See of Liège so that he might, among other things, keep a watchful eye on the imperial city of Aachen.  

Henry was also an unreserved champion of the mendicants of Cologne. In return for raising an army to besiege Aachen in 1248, Henry gave the Cologne Franciscans the palace of the bishops of Liège which was adjacent to the new Minorite church (St. Columba's) near the junction of the Drususgasse and the Minoritenstrasse in Cologne. Whether Wiger benefitted personally from Henry's largesse, we shall never know. We do know, however, that the erstwhile provost had a professional relationship with Henry's older kin.

Indeed, Wiger lived his life within an intricate lattice-work of feudal obligation and ecclesiastical correspondence. His ties with the élites of the Rhineland and the Ruhr were extensive and presumably of long-standing. His connections also extended beyond these lofty circles. As noted above, the newly-minted Franciscan had some type of communication with Caesarius of Heisterbach. As well, he might have known Henry, the one-time Utrecht cathedral

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229 Henry was elected provost of the Utrecht cathedral chapter in 1245. However, after deliberation, Innocent IV conferred the dignity on Gobert de Perwez, a nephew of Henry I of Brabant. The See of Liège was offered to Henry of Gelre in compensation. See C. Renardy, *Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège. 1140-1350: Recherches sur sa composition et ses activités*, Paris, 1979, pp.244-247.

canon and second master of the Cologne Dominicans. Moreover, we must not forget that Utrecht was oriented towards Cologne at a number of ecclesiastical, commercial and political levels—Cologne was Utrecht's archiepiscopal See. As the provost of St. Peter's and a member of Otto van Lippe's mensa, Wiger would have had a number of opportunities for interaction with leading members of the Rhenish church during the course of archiepiscopal visitations to Utrecht, general chapters as well as regional or provincial synods.

Also, it appears that at least two of Wiger's immediate associates in the archdiocese of Cologne were particularly sympathetic to the Order of Friars Minor and assisted Franciscan attempts at expansion into north-west Germany. The first of these was Bernhard van Lippe. Shortly after the deaths of his brothers, Bishop Otto and Provost Theoderic, Bernhard left the provostship at Emmerich to become the bishop of Paderborn. There, he replaced Bishop Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who had been transferred to Utrecht within a year of the Battle of Ane (1227). In 1232, Bernhard welcomed representatives of the Franciscan order to Paderborn and became their protector. They established a cloister at Kamp and within six years built the Minderbrüderkirche at near-by Hofgeismar.  

Such was Bernhard's commitment to ecclesiastical reform that Diether Pöppel has referred to him as the "reformfreudige Fürstbischof" of Paderborn.  

The second of Wiger's colleagues to demonstrate Franciscan sympathies was the provost

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of St. Janskerk, Utrecht, and dean of the Cologne cathedral, Goswin van Randerode. In a
document dated February 13, 1247 (no. 1108), Goswin sought permission from his bishop, Otto
III, van Holland, and the dean of St. John's to sell the "domum et aream claustralum" which
belonged to the prepositura of St. John's. The prospective buyer intended the property to be used
by the Order of Friars Minor. The parcel of land in question appears to have devolved only
recently to the provost, as it had belonged to the former dean of St. John's, Gisilbert (1225-1245).
It is uncertain whether Dean Gisilbert of St. John's is the same Gisilbert who managed property
for Wiger some twenty years earlier.²³³ Though it is unclear why he might have done so, Goswin
signed this charter not as the provost of St. John's, but as the dean of the Cologne cathedral
chapter.

Both Goswin van Randerode and Bernhard van Lippe were among the five prelates who
served as fidejussores for Bishop Otto in his dispute with the count of Gelre in 1226 (see above).
Wiger's name also appeared in this list. Indeed, Goswin, Bernhard and Wiger were involved in a
number of shared administrative projects between ca. 1213 and 1227. It is tempting to suppose
that either Wiger's conversion to the Franciscans precipitated the sympathy which Bernhard and
Goswin later displayed towards the Order of Friars Minor, or that Wiger's conversion was itself
spurred, at least in part, by the pro-mendicant sentiments of his immediate circle.

have assisted the diocesan hierarchy in drawing up contracts, witnessing legal and administrative
documents, and on at least one occasion—at Duisberg during the 1220s—he interceded on behalf
of his bishop in Otto's dispute with the Count of Gelre. Moreover, Wiger of St. Peter's was
referred to as *magister* in two independent sources: once in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Libri octo
miraculorum*, and again in the explicit of his own *exempla* collection. As we have seen from the
internal evidence provided by the *adiuncta* of this collection, the attribution of the honorific
*magister* most likely indicated a formal education, and there are many reasons to suppose that
Wiger received this education in France, perhaps at Paris. That he compiled his *liber exemplorum*
at all is itself an indication of some type of advanced formal training beyond the *trivium* and
*quadrivium*. The broad range of skills and knowledge required to compile and edit such a
collection suggests a solid grounding in the elements of theology and perhaps also canon law.
Indeed, throughout the compendium, Wiger shows himself to be acutely aware of the then current
trends in practical theology and the inculcation of Christian virtues. None of this militates in
favour of the position that Wiger was in any real sense *famosus*. Nevertheless, his comparatively
advanced age at the time that Eccleston wrote his chronicle as well as Wiger's friendship with the
doyens of Cologne, the Ruhr valley and the *Sticht*, not to mention his association with Brother
Elias and the papal legate Otto, could account for Brother Thomas's attribution of celebrity.

3) *The course of Wiger's visitation in relation to the provenance of Oxford, CCC MS 32*: Eccleston tells us that, during the course of his visitation to the English province, Brother Wiger
travelled to London, Southampton, Oxford and Gloucester. It is this final destination that is
noteworthy for the purposes of the present discussion. According to N. R. Ker, the manuscript
which contains Wiger of St. Peter's collection of *exempla* was originally from the library of
Llanthony secunda, an Augustinian priory dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist in Gloucestershire. This theory of provenance coheres with certain codicological and palaeographic information from the text which would seem to suggest that Oxford, CCC MS 32, ff. 1r-50v was written in England during the first half of the thirteenth century. The evidence for Ker's attribution rests on a passage found in a manuscript by Brian Twyne, an early seventeenth-century scholar who was principally known for his association with the infamous John Dee. In Bodleian, MS. Twyne xxii, pp. 162-167, Master Twyne provided the provenance for a number of manuscripts which had been in the possession of his acquaintance, Master Henry Parry. Among those that Twyne ascribed to the Gloucester priory was Oxford, CCC MS 32. While Llanthony is nowhere mentioned explicitly in the text of the Corpus Christi College manuscript, the frontispiece contains the words "ex dono magistri Henrici Parry, C.C.C. socii." It is uncertain when this attribution was penned.

During the sixteenth century there were two Oxford scholars who bore the name Henry Parry—and both were born within a year of the other. Only one of them however was a fellow of Corpus Christi College. Henry Parry (1561-1616), bishop of Worcester, was born at Salisbury and studied at Corpus Christi between ca. 1576 and 1596. He became a fellow of the college in


235 On Twyne, see A. F. Pollard, "Twyne, Brian (1579?-1644)," DNB, vol. 19, pp. 1328-1329; on the life and career of John Dee, see T. Cooper, "Dee, John (1527-1608)," DNB, vol. 5, pp. 721-729. On Dee's library, see M. R. James, Lists of Manuscripts formerly owned by Dr. John Dee, Oxford, 1921

236 Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, p. 62n.

237 On the bishop Henry Parry, see Rev. Can. E. Venables, "Parry, Henry (1561-1616)," DNB, vol. 15, p. 375; for information on the Welsh scholar, Henry Perry, or Parry, see J. E. Lloyd, "Perry or Parry, Henry (1560?-1617?)," DNB, vol. 15, p. 918.
1586. Parry had gained a measure of notoriety as chaplain to Queen Elizabeth I, and is known to have attended the queen during her final illness. On the day before the queen's death, he preached a "very learned, eloquent and moving sermon," including prayers for the much reduced Gloriana. His words on this occasion were "soe fervent and effectuall, that he left few eyes drye." James I called Parry one of the best preachers he had ever heard, and the king of Denmark once presented him with a precious ring after hearing one of Parry's sermons. An avid bibliophile and "learned divine," Bishop Parry was, according to his epitaph at Worcester cathedral, *multiplici eruditione, trium linguarum cognitione*. Before his translation to the See of Worcester, and early in the reign of James I (i.e., between 1607-1610), Parry was made bishop of Gloucester. While it is uncertain when or where Parry acquired Oxford, CCC MS 32, it was probably obtained during his tenure as bishop of Gloucester.

Another point to strengthen the notion of a Llanthony secunda provenance is the fact that on f. 50v of the manuscript there are a series of *notae* written faintly in an early-modern cursive hand (perhaps sixteenth century). While much of the Latin text is illegible, the word *glousestria* is

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238Manningham, *Diary*, vol. 12, Camden Society, p. 145. Parry is also mentioned on pp. 2, 19, 46, 51, 52, 146, 149, 159, 169 and 171.


241According to Ker, Master Parry donated at least nine other MSS which had belonged to the Llanthony priory to the library of Corpus Christi. These include works attributed to: Maurice de Sully (MS 36), Martial (MS 42), Alan of Lille (MS 59), Cassiodorus (MS 139), Peter Comestor (MS 159), and Augustine (MS 194). In addition to these texts, Parry presented the college with a collection of sermons (MS 33), a *collectarium* (MS 192) and a copy of Gratian's *Decretum* (MS 154). See p. 62.
distinctly visible. Though it is difficult to establish the precise context for the appearance of this toponym, its presence certainly militates in favour of Llanthony.

The chief difficulty with connecting this theory of provenance to the Franciscan visitator is that the collection of exempla in Oxford, CCC MS 32 is credited magistro Wigero preposito sancti Petri in Traiecto. Had Wiger presented Llanthony with a copy of his compendium during the course of his visitation in 1237/8, one might expect to find the work attributed to Frater Wigerus. This, however, is not an irresolvable impediment, and there are many possible explanations which might account for the persistence of the honorific prepositus almost a decade after Wiger had left St. Peter's college. We do not know, for example, whether the scribes of Llanthony copied their version of the text from the autograph or whether they used some other version. If Wiger carried with him an unrevised or early copy of the collection, it might simply have been transcribed verbatim without emendation or attention to the author's current professional status. Perhaps the attribution was intentional. At the time of its transcription, the provost of a capitular church probably still possessed a more authoritative voice than a simple Franciscan emissary. Indeed, during the first half of the thirteenth century there were many still living who remembered the initially precarious legal status of the Minor Friars and who continued to compare them to the Waldensians and Humiliati of an earlier age. Admittedly, much of the foregoing is speculative, and there is no way at present to determine how the Wiger manuscript arrived at Llanthony. Nevertheless, there remains the tantalizing possibility that the Llanthony manuscript copy of the Liber exemplorum by Master Wiger of St. Peter's was once, briefly, in close physical proximity with an erudite and well-connected Franciscan visitor to Gloucester also named Wiger. The notion that Brother Wiger was also the erstwhile provost of St. Peter's and
that he himself brought the collection with him on his visitation should not be discounted.

4) **Connections and associations with the curia:** The term that Thomas of Eccleston used to describe the relationship between Wiger the Franciscan *visitator* and Cardinal-Bishop Otto of Tonengo was *familiarissimus*. However, the word does not seem to imply that Wiger was a member of the Cardinal's *familia*. Indeed, Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani does not include any reference to Wiger among Otto's *familia* in *Cardinali di Curia e 'familiae' Cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, his meticulous prosopographical survey of early thirteenth-century cardinals and their familial associates. Instead, this particular usage of *familiarissimus* appears to have been somewhat informal, indicating only that the two men were rather well-known to each other.

While there is no direct evidence to link Otto of Tonengo with Wiger of St. Peter's, there is again enough circumstantial information to infer a relationship between the two. Indeed, Wiger's apparent prominence amongst the leading families of the Rhineland and the Ruhr valley afforded him a number of opportunities to meet and interact with members of the papal curia. In the first place, the one-time provost had met and worked with one of Otto's predecessors to the See of Porto, the Cardinal-Bishop Conrad of Urach. Conrad was appointed to the curia during Honorius III's second promotion in 1219. He served as Cardinal-Bishop of Porto from August 7, 1219 to August 9, 1227. He died just over seven weeks later on September 30, 1227. Wiger encountered Cardinal Conrad on at least two occasions—once at Duisberg when Wiger, Goswin van Randenrode and two Utrecht ministerials assisted in the preparation of a contract between Bishop Otto of Utrecht and the Count of Gelre, and again in the episcopal palace at Utrecht in

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January of 1226.

Otto of Tonengo, sometimes called Candidus or Blancus, was very likely a client or cognatus of William III, the marquis of Monferrato. Otto was elevated to the curia by Gregory IX, during the recently elected pope's first promotion of September, 1227. He served as Cardinal-Deacon of St. Nicholas in carcere Tulliano from 1227 to April 1244, he was bishop of Porto from January 1245 to October 1247, and he died in 1251. Before his elevation, Otto attended university—it is uncertain where—and acquired the title magister. He was perhaps quite learned in astrology, and at least one source has called him "Oto Candidus Astrologus." He was also a gifted student of mathematics and was referred to by a seventeenth-century commentator as "vir in mathematicis eruditissimus." Jane E. Sayers notes that Otto served as auditor litterarum contradictarum for Honorius III and had probably acquired legal training at Bologna during the early 1220s. After he completed his education, Otto served the papal court in other capacities before he became a member of the curia. His name appeared in connection with a papal document from Bologna in 1224, and in 1225, Honorius III asked him to go to England as papal nuntius.

244Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica, vol. 1, p. 6.

245See Paravicini-Bagliani, Cardinali di Curia e 'famigia' Cardinalizie, p. 79. The sobriquet 'Astrologus' appears to have been given him by the sixteenth-century humanist, Cortese. See De cardinalatu, p. 36.

246Paravicini-Bagliani, Cardinali di Curia e 'famigia' Cardinalizie, p. 79, n. 3.


248This visit was mentioned by Matthew Paris. See Chron. Maj., 3. 97-98. According to Paravicini-Bagliani, Honorius sent Otto to raise funds for the Crusade: Si trattava di procurare alla Santa Sede ingenti somme di denaro per finanziare la Crociata. Sempre secondo il cronista inglese, Onorio III.
Both Conrad and Otto appear to have been especially useful to the papacy for their knowledge of transalpine, and especially imperial, affairs. The Cistercian Conrad was papal legate to Germany in 1226, at which time he investigated the murder of Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne and promulgated the bull of excommunication of Emperor Frederick II. As I have noted above, Conrad's expertise in negotiating the imperial political landscape stemmed in part from his familial roots amongst the Urach and Zähringer clans of Swabia. In his biography of Conrad, Falco Neininger suggests that these roots also extended to the Gelre family, with whom Conrad was apparently a cognatus. Whatever his precise relationship might have been with the noble families of the Empire, as a scion of the Lords of Urach Conrad almost certainly had a number of personal ties in the north, relationships which no doubt facilitated his northern legatine sojourns.

Shortly after his elevation to the curia in 1227, and less than three years after Conrad's visit, Otto of Tonengo was also despatched to the north. Between 1229 and 1231, Otto visited, among other places, Constance, Verdun, Strasbourg, Liège, Tournai, Würzburg, Cologne and Denmark. In many instances he completed affairs that had been left unfinished by Conrad. In 1230, for example, Otto confirmed Conrad's earlier approval of a gift of eight parish churches to the dean and chapter of Xanten. That same year, at Münster, Otto ordered Henry, the Cistercian abbot of Bredelar to divide the parish of St. Ulrich in Paderborn into three parts. This


\[ ^{249}\text{Neininger based his claim on a passage from the Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium, p. 412. See Konrad von Urach, p. 478.} \]

\[ ^{250}\text{Falco Neininger, Konrad von Urach: Zähringer, Zisterzienser, Kardinallegat, Paderborn, 1994, no. 324, p. 474.} \]
arrangement had been previously sanctioned by Conrad. Also during this visitation, Otto journeyed to Bremen, where he remained from ca. September 15 to November 7, 1230. At Bremen, Cardinal Otto no doubt received hospitality from members of the van Lippe family. Gerhard van Lippe was the archbishop of Bremen between 1219 and 1258. As well, Gerhard's brother Bernhard—who had witnessed a number of charters with Wigfrid of St. Peter's between 1217 and 1226—had been elevated to the See of Paderborn in 1228, directly after leaving his provostship at Emmerich. On May 30, 1230, Cardinal-Legate Otto notified the bishop of Paderborn, as well as the bishops of Münster and Osnabrück, that as he was unable to conduct a diocesan visitation himself, he would appoint Abbot Henry of Bredelar and two Dominican visitatores to make the trip for him. In June of the following year, Bishop Bernhard sent word to Otto that he had expedited the aforementioned matter concerning the church of St. Ulrich. Though Otto and Bernhard might never have met, they or their familiæ appear to have shared a correspondence.

As I have noted above, Paderborn was the Heimatbistum of the van Lippe. Their ancestral homes at Lippstadt and Lemgo are within its bounds. Throughout much of the

251 Neininger, Konrad von Urach, no. 424, p. 521.


253 According to E. Winkelmann, Otto received news of the visitation while he was in Cologne in late June of 1231. At that time he was given "eine zusammenfassende Beurkundung über die Tätigkeit der Visitatoren im Bisthum Paderborn..." See Winkelmann, "Die Legation des Kardinaldiakons Otto von S. Nicolaus," p. 37.

thirteenth century and well into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the See of Paderborn was occupied more or less continuously by a member of the van Lippe clan or one of its allies. During the period in question, that is, between ca. 1225 and 1230, there was a considerable amount of movement amongst the prelates of Paderborn, much of it as a result of the war against the Drenthers. The diocese acquired one bishop from the van Lippe/Utrecht orbit, returned another of its bishops to the See of Utrecht and sent a third bishop to the curia. In this context, Bernhard's two immediate predecessors to the bishopric warrant mention. As noted above, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who served as the bishop of Paderborn from 1225 to 1227, was transferred to the See of Utrecht shortly after the murder of Otto van Lippe. Wilbrand had been serving as the imperial legate to the curia when he was summoned to Utrecht expressly to quell the civil war. He is known to have had personal relationships with Emperor Frederick II, and Popes Honorius III and Gregory IX. There is a strong possibility that such a well-placed and influential German cleric as Wilbrand would have known Otto of Tonengo, the Pope's legate to Germany. Before Wilbrand had assumed the cathedra, it was Oliver Saxo, the former scholasticus of Paderborn and Cologne and one-time leader of the Fifth Crusade who had been the bishop of Paderborn. In 1225, Bishop Oliver was elevated to the curia, as a reward for his preaching efforts and his leadership during the Crusade. There Oliver assumed the title of

\[\text{\textsuperscript{255}}\text{Bernhard held the See from 1227 to 1247. Upon his death, his nephew Simon van Lippe was installed as bishop of Paderborn (1247-1277). The family was also represented in the diocese between 1321 and 1345 by Bernhard V, van Lippe, as well as between 1463 and 1496 by Simon III, van Lippe. See Brandt and Hengst, \textit{Das Erzbistum Paderborn}, pp. 79-80, 88-89; cf. Reineke, \textit{Katholische Kirche in Lippe}, pp. 32, 39-40.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{256}}\text{Brandt and Hengst, \textit{Das Erzbistum Paderborn}, p. 72.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{257}}\text{Maier, \textit{Preaching the Crusades}, p. 167. See also \textit{Gesta episcoporum Traiectensium}, pp. 415-416.}\]
Cardinal-Priest of Sabina (Sabinensis), and served until August of 1227, when he died. Thus, throughout much of the thirteenth century, there appears to have existed something of an ecclesiastical axis or corridor between Utrecht and Paderborn. This corridor was created and maintained by the van Lippe, and served, in at least two instances, as a conduit to the papal court.

There is no question that certain members of Provost Wiger's immediate circle of acquaintance participated actively in various legatine visitations to the Empire between ca. 1225 and 1231. Through family ties, patronage, correspondence, as well as through shared diplomatic and administrative ventures, the nobility of the Rhineland--and especially the van Lippe and van Oldenburg clans--managed to cultivate stable working relationships with at least three representatives of the papal curia. It is extraordinarily likely that Wiger of Utrecht had personal access to at least two cardinals, namely Conrad of Urach and Oliver of Paderborn. And while there is no direct evidence to link Wiger with Otto of Tonengo before the former's conversion to the Franciscans, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was introduced to the Cardinal of St. Nicholas in carcere Tulliano by members of the same network that had recommended him to Conrad and Oliver.

On balance, the evidence appears to suggest that, at the very least, Wiger of St. Peter's and Brother Wiger had much in common. If they were two separate individuals, we must then take into account a number of coincidences. Both lived and worked within the orbit of the archdiocese of Cologne and could easily have merited the appellation "Alemannus." According to Eccleston, the Franciscan Brother Wiger was well-versed in law. This fact corresponds to evidence from the career and writings of Wiger of Utrecht which indicate that the provost of St.

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258 i.e., within a month of the battle of Ane.
Peter's had similar training. As well, the name Wiger of St. Peter's turns up, perhaps otherwise inexplicably, in a thirteenth-century document from Gloucestershire, which is to say, in a region that Wiger Alemannus is known to have visited in ca. 1237. Moreover, both clerics appear to have had access to the highest levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and especially to the élite of the German Church. When these facts are considered alongside the information supplied by Caesarius of Heisterbach concerning Wiger's conversion to the Order of Friars Minor, there can be little doubt that Wiger of St. Peter's and Wiger Alemannus are in fact the same person.

Conclusion

Despite the paucity of sources for Wiger's life and career, the portrait of him that emerges from the documents which are extant is both nuanced and complex. In the charters of the Utrecht diocese, Wiger appears as a meticulous custodian of his chapter's substantial wealth and landed assets as well as the guardian of capitular probity and mores. These documents depict him as a fierce partisan in the many regional battles for political supremacy that were waged throughout the Sticht. In these struggles, Wiger was a firm ally of the van Lippe in the assertion of their political and ecclesiastical suzerainty of Lippish Westphalia. Wiger was also useful to the van Gelre and participated in the normalisation of secular/ecclesiastical relations in the Veluwe, over which Wiger was, for a time, archdeacon. The Utrecht diplomata also hint at Wiger's role as a pilgrim-crusader in Egypt and as a supporter of episcopal authority and privilege against the Drenthers. In both instances, Wiger appears to have been the dutiful and principled client of Otto
van Lippe and a trusted member of his bishop's episcopal mensa. Both of these episodes suggest that Wiger was a resolute champion of theological orthodoxy and ecclesiastical hierarchy.

In the folia of his Liber exemplorum, a somewhat different image arises. It is Wiger the reform-minded student and magister. Here, the provost of St. Peter's appears as one of the bright lights of early thirteenth-century practical theology. He seems to represent a nexus in the often twined world of exemplaria and exempla collectors. The lessons of the Victorines and of the heirs to the legacy of Peter the Chanter's circle fairly permeate the language, structure and themes of Wiger's Liber. In examining both the evidence for Wiger's career and the intellectual background of his exempla, one is struck by the recurrence of certain figures: James of Vitry, Robert of Courçon, Caesarius of Heisterbach, Oliver of Paderborn, Odo of Cheriton, Conrad of Porto, even Stephen Langton and Robert Grosseteste. Wiger of St. Peter's was an active player in what amounted to an efflorescent and lively community of pastoral theologians in the early decades of the thirteenth century. It appears to have been a community that had its roots as much in the contingencies and exigencies of the parochial cura animarum and in the preaching of clerics such as Oliver of Paderborn, Robert of Courçon and James of Vitry as it did in the rarefied climate of academic debate.

Finally, we read of Wiger the mendicant in Thomas of Eccleston's Tractatus de adventu fratrum Minorum in Angliam as well as in the Dialogus miraculorum of Caesarius of Heisterbach. In many ways, Wiger's presence in the nascent Order of Friars Minor drew together the many strands of his life prior to conversion. In the first place, he continued his association with many eminent representatives of courtly and aristocratic Europe. Added to his extensive repertoire of friends and colleagues among the Paris-influenced scholars and Rhineland princes
were the likes of Cardinal-Legate Otto of Tonengo and the second Minister-General of the Franciscans, Brother Elias of Cortona. Indeed, it is likely that Wiger's German connections facilitated his introduction to these associates of his later years. Brother Wiger served the fledgling order in capacity that was quite familiar to him. As an officially sanctioned *visitator* for the early Franciscan movement, Wiger's supervisory and administrative skills no doubt continued to be of use. As the subordinate of Provost Wouter and subsequently of Bishop Otto II, van Lippe, he must have developed a fairly acute sense for acting as the eyes and ears of another man. Moreover, it appears that from very early in his career, Wiger was concerned with the provision of pastoral care. The begging orders were among the earliest and most effective exponents of the pastoralia movement. In this context, Wiger could advance the twin causes which appear to have motivated his actions throughout his career: orthodoxy and reform.
Chapter Two: Text and Context

I. The Manuscript: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 32

Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 32 is a composite manuscript of thirteenth-century provenance containing twenty-two separate works. The MS is a quarto volume in parchment measuring roughly 20.5 cm by 14 cm. It contains 128 ff. in various English hands. A description of the codex is offered in the catalogue of Mr. Henry Coxe.¹ The contents of the MS include:

1. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Meditationum liber (ff. 1ra 1 - 8va 30).
2. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Tractatus de justitia (f. 8va 31 - 8vb 39).
3. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Parabola de fide, spe et caritate (ff. 8vb 39 - 9vb 6).
4. St. Anselm of Canterbury, Proslogion (fragment, ff. 9vb 7 - 11rb 8).
5. Anon., sermon on fasting, incip. "Convertimini ad me..." (f. 11rb 8 - 11vb 24).
6. Florilegium or tractatus based upon St. Augustine of Hippo's De vera religione and other Patristic texts (f.12ra 1 - 12va 39).
7. Wiger of St. Peter's, Utrecht, Exscripta sub titulis (ff. 12vb 1 - 49va 8).
10. Tractatus de fide, spe et caritate (ff. 59rb 1 - 63ra 39).²


²The authorship of this treatise is disputed. In "Three English Pastoral Summae and a 'Magister Galienus'," Leonard E. Boyle speculates that the work might be Richard Fishacre's De fide, spe, et caritate.


13. Hugh of St. Victor, Allegories on the Gospels (ff. 68va 1 - [74vb 51]).


17. Anon., a tract concerning the three Marys (f. 90ra 1 - 90ra 30).

18. Anon., a tract concerning St. John and his twelve privileges (f. 90ra 31 - 90va 40).

19. Anon., a description of Jerusalem in the late eleventh century (ff. 90vb 1 - 91rb 8).

20. Anon., a miscellany of anecdotes concerning ecclesiastics, scholars and nobles, including brief characterisations of Walter Map, Stephen Langton, Walter of London⁴ and many others (fragment, ff. 92r 1 - 99v 32).⁵

21. *Questiones de doctrinis difficilioribus* (ff. 102ra 1 - 124rb 22).⁶

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³Though this work is divided into two columns, the scribe provided several diagrams to accompany the text. The work concludes with a diagram that extends across both columns.


⁵This text is composed of a single column throughout.

⁶The folio numeration is off by two leaves. In actuality, this work begins on f. 100 and ends on f. 122 (see below). This treatise comprises three sections. The first section contains a series of theological questions on diverse themes. The second contains a brief exposition of eucharistic doctrine, and the third section contains further questions on the eucharist. See J. Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation,"

Coxe listed twenty-one items in his description of the MS. Where I have distinguished between the *tractatus* from Augustine's *De vera religione* (no. 6) and the collection of preaching tales compiled by Master Wiger of St. Peter’s, Utrecht (no. 7), Coxe made no such distinction. He appears to have viewed the *tractatus* as a component of the Wiger text, perhaps as some form of introduction or prologue. It is unclear on what grounds he made this decision. There are few textual or thematic markers to unify these two seemingly discrete and disparate works. Apart from their close proximity to each other in the manuscript, and the fact that they appear to have been written by the same scribe, the two texts are dissimilar. If evidence once existed to warrant Coxe's decision, or if he knew of another copy of Wiger's work that included the Augustinian *tractatus*, he chose to omit this information from his catalogue.

There appear to be some errors or discrepancies in the foliation of the codex. In its present state, the manuscript contains a pencil-marked foliation sequence in the upper right-hand corners of the folia on the recto side. The final leaf is marked: 130 (*ul*). According to Mrs. Christine Butler, keeper of manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, the foliation was done, not by Coxe, but rather during the early 1930s by a certain Mr. King, who was at that time an employee of the Bodleian Library. Clearly, Coxe did make a reckoning of the folia of MS 32 when he

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7Damaged on the final leaf. This work is also incorrectly foliated. It begins on f. 122 and ends on f. 128 (see below).

8private correspondence, 26 February, 1999.
itemized its contents for his catalogue, he did not however, actually mark the leaves of the MS with pencil. A further confusion arises from the fact that some of the leaves appear to have been numbered in a hand that is neither Coxe's nor King's. Two folia are missing from the codex, and a note to this effect is entered in the interleaving of the Corpus Christi College copy of Coxe's catalogue, presumably in Mr. King's hand. The note reads: "folio (sic) 101 & 102 missing Nov. 1932." However, this note is at variance with the actual foliation sequence, where f. 99 is immediately followed by f. 102. The gap occurs between the collection of prosopographical anecdotes (no. 20) and the eucharistic quaeestiones (no. 21). It does not appear that a leaf has been excised or torn from the codex. The discrepancy is partially explained in the annotated Corpus Christi copy of Coxe. The problem is traced back to f. 76, where Coxe added the phrase: *initio mutil.*, and where King renumbered the leaf f. 75. Thereafter Coxe's numbers are reduced by one digit both in the Corpus Christi College copy of the catalogue and in the manuscript itself. For example, where Coxe states that Grosseteste's Liber de templo Domini begins at f. 78, the manuscript, in its present state, is marked f. 77(v). In addition, f. 103 is corrected to f. 102 (incipit: *percipitur uno mandato...*).

There is also evidence to suggest that the first 50 ff. of the manuscript at one time circulated independently from the rest of the codex. Not only do ff. 1 - 49 appear to have been penned by a single scribe, but f. 50, which represents the end of a gathering, is blank except for a series of faint notae on the verso side. One of these notae, written in what appears to be the same Gothic book-hand as that which wrote the first 49 ff. of the MS, reads "amen." The word is centred at the head of the verso side of the leaf and is legible only with the assistance of ultra-violet illumination. Though it is far from certain, I am inclined to interpret the inclusion of this
word as a final benediction from the scribe. The remaining notes are more or less unreadable, though certain individual words might, with some difficulty, be discerned. The evidence appears to suggest that f. 50 once served as the back cover for what would have been a pamphlet-sized preaching manual.

Further evidence may exist in the binding of the manuscript. While they certainly date from the Middle Ages, it is uncertain whether the front and back boards are original. The spine of the codex (or perhaps the mesh) appears to be of much later provenance, dating probably from the nineteenth or twentieth century. The manuscript has almost certainly been re-bound or repaired at least once while in the care of Corpus Christi College, and it is possible that the procedure has obscured any definite evidence of previous attempts at restoration. While the case is far from settled, the first 50 ff. could easily have been added to the remainder of the manuscript at some date before its presentation to the college. Our understanding and appreciation of the manuscript's contents would be greatly advanced upon a thorough paleological and codicological analysis of the codex.

On the verso side of the front inside endpaper, there is a note stating that the MS was bequeathed "Ex dono Magistri Henrici Parry, ... April 23, Anno Domini, 1619". As I have noted

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9There are two main blocks of text, one consisting of three lines at the head of the leaf, and the other consisting of five lines at the centre of the folio. They are written in a single cursive hand of the fourteenth or fifteenth (?) century. Erasures are evident between the two blocks as well as below the central block. The central block of text appears to contain the word "gloucestria," which might account for Twyne's designation of the manuscript's provenance (see below). The central block appears to read: Hec romani peregre <Salutem> annue perquest<...m> que est apud <...>dum aliquis inst<rui> pueros gra<...>caui gloucestria pauperis iurispectu Londoniarum uisit<...>orum et <...> Notarii <...> denarios fabricando et <emend>endo
in chapter one, there were two Henry Parrys studying at the Oxford colleges in the last decades of the sixteenth century. The first, who can be immediately discounted as the erstwhile owner of the MS, was a fellow of Balliol College. The second became reader of Greek at Corpus Christi and eventually bishop of Gloucester and then Worcester. Complicating the matter is the fact that this second Parry had a son, also called Henry, who had some connection with his father's college. Whether it was Parry pere or fils who actually donated the MSS to the college is uncertain. It is fairly safe to assume, however, that they were originally held in the elder Parry's care. The bequest appears to have been substantial, for in addition to MS 32, he donated at least nine other codices to his college.10

With some apparent hesitation, N. R. Ker attributes Oxford, CCC MS 32 to the Augustinian Priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist at Llanthony, Gloucestershire. Llanthony was the second priory of that name, the first, Llanthony prima, having been built in Monmouthshire almost a century earlier. Ker based his attribution of the MS on a passage from a book once owned by Brian Twyne, a character notorious for his association with the Elizabethan/Jacobian mathematician and spiritualist John Dee. The citation appears in Bodleian, MS Twyne xxii, pp. 162-167.11 A Llanthony provenance seems likely as there are a number of regional references in Oxford, CCC MS 32. The word gloucestria is clearly legible on

10 According to N. R. Ker, Parry's bequest included: MS 33, Sermones, etc., 13 saec.; MS 36, M(aurice) of Sully, etc., in French, 14 saec.; MS 42, Mariale, etc., 13/14 saec.; MS 59, Alan of Lille, etc., 12/13 saec.; MS 139, Cassiodorus, etc., 12 saec.; MS 154, Gratian, Decretum, etc., 13 saec.; MS 159, Peter Comestor, 14 saec.; MS 192, Collectarium, 14/15 saec.; Augustine, etc., 12 saec. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, p. 62. Ker notes that Brian Twyne also assigned Oxford, CCC MSS 55 and 116 to Llanthony (p. 62), suggesting that the two volumes were included in Parry's gift.

the verso side of f. 50, and in the collection of anecdotes between ff. 92 and 99, there are a number of stories concerning local personalities: William of Verdun, archdeacon of Gloucester, Alan of Tewkesbury of Gloucester as well as an anonymous monk of Gloucester.

II. The Text: Exscripta sub titulis magistri Wigeri

By far, the largest single text in Oxford, CCC MS 32 is the compendium of exempla compiled by Master Wiger of Utrecht. It represents the only known copy of the work extant. The collection, which opens without an introduction on the verso side of the twelfth leaf of the manuscript, spans 37 folia. Though it contains no prologue or opening remarks of any sort, the scribe chose to employ here a series of four decorated capitals (alternating red and blue) for the initial letter of each chapter in the first column of the text. The collection begins simply with a story from Gregory the Great's Dialogues. Under the rubric or title Semper impedit diabolus opus iustorum, and citation Gregorius in Dialogo, the incipit of the tale reads: Cum beatus Benedictus in specu quoniam heremi ac montis iaceret... The story is a synopsis of Dialogues 2.1, in which a demon attempts to discomfit the blessed Benedict by breaking a little bell in the monk's hermitage. Information concerning the circumstances of the manuscript's creation/compilation is found only--and briefly--at the explicit, which, as I have noted elsewhere, reads:

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12As I have noted in chapter one, a book-list from the Franciscan library at Braunschweig recorded the existence of a work called the Summa Wiggeri. This summa was placed in quinto pulpide, adjacent to works of canon law and confessors' manuals. See Camerer, Die Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters in Braunschweig, pp. 20, 28.
Explicitum excripta Gregorii pape de Dialogo et Vitas Patrum sub titulis redacta a
magistro Wigero, preposito sancti Petri in Traiecto.

The explicit describes Wiger's compendium as "copies" or "resemblances" of the Vitae patrum and Gregory the Great's Dialogues "redacted under titles." There is no reference here to the other sources employed by Wiger, nor is there any indication of how the compiler intended his collection to be used. The word exemplum appears nowhere in this section of the text. In fact, the term was employed only once in the version that has come down to us, when the compiler, or possibly a scribe, added the following phrase below one of the stories: hoc exemplo edificavit eos similia dissuadendo (f. 20rb 3-4; assigned 38. D. 1). Though the word appeared with considerable frequency in other compendia of the thirteenth century, such as the Franciscan collection from the library of Durham cathedral, the Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium, or the anonymous Tabula exemplorum, edited by J. Th. Welter, its infrequent use in Wiger's compendium should not prevent us from considering his work within the scope of Medieval exemplary literature.13

Indeed, the corpus of Medieval exempla is vast. In his Index exemplorum, Frederic Tubach has identified 5400 individual story types, many of which contain discrete variances.14 Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk Literature, a highly useful repository for exemplaria, runs to six volumes.15 J. A. Herbert dedicated the entire third volume of the Catalogue of Romances

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in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum to the genre, and lists over 100
identified and anonymous MSS in the British Museum alone, with references to more than 8000
stories. In his article on Franciscan exemplaria, Jean-Claude Schmitt has noted the existence of
more than 45 mendicant and other collections.

While there is no precise or universally accepted definition for the term exemplum, it is
possible to discuss the typical characteristics of representatives of the genre. Any attempt to do
so must begin with the ground-breaking work of J. Th. Welter, who in his monumental 1927
study, L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age, stated that par le
mot exemplum, on entendait, au sens large du terme, un récit ou une historiette, une fable ou
parabole, une moralité ou une description pouvant servir de preuve à l'appui d'un exposé
doctrinal, religieux ou moral. Another early twentieth-century commentator, T. F. Crane,
offered the following approximation in his study of James of Vitry's Sermones vulgares: "The

Legends, 6 vols., Bloomington, Ind., 1933-6.

16J. A. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum,
vol. 3

17J.-C. Schmitt, "Recueils franciscains d'« exempla » et perfectionnement des techniques

Welter has also edited an early thirteenth century text, the Tabula exemplarum. The introduction is
particularly instructive. See also C. Bremond, J. Le Goff and J.-C. Schmitt, L'« exemplum », which
provides an up-to-date summary. Schmitt has also examined Franciscan contributions to the genre in
"Recueils franciscains d' « exempla »." Still highly regarded are G. R. Owo's studies: Literature and the
Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English
People, Cambridge, Eng.: 1933, and Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon
Manuscripts of the Period. c. 1350-1450, Cambridge, Eng.: 1926. See also J. Mosher, The Exemplum in
the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England, New York: 1911. For a structuralist approach see
Fritz Kemmler's Exempla in Context: A Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's
word exemplum is employed by the ecclesiastical writers in two meanings, first, our 'example' in a general sense; second, as an illustrative story. This second meaning of the word is, I think, not earlier than the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. More recently, Rudolf Schenda has suggested that "Das exemplum ist eine didaktische Proposition mit moralisierender Tendenz," emphasising the role of commentary and interpretation within the genre. Perhaps the most comprehensive modern definition is that offered by Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt in their monograph for the series, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, entitled simply, L'«exemplum». Bremond and his co-authors established nine defining criteria for the term. These include: 1) the narrative character of the exemplum, 2) its brevity, 3) its reliance on historical authority, 4) its insertion within a larger discourse, 5) its homiletic character, 6) the rhetorical persuasiveness or finality of the exemplum, 7) the existence of a rapport between the story-teller and the audience, 8) the didactic nature of the tale, and 9) its salutary benefits towards the human soul.

If the foregoing definitions differ slightly in emphasis or detail, this should not surprise us. Medieval authors and theorists often disagreed on what constituted the primary features of an exemplum. It is this fact which no doubt prompted Claude Bremond to assert that, "L'horizon de l'exemplum médiéval est universel."

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19 T. F. Crane (ed.), The "exempla" or illustrative stories from the "sermones vulgares" of Jacques de Vitry, London, 1890. Quoted in Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt, L'«exemplum», p. 27.


21 For an elucidation of these characteristics, see Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt, L'«exemplum», pp. 36-37.

22 Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt, L'«exemplum», p. 28.
The *Exscripta sub titulis magistri Wigeri* contains 574 individual *exempla* distributed throughout 194 chapters. The chapters are given descriptive titles (*tituli*) and are arranged more-or-less thematically. As I have noted above (in Chapter One), the thematic scheme of the collection may be approximated as follows:

1. Chapters 1-19: Demonological *exempla*
2. Chapters 20-36: Qualities of the Holy Man
3. Chapters 37-44: Preparations for Communion
4. Chapters 45-49: Eucharistic *exempla*
5. Chapters 50-105: Virtues and Vices
6. Chapters 106-125: Contrition and Confession
7. Chapters 126-187: The *vita Christiana*
8. Chapters 188-194: The Location of the Holy

The chapters vary in length from a few lines of text based on a single narration to several folia of stories gleaned from a variety of sources. Wiger's literary apparatus included four primary works:

1) the *Vitae patrum*, 2) Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, 3) the *De miraculis* of Peter the Venerable, and 4) the anonymous romance *Barlaam et Josaphat*. In addition to these core sources, Wiger included material from: 1) the *Speculum ecclesiae* of Honorius

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Augustodunensis,27 2) the *Homilies* of Gregory the Great, 3) Athanasius' *Life of Antony*,28 and perhaps from 4) the *Summa de confessione* of Peter of Poitiers of St. Victor,29 as well. Wiger's reliance on this latter group of texts was not great. Apart from the *Life of Antony*, which he cited twice, Wiger appears to have made only a single reference to each of the remaining minor sources. In contrast, stories from the *Vitae patrum* comprise approximately 61 per cent of the entire text, while *exempla* based on material from Gregory's *Dialogues* constitute 18.6 per cent of the text.

In addition to the works listed above, Wiger, or perhaps someone after him, included 63 unattributed stories which are referred to therein as *adiuncta*. This number forms just under 11 per cent of the total text. The *adiuncta* are usually, though not invariably, placed at the end of a given chapter, and appear to have been drawn from twelfth and early thirteenth century sources. For instance, Wiger's text appears to contain the earliest known telling of a story detailing the conversion of Fulques of Marseille to the religious life (64. B. 3). There is also a story concerning Thomas Becket's predecessor in the see of Canterbury (154. A. 1). Some of the adjuncts, however, do not conform to the general pattern, and there is evidence to suggest that Wiger, or whoever included the *adiuncta*, did not always know their provenance. In one instance, Wiger, or the scribe, referred to a story whose ultimate source is the *Vitae patrum* as an *adiuncta* (115. A. 2). In another case, a narration from Peter's *De miraculis* received this same designation, and again without attribution to the original text (33. A. 1).

Within each chapter, the exempla are divided according to the source from which they have been drawn. If a chapter contains more than one story from any given source, these are grouped together under a single sub-heading, or citation. The following example indicates Wiger's standard method of organisation:

46. Múltum uael defunctis ac uiiuis oblatio hostie salutaris

   A. Gregorius in Dialogo—5 exempla
   B. In Vitas Patrum—2 exempla
   C. Adiuncta—6 exempla

Almost without exception, extracts from the Dialogues and the Vitae patrum assume a pre-eminent place within each chapter. If the chapter contains a story from either work, it is placed before narrations taken from other, seemingly lesser, sources. Thus, stories from the De miraculis and Barlaam et Ioasaph as well as the adiuncta tend to follow on the heels of the Patristic texts. In some rare instances, Wiger departs from this format. An extreme example of the sometimes eccentric distribution of the sources is found in chapter 37, where the compiler returned to stories from the Vitae patrum twice after he had moved on:

37. De uirtute orationis tam pro uiuis quam pro defunctis

   A. Gregorius in Dialogo—7 exempla
   B. In Vitas Patrum—1 exemplum
   C. Adiuncta—1 exemplum
   D. In Vitas Patrum—2 exempla
   E. Petrus—1 exemplum
   F. In Vitas Patrum—3 exempla
Of course, the structure of chapter 37 is something of an aberration, and in the vast majority of cases the sources are not interspersed in this manner. It should also be noted that Wiger appears to have held the *Vitae patrum* and the *Dialogues* in roughly equal esteem, and regarded neither as more authoritative than the other: indeed, he accorded neither source complete precedence within the chapters.

### III. Context

The *Exscripta sub titulis magistri Wigeri* represents one of the very first attempts to systematise and transform into *praedicabilia*\(^{30}\) the historical literature of the Christian community. In *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique*, Welter identified Stephen of Bourbon's *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* as the earliest extant compendium of *exempla*.\(^{31}\) According to Welter, "Ce traité, le premier en date en même temps que le plus vaste et le plus important des recueils d' *exempla*, a été composé par le dominicain Etienne de Bourbon entre les années 1250 et 1261."\(^{32}\) For Welter, the appearance of Stephen's *Tractatus* marked something of a water-shed. He notes that thereafter systematic collections of *exempla* were compiled and distributed "sans interruption" well into modernity.\(^{33}\) The following is Welter's complete list of thirteenth-century collections:

\(^{30}\) *i. e.*, pastoral treatises and preaching aids


A. Collections featuring logical arrangement:

1. Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* (1250-1261)
2. Humbert of Romans, *Liber de dono timoris* (ca. 1277)
3. Martin of Poland, *Promptuarium exemplorum* (ca. 1279)
4. Nicholas of Hanapes, *Liber de exemplis sacre scripture* (ca. 1291)
5. John of Wales, *Communiloquium* (ca. 1302)
6. *Compilacio singularis exemplorum* (> ca. 1270)
7. MS London, BL Royal 7. D. i. (1270-1277)
8. MS Paris, BN lat. 3555 (1272-1297)
9. MS Paris, BN lat. 15912 (> ca. 1275)
10. MS Arras BM 1019 (1251-1295)
11. MS Reims BM 1400 (> ca. 1280)

B. Collections featuring alphabetical arrangement:

1. *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium* (1275-1279)
2. *Tabula exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti* (1270-1285)
3. *Speculum laicorum* (1279-1292)
4. MS Auxerre BM 35 (1277-1297)

Raymond Cantel and Robert Picard appear to corroborate Welter's chronology and treat

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35 Welter, *L'Exemplum*, pp. 290-304. Welter notes that all four of these alphabetical collections
appear to have been written by Franciscans (see p. 290).
Stephen's *Tractatus* first in their entry for "exemplum" in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité.* While J. A. Mosher cited no individual collection of *exempla* as the earliest, he noted that "formal...Latin example-books...were produced in England after the middle of the thirteenth century." And while he does not provide an explicit chronology, Mosher implies that the earliest continental representatives of the *genre* include works such as Stephen's *Tractatus de diversi materiis* and the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach. He also mentions the *exempla* of James of Vitry. In *Preaching in Medieval England*, G. R. Owst contends that Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum*, the *fabulae* of Odo of Cheriton and Bartholomew's *De proprietatibus rerum* represent the earliest insular attempts at cataloguing illustrative tales. Owst, however, makes a distinction between the sources mentioned above and later thirteenth-century collections, stating that the creation and circulation of such works as the *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicatorum* and the *Speculum laicorum* "mark(ed) a further stage" in the development of the *genre*.

Recent commentators have been more willing than their predecessors to emphasise a line of continuity between the writers of Wigelf's generation and the *exempla* encyclopedists who flourished after ca. 1260. In *L'exemplum*, Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt maintain that the works of Caesarius of Heisterbach and James of Vitry ought to be counted as the earliest *exempla*

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37Mosher, *The Exemplum*, pp. 74-75.

38Mosher, *The Exemplum*, p. 75.


collections. In a section detailing the chronology of such collections, they state that:

Les premiers exempla entrant dans notre définition nous ont été conservés dans deux recueils, le Dialogus Miraculorum et les Libri octo miraculorum du cistercien Césaire de Heisterbach, écrits respectivement vers 1219-1222 et 1225. Mais ces deux ouvrages sont des exceptions dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle, qui voit se développer l'usage des exempla dans la prédication, sans que, le plus souvent, des recueils en soient encore compilés. Ainsi Jacques de Vitry écrit-il, sans doute entre 1228 et sa mort en 1240, des recueils de modèles de sermons dont deux au moins, les Sermones ad status et les Sermones communes sont truffés d'exempla mais il ne rédige pas lui-même de recueils de ceux-ci.42

They then direct the reader's attention to Welter's chronology in L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique, and generally follow his plan. Jean-Claude Schmitt provided a further elucidation of his views in "Recueils franciscains d'exempla et perfectionnement des techniques intellectuelles du XIIIe au XVe siècle," an article that traces the history of exemplaria from 1200 to 1500.43 Though he gave pride of place to the Dialogus miraculorum and Libri octo miraculorum of Caesarius in the schematic that accompanied the article, he does not include the works of James of Vitry. In "Les ordales dans les exempla de la confession (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)," Jacques Berlioz also departs from Welter's scheme. In assembling his chronology, Berlioz lists the works of Caesarius of Heisterbach and James of Vitry, then adds the Bonum

42Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt, L'exemplum, p. 59.

43Despite the title of his article, Schmitt does not limit himself to an examination of mendicant exempla collections.
miraculorum of Caesarius in the schematic that accompanied the article, he does not include the works of James of Vitry. In "Les ordales dans les exempla de la confession (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)," Jacques Berlioz also departs from Welter's scheme. In assembling his chronology, Berlioz lists the works of Caesarius of Heisterbach and James of Vitry, then adds the Bonum universale de apibus of Thomas of Cantimpré. Curiously, he also includes MS Paris BN, lat. 15912 amongst the earliest exempla collections, stating that it was written ca. 1200. According to Welter, this collection was composed in the final third of the thirteenth century. Berlioz does not explain the discrepancy.

Though there is some disagreement as to which texts are among the earliest and most direct forbears of the vast and sophisticated exempla compendia of the high Middle Ages, most scholars appear to agree that there was a quickening in the genre after ca. 1250, both with respect to the quantity of volumes produced and to their general quality and utility. As Bremond and his co-authors have noted, "(l)es recueils se multiplient à partir de 1250. Des 46 recueils recensés d'après le travail de Welter, 34 datent de la période 1250-1350. Il semble que l'usage croissant des exempla dans la prédication conduise alors à une accumulation de récits telle qu'il devient impossible pour les prédicateurs d'en maîtriser la masse (c'est-à-dire pratiquement de se souvenir des exempla qu'ils veulent utiliser au moment précis où ils en ont besoin), sans un effort de

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46Welter, L'Exemplum, pp. 251-252.
A cursory examination of *exempla* collections from the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth reveals that works such as the *Dialogus miraculorum*, the *Bonum universale de apibus* and the *exempla* from James of Vitry's *Sermones communes* greatly influenced subsequent generations of *exempla* encyclopedists. However, these early texts tended more to supply the later collections of *exempla* with a large repertoire of stories than they did to suggest a method of organisation.

In the colophon of the *Exscripta sub titulis magistri Wigeri*, the collection was attributed to the *prepositus sancti Petri in Traiecto*. As I have noted in chapter one, Wiger of Utrecht held the provostship of St. Peter's between *ca.* 1220 and 1228. It is therefore likely that the compendium was composed or circulated before the latter date, which corresponds roughly to the date of Wiger's conversion to the Order of Friars Minor. That Wiger referred to Fulques of Marseilles as *nunc episcopus* further suggests that the collection was compiled between 1205, the date of Fulques' elevation to the See of Toulouse, and 1231, the date of his death.

In the *Libri octo miraculorum*, Caesarius of Heisterbach cited *magister Wigerus, prepositus Traiectensis, nunc in ordine fratum minorum conversus*, as the source for one of the *signae* that he relates. On the face of it, this would appear to suggest that Wiger had become interested in *exempla as praedicabilia* before *ca.* 1225, by which date most authorities believe the *Libri octo miraculorum* was in circulation. For instance, in *L'«exemplum»*, Bremond, Le Goff

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48In Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius*, the story is marked 2. 21 (pp. 101-102); In *Fragmente der Libri VIII miraculorum*, Meister assigns the story the designation: 3. 9 (pp. 136-137).
and Schmitt date the Libri octo to ca. 1225.  Schmitt confirms this view in "Recueils franciscains d'«exempla»." Berlioz puts the date even earlier, stating that the collection was in circulation by ca. 1224-1225. As charter evidence from the Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht confirms that Wiger did not convert to the Order of Friars Minor until 1228 or after, there would appear to be a discrepancy of chronology between the Libri octo and the Utrecht diplomata.

However, the problem is not irresoluble. In the first place, the history and manuscript tradition of the Libri octo are complicated, and it appears that certain parts of the collection were compiled or assembled at a later date. Furthermore, present versions of the work exist only in fragmentary form. Based on the surviving MSS that were available to him, Aloys Meister has managed to reconstruct books one through three of the Libri octo miraculorum. Some, including Meister, have made the suggestion that Caesarius intended to include the Vita, passio et miracula beati Engelberti, which is to say, the life and miracles of Engelbert of Berg (who was murdered on 7 November, 1225), in the Libri octo miraculorum as its fourth and fifth books. However, in his introduction to Caesarius von Heisterbach: Leben, Leiden und Wunder des heiligen Erzbischofs Engelbert von Köln, Karl Langosch maintains that the Vita Engelberti represents a late accretion to the Libri octo: Geplant waren acht Bücher, erhalten sind aber nur Buch 1 und 2 sowie die


50 Schmitt, "Recueils franciscains d'«exempla»," see the fold-out chart inserted between pp. 22 and 23.


52 These include: 1) Soest, Stadtbibliothek MS 13, vol 2, 2) Bonn, Universität-Bibliothek, MS Nr. 361 (227a), and 3) Trier, Stadtbibliothek MS 1626. Hilka cites three other MSS. They include: 1) Basel, Universitätssbibliothek MS A. IV. 14, 2) Oxford, MS Bodley, Laud misc. 540, and 3) Xanten, MS Dombibliothek.
"Vita s. Engelberti" als viertes und füngtes, diese freilich nur in der späteren, erweiterten Fassung von drei Büchern... In the prologue of the Libri octo miraculorum, Caesarius plainly states that Engelbert died me iste scribente, i.e., while he was writing the work, and it must have taken him some time to gather the accounts of various miraculi performed through Engelbert's intercession. In fact, Meister contends that (d)as Buch der Wunder Engelberts ist 1237 verfasst. He adds, (w)enn nun aber Caesarius mit seinen Libri VIII schon im Jahre 1225 begonnen hatte, dann hatte er bis 1237 erst drei Bücher davon fertig, i.e., more than ten years after the work's inception. While Caesarius could have recorded Wiger's exemplum at any point between ca. 1224 and 1237, the clause that refers to Wiger's conversion must have been inserted into a copy of the Libri octo miraculorum that was prepared after ca. 1228. Nevertheless, the phrasing of the attribution strongly suggests that when Wiger initially reported the exemplum to Caesarius, he was still the provost of St. Peter's. Therefore, regardless of the date of its composition and circulation, the appearance of Wiger's name in the Libri octo miraculorum seems to provide additional support for the notion that the Utrecht prelate had begun to gather and disseminate exempla, whether orally or in written form, somewhat before his conversion to the mendicants in ca. 1228.

Thus, the evidence appears to suggest that the Exscripta sub titulis magistri Wigeri was

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54Meister, Die Fragmenta der Libri VIII Miraculorum, p. xxxvi.

55Meister, Die Fragmenta der Libri VIII Miraculorum, p. xxxvi.

56See Hilka, Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius, pp. 101-102; cf. Meister, Die Fragmenta der Libri Octo Miraculorum, pp. 136-137. As I have noted above, Meister assigns the reference 3.9.
compiled at some point between ca. 1205 and 1228. This is a rather generous margin and perhaps it can be reduced. In the first place, it is curious that Wiger's work contains references neither to the Holy Land nor to the Fifth Crusade (1217-1221). Upon his return from Egypt, James of Vitry told many stories from his time in the desert. Oliver of Paderborn recorded his own observations throughout his rendering of the conflict, the *Historia Damiatina*. Even Caesarius, cloistered in the Rhineland for the duration of the siege, managed to report a number of crusading yarns in the *Dialogus miraculorum* and the *Libri octo miraculorum*. What is more, it appears that certain leading members of the Utrecht ecclesiastical community were also focussed on Levantine affairs during the Fifth Crusade. Indeed, Wiger's dying predecessor alluded to the conflict in a will dated ca. 1220, and bequeathed the proceeds from the sale of a house *in subventionem terre Sancte*. Yet Wiger, the newly-appointed provost of St. Peter's, who must have received a first-hand account of the attack from his crusading lord, Bishop Otto van Lippe, and who perhaps even accompanied the episcopal party to Egypt in 1218, mentioned the crusade nowhere in the text of his *liber exemplorum*. It appears that Wiger could very well have composed his *exempla* collection before the episcopal pilgrimage to the *Terra Sancta*.

There is considerable textual evidence in the *adiuncta* as well as in the *tituli* to suggest that when he compiled the collection, Wiger possessed fresh memories of France and the life of the university. References include a story concerning *episcopus Odo Parisiensis*, i. e., Odo of Sully, who was bishop of Paris between 1196 and 1208 (115. A. 1). As well, many of the *adiuncta* concern masters and scholars, burghers and professional men; the collection is

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57 See *OSU*, vol. 2, pp. 143-144 (no. 687).

58 The first reference to Wiger as *praepositus* occurs in *OSU*, vol. 2, p. 149 (no. 697).
permeated with the sorts of concerns and situations that would have been familiar to someone who dwelt in, or who had recently emerged from an academic milieu. Moreover, Wiger's name occurs regularly in the *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht* between 1209 and 1228, so it is unlikely that he studied at Paris after ca. 1209, i.e., more than a decade before his promotion to the provostship of St. Peter's.

Despite its attribution to the *prepositus sancti Petri*, textual and circumstantial evidence suggests that the *Exscripta sub titulis magistri Wigeri* was compiled after the elevation of Fulques of Marseille to the See of Toulouse in 1205, but before the return of the Dutch and Frisian crusaders between ca. 1220-1221. The many allusions to urban and academic settings in northern France might further indicate that, within this fifteen year margin, the compendium was written earlier rather than later. As he became increasingly pre-occupied with capitular and diocesan administrative business throughout the second and third decades of the thirteenth century, perhaps Wiger's inaugural appearance as *canonicus* in the *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht* in 1209 should serve as the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Exscripta sub titulis*. The compendium would thus become a witness to his time spent in the schools between ca. 1205 and 1209. Indeed, the organisation, layout and themes of the collection certainly suggest that its compiler had not strayed very far from the *universitas*.

The *Exscripta sub titulis magistri Wigeri* is not only among the earliest extant *libri exemplorum*, it also stands as a direct forbear to the expansive, encyclopedic collections that emerged after ca. 1250. In terms of its subject matter, Wiger's compendium differs little from the

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59The earliest reference to Wiger as *canonicus* of St. Peter's occurs in OSU, vol. 2, pp. 54-55 (no. 589).
works of his near contemporaries, James of Vitry and Caesarius of Heisterbach. However, while all three of these compilers included many of the same exempla in their various pastoral treatises and sermon collections, Wiger's work stands out and evinces its connection to later example books most clearly and demonstrably at the structural level.

Though it contains a vast array of stories that might be used to illustrate sermons and homilies, the Dialogus miraculorum of Caesarius is not, strictly speaking, a liber exemplorum. It was not designed primarily to facilitate a reader's search for specific information. Instead, it records an idealised conversation, and thus, the exempla are framed within a forced narrative apparatus. In this respect, the Dialogus miraculorum is heir to a long tradition in western literature, one which encompasses such diverse works as Plato's Symposium, Gregory the Great's Dialogorum libri IV, and Peter Abelard's unfinished Dialogue between a Philosopher, a Jew and a Christian. The central conceit in Caesarius' text involves an extended conversation between Monachus (a sort of "Every-Monk") and the eager Novicius: the former directs the integration of the latter into the Cistercian community by means of inductive argumentation. In Caesarius' treatise, the monk usually reports the details of some signa or prodigy and thereupon the two characters engage in a pious discussion of the efficacy and wonder of God's works. The following excerpt, taken from book 7, chapter 38, is a typical example of the sort of link that Caesarius inserted between the exempla to provide a sense of narrative continuity to the Dialogus Miraculorum:

NOVICIUS: Beati sunt claustrales, qui ad tantum familiaritatem Dei Genitricis admittuntur. MONACHUS: Non solum claustrales, imo et personas saeculares se diligentes mater pulchrae dilectionis diligit et honorat. Ex quibus occurrat beatae memoriae
Walterus de Birbech, cuius supra in diversis locis memini, quem non solum inferioris ordinis homines, sed et Reges et principes nobilesque venerabantur, audientes beneficia a matre Domini illi concessa. NOVICIUS: Cuius fuit professionis vir iste, ex superioribus novi; sed quis fuerit vel qualem duxerit vitam ante conversionem, sive conversus in ordine, scire desidero. MONACHUS: Quicquid de illius actibus memoria dignum novi, fida tibi pandam relatione.

While examples and illustrative tales form a considerable portion of Caesarius' text, and while they are manifestly intended to prove the validity of Cistercian claims against the arguments of whatever detractors they might encounter, the exempla are also clearly subordinated to the overarching argument. The "dialogue" is pointed, and is aimed at a single and expressly articulated goal: conversion to the Cistercian manner of life.

Caesarius' second work, the *Libri octo miraculorum*, shares few structural features with the *Dialogus miraculorum*. As I have noted above, it was composed during the second quarter of the thirteenth century and originally included eight separate books, five of which have been lost. Though we can only speculate about Caesarius' intentions for the final shape of the *Libri octo miraculorum*, the text was probably similar to the *Dialogus miraculorum* in at least one respect. As Langosch notes, "(d)en Inhalt der Exempla schöpfte Caesarius vorwiegend aus dem Leben und Treiben in den Zisterzienserklöster und um sie herum." The work was designed to facilitate the transmission of Cistercian values to the novitiate. Furthermore, it recorded the signae and miracula of Caesarius' immediate geographical context: St. Peter's monastery, Heisterbach, Cologne and the Rhine Valley. It appears that in the folia of the *Libri octo*
miraculorum, Caesarius sought to create something of a sacred history for the Cistercian order in Germany.

In the case of James of Vitry, it should first be noted that James probably did not himself compile a systematic collection of exempla. The compendia of illustrative tales that come down to us from his pen were most likely prepared by copyists and scribes who extracted the exempla from larger sermon collections, namely, the Sermones ferialis et communes and the Sermones vulgares. Thomas F. Crane notes:

Whether Jacques de Vitry himself made a collection of the exempla used by him in the sermones vulgares is doubtful, and the existing collections are so irregular in their form and contents that it seems more likely that they were made by other preachers for their own use....The number and choice of the exempla vary with the taste and object of the different collectors. Sometimes moral reflections, etc., are considered exempla, and sometimes mere references to biographical or historical fact are so treated.\(^6\)

As with Caesarius, many of James' narrationes stem from the author's personal reminiscences and while they are certainly canonical, they tend not to possess the weighty auctoritas of the Patristic texts or the works of medieval theology and canon law. The preponderance of the stories taken from the Sermones ferialis et communes appear to have been reported to James by colleagues and acquaintances or were based upon the cardinal's own observations. Of a total of 107 exempla, 51 begin with words such as audivi, vidi, memini or notum est. In contrast, only nine of the narrations begin with legitimus or legitur, and 16 begin with dicitur or some like phrase. For

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\(^6\) Crane, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, p. xlvii.
30 of the narrations there is no indication as to their provenance.

It appears that neither Caesarius of Heisterbach nor James of Vitry consciously sought to build a systematic archive of pious and illustrative tales. Rather, Caesarius intended to inculcate in his readers the central ideals and values of the Cistercian Order, while James of Vitry desired only to elucidate and enliven the specific theological and moral arguments of his sermons. Conversely, Wiger's text is organised to expedite the process of locating precise information and perhaps also to afford his reader the opportunity to compare readily a number of diverse stories on the same theme. Wiger's intentions become all the more apparent upon examination of his preferred method of rubrication.

Rubrics, or in the case of Wiger's work "titles" (tituli) are key-words or phrases placed beside or above an exemplum (or group of exempla). Their primary function is to indicate to the reader the proposed subject for discussion in the accompanying text.\(^6\) They can include such words as "de baptismo," "de accidia," or phrases such as "Semper impedit diabouus ius~ommii."

By the middle of the thirteenth century, rubrics were often penned in red or blue ink so that they stood out against the black ink of the remainder of the text. They are a fundamental feature of every liber exemplorum. Indeed, so integral are rubrics to the very definition and formation of the genre that Welner, Bremond, Berlioz and other modern commentators have divided the extant thirteenth-century collections into two categories based upon how they are

rubricated. Collections are either logically or alphabetically arranged according to their rubrics. A third category emerged in the opening decades of the fourteenth century, one based not on rubrication, but on the compiler’s explicit articulation of the moral themes which lay under a narration. These collections are often referred to as moralised exemplaria, and need not concern us here.

Throughout the thirteenth century, logical or thematic arrangement was by far the most common method of organisation for exempla collections. Welter identifies eleven thematically arranged collections which date from before ca. 1300. In contrast, he mentions only four from this period which featured an alphabetical arrangement (see above). In "Recueils Franciscains d’exempla», Jean-Claude Schmitt lists thirteen logically arranged collections, three that are organised alphabetically, and one that he deems to be "partially alphabetical" in its arrangement. For Welter, Bremond, and Schmitt the term "logical arrangement" implies that a collection possesses a structure whose parts coalesce to form a united whole. The order of rubrication might be based upon the virtues and vices, the sacraments, an ascending or descending cosmological schema (i.e., heaven to hell, hell to heaven) or some other mnemonic or heuristic system. Just as the rubrics themselves were meant to expedite the reader’s search for a single story from the many hundreds or thousands of exempla contained in a collection, so too was the collection organised according to a culturally familiar, or logical, pattern.

63See Welter, L’exemplum, pp. 214, 290, and passim; Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt, L’exemplum, pp. 60-63.

64Schmitt’s lists are identical to those of Welter with the following exceptions. Schmitt included two works by Caesarius of Heisterbach, the Dialogus miraculorum (+ 1219) and the Libri VIII miraculorum (ca. 1225) in his list of thematically arranged collections. He considers the Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium to have been "partially alphabetical" in its arrangement.
Wiger's method of rubrication differs markedly from the forms used by Caesarius of Heisterbach and the compilers of James of Vitry's *exempla*. In the case of Caesarius' work, many of the rubrics are highly particularised or specific in nature. For example, the rubric to *Dialogus miraculorum* 3. 33 states, "Narratio longa et utilis de Simone converso de Alna, eiusque prophetis." There follows, as one might expect, a longish and rather useful account of Simon, the *conversus* of Alna (Aulne?), and his prophesies. Another story is rubricated: "De Ottone Praeposito Xantensi, qui precibus sanctae Mariae a duplici infirmitate curatus est" (*Dialogus miraculorum* 7. 22). This story concerns recent events, is highly localised and is based on the comparatively slight *auctoritatis* of Caesarius' contemporary, Walter, the abbot of Xanten.

The rubrication of *exempla* collections based on James of Vitry's *sermones* is similar to the format found in the work of Caesarius. Above a story concerning a Parisian master who stammered, Renald de Monte (no. 88), appears the rubric: *De magistro qui balbus erat*. Beside the account of a monk who did not want his mother to visit him (no. 69), we read: *De monacho qui noluit videri a matre*. Clearly, such rubrics provide the reader with a useful summary of the adjacent narrations, they do not, however, represent an attempt at gathering and organising discrete *types* of stories or narrations based on a common theme. Nor do they seek to corroborate a theological proposition or moral argument by offering up to the reader the sheer bulk and weight of an expansive narrative tradition.

While "particularised" rubrics occur throughout the *liber exemplorum* of Master Wiger it is also clear that the primary aim of the provost of St. Peter's was to create a manual that would have as wide an application as possible. To this end, there is what might be termed a "universalising" tendency apparent throughout the rubrication of Wiger's collection. Take, for
example, the *exemplum* concerning a son's treatment of his aging father, referred to by Tubach as "Father in a stable." The narration occurs in both the *Exscripta* of Master Wiger (where it is called an *adiuncta*, see 161. A. 3) and the *Libri octo miraculorum* of Caesarius (see 2. 48). In both works, the story is told in a virtually identical manner. The fundamental difference between the two versions of the *exemplum* is found in the rubrication. Where the rubric of Caesarius summarises the narrative elements of the story, Wiger's title indicates the broadly moral context into which the *exemplum* should be placed. In the *Libri octo miraculorum*, the rubric reads: De filio, qui fecit patri suo, sicut pater fecerat filio. In the *Exscripta sub titulis* the rubric reads: *Non est spes nimia in filiis, uel uxoribus, uel amicis, quia pauci sunt*. Wiger included five other *exempla* under the same title. Whatever we might think of his cynicism concerning friends and family, Wiger's *titulus* is framed as a general principle. It is much the same with an *exemplum* in which the desert monk Macarius restored a young woman to her human form after she had been turned into a mare by a demon. The tale originated in the *Vitae patrum* and spans roughly a column and a half in the *Patrologia Latina*. Wiger's version is considerably abbreviated:

*Diaboli transformant in bruta animalia homines ut uidetur*: Quedam uirgo per fantasias diabolicas apparebat equa, quam cum adduxisset ad Macharium heremitan ipse facta oracione fecit eam apparere uirginam (4. A. 1).

Wiger's account of these events occurs within an extended exploration of demonic powers and attributes. He has removed the narrative from its particularizing context and made it far more universal in its effect. Indeed, Wiger is unconcerned with the details of Macarius' intervention. Rather, he wants to show simply how demons operate and how God defeats evil. Thus, there is a

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65 See Migne, *PL* 73, cols. 1110-1111.
protagonist (the woman), an antagonist (the demon), divine intervention at the hand of God's agent (Macarius) and a restoration to the normal course of affairs. There is nothing else. It is quite unlike the substantially longer version in the *Vitae patrum*. It is also noteworthy that Wiger did not record the circumstances through which the woman had been transformed. As well, Wiger's rubric tells us that "*diaboli transformant...*" Despite the fact that the events of the story are specific, that is, they are purported to have happened at a particular time and in a particular place, the rubric for the story is put in the plural. Again, Wiger creates a general principle from individual circumstances: by suppressing or limiting contextual information, Wiger removes the story from its temporally and spatially limited situation. The sainted Macarius becomes merely a conduit or cipher of Godly power.

In terms of its larger structure, the *Exscripta sub titulis magistri Wigeri* is only loosely organised. It appears to have been built around what might be termed a 'redemptive' or 'cosmological' principle. The early chapters detail the many snares and traps of the devil. The reader then encounters a number of *exempla* that expatiate on the attributes of the *vir sanctus*. Wiger then proceeds to discuss the central fact of the risen Christ's continuing presence in human affairs through the sacraments, with special emphasis placed on the Eucharist. After the sacramental *exempla*, the collection includes several narrations on the *vita Christiana* and the ministration of the Holy Spirit. It culminates in a brief discussion of intersections between the mundane and the celestial. Thus, the *topoi* of the collection proceed almost in imitation of a larger, Christian world-view. The thematic direction of the *Exscripta sub titulis* is essentially teleological and oriented towards the salvation of mankind through the mediation of Christ. It is uncertain whether Wiger consciously organised the collection in this way or whether it reflects an
unconscious and culturally-determined set of assumptions.

The rubrication, page lay-out and organisation of the *Exscripta sub titulis magistri Wigeri* strongly suggest that its compiler intended to create something of a *vade mecum* for the preacher. Indeed, the *Exscripta* is a pamphlet-sized collection of mostly familiar stories. Moreover, these stories are heavily edited and sorted according to type. The *exempla* deal with practical theology and the quotidian concerns of the pastor. The explicit of the text appears to confirm this view. Whether it was written by Wiger or a copyist, the explicit emphasises the brevity of the stories as well as their utility. In the end, it appears that Wiger's work reflects the mood of the Roman church in the decade surrounding the Fourth Lateran Council. It represent a firm, if cautious, first step towards one of the primary goals of the council: the provision of pastoralia for the generality of the clergy.
Exscripta sub titulis
(Oxford, CCC MS 32, ff. 12vb 1 - 49va 8)
compiled by Master Wiger,
Provost of St. Peter’s Collegiate Church, Utrecht
Principles of Edition

The orthography of the manuscript has been retained throughout. Occasionally, the letter t has been substituted for c where sense requires it. I have also used u for v in the lower case, though I have maintained the use of upper case V for proper nouns. I have chosen to modernise punctuation and have capitalised all proper nouns as well as the first letter of each new sentence. Corrections and emendations are indicated by angle brackets, < >; dubious readings and words or phrases that should be ignored are indicated by square brackets, [ ]. Tears and holes in the MS are indicated thus, <....>, though where I have been able, I have reconstructed the missing word or phrase: i. e., Domi<nu...>. The titles (rubrics) of the chapters have been italicised, and I have followed the compiler's chapter separations throughout. While the compiler or scribe used Roman numerals to indicate chapters, I have chosen to employ Arabic numbers. Folio references appear after every title. Citations within the chapters follow Wiger's plan and are indicated by an upper case letter of the alphabet: i. e., A. In Vitas Patrum....B. Gregorius in Dialogo.... Each exemplum has been accorded an Arabic number.

In the apparatus, I have identified sources and analogues for the stories wherever possible. Where Wiger's source is known, it is cited by footnote at the bottom of the page. Where a source is not entirely certain, I direct the reader to Wiger's possible source with: "See..." Parallel texts and other analogous materials are indicated by: "cf." If I have been unable to locate a source, this is indicated by the phrase non inveni in the footnote. Abbreviations used in the apparatus appear on the following pages.
List of Abbreviations


*Barlaam et Josaphat* = [St. John Damascene,] *Vita sanctorum Barlaam eremita et Josaphat Indiae regis*. PL 73, 443-606.


Petrus Cantor, Verbum abbrev. = Peter the Chanter. Verbum abbreviatum, PL 205, 21-554.

PL = Patrologia Latina


VP 2 = Rufinus Aquileiensis. Historia monachorum, PL 73, 707-738.

VP 3 = Rufinus Aquileiensis. Verba seniorum, PL 73, 739-814.

VP 4 = Severus Sulpicius and Joannis Cassianus. Excerpta ex Institutis et Collationibus, PL 73, 813-852.

VP 5 = Pelagius diaconus (trans.). Verba seniorum, PL 73, 851-992.

VP 6 = Joannis subdiaconus (trans.). Verba seniorum, PL 73, 991-1024.

VP 7 = Paschasius diaconus (trans.). Verba seniorum, PL 73, 1025-1064.

VP 8 = Palladius episcopus Helenopoleis. Historia Lausiaca, PL 73, 1065-1234.


Exscripta sub titulis

(Oxford, CCC MS 32, ff. 12vb 1 - 49va 8)

compiled by Master Wiger,

Provost of St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Utrecht

1. *Semper inpedit diabolus opus iustorum* [12vb 1]

   A. Gregorius in Dialogo

   1. Cum beatus Benedictus in specu quodam heremi ac montis iaceret, et singulis Romanus quidam nomine horis panem furaretur ori proprio sub abbate suo quem deferret Benedicto, et tintinnabulum fecisset quasi signum aduentus sui iuxta specum. Quadam die diabolus proiecit lapidem et fregit tintinnabulum, inuidens operi bono.¹

2. *Diabolus, cum non potest uincere per blandimenta prorumpit in uirgam et seuitiam* [12vb 8]

   A. Gregorius in Dialogo

   1. Cum Benedictus in Monte Cassino uana destrueret et aras gentilium, diabolus uisibiliter apparens clamauit: "Benedicte, uim patior!" Cui cum non responderet Benedictus clamauit, "Maledicte et non benedicte. Quid mecum habes, quid me persequeris?"²

   2. Quadam die invento ydolo Benedictus comminuit illud et, sicut omnibus uidebatur, flamma inuasit omnia edicia cenobii. Et Benedictus uocatus oracione facta monstrauit illum

¹Gregorius, *Dialog.* 2. 1.

²Gregorius, *Dialog.* 2. 8.
ignem non esse uerum, set fantasticum in oculis aliorum.\(^3\)

3. Quadrâm die malignus spiritus comminuit edificium quod edificabant monachi beati Benedicti, et contruuit puérulum totum quendam, qui delatus ad Benedictum uite redditus est per oracionem.\(^4\)

3. *Semper diabolus presto est nostris operibus* [12vb 23]

A. Gregorius in *Dialogo*

1. Stephanus presbyter Valerie prouincie quadrâm die dixit seruo suo iratus: "Veni, diabole; discalc\(<e>a\) me!" Et statim sunt dissolute corrigie calciamentorum, quod considerans fieri ministerio diaboli dixit, "Recede, miser; non enim tibi, set seruo meo, uidelicet mancipio meo locutus sum." Et statim recessit.\(^5\)

4. *Diaboli transformant in bruta animalia homines, ut uidetur* [12vb 30]

A. Ieronimus in *Vitas Patrum*

1. Quedam uirgo per fantasies diabolicas apparebat equa, quam cum adduxissent ad Macharium heremitam, ipse facto oracione fecit eam apparetre uirginem.\(^6\)

5. *De uariis temptationibus demonum* [12vb 36]

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\(^3\)Gregorius, *Dialog. 2. 10.\(^*\)

\(^4\)Gregorius, *Dialog. 2. 11.\(^*\)

\(^5\)Gregorius, *Dialog. 3. 20.\(^*\)

\(^6\)VP 8, 19 and 20; PL 73, 1110b-1111a.\(^*\)
A. Ieronimus. In Vitas Patrum

1. Demon de nocte dixit ad beatum Macharium heremitam, "Vade ad collectam vigiliarum ubi fratres tui sunt congregati." Cui cum respondisset Macharius quid demon haberet agere cum illa collecta, respondit quod sine demonibus nulla congregatio monachorum ageretur. Cum uero Macharius uenisset ad collectam monachorum, uidit paruos Ethiopes puerulos uolare circa monachos, qui quosdam monachos comprimebant in oculis, et illi dormiebant; quibusdam mittebant digitos in os, et illi oscitabant; quibusdam orantibus in speciem mulierum uertebantur, et percurrebant singulos, singulis illudentes, et in diversis negociacionibus se coram orantibus transformabant, et orantes quidam de omnibus talibus ymaginibus cogitabant, et diaboli super eorum ceruices et dorsa sedebant. Alii uero deieiebant eos, ut nec coram eis stare auderent, quod cum inquisiuisset Macharius cogitaciones et temptaciones singularum, ita narrauerunt sicut ipse uiderat eos temptari, singuli de suis cogitacionibus.7

2. Quidam senior referebat quod cum fratres inter se aliquando de sanctis scripturis colloquerentur, angeli sancti stabant in hilari uultu considerantes eos, et cum aliud ociosum loquerentur statim angeli recedebant indignantes contra eos, et ueniebant porci sordidissimi et morbo pleni et uolutabant inter eos, qui erant demones delectantes in superfluais locucionibus, quia multiloquia infirmam et uacuam efficiunt mentem et animam.8

3. Quidam senex habebat filium suggentem lac, nutritum in monasterio, cui facto uiro de nocte demones ostendebant habitum mulierum. Cum ergo senex quadam die exisset et ei obuiassent mulieres, dixit iuuenis, "Ecce ille quas uidi de nocte in monasterio." Respondit senex,

7VP 3. 43; PL 73, 765b-766c.
8VP 3.36; PL 73, 762c-d.
"Isti sunt monachi de seculo, fili." Et miratus est senex quod demones ostendissent ei formas mulierum.  

4. Quidam senex in Scichi habuit filium ablactatum, qui cum esset factus iuuenis multum uexabatur a spiritu fornicacionis, et dixit patri, "Non possum sustinere; uado ad seculum." Cui pater, "Noli, set tolle xl panes et folia palmarum, dierum xl" esto in heremo interiori, et fiat tunc uoluntas Dei." Qui fecit sic, et cum quadam die faceret ibi plectam de palmis commedens panem siccum, uidit quandam Ethiopissam fetidam et turpem aspectu, ita ut fetorem eius sufferre non posset, et abiciebat eam a se, cui illa dixit, "Ego sum qui in cordibus hominum dulcis appareo, set propter obedienciam tuam et laborem quem sustines, non me permisit Deus seducere te, set innotuit tibi fetorem meum." Rediit ergo ad monasterium emendatus, narrans hec patri suo, cui pater, "Si adhuc mansisses per xl dies ibi, et custodisses usque in finem mandatum meum maiora hiis uidisses."  


6. Quidam senex deprecatus est Deum ut uideret demones, cui reuelatum est, "Non opus

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9VP 5. 5.21; PL 73, 878c-d.

10VP 5. 5. 23; PL 73, 879a-c.

11VP 5. 10. 35; PL 73, 918c.
habes uidere eos." Senex autem dicebat, "Quia, Domine, potes me protegere gracia tua." At Deus reuelauit oculis eius, et uidit eos, quia tanquam apes sic circumdant hominem stridentes dentibus super eum; angeli uero Dei increpabant eos.\textsuperscript{12}

7. Abbas Macharius cum uenisset ad cellam duorum iuuenum monachorum, ipse de nocte euigilans uidit lucem tanquam per diem, quod tamen ipsi non uidebant, et ipsi exurgentes, expandebant manus suas ad celum, stantes cum silencio, et uidebant demones sicut muscas uenientes super minorem monachum et os et super oculos, et angeli Domini habebant gladium ignis fugantem eos. Maiori autem monacho demones non poterant apropinquare, et mane facto, cum psallerent simul psalmod, ad quemlibet uersum exiit tanquam lampas ardens de ore maioris in celum, et de ore minoris tanquam fumus ignis pertingens in celum, et post paucos dies mortui sunt ambo.\textsuperscript{13}

8. Quidam frater seducebatur per annos plurimos a demonibus sedens in heremo, existimans quod angeli boni essent. Pater autem eius carnalis solebat eum uisitare, et cum quadam idem pater eius accepisset bipennem ad incidendum ligna et reuerteretur, demon quidam uenit ad filium eius, dicens, "Ecce, diabolus uenit ad te in similitudinem patris tui, habens bipennem in sporta sua ut inpugnet te. Tu uero preueniens, tolle bipennem ab eo et repugna illi." Cum igitur pater eius secundum consuetudinem ueniret, accipiens filius eius bipennem ab ipso, percussit eum et occidit, et continuo adfuit ei spiritus malignus et suffocauit eum.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12}VP 6. 1. 11; PL 73, 994c-995a.

\textsuperscript{13}VP 6. 3. 2; PL 73, 1004c-1006a.

\textsuperscript{14}VP 6. 4. 37; PL 73, 1022a.
6. Multum temptatur homo in penitentia [13va 9]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam uir fuit multum fascinorosus, qui agens penitenciam conclusit se in spelunca. Demones irridentes clamauerunt, "Quid est quod agis; unus ex nobis es. Si uis penam, et pena delectet te, habemus eam paratam. Redi ad seulum et preparabimus tibi nobilissima scorta et omnia delectamenta ut iuuenescas." Cum ille nollet adquiescere, illi afflixerunt eum, quem afflictem quidam suorum inuenrunt eum sic afflictem, dicentes causam afflictionis. Preterea nocte iterum nolens adquiescere demonibus, iterum afflictem est ab eis et uerberatus, et remansit immobile. Tertia nocte demones eum renentem uoluntati sue ita eum afflixerunt, quod semiuiuim reliquerunt, et tamen spiritus eius semper eis contradicebat; tunc clamauerunt demones, "Vicisti, uicisti!" et statim aufigerunt uirtute Dei. At ipse de meliori in melius profecit per humiliatatem et spem, quia elatio et desperacio mortis est causa. \(^{15}\)

7. Quod probandi sunt spiritus [13va 26]

A. Ieronimus. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam heremita nomine Hor, cum ad eum uenissent demones transformati in angelos lucis, et uolentes eum transferre sicut Elyam in curru igneo, et dicentes ut adoraret magistrum eorum, ipse respondit, "Ego cotidie magistrum meum adoro. Hic si esset ille, quomodo a me posceret, quod inesinenter me facere sciret? Tu non es meus rex." Et continuo demones euaserunt.\(^{16}\)

\(^{15}\)VP 8. 45; PL 73, 1148c-1149c.

\(^{16}\)See Antonius, Vita sancti Simeonis. stylitae 6; PL 73, 328b.
2. Quidam heremita Phitirion in Egipto dixit beato Ieronimo et aliis ad se uenientibus, et monuit ut discernerent spiritus, dicens esse quosdam demones qui certis quibusque uiciis obsecuntur, qui cum affectus anime uident passibiliter et uiciose moueri, conversunt eos ad omne malum et quodcumque uicium proprius passionis abi<e>ciens, huius uiciii demonium poteris etiam de obsessis corporibus effugare.17

3. Quidam heremita Appelles ferrarius de nocte uidit diabolum uenientem ad se in specie mulieris pulchre, et deferentem ad se necessaria operis. Ipse uero proiecit manu nuda ferrum candens in faciem eius; diabolus eiulans et clamans recessit, et ex eo iam ubi ille habuit in usu ferrum candens in manu nuda tenere nec ledi.18

4. Ad Johannem heremitam, qui tantum Dominica die reficiebatur corpore Christi a presbitero et ex hoc uivebat, uenit quadam die diabolum afferens in specie presbiteri quasi sacramentum, qui coreptus ab eo grauiter auffugit, et dixit se simili modo alium heremitam decepisse, ita quod insanus factus esset heremita donec per oraciones aliorum restitueretur sanitati. Iste Iohannes semper stabant, ita quod sanies de pedibus eius affluebat donec angelus Domini uenit ad eum sanans eum.19

B. Antonius dixit

1. Non est difficilis bonorum et malorum spirituum discrecio, nam sanctorum angelorum amabilis asspectus et tranquillus est, nec contendunt, nec clamant; gaudium et exultacionem

17Rufinus, Hist. monach. 13; PL 21, 432c-433a.

18VP 8. 15; PL 73, 1169a-b.

19VP 8. 61; PL 73, 1169b-1170b.
peccatoribus infundunt, et incipit statim mens flagrare aviditate supernorum, et ausertur metus; metus enim non tantum ex pauore animi, quantum ad magnarum rerum sepe concititur aspectum.  

2. Malorum uultus uero angelorum sunt truces sonitus horrendi, et torpor infunditur sensibus et timor anime, metus mortis, cupidius diuiciarum et cordis ebetatio. Si ergo post timorem horrore conceptum successerit gaudium et ad Deum fiducia in inenarrabilibus caritas, uenisse sciamus auxilium divinum, quia securitas animi presentis maiestatis indicium est. Si autem incussa formido permanserit, hostis est qui uidetur, immo duplicat timorem et impellit homines ut sibi prosterntur. Cum ergo nobis se obtulerit uisio, querite que sit illa et unde uenerit, et sine mora, si sanctorum fuerit revelacio angelica consolacione timor uertetur in gaudium; si uero fuerit diaboli fidelis anime percunctacionibus euanescit, quia maximum securitatis indicium est interrogare quis nam est et unde.

8. Forcior resurgit homo plerumque post diaboli insultum [14ra1]

A. Ieronimus. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum Piamon in Egipto esset uerberatus ter a diabolo, et postea accederet ad sacram communionem, angelus statim eleuauit eum debilem, et statim fortior factus est.

9. Plures habemus angelos adiutores quam impugnatores [14ra 5]

20 Athanasius Alexandrinus, Vita beati Antonii, PL 73, 142d-143a.
21 Athanasius, Vita Antonii, PL 73, 143a-b.
22 See Rufinus, Hist. monach. 32; PL 21, 460a-b.
A. <In Vitas Patrum>

1. Beatum Moysen abbatem inpugnabat spiritus fornicacionis durissime, quod ipse retulit abbati Ysodoro. Tunc abbas Ysodorus iussit eum respicere ad occidentem, et uidit multitudinem demonum cum furore perturbari et quasi ad prelium preparari. Et postea iussit eum respicere ad orientem et uidit innumerabilem multitudinem sanctorum angelorum splendentem et fulgentem ut exercitum. Et ait abbas Ysodorus, "Ecce, quos in occidente uidisti, ipsi sunt qui impugnant etiam sanctos Domini; quos in oriente uidisti, ipsi sunt in adiutorium sanctis suis. Cognosce ergo quia plures sunt nobiscum, sicut dicit Heliseus propheta. Verum etiam et sanctus Iohannis apostolus dicit, 'Quia maior est, qui in nobis est, quam qui in hoc mundo'." Et hiis dictis confortatus est abbas Moyses, in Domino magnificans bonitatis Christi potenciam. 23

10. De timore et compunctione iustorum, et quod non timent terrena uel diabolum [14ra 20]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Abbas Aminon cuidam fratri interroganti aliquem sermonem dixit, "Vade et fac talem cogitacionem tuam, qualem faciunt iniqui, qui sunt incarcere. Illi enim interogant homines ubi est iudex, et quando ueniet, et in ipsa exspectacione penarum suarum plorant." Tunc et monacus animam suam debet obiurgare, dicens, "Ve mihi; quomodo habeo astare ante tribunal Christi et actuum meorum reddere rationem? Si sic semper meditatus fueris, poteris saluus esse." 24

2. Dixit abbas Helias, "Ego tres res timeo, unam quando anima mea egressura est de corpore, aliam quando occursurus sum Deo, tertiam quando aduersum me proferenda fuerit

23 VP 3. 10; PL 73, 743d-744b.

24 VP 5. 3. 2; PL 73, 860c-d.
sentencia."\textsuperscript{25}

3. Frater interogauit senem, dicens, "Unde est, abba, cor meum durum, et non timet Deum?" Dicit ei senex, "Puto si homo teneat in corde suo increpacionem, possideat timorem". Dicit ei frater, "Quid est increpacio?" Respondit senex, "Non in omni re homo increpetur animam suam, dicendo: Memor esto, quod oportet te occurrere".\textsuperscript{26}

4. Interogauit frater quidam Theodorum abbatem, "Si fiat subito <sonus r>uine alicuius, sit tibi timor, abba?" Qui respondit, "Si <celum ter>re adhereat, Theodorus non formidat."\textsuperscript{27}

5. Descendit Macharius abbas de Scichi in locum qui d<icitur T>erenuthin, et nocte iuit dormire in mon<ument>o ubi sepulta erant corpora paganorum, et tra<xit> unum corpus sub capud suum, quasi plumatum de scirpo. Demones autem ei inuidientes clamauerunt quasi quandam mulierem, "Tu, nonna, ueni nobiscum ad balneum" et alter demon quasi sub Machario respondit, dicens, "Peregrinum quendam habeo super me, et ideo non possum uenire." Senex uero non timuit, set tundens corpus illud dicebat, "Vade, si potes!" et clamauerunt demones statim, "Vicisti nos!" et fugerunt confusi.\textsuperscript{28}

6. Abbas Arsenius, cum moreretur, precepit discipulis suis ut post mortem per funem pedibus alligatum traherent eum in montem, et cum moreretur, fleuit. Requisitus a discipulis quare fleret, et utrum timeret, respondit, "In ueritate ex quo factus sum monacus, semper ita timui, et

\textsuperscript{25}VP 5. 3. 4; PL 73, 861b.

\textsuperscript{26}VP 7. 21. 4; PL 73, 1045b-c.

\textsuperscript{27}VP 5. 7. 6; PL 73, 893d.

\textsuperscript{28}VP 5. 7. 10; PL 73, 894c-d.
timeo ualde." Ac sic in pace dormiuit.29

7. Solebat autem Arsenius semper dicere, "Loqui me sepe penituit, tacere nunquam."30

8. Dixit abbas Pamisius, "Principium salutis timor Domini; per eum custodia uirtutum adquiritur, et cum penetrauerit mentem hominis, parit contemptum omnium et mundi horrorem, et sic per contemptum adquiritur humilitas. De timore nascitur compunction; de compunctione abrenunciacio et nuditas omnium rerum, de qua humilitas, de qua mortificacio uoluntatum, de qua marcescunt omnia uicia, post que uirtutes succrescunt, et post puritas cordis adquiritur, post quam perfeccio caritatis generatur."31

11. De gaudio demonum in peccatis iustorum [14rb30]

A. Ieronimus in Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam de Thebeis fratibus, filius sacerdotis ydolorum, cum esset puer, intrasset occulte post patrem suum sacrificium offerente ydolo in templo. Videbat Sathanam sedentem in sede et omnem eius miliciam astantem ei, et ecce unus adorauit eum, et requisitus a principi demonum quid egisset et unde ueniret, dixit quod in provincia quadam multas seducciones, et lites, et bella fecisset. Inquisitus quanto tempore hoc fecisset, respondit per xxx dies, et iussus est flagellari <quia tantum> tempus ad hoc expendisset. Et ecce alius adora<uit eum>, et requisitus quid egisset, dixit quod in mari mult<as nau>es et multos homines submerserat, suscitans <ciu>itates, et hos fecisset per xxx dies. Et iussus <est fl>agellari. Tercius adorauit eum, dicens quod in

29VP 5. 15. 9; PL 73, 954d-955b. Translated in SDF, p. 18.

30VP 5. 15. 9; PL 73, 955a.

31VP 4. 31; PL 73, 836a-b.
nunc quibusdam suscitavit lites et multum sanguinem fecit fundi, et sponsum occidit, et hoc fecisset in diebus x. Et ille etiam iussus est flagellari. Quartus adoravit eum, qui requisitus quid egisset dixit quod per xl annos in heremo inpugnasset quendam monachum, et in ipsa nocte ista fecisset eum fornicari. Quod diabolus audiens surrexit, et osculatus est eum, et tollens coronam quam ipse habebat posuit in capite eius, et fecit eum sedere secum in sede maiestatis sue, dicens, "Magnam rem fortiter egisti."\textsuperscript{32}

2. Quidam heremita uidit unum solum diabolum sedentem in porta ciuitatis et uidit abbatiam in qua unicuique monacho assistebat diabolus. Cum uero quereret ab angelo ductore quare hoc esset, respondit, "Quia in ciuitate illa omnes faciunt voluntatem diaboli, sufficit unus solus diabolus; set cum in hac abbathia omnes sunt boni, oportet ut unicuique unus assistat."\textsuperscript{33}

12. \textit{De fortitudine diaboli} [14va 23]

A. In \textit{Vitas Patrum}. Ieronimus

1. Quidam uenit ad abbatem Theodorum, dicens ei, "Ecce, quidam frater reuersus est ad seculum". Respondit abbas Theodorus, "In hoc non admireris; si audieris quia preualuit quis effugere de ore inimici, hoc admirare".\textsuperscript{34}

13. \textit{De armis diaboli} [14va 29]

A. Ieronimus. In \textit{Vitas Patrum}

\textsuperscript{32}VP 5. 5. 39; PL 73, 885b-886a.

\textsuperscript{33}non inueni.

\textsuperscript{34}VP 5. 10. 25; PL 73, 916c-d.
1. Dicebat senex, "Quia tres sunt virtutes diaboli que precedunt uniuersa peccata: prima obliuionis, secunda negligencie, tercia concupiscencie; prima generat secundam, secunda terciam, et sic corruit homo".35

2. Dixit quidam senum, "Quando cooperiuntur oculi a<nima>lis, tunc circuit ad molendinum, alioquin non ambulat in circuitu mole; sic diabolus, si cooperuerit oculos mentis, in omne peccatum habilat eam".36

3. Dixit senex cuidam fratri, "Diabolus est inimicus, et tu domus, in [quam] non cessat omnes sordes, et si neglexeris per moram temporis, replebitur domus sordibus et nequaquam ualebis eam de facili emundare, nisi primo paulatim eicias eas in principio."37

14. _De nunc persecucione demonum_ [14vb 2]

   A. In _Vitas Patrum_

   1. Interogauit frater abbatem Scisci, "Putas sic persequebatur Sathanas antiquos?"

      Respondit Scisci, "Modo plus, quia tempus eius apropinquauit et turbatur".38

15. _De remedio temptationum_ [14vb 5]

   A. In _Vitas Patrum_

   1. Dixit abbas Euagrius, "Mentem errantem uel nutantem solidat lectio, et uigilie et oracio;

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35VP 5. 11. 46; PL 73, 939b-c.
36VP 5. 11. 49; PL 73, 939d.
37VP 5. 11. 48; PL 73, 939c-d.
38VP 5. 15. 45; PL 73, 962c.
concupiscenciam feruentem mascescere facit esuries et labor et sollicitudo. Iracundiam autem perturbatam reprimit psalmodia et longanimitas et misericordia. Set hec oportunius temporibus et mensuris adibita. Nam si aliter fuerit ad paruum tempus proficiunt; que autem parui temporis sunt, noxia magis quam utilia sunt”. 39

2. Interogatus abbas Pastor ab Ammone de immundis cogitationibus, respondit, “Numquid gloriabitur s[c]ecuris sine eo qui incidit in ipsa. Tu ergo non eis porrigas manus, et ociose erunt”. 40


5. Frater dixit abbati Sisci, “Quare non recedunt a me passiones?” Et dixit ei senex, “Quia uasa earumdem passionum intra te sunt; set da eis pignus suum et recedunt”. 43


39VP 5. 10. 20; PL 73, 915d-916a.
40VP 5. 10. 41; PL 73, 920b-c.
41VP 5. 10. 42; PL 73, 920c.
42VP 5. 10. 43; PL 73, 920c.
43VP 5. 10. 68; PL 73, 924b.
cogitaciones, non est pollutus. Si autem perfectus habens paruam uitam exercitatum concupierit aliquod desiderabile et exercitatus fuerit cum cogitacione sua desiderio compellente, et cum non tulerit illud, non est pollutus".44

7. Quidam frater interrogauit senem, "Quid faciam, quia multe cogitaciones sollicitant me, et nescio quomodo repugnem eis?" Respondit, "Non repugne contra omnes, set contra unam, que capud est aliarum".45

16. Multum ualet in omnibus signum crucis [15ra 2]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quedam sanctimonialis ingressa ortum uidit lactucam et concupiuit, et non facto signo crucis, set obsito momordit, que protinus arepta a demonio est. Cum uero abbas suus Equicius preciperet diabolo recedere, respondit, "Sedebam super lactucam, et ipsa momordit me, quid feci". Qui tamen per preceptum eiusdem sancti uiri uexans corpus recessit.46

2. Cum ciusdam militis equus in rabiem uersus esset, Fortunatus episcopus ciuitatis Tudencine facto signo crucis curauit eum, quem cum curatum miles ei uellet dare, noluit recipere, sed eum emit precio competenti ne contristaret eum, cum tamen eo non indigeret.47

3. In Valebie partibus, dum quidam oblitus esset signare panem subcinericum signo crucis et imprimere, sicut moris erat, Martirius quidam increpuit quare non esset signatus, et facto signo

44VP 5. 10. 78; PL 73, 927a.

45VP 5. 10. 88; PL 73, 928c-d.

46Gregorius, Dialog. 1. 4.

47Gregorius, Dialog. 1. 10.
crucis contra prunas, panis crepitum dedit, ac si ossa crepuisset, et extracto pane inueniüm est ibi signum crucis, ac si fuisset impressum, quod tamen sola fides fecit, non contactus.48

4. Cum monachi beati Benedicti quadam die scienter propinarent ei uenenum, quia non permisit eos dissolutos, ipse fecit signum crucis, et statim uas fractum est ac si lapide contracontractum fuisset, et deseruit abbaciam et monacos, rediens ad locum solitarium.49

5. Sabinus, Canusie episcopus, cum archidiaconus suus uolens post eum habere episcopatum, sciisset sibi propinari uenenum per archidiaconum prodentem a quodam puero, ipse facto signo crucis hausit illud et dixit archidiacono, “Tu tamen post mortem meam episcopum non eris”. Et statim archidiaconus mortuus est.50

6. Andreas <F>undane ciuitatis episcopus tenuit secum quandam sanctimonialen, cui ipse blandiens diabolo instigante dedit alapam in posteriorea. Iudeus autem nocte quadam iacens propter defectum hospicii in templo Appollinis iuxta ciuitatem uidit conuentum demoniorum, et quod quidam ex eis narravit magistro demonum quod sic incenderat episcopum in amorem sanctimonialis. Cumque demon <....> quis esset qui ibi iaceret. Respondent alii de<mones>, “Ve, ue! Vas uacuum, set signatum est!” quia ill<....>n fide Christiana sibi de nocte inpresserat sign<um cruc>is, set quia uiderat Christianos sic facientes et f<....> spernerunt demones et ipse narravit episcopo hec <....> ordinem et episcopus correctus est, et iudeus ab episcopo <baptiz>atus est.51

48 Gregorius, Dialog. 1. 11.
49 Gregorius, Dialog. 2. 3.
50 Gregorius, Dialog. 3. 5.
51 Gregorius, Dialog. 3. 7.
7. In Tiburtina quidem nomine Amacntius ... per signum crucis siue in cœuranis siue extra ca<uer>nas, extinxit omnes serpentes. 52

8. Cum circa Epidauriam mare inundasset ut crederent chaos antiquum uenire, sanctus Hylarion tria signa crucis pinxit in sabbato et manus contra mare tumescens tetendit, et statim mare resedit. 53

B. Barbaaam

1. Iosaphat cum sentiret temptacionem demonum in luxuria, fecit signum crucis et Christi nomine invocavit, et statim demones temptantes invisibiliter tamen recesserunt, sicut ipsi confessi sunt. 54

C. August<odunensis> in Speculo Ecclesie

1. Ciprianus erat quidam maleficus, ad quem ueniens quidam qui amabat puellam, quae uocabatur Iustina, dixit quod multa daret ei, si faceret eum habere illam puellam. Ciprianus precepit cui dixerat diabolo ut adduceret illam puellam suo amatorì. Ciprianus autem gentilis et puella Christiana. Diabolum ergo assumpsit formam nutritis sue, et cepit eam temptare et multa promittere, si admitteret illum amatorì. Puella autem sentiens se temptari, signo crucis se muniuit, et statim recessit confusus, dicens hoc Cipriano quod non posset eam uincere. Ciprianus uocavit alium diabolum forciorem, qui assumpta forma sororis sue temptauit eam allicere et

52 Gregorius, Dialog. 3. 35.

53 Hieronymus, Vita s. Hilar. 40; PL 23, 49b-50a.

54 See Barlaam et Josaphat 37. Cf. Lib. ex., no. 27.
amplexus illius. Ipsa iterum muniuit se signo crucis, et diabolus confusus recessit dicens hoc Cipriano. Tunc Ciprianus uocauit magnum demonem, qui formam matris sue assumpsit, et fortissime temptavit eam. Tunc muniuit se signo crucis, et diabolus uictus recessit, et coactus est dicere ueritatem omnium Cipriano. Tunc Ciprianus quesuuit ab eo si crux Christi tante esset uirtutis. Ille dixit quod ita. Cui Ciprianus, "Si crux Christi tante uirtutis est, Christus maioris uirtutis est." Et statim abrenunc<iat di>abolo. Diabolus uero dixit ei quod uium eum det<raheret> infernum. Ille uero timens signo crucis <sign>auit et statim diabolus recessit uictus. <T>unc uenit Ciprianus ad puellam, et bap<titatus a>c liberatus est a diabolo et pompis eius per sign<um eter>ni regis. Qui enim sigillum regis portat <securus> uadit per terram regis.55

17. De ui aspersionis aque benedichte [15va 8]

A. Petrus

1. In Cellimonsi monasterio quidam laicus de nouo conuersus iacebat egrotus inter confinia mortis et uite custoditus <a> duobus famulis, Stephano et Oliuo, et aduocans Stephanum, perquesuuit qui essent rustici illi deformes et rostrati, quos ille confluere et totam domum implere uideret. Respondit se famulus nullum uidere, et cum intellexit quod essent immundi spiritus unde incl<amato> socio ut porrigeret uas aque benedictae, ipse aqua benedicta totam domum aspersit, et dum hoc faceret eger clamare cepit, "Eya," inquid, "eya; fac quod facis, insta, urge aduersarios, quoniam ecce uelut a facie gladii fugientes summa celeritate contendunt exire, et quia moras paciuntur in alterutrum impingentes primos hii qui secuntur uiolenter impellunt". Quo audito ille forcius institi per aspersionem, et liberatus eger ab infestacione demonum, tandem secunda die in

55Honoriu Augustodunensis, Speculum ecclesiae: PL 172, 1004b-d.
bona confessione in domino requieuit.\textsuperscript{56}

18. \textit{Iusti tremunt et timentur ab aliis etiam a demonibus} [15va 27]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quidam nomine Equicius in uili habitu factus predictor per Iulianum defensorem citatus est papa quare predicaret, et quomodo. Et cum ad eum secantem in ualle fenem idem Iulianus misisset puerum ut eundem Equitium adduceret se, eo uiso puer ita contremuit ut ad eius pedes caderet. Et cum eum fuisset insecutus Equitius ut iret ad Iulianum, Iulianus etiam omnino contremuit, cui cum diceret Equitius ut statim irent ad papam, respondit Iulianus quod fessus ex itinere ire non posset, cui Equitius, "Si hodie non minus cras non ibimus". Eadem nocte misit papa nuncium ad Iulianum ne eum adduceret, quia ei reuelatum fuerat eum esse iustum et bonum.\textsuperscript{57}

B. In Vitas Patrum

1. Antonius dixit: "Experto credite; pertimescit diabolus sancte uiiuentem. Habes et inde ita de paciencia et ita de humilitate."\textsuperscript{58}

19. \textit{De iactantia fugiendi et quod diabolus irridet quem decipit et impetrat peccatum} [15vb 5]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam heremita fuit florens omnibus animi uirtutibus, et cepit ex hoc intra se iactari.

\textsuperscript{56}Petrus, \textit{De mir.} 1. 7. 24.

\textsuperscript{57}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 1.4.

\textsuperscript{58}Athanasius, \textit{Vita Antonii.} PL 73, 141b.
Diabolus in specie mulieris uenit ad speluncam eius, dicens quod a bestiis nocte esset deuoranda, nisi susciperetur hospicio. Que suscepta diversis blandimentis induxit eum et inflexit quod ipse tetigit membra eius sigillatim, et cum latus ipse inclinaret ut eam ampleteretur fede, ipsa euanuit deridens et multitudo demonum clamauit, "O, monache! qui te usque ad cel<um> extollebas, quomodo d<e>mersus es usque ad infernum? Disce quia qui se exaltat humiliabitur." Tunc ille monachus desperans et fugiens pre confusione conspectum omnium religiosorum, reuersus ad seculum, tradens se omni inpudicie deliciis et illecebris, ne quis eum salutaribus monitis de precipicio reuocaret. 59

2. In regione T<h>ebaide manente quodam heremita Appollonio uite probatissime, dixit ei uox de celo, "Appolloni, per te perdam sapienciam sapientum in Egipto, et omnem culturam demonum subrues," ac ille respondit, "Aufer a me iactanciam, domine, ne forte elatus super fratres meos cadam ab omnibus bonis." Et dixit uox, "Mitte manus tuas ad ceruices tuas, et quod comprehenderis constringe, et sub arena subrue." Et continuo apposita manu ad ceruices apprehendit paruum Ethiopem, clamantem et dicentem, "Ego sum superbie demon," et iterum ait, "Perge nunc quocumque in Deo uolueris securus." 60

B. Adiuncta

1. Beato Bernardo, cum esset in secreto loco et fleret pro peccatis, apparuit ei diabolus dicens. "Si te uiderent fratres tui, multum te laudarent." Et beatus Bernardus ualde timuit ne illud bonum amisisset. Et misit ei Dominus angelum suum ad consolandum, et dixit ei quod non

59 Rufinus, Hist. monach. 1; PL 21, 399a-400a.
60 VP 8. 52; PL 73, 1155a-d.
timeret, quia bonum suum non amiserat. 61

20. Sancti uirí gaudent cum despiciuntur et occultant virtutes [16ra 2]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quidam Constantinus, cum in ecclesia sua lampades stans in ligneis gradibus impleverat et propter famam, quia sanctus erat, quidam uenisset ad uidendum eum, et derideret eum, quia paruus esset et deformis, dicens, "Ego istum grandem hominem credidi; iste uero de homine nihil habet". Protinus Const<ant>inus cepit eum osculari, dicens, "Tu solus es qui in me apertos oculos habuisti". 62

2. Marcello 63 quodam in Tudenti <ciui>tate, defuncto sorores eius, rogauerunt um eiusdem loci episcopum ut suscitat eum it dicens, "Illud esse Dei uoluntatem atis duobus diaconibus suis ad m porrexit et eum ibi suscitauit." 64

3. Quidam Ysaac sirus ue<.....>letanam et ibi in ecclesia continue per c<.....> cui indignatus custos dedit ei <.....>onio statim arreptus est. Set ab Ysaa<c >tus, cumque propter hoc miraculum usitatetur <.....> aufugit, et cum postea ei in deserto offerentu<.....>aes, ipse abnuit dicens, "Monachus qui <... p>osessionem querit, monachus non est". Et licet tamen h<.....> homo sanctissimus tamen sepiissime ita licencia p<.....>erat ut uix bonus crederetur. 65


62Gregorius, Dialog. 1.5.

63There is a long diagonal tear in the MS from 16ra line 11 to 16ra line 30.

64Gregorius, Dialog. 1.10.

65Gregorius, Dialog. 3.14
4. Quidam ui(...) uisitans limina Apostolorum, cum hospitatus e(sset) apud quendam Quadragesimum subdiaconum Bux(tine ecclesie, et in uicino quadam mulier plangebat maritum suum defunctum, cuius dolori ipse compaciens iuit ad corpus secreto et suscitauit eum facta oracione, et ultra in illo loco non apparuit ne ueneraretur ab hominibus. 66

5. Eleutherius pater monasterii Marci euuangeliste peruenit ad quandam sanctimonialem, cui puer demoniacus fuerat commendatus, et curatus cum eo manens, cumque ille Eleutherius inde gloriaretur dicens, “Diabolus iocabatur cum sororibus istis, set cum puer iste peruenit ad seruos Dei, non potuit eum ledere diabolus (...)tus est a demon(...) fratibus se prostru(...) puer perfecte. 67

B. In Vitas Patrum

1. (...)tebat ad se deferri n(...) iactanciam set dabat (...)rentur. 68

2. Quidam <monachus manebat> iuxta Constantinopolim. <Venit ime>perator solus ipse monach<o... et> posuit aqua et salem et <panem ...> imperator iuit illius quod de <...>sequio diuino et remo<...> et tunc dixit se esse imperatorem, et <...> decessit, tunc monachus ille <...>magis honoraretur ab hom<...> et perrexit in Egiptom ad s<...>. 69

C. Adiuncta

66Gregorius, Dialog. 3.17.
67Gregorius, Dialog. 3.33.
68Rufinus, Hist. monach. 1; PL 21, 393c-d.
69VP 5. 15. 66; PL 73, 965a-c. See also VP 3. 19.
1. Maurus <...> mulierum plangentem <...> et compassus ei solus eum u<...>te matre et nesciente fu<...> eum et aufugit, quem tamen <...> inuenit uociferans ipsi <...> Cum quidam diceret de bono <...> faceret per demones, et quod <...> correptus a demonio ex<...> missarum sollemniis pro e<...> Maurus suscitauit precipii<...> uere uellet in locum ipsum <...> nec ibi maneret, hoc autem <fecit ...> pro tali facto fauorem hominum <...>ri uideretur.70

21. Magna revere <...>da et d<...> [16rb 32]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Cum post missarum sol<emnia ...> ciuitatis episcopus in natali sancti <Proculi ...>

Fortunati deberet commedere <...> commestionem quidam <...> cum symea et cymbalo

p<ercussit ...> dixit Bonefacius, "Heu! He<u! mortuus est miser iste ...>ens adhuc ad laudem Dei, et cum symea ueniens <...>cepisset in domo <...> lapis cecidit <...>us expirauit.71

2. <...>uidam Gottus duos pu<...>emitate subiacentes <...>ato eiusdem ciuitatis <...>
noluit, et cum sedens in <...>t coram fregit eo quod <...>um nollet reddere. Noli me <...>at, et statim remisit pu<...>s. Fortunatus misit ei <...>am benedictam, qua proiecta <...>ratus est in illa hora.72

3. <...> Martinus in specu con<...>dere mulierem, set quedam mu<...>endit, quod ipse expauit. <...> descendere se expirauit <...>uit ausu improbo.73

70non inueni.

71Gregorius, Dialog. 1.9.

72Gregorius, Dialog. 1.10.

73Gregorius, Dialog. 3.16
4. sed ut secum uellet comme<...>isaret, quidam consiliarius <...>chi seruiientes aliquo modo <...>ia contradiccione: Deum habere propicium <...>iens statim annuit. 74

<B. Barlaam et Iosefat>

1. Rex quidam magnus et <...>tinere obuiam habuit duos <...>estes attritas et sordidas et <...> et pallentes. Rex autem de <...>mplexatus est eos magnates <...>s et non ausi corripere regem <...>ius regis, ut interrogaret fratem <...> tantam humiliacionem ex hi<...> frater rex dedit ei respondum <...>lit, erat autem consuetudo terre <...>m mortis contra aliquem dicta <...>ba sonante ante ianuam <...> omnes per hoc eum reum cognosce <...>nente misit tubam talen ante hostium fratris eius. Frater autem de ute salute desperans, mane cum habitu lugubri cucurrit ad regem flens et lugens, cui rex ait, "O stulte, si sic timuisti preconem fratris tui, contra quem nihil deliquisti, quomodo me reprehendisti, quod in humilitate salutau et osculatus sum precones Dei mei, sonorabilius tuba mortem mihi signantes, et terribilem Domini occursum, contra quem scio multa deliquisse." Et sic instruens fratrem domum remisit; precepit autem fieri de lignis iii<sup>e</sup> areas, duas de auro, in quibus posuit ossa mortuorum, obfirmans eas aureis seris, alias duas de pice et bitumie in quibus posuit <...> margaritas et unguenta optim<...> eas funiculis cilicinis et posuit <...> ceres ut estimarent quid sing<...> illi deauratas maximi precii uso<...> rex, erratis, omnia oportet ius<...> non exterioribus sum honorem sum <...> ergo deauratis, archis rex <...> qui exterius sunt gloriosi intus rep<...>bus operibus apertis in bitumina <...>ait rex, "Iste est typus eorum qui exter<...> sordidis uestimentis op[o/e]rti, interius <...>um redolentes Deo, quales fuerunt illi d<...> ueneratione me fecisti reprehendi quos e<...>m pro

74 non inueni.
magnis et preciosis de eorum tactu leti <....>tus, uos autem hec oculis non asspexistis et sic <....>udit eos.\textsuperscript{75}

C. Adiuncta

1. Legitur in quodam libro translato de Greco in Latinum, quod quidam rex nobilissimus in Grecia in festis annalibus magnam faciebat festiuitatem, et tamen semper erat tristis. Frater suus quesiiuit quare hoc esset. Rex dixit quod postea diceret ei. Consuetudo autem erat quod ante eius portam audiebatur tuba\textsuperscript{76} regis tanquam iudicatus duciebatur ad mortem. Frater ergo cum audisset tubam regis ante domum propriam de precepto regis, et spoliatus est et adductus ad regem, et iii\textsuperscript{77} tela acutissima fecit teneri ex iii\textsuperscript{77} partibus eius, ita quod si parum moueretur, statim moreretur; illae in maxima fuit angustiae. Tunc isdem telis sic manentibus, rex fecit afferri syras cytharas et cantus, et quesiiuit utrum in cantu tali delectaretur. Qui dixit, “Quomodo ego delectarer, qui uideo mortem mihi iminere?” Tunc fecit eum rex indui uestibus suis et dixit ei, “Modo responsum do tibi. Talia iii\textsuperscript{77} tela semper sunt in me, et ideo nihil possum delectari. Primum est timor mortis, secundum memoria peccatorum meorum, tertium timor Domini iudicii, quando nullus sanctus rogabit uel rogare audefit pro peccatore, quartum pena gehennalis et eius diuturnitas, ubi semper pena quasi incipiens.”\textsuperscript{78}

\textsuperscript{75}Barlaam et Josaphat, 6.41–44. This narration represents a conflation of the Apologues entitled “The king’s brother and the trumpet of death” and “The four caskets” (nos. 1 and 2).

\textsuperscript{76}“tuba” added, superscript, in another hand.

\textsuperscript{77}This appears to be a version of Barlaam et Josaphat, “The Trumpet of Death”. 
22. *Iusti non curant oblaciones malorum* [17ra 11]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Cum quidam carcerius rapuisset quandam sanctimonialem et duxisset eam, misit yenium suum inter alias oblaciones cuidam heremite uiro Dei. Quod cum ille in spiritu agnouisset fuisse suum, respondit, "Ite, et dicite ei oblacionem suam omnipotenti Deo tulisti, et mihi tuas oblaciones transmittis."\footnote{Gregorius, *Dialog.* 3.26.}

23. *Propier unius iusti meritum multi saluantur a periculo* [17ra 18]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Maximianus Syracusanus episcopus in mari laborans, aqua totam nauim implente, per mare octo diebus nauigauit, donec ad portum peruenit, et cum ipse ultimus ex omnibus exisset, statim nauis submersa est.\footnote{Gregorius, *Dialog.* 3.36.}

24. *Iusti imperando faciunt miracula quasi indignando si non fiant* [17ra 24]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum beato Paulo Simplici heremite quidam fuit presenatus se ipsum dilanians, ipse orauit ut demon hoc faciens ab eo reced<ret>. Cumque demon non recessisset, ipse quasi indignatus dixit, ex simplicitate ad Dominum, "Vere, non manducabo hodie, nisi ipsum curaueris."

   Et statim Dominus curauit eum.\footnote{Rufinus, *Hist. monach.* 31; PL 21, 459a-b.}
2. Abraam discipulus abbatis Scisci fuit temptatus a demonio et uidens eum idem senex quia cecidit, surrexit et expandit manus suas ad celum dicens, "Deus, uis non uis, non dimitto eum, nisi curaueris." Et illico curatus est frater ille.\textsuperscript{81}

25. \textit{Iustorum nomina etiam scribuntur in terris} [17ra 36]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. In Egipto quidam Piamon nomine uidit multos accedentes ad eucharistiam; dignorum nomina scribabantur ab angelo, indignorum non. Quod ipse postea cognouit ex eorum confirmacione, quando inuenit quemlibet eorum quorum nomina scripta non fuerunt in mortali peccato, set ipse tam diu ieiunauit cum aliis et orauit donec eorumdem nomina ab angelo scriberant et nominantim uocarentur ab angelo ad communionem, et tunc intellexit eorum penitenciam esse susceptam.\textsuperscript{82}

26. \textit{Iusti obliuiscentur temporalium et cibi et potus} [17rb 7]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam senior, cum uenisset ad alium seniorem in heremo, bene susceptus est ab eo et posuit in ollam paratam lenticulam pro eius aduentu, et dixerunt ut ante cibum complerent oracionem et psalmodium, quod et perfecerunt per diem et noctem continue donec illucesseret dies secunda et tunc intellexerunt quod nox transsisset, et tamen adhuc non accedentes ad cibum,

\textsuperscript{81}VP 6. 2. 14; PL 73, 1003c.

edificacionis uerba dixerunt ad inuicem, et ita obliti sunt accipere cibum temporalem, dum
spiritualem cibum acciperent.\(^\text{83}\)

27. *Iusti per humilitatem fingunt culpas ubi culpa non* <est> [17rb 18]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum fratres quidam uenissent ad Agathonem, probatum uirum magne patiencie,
uolentes experiri pacienciam eius, dixerunt quia esset superbus, et detractor, et fornicator et multa
alia. At ille dixit, "Hec omnia recognosco in me." Et percidentis in terram rogauit ut orarent pro eo.
Postea dixerunt quod ipse esset hereticus, quo audito statim contradixit; tunc omnes prostraverunt
se in terram, petentes ut diceret quare illa peccata esset confessus, et se negaret hereticum, at ille
respondit, "Alia peccata propter humilitatem sustinui, ut me crederetis peccatorem; heresim
negavi, quia hereticus a Deo est diuisus."\(^\text{84}\)

2. Cum quidam demoniacus presentaretur Appollonio abbati ut curaret eum, dixit se
indignum, et tamen ad ultimum imperauit ei ut recederet. Demon respondit, "Quod ego egredior
imperante uirute Christi, et tamen interrogo te unum sermonem, ut dicas mihi quod est scriptum
in evangelio, Qui sunt hedi et qui sunt oues." Respondit senior, "Hedi quidem iniusti sunt, inter
quos et ego sum peccator, qui multis peccatis obnoxius sum; oues autem nouit Deus qui sunt."
Tunc exclaimavit demon uoce magna, "Propter humilitatem tuam stare omnino non possum!" Et
statim egressus est ab illo quem obsederit.\(^\text{85}\)

\(^{83}\)There are two variants of this story: VP 3. 4 and VP 3. 6. PL 73, 740b-741b, 742a-c.

\(^{84}\)VP 3. 21; PL 73, 751b-752b. Translated in SDF, pp. 20-21.

\(^{85}\)VP 3. 25; PL 73, 753d-754b.
28. *Justi hic punitur, mali hic consolantur [17va 3]*

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam solitarius habitabat in heremo in Lopoleos et cum quidam frater ei min[is]trans, qui exierat ut afferret ei panem, uidit in itinere diuitem mortuam quem tota ciuitas deducebat simul cum episcopo cum lampadibus, et cum uenisset ad solitarius inuenit quia deuorasset eum bestia, et ait, "Non surgam hinc, donec Deus demonstrat mihi quare ille impius talen habuit apparatum, is uero qui Deo die noctuque seruiuit, ita pertulit". Et ecce, angelus Domini dixit ei, "Ille impius habuit paruum bonum opus in hoc seculo, et recepit hic illud ut illic nullam requiem inueniret. Iste autem solitarius, quia homo erat ornatus ad omnem ueritate, habebat et ipse ut homo modicum culpe, et recepit illud hic ut ibi inueniatur purus coram Domino". Et ita ille audito hoc glorificauit Deum quia uera sunt iudicia eius.\(^{86}\)

2. Quidam uirgo habebat patrem bonum agrorum cultorem et iustum, qui longa detentus infirmitate tandem expirauit et pre nimia tempestate uix infra tres dies corpus eius potuit tradi sepulcro, ita ut etiam omnes dicerent quod Dei fuisset inimicus, quem nec aer permitteret sepulture tradi. Habebat et matrem luxuriosam et deliciis plenam, que nunquam senserat infirmitatem, que tamen tandem mortua est, et cum maxima aeris serenitate tradita sepulture, ita etiam ut aer in exequis uidetur deducere funus eius; cogitauit ergo puella an sequeretur uitam patris an matris. Et cum decreuisset quadam nocte sequi uitam matris, quia oculis suis uiderat omnia prospera de matrem, omnia aduersa de patre, de nocte apparauit ei homo terribilis asspectu, reuoluens et dicens ei suas cogitaciones; apprehendit eam manu et deducens eam uenit ad paradisum deliciis plenum, fecundum arboribus et inenerrabili pulcritudine, ubi inuenit patrem

\(^{86}\)VP 6. 1. 13; PL 73, 995a-b.
suum, qui occurens amplexatus est eam. Ipsa uero rogabat ut maneret cum eo, qui respondit, "Si
uelles sequi uestigia mea, non post multum tempus esse uenturas ad eum." Postea uero deducta
est ut uideret matrem, et uidit eam in domo tenebrosa in fornace ardenti et picem feruentem, et
quosdam terribiles aspectu stantes super fornacem. Videns autem filiam, mater cepit clamare cum
ululatu, "Heu! Me filia; hec patior pro deliciis que habui, quia omnia sobria uidebantur mihi
delirantia; miserere mei, filia, et porrige manum tuam ut educas me. Memento doloris mei in die
parturientis te, et ne despicias me, que pereo gehenne ignis. Illa uero recusabat hoc facere propter
astantes, et rediens tandem ad semetipsam secuta est uestigia patris, conuersa ad Dominum,
narrans in multis premia iustorum et supplicia malorum, que uiderat, et effecta est religiosa.87

29. Sancti uiri imperant elementis, saxis, creaturis, et bestis [17vb 17]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quidam Honoratus nomine in Sampnia partibus super cellam suam uidit pendere molem
saxi pendentis de monte, qui ruinam celle minabatur, et facto signo crucis decidit saxum ad eius
imperium inuocato nomine Christi.88

2. Quidam in quodam monasterio Fundensi fuit religiosus ortolanus, qui inuenit sepius
oleram subita et cognouit uiam per quam fur grediebatur ultra sepem; quodam die inuenit
serpem, cui dixit, "Sequere me. Precipio tibi ut istum aditum custodias." Qui iacens in aditu
obediuit. Veniens autem fur, ponens pedem super sepem uidit serpentem et uitans eum cecidit
pendens a sepe capite demisso, quem sic pendentem inuenit ortolanus, et liberauit eum, petens

87VP 6. 1. 15; PL 73, 995c-998a.

88Gregorius, Dialog. 1.1.
eum ut de cetero sibi caueret, et dedit ei olera sufficienta.\textsuperscript{89}

3. Quidam Constantinus nomine, cum in ecclesia sua quadam die oleum deesset, lampades impleuit aqua, que arserunt cum papirione imposito ac si essent oleo replete.\textsuperscript{90}

4. Anciochena ciuitate per incuriam succensa, Marcellinus eiusdem ecclesie antistes diu podagritus fecit se poni contra ignem et extinctus est ignis.\textsuperscript{91}

5. Cum Padus inundisset, Sabinus episcopus Placentinus precepit alueo ut rediret ad locum proprium, et redit, nec ultra creuit.\textsuperscript{92}

6. In Musie prouincie\textsuperscript{93} partibus quidam Florentius imperauit urso ut custodiret oues suas, iubens eum ire et reuerti quacumque hora uolebat.\textsuperscript{94}

7. In Campanie partibus in specu quodam Martinus quidam habitabat, cui diabolus ex inuidia adiunxit serpentem socium in specu. Set ubi uir Dei non fugiens serpentem dixit, “Si licenciam [non]\textsuperscript{95} accepi ut ferias, ego non prohibeo”. Et postea serpens recessit.\textsuperscript{96}

8. In Sampine prouincia quidam Menas nomine inmanissimas bestias, que gladios non

\textsuperscript{89}Gregorius, Dialog. 1.3.
\textsuperscript{90}Gregorius, Dialog. 1.5.
\textsuperscript{91}Gregorius, Dialog. 1.6.
\textsuperscript{92}Gregorius, Dialog. 3.10.
\textsuperscript{93}In the Dialogues this story is said to have happened in Norcia, not Musa.
\textsuperscript{94}Gregorius, Dialog. 3.15. This is a very long story in the original text and it involves the death of the bear at the hands of some rather envious monks (who in tum die as a result of Florentius’ malediction).
\textsuperscript{95}deleted in MS.
\textsuperscript{96}Gregorius, Dialog. 3.16. Again, this tale is rather different from the one told in the Dialogues. In this one, the point seems to be simply that holy men are able to control the physical universe so long as they accede to God’s will. In Gregory’s version the serpent goes on a rampage and destroys the farms and viniculture of the region. It shoots fire and eats all the shrubs.
timebant, ferula sua cogebat in solitudine.  

B. In Vitas Patrum  

1. In Egipto quidam Hamon in heremo contra draconem, qui multos perimeret et puerum de nouo ad se allatum erexit oracionem, dicens, 'Perimat te Ihesus Christus, qui perempturus est cetum magnum.' Cum tamen draco simulasset se uelle deuorare eum, et statim draco effuso ueneno crepuit medius et incole lapidibus obruerunt eum.  

2. Senex quidam erat solitarius iuxta Iordanem, et ingressus speluncam propter calorem inuenit ibi leonem, et cepit leo fremere dentibus ac rugire; dicit ei senex, "Quid angustiaris? Est locus qui capiat me et te. Si ergo uis, surgens egredere hinc." Leo autem non ferens egressus est.  

C. Adiuncta  

1. Simplex religiosus disputabat cum heretico de fide Catholica cum clamosis obieccionibus. Cum simplicitas non sufficeret refragari, uir iustus dixit, "Adiuro te per uirtutem Domini quod amplius non ualeas, nec audeas contradicere ueritati, quam tibi de ipso annunciabo." Cepit ergo proponere que ille primo negauerat, dicens, "Miseri me, nonne Ihesus est consubstantialis Patri, et coeternus, et a Patre genitus ab eterno, et temporaliter a Maria uirgine?" Quo audito hereticus penitens capud inclinuit in signum confessionis, et cadens cum lacrimis ad

97Gregorius, Dialog. 3.26.  
99VP 6. 2. 15; PL 73, 1003c-d.
pedes religiosi, ueniam nutu impetrans et loquelam recuperavit.\textsuperscript{100}

2. Quidam gentilis, tenens in seruitute quodam episcopum et multos Christianos, dixit eis, "Si habetis fidem ut dicit euangelium uestrum, dicite huic monti ut transferat se in mare, liberi eritis." Episcopus respondit, "Hoc dictum est maioribus; nos minores sumus." Audiens hec faber, et querens utrum illa uerba essent in euangelio, qui nihil accipiebat coticie preter necessaria indico ieiunio et facta oracione precepit monti ut transferret se in mare, et transtulit se, et sic per ipsum omnes liberati sunt. Erat enim mons ille nociuus ciuitati.\textsuperscript{101}

30. \textit{Sancti uiri per uestes suas in humilitate mentis suscitant mortuos} [18rb 11]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Libertinus, cum iret \textless R\textgreater auennam,\textsuperscript{102} magistri sui Honorati portabat secum caligulam quocumque ibat pro reverencia, cui cum mater quedam filii defuncti cum funere obuiaret, petens ut resuscitaretur filius eius, ipse multis precibus inductus tamen dedit se in oracionem, ponens caligulam magistri sui super corpus defuncti, et suscitatus est.\textsuperscript{103}

2. In Musie prouincie partibus defuncto Eu\textless ty\textgreater chio,\textsuperscript{104} quandocumque uestis eius cum

\textsuperscript{100}See Tubach, \textit{Index exemplorum}, no. 2536, 'Heretic and theologian'; see also \textit{Tabula exemplorum}, no. 279.

\textsuperscript{101}See Tubach, \textit{Index exemplorum}, no. 3424, 'Mountain moved by prayer'. Though Tubach allows for a number of variants, the protagonist in his summary is a poor smithy. Cf. Stephanus, \textit{Tract. de div. mat.}, no. 332; Herbert, \textit{Catalogue of Romances}, p. 59, no. 4, p. 390, no. 290, p. 462, no. 103, p. 465, no. 25.

\textsuperscript{102}MS Cavennam

\textsuperscript{103}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog}. 1.2

\textsuperscript{104}MS Eurichio
precibus leuabatur ad Deum statim pluebat in maximo estu.\textsuperscript{105}

31. Sancti volunt sepulcra eorum venerari [18rb 22]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Super sepulcrum Equitii in oratorio beati Laurentii quidam rusticus posuerat cistam cum frumento, cum statim turbo archam expulit et eiecit ab ecclesia, ceteris rebus in ecclesia in sua stabilitate manentibus.\textsuperscript{106}

2. Item, cum quadam die Longebardi sequentes oratorium intrassent, idem et monachos extraxissent ut eos necarent, quidam monachus clamavit, "Sancte Dei Equitii, placet tibi ut truncemur et non nos defendas!" Et statim Longobardi a demonio sunt corrupti.\textsuperscript{107}

32. Plus nocet malis quam iuvat quod in ecclesia sepetiuntur [18rb 34]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. In Sabinense prouincia quedam sanctimonialis fuit continens, set laborans proccitate lingue, que cum fuisset in ecclesia sepulta, nocte uisum est custodi quod ipsa deduceretur ante altare, et secaretur per medium, et pars una cremabatur, altera remanebat intacta, et cum uellet hoc fratribus narrare, signum combustionis inuenit in marmoribus ante altare.\textsuperscript{108}

2. Valerius patricius in ciuitate Brixie uir leuis et lubricus sepultus est in ecclesiam beati

\textsuperscript{105}Gregorius, Dialog. 3.15.
\textsuperscript{106}Gregorius, Dialog. 1.4.
\textsuperscript{107}Gregorius, Dialog. 1.4.
\textsuperscript{108}Gregorius, Dialog. 4.53.
Faustini martyris, et beatus Faustinus apparuit custodi ut diceret episcopo, qui precium acceperat quod in ecclesia posset sepliri, quod eum ab ecclesia eiceret, alioquin ipse episcopus die tricesimo moreretur. Quod cum custos sepe monitus timuisset dicere episcopo, episcopus die tricesimo est defunctus.\textsuperscript{109}

3. In urbe Ianuensi in ecclesia beati Syri martyr sepultus Valenciarius, defensor ecclesie Mediolanensis, urir lubricus et leuis, nocte media audite sunt uoces ac si foras traheretur. Quo audito cum currissent custodes, uiderunt duos teterinos spiritus illum trahentem extra ecclesiam. Mane autem facto non inuenerunt eum in sepulcro suo, set proiectum extra ecclesiam in aliud sepulcrum.\textsuperscript{110}

4. Quidam sepultus fuit in ecclesia beati Ianuarii martyr, qui cepit clamare de nocte, “Ardeo, ardeo!” Quod custos nunciauit uxorii illius, quo cum misisset uxor, non inuenerunt corpus eius in sepulcro, set uestimenta eius intacta inuenerunt. Qua ergo ultione est dampnata, cuius est caro ab ecclesia proiecta.\textsuperscript{111}

33. \textit{De excommunicatis} [18va 24]

A. Adiuncta

1. Eugenio Papa\textsuperscript{112} per Ytalian transeunte, conquesti sunt quidam nobiles de quodam amico suo Christianam sepulturam non habente, qui habuit signa penitentie testante quodam

\textsuperscript{109}\textit{Gregorius}, Dialog. 4.54.

\textsuperscript{110}\textit{Gregorius}, Dialog. 4.55.

\textsuperscript{111}\textit{Gregorius}, Dialog. 4.56.

\textsuperscript{112}Eugenius III, 1145-1153.
diacono. Excommunicatum de terra extractum absoluit et corpus integrum in cineres est
reuelutum.\textsuperscript{113}

34. \textit{Vir iustus non compatitur parentibus uel consanguis suis contra Deum, et de nimio amore
parentum} [18va 30]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Iudex prouincie multum desiderabat uidere sanctum Pemonem, set ille ne honoraretur
ab hominibus refutauit. Iudex ergo cogitans qualiter eum alliceret ad uidendum et comprehendens
filium sororis beati Pemenis misit in carcere, ut per istam occasionem Pemen ueniret ad
rogandum iudicem, et mandauit Pemen quod educeret eum de carcere, si ipse ueniret et rogaret
pro eo. Quod audiens mater inuenis capti, iuit ad Pemenem et rogauit ut descenderet ad iudicem
pro filio eius cum ululatu et fletu, set beatus Pemen nunc hostium cellule ei noluit aperire. Tunc
illa cepit ei maledicere, quomodo tam ferrea et impiissima uiscera haberet quod fletus eius non
flecteret eum ad misericordiam. Tunc ille mandauit ei per fratrem quendam, "Aude, dic ei, 'Pemen
filios non genuit, ideo non dolet quem audiens'." Iudex dixit amicis suis ut saltem rogarent
Pemenem ut ipse epistulam iudici dirigeret pro eo. Et tandem penitencie uix inductus scripsit ut si
reus esset mortis occideretur, ut hic lueret penas; si autem non, quod fieret de eo quod leges
dictarent.\textsuperscript{114}

2. Nunciata est cuidam monacho mors patris sui. Ille ait ad eum qui nunciauerat, "Desine,"

\textsuperscript{113}Petrus, \textit{De mir.} 2. 25.

\textsuperscript{114}VP 3. 20; PL 73, 750b-751b.
inquid, “blasphemare; meus enim Pater immortalis est.”\textsuperscript{115}

B. Petrus


35. Sancti uiri non debent multum visitare consanguineos et parentes [19ra 1]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Peor heremita fuit heremo xxx\textsuperscript{a} annis et amplius, quod non uiderat consanguineos, et

\textsuperscript{115} VP 5. 1. 5; PL 73, 855b.

\textsuperscript{116} Cf. Tubach, Index exemplorum, no. 4526 "Soul in well."
soror sua misit duos filios suos ad eum ut uideret eam. Qui cum uenissent tandem ad eum, ipse noluit adquiescere peticioni sororis sue ut ueniret ad eam, quod filii indicauerunt beato Antonio abbati suo. Antonius uocauit Peorem et dixit quod iret uidere sororem suam. Tunc Peor, assumpto secum uno monacho, stetit ante fores hostii clausis oculis coram sorore ut non uideret eam. Illa proiecit se ad pedes eius nimium angustata pre gaudio. Dicit ei Peor, “Ecce, ego sum Peor, frater tuus. Vide me quantum uolueris.” Et statim reuersus est in cellulum suam.\textsuperscript{117}

2. Abbas Iohannes habuit sororem, que multum institit ut ueniret ad eam. Qui tandem inuitus uenit ad monasterium ubi ipsa degebat, et non est ei locutus, set tanquam alienum ostendit se illi, et recessit habens secum alios duos monacos in eundo et redeundo. Cum iterum sollicitaretur a sorore ut uideret eam, mandauit ei quod ipsa uidisset eum illo tempore et illo loco, et hoc deberet ei sufficere.\textsuperscript{118}

3. Quidam monachus abiit ad sororem suam ut uisitaret eam in sancta conversacione, at illa noluit eum uidere, ne propter occasionem eius ingrederetur in monasterium feminarum, set mandauit ei dicens, “Vade, domine frater, et ora pro me, prestante Deo te uidebo in futur0 seculo.”\textsuperscript{119}

4. Mater Pemen et Alnuht\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered} abbatum uenit in desertum uidere eos. Cum rogaret sibi plangens cellam aperiri, abbas Pemen respondit, “Quare plangis, cum sis etate defessa?” At illa cognita uoce filii, amplius rogauit sibi aperiri, “Quia si non uideo uos, non sum ultra mater uestra; in me lactauui uos, et audita uoce tua contremuerunt uiscera mea”. Cui abbas Pemen, “Hic nos

\textsuperscript{117}VP 3. 31; PL 73, 758b-759b.

\textsuperscript{118}VP 3. 23; PL 73, 759b-760b.

\textsuperscript{119}VP 3. 33; PL 73, 760b.
magis, an in futuro secolo uidere desideras?" At illa, "Quid ergo, si uos hic non uideor, quasi pro certo uos ibi uisura sum." Sene autem respondente quod, "Si te hic cogere poteris ne nos uideas, illuc proculdubio nos uidebis." Tunc illa cum gaudio discessit dicens, "Si pro certo uos illic uisura sum, hic uos nolo iam filii uidere."120

5. Cum quidam solitarius, Marcheres nomine, a matre et patre multas ep<isto>las recepisset, et propter hoc aliquando ad gaudium, aliquando ad tristiciam cogitacionibus impletur, timens ne mens sua a bono proposito propter earum recordacionem reuocaretur, omnes illas litteras igni concremauit ut omnium earum memoria tolleretur.121

36. Timentibus Deum nichil deest [19rb 7]

A. Adiuncta

1. Cum archidiaconus loci quadam uice uisitaret locum Mauri et preciperet propinare uinum, Simplicius monacus dixit non esse ibi nisi modicum uas cum uino quod solet pendere ad sellam. Et precepit afferri idem. Per benedictionem multiplicauit uinum, ut uas sepius ebitum sepius plenum fieret.122

37. De uirtute orationis tam pro uius quam pro defunctis [19rb 15]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. In Sampine partibus quidam Libertinus nomine carpebat iter tempore Goitorum, quem

120VP 3. 154; PL 73, 792a-c.
121VP 4. 34; PL 73, 837b-c.
122non inueni.
cum Goiti de caballo deieissent, ipse dedit eis ferulam ut multum pellerent caballum. Qui cum uenissent ad alueum, equi nullo modo voluerunt transire alueum, donec illi animaduertentes quid fecerant, redierunt et inuenerunt uirum Dei in oracione prostratum et caballum ei reddiderunt.\textsuperscript{123}

2. Eodem tempore Franci Campaniam uenientes, putantes eundem Libertinum habere multam pecuniam, diu uociferantes quesiuerunt eum in cenobio suo iacentem in oracione prostratum, et eum presentem uidere non potuerunt.\textsuperscript{124}

3. In Valerie partibus, cum quidam nomine Equicius ualde temptaretur in luxuria, remedium quesiuit continuis oracionibus. Qui nocte quadam uidit se euniuicizari angelo assistente, et post non sensit temptacionem.\textsuperscript{125}

4. Iuxta Soractem Montem, cum locus olerum deesset, Nonnosus prepositus monasterii quod in catumine montis situm fuerat, orauit ut rupes quedam caderet, que occidit, et planicies facta est ad excl\textsuperscript{<enda> olera ubi prius rupes erat.}\textsuperscript{126}

5. Alio tempore, cum lampades idem deberet accendere, una ceclidit de manibus eius et est confracta, quam ipse per partes collegit, timens furorem patris monasterii, et oracione facta ante altare inuenta est integra.\textsuperscript{127}

6. Idem Nonnosus cum oleum deesset in cenobio, uasculum fecit impleri oleo et oracione facta ante altare precepit de oleo illo fundi exigue in quodlibet uas, et claudi fecit, et sequenti die

\textsuperscript{123}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 1.2.

\textsuperscript{124}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 1.2.

\textsuperscript{125}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 1.4.

\textsuperscript{126}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 1.7.

\textsuperscript{127}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 1.7.
quodlibet uas inuentum est plenum. Et tamen cum oleum deesset, inhibuit ne monachi locarent operas suas ad colligendum oleum, ne uagarentur, cum tamen pater monasterii uellet hoc propter hoc ut ipsi sic per laborem suum deservirent.128

7. Bonefacius puer, antequam esset epicopus in Tuscia apud Ferren<...>, uidit a uulpe deferri gallinam matris sue, et facta oracione uulpes statim retulit eam ante pedes eius.129

B. In Vitas Patrum

1. Discipulus abbatis Besarionis in heremo, cum secum ambularet, dixit se multum sitire. Fecit oracionem, et dixit ei, "Bibe de mari." Et fecit sic, et facta est aqua dulcis, et cum hauriret modicum in uase discipulis ad seruandum propter sitim futuram, dixit ei Besarion, "Deus, qui hic est, et ubi est."130

C. Adiuncta

1. Quedam matrona pulcherrima et uidua, dum deberet confiteri cuidam sacerdoti monacho, dixit quod ideo accessisset quod super omnia diligeret eum et uellet ei commisceri. Sacerdos peciit induitas deliberacionis donec rediret, et abiit et prostravit se in oracionem ut recederet ab illa talis intencio, et rediens ad illam inuenit eam omnino a proposito ruintatam, cum ipsa adiunxit, "Quod prius dixeram, quia uellem tibi commisceri, adhuc non negarem, set magis

128Gregorius, Dialog. 1.7.
129Gregorius, Dialog. 1.9.
130VP 6. 2. 1; PL 73, 1000c. Translated in SDF, p. 40.
gratum habeo quid dimitt<as>.

D. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam monachus, cum sub specie boni persuasus a diabolo iret ad ciuitatem et uenderet omnia que habebat ut compararet sibi numma ut solus habitaret in heremo et nullus ei fornicacionem et postea quasi desperatus submergere in flumine, set uisitatus a Domino rediens in cellam suam obstruens <omnio ostium> celle. Et agens ibi penitenciam tandem oruit Dominum ut si fuisset misericordiam consecutus accenderetur lucerna, quod non est factum prima uice, et cum sic tribus uicibus orasset, accensa est lucerna, quam semper ipse sic accensam postea fuit oleo.  


3. Dixit Abbas Euagius, “Magnum quidem est, sine impedimento orare; maius etiam psallere sine impeditemento.”

E. Petrus

1. Quidam monachus, cum adhuc in scolis esset, singulis diebus dicebat commendacionem animarum, ita quod etiam ex neglectu scolarum sese subiecit coercioni uirgarum, quod tamen

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131 non inueni.

132 VP 5. 5. 41; PL 73, 886c-888b.

133 VP 5. 12. 2; PL 73, 941a-b. Translated in SDF, pp. 21-2.

134 VP 5. 11. 9; PL 73, 934a-b.
nullus sciuit, nisi suus consocius. Tandem eo mortuo et sepulto, cum in fine commendacionis diceretur: Anima eius et anime, "O<mnium> f<idelium> d<functorum> requiescant in pace," responderunt anime bonorum corporum in atrio illo sepultorum alta uoce, "Amen." Cum autem omnes hesitassent quare illa uox uenisset, consocus eius, cui hec commendacio animarum nota erat, retulit eis propter quod deuotius idem deinceps animarum memoriam egerunt.\textsuperscript{135}

F. In Vitae Patrum

1. Abbas Dulas uenit aliquando in cellam sui abbatis et inuenit eum stantem quindecim diebus in orationem tendentem palmas ad celum, qui dixit, "Dule, sequere me," et exierunt in heremum. Cumque Dulas dixisset se sitire, Abbas suus ab eo recessit quantum est iactus lapidis et facta oracione attulit ei uas plenum aqua.\textsuperscript{136}

2. Abbas Besarion, cum esset ei nuncium quodam ipse facta oratione transiuit fluvium, et interrogatus quomodo sentiret pedes, respondit, "Usque ad talum sentiebam aquam, reliqua autem erant solida sub pedibus meis."\textsuperscript{137}

3. Temporibus Iuliani Apostate cum iret in perfidem, missus est ab eo demon in occidentem ut adduceret ei aliquod responsum inde, et non potuit. Demon stans immobiliter x diebus, cum uenisset ad locum ubi monachus quidam habitabat qui die et nocte orabat, et reuersus demon, nunciauit Iuliano quod nihil profecisset propter oracionem illius monachi armatus est

\textsuperscript{135}non inueni.

\textsuperscript{136}VP 5. 12. 3; PL 73, 941b-c. Translated in SDF, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{137}VP 6. 2. 2; PL 73, 1000c-d. In this version of the story, however, Besarion is not identified as the protagonist.
autem monacho. Iulianus cum rediret, set interim est interemptus. Tamen quidam prefectus suus uenit ad illum monachum et factus est ibi monachus.\textsuperscript{138}

38. \textit{De eis qui exeunt chorum et festinant ab oracione uel dormiunt in choro uel non cantant}

[20ra 3]

\textbf{A. Gregorius in Dialogo}

1. In quadam abbacia Pompeiani abbatis quidam monachus non poterat stare in oratorio in oratione, set semper exiuit. Qui sepe correctus noluit emendare, set cum quadam die Benedictus uenisset ad eum corripiendum, uidit nigrum puerulum quemdam tenentem eum per fimbriam uestimenti, cumque orassent per biduum Benedictus, Pompeianus et Maurus, omnes tres tandem uiderunt illum puerulum, et beatus Benedictus monachum uerbere corripuit, et demon recessit ac si ipse esset uerberatus.\textsuperscript{139}

\textbf{B. In Vitas Patrum}

1. Qui non uult ecclesie ianuam humiliatus ingredi, necesse habet in ianuam inferni non sponte dampnatus introduci.\textsuperscript{140}

\textbf{C. Petrus}

1. In ecclesia sanctimonialium deferest quedam sanctimonialis in festo beate Agnetis

\textsuperscript{138}VP 6. 2. 12; PL 73, 1003a-b.

\textsuperscript{139}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 2. 4.

\textsuperscript{140}See VP 3. 38; PL 73, 763b-764a. See also VP 5. 18. 2; PL 73, 978b-d.
seruans se contra sollemnitate sancti Vincentii minus cantavit, et ob hoc in priori choro, ne ab aliis quasi non cantans cantetur, sessum iuit, set ea propter desidiam dormitante tantum infirmari cepit quod de uita eius desperaret. Et igitur sic dormienti et infirmanti apparuit beata Agnes tenens uirgam auream manu qua dedit ei fortem iunctum in capud, querens utrum satis adhuc luisset officium neglectum. Que euigilans totam se officio eius die illo dedit. 

D. Adiuncta


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141 non inueni.

142 non inueni. Cf. Gregorius, Dialog. 2. 4.
A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quidam Seruulus nomine diu iacerat paraliticus in lecto, semper intendens elemosinis, cui cum morienti psalmi decantarentur, ipse compescuit uoces psallencium dicens, "Tacete, tacete," inquid, "non auditis quante resonent laudes in celo?" Et statim expirauit, et maxima odoris fragrancia est secuta.\textsuperscript{143}

2. Quedam nomine Romula mire pacientie, summe obediencie, custos oris ad silencium, studiosa in oracione, diu paralitica, cum egrotaret in morte, apparuit ei primo lux magna omnibus uidentibus, et postea duo chori psallencium audiebantur ante hostium, et psalmodie cantum dicebant uiri, femine respondebant, et carne ab anima soluta, et anima ducta ad celum, quantum chori psallencium ascendebant, tanto cepit psalmodia leuius audir.\textsuperscript{144}

3. Quedam Tarsilla, amica Gregori, cum deberet expirare, clamauit "Recedite, Ihesus uenit!" Et mortua est statim, et secuta est mira fragrancia odoris. Et cum corpus sanaretur, in genibus eius inuenta est cutis indurata excreuisse more camelorum ex frequency genuflexionum.\textsuperscript{145}

4. Quedam Mose nomine beata Virgo nocte apparuit cum multis uirginibus, dicens utrum ipsa uellet in eius obsequium peruenire et cum eis esse. Respondit illa, "Volo." Cui beata Virgo, "Nihil ultra leue uel puellare ages; a risu et a iocis te abstinebis, et die tricesimo uenies in obsequium meum." Quod illa matri sue narravit, et immutata est tota in moribus. Die \textsuperscript{146} apparauit ei beata Virgo cum uirginibus, et illa cepit clamare, "Ecce, domina, uenio, uenio; ecce,

\textsuperscript{143}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 4. 15.

\textsuperscript{144}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 4.16.

\textsuperscript{145}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 4.17.
5. In domo Valeriani aduocati Romani, puer Armentarius egrotabat ad mortem mire simplicitatis et humilitatis, qui extra se factus et iterum ad se reuersus, dixit se fuisse in celo, et nominauit omnes illos qui erant cito morituri, et ut ei crederetur, dixit se nosse omnem linguam; in hoc expertum est uerum esse. Die tertio discerpit brachia sua dentibus et expirauit, et alii omnes de quibus dixerat eum protinus in morte sunt securi.  

40. Quidam in morte impetravit inducas penitendi per oraciones aliorum, quidam non [20va 8]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quidam nomine Theodorus non poterat non solum bona facere, set nec audire. Numquam se ad sancte conversacionis habitum iurando, irascendo, deridendo testabatur. Hic cum iaceret in agone clamauit, “Ecce, fratres, draconi datus sum ad deuorandum, qui propter uos me non potest deuorare; capud meum in ore suo absorbuit; date locum ut me amplius non cruciet, set faciet quod facturus sit.” Et cum ei dicerent quod signarent se signo crucis, dixit quod opprimeretur squamis eius, ita quod non posset, et tunc fratres monasterii ceciderunt in oracionem, et liberatus est, et correxit uitam.  

2. Quidam Crisorius erat avarus, tantum plenus uiciis quantum rebus, superbus, luxuriosus, avarus, qui cum iaceret in morte, uidit teterimos spiritus circumquaque se quocumque se ueret, et cum multum timeret, pallesceret et sudaret, vocauit filium ut iuuaret eum; tandem

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146 Gregorius, Dialog. 4.18.

147 Gregorius, Dialog. 4.27.

148 Gregorius, Dialog. 4.40.
illii cum iminerent ut raperent eum in infernum, clamauit, "Inducias usque mane." Et inter hae
uerba emisit spiritum.\(^{149}\)

3. Quidam monachus in Sichaonia magne estimacionis erat homo, set tamen cum
crederetur ieunare, occulte comedebat, laborans uicio ypocrisis, qui cum iaceret in morte, uocauit
fratres et confessus est peccatum suum, et dixit se datum draconi ad deuorandum, et sic
expirauit.\(^{150}\)

41. *Liberum arbitrium eius pro quo oratur iuuare debet oracionem aliorum ut exaudiantur pro
illo* [20va 35]

A. In Vitae Patrum

1. Quidam frater passus molestiam temptacionis a spiritu fornicacionis et abiit ad seniorem
ut oraret pro illo, et hoc sepe fecit. Cumque frequens oracio senioris non iuat, reuelauit
Dominus nocte seniori negligentias que erant circa fratrem, quare non exaudiretur. Vidit enim
senior monachum sedentem et spiritus fornicacionis et diuersis formis mulierum ludentes ante
ipsum, et ipsum cum eis delectari. Videbat autem et angelum Domini astantem et indignantem
grauiter contra eundem fratrem, quia non surget, nec prosternebat se in omnibus ante Deum, set
magis delectabatur in cogitacionibus suis. Cognouit igitur senior quia quod ipse non exaudiebatur
pro illo fratre, erat culpa fratris, et dixit fratri, "Impossibile est discedere a te spiritum
fornicacionis, aliis pro te orantibus, nisi tu ipse laborare assumas in ieuniis, oracionibus, uigiliis,
rogans Dominum cum gemitu. Quid enim ualet medicina medici, si eger sit inobediens, et nisi eger

\(^{149}\) Gregorius, *Dialog.* 4.40.

\(^{150}\) Gregorius, *Dialog.* 4.40.
iuuet medicum, et nisi eger abstineat a cibis noxiis?" Et hoc audiens, frater compunctus est corde, et per afflictionem corporis meruit misericordiam Dei.\textsuperscript{151}

B. Barlaam

1. Liberum arbitrium precedit, postea consilium, postea preeleccio, postea deliberacio, que est ex affliccione et delectacione preelecti, postea accusaciones. Quanto autem quis preelegit per liberum arbitrium, tanto percipiatur diuini luminis, et sicut in fontibus aquarum quedam oriuntur calide, quedam frigide, quedam dulces, quedam amare, quedam salse, quedam sulphuree, quedam largiter, quedam tenuiter, quedam de profundo set amare, quedam de alto set dulces, sicut in preeleccionibus quedam sunt ueloces et ualde feruentes, quedam torpentes et frigide, alie uicem ad bona habentes, alie ad malum, ergo iuxta effectus earum et ad accusaciones secuntur impetus.\textsuperscript{152}

42. \textit{De modo supplicandi pro treugis, uel indulgencia, uel pace} [20vb 32]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum int<er> quosdam iuxta Thebaedium regionem esset lis et contencio de finibus, Appollonius heremita interposuit, se et cum ex una parte esset quidam impediens pacem, dixit ei Appollonius, "Si mihi, o amice, acquiescer e uolueris, ad pacem rogabo Deum meum ut dimittet tibi peccata tua." Quod cum ille audisset, prouoluitus est genibus eius, et ipse heremita fecit omnes cum pace discedere et instruxit illum, qui ad genua sua preciderat, de pace et caritate, et factus est

\textsuperscript{151}VP 3. 13; PL 73, 745b-746b.

\textsuperscript{152}Barlaam et Josaphat 15; PL 73, 503a-b.
43. *De resistentibus pace* [21ra 4]

A. In *Vitas Patrum*

1. *Lis fuit exorta inter duos uicos, quorum alter fuit gentilis, alius Christianus.* Appollonius heremita uenit ad eos armatos ex utraque parte, et unum gentilem, qui capud gentilium erat, rogavit ut faceret pacem uel daret treugas, quod cum nollet, immo diceret se non daturum pacem usque ad mortem, dixit Appollonius, "Fiat," inquid, "ut optas. Nullus enim perimetur per te, et bestie deuorabunt te et uultures." Mortuus est ergo ille et occisus in conflictu, et remansit inhumatus, et totum est adimpletum quod dixerat Appollonius.154

44. *De uirtute sacre scripture* [21ra 16]

A. In *Vitas Patrum*

1. *Abbas Pemen dixit quod incantatores multi, qui incantant serpentes, non intelligunt uerba que dicunt, set serpentes audientes intelligunt et obediunt uerbis.* Ita est in sacra scriptura; quamuis enim non ualemus uirtutem diuine scripture intelligere, inde demones audientes uirtutem uerbi diuini, quod est apostolorum uel prophetarum, terrentur et effugiunt et discedunt.155

45. *Corpus Dominicum quod contigit plerumque curat* [21ra 24]

153See PL 73, col. 1172.

154VP 8. 52; PL 73, 1159d-1160a.

155VP 3.40; PL 73, 764b-c, where the saying is attributed to Abba Arsenius.
A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Agapitus Papa celebrata missa dedit se in orationem, et inposito corpore Christi in ore muti statim locutus est.\textsuperscript{156}

46. \textit{Multum ualet defunctis ac uuis oblacio hostie salutaris} [21ra 27]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quidam presbyter dioecesis Centum Cellensis solebat se lauare in balneis calidis, ubi inuenit sepiumuis uirum incognitum, qui cum discalciabat uestimenta suscepit et lauit, et omnia necessaria fecit. Cunque quadum die duas coronas oblacionum presbyter ei pro munere obtulisset, post lauacrum ipse dixit, "Panis iste sanctus est; ego de eo commedere non possum. Fui aliquando dominus loci istius, set hic sum deputatus pro culpis meis. Offer hunc panem Domino pro me, et tunc cognosce me liberatum, cum me hic non inueneris," et statim ille disparuit. Presbyter per ebdomadam continuam pro eo hostiam salutarem obtulit, et reuersus ad balneum eum non inuenit.\textsuperscript{157}

2. Quidam monachus nomine Iustus, sciens artem medicinam, in cenobio beati Gregorii Rome tres aureos occultauerat tanquam proprios usque ad mortem, quod fratri suo carnali reuelauit. Quod cum peruenisset ad aures Gregorii, precepit Gregorius quod diceretur ei quod esset abominatus a cunctis fratribus, et nullus ei communicaret, propter quod ille multum doluit et expirauit. Gregorius fecit corpus in sterquilinio extra ecclesiam sepeliri ad terrorem aliorum. Post aliquantulum tempus precepit Gregorius pro eo offerri per \textit{xxx} dies hostiam salutarem, et

\textsuperscript{156}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 3. 3.

\textsuperscript{157}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 4.57.
tricesimo die fratri apparuit dicens quid eodem die communicasset, et a purgatorio liberatus esset.\textsuperscript{158}

3. Cassius, Narmensis episcopus, solebat cotidie offere hostiam salutarem, cui dictum est per presbyterum quendam ex diuino mandato, \textquotedblleft Age quod agis, operare quod operaris, non cesset pes tuus, non cesset manus tua; in natale apostolorum uenies ad me, et retribuam tibi mercedem tuam.\textquotedblright; Qui post annos uii in die Apostolorum celebrata missa obiit.\textsuperscript{159}

4. Quidam tenebatur captius in uinculis. Uxor sua offeri fecit pro eo hostiam salutarem diebus certis; uincula illius soluta sunt, et compertum est hoc contigisse illis diebus quibus pro eo oblata est hostia salutaris.\textsuperscript{160}

5. Agatho, Ponormitanus episcopus, uolens ire Romam, cum nauis parua nauim eius sequeretur, pro tempestate ruptus est funis. Ipse peruenit in insulam hosticam; nauta uero, qui erat in parua naue, super nauim uersam fluctuabat in mari. Episcopus credidit eum mortuum et fecit pro eo quasi defuncto offeri hostiam salutarem. Et cum refecta naue uenisset ad Romanum portum, inuenit ibi nautam qui requisitus dixit quod cum super uentrem nauis uerse sederet, et iam fame laboraret, et uirtute corporis defecisset, quidam apparuit ei in mari reficiens eum pane, et ab undarum periculis per aliam nauim deducens eum ad portum, et compertum est illud eodem die et hora eadem accidisse qua episcopus in insula pro eo fecit offeri hostiam salutarem.\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{158}\textit{Gregorius}, \textit{Dialog.} 4.57 (4. 54?). Cf. \textit{Lib. ex.} 18.

\textsuperscript{159}\textit{Gregorius}, \textit{Dialog.} 4.58.

\textsuperscript{160}\textit{Gregorius}, \textit{Dialog.} 4.59.

\textsuperscript{161}\textit{Gregorius}, \textit{Dialog.} 4.59.
B. In Vitas Patrum

1. Facto bello inter duos reges, unus iuuenis miles est uulneratus, quem frater suus presbyter putabat occisum, et pro eo singulis diebus obtulit hostiam salutarem. Ipse uero miles conualuit et captus est ab hostibus uulneribus alligatis, et cum uellent eum uincere, semper soluta sunt uinclula eius, et propter suam occisionem uelut suus presbyter putabat, et pro eo singulis diebus obtulit hostiam salutarem. Ipse uero miles conualuit et captus est ab hostibus uulneribus alligatis, et cum uellent eum uincere, semper soluta sunt uinclula eius, et propter quod dedit iusiurandum ut redimeret se, et abiiit et a rege pro quo pugnauerat accepit precium redempcionis, et soluit dominis qui eum detinuerant captivum, et dixit quod semper hora tertia, quando pro eo offerebatur hostia salutaris, sepissime uinclula eius rumpebantur, et sic in patriam reedit.\(^\text{162}\)

2. Dux Sardinie Eusebius unam ciuitatem construxerat, ubi pro defunctis de omnibus suis redditiis ibi misse celebrarentur. Et cum quodam uice inter ipsum et Eustrargium, ducem Sicilie, bellum committeretur, Eustrargius cepit eandem ciuitatem, et Eusebio volente confugere contra illum, apparuit candidatus exercitus iuuans Eusebium, intimans Eustrargio cum minis quod iuuaret Eusebium. Unde ipse territus omnia restituit Eusebio et duplum, et cum quereret Eusebium qui essent, dixerunt quod essent anime defunctorum qua Eusebium per suas elemosinas et missas salutares liberauerat a penis.\(^\text{163}\)

C. Adiuncta

1. Filius cuiusdam Iudei, frequentans studia Christianorum, die Pasce cum aliis Christianis pueris suscept corpus Domini sub specie panis, quo facto rediens dixit hoc patri suo cum gaudio.

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\(^{162}\)See VP 8. 103; PL 73, 1191b-1192b.

\(^{163}\)See Fortunatus Pictaviensis, Vita s. Hilarii a Fortunato scripta 1. 5; PL 9, 187d-188b.
Ille motus fecit rogum, in quem proiectit puerum. Alii autem inuenientes puerum uiuum quesiuerunt quis eum custodiret; per clamorem matris hoc aliis perciperant. Respondit puer quod quedam mulier similis illi quem teneret puerum in basilica in quam susceperat panem cum aliis pueris. Et ita cognouerunt quod beata Virgo custodierat eum. Patrem in ignem combuserunt, matrem autem cum filio baptizauerunt et alios multis iudeos; hoc accidit in orientali parte, in ecclesia beate Marie. 164

2. Quidam sacerdos, cum missam pro defunctis more solito celebraret et diceret in fine, "Requiescant in pace," anime responderunt, "Amen." 165

3. Quidam assidue dicens officium pro defunctis, cum cepisset matutinorum laudes et dixisset, "Exultabunt sancti in gloria," anime responderunt in cubilibus suis. 166

4. Cuidam religioso, sicut mos est, multe missae sunt inuncte fieri, quibus non solutis mortuus est. Venerunt anime ad eum debitum exigentes. Ipse uero concessit pro eis missas celebrari quas fratres ei debebant, et apparuit uni de fratribus, rogans ut pro eo alie celebrarentur. 167

5. In Vasconia quodam fratre circuente cimiterium in ueste sacerdotali, cum aspersorio suo secunda feria mane, cum tota parochia sua, corpora mortuorum apparuerunt extra sepulcra

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165 Cf. Tubach, Index exemplorum, no. 4546, ‘Souls in cemetery say Amen.’


167 See BL (BM) Addit. 27909B no. 6: “Dead priest transfers his death masses to others”
porrectis manibus ut susciperent aquam benedictam, qua accepta retractis manibus sepulcra claudebantur ut prius cemento sigillata. Hoc factum est sepius secundis feriis tota paroquia uidente, tandem precepta diocesanus ut per totam ebdomadam simile celebraretur officium, quod factum est. Set non sunt mota sepulchra usque in diem lune, et propter quod statutum est ut singulis secundis feriis illud renovaretur.168

6. Quidam miles consueuerat descendere de equo et genibus flexis orare pro defunctis. Cum quodam die fugassent eum inimici, uenit ad cimiterium; ibi flexis genibus more solito orauit. Tunc omnes defuncti surrexerunt ei in adiutorium, quilibet cum armis suis, sacerdotes cum stolis suis, milites cum armis suis, et sic de singulis. Quod uidentes inimici sui, pacem fecerunt.169

47. Ut libenter missa audiatur [21vb 33]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam Helenus heremita, ueniens ad alios fratres, audiuit ab eis quod paterentur defectum misse in die Dominico propter defectum sacerdotis, qui non audebat uenire ad eos trans flumen propter cocodrillum ibi manentem. Heremita uenit ad flumen et adducens sacerdotem, cum insedisset dorso cocodrilli in reditu, etiam cum sacerdote insedit dorso cocodrilli, et uenerunt ad missam, et precepit cocodrillo et mortuus est.170

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169 Cf. Tubach, Index exemplorum, no. 1464, ‘Return of dead: b) Dead aid benefactor,’ and Caesarius, Dial. mir. 2. 49.

170 VP 8. 59; PL 73, 1167c-1168a. Translated in LDF, pp. 90-91.
48. *De indigne sumentibus eucharistiam* [22ra 4]

A. In Vitae Patrum

1. Beatus Macharius heremita uidit de fratibus quibusdam, qui cum deberent in altari sumere corpus dominicum, diaboli in specie Ethiopum porrigebant eis carbonem in manu et corpus domini rediit ad altare, et hos censebat indignos. De aliis uidit quod cum deberent sumere corpus Domini, demones recesserunt cum tremore, et angeli sancti supponebant manus suas manibus sacerdotis, et hos censebat dignos.¹⁷¹

B. Petrus

1. In Pictauia apud castrum Liziniacum quidam presbiter inmundicie carnis deditus divina semper conficiebat sacramenta. Qui cum infirmaretur, adiit ad eum Prior Bone Vallis. Nocte autem ipso clamante, "Ecce duo leones iam me decerpunt, iam me consumunt," per oracionem prioris recesserunt. Iterum peracto spacio clamauit, "Ecce ignis de celo, qui me iam consumit inundans ut torrens, adiuua me, ora pro me." Et statim per oracionem prioris ignis recessit. Postea cum raptus esset transacto spacio extra se rediit ad se ipsum dicens, "Ha, ha, ad iudicium eternum raptus sum, et heu miser eterna morte damnatus, traditus sum eternis tortoribus cruciandus, et ecce ignita sartago plena adipe quam ad me frigendum undique ministri succendunt." Cumque prior uellet orare pro ipso ut prius, ait ille, "Cessa orare pro me; nullatenus exaudieris." Et dum hec loqueretur, gutta uisibiliter de illa quam dicebat sartagine exiliens in manu eius priori uidente cecidit, et cutem et carnes usque ad intima ossis consumpsit. Exclamauit autem, "Ecce iam me mittunt in sartaginem cum lintheo in quo iaceo." Et sic mortuus est, et mane traditus sepulture, et

¹⁷¹Rufinus, *Hist. monach.* 29; *PL* 21, 455a-b.
post aliquid dies aperto tumulo fossa quam fecerat gutta prenuncia damnnacionis inuenta est in cadauere illius. Hec autem non uidit ille presbiter damnnatus per se, set ad instruccionem demonstrans quam reuerenter diuina mysteria sunt tractanda.\footnote{Petrus, De mir. 1. 25. 5.}

49. \textit{De eucharistia} [22rb 3]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam senex magnus in uita dixit corpus Christi in altare esse non in ueritate, set in figura, qui dum redargueretur ab aliis duobus senibus super hoc orauit, tam ipse quam ali duo, ut super hoc ueritas ei ostenderetur. Et cum quadam die sederent in missa, uiderunt ille tres tantum puerulum iacentem super altare, et angelum Domini habentem cultrum in manu eius et secantem puerulum, et presbiterum recipientem sanguinem in calicem, quando presbiter frangebat speciem panis, et cum presbiter frangeret in modicis partibus, etiam angelus Domini secabat in modicis partibus, et data est illa seni incredulo soli caro sanguine cruentata, qui timens clamauit, "Credo, quia uera caro et sanguis tuus in altari est." Et statim corpus Christi factum est sub specie panis, et ipse sumpsit illud.\footnote{VP 5. 18. 3; PL 73, 978d-980a.}

2. Quidam sacerdos Plegius nomine, frequentiter celebrans missam ad corpus sancti \textit{<Nyni>} episcopi et confessoris, roguit Dominum ut ostenderet ei uerum corpus quod lateret sub specie panis in altari, non quia esset incredulus, set propter desiderium uidendi. Et cum quadam uice propter hoc iaceret in oracione, dixit ei angelus, "Ecce Christus. Pertracta eum manibus, uide oculis." Tunc sacerdos accepit puerum trementibus ulnis et pectus proprium Christi pectori iunxit,
dans ei osculum, ponens in altari, cadens in terra ac humiliter petens ut dignaretur recipere
pristinam formam speciem panis, et sic Deus exaudiuit eum in utroque.\textsuperscript{174}

B. Adiuncta

1. Quidam sacerdos conscius mortalis peccati in quo erat, qui dormierat cum
sanctimoniale, quando uoluit in altari communicare, disparuit corpus Christi, quod indignis
manibus tractauerat. Alia die uoluit illud sanctificare et idem contigit, unde tremens ac dolens ad
episcopum Rodonensem, de cuius diocesis erat festinabat, cui confessio post iniunctam
penitenciam absolutam, precepit idem episcopus in eadem capella missam celebrare, ipso episcopo
et quodam monacho Cisterciensis ordinis presentibus, aliis remotis. Et dum ipse canone uellet
hostiam sumere, uisa est triplex forma panis astantibus, et sacro uiatrico reflectus est, et sic
defectus duorum dierum est suppletus.\textsuperscript{175}

2. Quidam rotarius, cum esset ad missam, non poterat uidere corpus Domini, set
excecabatur quando illud extollebatur, et postea accepit crucem Domini et uidit.\textsuperscript{176}

C. Petrus

1. In Auernico territorio rusticus quidam, sperans de consilio sortilegiorum, sumpsit more
Christianorum corpus Dominicum in os in ecclesia, et illo in ore detento accessit ad aluearia apum

\textsuperscript{174}See PL 73, 991a-992b.

\textsuperscript{175}See Petrus, De mir. 1. 2. Cf. Odo of Cheriton (in Herbert, Catalogue of Romances, p. 399) and BL
(BM) Addit. 27909B no. 21: "Host vanishes three times from sinful priest..." (Herbert, Catalogue of
Romances, p. 465).

\textsuperscript{176}non inueni.
suarum et per unum foramen expuere uoluit illud in aluearium, credens apes propter hoc multiplicari. Set iuxta tamen foramen decidit super terram, unde omnis multitudo apum egressa, illud uidente rustico de terra subleuauit et infra uas detulit. Rusticus paruipendet et ad negotia sua diuertit, tandem cogitans se nequiter egisse, aqua superiecta omnes apes necauit, et dum fauos respiceret et rimaretur, ecce conspicit Dominicum corpus quod eius ore lapsum fuerat in formam speciosissimi pueruli uoluti, cum recens nascitur immutatum, inter fauos et mella iacere. Rusticus, territus quia uidebat puerulum quasi exanimem, uoluit eum in manibus suis delatum occulte iuxta ecclesiam tumulare, set puerulus statim de manibus eius elapsus est et disparuit, et non longe post locus ille est populosus uario casu habitatore perente in solitudinem redactus est. 

2. In Bello Monte, qui est in Gabilonensi episcopatu, quidam monachus Gerardus, in die circumcisionis in basilica beate Virginis celebrans missam, ante prolacionem Dominice oracionis uidit puerulum loco hostie se more infancia gestientem brachis et manibus, et in latere altaris mulierem ipsum reuerenter obseruament, et angelici decoris uirum mulieri et sacramentis astantem. Gerardo, admiranti quid hic esset, ait angelus, "Quid miraris? Hic puer, quem conspicis, celum et terram gubernat." Hiis dictis celestis uisio abscessit, et ille postea non cernens, nisi speciem panis et uini, celestia sacramenta deuotus impleuit.

3. Cuidam fratri in suo lecto iacenti apparuit demon terribilis per concauitatem aurium emittens, igneam habens linguam ac promittens fratrem lingua lingendo consumpturum; fratre turbato, ecce quidam sanctus frater Gerardus apparuit et demonem sibi subpeditauit in tantum stringendo ut capud eius quasi cacabus inflaretur, et lingua eius quasi aratrum terram scinderet.

177 Petrus, De mir. 1. 1. 1.

178 Petrus, De mir. 1. 8. 115.
Ait autem Gerardus ad fratrem, "Si uis ab hoc demone liberari, facies quod dico tibi. Vade ad abbatem, et dic ei ut aduocet quendam fratrem fabrum, et inquirat ab eo si unquam de fide corporis Christi dubitauerit, et quid ei super hoc diuinitus sit ostensum." Frater ille respondit se hoc facturum, et statim Gerardo dispensante frater est ab infestacione demonis liberatus.

Consurgens frater, hec abbati retulit. Abbas, aduocans fabrum illum, quesuuit utrum unquam de fide sacramenti altaris dubitasset, qui respondit, "Dubitaui," inquit, "set institi beate Virgini ut me ab illa temptacione liberaret, et non post multos dies, cum starem ante maius altare maioris ecclesie, ecce puerulus quidam insidens altari precipiebat me accedere ad eum, et cum ei appropinvassem, ut panem sanctum quem manu pretendebat ore susciperem, ammoniebat quod, ut expleui, adiecit, 'accipe et me,' ait, 'et in brachiis tuis per huius ecclesie spacium defer.' Quod et feci, et postea ab omni sum liberatus temptacione". 179

50. Abstinendum est a cohitu tempore peregrinationis uel oracionis [22vb 27]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quedam matrona, cum iret ad dedicationem beati Sebastiani, nocte precedente se non potuit abstinere a uiro, et cum mane esset ecclesiam ingressa, malignus spiritus arripuit nurum eius,180 que cum traderetur maleficis ad curandum, legio malignorum spirituum est ingressa, et cum prius sacerdos ecclesie indignus uellet eam curare, cooperiens eam syndone, malignus spiritus

179Petrus, De mir. 1. 8. 254.

180Wiger seems to have confused the characters of the matron and her daughter-in-law. In the Dialogues, it is the daughter who sins and the daughter who bears the brunt of the sin.
arrripuit; tandem tradita est Fortunato Tutentine ecclesie episcopo, et curata est.\textsuperscript{181}

51. \textit{Vota sunt reddenda} [22vb 37]

A. Adiuncta


\textsuperscript{181}Gregorius, \textit{Dialog.} 1.10.
52. *Cum quis temptatur a luxuria uel a peccato puniat carnem uel deformet* [23ra 24]

A. Gregorius in *Dialogo*

1. Quadam die, cum beatus Benedictus solus esset, diabolus in specie mulieris uoluit iuxta eum, ita ut manu capi posset, set facto signo crucis euanuit, et statim maxima est carnis temptacio secuta, quia tantum cepit cogitare de quadam feminâ quam uiderat quando ut uix in eius pectore flamma se caperet, ita ut etiam heremum egredi cogitaret. Set tandem ad se reuersus, misit se nudum inter sentes, et exiit uulneratus, et cessuit temptacio.\(^{183}\)

B. In *Vitas Patrum*

1. Abbas Zenon, cum proficisceretur ad Palestim, uidens cucumeres concupiuit. Set ipse sibi cogitacione respondit quod esset facturum. Unde dixit, “Fures suspenduntur patibulo. Probabo igitur utrum possim illam penam sustinere, que eis debetur.” Et per quinque dies flixit corpus suum in estu ad solem, et tunc dixit, “Quia non possum sustinere tormenta, oportet me non facere futrum, set magis uiuere de labore manuum meaurum.”\(^{184}\)

2. Quidam frater, inpugnatus in heremo plurimum a spiritu fornicacionis, cogitare cepit plus laborare solito ut extenuaretur carnalis sensus eius. Et erat ille frater arte figulus, et fecit ex

\(^{182}\)Cf. Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, no. 975, ‘Children devoted to devil by mother’ and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 504, no. 6, p. 570, no. 162.

\(^{183}\)Gregorius, *Dialog. 2. 2.*

\(^{184}\)VP 3. 7; PL 73, 742c-d. Translated in SDF, pp. 66-67.
luto effigiem mulieris, et dixit cogitacionibus suis, "Ecce, uxor tua; necessum est ergo ut magis labores, ut modo duobus prouideas, tibi et uxori." Et post paululum temporis iterum formavit effigiem ex luto, quasi esset filia sua, et dixit, "Ecce, uxor tua genuit tibi filiam; necesse ergo ut modo plus labores, quia oportet te modo prouidere tribus in uictu et uestitu," et pre nimio labore macerauit corpus suum, et uix posset sustinere. Tunc dixit, "Quia si non preuales istum laborem sustinere, nec mulierem requiras." Videns autem Dominus propositum mentis eius feruens, abstulit ab eo spiritum fornicacionis temptantem. 185

3. Quidam frater interrogavit abbatem Pemenen, dicens, "Quid faciam, quia inpugnat me spiritus fornicacionis, et rapior in passione furoris?" Respondit senior, "Ideo utique propheta Dauid dicebat, 'quia leonem quidem percuciebam, nam et uisum frequenter suffocabam.' Hoc autem ita intelligitur quia furorem abscldebam ab animo meo; fornicacionem autem in laboribus affligebam." 186

4. Mulier quedam dixit iuuenibus quibusdam de quodam solitario nominatissimo, "Quid mihi uultis dare, et ego eiciam illum solitarium?" At illi constituerunt ei precium, que egressa uespere uenit in cellam eius quasi errans, et cum ploraret et quereretur quod a bestiis esset deuoranda, et quasi errando illuc uenisset. Ipse tandem misertus est eius, recepit eam in cellam. Cepit autem diabolus inflammare cor eius in libidinem, quod cum senex sentiret, dixit sibi ipsi, 'Qui talia agunt, in tormentum ibunt. Proba ergo si possis sentire eternum ignem,' et mittebat singillatim omnes digitos in lucernam, quod cum uix sensit propter concupiscentie ardorem, et ita fecit usque mane, et illa uidens quid faciebat, effecta est uelud lapis pre timore. Mane facto

185VP 3. 15; PL 73, 747b-c.

186VP 3. 16; PL 73, 747c-d. Translated in SDF, p. 184.
uenerunt iuuenes quibus ille narravit quid factum esset, ostendens digitos. Et cum senex crederet eam dormire, inuenerunt eam mortuam, et ipse facta oracione suscitauit eam.\textsuperscript{187}

5. Quidam iuuenis, cum cogeretur a quodam ad ampexus mulieris, factus est ei lectus in orto amenissimo inter lilia et rosas et laquei de blandis serralibus, ne posset inde recedere. Et uenit ad eum meretrix speciosa, tractans uirilia sua manibus, amplexans eum ac osculans, et cum iuuenis non posset amplius ferre uoluptatem, celtus inspiratus precisam mordicans linguam in osculantis faciem expuit, et sic libidinem succidens dolorum magnitudo occupauit.\textsuperscript{188}

C. Petrus

1. Episcopus loci, cum tempore sacrificii uidisset beatam Benedictam in faciem motus misit post missam ut loqueretur ei, tandem precipiens auctoritate episcopali ut ueniret ad eum. Illa per spiritum cognoscens episcopi voluntatem, in secreto loco abscedit omnes capillos. Venit ad episcopum, cui cum episcopus in secreto loco loqueretur, primo de utilibus et postea de carnalibus, illa uoluit eum remouere ab amore illicito, uelum de capite deposuit, ostendens detrunccacionem capillorum. Hoc uiso recessit amor illicitus ab episcopo, et laudauit eam pontifex, ex hoc gracias agens Deo, quod per hoc ad puram anime eius dileccionem magis post modum succenderetur quam prius ad illicitum amorem corporis eius.\textsuperscript{189}

2. Quidam iuuenis effectus monachus patre defuncto de licentia abbatis iuit ad matrem, visitans eam et leniens dolorem eius, et multa conferens de spiritualibus. Qui cum de nocte

\textsuperscript{187}VP 5. 5. 37; PL 73, 883d-884c.
\textsuperscript{188}VP 6. 1. 15; PL 73, 995c-998a.
\textsuperscript{189}non inueni.
collocaretur in lecto iuxta ignem, puella formosa, que in die oculos proiecerat in ipsum, surgens se coniunxit uestibus elevatis lateri dormientis. Quod sentiens iuuenis, se super prunas ardentibus proiecit, set Deus eius affectum circa se asspiciens illesum ab utroque igne seruuit. Mane ualedicens matri rediit ad claustrum. Contigit autem mori abbatem suum, set de eleccione abbatis tale diuinitus capitulum recepit reponsum, "Illum Deo donante eligite uobis, qui inter duos ignes collocatus non est combustus". Tandem per priorem loci omnes sub interminacione excommunicacionis sunt coacti ut si quis huius facti conscium se sciret, illud saltem secreto confiteretur. Ille uero expauescens, hoc confessus est priori, et sic assumptus in abbatem sancte uiuens postmodum et religiose. 190

D. Adiuncta

1. Quidam scolaris quadam nocte temptabatur de luxuria, et cum maximum esset frigus, ipse statim discooperuit se, et in illo frigore obdormiuit sic discooperitus. Quando autem euigilauit, inuenit se optime coopertum. 191

53. *Vitanda est familiaritas mulierum* [23vb 8]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Cum quidam presbyter egrotaret usque ad mortem, presbytera sua quam diu habuerat ut sororem et dilexerat, uolens experiri utrum uitalis flatus in eo esset, aures superposuit naribus eius, quod ille sentiens collectis uiris ait, "Recede a me, mulier; adhuc igniculus uiuit, paleam

190 non inueni.

191 non inueni.

B. In Vitas Patrum

1. Frater quidam duxit ad flumen matrem suam iam senem iter agens, et cum non posset uetula transire, frater inuoluit manus suas pallio matris sue, ne continget aliquo modo corpus matris, et ita portauit eam ultra flumen. Querente ergo mater quare ita fecisset, dixit, “Quia corpus mulieris ignis est, et ex eo ipso quod te contingebam ueniebat mihi commemoratio aliarum feminarum in animo”.\footnote{VP 5. 4. 68; PL 73, 873b.}

reuersus.194

C. Barlaam

1. Quidam rex genuit filium unicum, de quo dixerunt medici, quod si infra decem annos solem uidere, cecus efficeretur. Rex autem per decennium fecit eum claudi in spelunca, quibus finitis fecit ei ostendi de omnibus ornamentis, secundum genus suum, et fecit eum egredi de spelunca. Et erant in uno loco uiri, in alio mulieres, ibi aurum, hic argentum, et sic de singulis rebus formosis et delectabilibus, et nominata sunt ei singulo secundum genus suum ad eius interrogationem. Cum autem inquireret anxie de mulieribus, quidam dixit iocose eas esse demones que seducunt homines. Et cum reductus ad regem requiretur ab eo quid magis ipse desideraret super omnia que uidere, dixit, "Demones que seducunt homines." Et miratus est rex quod tam tirannica res est amor mulieris et species.195

54. De secundis mptiis [24ra 18]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quedam puella Galla nomine, Simachi patricii filia, uiro suo defuncto magis elegit fieri sanctimonialis quam redire ad amplexus uiriles. Cui dictum est a medicis quod nisi rediret ad amplexus uiriles, ex calore nimio esset barbas contra naturam habitura, quod et ita factum est. Set ipsa inde non curans, quadam nocte uidit beatum Petrum, cui dixit, "Domine, dimissa sunt mihi peccata mea?" Respondit, "Dimissa, ueni." At illa ait, "Rogo ut soror Benedicta ueniat mecum."

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194VP 5. 5. 35; PL 73, 883b-c.

195Barlaam et Josaphat 30; PL 73, 561d-562c.
Ac ille, "Non. Set illa talis ueniet, set illa pro qua petis die xxx° est te secutura." Et sic factum est.\textsuperscript{196}

55. \textit{Quilibet quam diliget qualis sit mortua penset} [24ra 29]

\textbf{A. In Vitas Patrum}

1. Spiritus fornicacionis temptabat quendam fratrem in heremo Sicie de quadam muliere sibi nota. Cumque quidam frater usitacionis gratia ueniret ad ipsum, et diceret eandem mulierem esse defunctam, predictus frater, qui temptabatur nocte, ruat ad sepulcrum eius, et aperit illud, et de pallio suo tersit saniem putredinis eius, et reuersus ad cellam suam ponet illum fetorem ante conspectum suum et dicet cogitacionibus suis, "Ecce habes desiderium tuum quod querebas; saciate ex illo." Et sic cruciabat se donec cessaret illa sordissima cogitacio et impugnacio.\textsuperscript{197}

56. \textit{De custodia oculorum} [24rb 2]

\textbf{A. In Vitas Patrum}

1. Ascendit presbyter de Cichi ad episcopum Alexandrum, et cum reuersus interrogaretur quomodo facta est ciuitas. Respondit se nullius hominis in tanta multitudine uidisse, nisi solum episcopum. Dixit enim, "Extorsi faciem meam, ne intuerer faciem hominis." Et mirati sunt.\textsuperscript{198}

2. Monachus occurrit ancillis Dei in itinere, quibus uisis diuertit extra uiam, cui dixit


\textsuperscript{197}VP 5. 5. 22; PL 73, 878d-879a.

\textsuperscript{198}VP 5. 4. 55; PL 73, 871b.
abbatissa, “Tu, si perfectus monacus esses, non respiceres sic nos ut cognosceres, quia femine eramus.”199

3. Quidam senex, cum deberet rigare ortum, tegebat de cuculla sua faciem suam, quid uidentes quidam querebant quare hoc faceret. Respondit, “Ne uiderent oculi mei arbores, et occuparetur mens mea ab opere suo in consideracione earum.”200

4. Ad Marcum discipulum Siluani abbatis in Scithi uenit mater Marci ut uisitaret eum, cumque abbas uidisset eum exire ad matrem, ipse stetit coram matre clausis oculis, uestitus sacco, tinctus fumo et fuligine coquine et salutavit matrem, et eos qui cum ipsa uenerant, et nemo eis cognouit eum et introiuit in cellam, et cum iterum mater instaret ut uideret eius filium, ipse respondit abbati roganti eum exire, “Exiui secundum uerbum tuum, set rogo ne ultra iubeas me exire, ne uidear tibi inobediens.” Egressus senex dixit matri quod uidisset eum, et consolata est.201

B. Adiuncta

1. Quidam abbas oculum amisit, unde monachi multum doluerunt et flerunt. Interrogante abbat quare flerent, utrum de amisso oculo quam de retento, responderunt quod de amisso. Ait abbas: "De amisso, nunquam flendum est, quia uno inimico minus habeo quam prius. Notum quod usuarii non habent oculos in capite, set in archa; ebrii in cipho, et sic de aliis. Unde multi putant uidere que non uident."202

199VP 5. 4. 62; PL 73, 872b-c.

200VP 5. 11. 28; PL 73, 937a-b.

201Cf. VP 5. 14. 6; PL 73, 949a-c.

202Cf. Tubach. Index exemplorum, no. 12, 'One-eyed abbot blessed,' and Caesarius, Dial. mir. 7. 11. In Caesarius' version, the abbot is blessed by the Virgin.
57. De castigatione [24rb 35]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Duo seculares facti monachi castrauerunt se, habentes zelum Dei, set non secundum scientiam, propter quod episcopus eorum excommunicauit eos. Ipsi intimauerunt causam episcopo Ierosolimitano et ipse etiam excommunicauit eos. Postea ipsi intimauerunt causam Antiocheno episcopo, qui etiam excommunicauit eos. Post intimauerunt causam Romano pontifici, qui etiam excommunicauit eos. Postea dixerunt, “Omnès isti concordant, propter quod consilium ad quod congregari solent, eamus ad sanctum urum Epiphanium episcopum Cipri.” Et cum uenissent ad ciuitatem in Cipro, episcopus per reuelacionem sibi ostensam precepit ne ipsi intrarent ciuitatem. Quod cum illi audissent, tunc primo dixerunt se culpabiles, quia ille tanquam propheta scierat aduentum eorum. Tunc episcopus Cipri misit post eos et penitentes suscepit in communionem, et misit eos ad episcopum Alexandrie tanquam penitentes ut recipieret eos, quoniam in ueritate penitentiam egerunt.203

58. De casto coniungio [24va 14]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Duo patr<es> rogauerunt Deum ut ostenderet eis mensuram in quam possent deuenire. Quibus responsum est, “Non dum ad mensuram illius mulieris Marie, que est in Egipto, cuius maritus est Eucharistius, peruenistis.” Illi autem uenientes ad eos, quesiuierunt de statu eorum, qui tandem dixerunt rogati multum, “Oues habemus a parentibus nostris, et quicquid Deus nobis ex eis donauit, facimus inde tres partes, unam partem pauperibus, aliam in susceptionem

203VP 5. 15. 88; PL 73, 968a-969a.
peregrinorum, tertiam partem ad usum nostrum; ex quo autem contraximus, neque ego pollutus
sum, neque ipsa, set uirgo est, et singuli a nobis remoti dormimus, nocte induimus sassos, in die
uestimenta nostra, et hec nemo hominum nouit usque nunc.” Illi autem hoc audientes
glorificauent Deum. 204

B. Petrus

1. Apud Auerinium fuerunt duo, uir et uxor, qui per uotum secretum numquam fuerant
commixti. Vir factus est clericus, ipse religiosa. Cum uxor mortua esset, supulcro conderetur, ait
uir, “Gratias ago tibi, Domine omnium, quia sicut eam mihi commendare dignatus es, ita tibi eam
reddidi, ab omni voluptatis contagione inpollutam.” Ac illa subridens ait, “Sile, uir Dei, quia non
est necesse ut fatearis nostrum nemine interrogante secretum.” Post hoc obtecta opertorio
recessit. Post modicum tempus, uir sepultus est non longe ab ea in basilica. Mane autem facto
inuenta sunt pariter sepulcra que usque hodie sic perdurant, iccirco adhuc [uictiose] nunc duos
amantes uocant et summo uenerantur amore. 205

C. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam Mal<ch>us nomine, cum de religione causa uisitandi parentes exiret, captus est
in uia cum aliis uiris multis et mulieribus. Dominus autem prefecit illum captiuum Malchum gregi
pascendo, et cum fideliter ei seruiuisset, dominus, uolens eum remunerare, dedit ei quandam
captiuum, cuius maritus uiesbat, et cum ille cogeretur ad amplexus eius, uterque uouit castitatem

204 VP 6. 3. 3; PL 73, 1006a-c.

205 non inueni. Cf. Gregorius Turonensis, Lib. de gloria b. confess. 32; PL 71, 852b-c.
et fuerunt simul ita ut omnes crederent eos commisceri. Postea uero communicato consilio aufugerunt, et dominus insecutus est eos super camelum. Ipsi uero fugerunt in speluncam, et cum dominus insequeretur eos ut occideret, leena ueniens de spelunca deuorauit eum, que postea tollens catulum de spelunca, detulit illum illis uidentibus, ac si eis cederet hospicium, et illi postea ascendentes camelum revrsi sunt in suam regionem, et religiose usque ad finem uite sue in cella uixerunt, et ipse dilexit eam ut sororem, non tamen credidit ei ut uxor.206

59. De baptismo [24vb 20]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. In Portuensi ciuitate quidam nomine Mellitus, iacens in egritudine, cum solacium acciperet ab aliis de uita, respondit tempus sue mortis aduenisse. Nam dixit sibi apparuisse iuuenem ante multa tempora deuerentem epistolae et dicentem, “[Tempta], et lege.” Quibus apertos dixit quod se et omnes qui in paschali tempore a Felice, eiusdem ciuitatis episcopo, fuerant baptizati scriptos in eiusdem epistolae litteris aureis inuenit, et eadem die mortuus est ipse, et infra paucos dies omnes alii.207

60. De fructu patiencie in temptatione [24vb 29]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Discipulus cuiusdam senioris inpugnabatur a spiritu fornicacionis, quod ipse reuelauit seniori, cui senior: “Si uis, o fili, rogabo Dominum ut auferatur a te.” Cui discipulus: “Video, et si

206 This story appears to be a retelling of St. Jerome’s Vitae Malchi, PL 23, 53a-60b.

207 Gregorius, Dialog. 4.27.
laborem sustineo, sentio tamen in me bonum fructum proficere, quia per occasionem huius
inpugnacionis amplius insisto uigiliis, ieiuniis et oracionibus, set tu ora ut Deus det mihi
perseueranciam sustinendi et certandi legitime."\textsuperscript{208}

2. Quidam inpugnatus sepius a spiritum fornicacionis tociens id dixit seniori. Senior
semper docebat pacienciam, adiungens: "Fili, ne abscondas cogitationes tuas; ita enim confusus
immundus spiritus discedit a te. Nihil enim ita confundit et allidit uirtutem demonum quomodo si
quis secreta immundarum cogitationum reuelauerit sanctis ac beatissimis patribus." Quo audiente
fratre, confortatum est cor eius in Domino.\textsuperscript{209}

61. \textit{De paciencia et humilitate in conuiciis uel uerberibus} [25ra 7]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Duo germani simul manebant in cella, et diabolus uolens eos excitare ad iurgia extinxit
lucernam quam maior frater posuerat super candelabrum, propter quod senior frater percussit
minorem cum furore, set iunior prostratus in terram clamauit, "Magnanimis esto, domine, et ego
rursus accendo lucernam." Et statim propter humilitatem diabolus discessit ab eis. Et eadem nocte
diabolus retulit hec principi demoniorum, quod propter humilitatem eius qui iacuit prostratus in
terram non potuit preualere, et ideo multum torqueretur. Quod audiens sacerdos idolorum, retulit
fratribus et baptizatus est et comfortatus in Domino, et dicebat se sepe audiuisse a demonibus
colloquentibus, quia quando ad iracundiam succendunt corda hominum, si quis sustinuerit
pacienter iniuriarum conuicia et conuersus magis rogauerit ea que ad pacem sunt, dicens, "Quia

\textsuperscript{208}VP 3. 8; PL 73, 742d-743a.

\textsuperscript{209}VP 3. 9; PL 73, 743b-d.
ego peccau," statim sentiunt omnem uirtutem eorum marcescere, quia approximat eis gracia diuine potencie.\footnote{VP 3. 18; PL 73, 748c-749b.}

2. Duo fratres simul habitabant in cellula, quorum pacienciam uolens uir quidam sanctus probare, uenit ad eos, et bene susceptus est ab eis, et uidens uortum olerum, baculo fere destruxit omnia olera, set illi duos fratres non sunt moti propter hoc. Set compleentes uespertinam oracionem adorantes eum, dixerunt, "Domine, si uis, ibimus et preparabimus caulem qui remansit, quia iam hora est commedendi." Tunc sanctus ille uir adorauit eos, laudans humilitatem ac pacienciam eorum.\footnote{VP 3. 23; PL 73, 752c-753a.}

B. Barlaam

1. Rector passionum est animus pius.\footnote{non inueni.}

C. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum quidam frater ueniret ad abbatem Sisosium et diceret ei quod uellet se uindicare de quodam fratre de contumelia, dixit abbas Sisosius, "Deus, iam non es nobis <necessarius>, ut pro nobis sis sollicitus, quia nos ipsi, sicut frater <iste> dicit, et uolumus, et possumus nos uindicare." Quod cum frater audisset, penituit.\footnote{See VP 3. 77; PL 73, 774a-b.}

2. Quidam frater, quantum plus eum aliquid irridebat aut iniuriabatur, tanto plus ille
concurrebat ad eum dicens, "Isti sunt qui nobis occasionem prebent ad profectum; scriptum est enim "Quoniam hii qui beatificant uos, decipiant uos."²¹⁴

3. Alius quidam senex festinabat suum iniuriatorem, si uicinus ei erat, remunerare; si elongatus, transmittebat ei munera.²¹⁵

4. Quidam frater interogauit abbatem Sisosium, "Si barbari super me irruerint, uolentes me occidere, suntne occidendi?" Cui senex, "Non facias, set totum Deo com<m>it<t>e, et quicquid tibi aduersi contigerit, proficere tibi hoc euenire propter peccata tua."²¹⁶

5. Tres philosophi fuerunt amici, quorum unus moriens, alii reliquid filium suum commendatum, qui adulterauit uxorem eius, qui cognito missus est foras a philosopho, et noluit eum recipere philosophus nisi ille esset tribus annis inter illos dammpnatos qui in flumine metallā deponunt. Cui reuerso post tres annos, iterum dicit philosophus, "Nec adhuc tibi indulgeo, nisi aliis tribus annis dederis mercedem hiis qui te iniuriis et conuiciis affligant." Quod cum complessset, philosophus recepit eum, et duxit eum ad ciuitatem Atheniensium, ubi in porta sedebat quidam senex omnes ingredientes affligentes expeieriendi causa, quod cum iuuenis conuiciatus audisset, risit. Cui senex, "Quid est quod agis? Ego iniurio, et tu rides?" Cui iuuenis ait, "Et non uis ut rideam, cum tribus annis mercedem dederim ut hoc paterer quod hodie?" Cui senex, "Ingredere in ciuitatem, quia dignus es." Hoc referebat abbas Iohannes dicens, "Hec est porta per quam patres nostri per multas iniurias et tribulaciones ingressi sunt ciuitatem Dei."²¹⁷

²¹⁴VP 3. 80; PL 73, 774c.
²¹⁵VP 3. 81; PL 73, 774d.
²¹⁶VP 3. 82; PL 73, 774d.
²¹⁷VP 3. 84; PL 73, 775a-c. For a variant, see VP 6. 4. 12; PL 73, 1017a-c.
6. Interrogantibus quibusdam fratribus, hortatus est abbas Moises discipulum suum Zachariam ut eis aliquid diceret; tunc ille pallium suum deposuit subitus pedes suos, et conculcuit illud, dicens, "Nisi sic quis fuerit conculcatus, monacus esse non potest".\(^{218}\)

7. Quidam frater requisit abbatem Ysaac dicens, "Abba, quare te monones ita timent?" Respondit, "Ex quo factus sum monachus, statui apud me ut iracundia mea foris guttur meum non procederet, et ita timent me monones.\(^{219}\)

8. Quidam senex uenit ad abbatem Achillum, et uidit eum sanguinem expustem, et requisit quid hoc esset. Ille respondit: "Sermo erat cuiusdam fratis, qui me contristauerat, et repugnavi ut non illum dicerem, set petui Dominum ut tolleretur a me, et factus est ille sermo sanguis in ore meo, et postquam expui illum, requieui, set etiam ipsam tristitiam et ipsum sermonem sum oblitus."\(^{220}\)

9. Quidam senex, cum requireretur quomodo sustineretur uoces quorumdam pastorum tota die se obiurgantium inuicem, respondit, "Si parum hoc non porto quomodo, si maior mihi euenerit temptacio, portabo? Et ideo nihil eis dico, ut sit mihi consuetudo portandi, quia qui linguam suam non tuerit in tempore ire, nec passionem carnis sue aliquando poterit cohibere.\(^{221}\)

10. Duo senes erant in una cella, qui numquam habuerant litem inter se. Dixit ergo unus, "Faciamus litem inter nos, et ponamus laterem in medio, et uterque dicat quod suus est, quia nescimus quid sit contencio." Et cum positus simul later, et unus diceret, "Quia meus est." Alter

\(^{218}\)VP 3. 86; PL 73, 775c-d.

\(^{219}\)VP 3. 89; PL 73, 776a.

\(^{220}\)VP 3. 90; PL 73, 776b.

\(^{221}\)VP 3. 91; PL 73, 776b-c.
respondit, "Ego spero meum esse." Cum autem primus diceret, "Non est tuus, set meus." Tunc ille respondit, "Et si tuus est, tolle illum." Et sic inuenerunt materiam litigandi.\textsuperscript{222}

11. Cum beatus Macharius oraret, uox insonuit ad eum, "Non dum ad mensuram duarum mulierum peruenisti, que pariter habitant in proxima ciuitate." Cumque quiesisset Macharius intrans ciuitatem conversacionem earum ab ipsis, dixerunt quod erant uxorres duorum fratrum et per quindecim annos simul extiterant, nec unquam aliquam earum aliam uerbo aut facto contristauerat, et statuerunt hoc in corde, ut usque ad mortem inter se uerbum seculare non loquerentur, et libenter intrarent simul religionem, si eis liceret a maritis.\textsuperscript{223}

12. Quedam virgo, effecta per stuprum grauida, inposuit illud crimen abbati Machario. Cumque Macharius a parentibus puellae per semitas subsannatus et flagellatus, suspensis uasis fictilibus ad collum suum, noluerunt dimittere eum, donec ipse certitudinem faceret eis quod pasceret puellam, qui tunc fuerit cepit laborare dicens, "Forcius laborabo vel pascam uxorem meam." Et cum tempus partus puellae auenisset, non poterat parere; tunc ipsa cognoscens hoc esse penam peccati, dixit quod falso hoc inposuerat Machario, set quidam iuuenis uicinus inpregnasset eam. Quo comperto Macharius, timens ne nouitate huius miraculi ueneraretur ab hominibus, statim ab illo loco discessit.\textsuperscript{224}

13. Quidam senex in Sichi quotiens aliquid requirebat ab abbate Iohanne, breui statim rediens obliuiscebatur, et cum multis uicibus ita fecisset, tandem iterum uenit ad eum, dicens se fuisse oblitus illius quod ei dixerat. Et ne molestus ei esset, ideo eum non uitasse, dixit ei

\textsuperscript{222} VP 3. 96; PL 73, 777d-778a.

\textsuperscript{223} VP 3. 97; PL 73, 777a-c.

\textsuperscript{224} VP 3.99; PL 73, 778d-779c.
Iohannes, "Accende lucernam, et alias lucernas accende ex ea." Et fecit sic, et dixit Iohannes, "Sicut nec lucerna lesa est, quia ex ea alias accendisti, et nec Iohannes leditur, si tota Sithia ueniat ad me, nec impedit me a caritate Dei." Et ita per pacienciam utrorumque Deus abstulit obliuionem a sene.\textsuperscript{225}

14. Abbas Anub et abbas Pastor simul manebant. Erat autem in templo statua lapidea, quam per ebdomadam unam abbas Anub lapidabat in faciem. Vespere autem dicebat, "Igosc mihi." Requisitus autem ab abbate Pastore quare hoc faceret, cum fide homo non ita deberet facere. Respondit, "Quando lapidabam eam, locuta estne aut furiuit?" Respondit, "Non." Et ille dixit, "Quando penitenciam egi, responditne, non. Igosco." Respondit, "Non." Et ille dixit, "Ergo et nos debemus fieri sicut statua hec, que contumeliis effecta non perturbatur."\textsuperscript{226}

15. Cum episcopus ordinasset abbatem Moysen in clericum, apponens ei superhumerale, dixit ei, "Ecce, factus es candidatus." Ille respondit, "Putas a foris, domine, uel intus?" Et ulens episcopus eum probare, dixit clericis ut quando ingrederetur ecclesiam, expellerent eum, et audirent quid dicereb. Et fecerunt sic, et expulerunt eum, dicentes, "Exi, Ethiops!" Et ille dixit, "Bene tibi fecerunt <cinerente>\textsuperscript{227} et cac<\textsuperscript{c}>abate, qui cum homo non sis, quare te in medio hominum dare presumpsisti?"\textsuperscript{228}

16. Senex interrogavit abbatem Nisteronem quomodo acquisiuiisset hanc uirtutem, ut quando emergeret aliqua tribulacio in monasterio non loqueretur, neque se medium faceret.

\textsuperscript{225}VP 5. 11. 15; PL 73, 934c-935a.

\textsuperscript{226}VP 5. 15. 11; PL 73, 955c-956b. Translated in SDF, pp. 32-33.

\textsuperscript{227}MS cremose

\textsuperscript{228}VP 5. 15. 29; PL 73, 959d-960a. Translated in SDF, p. 139.
Respondit, "Quando factus sum monachus, dixi in corde meo, tu et asinus unum estote, sicut asinus uapulat et non loquitur. Unde in Psalmo, 'ut iumentum factus sum apud te, et ego semper tecum'."\textsuperscript{229}

17. Dixit abbas Orsius, "Cruda tegula, si mittatur in flumen, statim dissoluitur; cocta non ita, et homo habens carnalem sapienciam, qui non est temptationis igne decoctus."\textsuperscript{230}

18. Antonius, cum esset a diabolis cesus et multum exteritus diu in pacientia certaret, tandem uidit Dominum consolantem, et dixit ei Antonius, "Domine bone Ihesu, quare me dereliquisti, et quare non ab inicio te mihi ostendisti, ut dolores et uulnera mea sanares?"

Respondit Dominus, "Antoni, hic eram tecum, set exspectabam videre certamen tuum et fidem, et quia non es superatus, ero semper tibi in auxilium, et faciam te in omni terra nominari."\textsuperscript{231}

62. \textit{De cogitationibus tolerandis uel non [26ra 20]}

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. De cogitationibus fornicacionis interrogatus abbas Sirus Alexandrinus, ita respondit, "Si cogitaciones non habes, opera habes, quia qui cogitacione aduersus peccatum non pugnat, nec contradicit, corporaliter peccat. Qui enim corporaliter peccat, cogitacionum molestias nullas habet."\textsuperscript{232}

2. De cogitacione fornicacionis dixit quidam senex, "Esto uelud qui transit per plateam aut

\textsuperscript{229}VP 5. 15. 30; PL 73, 960a-c. Translated in SDF, pp. 55-56.

\textsuperscript{230}VP 5. 15. 51; PL 73, 962d-963a.

\textsuperscript{231}\textit{Vita Antonii} 9; PL 73, 132c-133a.

\textsuperscript{232}VP 5. 5. 5; PL 73, 875c-d.
tabernam, et capitis cumque odorem cocture aut alicuius assature, et qui uult ingreditur et manducat, qui autem non uult odoratus est tum atque preterit. Ita et tu excute a te fetorem. Surge et ora, dicens, "Domine, fili Dei, adiuua me." Non enim sumus eradicatores cogitationum, set luctatores contra ipsas. 233

3. Abbas Loth dixit abbati Ioseph, "Abba, secundum uirtutem meam facio modicum ieiunium, orationem, meditacionem et quietem, et secundum uirtutem meam studeo pugnare cogitaciones meas; quid faciam de cetero?" Surgens, Ioseph extendit manus suas in celum et facti digiti eius uelud decem lampades ignis, et dixit, "Si uis, efficeris totus uelud ignis." 234


63. De correctione per egritudinem [26rb 6]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum quidam peteret a Iohanne heremita ut a tertiana sanaretur, respondit, "Rem tibi necessariam cupis ab <i>icere; ut enim corpora nitro, ita anime languoribus et castigacionibus purificantur." Et tamen dedit postea oleum benedictum, et sanatus est. 236

2. Quidam senex infirmanti discipulo dixit, "Ne contristeris ex infirmitate uel plaga

233 VP 5. 5. 16; PL 73, 877b.

234 VP 5. 12. 8; PL 73, 942a. Translated in SDF, p. 103.

235 VP 6. 4. 14; PL 73, 1017d-1018a. Translated in SDF, p. 183.

236 Rufinus, Hist. monach. 1; PL 21, 394a-d.
corporis. Si enim ferrum es, eruginem per ignem amittis; si uero aurum es, per ignem probatus a
magnis ad maiora proueheris.237

3. Quidam senex, cum frequenter infirmaretur, per annum unum nullam sensit
infirmitatem, et propterea flebat grauiter dicent, “Reliquisti me, Domine, et noluisti me presenti
anno uisitare.”238

4. Cum cuidam seni offerentur in infirmitate pultes, ut sibi expedirent in infirmitate,
respondit senex, diu intuens eos, “Vere dico uobis, quia uellem quod Deus permetteret me esse in
hac infirmitate alios xxx annos,” et respuit omnem cibum.239

B. Adiuncta

1. Quidam miles rogauit quemdam sanctum uirum ut a morbo hiraret eum per preces
suas, set ab eodem audito quod ineiior esset in egritudine et deuocior quam in sanitate, dixit, “Oro
Dominum ut seruet te in statu in quo magis humiliaris.”240

64. Memoranda sunt nouissima et eterna tormenta [26rb 29]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. In Egipto quidam fuit Mutius, omnium flagiosissimus in furtis et uiolandis sepulcris,
qui conversus ad Dominum factus est heremita habens discipulum adolescentem, qui adolescens,

237VP 3. 157; PL 73, 792d-793a. See also VP 5. 7. 16, where the saying is attributed to Syncleticas.

238VP 3. 158; PL 73, 793a.

239VP 5. 4. 65; PL 73, 872d-873a.

240non iueni.
cum uideret Mutium sepelientem mortuum et adaptantem uestes, ei ait, "Velem ut me mortuum, ita sepelires et indueres, magister." At ille respondit, "Ita faciam, et ita te copiose induam, donec dicas sufficit." Post parum tempus, defunctus est adolescens et Mutius, induens eum uestimentis, ait ad eum mortuum, "Sufficiunt tibi hec uestimenta tua?" Qui obuelata facie, et reuuiuiscens respondit, "Sufficit, pater. Implesi quod promiseras." Et sic adolescens statim est sepultus; alii obstupuerunt ex miraculo.\textsuperscript{241}

2. Frater quidam dixit seni, "Quid facio? Occidit me sordida cogitacio." Senex dixit, "Mulier, quando uult ab lactare filium suum, amarum aliquid superungit uberibus suis, et cum uenerit infans ex consuetudine suggere lac, sentiens amaritudinem, refugit. Mitte ergo in cogitacionibus tuis et tu amaritudinem." Dicit ei frater, "Que est amaritudo quam debeam mittere?" Respondit, "Cogitacionem mortis et tormentorum que in futuro seculo peccatoribus preparantur"\textsuperscript{242}

B. Adiuncta


\textsuperscript{241}Rufinus, Hist. monach. 9; PL 21, 423c-424a.

\textsuperscript{242}VP 5. 5. 30; PL 73, 881c-d.
pater compunctus intrauit monasterium, conferens ei bona sua. 243

2. Quidam ciuis Parisiensis audierat a magistris quod bonum erat memorari nouissima. Quod cum aliquando esset oblitus, fecit parari ferculum in thalamo suo et sepissime illud ferculis implebat, et postea ibi pauperes collocauit ut comederent. 244


65. De causis irascendi [26vb 1]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dixit quidam senex, “Ira per has quatuor res exurgit: per cupiditatem avaricie, dandum et accipiendum; et si quis propriam sententiam amans, ut nec satis bona, nec satis mala cuiquam appareat, defendit, et si quis se uult honoribus dignum [sublimari], et si quis doctorem esse velit, plus omnibus sapientem sperans. Ita etiam per hec quatuor sensus obscurat: si odium habuerit


245Bishop of Toulouse, 1205-31. Fulques was a troubadour who converted to the Cistercian order.

homo contra proximum suum, aut si pro nihilo duxerit, aut si ille inuiderit, aut si [demonstrauerit] detractauerit. Ideo autem passionis huius retribucio quattuor modos habet: primum ex corde, secundum ex facie, tertium ex lingua, quartum ex facto. Si ergo potuerit quis ita portare malum ut non ingrediatur cor, non peruenit usque ad faciem. Si autem uenerit in faciem, custodiat ne loquatur. Quod si locutus fuerit, uel hoc custodiat ne reddat in facto, set mox incidat. Tres enim gradus hominum sunt in passione ire, nam qui uoluntarie nocet aut iniuriatur, et parcit proximo suo, hic secundum naturam Christi est. Qui autem nec uedit, nec ledi uult, hic secundum naturam a Deo est. Qui uero uouet ut iniuriatur, aut calumnpniam ingerit, aut usuras exigit, hic secundum diabolum est.247

B. Barlaam

1. Quidam archisatrapas elegit uitam heremiticam. Qui cum uocatus esset a domino suo rege in die, et requisitus quare tantas diuitias et iocunditates quales cum ipso habebat et habere poterat reliquisset, respondit, “Si rationem a me uis audire o rex, inimicos tuos de medio pretorii tui eice.” Dixit rex, “Quis sunt inimici mei?” At ille ait, “Ira et concupiscencia. Nam cum ira uel concupiscencia sint in rectis hominibus cooperatoria nature, in eis qui toti sunt carni quasi contraria nature facta sunt. Nam concupiscencia in eis operatur et incitat uoluptatem; ira uero destruit.248

66. Ubiue uie causu nec locu sanctificat hominem sed uita [26vb 34]

247VP 3. 76; PL 73, 773d-774a.

248Barlaam et Josaphat 2; PL 73, 448a-c.
A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam frater, dum in cenobio frequenter ad iram moueretur, iuit in solitudinem, ut non haberet ibi causam irascendi. Cumque quadam die in spelunca sua uas implesset et posuisset in terra, subito uersum est et secundo et tertio impletum iterum uersum est. Unde ipse iratus confregit illud. Tandem ad se reuersus cogitauit se deceptum a spiritu iracundie, et dixit, “Ecce, solus sum, et tamen ab iracundia superatus sum; reuertar ergo in cenobium, quia ubique pugna est, et patiencia, et maxime Dei auxilium.” Et reuersus est in locum suum.249

67. De virtute humilitatis et humilitate [27ra 7]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam secularis, cum iret ad abbatem Sisosium cum filio suo paruulo causa percipiende benedicionis, mortuus est puer in uia, quem pater fideliter portauit ad senem, tam se, quam puerum proiciens in terra more postulancium benedicionem oracione perfecta, ac recedente patre puer remansit, quem cum senex crederet iacere causa orandi, dixit ei, “Surge fili, et egredere.” Egresso puero, pater enarrauit ei totum quod acciderat stupefactus. Abbas autem tristis effectus precepit ne hoc alicui reuelaretur ante mortem suam.250

2. Dum quidam secularis uexaretur spiritu immundo et nollet adorationem alicuius egredi, fratres timentes ne, si ducerent eum ad abbatem Besarionem, ille propter humilitatem nihil uellet facere, posuerunt eum tanquam dormientem in uia per quam abbas Besarion solebat ad ecclesiam uenire, et ueniente abbate dicunt ei, “Abba, suscita istum qui dormit.” Et abbas dixit, “Surge et

249VP 3. 98; PL 73, 778c-d.

250VP 3. 120; PL 73, 783a-b.
egredere foras.” Et statim recessit malignus spiritus.251

3. Diabolus occurrit beato Machario cum falce preacuta, uolens eum percutere, palmarum folia diluculo portantem et exclamans, dixit, “Magnam uim a te patior, Machari, et cum tibi uelim nocere non ualeo, dum quecumque tu facis, ego magis operor. Ieiunas interdum, ego semper; sepe tu uigilas, ego semper. Una re uinsis me.” Requisitus ergo a Machario sepius quo uinceretur, respondit, “Humilitas tua sola me uincit.” Et statim orante beato Machario diabolus euauit.252

4. Quemdam ex senibus monachum heremitam homo quidam malo spiritu correptus, et spumans, fortiter in maxilla percussit. Senex mox prebuit alteram. Diabolus, non sufferens incendium humilitatis eius, statim recessit.253


7. Quidam frater, quando recogitabat multa bona, ille temperans uicia cogitacionum reuocabat humiliter culpas suas ante se, dicens, “Ubi sunt omnia peccata illa que feci?” Si autem

251VP 3. 121; PL 73, 783b-c.
252VP 7. 13. 6; PL 73, 1036c.
253VP 3. 125; PL 73, 784b-c.
254VP 3. 129; PL 73, 784b-c.
255VP 3. 191; PL 73, 801a-b.
in cogitacione eius ascenderet, quia multa neglexeris de mandatis Domini, dicebat intra se: "Quia exhibeo hoc paruum servicium Deo, spero quod faciet mecum misericordiam." Postea apparuerunt ei demones dicentes, "Turbati sumus a te, quia si te exaltamus, recurris ad humilitatem; si vero te humiliamus, te erigis in altum." 256

8. Abbas Arsenius rogabat Dominum, "Domine, non me derelinquas, quia non bona feci coram te, set presta mihi, secundum benignitatem tuam, bene uiuendi principia." 257

9. Abbas Arsenius interrogabat quendam rusticum de cogitacionibus, et cum super hec redargueretur quia esset in Greca et Latina eruditus et magne erudicionis, respondit, "Latinam et Grecam erudicionem, quantum ad seculum, comprehendi; set alphabetum istius rustici non dum discere potui." 258

10. In Babilonia erat filia cuiusdam primarii demonium habens. Cumque inuenissent discipulum quendam senum uendentem sportellas, duxerunt eum in domum, ut quasi acciperet precium sportellarum, et uenit puella a demonio uexata, dans ei alapam ille prebuit, et aliam ei. Demon autem coactus clamauit, "O uiolentia. Mandata Iesu Christi expellunt me hinc." Et statim mundata est puella. 259

11. Abbas Mochois ordinatus in sacerdotem numquam fuit ausus consecrare corpus Christi post suam ordinacionem, propter humilitatem non reputans se dignum. 260

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256 VP 5. 14. 14; PL 73, 950c-d.
257 VP 5. 15. 5; PL 73, 953c-d.
258 VP 5. 15. 7; PL 73, 953d-954a.
259 VP 5. 15. 14; PL 73, 956c-957a.
260 VP 5. 15. 27; PL 73, 959b-d.
12. Frater dixit Abbati Sisos, "Video me ipsum quia memoria mea ad Deum intenta sit". Cui senex, "Non est hoc magnum, ut mens tua cum Deo sit; magnum est autem, si teipsum sub omni uideos creatura. Hoc autem et labor corporalis corrigit, et adducit ad humilitatis uiam." 261

13. Ihesu filio Naue, cum pronus iaceret in terra, apparuit Deus. 262

14. Quidam senex perfectus uirtutibus orauit Dominum, "Ostende mihi, Domine, quid est perfecti anime et facio." Et cum requireret consilium a quodam alio sene de hoc, ille per reuelacionem respondit, "Vis facere quicquid dico tibi." At ille, "Volo." Et dixit, "Vade et pasce porcos," et fecit sic. Et cum alii uiderent eum pascentem porcos, dixerunt quod esset factus fatuus et Dominus respiciens humilitatem eius reuocauit eum postea in locum suum. 263

15. Frater interrogauit senem, "Quid est humilitas?" Ille respondit, "Fugiat, eligens taciturnitatem." 264

16. Quidam frater peregrinus, cum uenisset ad commedendum cum fratribus, fratres expulerunt eum tanquam ignotum. Et cum alii fratres rogarent ut reuocaretur, propter scandalum reuocatus est. Et cum requiretur quid haberet in corde suo quando expulsus esset, respondit, "Posui in corde meo, quia essem equalis cani, qui quando sectatur, foras egreditur; quando autem uocatur, regreditur." 265

17. Cuidam fratri apparuit diabolus transformatus in angelus lucis dicens, "Ego sum

261 VP 5. 15. 47; PL 73, 962c-d.
262 VP 5. 15. 57; PL 73, 964a.
263 VP 5. 15. 52; PL 73, 963b-c.
264 VP 5. 15. 63; PL 73, 964c.
265 VP 5. 15. 64; PL 73, 964d.
Gabriel, et missus sum ad te." Ille respondit, "Vide ne ad alium missus sis; ego non sum dignus ut angelus ad me mittatur." Diabolus uero statim disparuit.  

18. Quidam frater ieiunuit septuaginta ebdomadas, petens a Deo ut reuelaret ei de quodam sermone sanctarum scripturarum, et cum non fuisset ei reuelatum, exiit ad quedam fratrem ut requireret ab eo, et in itinere obuiauit ei angelus dicens, "Septuaginta ebdomadas quas ieiunasti non te fecerunt proximum Deo. Nunc uero, quia ita humiliatus es ut ad fratrem pergeres, missus sum tibi indicare sermonem." Et docens eum angelus sermonem, recessit ab eo.

19. Dixit senex, "Volo magis uinci cum humilitate, quam uincere cum superbia."  

20. Dixit senex, "Quia si quis dicat alicui ignoscere mihi humilians se, conburit demones temptatores."  

21. Dixit senex, "Nisi uelaret pastor oculos animalis ad molam circumeuntis, convertaret se alius et comederet labores suos. Ita nos non uideamus bona que facimus, nec benificemus ne perdemus ea. Propterea autem relinquur aliquando sordidas cogitaciones assumere, ut cum eas asspicimus, nos ipsos proprio iudicio condemnemus. Hee enim cogitaciones sunt uelamen ipsius modici boni operis."  

22. Dixit senex, "Non doceas ante tempus, alioquin omni tempore uite tue minoraberis

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266VP 5.15.68; PL 73, 965c-d. This is similar, though not identical, to the miracle told to Caesarius of Heisterbach by Wiger.

267VP 5.15.72; PL 73, 966a-b.

268VP 5.15.74; PL 73, 966c.

269VP 5.15.78; PL 73, 967a.

270VP 5.15.80; PL 73, 967a-b.
intelle~tu~u.

23. Dixit senex [hoc esse substantiam] omnibus, ut non attendat quis aliena peccata, set sua semper aspiciat et deprecetur sine intermissione Dominum.272

24. Dixit senex, “Non habeas noticiam cum abbate, neque frequenter adiungas te ei; quoniam ex hoc fiduciam sumes, et desiderare incipes ut teneas etiam ipse primatum”.273


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271 VP 5. 15. 81; PL 73, 967b.
272 VP 5. 15. 82; PL 73, 967b-c.
273 VP 5. 15. 85; PL 73, 967c-d.
274 VP 5. 15. 88; PL 73, 968a-969a.
edificati philosophi dimiserunt eum.\textsuperscript{275}

27. In quodam monasterio feminarum erat quedam femina in coquina in omnibus seruiens, simulans se non bene sanam, tollerans omnium iniurias, et ieunans, nihil commedens nisi de reliquis ollarum, numquam irata. Reuelatum est autem sancto Piotherio de illa, qui cum uenisset ad monasterium illud, fecit uocari omnes feminas illas, et uocate sunt omnes preter illam. Ipse autem non uidens illam interfuisse secundum reuelacionem que ei per signum notabile facta fuerat de ipsa, dixit adhuc aliam deesse. Cui cum dicerent quod quedam non bene sana esset adhuc in coquina, iussit eam uocari. Qua uocata et uisa, cecidit ad pedes eius, et illa conuersim ad pedes eius cecidit, et mirantibus aliis mulieribus super hec, ipse dixit eam esse omnibus aliis meritis maiorem, et etiam se ipso. Et cum omnes mulieres dolerent quod quedam earum ipsum cecidissent alapis, alie nares ipsius inpleuissent sinapi, alie sordibus uasum eam perfudissent, ipsa fugiens gloriam recessit ab eis.\textsuperscript{276}

28. Cum quidam senex uenisset ad alios fratres, ipsi compassi labori eius obtulerunt ei modicum uini, et adduxerunt eum hominem habentem demonium. Cepit autem demon clamare, “Ad istum portatorem uini me adducitis.” Et senex propter humilitatem nolebat eum eicere. Propert improperium uero eius dixit, “Credo in Deum, quia priusquam finem faciam bibendo calicem istum egredieris.” Et cum cepisset senex bibere, clamauit demon dicens, “Incendis me.” Et antequam consumasset bibens, exuit ab eo demon per gratiam Dei.\textsuperscript{277}

\textsuperscript{275} VP 5. 16. 16; PL 73, 972b-c.

\textsuperscript{276} VP 5. 18. 19; PL 73, 984a-985b.

\textsuperscript{277} VP 6. 2. 16; PL 73, 1003d-1004a.
29. Dixit senex, "Si quis portat peccata sua, non uidet peccata proximi sui". 278

30. Dixit abbas Pimisius, "Humilitas his indiciis comprobatur: si sit mortificatio
voluntatum; si non celauerit cogitaciones et accusacionem seniori; si nihil suo iudicio et sue
discrezioni committit, set senioris; si in omnibus seruet obedienciam et patienciam; si nulli fit
injuriam, set pacienter illatas tolerat; si nihil agat preter regule exempla; si ad omnia que sibi
iubentur uelud operarium reputet se inutilem uel indignum; si se inferiorem cunctis pronunciet; si
linguam cohibeat, et non sit clamosus; si non sit facilis aut promptus in risu." 279

31. Dixit senex, "Stulticia est homini habenti mortuum suum, relictos eis abire et flere
mortuum proximi sui". 280

68. Nemo presumat insidere equo cui insedit papa [28rb 10]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Gotthorum temporibus, dum Iohannes papa281 iret in Chorintum ad Iustinianum
imperatorem, concessus est ei quidam equus ad equitantum ut eum remitteret matrone cuius erat.
Ipse autem perfecto itinere remisit equum matrone, qui noluit tolerare deinceps aliquem
insidentem. 282

278 VP 6. 4. 3: PL 73, 1014d.
279 VP 4. 31; PL 73, 836a-b.
280 VP 6. 4. 7; PL 73, 1015b-d.
281 Pope John I (523-6).
282 Gregorius, Dialog. 3. 2.
69. *De una gloria* [28rb 17]

A. In Vitae Patrum

1. Quidam frater requisitit abbatem Pemenem si melius est remocius quam cum aliis manere. Respondit abbas, "Homo, si se ipsum reprehendit, ubique potest consistere, si autem se magnificat, nusquam stat." 283

2. Quidam senex dixit, "Sicut fieri non potest ut herba simul nascatur et semen, ita impossible est ut laudem et gloriam secularium habentes simul etiam et fructum faciamus celestem." 284

3. Item, "Sicut <h>esaurus manifestus cito minuitur, ita et uirtus quelibet deperit publicata. Nam sicut cera a facie ignis soluitur, ita et anima per laudem resoluta perit ab intencione sua." 285

4. Quidam frater dixit seni, "Ego iam mortuus sum huic seculo." Cui senex, "Non confidas in temetipso donec egredieris de corpore, nam et si tu dicas quoniam 'Mortuus sum,' diabolus nesciendum mortuus est." 286

5. Cum quidam senex in spelunca requiescens rogaretur multis precibus a quodam seculari sibi ministrante ut ueniret oracionem facturus super filium suum defunctum, et ille iret ad funus, occurrerunt multi cum lampadibus in occursum eius, quia sanctus homo erat, quod cum sentiret senex, simulauit se stultum, expolians se, mittens uestimenta sua in flumine, et stans nudus sanans

283VP 3. 110; PL 73, 781b.

284VP 7. 13. 2; PL 73, 1036a.

285VP 3. 114; PL 73, 781d.

286VP 3. 116; PL 73, 782a.
se. Secularis autem, qui ministrabat seni, erubuit, dicens populo, "Reuertimini; senex noster perdidit sensum suum." Et ueniens ad senem, quesiuit quare hoc fecisset, quia omnes dicerent demonium habet senex. Cui senex respondit, "Et ego hoc uolebam audire." 287

6. Dixit Abbas Pastor quia homines ad loquendum perfecte uideri uoluunt et in operando id quod loquuntur minores sunt. 288

7. Interrogabant Abbas Aimonas Abbatem Sisor dicens, "Quando lego scripturas, uult cogitacio mea ornare sermonem ut paratus sim ad interrogata respondere." Cui senex, "Non est opus, set magis de puritate mentis prouide tibi securitatem et dicendi sermonem. 289

70. De primatu in ordine [28va 14]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Duo fratres facti sunt monachi, quorum iunior primo factus est monachus, et cum senex quidam ueniisset ad monasterium, iunior frater uoluit ei lauare pedes; senex uero remouit eum et fecit fratem maiorem natu implere opus illud. Et cum dicerent ei astantes quia ille iunior in conversione primus est, ille respondit, "Ego tollo primatum minoris, et trado ei qui etate precedit." 290

B. Barlaam

287VP 3. 118; PL 73, 782b-d.

288VP 5. 8. 14; PL 73, 908a-b.

289VP 5. 8. 16; PL 73, 908c.

290VP 5. 10. 113; PL 73, 932d.
1. Iosaphat ait: "Maximam potestatem accipiens datorem potestatis iuxta possibilitatem debet imitari."291

71. De quiete animi [28va 25]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Abbas Arsenius, cum adhuc esset in palacio, roguit Dominum dicens, "Domine, dirige me ad salutem." Et uenit ei uox dicens, "Arseni, fuge homines et saluaberis." Et cum discederet ut monachus orauit eundem sermonem, et iterum uox ad eum, "Arseni, fuge, tace, quiesce." Hec enim sunt radices non peccandi.292


291 Barlaam et Josaphat 36; PL 73, 589c.
292 VP 5. 2. 3; PL 73, 858a-b.
293 VP 5. 3. 2; PL 73, 860a-c.

72. De temperancia [28vb 19]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dixit sancta Sincletica, “Anima nostra corpus nostrum, anima uero nostra miles est. Utriusque ergo diligentiam presta ut paratus sis ad id quod necesse est.”

2. Quidam nobilis uenit ab urbe Romana in Egiptum, factus monachus, habens unum seruientem sibi ministrantem, quem cum uisitasset unus de magnis monachis Egiptii, scandalizatus est in eo quod uino uteretur et caligulas indueret, et aliquantulum bonas uestes haberet, cui tandem dixit ille unde esset, et ubi dormiuisset, et quid comedisset ante conversionem. Et ille respondit quod fuisset custos agrorum, et comedisset siccum panem cum sale, et bibisset aquam ante conversionem. Tunc ille respondit quia ipse fuisset unus de maximis palacii imperatoris, et fuisset usus uino multo, et aurum expenderetur in suo cibo, et uestes haberet preciosas, et seruos plurimos, et citharam et musica instrumenta, nunc autem haberet pro auro quod expendebatur in cibo suo parua olera, pro lectis uestitis ex auro stramenta de papiro, pro multis seruus unum, pro multo uino unum calicem uini, pro musicis instrumentis cantaret

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294 VP 5. 7. 5; PL 73, 893c-d. Translated in SDF, p. 74.

295 VP 5. 10. 72; PL 73, 924d-925a.
duodecim psalmos in die et xii in nocte. Quod cum ille monachus magnus audiisset, dixit se nihil esse respectu eius, eo quod ipse plus haberet quam antequam monachus fieret, ille autem minus, et statim compunctus est corde.\textsuperscript{296}

73. \textit{De compassione et fructu misericordie et benignitate beate Marie Magdelene} [29ra 6]

A. \textit{In Vitas Patrum}

1. Quidam senex in infirmitate multum concupiuit panem recentem, quod intelligens quidam frater, iuit in Egiptum et deferens secum panem siccum, quem commutauit pro recenti, et attulit seni. Senex uero noluit gustare, dicens quia fratris nostri sanguis est. Et rogauerunt eum ut comederet, ne uacuum esset sacrificium fratris illius, et sic rogatus comedit.\textsuperscript{297}

2. Quedam uidua, cum multum ploraret quod uir eius, qui iam erat defunctus, habuisset quoddam depositum sibi relictum, et ipsa ignoraret ubi esset, ipse dixit ei, “Ubi est maritus tuus?” Et ipsa duxit eum ubi erat sepulcrum mariti, et amotis illis ab uxore, abbas Macharius requisuit a mortuo ubi esset depositum. Ille respondit, “Sub pede lectuli mei.” Cui senex, “Dormi iterum usque in diem resurrectionis.” Et cum senex nunciasset istud uidue, ipsa sumens depositum reddid domino, qui sepius exigerat illud.\textsuperscript{298}

3. Transiens abbas Emilis uidit quendam monachum detentum tanquam homicidam. Dicit autem eis qui eum tenebant, “Ubi est ille qui occisus est?” Et ostenderunt ei. Tunc ille facta oracione, quasiuit quis eum occidisset; defunctus autem turgens coram omnibus respondit,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{296} VP 5. 10. 76; PL 73, 925b-927a.
\item \textsuperscript{297} VP 5. 7. 17; PL 73, 976a-b.
\item \textsuperscript{298} VP 6. 2. 8; PL 73, 1001c-1002a.
\end{itemize}
“Ingressus in ecclesiam commendaui pecuniam presbitero; ipse uero surgens occidit me, et portans me proiecit in monasterio abbatis huius. Set rogo ut tollantur ab eo pecunie, et dentur filii mei.” Ait ad eum senex, “Vade, dormi donec ueniat Dominus et resuscitet te.” Et confestim obdormiuit.\textsuperscript{299}

B. Barlaam


\textsuperscript{299}VP 6. 2. 9; PL 73, 1002a-b.
Christianorum, et sicut passus sum bona, paratus sum tecum pati mala'.” Rex hoc audito obstupuit, intelligens erga se ueram nobilis amiciciam, et falsa esse omnia que dicta fuerant ei de ipso.\textsuperscript{300}

C. Petrus

1. Leo papa, cum ardentissime diligeret beatam Mariam Magdalenam, et secum clauus sue camere portans, de nocte iret oraturn, inuenit Ihesum in similitudine leprosi, cuius sanies usque ad terram defluere ludebatur, petentem ut quia durissimo frigore algeret, Leo papa exutis uestibus carnem suam nudam carne sua coniuncta calefacere propter affectum quem haberet erga Mariam Magdalenam, quem cum Leo deferret ut rogauerat, ita quod putredo ulcerum etiam tam a corpore Leonis quam a corpore infirmi usque in terram distillaret, collocavit eum Leo in lecto suo proprio ad preces leprosi. Et recludens post se cameram suam, iuit oraturn, et rediens ac uolens uisitare, infirmum non inuenit, set audiuít uocem desuper, "Leo pie, quia me infirmum et ad modum leprosum non erubuisti carne tua et uestibus propriis calefacere et in lectulo tuo collocare, scias me non erubescere te in conspectu Patris, mei, et in conspectu sanctorum omnium quin insuper credas te consimile premium in celestibus cum Maria Magdalena habiturum."\textsuperscript{301}

2. Post hanc promissionem et fiduciam, beata Maria sepe circa auroram ei apparebat secum colloquens, et cum quadam uice appareret ei habens aurifrigerium in capite splendidissimum in modum crucis affixum, cuius partes corone circa utrumque humerum dependebant, et illud Leo miraretur. Respondit Maria, “Quid miraris? Non potes me uidere sicut

\textsuperscript{300}See Barlaam et Josaphat 35; PL 73, 583ff.

\textsuperscript{301}non inueni. Cf. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances, p. 86, no. 35.
sum, quamdiu hac carnis mole grauaris; set eris consimilis premii particeps, et ideo in tanto splendore tibi apparui, ut cognoscas quid facturus sis quando Trinitatis gloriam uidebis ineffabilem et sanctorum." Quo dicto de manibus eius elabi uoluit, set Leo partem aurifrigerii arripuit dependentis, pre nimia dilecione numquam remouens illud a se, frequentissime inspiciens ut in inspeccione semper tenerime fleret. Dein in exilium missus a cesare, uenit Coloniam, ubi cum apud Tincium in festo Magdalene celebraturus Renum transiret, illud insigne de manibus eius est elapsum in profunditatem fluminis, propter quod in tantum mesteum exhibuit uultum ut omnes mirarentur quid ei accidisset. Tandem uero illud cuidam clerico secretario suo reuelauit, inhibens ne quamdiu ipse uiueret alicui reuelaret. Et cum propter dolorem nimium non celebrasset diuina ibidem eo die, reius per Renum eodem itinere recepit idem insigne [non uia defectum] aquis, set eque splendidum in eodem loco ubi amiserat. Deinde idem Leo reuocatus ab exilio, cum ille cui secretum suum reuelauerat spiritum traheret extremum, uix ipsa instanter petenti dederet licenciam ut idem secretum reuelaret. Leo igitur semper manens idem, habebat quandam auem spicatum cuius cantu ac clamore fessus laboribus et placitis recreabatur, que domino suo sepulto tam diu dulciter canendo sepulcro eius supersedit quousque mortua est. 302

74. De subleuando onere fratis [29vb 5]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Frater interogauit quendam senem: "Duo fratres sunt, quorum unus ieiunat sex diebus, multum alias laborans, alius uero deseruit egrotantibus; cuius opus magis acceptum est Deo?" Respondit senex, "Si frater ille, qui sex diebus ieiunium leuat, appendit se per nares, non potest

302 non inueni.
esse equalis illi qui infirmantibus deseruit.”


75. De hospitalitate [29vb 30]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Cerbonius Populonis episcopus, cum milites hospitio suscepisset et eos occultasset propter metum Goitorum, dictum est illud Totale regi Goitorum, unde ipse ad spectaculum dedit episcopum urso deorandum, set ursus non audens eum tangere, cepit lambere pedes eius, et sic

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303 VP 5. 17. 18; PL 73, 976b.
304 VP 5. 17. 20; PL 73, 976c-977a.
305 VP 5. 17. 25; PL 73, 977d-978a.
liberatus est episcopus, qui semper studuit bono hospitalitatis.\textsuperscript{306}

B. In Omelia Gregorii

1. Quidam paterfamilias multum fuit hospitalis. Quadam die, cum peregrinos suscepisset et eis aquam daret in manibus ex humilitate, unus interfuit inter eos in cuius manibus aquam debuit fundere, et cum conuersus urceum accepisset, non inuenit eum in cuius manibus aquam fundere debuit. Cumque hoc factum est, apud se ipse miraretur. Eadem nocte ei Dominus per uisionem dixit, "Ceteris diebus me in membris meis, hesterna autem die me in memetipso suscepisti."\textsuperscript{307}

C. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum quidam uenissent ad Iohannem heremitam, tunc demum unde uel cur aduenissent inquisiuit, cum iam eos letos in omni gaudio, tanquam natos proprios, suscepisset.\textsuperscript{308}

2. Abbas Cassianus uenit ad quendam senem, qui dedit ei manducare cum sociis suis usque ad sacietatem et hortabatur eum plus commedere. Qui cum diceret se esse saciatum, respondit, "Ego diuersis fratribus superuenientibus hodie sexties manducaui, et adhuc esurio; tu uero semel manducaitis es saciatus". Et dixit idem esse frangendum ieinium propter hospites, quia in hospite suscipitur Christus, et non possunt filii sponsi lugere quam diu sponsus est cum eis.\textsuperscript{309}

3. Quidam senex in Syria multum fuit hospitalis, faciens omnes manducare ad se uenientes.

\textsuperscript{306}Gregorius, Dialog. 3. 11.

\textsuperscript{307}Gregorius Magnus, XL homiliarum in evangelia libri duo, 2. 23. 2; PL 76, 1183a-c.

\textsuperscript{308}Rufinus, Hist. monach. 1; PL 21, 395a.

\textsuperscript{309}VP 5. 13. 3; PL 73, 944b.
Venit ad eum quidam senex solitarius nolens refici, dicens se ieiunare. Cui senex, "Exeamsus et oremus sub arboare hac, et cui inclinata fuit arbor ipsum sequamur." Orante autem solitario non est inclinata arbor; orante autem illo sene hospitali, inclinata est arbor cum sene.310

4. Quidam monachus, pergens in desertum, timuit hospitari de nocte cum quodam sancto sene, timens ne repelleret eum. Cognoscens errorem suum, at tamen hospitatus est. Cum eo benigne susceptus et bene collocatus in lecto, et de nocte cogitans de benignitate recipientis, factus est ortodoxus cadens ad pedes senis et permansit cum eo.311

76. Terrene substantie per hoc quod pauperibus tangantur multiplicantur [30ra 34]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quidam Bonefacius episcopus Ferretis ciuitatis in Tuscia, cum uinea sua esset grandine consumpta, tamen fecit colligi racemos qui remanserant, et poni in prelo, et de eodem paruo fundi in doleo et uocari pauperes et eis distribui. Et tercia die facta oracione omnia dolea inuenta sunt plena de exiguo quod erat infusum.312

2. Idem Bonefacius, cum inportune pro eleemosyna a pauperibus rogaretur, duodecim aureos accepit de cista nepotis sui Constancii presbiteri et dedit pauperibus, quos ille acceperat de equo suo uendito. Quod cum reuersus uidit cistam suam fractam, inuectus est in episcopum, et episcopus intrans ecclesiam rogauit ut Dominus daret ei aliquid quo mitigaret furorem presbiteri, et inuenit statim in sinu suo xii aureos fulgentes, quos dedit ei et dixit, "Scito quia post mortem

310 VP 5. 13. 9; PL 73, 945b-c.
311 VP 5. 13. 11; PL 73, 945c-d.
312 Gregorius, Dialog. 1. 9.
meam non eris episcopus huius loci," quia ille colletgerat pro adipiscendo episcopatu post mortem eius.313

3. Idem Bonefacius, cum duobus Goitis dedisset uas ligneum parum plenum uino, de illo uasco per totum iter quo Goiti pergebant, nunquam uinum defuit quousque redirent ad episcopum.314

4. Idem Bonefacius, cum esset puer, omne triticum matris sue expenderat in usus pauperum, quod cum mater horreum ingressa comparuisset, cepit eum increpare, et se pugno in faciem cedere. Ac oracione facta a Bonefacio et amota matre, statim horreum inuentum est plenum. Quo uiso mater cepit urgere ut daret, quia sic celeriter posset que petisset accipere.315

B. In Vitae Patrum

1. Orta Fame apud Thebaidem concurrebat multitudo ad Appollonium heremitam qui eis panem distribuebat, et semper per Dei auxilium multiplicabatur. Cui inuidens diabolus ait, "Numquid tu es Helyas, aut unus ex prophetis, qui hec facis." Respondit Appollonius, "Numquid non Deus modo tam potens est sicut et tunc fuit? Si ergo Deus bonus est, quare tu malus es?"316

2. Senex quidam habitabat communi uita cum quodam alio. Senex uero omnibus aduenientibus dabat panem. Adueniente autem fame, frater dixit seni ut daret ei partem suam, et fecit sic. Senex uero de parte sua semper fecit eleemosynas; alius uero statim consumpserat

313Gregorius, Dialog. 1. 9.
314Gregorius, Dialog. 1. 9.
315Gregorius, Dialog. 1. 9.
316VP 8. 52; PL 73, 1160c-1161a.
partem suam, et rogauit senem ut recipere eum ad communem uitam, et fecit sic, et cum quodam tempore omnia uictualia essent consumpta, et non haberet senex quid daret indigentibus, dixit senex fratri, "Da panem illi." At ille dixit, "Non habeo, pater." At ille, "Intra et quere." Intrans autem frater, inuenit reposicionem, in qua panes poni solemant, repletam panibus. 317

77. Quidam puniuntur de operibus misericordie que faciunt malo animo sub specie pietatis

[30va 7]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Fortunatus, episcopus ecclesie Tundentine, cum quodam die expulisset spiritum malignum de corpore obsesso, tunc quidam audiens quid fecerit Fortunatus et quod clamauerit demon, "Heu mihi Fortunate episcopo, non inuenio ubi hospiter." In ciuitate sedens iuxta prunas, recepit demonem in odium episcopi in hospitio, qui statim inuasuit puerum, et in prunis extinxit eum. 318

78. Qui non habet pecuniam pro captuis redimendis tradere potest semetipsum [30va 16]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Cum Paulinum, Nolane urbis episcopum, in Campania quedam uidua rogaret ut ei aliquid subsidium tribueret pro filio suo redimendo, quem ceperat et duxerat in Affricam gens Totille regis Wandalorum, ipse respondit se nihil habere, set se ipsum dare in captivitatem pro eo, et cum ea in Affricam discessit et pro illo se dedit in seruitutem et factus est illius domini

317 VP 5. 13. 15; PL 73, 947a-c.
318 Gregorius, Dialog. 1. 10.
ortulanus. Cui domino ipse tandem dixit, "Vide quid agas, et Wandalorum regnum qualiter disponi debeat prouide, quia rex citius et sub omni celeritate mortuus est," quod ipse indicauit regi, et rex, usus Paulino, dixit se uidisse in somniis iudices multos, cum quibus fuisset Paulinus, qui ei flagellum quod aliquando acceperat de manu abstulissent, cumque coniuratus fuisset Paulinus unde esset, dixit se fuisset episcopum, quod abhorrens dominus honorifice remisit eum, et ad ipsius peticionem omnes terre illius captiuos Christianos ei donauit liberos, et post paruum tempus rex Wandalorum mortuus est. 319


79. De auaricia [30vb 17]

319 Gregorius, Dialog. 3. 1.

320 Gregorius, Dialog. 3. 37.
A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum fratri Mutio heremite in Egipto, diabolus ostenderet magnum thesaurum qui fuerat pharaonis, ipse respondit, "Pecunia tua tecum sit in perdicione" [Acts 8.20].

80. De modo suscipiendi hospites [30vb 21]

A. In Vitas Patrum


81. De elemosina et cui sit danda [30vb 38]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Frater quidam interrogauit abbatem Pastorem, "Dimissa est mihi omnis hereditas; quid

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321 VP 3. 219: PL 73, 810a-b.

322 VP 3. 47; PL 73, 767a-b. This story also occurs in VP 5. 8. 1.
facio ex ea?” Respondit, “Quid tibi habeo dicere, frater? Si dixero ‘Da eam in ecclesiam,’ clerici facient sibi communia ex ea. Si autem dixero, ‘Da parentibus tuis eam,’ non est tibi merces. Si autem dixero, ‘Da eam pauperibus,’ securus eris. Quicquid ergo uis, uade, fac, ergo causam non habeo.”

B. Adiuncta

1. Quedam mulier noluit dare eleemosynam uiuente marito suo, et congregavit pecuniam ut melius nuberet post obitum mariti sui. Que cum esset mortua, dixit maritus pauperibus querentibus eleemosynam pro anima uxoris, “Uxor mea fuit clavis tocius boni mei, set nihil distribuit pauperibus. In eternum carebit.”

82. De uirtute eleemosine et edificio potentum [31ra 13]

A. In Vitas Patrum


323 VP 5. 10. 56; PL 73, 922a-b.

inde funiculos, et ex ipsis nummis duos do pauperibus et reliquis commedo. Et quando commedo uel dormio, tunc illi pro peccatis orant, et sine cessacione implem oracionem meam."325

B. Adiuncta


C. Petrus

1. Quidam Bernardus uir extruxerat quasdam municiones iuxta Cluniacensem monasterium, que multum erant dampnose, et tandem pro peccatis suis Romam uadens et ibi peregrinacionem uii ebdomadarum agens, etiam reeditu in uia mortuus est. Postmodum apparuit cuidam fratri Cluniacensi in silua, indutus pellibus uulpinis, rogans ut factur orari pro eo quia, cum in fine penituisset, ab eterna dampnacione ereptus esset, set tamen penas intollerabiles

325VP 3. 212; PL 73, 807b-c.

326Cf. Tubach, Index exemplorum, no. 6, "Abbey founded by Rich Man." The story is found in MS London, BL, add. 27909 no. 13, f. 4b. According to Herbert, Catalogue of Romances, p.465: 'King Louis' is Louis VII of France (1131-1180), 'the King of England' is Henry II (1152-1189), and the 'Count of Flanders' is Philip of Alsace (1168-1191).
sustineret, et maxime propter hoc quia municiones nimis prope religiosis locis construxerat, unde dampna poterant eis exoriri. Requisitus quare pelles ulpinas defferet, respondit quia tales quondam deberat cuidam pauperi nouas, et ille in acerbitate penarum maximum semper ei prestarent remedium; et sicut noue erant quando dedit illas, ita adhuc semper noue apparent.\textsuperscript{327}

83. \textit{De solvenda pensione} [31rb 18]

A. In Vitae Patrum

1. Quidam frater manens in heremo singulis annis deferebat pensionem suam Alexandriam de heremo dominis suis, quorum erat seruus, et cum Domini propter sanctitatem illius reniterentur recipere, ipse tamen dedit eis inuitis. Cumque requireretur quare daret eis etiam inuitis, respondit, “Ideo festino dare eius pensionem, ut totum quicquid laboro in servicio diuino mihi proficiat ad salutem anime, ne forte, si pensionem pro servicio meo non intulero, iam totus spiritualis labor ad illorum mercedem proficiat, qui me promiserunt Christo domino seruire et specialiter conuersari.”\textsuperscript{328}

84. \textit{De non cogitando de crastino} [31rb 29]

A. In Vitae Patrum

1. Interrogatus est abbas Pastor a quodam fratre, "Quid est quod scriptum est, 'Nolite cogitare de crastino'[Matthew 6: 34]?” Qui respondit, “Ad hominem dictum est, qui in temptatione est constitutus, et defuit ut non cogitet quantum temporis in ea sit facturus, set potius

\textsuperscript{327}Petrus, \textit{De mir.} I. 11. 1.

\textsuperscript{328}VP 3. 17; PL 73, 747d-748c.
quod hodiernum est cotidianum futurum libenter suscipiat.  

85. *De indigne sumentibus cibum* [31rb 36]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam magnus rex, preuidens cum gustaret communiter cum fratribus, uidit in spiritum quosdam edentes mel, alios panem, alios stercus. Et cum tamen idem cibus omnibus esset appositus, et cum facta oracione petisset reuelacionem huius, dixit ei uox de celo, "Hii qui manducant mel, sunt qui cum timore et tremore et gratiarum actione edunt ad misericordiam et incessanter orant, et oracio eorum sicut incensum ascendit ad Deum. Hii uero qui panem manducant, sunt qui gratias agentes percipiunt ea que a Deo donata sunt. Hii uero qui stercus manducant, hii sunt qui murmurant et dicunt, 'Hoc bonum est; hoc malum est'. Set oportet omnia, siue manducatis, siue bibitis, siue aliquid facitis, omnia in gloria Domini facere."  

86. *De anticipatione comedendi* [31va 12]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam frater, cum temptaretur a diabolo ut preueniret horam comedendi, ipse sibi uiolenciam fecit de hora prima usque ad horam terciam, de tercia usque ad sextam, tunc infundens panem aqua expectans ad nonam dicens, "Dum hic panis infunditur, oportet me expectare horam nonam." Et tunc expletis oracionibus cibum sumsit, et sic multis diebus sibi in abstinentia uiolenciam fecit. Cumque hora nona quadam die comedeter, fumus teterimus nitus est exire per

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329VP 6. 4. 9; PL 73, 1016b-c.
330VP 6. 1. 17; PL 73, 1000a-b.
fenestram cellule eius. de sportella ubi panes erant reconditi, et postea non sensit inde aliquam temptacionem.331

2. Quidam fratres. cum uenissent ad quendam seniorem in heremo ante horam consuetam, scilicet horam nonam, refecti sunt ab eo, et bene refecit eos de omnibus que habebat. Set ipsi ex hoc sunt scandalizati. quod ipse mandauit alii seniori ad quem erant ituri, et ille ita arte secundum regulam suam tenuit eos donec fugerent.332

B. Adiuncta

1. Sanctus Ebonius.333 propter quandam infirmitatem suam, semper in diluculo comedebat, et ante diem celebrabat. Accusatus est et uocatus a Papa; et cum nuncii papae nollent secum ita mane comedere circa horam tertiam, nimis sunt fame afflicti, quod cognouerunt esse ex hoc quod illum episcopum Ebonium. qui fuit Massiliensis episcopus, reputabat malum propter anticipacionem comedendi. Et cum uenissent Romam in practum nemoris uidit cerusas, et ab illis uocatis lac exeraxit. quod biberunt nuncii Papae, et anseres siluaticos uocauit. quos ante se pulsos domino pape obtulit, et papa territus noutate miraculii ei assurrexit, gratias agens.

Secunda die. iterum idem episcopus uocato papa ante diem celebravit, et audita est uox angelorum canentium in missa quam papa audire non poterat, donec illud idem episcopus orationibus suis impetravit. Et adhuc habet priuilegium ecclesia Massiliensis, quod cum episcopus

331 VP 3. 4: PL 73, 740d-741b.
332 VP 3. 5: PL 73, 741b-742a.
333 Alboin, bishop of Marseilles. 844-?
uenerit Romam, nihil offeret pape. nisi anseres, quibus Papa assurgere debet. 334

87. De gula [31vb 15]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dicebat unus ex patribus quod qui multum comedit et adhuc esuriens continet se maiorem mercedem habet quam ille qui parum comedit et saciatur. 335


112 Cf. Tubach, Index exemplorum. no. 2261. "Geese presented to Pope" and Herbert, Catalogue of Romances, p. 489, no. 128. p. 628. no. 32. p. 711, no. 28; Jacques de Vitry (Frenken), no. 582; Jacques de Vitry (Greven). no. 602.

314 VP 7. 1. 3; PL 73, 1026d.

315 VP 3. 51; PL 73, 767d-768a.
cum uellet celare, abbas dixit ei quod ipsemet propriis cogitacionibus multum uexaretur, et tamdiu explicabat cogitaciones fingendo quousque Theopemtus totum confiteretur. Cui abbas,

"Quomodo ieiunas?" At ille, "Usque ad horam nonam." Cui abbas, "Usque ad uesperam ieiuna, et de ewangelio et de aliis scripturis sacris sine cessacione aliquid meditare, et quotiens tibi aliquam cogitatio superuenerit, numquam deorsum aspicias, set sursum, et mox tibi Dominus adiutor est."

Et cum iterum abbas discederet, iterum uidit demonem priori modo uenientem, qui dixit se iterum fratres commouere. Et cum rediret, dixit quod omnes agrestes essent facti, et illum unum quem prius habuerat perdisisse, qui esset factus et iam asperior aliis.\textsuperscript{337}

4. Helias abbas. uidens duos fratres corpulentos, dixit discipulo suo subridens, "Vere, frater, erubesco pro te, quia sic emitisti corpus tuum, cum certe profitearis te monachum; pallor enim cum humilitate et macies decus est monachi." Idem dixit. "Quia monachus edens multum et operans multum non confidat in hoc. Qui autem parum edit, et parum operatur, confidat et uiriliter agat."\textsuperscript{338}

5. Sanctus Hylarion dixit. "Maledictus qui prius refeccionem corporis, quam anime quesierit."\textsuperscript{339}

B. Adiuncta

1. Quidam nimis biberat. et fuit potator maximus. Tandem de eius hanelitu fetido

\textsuperscript{337} VP 3. 61. PL 73, 769c-770c.

\textsuperscript{338} VP 3. 64: PL 73, 771a.

suffocatus est puer in uentre matris. 340

88. De multo somnio [32ra 29]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Beatus Pachomius multa certamina habuit contra demones, qui tandem intentissimis precibus Dominum exorauit, ut sompnum non caperet per aliquod tempus, set semper continue uigilaret contra adversarium dimicando donec prosterneret eum, sicut dicitur in Psalmo, “Et non conuertar donec deficient, [Psalms 17:38]” et Dominus prestitit ei peticionem suam. 341

2. Quidam Macheres nomine, si per totam noctem ageretur collacio spiritualis, numquam dormiebat. Si uero aliquis uerbum detraccionis uel ociosum inferebat, statim sompnus eum occupabat. 342

89. De accidie [32rb 1]

A. In Vitas Patrum


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341 VP 3. 35; PL 73. 761c-d
342 VP 4. 34; PL 73. 837b.
autem angelus Domini ille dicens ei, "Et tu ita faciens, Antoni, saluaberis." 343

2. Quidam frater requisuit abbatem Achillem dicens, "Cur sedens in cella mea patior accidium?" Cui senex ait, "Quia nec dum uidisti requiem quam speramus, neque tormenta que timemus. Si enim ea diligenter inspiceres, etiam si uermibus plena esset cella tua usque ad collum, tu tamen in ipsa iaceres permanens sine accidia. 344

90. De modo sumendi cibum [32rb 19]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Abbas Peor. cum interrogaretur quare semper deambulando comederet, respondit hoc se non uelut apud aliquem agere, set uelud quodam superfluo uti, et etiam ut non comedendo corporalem delectacionem habeat anima. 345

91. De ebrietate [32rb 25]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam. semper solens esse ebrius, laboravit in extremis et uidit Sathanam demersum in profundum abissi et Caipham. cum ceteris qui Christum occiderunt, flammis ultricibus traditum et sibi misero esse paratum locum dampnacionis. Et cum hortarentur alii eum ut penitentiam acciperet, ipse desperauit non esse tempus penitendi, cum ipse uidicium suum uiderit, sicque abiit

343 VP 3. 105. PL 73. 780c.
344 VP 3. 107; PL 73, 780d-781a.
345 VP 5 3. 34; PL 73. 869b-c.
sine uiatico salutis, neque aliquis pro eo audebat psallere uel orare.346

92. De abstinencia [32rb 35]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam Helenus heremita uidit sepe ante se poma et mel in deserta que intellegit per diabolum ibi esse allata, et abstinuit. Quadem uice dictum est ei in somnus, “Surge et que inueneres nihil dubitans comede.” Et uidit herbas quasdam iuxta fontem in ripa, et comedit et bibit, et dixit quod numquam aliquid tam suave comederat uel biberat.347

2. Quidam heremita Euagrius dixit beato Ieronimo et sociis eius quod si quis uellet esse humilis uel repellere ab eo fantasias demonum, ne in bibenda aqua largiore mensura uteretur. Nam dicebat quod si multa aqua infundatur maiores fantasias generat et maiora receptacula demonibus prebet. et uinum uitari propter incentium, et ipse parua aqua utebatur et paruo pane.348

3. Dicebat abbás Moyses. “Si imperator uult aliquam ciuitatem expugnare, prius escam eorum et aquam interdicit, et tunc uincit; ita passiones carnales si in ieiunio et fame uolueris uiuere, et non sunt fortes aduersus animam. Quis enim ita fortis ut leo et tamen propter uentrem suum intrat in caueam et omnis uirtus eius humiliatur.”349

4. Statuit quidam senex ut lx diebus non biberet, et si quando fieret cauma lauabat suriscula implens aqua eam et appendebat eam ante oculos suos. Qui cum interrogaretur a fratribus

349 VP 3. 66; PL 73. 772a.
quare hoc faceret, respondit, "Ut dum uidens quod desiderabam non gustauero, maiorem ardorem sustineam, et propter hoc maiorem mercedem a Domino consequar."350

93. Multum est lingua proterua uitanda [32va 26]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Due sanctimoniales. dum simul uiuerent et eis cibum afferet monachus quidam procurator eorum. ipse sepe incautis sermonibus eum ad iracundiam prouocabant, quod monachus beato Benedicto indicauit, qui mandauit eis dicens, "Corrigite linguam, alioquin excommunico uos." Et hoc dixerat minando; postea non correxerunt. set mortue sunt et in ecclesia sepulte. Cumque in missa diaconus clamaret ex more, "Siquis non communicat, det locum." nutrix earum uidit eas ex sepulcris exire ab ecclesia. Et istud sepe contingebat. quod cum fuisse indicatum beato Benedicto. ipse fecit oblationem salutarem offeri pro eis, et postea diacono similiter ex more clamante non sunt amplius uise exire, tanquam communioni Dei restitute.351

B. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dixit abbas Hyperichius.352 "Melius est comedere carnes et bibere uinum, quam comedere in uituperacionem carnes fratrum. Sicut enim susurrans serpens Euam de Paradiso excussit, ita qui de fratre suo detractat. non solum suam, set etiam audientis animam perdit."353

350 VP 5. 4. 67. PL 73. 873a-b.
351 Gregorius. Dialog. 2. 23.
352 MS Pericius
353 VP 3. 134; PL 73. 786c.
94. Non est crimen prodendum [32vb 7]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam, cum diceretur reus sanguinis cuiusdam, confugit ad Macharium heremitam, ubi cum eum capere uellent, ait Macharius quod uellet probare uirum si istud uerum esset, et inquisiuit ab occiso utrum ille ceclidisset eum, qui cum respondisset non, dixerunt ei stupefacti alii noutate miraculi quod interrogaret eum a quo esset occisus. Tunc ait heremita, “Non interogabo hoc: sufficit mihi ut innocens liberetur; non est autem opus ut reus prodatur.”

2. Cum quidam frater uisitasset abbatem Anastasium, uidens ibi codicem, furatus est eum. Set abbas uoluit requirere eum, ne forte ille adderet periuria furto. Cumque ille uellet, quidam dixit ut ostenderet ei si tantum precium ualeret, et tulit ad abbatem Anastasium, qui dixit quod bene tantum ualeret. Ille reidiens dixit quod daret ei tantum precium, quia Anastasius dixerat ei quod tantum ualeret, quod ille audiens quesiuit si Anastasius aliquid aliud dixisset. Respondit ille non, et statim frater ille compunctus retulit codicem Anastasio, qui tamen quasi inuitus tandem receptit. et frater moram fecit cum eo in cella sua, permanens cum eo.

95. De mendacio malo et mendacio officioso pro salute alterius [32vb 29]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam heremita Anuph. cum uisitaretur ab aliis heremitis delatis per fluuium in naui ministerio angelorum. dixit eis querentibus aliquid de conversione eius: “Hoc custodiui ex quo convertus sum, quod numquam de ore meo procederet, neque post amorem celestium terrenum

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354 VP 3. 41: PL 73. 764c-765a.
355 VP 3. 30: PL 73. 757c-758b.
aliquid amarem, set nec gratia Domini in his mihi defuit, omne quicquid pecii a Domino sine mora consecutus sum." Et ipsi infra triduum, sicut ipsi preuiderant, mortuus est heremita, et anima eius ab angelis ipsis uidentibus recepta.356

2. Duo monachi a cellulis suis abierunt in ciuitatem ut uenderent ea que laborauerant per totum annum. Unus exiuit ab hospicio ut emeret necessaria, alius remansit in domo et cecidit in fornicacionem. Cumque alius frater rediret ad cellulam, respondit ille, "Non possum hic stare, quia cecidi in fornicacionem." Cui alius frater, "Et ego similiter cecidi in fornicacionem, cum iam exirem." et sic hortatu illius rediit ad cellulam, et ille qui non peccauerat ita egit pro fratre suo penitentiam. sicut et ille frater qui peccauit. Et postea reuelatum est senioribus quod propter penitentiam illius qui non peccauerat, indulgenciam consecutus est ille qui peccauerat in Domino 357


357VP 3. 12, PL 73, 744d-745b.
precedens dixit illi ut salutaret abbatem seniorem uenientem, qui exiens adorauit eum gratias agens. et statim abbas compunctus est ex humilitate illius, et discipulus narrauit ei qualiter egisset.  

4. Demones solebant excitare cum lumine quendam fratrem ut iret ad collectam fratrum, qui credens illos angelos retulit cuidam seni, qui dixit, "Demones sunt; non audias eos de cetero, set cum te excitauerunt, dic. 'Ego quando uolo surgo; uos autem non audio'." Et ille. demonibus uenientibus cum lumine et eum excitantibus, ita respondit, cui demones dixerunt, "Malus ille senex falsator seduxit te. ad quem ueniens frater uolens mutuare pecuniam, et cum senex ille haberet, mentitus est se non habere. Ex hoc cognosce quia falsator est." Quod tum frater ille retulit seni, cui senex. "Verum est habebam pecuniam, et non dedi ei; sciebam enim, si darem ei, damnum ipsius facerem. Cogitaui ergo unum mandatum preterire quam preuaricari decem; tu autem demones non audias. qui uolunt te seducere."

B. Petrus

96. *De testibus* [33rb 15]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dixit abbis Pastor. "Cuidam fratri apparuit quidam frater ut cum muliere peccaret, et cum per multum tempus cogitacionibus istis inpugnaretur, tandem abiit et pulsuit eos pede suo dicens. 'Cessate iam.' Et ecce erant manipuli messis tritici. Ideoque dico uobis, nisi et manibus uestris palpaueritis, nolite testificari." 361

97. *De blasphemia* [33rb 22]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam frater inpugnabatur spiritu blasphemie, et cum sepe pergeret ad senes et ad abbatem Pemenem pro cura illius, et tamen non aperiens causam, abbis Pemen, uidens eum habere cogitaciones. dixit, "Quid habes?" At ille aperuit quod eum inpugnaret spiritus blasphemie, et statim ut aperuit inpugnacio leuior. Cui abbis Pemen, "Quando hec cogitacio te arripuerit, dic 'ego causam non habeo; blasphemia tua super te sit Sathanas.' Hanc enim causam anima non uult." 362

98. *Parentes claudunt salutem uite pueris quos male matriunt* [33rb 32]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Rome quidam tenere puerum suum dilexit quinque annorum, qui solemnt blasphemare nomen Domini statim cum eius animo aliquid ostendisset. Quadam die, cum pater eius eum

361 VP 6. 4. 36. PL 73. 1021a-1022a.
362 VP 3. 57. PL 73. 769a-b.
teneret in brachiis, clamauit puer, "Mali homines uenerunt, qui me tollere uolunt." Qui cum hoc dixisset. nomen maiestatis blasphemauit et animam reddidit.\textsuperscript{363}

99. \textit{Sermo malus exasperat furorem, mitis mitigat} [33va 1]

\textbf{A. In Vitas Patrum}

1. Abbate Machario ad montem Nitrie properante, discipulus suus precessit eum, cui obuiauit sacerdos ydolorum portans lignum grande. Cui dixit discipulus Macharii, "Quo uadis, demon?" At ille iratus percussit eum, ita quod fere semiuiuum reliquid. Progrediens sacerdos ydolorum, uenit ad Macharium. Cui abbas Macharius, "Salueris, laborator." At ille, "Quid in me boni uidisti. ut ita me salutares?" Cui senex, "Quia te uidi laborantem." Cui sacerdos, "Et ego ex tua salutatione cognoui te esse seruum magni Dei. Set quidam monachus male me salutauit, quem ego plagis affeci." Et statim compunctus est et petens ueniam et deduxerunt plagatum usque ad cellam. et sacerdos ydolorum effectus est monachus cum aliis.\textsuperscript{364}

100. \textit{De malo risu} [33va 17]

\textbf{A. In Vitas Patrum}

1. Quidam frater risit in mensa presentibus monachis fratribus. Unde abbas Iohannes dixit flens. "Quid putas, frater, habet in corde suo, quia risit cum debuisset magis flere, quia caritatem manducat." Vidit senex quendam ridentem et dicit ei, "Coram celi et terre Domino racionem

\textsuperscript{363}Gregorius. \textit{Dialog.} 4.19.

\textsuperscript{364}VP 3. 127. PL 73. 784c-785d.
tocius uite nostre reddituri sumus. et tu rides.\textsuperscript{365}

101. \textit{De multiloquo in taciturnitate} \[33\text{va 24}\]

\textbf{A. In Vitas Patrum}

1. Quidam senex, sedens in nau cum quibusdam fratribus euntibus ad abbatem Antonium, audiuit multa de illis de sacra scriptura et de operibus manuum suarum, set ipse per omnia tacebat. Et cum uenissent ad Antonium, dicit Antonius seni, “Bonos fratres habuisti comites itineris tui.” At ille, “Quidam sunt, boni set habitacio eorum non habet ianuam; quicumque uult, intrat in stabulum et soluit asinum.” Hoc autem dixit quia quodcumque eis ascendebat in ore loquebantur.\textsuperscript{366}

2. Dicebat de abbate Agathone quia per triennium lapidem in ore suo mittebat, donec taciturnitatem disceret.\textsuperscript{367}

3. Dixit abbas Pastor. “Omnis labor, quicumque euenerit tibi ex taciturnitate superabitur.”\textsuperscript{368}

4. Miles quidam potens uocauit ad se militem quendam uassailum suum. qui sibi multa mala intulerat. significans ei quod uellet intrare religionem, ac rogans ut duceret eum ad abbatem et diceret esse mutum, set tamen bene perageret quicquid ei iniungeretur. Quod et factum est, et hoc ideo fecit. quia sepius in lingua peccauerat. Exiens autem quadam uice cum abbate in domo

\textsuperscript{365} \textquoteleft Two stories appear to have been conflated here: 1) Quidam frater risit....quia caritatem manducat.\textquoteright is from VP 5. 3. 6. PL 73. 861c. 2) Vidit senex....et tu rides.' is found at VP 5. 3. 23; PL 73. 864a-b.

\textsuperscript{366} VP 5. 4. 1: PL 73. 864c-d.

\textsuperscript{367} VP 5. 4. 7: PL 73. 865b.

\textsuperscript{368} VP 5. 16. 9: PL 73. 971a.
cuiusdam militis morientis uiuentis et communicati. uidit animam eius miserabili tera demonibus
pertrahi et condolens ei fleuit. Hinc discedens obuiam habuit militem, qui promisit abbatu suo
seculo renunciare, et cum deberet in ponte quodam precedere, temptans uiam coram abbate,
decidens de ponte submersus est, cuius animam uidit monachus ab angelis in specie angeli deferri,
et solutus est in gaudium. Cum autem uenisset abbas ad claustrum, adiuravit eum in uirtute
obedientie cur in morte illorum duorum se taliter habuisset, si loqui posset. Cui monachus, "Male
 fecisti, quia contra propositum meum me loqui fecisti, set tamen tibi indicabo." Et narrauit ei
omnia per ordinem. Abbass hoc auendi cecidit ad pedes eius. Monachus autem renuens, peciit ab
aliquo recluderetur ubi taciturnitatis sue propositum posset obseruare.369

102. Loquenda est de passionibus anime [33vb 23]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Venit quidam senex ad abbatem Pastorem, conferens cum ipso de sacra scriptura, et
tacuit abbas Pastor, non respondens ei uerbum. Cum autem ille contristatus causam taciturnitatis
requireret. dixit Pastor. "Iste desursum est et de supernis loquitur; ego autem deorsum sum, et de
terrenis loquor. Si ergo inde locutus fuisset de passionibus anime, ego utique responderem ei. Si
autem de spiritualibus. ego hec ignoror."370

103. De garulitate sophistica [33vb 32]

A. <adiuncta>

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3c: non inueni.

17 VP 5. 10. 30. PL 73. 920a.
1. Quidam magister uisitauit discipulum suum in extremis et rogauit eum quod, si
decederet. ueniret ad eum in prato beati Germani hora prefixa. Ille decessit et ad locum prefixum
hora statuta uenit, magistro eum ibi expectante, habens capam de pergameno circum scriptam
sophismatibus. et ait, "Quelibet littera quam uides in capa ista est mihi maioris ponderis quam
turris sancti Germani, et hec est ultio uane glorie in sophismatibus [meis], et ut cognoscas in
quanta affliccione teneor. tene huc manum tuam ut agnoscas." Tetendit ergo manum et sudoris
illius gutta collapsa in manu magistri perforauit eam. Qui timore huius intrauit religionem ordinis
Cisterciensis dicens. "Linquo coax ranis cra coruis uanam uanis. Ad logicam pergo que mortis non
timet ergo."

104. De laborum multitudine et de secularibus disciplinis [34ra 10]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Philosophus quidam interrogauit sanctum Antonium. "Quomodo, pater, potes esse sine
libris?" Ille respondit. "Meus codex est natura rerum creaturarum, que mihi quociens uerba Dei
legere cupio adesse consueuit."[372]

2. Philosophi quidam, cupientes temptare senem, quesierunt quare copiam librorum non
haberet. Senex respondit. "Fuit sensus ne prior quam littere?" Responderunt illi. "Sensus." At ille,
"Qui habet ergo sensum. exercitacionem potest habere litterarum. et de nouo etiam litteras
inuenire."[373]

[371]non inueni.
[372]VP 6 4 16: PL 73, 1018b-c.
[373]See Athanasius. Vita Antonii 45; PL 73, 158b-c.
105. *Verba dicentis sane sunt intellegenda et circumspicienda* [34ra 19]

A. In Vitae Patrum

1. Quidam frater requisiit senem dicens, "Quid faciam, pater, quia non possum sustinere cogitaciones?" Cui senex, "Ego in hac causa nunquam impugnatus." Unde propter quod frater scandalizatus abiit ad alium senem, dicens ei respondendum prioris senis: "Quod esset locutus supra humanam naturam; non recte intellexisti uerba eius." Cumque frater rediret et requireret ab illo intellectum uerborum, respondit. "Ex quo factus sum monachus non sum saciatus. neque pane, neque aqua. neque somnium. et horum omnium cogitacionum permisit me habere pugnam quam tu dixisti." Et egressus est frater edificatus ab eo.³⁷⁴

106. *De confessione et ui eius* [34ra 31]

A. In Vitae Patrum

1. Abbas Sarapion. cum esset iuuenis et esset cum abbate suo Theona, ipse sepe furabatur ei panes quos occulte manducabat. Et tandem cum ad illum Theonam descendente fratres querentes uerbum edificationis. ipse respondit, audiente Sarapion, qui diu suam de furto et gula distulerat confessionem propter uerecundiam, quia nihil est ita monachis noxium et letificat demones quomodo si celent cogitaciones suas spiritualibus patribus. Et statim Sarapione compunctus cecidit ad pedes eius. confitens peccatum suum. et eiecit panem quem habebat in gremio. et uisus est exire de gremio ignis tanquam lampas. et impleuit totam domum fetido odore. ut putarent qui aderant sulphuris plurimum fuisse incensum.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴ VP 3. 62. PL 73. 770c-d.

³⁷⁵ VP 5. 4. 25. PL 73. 867c-868b.
2. Quidam diaconus cognouit uxorem cuiusdam laici, qui uenerat cum tota familia <sua> ad monasterium, et penitens indicauit hoc cuidam seni, qui habebat cellam interiorem, cum tamen alii fratres iam essent in eo scandalizati, et dixit seni, “Sepeli me hic propter tale peccatum, et non indices cuidam.” Et mansit ibi agens penitenciam. Contigit autem ut aqua de Nilo per multum tempus non ascenderet, et cum omnes letanias facerent, reuelatum est cuidam quod nisi uenerit diaconus, qui absconsus est apud tale monachum, non ascendet fluminis aqua. et statim eiecerunt eum de spelunca. et orauit, et ascendit aqua. et admirati hii qui scandalizati erant in ipso, dederunt gloriam Deo.  


B Petrus  

1. Aput Karolum erat quidam iuuenis infamie nota de quodam adulterio notatus, qui  

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376 VP 5. 5. 26. PL 73. 880a-c  

177 Cf. Benedictus Anianensis. Concordia regularum 15. 12; PL 103, 855a-858a.
decidit in egritudinem et uocans sacerdotem cum uiatico peccatum confessus est, adulterium celavit. Sacerdos hortatus est, ut si fecisset adulterium de quo fuerat infamatus, confiteretur illud. Ille respondit. "Sic mihi prosit corpus Domini quod attulisti, sic huius rei innocens sum."

Eucharistia ergo a sacerdote illi data, ipse eam glutire non potuit, et postea peccatum illud confessus. dicens se Deo mentitum, iterum uiatico refectus est, et glutiuit illud cum maxima libertate, et paululum superius in paz quieuit. 378


378 Petrus, De mir. 1. 3. 1.
illum esse demonem, hortabatur fratrem ad perfeccionem confessionis. Frater omnia peccata tandem plene confitens, ab abbate absolucionem accepit, et postea neque runcinum, neque uirum illum incognitum uidit. et cessavit clamare, et deinde aliquantulum superiuuens in pace uitam finiuit.\textsuperscript{379}

3. Quedam matrona celauerat bene per decem annos quoddam enorme peccatum quod fecerat. Tandem est confessa querente sacerdote quare tantum celauerat. Respondit, "Pro pudore non fui ausa dicere." Et ille inunxit istud tantum pro penitencia, quod singulis diebus usque per annum uideret eum semel.\textsuperscript{380}

4. Multi homines. existentes in quadam nau et periclitantes. confessi sunt ad inuicem. Quidam ex illis alta uoce dixit plurima peccata enormia, que fecerat ceteris audientibus; cessante tempestate. et omnibus de nau exeuntibus. nullus eorum recordatus est peccata illius, que audierat manifeste.\textsuperscript{381}

5. Quidam clericus. nolens confitere quoddam peccatum enorme. multociens pre effusione lacrimarum non [pudore] poterat et pudore. Cui sacerdos dixit, "Vade in domum tua et scribe in cedula et affir. et legam." Et cum afferret quod scripserat. et sacerdoti uellet ostendere. nihil inuenit scriptum.\textsuperscript{382}

6. Quidam demoniacus reuelabat peccata omnium. Contigit quod quidam miles habebat quendam clientem probum. quem dilexit uxor militis, quem cum idem miles suspectum duxit ante

\textsuperscript{17} Petrus, \textit{De mir.} 1. 6 1.

\textsuperscript{18} Cf. Petrus Cantor. \textit{Verbum abbrev. (Text. alt.)} 75-78; PL 205, 545d.

\textsuperscript{19} Cf. Petrus Cantor. \textit{Verbum abbrev.} 144; PL 205, 345b-c. See also Jacques de Vitry (Crane), no. 302, pp. 126-127.

\textsuperscript{20} Cf. Jacques de Vitry (Crane). no. 301, p. 126.
demoniacum, set primo confessus est cliens peccata sua, timens demoniacum. Cum autem cliens esset ante eum, dixit demoniacus. "Peccata tua sub lingua mea habeo, set publicare non ualeo."

7. Quedam monialis confitens dixit enormia et mirabilia peccata confessori. Ille audiens tot scelera spuebat in terram pro contemptu. Illa uero succens a spiritu conpunctionis dixit, "Si singulis sceleribus meis uis conspuere, oportet ut expuas uiscera mea."

8. Cum quidam clericus, qui in nocte precedente monialem cognouerat, ante quendam demoniacum uenisset unicuique obicientem peccata sua, dixit ei demoniacus, "Tu sero cognouisti monialem." Ille autem confusus rubore discedens cuidam sacerdoti confessus est peccatum suum. Rediens autem ante demoniacum dixit, "Tu mentiris de omnibus que dicis." At ille siluit. Cum uero circumstantes dicerent eum paulo ante dixisse de clerico quod nocte precedente monialem cognouisset, respondit, "Immo nunquam nisi modo uidi eum."

9. Quidam conversus uidebat peccata occulta, qui cum uideret quandam pueUam, que peccauerat enormiter cum matre sua, dixit ei, "Enorme peccatum quod feceras nunquam confessas es." Illa respondit quod non confiteretur aliquo modo. Qui dixit, "Confitere saltem abbati meo, quem de cetero non uidebis." Que cum uellet confiteri, non poterat loqui, quia diabolus ei gularn constringebat. Sicut conversus dicebat se uidisse et dixit mulieri, "Si ego primus dixero pro te, nonne dices postea?" At illa. "Volo." Et conversus dixit peccatum pro ea. Abbas quesiuit si hoc uerum esset, at illa respondit. "Ita." Et hoc dicto diabolus amouit unum digitum. Poste quam

\[31^{32}\] Cf. Petrus Cantor. I'erbum abbrev. 144; PL 205, 345b-c. See also Petrus Pictauiensis. Summa de confessione, CCCL 51, prol.

\[33^{33}\] non inueni.

\[34^{34}\] non inueni
scito alia successuie dicebat. diabulus alios digitos amouebat, et ita omino fuit liberata. Per manus ligat diabulus raptore. per linguam detractores. 386

107. Presbiter uocatus a subditis ad confessionem in nullo debe debet tardare [35ra 18]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. In Valebie partibus uir nomine Seuerus causa quodam patrefamilias laborante in extremis uocaretur ad confessionem. Ipse laborans in uinea uidens adhuc modicum operis superesse dixit. "Precedite. Ego statim ueniam. Precedite uos." Et paruam moram faciens subsecutus est. et inuenit eum defunctum, quod sue negligencie et more atribuens plorauit, et reum se mortis eius dixit. Et interim defunctus animam recepit, et cum quereretur ubi fuisse, respondit quod cum tetri homines de quorum naribus flamma exibat eum ducerent per obscura loca. quidam pulcher iuuenis obuians eis dixit. "Reducite eum, quia Seuerus presbiter plangit; eius lacrimis eum Dominus donauit." Ipse autem iuuenis per octo dies peracta penitencia octauo die expirauit. 38

108. C'ontrino et penitencia sunt festinanda [35ra 33]

A. In Vitas Patrum


38non inueni

387Gregorius. Dialog. 1. 12.
At ille permanebat semper exorans idem, cui nuncius dixit, "Si ultra non addas malis tuis mala, orabimus Deum pro te." Et eo orante sanatus est. Cui dixit nuncius, "Tres annos penitencie impetraui tibi." Et sic factum est. Post tres annos mortuus est, uita et moribus emendatus, et in heremo sepultus.388

2. Piamon heremita, cum offerret quibusdam fratribus sacrificia, uidit angelum quorumdam nomina litteris aureis scribentem in libro, quorumdam uero non scribentem. Et tandem suscitaturus conscientiam inuenit omnes esse in mortali peccato quorum nomina scripta non fuerant; tandem illis [non] confitentibus et agentibus penitenciam, uidit angelum Dei eorum nomina scribentem in libro aureis litteris et inuitantem ad eucharistiam.389

3. Quidam rex Coenredus monuit quendam suum militem ut de malis actibus peniteret. et cum iaceret in infirmitate noluit, ne exprobrarent ei sodales quod ea faceret timore mortis, que facere sospes noluerat. Et ueniente ad eum rege, narravit quod uiderat. "Vidi pulcherimos iuuenes, qui attulerunt mihi librum paruum et pulcrum, in quo erant scripta omnia bona que feci, et superuenit exercitus malignorum spirituum, in quo non solum erant scripta omnia mala que feci, set minutissime cogitaciones quas cogitaui. Et ego tam bona quam mala legi, et dixit malus princeps ad bonos. 'Quid hic sedetis? Noster est.' Responderunt illi, 'Verum est; tollite eum. et in tumulum uestre dampronacionis ducite.' Et disparuerunt boni; tollentes autem mali uomerem. percusserunt me, unus ad capud. alius ad pedes, et cum peruenit dolor ad interiora, rapiar ad infernum." Et sic desperans mortuus est.390

388Rufinus, Hist. monach. 9; PL 21. 424d-425b.


390Cf. Beda, Hist. eccles. 5. 13; PL 95. 252b-253d.
A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam frater, cum requireret ab abbate Pemene, quid est quod dicit apostolus, "Omnia munda mundis," respondit. "Si quis ad hunc sermonem unire potuerit, ut eum intelligat, uidebit se minorem totius creature." Cui frater, "Quomodo possum uidere me minorem eo qui homocida est?" Respondit senex, "Si peruenis ad intelligenciam illius sermonis debes cogitare. 'Iste quidem hoc solum peccatum fecit. ego autem omni hora homicidium facio memetipsum interficiens,' quod hec sola est iusticia hominis. ut se ipsum reprehendat." 391

2. Quidam frater requisiuit abbatem Pemenem dicens, "Quomodo potest uitare homo ne loquatur malum de proximo suo?" Respondit senex, "Ego et proximus meus due sumus ymagines. Si ergo ne uituperauero. inuenitur ymago fratris mei uenerabilis; si autem meam laudauero. tunc respicio fratris mei prauarn yrnasinem: tunc ergo de alio non detracto si reprehendo me ipsum."


391 VP 3. 131: PL 73, 785d-786a.
392 VP 3. 133: PL 73, 786b.
uestitam.” Ita est omnis delector: qui propria mala non uidens, aliena semper accusat.\textsuperscript{393}

110. \textit{De bono luctu} [35va 26]

A. In \textit{Vitas Patrum}

1. Abbas Pastor dixit, “Luctus bonus duplex est, quia operatur et custodit.”\textsuperscript{394}

2. Cum quidam frater conuerti uellet se, prohibuit eum mater sua, at ille dixit, “Saluare uolo animam meam.” Tandem mater sua indulsit. Mater postea mortua est. Ipse factus monachus sub negligencia uitam expendit et raptus in infirmitatem magnam factus est in excessu mentis. et raptus est ad iudicium, et inuenit matrem cum hiis qui iudicabant. Illa autem uidens eum obstupuit dicens. “Quid est hoc quod dicebas, ‘saluare uolo animam meam’?" Ille stupitus pre dolore tacuit, et rediens ad se liberatus est de infirmitate. Semper postea fuit in fletu, ita etiam quod nollet recipere consolationem de aliquo et dixit. “Si improperium matris mee sustinere non potui, quomodo Christi et sanctorum angelorum eius aduersum me confusione potero in die iudicii sustinere?"\textsuperscript{395}

3. Interrogauit frater quendam senem dicens, “Quomodo desiderat anima mea lacrimas, sicut audio senes lacrimantes. et non ueniant. et tribulatur anima mea?" Dicit ei senex. “Fili Israel post xl annos intrauerunt terram promissionis; lacrime igitur sunt terra promissionis ad quas. si perueneris, iam non timebis bellum. Ita enim Deus uult animam affligi, ut semper desideret ingredi

\textsuperscript{393}VP 6. 4. 10. PL 73. 1016c-d.

\textsuperscript{394}VP 5. 3. 12. PL 73. 826b.

\textsuperscript{395}VP 5. 3. 20. PL 73. 863b-d.
in terram illam."\textsuperscript{396}

111. \textit{De compatientibus uel consolantibus alios in confessione} [35vb 12]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1 Quidam frater, inpugnatus a spiritu fornicacionis, reuelauit id cuidam seni. qui respondit eum esse indignum habitu monachi. qui tales cogitationes haberet. At ille desperatus ruit ad seculum. cui occurrît abbas Appollo et didicit ab eo causam fuge et dicens, quia eum tales cogitaciones inquie fecit eum precibus suis redire ad cellam suam, et ueniens abbas ad senem qui eum desperauerat. stetit ante cellam eius rogans Deum ut illi seni similis temptacio immitteretur. et statim uidit Ethiopem mittentem sagittam contra senem illum, quod senex quasi perforatus statim exiit eadem uia qua et alius ad seculum. Et abbas Appollo, sciens quod actum esset. et obuians seni. et dicens causam. "Fuge," dixit ei. "Reuertere in cellam tuam, et de cetero compatere infirmitati hominum, que non potest resistere insidiis diaboli. nisi gracia Dei coniuvante, quia nec uno die aggressionem diaboli portare potuisti. Nonne attendis dictum Saluatoris: 'Harundinem quassatam non debere confringi, et lignum fumigans non extingui'."\textsuperscript{397}

112. \textit{De modo penitendi} [35rb 34]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1 Duo fratres. inpugnati a fornicacione. exierunt de religione et acceperunt uxores.

Tandem compuncti redierunt et recepti sunt a fratribus suis ad penitenciam. et clausi sunt ambo in

\textsuperscript{396} VP 5. 5. 27; PL 73. 864c.

\textsuperscript{397} VP 5. 5. 4; PL 73. 874b-875c.
cella per annum integrum, et datus est eis cibus et potus equaliter ad mensuram. Completo tempore penitencie. exierunt et unus est uisus pallidus et tristis, alius robustus et clarus, cum tamen equali mensura cibi et potus fuissent usi. Erant autem prius simili, et interrogatus his qui pallidus erat quid fecisset in cella cum suis cogitationibus, respondit, "Pro malis que feci, quia penas in quibus uenturus eram in animo meo uoluebam a timore, adheserunt ossa mea carni mee." Alius robustus interogatus dixit. quid egisset, "Deo gracias referebam, qui eruit me de inquinamento huius mundi et de futuri seculi penis, et reuocauit me ad hanc conversacionem angelicam. et reminiscens assidue Dei mei letabar." Et dixerunt senes, "Equalis est eorum penitencia." 308

2. Abbas Dioscorus singulis annis aliquod nouum iugum sibi inponebat. ut non loqui alicui. uel nihil coctum comedere. uel nec poma. nec pira comedere. et similia. et perficiens unumquodque. sic aliud assumebat. 309

113. De confusione bona [36ra 19]

A. In Vitas Patrum


3 ^ VP 5. 5 34; PL 73. 882d-883b.
3a ^ VP 5. 4. 13; PL 73. 866a-b.
reuelat occulta tenebrarum?’ Illa autem confusa recessit absque opere sue uoluptatis. 

114. De contritione [36ra 30]

A. In Vitas Patrum


2. Cuidam episcopo preuidenti peccata hominum, erant accusate due matrone quod male uiuerent. Et cum quadam die tam uiris quam mulieribus distribueret corpus Domini, facies quorumdam fiebant nigre tamquam ex estu exuste. quedam habeabant oculos rubeos ac sanguineos,

\^VP 5. 10. 21; PL 73. 916a-b

\^a VP 5. 18. 20; PL 73. 985b-988a. See also VP 3. 167.

115. De penitencia et eius virtute [36va 13]

A. Adiuncta

1. Mane cuidam in lecto cum solus existeret. apparuit diabolus in episcopatu Parisensi. cui fecit homagium pro succursu dando cum esset pauper. Et diabolus dans ei pecuniam. tetigit manum eius, et nigra facta est ultra modum, et fere per x annos ita fuit, et nollebat confiteri.

45: VP 6. 1. 16: PL 73. 998a-1000a. See also VP 3. 166 and VP 7. 23. 1.
Tandem suspectus hominibus, confessus est illud episcopo Odoni Parisiensii, qui eum absoluit, iniuncta penitentia. Sicut uero faciebat penitentiam, transibat nigredo; tota peracta, tota transiit, et redacta est ad statum alterius manus.


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"populus iste manus de altitudine celi donec reddes manu scriptum." Et orante populo deuote.

eece carta decidunt per aerem, quam legens deserpsit Basilius, et communicauit iuuenem, reddens eum uxori sue 415

116. In penitentia pena debet respondere delectationi peccati [37ra 25]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Abbas Arsenius. dum operaretur sportas ex palmarum foliis, mittebat aquam in peluim ut infunderentur palme, et permittebat aquam tam diu stare ut feteret. Cumque interrogaretur a fratribus quare aquam non mutaret et nouam infunderet. respondit. “Oportet me nunc istum fetorem sustinere pro thimiamate et muscatis et aliis deliciis que habui in seculo, ut liberer ab eterno fetore "416

2. Abbas Macharius. quocienscumque reficiebat se cum fratribus propter caritatem. hoc statuit in corde quod quantos uini calices hausisset oblatos. tantis diebus nec ipsam aquam omino gustaret. Cum ergo offeretur ei uinum. libenter accepit. ut se postea siti maceraret. quod percipientes fratres ultra non obtulerant ei uinum.407

B. Adiuncta

1. Canonicus Sancti Victoris inbecillitate graui afflictus sepe coram Domino deponebat querimoniam. quia cum iuuenis esset et senum defectus et uices supplere deberet. uidebat senes

415 VP 1. 8. PL 73. col. 302a-305d. Cf. Hincmarus Rhemensis, De divortio Lotharii regis et Tetbergae reginae 15. PL 125. 721a-725a

416 VP 3. 39. PL 73. 764a-b.

407 VP 3. 53. PL 73. 768a-b.
uiriliter et quasi cum quadam iocunditate sua officia consummare, se uero impotencia membrorum retardatum ad Christi officia inutilem se putabat. Quo ita conquerente, audita est uox dicens, "Quis unquam me dilexit, et non multa pateretur?" Quo audito cepit reuoluere Vitas Patrum et legere inestimabiles sanctorum anxietates, quas sancti superauerant, quibus armatus artiori se tradidit collegio.408

117. Que intiunguntur a sacerdote sunt inplenda ne deterius quid contingat [37rb 12]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Cum ad loca martyrum multorum quidam demoniacus duceretur, tandem non curatus, ad Benedictum ductus est, quo curato ab eo iniunctum est ei ne unquam carnes comederet. et ut nunquam ad sacros ordines accederet, quod per tempus observauit, set tamen denuo sacros ordines suscepit. et iterum a demonio uexatus expiravit.409

B. Petrus

1. Quidam Ancelinus sceleratissimus, nunquam uolens confiteri peccatum suum, tandem de consilio uxoris confessus est. Iniuncta autem ei penitencia, ille perhorrescens penitenciam, occidit sacerdotem. narrans hoc uxor. cuius tamen instinctu alii sacerdoti confessus est. Set quod de priori. hoc et de secundo fecit. Uxor uero, cum per interpollacionem temporis suaderet ei adire tercium sacerdotem. respondit quod non adiret. nisi uxor super se reatum homicidei acciperet, si

408 Cf. BL (BM) Addit. 27909B no. 20: "Canon of St. Victor’s, bewailing his bodily infirmities, is comforted by a voice from Heaven".

409 "Gregorius. Dialog. 2. 16"

2. Cum quadam die predictam cepisset cognita hora diei descendit de equo nolens se inde mouere. et suadens seruis ut fugerent, preda relict a, hostibus uero sequentibus et inuenientibus eum cum pred a, et requirentibus quis esset respondit se esse auctorem prede. Quo occiso hostes cooperuerunt eum foliis et ramusculis. Nocte uero, cum quidam peregrini iuxta locum illum quiescerent. unus ex eis clericus uidit diuinum fulgorem splendentem super mortuum. Mane narravit sociis et accedentes inuenerunt cadauer, et edificata est ibidem capella. et seruiuit in ea clericus omnibus diebus uite sue postea. ubi nunc plures seruiunt in honore Dei congregacius.411

118 Pena respondeit culpe [37va 18]

A Petrus

1. Anima cuiusdam monachi circa eius [extrema] rapta ad portam infernalem uidit animam
cuiusdam diuitis pertrahi a demonibus illis multum cachinnantibus et deridentibus eam, quam princeps demoniorum congratulans iussit in cathedra sedere. sicut mortuus solebat sedere pompousus, induentes ei pallium. Demones uero dicentes quod amicus eius esset, locauerunt super sedem inextinguibiliter ardentem. ita quod non extingueretur, si totum mare superfunderetur. Pallium circumdederunt ei similis ardoris, deinde ad preceptum principis dederunt ei pro poculo erum liquorem candentem omni genere fetoris mixtum apponentes ori, qui appositus per omnia membra eius effusus in flammis effundebatur. Deinde pro ioculatoribus quos habere solebat, accipientes duo cornua ignibus plena auribus sui apposuerunt et corniculari incipientes scintillas per oculos eius et per nares et per omnia foramina eius emittebant. Deinde pro delectacionibus quas habuerat cum mulieribus, missus est in cameram ardentem plenam omni genere serpentum, sustinens illorum decorosos amplexus, et quomodo sit tractatus nunquam det Deus nobis experiri. Hoc uiso anima monachi ad corpus rediit.412

119. Non debet se homo artare propter Deum uinculo uel cathena [37vb 3]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1 Cum in Campanie partibus se Martinus in uno pede, qua saxum montis in specu cathena ligasset. ne ultra liceret ei progregi quam quantitas cathene tenderetur. Beatus Benedictus mandaui ei. "Si servus Dei es. non te teneat catena ferrea. set cathena Christi." Tunc Martinus compedem soluit. et solutus tamen ultra non processit quam prius cathena tenderetur.413

412 non intuendi.

413 Gregorius. Dialog. 3. 16.
120. Bonum est saltem inchoare bonum [37vb 11]

A. Adiuncta

1. Quidam usurarius dilacionem posuit in usura et treugas, pacem facere nolens, ita quod restitueret ablata. Tandem pacem fecit post treugas. 414

121. Ne propter aliorum derisionem aliquid] desistat a bono proposito [37vb 15]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. In Sampine partibus quidam. Honoratus nomine, abstinent a carnibus, cum irriteretur a parentibus quod non comederet carnes in conuiuo, et dicetur, "Nunquid hic in montibus his tibi piscem sumus alaturi." Quidam cum situla hausit aquam, quam fudit ante pedes discumbentium. cum aqua deficeret. qui tota die ad esum Honorati sufficeret potuisse. 415

122. De fructu perseverancie [37vb 23]

A. In Vitae Patrum

1. Frater quidam temptatus est a demone pessimo. Nam in specie pulcrarum mulierum pugnauerunt aduersus eum xl diebus. ut traherent eum ad turpem commixtionem. Illa autem uiriliter et non superato Deus donavit ei, ut nullum ultra calorem carnalis concupiscitie pateretur. 416

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415 VP 5. 5. 36. PL 73. 883c-d.
123. De bonitate Dei, qui recipit peccatorem et protegit [37vb 29]

A. In Vitas Patrum


2. Quidam Christianus episcopus sacrificauerat ydolis, et propter hoc uenit in heremum agens penitenciam xlx³ annis. Ad quem terminum uite sue uenit quidam discens conversacionem suam. et cum didicisset eam. abiit ab eo in oracionem. et postea rediiit ad eum. et factus est uelud ignis. et statim mortuus est. Quem alius, qui ad eum uenerat. sicut eum Dominus miserat, propter

417 VP 5. 5. 38. PL 73. 884c-885b.
hoc tradidit sepulture. 418

3. Interrogatus senior a quodam militante si Deus recipit penitentem, respondit, "Dic mihi: si uestis tua conscissa fuerit, proicis eam?" Respondit miles, "Non, set resarciens utor ea." Dicit ei senior. "Si tu proprio uestimento, Deus sue ymagini non indulget?" 419

124. De labore manuum [38ra 33]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Interrogatus abbas Agathon quid est maius, labor corporalis an custodia interioris hominis. respondit. "Homo similis est arbori; custodia interioris hominis est quasi fructus, labor corporis quasi folia arboris et ornatus; neutrum ergo potest ualere sine ali, quia arbor non fert fructum sine foliis. et parum ualet cum foliis. nisi ferat fructum, quia omnis arbor non faciens fructum bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur." 420


418 non inueni.
419 VP 6. 4. 30; PL 73. 1019d.
420 VP 5 10. 11. PL 73. 913d-914a.
dum nihil a te accipio, set laboro, superhabundo, et Deus benedicit mihi.\textsuperscript{421}

3. Seniores dixerunt operantem monachum demone uno pulsari, ociosum uero innumeris spiritibus deuastari.\textsuperscript{422}

4. Paulus, monachus probatissimus, cum colligeret folia palmarum et alia uite necessaria et implesset cellam suam, et non haberet cui distribueret, concremauit omnia singulis annis ut alia quereret. ne ociosus existeret.\textsuperscript{423}

125. \textit{De fide coniungi anime fidelis ad potentem Christum} [38rb 22]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quedam pulcherrima meretrix in quadam ciuitate habebat multos amatores. Et quidam potens accepit eam in matrimonio. et alii amatores non audebant accedere ad domum illius potentis. ne punirentur. set more solito sibilabant deforis, ut illa audiens exiret. Quod cum illa audisset, signauit aures suas et ingressa interiora domus clausit. Meretrix est anima, amatores eius uicia. potens Christus. domus potentis perpetua mansio, sibilatores sunt maligni spiritus.\textsuperscript{424}

126. \textit{De consuetudine} [38rb 34]

A. Barlaam

1. Si passiones malicie, cum non sint in nobis naturales. set extrinsecus adueniunt, cum

\textsuperscript{421}VP 5. 13. 13; PL 73. 946a-d.

\textsuperscript{422}VP 4. 39. PL 73. 839c.

\textsuperscript{423}VP 4. 40. PL 73. 839c-840a.

\textsuperscript{424}VP 6. 4. 13; PL 73. 1017c-d.
non habitum uenerint. uix obici possunt, quanto magis uirtus naturaliter nobis [insecta] ab auctore, et ipsum procuratorem habens. si modicum in nobis radicata fuerit, laborantibus in anima indiuulsa permanebit; nam uirtutum habitus naturalem habet cognacionem apud animam et Deum cooperatorem possidens. 425

127. Quod quis uinens sepe replicat, moriens sepe meminit [38va 4]

A. Adiuncta


128. De modo accedendi ad Deum [38va 18]

A. Barlaam

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425 Barlaam et Josaphat 10. PL 73. 519d-520b.

426 Cf. Tubachi. Index exemplorum. no. 3762. “Physician on death-bed”. See BL (BM) Addit. 27909B no. 10. “Dying physician can only name the sum owed him”. See also Herbert. Catalogue of Romances, p. 458, no. 0

427 Cf. Tubachi. Index exemplorum. no. 2674. “Host refused by Lawyer”. This tale appears in many collections. It occurs twice in MS London, BL, Royal 7.D.i (f. 124 and f. 128b). See also Lib. ex., no. 69; Odo(P). no. 188.
1. “Calefaciendo uincent,” sicut quidam sanctorum ait, “et animam resuscitando et ad Deum semetipsum transferendo, et ita Dominum suum inuocando, memrorque peccatorum, et pro indulgentia eorum postulando et lacrimis fennentissimis exorando, propicium fieri sibi Deum non est dubium.”

2. Iosaphat. cum in uisione uideret gloriam iustorum, ait, “Ne priuetis me isto gaudio.” Cui ait conductor suus. “Impossibile est te non hic esse, set labore multo et sudore uenies huc. set tamen semetipsum inferre potueris.”

129. De actua et contemplativa [38va 29]

A. In Vitas Patrum


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42' non inueni.


43' VP 3, 55: PL 73, 768c-d.
intrauit heremum. et post septimanam reuersus pulsuit ad hostium fratris sui, qui quesuit, "Quis es tu?" Et ille. "Iohannes ego sum." Et frater dixit, "Iohannes angelus factus est, et ultra inter homines non est." Ille autem pulsabat, dicens quia, "Ego sum." Et non aperuit ei, set dimisit eum affligi. Tandem aperuit, dicens ei. "Si homo es, necesse habes iterum operari ut uiuas; si autem angelus quid queris intrare in cellam?" Et egit ille statim penitenciam.431

130. De iuita monachorum [38vb 15]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Abbas Pemen dixit cuidam interroganti super cogitacionibus suis, "Monachus. si uentrem suum et linguam tenuerit et uapacionem non fuerit sectatus, confidat quia non moritur, set uiuet in perpetuum."432

2. Abbas Zacharia dixit Machario querenti quomodo quicumque se necessitatibus subiecerit atque coegerit. ipse est monachus.433

3. Dicebat abbas Theodorus quod essent propria monachi nihil possidere, abstinere. homines fugere.434


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41 VP 3. 56; PL 73. 768d-769a.
432 VP 3. 63; PL 73. 771a.
433 VP 5. 1. 6; PL 73. 855c.
434 VP 5. 1. 7; PL 73. 855c.
Mortuus enim non loquitur. Iam enim reputatis me, quia hic uobiscum sum.\[35\]

5. Dixit abbas Pastor, "Qui querelosus est, monacus non est."\[36\]

6. Epiphanius episcopus Ciprius dixit, "Eum qui uerus est monachus, oportet sine intermissione orare. aut certe psallere in corde suo."\[37\]

B Adiuncta

1. Quidam. uolens se tradere religioni, quesiuit a beato Bernardo Clareualli quid ei maxime esset necessum in religione. Respondit Bernardus quod nullus poterat esse in religione, nisi esset asinus. Illo querente quomodo hoc posset esse, respondit, "Qui uult esse in religione debet quodlibet opus sibi iniunctum facere indifferenteret, et debet quodlibet cibum sibi apposuit pacienter et iocunde comedere. et iste est modus asini."\[38\]

131. De fratrum solacio [39ra 2]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam heremita senuerat florens uirtutibus et semper Domino seruiens hymnis et in oracionibus. cui Dominus ad remunerationem preparauit [semper] mensam in sua spelunca paratam. propter quod cepit gloriari, et cepit eum quedam parua desidia animi, tam parua quod nec posset aduertere. Post quod creuit maior negligencia. ut tardior fieret ad omnia obsequia

\[35\] VP 5. 10. 38; PL 73, 919b.

\[36\] VP 5. 10. 54; PL 73, 922a.

\[37\] VP 5. 12. 6; PL 73, 941d.

diuina. ut quereret fatigatus quasi requiesceret. Et iam declinaret ad seculum et ad libidinem, et
inuenit cum uellet comedere panem aliquantum sordidissimum. Unde tristis effectus tamen cibo usus
est illo. Tertio die occupavit eum temptatio, ac si esset in amplexu mulieris, et cum cibo refici
deberet. et inuenit panem sordidissimum ac si mures eum corosissent uel canes. Tunc ille
ingemuit, non tamen tantum ut flamma libidinis extingueretur. Unde cogitans redire ad seculum,
uagans per heremum peruenit ad cellam monachorum, qui cum eum quasi notum rogarent
sermonem, ipse compunctus incepit a semetipso dicens, “Quomodo ego alios moneo, et ipse
decipior. et alios corigo. qui me non emendo? Fac tu ergo prior que doces.” Et hiis dictis statim
compunctus rediit ad cellam suam, in perpetuum emendatus, dicens ut ait scriptura, “Frater
fratrem adiuuans exaltabitur ut ciuitas munita et fortis.” Et agenti penitenciam in spelunca, ait ei
angelus. “Caue ne decipiaris de cetero. Venient ad te fratres, qui te cibo reficiant, quem non
recuses.” Et sic factum est.\textsuperscript{439}

2. In Thebaida fuerunt duo fratres. et cum unus incurisset fornicacionem. dixit ad alterum.
“Vado ad seculum.” quem cum alius niteretur retinere, respondit, “Non hic sedeo, set uado. Aut
ueni mecum. et ego redeo tecum. Aut certe permette me, et manebo in seculo.” Frater autem
nunciauit hoc cuidam seni. cui senex. “Vade cum eo; Deus non permitte eum coruere propter
laborem tuum.” Et abiit ad seculum cum eo. et cum uenissent ad quemdam uicum, abstulit Deus
concupiscentiam ab eo. uidens laborem et caritatem alterius.\textsuperscript{440}

132. De modo renunciandi seculo [39ra 39]

\textsuperscript{43} VP 8. 46. PL 73. 1149c-1151d.

\textsuperscript{44} VP 5. 5. 28. PL 73. 880d-881b.
A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam iuuenis, cum uellet renunciare seculo, et eum inuoluerunt sue cogitationes et retraherent, quia diues erat, diaboli ipsum egressum circumdederunt et excitauerunt puluerem multum ante eum. Ille uero, expolians se et iactans uestimenta sua, currebat ad monasterium nudus. Et Dominus revelauit cuidam seni dicens, “Surge et suscipe atletam meum.” Qui suscepit eum. dans ei habitum monachalem.\(^{441}\)

2. Quidam frater renunciauit seculo. et cum dispersisset res suas pauperibus, quedam sibi retinuit in propria ratione. Et uenit ad abbatem Antonium, quod cum comparasset Antonius, dixit. “Si uis esse monacus. uade in uicum. compara tibi carnes, et impone corpori tuo nudo. et sic ueni ad me.” Cumque hoc fecisset frater ille, tam canes quam aues omne corpus suum propter carnem rapiendam tam dentibus quam aues dirupuerunt. Cum autem uenisset ad senem. requisitus si fecisset quod preceperat. demonstrauit corpus suum laceratum. Cui sanctus Antonius. “Quicumque renunciauerit seculo et uoluerit adhuc habere pecunias, sic a demonibus laceratur.”\(^{442}\)

3. Quidam fratri uolenti retinere duos solidos propter infirmitatem, abbas indulsit. Et cum ille postea in cogitacionibus suis [propter] torqueretur, et ueritatem requireret ab abbate, abbas dixit. “Non est bonum tenere plus quam necesse est corpori; duo solidi sunt spes tua. et si contigerint ut pereant. numquid Deus non cogitat de nobis? Iacta ergo cogitatum tuum in Domino. quomodo ipse est cura de nobis.”\(^{443}\)

4. Quidam solitarius exiit in heremum uestitus lineo sacco tantum. et uidit hominem

\(^{441}\)VP 3. 67: PL 73. 772a-b.

\(^{442}\)VP 3. 68: PL 73. 772b-c.

\(^{443}\)VP 3. 69. PL 73. 772c-d.
nudum pascentem tanquam bestiam. et currens tenuit eum. Set cum ille non posset ferre o<r>dorem hominum. aufugit. Quem ille insecutus clamauit, "Expecta me, quia propter Deum sequor." Et cum magis fugeret, abiecit qui sequebatur uestem. Et tunc ille expectauit eum dicens, "Quando proiectis materiam mundi, et ego te expectavi." Et cum rogaret eum solitarius dicere uerbum edificationis. respondit. "Fuge homines et tace, et saluus eris."444

133. Bene investigari debet conversatio eius qui recipitur in religionem [39va 1]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Basilius Magus fecit se recipi in monasterium et magicis artibus fecit quamdam sanctimonialem febricitantem. ita ut diceret se non posse curari, nisi a Basilio, quod cum relatum esset abbati loci. abbas dixit illum esse diabolum, et repulit eum a monasterio. et sanata est illa. Postea ille igne crematus est Rome.445

B. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dixit abbas Ysaac Thebeus fratibus suis. "Pueros hic non adducatis, quia propter pueros in Scithi quatuor ecclesie heremus facte sunt."446

134. De superfluitate monachorum [39va 11]

A. In Vitas Patrum

444VP 6. 3. 10; PL 73. 1008b-c.
445Gregorius. Dialog. 1. 4.
446VP 5. 10. 32; PL 73. 918a.
306

1. Dicebat abbas Paulus. "Si aliquas res habere uoluerit monachus in cella sua, preter eas sine quibus non potest uiuere, frequenter cogit de cella egredi, et ita a demone decipitur." Idem Paulus unam mattam faciens, eandem texebat, et retexebat ne tantummodo foris exiret.\(^{447}\)

2. Quidam frater furabatur panem cuiusdam senis et eius uictum. Senex tacebat et amplius operabatur dicens, "Puto ille frater necessarius est mihi, et habebat grandiem tribulacionem ex pennuria." Cumque moreretur, uidit fratrem illum et osculatus manus eius dixit, "Gracias ago manibus istis, frtres, quia per eas arbitrór me intrare in regnum celorum." At ille frater compunctus est et emendatus.\(^{448}\)

135. *De sollicitudine in obediencia* [39va 25]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam de sanctis senioribus misit discipulum suum ad hauriendam aquam, et puteus erat remotus a cella. Discipulus oblitus funem uenit ad puteum et pre longitudine uie non ausus fuit reuerti pro fune. ne forte contristaret seniorem. Set prostrauit se in oracionem. et surgens de oracione sua. clamauit. "O putee. putee! Misit me seruus Ihesu Christi, abbas meus, ut hauriam aquam." Statim ascendit aqua ad os putei, et impleuit frater lagenam, glorificans potenciam Saluatoris. Aqua autem putei reuersa est ad locum suum.\(^{449}\)

2. Quidam dixit abbatì Pastori, "Patres seniores non locuntur ab inicio fratribus recta. set magis distorta, et si uiderint quidem ea que torta sicut faciunt. Iam eis non locuntur. nisi quod

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\(^{447}\)VP 3. 72, PL 73, 773a-b.

\(^{448}\)VP 3. 74, PL 73, 773b-c.

\(^{449}\)VP 3. 28, PL 73, 756b-c.
expedit agnoscentes quomodo in omnibus obedientes sunt.\textsuperscript{450}

136. \textit{Multum valet bonum obedientie} [39vb 3]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quadam die, cum Benedictus in cella existeret, Placidus puer in flumine post uas suum demersus est, cum aqua haurire deberet, et Benedictus dixit Mauro. "Frater Maure, curre, quia puer ille in lacum cecidit. et eum iam longius unda trahit." Maurus autem subsequens, existimans se currere super terram, ccurrurit super aquas, et eductum per capillos extraxit, qui postea reuersus ad se attribuit illud sanctitati Benedicti. set Benedictus illud attribuit bonitati obedientie.\textsuperscript{451}

2. Cum Campania grauiter fame laboraret, et Benedictus fere omnia pauperibus distribuisset, quidam subdiaconus Agapitus peciit sibi dari parum olei. Set monacus, cui preceptum erat, habuit tamen parum utirem uas olei. et distulit dare, et recusavit, quia tunc fratibus nihil remaneret. Tunc Benedictus proici precepit illud uas per fenestram, ne aliquid in cellario per inobedienciam remaneret. Vas non est confractum, nec aliquid olei effusum, et datum est tunc petenti. Tunc collectis fratibus, Benedictus increpauit inobedienciam monachi, et dedit se cum fratibus in oracionem. et eo orante. doleum coopertum prius vacuum oleo est impletum, ut oleum in aream diffluueret. et tunc diffidencia monachorum est increpata, quia pro paruo uase datum est doleum plenum.\textsuperscript{452}

\textsuperscript{450}VP 5. 10. 30; PL 73. 917d-918a.

\textsuperscript{451}Gregorius. \textit{Dialog.} 2. 7.

\textsuperscript{452}Gregorius. \textit{Dialog.} 2. 28.
B. In Vitas Patrum

1. Beatus Antonius precepit Paulo Simplici heremite, suere et dissuere uestimenta, texere et frangere sportas. et aqua tota die effundere, ut in eo probaret bonum obediencie.453


4. Quidam de patribus in extasi positus uidit iiiordines ante Deum. Primus erat hominum infirmancium et gratias agencium Deo. Secundus erat eorum qui erant hospitales. et in hoc stant et ministrant Tertius eorum qui solitudinem sectantur. et non uident homines. Quartus illorum qui

453 See Rufinus, Hist. monach. 31: PL 21, 458b-459a.
454 VP 3. 27: PL 73, 755d-756b.
455 VP 5. 14. 18; PL 73, 952a-c. In Pelagius' version, the story continues: "Et tenens pater filium suum. jacavit eum in furnum ardentem. Statim autem factus est furnus velot ros; ex qua re acquisivit gloriam in tempore illo. quemadmodum Abraham patriarcha."
propter Deum et obedienciam solliciti subjecti sunt patribus. Erat autem hic ultimus ordo, superior illis tribus. et utebatur torque aurea et maiorem gloriam pre ceteris possidebat, et cum quereret senex quare isti maiorem gloriam haberent alii, responsum est ei, "Isti alii omnes aliquam requiem adimplendo, quamuis in bonis operibus proprias uluntates. Hic autem ordo, qui obedienciam exercet omnes uluntates suas relinquens, totus pendet in uluntate Patris iubentis, et ideo maiorem gloriam pre ceteris est sortitus.\(^4\)

5. Abbas Siluanus habebat xii discipulos, uni ex eis nomen Marcus, quem pre ceteris diligebat propter bonum obediencie quod in eo erat. Cumque alii quidam dicerent ei quod alii discipuli contristarentur eo quod illum pre alii diligaret, ipse pulsauit ad ostium cuiuslibet uocans eum. Et nemo uoluit exire. Tandem uocauit Marcum ad suum ostium, et ipse statim exiuit. Et Siluanus inuenit in quaterno quem ipse scribasset tempore uocationis litteram ultimam imperfectam et median propter bonum obediencie, quam ipse noluit complere post uocationem abbatis. Et tunc illi iudicauerunt eum magis diligendum, quia Deus illum magis diligit propter bonum obediencie.\(^5\)

6. Cuidam seni. cum deessent necessaria uite, precepit discipulo suo ut iret in uicum ad ministrum. qui solebat ei necessaria deferre. Et ille, licet timeret ire propter scandalum, tamen dixit se iturum propter bonum obediencie. Cui senex, "Vade. Confide in Domino. Deus proteget te ab omni temptacione." Cum autem uenisset frater ad ostium ministri senis, quod diu quesuierat aperto ostio inuenit ibi filiam ministri solam, que amplexata est eum, cepit eum illicitare ad commixtionem corporis sui. amplexans eum et trahens. Et cum urgerent eum cogitaciones.

\(^4\) VP 3 141: PL 73, 787c-788a.

\(^5\) VP 3 143: PL 73, 788b-c.
clamavit ad Dominum. "Domine, propter oracionem eius, qui me misit, salva me ex hac hora." Et statim inuentus est ad flumen iuxta monasterium suum, et reuersus est ad patrem suum sine macula. 458


9. Venerunt aliquando iiiior fratres ad abbatem Pambo, quorum unus multum ieiunabat. alter nihil possidebat. tertius habebat caritatem plurimam, quartus manserat in obediencia et per xxii annos. Et dixit abbas Pambo quod uirutus ultimi omnes alios excerret. quia absclidisset ipse

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458 VP 3. 144. PL 73. 788c-789a.
459 VP 3. 145; PL 73. 789a-c.
460 VP 5. 7. 2; PL 73. 893b.
propriam voluntatem. aliis retinentibus suam. 461

10. Abbas Athrem seniori suo abbati Hor debuerat propter piscem arare. et apposuit cultellum et incidebat eum. Et uocauit eum abbas Hor, et reliquid piscem semiiincisum propter bonum obediencie. 462

137. De uaga mente et fuga corporalium, et de migrando [40va 10]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dixit abbas Pastor. "Initium malorum est distendere mentem." Et dicebat. "Quia bonum est fugere corporalia, quando enim homo est iuxta corporale bellum, assimilatur uiro stanti supra lacum profundissimum. ut qua hora uisum fuerit inimico eius, facile eum deorsum inpingat. Si autem a corporalibus longe fuerit. assimilabitur uiro longe posito a puteo, ut uel trahat eum inimicus proicere deorsum: dum autem eum uiolenter trahit Deus auxilium ei attribuit. 463


3. Quidam adolescens. uix optinens licenciam a patre suo. intrauit monasterium. et post de licencia abbatis intrauit heremum. aquila sibi uiam ad speluncam in heremo ostendendo. Ad quem post sex annos uenit diabolus. in senis specie corui. persuadens ei ut properaret ad monasterium

<sup>461</sup> VP 5. 14. 7. PL 73. 940c-d

<sup>462</sup> VP 5. 15. 45. PL 73. 961c-962b.

<sup>463</sup> VP 5. 2. 12. PL 73. 850d

<sup>464</sup> VP 5. 7. 15. PL 73. 805c
proximum et communicaret. Et diabolus promisit ei secum ire. Abierunt, ille corpori et sanguini Domini. diabolus in ingressu ecclesie disparuit. Frater autem reuersus est in cellam suam, cognoscens illum fuisse diabolum, tum dicens quia nihil mali operis persuaserit. Iterum uenit diabolus in specie adolescentis cuiusdam ad eum, respiciens eum a uertice usque ad pedes, dicens iste diabolus, "Pater tuus mortuus est ante tres annos, et dimissit tibi uiro sancto facultates ut tu illas distribuas pauperibus. alioquin disperibit totum." Cui frater, "Nolo exire cellam." Cui demon. "Quid mali, si exieris et reuertaris? Si non ueneris, et disperierit substancia eroganda pauperibus, in conspectu Dei tu exinde reddes racionem." Frater consensit, et cum uenissent ad domum patris sui demone comite. demon disparuit. Et intrans domum, inuenit patrem uium, et frater confusus dixit se uenisse propter caritatem patris ad matrem, et manens ibi per aliquot dies, cecidit in fornicacionem. et afflictus a patre multis suppliciis non egit penitenciam miser, set mansit in seculo.\footnote{VP 5. 7. 24; PL 73. 897c-900a.}

4. Dixit senex. "Sicut arbor fructificare non potest, si sepius transplantatur de loco in locum. sic nec monachus frequenter migrans de loc<o> ad locum potest in celestibus fructificare."\footnote{VP 5. 7. 36; PL 73. 902a.}

5. Dixit senex. "Cella monachi est caminus Babilonis, ubi tres pueri filium Dei iuueniunt. Set et columna est ex qua Deus locutus est Moysi."\footnote{VP 5. 7. 38; PL 73. 902a-b.}

6. Quidam frater. nouem annis inpugnatus a suis cogitacionibus, qualibet die sustulit pelliculam suam ut exiret de claustro. Et singulis diebus circa uesperam tamen dixit, "Hodie stabo
hic propter Deum." Et cum ita fecisset nouem annis de die in diem, ita faciens abstulit Dominus cogitaciones recedendi ab eo.\(^{468}\)

7. Quidam, cum anxiaretur a cogitacionibus suis ut exiret de claustro, dixit hoc abbati, qui dixit, "Vade et sede. Cogitacionem tuam dimitte. Cogitet quod uult [tantum], ne exeat de cella tua corpus tuum."\(^{469}\)

138. *De antiquis in conversione et de recentibus* [40vb 29]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dicebat senex. "Monachus in temptacione incurrens est sicut domus que cadit. Et si sobrius fuerit in cogitacione, reedificat eam, inueniens fundamentum lapides, arenam. et cetera ad edificium profutura. et ulociter fabrica proficit. Ita monachus antiquus, qui incidit in temptacionem, cum surrexerit, inuenit plurimum apparatum meditacionem divinae legis. psalmodiam. opus manuum. oracionem. et cetera que sunt fundamenta edificii spiritualis. Ille autem qui nec effodit. nec fundamentum misit. nec habet aliud eorum que sunt necessaria ad reedificandum. set in spe dimittens si aliquo modo proficiatur, similis est recenti monacho conuerso. donec illa didicerit que antiquus didicit.\(^{470}\)

139. *De observatione professionis et regule* [41ra 5]

A. Petrus

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\(^{468}\) VP 5. 7. 30; PL 73. 902b.

\(^{469}\) VP 5. 7. 37; PL 73. 902a.

\(^{470}\) VP 5. 5. 18; PL 73, 877c-878a.
1. Apud Marcimatium est quoddam monasterium sanctimonialium, ubi ex professione non licet egredi sanctimonialibus septa uel habitacula. Et cum quadam uice edificia circumiacentia earum habitaculis exurerentur, ipse tamen noluerunt egredi de habitaculis contra regulam, licet ignis usque ad earum habitacula peruenisset. Aduocatus episcopus Ludunensis, qui ibi erat, ait eis, “Auctoritate beati Petri et nostra, et obediencia qua tenemini abbati uestro, precipio uobis ut hac uice de habitaculis uestrís exeatis.” Respondit quedam Gilla nomine. “Venimus huc ut uitaremus ignem eternum, non temporalem, et non licet nos aliqua necessitate hos terminos transgredi. Noli ergo nobis iniungere hoc quod non licet, set sicut nos ignem precipis fugere, ita magis igni ut a nobis fugiat uirtute Christi Domini nostri armatus iniunge.” Ad quam mulieris uocem tremefactus archiepiscopus, et statim fide repletus lacrimans ait, “In nomine Ihesu Christi et per uiutem fidei huius que nunc locuta est mulier[is], recede, ignis pestifer, ab ancillarum Dei habitaculis, nec dampna aliqua ultra inferre presumas.” Et statim omnibus uidentibus insignibus ignis extinctus est.\(^{471}\)

140. *Non debent monachi commedere uel ludere extra claustum sine licencia abbatis, uel aliquid accipere, uel exire* [41ra 28]

A Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Beatus Benedictus increpauit monachos suos quod diu morantes usque ad uesperam comederant et biberant in domo cuiusdam mulieris, quod ipse uiderat in spiritu, licet fuisset absens \(^{472}\)

2. Cum beatus Benedictus mitteret nuncium suum monachum ad predicandum monialibus

\(^{471}\) Petrus. *De mir. I.* 22. 56.

\(^{472}\) Gregorius. *Dialog* 2. 12.
quibusdam, ipse rogatus accepit mappulas quasdam et abscondit, quod sciens beatus Benedictus eum grauiter increpauit.\textsuperscript{473}

3. Quidam paruulus monacus sancti Benedicti, dum sine licencia uitaret parentes suos, defunctus est et sepultus. Quod cum sciuisset Benedictus, Dominicum corpus fecit poni super pectus eius, et tunc terra tenuit eum, nec eicit.\textsuperscript{474}

4. Quidam monachus sancti Benedicti nobilitati animum dederat, nolens in claustro manere per uices. Qui cum sepe correptus esset a Benedicto, tandem Benedictus iratus iussit eum recedere. et cum recederet, obuiauit ei draco. uolens eum deuorare, et cum clamasset, monachi uenerunt ei in adiutorium, et recessit ab eo. et tunc amplius noluit exire de claustro.\textsuperscript{475}

141. \textit{Tempus et locus faciunt hominem peccare. etiam prius nolentem} [41rb 9]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo


\textsuperscript{472}Gregorius. \textit{Dialog.} 2. 19.

\textsuperscript{473}Gregorius. \textit{Dialog.} 2. 24.

\textsuperscript{474}Gregorius. \textit{Dialog.} 2. 25.

\textsuperscript{475}Gregorius. \textit{Dialog.} 2. 13.
142. De respientibus divicis [41rb 20]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum senator aliquando abbatī Arsennio reliquisset magnam hereditatem, et delatum fuisset ad eum testamentum, ipse uolens illud scindere dixit, "Ego prius mortuus sum quam ipse. Ipse autem modo mortuus est; quomodo me fecit heredem?" Et remisit testamentum, nihil accipiens.¹⁷⁷

2. Quidam Grecorum uenerunt ad quandam ciuitatem Cystracum⁴⁷⁸ ut ibi distribuerent elemosinas pauperibus. Et scrutati de indigentibus, inuenerunt quendam leprosum plectentem palmas. cui cum eorum yconomus uellet dare, noluit accipere, set dixit sibi sufficete opus manuum suarum. Iterum ductus est ad domos cuiusdam uidue, que habebat filias, et cum pulsarent ostium, una de filiabus nuda occurrit ad ostium. Mater enim abierat ad opus; erat enim candidatrix. Et cum uellet dare filie uestimentum et nummos. noluit accipere; nam mater dixerat ei, "Confide, filia. quia inueni hodie opus unum; habeamus uictum nostrum." Et cum uenisset mater. et iam rogata nihil uoluit accipere dicens. "Ego [...] creatorem meum Deum et uos a me uultis eum tollere. [cum] Illi autem glorificauerunt Deum."¹⁴⁷⁹

3. Hylarion dixit, "Multis nomen pauperum occasio auaricie est." Et iterum, "Nemo melius erogat. quam qui nihil sibi reservat."¹⁴⁸⁰

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¹⁷⁷VP 5 6 2: PL 73, 888c-d.
¹⁷⁸i. e., Ostracines
¹⁴⁷⁷VP 5 6 18: PL 73, 891c-d.
143. De libertate paupertatis [41va 4]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam pauper uenerat in Oxirinco et habebat unam mattam. De medietate se cooperiebat, aliam medietatem sibi submittebat. Et erat ualidum frigus, et pater monasterii de nocte exiens ad urinam, audiuit eum murmurantem et gementem de frigore ac dicentem, "Gracias tibi ago. Domine, quanti sunt modo diuites in custodia, qui et iam in ferro sedent aut pedes habent in ligno constrictos. qui neque urinam suam bibere sinuntur. Ego autem uelud imperator sum, extendens pedes meos. et ubi uolo ambulo." Quod audiens, pater narravit fratribus, et edificati sunt. 481

144. De colligentibus diuicias [41va 17]

A. <Gregorius in Dialogo>

1. Quidam ortolanus laborabat, et omnia dabat in elemosinam que acquirebat. preter ea unde sibi uictum tenuem comparabat. Tandem suggestum est ei inspiracione spiritus maligni ut colligeret aliquam pecuniam quam. cum senesceret uel erogaret, posset expendere, et fecit sic. Contigit autem eum infirmari in pede, et expendit quicquid habebat in medicis. Tandem unus ex peritis medicis dixit eum non posse curari. nisi pes incideretur, et cum instrumenta afferet ad pedem incidendum. nocte precedente ortolanus ille penituerat de nummis collectis, et quod non expenderat eos in usus pauperum. Et astiterat ei angelus Domini statim dicens, "Ubi sunt nummi quos collegisti. et ubi est spes quam tractasti?" Et cum peniteret, angelus Domini tetigerat eius pedem atque sanauerat. Medicus autem, inueniens eundem ortolanum in agro sanatum atque

481 VP 5 7. 46; PL 73, 904d-905a.
operantem, glorificauit Deum.\textsuperscript{482}

145. \textit{De ornatu et utilitate uestium} [41va 37]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum ad monachum quendam hospitalem uenisset uestita uetusissimis uestibus \textit{ut} acciperet panem ab eo. Ipse impleuit manum ut daret ei multum, et clausa est manus sua, et leuauit parum. Alia uenit ad eum uestita bene, et uidens uestem eius misit manum ut daret ei parum, et aperta est manus eius (leuamen) multum. Et requirens de utrisque multibus, cognouit quod bene uestita de honestis mulieribus ad paupertatem uenerit, et pro opinione natalium fuerit bonis rebus induta, alia uestierat se rebus uetustis causa accipiendo.\textsuperscript{483}

2. Quidam sanctus uidit diabolum ridentem, et quesuuit quare nderet, qui dixit. \textit{Vidi socium meum equitantem super caudam cuiusdam matrone' que dum retraheret caudam, cecidit in lutum socius meus. et inde risi.}\textsuperscript{484}

3. Quidam rex. conuocatis omnibus magnatibus terre, fecit magnum conuuium, ita quod non erat angulus in domo qui non esset coopertus purpura uel lapidibus preciosis. Interfuit hic quidam philosophus qui. dum uellet proicere saliuam, surrexit et spuit in faciem regis. Et cum propter hoc eum uellent \textit{discere ad suspendurn} tanquam reum lese maiestatis. quesuuit rex quare hoc fecisset. Philosophus ait. \textit{Non uidi locum minus mundum. Alia loca erant auro et argento, gemmis et purpura plena. et ego in barba regis [intrassata] ex pinguedine ciborum me mundai.} \textsuperscript{485}

\textsuperscript{482}See Gregorius. \textit{Dialog.} 1. 3.
\textsuperscript{483}VP 5. 13. 12. PL 73. 945d-946a.
\textsuperscript{484}See \textit{Operum s. Zenonis: Prolegomena;} PL 11, 195d-196d.
Rex hoc audiens compunctus est, "Non gloriae uestium querimus; quid erit, si singula redeant lana ad oves. tinctura ad tinctores? Sed de fortitudine gloriemur. Hoc habemus commune cum asino, quare ipse non glorabitur." Et de singulis sic uiciis adapta.

146. De conversacione in seculo [41vb 31]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam episcopus Affri, prius abbas, uolens uti duricia in episcopatu quam autem exercuerat in monasterio, et non preualens. prostrauit se in terram, dicens, "Domine, putas ne episcopatum recessit a me gratia tua." Et rueelatum est ei quia non, set quia tunc sollicitudo erat. "Et cum non esset homo, Deus tuus susceptor tuus erat. Nunc autem hic in seculo es. ubi homines auxiliantur tibi."

147. De labore placentium seculo [42ra 1]

A. In Vitas Patrum

148. De studio placendi seculo et non Deo [42ra 10]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. A<bbb>bas Pambo descendit de heremo in Alexandriam, qui uidit ibi mulierem theatricam, et lacrimatus est. Interrogatus autem quare fuerit lacrimatus, ait, “Due,” inquit, “res me monuerunt. una de illius perdicione. alia quia ego non habeo tale studium placendi Deo, quale nunc ista ut hominibus turpibus placeat.”\(^{487}\)

149. Qui multe peccat securius peccat [42ra 17]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. In Valerie prouincia quidam Curialis filiam suam in sabbato sancto de sacro fonte susceptam secum manere iussit. Et nocte uino inebriatus eam perdidit. Mane perrexit ad balneum, ut reatum ibi ablueret tremebundus: stetit in ecclesia, timens ne propter reatum a demonio raperetur. Set cum nihil aduersi ei contigisset, per sex dies continuos letus et audacter ecclesiam intrauit. Die septimo subitanea morte defunctus est. et sepulture dum traderetur. flamma tam diu omnibus uidentibus eius ossa combussit, quousque totum sepulcrum destrueretur.\(^{488}\)

150. De adherentibus in deliciis seculi [42ra 30]

A. Barlaam

1. Barlaam ait. “Laboriosum et ualde impossibile est iuxta ignem conuersari aliquem, et

\(^{487}\) VP 5. 3. 14; PL 73. 862b-c.

\(^{488}\) Gregorius. Dialog. 4. 32.
non fumigari.

2. Quidam fugiens terribilem sonum unicornis, ne deuoraretur ab eo, decidit in magnum baratrum. Et cum caderet manibus extensis arbustam quandam comprehendit, tenuit, et in base quodam manibus impressis sic stetit. Respiciens ergo uidit duos mures, unum album, alium nigrum. corrodentes radices arbuste quam apprehenderat, et iam prope erat ut eam abscideret. Considerans etiam baratri profundum. uidit draconem subitus se, qui cupiebat eum deuorare. Contemplatus autem bases quibus insistebat, uidit capita iiiii aspidum de par<ie>te prodeuncia, ubi consistebat. Circumspiciens autem uidit de ramis arbustule quam tenebat mel distillare. Dimittens ergo considerare omnia mala que circumdederant eum, se ipsum dulcedini illius modici mellis tradidit. Unicornis est figura mortis semper nos perseuens; baratrum mundus iste plenus omnibus laqueis: arbustula inessanter ipsa a muribus quam apprehendimus, uite uniuscuiusque nostrum mensura est. que consumitur per tempora et horas incisioni proxima; iiiii aspides signant constitucionem hominis [die et noctis onere corporis] de quatuor fragilibus elementis, quibus inordinatis et conturbatis corporis compactio dissoluitur. Draco autem uenter est inferni. cupiens deuorare eos qui delectacionem mundi preponunt futuris bonis; stilla mellis paruam signat delectacionem mundi. per quam seductor ille non sinit suos amicos propriam uidere salutem.

3. Quidam tres habuit amicos. Duos ex illis multum dilexit. magnam eis exibens familiaritatatem; tertio paruam exhibuit familiaritatatem. nec multum eum diligens. Venerunt ergo

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28 non inueni.

29 "in fowea" written above "baratrum" as a gloss.

quadam die milites imperatoris ad hominem illum, ut redderet rationem imperatori de debito x milium talentorum. Coartatus uenit ad amicum primum, petens ab eo consilium et auxilium, tanquam ab amico. Respondit ille, "Non sum amicus tuus. O homo, nescio quis sis. Habeo alios amicos. cum quibus oportet me letari, et amicos istos amodo possidebo. Dabo tamen tibi duo ciliceps, ut habeas in uia qua ambulas, que tamen nec tibi proderunt, et nullum auxilium aliud a me sperabis." Cucurit ergo ille ad secundum amicum, auxilium et consilium ab eo postulans tanquam ab amico. Cui ille, "Non uacat mihi tecum pergere; propriis negotiiis sum occupatus et sollicitudinibus. cum modicum pergam tecum, licet non sit mihi pro futurum." Plangens ergo ille ingratitudinem amicorum, pergit ad tertium amicum, cui numquam serenum uultum exhibuerat, petens consilium et auxilium ab eo, cum uerecundia tamen recognoscens quod non bene tractauerat eum ut amicum. Respondit ille, "Amicus tuus certissimus sum ego. et modici beneficii tui immemor retribuam tibi cum usura. Non timeas, quia ego precedam te. et interueniam pro te apud regem. nec tradam te in animas inimicorum tuorum." Tunc ille compunctus dicebat, "Heu, quid prius plangam. an uanum affectu quem illis falsis et uanis amicis exhibui, an amicitiam meam, quod huc optimo amico meo nullam exhibui familiariatem?" Primus amicus est diuiciarum possessio et amor pecuniarum. pro quibus homo multis subiacet periculis. Veniente ergo morte, nihil ex omnibus. nisi que ad sepulturam pertinent uiles accipit panniculos. Secundus amicus est uxor et filii et ceteri cognati, quorum affectu adherentes inseparabiler tenemur, ipsam animam pro eorum amore spernentes, set nullam ex eis alicuius utilitatem consequitur in hora mortis, nisi quod ad monumentum secum pergunt, deinde mox reuertentes, suis uacant curis et sollicitudinibus. obliuiscentes mortuum et cooperientes [mortuum] in sepulcro memoriam eius. Amicus tertius est despectus et non familiaris, set exosus, et quasi auersus; iustorum opus chorus
est, uirtutum congregacio, que nos precedere potest cum eximus de corpore, et pro nobis interuenire apud Deum et de inimicis exactoribus liberare. Iste est bonus et gratus amicus, qui paruum bonum opus retribuit cum usura."492

4. Ciuitas quedam erat. ad cuius regimen singulis annis regem eligebant uirum extraneum, ignarum ex toto legum suarum, qui omnem potestatem accipiebat per annum, quicquid uellet, tam in delictis quam in aliis. In fine autem anni nudum trahentes per ciuitatem deportabant in insulam ualde remotam, ubi non inueniens cibum uel uestimentum fame [aterebat]. Multi regnauerunt sic ibi uicissim, qui de deliciis dissoluti, tandem nihil cogitantes de futuro, cum regnare desissent fame perierunt. Contigit autem quendam eligi, qui non dissolutus deliciis et habundancia, et cognito per quendam familiarem suum quod opperteret eum post annum nudum in insulam deportari, aperuit omnes tesaores regios, quos tunc in sua potestate habebat, et misit in illam insulam per suos familiares in quam deportandus erat. In termino anni ciues eum nudum miserunt in insulam, ubi ipse de thesauris premisis deliciose uixit. Alii autem reges expulsi existentes ibidem fame cruciabantur. Ciuitas est ille uanus et deceptor mundus. Ciues autem principes et potestates demoniorum. rectores tenebrarum, qui illiciunt nos dulcedine uoluptatum, promittentes caduca tanquam mansura. Sic ergo nobis deliciis dissolitis posteri or non prouidentibus. mors iminet et nudos expellunt maligni spiritus in terram tenebrosam et opertam mortis caligine. Bonus consiliarius est predicator prudens.493

5. Simile est genus humanum columbe fugienti a facie ancipitris mutantis se de loco in locum. et nunc insidet arbori. nunc reconditur in uepribus, nunc in cauerna. Sic sunt qui met<ui>

492 Barlaam et Josaphat 13: PL 73. 494a-496a.

493 Cf. Tubach. Index exemplorum. no. 2907, "King for a year."
perdere presencia nihil credunt sibi tutum, nescientes ad quem finem perueniant, qui mala
appetunt pro bonis et miseriam pro felicitate. 494

6. Rex quidam, cum incederet cum multo comitatu, in uis uidit specus subterraneum unde
procedebat quidam luminis fulgor, ubi sedebat uir pauperimus habitu; uxor uero cantando melos
dulcissimos propinabat ei saltans, uirum laudibus extollens. Tunc omnes mirati sunt. quod illi qui
tanta laborabant inopia sic leti essent. Rex autem ait consiliario suo quod hec uita fuisset omnium
amarissima. quam nunquam uidisset, et quomodo ita leti esse possent miratus est. Cui consiliarius,
“Ipsi mucho infeliciorem reputant uitam nostram, quam nos eorum. Illi enim, qui eterna proponunt
temporalibus. securissime uiuunt.” Et consiliarius tam de eternis quam temporalibus magnum fecit
regi sermonem. Rex autem compunctus ait, “Etiam non per singulos dies tantum, set etiam per
singulos horum memoriam mihi assidue renoua.” 495

7. Quidam iiuenis filius fuit ditissimorum parentum, cuius tamen pater nobilissimam ac
pulcheriam ac ditissimam quandam puellam uellet desponsare. iiuenis aufugit, respuens
tamquam nepharium illud. Venit iam in domum cuiusdam senis, ubi filia senis uirgo quedam
manibus suis operabatur. Et cum semper Deum laudabat tanquam datorem, et cum requireretur a
iiuene. quare sic in tantum Deum laudaret de dono exiguo, respondit, “Nescis sicut exigua
medicina de magnis laboribus sepius liberat hominem, ita et paruis Dei donis graciarum actio
magnorum efficitur auctrix bonorum? Qui enim parua contulit Deus, maiora ualet dare. Si autem
pro eo quod ad ymaginem Dei facta sum, quod indifferenter tam diues percipit quam pauper,
gracias agere impossibile est. si de modico isto quod habeo largitori omnium gracias non obtulero.

492 Barlaam et Josaphat 14: PL 73. 498a-b.
495 Cf. Tubach. Index exemplorum. no. 4994 "Trumpet of Doom."
quam excusacionem habeo?” Iuuenis autem, stupefactus de intellectu puelle, petiit illam a sene in uxorem. quam senex dedit tandem ei. Iuuenis autem uilibus pannis indutus secum commansit, deponens splendidum uestimentum. Tunc cognoscens tandem senex quod petierat tantum propter studium pietatis ille iuuenis filiam suam. ostendit ei multas diuicias, quantas numquam uiderat idem iuuenis. et ait ad eum. “Fili, hec omnia tibi do, eo quod elegisti mee fieri heres [substantie].” Ille uero diuiciis illis supergressus est omnes diuities ac nobiles terre.496


151. De duersis statibus peccatorum [43ra 31] A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Sanctus Arsennius. qui habitauerat in heremo Scithie, talem uidit uisionem: uenit ad eum uox dicens. "Egredere. et ostendam tibi opera hominum." Et egressus uidit Ethiopem nigrum cum scecuri cedentem ligna et facientem magnam sarcinam. et temptabat leuare eam. et pre magnitudine non poterat. Et iterum rediens cedebat alia ligna et addidit sarcine. Iterum ostensus est ei alius homo stans super lacum. et hauriens aquam de lacu. et mittens eam in collectaculum. et de alia parte per foramen defluebat aqua desubter in eodem loco. Et iterum uidit quoddam

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496 non inueni.

edificium templi, et duos sedentes in equis et portantes in scapulas suas utrique lignam unum, id est, perticam longam. uolentesque pariter ingredi per portam templi illius, non perimitetbat eos lignum quod ex adverso portabant ingredi per portam templi illius. Non enim humiliabat se alter alteri. set contendebat ingredi pariter, et non preualebant. Exposuit ei ergo has uisiones: hii qui lignum portabant sunt hii qui iugum portant sanctum monachorum, set iustificantes semetipsos in corde suo cum exaltacione superbie non humiliantur adinuicem, et ideo non intrant in portam Saluatoris, nec inueniunt requiem animabus suis, quia iugum Domini contemnunt. Qui autem cedebat ligna et super sarcinam adhuc addebat, homo est qui oneratus est multis peccatis, et peccatis superaddit alia peccata, quoniam oportebat deponere et demere ea, set ipse superaddidit. Ille autem qui aquam de Lacu hauriebat, homo est qui aliqua operatur, set quia mala etiam amplius pro peccatis operatur, ideo peremt et delentur etiam opera que facit. Oportet ergo hominem. sicut dicit apostolus. cum timore et tremore salutem suam operari.\textsuperscript{498}

152. \textit{De iiii\textsuperscript{a} deliciis mundi in centuis et tribus etiam} [43rb 24]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Abbas Moyses dixit. "Per has quatuor res passio gignitur: per habundanciam esce et potus, per satietatem somnii, per ocium et iocum. et ornatis vestibus incedendum."\textsuperscript{499}

2. Dixit Abbas Antonius tres esse motus corporis: unum ex natura, alium ex nutrimento cibi et potus. tertium ex incentiuo demonum.\textsuperscript{500}

\textsuperscript{498} VP 3. 38: PL 73. 763b-764a.

\textsuperscript{499} VP 3. 58: PL 73. 769b-c.

\textsuperscript{500} Cf VP 5. 5. 1. PL 73. 873d-874a.
153. *De rapina et furto* [43rb 31]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Iohannes heremita dixit cuidam mulieri, quam sanauerat per somnium in spiritu, cum nollet corporaliter uidere presenciam mulieris sepe rogatus, "Timete Dominum semper, nec amplius quam stipendiis <uestris> quam debetur, alicud requiratis."<sup>501</sup>

2. Quidam gentilis furabatur olera Copre heremite, et cum coqueret, non potuerunt coqui, set cruda et uirida remancerunt, tunc sumens olera de olla reportauit Copre et factus est Christianus. et indultum est ei furtum a Copra.<sup>502</sup>

154. *De talis et exactionibus* [43va 1]

A. Adiuncta

1. Beato Thome Cantuariensi successit quidam qui fuerat monachus Cisterciensis ordinis, qui cum precepisset fieri tallias ad persoluenda debita ecclesie, equitaret per quandam uillam suam: accessit ad eum quedam pauper uidua, querens ab eo instanter utrum comederet carnes, qui respondit. "Non." At illa. "Immo certe. Comedisti enim uaccam unde ego et filii sustentabamur, cum nihil aliud haberemus." Quo audito fecit omnia restitui.<sup>503</sup>

2. Galfridus, uir nobilis. dominus castri quod Sine Muro<sup>504</sup> vocatur. renunciat<super>u</super>it seculo. Et

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<sup>502</sup>VP 8. 54; PL 73, 1165d-1166a.

<sup>503</sup>See BL MS Addit. 27909. no. 16.

<sup>504</sup>This is Semur-en-Auxois, Cote-d'Or, Montbard, France. *Orbis Latinus*, vol. 3, p. 388.

3. Miles quidam de castello Moras Wigo in Menensi pago fuit in prelio uulneratus. et demum rediens, confessione peracta coram eiusdem loci archiepiscopo, atque ab ipso eo absoluto, tandem mortuus est et sepultus. Non post multos dies apparuit cuidam Stephano in silua quadam, dicens se oblitum duorum in confessione, unum uidelicet quod cymiterum olim quoddam confregerat, quo ceteri propter securitatem confugerant, et rustico bouem quendam abstulerat; aliud quod exacciones iniustas in terra sua imposuerat, que inhabitantibus adhuc redduntur, et propter hoc maxima dixit se pati tormenta. Rogauit ergo ut adiret fratrem suum heredem, rogans eum ex parte sua ut de omnibus hiis satisfaceret, et si hoc fieret, sciret se procul dubio liberari. Et

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ut eidem Stephano fides esset de hiis, dixit ei quod, dum domum rediret, inueniret pecuniam sibi furto sublatam, per quam ad sanctum Iacobum ire proposuerat. Hoc dicto disparuit. Iste Stephanus restituit precium bouis rustico. Frater uero defuncti exacciones institutas a fratre dimittere noluit. dicens. "Quid ad me de anima fratris mei? Habuit ille sua, quamdiu uixit, quare non pro se hiis quibus iniuriam intulerat satisfecit, uideat sibi. Ego peccatorum suorum penitentiam agere nolo." Abiens Stephanus pecuniam inuenit sibi furto sublatum. et quia plus facere non potuit, oraciones et eleemosynas et sacrificia pro eo offeri fecit, eo quod ei dictum erat a defuncto, quod quia pater eius spiritualis extitisset, plus eius misereri quam frater carnalis deberet. 507

155. De usuris [43vb 21]

A. Adiuncta

1. Legitur in uita beati Furcei quod beato Furceo mortuo diabolus astitit et animam eius uendicare uoluit. Et nihil mali in eo inuenit, nisi quod quandam capam quandam tempore a quodam usurario acceperat. Mouit ergo querelam suam diabolus contra Dominum. set Dominus. qui nullius uult iniuriam. restituit eum uite ut delictum suum corrigeret. Set diabolus animam illius recedentem ictu tetiigit. cuius cicatrix omnibus diebus uite sue in corpore beati Furcei apparuit. Usurarius uendit tempus. quod constat ex die et nocte; in die est lux, in nocte requies, unde uendit lucem et requiem sempiternam 508

507 Petrus. De mir. 1. 23.

156. De hisque inuenimus non debemus uti. nisi per scrutinem utrum sint alterius [43vb 33]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quidam Sanctulus, non habens quod daret ad edendum operariis suis fabricam ecclesie constituentibus, inuenit panem magnum in quodam furno, quem prius ostendit omnibus uicinis, quoniam uellet eum deportare. Et tunc demum detulit, et operariis distribuit et inter eos multiplicatus est 509

B. In Vitas Patrum

1. Abbas Iohannes multum caritatiuus. cum mutuasset solidum unum et comparasset linum quod operaretur. dedit illud omnibus fratibus ad nomina. Cumque frater, qui concesserat ei solidum. repeteret. Iohannes iuit ad Iacobum dispensatorem ut peteret ab eo quatinus ipse redderet illi a quo mutuauerat. Et in uia inuenit solidum iacentem, quem non audens tangere, reuersus est. Cumque ter ita contristatus esset a fratre, ut redderet solidum. tertio inuenit eiam in terra iacentem. quem tunc leuauit. Set antequam Iacobus dispensator predicaret publice si ille solidus alicuius esset in ciuitate. idem Iohannes <noluit> eo uti et tandem. cum non fuisset inuentus alicuus cuius esset. Iohannes eum dedit suo creditori. Hoc autem erat mirabile, quod Iohannes debens et inueniens non statim tulit illum solidum et reddidit. nisi et bis reuersus esset et tertio predicasset. 510

157. Nemo prius ali quam sibi nocet [44ra 19]
A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Cum quidam incendisset messem cuiusdam uiri sancti Stephani, quidam uidens messem combustam uenit ad illum Stephanum, dicens quod messis sua esset incensa, adiungens, "Ve, ve, pater Stephane. quid tibi contigit?" Cui ille placide respondit, "Ve, quid illi contigit qui hoc fecit: nam mihi quid fecit?" 511

158. Reddenda sunt bona pro malis [44ra 26]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam heremita nomine Theon, cum haberet ex uirtute Dei potenciam sanandi infirmos, uenerunt latrones putantes eum habere aurum multum, qui fecit eos stare foribus affixos oracionibus suis. Et mane, cum incole uellent eos conburere pro furto, ipse ait, "Sinite eos abire illesos. alioquin a me fugiet gracia sanitatis." Et statim ipsi latrones conuersi sunt ad Dominum. 512

2. Quodam Hamone in Egipto in heremo commorante, quidam latrones auferebant ei panem. quo solo ipse singulis diebus uescebatur. Unde Hamo precepit duobus draconibus ut custodirent hostium celle. et cum latrones uenissent ad hostium, uidentes dracones obstupuerunt. Quos inuenit <H>amon pre timore seminetes, et fecit eis parari mensam, et facti sunt ex compunccione santissimi hominum. 513

159. Non est gaudendum de morte inimicorum [44rb 3]

511 Gregorius, Dialog. 4. 20.
512 VP 8. 50; PL 73. 1154a-c.
513 VP 8. 53; PL 73. 1163c-1164b.
A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Cum presbiter Florentius cepisset inuidere uirtutibus Benedicti, fecit septem puellas nudas deambulare in orto ut monachi Benedicti eas uiderent. Quod cum non posset tollerare, Benedictus recessit et deseruit abbatiam. Cumque ille gaudens de recessu Benedicti exultaret, quadam die cum staret in solario cecidit de solario et mortuus est. Quod cum Maurus percepisset, gausus nunciauit illud Benedicto. et Benedictus reuersus imposuit ei penitenciam, quod de inimici morte discipulus exultaut.

160. De scandalo uitando et quomodo [44rb 15]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Interrogatus est quidam senex quomodo non oporteat monachum non scandalizari. cum uiderit alios ad seculum reuertentes, et dixit, “Sicut quando canes fugant leporem, et unus solus. qui uidet leporem, eum usque ad mortem et per precipicia consequitur quousque habeat. aliis canibus non uidentibus eum, aliquandiu currentibus et dimissentibus eum, ita et monachus, qui Dominum Christum querit. cruci indesinenter intendat, et que occurrunt scandala omnia pretereat. donec Christum inueniat, sicut canis uidens leporem et post eum currens non curat spinas, neque precipicia. neque de aliquo cogitat quam de lepore capiendo.”

161. Non est spes nimia in filiis, uel uxoribus, uel amicis. quia pauci sum [44rb 15]

A. Adiuncta

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514 Gregorius. Prolegomena 8; PL 66, 146b-150a.

515 VP 5. 7. 35; PL 73, 901c-902a.
1. Quidam paterfamilias dedit filio suo dolium uini proficiscenti ad externas naciones. Cum autem indigeret, filius mandauit patri ut uenderet uinum et mitteret ei denarios, quia debitis erat obligatus. Pater, misericordia motus, uendidit et misit ei pecuniam ut haberet filium. Vergens autem pater in senium. cum filius haberet hereditatem et diuies esset, pater uero pauper et senex rogauit filium ut subueniret ei dando ei de uino quod habebat, sicut ipse tribuerat ei. Filius autem noluit. sed dixit quod darem amicus potentibus uel uenderet. Iterum petit pater, cum semiplenum esset doleum, nec datum est ei. Tertio cum nihil ibi esset, nisi [sex], filius respondit quod potius funderet super terram. Pater Deus, filius <homo>, uinum etas, corpus doleum.516


516 Cf. Tubach. Index exemplorum. no. 5314 "Wine refused father."


4. Quidam stultus duxit amicam suam super altissimum montem.519 "Modo uolo scire utrum me ames. si pro amore meo uelis de hoc monte saltare." At illa dixit. "Ita ego uolo scire utrum ames me. utrum primo uelis saltare et ego post." Et ille saltavit et fregit collum. Ila noluit saltare pro amore eius. set dixit, "O. stulte! Male habeat, qui post te uel pro te saltabit." Ita debet mulier respondere uiro in erroribus.520  

5. Quidam scolaris. cum omnia cum quadam meretrice consumpsisset, et rediret in terram  

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518 non inueni.  
519 i. e. "Saltus Galteri" near Mont St. Michel in Normandy.  
520 Cf. Tubach. Index exemplorum, no. 1098 "Cliff, lover leaps from," and Herbert, Catalogue of Romances, pp. 17, 555; Stephanus, Tract. de div. mat., no. 474; Jacques de Vitry (Crane), no. 214.
suam, mane extra ciuitatem Parisiensem, comitantibus eum sociis suis, meretrix multum fleuit sequens eum. Et cum reliquissent eum omnes accepta licencia, et meretrix etiam cum aliiis rediret, quesuuerunt a meretrice quare tantum fleret. Respondit meretrix, "Non propter eum, set propter pallium quod ipse deferet. et illud non dedit mihi."  


162. De spe et timore [44vb 29]

A. Adiuncta

1. Abbas quidam religiosus. sermonem faciens ad populum, dixit quod si constaret quod non esset nisi unus solus homo damnandus, ipse timeret quod ipse [ait] esset. Econtra dixit quod si constaret quod non esset nisi unus homo saluandus, ipse speraret quod ipse esset.  

2. Quidam burgensis conversus ad Dominum ait, "Plus timuissem hodie mane cadere.

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523 non inueni.
quam modo timerem cadere de altissima turri."

163 *Aliquando timor in morte liberat animas iustorum a pena* [44vb 37]

A. *Gregorius in Dialogo*

1. Quidam sanctus uir ad mortem ueniens uelemens timuit, set post mortem in stola alba
discipulis apparuit. et quam preclare sit susceptus indicauit. 525

164. *De fiducia operis* [45ra 3]

A. *In Vitas Patrum*

1. Quidam frater, uolens ingredi monasterium, quesuit quomodo deberet habitare cum
fratribus. Respondit senex. "Sicut in prima die, quando ingrederis ad eos, sic custodi
peregrinacionem tuam omnibis diebus ute tue. Nec assumas fiduciam: sicut enim estus grandis
quando exarserit omnes fugiunt a fane eius, quia estus arborum etiam fructus corumpit, sic est
fiducia. Et non est peior altera passio quam fiducia; genitrix est enim omnium passionum." 526

2. Frater dixit seni cuidam. "Nihil pugne uideo in corde meo." Cui ille respondit, "Tu es
uelud quadrigemina porta, ut quicumque uoluerit, intret unde uoluerit, et unde uoluerit exeat. et
tu non intelligis que aguntur. Nam si haberes ianuam et clauderes eam, nec permetteres intrare
cogitationes malas: tunc uideres stantes foris et pugnantes aduersum te." 527

525 *non inueni*.

526 *Gregorius, Dialog. 4. 46.*

527 *VP 5. 10. 8. PL 73, 913b-c.*

528 *VP 5. 11. 43. PL 73, 939a-b.*
165. De fortitudine animi contra desperacionem in temptacione [45ra 18]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam senex temptatus per x annos multis cogitacionibus, iam desperans dixit, “Perdidi animam meam. Reuertar ad seculum.” Cumque proficisceretur, dixit ei uox, “Decem anni in quibus certasti corone tue erunt. Reuertere ergo in locum tuum, et ab omni cogitacione libero te.” Et statim regressus mansit in bono opere. Non est ergo bonum desperare propter cogitaciones. set ille magis nobis coronas preuident, si utiliter eas pertractantes transierimus.\(^{528}\)

2. Quandocumque abbatì Ysidoro demon suggerebat desperacionem et penas, “Quoniam hec omnia in tormenta iturus es,” dicebat iterum ipse, “Quia quamuis ego in tormenta mutar, tamen uos subitus me inuenio.”\(^{529}\)

3. Abbati Moysi frequenter apparuerunt demones maledicentes ei ac dicentes. “Euasisti a nobis. Moyses. et nihil possumus tibi facere, quomodo quociens te per desperacionem humiliare uoluerimus. exaltaris: ita te humilias ut nullus de nobis accedat ad te.”\(^{530}\)

4. Abbatissa quedam a fornicacionibus demonum inpugnata, numquam orauit ut ab ea huiusmodi pugna recederet. set hoc solum dicebat. “Da mihi fortitudinem, Domine.”\(^{531}\)

5. Dixit beata Sincletica. “Si ieiunas non tibi ieiunas occasionem dicendi, quia exacerbatus in egritudinem incurristi, quomodo et qui non ieiunant similes egritudines incurrunt. Si incoasti

\(^{528}\) VP 5. 7. 42; PL 73, 903a-b

\(^{529}\) VP 3. 101; PL 73, 779d.

\(^{530}\) VP 3. 102; PL 73, 780a

\(^{531}\) VP 5. 5. 10; PL 73, 876b.
aliquid boni, non reuoceris per impedimenta diaboli; nec enim nauigantes qui primo habuerunt uentum prosperum, et postea habentes aduersum, statim exonerant nauim aut deserunt, set paululum sustinentes aut pugnantes aduersus procellam, iterum rectum currum inueniunt, ita et nos contrarium spiritum incurrentes, crucem pro uelo erigamus.”532

6. Frater quidam fuit in cella, et uenit super eum temptacio ut nullus curaret uidere eum. uel dare ei panem, uel recipere hospicio, nec salutare eum, nec mutuare ei. Et cum omnia ista pacienter tolleraret, uidens Deus patienciam eius, abstulit ab eo temptacionem. Et uenit camelus oneratus pane ante fores eius celle, cum quodam homine qui ducebat eum. Quod cum uidisset, ille cepit flere dicens, “Domine, non sum dignus uel modice tribulari.” Et cum transisset tribulacio, receperunt eum in cellas suas.533


8. Quidam frater. incidens in temptacionem, non potuit inchoare habitum priorem, cui dixit senex. "Quidam habuit agrum plenum sentibus, et misit filium ut excolet agrum, qui uidens multitudinem sentium ex desperacionem cepit dormire, et cum pater requireret quare dormiret, dixit quia propter multitudine spinarum cecidisset in tedium. Cui pater, “Cotidie ad mensuram

532 VP 5. 7. 18; PL 73, 896c-d.
533 VP 5. 7. 22; PL 73, 897a-b.
534 VP 5. 7. 27; PL 73, 900b-c.
latitudinis corporis tui operare." Et fecit sic, et in paruo tempore fuit ager cultus. Sic faciat et monacus.535

166. Nescit homo utrum odio vel amore dignus sit [45va 1]

A. In Vitas Patrum


167. De fortitudine animi in morte [45va 17]

A. In Vitas Patrum


535 VP 5. 7. 40; PL 73, 902b-903a.
536 VP 5. 11. 2; PL 73, 933b-c.
estis parati: tertio risi, quia de labore uado ad requiem, et uos ploratis.” Hoc cum dixisset, statim clausit oculos et mortuus est.⁵³⁷

168. De fortitudine [45va 26]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dixit abbas Basarion quia quadraginta noctes permanserit inter spinas stans. et non dormiuit.⁵³⁸

2. Senex quidam habebat aquam longe a cella sua, xii milibus, qui cum semper fatigaretur a portando aquam. et quasi deficiendo a labore, iuit proprius ponere cellam suam aque et habitacionem. Et converus uidit quendam sequentem se et numerantem uestigia sua. qui dixit se esse angelum Domini et numerantem se uestigia eius ut daret ei mercedem. Quod cum senex audiisset. adhuc longius posuit cellam ab aqua, factus forciem et promptior.⁵³⁹


⁵³⁷ VP 5. 11. 52. PL 73. 940c.

⁵³⁸ VP 5. 7. 4. PL 73. 983c.

⁵³⁹ VP 5. 7. 31. PL 73. 900d-901a.
didicit quod septies restitisset sompno et cogitationibus interpellentibus ad hoc, set noluit antequam recuperet oracionem ab eo consuetam. Et senex considerauit statim quod quociens restitit. tociens coronabatur a Deo.\footnote{VP 5. 7. 43. PL 73. 903b-904b.}

169 \textit{De perfectione animae} [45vb 16]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dixit Antonius. “Credo animam seruientem Deo. si in ea perseueret integritate in qua nata est. plus scire posse quam demones.”\footnote{Athanasius. \textit{Vita Antonii} 17; PL 73. 142c.}

170 \textit{Aliqui anima ex sui subtilitate prenoscit futura} [45vb 20]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quidam advocatus romanus in infirmitate parum ante mortem precepit sibi dari uestimenta sua ut procederet ad ecclesiam beati Sixti. Set tamen ante defunctus est. Et cum parentes et cognati deliberarent quod apud beatum Ianuarium eum sepelirent, quia tamen nimis remotus est locus eius uisus. sepelierunt eum in ecclesia beati Sixti. nescientes tamen quid ille dixerit. cum esset uir ualde mundanus et carnalis.\footnote{Gregorius. \textit{Dialog.} 4. 26.}

171 \textit{Somnia quandoque decipunt} [45vb 29]

A. In Vitas Patrum
1. Cuidam uhementer attendendi somnia longum spacement uite est in somnis promissum. propter quod magnam pecuniam collegit, et repente defunctus est.543

2. Per multas noctes diabolus. tanquam nuncius ueritatis, ostendit per uana somnia cuidam monacho nimia abstinencia se affligenti ludeorum populum nimis letantem et lumine coruscantem. et monebat eum ut fieret princeps luminis illius. Monachus uero uidit tenebosos et rapidos ac deformes; unum commonebat eum ut acciperet circumcisionem, et ille deceptus circumcisus est.544

172. De locis requiei vel penarum [46ra 2]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Iulianus defensor romanus. uadens in Italian, applicauit ad Lipparium insula> ubi habitabat heremita dicens ei quod Theodericus rex Gottorum mortuus esset. Quod cum ille non crederet ait. "Hesterno die <nona> inter Iohannem papam et Simachum patricium distinctus atque discalciatus. et uinctis manibus deductus in hac uicina Vulcami olla iactatus est, et hoc ideo quia Iohannem papam affligendo in custodia occidit. Simachum patricium ferro truncauit, ab illis mi<t>ti in ignem iuste apparuit quos in hac uita iuste iudicauit.545

2. Quidam miles romanus. cum iaceret exanimis. ad se reuersus. dixit se uidisse pontem quendam. sub quo erat fluuius fétidissimus. nebulam teterimam exalans. Ultra pontem erat locus amenissimus florum et tocius delectacionis. ubi aurea domus construebatur. et quedam habitacula

544 Gregorius. Dialog 4. 49.
545 VP 4. 46; PL 73, 842b-d
546 Gregorius. Dialog. 4. 30.
supra ripam tangebantur. quedam non fetore. Talis erat in ponte probacio, quod quilibet inustus, qui deberet transire, cadebat in fluuium; iustus autem secure transibat. Ibi uidit quendam presbiterum securissime transire. Ibi uidit Petrum ecclesiastice familie maiorem religatum in flumine. et cum quereret cur hoc pateretur, dictum est quod ideo pateretur, quia si quid ei pro facienda ulcerone uidebatur. ad inferendas plagas plus ex crudelitatis desiderio quam obediencia. Ibi uidit quendam Stephanum, qui cum transire debuisset, pes eius lapsus est. et pendens de ponte, a nigris uiris per coxas trahebatur deorsum, ab albatis uiris qui ultra pontem manebant trahebatur per brachia sursum. Et statim hic, qui hoc uiderat, rediit ad semetipsum et recepit spiritum. Per hoc autem quod per brachia sursum, per coxas deorsum trahebatur, significat quod uicia carnis cum elemosinis quas fecerat pugnabant, et tamen ille qui hoc uiderat non fuit postea correctus.545

3. Quidam uidit per reuelacionem de quodam nomine Deusdedit suture romano quod domus eius edificaretur tantum die sabbati. Et hoc ideo quia quicquid ultra uictum et uestitum superesse poterat diei sabbati. semper ad beati Petri ecclesiam deferre consueuerat et pauperibus erogare.546


545 Gregorius. Dialog. 4. 36.
546 Gregorius. Dialog. 4. 37.
debuit lauari pro medicina corporis [in t<e>ermis Angulanis], et uidit ibi Paschasium diaconem stantem et obsequentem in aque caloris, qui dixit se non stare ibi propter aliam causam quam que est supradictam, et peciit quod ipse oraret pro eo. Et hoc esset signum quod si non inueniret eum cum reuertetur illuc, tunc esset liberatus. Episcopus recessit, et fecit orari pro eo, et rediit, et eum non inuenit.\(^548\)

B. In Vitas Patrum


173. De egressu anime peregrinorum [46rb 38]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Frater quidam inuenit hominem peregrinum in platea iacentem egrotum solum, et mansit

\(^548\) Gregorius. Dialog. 4. 41.

\(^549\) VP 6 3 16. PL 73. 1013b-d.

174. De modo egressionis animarum [46va 16]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Quadam nocte beatus Benedictus, perseruerans quiescentibus fratribus in oracione, magnam lucem uidit et totum mundum quasi sub uno solis radio collectum, et Germani Capuani episcopi animam in spera ignea ab angelis in celum ferri, cuius nouitas miraculi eodem die comperta est. Mortuo beato Benedicto, duo ex discipulis eius uiderunt uiam stratam palliis coruscantem lampadibus, quibus respondum est illam esse uiam per quam Benedictus ad celum ascendere.

175. De fratre non cito indicando [46va 26]

A. In Vitas Patrum

55. VP 6. 3. 16. PL 73. 1013b-d.

46. The second half of this story (i.e., from "...comporta est") is from Gregorius, Dialog. 2. 37.
1. Frater quidam in Scithi inuentus est culpabilis, et abbas Moyses cum precum difficultate est adductus. qui tollens secum sportam uetustissimam impleuit eam harena et portauit. Illis uero audientibus et admirantibus quid hoc esset, ipse dixit, "Peccata mea sunt post me currencia, et non uideo ea. et ueni ego hodie aliena iudicare peccata." Illi autem audientes nihil locuti sunt, set ignorauerunt ea.552


3. Fuerunt duo fratres in congregacione, et meruerunt singuli uidere graciam Dei in alterutrum. Factum est autem ut unus eorum egrederetur, uidens quendam mane comedere <sextae feriae>. propter quam coripuit. Frater suus, celebrata missa, uidit graciam Dei recessisse ab eo. et quesuit unde hoc esset. Ille autem dixit se non esse conscium in aliquo, set tandem dixit quod dixisset illi hac hora manducas in <sexta feria> Et rogauerunt Deum per duas ebdomadas ut indulgeret ei. et post duas ebdomadas uidit frater iterum graciam Dei uenientem super fratrem

552 VP 5. 9. 4. PL 73. 910a-B.
553 VP 5. 9. 11. PL 73. 911c-d.
176. *Correpcio precedit uindictam* [46vb 21]

A. In Vitas Patrum


177. *De discrecione correpcionis* [46vb 29]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Dixit quidam senex. “Si uidens aliquam peccantem, ne mittas culpam in eum, set in eum qui inpugnat eum dicens. ‘Ve mihi, quia iste nolens uictus est.’ sic et ego, et plange. et inquire Dei solatum, quia omnes decipimus.”


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"\(^{1}\)VP 5. 0. 12: PL 73, 911d-912b.

"\(^{2}\)VP 3. 137: PL 73, 786c-787a.

"\(^{3}\)VP 3. 139: PL 73, 787c
tuum [in tempore] temptacionis despexisti".\textsuperscript{557}

178. \textit{De discrezione operis} [47ra 3]

A. In Vitas Patrum


Respondit Antonius. "ita est in corpore Dei. Si plus a mensura tendimus, fratres cito deficiunt: expedit aliquando relaxare rigorem."\textsuperscript{558}

2. Quibusdam senibus. inter quos erat abbas Iohannes, multis manducantibus in Scithi. surrexit quidam presbiter <ibi> magnus porrigens per singulos uas aque ad bibendum, quod nemo uoluit accipere ab eo. nisi Iohannes breuis. Et cum Iohannes redargueretur, quia ipse solus illud inter alios presumpsisset. cum esset omnium minorum, respondit, "Libenter utor ministerio eius. quia cum surgo dare aquam, gaudeo si omnes biberint ut mercedem acquiram, et ideo nunc suscepi. quia ipse surrexit inuenerit mercedem, ne forte etiam contristetur, nullo suscipiente ab eo."

Et ammirati sunt omnes discrecione eius.\textsuperscript{559}

3. Dixit abbas Macharius. "Si recordemur malorum, que inferuntur nobis ab omnibus, amputamus menti nostre uirtutem recordandi Deum. Si autem recordamur malorum que demones

\textsuperscript{557}\textsuperscript{VP 3. 140; PL 73. 787c.}

\textsuperscript{558}\textsuperscript{VP 5. 10. 2; PL 73. 912b-d.}

\textsuperscript{559}\textsuperscript{VP 5. 10. 28; PL 73. 917a-b.}
excitant. erimus imperforabiles.\footnote{560}

4. Abbas Natyra. sedens in monte Sina, satis mediocriter manducabat. Factus autem episcopus in Pharan cruciabat carnem suam multum. Requisitus quare hoc faceret, respondit, quia in heremo hoc fecit ne infirmatur. quia ibi erat paupertas; in seculo autem se cruciabat, quia ibi plurime occasiones excedendi.\footnote{561}

5. Dixit beatus Antonius discretionem conservare omnes uirtutes, que sit genitrix et custos et moderatrix uirtutum. et perducat fixo gradu intrepidum monachum ad Deum, quia nulla uirtus potest perfici uel stare sine discretione.\footnote{562}

6. Quidam senex. Heron nomine. tantam habebat abstinentiam ieiunii ut nec etiam die Pasche, quando alii heremite communicabant, uellet communicare in ecclesia. Unde deceptus persuasione Sathane. uelud angeli lucis precipitauit se in puteum, uirtutis sue meritum probaturus, si tamen exiret illesus. De quo puteo semiuus a fratribus est extractus, et die tertia uitam finiuit, et ita in sua obstinacione permanit ut nullo modo uellet credere, quia illud factum fuisset persuasionem demonum.\footnote{563}

7. Quidam monachus. cum diu demonem in angeli suscepisset claritate. tandem deceptus ad preceptum demonis uoluit sibi immolare filium suum ad similitudinem Abrahe, set filius aufugit.\footnote{564}

\footnote{559}{VP 5. 10. 34. PL 73. 918b-c.}
\footnote{560}{VP 5. 10. 36. PL 73. 918c-d.}
\footnote{561}{See VP 4. 42. PL 73. 841a.}
\footnote{562}{VP 4. 43. PL 73. 841a-c.}
\footnote{563}{VP 4. 45. PL 73. 842a-b.}
179. *Cupias alii quod tibi in uita eterna* [47rb 12]

A. Barlaam

1. Iosaphat, cum uidisset duci Barlaam in gloriam iustorum. obiauit sibi, sicut ei uidebatur, quidam portans duas coronas. Requisitus cuius ille corone essent, respondit, „Una est tua. propter multas animas quas saluasti, set melius exoranda pro heremita uita quam agis. Si tamen uriliter in ea perduraueris, altera est tua etiam. set oportet te illam patri tuo exhibere, qui per te reconciliatus est Domino.” Iosaphat uero contristatus est quod non esset ei maius gaudium exibendum quam patri. quem Barlaam statim, ut solitus fuerat, reprehendit dicens, „Cum diues factus fueris, nonne beneficiis eris, sicut dixeremus tibi. oportet te gaudere de equali gloria patris tui.”

180. *Non sunt despiciendi magistri* [47rb 27]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Adrianus imperator computruit morbo regio, quia magistrum suum multis affecerat iniuriis.

181. *De immundo non tangendo* [47rb 30]

A <In Vitas Patrum>

1. Quidam heremita cogitauit de muliere quam uiderat transactis decem annis. et statim

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apparuit in gremio eius spiritus fornicacionis, assumpta specie eiusdem mulieris. At ille percussit eam in naribus. et ex tunc manus eius computruit intollerabiliter per tres annos. Qui tangit immundum. immundus est.\textsuperscript{567}

182. \textit{Peccata fient coram Deo et angelis eius} [47rb 36]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Quidam senex. dum ambularet in heremo uidit duos angelos secum communicantes. et inuenerunt cadauer hominis in via. et cooperuit senex nares propter fetorem, et similiter angeli. Et cum processisset. quesuit senex si angelii illud odorati fuissent, qui dixerunt, "Non. Set propter te cooper[u]mus nos. Nam immundicias huius mundi non odoramus nos. neque [appropriat] nobis, set animas hominum. que peccatorum fetorem habent. ipsarum odorem odoramus.\textsuperscript{568}

2. Hylarion abbas habebat quendam custodem ortus sui, qui erat caluus et tumidus et habens parum nummorum. quem ipse tandem reppulit a se. Et ille per <Hesychium> familiorem Hilarionis fecit deferri ad mensam senis fasciculum ciceris. quem cum uideret senex. dixit. "Non sentis hic putorem teterimum. et in cicere fetere auariciam? Mitte <bubus>, mitte brutis animalibus. et uide si commedant." Et cum poneret ante boues. ipsi plus solito mugientes ruptis uinclus fugerunt \textsuperscript{569}

183 \textit{De negligentibus predicationem} [47va 17]

\textsuperscript{567} non inuent.

\textsuperscript{568} VP 6. 3. 18. PL 73. 1014b-c.

\textsuperscript{569} "Hieronymus. \textit{Vita s. Hilar.} 28. PL 23. 42b-d."
A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Cum Copres heremita quibusdam fratribus narraret uerbum uite, unus ex eis cepit dormitare pro incredulitate eorum que dicebantur, et in sompno uidit librum aureis litteris scriptum in manibus Copris heremite. ex quo narracio eius deduci uidebatur. Et uirum quendam uidit pulcrum sedentem iuxta Coprem, dicentem sibi cum cominacione, “Cur non audis <in>tente que recitantur. set indrelus dormitas?” At ille conturbatus euigilauit, asscultans attente.570

2. Abbas Cassianus. cum quibusdam predicaret uerba salutis, audientes statim occupabantur sompno. Ipse uero, uolens illud ostendere esse opus demoniacum. cepit introducere uerba ociosa. et statim illi euigilabant attente audientes, propter quod ipse redarguit eos. ostendens eis hoc esse ex spiritu maligno.571

184 De ommittentibus predic/are/ et prelatis negligentibus [47va 34]

A. Adiuncta

1. Quidam theologus. laborans in extremis. multum puniebatur in lingua. Requisitus quidam discipulus suus quare ita puniretur, respondit, quia frequenter predicacione sectam Abigencium non informauit.572

B. Petrus

1. In ciuitate Nannete Britannie erant clerici duo a puercia amicissimi, intenti studio

570 See VP 5. 11. 18: PL 73, 935b-d.

571 See VP 5. 11. 18: PL 73, 935b-d.

572 See VP 5. 11. 18: PL 73, 935b-d.
artium liberalium. Dederunt itaque inter se fidem ut si quis eorum prior moreretur, ad alium rediret infra xxx dies a tempore mortis, narraturus ea que acciderent sibi. Mortuus est alter ex ipsis. et elapsa termino xxx dierum apparuit socio uigilanti clara die, asserens sue salute non posse consuli. Cumque socius sponderet elemosinas et sacrificia et oraciones pro ipso offerre, respondit non ualere ei, cum deputatus esset eternis supplicis, et excuciens manum iiiii guttas iecit in eum, quarum due utramque faciem prope oculos et utrasque manus retro pollicem quasi ignito cauterio perforauerunt. Exclamavit socius, “Cecidisti me,” et petens consilium ab eo, edoctus est ut fieret monachus apud sanctum Melanum. Ait autem spiritus defuncti, “Adhuc habeo [triplicem] ostendere.” Aperiensque manum dexteram, ostendit ei caracters cereos in manu. Litteras quidem legere poterat. set non in sillabas transformare. Et cum non posset legere tanquam dicciones, exprobrans ingenio eius, ostendit ei uolam manus sinistre, ubi legibiliter scriptum erat, “Gratulabunda salutacione agit Sathanas, grates agunt et demones, episcopis, archidiaconis, presbiteris. quod eorum perditis exemplis subiecti ad omnem iniquitatem deuoluti, filii facti sunt eterne perdicionis. et absque ualla intercapedine cotidie ad infernum descendit inestimabilis multitudo promiscui sexus et etatis, et ido nunquam priscis temporibus grates ascendunt de inferno. quia nullis retro actis seculis populus Christianorum ita ut nunc se deuoluissent diaboli [servicio].” His dictis peractis. spiritus euanuit; socius autem quam cito potuit apud sanctum Melanum effectus est monachus. exemplo sue conversionis multos prouocans et instruens.\textsuperscript{573}

185. \textit{Plus hodie creditur stultis quam sapientibus} [47vb 34]

A. Adiuncta

\textsuperscript{573} non inueni

186. \textit{De indignis pastoribus prefectis} [48ra 7]

A. Adiuncta

1. Quidam stultus cistam pertusam habuit, ita quod mures caseos eius corroserunt.


187. \textit{Nuncius debet esse fidelis ad quod mittitur} [48ra 16]

A. <Gregorius in Dialogo>
1. Dum quidam nomine Exhilaratus beato Benedicto ferret duos flascones plenos uino sibi missos. unum dedit. alium abscondit. Postea serpentem inuenit, et tamen predixerat ei beatus Benedictus. "Vide. fili. de illo flascone quem abscondisti. ne bibas."\(^{576}\)

188. *De fidelitate exibenda defuncto incommiso [48ra 21]*

A. Adiuncta

1. Quidam scolari. laborans in extremis. commisit socio suo hortum pro anima sua conservandum. Ille aliquantulum distulit. et uidit in visione [sua] socium suum cordis sine lecto. Ille statim festinavit dare culcitra. Data culcitra. uidit socium iacentem in culcitra.\(^{577}\)

2. Inuenitur in Gestis Karoli quod quidam miles. laborans in extremis. commisit cuido cognato suo quod equum suum pro Deo conferret. Ille autem retinuit equum ad opus suum. Post octo dies ille in purgatorio egerat. redit ad cognatum suum albus sicut ignis. et ait. "Tu me tradidisti. quia equum meum non dedisti. Propter hanc omissionem per octo dies in Purgatorio fui. Set tu lues. et in inferno in eterno punieris." Et proxima die corui sustulerunt eum in aere de terra. et permiserunt eum cadere. et corruit. et expirauit.\(^{578}\)

189. *De circumferendis ossibus sanctorum [48ra 38]*

A <Barlaam>

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\(^{576}\) Gregorius, *Dialog. 2. 18.*


\(^{578}\) Cf. *I.ih ex.*. no. 137.

190. De veneracione exibenda beate Virgini [48rb 8]

A. Adjuncta

1. Quidam clericus semper dicebat, 'Aue Maria,' et cetera, semper habens illud in mente. Quadam die, cum diceret finem, 'benedictus uentris tui,' apparuit ei Beata Virgo dicens, "Quia dixisti benedictus fructus uentris tui, eris benedictus."580


3. Est quoddam responsorium de Beata Virgine, “Gaude Maria uirgo” uers. “Gabrielem.”

579Barlaam et Josaphat 23: PL 73, 531a-c.

580Cf. BL MS Addit. 27909, no. 18 and BL MS Addit. 16589, no. 60.

581Cf. Tubach, Index exemplorum, no. 3231 "Mass to Virgin," and Caesarius, Dial. mir. 7. 4; Herbert, Catalogue of Romances, pp. 526, 541. In Caesarius’ version of the story, these events are said to have happened to St. Thomas Becket.
Huius autor fuit quidam Romanus nomine Victor, a natiuitate cecus, qui cum memoriter a cantore didicisset melodias. quaedam die residens ante altare Sancte Marie Rotunde die uiso fauente nutu hoc responsorium composit. et statim factus est uidens.\footnote{Cf. Tubach. \textit{Index exemplorum.} no. 692 "Blind man given sight," and Herbert, \textit{Catalogue of Romances,} p. 570. Stephanus. \textit{Tract de div. mat.}, no. 159. See also Caesarius. \textit{Libri VII}, 3. 27.}


5 Quidam clericus uiuebat in ecclesia Carnotensi\footnote{i. e., Chartres} leuis et luxuriosus. Et tamen uenerabatur beatam Virginem dicens sepe, "Aue Maria." Set cum forte interfecst esset ab inimicis. ipsi scientes eum irreligioso uite, sepelierunt eum extra cimiterium. Et dum illic esset per
xxx dies, beata Virgo apparuit cuidam clerico miserata famuli sui, dicens, "Ut quid posuisti cancellarium meum extra cimiterium?" Qui respondit, "Quis est cancellarius tuus?" At illa, "Ille qui ante xxx dies sepultus est extra cimiterium. Hic mihi seruiebat et sepissime salutabat. Ite citius et extrahite, et in loco decenti sepelite." Cum autem hoc ille cunctis narrasset, tumulum eius aperuerunt et pulcherimum florem in eius ore inuenerunt, linguamque sanam et integram, quasi ad laudandum Deo paratam. Unde cognoverunt quod ore suo gratanter seruiisset beate Virgini, et cum laudibus Dei sepelierunt eum honorifice in cimiterio.\textsuperscript{585}


\textsuperscript{585}Cf. Tubach. \textit{Index exemplorum}, no. 2094 "Flower grows out of corpse's mouth." and \textit{Lib. ex.}, no. 40.

\textsuperscript{586}MS gouged. some words have been excised.
apud Constantiopolim cooperta erat ymago beate Virginis uelo quodam, quod semper omni die Sabbati eleuabatur in aere et discooperta relickta est ymago. Post diem Sabbati descendit et iterum cooperuit ymaginem. Unde dies Sabbati beate Virgini est attributa.\textsuperscript{488}

191 \textit{De emunitate cimiteriorum} [48vb 19]

A. Adiuncta

1. Quidam miles. iacens de nocte cum uxore sua, non poterat dormire. Et dum per fenestram radius lune intraret, mirabatur quomodo homo non obediret Creatori suo, cum cetere creature ei per omnia parerent. Et cum quendam militem mortuum uxori sue eadem nocte exprobrasset. et econtra illa diceret. "Loqui male noli de mortuis, pro quibus potius est orandum," subito ille miles uisus est intrare per radium, qui multum fuerat ei familiaris, cui tremefacto mortuus dixit. "Securus esto. Veni querere consilium a te." Et ille querenti de statu suo dixit, "Innumeris affligor tormentis. set magis intollerabile est pena quod quoddam inuasi cimiterium uiolenter. et ibi uirum capa spoliaui. que super ponituir mihi. et uideor morte opprimi. Rogo ut ecclesie et sacerdoti de capa satisfacias." Quod ille concessit. Et dum quereret unde possit saluari, respondit quod per missas posset. Cumque nominasset ei plures sacerdotes an uellet ut pro eo sacrificarent. nihil respondit. set capud ut penitens excussit. Post heremita sanctissimo nominato ait. "Utinam ille pro me oraret." Ille promisit. et a mortuo tactus in brachio perforata est cutis et


2. Quidam filius uidue consueverat mingere in cimiterio, nec uolebat resipiscere. Tandem quadam nocte, cum mingeret, anime uenerunt ad ipsum, et conquerentes de ipso assignauerunt ei certum diem in eodem loco respondendi de illo flagicio. Quod et matri retulit. Illa timens de filio suo, die prefixa uenit ad cimiterium, ubi dum esset maligni spiritus eum abstulerunt omnibus uidentibus et ultra non comparuit.

192. De memoria mortis crucifixi [49ra 19]

A. Adiuncta

1. Quidam adolescens. cum esset in probatorio apud Clareualle claustrum. asperitatem uestis [asperit] considerans, paternas recolbet diuicias, quaram irretitus dulcedine tenorem ordinis censebat intollerabilem. et proposuit exire claustrum nocte. Set dum tempus exitus idoneum exspectaret. eo ad mensam sedente et cibi insipiditatem abhorrente, apparuit ei Dominus in latere uulneratus. unde sanguis confluebat, et apponens manum Dominus proprio lateri uulnerato. sic ait ad eum. "Quoociens inueneris panem durum et gustu horribilem, intinge eum in

589 Cf. Tubach, Index exemplorum, no. 2944 "Knight, dead, return of," and Herbert, Catalogue of Romances, p. 463 (BL MS Harley 3244, no. 119). See also p. 588 (BL MS Addit. 15833, no. 82).

590 Cf. Tubach, Index exemplorum, no. 2363 "Graves desecrated by son," and Herbert, Catalogue of Romances, p. 464 (BL MS Addit. 27909, no. 9).
isto uulnere. et erit sapidus tibi." Et hoc dicto disparuit. Ille uero teritus et contritus factus est cumbpna fortis ecclesiae.\

193. *De miraculis contra hereses* [49ra 33]

A. Gregorius in Dialogo

1. Cum Africani quidam episcopi resisterent heresi arciane coram rege Wandalorum, ipse fecit eis linguas amputari. Et tamen idem episcopi non minus sunt locuti sine linguis quam cum linguis. quorum unus postea uersus in luxuriam caruit loquela.\

2. Cum in Spoletana urbe Armanus episcopus per uiolenciam uellet ecclesiam clausam intrare. aperte sunt omnes sere. et ostia et lampades accense, et ex magna luminis claritate episcopus eccecatus et domum deductus.\

B. In Vitas Patrum


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69: non inueni.

69: non inueni.
ad hoc. Mutio consentire ut intraret ignem. 594

194. *Nullius officii homo contemptendus* [49rb 11]

A. In Vitas Patrum

1. Sanctus Pamifius. cum oraret ut Deus ei ostenderet cui sanctorum similis habetetur. responsum est ei quod similis esset cuidam Simphoniaco, qui querebat uictum arte cantandi. Et cum Pamifius eum inuenisset, quiesuit si alicuius meriti esset aput Deum, qui respondit se nichil meminissee fessisse. Si tamen esset latro, nisi quod capta quadam sanctimonialis socii sii eam uellent uiolare, ipse restitit eis et eripuit eam, et aliquo tempore, cum quedam mulier lamentaretur per heremum eo quod uir suus et filii affligerentur a captitiae, ipse errantem mulierem duxit ad refeccionem, et dedit trecentos solidos quibus reedempt uirum et filios. Postea ille Simphoniacus, dimittens artem cantandi hortatu Pamifii intrauit heremum, factus uidetur sanctus. et cum mortuus fuisset Simphoniacus, iterum oravit Pamifius, cui sanctorum similis habetetur, responsum est ei. "Similis est Primatio uici huius, qui est in proximo. Eumque uenisset ad eum, et inquisiuisst de uita eius, dixit secum iugatum libenter sedantem lites et hospitalem, qui non cognosceret uxor, nisi causa prole. non sanctimonialis, sedentem per famulos suos uel greges fruges alienes, et iterum ille hortatu Pamifii uenit ad heremum. Qui cum mortuus fuisset, iterum dictum est ei quod similis esset cuidam negotiatori. Venit iterum ad se, cui non occurrisset Pamifius hortatus est eum ad heremum. qui adquieuit et omnia distribuit pauperibus, et non post multum tempus mortuus est. et postea Pamifio per uocem est diuinitus reuelatum quod esset cito moriturus et

\[\text{non inueni.}\]

\[\text{marginal, in another hand.}\]
assumendus in celum, et hoc non esse ideo ei prius reuelatum, ne forte elatus dampnum sui laboris
aliquod inde incurreret. Et mortuus est. et aliis uidentibus anima eius ab angelis psallentibus delata
est in celum. 596

[49va 6]

Expliciunt exscripta Gregorii pape de Dialogo et Vitas Patrum sub titulis redacta a magistro
Wigero, preposito sancti Petri in Traiecto.

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596 See PL 73, 1170b-1171b.
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Series and Collections

AB = Analecta Bollandiana


CCCM = Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis

CCSL = Corpus Christianorum series Latina


MGH SS = Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum: Scriptores.


OSU = Oorkundenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301. 5 vols. Edited by K. Heeringa. s'Gravenhage. 1940.

Pl. = Patrologia Latina cursus completus.

PGRG = Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde

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