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TWO NEWLY DISCOVERED ABBREVIATIONS OF SIMON
OF HINTON'S *SUMMA IUNIORUM*, CONCENTRATING
ON THE VIRTUES AND VICES

BY

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The text known as the *Summa iuniorum* stands out as the most popular work of the English Dominican Simon of Hinton. It survives in over forty known manuscripts, most of them dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Less than half of these manuscripts are preserved in British libraries, which indicates that the work made its way to continental Europe as well.

A new proof of the *Summa's* popularity in the Late Middle Ages is the existence of two hitherto unknown abbreviations of this work, concentrating on the sections of Simon's text dealing with the virtues and vices. These abbreviated texts will be found below in an annotated edition on facing pages. The edition is preceded by introductory remarks on Simon and his *Summa* and on the nature of the abbreviations. Moreover, we provide new information about the manuscripts containing our texts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 107, and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 164/85.

Simon of Hinton and his Summa iuniorum

The life of Simon of Hinton is not well documented. He is mentioned as a bachelor of theology by 1239, which would suggest

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a date of birth around 1210. He probably succeeded Richard Fishacre in the chair of theology at the Dominican school in Oxford after Richard's death in 1248. In 1254, Simon became prior provincial of his order. He was deposed, however, at the 1261 meeting of the Dominican chapter general for refusing foreign students at the priory school in Oxford, thereby impeding a requirement for the school to become a *studium generale*. Simon was then sent as a foreign lector himself to the order's *studium generale* in Cologne, but at its 1262 meeting the chapter general allowed Simon to return to England. Nothing is known of his career after that date.¹

Apart from the *Summa*, Simon's extant work consists mainly of exegetical writings and a number of theological *quaestiones*. It is clear from these writings that Simon was no innovative thinker. He had relatively little interest in philosophical and theological speculation and was rather concerned with the practical application of theology, especially in relation to pastoral work. Even the "scholastic façade" of the *Quaestiones* "can barely conceal the biblical scholar and the preacher", as Beryl Smalley has put it; the work, which bears no traces of Aristotelian philosophy, "suggests a deeply Augustinian outlook".² The same judgment applies to Simon's *Summa iuniorum*. The work is a compendium of elementary theology, meant for the instruction of priests.³ It consists of eight chapters (called *tractatus*

¹ For a survey of Simon's works, with bibliography, see Th. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1970-93), III, 345-47; R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), no. 1637 (pp. 614-16). To be added: A. Ghisalberti, "L'esegesi della scuola domenicana nella secola XIII", in *La Bibbia nel medio evo*, ed. G. Cremascoli & C. Leonardi (Bologna, 1996), 291-304; M.E. O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook: Studies in MS Laud Misc. 511* (Toronto, 1997), with an edition of Simon's one surviving sermon at pp. 386-90. Simon is sadly absent from such reference works as *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols. (Munich, 1980-99) and *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 11 vols. (3rd ed., Freiburg, 1993-2001).

² B. Smalley, "The *Quaestiones* of Simon of Hinton", in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), 209-22, esp. 222. In his exegetical works, however, Simon occasionally used Aristotle as an authority on natural science; see Smalley, "Two Biblical Commentaries of Simon of Hinton", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 13 (1946), 57-85, esp. 75-76; ead., *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952; 3rd ed., 1983), 320.

³ L.E. Boyle, "Three English Pastoral Summae and a 'Magister Galienus'", *Collectanea Stephan Kuttner*, ed. I. Forchielli & A.M. Stickler, Studia Gratiana 11 (Bologna, 1967), 133-44, esp. 139-40; id., "Aspects of Clerical Education in Fourteenth-Century England", *The Fourteenth Century*, ed. P.E. Szarmach et al. (Binghamton, 1977), 19-32, here 20. See also O'Carroll, *A Preacher's Handbook*, 20, for the suggestion

in some manuscripts) which discuss the articles of the faith, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, the sacraments, the theological and cardinal virtues, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the beatitudes, and the seven deadly sins, respectively. The numerous logical distinctions used by Simon to define the concepts under discussion, as well as the systematic arrangement of the *Summa* as a whole, characterise the work as a product of scholasticism. Still, Aristotle is only rarely mentioned, whereas quotations from Augustine abound.

An important source of the *Summa* was the commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* by Simon's probable predecessor in the chair of theology at the Blackfriars of Oxford, Richard Fishacre.⁴ A second important source was the commentary on the *Sententiae* by Albert the Great. In fact, Albert's influence is much greater than scholars have thus far assumed and at times surpasses Richard's. Our annotations to the abbreviations show that Simon often followed Albert without explicitly quoting him, especially in the chapter on the gifts. P. Odon Lottin observed some time ago that Simon departed from Richard's rather singular teaching on the gifts.⁵ We can now verify that Simon turned to Albert's commentary as an alternative and that his chapter on the gifts is essentially a paraphrase of Albert's views, although his table of the gifts (see below, p. 125) and his division of fear into six parts derive from Richard's work. It is typical of Simon's method of adaptation that although Albert's commentary is interlarded with references to Aristotle, Simon generally ignored them. At one other point Simon opposed the views of Albert and Richard without making a clear choice between them, namely when discussing whether baptized children possess the faith. In fact, it is

that Simon's pastoral work, carried out perhaps in association with Robert Grosseteste, may have provided the context of the *Summa*'s composition.

⁴ A critical edition is in preparation; fortunately for this article, the first published text volume covers Richard's discussion of the virtues and the gifts. See R.J. Long & M. O'Carroll, *The Life and Works of Richard Fishacre OP: Prolegomena to the Edition of His Commentary on the Sentences* (Munich, 1999); *In tertium librum Sententiarum*, vol. 2: *Dist. 23-40*, ed. Klaus Rodler (Munich, 2003). The prologue is edited in R.J. Long, "The Science of Theology according to Richard Fishacre", *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972), 71-98; a collection of 73 *quaestiones* extracted from books I and II are edited in id., "The Moral and Spiritual Theology of Richard Fishacre: Edition of Trinity Coll. MS 0.1.30", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 60 (1990), 5-143. See also id., "The Beginning of a Tradition: The Sentences Commentary of Richard Fishacre, OP", in *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 1, ed. G.R. Evans (Leiden, 2002), 345-57.

⁵ O. Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, 6 vols. (Gembloux, 1942-60), 3:409.

our first abbreviation that allows us to see that the opinions of Albert and Richard are being juxtaposed here; in the sole available printed text of the *Summa*, the opinions of both men are rendered without naming them.⁶

Among Simon's other contemporary sources were works on theology (notably William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*, which he knew independently from Richard Fishacre's commentary, and the *Speculum iuniorum* of an otherwise unknown Magister Galienus;⁷ he appears not to have known the work of Thomas Aquinas) as well as on canon law (notably Raymund of Peñafort's *Summa de penitentia*; in the paragraphs on faith which our first abbreviation summarizes, he also quotes Huguccio of Parma). Surprisingly, Simon does not draw on his own *Quaestiones*, nor on his commentary on Matthew.⁸

One can infer from Simon's selection of sources that he wrote his *Summa* shortly after 1250, perhaps – as Fr. Antoine Dondaine suggested – during his stay in Cologne between 1261 and 1262, which would explain Simon's use of Albert's work. Beryl Smalley thought this suggestion plausible, as continental theology only slowly penetrated to Oxford in the middle of the thirteenth century.⁹ Our observations on the importance of Albert's influence increase the plausibility of Dondaine's suggestion even further.

Simon's *Summa* is not available in a modern edition. An extended version was printed under the title *Compendium theologiae* in Ellies du Pin's 1706 edition of Jean Gerson's *Opera omnia*.¹⁰ Continuations to the original text have been inserted in the final chapter dealing with the vices. This chapter is, therefore, unusable

⁶ See below, pp. 111-112.

⁷ See Boyle, "Three English Pastoral Summae", 139ff.

⁸ As observed by Smalley, "The *Quaestiones*", 214. Simon's *Quaestiones* (London, British Library, MS Royal 9.A.xiv, fols. 123ra-133rb – which does not begin on fol. 117v, as Sharpe, *A Handlist*, 615 indicates) mainly discuss moral questions in connection with *latraldulia* and *iuramenta*. The theological and cardinal virtues are mentioned (fol. 123rb) and Simon even refers to the idea of *connexio virtutum* in his argumentative material (fol. 123ra). Still, there are no verbal parallels with the treatment of the virtues in the *Summa*.

⁹ A. Dondaine, "La Somme de Simon de Hinton", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 9 (1937), 5-22, 205-18, here pp. 214-15; Smalley, "The *Quaestiones*", 210. Other dates have been proposed by O'Carroll, *A Preacher's Handbook*, 20 (see above, n. 3) and M.M. Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study...": *Dominican Education Before 1350* (Toronto, 1998), 377 (Simon would have written the work as a prior provincial).

¹⁰ Jean Gerson, *Opera omnia*, ed. L. Ellies du Pin, 5 vols. (Antwerp, 1706), 1:233-422.

in du Pin's edition, but scholars can consult Dondaine's reconstruction of Simon's text at this point.¹¹ The remaining seven chapters in the Gerson edition, though they do not present a reliable text, stand reasonably close to the manuscript tradition; Dondaine had no problem quoting from these chapters as a genuine expression of Simon's voice.¹² Two small fragments of the *Summa* were edited from different manuscripts by Lottin.¹³ Finally, Fr. Angelus Walz published an abbreviated version of the *Summa*, called the *Exceptiones* and available in a single Cambridge manuscript dating from the thirteenth century.¹⁴ It should be noted that several other abbreviations and/or extracts of Simon's text are extant; moreover, several of the forty-odd manuscripts have the text in incomplete form.¹⁵

The influence of Simon's *Summa* on subsequent authors has been studied in one case in particular: Simon's fellow Dominican Aage of Denmark, prior provincial of Dacia (Scandinavia) from 1261

¹¹ Dondaine, "La Somme", 216-18.

¹² Sharpe, *A Handlist*, 615, is perhaps overly critical in qualifying Simon's *Summa* as "unpr[inted]".

¹³ Lottin, *Psychologie et morale*, 3:289 (on justice), 409 (on the gifts).

¹⁴ A. Walz, "The *Exceptiones* from the *Summa* of Simon of Hinton", *Angelicum* 13 (1936), 283-368 (after Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 73.4.11, which lacks folio numbering).

¹⁵ Among the MSS listed in M.W. Bloomfield et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500 AD* (Cambridge MA, 1979), no. 245, supplemented by Sharpe, *A Handlist*, 615-16, delete Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS F.I.28: this MS contains Latin versions of Aristotle's *Metaphysica* (ff. 1r-104r) and *De causis* (ff. 105r-108v) and Nicholas of Amiens, *Liber de articulis fidei*, inc. Clemens papa cuius rem nominis et vite subiecti scienciat (ff. 108v-112v). Extracts or fragments survive in Bruges, Grootseminarie, MS 27-29, f. 70-72; Epinal, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 104 (42), f. 151-54 (only the part on the articles of the faith); Prague, Metropolitní Kapitula Knihovna, MS D.108 (677), f. 33-39; Vatican City, Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana, MS Ottob. lat. 869, f. 131-37 (extracts on the vices, the articles of the faith, and the Lord's prayer; see V. Doucet, "Commentaires sur les Sentences: supplément au répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller", *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 47 [1954], 88-170, 400-27, here 167-68, no. 815). The copy of the *Summa* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 392, f. 175r-195v, is a re-arranged and shortened version of the text, with a section added on the deeds of mercy. Bloomfield et al. qualify Vatican City, Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 696, f. 108-80, as "imperfect"], but only minor passages seem to be missing. For other extracts, see Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, nos. 1643 (on the sacraments; see also Sharpe, *A Handlist*, 616), 8136, 8187 (both on the Lord's prayer); nos. 0808, 2543, 3506 and 3979, which likewise mention extracts, should be deleted, as the MSS listed here actually contain the whole text. Bloomfield's repertory will be updated by R.G. Newhauser & I.P. Bejczy, "Towards a Revised Incipitarium: A Preliminary List of Additions, Corrections, and Deletions to Update Morton Bloomfield et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices*", forthcoming.

to 1262 and again from 1272 to his death in 1285. Aage made extensive use of the *Summa* in the preparation of his own manual of basic theology, the *Rotulus pugillaris*.¹⁶

The abbreviations

Ironically enough, our abbreviations concentrate on what Dondaine qualified as the least elaborated part of Simon's *Summa*: the last four chapters on the virtues, the gifts, the beatitudes and the vices.¹⁷ It must have been the intention of the abbreviators to compose a treatise of the genre *De virtutibus et vitiis* on the basis of Simon's work.¹⁸ Despite this shared interest, the texts have no direct relation to each other: not only are their styles quite different, but the Oxford text contains parts of the *Summa* which are absent from the Cambridge text, and vice versa, as one can easily infer from our synoptic edition.

The first abbreviation appears in the middle of a late thirteenth-century manuscript, now preserved in Oxford, which is essentially taken up by over a hundred sermons by English Dominicans. The existence of this text shows that attempts to transform the last chapters of Simon's work into a treatise on the virtues and vices were made within one generation after the *Summa* was written. Moreover, the fact that the text appears among a collection of Dominican sermons strongly suggests that the *Summa* actually functioned as an aid to preachers in Simon's order, in accordance with the intentions of the author. This abbreviation is listed by its incipit, as if it were a separate text on the virtues alone, in the repertory of medieval treatises on virtues and vices by Morton Bloomfield et al.¹⁹

The abbreviator closely followed Simon's text and took pains to shorten it in spite of its already quite concise character. He often deleted whole sentences or paragraphs and compressed the remaining parts to a minimum – with much intelligence, to be sure, for he

¹⁶ See A. Walz, "Der 'Rotulus pugillaris' des Aage von Dänemark († 1285) im Licht dominikanischer Theologiepflege", *Antonianum* 20 (1945), 369-400; Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study...", 204-07.

¹⁷ Dondaine, "La Somme", 12.

¹⁸ For a survey of the genre and its formal characteristics, see R.G. Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 68 (Turnhout, 1993).

¹⁹ Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, no. 3492.

left the structure and intention of Simon's work intact but for one small mistake.²⁰ The same tendency prevails in the second abbreviation, although the compression is less thorough. Both abbreviators carefully preserved Simon's source references. On the whole, they seem to have refrained from speculation even more than Simon did; moreover, they were less interested in systematically interrelating the virtues, gifts, beatitudes and sins. They generally concentrated on the same topics, both omitting, for instance, Simon's final paragraph on the beatitudes which examines their individual connection to the virtues and the gifts. Likewise, both abbreviations omit Simon's remarks on the relation of the gifts to the active and contemplative life and refer at this point to further discussion in the margin of the manuscript. Actually, the Oxford manuscript lacks a marginal text or diagram to which one could connect the reference, but the lower margin of one of the folios with the abbreviation in the Cambridge manuscript contains the table of the gifts mentioned above. Our first abbreviator apparently intended to insert a similar table in his work, but forgot to copy it from his source. However, the first abbreviator included two other tables which regularly occur in manuscripts of Simon's *Summa* (and which Simon likewise borrowed from Richard Fishacre) but are not found in our second abbreviation. One represents the oppositions between the natural vices and the gifts, the other depicts the interrelations between eight series of sevens which receive attention in Simon's *Summa* (the beatitudes, the macarisms [i.e., the preparations for the beatitudes], the gifts, the petitions of the Lord's Prayer, the natural vices, the seven deadly sins, the theological and cardinal virtues, and the sacraments; the sacraments are absent from Richard's table).²¹ This latter table also appears in the *Exceptiones* edited by Fr. Walz,²² even though neither this text nor the Oxford abbreviation discusses the petitions or the sacraments.

Altogether, the relationship of both abbreviations to Simon's text supports the view that they were composed by their authors for

²⁰ See below, p. 124, n. 89.

²¹ Both tables are announced in the chapter *De vitiis* as restored by Dondaine, "La somme", 216: "Quorum [sc. vitiorum naturae] sufficientiam, oppositionem ad dona quare in margine; qualiter etiam contrariantur virtutibus, donis, beatitudinibus, petitionibus et convenient vitiis, subscripta tabula poterit cognosci". All three tables appear, e.g., in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 14883 (13th/14th cent.) and MS lat. 16412 (13th cent.); Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 395 (13th cent.). For Richard's tables, see Richard Fishacre, *In tertium librum Sententiarum* D. 34 (ed. cit. 138, 139, 143).

²² See Walz, "The *Exceptiones*", 368.

particularly practical purposes. The first abbreviation, however, includes two scholastic questions in the first section of the text on virtue in general concerning the mutual coherence of the virtues and their equality. Both questions were widely discussed from the late twelfth century in commentaries on the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard. We know of only one manuscript of Simon's *Summa* which includes both questions: London, British Library, MS Add. 30508, fols. 3ra-95r (13th cent.).²³ The questions, which appear in this manuscript on fols. 77rb-78ra, are nearly identical word for word with the corresponding section in our first abbreviation. As the questions unmistakably follow Albert the Great's commentary on the *Sententiae* (the second important source for the original *Summa*), they may have been added to the text by Simon personally sometime after the *Summa* began to circulate, because all other manuscripts of the *Summa* known to us (as well as du Pin's edition) have instead of these questions a chapter often called "De numero et sufficientia virtutum" which presents the theological and cardinal virtues as different instances of love.²⁴ We do not believe, however, that the first abbreviator used the London manuscript as his exemplar, because this manuscript lacks the table opposing the natural vices to the gifts which is contained in the first abbreviation. Indeed, more manuscripts of Simon's *Summa* which included the two questions must have circulated in the thirteenth century, as is proven by a correction in the London

²³ The MS contains on fols. 113ra-168rb a text catalogued as an abbreviated version of Simon's preceding *Summa*, discussing in sequence the decalogue, the creed, sin, virtues, the gifts, vices, sacraments, the sins, penance, the Lord's prayer, beatitudes, and finally definitions of the most important concepts used in the text (inc.: De primo precepto suppositio [?]. Non habebis deos alienos...); see also L.E. Boyle, "Notes on the Education of the 'Fratres Communes' in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century", in *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli O.P.*, ed. R. Creyten & P. Künzle (Rome, 1978), 249-67, here 259-66. In our view, the *Summa* is not the main source of this text; for example, the section on the cardinal virtues (fols. 129ra-130r) chiefly depends on Cicero, whereas Simon's presentation is based on Augustine and Peter Lombard.

²⁴ We have seen: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 392 and MS 477; Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.1.18 and MS II.6.30; London, British Library, MS Harley 586 and MS Royal 9.A.xiv; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 2, MS Laud. misc. 397 and MS Lat.th.e.37 (information on this MS was kindly given to us by Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield, Bodleian Library, Oxford; the reference to Lat.th.c.37 in Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, no. 0245, is mistaken); Oxford, Balliol College, MS 219; Oxford, St. John's College, MS 202; Oxford, Merton College, MS 202; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 14532, MS lat. 14883, MS lat. 14976 and MS lat. 16412; Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 395.

manuscript;²⁵ some of these will have incorporated all three tables accompanying the four final sections of the text of the *Summa*.

The second abbreviation takes up the last four folios of a miscellaneous theological manuscript preserved in Cambridge which appears to date from the early fifteenth century. Strikingly, the text is divided into two parts rather than four. Under the rubric *Incipit de virtutibus*, the abbreviator discusses the cardinal virtues, the gifts and the beatitudes; at the end of his discussion the word *Explicit* appears. The discussion of the seven deadly sins starts in the next column and is concluded by an *Explicit* as well. The transformation of Simon's four chapters into two sections, though of highly unequal length (the first section is four times as long as the second), was obviously meant to fit the parameters of the virtues and vices genre. Moreover, treating the gifts and the beatitudes on a par with the virtues was not uncommon in treatises on virtues; a good example, contemporary with Simon's *Summa* and likewise of Dominican origin, is the *Summa de virtutibus* by William Peraldus (ca. 1248).²⁶ Both sections of our second abbreviation are separately listed by Morton Bloomfield et al., without being identified as dependant on Simon's *Summa*, or part of a single work.²⁷

The section *De virtutibus* starts with the cardinal virtues. The abbreviator left out not only Simon's paragraphs on virtue in general, but also the discussion of the theological virtues, both of which have been retained in the first abbreviation. This choice may come as a surprise, the more so as the final paragraph relating to the virtues in the second abbreviation summarises Simon's survey of how each of the seven virtues (theological and cardinal) opposes one of the seven deadly sins. Actually, the same phenomenon occurs in the *Exceptiones* of the *Summa* published by Walz.²⁸ The *Exceptiones*,

²⁵ The words "Secunda est ex caritate que est forma omnis uirtutis" are supplied in the margin of f. 77va. These words introduce the second of a threefold distinction which forms the framework of the first question. They are clearly part of the original text.

²⁶ Peraldus' *Summa* consists of five parts: *De virtute in genere*, *De virtutibus theologis*, *De virtutibus cardinalibus*, *De donis*, *De beatitudinibus*. On Peraldus and his *Summa*, see A. Dondaine, 'Peyraut: vie et oeuvres', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948), 162-236; Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 1622; Newhauser, *The Treatise*, 127-30. Dr. Michiel Verweij (Royal Library, Brussels) is presently investigating the tradition of the text in manuscripts and printed editions.

²⁷ Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, nos. 5480 (first section), 1482 (second section).

²⁸ See Walz, "The *Exceptiones*", 352-56. The chapter on the virtues opens with paragraphs summarising Simon's observations on charity, without expressly mention-

however, present a much more condensed text than the Cambridge abbreviation and they lack numerous references which are retained in our text, so that the abbreviation cannot possibly derive from the *Exceptiones*. Otherwise, the second abbreviation is slightly more extended than the first, while being less tightly organized and much more corrupt from a linguistic point of view.

It would be hard to say whether the scribes of our manuscripts personally abbreviated Simon's *Summa* or took the texts from existing copies. The fact that the second abbreviation fills the last folios of the Cambridge manuscript would argue in favour of the first possibility. Still, similar abbreviations of Simon's text were circulating long before this manuscript was written, as the existence of the Oxford text proves. Our two abbreviations may be representatives of a more widely diffused tradition; it is quite conceivable that further abbreviations of the *Summa* concentrating on the virtues and vices will be discovered in the future.

The manuscripts

The Oxford manuscript has been described in the Summary Catalogue of the Bodleian Library.²⁹ It is a composite manuscript containing ii + 276 folios. The first part (fols. 1-263) is written in many different but comparable and contemporaneous hands of English origin. Our abbreviation appears at fols. 91ra-95va (fol. 91 was originally numbered 120) as the sole major text in this part of the manuscript which is not a sermon; the Summary Catalogue wrongly calls our text a homily. The immediately preceding folios of the manuscript are heavily damaged, so that one cannot say what text originally appeared before our abbreviation.³⁰ The text following the abbreviation (inc. fol. 96ra: Nunquid nosti ordinem celi... [Job 38:33]. Hanc questionem legitur dominus fecisse ad beatum iob...)

ing this virtue. Next come sections discussing the cardinal virtues in general and each one of these virtues; the final section opposes the seven virtues to the seven sins.

²⁹ *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1895-1953; repr. Munich, 1980), vol. 2.2, no. 4031.

³⁰ Between fols. 90 and 91, two fols. have been excised; more than half of fols. 88-90 is lost. The hand of fol. 90r is different from 90v; perhaps a new scribe started a new text – which may have been a sermon – at fol. 90v.

is definitely a sermon.³¹ The abbreviation starts on the first folio of a new quire and in a new hand; the hand of the following text is different, which would suggest that the abbreviation occupies a separate position in the manuscript. However, since the sermon following our abbreviation appears on a new folio in the same quire (which comprises fols. 91-102), while the next quire continues the text of the preceding folio in the same hand, it is clear that the abbreviation and the sermons following it were originally meant to be transmitted together, as is also suggested by the continuous medieval foliation of this part of the manuscript. We have refrained from describing the over one hundred sermons in the manuscript in detail; information on some of them (all by English Dominicans), as well as on items added later to the manuscript, can be found in several studies.³²

The description of the Cambridge manuscript in the catalogue by M.R. James is rather short and not free of error.³³ We therefore provide a new description of the contents of the manuscript. James does not give details about its medieval origin. We presume that the manuscript is an English product, as it contains a treatise *De decem praeceptis* which circulated exclusively in medieval England. The remaining four texts have Dominican as well as Franciscan authors; the manuscript may, therefore, have had its origins in a mendicant environment.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS. 164/85 (early fifteenth century, vellum, 118 fols., double columns). Scribes: A: fols. 1-60; B: fols. 61-118.

³¹ J.B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 11 vols. (Münster, 1969-90), 6:476 (cf. 4:467), lists a sermon with this incipit from a Cistercian collection contained in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1965 (14th century).

³² See W.A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951), esp. 290-96; J. Sweet, "Some Thirteenth-Century Sermons and Their Authors", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 4 (1953), 27-36. Schneyer, *Repertorium*, contains no references to our manuscript. R.J. Dean & M.B. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London, 1999), 156, no. 280(2), refers to an Anglo-Norman poem appearing at fol. 1v and dating from the 13th or 14th century; the authors owe this information to a personal communication by Siegfried Wenzel.

³³ M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1907-08), 189. In the copy preserved in the Old Library of the College no references to studies on the MS have been inserted.

Contents:

I. 1ra-60vb: *Summa de abstinentia, or Distinctiones Parisienses* [= Nicholas of Byard OP, *Distinctiones*]³⁴

1ra [begins acephalous in article De divitiis temporalibus]: Mammone, Glosa: Diuitiis seruire est Deum negare. Auarus enim potius obedit nummo quam Deo...

1vb [article De dolore (numbered no. 31). Inc.]: Dolorum vii sunt differentie. Est enim dolor deponendus, dolor recolendus, dolor sustinendus, dolor abhorrendus, dolor precauendus...

60rb [article De vita eterna (numbered no. 134). Expl.]: ...nec in cor hominis ascendit, que preparauit Deus electis suis. Ad que nos perducere dignetur, qui uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit summa que dicitur de Abstinentia, que dicuntur distinctiones Parisienses.

60va-vb: [Index. Inc.]: Incipiunt adaptaciones omnium sermonum in hoc libello contentorum prout competunt sabbatis... [ends incomplete]

II. 61ra-99ra: [William of Lanicea OFM, *Diaeta salutis*]³⁵

61ra [begins acephalous in De iustitia]: Deuteronomio 4. Non accipies loco pignoris inferiorem et superiorem molam...

61ra [De prudentia. Inc.]: Prudentia est appetendarum fugiendarumque rerum sententia, Tullius in libro de officiis. Circa quam nota specialiter tria, scilicet tipum decentissimum, actum vtilissimum, portum nobilissimum...

99ra [Expl.]: ...Ihesus filius virginis, cui cum Deo patre et Spiritui Sancto vni Deo viuo et vero sit honor et imperium per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

III. 99rb-103ra: [sermon themes on *Diaeta Salutis*]³⁶

99rb [Inc.]: Abiciamus opera tenebrarum et induamur arma lucis, Romanorum 13. In aduentu magni regis vel principis expiantur sordes et parantur vestes. Ideo Apostolus in hiis verbis...

103ra [Expl.]: ... et luxuria per contrarium. Explicit liber qui vocatur Via vel Dieta salutis. Amen.

³⁴ Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, no. 1841 (this MS not listed); Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 3046 (this MS listed); see also Louis Jacques Bataillon, "The Tradition of Nicholas of Biard's *Distinctiones*", *Viator* 25 (1994), 245-88.

³⁵ Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, no. 2301 (this MS not listed); B.-G. Guyot, "La *Diaeta salutis* et Jean Rigaud", *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 82 (1989), 360-93, here 378 (this MS listed).

³⁶ Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, no. 0077 (this MS not listed).

IV. 103rb-115ra: [*De decem praeceptis*]³⁷

103rb [Inc.]: Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serua mandata, Matthei i. Dicturi de preceptis videamus primo quare seruanda sunt, secundo quot sunt et qualiter intelligenda ...

115ra [Expl.]: ...cetera communiter ad omnes homines etcetera. Amen. Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo.

V. 115rb-118vb: [*Abbreviationes Simonis de Hinton Summae iuniorum*]

Edited in the present article.

Our edition

For the sake of convenience, both abbreviations appear on facing pages (starting at section 1.3.1). We have made the Hatton text the fully annotated edition. Annotations to the Hatton text can generally be taken to refer to the Caius text as well.

In principle, our edition follows the texts as presented in the manuscripts. We have retained readings which differ from Simon's original text or from the source texts quoted in the abbreviations if they make sense from a logical or grammatical point of view; in case of apparent mistakes, however, we have emended the text. We have indicated all of our emendations in the critical apparatus accompanying both texts. We have also respected the consistent eccentricities of scribal orthography (e.g., the use of *c* for sibilants: "Pricillianistarum", "necessitas"). The *u/v* spelling reflects scribal practice; the use of capitals and italics has been regularised. Abbreviations of titles of books of the Bible have been expanded, generally using the genitive form, even in cases in which the scribes apparently forgot to add the chapter number. The punctuation and the division of the texts into paragraphs are our own.

The Oxford text is clearly written and contains only a small number of mistakes. By contrast, the Cambridge text is written in a fairly untidy, sometimes apparently hasty, hand and the parchment of the last folios has been rubbed. Moreover, the scribe made occasional mistakes in orthography as well as grammar and seems to have had difficulties with the subjunctive; in a few cases, words appear to be missing. A few of our readings are therefore necessarily conjectural.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 5618 (this MS listed). The text is sometimes attributed to John Waldeby OESA (c. 1315-c. 1372), but apparently without foundation; see Sharpe, *A Handlist*, 336 (no. 956).

<Abbreviationes Simonis de Hinton *Summae iuniorum*>

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 107, fols. 91ra-95va

1.1.1. *¶*1ra] Nunc de uirtutibus est dicendum. Et primo in genere, secundo in speciali de tribus theologicis et 4 cardinalibus.

1.1.2. De uirtute in genere. Nota quid sit uirtus secundum Augustinum: uirtus est bona qualitas mentis qua recte uiuitur et qua nullus male
 5 utitur, quam Deus solus in homine operatur.¹ 'Bona qualitas' ad differentiam malarum qualitatatum, cuiusmodi sunt prodigalitas et auaricia. 'Mentis' ad differentiam corporalium qualitatatum ut albedo, nigredo. 'Qua' scilicet uirtute. 'Recte uiuitur' ad differentiam sciencie que quamuis sit bona qualitas mentis,² non tamen necessario ea recte uiuitur, set potius ea recte intelli-
 10 gitur. 'Qua nullus male utitur' ad differentiam potenciarum naturalium quibus conuenit et bene uti et male, vt racionabilitas, concupiscibilitas, irascibilitas, que proprie potencie dicuntur. 'Quam solus Deus in homine operatur' quod ponitur ad differentiam politicarum uirtutum que, ut habetur in Ethicis, generantur ex frequenti bene agere,³ cum uirtutes theologicę tantum a Deo infundantur, ex quo uidetur quod hec sit diffinicio uirtutis
 15 theologicę. Set vniuersaliter omnes uirtutes sic notificantur: uirtus est amor habendi se ad omnia ut debet. Vnde Augustinus, libro De moribus ecclesie, singulas diffiniens uirtutes in omnibus diffinicionibus ponit amorem tanquam genus et adiungit diuersos actus tanquam diuersas differentias.⁴

20 1.1.3. Queritur vtrum omnes uirtutes sint concathenate ut qui habeat vnam, habeat omnes.⁵ Dicitur quod sic, maxime uirtutes gratum facientes que a Deo infunduntur. Adminus habitus omnium uirtutum simul infunduntur, licet non usus earum uel actus, et est triplex ratio. Prima ex uir-

5. qualitas] mentis *add sed exp.* MS 16. vniuersaliter] quo *add.* MS 22. adminus] admus MS

¹ Actually Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* II.27.1 § 1, Spicilegium bonauenturianum 4-5 (Grottaferrara, 1971-81), vol. 1, p. 480. Peter attributes the definition to Augustine, but it is in reality his own; some elements of it are in Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* 2.19 (SL 29:271). Cf. note to *Sententiae* ed. cit., loc. cit., and Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* 3:101 n. 2. Simon's analysis of the definition summarizes William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.9.1.3, ed. J. Ribaillet, 5 vols. (Paris-Grottaferrata, 1980-87), 3:171-72.

² Cf. Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis* 3 (PL 64:242 sq.).

³ See Aristotle, *Ethica nicomachea* 2.1.

⁴ See Augustine, *De moribus ecclesie* 1 (PL 32:1322).

⁵ This paragraph summarizes Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.36 art. 2, ed. A. Borgnet, *Opera omnia* 28 (Paris, 1894), p. 668. For the development of scholastic thought on this problem up to Albert the Great, see Lottin 3:197-219.

tute gratie iustificantis, que quasi totum potenciales est ad uirtutes; oportet enim quod ad hoc ut homo sit gratus Deo, quod omnes simul infundantur uirtutes. Secunda est ex caritate, que est forma omnis uirtutis, unde ipsa infusa ut forma infunduntur omnes uirtutes formate. Tercia est euacuatio omnium uiciorum in ingressu uirtutis gratificantis que cum aliquo uicio stare non potest, et non expelluntur nisi per uirtutes oppositas, ideo oportet cum vnica sit infundi omnes [91rb] uirtutes. 25 30

1.1.4. An uirtutes omnes sint equales.⁶ Dicitur quod in essencia sunt pares, set in 4 que sequuntur essenciam uirtutum sunt impares. In diuisione, quia caritas que nunquam excidit omnibus est dignior et maior. In speciali informacione, eciam sic caritas maior est, quia generaliter mouet in omni opere meritorio, ita non alia uirtus, et ipsa est forma aliarum uirtutum. In firmiori radicacione in subiecto; que enim frequencius est in operacione, magis radicata est quam alia, et opus omnium uirtutum non est equaliter frequens, et ideo que magis apparet in operacione, maior uidetur in homine. In vsu promociore; multi enim sunt habiliores ad usum vnus uirtutis quam alterius, ut temperancie quam iusticie uel fortitudinis, et secundum hoc maior uidetur cuius usus est prompior. 35 40

1.2.1. In speciali dicendum est primo de theologice fide, spe et caritate. Primo de fide quid sit, quociens sit et quot modis dicatur, que fides informis et que formata, et an vna possit fieri alia, an demones habeant fidem, an paruuli habeant fidem in baptismo siue ceteras uirtutes, an in aliquo casu sufficit seruare corde et diffiteri ore, vtrum fidei possit subesse falsum, an omnes teneantur ad fidem explicitam. 45

1.2.2. Secundum apostolum Hebreorum xi fides est *substancia rerum sperandarum argumentum non apparencium*,⁷ et diffinitur hic fides secundum quod est fundamentum in edificio spirituali.⁸ Substat enim omnibus aliis uirtutibus et eas collocari in nobis facit. 'Fides est substancia', id est quedam existencia. 'Rerum sperandarum', id est, facit res speratas modo subsistere in nobis spe, que tandem subsistent re. 'Argumentum', id est ostensio vel premonstracio. 'Non apparencium rerum', et quamuis apostolis apparuit passio Christi, tamen hominem passum viderunt et Deum passum esse crediderunt. Secundum Augustinum fides est illuminacio mentis ad uidendum Deum.⁹ 50 55

⁶ This paragraph summarizes Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.36 art. 4 (ed. cit. 672-73).

⁷ Heb. 11:1.

⁸ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.23 art. 18 (ed. cit. 438): "fides diffinitur ab Apostolo, prout ipsa est fundamentum in aedificio spirituali".

⁹ Spurious. William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.12.7.3 (ed. cit. 3:223) attributes a similar definition to Augustine: "Fides est illuminatio mentis qua illuminatur mens a prima luce sive a luce vera ad videndum bona spiritualia"; William's definition may be based on Augustine, *Ep.* 120.14-18 (CSEL 34.2:716-20), as Ribailler suggests in a note. See also John of La Rochelle, *Tractatus de diuisione multiplici potentiarum anime* 3.9, ed. P. Michaud-Quantin (Paris, 1964), 162: "Fides, ut dicit Augustinus ad Consentium, est illuminatio mentis ad summam veritatem"; the reference is to Augustine, *Ep.* 70,

- 1.2.3. Fides aliquando sumitur¹⁰ pro habitu fidei informis, Iacobi 2: *fides sine operibus mortua est*;¹¹ aliquando pro habitu fidei formate, Hebræorum xi: *sancti per fidem*;¹² aliquando *9Ival* pro actu fidei formate, Augustinus: fides est credere quod non uides;¹³ aliquando pro facilitate credendi, Matthei 8: *non inueni tantam fidem*;¹⁴ aliquando pro obiecto, scilicet pro eo quod creditur, cuius sunt articuli fidei, Anastasius: hec est fides catholica.¹⁵
- 60 Fides formata est fides que operatur per dileccionem que informatur gracia et caritate. Fides informis est huic contraria utraque formabilitate
- 65 priuata, qualem habent existentes in mortali peccato, que nichil aliud est quam potencia naturalis assenciendi ueritati vtili ad salutem. Cum igitur quociens peccatur mortaliter omnino pereat fides formata, et cum redit ad statum graciae, utrum noua fides creatur et informis fiat formata dubitatur.
- 70 Dicunt aliqui quod fides informis idem est in essencia cum fide formata, sed differunt secundum intensionem maiorem et minorem, ut assensus ueritatis utilis aliqua illuminatione graciae radiatus sit fides informis, assensus autem vehemens multa illustratione graciae illuminatus fides sit formata. Isti uolunt quod fides informis fiat formata.¹⁶ Alii dicunt quod non
- 75 sit idem et recedente fide formata totum perit, et tantum relinquitur modica quedam lux in anima que non facit gratum, que dicitur fides informis.¹⁷ Alii

69. utrum] iterum MS 69. creatur] creetur MS 72. radiatus] radiate MS
73. graciae] *supp. marg.* MS

which contains no such statement, however. Cf. also Ralph of Laon, *Glossa ordinaria* on Matth. 2:9 (PL 114:75A): "fides quae est mentis illuminatio, per quam ingrediens Christum uidet".

¹⁰ This paragraph summarizes William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.21.1 (ed. cit. 3:197).

¹¹ Iac. 2:26.

¹² Heb. 11:33.

¹³ Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium* 40.9 (CCSL 36:355).

¹⁴ Matth. 8:10.

¹⁵ *Symbolum "Quicumque"* attributed to Athanasius (PG 28:1583C).

¹⁶ This may refer to the opinion of Stephen Langton and Praepositinus of Cremona that natural faith (i.e., faith in accordance with nature *as informed by grace*) can be elevated by grace to a supernatural plane; see Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* 3:122-24; id., *Etudes de morale: histoire et doctrine* (Gembloux, 1961), 81-83. However, A.M. Landgraf, *Dogmengeschichte der Frühscholastik*, 4 vols. (Regensburg, 1952-56), 1.1:175 n. 63, 179 n. 74, quotes some texts by Langton defending the view that *fides informis* and *fides formata* are different substances. A key text is Langton's *quaestio* "Utrum naturalia fiant gratuita", ed. S. Ebbesen and L.B. Mortensen, "A Partial Edition of Stephen Langton's *Summa* and *Quaestiones* with Parallels from Andrew Sunesen's *Hexaameron*", *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen âge grec et latin* 49 (1985), 25-224, here 159-64. The edited text, based on one manuscript, differs on many important points from the parts quoted by Lottin and Landgraf.

¹⁷ Cf. William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.42.1.2 (ed. cit. 798-99): "fides informis et fides formata non sunt eiusdem speciei... Dicendum quod luxuria expellit

distingunt quod dupliciter dicitur fides informis: vel per priuationem debite forme, et sic dicitur fides informis esse in peccatoribus, quia non est in eis gratificans vel caritas; dicitur eciam informis per priuationem possibilitatis ad formam, sic est fides informis in demonibus, ut dicunt.¹⁸ Et primo modo dicta informis fides differt a formata, fit tamen formata, quia id quod subiacet fidei informi, formari potest et potest fieri illa, sicut cecitas per miraculum potest fieri uisus. Set secundo modo dicta nullo modo potest fieri formata; illud plus placet pluribus.¹⁹

1.2.4. De paruulis dicitur quod nec fidem habent nec ceteras uirtutes, eo quod hec eis non conferantur in baptismo, set tantum purgacio ab originali. Et si anima paruuli separetur post baptismum, dicunt in illa separatione infundi illi fidem et ceteras uirtutes a Deo, et similiter cum ad-¹⁹¹vbi ultus fuerit, si tamen retineat innocentiam baptismalem. Hec est opinio Hugutionis qui fecit Apparatum super Decreta.²⁰ Alii dicunt paruulis plene conferri fidem in baptismo et ceteras uirtutes, set non usus earum. Huius opinionis est Magister in Sentenciis²¹ et frater Albertus.²² Set frater Ricardus dicit quod paruuli non habent completum habitum uirtutum neque actum, quia nondum est capax uirtutis complete, ut est habitus uel actus, set accipit uirtutem potencia que aliquid habet de natura habitus, et

90. Hugutionis] H MS

omnes virtutes... Non tamen sequitur quod fides omnino destruat... manet quoddam, quod est fides informis"; III.42.1.3 (ed. cit. 800): "fides informis non manet cum fide formata"; II.13.2 (ed. cit. 2.2:481): *fides informis* "non est vera fides; est tamen aliqua illuminatio preambula ad veram fidem". See also the previous note.

¹⁸ Cf. Philip the Chancellor, *Summa de bono*, ed. N. Wicki (Bern, 1985), 597-98.

¹⁹ The *Compendium theologiae* (ed. cit. 296A) reads: "plus placet aliquibus". Indeed, the majority of theologians held with Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.23.5 (ed. cit. 2:144), that charity or grace transformed *fides informis* to *fides formata*, with the substance of faith basically remaining intact. See, e.g., Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.23 art. 9 (ed. cit. 422-23); Robert Kilwardby (who succeeded Simon in his Oxford chair), *Quaestiones in librum tertium Sententiarum*, vol. 2: *Tugendlehre* q. 4, ed. G. Leibold (Munich, 1985), 16-17. Even William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.42.1.1 (ed. cit. 792), paid some respect to this opinion: "Si sustinere volumus opinionem, que dicit quod naturalia fiunt gratuita, dicemus quod fides informis est virtus imperfecta...".

²⁰ For Huguccio's view on baptism, see Landgraf, *Dogmengeschichte*, 3.1:294-95, 3.2:27-28.

²¹ Cf. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* IV.3.9 § 1 (ed. cit. 2:251): baptism is the starting point of acquiring virtues; IV.4.7 § 5 (ed. cit. 262): "Quidam putant gratiam operantem et cooperantem cunctis paruulis in baptismo dari, in munere, non in usu". The view that baptism conferred the virtues in *habitu* was attributed to the Lombard by his commentators, see Landgraf, *Dogmengeschichte*, 3.1:320-23.

²² Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* IV.4. art. 13, ed. A. Borgnet, *Opera omnia* 29 (Paris, 1894), 100.

hec potencia fit habitus completus si anima separetur et eciam cum uenerit ad etatem adultam.²³

100 1.2.5. Ad aliud dicendum secundum maiores quod negans fidem ore quantumcumque firmiter corde, precipue requisitus, peccat mortaliter. Romanorum: *corde creditur ad iusticiam, ore autem fit confessio ad salutem.*²⁴ Et si sine confessione non sit salus, multo magis cum negacione. Preterea impungnat fidei ueritatem agnitam et peccat in Spiritum Sanctum. Hec est heresis Pricillianistarum, qui dicunt quod licet pro uita seruanda fidem negare ore, si tamen uere teneatur corde.

105 1.2.6. Ad sequens dicitur quod fidei nunquam potest subesse falsum nec dubium, quia nichil potest credi nisi verum. Verbi gracia: si sacerdos in missa eleuet hostiam non consecratam, credere quod illa hostia sit corpus Christi non est fides set opinio que potest esse de falso. Set quod sub illa hostia si rite ecclesie fuerit consecrata sit corpus Christi, fides est, et
110 hoc est verum. Vnde illa condicio semper est apponenda: si fuerit rite consecrata.²⁵

1.2.7. Ad sequens dicendum secundum maiores quod simplices nec ante aduentum nec post tenebantur scire articulos omnes explicite, nec explicite credere nisi quantum docti sunt et quantum intelligere poterunt.
115 Set illi qui precesserunt, minus tenebantur propter doctrinam umbrosam, isti plus propter doctrinam ueritatis expressam.²⁶ Tamen adminus quilibet simplex habens discrecionem primum articulum tenetur scire explicite et reliquos in generali credere et nullatenus diffiteri et paratum se exhibere ad discendum. Sapienciores uero et maxime [92ra] prelati tenentur omnes
120 articulos scire explicite.

1.2.8. Sequitur de spe. Primo quid sit spes, an possit esse malarum rerum, quorum sit spes et quorum esse non possit, an simul cum fide euacuabitur et quid succedet eis.

125 1.2.9. Secundum Augustinum spes est certa expectacio future beatitudinis proueniens ex gracia et meritis precedentibus.²⁷ 'Spes est certa', hoc dicitur quia non licet hesitare. 'Expectacio' ad differenciam comprehensio-

100. Romanorum] *lacuna sequitur MS*

²³ The reference is to the unedited part of Richard Fishacre's commentary on Lombard's *Sententiae*. The *Compendium theologiae* (ed. cit. 296C) does not name Albert and Richard: "Quam opinionem tenet Magister in Lib. de Sent. & alii plures. Est & alia opinio inter has duas media..."

²⁴ Rom. 10:10.

²⁵ For the example of the eucharist, cf. William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.12.7.3, obi. 2 and ad 2 (ed. cit. 3:224-25).

²⁶ This summarizes Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.25 art. 4 (ed. cit. 480).

²⁷ Actually Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.26.1 (ed. cit. 2:159). William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.13.1 (ed. cit. 3:241) likewise attributes the definition to Augustine.

nis que erit in patria. 'Future beatitudinis', ad differentiam timoris seruilis qui est expectatio future miserie. 'Proueniens ex gracia', id est ex benignitate Dei considerata, quod dicitur ad differentiam desperacionis que seueritatem Dei tantum considerat. Illa est diffinicio motus spei. Aliter sic communiter: spes est audacia mentis de largitate Dei concepta habendi uitam eternam per bona merita.²⁸ 130

1.2.10. Ad secundum dicit Magister in 3° Sententiarum quod est tantum bonarum rerum et earum que ad Deum spectant qui earum spem gerere uidetur;²⁹ quia proprie spem habemus de bonis nostris non alienis, quia ad spem tria concurrunt, scilicet quod sit respectu boni et futuri et proprii.³⁰ Vnde large sumitur quando sperantur communia,³¹ sicut speramus salutem bonorum qui sunt in uia, vel secundum poetam: hunc ego si potui semper sperare laborem.³² 135

1.2.11. Ad tertium dicitur communiter quod proprie sumpto nomine spei neque angeli neque anime beate neque Christus spem habuit, quia spes non est proprie de substanciali beatitudine quam nunc habent angeli et anime beate, quia stola corporis non ponitur de substanciali premio ipsarum. Vnde Christus quia comprehensor fuit, substancialem beatitudinem habuit, qui si legatur aliquando spem habuisse, improprie dicitur habuisse, scilicet de accidentalibus beatitudine, utpote de glorificatione corporis, cuius non est spes nisi per posterius, vel loquuntur de ipso gracia membrorum.³³ 140
De patribus autem in limbo et de animabus in purgatorio dicitur quod spem habuerunt aliquantulum extenso nomine spei. Cum enim spes sit expectatio future beatitudinis, potest esse expectatio cum omnimoda [92rb] hesitatione vel cum certitudine opinionis, et tunc proprie est spes qualem electi in uia habent, vel potest esse cum certitudine sciencie quod sciant se bonum eternum adepturos, et sic minus proprie dicitur. Isto modo sumendi spem patres in limbo et anime in purgatorio spem habuerunt. 145

1.2.12. Ad ultimum sic: *cum venerit quod perfectum est, euacuabitur quod ex parte est*,³⁴ et loco fidei succedet uisio, loco spei amplexus. 150

129-130. seueritatem] sereueritatem MS 142. de] om. MS⁴ 143. beate] neque Christus spem habuit *add sed exp.* MS 150-151. hesitatione] sitacione MS 152. habent] om. MS

²⁸ See William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.13.1 (ed. cit. 3:242).

²⁹ Peter Lombard, *Sententie* III.26.3 (ed. cit. 2:160), quoting Augustine, *Enchiridion* 8 (CCSL 46:52).

³⁰ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.26 art. 7 (ed. cit. 502): "si spes proprie sumatur, tunc non est alicujus, nisi in quo concurrunt haec tria... boni, futuri, et proprii".

³¹ Cf. *ibid.*: "Si vero large sumatur, tunc erit etiam boni communis".

³² Virgil, *Aeneis* 4.419 ("hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem").

³³ Summarizing Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.26 art. 8 (ed. cit. 505).

³⁴ 1 Cor. 13:10.

1.2.13. De caritate. Primo quid sit caritas, que sint diligenda caritate, quis ordo obseruandus, an teneamur ad dileccionem inimicorum.

1.2.14. Secundum Magistrum 3. Sentenciarum caritas est dileccio
 160 qua diligitur Deus propter se et proximus propter Deum vel in Deo,³⁵ nec
 diffinitur idem per se ut caritas per dileccionem, quia dileccio quodam-
 modo generis est ad caritatem et ea communis. Item Augustinus De mori-
 bus ecclesie: caritas est recta animi affectio coniungens nos Deo.³⁶ Quoad
 165 primam diffinicionem: eadem est dileccio qua diligitur Deus et proximus,
 eo quod propter Deum diligitur proximus, quia quando vnum propter aliud
 amatur, vnico amatur; tamen gemina dicitur propter duo dilecta, et duo
 mandata dicuntur esse de dilectione. Dileccio Dei continet tria mandata
 pertinencia ad Deum; dileccio proximi continet 7 vt patet supra.

1.2.15. Ad secundum dicendum secundum Augustinum libro 1 De
 170 doctrina christiana 4 diligenda sunt: vnum quod supra nos est, Deus scilicet;
 alterum quod nos sumus, scilicet anima; 3^m quod iuxta nos est, scilicet
 proximus, in quo tam homo quam angelus intelliguntur; quartum quod
 infra nos est, scilicet corpus. De secundo et quarto nulla precepta specialia
 data sunt,³⁷ quia semper remanet homini affectio ad seipsum. Ad 3^m dicen-
 175 dum distinguendo, quia aut beneficium conferendum est spirituale, et tunc
 ad neminem deuoluitur iure consanguinitatis, quia melior extraneus debet
 preferri consanguineo minus bono; aut temporale, vt de bonis acquisitis vel
 heredi- |92va| tarie possessis, et tunc dicitur quod consanguineo minus bono
 pariter indigenti prius est subueniendum. Parente uero, id est patre et
 180 matre, et filio in equali necessitate constitutis, prius subueniendum est
 parenti quam filio, cum ad hoc nos cogat tam lex nature quam preceptum
 dominicum. Quidam tamen senciunt contrarium.³⁸ Alii dicunt quod dilec-
 tione affectuali plus diligendi sunt parentes propter beneficia prestita, effec-
 tuali plus filii quia plus indigent.³⁹ Set in equali indigencia prius subue-
 185 niendum est parentibus quam filiis. Vxor uero preferenda est parentibus
 quantum ad cohabitationem, non quantum ad dileccionem. Genesis: *relin-
 quet* etcetera.⁴⁰

1.2.16. Ad dileccionem vero inimicorum omnes tenentur.⁴¹ Matthei:

186. Genesis] *lacuna sequitur MS*

³⁵ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.27.2 § 1 (ed. cit. 2:162).

³⁶ Augustine, *De moribus ecclesiae* 1 (PL 32:1319).

³⁷ Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 1.23.22 (CCSL 32:18).

³⁸ Notably William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.15.3 (ed. cit. 3:275); see also Roland of Cremona, *Summae... liber tercius* 135.14-18, ed. A. Cortesi (Bergamo 1962), 405-06.

³⁹ Cf. Philip the Chancellor, *Summa de bono* 722.

⁴⁰ Gen. 2:24.

⁴¹ This paragraph summarizes Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.30 art. 1, 2, 5 (ed. cit. 569, 571, 574).

*diligite inimicos.*⁴² Set ad signa dileccionis, ut dicunt, non omnes tenentur, nisi uiderint inimicum necessitatem patientem vel ueniam uere postulantem. Perfecti autem, ut dicunt, ad amplius tenentur, scilicet ad signum dileccionis. Ista sunt intelligenda: qui fidem christianam et ecclesiam non impugnat, quia tali nisi in ultima necessitate non est subueniendum. 190

1.2.17. In summa secundum Augustinum, Ambrosium et alios expositores primo diligendus est Deus, deinde anima propria, deinde anima proximi, deinde corpus nostrum, post corpus proximi.⁴³ Quod autem iubemur diligere proximum sicut nos,⁴⁴ intelligendum est quod optandum est eis equale bonum eternum; non tamen tenemur equaliter eis temporalia ministrare. 195

⁴² Matth. 5:44.

⁴³ See Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.29.1 (ed. cit. 2:171-72), drawing this conclusion from Ambrose, *Sermo in Ps. 118* 4.12 (CSEL 62:73) and Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 1.27.28 (CCSL 32:22).

⁴⁴ Matth. 22:39.

1.3.1. Nunc de 4 uirtutibus cardinalibus. Iusticia secundum Augusti- [Ox]
 200 num est in subueniendo miseris, prudentia in cauendis insidiis, fortitudo
 in perferendis molestiis, temperancia in prauis delectacionibus cohercen-
 dis.⁴⁵ De quibus primo in genere dicendum quare dicantur pollitice vel ciui-
 les. Dicuntur autem cardinales quasi cardiales ad differenciam uirtutum
 corporalium. Cardo enim secundum Ysidorum libro Ethimologiarum a
 205 corde deriuatur, a cardias grece quod est cor latine.⁴⁶ Vel |92vb| secundum
 alios dicuntur cardinales quia in eis sicut in cardinibus omnis uirtus
 maxime ciuilibus uoluitur.⁴⁷ Secundum philosophos dicuntur cardinales quia
 in hiis sicut in cardine est reuolucio tocius uite humane secundum statum
 honestum et ciuilem.⁴⁸ Ciuiles autem dicuntur quia constituunt bonum sta-
 210 tum vnus cum alio in ordine ciuium.⁴⁹ Hiis enim secundum Plotinium et
 Macrobius boni uiri rei puplice consulunt, vrbes tuentur, parentes uene-
 rantur, proximos amant.⁵⁰ Politice autem dicuntur eadem de causa, quia
 polis grece ciuitas latine, politice ciuiles.

1.3.2. Sequitur que sit quelibet uirtus in se et qui eius actus, tum in
 215 uia tum in patria. Est autem iusticia secundum Augustinum uirtus tribuens
 vnicique quod suum est,⁵¹ quod conuenit iusticie tam secundum statum

214. actus] eius add. sed exp. MS

⁴⁵ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.33.1 § 2 (ed. cit. 2:188), adapting Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14.9 (SL 50A:439).

⁴⁶ Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 15.7.7, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911). For a brief discussion of the term *virtutes cardinales* in scholasticism, see Lottin, *Psychologie et morale*, 3:174-80.

⁴⁷ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.33 art. 2 arg. 5 (ed. cit. 609): "ideo cardinales vocantur, quia in eis velut in cardinibus omnes aliae et virtus civilis uoluitur".

⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*: "Alii autem, ut Philosophi, vocant eas cardinales, ideo quia sunt cardo revolutionis humanae uitae secundum statum civilem et honesti: et haec est ratio propria et usitata apud Tullium et alios Philosophos de eis loquentes".

⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 610: "Civiles autem dicuntur, secundum quod constituunt bonum statum unius cum alio in ordine ciuium: et haec eadem ratio est, quare dicuntur politicae, nisi quod unum est Graecum, et alterum Latinum".

⁵⁰ Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.8.6, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1970), 37. Both Plotinus and Plato are mentioned in 1.8.5 (*ibid.*), but the correct reference here is to Plotinus.

⁵¹ The definition derives from Cicero, *De finibus* 5.23.67. Augustine quoted it frequently, see e.g. *De diversis quaestionibus* 2 (SL 44A:11), *De libero arbitrio* 1.13 (SL 29:229), *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2.27.41 (PL 34:218), *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 83.11 (SL 39:1158), *De civitate Dei* 19.4 (SL 48:666).

[Ca] Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS. 164/85, fols. 115rb-118vb

1.3.1. |115rb| Incipit de virtutibus. Sequitur aliquid videre de virtutibus cardinalibus et primo de iusticia, que secundum Augustinum est in subueniendo in miseris; prudencia, que est in cauendo insidiis; fortitudo, que est in perferendis molestiis; temperancia, que est in prauis cogitationibus coercentis et delectacionibus. De quibus dicendum est quare dicuntur cardinales et ciuiles et politice, deinde de singulis que sit quelibet virtus in se et qui sunt proprii actus tam in via quam in patria. Dicuntur autem cardinales virtutes secundum quosdam quasi cordiales ad differentiam virtutum corporalium; cardo enim secundum Isidorum a corde diriuatur, quia cardian Grece cor est Latine. Vel ut alii dicunt, dicuntur cardinales, quia in eis sicut in cardine omnis alia virtus maxime ciuilis voluitur. Secundum philosophos autem qui de ipsis tractauerunt dicuntur cardinales, quia in hijs sicut in cardine est reuolucio tocus vite humane secundum statum honestum et ciuilem. Ciuiles autem dicuntur, quia constituunt bonum statum vnus cum alio in ordine ciuium. Hijs secundum Platonem et Macro- bium boni viri rei publice consulunt, vrbes tuentur, proximos sanant.¹ Politice autem dicuntur eadem de causa, quia idem polis Grece, quod ciuitas Latine et politici, quod ciuiles.

1.3.2. Est autem iusticia secundum Augustinum virtus tribuens vnicuique quod suum est, que diffinicio conuenit iusticie tam secundum statum vie quam secundum statum patrie. Alia autem diffinicio est, que ponitur: iusticia est subuenire miseris, et conuenit iusticie tantum secundum statum vie. Ponuntur autem secundum Magistrum in Sentenciis duo eius actus, scilicet actus in via, scilicet miseris subuenire, et in patria Deo regenti subesse. Hij sunt actus generales ad quos omnes tenentur (sunt et alij speciales quippe iusticie actus). Generalis est vnicuique etcetera, hoc est superioribus, paribus, et inferioribus. Superioribus preminencia, et hoc dupliciter: vel essentialiter, et sic dicitur actus eius inferiora pocioribus subdere, quam ponit Augustinus, De libero arbitrio, libro ij, |115va| vel specialiter, et sic dicitur actus eius soli Deo seruire, Augustinus in 6 Musice. Si autem est in tribuendo quod suum est paribus, sic est triplex actus eius: vnus paria

¹ The form "sanant" may be a mistake (scribal or authorial) for "amant"; Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.8.6, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1970), 37, has "proximos diligunt" (1.8.6).

- uie quam secundum statum patrie. Iusticia que est subuenire miseris,⁵² [Ox]
 conuenit iusticie tantum secundum statum uie. Actus enim in patria Deo
 regenti subesse, in via miseris subuenire.⁵³ Iusticie actus generales tribuere
 220 vniciuque etcetera: superioribus preeminenciam, vel generaliter, et sic dicitur
 eius actus inferiora pocioribus subdere, Augustinus, De libero arbitrio
 libro 2,⁵⁴ vel spiritualiter, et sic dicitur eius actus soli Deo seruire, Augustinus
 in 6 Musice,⁵⁵ paribus, et sic eius actus est paria sibimet copulare,
 Augustinus, De libero arbitrio libro 1;⁵⁶ nullis coequari nisi purissimis ani-
 225 mis, nulli dominari appetere nisi nature corporali uel bestiali, Augustinus,
 6 Musice;⁵⁷ inferioribus, tum quoad penam subleuandam, et sic ponitur eius
 actus miseris subuenire, 3 Sentenciarum,⁵⁸ tum quoad culpam corrigendam,
 et sic ponitur eius actus iniquos moribus punire, Augustinus, Super Gene-
 sim.⁵⁹
- 230 1.3.3. Prudencia secundum Magistrum in Sentenciis est in cauendis
 insidiis,⁶⁰ vel sic apercius: prudencia est virtus rerum bonarum vel mala-
 rum utrarumque discrecio cum fuga mali et eleccione boni,⁶¹ et trahuntur
 a uerbis [93ra] Augustini, De 83 questionibus.⁶² Ponuntur autem plures eius
 actus. Patrie: nullum bonum Deo preponere, qui ponitur hic;⁶³ veritatem
 235 conspiciere, Augustinus, 6 Musice.⁶⁴ Vie: precauere insidias, qui actus ponitur
 3 Sentenciarum;⁶⁵ mala deuitare, quem ponit Augustinus, Super Gene-

220. preeminenciam] preminenciam MS 231. est] rerum add. sed exp. MS

⁵² See above, n. 45; cf. E. Lio, "Il testo di S. Agostino «iustitia <est> in subueniendo miseris» in Pier Lombardo e nei suoi glossatori fino a S. Tomasso d'Aquino", *Miscellanea lombardiana* (Novara, 1957), 175-222, discussing the views of Fishacre (202-05) and Hinton (209-10).

⁵³ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.33.3 § 4 and 2 (ed. cit. 2: 189), citing Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14.9 (SL 50A:439).

⁵⁴ Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* 2.10 (SL 29:257).

⁵⁵ Augustine, *De musica* 6.15.50 (PL 32:1189).

⁵⁶ Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* 2.10 (SL 29:257).

⁵⁷ Augustine, *De musica* 6.15.50 (PL 32:1189), actually discussing justice.

⁵⁸ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.33.1 § 2 (ed. cit. 2:188), citing Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14.9 (see above, n. 45).

⁵⁹ Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12.26 (CSEL 28.1:419).

⁶⁰ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.33.1 § 2 (ed. cit. 2:188), citing Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14.9 (see above, n. 45).

⁶¹ Cf. Alan of Lille, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, ed. Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* 6:51.

⁶² Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus* 31 (SL 44A:41), citing Cicero, *De inventione* 2.53.160.

⁶³ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.33.3 § 3 (ed. cit. 2:189), citing Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14.9 (SL 50A:439).

⁶⁴ Cf. Augustine, *De musica* 6.16.55 (PL 32:1191).

⁶⁵ See above, n. 60.

[Ca] sibimet copulare, Augustini De libero arbitrio, libro primo; alius nullis coequari, nisi piissimis animis;² tertius nulli dominari appetere, nisi nature corporali, de quibus Augustinus, 6 Musice. Si autem est in tribuendo inferioribus, hoc dupliciter: vel quoad penam subleuandam, et sic est actus eius miseris subuenire secundum Magistrum in Sentenciis, vel quoad culpam corigendam, et sic est actus eius iniquos moribus punire, ut Augustinus Super Genesim. 35

1.3.3. De prudentia. Prudentia secundum Magistrum in Sentenciis est in precauendis insidijs, vnde sic apercius diffinitur: prudentia est virtus rerum bonarum, malarum, neutrarumque, id est indifferentium discrecio cum fuga mali et eleccione boni, et trahitur a verbis Augustini in Questionibus, vbi dicitur: Quid prudentia? Est rerum malarum et bonarum et neutrarum sciencia. Ponuntur autem plures eius actus patrie. Vnus nullum bonum preponere Deo, qui ponitur 3 Sentenciarum. Alius ipsam aspicere veritatem, Augustini 6 Musice et †5 Sent.³ Ponuntur actus vie precauere insidias, 3 Sentenciarum. Item mala deuitare, Augustini Super Genesim ad litteram, libro 12. Item incorruptionem corrupcioni preponere, Augustini De libero arbitrio, libro primo. Item discernere bonum a malo, Augustini De ciuitate Dei, libro 19. Item eterna temporalibus preponere, Augustini 6 Musice. 40 45 50

32-33. coequari] coequare MS 41. indifferentium] differentium MS 41. discrecio] discreco MS

² The form "piissimis" may be a mistake; Augustine, *De musica* 6.15.50 (PL 32:1189), has "purissimis".

³ The reference to the *Sententiae* (which counts only four books) is mistaken. What may have led to this misreading is the scribe's difficulty with a reference such as "Super Gen" (i.e., in this case Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12.26, the same passage noted above in the Hatton text, n. 59).

- sim ad litteram;⁶⁶ incorruptionem corruptioni preponere, Augustinus, De [Ox]
libero arbitrio libro 1;⁶⁷ bonum a malo discernere, Augustinus, De ciuitate
Dei libro 19;⁶⁸ eterna temporalibus preponere, Augustinus 6 Musice.⁶⁹
- 240 1.3.4. Fortitudo est in perferendis molestiis, vnde sic diffinitur: forti-
tudo est immobilis animi inter aduersa laborum et periculorum equa
susceptio.⁷⁰ Cuius actus assignantur vie: firmare animum contra tempora-
les molestias, De 83 questionibus;⁷¹ non aduersitatem nec mortem tempo-
ralem formidare, in 6 Musice;⁷² a sapienter electo nullis terroribus penisque
245 depelli, Augustinus, De libero arbitrio;⁷³ libenter pro electo habendo aduersa
tolerare, Augustinus, Super Genesim ad litteram.⁷⁴ Patrie: firmissime Deo
coherere, qui actus ponitur 3 Sentenciarum;⁷⁵ nichil moleste pati, 6°
Musice.⁷⁶
- 250 1.3.5. Temperancia est in prauis delectacionibus coerendis. Diffini-
tur sic ab Augustino, De libero arbitrio: temperancia est affectio coerens
appetitum ab hiis rebus que turpiter appetuntur.⁷⁷ Actus uie: subtrahere se
ab amore inferioris pulcritudinis, in 6 Musice;⁷⁸ coerere delectaciones
prauas, 3° Sentenciarum;⁷⁹ libidinem refrenare, Augustinus, Super Genesim
libro 12;⁸⁰ refrenare cupiditates ab hiis que temporaliter delectant, De libero
255 arbitrio.⁸¹ Patrie: nullo defectu noxio delectari, 3 Sentenciarum;⁸² immacu-
latum manere, 6 Musice.⁸³

251. actus uie] bis MS

⁶⁶ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12.26 (CSEL 28.1:419).

⁶⁷ Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* 2.10 (SL 29:257).

⁶⁸ Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 19.4 (SL 48:666).

⁶⁹ Cf. Augustine, *De musica* 6.13.37 (PL 32:1183).

⁷⁰ Cf. Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.54.163: "Fortitudo est considerata periculorum susceptio et laborum perpassio"; Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* 14 (PL 176:1003B): "Fortitudo est immobilis inter aduersa animi laborum et periculorum susceptio".

⁷¹ Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus* 61.4 (SL 44A:127).

⁷² Augustine, *De musica* 6.15.50 (PL 32:1189).

⁷³ Cf. Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* 2.10 (SL 29:257).

⁷⁴ Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12.26 (CSEL 28.1:419).

⁷⁵ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.33.3 § 3 (ed. cit. 2:189), citing Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14.9 (SL 50A:439).

⁷⁶ Augustine, *De musica* 6.16.55 (PL 32:1191).

⁷⁷ Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* 1.13 (SL 29:228).

⁷⁸ Augustine, *De musica* 6.15.50 (PL 32:1189).

⁷⁹ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.33.1 § 2 (ed. cit. 2:188), citing Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14.9 (see above, n. 45).

⁸⁰ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12.26 (CSEL 28.1:419).

⁸¹ Actually Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus* 61.4 (SL 44A:127).

⁸² Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.33.3 § 3 (ed. cit. 2:189), citing Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14.9 (SL 50A:439).

⁸³ Augustine, *De musica* 6.16.55 (PL 32:1191).

[Ca] 1.3.4. De fortitudine. Fortitudo est in ferendis molestijs, vnde secundum quosdam apercius sic diffinitur: fortitudo est immobilis animi inter aduersa laborum et periculorum equa concepcio.⁴ Cuius plures assignantur actus vie quadruplex. Vnus firmare animum contra temporales molestias, Augustini De 83 questionibus. Item alius non aduersitatem neque mortem temporalem formidare, Augustini 6 Musice. Item a sapienter electo nullis |115vb| terroribus penisque depelli, Augustini De libero arbitrio. Item pro dileccione habenda aduersa tollerare,⁵ Augustini Super Genesim, libro 12. Actus patrie duplex. Vnus firmissime Deo coherere, 3 Sentenciarum. Item nichil moleste pati,⁶ Augustini 6 Musice. 55 60

1.3.5. Temperancia est in prauis delectacionibus cohercendis. Diffinitur autem sic ab Augustino, De libero arbitrio: temperancia est cohercio appetituum ab hijs rebus, que turpiter appetuntur. Cuius actus assignantur in via subtrahere se ab amore inferioris pulcritudinis, Augustini 6 Musice. 65 Item cohercere dilectaciones prauas, 3 Sentenciarum. Item libidinem refrenare, Augustini Super Genesim, libro 12. Item refrenare cupiditates ab hijs que temporaliter delectant, Augustini De libero arbitrio. Actus patrie est nullo defectu noxio delectari, 3 Sentenciarum. Item immaculatum manere, 6 Musice. 70

57. a sapienter electo] aspicienter relicto MS 63. temperancia] temperancio MS
67. 12] 2 MS

⁴ Both Cicero, *De inventione* 2.54.163, and Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* 14 (PL 176:1003B) use "susceptio" here, not "concepcio".

⁵ The form "dileccione" may be a misreading for "dilecto" in Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12.26 (CSEL 28.1:419).

⁶ The form "moleste" may be a misreading for "molestie" in Augustine, *De musica* 6.16.55 (PL 32:1191).

1.4. Fides, que mentem illuminat, expellit superbiam, que cor ex- [Ox]
 cat. Spes, que gaudio futurorum cor letificat, expellit iram, que presenti
 miseria mentem conturbat. Caritas, que gaudet de proximi prosperitate,
 260 delet inuidiam, que est odium felicitatis aliene. Fortitudo, per quam in actus
 uiriles consurgimus, pellit ac- 193rbl cidiam, per quam desidia contabesci-
 mus. Iusticia, que que sua sunt vnicuique tribuit, delet auariciam, que
 aliena retinet et rapit. Temperancia, que excessum reprimat, tollit gulam,
 que modum excedit. Prudencia, qua incorruptionem corruptioni preponi-
 265 mus secundum Augustinum, De libero arbitrio,⁸⁴ euacuat luxuriam, qua
 corpus corrumpitur et anima.

2.1.1. Sequitur de donis. Primo uidendum utrum sint idem quod uir-
 tutes vel in quo differunt, quot et que sunt.

2.1.2. Opinio fere omnium est quod dona non sunt uirtutes. Quidam
 270 dicunt quod uirtutes principaliter sunt ad agendum et ideo diffiniuntur per
 actus suos. Dona autem principaliter sunt ad resistendum temptationibus
 que impugnant uiam habite uirtutis.⁸⁵ Alii dicunt et melius quod uirtutes
 sunt ad agendum simpliciter; set dona sunt expeditiones uirtutum et sunt
 ad expedite agendum.⁸⁶ Alii dicunt quod in donis illa que pertinent ad affec-
 275 tum sunt uirtutes, que autem pertinent ad aspectum non. Media opinio est
 probabilior quia nititur sentencie Gregorii.⁸⁷

259. prosperitate] p cum lacuna MS 260. inuidiam] iram MS 265. euacuat
 luxuriam] euacuatur luxuria MS

⁸⁴ See above, n. 67.

⁸⁵ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.34 art. 1 (ed. cit. 617): "Quidam enim dicunt... quod virtutes sint principaliter ad agendum, et ideo diffiniuntur per actus, et habent proprias operationes: sed dona sunt ad resistendum temptationibus quae impugnant vitam uirtutis iam habitae". This opinion was quoted and rejected by several other scholastics in the first half of the 13th century, but it seems never to have found serious support; see Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* 3:337, 346 (William of Auxerre); 360 (Philip the Chancellor), 367 (anonymous), 401 (Bonaventure).

⁸⁶ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.34 art. 1 (ed. cit. 618): "... dicunt, quod virtutes sunt ad agendum simpliciter: sed dona sunt expeditiones uirtutum, et sunt ad agendum expedite: et haec opinio quandoque habuit multos defensores propter uerbum Gregorii qui dicit, quod dona data sunt in adiutorium uirtutum contra defectum". See also Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* 3:351 (Hugh of Saint Cher), 361 (Philip the Chancellor), 376 (John of La Rochelle), 388 (Odon Rigaud), 401 (Bonaventure).

⁸⁷ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 2.49, 35.8 (SL 143:106, 143B:1783-84).

[Ca] 1.3.6. Item 4 virtutes cardinales hominem ad theologicas consequendas habitant. Hijs nichil est vtilius in via, secundum quod informantur caritate: tunc enim eque meritorie sunt vite eterne ut theologice. An autem hee virtutes future sunt in patria, dicit Magister 3 Sententiarum quod sic, sed secundum alios actus, ut patet per singulas.⁷ 75

1.4. Vltimo dicendum est, qualiter per 7 virtutes 7 capitalia vicia expellantur. Fides enim, que mentem illuminat, expellit superbiam, que cor execat. Spes, que futurorum gaudio cor letificat, expellit iram, que presenti miseria mentem turbat. Caritas, que gaudet de proximi prosperitate, delet inuidiam, que est odium aliene felicitatis. Fortitudo, per quam in actus viriles consurgimus, pellit accidiam, per quam desidia contabescimus. Iusticia, que vnicuique que sua sunt tribuit, eliminat auariciam, que aliena rapit et retinet. Temperancia, *l116ra* que excessum reprimit, expellit gulam, que modum excedit. Prudencia, qua incorupcionem corrupcionis preponimus secundum Augustinum, euacuat luxuriam, qua corpus simul corumpitur et anima etcetera. 85

2.1.1. Postmodum de donis Spiritus Sancti sub compendio est tangendum, et primo dicendum est vtrum idem sunt quod virtutes 7 prenominate, vel in quo differunt, quot et que sunt; de singulis in se pauca tangenda; qualiter per ipsa excludantur 7 capitalia. 90

2.1.2. Est autem opinio fere omnium, quod dona non sunt virtutes, sed discordant in assignando istam differenciam. Quidam enim dicunt, quod virtutes principaliter sunt ad agendum et ideo distinguntur per actus et operationes suas; dona autem sunt principaliter ad temptacionibus recistendum, que impugnant viam iam virtutis habite. Alii dicunt et melius, quod virtutes sunt ad agendum simpliciter, sed dona sunt expeditiones virtutum et sunt ad expedite agendum. Sunt et alij qui distingunt dicentes, quod in donis illa, que pertinent ad affectum <...> nequaquam,⁸ et hij facile soluunt, que possunt obici ex vtraque parte, vtrum sunt virtutes uel non. Sed quia media opinio innititur sentencie beati Gregorii, probabilior habetur a pluribus. 100

90. capitalia] capitalium MS

⁷ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.33.3 (ed. cit. 2:188-89).

⁸ Apparently an eye-skip has resulted in a missing phrase, which can be reconstructed on the basis of the Hatton text and the extract from Simon of Hinton's text printed in Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* 3:409, as follows: "... ad affectum sunt virtutes, que ad aspectum nequaquam". The view that some of the gifts are virtues, but not the "contemplative" gifts, is mentioned and rejected by Roland of Cremona, *Summae... liber tercius* 297.7, ed. A. Cortesi (Bergamo 1962), 833-34. Robert Kilwardby, *Quaestiones in librum tertium Sententiarum*, vol. 2, q. 58 (ed. cit. 228, 235), espouses a version of the theory to which Hinton alludes.

2.1.3. Quot autem et que sint patet Ysaie xi *requiescet super eum*, scilicet Christum, *spiritus sapiencie et intellectus* etcetera.⁸⁸ Duo prima digniora sunt que regunt uitam contemplatiuam, alia quinque regunt actiuam.

280 Require in margine.⁸⁹ Nota quod primum donum in ascendendo est illud quod ultimo ponitur, scilicet donum timoris. Psalmi: *incipium sapiencie timor Domini*.⁹⁰ Set ne timor esset gelidus aut arridus, sequitur donum pietatis que ad omnia est utilis, Thimothei 4.⁹¹ Et ne pietas nimis remissa uel prodiga uel alio modo inordinata, adiungitur sciencia que regat opera pietatis ut discrete fiant. Et ne sciencia inualida sit, additur fortitudo, ut quod

285 quis bene facere nouit, exequi facto possit. Et ne fortitudo sit presumptuosa uel impetuosa, additur donum consilii regens opus fortitudinis, quia fortitudo sine dono consilii precipitat secundum Gregorium.⁹² Et ne consilium uideatur incautum, additur intellectus qui est cognicio bonorum spiritualium. Et ut intellectus modo debito ordinetur, datur sapiencia que est

290 cognicio per gustum diuine dulcedinis, que sapiencia dicta est a sapore, non sapere.⁹³

2.2.1. Sequitur dicere de illis in specie. Primo de timore. Secundum Augustinum Super Iohannem timor est fuga animi ne perdat quod diligit.⁹⁴

295 Idem libro 14 De ciuitate Dei: timor est affectio uel amor fugiens quod ei aduersatur.⁹⁵ Cuius species sunt vi. Est enim timor humanus, mundanus, naturalis, seruilis, inicialis, filialis. Mundanus quo timet quis amittere que sunt mundi. Humanus quo timet ex deliberacione dico penam sui corporis. Naturalis quo naturaliter quis timet mortem siue horrible aliquid ante

300 deliberacionem rationis, qui timor non est uiciosus sicut duo priores. Seruilis est quando quis timet offendere, tantum ne incurrat penam gehenne; iste aliquantulam habet utilitatem, quia sepe introducit caritatem sicut seta sutoris filum secundum Augustinum.⁹⁶ Inicialis est qui quasi duplicem

⁸⁸ Isa. 11:2.

⁸⁹ In fact, there is nothing in the margin corresponding to this statement. The scribe apparently forgot to copy a table similar to the one found in the Cambridge manuscript.

⁹⁰ Ps. 111(110):10.

⁹¹ 1 Tim. 4:8.

⁹² Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 1.32, 1.35 (SL 143:49, 51); *In Hiezechielem* 2 hom. 7.7 (SL 142:321).

⁹³ For this etymology, cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 1, 2, 3 (ed. cit. 646-47); see also Albert's definitions of *sapientia* quoted below, nn. 105, 115-16.

⁹⁴ Cf. Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium* 46.8 (SL 36:402-03) as extended by Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.34.6 (ed. cit. 635): "Timor est fuga animi ne amittat quod amat".

⁹⁵ Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 14.7 (SL 48:422).

⁹⁶ Augustine, *In Iohannis epistulam ad Parthos* 9.4 (PL 35:2047-48).

[Ca] 2.1.3. Quot autem sunt dona et que sunt, patet per Ysaie 11, vbi tanguntur 7 dona Spiritus Sancti hoc ordine: *requiescet super eum*, id est Christum, *spiritus Domini*, *spiritus sapientie et intellectus*, etcetera. Duo autem prima digniora sunt, que regunt vitam contemplatiuam; scilicet sapientia et intellectus; alia vero 5 regunt vitam actiuam et secundum hoc quere numerum donorum et sufficientiam eorum in margine, vbi est tale signum: 0. Et nota, quod primum donum in ascendendo est illud, quod vltimo ponitur, scilicet donum timoris, quia secundum Psalmum *incipium sapientie timor Domini*. Sed ne timor gelidus esset aut aridus, sequitur donum pietatis, que ad omnia vtilis est. Et ne pietas nimis remissa sit aut prodiga aut aliquo modo inordinata, adiungitur sciencia, que regat opera pietatis, ut discrete fiant. Et ne sciencia inualida sit, additur fortitudo, ut quod quis bene facere nouerit, *||16rbl* facto exequi possit. Et ne fortitudo sit presumptuosa vel impetuosa, adiungitur ei consilium regens opus fortitudinis, quia secundum Gregorium fortitudo sine consilio precipitat. Et ne consilium videatur incertum, adiungitur intellectus, qui est cognicio rerum spiritualium. Et ut intellectus modo debito ordinetur, datur sapientia, que est cognicio per gustum diuine dulcedinis, quia sapientia a sapore dicitur, cum dona sint in regimine humane vite, cuius partes sunt contemplatiua et actiua. 105
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2.2.1. Nunc aliquid de singulis est breuiter tangendum et primo de dono timoris, vbi primo dicendum est quid sit timor, quot eius species et que earum sit donum. Secundum Augustinum, Super Iohannem, timor est fuga animi ne perdat quod diligit. Idem, De ciuitate Dei libro 14: timor est affectio vel amor fugiens, quod ei aduersatur. Timoris species 6 ponuntur. Est enim timor humanus, mundanus, naturalis, seruilis, inicialis, filialis. Humanus, quo timet quis ex deliberacione penam sui corporis. Timor mundanus est, quo quis timet amittere, que sunt mundi et ideo peccat, ne amittat. Naturalis, quo naturaliter quis timet mortem siue terribile aliquid ante deliberacionem rationis, qui timor viciosus non est sicut duo priores. Serui- 125
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0 Donorum alia sunt contemplatiua, aut contemplantur Deum
in se, et tunc regitur dono sapientie, Sapientie 7
in creatura, et sic regitur dono intellectus, Sapientie 6
Donorum alia sunt actiua, aut declinando a malo
vel fugiendo malum quod fit per donum timoris, Sapientie primo
vel recitendo malo ut fortiter agat quod fit per donum fortitudinis, Sapientie 4
et ut in agendo debite regatur, datur donum consilij, Sapientie 5
aut faciendo bonum ut
exerceatur in bono opere, datur donum pietatis, Sapientie secundo
in agendo debite regatur datur donum sciencie, Sapientie tertio

102. 11] 9 MS 114-115. presumptuosa] presumpta MS 125. diligit] diligit MS
125. 14] 4 MS 128. deliberacione] liberacione MS

- habens oculum, vnum ad fugam pene, alium ad amorem glorie, seruit Deo [Ox]
- 305 partim timore pene, partim timore iusticie. Filialis siue castus est quo time-
mus ne sponsus anime nostre discedat aut tardet uel offendatur. Hic est
timor sanctus permanens in seculum seculi,⁹⁷ alio nomine reuerencialis. Nul-
lus timor est donum Spiritus Sancti nisi inicialis et castus siue reuerencia-
lis qui proprie dicitur donum.
- 310 2.2.2. Sequitur de dono pietatis.⁹⁸ Pietas secundum Augustinum est
cultus Dei quam Greci eusebiam uocant.⁹⁹ Gregorius Super Iob: pietas est
que docet opera misericordie.¹⁰⁰ Tullius in fine prime Rethorice: pietas est
beniuolencia in parentes.¹⁰¹ Magistralis est hec: pietas est ex benigne men-
tis dulcedine omnibus auxiliatrix affeccio.¹⁰² Dicitur autem pietas quando-
- 315 que motus ipsius affeccionis tendens in ipsum Deum, et sic dicitur pietas
cultus Dei et sic est in genere uirtutis latrie; quandoque motus [93vbl] affec-
cionis tendens in eius ymaginem, scilicet in hominem, et hoc uel in yma-
ginem Dei que est sibi coniuncta per sanguinem, et sic est beniuolencia in
parentes, et sic est species iusticie naturalis; vel tendens in ymaginem Dei
- 320 generaliter in quantum est ymago, et est beniuolencia in ymaginem Dei,
scilicet rationalem creaturam, et sic proprie est donum Spiritus Sancti
quod habilitat et expeditur reddit beniuolenter se habere ad rationalem
creaturam; vel prout afficitur ad rationalem creaturam miseriis oppressam,
et sic est pietas que docet opera misericordie, ut dicit Gregorius, set pocius
- 325 est uirtus quam donum.

⁹⁷ Ps. 19(18):10.

⁹⁸ This paragraph summarizes Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 15 (ed. cit. 660-61).

⁹⁹ Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 10.1 (SL 47:273).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 1.32 (SL 143:49).

¹⁰¹ Cf. Cicero, *De inventione* 2.53.161.

¹⁰² Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* 18 (PL 176:1005A).

[Ca] lis, quando quis timet offendere Deum, ne incurrat penam iehennalem, et iste aliquantulam habet vtilitatem, quia introducit caritatem frequenter sicut seca introducit filum sutoris, ut dicit Augustinus. Inicialis, qui quasi duplicem habet oculum seu respectum, vnum scilicet ad fugam pene, alium vero ad amorem glorie. Seruit enim Deo partim timore pene, partim amore glorie uel iusticie. Filialis siue castus est, quo timemus, ne Christus anime nostre sponus aliquando tardet aut discedat. Hic est enim *timor sanctus*, qui *permanet in seculum seculi*, qui in alio nomine dicitur reuerencialis. Quis autem istorum sit donum Spiritus Sancti patet, quod non mundanus nec humanus, qui simpliciter mali habentur, nec naturalis, quia donum est habitus infusus non innatus, nec seruilis (proprie dico sumendo donum), nisi sicut generaliter sumitur donum de omnibus, que dantur a Deo et sunt supra naturam aliquo modo ad ordinandam vitam *[16va]* in bonum gracie, sicut enim fides informis potest dici donum Dei <...>,⁹ sed inicialis, filialis et castus seu reuerencialis proprie dicitur donum Spiritus Sancti. Concedunt tamen aliqui simpliciter, quod timor seruilis sit donum Spiritus Sancti et tamen negant, quod simul insit cum Spiritu Sancto,¹⁰ quod qualiter esse potuit non video.

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2.2.2. De dono pietatis. Sequitur de proximo dono in ascendendo, scilicet de dono pietatis, vbi nota, quid sit, quot modis dicatur, et secundum quem modum sit donum. Diffinitur autem sic ab Augustino: pietas est cultus Dei, quem Greci et eusebiam vocant. Item Gregorius Super Iob: pietas est, que docet opera misericordie. Secundum Tullium in fine prime Reticie: pietas est beneuolencia in parentes. Magistralis est hec: pietas est ex benigne mentis dulcedine omnibus auxiliatrix affeccio. Dicitur autem pietas multis modis. Quandoque motus ipsius affeccionis tendens in Deum, et sic dicitur pietas cultus Dei et sic est in genere virtutis, que est latraria. Quandoque autem dicitur motus affeccionis tendens in Dei imaginem, scilicet in hominem, quod potest esse tripliciter: vel in imaginem Dei, que est sibi coniuncta per sanguinem, et sic est beneuolencia in parentes et sic est spe-

161. sanguinem] saguinem MS

⁹ The second half of the comparison is missing. Referring to the following text by Albert the Great, one can suggest that the missing text might have been something like "sic etiam servilis est donum Dei". Note that the repetition of "donum Dei" in both halves of the comparison would help account for the missing passage through eye skip. Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.34 art. 9 (ed. cit. 640): "timor servilis est donum Dei... donum autem est accipiendo generaliter donum de omnibus quae dantur a Deo, et sunt supra naturam ad ordinandum vitam in bonum gratiae: sicut ergo fides informis est donum Dei, sic etiam servilis est donum Dei".

¹⁰ The view attacked here is defended by William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.31.1 (ed. cit. 3:604); and by Robert Kilwardby, *Quaestiones in librum tertium Sententiarum*, vol. 2, q. 49 (ed. cit. 185).

- 2.2.3. Sequitur de dono sciencie. Sciencia est lumen spirituale acceptum a Deo, in quo videntur rationes operabilium pertinentium ad uitam, per quas et meritorie uiuamus.¹⁰³ Titi: *sobrie et iuste et pie* etcetera.¹⁰⁴ Sic diffinitur sciencia in quantum est donum. Vnde sicut fides est illuminatio quedam ad credibilia, ita donum sciencie est illuminatio quedam ad operabilia. In hoc differt a dono sapiencie, quia sapiencia est cognitio diuina per gustum, sciencia est lumen diuinum ad operabilia pertinentia ad hanc uitam.¹⁰⁵ Vnde docet bene conuersari *in medio* huius nationis *prave et peruerse*.¹⁰⁶ Augustinus dicit quod sapiencia est de eternis, sciencia de temporalibus.¹⁰⁷
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- 335
- 2.2.4. Fortitudo secundum quod est donum sic notificatur. Fortitudo est animi affectio qua cupiditas terrena deprimitur, nullaque aduersitas formidatur. Hec notificatio uidetur sumi ex uerbis Augustini, De spiritu et anima et in libro 6 Musice.¹⁰⁸ Differt a fortitudine que est uirtus, licet utraque sit circa difficile et arduum, quia fortitudo uirtus sustinet periculum quando necesse est pati uel cedere a bono uirtutis, ut quando queritur fides uel iusticia uel libertas patrie uel huiusmodi. Set donum gratis et ex habundanti offert se statui, in quo talia sepius queruntur, ut statui perfectionis consiliorum.¹⁰⁹ Perfecti habent ita donum in actu, omnes autem in gracia
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327. operabilium] *corr. ex a deoperabilium MS* 328. Titi] *lacuna sequitur MS*
339-340. utraque] *utrumque MS*

¹⁰³ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 4 (ed. cit. 649): "scientia donum est, quod est lumen acceptum a Deo simplex, in quo videntur rationes operabilium pertinentium ad vitam... est lumen sicut fides ad credibilia simplex similitudo diuinae veritatis et iustitiae, sub quo videntur rationes diuinae operabilium per nos, quae pertinent ad modum vivendi sancte et meritorie, sicut dicit Apostolus: Sobrie, et iuste, et pie vivamus in hoc saeculo, etc."

¹⁰⁴ Tit. 2:12.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 3 (ed. cit. 647): "sapientia est cognitio per gustum... scientia est lumen diuinum ad operabilia pertinentia ad hanc uitam: et ideo dicit in Littera, quod docet bene conuersari in medio pravae et perversae nationis".

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.35.1 § 4 (ed. cit. 2:199), citing Phil. 2:15.

¹⁰⁷ Augustine, *De Trinitate* 12.14-15 (SL 50:375-79).

¹⁰⁸ Augustine, *De musica* 6.15.50 (PL 32:1189); cf. Pseudo-Augustine, *De spiritu et anima* 20 (PL 40:794).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 13 (ed. cit. 658): "[fortitudo] virtus sustinet periculum quando necesse est pati vel recedere a virtutis bono, sicut quando quaeritur fides, vel iustitia, vel libertas patriae, vel aliquid huiusmodi bonorum gratiae vel civium: sed fortitudo donum ex superabundanti offert se statui in quo talia saepius quaeruntur, ut statui perfectionis consiliorum".

[Ca] cies iusticie naturalis; vel in imaginem Dei generaliter (inquantum est imago, hoc est inquantum est creatura rationalis), et sic est proprie donum Spiritus Sancti, quod habilitat et expeditum reddit hominem ad habendum se beneuolentem ad rationabilem creaturam, scilicet ad quemlibet hominem siue indigentem siue non indigentem, et sic conuenit ei maxime illa notificacio magistralis prius posita; item in imaginem Dei, id est hominem, miseris oppressum, et sic pietas est, que docet opera misericordie, ut dicit Gregorius, et sic pocius est virtus quam donum. Secundum primum modum diffinitur ab Augustino, secundum vero secundum modum a Tullio, secundum tercium a magistris, secundum quartum a Gregorio. 165

2.2.3. De dono sciencie duo notanda sunt: quid sit, et in quo differt a dono sapiencie a quo videtur non distare. Secundum quod sciencia proprie donum est, sic diffinitur: sciencia est lumen spirituale [116vb] acceptum a Deo, in quo videntur rationes operabilium ad hanc vitam pertinentium, per quas sancte et meritorie viuamus. Sic docet Apostolus ad Thimotheum 5: *sobrie et iuste et pie viuamus in hoc seculo*, vnde sicut fides est illuminacio quedam ad credibilia, ita donum sciencie est illuminacio quedam ad operabilia. Dicitur autem in hoc differe a dono sapiencie, quod sapiencia est cognicio diuinarum per gustum, sciencia autem est lumen diuinum ad operabilia pertinencia ad hanc vitam. Vnde sicut dicit Magister in Sentenciis: docet bene conuersari *in medio* huius *prauae et peruerse nacionis*. Et hoc videtur consonare verbis Augustini, qui dicit quod sapiencia est de eternis, sciencia autem de temporalibus. 175

2.2.4. Post hec de dono fortitudinis dicenda sunt duo, scilicet quid sit et qualiter differt a fortitudine que est virtus. Secundum vero quod est donum, sic notificatur: fortitudo est animi affectio, qua cupiditas humana deprimitur, nullaque aduersitas formidatur, et videtur hec notificacio sumi de verbis Augustini, De spiritu et anima, libro 6 Musice. Differt autem a fortitudine, que est virtus, licet vtrumque sit difficile et arduum, quoniam fortitudo virtus sustinet periculum, quando necesse est pati vel cedere a bonitate virtutis, sicut quando queritur fides vel iusticia vel libertas patrie vel huiusmodi, sed fortitudo donum gratis et habundanter offert se statim,¹¹ in quo talia sepius queruntur, vt statui perfeccionis consiliorum. Si autem dicatur, quod secundum hoc non habent donum fortitudinis, nisi tantum perfecti, et sic habita vna gracia gratificante non omnes habentur, dicit¹² quod non est verum nec sequitur ex dictis, quoniam perfecti illud donum 185

173. sapiencie] et *add. MS* 186. quod] quodam *MS* 192. queritur] que est *add. MS*

¹¹ The form "statim" is apparently a misreading for "statui" in Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 13 (ed. cit. 658).

¹² The unspecified subject of *dicit* is Simon. The *Compendium theologiae* (ed. cit. 312B) reads *dico*.

345 existentes in habitu, vnde qui imperfectus est, [94ra] habet vnde opus per- [Ox]
feccionis facere potest si vult.¹¹⁰

2.2.5. Consilium sic diffinitur a Tullio in rethorica: consilium est ali-
quid faciendi uel non faciendi vere excogitata ratio.¹¹¹ Hanc diffinicionem
quidam corrigunt sic: consilium est excogitata ratio earum rerum in qui-
bus propter arduitatem indiget quis adiutorio.¹¹² Vnde consilium prout hic
350 sumitur non est de dubio, set de arduo, ad quod propter difficultatem non
omnes tenentur. Hoc donum fuit in Christo, sicut et cetera, et semper erit.
Consilium secundum quod ponit dubitacionem et querit certificacionem ab
aliis non fuit in Christo, quia certissime omnia nouit, quia sic non est
355 donum. Set consilium secundum quod est lumen immissum a Spiritu
Sancto, dissoluens omnia dubia et indubitanter dirigens in agressionem
arduorum que Deus ad statum perfeccionis pertinere propalauit hoc modo
fuit in Christo.¹¹³

2.2.6. Intellectus sic diffinitur ab Augustino: intellectus uocatur quo
360 ab omni infirmitate carnali corda mundantur, ut pura intencio dirigatur in
finem, scilicet Deum.¹¹⁴ Est autem lumen spirituale infusum ad cognicio-
nem Dei in creaturis. Differt autem a dono sapiencie, quia sapiencia est
cognicio per gustum. Est enim quoddam lumen sub quo videntur et gustantur
diuina per experimentum. Vnde sapiencia donum proprie est gustus Dei
365 in donis suis.¹¹⁵ Intellectus est lumen datum a Deo ad cognicionem Dei in

362. dono] *supp. marg. MS*; Deo *exp. MS*

¹¹⁰ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 13 (ed. cit. 659): "Si autem objicitur, quod secundum hoc non nisi perfecti habent donum fortitudinis: ergo non habita una gratia gratum faciente habentur omnes. Dicendum, quod non est verum, nec sequitur ex dictis: quia perfecti habent in actu, et communiter omnes in gratia existentes habent in habitu... qui enim imperfectus est, habet unde perfectionis opus facere potest si vult".

¹¹¹ Cicero, *De inventione* 1.25.36.

¹¹² Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 6 (ed. cit. 651): "consilium generaliter accipitur, secundum quod diffinitur a Tullio: potest tamen specialiter adaptari dono consilii, ut dicatur excogitata ratio earum rerum in quibus homo indiget adiutorio speciali propter arduitatem earum: et ideo consilium non est hic de dubio, sed potius de arduo ad quod propter difficultatem non omnes tenentur".

¹¹³ Cf. *ibid.* art. 5 (ed. cit. 650): "consilium est donum, sicut communiter dicitur ab omnibus Sanctis... consilium dupliciter dicitur, scilicet a dante consilium, et in quo signat plenitudinem luminis dirigentem in dubiis: et sic fuit in Christo et est in Deo: et hoc modo est donum. Dicitur etiam a quaerente consilium, et sic est dubitantis et ignorantis, et sic non fuit in Christo, nec est donum per hunc modum".

¹¹⁴ Augustine, *Sermo* 347 (PL 39:1526).

¹¹⁵ Cf. Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 1 (ed. cit. 645): "sapiencia est quoddam lumen diuinorum sub quo videntur et gustantur diuina per experimentum. Unde sapiencia donum proprie est gustus Dei in donis suis".

[Ca] habent in actu, omnes autem in caritate existentes habent in habitu. Vnde qui imperfectus est, habet vnde opus perfeccionis facere potest si vult.

2.2.5. Porro de dono consilij duo similiter sunt tangenda, scilicet quid sit et qualiter sit donum, cum non videatur *l117ra* in Christo, in quo sunt et fiunt omnia bona. Diffinitur autem a Tullio in Rethorica sic: consilium est faciendi vere excogitata racio. Sed non videtur conuenire consilio prout donum, ideoque aliqui corigunt eam sic: consilium est excogitata racio earum rerum, in quibus propter arduitatem indiget quis adiutorio. Vnde consilium, prout hic sumitur, non est de dubio sed de arduo, ad quod propter difficultatem non omnes tenentur. De reliquo dic, quod verissime fuit hoc donum in Christo, sicut est et semper erit in aliis sanctis. Vnde consilium, secundum quod ponit dubitacionem et secundum quod querit certificacionem ab aliis, non fuit in Christo, qui certissime omnia nouit, quia sic nec est donum Spiritus Sancti. Sed consilium, secundum quod est lumen infusum a Spiritu Sancto diffundens omnia dubia et indubitanter dirigens in aggressionem arduorum, que Deus ad statum perfeccionis pertinere propalauit, est donum, et hoc modo fuit in Christo.

2.2.6. Sequitur de dono intellectus, circa quod attende primo quid sit et secundo in quo differat a sapiencia. Diffinitur autem sic ab Augustino in sermone quodam de timore: intellectus vocatur, quo ab omni infirmitate carnali corda mudentur, ut pura intencio dirigatur in finem suum, scilicet Deum. Est enim lumen spirituale infusum ad cognicionem Dei in creaturis. Differt autem a dono sapiencie, quia sapiencia est cognicio per gustum. Est eciam quoddam lumen, sub quo videntur et gustantur diuina per experimentum. Vnde sapiencia proprie est gustus Dei in donis suis. Intellectus autem non est per gustum, sed est pocius lumen datum a Deo ad cognicionem Dei in creaturis illis, in quibus resultat Deus per gratiam, vel in quibus habet resultare per gratiam et gloriam. Vnde intellectus est donum quo cognoscimus gratuite disposiciones celestium et tendimus per ipsas in Deum sic *l117rb*l disponentem.

creaturis illis in quibus resultat Deus per gratiam, vel in quibus resultare [Ox] habet per gloriam et gratiam. Vnde intellectus est donum quo cognoscimus gratuite dispositiones celestium et tendimus in Deum sic disponentem.¹¹⁶

2.2.7. Secundum Augustinum sapientia sic diffinitur: sapientia est 370 cognitio rerum diuinarum.¹¹⁷ Item ex littera 3 libri Sententiarum trahitur hec diffinitio: sapientia est in cognicione et dilectione eius quod semper et incommutabiliter manet, quod est Deus.¹¹⁸ Gregorius sic: sapientia est donum spe et certitudine eternorum mentem reficiens.¹¹⁹ Hec dicit operationem eius propriam que |94rb| est reficere mentem per gustum.

375 2.3. Timor quo quis deprimitur ut non in uanum se extollat, excludit superbiam. Pietas que illatas iniurias sibi remittit, expellit iram que vindictam querit. Sciencia que mentem illuminat, euacuat inuidiam que mentem execat. Fortitudo que excellit in arduis, pellit accidiam que torpet in imis. Consilium quod docet pro transitoriis eterna mercari, remouet auariciam que negociatur in terrenis. Intellectus quo delectamur in bonis spiri- 380 tualibus, excludit gulam que male delectatur in carnalibus. Sapientia per quam pure delectamur in Deo, delet luxuriam qua quis delectatur impudice in corpore misero.

3.1.1. Nunc de beatitudinibus. Est beatitudo duplex, vie et patrie. 385 Beatitudo uie consistit in perfecta euacuacione miserie culpe, et quoad essenciam et quoad occasiones. Vnde quia iste uirtutes euacuant culpam et culpe occasiones, et disponunt ad beatitudinem patrie, dicuntur beatitudines. Beatitudo patrie consistit in omnimoda euacuacione utriusque, scilicet miserie et culpe, et sic dicuntur beatitudines premia dictis uirtutibus. *Ipsorum est regnum celorum.*¹²⁰ *Saturabuntur* etcetera.¹²¹ Vnde varia ratione 390 potest dici quod uirtutes sunt beatitudines, et quod premia correspondencia.

389. uirtutibus] *lacuna sequitur MS*

¹¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.* art. 3 (ed. cit. 647): "sapientia est cognitio per gustum... sed intellectus non est per gustum, sed potius est lumen datum a Deo ad cognitionem illius creaturae Dei, in qua resultat Deus per gratiam... vel in qua habet resultare per gloriam vel per gratiam: et ideo est lumen quo cognoscimus gratuite dispositiones coelestium, et tendimus in Deum sic disponentem".

¹¹⁷ Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14.1 (SL 50A:423) as paraphrased by Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 1 (ed. cit. 644).

¹¹⁸ Actually Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 135.8 (SL 40:1962); it is also ascribed to Peter Lombard by Albert the Great, *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* III.35 art. 1 (ed. cit. 644). Cf. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* III.35.1 § 2-3 (ed. cit. 2:199).

¹¹⁹ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 1.32 (SL 143:48), quoted in the same inexact form by Albert the Great, *ibid.*

¹²⁰ Matth. 5:3, 5:10.

¹²¹ Matth. 5:6.

[Ca] 2.2.7. Denique dicendum est de dono sapiencie et quoniam ex dictis superius patet in parte, quid sit et qualiter se habeat ad donum sciencie et ad donum intellectus, ideo hic sufficit ponere eius notificacionem. Secundum Augustinum sic diffinitur: sapiencia est cognicio rerum diuinarum. Item ex 3 libro Sentenciarum extrahitur ista diffinico: sapiencia est in cognicione et dileccione vel dilectacione eius, qui semper incommutabilis manet, quod est Deus. Beatus autem Gregorius sic diffinit donum sapiencie: sapiencia est donum spe et certitudine eternorum mentem reficiens. Que diffinico dicit operacionem eius propriam, que est reficere mentem per gustum, quod sonat nomen eius. Sapiencia enim imponitur a sapore.

2.3. Vltimo dicendum, qualiter dona excludunt 7 vicia capitalia. Et sciendum, quod timor, quo quis deprimitur, ut non in uanum se extollat, excludit superbiam. Pietas, que sibi illatas remittit iniurias, expellit iram, que vindicari querit. Sciencia, que mentem illuminat, euacuat inuidiam, que mentem execat. Fortitudo, que excellit in arduis, pellit accidiam, que torpet in imis. Consilium, quod docet pro transitorijs eterna mercari, remouet auariciam, que in terrenis et pro terrenis tantum querit negociari. Intellectus, quo vere delectatur in bonis spiritualibus, expellit gulam, qua vane et misere anime delectantur in carnalibus. Sapiencia, per quam pure delectamur in Domino, extirpat luxuriam, qua quis impudice delectatur in corpore misero.

3.1.1. Nunc de beatitudinibus tangere restat sub breuitate et primo, quid dicatur beatitudo, an ipsa virtus aut id quod promittitur, utpote ipsa paupertas aut ipsa promissio regni etcetera, qualiter se habeant ad dona et ad virtutes, quare vltimo beatitudini idem quod prime premium redditur; de qualibet in se, quid sit et eiam qualiter et cum quo dono conuenit, et cui vicio contrariatur. Et sciendum, quod duplex *||17va* est beatitudo, vie scilicet et patrie. Beatitudo autem vie consistit in perfecta euacuacione miserie et culpe, et quoad essenciam et quoad occasiones. *Vij* iste virtutes,¹³ quia euacuant culpam et culpe occasiones et disponunt ad beatitudinem patrie, dici poterunt beatitudines. Beatitudo autem patrie consistit in omnimoda euacuacione vtriusque miserie, scilicet culpe et pene, et sic dicuntur premia dictis virtutibus correspondencia, sicut *ipsorum est regnum celorum: saturabuntur* etcetera. Vnde varia ratione poteris dicere, quod virtutes ille sunt beatitudines et similiter de beatitudinibus, quod sunt premia correspondencia.

233. dileccione] dilecione MS 233. semper] est *add. sed exp.* MS 237. enim] autem MS 242. excellit] expellit MS 243. quod] qui MS 245. quo] que MS 250. an] aut MS 252. idem] id MS 257. euacuant] euacuunt MS

¹³ The form "Vij" may be a misreading for "Vnde", which is the reading of the *Compendium theologiae* (ed. cit. 314A).

3.1.2. Qualiter se habeant ad dona et uirtutes, sciendum secundum [Ox]
 Glossam Mathei 5 quod per uirtutes ad dona, per dona ad beatitudines
 395 peruenitur.¹²² Vnde uirtutes dicuntur bone operacionis et euacuacionem
 culpe quoad essenciam. Dona dicuntur quasi progressum, quia donum
 expedit actum uirtutis ut expedite operetur.¹²³ Beatitudines autem dicuntur
 consummacionem siue terminum, quatenus potest haberi in uia ut omnem
 culpam euacuet et omnem culpe occasionem, et delectabiliter bonum [94va]
 400 operetur quantum possibile est uiatori. Et ideo dicuntur iste beatitudines
 uirtutes purgati animi,¹²⁴ quia purgant animam ultima purgacione. Vltima
 autem beatitudini idem premium redditur, set non eadem ratione, quia
 regnum in se duo comprehendit, scilicet exaltacionem et habundanciam. In
 beatitudine autem que est paupertas est summa rerum abdicacio siue abiectio,
 405 et ideo promittitur ei regnum in quantum dicit habundanciam. In
 vltima beatitudine, scilicet beati qui persecucionem patiuntur, est summa
 deieccio, et ideo promittitur ei regnum in quantum nominat exaltacionem.
 Vnde quamuis omnibus debeatur, istis promittitur.

3.2.1. Prima uirtus in numero est paupertas spiritus que adaptatur
 410 timori et expellit superbiam, cum paupertas spiritus humilitas sit. Set cum
 paupertas que est beatitudo sit abdicacio temporalium, aut est abdicacio
 secundum rem aut secundum uoluntatem. Dicitur quod est abdicacio
 secundum rem et uoluntatem, quia cum beatitudines perfectam faciant peccati
 exclusionem, tam quoad peccati essenciam quam quoad occasionem;
 415 cum abdicacio solum secundum uoluntatem non sit perfecta euacuacio
 occasionis culpe, quia est ulterior¹²⁵ que euacuat occasionem culpe, scilicet
 illa que est secundum rem et uoluntatem; igitur sola uoluntas non facit
 hominem abdicare.

410. spiritus] *supp. marg. MS* 412. rem] uoluntatem *MS*

¹²² The gloss is absent from *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria*, 4 vols. (Strasbourg, 1480/81; repr. Turnhout, 1992), 4:[26]. It was, however, quoted by Geoffrey of Babion, *Enarrationes in Matthaëum* (PL 162:1305B); Alan of Lille, *De uirtutibus et de uitiis et de donis Spiritus sancti*, ed. Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* 6:27-92, here 87; id., 'A Commentary on the Our Father by Alan of Lille' § 10, ed. N.M. Häring, *Analecta cisterciensia* 31 (1975), 149-77, here 160; see also *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae* 7 (PL 177:371B) written by an unknown Victorine author; Lotharius de Segni (Pope Innocent III), *De missarum mysteriis* 5.18 (PL 217:898C). Lottin refers to *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, 6 vols. (Antwerp 1634) 5:133 which apparently contains the gloss at Matth. 6:13. It is also repeatedly quoted in William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea*.

¹²³ See above, n. 86.

¹²⁴ The expression "uirtutes purgati animi" is due to Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1.8.9. William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.35.1 (ed.cit. 3:667), likewise qualifies the beatitudes as such. Moreover, William makes the same connections between the beatitudes and the capital sins as Simon and his abbreviators.

¹²⁵ Instead of "ulterior" (also appearing in *Exceptiones*, ed. cit. 360), *Compendium theologiae* (ed. cit. 315A) reads "alia utilior", which seems to make better sense.

- [Ca] 3.1.2. Qualiter autem se habent ad dona et ad virtutes? Hoc scito, quod secundum Glosam Mathei 5 per virtutes ad dona, per dona ad beatitudines peruenitur. Vnde virtutes dicunt inicium operacionis bone et euacuacionem culpe ad essenciam. Dona autem dicunt quasi progressum, quia donum expedit actum virtutis, ut expedite operetur. Beatitudines autem dicunt consummacionem siue terminum quatinus potest haberi in via, vt omnem culpam euacuet et omnem culpe occasionem et delectabiliter operetur bonum, quantum possibile est viatori. Et ideo dicuntur iste beatitudines virtutes purgati animi, quia scilicet purgant animam vltima scilicet purgacione. Vltime autem beatitudini idem premium redditur, quod et prime, sed non eadem ratione, quia regnum in se duo comprehendit, scilicet exaltacionem et habundanciam. In beatitudine autem, que est paupertas, est summa rerum abdicacio siue abieccio, et ideo promittitur ei regnum, inquantum dicit habundanciam. In vltima vero beatitudine est summa deieccio, et ideo promittitur ei regnum, inquantum dicit exaltacionem. Vnde quamuis omnibus debeatur, istis tamen solis *[117vb]* promittitur, quia propter appropriacionem istis debetur. De qualibet in se, quid sit, et qualiter, et cui dono competit nunc accedet dicere ad singulas.
- 3.2.1. Est autem prima virtus seu beatitudo paupertas spiritus, que adaptatur timori et expellit superbiam, cui eciam contrariatur, eo quod paupertas spiritus humilitas sit. Huic autem premium promittitur, scilicet quoad habundanciam, sed quoad exaltacionem promittitur patientibus persecucionem propter iusticiam, scilicet vltime, regnum celorum. Et nota, quod paupertas hic dicitur abdicacio temporalium secundum rem et voluntatem, quia cum beatitudines perfectam dicant peccati exclusionem tam quoad peccati essenciam quam quoad occasionem, cum abdicacio solum secundum voluntatem non sit perfecta euacuacio occasionis peccati, quia est vltior, que magis euacuat occasionem peccati, scilicet illam, que est secundum rem et voluntatem, patet, quod illa est beatitudo.

- 420 3.2.2. Secunda est mititas vel mansuetudo, que competit dono pietatis, expellens iram, quia mitis est quem ira vel rancor non afficit. Cui respondet premium, scilicet possessio terre uiuencium. [Ox]
- 425 3.2.3. Tercia uirtus est luctus, qui est dolor animi caritate informatus. Quem inducit sciencia donum, quia facit agnoscere miseriam propriam et presentis uite statum, que causa sunt luctus. *Qui enim addit scienciam, addit et dolorem.*¹²⁶ Cui respondet pro premio consolacio eterna. Apocalypsis: *absterget.*¹²⁷ Et euacuat inuidiam.
- 430 3.2.4. Quarta est esuries et sitis iusticie, que per donum fortitudinis adaptatur, que est in sustinen- |94vb| dis periculis pro iusticia et fide, que expellit tedium boni et est contra accidiam. Cui uirtuti respondet eterna sacietas uel saturitas.
- 435 3.2.5. Quinta est misericordia, cui adaptatur donum consilii, quod docet nos aliis dimittere minora ut dimittantur nobis maiora, vel conferre terrena ut optineantur celestia, quod est contra auariciam. Cui uirtuti correspondens est consecutio misericordie.
- 440 3.2.6. Sexta est mundicia cordis, cui conuenit donum intellectus, qui est cognicio celestium bonorum, oculum cordis mundans et illuminans, delens gulam que cor corrumpit et execat. Osee 4: *vinum et ebrietas.*¹²⁸ Cui uirtuti correspondet visio Dei.
- 440 3.2.7. Septima est pax uel esse pacificum, cui correspondet donum sapiencie, que est delectari in Deo in quo summa pax est. Que expellit luxuriam que animum uagum reddit et instabilem. Cui respondet esse filium Dei.
- 445 3.2.8. Octaua uirtus est pati persecucionem propter iusticiam, que clarificat et ostendit quod perfectum, habens respectum ad singula precedentia, unde et beatitudo respondens ei redit ad capud tanquam circulus perficiens, omnes ambiens et comprehendens.

Potencia anime naturalis

aut est motiua que saciata presumit de se

vel nimis et hoc

uel interius et tunc est superbia contra donum timoris

uel exterius et tunc est precipitacio quod est contra donum consilii

vel minus

uel interius et tunc est timor malus reddens pusillanimum contra fortitudinem

uel exterius et tunc est duricia faciens immisericordem contra donum pietatis

aut apprehensiua in qua consideratur

potencia cuius uulnus est ebetudo quod sanat donum intellectus

habitus cuius uulnus est ignorancia quod sanat donum sciencie

actus cuius uulnus est stulticia quod sanat donum sapiencie

¹²⁶ Eccl. 1:18.

¹²⁷ Apoc. 7:17, 21:4.

¹²⁸ Hos. 4:11.

- [Ca] 3.2.2. Secunda est mititas siue mansuetudo, que competit dono pietatis et expellit iram, quia mitis est, quem ira vel rancor non afficit. Cui respondit premium, scilicet possessio terre viuencium. 295
- 3.2.3. Tercia est luctus, qui est dolor animi caritate formatus, quem inducit sciencie donum, quando facit agnoscere miseriam propriam et huius presentis vite statum et dileccionem patrie, que sufficiens causa luctus sunt. *Qui enim addit scienciam istam, addit dolorem.* Cui enim pro certo respondet eterna consolacio, in qua *absterget Deus omnem lacrimam* etcetera. Et hec euacuat inuidiam, que dolet de bono alieno et letatur de malo. Hic autem econuerso. Hec autem quamuis miseria uideatur, congrue tamen beatitudo propter annexam virtutem dicitur, vel propter annexam dulcedinem, eo quod secundum Gregorium *118ra* dulciores sunt lacrimae penitencium quam delicie regum,¹⁴ et Augustinus, Libro confessionum: currebant lacrimae et bene michi erat cum illis.¹⁵ 300
- 3.2.4. Quarta est esuries et sitis iusticie, que dono fortitudinis adaptatur, que est in sustinendis periculis pro iusticia et fide, que expellit tedium boni, quod est contra accidiam. Cui premio respondet eterna sacietas. 305
- 3.2.5. Quinta, que aptatur dono consilij, est misericordia, que docet nos dimittere alijs minora, ut nobis dimittantur maiora, vel conferre terrena, ut optineantur celestia. Hec expellit auariciam, cuius proprium est congregare, non remittere uel conferre. Premium autem correspondens est misericordie consecucio. 310
- 3.2.6. Sexta est mundicia cordis, cui conuenit donum intellectus, qui est cognicio celestium bonorum, oculum cordis mundans et illuminans. Hac eliminatur gula, que corumpit et execat cor, Osee 4: *vinum et ebrietas auferunt cor.* Premium respondens est visio Dei. 315
- 3.2.7. Septima est pax vel esse pacificum, cui adaptatur donum sapiencie, que est delectacio in Deo, qui est *Pax nostra.*¹⁶ Hec expellit luxuriam, que animum non pacificum sed vagum reddit et instabilem. Et respondet premium esse filios Dei. 320
- 3.2.8. Octaua est pati persecucionem propter iusticiam, quod clarificat et ostendit quod perfectum est, habens respectum ad singula precedencia, vnde beatitudo ei correspondens redit ad caput tanquam circulus perficiens et omnes beatitudines ambiens et comprehendens. Hee beatitudines tanguntur Mathei 5.¹⁷ 325
- Explicit.

296. quem] quam MS 314. misericordie] misericordia MS 320. Deo] Deum MS 325. reddit] om. MS

¹⁴ Spurious.

¹⁵ Augustine, *Confessiones* 9.6.14 (SL 26:141).

¹⁶ Cf. Eph. 2:14.

¹⁷ Matth. 5:3-10.

- 450 4.1.1. Vltimo sequitur tangere de uiciis. Et quia sunt vicia nature et uoluntatis, primo de uiciis nature que sunt septem: extollencia, duricia, ignorancia, timiditas, precipitacio, ebetudo, stulticia. Quorum sufficienciam et numerum et qualiter donis contrarientur, quere in margine. [Ox]
- 455 4.1.2. Sequitur de uiciis uoluntatis, hoc est de malo culpe. Primo quid sit peccatum, quociens sit siue quot eius genera, et quid vnumquodque. Secundo specialiter de peccato mortali, scilicet quis eius effectus, quot eius genera et quid singulum ipsorum.
- 460 4.1.3. Peccatum est auersio ab incommutabili bono ad bonum commutabile.¹²⁹ 'Auersio' scilicet uoluntatis, in qua proprie et per se est peccatum. 'Ab incommutabili bono' scilicet Deo, qui omnino incommutabilis est. Nec est auersio aliud quam disconfor- 195ra| mitas uoluntatis create a uoluntate diuina, quod est in omni peccato ubi aliquid uult uoluntas creata quod non uult Deus. 'Ad bonum commutabile' scilicet bonum creatum; tamen essentialius est peccatum auersio a bono incommutabili quam conuersio ad bonum commutabile, quia si fit conuersio ad creaturam et non auersio a Creatore, ut quando amat quis creaturam propter Deum, non fit peccatum.
- 465 4.1.4. Tria sunt genera peccatorum, quia omne peccatum aut est originale aut actuale; actuale aut mortale aut ueniale. Originale peccatum est auersio quedam habitualis a Deo, qua anima non reddit Deo iusticiam quam debet. Vnde fere secundum omnes sonat in auersionem habitualement. Hugo de Sancto Uictore: originalis culpa est corruptio siue uicium quod nascendo contrahimus per ignoranciam in mente et concupiscenciam in carne.¹³⁰ Frater Ricardus et sequaces uolunt quod originalis culpa sit necessitas concupiscendi cum debito non concupiscendi. Exemplum de radio contiguato aque qui mouetur mota aqua et quiescente quiescit, et hoc habet ex contiguacione sui cum aqua.¹³¹ Vnde cum maior unio sit anime et carnis, cum caro sit de se mobilis ad concupiscendum, anima tali carni vnita habet necessitatem concupiscendi. Igitur cum caro paruuli, cui infunditur anima, per peccatum primi hominis ad concupiscendum sit mobilis, patet quod eius anime inest concupiscendi necessitas. Nec potest cohibere illam carnem uel sensualitatem sicut potuit anima Ade ante peccatum, que habuit potestatem regendi sensualitatem et libertatem concupiscendi uel non. Vna ergo per peccatum et post peccatum primi hominis inest anime necessitas non retinendi sensualitatem, alia necessitas concupiscendi. Primum est

452. peccatum] secundo *add. MS* 459. uoluntas] diuina *add. sed exp. MS*
 461. peccatum] peccato *MS* 465. peccatorum] peccata *MS*

¹²⁹ Cf. Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* 3.1 (SL 29:274).

¹³⁰ Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis* 1.7.28 (PL 176:299A).

¹³¹ The reference is to Richard Fishacre's commentary on Lombard's *Sententiae* II.30. See *Exceptiones* (ed. cit. 363) and "De uitiis", ed. Dondaine, "La Somme", 20; both Walz and Dondaine quote the Fishacre passage in question from different manuscripts.

- [Ca] 4.1.2. *[118rb]* De vicijs voluntarijs, id est de malo culpe seu de peccato, tangendum est, primo quid sit peccatum in genere, quociens fit siue quot eius genera, et quot genera peccati actualis. 330
- 4.1.3. Primo peccatum in genere sic diffinitur: peccatum est auersio ab incommutabili bono et conuersio ad bonum commutabile, quod sic intellige: peccatum est auersio, scilicet voluntatis, in qua proprie et per se est peccatum, ab incommutabili bono, scilicet Deo, qui omnino incommutabilis est. Nec est auersio aliud quam disconformitas voluntatis create ad voluntatem diuinam, quod est in omni peccato, vbi aliquid vult voluntas creata, quod non vult Deus, et peccatum semper est conuersio ad bonum commutabile, scilicet ad bonum creatum, quod mutabile et continue mutatur, vel saltem mutabile est, et quamuis peccatum in sui diffinitione duo contineat, scilicet auersionem a bono incommutabili et conuersionem ad bonum mutabile, essentialius tamen inest peccato primum quam secundum. Si enim fieret conuersio ad creaturam, ita tamen quod non fieret auersio a Creatore, sicut contingit, quando quis amat creaturam tantum propter Deum, non fieret peccatum. 345
- 4.1.4. Sunt autem tria genera peccatorum, quia omne peccatum aut est originale aut actuale, et actuale duplex, quia aut mortale aut veniale. Originale autem est, quod trahimus a viciosa origine, et est auersio habitualis quedam a Deo, quia scilicet anima non reddit Deo iusticiam, quam debet, vnde fere secundum omnes doctores sonat in auersionem habitualem. Secundum Augustinum et Hugonem de Sancto Victore originalis culpa est corrupcio seu vicium, quod nascendo contrahimus per ignoranciam in mente et per concupiscenciam in carne.¹⁸ Alij autem volunt, quod originalis culpa est neccessitas concupiscendi, et ponunt exemplum de radio continguato aque, qui mota aqua mouetur et quiescente quiescit et hoc habet ex continguacione cum aqua. Vnde cum maior sit vnio anime et carnis quam radij cum aqua, cum caro mobilis sit de se ad concupiscendum, anima tali carni vnita habet neccessitatem quamdam concupiscendi, tali carni cum fuerit vnita, nec potest anima *[118va]* cohibere illam carnem siue sensualitatem <...>¹⁹ et insuper libertatem concupiscendi vel non concupi- 360

334. auersio] aduersio MS 336. auersio] aduersio MS 342. essentialius] essentialiter MS 347. originale] orinale MS 348. et est] in *add.* MS 351. originalis] orinalis MS 360. sensualitatem] sensualitate MS

¹⁸ The reference to Augustine results from a textual corruption. Neither the *Exceptiones* (ed. cit. 363) nor the "De vitijs" section as edited by Dondaine, "La Somme", 217, contain a reference to Augustine. See, however, *Compendium theologiae* (ed. cit. 318C): "Unde omnes fere Doctores respectu effectus ipsius peccati originalis consonant in ipsam auersionem secundum Augustinum. Hugo de sancto Victore dicit, quod...". The corruption in our text must go back to a similar version.

¹⁹ Again, apparently an eye skip has led to a corruption.

necessitas non faciendi quod debet, secundum est necessitas faciendi quod [Ox]
non debet. Et ita est carencia vtriusque partis iusticie: declinare a malo et
485 facere bonum.¹³²

4.1.5. Peccatum actuale mortale sic diffinitur [95rbl] secundum Augustinum: peccatum est dictum uel factum vel concupitum quod fit contra legem Dei.¹³³ 'Dictum' propter peccatum oris, 'factum' propter peccatum operis, 'concupitum' propter peccatum cordis. Idem aliter sic: peccatum est uoluntas retinendi uel consequendi quod iusticia uetat.¹³⁴ Effectus huius peccati est uulnerare in naturalibus et spoliare gratuitis, et per consequens penis deputare eternis. Augustinus, De ciuitate Dei libro 12: uicium adimit integritatem, pulcritudinem, salutem, uirtutem et quicquid boni per uicium detrahi siue minui consueuit.¹³⁵

495 4.2.1. Genera peccati sunt 7 que uocantur capitalia, quia ab ipsis omnia alia oriuntur. Nunc ergo uidendum de singulis.

4.2.2. Secundum Augustinum, Super Genesim ad litteram, superbia est amor proprie excellencie.¹³⁶ Aliter diffinitur sic: superbia est elacio uiciosa, que inferiore despiciens superioribus et paribus satagit dominari.¹³⁷ Ex qua oriuntur contemptus preceptorum siue Dei siue prelati, iactancia, ypocrisis, aliorum contemptus, arrogancia, impudencia, ostentacio, inflacio.

500 4.2.3. Inuidia est odium felicitatis aliene secundum Augustinum.¹³⁸ Damascenus: inuidia est tristicia in alienis bonis.¹³⁹ De qua pullulant odium, susurracio, detraccio, exultacio in malis proximi, affliccio in bonis eiusdem.

505 4.2.4. Secundum Augustinum, De ciuitate Dei libro 14, ira est libido ulciscendi.¹⁴⁰ Secundum Uictorinum ira est animi motus cum ulciscendi

483. non] *bis sed exp. MS*

¹³² Cf. Ps. 36:27.

¹³³ Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 22.27 (CSEL 25:621), as mediated by Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* II.35.1 § 1 (ed. cit. 1:529).

¹³⁴ Augustine, *De duabus animabus* 15 (CSEL 25: 70) etc.; *Contra Iulianum* 1.44 (CSEL 85.1: 31) etc.

¹³⁵ Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 12.3 (SL 48:357).

¹³⁶ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 11.14 (CSEL 28.1:346).

¹³⁷ This definition is the opening phrase of Pseudo-Robert Grosseteste, *De septem uitiis principalibus* (Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, no. 5905; 13th cent.). It also occurs in Guido Faba († ca. 1245), *Summa de uitiis*, ed. Virgilio Pini, "La *Summa de uitiis et uirtutibus* di Guido Faba", *Quadrivium* 1 (1956), 41-152, here 102, and in Thomas of Ireland, *Manipulus florum* (ca. 1306), where it is attributed to "Hugo"; see C. Nighman's electronic edition at <http://pages.sprint.ca/mf/files> under Superbia AS.

¹³⁸ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 11.14 (CSEL 28.1:346).

¹³⁹ John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* 2.14 (PG 94:931) = *Expositio fidei* 28, ed. B. Kötter (Berlin 1973), 81 (Greek text); *De fide orthodoxa* 28, ed. E.M. Buytaert (New York 1955), 121 (Latin text).

¹⁴⁰ Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 14.15 (SL 48:438).

[Ca] scendi. Patet ergo, quod per peccatum primi parentis inest anime necessitas duplex: necessitas vna non retinendi sensualitatem, et alia necessitas concupiscendi. Et primum est necessitas non faciendi, quod debet, et secundum est necessitas faciendi, quod non debet. Ita inest ei carencia vtriusque partis iusticie, que sunt declinare a malo et facere bonum. 365

4.1.5. Peccatum autem actuale mortale sic diffinitur secundum Augustinum: peccatum est dictum vel factum vel concupitum contra legem Dei. Et dicit 'dictum' propter peccatum oris, 'factum' propter peccatum operis, 'concupitum' propter peccatum cordis. Effectus huius peccati est vulnerare in naturalibus et spoliare gratuitis et per consequens penis deputare eternis. Augustinus, De ciuitate Dei libro 12: vicium adimit integritatem, pulcritudinem, salutem, virtutem et quicquid boni per vicium detrahi siue minui consuevit. 370

4.2.1. Dicuntur autem 7 genera, que vocantur peccata capitalia, quia ab illis omnia alia oriuntur, scilicet superbia, inuidia, ira, accidia, auaricia, gula, luxuria, que retinentur in hoc versu tamen ordine verso: 375

Luxus, gustus, auet, tristis, furit, inuidet, ambit.²⁰

Sic curantur vicia per contrarium: superbie opponitur humilitas, inuidie caritas, ire paciencia, accidie feruor spiritus, auaricie largitas et paupertatis amor, gulositati abstiniencia et sobrietas, libidini continencia et mundicia. 380

4.2.2. Est autem superbia secundum Augustinum amor proprie excelencie. Aliter autem sic diffinitur: superbia est viciosa elacio, que inferiorem despiciens superioribus et paribus satagit dominari. Ex qua oriuntur contemptus preceptorum siue Dei siue superioris, ipocrisis, aliorum contemptus, arrogancia, castrimargia, inpudicia, ostentacio, inflacio. 385

4.2.3. Inuidia est odium felicitatis aliene, ut dicit Augustinus. Item Damascenus: inuidia est tristicia de alienis bonis. De qua pululant odium, susurracio, detraccio, exultacio in malis proximi, affliccio in bonis eiusdem.

4.2.4. Ira secundum Augustinum, De ciuitate Dei, est libido vlciscendi se. Secundum Victorinum ira est animi motus |118vb| cum vlcissendi atque 390

362-363. alia necessitas] in illa non MS 370. per] om. MS 371. 12] 13 MS 377. auet] auor MS 389. exultacio] exaltacio MS 392. tumor] timor MS

²⁰ Cf. H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaequae latinitatis medii aevi*, 6 vols. (Göttingen 1963-69), no. 14173a; id., *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959), no. 10532.

atque puniendi libidine.¹⁴¹ De qua pululant rixe, tumor mentis, contumelie, [Ox] clamor, indignacio, blasphemie.

510 4.2.5. Accidia est animi torpor bona negligens inchoare vel a bono incepto resilire faciens.¹⁴² De qua oriuntur rancor, malicia, pusillanimitas, desperacio, torpor erga precepta, vagacio mentis circa illicita.

4.2.6. Auaricia est libido habendi pecuniam secundum Augustinum, De ciuitate Dei,¹⁴³ vel secundum alios generalius: auaricia est sciencie [95] siue quarumlibet rerum insaciabilis et inhonesta cupido.¹⁴⁴ De qua oriuntur prodicio, fraus, fallacia, periurium, inquietudo et contra misericordiam cordis obduracio.

520 4.2.7. Gula est solius corporis illecebrosus et audus ciborum uel potuum appetitus.¹⁴⁵ Secundum Hugonem de Sancto Victore sic: gula est immoderatus appetitus edendi.¹⁴⁶ De qua oriuntur inepta leticia, scurilitas, immundicia, multiloquium, ebetudo sensuum contra intelligenciam.

4.2.8. Luxuria est corporis incontinencia ex pruritu carnis originem trahens.¹⁴⁷ De qua oriuntur cecitas mentis, inconsideracio, inconstancia, precipitacio, amor sui, odium Dei, affectus presentis seculi, horror uel
525 desperacio futuri.

4.2.9. Quinque prima peccata sunt spiritualia, duo ultima carnalia.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Conrad of Hirsau (Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor), *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* 6 (PL 176:1000C).

¹⁴² Cf. Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones theologice* (PL 210:980B).

¹⁴³ Cf. Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 14.15 (SL 48:438).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* 8 (PL 176:1001B); for *scientia* as an object of avarice, see Peter Lombard, *Sententie* II.21.5 § 6 (ed. cit. 1:436).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Conrad of Hirsau (Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor), *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* 9 (PL 176:1001D), actually defining *crapula*.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis* 2.13.1 (PL 176:526A).

¹⁴⁷ Also quoted in *Fasciculus morum*, ed. S. Wenzel (University Park, 1989), 648.

[Ca] puniendi libidine. De qua pululant rixe, tumor mentis, contumelia, clamor, indignacio, blasphemie.

4.2.5. Accidia est animi torpor bona necligens inchoare, vel a bono incepto faciens resilire. De qua oriuntur pusillanimitas, malicia, desperacio, torpor circa precepta, vagacio mentis circa illicita. 395

4.2.6. Auaricia est libido habendi et retinendi diuicias secundum Augustinum, De ciuitate Dei, vel sic secundum alios generalius: auaricia est sciencie vel quarumlibet rerum insaciabilis et inhonesta cupido. De qua oriuntur cupido, prodicio, fraus, fallacia, periurium, inquietudo et circa misericordiam mentis obduracio. 400

4.2.7. Gula est immoderatus appetitus edendi vel bibendi. Secundum vero alios gula est illecebrosus et auidus ciborum vel potuum appetitus tantum solius corporis. De qua oriuntur inepta leticia, scurilitas, immundicia, multiloquium, hebitudo sensuum circa intelligenciam. 405

4.2.8. Luxuria est corporis incontinencia ex pruritu carnis originem trahens. De qua oriuntur cecitas mentis, inconsideracio, inconstancia, precipitacio, amor sui, odium Dei, affectus presentis seculi, horror et desperacio futuri.

4.2.9. Sunt et alij plures ramusculi, sed istos ponit Gregorius libro Moralium.²¹ Et nota, quod horum 7 capitalium 5 priora spiritualia peccata sunt, duo vero vltima carnalia, que quia maioris sunt infamie, reputantur a simplicibus grauiora. 410

4.3. Est autem peccatum veniale minor amor Dei secundum Augustinum,²² utpote quando nimis diligitur aliqua creatura, minus tamen quam creator, quia si eque vel plus diligeretur, tunc foret mortale. 415

Explicit.

Est scriptus liber, sit scriptor crimine liber.

394. bono] malo MS 418. Est ... liber] *add. MS alia manu*

²¹ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 31.45 (SL 143B:1610-12).

²² Spurious.

beatitudines	fili Dei vocabuntur	Deum uidebunt	misericordiam consequentur	saturabuntur	consolabuntur	possidebunt terram	ipsorum est regnum
preparaciones	pacificus	mundicors	misericors	esuriens iusticiam	lugens	mitis [mites MS]	pauper spiritu
dona	sapiencia	intellectus	consilium	fortitudo	sciencia	pietas	timor Domini
peticiones	libera nos a malo	ne nos inducas	dimitte nobis debita nostra	panem nostrum cotidianum	fiat uoluntas tua	adueniat regnum tuum	sancificetur nomen tuum
vicia nature	stulticia	ebetudo	precipitacio	timiditas	ignorancia	duricia	extollencia
vicia voluntatis	luxuria	gula	auaricia	accidia	ira	inuidia	superbia
virtutes	fides	spes	caritas	fortitudo	prudencia	iusticia	temperancia
sacramenta	matrimonium	penitencia	ordo	confirmacio	extrema vnecio	eukaristia	baptismum

[Ox]