

ERIKA KIHLMAN
EXPOSITIONES SEQUENTIARUM
MEDIEVAL SEQUENCE COMMENTARIES AND PROLOGUES
EDITIONS WITH INTRODUCTIONS

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS STOCKHOLMIENSIS

Studia Latina Stockholmiensia

LIII

EXPOSITIONES SEQUENTIARUM

MEDIEVAL SEQUENCE COMMENTARIES AND PROLOGUES

EDITIONS WITH INTRODUCTIONS

by

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SWEDEN

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4242, fol. 58^v.

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ISSN 0491-2764

ISBN 91-85445-24-8

Printed by Universitetservice US-AB, Stockholm 2006

Distributed by Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm

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Acknowledgments

This work has been performed within the framework of the interdisciplinary research project *Sapientia et Eloquentia: Studies on the Function of Poetry in the Period of Transition from a Monastic to a Scholastic Culture in Medieval Europe*, generously financed by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (Riksbankens jubileumsfond. Kulturvetenskapliga donationen).

Through the years during which this thesis has been written, many people have earned my gratitude. I would first like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Gunilla Iversen, chair of the Stockholm Latin seminar and leader of the *Sapientia* project. She introduced me to this subject and has ever since, with never-failing enthusiasm, generously shared with me her vast and profound knowledge of the Latin world and wisely guided me through that multifarious field which is medieval studies. This work could not have been accomplished without her.

My secondary supervisor, Prof. Eva Odelman, has likewise earned my heartfelt gratitude for her patience and exactitude in discussing philological problems and for her careful and thorough readings of the editions, which prompted many valuable suggestions.

In May 2004 Prof. Anders Piltz acted as my opponent when part of this work was presented as a thesis for the licentiate degree. His insightful criticism at that time has contributed to numerous improvements, for which I am truly grateful.

Special thanks are also due to Profs Jan Öberg and Monika Asztalos, former chairs of the Stockholm Latin seminar, for their helpful and instructive comments on my first attempts at deciphering these texts. I am also grateful for suggestions and useful advice given to me by all members of the seminar. I would especially like to thank Dr Brian Møller Jensen, who has read my work at various stages and given valuable comments. I would furthermore like to thank everyone at the department for creating a stimulating and friendly work environment.

Prof. Hans Aili has earned my special gratitude by being an encouraging teacher ever since I first came to Stockholm as an undergraduate. As the co-editor of the *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* he has furthermore suggested numerous improvements when reading this thesis in manuscript.

My former and present room-mates at the department all deserve thanks: first Dr Alexander Andrée, also my colleague in the *Sapientia* project, for his

companionship and for his sharp eye when reading through my work; Elin Andersson and Per Sandström for moral support, invaluable help and various distractions; and Drs Magnus Karlsson and Sara Risberg, for setting a good example and showing that it is possible to survive this ordeal and come out sane at the end of it.

I am greatly indebted to the collaborating members of the *Sapientia* project for their hospitality, for generosity in sharing their knowledge with me and for showing friendship in scholarship: Prof. Marie-Noël Colette, Drs William Flynn, Nils Holger Petersen, Marcia Sà Cavalcante Schuback and, last but not least, Dr Nicolas Bell, who has both corrected my English with exceptional care and insight and suggested numerous ameliorations to this work. At the *Sapientia* meetings and at conferences I have benefited from valuable discussions with a number of scholars: Prof. Gilbert Dahan, Drs Jeremy Llewellyn, Päivi Mehtonen and Teresa Webber, and the members of the ‘Covent Garden Seminar’, Cambridge, chaired by Prof. Susan Rankin, where I was given the opportunity to present my material. I am furthermore grateful for comments from Fr Leonard Boyle, OP (†) at a very early stage in my research. Stefan Hagel, who has been quick in coming to the rescue in all matters related to the CTE typesetting program, also deserves thanks.

I am grateful to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the Universitätsbibliothek in Graz, the Archiv der Diözese Gurk and the Universitätsbibliothek in Klagenfurt, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart and the Universitetsbibliotek in Uppsala for kind permission to reproduce their manuscripts.

Generous grants have allowed me to examine manuscripts *in situ*, and I am grateful to the funds in the names of Lars Hierta, Helge Ax:son Johnson, John Söderberg and Gunvor & Josef Anér. I am greatly indebted to the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Minnesota, for their generosity, welcome and assistance in all matters during my stay there—made possible by a research stipend from the A. A. Heckman Fund—and for their help in the ordering of manuscript reproductions.

Finally, I wish to thank my family, Tobias and Filippa. Without their constant support and encouragement I could not have pursued this work. They have been my source of inspiration and joy and I dedicate this work to them.

E. K.

Stockholm 16 March 2006

**GENERAL
INTRODUCTION**

1 Aim and Purpose

The sequence commentary, part of the vast commentary literature of the Middle Ages, emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a new field for writing expositions on liturgical poetry. It is, however, a genre that has been practically neglected by modern research.

This lacuna in the scholarship on Latin commentary literature was recognised a few decades ago, first by Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny, who brought attention to sequence commentaries in 1965 when editing Alan of Lille’s (†1203) exposition on the sequence *Ad celebres rex*, commenting that the genre is unexplored and worthy of a study.¹ A few years later, while making a similar observation, R. B. C. Huygens identified the lack of editions as one of the reasons for the little research performed in this area.²

In the light of these remarks, I began the present work in order to attempt a first larger presentation of the genre by making available editions of sequence commentaries. The surprising and unexpected wealth of previously unexplored material forced a narrowing of the focus for the research, as the number and diversity of the discovered texts meant that it was not useful to concentrate on just one manuscript or one set of commentaries; without a thorough examination of the complete material—a procedure too extensive to be performed within the frame of the present work—it would be impossible to know if the chosen text was representative of the genre as a whole or an atypically original work. Instead, a quite different method has been chosen by concentrating on commentaries on a single sequence in a large number of different sources. Through such a method both the continuity and the development of the genre can be traced, and texts to be edited can be chosen that both display the range of the sequence commentary genre and that provide examples of a variety of commentary techniques.

The choice was made to focus on commentaries on *Ad celebres rex*, a sequence for the feast of St Michael on 29 September, the earliest known textual witnesses for which are dated to before 1000.³ The main reason for selecting this sequence is that its manuscript sources reveal that it spread

¹ D’ALVERNY (1965), p. 91, note 82.

² HUYGENS (2000), p. 413. The article was originally published in 1969.

³ The sequence and its angelic theme are treated in Section 3.1 below.

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internationally very early on, which increased the chances of finding commentaries from a wide variety of regions. A second reason is that this is the sequence which Alan of Lille comments upon in his *Expositio prosae de angelis*, referred to above, which exposition could then act as a point of reference for the others.

The present work thus offers critical editions of seven separate commentaries on *Ad celebres rex*, together with four sequence commentary prologues. All the texts are previously unedited. Each edition is preceded by an introduction comprising manuscript descriptions, an outline of the contents of the texts and a discussion of manuscript interrelations and textual problems.

In connection with this it must be pointed out that although this work revolves around *Ad celebres rex*, this sequence is not *per se* the focus here. As has been mentioned, the main aim is to provide examples of commentary texts showing both similarities and differences in order to display the character and the range of the genre; the text of *Ad celebres rex* is the vehicle for this endeavour.

The same ambition motivates the inclusion of the four sequence commentary prologues. Although these prefatory texts introduce collections of sequence commentaries and are thus not specifically connected with *Ad celebres rex*, they provide valuable insights as to the scope of the genre by attesting to the interpretational framework and the methodology the commentators themselves profess as their own.

This work is divided into two parts. The first, the general introduction, aims to provide a background as regards previous research and an overview of the sequence commentary material I have hitherto located. In Chapter 2 there is also an account of the different levels of texts included in the sequence commentaries.

The second part, Chapters 3–8, presents first the sequence text itself, *Ad celebres rex*, and the first known commentary on this work by Alan of Lille. The editorial methods employed in this work are presented in Chapter 4. Chapters 5–8, which constitute the principal part of this work, contain the editions of the commentaries and the prologues together with the introductions.

In the extensive sequence commentary material, we find a number of examples attesting to different kinds of medieval instructional and interpretational practices. It is to be hoped that these editions may form a basis for further studies of the genre as a whole, its origins and its connections with

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the related genres of hymn and psalm commentaries, its uses in various instructive situations and its employment of pedagogical techniques.⁴

In this work I do not discuss musical aspects of the sequences. Thus the term ‘sequence’ will here generally be used to refer to the literary composition. Where it has seemed necessary, I have specified further by adding the word ‘text’.

The sequence commentary manuscripts are referred to throughout the present work with the sigla I have assigned them. These consist of two letters taken from the name of the place where the manuscript is now held and a numeral, since there are sometimes several manuscripts in the same library: for example, *Gr1*, *Gr2*, etc. An inventory of the complete sequence commentary material hitherto located is found as Appendix 2, where the manuscripts, almost a hundred in number, are listed alphabetically after these sigla.

⁴ Studies on the commentators’ use of mnemonic verses, their etymological analyses and their choice of sources would give insights into pedagogical techniques and intended audiences for these texts but lie outside the frame of the present work. Still, some central source texts for these commentaries are briefly discussed here in the introductory sections to each edition.

2 The Genre of the Sequence Commentary

2.1 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

While the sequence as such has been the subject of numerous modern studies from both textual and musical points of view, medieval commentaries on sequence texts have received very little attention.¹ As previously mentioned, only very few commentaries are available in modern editions, which in turn means that no general studies have been made on the genre itself. The earliest currently known example of a sequence commentary is the *Expositio prosae de angelis* of Alan of Lille, available in the edition by Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny referred to above.² In addition to the manuscripts containing Alan’s texts or adaptations of it, d’Alverny signals *Mi5* as another textual witness to this genre, while commenting that the subject of sequence commentaries is an unexplored field.³

Even though Alan’s exposition may be the earliest specimen of this genre, the first sequence commentary to have been published in a modern work predates d’Alverny’s edition by a century. For his *Œuvres de Gerbert*, published in 1867, A. Olleris originally wished to include the text of *Ad celebres rex* as being one of the works attributed to Gerbert of Aurillac (†1003), later Pope Sylvester II,⁴ and wrote to H. O. Coxe, Bodley’s librarian, for assistance. Coxe was not able to locate the sequence itself in Oxford, but sent instead a transcription of a commentary on it, which Olleris published. This text, preserved in the

¹ A full presentation of modern research on the sequence would be out of place here. However, mention must be made of the editions of *Analecta Hymnica* (henceforth AH), an editorial project of massive proportions consisting of 55 volumes of hymns, sequences, tropes, rhymed offices, canticles, motets, rhymed prayers and psalms, which includes approximately 4,500 sequence texts (the figure is from KRUCKENBERG (1997), p. 20). For an extensive bibliography of text editions and modern studies on the genre of sequences from both musical and textual approaches, see KRUCKENBERG (1998).

² D’ALVERNY (1965). Alan of Lille’s commentary will be treated further in Section 3.2 below.

³ D’ALVERNY (1965), p. 91, n. 82. See the manuscript list in Appendix 2. The commentary on *Ad celebres rex* in *Mi5* is edited below as Edition 7: *Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mi5*.

⁴ OLLERIS (1867); the commentary text occupies pp. 568–572. For the tradition of Gerbert as the author of this sequence, see Section 3.1 below.

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thirteenth-century manuscript *Ox4*, has shown itself to be a fragment of an adapted version of Alan's *Expositio prosae de angelis*.⁵

Other editions of sequence commentaries include an exposition on the sequence *Ave praeclara maris stella* by the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach († ca 1240), which has been edited by R. B. C. Huygens together with two other commentaries on the same text.⁶ Huygens dates these three texts to the thirteenth century, although Caesarius's work seems to precede the other two; the year 1210 is suggested as a possible date for its composition. Further manuscripts are signalled; amongst these, the manuscript *Ca4* is said to present a commentary of Stephen Langton († 1228) on the sequence *Ave maris stella*.⁷

Approaching the subject from a different angle, Judson B. Allen, in his article on medieval literary practice, included a number of *accessus* to both sequence and hymn commentaries in his discussion, taking the commentators' understanding of the *forma tractandi*—the form of treatment—of the hymns and sequences as a point of departure for an examination of medieval views on poetry.⁸ While commenting that the 'hymn commentaries, the later and more elaborate of which have apparently escaped modern scholarly notice', Allen also reminds us that these texts are a valuable and informative source for medieval

⁵ The manuscript is mentioned by D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 187. At the time of the publication of Olleris's work, the *Expositio prosae de angelis* was not known as one of Alan of Lille's compositions. The influence of Alan's text on this and other commentaries will be discussed briefly below; see Section 3.2.1.

⁶ HUYGENS (2000). The editions of both Caesarius's and the anonymous commentary on the sequence were first published in *Cîteaux* in 1969. For their second publication in CCCM a newly discovered third commentary—based upon Caesarius's exposition and developed with the help of the anonymous text—was incorporated into the edition in the form of an apparatus accounting for its alternative readings.

⁷ HUYGENS (2000), p. 413, n. 7. Here Huygens explicitly states that Langton comments on the sequence beginning *Ave maris stella*, referring also to further manuscripts now in the British Library; information in manuscript catalogues, though, indicates that it is the hymn with the same incipit that is commented upon. In the same note, Huygens also reports the manuscripts *Du1* and *Br1* as if they comprise sequence commentaries although the information provided makes it difficult to judge exactly what kinds of texts they include. The three manuscripts have, nevertheless, been incorporated into the manuscript list in Appendix 2.

⁸ ALLEN (1973). These texts are also of importance in similar discussions in ALLEN (1971) and ALLEN (1982).

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critical practice and theory.⁹ He reports nineteen manuscripts comprising both hymn and sequence commentaries with *accessus*.¹⁰

The sequence commentary is furthermore treated briefly in the chapter on literary scholarship on the sequence in Lori Kruckenberg's unpublished doctoral thesis, which concerns the development of the genre of the sequence between 1050 and 1150.¹¹ Kruckenberg notes that literary interest in the sequence seems to have been especially strong in the German-speaking regions, exemplifying this with the commentaries by Jacob Wimpheling, Johannes Adelphus and Hermann Torrentinus printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹² St Gall, home of the famous author of sequences Notker Balbulus (†912), is pointed out as a particular centre for this interest, and Kruckenberg accounts for the sequence-related material produced in preparation for the six-hundredth anniversary of Notker. That interest was also shown earlier at St Gall is made clear by the manuscript *Sg2* mentioned by Kruckenberg,¹³ a volume compiled by the St Gall monk Gallus Kemli in the fifteenth century

⁹ ALLEN (1973), p. 30.

¹⁰ Nine of these include sequence commentaries. Three of the prologues for the sequence commentaries discussed or listed by Allen are edited here: Edition 4: *Dicit Aristoteles*, Edition 5: *Vir speculativus*, and Edition 6: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*.

¹¹ KRUCKENBERG (1997), pp. 8–10.

¹² KRUCKENBERG (1997), p. 9. The printed books referred to by Kruckenberg are: *De Hymnorum et Sequentiarum auctoribus generibusque carminum quae in hymnis inveniuntur* (n. p., 1499), *Sequentiarum luculenta interpretatio* (Strasbourg, 1513) and *Hymni et Sequentie cum diligenti difficillimorum vocabulorum interpretatione omnibus et scholasticis et ecclesiasticis* (Cologne, 1512). In addition, there seems to have been a particular interest in the genre in the British Isles at this time, as is attested to by numerous printed sequence commentaries exemplified here with *Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum* (London, 1497), *Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum. Diligenter recognita et aucta* (Paris, 1502) and *Expositio sequentiarum* (Rouen, 1506). (According to information on the last page of the latter work, this is also a collection of sequences following the Sarum Use.) The text commenting on *Ad celebres rex* does not show close similarity with any of the commentaries edited here, although resemblances with the commentary in *L03*, *Ox1*, *Ox3*, *Ox5*, *Ox6* and *Ox7* may be seen in certain expressions. To follow the sequence commentary from manuscript to printed book would be an interesting field for research but lies outside the scope of the present work.

¹³ KRUCKENBERG (1997), p. 9. The manuscript *Sg2* is described below in Section 8.2.1 and is collated for the edition of the prologue *Dicit Aristoteles*. This manuscript also presents a commentary on *Ad celebres rex*.

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which presents a collection of commentaries to hymns and sequences.¹⁴ Kruckenberg furthermore reports that, according to a fifteenth-century library catalogue, St Gall held four such volumes at that time, although she does not identify these books within the library.¹⁵

A related and almost equally unexplored field is the genre of hymn commentaries. A collection of such commentaries, generally referred to as Hilarius's *Expositio hymnorum*, is well known from numerous early printed works, but is still not available in a modern critical edition.¹⁶ In Chapter 9 of Helmut Gneuss's study and edition of the Anglo-English hymnal and its Old English glosses, the *Expositio hymnorum* is discussed as regards its possible conception, development and particularly its diffusion in England. A few subtypes of it, as found in early printed books, are also defined.¹⁷ The sequence commentary is mentioned briefly as an occasional accompanying component to the hymn commentary, and two such manuscripts are signalled by Gneuss.¹⁸

The only hymn commentary available in a critical edition is the *Explanatio super hymnos quibus utitur ordo cisterciensis*, edited by Beers in 1982, which does not reveal any influence or knowledge of Hilarius's work; Beers suggests that the Cistercian author and Hilarius could have been contemporary.¹⁹ The Cistercian commentary differs from Hilarius's text in that its main concern is not to

¹⁴ This information is taken from the forthcoming manuscript catalogue for St Gall being prepared by Beat von Scarpatetti, a copy of which was kindly shown to me by Theres Flury at the Stiftsbibliothek, St Gall. Kruckenberg states that the commentary collection was 'authored' by Kemli, which seems to be based on the information in DUFT (1990), p. 123. On this, see more below, Section 8.2.1.

¹⁵ I have located two further sequence commentaries from St Gall, the manuscripts *Sg1* and *Sg3*.

¹⁶ At least forty incunabula are known of this work; see GNEUSS (1968), p. 202. Hilarius is believed to have been a pupil of Abelard's in Paris at the beginning of the twelfth century, though according to Gneuss this can be nothing more than a *Vermutung*: GNEUSS (1968), p. 200. Hilarius's commentary includes a brief *accessus* discussing the author and his intention, the title and the subject-matter of the work, its utility and to what part of philosophy it belongs. The expositions themselves consist mostly of literal paraphrases of the hymn texts and construing remarks; see ALLEN (1973), p. 31. A critical edition of Hilarius's hymn commentary is currently in preparation by Dr Mechthild Pörnbacher, Munich.

¹⁷ GNEUSS (1968), pp. 194–206.

¹⁸ GNEUSS (1968), p. 205. These are the manuscripts *Ca2* and *Ox8* in the manuscript list, Appendix 2.

¹⁹ BEERS (1982), p. xxiv.

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paraphrase and construe the hymn texts, but is more centred on detailed explanations of metaphorical language and theological commentary.

An exposition on the hymn *Ut queant laxis* as found in two fourteenth-century manuscripts has yet a different focus. This text, examined by Peter Stotz in a recent article,²⁰ concerns primarily linguistic instruction and the hymn text is used as the point of departure for detailed grammatical analysis and discussions.

Although not continuous commentary texts, the Latin glosses on hymns which have been studied by the American musicologist Susan Boynton may be added to the above-mentioned expository works. She has identified traditions of gloss sets in eleventh-century continental hymnaries, and has examined and discussed these within a pedagogical context, both in her doctoral thesis and in a number of articles.²¹

The relation between hymn glosses and the continuous hymn commentary does not seem possible to define at the moment, on account of the lack of editions and other studies. Allen and Gneuss, however, seem to concur in the view that the hymn commentary developed from the glosses and the prose paraphrases.²² Beers, on the other hand, emphasises the similarities between the Cistercian hymn commentary and Scriptural commentaries, especially the commentaries on the Psalms—both of the Church Fathers, such as Augustine and Jerome, and of later writers such as Peter Lombard or Bernard of Clairvaux. Here, Beers argues, the Cistercian author found a fully developed method which he could apply to this new material.²³

The origins of the sequence commentary are likewise obscure. To judge from the manuscript material, a collection of commentaries on sequences for the entire liturgical year seems to be a later creation than the corresponding collection of hymn commentaries, which fact could suggest a certain dependence upon the latter for the sequence commentary, at least from a conceptual point of view. However, to claim, as Allen, that Hilarius's hymn commentary was 'imitated by a companion volume on the sequences' with a reference to an early print seems to be a slightly premature statement at this point. It is true that quite a number of fifteenth-century sequence

²⁰ STOTZ (2001).

²¹ BOYNTON (1997), (1999), (2001) and (2004).

²² GNEUSS (1968), pp. 194–206; ALLEN (1973), p. 31, n. 9.

²³ BEERS (1982), p. xxiv.

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commentaries in my material are ‘preoccupied with “construe” instructions, and are doubtless intended for a quite elementary audience’,²⁴ as Allen describes the early printed work, but I believe that until we have more editions of both hymn and sequence commentaries showing the range of the two genres it is impossible to state that the sequence commentary collections were made in direct imitation of Hilarius’s work. It seems that statements about the origins(s) of the genre can at present only be speculative.

2.2 SUMMARY PRESENTATION OF THE SEQUENCE COMMENTARY MATERIAL

Research for the present work has resulted in an extensive inventory of manuscripts; nearly a hundred textual witnesses have been located at the time of writing.²⁵ The manuscripts date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and come from places spanning across medieval Europe.²⁶ The vast majority, though, date from the later medieval period (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) and originate from central Europe (the southern parts of modern Germany, Austria and Switzerland). The earliest examples of this commentary genre seem to be the expositions of Alan of Lille and Caesarius of Heisterbach mentioned above.

Most of these manuscripts are miscellanies, usually including other instructive texts in addition to the sequence commentaries, such as grammatical treatises, vocabularies and various other commentaries, such as hymn commentaries. Sometimes sermons of various kinds are also found in the same volumes. Some manuscripts present a commentary on a single sequence or only

²⁴ ALLEN (1973), p. 31, n. 12. The publication referred to by Allen is *Expositio sequentiarum recentissime: Impressa Rothomagi Impensis Raulini Gaultier ibidem in xta tardellum commorantis* (1510). Regarding commentaries intended for a less advanced audience, compare Edition 7: *Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü 5* below. Other commentaries intended for more elementary audiences are found for instance in *Lo3*, *Me2*, *Mü2* (the second commentary collection), *Ox3*, *Ox5*, *Ox7* and *Pr3*. *Ox7* is mainly concerned with sequence paraphrases.

²⁵ A list of sequence commentary manuscript is found as Appendix 2. It makes no claims to being exhaustive. In addition to the commentary manuscripts located by myself it also includes the manuscripts signalled by d’Alverny, Huygens, Gneuss, Allen and Kruckenberg.

²⁶ Sequence commentary manuscripts from Italy and France are scarce. However, it is not possible to draw any conclusions as regards the actual diffusion of sequence commentaries based on this as the present findings are dependent upon indexed manuscript catalogues and electronically searchable databases.

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a few of them, whereas the majority comprise a large collection of commentaries on sequences for the whole liturgical year.

The provenance is known for almost half of the manuscripts, and the information suggests that the sequence commentary was a genre of interest and concern for both monasteries and cathedral chapters alike. Of the monastic orders the Benedictine is the most common but the Cistercian is also present.²⁷

With the exception of a few single pieces, all sequence commentaries in the manuscripts are anonymous works. In addition to the compositions of Alan of Lille and Caesarius of Heisterbach, and possibly Stephen Langton, referred to above, there is an English manuscript in which the collection of commentaries is attributed to one Thomas Haume.²⁸

The term used in the commentaries to denote a sequence varies, although the most common seems to be *sequentia*.²⁹ In the title of Alan of Lille's commentary, *Expositio prosae de angelis*, the word *prosa* is used although in the text itself Alan refers to *Ad celebres rex* as a *canticum*.³⁰ This appellation is repeated by the commentator of *Ox6* (Edition 1), who was much influenced by Alan's *Expositio prosae de angelis*, although the commentator of *Ox6* also uses *sequentia*.³¹ In the commentary of *St2* (Edition 3) the author uses both *sequentia* and *prosa* without differentiating between them. In a commentary in the

²⁷ According to the library catalogues, the manuscripts *Gr3* and *Mü6* originally belonged to Cistercian libraries.

²⁸ This is the manuscript *Ox5*, presenting a sequence commentary collection following the Sarum Use. We do not have a date for the birth or death of Thomas Haume, who seems to be known from this work only. In the manuscript *Ox9* his name has been crossed out and the name Henry Hume written instead; SHARPE (1997), p. 660.

²⁹ This is the term used by Caesarius of Heisterbach in his commentary on *Ave praeclara maris stella* as well as by the anonymous commentary on the same text, both edited by HUYGENS (2000). *Sequentia* is also used in the commentary in *Ox1* edited here and seems furthermore to be the preferred term in the commentaries belonging to the 'Aristotelian tradition'. On this tradition, see Chapter 8 below.

³⁰ It does not seem to be possible to say whether the use of *prosa* in the title is Alan's own. The title is found in some manuscripts, among them *Ca1*, which presents an abbreviated version of Alan's text. As can be seen on Plate 1, *prosa* is used also in the title of *Up1*. That Alan refers to sequences with both the words *prosa* and *sequentia* is evident in his *Distinctiones*.

³¹ The relation between the commentary of Alan of Lille and that in *Ox6* is discussed in Section 5.3 below.

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manuscript *Kr1*, the sequence *Ad celebres rex* is referred to as a *palinodium*.³² In the colophon to the manuscripts *Ox1* and *Ox5*, the sequence collection is called a *troparium*, which term is accompanied by an etymology in the latter manuscript.

2.2.1 Text categories

As with all commentary literature, the expositions include different kinds of texts: an introductory section, the sequence text itself, the commentary text and sometimes also interlinear glosses. In the following, there will be brief and general descriptions of these types of text as found in the sequence commentary material.

2.2.1.1 Prologues

Both the large collections and the single commentary pieces are generally preceded by a prologue varying in both length and character. Most of these follow the traditional schemes for medieval academic prologues—*accessus*—to introduce works from a variety of disciplines. In these, a range of issues regarding the work in question is discussed. Following the categorisation made by Richard Hunt in 1948 and discussed further by Alastair Minnis, representatives of a so-called ‘type C prologue’ are found in the sequence commentary material together with examples of an ‘Aristotelian prologue’, a term coined by Minnis. Both types will be briefly described here.³³

Type C prologue

The set of headings discussed in a type C prologue could be modified, abbreviated or elaborated according to the commentator’s needs, but generally

³² *Kr1*, fol. 199; this commentary is not edited here. The prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam* from this manuscript is collated for the text in Edition 6 of the present work and the manuscript is described in Section 8.4.1. In his explanation of the word *odas*, Alan of Lille mentions the word *palinodium*, quoting a phrase from the sequence *Alle caeleste* (AH 7, 98; AH 53, 97), which composition is nevertheless referred to as a *canticum*.

³³ Richard Hunt identified four types of medieval *accessus*, types A, B, C and D, depending on the headings discussed. For a fuller account of the different types of prologues and a discussion of the headings, see HUNT (1948) and MINNIS (1988), pp. 9–72. For the type C prologue, see also QUAIN (1945).

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include the following eight topics: *nomen auctoris*, *titulus libri*, *intentio auctoris*, *materia libri*, *modus agendi*, *ordo libri*, *utilitas* and *cui parti philosophiae supponitur*.³⁴

In addition to naming the author of the work, the commentator could also include a brief description of his life, just as the heading *titulus* could be expanded by an etymological analysis in order to justify and explain it further. The author's purpose in writing the work in question is described under *intentio*; the *materia* is the subject-matter of the work. For the term *modus agendi* the alternatives *modus scribendi* or *modus tractandi* are also found. In discussing this 'mode of procedure' or 'mode of treatment', the commentators usually set out to detect and define the method or methods employed by the author in his work. The order of the work, *ordo libri*, concerns the arrangement of the inherent parts. The heading *utilitas* considers the reasons for studying the work. The last heading, the part of philosophy to which a work belongs, identifies the branch of learning into which the commentator sorts the work in question, thus defining its place within a systematised scheme of human knowledge.

Although the origins of the type C prologue are obscure, it seems to have been diffused in the Latin West mainly through Boethius's commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. It spread widely and became the most popular type of prologue in the twelfth century. In slightly varying forms it was used in *accessus* to works of a variety of subjects including theology and commentaries on Biblical books, medicine, law and grammar up to the thirteenth century and in some cases even later.³⁵

The 'Aristotelian prologue'

In the thirteenth century, under the influence of the theory of the four causes, a new type of introduction emerged, the 'Aristotelian prologue' to use Minnis's term.³⁶ This form of prologue quickly established itself as a popular type and was soon used in introductions to works in many disciplines. In an Aristotelian prologue, the commentator discusses the work in question using the four causes as the basis: *causa finalis* discusses the end, the purpose of the work, and *causa efficiens* its author. *Causa materialis* is the literary material used by the author and finally *causa formalis*, which is always duplex, consists of *forma tractandi* and *forma tractatus*. The former is equivalent to the *modus agendi* of the type C

³⁴ These headings and the brief description of them are based on the account in MINNIS (1988), pp. 19–27.

³⁵ HUNT (1948), pp. 94–97; MINNIS (1988), pp. 18–28.

³⁶ MINNIS (1988), pp. 28–29.

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prologue and concerns the mode or the form of the treatment;³⁷ the latter, the *forma tractatus*, answers in part to the heading *ordo libri*, as it concerns the organisation of the work and its parts, that is, its structure.

Introducing the art and the work

In introducing the specific work in question, an academic prologue could also define and describe the disciplinary context within which the work under scrutiny was to be placed. In such an ‘extrinsic’ section of a prologue, the art itself was often delimited and discussed as regards its utility and the place it occupies in a hierarchy of human knowledge. The part of the prologue that is specifically concerned with the work in question, often treating the author’s subject-matter, his intention and his mode of proceeding, can be referred to as the ‘intrinsic’ section. In both the intrinsic and extrinsic prologue sections, commentators could form their descriptions and arguments around the headings from the type C prologue as well as the Aristotelian four causes, or a combination of the two.³⁸

Sequence commentary prologues

The prologues in the sequence commentary material are found either as more or less integral parts of a single commentary piece or as a more separate text introducing a collection of commentaries.³⁹

The integrated prologues in this material are of varying kinds. In the introductory section of Alan of Lille’s *Expositio prosae de angelis* a selection of headings from the type C prologue is discussed: *auctor*, *intentio* (expressed as ‘que causa ad hoc opusculum eum inuitavit’), *materia libri* and *modus tractandi*.⁴⁰ With the exception of the question of author for the sequence, the same selection of headings is used in the commentary of the manuscript *St2*.⁴¹ In the latter

³⁷ The adjectival names of the *formae tractandi*, when enumerated, are generally given in the masculine, indicating an underlying *modus* as the headword. See for example Edition 5: *Vir speculativus*, lines 86–88.

³⁸ For a brief account of the development and the origin of extrinsic and intrinsic sections in prologues, see MINNIS (1988), pp. 30–33, where a number of examples of possible headings to be discussed in the two sections are provided.

³⁹ Among the texts edited here, an integrated prologue is found in Edition 3: *Expositio St2*. (The integrated prologue in the *Expositio prosae de angelis* by Alan of Lille is discussed briefly in Chapter 3.2.) Separate prologues are found in Edition 1: *Quoniam . . . tria cantica*, Edition 4: *Dicit Aristoteles*, Edition 5: *Vir speculativus*, and Edition 6: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*.

⁴⁰ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, pp. 194–195.

⁴¹ Edition 3: *Expositio St2*, lines 2–4.

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commentary a fourth heading, ‘in quo vel in quibus consistat sequentia sive prosa’, is referred to and discussed, which could be viewed as a detailed extension and elaboration of the question of *materia libri*.⁴²

The commentary on *Ave praeclara maris stella* by Caesarius of Heisterbach is not preceded by an academic prologue of the above-mentioned type. Instead, his commentary opens with a brief *epistola* in which the obscurity of the sequence text is mentioned as the reason for the exposition, with an added remark that if his explanations do not suffice there are other *viri literati* of whom greater and more subtle comments can be expected.⁴³ In contrast, the introductory section of the anonymous commentary on the same sequence contains a discussion of the author of the sequence, Hermannus Contractus, including a description of him with a few details from his life. Although the commentator does not use the term *utilitas*, he puts forth four reasons for the excellence of this sequence before others, functioning as a motivation for his choice of text to comment upon.⁴⁴

A component which seems to be common for both separate pieces and integrated prologues is a definition of the term used to denote the sequence. The terms mentioned above for denoting the sequence in the commentaries are all followed by explanations of this kind.⁴⁵ Such definitions, albeit of the term *hymnus*, are a standard feature in the hymn commentaries⁴⁶ as well as in prologues to psalm commentaries.⁴⁷

The separate prologue texts are likewise found in different forms. Some combine a selection of headings from the type C prologue with a discussion based on the four causes, as in the prologues of the ‘Aristotelian tradition’ edited below; others are not as easily definable. The prologue *Quoniam . . . tria cantica* edited here, for example, is not possible to classify according to any of the prologue types described above. In addition to the standard definition of the term for sequence, in this case *canticum* as found in Alan’s text, there is a

⁴² See further Section 7.2 below.

⁴³ HUYGENS (2000), p. 425.

⁴⁴ HUYGENS (2000), p. 442.

⁴⁵ See Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 194; Edition 1: *Quoniam . . . tria cantica*, lines 12–16; Edition 3: *Expositio St2*, lines 21–32; Edition 5: *Vir speculativus*, lines 105–110. In *Kr1*, fol. 199, the term *palinodium* is etymologised.

⁴⁶ GNEUSS (1969), p. 199.

⁴⁷ See for example the definition of *hymnus* in the psalm commentaries of Remigius of Auxerre (PL 130, 148a), Honorius of Autun (PL 172, 270c) and Peter Lombard (Petr. Lomb., in *psalm. praefatio*, PL 191, 58a). The definition seems to derive from Augustine (Aug., in *psalm. 27*, 1).

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brief account of the four modes of interpreting Scripture, but without explicitly connecting the sequences to this kind of interpretational method.⁴⁸

The prologues belonging to the ‘Aristotelian tradition’⁴⁹ may be divided into extrinsic and intrinsic sections, as described above. The extrinsic parts are all concerned with proving, in logical argumentation, the excellence and primacy of theology, to which discipline the sequences, being divine praise, are said to belong either implicitly or explicitly. In the prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, the status of the discipline of theology is developed further and centred around the four causes.⁵⁰

The intrinsic sections of these prologues consist of a combination of headings from the type C prologue and the Aristotelian four causes. In the prologue *Dicit Aristoteles* (Edition 4) only one heading is explicitly mentioned, *cui parti philosophiae*, although in answering this the commentator seems also to address the question of *materia libri*, since the book of sequences is said to belong to the discipline of theology on account of its subject-matter, which is divine praise. The title of the book is discussed in both *Vir speculativus* (Edition 5) and *Sapientia vincit malitiam* (Edition 6). The latter also treats the heading *cui parti* whereas the former instead discusses the *utilitas* of the sequences.

One of the more interesting issues in the intrinsic sections is the commentators’ view on the *forma tractandi* of the sequences, often equalled with and used alongside the term *modus tractandi*. Although numerous *modi* are referred to in the commentary literature at large,⁵¹ Allen claims that commentators on informative works in various disciplines generally identify and refer to a conventional set of five: the definitive, the divisive, the proving, the disproving and the mode of applying examples.⁵² For poetical works, Allen argues, the commentators vary these *modi* to a great extent by limiting their number, by defining and referring to other *modi* than the conventional five, or by denying that there is an identifiable *forma tractandi* at all.⁵³ One of the three prologues of the ‘Aristotelian tradition’ edited here, *Vir speculativus*, limits the number of modes identified in the sequences to the modes of proving and

⁴⁸ This prologue is described and discussed further in Section 5.2 below.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 8 below.

⁵⁰ For examples of other extrinsic and intrinsic prologues formed around the four causes, see MINNIS (1988), p. 32.

⁵¹ In the index of MINNIS (1988), p. 315, under *modus agendi*, there is an extensive list of various *modi* identified by commentators. In many cases, these modes are found in commentaries on Scripture.

⁵² ALLEN (1973), p. 33.

⁵³ ALLEN (1973), pp. 33–35.

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applying of examples.⁵⁴ In the prologues *Dicit Aristoteles* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, on the other hand, the commentators go beyond the five identified as the standard set by Allen: in *Dicit Aristoteles* the commentator claims a single *modus*, the persuasive, whereas in *Sapientia vincit malitiam* the sequences are said to be in the laudative and supplicative modes.

2.2.1.2 Sequence texts

The commentaries display a variety of ways for presenting and referring to the sequence texts. It seems that, generally, four different models are employed in the sequence commentary material, although the boundaries between them are not always firm.

A very common method of referring to the sequence text is to use the conventional practice of quoting the incipit of the strophe or strophes to be commented upon at the beginning of each commentary section. This section, then, generally opens with a prose paraphrase of the strophes in question, which are often supplemented with implied words or brief explanatory phrases. This means that the sequence text is often not reproduced in its original form in these manuscripts. Examples of this method in the texts edited here are Edition 2: *Expositio Ox1*, Edition 5: *Expositio Kf4* and Edition 6: *Expositio Kf1*.⁵⁵

Some manuscripts include the complete sequence text as a coherent composition, either preceding the actual exposition or alongside the commentary on the same page, where the commentary sometimes spills over in the top and bottom margins. An example of the latter type is edited here as Edition 7: *Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü5*.⁵⁶ The sequence text can also be broken up into shorter segments which introduce the section commenting on them.⁵⁷ In

⁵⁴ The list of *modi* in this prologue is among the examples referred to by ALLEN (1973), p. 33.

⁵⁵ The beginnings of the commentaries on *Ad celebres rex* in *Ox1*, *Kf4* and *Kf1* are reproduced as Plates 4, 9, and 11. Other examples of such commentaries are found in the manuscripts *Fr3*, *Gr4*, *Gr5*, *Kr1*, *Ma1* and *Ma2*, among many others.

⁵⁶ See Plate 12 for the layout of this manuscript. Other examples with a similar layout are the manuscripts *Fr2* (some pieces lack commentaries), *Gr3*, *Kb2* (many pieces lack both glosses and commentaries), *St1* (some pieces lack comments and glosses) and *Me1*. The scribe of *Go3* has accommodated for commentaries in the outer half of the page, but these were never written in.

⁵⁷ Examples of manuscripts where the sequence text is broken up into shorter segments are *Kb1*, *Me3* and *Mü2* (in the first collection of commentaries); examples of manuscripts presenting the whole text before the exposition are *Er1*, *Mü1*, *Mü2* (in the second collection), *Ox7*, *St3* and *Wi1*.

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all these cases the sequence text is written in a larger script than the commentary text, with ample space between the lines for the interlinear glosses that are also present in the majority of these manuscripts.

Other manuscripts also include the sequence text broken up into shorter segments, but unlike the previous model, the lemmata are here generally much shorter in length and not written in a larger script to set them off visually from the commentary text. Instead, the phrases from the sequence function as a heading for the comments to follow, which will generally include a prose paraphrase of the sequence text, unless it consists of only a few words. Examples of this method in the present work are found in Edition 1: *Expositio Ox6* and Edition 4: *Expositio Gr1*.⁵⁸

In other expositions the commentary text seems to flow in and out of the sequence text in an interwoven, almost seamless, fashion, elucidating and paraphrasing it at the same time. Examples of this method in the material discussed and edited here can be seen in the *Expositio prosae de angelis* of Alan of Lille and in Edition 3: *Expositio St2*. In addition to this ‘flowing’ technique Alan of Lille also comments separately on a single word at a time.⁵⁹

2.2.1.3 Interlinear glosses

Many of the manuscripts that include the sequence text set apart from the commentary text, either as an uninterrupted text or broken up into segments, also comprise interlinear glosses. Among these, a variety of gloss types may be identified and classified in accordance with the definitions set up by Wieland in his study of the Latin glosses on Arator.⁶⁰ Some manuscripts present both Latin and vernacular glosses.⁶¹

One particular kind of syntactical gloss needs special mention here. The function of syntactical glosses is to guide the reader through the syntax of the

⁵⁸ In the second, anonymous, commentary on *Ave praeclara maris stella* in the edition by HUYGENS (2000), pp. 442–490, the commentator uses this method, generally quoting a full strophe before a new section of commentary text. Towards the end of the commentaries in both *Ox6* and *Gr1*, this method is sometimes abandoned in favour of the more ‘interwoven’ model used by Alan of Lille.

⁵⁹ Extracts from Alan’s *Expositio* exemplifying his methods are found in Section 3.2 below. In the commentary by Caesarius of Heisterbach, the sequence text is sometimes incorporated in a flowing manner into the expository text and sometimes parts of strophes are quoted at the beginning of a section, functioning almost as a heading; see the edition in HUYGENS (2000), pp. 425–436.

⁶⁰ See WIELAND (1983).

⁶¹ Vernacular glosses are found alongside Latin ones in *Mii2* and *Pr4*.

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clause, which may be achieved by means either of words or of symbols that indicate how the words should be construed. In the sequence commentary material, a very common type of syntactical gloss consists of sets of Arabic numerals. If the words of the sequence are read as indicated by the numerical glosses then a prose-like word-order is produced.⁶² There are whole collections of commentaries where each word in both the hymns and the sequences are furnished with such glosses.⁶³ In the present work, this type of syntactical gloss can be seen in Edition 7: *Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü5*.⁶⁴

2.2.1.4 Commentaries

It is hardly possible to generalise about the character of the commentary texts themselves. As will be evident in the editions and the accompanying introductory sections, the sequence commentary is a diverse genre. In the present volume we will find texts that range from Alan's deeply philosophical and theological work to the commentary of *Ox1* (Edition 2), in which emphasis is placed on expanding the reader's Latin vocabulary. We will find one commentary paying specific attention to musical theory and terminology (Edition 3: *Expositio St2*) and others that are more concerned with doctrinal matters, the correct interpretation of metaphors and identification of allusions in the sequence, as with the texts belonging to the 'Aristotelian tradition'. In addition, a number of more elementary commentaries range from brief literal paraphrase and the occasional word explanation to the more comprehensive, albeit basic, commentary in *Mü5* (Edition 7).⁶⁵

2.3 OBSERVATIONS REGARDING INTENDED AUDIENCE AND USE

The range and the diversity of the sequence commentaries bear upon the intriguing question of intended audiences for these texts. The same can be said

⁶² An example of how these glosses function is found in Section 8.5.2 below.

⁶³ For example in the manuscripts *Mü2*, *Go3* (although some pieces lack glosses altogether), *Kb2*, *Me1* and *Sa1*.

⁶⁴ Examples of different gloss-types and their functions in this commentary may be found in Section 8.5.2 below; see also Plate 12.

⁶⁵ The manuscript *Ox7* is concerned mainly with prose paraphrases of the sequences. Other examples of elementary commentaries are found, for example, in the manuscripts *Lo3*, *Me2*, *Mü2* (in the second collection of commentaries), *Ox3*, *Ox5* and *Pr3*.

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for the prologues, where certain differences may be discerned in the methodological accounts and in the choice of *auctoritates* used for the basis of the argumentation. Although it is not possible to answer the question of intended audience completely and exhaustively here, I shall nevertheless make a few observations regarding this issue.

Concerning the prologues, a few differences may be noted regarding the professed *utilitas* of the sequences and their *causa finalis* in the ‘Aristotelian tradition’.⁶⁶ In the prologue *Dicit Aristoteles* (Edition 4), in which the supremacy of theology is linked to a definition of the concept of ‘justice’, the final cause of the sequences is said to be the knowledge of that which is treated, whereby eternal happiness may be obtained. A similar emphasis on the happiness that can be procured by science in general and by theology in particular is also seen in the *causa finalis* in the prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam* (Edition 6). This goal is in contrast to that found in the prologue *Vir speculativus* (Edition 5), in which the *causa finalis*, and one part of the duplex *utilitas* of the sequences,⁶⁷ is said to be the knowledge of the vocabulary of the sequences.⁶⁸ A slightly greater interest for etymology and word definition can also be detected in the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* connected to this prologue. The two latter prologues also differ as regards the *auctoritates* used in their discussions of the status of theology. Where *Sapientia vincit malitiam* refers to passages from Scripture, we find in *Vir speculativus* quotations from philosophers and known school-texts.⁶⁹

The pedagogical function suggested by these sequence commentaries makes it interesting and valuable to study the focus and the principal concerns of the commentators. To identify both the presupposed and the emphasised information in the texts would certainly be meaningful in attempting to outline the intended audiences and the different uses of the commentaries.

As has been mentioned above, the commentaries display different degrees of complexity ranging from the extremes of very brief and literal paraphrase to the deeply philosophical text of Alan of Lille. In addition, a number of identifiable aims and principal concerns in the separate sequence commentaries suggest

⁶⁶ See further Chapter 8 below.

⁶⁷ The other part of the *utilitas* of the sequences is the divine remuneration given for the praise.

⁶⁸ A similar goal is found in the colophon to the sequence commentary collection of *Ox1*; see Section 6.2 below.

⁶⁹ A comparison between the prologues *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam* (and their accompanying commentaries) is found in Section 8.4.3 below.

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that the genre was of use for audiences at different levels of proficiency, a proficiency which could pertain to the Latin language, grammar, or literary or theological studies. Among the texts edited here, for instance, three expositions in the ‘Aristotelian tradition’ (Chapter 8, Editions 4–6) seem to be aimed at a fairly sophisticated audience: the thorough analyses of metaphorical language, the wealth of theological interpretations and the nature of the linguistic comments render these texts well rounded and comprehensive commentaries covering a wide range of issues. The ‘elementary version’ in the ‘Aristotelian tradition’ (Edition 7) shows, however, how a text could be adapted for changing needs in order to accommodate a less advanced audience.

A more specific focus is detectable in the commentary of *Ox1* (Edition 2), where the principal concern is set on vocabulary, suggesting a text composed primarily for linguistic instruction, although doctrinal comments are not absent. Such a limited and particular focus is not visible in the commentary of *St2* (Edition 3) nor of *Ox6* (Edition 1) even though they too clearly have specific objectives. In *St2*, a commentary of a fairly high literary level and thus aimed at a more advanced audience, prominence is given to music theory and its terminology, whereas in *Ox6* the angelic hierarchy forms the central core of the commentary. The latter text is to a certain extent an elementary version of Alan’s *Expositio prosae de angelis*, although taking into account the subtlety of the subject-matter and the degree of difficulty as far as its language is concerned, it does not seem to be aimed at an elementary audience.

In one of her studies of hymn glosses, Susan Boynton has argued that the glosses could have been used as a means to deepen the understanding of the chants among singers in a monastic choir.⁷⁰ It is not impossible that the sequence commentaries in some cases could have fulfilled a similar role, although a fundamental difference between the hymn glosses and the sequence commentary is that they generally appear in different kinds of books: chant books and instructional miscellanies. The inclusion of sequence commentaries in such miscellanies, often together with grammatical texts and vocabularies, is suggestive of them being part of a school curriculum and used in a formalised teaching situation of some kind. This is then quite different from the glossed Psalter Boynton refers to in her article, which is used by a single individual striving to improve his own contribution in the choir.

⁷⁰ BOYNTON (2004), pp. 301, 304–305.

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Sequence commentaries, together with hymn commentaries, were part of a growing commentary literature developing from the twelfth century onwards, when new intellectual milieux were forming new approaches to texts of different kinds, including both Scripture and secular works. To comment on the sequence with the same or a similar method used for expounding on Scripture, the Psalms and the hymns could suggest an ambition to accord the same status to the genre of the sequence as to other poetic texts within the liturgy—to form a system where all the liturgical texts were provided with specialised commentaries.

Kruckenbergh, though speaking of early-sixteenth-century works on the sequence and the activities surrounding Notker's six-hundredth anniversary, observes that this interest in the sequence grew as the importance of the genre itself was fading; after the twelfth century the genre had hardly developed stylistically. After that, Kruckenbergh argues, 'the sequence had become academic, an object of learned historical discussion because it was connected more with the past than with current practice.'⁷¹

The manuscript material studied here seems to attest to the observation made by Kruckenbergh, although it is evident that this interest in the sequence from a textual point of view originated already at the close of the twelfth century and seems to have grown steadily over the centuries. In these commentaries, the sequence text can be approached from a wide array of different angles, depending on the varying needs of the master and the students. What we seem to witness is a transformation of the sequence from a poetic composition performed in the liturgy to an object of study.

⁷¹ KRUCKENBERGH (1997), p. 13; the wealth of sequence commentaries in early printed books seems furthermore to attest to Kruckenbergh's theory.

THE TEXTS

3 Basis and Background

In this part, seven commentaries on the sequence *Ad celebres rex* and the prologues connected to four of them will be presented and critically edited. Each separate text edition is preceded by an introductory section, in which are included manuscript descriptions and an account of the content of the edited text, also comprising a brief examination of source texts and a comparison with other commentaries edited here. Since the material has demanded that different editorial methods be applied in the editions, depending on the characters of the textual witnesses to each text, these introductions also include more detailed discussions on textual problems and certain necessary emendations in the editions. The texts to be included in this study have been chosen from a number of commentaries to *Ad celebres rex* on account of their differing literary and pedagogical strategies and commentary techniques, in order to present expositions that both represent separate traditions and are of interest as regards their content.

In Edition 1 (Chapter 5) two texts are edited from the manuscript *Ox6*: the prologue, here entitled *Quoniam . . . tria cantica*, introducing a small commentary collection, and the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* from this collection. The commentaries on *Ad celebres rex* in the manuscripts *Ox1* and *St2* are edited in Edition 2 (Chapter 6) and Edition 3 (Chapter 7) respectively.¹

Editions 4, 5, 6 and 7 contain the commentaries in the manuscripts *Gr1*, *Kf4*, *Kf1* and *Mii5*, together with the prologues *Dicit Aristoteles*, *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam* attached to the three first commentaries respectively. These texts constitute a distinct group, which I have labelled the ‘Aristotelian tradition’ on account of the character and nature of the argumentation of the prologues and commentaries. Consequently, these commentaries are treated under the same chapter, Chapter 8 below, with a separate section for each commentary.

The four prologues edited in this work, *Dicit Aristoteles*, *Vir speculativus*, *Sapientia vincit malitiam* and *Quoniam . . . tria cantica*, introduce collections of commentaries to sequences and are thus not immediately linked specifically to

¹ In *Ox1* there is no prologue to the collection of commentaries; see further Section 6.1 below. In *St2* there is a prologue, *Dicit Aristoteles*, and a commentary collection, but the commentary edited in Edition 3 is a separate piece, written in as an addition after the collection of sequence commentaries; see Section 7.1 below.

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the commentary on *Ad celebres rex*. These prologues have nevertheless been included in this study since the methodology and principles set forth in them serve to contextualise both the sequence texts and their commentaries in an interpretational framework, which is of importance for identifying distinct commentary traditions and for a discussion of the possible audiences for the separate texts.

Before the prologues and the commentaries are presented, though, some further preliminary remarks and clarifications are in order. First, the text of the sequence in focus here, *Ad celebres rex*, will be treated briefly together with some aspects of its angelic theme, which will be of importance for the editions of the commentaries. The *Expositio prosae de angelis*, the commentary by Alan of Lille on this sequence, which at the same time happens to be the earliest currently known example of a sequence commentary, will also be discussed with regard both to its style and content and to its influence on the other commentaries in our material. Thereafter follows an account of the editorial aims and methods applied in the editing of the texts together with general principles regarding orthography, punctuation, the *apparatus criticus* and *fontium*, and the layout of the texts in the edition.

3.1 THE SEQUENCE *AD CELEBRES REX*

Ad celebres rex is a sequence for the feast of St Michael on 29 September, and he is therefore naturally part of its main theme, but in conjunction with the exhortation to sing praises to God, all angels and their respective troops are mentioned and addressed in the text.²

The opening strophes are an invitation to sing praises to God on the feast of St Michael. The author then moves on to treat all angels, calling them God's primeval creatures, dividing their ninefold hierarchy into groups of three and touching briefly upon their offices in the attributes to each. Michael, Gabriel and Raphael are mentioned specifically, each with his own identifier: 'the satrap of heaven', 'giving the true message of the word' and 'the little slave of life' respectively. The angels are furthermore described as the innumerable ministers

² The sequence text is edited in AH 7, 178 (as *Has celebres rex*), and in AH 53, 190 (as *Ad celebres rex*). The text is reproduced here as Appendix 1 with a critical apparatus presenting the variants used in the commentaries edited here that are also reported by AH. For a thorough study of the angelic theme in this sequence, see IVERSEN (1996); see also IVERSEN (2001), pp. 154–175.

Basis and Background

and assistants of God in the heavenly hall to which Christ will lead the hundredth sheep and the tenth drachma, alluding to the Scriptural passages in Daniel 7, 10 for the number of angels and to the parables in Matthew 18, 12–14 and Luke 15, 1–10 for the sheep and the drachma that were both lost but later found. The final strophes of the sequence depict how both angels and humans in unison sing praises to God.

The earliest manuscript sources for this sequence come from France—from Limoges, Autun, Auch/Aurillac and Moissac.³ According to Gunilla Iversen, the earliest currently known textual witness, a troper from Auch/Aurillac, can be dated to before 1000.⁴ The sequence clearly had a wide transmission across Europe from a relatively early date, as textual witnesses from the eleventh century are found in France, Germany, England and Italy.⁵

From the critical apparatus of the two editions of this sequence in AH, it is clear that the text as transmitted in the manuscript sources exists in several versions. This is also detectable in our commentaries, which do not always present the same sequence lemmata in the texts. One of the main and most interesting variants concerns the first line. All of our commentators use a text which opens with the words *Ad celebres rex*, which is the most widespread version. The variant *Has celebres rex* seems to have been the preferred text in the early southern French manuscripts and could possibly also have been the original reading.⁶ Among the commentaries studied here it seems that some of

³ AH 7, 178; AH 53, 190. For Italian sources of this sequence see also BRUNNER (1985), p. 207.

⁴ IVERSEN (1996), p. 123, n. 14. This is the manuscript Paris, BnF, lat. 1118, fol. 223^v.

⁵ AH 53, pp. 307–309. It was in truth an international sequence, which is one of the reasons for choosing to base this study on commentaries on this sequence; see also Chapter 1 above.

⁶ In the edition of the sequence in AH 7, 178, the editor, G. M. Dreves, argues that the version *Ad celebres rex* derives from a scribal error, confusing the letters *s* and *d* in *As* without the initial *b*. Dreves also proposes the manuscript Paris, BnF lat. 1138, originating from St Martial, as a possible source for the error. Interestingly enough, in the edition of the sequence in AH 53, the editors C. Blume and H. M. Bannister dismiss the variant *Has celebres* as a ‘verderbte Lesart’ (AH 53, p. 309). There seems to have been a similar confusion in the Moissac source, Paris, BnF n.a. lat. 1871, where the *b* is written inside the large initial *A* (this page is reproduced in IVERSEN (2001) as Plate 33). The variant *Ad celebres rex* is more difficult syntactically as the verb *pango* must then be construed with the preposition *ad*. In the ‘Aristotelian tradition’ it will become clear that this was a demanding line for the commentators; see further Chapter 8.

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the expositions belonging to the ‘Aristotelian tradition’ display a certain knowledge of the version *Has celebres rex*.⁷

There is a medieval tradition attributing this sequence text to Gerbert of Aurillac (†1003), who was a master in Reims, appointed archbishop of Ravenna in 998 and later took charge of the Catholic Church as Pope Sylvester II for the last five years of his life. This tradition is adhered to by Alan of Lille in his commentary on the sequence, the *Expositio prosae de angelis*, and the attribution is repeated in the commentary fragment heavily indebted to Alan’s exposition in the manuscript *Ox4* mentioned above.⁸ Further instances attesting to this medieval tradition are reported in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, where a twelfth-century historian writing a *Lives of the popes* maintains that *Ad celebres rex* is written in a style characteristic of Gerbert.⁹ It is further said in the *Histoire* that this testimony could have influenced the chronicler Alberic of Trois Fontaines (†after 1252), who makes the same remark. In the fourteenth century, the music theorist Jacques de Liège also attributes authorship of this sequence to Gerbert in his treatise *Speculum musicae*.¹⁰

I will not attempt here to settle the question regarding authorship for this sequence, although it is an interesting and intriguing one. The strong predilection for words of Greek origin apparent in the sequence, such as *agalma*, *uranicus*, *pneuma*, *cathegorizo*, *hyperlyricus* and *usia* to name but a few, seem nevertheless to place it firmly in a cultural context where foreign and poetic words of this kind were in vogue.¹¹ It is also clear that the author, whoever it may be, shows familiarity with and a certain dependence on the first and most influential study of the angels, the *Celestial hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (ca 500).

3.1.2 The angelic theme and the sources for the commentators

The main theme of the sequence—the angels and the celestial hierarchy—naturally affects the commentary texts. This subject becomes one of the central issues in the expositions, although in varying degrees of depth and detail. The

⁷ See Edition 5: *Expositio Kf4*, lines 55–56, and Edition 6: *Expositio Kf1*, lines 50–51.

⁸ See Section 2.1 above and Section 3.2.1 below.

⁹ *Histoire littéraire*, vol. 6, p. 586. This text is also printed as the introduction to Gerbert’s writings in PL 139.

¹⁰ Jac. Leod., *spec. mus.*, 6, 18.

¹¹ See further IVERSEN (1996), p. 102.

Basis and Background

amount of medieval writing on angels is vast and the commentators had access to an abundance of sources for explaining the nature and the functions of the angels.

The foundations of medieval Christian angelology were already laid in the patristic era. In Scripture angels appear in various books and guises; these passages were commented upon and treated exegetically by many of the Fathers, although most important for the later development of medieval angelology were the writings of Augustine and Jerome. Their general interpretations and understandings regarding the angels remained practically unchallenged in the subsequent centuries. In the following, we will briefly look at two of the most influential figures in medieval angelology, Dionysius and Gregory the Great.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite

The works of Dionysius, who for a long time was believed to be Paul's disciple as mentioned in Acts 17, 34, are nowadays held to have been written sometime around 500. His works are characterised by a strong Neo-Platonic mystical influence and enjoyed great authority throughout the Middle Ages.¹² In the ninth century, Charles the Bald asked John Scottus Eriugena (†877), head of the palace school, to translate the treatise on the celestial hierarchies, amongst other works, from Greek into Latin, a feat which was accomplished in 862.¹³

The Dionysian hierarchical scheme places the Angels, the Archangels and the Principalities in the first and lowest sub-hierarchy, the Powers, the Virtues and the Dominions in the second, and in the third and the highest triad are found the Thrones, the Cherubim and the Seraphim. Through these nine orders divine illumination emanates from the Highest Being in accordance with the capacity of each order; the higher the order, the more direct the contemplation and the divine illumination. This scheme thus implies that the

¹² In addition to the *Celestial Hierarchy*, which is of importance for our commentators, Dionysius's surviving corpus consists of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *Mystical Theology*, *The Divine Names* and ten letters.

¹³ Thirty years prior to John Scottus's translation, Hilduin of St Denis in 838 had translated the Dionysian works into Latin, although the quality of the translation made it less useful. Hilduin nevertheless 'contributed greatly to the status of Pseudo-Dionysius by conflating three persons—the author of the texts, the Dionysius of Acts 17:34, and the Dionysius who was the first bishop of Paris—thereby constituting a rather venerable authority indeed'; KECK (1998), p. 55.

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higher orders do not intervene in human affairs; only the lowest order of the angels interacts with and illuminates human life.¹⁴

Dionysius's influence on the sequence text may principally be observed in the division of the ninefold angelic hierarchy into groups of three, although the order of the separate angelic troops does not strictly follow that of Dionysius.¹⁵

Gregory the Great

Perhaps the most important and most influential theologian as far as medieval doctrine on angels is concerned was Gregory the Great, who presents a different angelic hierarchy which is in contrast to the static nature of the Dionysian scheme.¹⁶ Besides the inversion of the orders of the Principalities, the Powers and the Virtues, the main difference is in his understanding of the nature of the angelic orders, which are each attributed a special function. Many of them also fulfil important roles in the communication between God and man. According to Gregory, the angelic spirits make announcements of varying degrees of importance (the Angels and the Archangels), ward off malignant spirits (the Powers) or perform miracles and signs (the Virtues). However, Gregory is not unaware of the Dionysian system. In his Homily 34 on Luke 15, 1–10, Gregory refers explicitly to Dionysius and the difference between the two systems. The discrepancy is to some extent resolved in that he imparts a difference between administering and assisting angels, citing the well-known reference in Daniel 7, 10 to the thousands upon thousands who administer and the myriads upon myriads who assist.¹⁷

Gregory's understanding and analyses of the angels are found for instance in numerous passages throughout his *Moralia in Iob* and *Homiliae in Hiezechibelem*,

¹⁴ Chapters 6–9 of the *Celestial Hierarchy* treat the angelic hierarchy. Chapter 13 is entirely devoted to explaining why a seraph could be said to have purified the prophet Isaiah. For the Latin text, see Joh. Scot., *ier. Dion.*

¹⁵ Contrary to the remark in D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 86 and again in the apparatus of the edition p. 211, n. 47, the order of the angels in the sequence does not follow any of the hierarchical schemes set up by patristic or medieval theologians. In the sequence the order is: Angels, Archangels, Principalities, Virtues, Powers, Dominions, Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim. In the Dionysian scheme, Virtues and Powers appear the other way round, while Gregory proposes a reversal of three of the orders: Angels and Archangels are followed by Virtues, Powers, then Principalities. Alan of Lille explains the divergence in the sequence as poetic licence; his own preferred scheme is Gregory's (Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 211).

¹⁶ D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 86.

¹⁷ See Greg. M., *in evang.* 34, 12. According to D'ALVERNY (1965), pp. 86–87, this is the first reference to Dionysius in a Latin work.

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but his Homily 34 on Luke, which is also part of the traditional reading in the Office for the feast of St Michael, functions almost as a concise compendium on his angelological position.

Interpretations very similar to those found in Gregory's writings were voiced by Isidore of Seville, who devoted Chapter 5 in Book 7 of his *Etymologiae* to the investigation of angels, their names, their nature and their offices. His text functions as one of the sources for the commentators in this material.¹⁸

Later sources

With John Scottus's translation and commentary on Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchy*, a major work devoted entirely to the subject of the angels was made available to the Latin-reading West, although it was not until the beginning of the twelfth century and the rise of the cathedral schools that the writings of Dionysius made a larger impact on medieval angelology. 'Through these cathedral schools, Pseudo-Dionysius entered into the *Sentences* and hence irrevocably into academic theology in the Middle Ages and beyond.'¹⁹ In Peter Lombard's *Libri quattuor sententiarum*, the second to eleventh distinctions in Book 2 are devoted to the subject of angels. Through collecting and commenting on authoritative statements and arguments from the Fathers and other later writers, he scrupulously treats all aspects of the angels in one comprehensive text, and, when necessary, resolves seemingly contradictory views. In his ninth distinction he treats the issue of the celestial hierarchy, and Dionysius is indeed referred to as the authority for the threefold division of the ninefold hierarchy, although the order of the angels subsequently enumerated follows Gregory's system. Gregory is also explicitly mentioned in the ensuing account of the interpretation of the names and the offices of the orders, an account which is textually very faithful to Homily 34, 10.²⁰ Later in the text the Lombard addresses and resolves, again probably following Gregory's lead, the question of whether the angelic orders are sent to intervene in human affairs,

¹⁸ See for instance Edition 2: *Expositio Oxi* below.

¹⁹ KECK (1998), p. 56.

²⁰ This fact seems to have escaped the notice of Keck, who argues that 'after the acceptance of the Areopagite's *Celestial Hierarchy*, his arrangement of the angels became standard' (KECK (1998), p. 56), and then claims that for 'those medieval theologians who were uninfluenced by Pseudo-Dionysius or the Lombard, particularly the Cistercians, his [*i.e.* Gregory's] scheme was used' (p. 57). As the Lombard himself uses Gregory's order for the angels it does not seem to be possible to use this as a criterion to distinguish between different angelic 'schools'.

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or, as Dionysius claims, are fixed and stable in the heavenly sphere, with the exception of the lowest order.

It was with the universal acclaim and acceptance of Peter Lombard's *Libri quattuor sententiarum* as the principal school text that angelology received a fixed place in the theological training in the schools. Before, the subject of angels had been addressed wherever angels happened to occur in Scripture, with the result that it was difficult to create a comprehensive overview of the doctrine of the angels and their nature. With Peter Lombard's work the subject of angelology not only found a place in the schedule but also grew in importance since every subsequent theology master had to lecture on and add his own comments on the *Sententiae*.

The Dionysian revival is especially noticeable in the new translations and commentaries that were composed in the twelfth century by for example Hugh of St Victor and John Sarracenus.²¹ That interest in Dionysius continued into the thirteenth century is attested by the commentaries on his works by Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure. Outside the cathedral schools and the universities, monks such as Caesarius of Heisterbach and Bernard of Clairvaux also wrote on the angels, albeit not in the same manner as in the schools.²²

From the patristic era through the high Middle Ages and into the scholastic period one can discern a basic continuity regarding the central beliefs and interpretations of the angels and their importance and role for humans.²³ Most medieval writers on the subject of angels address these issues in a similar manner, referring to the same Biblical passages. Of course, not all theologians were unanimous in their view on every aspect of the angels, although they mostly agreed on the general assumptions. The scholastics added to the subject of angelology with their interest in metaphysical issues, some of which would contribute to one of the major disagreements between different 'angelic schools': the dispute regarding the corporeality of the angels. Are angels pure body or spirit, or both? Are they composed of both matter and form?²⁴ Aside

²¹ For the translation by John Sarracenus and a comparison with that made by John Scottus, see THÉRY (1948).

²² See for instance Bernard., *consid.* 5, 3, 5–5, 5, 12. Analyses of angels are also found in his commentary of the Song of Songs (Bernard., *serm. sup. cant.* 5; 19).

²³ KECK (1998), p. 13.

²⁴ Thomas Aquinas follows the Dionysian understanding of the angels as pure spirituality, whereas Bonaventure, for example, argued that the principle of hylomorphism, that everything consists of form and matter, must be adhered to; see further KECK (1998), Chapter 5. For an overview of scholastic angelology in the earlier period, see COLISH (1995).

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from controversies such as these, ‘medieval angelological exegesis was [. . .] remarkably unoriginal. Indeed the most noticeable medieval developments in this area [. . .] are matters of emphasis rather than originality.’²⁵

In our commentary texts we are never confronted with such problematic issues as this metaphysical question of the form and matter of angels. Instead, more general, less advanced and perhaps ‘safer’ issues are discussed. For the interpretations of the angelic theme in the sequence there is an abundance of sources available for our commentaries, sources which come from different milieux and represent certain ‘schools’ but which nevertheless generally attest to the same things regarding the issues discussed by our commentators.²⁶ In the *apparatus fontium* of the editions a selection from these sources is reported.²⁷

3.2 ALAN OF LILLE’S *EXPOSITIO PROSAE DE ANGELIS*

In spite of his prolific writings and his epithet *doctor universalis* we do not possess much detailed knowledge about Alan’s life.²⁸ He never attained high office in the church nor a post in the civil service, which makes tracing his career hazardous. The exact date of his birth is unknown,²⁹ but a note by the Cistercian chronicler Alberic of Trois Fontaines († after 1252) indicates that Alan died at Cîteaux in 1203.³⁰ We do not know at what date he joined the Cistercians, although it must have been towards the end of his life. G. R. Evans suggests that he could have been at Paris for his training at the same time as John of Salisbury, whose account of his school-days and his masters in the *Metalogicon* could then also provide a picture of Alan’s schooling there. Alan seems to have spent time in Chartres, Orléans and Tours, and he was a master at Paris although the exact time and the circumstances are unclear. The appreciation of Alan as a teacher is attested to by one of his students, Raoul of Longchamps, who in his commentary to Alan’s *Anticlaudianus* says that the

²⁵ KECK (1998), p. 14.

²⁶ The ‘Index de angelis’ in PL 219, 37–42, listing numerous important writings on certain aspects on the angels from patristic times up to the thirteenth century, attests to the wealth of material available for our commentators.

²⁷ See Section 4.2.2 below.

²⁸ The following outline of Alan’s life and works is to a large extent built upon the account in D’ALVERNY (1965), pp. 11–29; see also EVANS (1983), pp. 2–12.

²⁹ A conjectured date for Alan’s birth is 1128, proposed by HAURÉAU (1886) as reported by D’ALVERNY (1965), p. 20, n. 53.

³⁰ Alber., *chron.*, p. 881.

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memory of his master moves him to tears. Alan's teaching seems also to have brought him to Montpellier at some point, as either a secular cleric or a canon, and it seems that it was here he wrote or completed his *Distinctiones* and the *Contra haereticos*.

Alan's writings are numerous and cover a wide spectrum of subjects.³¹ His most influential and widely known work is perhaps the versified *Anticlaudianus* on the perfect man, a work which according to Alan can be read, like Scripture, in literal, moral and allegorical senses.³² His interest and zeal for pedagogical needs are seen in his *Ars praedicandi*, a preachers' manual, in the *Distinctiones*, a veritable dictionary of theological terms, the *Summa quoniam homines* and the *Regulae theologicae*, a collection of theological axioms to show the truth inherent in Christian doctrine. His other writings include sermons, a commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as well as various poems. Furthermore, he commented on the Song of Songs, the Lord's Prayer, the creeds and, of importance for us here, on the sequence *Ad celebres rex*.³³ Thus it seems that his epithet was well earned.

For Alan's commentary on *Ad celebres rex*, the *Expositio prosae de angelis*, the editor Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny reports ten manuscripts containing the work or versions of it, although it is only explicitly attributed to Alan of Lille in the manuscript *Up1* from the Brigittine Abbey in Vadstena, Sweden, now at Uppsala.³⁴ However, there seems to be no reason to doubt this attribution when evidence both external—the inclusion of the work in manuscripts containing Alan's other writings—and internal—references to numerous parallel passages in Alan's other works—attest to his authorship of this commentary.³⁵

³¹ For an easy overview of his works, sorted according to Alan's division of the subject of theology, see EVANS (1983), pp. 14–19.

³² EVANS (1983), pp. 135–136.

³³ Edited in D'ALVERNY (1965). The Latin text of the edition occupies pp. 194–217; pp. 11–29 present a biography of Alan of Lille and pp. 85–108 an introduction to the *Expositio prosae de angelis*.

³⁴ D'ALVERNY (1965), pp. 92, 185–190. The page containing the attribution to Alan and the opening paragraphs of his *Expositio prosae de angelis* is reproduced here as Plate 1. In addition to Alan's commentary, the other main texts in this manuscript are Matthew of Krakow's lectures and 'Speculum felicitatis humanae'. The part containing Alan's text is dated to 1410; see further MHUU, 2, p. 239.

³⁵ D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 93. In the source apparatus to the edition, d'Alverny points out numerous similarities between the *Expositio* and other works by Alan, especially his *Distinctiones* and *Summa quoniam homines*.

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The commentary opens with an introduction defining first the word *canticum*, by which term this sequence is referred to. Alan addresses the traditional proemial questions as regards the author of the work, the incitement for the author to compose the work, the subject-matter and the mode of treatment (*modus tractandi*).³⁶ As has been said above, Alan attributes the authorship of this sequence to Gerbert of Aurillac, later known as Pope Sylvester II; the intent of the author is to render tribute to the feast of St Michael and to disclose the nature, the offices and the orders of the heavenly creatures; the subject-matter is said to be the uncreated spirit; the *modus tractandi* is noted in specific parts of the sequence, identified by Alan as three. The first part invites us to sing praises, according to Alan, which would then make the mode exhortative. The two other parts would seem to be in the laudatory mode, as Alan states that they primarily commend God and the angels.³⁷

After this twofold introductory section the commentary proper begins. Alan of Lille examines the text scrupulously, commenting on almost every word. The commentary on the first strophes will here be quoted in full in order to present a specimen of Alan's style and technique.

Sermonem igitur dirigens ad auctorem omnium, ait: *o rex*. Hic non a fortuna locus commendationis sumitur, sed a natura; non gratia fortune, ut materiales reges, eternus Auctor regnum sortitur, sed potius potentiali naturaliter iure, et ut ab eo terreni regni fragilis secludatur potestas, adnectit: *celice*. Nota ideo specialiter Deum dici regem celestium, cum et terrenorum rex esse appareat, quia in celestibus magis eius Potentia et specialior eius Sapientia relucet, vel quia 'celestia' spiritus celestes animorumque sanctorum dicuntur, in quibus non solum per naturam, verum etiam habitat per gratiam; nec una singularis persona, sed potius *caterva*, ecclesiastica quidem. In hoc fidelium multitudo ad laudem Dei inuitatur, nec una, sed *cuncta*, id est omnes per hoc spirituales fidelium ecclesie ad glorificandum Deum commonentur. *Clangat*, id est cum quodam clangore in vocem prorumpat.

Nunc, id est in Michaelis sollempnitate. *Symphonia*, id est concordie mentis et oris et operis <h>armonia. Symphonia enim dicitur <h>armonia <ex concordie di->versorum sonoritate nascens concinnitas. Unde symphonia dicitur quasi 'similium sonorum' 'phonos', id est sonoritas. Unde ergo mentis exultationi respondet oris vocalis applausio, bonique operis executio; ex tali sonoritate quedam nascitur symphonia. Unde ille egregius dictator in suo cantico ait:

³⁶ These are then a selection of the regular headings of the 'type C prologue', described above in Section 2.2.1.1. The phrase 'que causa ad hoc opusculum eum inuitavit' (Alan, *Ins., expos. pros. angel.*, pp. 194–195) could be said to correspond to the heading *intentio auctoris*.

³⁷ The theoretical terms 'exhortative' and 'laudatory' are not used by Alan himself; the *modus tractandi* is explained by descriptive language.

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Cum vox vitam non remordet
Dulcis est symphonia

Et hoc, non submissa voce, sed *canora*, ut et exaltatio fit in mentis exultatione, et eleuatio in vocali applausione, et intentio in boni operis executione; vel per ‘symphoniam canoram’ materialis vocum concinnitas intelligi potest, que ex diuersorum in choro canentium voce conformi nasci solet, ad quam materialem symphoniam huius auctor opusculi fideles hortatur, que interioris exultationis interpres esse coniectatur. Et hoc *ad celebres laudes* tuas, id est, ut te celebriter laudet. Priuata laus est quando quis in mente laudat Deum, in ore vero tenet silentium; vel quando laudat ore, diffitetur vero corde. Cum vero vocalis laus mentaliter respondet, celebris laus dicitur; vel laus priuata appellatur que ab uno soluitur; celebris vero que a multitudine decantatur. Et quod sub obscuritate dixerat consequenter dicens, *atque contio*, per hoc iterum ecclesiastica multitudo innuitur; *leta*, exultatione habita de eternis; per hoc, cantici natura exprimitur. *Promat*, non solum corde, sed ore. *Odas*, id est laudes; ‘odos’ laus interpretatur. Unde in alio cantico reperitur: ‘palinodiam canta’, id est, duplicem laudem; ‘palin’ enim duplex, ‘odos’ laus interpretatur.³⁸

In this passage we may note that the sequence commented upon displays the textual variant *Ad celebres rex* (for *Has celebres rex*), as do all sequence commentaries in this material. Other variants noticed in this extract are *clangat* for the more usual *pangat*, *promat* for *solvat* and *leta* for *nostra*, of which *clangat* is the only variant used and commented upon in another commentary included in this study.³⁹

The sequence lemmata are well incorporated into the commentary text, which moves in and out of the sequence in an almost seamless fashion, as can be seen for instance in the clauses explaining *caterua* and *cuncta*. Although Alan does not explicitly state that he will provide syntactical help for the reader by construing the clauses of the sequence, he nevertheless does so in a very elegant manner by commenting on the words not in the order in which they appear in the sequence, but rearranged to create a prose-like word order. If the words in italics are read in the order in which they appear in the passage above, the following text is obtained: ‘o rex celice, caterua cuncta clangat nunc symphonia canora ad celebres laudes atque contio leta promat odas’, which creates a very plain and clear syntactical structure.

Almost every word of the sequence is explained thoroughly. Regarding the word *rex*, for instance, Alan carefully distinguishes between the nature of and the conditions for God’s power in contrast to the power of terrestrial kings. In

³⁸ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, pp. 196–197.

³⁹ See Edition 3: *Expositio St2* below.

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a similar manner the modifying attribute *celice* is also examined and given two separate interpretations. The word *symphonia* likewise invites a longer analysis, beginning with a definition, which is subsequently further refined before a word-explanation bordering on an etymological analysis is given. To further illustrate the full meaning of *symphonia* Alan quotes two lines from the sequence *Laudes crucis attollamus* of Adam of St Victor († ca 1146).⁴⁰ This is the first of two references to other sequence texts in the excerpt. The second can be found towards the end, where Alan mentions an *aliud canticum* in which the phrase *palinodiam canta* is used. This is taken from the third line of the sequence *Alle caeleste*.⁴¹ Alan often uses sequence texts as illustrative examples in his writings as can be seen, for instance, in his *Distinctiones*.⁴²

When comparing the above extract with the corresponding passages in the other commentaries incorporated into this study, the absence of purely grammatical comments, of lengthy etymological analyses and other kinds of lexical information is immediately striking. Such instructive comments are found on occasion in this commentary, but not to the extent revealed by the other texts edited here. In explaining the word *inclita* in the following, Alan remarks that ‘[. . .] *valde inclita*, id est, valde gloriosa, “cleos” enim gloria interpretatur; unde inclitum quasi “valde gloriosum”, ut hec prepositio “in” nota sit intensionis.’⁴³ Here we are presented with both an etymology for the word and some knowledge as to word-formation in general.

Most often, this kind of language instruction is embedded in other comments, as can be seen in the explanation of *symbolum*. The passage is quoted here in its entirety.

Symbolum proprie dicitur aliquorum conuiuantium collatio, in qua unusquisque suam ponit portionem expense. Unde symbolum dicitur a ‘syn’, quod est simul, et ‘bolos’, quod est portio, quia in expensa unusquisque suam ponit portionem. Translatiue autem cathalogus articulorum christiane fidei, ut ‘Quicumque vult’, et ‘Credo in Deum’ symbolum nuncupatur, quia in eo diuerse portiones siue articuli christiane fidei continentur. Hec ergo predicta agmina hoc retinent speciale officium, quod ipsa *ter tripertita*, id est per IX ordines distincta, *per priuata officia*, id est secundum quod sunt specialibus officiis deputata, nobis *cathegorizant*, id est, predicant. Cathegorizare enim est idem quod predicare. Unde propositio cathgorica dicitur predicatiua, et predicamentum dicitur cathgoria. *Symbola*, id

⁴⁰ Edited in AH 54, 120.

⁴¹ Edited in AH 7, 98 and AH 53, 97.

⁴² For references to sequence texts in the *Distinctiones*, see PL 210, for example cols 699a, 722a, 728c, 743b, 779c, 811a, 834c, 901c, 935d, 959d, and 1012d.

⁴³ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 197.

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est articulos christiane fidei, symbola, dico, theologa, id est in quibus 'logos', id est sermo, fit de 'theos'; id est de Deo. Theos enim grece, Deus interpretatur latine. Angelorum ministerio frequenter mentibus hominum est intimatum quid <de> Deo sit sentiendum. Vel symbola possunt dici enigmatice locutiones, que aliud in superficie littere pretendunt, interius autem altiorem sensum intelligentie custodiunt. Verbi gratia, cum legitur angelos habere currus igneos, vel alas, vel huiusmodi, locutio symbolica est; unde et Dionysius in Ierarchia has locutiones vocat symbolicas. Dicuntur autem huiusmodi locutiones symbola a 'syn', quod est simul, et 'olon', quod est totum, quia multiplex scientia in his sermonibus continetur, quia in superficie littere resonat litteralis intelligentia; interius autem et tropologica et anagogica intelligentia clauditur.⁴⁴

The original meaning of *symbolum* as an individual's offered portion or part in a larger whole exemplified in a transferred manner by the Creed will be repeated in some of the subsequent commentaries, although none as prolix and detailed as that of Alan of Lille.⁴⁵ The brief digression on *cathegorizo*, which has the character of being a teacher's opportunity to explain a related albeit not strictly necessary piece of information for the understanding of the sequence, will also appear in other commentaries. Alan's last interpretation of the word, that it can denote the enigmatic statements in Scripture that are to be understood figuratively is, however, not picked up by the other commentators.⁴⁶

The words *pneuma*, *seraphin* and *cherubin* lead Alan to present distinctions that separate different meanings of these words according to their spelling: *pneuma* denotes the spirits whereas (*m*)*neuma* denotes the *inbilis*.⁴⁷ *Seraphin* with a final *-n* is neuter plural, designating the order of the spirits, in contrast to *seraphim* with a final *-m*, which is masculine plural and refers to several individuals from the same order. The simple *seraph*, Alan continues, denotes a single being from that order.⁴⁸ Alan defers to Jerome for this difference in spelling and meaning, the knowledge of which seems to have been a matter of importance for many of the other commentators studied here, as it was for later grammarians; the same content as in Alan's distinction is also found in versified form in the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa-Dei († 1240).⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, pp. 200–201.

⁴⁵ The commentaries belonging to the 'Aristotelian tradition' present a different etymology; see Section 8.1 below and Editions 4–7.

⁴⁶ This interpretation seems to derive from Dionysius; see Joh. Scot., *ier. Dion.*, cap. 2.

⁴⁷ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 198.

⁴⁸ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 212.

⁴⁹ Alex. Villa-Dei, *doctr.*, 514–517.

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Quite a number of the themes which Alan of Lille picked up and commented upon will be found again in the works of the other commentators presented in this study. Examples of such themes are the question of why man, and not the angel, is created in the image of God⁵⁰ and the interpretations of the names Michael, Gabriel and Raphael.⁵¹ The understanding of the phrase *dena pars electa* in the sequence as referring to human kind being chosen by God to complement the nine orders of angels builds upon the previous references in the sequence to the tenth drachma and the hundredth sheep, and is also repeated in the other commentaries.⁵² The fact that all these themes are interpreted in similar ways in the subsequent commentaries does not necessarily imply that all commentators used Alan as their source or model; these interpretations are standard exegetical readings of the Biblical passages on which the sequence text is based.⁵³

No commentator escapes the puzzling word *agalma* (Gr. ‘honour; statue; picture’), which is in Latin traditionally translated and understood as ‘image’.⁵⁴ The word was a challenge for John Scottus to explain: in his combined translation and commentary on Dionysius’s *Celestial hierarchy* he reports that the Greeks understand *agalma* both as ‘omnem expressam imaginem que intuentibus letitiam efficit’ and as an *idolum vel simulacrum* that shows great similarity to the one whose image or likeness it is. John Scottus also provides an etymology: ‘agalma quippe dicitur quasi ἄγαν ἄλμα, hoc est valde excelsum’.⁵⁵ Hugh of St Victor settled for *imago* in his translation.⁵⁶ Although Alan points out, as do most commentators, that the word is used figuratively here as denoting the heavenly kingdom, he claims its original meaning to be ‘sheepfold’, which is of course fitting in this context: the Lord, the shepherd, brings his sheep, the angels and humans, to the security of the fold. The texts presented here will give several different etymological interpretations for this word.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 200.

⁵¹ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, pp. 213–214.

⁵² Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, pp. 215–216.

⁵³ See for instance Hier., *nom. hebr.*, p. 82, lin. 6–7; Hier., *nom. hebr.*, p. 140, lin. 24; Hier., *in Dan.*, p. 2, lin. 930–931; Aug., *in psalm.* 103, 4; Isid., *orig.*, 7, 5; Greg. M., *in evang.* 34.

⁵⁴ On this word in Limousine sequences, see ELFVING (1962), p. 99.

⁵⁵ Joh. Scot., *ier. Dion.*, cap. 2, lin. 1180–1184.

⁵⁶ Hugo S. Vict., *hier. coel.*, PL 175, 987c

⁵⁷ The interpretation of the word *agalma* will be discussed in all introductory sections to the subsequent commentaries. It should be noted that all Greek words will be discussed in this specific context formed by the sequence commentaries.

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The most conspicuous feature of this commentary is the digression from the sequence text proper made in connection with the account of the nine angelic orders.⁵⁸ Alan begins with a definition of the concept of hierarchy, which is thereupon scrutinised thoroughly.⁵⁹ He identifies three separate hierarchies—the supercelestial, which is the Trinity, the celestial, the angelic orders, and the subcelestial, the humans—and he points out the references to each in the sequence text. For a closer examination of the celestial hierarchy, Alan defers to John Scottus and cites a definition for *ordo angelicus*. In all, Alan attributes five quotations to John Scottus, three of which are introduced with his name. All quotations concern definitions of different concepts of vital importance for the understanding of the celestial hierarchy as described by Alan here. The definition of *ordo angelicus* is accompanied by definitions of *theophania*, of *epiphania* as the highest of the three orders, *yperphania* as the middle, and *ypophania* as the lowest order.

These quotations raised the suspicion of H.-F. Dondaine in 1950,⁶⁰ who was introduced to some of them through Albert the Great. In his commentary on the *Sentences* Albert writes:

Rejicimus autem verba quorundam ficta, et contra sententiam Dionysii inventa, quae in nulla translatione inveniuntur. Dicunt enim quidam, quod dividit hierarchiam in *epiphaniam* et *hyperphaniam* et *hypophaniam*.⁶¹

In the subsequent paragraph Albert cites the definition for the *epiphania* and his verdict is that neither the words nor the sense is Dionysian; he identifies the sense as Gregorian although the words are not.

Through the careful research performed by Dondaine in search of the origin of these quotations it becomes clear that they were first circulated and used in the twelfth century by a group of scholars influenced by the Porretan school of thought, including Alan of Lille, Simon of Tournai and Radulfus Ardens, who all attribute these quotations explicitly to John Scottus in their writings. The same quotations are found in works by Praepositinus of Cremona (†1210), and Garnier of Rochefort (†1225).⁶² They continue to appear in various works in the thirteenth century, for example in the *Summa aurea* of William of Auxerre

⁵⁸ The account and the definitions of the celestial hierarchy occupies pp. 202–210 of Alan's commentary, that is, a third of the text.

⁵⁹ This definition and its rendering in *Expositio Oxb* are compared in Section 5.3 below.

⁶⁰ See DONDAINE (1950).

⁶¹ Albert. M., *in sent.* 2, d. 9, a. 2.

⁶² For extracts of some of their writings, see DONDAINE (1950).

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and other commentaries, although their popularity by that time seems to have been on the wane; according to Dondaine they are not to be found after Albert the Great and Bonaventure.

Dondaine concludes that the quotations must derive from an apocryphal work; neither the definitions nor all the names for the three separate groups are found in John Scottus's known writings. Furthermore, the definitions of the hierarchy do not respect the Dionysian scheme, as happens in other works by John Scottus, but the order of the angelic troops follows instead Gregory's system. The nature and the origin of these definitions are also discussed by d'Alverny and, since they cannot be attributable to the ninth-century translator of Dionysius's works, she points out that their character seems to share similarities with the numerous compendia, florilegia and other learning aids that were produced by the masters and circulated among the students in the twelfth century.⁶³ Admittedly, d'Alverny continues, these particular definitions are not as clear and immediately understandable as, for instance, Hugh of St Victor's commentary on the *Celestial hierarchy*. The hellenisms and the fondness for unusual words suggest to d'Alverny a writer thoroughly steeped in rhetoric and grammar wishing to write in accordance with the tastes of certain writers in the twelfth century.

The *Expositio prosae de angelis* is only one work among Alan's many in which these definitions are found. They appear also in the *Summa quoniam homines*, in his *Regulae theologicae*, in the *Hierarchia Alani* and to a certain extent in the *Distinctiones*. D'Alverny proposes Alan, albeit without full certainty, as a possible originator of the John Scottus compendium, remarking that he would at least have been capable of it; he often treats his authorities in a less than faithful manner. If not Alan, d'Alverny continues, it must have been someone whose writings Alan was introduced to shortly after their composition, as he seems to be the first to have used and commented upon them.⁶⁴

Both the ideas and the language in the *Expositio prosae de angelis* are complex. This is particularly pronounced in the account of the celestial hierarchy and its abstruse definitions. The commentary is deeply concerned with issues of doctrinal importance, labouring on the explanations and carefully going through alternative interpretations. To some extent Alan is also preoccupied

⁶³ D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 96.

⁶⁴ D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 98. On this and the subsequent page d'Alverny shows that the other authors' usage of the definitions could be indebted to Alan of Lille. It should be pointed out that when Dondaine performed his research in 1950 not all of Alan's works containing the definitions were known.

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with etymology, encyclopaedic information and definitions of words and concepts, but the lasting impression of the text is the high level of ambition conveyed by the author, which is revealed in the subject-matter and the complexity as regards the linguistic level. This is not a text for a new student, but for a reader well beyond the elementary stages and now grappling with more advanced subjects.

3.2.1 The influence of Alan's *Expositio prosae de angelis*

As will become clear in the following, Alan's commentary has had a certain impact on the subsequent commentaries on *Ad celebres rex*. Among the texts edited here, the commentary of *Ox6*, although being one of three in a collection of commentaries, uses Alan's *Expositio prosae de angelis* as a basis. It could be characterised as a remodelling of Alan's text with substantial rewritings, quite a few original additions and several abbreviations. A fuller comparison between these two texts will be made in Chapter 5.

In addition to the commentary of *Ox6*, there is the adaptation of Alan's text found in the manuscript *Ox4* and published by Olleris in 1867, mentioned above.⁶⁵ This fragment of a text presents an integrated prologue following the structure of Alan's *Expositio* albeit with some passages rewritten and others omitted. The commentary proper likewise follows Alan's text generally, but displays some original alterations and additions, the most conspicuous being a digression in connection with *machina mundi* to comment on man as a microcosm with the four bodily humours corresponding to the four elements. Interestingly, there are several similar and identical passages in the two adapted commentaries of *Ox4* and *Ox6* not found in Alan's text. The similarities, which could indicate a relation between the two Oxford manuscripts, include both brief phrases and longer passages such as the explanation of the definition of hierarchy.⁶⁶ In addition to these, there are adapted versions of Alan's commentary in the manuscripts *Ca3* and *Zw1*, which are referred to and described by d'Alverny in her edition of the *Expositio prosae de angelis*.⁶⁷

Another kind of influence is revealed in the manuscript *Me2*, which presents a large collection of commentaries to both hymns and sequences, all of which are concerned with paraphrases, basic interpretations and word explanations.

⁶⁵ See Section 2.1 above.

⁶⁶ Edition 1: *Expositio Ox6*, lines 67–83.

⁶⁷ D'ALVERNY (1965), pp. 188–189. See also the manuscript list in Appendix 2.

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Still, the explanations in the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* in this collection are with very few exceptions faithfully drawn from the *Expositio prosae de angelis*. For example, the passage *caterva ecclesiastica quidem [. . .] sonoritate nascens concinnitas* in the long quotation above from Alan's *Expositio* is copied almost verbatim in the commentary of *Me2*. This could suggest a redactor who at some point extracted the purely explanatory passages from Alan's text, leaving out the longer passages commenting on doctrine and discussing more advanced subjects in order to produce a commentary on a more basic level.

It is of course difficult to say anything with more certainty as regards Alan's influence on commentaries on *Ad celebres rex* on account of the lack of editions and studies on the genre of the sequence commentary. For the time being, the manuscripts mentioned above and the text in *Ox6*, to be presented and edited in Chapter 5, seem to be the only known examples of texts clearly influenced by Alan of Lille's commentary. In other texts, such as the commentary in *St2*, there are passages that could perhaps indicate a knowledge of Alan's exposition.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ See further Section 7.2 below.

4 Methods and Principles

4.1 EDITORIAL AIMS AND METHODS

It is important to remember that commentaries such as the texts included in this study are utility texts, that is they are texts that were used and adapted for particular and varying functions and milieux. This circumstance greatly affects their textual tradition and their transmission, as Martin West remarks in his *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*:

Some texts were always subject to alteration. Commentaries, lexica and other works of a grammatical nature were rightly regarded as collections to be pruned, adapted or added to, rather than as sacrosanct literary entities. When the rewriting becomes more than superficial, or when rearrangement is involved, one must speak of a new recension of the work, if not of a new work altogether.¹

This specific genre characteristic has in turn affected the editorial methods applied in this work, which have had to be adapted according to the nature and conditions of each individual kind of text. The texts I have chosen to edit here can be said to fall into three separate categories: texts found in one unique source; texts found in more than one manuscript but where the changes, adaptations and textual variants are too numerous and diverse to render a collation fruitful; and texts of a more stable character found in many manuscripts from which a collation of variants can be done and can produce a better text. For each category I have formed a separate set of principles as regards the editorial aims and methods, which will be explained here.

4.1.1 Category 1: the unique textual witness

The editions of texts belonging to Category 1 are made from a single manuscript that is at the same time the only known source of the text in question, as is the case with the prologue *Quoniam . . . tria cantica* and the commentary in *Ox6* as well as the commentaries in *Ox1*, *St2* and *Mü5*. The principal aim for a Category 1 edition is to establish a text that makes full sense

¹ WEST (1973), p. 16.

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to the modern reader from the point of view of syntax and content, and at the same time is as close as possible to the text as transmitted in the manuscript. If an emendation is deemed necessary for reasons of syntax, grammar or content, it should wherever possible be made in accordance with a parallel or related passage in the text itself. As this is not always feasible, related passages or similar phrases in other contemporary texts have also been used as models. So far, all the texts in this category are anonymous, which means that it is not possible to make emendations based on an author's stylistic preferences as seen in his other works. If an explicit or implicit source has been used for the text, emendations of a corrupt or erroneous passage have been made in accordance with this.

Category 1 editions:

Edition 1: *Quoniam . . . tria cantica; Expositio O×6*

Edition 2: *Expositio O×1*

Edition 3: *Expositio St2*

Edition 7: *Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü5*

4.1.2 Category 2: the representative manuscript

The second editorial method applies to texts for which many textual witnesses survive but that have nevertheless been edited from a single representative manuscript. This method is applied in the editions of the commentaries of *Gr1*, *Kf4* and *Kf1*, where the problematic nature of the genre as described above by West becomes very evident. The number and the nature of the adaptations, additions and omissions would render a collated edition with an exhaustive critical apparatus accounting for all the variants barely readable and practically impossible. The commentaries are furthermore affected by the scribe's choice of whether to copy the whole sequence text in connection with the commentary (together with interlinear glosses) or to provide a prose version of it instead, studded with brief explanations functioning as glosses.

The aim of this type of edition is thus not to recreate an author's presumed original or even an archetype of the commentary text in question, but instead to present one specific example of such an instructive work. The text is thus edited from a representative manuscript of that textual tradition, chosen on the basis of the quality of the text in combination with an early date. Corrupt and erroneous readings are emended with the help of the other textual witnesses of the same tradition. In such cases, the consensus or near-consensus reading of

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the other manuscripts has been used as a corrective. As in the first method described above, explicit or implicit source texts have also influenced emendations in some cases.

Category 2 editions:

Edition 4: *Expositio Gr1*

Edition 5: *Expositio Kf4*

Edition 6: *Expositio Kf1*

4.1.3 Category 3: several textual witnesses

The third category of texts have prompted editions for which several textual witnesses have been collated, as in the editions of the prologues *Dicit Aristoteles*, *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam*. In contrast to the commentaries, these introductory texts have shown themselves to be of a more stable character, which could perhaps be accountable to their being considered as more ‘authoritative’ texts or because their logical and syllogistic structure in the argumentative sections to a certain degree prevents pieces from being added or omitted.² For these texts it has proved useful and possible to apply the more traditional method of collating the extant witnesses in order to establish a text presumed to be closer to an author’s original.

The textual traditions for all three of these prologues are to varying degrees contaminated. The collations have therefore not resulted in the construction of a *stemma codicum* for each text. Furthermore, it could perhaps be argued that a proper stemma ought to take the complete work into consideration, which in this case would mean an inclusion of the total number of commentary texts and, in some cases, the accompanying volume of hymn commentaries, a task which is beyond the scope of the present work.

Instead, I have modified the method presented by Martin West on how to detect and account for contamination as well as on how to proceed in the establishing of a text of such a tradition.³ West proposes that the number of agreements in error between the manuscripts should be shown in a table where

² Admittedly, this holds true only to a certain degree. Among the manuscripts listed in Appendix 2, there are at least four examples in the manuscript list (*Gr3*, *Sa1*, *Sf1* and *St1*) of prologues that have been adapted, abbreviated and sometimes combined to form a new text, although the passages containing the syllogistic argumentation are then omitted.

³ See WEST (1973), pp. 38–41.

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each manuscript is given its own column. The figures in the table will then reveal closer or more distant relationships between the witnesses. The theory, in simple terms, is that if two manuscripts rarely or never share an error, then it is likely that they belong to independent traditions; hence the combined testimony of two such independent manuscripts must be considered seriously when judging between readings.

West's method has been successfully employed by David d'Avray in editing medieval Latin sermons. In the introduction to his edition of marriage sermons, he describes the procedure along with its merits and potential objections.⁴ A possible risk with using the so-called 'West tables'⁵ as concerns contamination, d'Avray argues, is that contamination in itself can produce a flawless text: a medieval scribe who has recourse to more than one manuscript could well be able to establish a text practically free from error in much the same way as a modern editor would. In connection with this issue d'Avray stresses the fact that some medieval scribes were themselves users of the texts they were copying, sometimes near-contemporary with the date of composition of the texts, and often part of the same milieu in which the texts were composed and used. Their command of this type of Latin and their knowledge of the textual genres in question ought to be respected, as should their possible corrections of a text. So the end result of d'Avray's discussion is that West's method works for one of two reasons:

[. . .] *either* it gives manuscripts whose combined testimony carries weight because they are independent; *or* it represents the considered opinion of one or more scribes whose judgement commands respect. The former scenario remains the most probable. Either way the use of 'West tables' can be helpful in resolving uncertainties.⁶

For establishing the texts of Category 3 editions, which are exclusively prologues as has been mentioned, the following method has been used. A base manuscript has been chosen that is both of an early date and displays a text of good quality. A third criterion is that the manuscript should also contain a commentary to *Ad celebres rex*, also of a good textual quality. (This will then

⁴ The following is a recapitulation of a much more detailed, well argued and eloquent passage in D'AVRAY (2001), pp. 38–40.

⁵ The term is coined by d'Avray and will be used in the following to refer to the tables showing agreements in error and alternative readings between manuscripts.

⁶ D'AVRAY (2001), p. 40, original emphasis.

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constitute the ‘representative manuscript’ in the edition of the commentary in accordance with the principles for editions of Category 2 texts.)

All other textual witnesses have been collated against the text of the base manuscript. As there are traces of contamination, to a greater or lesser extent, in all three textual traditions, lists have been made that account for all instances of agreement between pairs of manuscripts, that is to say agreements both in proper errors and other alternative, but discarded, readings.⁷ This is thus a modification of the method proposed by West, who speaks only of agreements in error, since I have judged it more profitable for these texts to include all agreements.⁸ The list of instances contains the same information as the critical apparatus but has the advantage of providing an immediate overview of the nature of the errors and other discarded readings that two manuscripts share.

The results of the lists are shown in two tables: the first accounts for the number of agreements between two textual witnesses, agreements which could also be shared by other manuscripts; the second table accounts for agreements exclusive to two manuscripts. The tables are included in the introductory section to each prologue whereas the lists of common errors and variants are found in Appendix 4.

The two tables work in combination with each other in such a way that they can reveal, for example, a link between two manuscripts sharing many readings and errors, but can also show that the link is not necessarily exclusive, that is, that there are no unique agreements. Conversely, the tables reveal instantly if two manuscripts seem to be independent of each other. If a link between two textual witnesses is detected, then the list of instances in the appendix will provide documentation of all the agreements, to enable an examination of the nature of the relation. Since the tables include both proper errors and alternative readings, it is necessary to check the nature of the agreements. In some cases the agreements may be of such minor significance that the manuscripts could be judged to be independent nevertheless. The combined testimony of two independent manuscripts has been considered in the

⁷ For an enumeration of variants not reported in the critical apparatus, see Section 4.2.3 below.

⁸ An attempt was made to sort the agreements into errors, *sauts du même au même* or other major relocations, and alternative readings, but the outcome was unsatisfactory; the brevity of the texts and the nature of the variations made the results too disparate to function as a basis for the discussion.

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establishing of the texts.⁹ The tables have been used in conjunction with the list of instances to identify and examine the interrelations or non-relations between manuscripts, and thus form the basis for my discussion of the manuscript tradition for each prologue.

Category 3 editions:

Edition 4: *Dicit Aristoteles*

Edition 5: *Vir speculativus*

Edition 6: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*

4.2 GENERAL EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The general principles set out here apply to all editions in the present work. Exceptions or additions to these for particular editions are found in the introductory chapter to the edited text in question. For easier orientation in the texts of the commentaries, the lemmata from the sequence are printed in capital letters. As mentioned above in Section 3.1, the sequence text is not stable but transmitted with several variations. I have therefore chosen to consider as a lemma any variant reported in the critical apparatus to the editions of the texts in AH 7 and AH 53.¹⁰ A transcript of the sequence text from AH 53, with the variants used by the commentators in this material placed in a critical apparatus, is found as Appendix 1. As regards Biblical references, only words cited verbatim from Scripture have been italicised; this is taken to include minor transpositions and deviations in spelling, but not in grammatical form. The edition of the commentary in *Mü5* has a distinct layout from the others, the principles for which are described in the introductory chapter to that edition.

4.2.1 Orthography and punctuation

As a general rule, the orthography of the single manuscript, for the Category 1 and 2 editions, or of the base manuscript for Category 3 editions, is generally

⁹ For examples of instances when the readings of independent manuscripts have been discussed and considered, see Sections 8.3.2.1 and 8.4.2.1 below. It should go without saying that syntax and content have naturally been the principal guides for choosing between readings.

¹⁰ The only exceptions are the forms *seraphin* and *cherubin* with a final *-n*, seen in all the commentaries edited here. The two editions in AH display these names with a final *-m*.

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followed closely. This means that in addition to expected medieval spellings, such as *e* for the diphthongs *ae* and *oe* or *-ci-* for *-ti-*, other idiosyncracies of the manuscripts are also retained. These include for instance double consonants where a single is expected and vice versa,¹¹ interchanges between *f* and *ph*, *i* and *y*, *s* and *c*, as well as additions or omissions of the letter *b*. Especial notice should be made to the treatment of the letter *g*. A pronunciation of *g* as soft before the vowels *e* and *i* is sometimes reflected in the spelling, for example in the word *theologia*, which in many manuscripts, and hence sometimes in the editions here, is rendered *theoloya*.¹² A related phenomenon is the insertion of a *g* in a corresponding position, which can be seen in the word *alienum* spelt *aligenum*.¹³ The spelling in the manuscripts is not consistent, and this is therefore true also of the editions. Certain words will appear in different guises, perhaps most noticeable in the word *hierarchia*, for which the spellings *ierarchia*, *yerarchia*, *gerarchia* and *cherarchia* are found. Where necessary, in order to avoid misinterpretation, a remark preceded by *id est* (*i.e.*) has been made in the critical apparatus.

A few standardisations have nevertheless been made. Irrespective of the spelling in the manuscripts, the letter *v* is used for the consonantal sound and *u* for the semi-consonantal and the vocalic. The different renditions of the letters *-ii* in the manuscripts have been standardised in the editions. These changes have not been remarked upon in the *apparatus criticus*. Furthermore, in some manuscripts a vacillation can be noticed in the use of vowels. This concerns especially the usage of *e* for *i* and *o* for *a* and vice versa, but also to a lesser extent *e* for *a* and vice versa. In the editions, such interchanges have been disregarded and the spellings normalised, but always with a remark in the *apparatus criticus*. These standardisations have also been made in cases where the alternative spelling of a word could be attested to reflect the local pronunciation. The main reason for the normalisation of the use of vowels is that the scribes' indiscriminate vacillation renders it impossible to determine with certainty whether an *e* for an *i* reflects the pronunciation in the region or is a simple scribal error, especially when it changes the case of the word so that it no longer agrees with the syntax.¹⁴

¹¹ The only exception to this rule is when a *linea nasalis* is missing. Such corrections are, however, always commented on in the *apparatus criticus*.

¹² The same can be seen in other words ending in *-gius* or *-gicus* as for instance *anagoycus* and *tropoloycus* in Edition 6: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, line 146.

¹³ See for instance Edition 6: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, line 151.

¹⁴ For the change in the quality of vowels, see VÄÄNÄNEN (1981), §§ 52–58.

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Abbreviated words are resolved in accordance with the general spelling of the scribe as displayed in the manuscript. The use of majuscules has been conformed to modern standards. A modern, mainly syntactical, punctuation has been introduced in the texts.

4.2.2 The *apparatus fontium*

The identified similar passages and sources to the prologues and the commentaries are reported in the *apparatus fontium*. Allusions or non-verbatim quotations are preceded by *cfr* (*confer*) in the apparatus. As a rule, the source texts have not been reproduced but are merely referred to. However, when the allusion demands a knowledge of the source in order to be comprehended, or when it has been changed so as not to conform with the sense of the original, the passage referred to has been quoted in full in the apparatus. This is also true for quotations containing a suspicious reading or a major textual problem, or in cases where the source is not readily available in a modern edition, but only in incunabula, other early editions, or on the internet.

As we have already seen,¹⁵ medieval theologians writing on the angels produced numerous important works examining the angelic nature, their creation, their appearances in Scripture, their offices and other related issues. In the editions here, the sources reported in the *apparatus fontium* have been limited to include primarily the sources explicitly mentioned by the commentators, when it has been possible to locate them. In addition, Gregory's Homily 34 is generally reported in the apparatus, since this text was part of the reading for the Office, as mentioned above, while Isidore and Jerome are included as being the earliest sources for many of the interpretations. Peter Lombard's *Libri quattuor sententiarum* are also referred to, when applicable, since his account of the angels became the standard school-text on which all subsequent writers and theology masters drew in one way or another.

When a text is heavily indebted to a single author, references are made to that text and not necessarily to the earliest known source for the interpretation. An example is Edition 2: *Expositio O \times 1*, which draws heavily upon Isidore. Here, the *apparatus fontium* contains primarily references to his *Etymologiae* even though many of the interpretations are also found in Jerome's *Liber*

¹⁵ See Section 3.1.2 above.

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interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum. In some cases several sources for the same passage are reported in the apparatus.

This selective approach has been chosen for practical reasons. It means that the *apparatus fontium* makes no claims to being exhaustive and that other important works such as the translations and commentary on Dionysius's *Celestial hierarchy* by Hugh of St Victor and the writings on the angels by Bernard of Clairvaux are generally not referred to. It is my hope that the present edition can form the basis for further studies on the selection and use of sources of the medieval commentators on sequences.

Possible sources for the sequence text itself are not quoted in the *apparatus fontium*.

4.2.3 The *apparatus criticus*

There are separate principles for the critical apparatus depending on which of the three methodical categories the edited text belongs to.

The basic principle for editions of texts belonging to the first two categories is that the text is edited from a single manuscript. The full text as transmitted in the manuscript is thus printed in the edition, either in the text itself or in the *apparatus criticus*. This means that with the exception of the general standardisations described above, all corrections are remarked upon in the apparatus. Marginal notes, scribal errors and corrections are also reported.

For Category 2 editions, simple scribal errors in the representative manuscript are emended without referring to the other manuscripts for support. All other emendations, however, are made with a note in the *apparatus criticus* on the manuscript(s) from which the reading is adopted.

The editions of texts belonging to Category 3 are the result of collations of several textual witnesses with a base manuscript to guide in the choice between readings of minor value. In these editions certain variant readings in the manuscripts have not been recorded in the apparatus. These include variations in the use of the pronouns *hic / ille / iste / idem / is*, variations of *ergo / igitur / autem / enim / vero, videlicet / scilicet / id est*, and transpositions of two words, or three if one of them is a preposition, a conjunction or the copula. In all the above cases the base manuscript has determined the form to be printed in the edition.

These editions preserve the orthography of the base manuscript and orthographical variants in the other manuscripts, for example *v* for *f* or *p* for *b*, are not reported in the critical apparatus. Simple scribal errors in the other

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manuscripts, such as an omitted horizontal stroke representing *n* or *m*, have likewise been left out. The same rule applies to corrections made by the scribe if the result of the correction is a reading identical to the printed text. Exceptions to these rules have, however, been made in certain textually problematic or otherwise interesting passages.

With these exceptions, I have chosen to include in the *apparatus criticus* all other discarded readings of the manuscripts, since this is the first edition to be made of these texts. Subsequent manuscript discoveries may cast new light on the interrelations of the textual witnesses, the examinations of which will be facilitated by a comprehensive critical apparatus.

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4.3 *ABBREVIATIONES ET SIGNA*

Abbreviationes

<i>abbr.</i>	abbreviatio, -onis etc.
<i>add.</i>	addidit / addiderunt
<i>app. crit.</i>	apparatus criticus, apparatus critici etc.
<i>cett.</i>	ceteri codices, ceterorum codicum etc.
<i>cfr</i>	confer
<i>cod.</i>	codex, -icis etc.
<i>codd.</i>	codices
<i>corr.</i>	correctio, -onis etc., correxit / correxerunt
<i>del.</i>	delevit
<i>gloss.</i>	glossa, -ae etc.
<i>i.e.</i>	id est
<i>interlin.</i>	interlinearis, -e etc.
<i>leg.</i>	legitur / leguntur
<i>lin.</i>	linea, -ae etc.
<i>litt.</i>	littera, -ae etc.
<i>marg.</i>	margo, -inis etc.
<i>om.</i>	omisit, -erunt
<i>p.</i>	pagina, -ae etc.
<i>praem.</i>	praemisit / praemiserunt
<i>r</i>	recto
<i>s.v.</i>	sub voce
<i>scr.</i>	scripsit
<i>v</i>	verso
<i>vid.</i>	videtur

Signa

< >	supplenda
[]	delenda
/	nova columna vel pagina codicis
+	verbum vel verba (quae sequuntur) add.
† †	turbata

5 EDITION 1. The Prologue and Commentary of Ox6: the ‘Alan of Lille tradition’

The prologue *Quoniam . . . tria cantica* and the subsequent commentary on *Ad celebres rex* are found in a commentary collection that is among the oldest texts in the sequence commentary material so far discovered. Besides *Ad celebres rex*, the sequences *Alma chorus Domini* and *Alle caeleste* are also commented upon in this manuscript.¹ The commentary on *Ad celebres rex* belongs to what I have chosen to call the ‘Alan of Lille tradition’ on account of the huge influence exerted on this commentary by the *Expositio prosae de angelis*.²

5.1 MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

Ox6 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 6. 8 (S. C. 8840)³

A miscellany comprising grammatical texts, vocabularies and commentaries.

Date: Late 13th century
Provenance: England
Material: Parchment
Size: 225 x 165 mm.
Folios: i + 69

Contents: fols 1^{ra}–8^{vb}: ‘Preposiciones Grece’. Inc.: ‘Communiter solet dici Grecos esse fontes Latinos autem’
 fols 9^{ra}–12^{vb}: Alexander of Hales: Exoticon. On Greek words in theological texts. Only a part of this work is found in this manuscript; the rest has been bound up in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 92

¹ A presentation and edition of the complete sequence commentary collection in this manuscript are to be found in KIHLMAN (forthcoming 2007).

² For the influence of Alan of Lille’s exposition on other sequence commentaries, see Section 3.2.1 above.

³ This description is based upon information in the *Summary Catalogue* (see the bibliography under S. C.) and my own observations of the manuscript. Reproductions of the manuscript are found as Plate 2 (fol. 62^r) and Plate 3 (fol. 63^v).

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fols 13^{ra}–61^{va}: Osbern of Gloucester: *Liber derivationum* (also known as *Panormia*). Inc.: ‘amo, -as, amavi, amatum’ The second column on fol. 61^v gives miscellaneous grammatical notes

fols 62^{ra}–65^{ra}: A collection of sequence commentaries

fol. 62^{ra}: *Quoniam . . . tria cantica*

fols 63^{va}–65^{ra}: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***

fols 65^{rb}–66^{vb}: The poem ‘Paeniteas cito’ with a commentary and interlinear glosses. Inc.: ‘Peniteas cito peccator cum sit miserator’

fols 67^{ra}–68^{vb}: Grammatical notes. Inc.: ‘Nota quod hec sunt nomina neutri generis qui declinantur tantum in plurali’

The text is written in double columns throughout the volume. The following remarks concern only the sequence commentary on fols 62^{ra}–65^{ra}. The columns comprise 56 lines each except for the last which is 54 lines, written in a small and neat cursive script with *anglicana* features.⁴ The margins are clean and do not display any immediate sign of use, such as added glosses or other marginal notes. There are a few ‘pointing hands’ to certain passages in the text, apparently contemporary with the main text. Concerning the texts edited here, pointing hands are found on fol. 63^{vb} for the explanation and etymology of *symbolum*, on fol. 64^{ra} for the differences between *substantia naturalia* and *substantia accidentalia*, and on fol. 64^{vb} on the etymology of the name Gabriel. Space has been left for initials for the new sections of the text—that is, on fol. 62^{ra} where the prologue begins, fol. 62^{vb} where the second commentary begins, and on fol. 63^{va} where the commentary to *Ad celebres rex* begins—but the initials have not been written in. The lemmata of the sequence are underlined, as are the lemmata of the quotations attributed to John Scottus in the definitions of the concept of hierarchy.

The question of the date of composition for the commentaries on the three sequences included in the collection is complex as there could be a possibility that the texts were composed separately and later copied together in this collection. However, the coherent style of the explanations and the commentary technique together with a cross-reference in the second commentary

⁴ For the *anglicana* script, see PARKES (1969) and DEROLEZ (2003), pp. 134–141.

The Prologue and Commentary of Ox6

pointing forward to the third argue against such a theory.⁵ In the prologue the author quotes verses from John of Garland's *Carmen de Misteriis Ecclesie*, dated to 1245,⁶ which then constitutes a *terminus post quem* for these texts. According to the *Summary Catalogue*, the manuscript has been dated to the end of the thirteenth century, which also seems to agree with the appearance of the script.⁷ Thus, at present it does not seem possible to date the composition of these texts more precisely than to the late thirteenth century.

The sequence commentaries have not previously been treated although their presence in this manuscript is mentioned by Tony Hunt in his masterly *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*.⁸

5.2 ON THE TEXT—THE PROLOGUE *QUONIAM . . . TRIA CANTICA*

The prologue, here entitled *Quoniam . . . tria cantica*, is the only one edited here that does not adhere to the methodological schemata briefly described above.⁹ Instead, this prologue can be said to consist of two parts, each treating a separate theme.

The first part concerns words related to chant and opens with brief definitions of the three terms *canticum*, *iubilus* and *hymnus* (lines 5–8) in wordings similar to those found in Peter Lombard's *Commentarius in psalmos*. These explanations are subsequently summarised in three hexameter lines (lines 9–11) taken from two different passages in Chapter 12 of the *Graecismus*, the versified grammar by Eberhard of Béthune († 1212).¹⁰ Adding a mnemonic verse at the end of an account as a summary is a technique employed by the author throughout the two texts.

⁵ The cross-reference is found on fol. 63^{rb}, which reads: '[. . .] in gloria cherubin et seraphin, hoc est ab illis agminibus angelorum, de quibus tangendum est plenius in cantico sequenti', pointing forward to the commentary on *Ad celebres rex*.

⁶ KÖNSGEN (2004), p. x.

⁷ See Plates 2 and 3. Dr Teresa Webber, Cambridge, has upon inspection of photocopies of the manuscript agreed with this dating, also suggesting the very beginning of the fourteenth century as a possible date (in conversation, Cambridge, July 2004).

⁸ HUNT (1991), vol. 1, p. 380. The other texts in *Ox6* are treated on pp. 296–297, 299, 374 and 379–381. In BURSILL-HALL (1981) all other works in this manuscript are enumerated but the contents of fols 62–67 are passed over in silence. See also note 1.

⁹ See Section 2.2.1.1 above.

¹⁰ See the bibliography under the entry Eberh. Beth., *graecism*.

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The concept of *canticum* is then scrutinised further and four separate meanings of the word are distinguished (lines 12–16). This section draws on the first two paragraphs of Alan of Lille’s *Expositio prosae de angelis*, which, as mentioned earlier, is also the main source for the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* in *Ox6*.¹¹ However, the author seems to have misunderstood Alan’s text, or to have deliberately changed it, as the *Cantica canticorum* in *Ox6* are referred to as being the songs of the people of Israel on leaving Egypt, and thus apparently a representation of the joy of terrestrial beings. In Alan of Lille’s text, in contrast, the Song of Songs is an example of how a *canticum* expresses the exultation of the celestial beings. The two texts nevertheless reach the same conclusion, namely that in this context the correct meaning is the fourth and final one in the account, that it denotes the joy of the mind felt by the heavenly beings.

For the second part of the prologue the commentator leaves Alan of Lille’s *Expositio* as a model and continues instead with a brief account of the four traditional modes of Scriptural interpretation, tacitly borrowing his test-case word ‘Jerusalem’ from John Cassian (†435) (lines 18–23), perhaps mediated through Bede’s (†735) *De schematibus et tropis*, the widespread medieval school-text on the art of rhetoric and interpretation of poetic figures. Again in order to recapitulate and summarise, the explanation concludes with a verse of five lines (lines 24–28) taken from *Carmen de misteriis ecclesiae*, the didactic work by John of Garland mentioned above, which explains in hexameters a whole range of subjects concerning the Christian cult and faith, such as the liturgy of the church, the church year with its feasts, and the symbolic meaning of the church building.¹²

Despite this pedagogical account, these four modes of interpretation are not referred to in the subsequent three commentaries of the collection. However, their inclusion here could function as a way of placing the sequence in a traditional exegetical context, constituting the framework both for the reader and for the interpretations in the commentaries.¹³

¹¹ For a brief account of Alan of Lille’s commentary, see Section 3.2 above.

¹² See the bibliography under the entry Joh. de Garl., *carm. de mist. eccl.* John of Garland was famous for his *ars poetica*, the *Parisiensis poetria*. This work has been edited and translated by LAWLER (1974).

¹³ This account can be compared with the prologues in the ‘Aristotelian tradition’, where the categorisation of the sequence within the discipline of theology is a vital concern. In the prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam* we are likewise presented with an account of the four interpretational modes; see Sections 8.1, 8.2.2, 8.3.2, 8.4.2 and the texts in Edition 4: *Dicit Aristoteles*, Edition 5: *Vir speculativus* and Edition 6: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*.

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5.3 ON THE TEXT—THE COMMENTARY OF O_x6

Although the text in O_x6 draws heavily on Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis* for many of the themes and interpretations in the exposition, his name is never mentioned in the commentary.¹⁴ Despite this great influence of Alan's, the commentary in O_x6 cannot be defined as being merely an abridged version of the *Expositio prosae de angelis*, since it displays certain new and original interpretations as well as examples and additions without counterparts in the model text. The commentary of O_x6 reproduces the digression concerning the celestial hierarchies found in Alan's *Expositio*, albeit in an abbreviated and simplified form, including only two of Alan's five quotations ascribed to John Scottus. John Scottus is also one of the few authorities explicitly referred to in the commentary.¹⁵

In order to show the nature of the differences between the commentary in O_x6 and Alan's exposition, three passages in O_x6 will be compared below with the model text, together with comments made on the words *symbolum*, *verbum* and *agalma* in both texts. First, however, I will make a few remarks concerning the commentary technique used in O_x6 and the variants of the sequence text commented upon.

In *Expositio O_x6* the sequence text is divided into short segments and presented as lemmata to be commented upon in a subsequent paragraph, which generally consists of a paraphrase of the lemma with brief explanations interspersed in the text. Longer comments on grammar and vocabulary and interpretations are placed in immediate conjunction with the word to which they pertain, regardless of how this may affect the syntax of the restructured passage. An example of this can be seen in the comments to the fifth lemma (lines 21–35). Here, the commentator breaks off the paraphrase after 'AGMINA, id est consortia, PNEUMATUM, id est spirituum' in order to comment on the difference between the spellings *pneuma* and *neuma*. In this commentator's characteristic manner, this definition is summarised in a mnemonic verse of two hexameter lines. After the verse the commentator resumes the prose

¹⁴ As mentioned above, only one manuscript, *Up1*, attributes this commentary explicitly to Alan of Lille; see Plate 1. It is therefore possible that the text in some regions circulated as an anonymous treatise.

¹⁵ The others are Ovid, Donatus and, erroneously, Plautus for Terence. The citation is from Terence's *Adelphoe*, but the fact that Plautus is the subject in the preceding clause in the source text could have misled the author. All these references are found in the section on the different meanings of *verbum* (lines 267–274).

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version of the sequence with ‘PER TE, scilicet Dominum, FACTA’ only to break it up again to clarify the differences between *fieri / facere* and *creare*. The commentator then returns to the sequence concluding the whole interpretative section of the strophes with ‘DISTINCTA SUNT, id est divisa, NOVIES, id est per novenarium, quia sunt novem ordines angelorum.’

Towards the end of the commentary this structure seems to be abandoned in favour of lemmata that are incorporated directly into the commentary or the paraphrased text without being recited separately at the beginning, as can be seen for instance in the section beginning with the lemma *vos per aethra* (line 332), followed by comments on the word *aethra*. The rest of this sequence strophe (‘nos per rura dena pars electa harmoniae vota damus hyperlyrica cithara’) is treated in two different ways. The first part is incorporated directly into a paraphrase section with the addition of brief comments (lines 336–338), while the second half is recited as a lemma separated from the subsequent paraphrased version. It is noteworthy that the commentary style employed in this part shows greater similarity with that of Alan of Lille, where the sequence text is not presented separately as lemmata but incorporated directly into the commentary.

The sequence text commented upon in *Ox6* displays the unusual variant ‘per quem letabunda perornantur machina mundi tota’ (line 16) for strophe 5, with the verb in the plural, which, in turn, means that *tota machina mundi* is viewed, not as the subject but as an ablative of attended circumstance (the subject then being *festa* from the preceding strophe). This is not the variant commented upon by Alan, and so the two interpretations of this line differ widely. In view of the fact that this manuscript is likely to have been produced in England, it is noteworthy that the plural *perornantur* is also the variant displayed in the well-known English manuscript, the Winchester troper, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775.¹⁶

¹⁶ The only other manuscript displaying this variant, as reported in the critical apparatus in AH 53, is an eleventh-century troper from Mantua, the manuscript Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, CVII. In spite of the shared reading between *Ox6* and the Oxford Winchester troper it is not possible to establish a firm link between them as there are also a few differences: *plangat* (Bodl. 775) – *pangat* (the standard text; *Ox6* and Verona); *per que* (the standard text; Bodl. 775) – *per quem* (*Ox6* and Verona); *administrancia dena* (Bodl. 775) – *administrancia Deo* (the standard text; *Ox6* and Verona; the remarks here in the critical apparatus of AH 53 regarding Bodl. 775 and the Verona manuscript are faulty); *quo post* (the standard text; Bodl. 775 and Verona) – *ut post* (*Ox6*); *coeva* (the standard text; Bodl. 775 and Verona) – *celesti* (*Ox6*). *Ox6* discusses the alternative reading *verbigenam*, which is the variant displayed by the Oxford manuscript, although the commentator of *Ox6* seems to

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Another peculiar sequence variant presented in the commentary is *seraphin ardencia* (line 241) instead of the standard text *ignicoma*.¹⁷ It is possible that *ardencia*, which in many other commentaries is the standard interpretation of the epithet for the seraphim, is a gloss that at some stage in the tradition of this text has replaced *ignicoma*. In the critical apparatus in AH *ardencia* is not reported as a variant of the sequence text.

We will now proceed with the comparison of excerpts from the commentary of *O_x6* and the corresponding sections in Alan's *Expositio prosae de angelis*, through which both the dependence on Alan's work and the originality of the commentary of *O_x6* will become evident. The first of the three passages to be compared is found at the beginning of the long discussion of the concept of hierarchy using the quotations from John Scottus already referred to, and comprises the definition of the concept itself, which seems to be Alan's own although he is not mentioned by name in the passage in *O_x6* (lines 67–83).¹⁸ The definition in *O_x6* is subsequently scrutinised through a word-by-word examination, the same commentary strategy later used for the definitions attributed to John Scottus.¹⁹ A word from the citation is placed at the beginning of each new sentence, followed by the reason why it is included as part of the definition. This results in a lucid albeit monotonous structure which facilitates an orientation in the text. In the manuscript this is helped further by the fact that the lemmata (both of the sequence and of this and the following defining quotations) are underlined. As will become clear in the comparison below, the words of the definition are more smoothly joined with their explanations in Alan's text. In the following excerpts, similar phrases have been put in bold type-face:

follow the tradition of *terrigenam* (found in other English sources). The Verona manuscript displays the standard text here, which is *verbigena*. Textual variants in the three sequences in *O_x6* shared with other English sources are discussed further in KIHLMAN (forthcoming 2007).

¹⁷ As the author repeats this reading in the commentary section on the lemma, it has not been emended to agree with the standard sequence text, although a remark is made in the critical apparatus.

¹⁸ Expressions conveying the same essence as this definition are found both in Alan's *Summa quoniam homines* (see the bibliography under Alan. Ins., *quoniam homines*) and in his *Hierarchia Alani*, ed. by D'ALVERNY (1965), pp. 223–235.

¹⁹ On these quotations see further DONDAINE (1950) and Section 3.2 above.

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Alan of Lille (page 202)²⁰

Ierarchia est legitimum nature rationalis dominium. Secundum hanc descriptionem ierarchiam attendere possumus in tribus eternis personis, Patre scilicet et Filio et Spiritu sancto, que in creatis retinent principatum; in angelis etiam respectu hominum; in hominibus etiam respectu inferiorum. In predicta autem descriptione nichil superfluum vel diminutum reperitur. Quia sine dominio Ierarchia non est, in Ierarchie descriptione apponitur nota domini; sed quia natura irrationalis, ut **animal brutum** super alia bruta quasi quoddam retinet **dominium**, ubi tamen **ierarchie non** attendimus principatum, conuenienter annectitur ‘nature rationalis’; sed quia natura rationalis, ut homo, frequenter sua tirannide usurpat dominium, merito adiungitur ‘legitimum’.

Expositio Ox6 (lines 68–74)

Gerarchia est legitimum nature racionalis dominium. ‘Dominium’ dicit, quia in nullo loco est cherarchia, nisi sit ibi dominium. ‘Nature rationalis’ dicit, quia **bruta animalia** habent **dominium**, quod **non** dicitur **cherarchia**. ‘Legitimum’ dicit, quia reges et huiusmodi habent potestatem super alios, et hi forcitan non habent legitimum secundum legem.

The abbreviated and less complex style of the text of *Ox6* nevertheless conveys a meaning essentially the same as Alan of Lille’s text. In *Expositio Ox6* we are presented only with the facts necessary for a basic understanding of the definition. There is, for example, no counterpart in *Ox6* to the preliminary remark in Alan’s text on the three spheres of hierarchies or the (superfluous) comment on the consummate wording of the definition. *Ox6* also exhibits a more restricted vocabulary—*principatus*, for instance, is not introduced into the account—and the syntax is likewise kept simple. For example, the difference between brute animals holding power over others by reason of their nature, and humans who have taken it illegitimately and by force, is nuanced by Alan through the use of *retinet* and *usurpat dominium* respectively, whereas in *Ox6*, where clarity seems to be the main priority, the same verb, *habent*, is used throughout (with *dominium* and *potestatem*).

It is also noteworthy that the commentator in *Ox6* seems to have chosen phrases that make it possible to retain the words of the definition in their

²⁰ All excerpts from Alan of Lille’s *Expositio prosae de angelis* are taken from the edition by D’ALVERNY (1965).

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‘original’ form, as can, for instance, be seen with the words *dominium* and *hierarchia*. Alan, in contrast, varies his expressions, using the phrases *sine dominio*, *nota domini*, *in descriptione ierarchie* and *ierarchie principatum*. In the final sentences, *legitimum* is explained through its antonym, an exemplification of power held illegitimately. We may observe that Alan here keeps the phrase *natura rationalis* from the definition as the subject, illustrated with *ut homo*, and adds an ablative, *tyrannide*, to show the nature of the rule. In contrast, the author in *Ox6* does not bring in the already defined phrase *natura rationalis* but states instead the kind of people—*reges* and *huiusmodi* (not simply any *homo*)—who sometimes hold their power contrary to the law.

The next two passages concern the descriptions of the three orders belonging to the middle hierarchy. Again, agreements between the two texts are put in bold type-face.

Alan of Lille (page 211)

PRINCIPANS TURMA, **id est, Principatus**. Hic etiam ordinando ordines spirituum auctor legitimum non tenet ordinem. Tertium enim ordinem tenent Virtutes. Hoc autem usus est ordine, ut sibi euphonius clausule responderetur. Multoties enim auctores, aut ritmi aut **metri necessitate**, preponenda postponunt, et postponenda preponunt.

AC VIRTUS URANICA, id est Virtutes. Ponitur autem hic hoc nomen ‘Virtus’ collectiue in designatione ordinis; potius tamen hoc nomen ‘Virtus’, in designatione unius de ordine quam in significatione totius ordinis sumeretur. ‘Uranica’, id est, celestis, ad differentiam terrestrium virtutum. ‘Ura’ autem interpretatur **ignis**, unde ‘**uranicam**’ proprie dicitur illud quod est **igneum**, quia cum celum ignee nature est, quod celeste est ‘uranicum’ dicitur.

Expositio Ox6 (lines 217–229)

PRINCIPANS TURMA. **Id est principatus**, et est ordo medius in yperphania, et commutatur hic naturalis ordo **causa metri**, ut sepe contingit. Et sciendum, quod ‘turma’ potest dici de racionabilibus tantum; ‘turba’ vero de racionabilibus et irracionabilibus.

VIRTUS URANICA. Hic redit ad primum ordinem ypophanie. ‘**Uranos**’ Grece, ‘**ignis**’ Latine, unde ‘**urantica**’, id est **igneus**, et ponitur singulare pro plurali, quia virtus propter virtutes.

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AC POTESTAS ALMIPHONA, id est, Potestates, qui dicuntur almiphone, quasi **resonantes sancta**, a **'phonos'**, quod **est sonus**, et **'alma'**, quod interpretatur **sancta**. Illi enim spiritus qui huic officio sunt deputati ut aduersas potestates arceant, ne hominibus suggerant maioribus debitam non ex<h>ibere reuerentiam conuenienter, almiphoni dicuntur, quia per suam admonitionem in mentibus hominum alma resonant.

AC POTESTAS ALMIPHONA. Hic est tercius ordo in yperphania, et hic mutatur naturalis ordo ut superius, et ponitur hic singulare pro plurali, quia potestas propter potestates causa metri. ALMIFONA, id est **sacra sonantes**. **'Almum'** enim **sanctum**, **'phonos'** **sonus est**. Et potestates dicuntur eo, quod faciunt nos resistere instigationibus demonum.

Although the number of verbatim correspondences in the excerpts above is limited, the author of *Ox6* nevertheless follows Alan quite closely as regards content, omitting some pieces of information and adding others. The remark that the sequence does not enumerate the angelic troops according to the 'legitimate order', in Alan's words, is retained in the commentary in *Ox6*, although the commentator in *Ox6* is briefer in his remarks. The order of the angels in this account, as mentioned above, follows that of Gregory and not that of Dionysius in spite of the reference to John Scottus.²¹ As for differences in expressions, we may note that the *multotiens* in Alan's text is *sepe* in *Ox6*, the *aut ritmi aut metri necessitate* is rendered *metri causa*, and there is no correspondence in *Ox6* to the chiasmic phrase with *postponere* and *praeponere* in Alan's text. In *Ox6* a *distinctio* is added regarding the differences between the words *turma* and *turba* to which there is no correspondence in Alan's *Expositio*.

The fact that the order is disrupted once again, placing the Powers as the fifth order, is acknowledged only by *Ox6*, as is the repeated usage of the singular number for the plural. The same etymology is given in both texts for *almiphona*. In the explanation of the name of the Powers and its relation to the office of the order, Alan of Lille places equal focus on *almiphona* as on the name 'Powers', maintaining that by sounding holy in the minds of humans, they have the power to hinder harmful spirits, who in turn strive to prevent us from showing proper reverence towards people of higher rank. The *aduersas potestates* in Alan's text seem to have their counterpart in the 'demons' of *Ox6*, whose allurements the Powers help us to resist. Even though the choice of words and

²¹ This is also the case in Alan's text (as well as in the other writers of the Porretan school using these quotations); see also Section 3.2 above.

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emphases diverge, there is agreement between the two authors on the essential part, that this order possesses the capacity to make us resist evil powers.

The last comparison concerns a brief excursus made in connection with the sequence phrase *aram auream*, on the two altars mentioned in Exodus. Agreements are again shown in bold type.

Alan of Lille (page 217)

Nota **in Veteri Testamento** Iudeorum ritibus **duo** deseruisse **altaria**, **altare holocausti** quod **erat sub** diuo **extra templum**, in quo **sacrificabantur animalia**; aliud thimiamatis, quod erat in sanctis sanctorum, in quo offerebatur thimiama. **Per** altare holocausti intelligitur mens hominis, in qua mactando vitia per contritionem quasi animalia immolans homo Deo ad penitentiam offert; per **altare** vero **aureum** in quo thimiama offerebatur, mens hominis in patria habitantis, in qua, **vitiis** expurgata, quasi thimiama offert spiritualem mentis exultationem.

Expositio Ox6 (lines 351–360)

Et sciendum secundum theologos, quod **due** erant **are in veteri testamento**: ara olocausti et ara incensi. **Ara olocausti erat extra templum sub** diem, id est sub aere, ad quam **sacrificabantur animalia**, et **per** illam debemus intelligere mortificationes viciorum in cordibus nostris. Et dicitur olocaustum ab ‘olon’, quod est totum, et ‘causton’, sacrificium vel insensum [*i.e.* incensum], quasi totum insensatum [*i.e.* incensatum]. Alia enim erat ara in templo et dicebatur **ara aurea**, ad quam non licuit sacerdoti accedere nisi semel in anno, et tunc cum odorem et thimiamatibus et huiusmodi, et per illam debemus intelligere corda defecata a **viciis** et Spiritu sancto repleta et illuminata. Et est sensus huius versiculi talis, ut post diem iudicii viciis mortalitatis simus puri et Spiritu sancto illuminati.

The example from the commentary in *Ox6* shows both its dependence on Alan’s *Expositio prosae de angelis* but also its originality in terms of the rewriting, interpreting and structuring of the text. In *Ox6* we note a structure which could perhaps be seen as more pedagogical: the two altars are first mentioned by their names and are thereafter treated successively, the holocaust altar first, with an added etymology, and the incense altar second. The disposition of Alan’s account, however, seems rather to be based on aspect: first the locations of the two altars are treated and thereafter their respective interpretation. Alan’s interpretation of the holocaust altar as the human soul in which man offers his ‘vitia per contritionem . . . Deo ad penitentiam’ is rendered in *Expositio Ox6* as

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the ‘mortificationes viciorum in cordibus nostris’. Alan places the incense altar *in sanctis sanctorum* as does *Ox6*, albeit in using the expression *in templo*.

The second time this altar is mentioned in Alan’s text it is referred to by its alternative name—the golden altar, ‘altare verum aureum in quo thimiama offerebatur’. *Expositio Ox6* also introduces this appellation but names it explicitly ‘alia . . . ara . . . dicebatur ara aurea’. The golden altar is understood in Alan’s text to be the human soul, cleansed from sin—*vitiis expurgata*—which offers spiritual exultation as if it were incense. In *Ox6* the words used are instead *corda*, which are ‘defecata a viciis et Spiritu sancto repleta et illuminata’. In *Ox6* we also find the additional piece of information regarding the restricted access to the golden altar. This is evidently influenced by Exodus 30, 10, where it is said that ‘Aaron shall pray upon the horns thereof [that is, of the incense altar] once a year’, and by the passage in Hebrews 9, 7 where there is a reference to the rites of the old covenant and how the high priest approached the golden altar once a year, not with incense, however, but with redeeming blood. The concluding sentence of this excursus in *Ox6* is a return to the sequence text summarising the meaning of the *versiculus* in one sentence.

As is clear from the three comparisons above, there are apparent differences in literary style, linguistic complexity and expository focus between Alan’s *Expositio prosae de angelis* and the commentary in *Ox6*. Sections of Alan’s text have been omitted both from the commentary proper and from the account of the celestial hierarchy. In the latter part only the definitions of the concept itself, of *ordo* and of *theophania*, are retained in *Ox6*. For the account of the three levels in the theophany, the *epiphania*, the *hyperphania* and the *hypophania*, the commentator in *Ox6* does not retain John Scottus’s definitions as used by Alan, but concentrates solely on the descriptions of the orders in each group and their respective offices. The language and style of *Ox6* is less complex, the vocabulary more basic and the syntax not as demanding as in Alan’s text. The rewritings in *Ox6* produce a commentary clearly based on the *Expositio prosae de angelis* but accommodated and adapted for a less learned audience. This could account for the greater concern for etymologies apparent in the commentary of *Ox6* and for other differences such as in the comments made on the word *verbum*. Here, in connection with the address to Gabriel, both the commentator of *Ox6* and Alan of Lille dwell upon the word and its multiple meanings. Alan provides three profound reasons as to why the Son of God is referred to by this epithet:

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[. . .] qui multiplici de causa Verbum dicitur. Sicut enim prolatibile verbum profertur sine omni demutatione proferentis, sic Filius a Patre gignitur sine omni mutatione gignentis; vel ideo Verbum censetur, quia sicut verbum prolatibile interiorem mentis declarat conceptum, sic Pater quod in sua disposuerat eternitate, per Filium declaravit in tempore; vel ideo dicitur Verbum, quia sicut verbum interius, id est intellectus, procedit a mente, ita Filius per generationem procedit a Patre.²²

The author of *Expositio Ox6*, however, is instead focused on the five meanings of the word as seen in various authors whose works were used in the schools (lines 267–274): it can mean speech, a saying or a phrase as in Plautus,²³ deceit as in Ovid, or it can denote a part of speech as in Donatus. Finally, the commentator provides the understanding of *verbum* in the sequence as the Son, with a quotation of the opening words of the Gospel of St John.

For the interpretation and comments on the word *symbolum* (lines 56–63), the author of the commentary of *Ox6* follows the definition given by Alan of Lille. Both the etymology and the understanding of the word differ from the later commentaries of the ‘Aristotelian tradition’, as we will see below, but they are similar to those found in another Oxford manuscript, the commentary of *Ox1* (Edition 2). The interpretation here draws on the etymology of *bolos* as a portion or a part: the first example offered is that of a common meal where everyone contributes his share, and the second is that of a creed, where several portions of the Christian faith have been compiled. In *Expositio Ox6* the further meanings of *symbolum* as a sign or a mystery are added, whereas Alan instead mentions the symbolic reading of enigmatic passages in literature and Scripture.

Concerning the interpretation of the puzzling word *agalma* in the sequence, many commentaries in this study agree that it should be understood as referring to heaven. However, their opinions as to its original meaning and etymology separate them, as we will see in the expositions to follow. In *Expositio Ox6* we are offered both the interpretation inherited from Alan of Lille—that its proper meaning is ‘sheepfold’—and a definition of the word as a top, summit or a high place (*culmen*), with an etymological analysis dividing the word into *a*, without, *ge*, earth, *almus* and *maneo*, as ‘a holy abode without any earthliness’ (lines 323–329).

²² Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, pp. 213–214.

²³ The quotation is really from Terence’s *Adelphoe*; see also note 15 above.

5.3.3 Textual problems and remarks on the edition

Since *Ox6* is the unique witness to this prologue and commentary, the texts have been edited in accordance with the principles set up for editions of Category 1 texts.²⁴ One of the guiding principles for editions of texts belonging to Category 1 is to retain as far as possible the text as transmitted in the manuscript. If an emendation is deemed necessary, for reasons of grammar, syntax, logic or content, a parallel or a related passage in the text itself should be used as a corrective whenever possible. A few such passages will be discussed here.

The first is found in the analysis of the second quotation from John Scottus and concerns the phrase ‘non ex substanciis geniis’ as it is rendered in the present edition, occurring at lines 125 and 139 in the commentary. In the first instance I have supplied the preposition *ex*, even though it could be silently inferred from the previous clause, since this is the way the phrase appears at line 139 and in the other known sources for this quotation.²⁵

There is, in addition, a more complex problem connected with this phrase. In Alan of Lille’s *Expositio*, as well as in other texts using these definitions,²⁶ the phrase is ‘non ex substantificis geniis’. Elsewhere in these texts, this phrase appears as *per substantifica genia*, which means that these writers must have considered *genia* to be a neuter, not a masculine, noun modified by the adjective *substantificus*. For two reasons I have decided to keep *substanciis geniis* as found in the manuscript in the edition, although it cannot be ruled out with certainty that the variant in *Ox6* ultimately derives from a misunderstanding of the reading *substantificis*. The first reason is that the text as presented is logical and coherent within itself, even if it does not display the same reading or meaning as in its source, Alan’s *Expositio*. The second is that in the subsequent paragraph the author of the commentary of *Ox6* discusses at some length the word *genius* presented as an adjective, which seems to reflect his understanding of the word in the phrase under scrutiny here. A change of *substanciis* to *substantificis* would then result in two adjectival attributes without a noun.

A parallel albeit different case is found earlier in the same section. Here I have emended the simple *substancialis* in the manuscript to *supersubstancialis* (line 126, and again at line 159) in accordance with Alan’s text. However, the reading

²⁴ See Section 4.1.1 above.

²⁵ See Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 205, and the excerpts in DONDAINE (1950).

²⁶ See the excerpts in DONDAINE (1950); see also Section 3.2 above.

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in the *Expositio prosae de angelis* has not been the only motive for the correction; in the subsequent distinction between the two types of *origo* in *Ox6*, at lines 160–163, the word *supersubstantialis* is written out in full and the inference of the distinction is that the author must have intended *supersubstantialis* to be read in the quotation. Hence I have judged *substantialis* as a scribal error and duly emended it.

Such internal evidence drawn from the discussions in the text has also led me to correct the forms *neuma* and *mneuma* to *pneuma* whenever reference is made to the spirits in the commentary (lines 20, 21 and 29), in accordance with the rules set out by the author himself in order to differentiate between the two words.²⁷

At line 295 the text as it stands in the manuscript is not fully comprehensible: *sophia* is explained as ‘sapiencie compar, id est equaliter se habens ad Patrem et ad Filium’. Wisdom is said to be equal both to the Father and to the Son. This does not make sense, as *sophia* is here interpreted as the Son. The explanation would thus make the Son equal to himself. Since a reference to the Holy Spirit is missing from the description of the Trinity, it seems likely that there is a lacuna. As the preceding phrases seem to initiate a certain textual pattern in considering the three persons, first pointing out to whom the text refers, then quoting the sequence text, the following conjecture (here put between angled brackets) has been placed in the critical apparatus to this line:

Et fit mencio de Patre, cum dicitur PER VOS PATRIS; de Filio, cum dicitur EIUSDEM SOPHIA, <id est sapiencia; de Spiritu sancto, cum dicitur COMPAR QUOQUE PNEUMA>, id est sapiencie COMPAR, id est equaliter se habens ad Patrem et ad Filium, quia nulla prerogativa inter tres personas est.

This interpolation would then explain the lacuna as a *saut du même au même* from one instance of *id est sapiencia* to the next (albeit in a different case at the second instance).²⁸

While general rules as regards orthography and spellings in the different editions are set out in Section 4.2.1, I will here add some specific remarks

²⁷ Another instance where the text has been emended on grounds of content and meaning is *vestra* for *nostra* at lines 308 and 322. The *agalmata* cannot be referred to as ‘our’ heavenly abode; it must be ‘yours’, as in the sequence.

²⁸ The corresponding passage in Alan’s *Expositio prosae de angelis* is structured very differently and cannot guide us in this matter, see Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 214.

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concerning solely the editions of the prologue *Quoniam . . . tria cantica* and the *Expositio Ox6*.

The scribe uses the letters *s* and *c* indiscriminately for the *s*-sound, as with the spelling *cedentem* for *sedentem* (line 155) and *insensum* for *incensum* (line 355). The spelling of these words has not been standardised but in order to facilitate the understanding of the text they have been remarked upon in the critical apparatus.

The Latin word for ‘hierarchy’ is rendered as both *cherarchia* and *gerarchia* in the manuscript and, consequently, also in the edition.²⁹

²⁹ The manuscript reading *chererchia* has, in accordance with the editorial principles set up above, 4.2.1, been changed to *cherarchia* in the edition but is remarked upon in the *apparatus criticus*.

EDITION 1: *Quoniam ... tria cantica*

- 62^{ra} Quoniam nostra intencio est exponere ista tria cantica, primo videndum est, quid sit canticum et quid iubilus et quid ymnus. Et postea propter expositionem vocabulorum videndum est, quot modis exponatur sacra scriptura.
- Ad primum dicendum est, quod canticum est exultacio mentis exterius in vocem prorumpens. Iubilus est exultacio mentis propter Deum, quia ex verbis exprimi omnino non potest nec omnino in corde taceri. Ymnus est laus Dei cum cantico facta, unde versus:
- Ymnus divina laus est; sunt cantica voces
leticie, que fiunt simul de celestibus ipsis.
Fertur inpleta iubilus letacio mentis.
- Item ‘canticum’ pluribus modis accipitur. Dicitur autem quandoque applausus, qui fit ad laudem alicuius divitis; quandoque autem est leticia de terrenis habita; quandoque autem cantus ille, quem fecerunt filii Israelis, quando redierunt de servitute, unde Cantica Canticorum; quandoque autem canticum est mentale gaudium, quod fit de supercelestibus, et ita accipitur hic.
- Ad secundum dicitur, quod quattuor modis exponitur sacra scriptura, scilicet hystorice, allegorice, tropologice, anagogice; hystorice, ut cum narramus rem, prout gesta est, ut Ierusalem est civitas terrena; allegorice, ut quando per unum aliud intelligimus vel significamus, ut per Ierusalem ecclesiam significamus; anagogice, ut per hoc, quod dictum est vel factum, celestia significamus, ut

1 ista ... cantica] *scilicet ‘Alma chorus Domini’, ‘Alle caeleste’ et ‘Ad celebres rex’.* **5** canticum ... 6 prorumpens] *cfr Petr. Lomb., psalm. praefatio, PL 191, 58a.* **6** iubilus ... 7 taceri] *cfr Petr. Lomb., psalm. 46, PL 191, 456a.* **7** Ymnus ... 8 cantico] *cfr Aug., in psalm. 148, 17; cfr etiam Petr. Lomb., psalm. praefatio, PL 191, 58a.* **9** Ymnus ... 10 ipsis] *cfr Eberb. Beth., graecism. 12, 235–236.* **11** Fertur ... mentis] *cfr Eberb. Beth., graecism. 12, 438.* **12** Item ... 16 hic] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 194.* **19** Ierusalem ... 23 fortis] *cfr Cassian., coll. 14, 8, 4.*

Fons textus: O×6

1 Quoniam *litt. prima scripta est in marg., sed spatium litterae praebet cod.* **3** exponatur] *exponitur cod.* **7** exprimi + non *ante corr.* **16** supercelestibus] *supra celestibus cod.*

EDITION 1

Ierusalem est patria summa; tropologice, quando, quod dictum est, convertimus in mores, ut Ierusalem est mens fortis, unde versus:

- 25 Quadruplex sensus dici valet. Ystorialis
 est unus, sequitur post allegoria, sequenter
 est tropologia, dicetur post anagoge.
 Sicut Ierusalem polis est terrena, fidelis
 constans ecclesia, mens fortis, patria summa.
 Et cetera.
- 30 Hiis visis accedimus ad litteram.

24 Quadruplex ... 28 summa] *Job. de Garl., carm. de mist. eccl. 225–229.*

23 in + vel ad *supra lin. add. cod.* **25** sequenter *cum Job. de Garl. scripsi, sequeter cod.*

EDITION 1: *Expositio Ox6*

63^{va} AD CELEBRES, REX CELICE, LAUDES CUNCTA PANGAT NUNC CANORA CATERVA
SIMPHONIA

Construe sic: o REX CELICE, CATERVA CUNCTA, tam homines quam angeli,
PANGAT, id est canat, NUNC CANORA SIMPHONIA, id est sonora vocum
concordia, que est mentis et oris, vel illa concordia, que est inter sonos plurium 5
personarum. Et differt simphonia et armonia, quia armonia est vocis
modulacio; simphonia modulacionis temperamentum, sive sit in voce sive sit in
plausu. AD CELEBRES LAUDES, id est ad festivas laudes.

ODAS ATQUE SOLVAT CONCIO TIBI NOSTRA

ATQUE pro et, et NOSTRA CONCIO, id est convocacio, SOLVAT, id est quasi 10
debitum reddat, ODAS, id est laudes vel cantus, TIBI, hoc est ad honorem tuum.

CUM IAM RENOVANTUR MICHAELIS INCLITA VALDE FESTA

CUM VALDE INCLITA FESTA, id est valde gloriosa festa, MICHAELIS, scilicet
archangeli, RENOVANTUR IAM, id est annuatim quadam renovacione
celebrantur. 15

PER QUEM LETABUNDA PERORNANTUR MACHINA MUNDI TOTA

PER QUEM, scilicet Michaellem, PERORNANTUR, id est bene ornantur,
LETABUNDA, id est illa festa quadam leticia habundanter celebrata, TOTA
MACHINA MUNDI, id est cum omni illo, quod continetur sub firmamento.

NOVIES DISTINCTA PNEUMATUM SUNT AGMINA PER TE FACTA 20

4 sonora ... 6 personarum] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 196–197.*

1 ante AD spatium litterae initialis praebet cod. 7 temperamentum] teperamentum cod.
14 quadam] qua cod. 20 pneumatum] mneumatum cod.; *cf. lin. 23–24*

EDITION 1

AGMINA, id est consorcia, PNEUMATUM, id est spirituum. Et sciendum, quod hoc nomen ‘neuma’ duplicem habet acceptionem, et potest cognosci in scriptione. Quandoque autem debet scribi per ‘p’ et ‘n’ et tunc significat spiritum, secundum quod hic accipitur. Quandoque autem scribitur per ‘m’ et
 25 ‘n’ vel per ‘n’ tantum, et protendit iubilum, qui fit post antifonam. Qui quidem iubilus non potest exprimi corde et ore sed sono tantum et fit ad designandum celeste gaudium, quod non potest demonstrari corde et ore pre eius magnitudine sed sono vel intellectu tantum, unde versus:

30 Terna dat ‘hoc pneuma’ cum ‘p’ pro flamine sacro.
 Prima dat ‘hec’ sine ‘p’ pro cantu, ternaque neutrum.

PER TE, scilicet Dominum, FACTA. Inproprie utitur vocabulo ‘facta’, quia aliud est fieri et aliud est creari. Fieri enim est facere vel factum esse aliquid ex preiacenti materia; creare est aliquid facere sine preiacenti materia, secundum quod Deus creavit angelos sine preiacenti materia. DISTINCTA SUNT, id est
 35 divisa, NOVIES, id est per novenarium, quia novem sunt / ordines angelorum. 63^{vb}

Nam, CUM VIS, FACIS HEC FLAMMEA PER ANGELICAS OFFICINAS

Nam, CUM VIS, FACIS HEC FLAMMEA, id est per angelicum officium, hoc est quandoque nunciat hominibus; vel aliter: FLAMMEA, id est ignea propter ardorem caritatis, quem predicant hominibus.

40 INTER PRIMEVA SUNT HEC, NAM CREATA TUA, CUM SUMUS NOS ULTIMA
 FACTURA SED YMAGO TUA

Hic ostendit quod quodammodo sancti angeli antiquiores hominibus, unde dicitur: *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram*. Per ‘celum’ intellige celestia, per

21 Et ... 25 antifonam] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 198.* 25 Qui ... 28 tantum] *cfr Petr. Lomb., psalm. 46, PL 191, 456a.* 29 Terna ... 30 neutrum] *versus non inveni.* 31 Inproprie ... 34 materia] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 198; cfr etiam Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 1, 2.* 37 Nam ... 39 hominibus] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 198.* 43 In ... terram] *Gn. 1, 1.*

21 pneumatum] *neumatum cod.; cfr lin. 23–24* 23 autem *ut vid.* | *et¹ bis ser. cod. ante corr.*
 24 Quandoque] *quando cod.* 26 fit] *sic cod.* 28 magnitudine] *magnitudinem cod.* 29 Terna *subauditur* *declinatio* | *pneuma] neuma cod.* 30 Prima *subauditur* *declinatio* | *ternaque subauditur* *declinatio* 34 Distincta] *distincta cod.* 36 Nam] *sed expectes*

Expositio O×6

‘terram’ terestria, et sic quandam prioritatem habent angeli ante homines. NAM
HEC, suple agmina angelorum, SUNT CREATA TUA, id est tue creature. INTER 45
PRIMEVA SUNT CREATA TUA, id est primo evo creata, CUM NOS SUMUS FACTURA
TUA ULTIMA SED YMAGO TUA. YMAGO, quia nos imitamur Deum in iusticiam et
sapienciam et prudenciam, quia ipse iustus est et iusticia, sic et nos iusti per
iusticiam. Similitudo est in liniamentis corporis, et ymago est quantum ad
animam, similitudo quantum ad corpus. 50

THEOLOGA CATEGORIZENT SIMBOLA HEC TER TRIPARTITA PER PRIVATA
officina

HEC, scilicet agmina angelorum, TER TRIPARTITA, id est per novenarium
disposita, PER PRIVATA officina, id est per propria officia, CATEGORIZENT, id
est predicant, THEOLOGA SIMBOLA, id est divina misteria. 55

Et notandum, quod symbolum dupliciter accipitur. Quandoque enim idem est
quod communis comporcio ut in convivio, et dicitur a ‘sin’, quod est con, et
‘bolos’, porcio. Similiter symbolum dicitur dominica oracio et ‘Credo’ et illud
testimonium, quod dicitur ‘Quicumque vult’, ubi est collexcio plurium
articulorum Christiane fidei, unde ‘symbolum’ secundum quosdam interpretatur 60
collexcio. Item ‘symbolum’ aliquando sumitur pro misterio, unde interpretatur
singnum, et ita hic accipitur, quia angeli nunciant divina misteria, quia ea sepe
ministrant et alia signant.

PLEBS ANGELICA, PHALANX ET ARCHANGELICA, <PRINCIPANS TURMA>,
VIRTUS URANICA AC POTESTAS ALMIPHONA, DOMINANCIA NUMINA, DIVINA et 65
SUBCELLIA, CHERUBIN ETHEREA AC SERAPHIN ardencia

Quia in sequencia fiet mencio de gerarchia, ideo videndum est, quid sit
gerarchia, et unde dicatur, et quot species habeat: Gerarchia est legitimum
nature rationalis dominium.

56 Quandoque ... 61 collexcio] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 200–201.* 61 symbolum ...
62 singnum] *cfr Isid., orig. 6, 19, 57; cfr etiam Alan. Ins., dist. PL 210, 964c.* 67 Quia ... 83 rura]
cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 202–203.

44 quandam prioritatem] quemdam preornat *cod. ut vid.* 47 Ymago] ultima *cod.*
49 liniamentis] liniametis *cod.* 51 ter *in marg.* 52 officina] officia *exspectes* 58 et¹] scilicet *cod.*
60 Christiane] christiani *cod.* 64 principans turma *supplevi; cfr lin. 217* 66 ardencia] ignicoma
exspectes 67 fiet] fiot *cod., ut vid.* 69 dominium *cum Alan. Ins. scripsi, dominetur cod.*

EDITION 1

70 'Dominium' dicit, quia in nullo loco est cherarchia, nisi sit ibi dominium.
 'Nature rationalis' dicit, quia bruta animalia habent dominium, quod non dicitur cherarchia.

'Legitimum' dicit, quia reges et huiusmodi habent potestatem super alios, et hi forsitam non habent legitimam secundum legem. Et dicitur a 'chere', quod
 75 est sacer, et 'arcos', quod est principatus sive dominium.

Cherarchia vero dividitur in tres species, scilicet in supercelestem et celestem et subcelestem. Supercelestis cherarchia est summe trinitatis ypostaseos monarchia, et est ypostasis idem quod substantia. Celestis vero cherarchia est ordo angelicus, qui dividitur in ix ordines; subcelestis cherarchia ut apostolatus,
 80 archiepiscopatus et huiusmodi. De supercelesti cherarchia dicit mencionem faciendo, ubi dicitur: PER VOS PATRIS CUNCTA. De celesti cherarchia tangit, ubi dicitur: VOS PER ETHRA. De subcelesti cherarchia tangit, ubi dicitur: NOS PER RURA.

Sed quia dictum est, quod celestis cherarchia dividitur in ix ordines, ideo
 85 videndum est, quid sit ordo, vel quare dicatur ordo, et in quot species habeat dividi.

Ordo angelicus est, ut ait magister Iohannes Scotus, [est] caractere theophanie simplicis et non ymaginarie et reciproce uniformis scilicet spirituum insignita multitudo. Sed videndum, quid quodlibet membrum in hac
 90 descriptione positum operetur.

'Multitudo' apponitur, quia ordo angelicus non potest esse, nisi ibi sit multitudo.

'Spirituum' apponitur ad differentiam hominum, quia sepe homines contemplantur / ipsum creatorem per creaturas ipsas.

95 'Insignita caractere' quasi quodammodo sigillata signo. Caracter enim idem est quod signum.

'Theophanie' apponitur et dicitur a 'theos', Deus, et 'phanos', visio sive contemplacio, quasi Dei visio.

64^{ra}

84 Sed ... 122 presencialiter] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 203–204.*

70 Dominium *ut vid.* | in *supra lin.* | nullo *ex illo corr. cod., ut vid.* | cherarchia] cherachia *cod.*
 72 cherarchia] cherachia *cod.* 74 legitimam *ex legitimum corr. cod., ut vid.* 76 Cherarchia] cherachia *cod.* 77 cherarchia] cherachia *cod.* | ypostaseos *cum Alan. Ins. scripsi, apostacios cod.*
 78 ypostasis] apostasis *cod.* 81 Patris] patres *cod.; cfr lin. 291* 82 ethra] ethera *cod.; cfr lin. 333–334* | subcelesti *ex subcelestia corr. cod.* | nos] vos *cod.; cfr lin. 336* 87 est² *delevi*
 88 theophanie] theophonie *cod.* | scilicet *ut vid.* 89 quid] quod *cod.; cfr lin. 127* 95 caractere] carectere *cod. post corr. ex cacarectere* 97 Theophanie] theophonie *cod.*

Expositio Ox6

‘Simplicis’ apponitur ad differentiam composite contemplacionis, quia quedam contemplacio est simplex, quedam composita. Composita contemplacio in duas dividitur species: in contemplacionem secundum sensum et contemplacionem secundum rationem. Secundum sensum fit contemplacio, quando contemplamur Deum creatorem per ipsas creaturas, id est per solem et lunam et stellas et huiusmodi. Secundum rationem fit contemplacio, quando nos contemplamur coherenciam inter materiam et formam, unde scimus, quod admisit materiam et formam, et hec contemplacio est composita. Simplex contemplacio est, que fit inter angelos, quia contemplantur Deum, prout est in maiestate sua et non per aliquas creaturas.

‘Non ymaginarie’ apponitur, quia <quedam> contemplacio est ymaginaria, quedam non ymaginaria. Ymaginaria est illa, que fit per potenciam et sapienciam et bonitatem Dei. Potencia est ipse Deus Pater. Sapiencia est Filius Dei. Bonitas est Spiritus sanctus. Per potenciam prospicimus ipsas res excistere, per sapienciam illarum ordinacionem, per bonitatem illarum divisionem, id est suum esse, quo excistunt. Et sic ymaginarie contemplamur, unde dicitur: *Per speculum videmus in enigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem. Ex parte enim cognoscimus et ex parte prophetamus*. Non ymaginaria est illa, que fit inter angelos, quia angeli vident creatorem facie ad faciem et non per aliquam ymaginem.

‘Reciproce’ apponitur et tractum est a ‘speculo’, quia, sicut radii visuales exeunt ab oculo ad discernendam formam illius et postea redeunt ad ipsam rem, sic angeli vident Deum et in hoc, quod vident ipsum, vident seipsos.

‘Uniformis’ apponitur, ne putaret aliquis, quod omnes angeli non viderent ipsum creatorem uniformiter, quamvis non omnes eque presencialiter.

Et sic habemus, quid singula membra operentur in hac descriptione.

Sed, ne videatur ignotum per ignosius exponere, ideo videndum est, quid sit theophania. Et est theophania ex consequentibus signis, non <ex> substanciis geniis, mentibus ab ymaginacionibus defecatis, supersubstantialis originis pura et reciproca manifestacio. Unde videndum, quid sic singulum positum in hac descriptione operetur.

114 Per ... 115 faciem] *cf* 1 Cor. 13, 12. 115 Ex ... 116 prophetamus] 1 Cor. 13, 9. 124 Sed ... 165 est] *cf* Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 204–206.

107 quia *supra* lin. 109 ymaginarie] ymaginaria *cod.* | quedam *supplevi* 118 speculo *ut vid.* 122 presencialiter] presenciaria *cod.* 123 quid] quod *cod.*; *cf* lin. 127 124 videatur] videtur *ex* videntur *corr. cod.* | ignosius *i.e.* ignotius 125 theophania¹] theophonia *cod.* | theophania²] theophonia *cod.* | *ex*² *cum* Alan. Ins. *supplevi*; *cf* lin. 139 126 supersubstantialis *cum* Alan. Ins. *scripsi*, substancialis *cod.*; *cf* lin. 161–163 127 positum] pōnum *cod.*

EDITION 1

130 'Manifestacio' apponitur, quia ubi est theophania, ibi est manifestacio, sed non e converso.

135 'Ex consequentibus signis' apponitur, quia quedam manifestacio fit ex consequentibus signis et quedam non ex consequentibus signis, quia quandoque cognoscimus causam per effectum, quandoque effectum per causam. Per effectum cognoscimus, ut quando videmus solem pati eclipsim, tunc scimus, quod luna interponitur nobis et soli; effectum per causam, ut quando videmus aliquid habere pulmonem, per hoc scimus esse spirabile, quia pulmo est causa inspiracionis et respiracionis. Non ex singnis consequentibus fit illa manifestacio, quamvis videamus aliquid fieri in illa signis consequentibus.

140 'Non ex substanciis geniis' apponitur. Genius enim dicitur deus nature et inde dicitur 'genius, -a, -um', id est naturale, et 'Genesis' liber de natura, unde substancia genia, id est substancia naturalia. Et notandum, quod quedam naturalia sunt accidentalialia, quedam substancialia. Naturalia accidentalialia sunt ipsa propria ut risibile et huiusmodi. Naturalia substancialia sunt ut substanciales differencie ut racionalitas et huiusmodi.

145 Item notandum, quod est differencia inter theophaniam theologie et theophaniam phicise. Theophania theologie ascendit a sensu ad intelligenciam. Theophania phicise decendit ab intelligencia ad sensum. Verbi gratia: Phisicus discernit proprium esse / piperis desiccare, et sic habet intelligenciam sensus, quod calide nature est, et sic apponit differenciam herbis suis. Sed tali modo non debemus Deum contemplari per substanciales differencias aliquas, quia nihil in Deo est, quod non sit Deus. Non opponitur.

150 'Non ex substanciis geniis, mentibus ab ymaginacionibus defecatis' apponitur ad removendam quorundam opinionem, qui dicebantur antropomorfitate, qui contemplari Deum solebant secundum liniamenta corporis, scilicet magnum et cedentem in cathedra, vallatum exercitibus angelorum. Sed non debemus sic Deum contemplari ex liniamentis corporis sed quodammodo simpliciter et sine omni compositione, et ideo dicitur 'mentibus ab ymaginacione defecatis', id est depuratis.

64^b

143 propria ... risibile] *cf* Boeth., *Porph. isag.*, p. 7.

129 theophania] theophonia *cod.* 137 et + non *ante corr.* | respiracionis] respiciens *cod.*
 138 quamvis videamus] quando videmus *cod.* | illa *ut vid.* 145 differencia *ex* differenciam
corr. cod. | theophaniam] theophoniam *cod.* 146 theophaniam] theophoniam *cod.* | phicise *i.e.*
 physice | Theophania] theophonia *cod.* | theologie] theologice *cod.* | sensu] ssensu *cod.*
 147 decendit *i.e.* descendit 150 differencias *ex* differenciasi *corr. cod.* 152 substanciis]
 substanci *cod.*; *cf* *lin. 125* | defecatis] defecatas *cod.*, *ut vid.*; *cf* *lin. 126* 153 antropomorfitate]
 antropomorfanice *cod.* 155 cedentem *i.e.* sedentem

Expositio Ox6

‘Supersubstantialis originis’ apponitur, quia quedam origo est substantialis, quedam supersubstantialis. Origo substantialis est causa materialis et causa formalis et huiusmodi. Origo supersubstantialis est illa, a qua omnis origo sumit originem, que est causa causalissima omnium rerum, id est ipse Deus, et ideo hoc apponitur. 160

‘Pura’ apponitur, quia omnis manifestacio, que est de Deo, debet esse pura, immo purissima et reciproca, ut superius dictum est. 165

Et sic habemus, quid sit theophania et ita sic dictum est. De cherarchia tractat magister Iohannes Scotus in quadam summa, quam composuit.

Theophania autem in tres partes sive species dividitur: in epiphaniam, in yperfaniam et ypofaniam.

Epifania dicitur ab ‘epi’, quod est super, et ‘fanos’, visio, quasi superior Dei visio. In epifania autem continentur tres ordines spirituum. Primus dicitur ceraphin, secundus cherubin, tercius dicitur troni. Seraphin dicitur ardens, quia spiritus in illo ordine infundunt cordibus hominum ardorem et amorem caritatis. Cherubin dicitur plenitudo sciencie, quia illi spiritus, qui in illo ordine sunt, plenitudinem sciencie Dei ministrant mentibus hominum. Et notandum, quod, licet sciencia Dei superior sit quam amor Dei, tamen amor prius est, quia dicitur: Seraphim fructuosior est. Troni dicuntur propter dignitates, quas habent, scilicet quod suggerunt hominibus discrecionem discernendi bonum a malo et e converso. 170 175

Item in yperphania continentur tres ordines. Primus est, qui dicitur dominaciones, secundus principatus, tercius potestates. Et dicitur yperphania ab ‘yper’, quod est inter, et ‘phanos’, visio, quasi media visio, quia spiritus, qui in illa continentur, sunt inferiores respectu superiorum et superiores respectu inferiorum. Dominaciones dicuntur, quia ministrant hominibus quandam subieccionem habere ipsi creatori. Principatus dicuntur eo, quod ostendunt hominibus reverenciam illius Domini, quam debent Deo exhibere. Potestates dicuntur eo, quod habent potestates claudi illas insidias, quas inmundi spiritus instigant hominibus. 180 185

167 quadam summa] *vide Dondaine (1950)*. 168 Theophania ... 199 nuncius²] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 206–210*. 177 Seraphim ... est] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 208*.

159 Supersubstantialis *cum Alan. Ins. scripsi, substantialis cod.; cf. etiam lin. 161–163*
162 causalissima] *casualissima cod.* 166 cherarchia] *chererchia cod.* 167 Scotus] *scetus cod. ut vid.* 168 Theophania] *theophonia cod.* 170 fanos] *fonos cod., sed cf. lin. 182* 171 autem *ut vid.* | continentur *ex continentre (ut vid.) corr. cod.* 177 Seraphim *ut vid.* | quas] *quam cod.*
178 hominibus] *homines cod.* 180 yperphania] *eperphania cod.*

EDITION 1

Item in ypophania continentur tres ordines spirituum. Et dicitur ypophania
 190 ab ‘ypos’, sub, et ‘phanos’, visio, quasi subterior Dei visio. Primus ordo est
 virtutes, secundus archangeli, tercius angeli. Virtutes dicuntur eo, quod per
 ipsos spiritus Deus facit miracula in suis creaturis, ut cecum videre vel
 huiusmodi, quia, licet philosophi non admittant Deum aliquid facere contra
 naturam, admittimus, cum contra naturam esset, ut cecus postea videat.
 195 Archangeli dicuntur spiritus illi, qui magna nunciant, quasi principales vel
 summi nuncii, quia per illos nunciantur hominibus magna et maxima. Angeli
 dicuntur alii spiritus, qui minima nunciant hominibus, et dicitur ab ‘an’, quasi
 quod est sursum, et ‘gelos’, missus, quasi desuper missus. /Archangelus dicitur 64^{va}
 ab ‘arcos’, princeps, et ‘angelus’, nuncius, quasi principalis nuncius. Et sic patet,
 200 quod ix sunt ordines spirituum, quod patet per hos versus:

Spirituum regnat in celis ordo novenus.
 Angelus est primus, archangelus estque secundus.
 Tercius est tronus, dominacio cui sociatur,
 virtus huic, ordo princeps, exinde potestas,
 205 octavus cherubin, ceraphin cedet ordo novenus.

Redeamus ad litteram.

PLEBS ANGELICA

Hic fit mencio de tercio ordine, qui fit in ypophania. Et nota, quod proprie
 plebs est collexcio multorum hominum et ponitur hic transsumptive ad
 210 significandum infimum ordinem angelorum propter excellenciam aliorum
 ordinum. Ita dico, si aliquis sit alcior alio, quamvis sit propinquior Deo, et sic
 incipitur a novissimo gradu assendendo.

PHALANX ET ARCHANGELICA

192 cecum videre] *cfr Tb. 11; Mt. 9, 27–31; Mt. 20, 29–34; Mc. 8, 22–26; Lc. 18, 35–43; Io. 9.*

201 Spirituum ... 205 novenus] *versus non inveni sed de ordine angelorum vide Isid., orig. 7, 5, 4.*

189 ypophania¹] ypophonia *cod.* | ypophania²] pophonia *cod.* 190 phanos] phonos *cod.*

192 ipsos] ipsas *cod.* 194 admittimus *ex* admittamus *corr. cod., ut vid.* | esset] esse *cod.* | ut

cecus *bis scr. cod.* 195 quasi] quod *cod.* 203 sociatur *i.e.* sociatur 205 cedet *i.e.* sedet

208 ypophania] ypihania *cod.* 212 assendendo *i.e.* ascendendo

Expositio Ox6

Nota, quod proprie ‘phalanx, -gis’, est exercitus equitum, et hic transsumitur ad significandum ordinem archangelorum propter excellenciam, quam habent super angelos, sicut equites super pedites. 215

PRINCIPANS TURMA

Id est principatus, et est ordo medius in yperphania, et commutatur hic naturalis ordo causa metri, ut sepe contingit. Et sciendum, quod ‘turma’ potest dici de racionabilibus tantum; ‘turba’ vero de racionabilibus et irracionabilibus. 220

VIRTUS URANICA

Hic redit ad primum ordinem ypophanie. ‘Uranos’ Grece, ‘ignis’ Latine, unde ‘uranica’, id est ignea, et ponitur singulare pro plurali, quia virtus propter virtutes.

AC POTESTAS ALMIPHONA 225

Hic est tercius ordo in yperphania, et hic mutatur naturalis ordo ut superius, et ponitur hic singulare pro plurali, quia potestas propter potestates causa metri. ALMIPHONA, id est sacra sonantes. ‘Almum’ enim sanctum, ‘phonos’ sonus est. Et potestates dicuntur eo, quod faciunt nos resistere instigacionibus demonum.

DOMINANCIA NUMINA 230

Id est dominaciones. Hic redit ad naturalem ordinem, et est primus ordo in yperphania.

DIVINAQUE SUBCELLIA

Id est troni. Hic est tercius ordo in epiphania. Et sunt subcellia cedes iudicum proprie sicut troni, et dicitur de ‘sub’ et ‘cella’, quod est diminutivum de ‘cedes’ et dicitur cella quasi cedella. 235

217 Principans] principatus *cod.* 218 yperphania] ypiphanian *cod.*; *cf. lin. 181* | commutatur *ut vid.* 220 racionabilibus¹] racionalibus *cod.* 223 plurali + quia potestas propter potestates causa metri *ante corr.* 226 yperphania] ypophania *cod.*; *cf. lin. 181* 232 yperphania] ypophania *cod.*; *cf. lin. 180–181* 233 subcellia *i.e.* subsellia 234 epiphania *ex* ephiphania *corr. cod.* | subcellia *i.e.* subsellia | cedes *i.e.* sedes 235 cella *i.e.* sella | diminutivum *ut vid.* | cedes *i.e.* sedes 236 cella *i.e.* sella | cedella *i.e.* sedella

EDITION 1

CHERUBIN ETHEREA

Hic est secundus ordo in epiphania. ETHEREA dicit, quia ether est limpidus et
240 clarior ceteris corporibus, et sic ponitur ad significandam claritudinem et
cinceritatem sciencie Dei.

Et SERAPHIN ardencia

Hic est primus ordo in epiphania. Ardencia dicit eo, quod ille ordo, qui dicitur
seraphin, infundit cordibus hominum ardorem caritatis.

245 Et notandum, quod aliud est cherubin, et aliud est cherubim, et aliud est
cherub. 'Cherubin' enim scriptum per 'n' significat illam multitudinem, que est
in illo ordine, et est neutri generis et pluralis numeri. 'Cherubim' vero scriptum
per 'm' significat aliquos de illa multitudine ut duos vel tres, et etiam est pluralis
numeri et masculini generis. 'Cherub' autem significat unum de multitudine.
250 Similiter dicendum est de differentia inter seraphin, seraphim et seraf.
'Seraphin' est ipsa multitudo, 'seraphim' aliqui de multitudine, 'seraf' unus de
multitudine. Aliter tamen dicunt quidam, quod 'cherubin' ponitur pro
multitudine et 'cherubim' pro uno multitudinis, et opponunt ita in hoc versu:

-N corus angelicus, ast -m tenet angelus unus.

255 Sed tunc non liquet, quid est cherub. Ideo dicunt alii, quod 'cherub' et 'seraf'
sunt nomina angelorum, 'cherubin' et 'seraphin' eorum multitudo.

Postea facit mencionem determinate de quibusdam spiritibus, scilicet angelis, / 64^{vb}
dicens:

O VOS, MICHAEL, CELI SATRAPA

260 Et interpretatur MICHAEL quis ut Deus, vel dicitur a 'mico, -cas' et 'el', quod est
Deus, quasi micans ante Deum. SATRAPHA, id est principans vel princeps vel id

244 Et ... 251 multitudine] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 212.* 246 Cherubim ... 248
generis] *cfr Hier., in Is. 1, 2 PL 24, 25b.* 253 -N ... unus] *versum non inveni, sed cfr Expositio KJ4,*
lin. 154. 259 Michael ... Deus] *cfr Hier., nom. hebr., p. 82, lin. 7-8.*

239 clarior] *clarius cod.* 241 ardencia] *ignicoma exspectes* 256 quibusdam] *quibus cod.*

Expositio Ox6

est nuncius. Et dicitur 'satrapa' quasi satis paratus vel apprensus, unde 'satrapeia', id est principatus vel nunciatio. CELI, id est celestis regni.

GABRIELQUE VERA DANS VERBI NUNCIA

GABRIEL dicitur a 'gabri', quod est fortis, et 'el', quod est Deus, quasi fortitudo Dei, vel dicitur Gabriel ethimologice quasi Gerens Ave Beate Reatum Illicitum Eve Lavanti. DANS VERA NUNCIA VERBI, id est Filii. 265

Et notandum, quod 'verbum' quinque modis accipitur. Quandoque idem est quod dicio, unde Plautus: Verbum de verbo extulit. Quandoque pro sermone, unde est: Sis stabilis verbo. Quandoque ponitur pro deceptione, unde Ovidius: Verba dat omnis amans. Quandoque pro una parte oracionis, sicut ponit Donatus. Quandoque ponitur pro Filio, unde illud: *Verbum caro factum est*, et ita accipitur hic. VERBI, id est Filii, et hac ratione, quia, sicut verbum est interpret cordis, sic Dei Filius est interpret Patris ad homines. Filius semper erat apud Patrem, unde in evangelio: *In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud Deum*. 270

ATQUE RAPHAEL, VITE VERNULA 275

RAPHAEL interpretatur medicina Dei. VERNULA, id est diminutivum de 'verna', id est cliens. VITE, id est salutis.

NOS TRANSFERTE INTER PARADISICOLAS

Id est colentes paradisum.

Et notandum, quod super hiis nominibus, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, duplex est opinio. Quidam enim dicunt, quod sunt nomina officiorum, et quandoque alicui permittitur spiritui potestas fortitudinis, tunc potest dici Michael, ut quando 280

264 fortitudo Dei] *cf. Hier., nom. hebr., p. 140, lin. 24.* 268 Verbum ... extulit] *cf. Ter., Ad. lin. 11.* 269 stabilis verbo] *cf. Guill. Tyr., hist. rer. transm. PL 201, 437d.* 270 Verba ... amans] *cf. Ov., rem. lin. 95.* | ponit Donatus] *cf. Don., min. 1.* 271 Verbum ... est] *Io. 1, 14.* 274 In ... Deum] *Io. 1, 1.* 276 Raphael ... Dei] *cf. Hier., in Dan. 2, 930-931.* 280 Et ... 289 angelorum] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 212-213.* 281 Quidam ... 289 angelorum] *cf. Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 10, 2.* 282 quando ... 284 complices] *cf. Apoc. 12, 7-9.*

265 Gerens ... 266 Lavanti *i.e. nomen Gabriel* 268 Plautus *ut vid.* 270 dat *ex tat corr. cod., ut vid.* 275 Raphael *ex Gabriel corr. cod.* 276 est + dei nuncius *ante corr.* 281 enim *ut vid.* 282 spiritui] *spiritum cod.*

EDITION 1

pugnavit cum dracone et expulit eum de terra et similiter in die iudicii detrudet
eum in infernum et suos complices. Similiter quando alicui spiritui permittitur
285 potestas nunciandi, tunc potest dici Gabriel, unde illud: *Missus est Gabriel* ad
Mariam et ad Annam et ad Ioachim et ad Zachariam. Item quandoque alicui
spiritui permittitur potestas medendi, tunc potest dici Raphael, sicut ad
Thobiam et ad Iob missus est Raphael. Quidam autem dicunt, quod sunt
290 nomina propria angelorum. Sed utrum sic vel sic sit, nobis est minus, dum
scitur diversorum opinio.

PER VOS PATRIS CUNCTA COMPLENTUR MANDATA, QUE DAT EIUSDEM SOPHIA

O vos angeli, CUNCTA MANDATA PATRIS COMPLENTUR PER VOS, QUE, scilicet
mandata, SOPHIA, id est Filius, EIUSDEM, scilicet Patris, DAT. SOPHIA, id est
295 sapiencia, et ab inicio cum Deo fuit, id est Filius. Et fit mencio de Patre, cum
dicitur PER VOS PATRIS; de Filio, cum dicitur EIUSDEM SOPHIA; < * * * >, id est
sapiencie COMPAR, id est equaliter se habens ad Patrem et ad Filium, quia nulla
prerogativa inter tres personas est.

Et ne aliquis crederet, quod tres essent ibi substancie, sicut et tres persone,
subiungit hoc, quod dicit:

300 UNA PERMANENS IN USIA

Id est permanens in una essenciali substancia.

CUI ESTIS ADMINISTRANCIA DEO MILIUM MILIA SACRA

CUI, scilicet Deo, VOS MILIA MILIUM, id est mille milia agmina, SACRA.
Anteponitur ibi numerus finitus pro numero infinito, quia nullus est ibi
305 numerus quoad nos. ESTIS ADMINISTRANCIA, id est famulancia.

285 Missus ... 286 Mariam] *cf. Lc. 1, 26–33.* 286 ad Zachariam] *cf. Lc. 1, 19.* 287 ad
Thobiam] *cf. Th. 3, 25.*

286 Zachariam *ex izachariam corr. cod.* 288 autem *ut vid.* 289 sit] *sic cod.* 291 cuncta] *cuncta*
cod. 295 *¹ ... *³ *lacunam suspicio, fortasse:* id est sapientia; de Spiritu sancto, cum dicitur
COMPAR QUOQUE PNEUMA 305 administrancia] *ministrancia cod; cf. lin. 302*

Expositio Ox6

VICES PER BIS QUINAS BIS ATQUE QUINGENTA DENA CENTENA MILLENA
ASSISTUNT IN AULA, AD QUAM REX OVEM CENTESIMAM TERRIGENAM
DRAGMAMQUE DECIMAM VESTRA DUXIT SUPER ALGAMATA

CENTENA MILLENA, id est centum milia distincta, PER BIS QUINAS VICES, id est 310
per x ordines, BIS ATQUE QUINGENTA DENA, id est per x milia, et ponitur aduc
numerus finitus pro infinito, ASSISTUNT IN AULA, id est in conspectu Dei in
celo apparent, AD QUAM, scilicet aulam, REX, id est Filius, ducit OVEM
CENTESIMAM, id est hominem (et hoc intellige sic, quod decies decem
perficiunt centum, et ix angelorum et homo perficiet decimum, et sic dicitur
ovis centesima), TERRIGENAM (vel verbigenam, secundum diversam litteram. Si 315
65^{ra} ‘terrigenam’, respice generacionem secundum carnem; si ‘verbigenam’, respice /
illam, que fit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto), DRAGMAMQUE DECIMAM. Et
notandum, quod ‘hec dragma, -me’ octava pars est uncie, pondus denarii
argenti, et dicitur denarius, quia pro x nummis imputatur, et ita DRAGMAM
DECIMAM, hoc est hominem completurum decimum ordinem angelorum. 320
Dragma enim dicitur denarius nummus, sicut dictum est. Ita dixi. DUXIT SUPER
VESTRA ALGAMATA, id est supra celicam celsitudinem vel celi culmina.

Et notandum, quod quidam dicunt ‘hoc agalma, -tis’, id est culmen, et tunc
dicitur ab ‘a’, quod similiter sine, et ‘ge’, terra, et ‘almus, -a, -um’ et ‘maneo,
-nes’, quasi sine terrenitate alma mancio. Quidam autem alii dicunt, quod ‘hoc 325
agalma’ est domus pastoris vel ovile, et, quia Deus se assimilatur pastori, et angeli
et homines assimilantur ovibus, autor ponit transsumptive hoc nomen ‘agalma’
ad significandum celum. Ita dicunt quidam, et est probabilis utraque opinio, et
tunc ‘agalma’ ab ‘agolo’, quod est baculus pastoralis.

Autor huius cantici apostrofat in hoc loco, id est vertit sermonem in communi 330
ad omnes spiritus, dicens:

VOS PER ETHRA

312 ovem ... 314 decimum] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 3.* 320 hoc ... angelorum] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 6.*

308 vestra] nostra *cod.* | duxit] ducit *cod.*; *cfr lin. 321* 310 aduc *i.e.* adhuc 322 vestra] nostra *cod.* 326 assimilatur] assimilatur *cod.* 330 apostrofat in] apostrofatim *cod.* 332 ethra] etherea *cod.*; *cfr lin. 333–334*

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‘Hec ethra, huius ethre’, id est qualitas aeris, sed non ponitur hic in ista
significacione sed per sincopam ‘per ethra’, id est per ethera, scilicet per celestia,
335 scilicet date vota.

NOS PER RURA, id est per civitates et villas, id est per terrena, DAMUS VOTA,
NOS, dicens, DENA PARS ELECTA, id est ad supendum desimum ordinem a Deo
electa.

ARMONIE VOTA DAMUS YPERLIRICA CITHARA

340 DAMUS VOTA ARMONIE, id est consonancie nostre, id est ut consonemus cum
angelis, YPERLIRICA CITHARA, id est super sonanti cithara. Et dicitur yperlirica
ab ‘yper’, quod est super, et ‘liros’, quod est sonans, quasi super sonans.

Et hoc totum facimus, UT POST BELLA MICHAELIS INCLITA, id est post bella
Michaelis in die iudicii, quando detrudet Luciferum in infernum cum
345 complicibus suis bellando. INCLITA, id est valde gloriosa. Dicitur enim inclitus
ab ‘in’, quod est valde, et ‘cleos’, gloria.

NOSTRA DEO SINT ACCEPTA AUREAM CIRCA ARAM THIMIAMATA

NOSTRA THIMIAMATA, id est sacrificia. ‘Thimus, -mi’ quoddam genus floris est,
unde ‘hoc thimiama, -matis’ est quedam confexcio ex illo flore et aliis, unde
350 solebant aras insensare. SINT ACCEPTA DEO CIRCA AUREAM ARAM.

Et sciendum secundum theologos, quod due erant are in veteri testamento: ara
olocausti et ara incensi. Ara olocausti erat extra templum sub diem, id est sub
aere, ad quam sacrificabantur animalia, et per illam debemus intelligere
mortificationes viciorum in cordibus nostris. Et dicitur olocaustum ab ‘olon’,
355 quod est totum, et ‘causton’, sacrificium vel insensum, quasi totum insensatum.

333 Hec ... 338 electa] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 216.* **337** id ... 338 electa] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 6; cfr etiam Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 9, 6.* **351** Et ... 359 illuminata] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 217.* | due ... 352 incensi] *cfr Ex. 27, 1–8; 30, 1–10.* **354** Et ... 355 insensatum] *cfr Isid., orig. 6, 19, 35.*

333 sed] secundum *cod.* | ista significacione] istam (*ut vid.*) significacionem *cod.* **339** cithara] citharea *cod.*; *cfr lin. 341* **341** cithara¹] citharea *cod.* **350** insensare] insensari *cod.*; *i.e.* incensare **355** insensum *i.e.* incensum | insensatum *i.e.* incensatum, *ex* insencatum *corr. cod.*

Expositio Ox6

Alia enim erat ara in templo et dicebatur ara aurea, ad quam non licuit sacerdoti accedere nisi semel in anno, et tunc cum odorientis et timiamatibus et huiusmodi, et per illam debemus intelligere corda defecata a viciis et Spiritu sancto repleta et illuminata. Et est sensus huius versiculi talis, ut post diem iudicii viciis mortalitatis simus puri et Spiritu sancto illuminati. 360

QUO IN CELESTI GLORIA CONDECANTEMUS ALLELUIA

QUO, id est ut, CONDECANTEMUS, id est simul cum angelis cantemus, IN CELESTI GLORIA, quando erimus in denario ordine positi, ALLELUIA. 'Allelu' interpretatur laudate, 'ya', universalis, et tunc 'alleluia', id est laudate universalem, id est Deum, vel 'ya', Dominus, unde 'alleluia', ut dictum est, idem est quod laudate Dominum, qui vivit et regnat per infinita seculorum secula. 365

Explicit tractatus trium canticorum.

356 ad ... 357 anno] *cfr Ex. 30, 10.* **363** Allelu ... 366 Dominum] *cfr Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 217; cfr etiam Hier., epist. 26, 3 et Aug., in psalm. 110, 1.*

356 aurea] aure *cod.* **357** odorientis] adoramentis *cod.* **358** Spiritu ex spiritui *corr. cod.*

6 EDITION 2. The Commentary of *Ox1*: the ‘glossary commentary’

This commentary is part of a large collection of commentaries to sequences for the whole liturgical year, although the beginning of the volume is now missing. I have given this text the subtitle the ‘glossary commentary’ on account of its singular twofold division, where the second part is essentially a comprehensive glossary to the sequence, which is paraphrased in the first part.

6.1 MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

Ox1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 16¹ (S. C. 6471)

A collection of sequence commentaries

Date: mid-fifteenth century²

Provenance: England

Material: Paper

Size: 210 x 290 mm.

Folios: i + 127

Contents: Commentaries to 67 sequences
 fols 95^v–98^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
 fols 126^r–127^v: A list of temptations together with references to Biblical passage which can help in resisting them. Inc.: ‘Incipiunt temptaciones’

The beginning of the codex is mutilated and the text on fol. 1 starts in the middle of a sentence: ‘id est ista inferiora per naturam assumpta propria clemencia’. The first identified piece to be commented upon can be found on

¹ This description is partly based on the *Summary Catalogue* (see the bibliography under the entry S. C.) and partly on my own observations of the manuscript. Fol. 95^v of this manuscript is reproduced as Plate 4.

² Dr Teresa Webber, Cambridge, has upon inspection of photocopies of the manuscript suggested the middle of the third quarter of the fifteenth century (in conversation, Cambridge, July 2004).

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fol. 4, the sequence *Qui regis scepra forti dextra* for the third Sunday of Advent.³ There is a colophon on fol. 125^v which briefly summarises the interpretative programme for the commentaries. The text is written in one column throughout the manuscript in a cursive script with many typical *anglicana* features such as the two-compartment *a*, the looped *d*, and the 8-shaped *g* together with the use of long *r*.⁴ Typical cursive features may also be observed, such as the looped ascenders of *b*, *h* and *l* and the single-compartment *a* used alongside the two-compartment variant. The scribe uses an abbreviation mark consisting of a horizontal stroke with a small dot immediately beneath it, which is typical of fifteenth-century English manuscripts.⁵ The number of lines varies between 29 and 31. The ink is black, with initials in red. The sequences are referred to only by incipit, but the incipits are not underlined. There are a few marginal notes and catchwords.

6.2 ON THE TEXT—THE COMMENTARY OF *Ox1*

As it is quite common for the large collections of commentaries to be preceded by a prologue introducing the book of sequences at hand and providing an interpretative framework for its reading, it is not impossible to imagine that the missing folio(s) of this manuscript could have included such an introduction. However, the colophon on fol. 125^v provides us with some insight as to the motives of this commentator. The text of the colophon is sometimes hard to read and the syntax is wanting, but I will nevertheless print it here as far as I can decipher it, introducing some punctuation but without attempting any emendations:

Explicit liber troperii sive sequenciarum secundum usum Sarum. Construccio prout inceptio et continuacio recti ordinis expetit gramaticaliter construendi cum historiis veteris et novi testamenti in ipsis contentis una cum sensu mistico, qui triplex esse dinoscitur, scilicet allegoricus, anagogicus et tropologicus. Super hiisdem historiis compositione et derivacione dictionum postremo et ultimo consequentibus. Quod [*verbum quod non leg.*] ymmo [*verbum quod non leg.*].

³ AH 53, 3.

⁴ For the *anglicana* script, see PARKES (1969) and DEROLEZ (2003), pp. 134–141.

⁵ See PARKES (1969), comments to Plate 3 (i), and DEROLEZ (2003), p. 187. In the reproduction of fol. 95^v of *Ox1* this abbreviation mark is seen for instance at lines 10, 11 and 12; see Plate 4.

The Commentary of Ox1

What can be inferred from this less than clear text is that an aim for the commentator seems to be a grammatical construing of the text in conjunction with stories from Scripture in the mystical sense, that is the allegorical, the anagogical and the tropological senses. In addition, the composition and derivation of words will be treated.

This twofold programme could then perhaps explain the twofold division of this and of all the commentaries in the collection; the first objective referred to in the colophon corresponds to the paraphrase section, whereas the second goal is fulfilled in the vocabulary section.

At the very beginning of the exposition, the commentator states the feast for the sequence and its subject-matter in one sentence. Thereupon follows the extensive paraphrase of the sequence text, which both construes the text and provides explanations of the words and phrases of the sequence through inserted instructive phrases generally beginning with *id est* or *scilicet*. These brief comments function on several levels. They sometimes fill the role of lexical glosses in providing synonyms, as at lines 4–5 where first the synonym *cantet* is added to *pangat* of the sequence, and *canora symphonia* is explained with the equivalent phrase *sonora concordia*. They can also supply the reader with implied words, such as the adjective *angelica* to specify the *caterva* of the sequence (line 4), or spell out the referent of pronouns as at line 9 where *quem* is said to refer to Michael. A third function of these brief elucidations is to provide the figurative reading of the sequence text, as is one of the explicit ambitions of the commentary as mentioned in the colophon. This can be seen for instance at lines 64–66 where the tenth drachma and the hundredth sheep are understood as the human race.

A few quotations and references to Scripture and the Biblical Gloss, which serve to deepen the reader's understanding of the sequence text, are also inserted into the paraphrase. A similar function may be noted in the slightly longer comments providing background information on the subject-matter of the sequence, as can be seen in the paragraph following the sequence lemma *novies distincta*. With an explicit reference to Dionysius, the author here offers a summary note on the threefold hierarchy of the angels. This brief account includes an enumeration of the different orders in each of the three sections, although the commentator does not adhere to Dionysius's system but follows the order of the angels as presented in the sequence (lines 12–15). The concept of 'hierarchy', although mentioned, is not dwelt upon further or explained, as happened in Alan's *Expositio prosae de angelis* and the commentary of *Ox6*. It is noteworthy that this is also the case in the other late commentaries edited here,

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which gives the impression that the word is considered either as unproblematic or as presupposed knowledge on behalf of the readers.

The next brief excursus is the traditional explanation of the difference between angels and spirits (lines 20–26). It is here given without reference to a specific authority, but the same definition is found in most medieval works treating the angels.⁶ Other passages in the sequence that are accorded similarly concise explications are found for instance at lines 29–31 in connection with *sed tua ymago*, which leads to a quotation from Genesis 1, 26, and the section *dena pars electa* (lines 68–69), which generates a comment on the role of man with respect to the angels.

The comments on *cithara* (lines 72–75 and 216–219) illustrate the marked difference between the two sections. In the first section, the explanation concerns the figurative reading of the instrument as representing the ten commandments, as is found in Isidore's *Etymologiae* 3, 12, 7. This understanding is furthermore corroborated with two quotations from the Psalms in which the ten strings of the instrument are mentioned.⁷ The interpretation of the *yperlirica cithara* as representing the observance of the ten commandments is found neither in Alan of Lille's commentary nor in the *Expositio Ox6*, but it is a regular feature in all the following commentaries edited here, with the exception of *Expositio St2*.⁸

In the vocabulary section, the commentator is concerned only with the grammatical and etymological aspects of *cithara*. The word is presented in the nominative and the genitive to show how it declines. Its origin is said to be Doric and, again drawing on Isidore for information, the naming of the instrument with a derivative of a word whose literal meaning is 'chest', *pectus*, is explained through the likeness between two.

In the text, the vocabulary section is preceded by the signal 'sequitur vocabulorum expositio' and is in essence a monoglot glossary in the form of a running text with etymologies and a number of more extensive explanations on certain words as regards origin, composition and usage. There are also a few *differentiae* separating similar or related words.

Nouns are usually presented with a form of *hic* to indicate gender and the first two or three forms of the paradigm to indicate declension—an example from line 93 is *hec officina, -e*. First- and second-declension adjectives are given

⁶ See the source apparatus to this passage in the edition.

⁷ Psalms 143, 9 and 32, 2.

⁸ Chapter 7, Edition 3.

The Commentary of *Ox1*

with their respective endings, as with *primevus*, -a, -um at line 94, while third-declension adjectives are also preceded by forms of *hic* to indicate gender, as with ‘hic ceber, hec ceberis et hoc -bre’, at the opening of this new section at line 82, and ‘hic, hec, hoc compar, -paris’ at line 199. Verbs are generally given in the form of the first and second person singular, as at line 98, *cathegorizo*, -as. For this word the author, in addition to providing the lexical variants *signare vel predicare*, elaborates his elucidation to include derivations too: *hec categoria* is referred to as Aristotle’s categories or predicaments, *cathegorie* as accusations, and finally *cathegoreuma* and *sincathegoreuma* as Priscian’s terms for the significative and the consignificative words in an utterance.⁹

The majority of the etymological interpretations of particular words and the definitions of the offices of the angelic orders are dependent on Isidore’s *Etymologiae*. Sometimes these are quoted almost verbatim from the source, which is, however, never explicitly mentioned. Other definitions of words and information on their inflection and their derivation seem to be drawn from medieval dictionaries. Several definitions are found more or less verbatim in the *Catholicon*, the Latin grammar and dictionary completed in 1286 by the Dominican John Balbus of Genoa:¹⁰ examples are the words *celeber* (lines 82–85), *festum* (lines 89–92), *phalanx* (lines 116–118) and *rus* (lines 207–208). For other definitions there are similarities in expression both with articles from the *Catholicon* and with the *Vocabularius copiosus et singularis unus ex diversis diligentissime theutonicatus* (c.1480) such as the above-mentioned explanation of *sincathegoreuma* (lines 103–104).¹¹ Although the date for the *Vocabularius copiosus* is later than a possible date of composition for the commentary of *Ox1*, the great similarities in the phrasing of the definitions are noteworthy; late medieval dictionaries were often constructed using other, earlier, dictionaries as sources to draw on, as the fifteenth-century lexicographer Firmin le Ver attests, for example, in the prologue to his Latin–French dictionary.¹² Perhaps a similar working method

⁹ Prisc., *gramm.*, 2, 15.

¹⁰ This work is available today only in incunabula and other early editions; see the bibliography under the entry Joh. Balb., *cath.*

¹¹ See the *apparatus fontium* of the edition for these lines. The *Vocabularius copiosus* is there referred to with the abbreviation Confl. Voc. following the use of the *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae medii aevii* (henceforth LN) based on the explicit of the dictionary: ‘[. . .] conflatus vocabulorum finitus et completus.’ The date for Confl. Voc. is taken from LN.

¹² In the prologue to his *Dictionarius*, completed in 1440, Firmin le Ver says that he has collected the material from several places (‘congregavi, compilavi, conscripsi’). His principal sources are the *Catholicon* mentioned above, the *Magnae Derivationes* of Hugh of Pisa (†1210) and Papias’s *Elementarium* from the eleventh century (Firm., *dict.*, pp. v–xiv).

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for the *Vocabularius copiosus* could be an explanation for the agreements in expression.

The commentator of *Ox1* incorporates the same interpretation of *symbolum* as is found in Alan's *Expositio* and in the commentary of *Ox6*, namely as a word consisting of the two parts 'with' and 'part' or 'portion'. Adhering to the medieval tradition of the Apostles' Creed as being composed by each apostle contributing a portion of the text, the author adds a vivid picture of the actual situation to this etymology (lines 109–112).

The word *agalma*, which in the previous commentary followed the interpretation of Alan of Lille, is here not linked to the image of the shepherd and the sheep but instead is understood as 'heights', presumably the heights of heaven although this is not spelt out (line 206). The commentator also adds the definition 'quasi agens figuram alterius' ('as it were carrying another's figure'), which seems to be a mixture between an actual explanation and a play on the syllables of the word (that is, *ag*, *al* and *am*); it is comparable with the interpretation found in the *Vocabularius copiosus* mentioned above.¹³ The commentator does not show any concern for the difference between the words *pneuma* and *neuma*, nor the difference between *facere* and *creare*, as had Alan of Lille and the commentator of *Ox6*.

The vocabulary section is also interspersed with a number of *versus memoriales* in hexameters, mainly concerning grammatical issues and the meanings of certain words. The difference between *seraphin / cherubin* and *seraphim / cherubim*, which was thoroughly treated in the commentary of *Ox6*, is here analysed in the same manner but subsumed under a broader discussion of the gender of all the angelic names including, apart from the four mentioned above, the individual names—of Michael, Gabriel and Raphael—as well as the names of the other orders (lines 163–174). This account is summarised by five hexameter lines taken from the *Doctrinale*, the versified grammar by Alexander de Villa-Dei (†1240). At lines 191–198 the commentator's focus on grammar and lexical knowledge again comes to the fore in a discussion of the formation of the verbs *gigno*, *colo*, and *venio* and the gender of their derivations, which is followed by a summary in four hexameter lines, three of which are again drawn from the *Doctrinale*. The etymology of *satrapa* (lines 175–176) is followed by a hitherto unidentified verse that nevertheless displays great verbal similarity with the definition of *satrapa* in Firmin le Ver's dictionary. A verse by Serlon de Wilton

¹³ See LN, s.v. 'agalma': Confl. Voc.: 'agalмата dicitur figura quasi agens ymaginem alterius'.

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(†1181) illustrates in a similar manner the duplex meaning of the word *lira* (line 213).

6.2.1 Textual problems and remarks on the edition

As the manuscript *Ox1* is the sole known witness to this commentary, the edition of the text has been made in accordance with the principles for texts of Category 1, as described above.¹⁴ The text of this manuscript is generally very good and no major editorial interventions have been necessary. Corrections most often concern simple scribal errors such as omitted strokes for *n* or *m*, or the tendency of the scribe to use *e* for *i* and other waverings of vocalic usage, which have been standardised in accordance with the general principles stated above.¹⁵ A few corrections have been made following implicit source texts, as with *celebria* at line 84 or supplementing *seraphin* in the verse at line 171.

The text in the vocabulary section has been divided into paragraphs to correspond with the paragraphs in the paraphrase section. Each new main word begins a new line.

¹⁴ See Section 4.1.1 above. In the commentaries on *Ad celebres rex* in the manuscripts *Lo3*, *Ox3* and *Ox5* (which three manuscripts display fairly similar texts) a number of passages phrased in a similar manner as in the commentary of *Ox1* are found. Certain phrases found in these texts also occur in the sequence commentary entitled *Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum*, which is extant in many early printed works; see Chapter 2, n. 12 above. This could attest to an ‘English tradition’ among the sequence commentaries.

¹⁵ See Section 4.2.1 above.

EDITION 2: *Expositio Ox1*

AD CELEBRES REX CELICE et cetera.

95^v

Ista sequencia cantatur in festo Michaelis archangeli, in qua non tantum fit mencio de illo sed eciam de novem ordinibus angelorum.

5 Construe ergo sic: o CELICE REX, CUNCTA CATERVA, scilicet angelica, PANGAT,
id est cantet, NUNC cum CANORA SYMPHONIA, id est sonora concordia, AD
CELEBRES, id est festivas, LAUDES, scilicet tui, ATQUE NOSTRA CONCIO, scilicet
hic in ecclesia militante, SOLVAT, id est reddat, TIBI ODAS, id est cantica laudis,
10 CUM FESTA MICHAELIS VALDE INCLITA, id est venerabilia, RENOVANTUR, PER
QUEM, scilicet Michaelem, TOTA MACHINA, id est tota forma, MUNDI
LETABUNDA, id est similis letanti, PERORNATUR, id est perfecte ornatur.

NOVIES DISTINCTA et cetera.

15 Nota hic secundum Dionisium, quod in celo sunt tres ierarchie, id est tres sacri
principatus et potestates, et in qualibet ierarchia sunt tres ordines: in prima sunt
angeli, archangeli et principatus; in secunda sunt virtutes, potestates et
dominaciones; in tercia sunt throni, cherubin et seraphin.

20 Construe ergo sic: AGMINA, id est societates, PNEUMATUM, id est spirituum,
FACTA, id est creata, PER TE, scilicet SUNT DISTINCTA, id est divisa, NOVIES, id
est per novem ordines, ut predicatur, SED, scilicet o tu Deus, CUM VIS, id est
cum placet tibi, FACIS HEC, scilicet agmina, FLAMMEA, id est que lucent ut
flamma, PER ANGELICAS OFFICINAS, id est per officia angelorum. Hoc est
dictum: *Facis eos angelos*, unde notandum est, quod angelus est nomen officii,
nam ‘angelus’ Grece, ‘nuncius’ Latine. Et semper, quando mittitur, vocatur
angelus, spiritus vero, quando non mittitur sed quando est permanens in sua
ierarchia in celo. Et sic, quando Deus mittit suos spiritus ad terram ad aliquid

12 Dionisium] *cfr e.g. Job. Scot., ier. Dion., cap. 6–9, sed ordo angelorum non est secundum Dionysium sed secundum litteram sequentiae.* **21** Facis ... angelos] *cfr Ps. 103, 4.* | angelus ... 23 angelus] *cfr Aug., in psalm. 103, sermo 1, 15; cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8; cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 2; 7, 5, 6.*

2 cantatur] catatur *cod.* **5** cantet + ad celebres id est festivas laudes *ante corr.* | nunc] nuc *cod.*
21 dictum] dictu *cod.*

Expositio Ox1

- nunciandum, tunc facit eos angelos, unde in psalmo: *Qui facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos flammam ignis.* 25
- 96^r NAM, id est vere, HEC, scilicet agmina angelica, SUNT INTER TUA / PRIMEVA CREATA, hoc est primo a te fuerant angeli creati, CUM NOS, scilicet homines, SIMUS tua ULTIMA FACTURA, id est ultima creatura, SED, scilicet sumus, TUA YMAGO, ut patet Genesis secundo capitulo, unde ibi dicitur: *Faciamus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram.* THEOLOGA SIMBOLA, id est divini sermones scripture et dogmata divina, CATEGORIZANT, hoc est predicant et docent, HEC, scilicet agmina spirituum, scilicet esse TRIPARTITA, id est in tres partes divisa, TER, id est novies, nam ter tria efficiunt novem. 30
- PLEBS ANGELICA et cetera. 35
- Hic enim consequenter dicitur, quomodo hec agmina sunt suis diversis nominibus ter tripartita, et ideo dicitur: o, scilicet ANGELICA PLEBS, id est multitudo angelorum, ET o ARCHANGELICA PHALANX, id est o turma archangelorum, et o TURMA PRINCIPANS, id est totaliter nominata, et o URANICA, id est celestis, VIRTUS, id est nominata virtus vel virtutes celi, et o ALMIPHONA POTESTAS, id est pulcre et sancte sonans, et o NUMINA DOMINANCIA, id est o spiritus vocati dominaciones, -QUE pro et, et o DIVINA SUBCELLIA, id est o throni, quibus velud in throno suo Dominus presidens aliorum facta examinat, et ETHEREA CHERUBIN AC, pro et, et o IGNICOMA SERAPHIN, id est o seraphin ardens et splendens. 40 45
- Et o MICHAEL SATRAPA, id est princeps vel prefectus, CELI, et o GABRIEL DANS, id est dicens, scilicet beate Marie, VERA NUNCIA VERBI, id est filii Dei incarnati, ATQUE pro et, et o RAPHAEL VERNULA, id est famulus, VITE, id est Dei, qui est vera et eterna vita, VOS TRANSFERTE vel conferte, id est simul ferte, gerite vel portate, NOS INTER PARADISICOLAS, id est inter habitantes paradisum. 50
- CUNCTA MANDATA PATRIS, scilicet Dei omnipotentis, COMPLENTUR PER VOS, QUE, scilicet mandata, SOPHIA, id est sapientia vel Filius, EIUSDEM Patris QUOQUE, pro et, et PNEUMA, id est Spiritus sanctus, COMPAR, id est equalis,

25 Qui ... 26 ignis] *Hbr. 1, 7; cfr etiam Ps. 103, 4.* 30 Faciamus ... 31 nostram] *Gn. 1, 26.*

31 Theologa] *theolaga cod.* 32 predicant] *predicat cod.* 36 dicitur] *decetur cod.* 37 et] *e cod.*
39 principans] *principatus cod.; cfr lin. 124* 43 subcellia *i.e.* subsellia | presidens] *presedens cod.* 46 et *supra lin.* 52 scilicet *bis ser. cod.*

EDITION 2

scilicet Patri et Filio, PERMANENS IN UNA USIA, id est una substancia cum Patre
 55 et Filio, DAT, id est precipit, CUI DEO vos SACRA, id est vos angeli, qui estis
 sacre res sacratae et confirmate per gratiam, per ruinam angelicam, ESTIS
 ADMINISTRANCIA, videlicet MILIA MILIUM, id est infiniti (hic ponitur numerus
 finitus pro numero infinito), et hoc PER BIS QUINAS VICES, id est per decem,
 60 quinquaginta DENA et CENTENA MILLENA, scilicet / angelorum, ASSISTUNT, id
 est astant, scilicet Deo, IN AULA, id est in celo, AD QUAM, scilicet aulam, 96^v
 VERBIGENA, id est Filius Dei, REX, id est qui se regem innotuit per suam
 passionem, resurrectionem et ascensionem, prout dicit glossa super isto versu:
Dominus regnavit, irascantur populi et cetera, DUXIT, id est adduxit, SUPER VESTRA
 AGALMATHA, id est super altitudinem vestram, CENTESIMAM OVEM, -QUE pro
 65 et, et DECIMAM DRAGMAM, id est genus humanum, prout patet de humanitate
 Christi deitati unita, qui est super omnes choros.

VOS, scilicet angeli, scilicet entes vel existentes PER ethera, id est per celestia vel
 in celestibus, et NOS, scilicet mortales, DENA PARS ELECTA, scilicet a Deo ad
 supplecionem et restauracionem lapsus angelici, scilicet existentes PER RURA, id
 70 est per mundum, DEMUS, scilicet tam verbo quam opere, VOTA, id est cantica,
 ARMONIE, id est dulcis modulacionis, scilicet a Deo volita et desiderata, in
 YPERLIRICA, id est in valde dulci, CITHARA, hoc est in observacione decem
 mandatorum Dei, quorum observacio super cithare dulcedinem placet sibi (de
 ista, scilicet cithara, loquitur psalmista, ita dicens: *In psalterio decacordo psallam tibi*,
 75 et alibi: *In cithara decem cordarum psallite illi*), UT THIMIAMATA, id est nostre
 oraciones, que per thimiamata designantur, SINT ACCEPTA DEO CIRCA AUREAM
 ARAM, id est circa seipsum, qui est vere aurea ara, ad quem omnium preces
 debent offerri, POST INCLITA BELLA MICHAELIS, QUO pro ut, ut
 CONDECANTEMUS, id est ut simul cantemus, IN CELESTI GLORIA ALLELUIA, id
 80 est laudem Dei vel canticum divine laudis. Amen.

57 hic ... 58 infinito] *cf. Greg. M., moral. 17, 18.* 62 prout ... versu] *cf. Gloss. 1498, gloss. interlin. ad Ps. 98, 1: DOMINUS – scilicet Christum, cum post resurrectionem predicaretur.*
 63 Dominus ... populi] *Ps. 98, 1.* 69 restauracionem ... angelici] *cf. Radulf. Ard., homil. 38, PL 155, 1457a; cf. etiam Greg. M., in evang. 34, 6 et Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 9, 6.* 72 in² ... 73 Dei] *cf. Isid., orig. 3, 12, 7.* 74 In ... tibi] *Ps. 143, 9.* 75 In ... illi] *cf. Ps. 32, 2.*

55 sacra ... vos² *supra lin.* 59 quinquaginta] quingenta *exspectes* | scilicet *bis ser. cod.*
 65 humanitate] *humilitate cod.* 69 angelici] *angelicos cod.* 71 volita] *voluta cod.* 72 cithara] *cithera cod.* 73 cithare] *cithere cod.* 74 cithara] *cithera cod.* 75 cithara] *cithera cod.*

Expositio Ox1

Sequitur vocabulorum expositio.

‘Hic celebrer’, ‘hec celebris’ et ‘hoc -bre’, id est festivus, sollemnis, sanctus, notus, frequens, frequentatus. Proprie dicitur ille locus celebrer, qui a multis frequentatur vel ubi celebria aguntur, ut forum, ecclesia, et comparatur et dicitur de ‘hoc celum’.

85

Michael enim interpretatur ‘quis ut Deus’. Quando enim aliquid in mundo mire virtutis fit, hic archangelus mittitur. Ex ipso opere nomen eius est, quia nemo valet facere, quod facere potest Deus.

97^e ‘Hoc festum’ ideo est illud / lignum in summitate domus, ad quod omnia diriguntur tigna, in quo conveniunt. Vel ‘hoc festum, -ti’ pro solemnitate. Sicut enim ad festum, lignum, tigna conveniunt, sic ad festum solemnizantes homines conveniunt. Vel ‘festum’ dicitur a ‘feria’, quasi feriatum.

90

‘Hec officina, -e’, id est officium.

‘Primevus, -a, -um’ dicitur de ‘primus’ et ‘hoc evum, -i, -o’.

‘Theologus, -a, -um’ componitur a ‘theos’, quod est Deus, et ‘logos’, sermo, id est tractans et loquens de divinis, unde ‘hec theologia, -ie’, id est divinitas vel sermo de Deo, unde ‘theologicus, -a, -um’.

95

‘Cathegorizo, -as’, id est signare vel predicare, et dicitur de ‘cathegoro, -as’, quod idem est, unde ‘hec cathegoria, -ie’, id est predicamentum vel predicatio, unde et hec predicamenta Aristotelis dicuntur. ‘Cathegorie’ etiam dicuntur

100

82 Hic ... 85 celum] *cf. Job. Balb., cath. s.v. ‘celeber’*: Celeber a celum dicitur hic celebrer, hec celebris et hoc celebre, id est festivus, sollemnis, sanctus, denotus, frequens, frequentatus. Proprie dicitur ille locus celebrer, qui est a multis frequentatus vel ubi celebria aguntur, ut forum, ecclesia, et comparatur celebrer, celebrior, celeberrimus. **86** Michael ... 88 Deus] *cf. Isid., orig. 7, 5, 12.* **89** Hoc ... 92 feriatum] *cf. Job. Balb., Cath. s.v. ‘festum’*: Festum -sti est illud lignum in summitate domus ad quod omnia diriguntur tigna et in quo conveniunt, unde hoc festum -sti pro solemnitate. Sicut enim ad festum lignum tigna domus conveniunt, sic ad festum, id est ad solennitatem, homines conveniunt, vel festum dicitur a feria quasi feriatum. **95** Theologus ... 97 -um] *cf. Job. Balb., cath. s.v. ‘theologus’*: Theologus theos componitur cum logos quod est sermo et dicitur theologus -ga -gum id est de divinis loquens vel tractans unde hec theologia -gie penultima acuta id est divinitas, sermo de Deo, unde theologicus -ca -cum et theologor -aris id est de theologia tractare vel loqui. **99** hec ... 101 accusationes] *cf. Job. Balb., cath. s.v. ‘categoria’*: Categoria -rie dicitur a cathegoro -ras et acuit penultimam et est categoria predicamentum vel predicatio vel significatio. Unde et predicamenta Aristotelis dicuntur categoriæ. Categoræ etiam dicuntur accusationes.

82 sollemnis] *solemis cod.* **84** celebria *cum Job. Balb. scripsi, celestia cod.* **87** Ex + *litt. e ante corr.* **92** feria] *fera cod.* **93** Hec] *hoc cod.* **98** cathegoro] *cathegora cod.*

accusaciones et a 'cathegoro, -as'. 'Hoc cathegoreuma, -tis', id est predicamentum vel significativum et componitur cum 'sin', quod est con, et dicitur 'hoc sincathegoreuma', id est consignificativum, unde partes orationis alie a nomine et verbo dicuntur a Prisciano sincathegoreumata, id est
105 consignificativa, quia cum aliis et non per se in oratione signant.

'Hoc symbolum, -i, -o', componitur a 'sin', quod est con, id est simul, et 'bolus, -i, -o', id est morcellus singulorum et interpretatur 'symbolum' signum vel cognicio vel pecunia collata, ideo quia singuli ponunt ibi [in] morcellum suum. Unde 'Credo in Deum' dicitur symbolum apostolorum, quia quilibet in
110 faciendo illud posuit ibi morcellum suum. Unus enim dixit: 'Credo in Deum, patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terre.' Et alius adiunxit: 'et in Ihesum Christum, filium eius unicum' et cetera. Et sic de similibus.

'Hoc officium, -ii, -o' decomposite figure de 'officio, -cis' per contrarium, quia non officit, ymo proficit; vel 'officium' dicitur quasi 'efficium' ab
115 efficiendo.

'Phalanx, -gis' vel 'hec falanga, -ge' lingua Macedonum dicitur legio, unde 'falangarius, -a, -um', id est legionarius vel de hac falanga existens vel ad falangam pertinens.

'Angelicus, -a, -um' nomen possessivum de 'hic angelus, -i, -o'.

103 sincathegoreuma ... 104 sincathegoreumata] *cfr Guill. Wheat., expos. de schol. 1: syncategorema, idest consignificativum, a syn, idest cum et categorema, unde omnes aliae partes orationis a nomine et verbo secundum logicos dicuntur syncategoremata.; cfr etiam LN s.v. 'syncategorema': CONFL. VOC.: sincathegoreuma, -atis, id est consignificativum, unde partes orationis alie a nomine et a verbo, pronomine et participio dicuntur sincathegoreumata quasi cum aliis significtiva. 104 Prisciano] *cfr Prisc., gramm. 2, 15. 106* Hoc ... 109 suum] *cfr Job. Balb., cath. s.v. 'symbolum': Symbolum est collectio sermonum ut in consilio vel pecuniarum. Unde in proverbio xxiii: Dantes symbola consumentur. Et componitur a syn id est con et bolus id est morcellus quia quilibet ponit ibi morcellum suum id est particulam. Cfr etiam Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 200. 109* Unde ... 112 cetera] *cfr Rufin., symb. 2. 113* Hoc ... 115 efficiendo] *cfr Job. Balb., cath. s.v. 'officium': Officium ab officio -cis id est noceo. Dicitur hoc officium -cii id est ministerium beneficium per contrarium quia minime nocet. Vel officium quasi efficium ab efficiendo. 116* Phalanx ... legio] *cfr Isid., orig. 9, 3, 46. | Phalanx ... 118 pertinens] *cfr Job. Balb., cath. s.v. 'falanga': Falanga falanx -gis et hec falanga -ge lingua Macedonum dicitur legio sive caterva. Unde falangarius -ria -rium id est legionarius scilicet de falanga existens vel ad falanga pertinens.***

101 cathegoro *ex cathegoro* *corr. cod.* **102** componitur] *coponitur cod.* **103** id est + consignativum *ante corr.* **108** in *delevi* **109** quilibet *ut vid.* **114** proficit] *proficet cod.* **117** legionarius] *legeonarius cod. | hac] hec cod.*

Expositio Ox1

97v 'Hic archangelus, -i, -o' dicitur ab 'archos', quod est princeps, et 'angelus', id est princeps angelorum. 'Archangeli' enim Greca lingua summi nuncii interpretantur. Qui, cum parva et minima nunciant, / angeli, qui vero summa, archangeli nuncupantur. 120

'Principans turma', id est ille ordo, qui vocatur principatus. Principatus sunt hii, qui angelorum agminibus presunt, qui pro eo, quod subditos angelos ad explendum divinum officium vel ministerium <disponunt>, et 'principatus' vocabulum acceperunt. Nam alii sunt, qui administrant, alii, qui assistunt, sicut per Daniele dicitur: *Milia milium ministrabant ei et decies milies centena milia assistebant ei.* 125

'Virtus', id est talis ordo angelicus. Virtutes angelice quedam ministeria habere perhibentur, per quos signa et miracula in mundo fiunt, propter quod et virtutes dicuntur. 130

'Uranicus, -a, -um', id est celestis. Dicitur de 'hic uranus, -i, -o', id est celum et illud dicitur de 'ur', quod lingua Caldea dicitur ignis, quia igneum est.

'Potestates' est ille ordo angelicus, id est potestates sunt, quibus virtutes adverse subiecte, et inde potestatis nomine nuncupantur, quia maligni spiritus eorum potestate cohercentur, ne tantum mundo noceant, quantum cupiunt. 135

'Almiphonus, -a, -um' dicitur de 'almus, -a, -um', quod est sanctus, -a, -um, et dicitur a 'phonus', quod est sonus, quasi sancte sonans.

'Dominancia', id est dominaciones sunt hii, qui eciam virtutibus et principatibus preminent, qui pro eo, quod ceteris agminibus angelorum dominantur, dominaciones vocantur. 140

'Divina subcellia', id est throni. 'Hoc subcellium', id est sedes vel cathedra, et componitur de 'sub' et 'hec cella' et dicuntur 'subcellia' quasi 'subsedia', quia subsedent; vel 'subcellia' sunt sedes vel scamna minorum discipulorum, sed 'cathedre' sunt maiorum sicut doctorum et magistrorum. 'Throni' enim Latino 145

120 Hic ... 123 nuncupantur] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 6.* 124 Principatus ... 129 ei] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 19.* 128 Milia ... 129 ei] *Dn. 7, 10.* 130 Virtutes ... 132 dicuntur] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 17.* 134 ur ... ignis] *cfr Hier., quaest. hebr. in gen., p. 15, lin. 1-2; cfr etiam Isid., orig. 16, 1, 9 cum app. crit.* 135 potestates ... 137 cupiunt] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 18.* 140 dominaciones ... 142 vocantur] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 20.* 146 Throni ... 148 disponit] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 21.*

121 angelorum + archangelorum *ante corr.* 122 nunciant *bis scr. ante corr.* | qui *cum Isid. scripsi,* que *cod.* 126 disponunt *cum Isid. supplevi* 128 centena] *cetena cod.* 129 assistebant *cum Dn. scripsi,* assistabant *cod.* 130 angelice *cum Isid. scripsi,* angelica *cod.* | quedam *cum Isid. scripsi,* quidem *cod.* | ministeria *cum Isid. scripsi,* misteria *cod.* 134 igneum] *ignium cod.* 139 phonus] *phous cod.* 143 subcellia *i.e. subsellia* | subcellium *i.e. subsellium* 144 de *bis scr. ante corr.* cella *i.e. sella* | subcellia *i.e. subsellia* 145 subcellia *i.e. subsellia*

EDITION 2

eloquio sedes dicuntur. Et vocantur throni, quia illis conditor presidet et per eos iudicia sua disponit.

150 In plurali numero nominatio ‘hec cherubin’ indeclinabile. Ex Hebreo in linguam nostram interpretantur sciencie multitudo. Sunt enim sublimiora agmina angelorum, qui pro eo, quod vicinius positi divina sciencia ceteris amplius pleni sunt, cherubin plenitudo sciencie appellantur. Ipsa sunt animalia illa duo super propiciatorium arche facta ex metallo propter quandam angelorum presenciam, in quorum medio ostenditur Deus.

155 In plurali numero ‘hec seraphin’ / indeclinabile, id est ille ordo angelicus, qui ex Hebreo in Latinum ardentis vel incendentes interpretantur, quia inter eos et Deum nulli angeli consistunt, et ideo quanto vicinius coram Deo consistunt, tanto magis claritate divini luminis inflammantur. Unde et ipsi velant faciem et pedes sedentis in throno Dei et idcirco cetera angelorum turba videre Dei 98^r essenciam plene non valet, quoniam seraphin eam tegunt.

160 ‘Ignicomus, -a, -um’ composite figure de ‘ignis’ et ‘hec coma’, id est habens igneas comas.

Et sciendum est, quod omnia nomina angelorum sunt masculini generis, ut ‘hic Michael’, ‘hic Gabriel’, exceptis duobus nominibus ‘cherubin’ et ‘seraphin’ 165 terminantibus in -n, que sunt neutri generis tantum pluralis numeri et indeclinabilia, et exceptis ‘virtus’ et ‘dominacio’ et ‘potestas’. Sed ‘cherubim’ et ‘seraphim’ terminancia in -m sunt masculini generis, pluralis numeri et indeclinabilia. Versus:

170 Angelicum nomen dabit ‘hic’ sed dicito neutra
plurali numero cherubin seraphinque beata
et cherub et cherubim, cherubin, <seraphin> seraphimque
atque seraph dabit -n neutro, dabit -m maris usu
(id est masculini generis)
hecque dabit virtus, dominacio sive potestas.

149 Ex ... 154 Deus] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 22–23.* **152** Ipsa ... 154 Deus] *cfr Ex. 25, 10–22; Hbr. 9, 4–5.* **155** qui ... 160 tegunt] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 24–25.* **166** cherubim ... 167 numeri] *cfr Hier., in Is. 1, 2 PL 24, 25b.* **169** Angelicum ... 174 potestas] *cfr Alex. Villa-Dei, doctr. 514–518.*

147 illis] illos *cod.* | conditor] condito *cod.* | eos *cum Isid. scripsi*, quos *cod.* **152** pleni] plena *cod.*
153 arche *i.e.* arcae **166** et⁴ *bis ser. cod.* **171** seraphin *cum Alex. Villa-Dei supplevi* **173** id ... generis *supra lin.*

Expositio Ox1

‘Hic satrapa, -e’, id est princeps vel prefectus et dicitur satrapa quasi persona 175
satis apta vel quasi satis sapiens, unde versus:

Est sapiens satrapa iudex quasi sat rapientes
est quoque Persarum rex vel prefectus eorum.

Gabriel Hebrayce fortitudo Dei interpretatur. Ubi enim potencia divina vel 180
fortitudo manifestatur, Gabriel mittitur. Unde et eo tempore, quo erat Dominus
nasciturus et triumphaturus de mundo, Gabriel venit ad Mariam, ut illum
annunciaret, qui ad debellandas potestates aeras humilis venire dignatus est.

Raphael interpretatur curacio vel medicina Dei. Ubicumque enim curandi vel 185
medendi opus in terra est, hic archangelus a Deo mittitur et inde medicina Dei
vocatur. Unde ad Thobiam idem angelus missus oculis eius curacionem
adhibuit, et cecitate detersa visum eius restituit.

98^v ‘Hic, hec vernula, -le’ nomen diminutivum, id est famulus pulcher serviens,
qui vernat in domo / divitum pulcritudine vestium, et dicitur de ‘verno, -as’, id
est clarescere, splendere vel delectari.

‘Hic, hec paradiscola, -le’ dicitur de ‘hic paradiscus, -i, -o’, et ‘colo, -is’, id est 190
habitare: qui inhabitat paradiscum. Et sciendum est, quod omnia composita
istorum verborum ‘gigno’, ‘colo’, ‘venio’ sunt communis generis [duorum]
excepto hoc nomine ‘verbigena’, id est Filius Dei, qui est tantum masculini
generis, unde versus:

Quod ‘colo’ componit, commune locare decebit 195
quodque facit ‘gigno’, ‘pincernaque lixaque’ iungo,

177 Est ... 178 eorum] *versus non inveni sed cfr Firm., dict. s.n. ‘satrapa’*: satrapa, -pe – a satis dicitur – satrape dicuntur sapientes iudices vel reges sive duces et prefecti Persarum et dicuntur satrape quasi satis rapientes. 179 Gabriel ... 182 est] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 10–11*. 181 Gabriel ... 182 est] *cfr Lc. 1, 26–33*. 183 Raphael ... 186 restituit] *cfr Isid., orig. 7, 5, 13–14*. 185 Unde ... 186 restituit] *cfr Tb. 11, 7–15*. 187 Hic ... 189 delectari] *cfr Job. Balb., cath. s.n. ‘verna’*: Verna a verno -nas dicitur hec verna -ne famulus pulcher serviens quia vernat in domo militum seu divitum pulcritudine vestium; *cfr etiam Job. Balb., cath., s.n. ‘verno’*: Verno a vernus dicitur verno -nas -navi id est clarere, splendere vel delectari florem sicut in aere. 195 Quod ... 196 iungo] *Alex. Villa-Dei, doct. 537–538*.

177 sat *scripsi metri causa*, satis *cod.* 178 vel + per *ante corr.* | eorum] earum *cod.* 184 in terra *ut vid.* 187 famulus + *litt. pl ante corr.* 192 generis *ut vid., supra lin.* | duorum *delevi, post duorum verbum generum scr. sed del. cod.*

EDITION 2

non est verbigena, nisi Christus, vera sophia
et ‘venio’ iungas, quod et ‘advena’ testificatur.

- ‘Hic, hec, hoc compar, -paris’, id est equalis, componitur de ‘con’ et ‘par, -is’.
- 200 <‘Vices’> nominativo caret, genetivo ‘vicis’, dativo ‘vici’. Dicitur de ‘vinco, -cis’ et a ‘vicis, vicissim’ adverbium, id est alternatim, mutuo, per vices.
‘Centenus, -a, -um’ dicitur de ‘centum’.
‘Millenus, -a, -um’ dicitur de ‘mille’.
‘Hic verbigena, -e’ dicitur de ‘hoc verbum, -i, -o’, et ‘gigno’, id est Filius Dei,
- 205 sicut predicatur.
‘Agalmata’, id est altitudines et dicitur sic quasi agens figuram alterius.
- ‘Hoc rus, -ris’ dicitur de ‘ruo, -is’, et est villa, terra, ager, sed proprie rura inculta, ager, qui colitur.
- ‘Yperliricus, -a, -um’ dicitur de ‘ypos’, quod est super, et ‘hec lira, -e’, id est
- 210 cantus dulcis super liram, et a ‘lirin’ enim Grece, quod est diversitas vel varietas Latine.
Dicitur ‘hec lira, -e’ quoddam instrumentum canendi, quasi ‘a varietate vocum dictum’, quia diversos sonos efficit, et inde ‘liricus, -a, -um’, id est ad liram pertinens vel dulcis et suavis. Equivocatio huius dictionis patet in versu:
- 215 Pollice tango liram, facio cum vomere liram.
- ‘Hec citha, -the’ Dorica lingua pectus dicitur, unde ‘hec cithara, -e’, sic dicta, quia in initio credebatur fuisse similis humano pectori, unde sicut ex pectore ita ex ipsa cantus ederetur.
- 220 ‘Alleluya’, id est canticum laudis divine.

197 non ... sophia] *Alex. Villa-Dei, doctr.* 542. 198 et¹ ... testificatur] *versum non inveni.*
206 agens ... alterius] *cfr LN s.v. ‘agalma’*: CONFL. VOC.: agalmata dicitur figura quasi agens ymaginem alterius. 207 Hoc ... 208 colitur] *cfr Job. Balb., cath. s.v. ‘rus’*: Rus a ruo ruis dicitur hoc rus ruris id est villa, terra, ager sed rura proprie inculti agri ut silve et pascua quasi rudia. Ager vero qui colitur, unde hoc rusculum -li dicitur parvum rus. 212 Dicitur ... 213 efficit] *cfr Isid., orig.* 3, 22, 8. 213 liricus ... 214 suavis] *cfr Job. Balb., cath. s.v. ‘lyricus’*: Lyricus a lyra dicitur lyricus -ca -cum ad lyram pertinens id est dulcis et suavis. 215 Pollice ... liram²] *Serlo Wilt., versus* 2, 51; *cfr etiam Job. Balb., cath. s.v. ‘lyra’*. 218 in ... 219 ederetur] *cfr Isid., orig.* 3, 22, 2.

199 con et *supra lin.* 200 Vices *supplevi ex sequentia* 212 hec] *he cod.* 214 Equivocatio] equinotat *cod. ut vid.* | dictionis *ut vid.* 217 Dorica] *dozica cod.* | cithara] *cithera cod.*

7 EDITION 3. The Commentary of *St2*: the ‘music commentary’

This commentary is written as an additional piece after the collection of hymn and sequence commentaries in the manuscript, and does not seem to be part of the original collection. The text is unique not only in the sense that it is as yet only known from this textual witness; it is also the only commentary to discuss music to any great extent, hence the subtitle given to this chapter.

7.1 MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

St2 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 88¹

A miscellany in five parts, containing among other works commentaries to hymns and sequences, Hugh of St Cher’s exposition of the mass and the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf.

Date: 13th/14th century

Provenance: Weingarten (Benedictine)

Material: Parchment

Size: 200 x 150 mm.

Folios: ii + 123 + ii

Contents: 1. fols 1^r–13^v: A miscellaneous section. A list of incipits of sermons; a comparison between natural and divine objects. Inc.: ‘Comparatio serpentis ad quemlibet Christianum venientem ad ecclesiam’; a sermon on the Blessed Virgin. Inc.: ‘Fons ortorum puteus aquarum. Nomina plura dicit ortorum quia tres sunt orti’; notes on the Holy Communion
2. fols 14^r–36^r: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: ‘Aristoteles dicit primo Ethicorum quod felicitas est bonum optimum’
fols 36^r–48^v: Sequence commentaries

¹ The description is based on the information in the manuscript catalogue, AUTENRIETH (1968), and my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

CHAPTER 7

fol. 36^r: *Dicit Aristoteles*²

fols 49^r–51^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***

fol. 52^{r-v}: Red lines for musical notation

fols 53^r–60^v: Hugh of St Cher: Expositio Missae. Inc.: ‘Dicit apostolus ad Ephesios: Induite vos armatura Dei’; verses on vices and punishments. Inc.: ‘Ypocrisis. Quod videor grata mihi dat virtus simulata’

3. fols 62^r–103^v: Geoffrey of Vinsauf: Poetria nova. Fol. 104^{r-v} is blank

4. fols 105^r–109^r: Religious tract of which the beginning is missing. Fol. 109^v is blank

5. fols 110^r–123^v: Fragments of a grammatical commentary. Inc.: ‘Prima causa est quia cognominis et pronominis in multis sunt communes prima ergo causa est necessitas’

The commentary on *Ad celebres rex* is found at the end of a large collection of sequence commentaries, but for various reasons does not appear to belong to the previous section.³ For one thing, it has its own integrated prologue, which does not agree with the Aristotelian methodological schema used in the prologue to the collection of commentaries in the manuscript, *Dicit Aristoteles*. Moreover, the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* is written by a different hand from the rest of the collection and is the only commentary to lack an initial letter. These observations have brought me to the conclusion that this commentary is a separate work that has been copied here on account of its belonging to the same genre as the other texts. In the light of the discussions on music in this commentary it is interesting to note that the subsequent folio, fol. 52, is ruled with red stave-lines for notation, though no music is actually written. Perhaps the scribe meant to copy the sequence with its music here to complement the earlier discussion.

The following remarks concern only fols 49^r–51^v. The text is written in one column throughout, comprising between 35 and 39 lines. The cursive script displays both single- and double-compartment *a*, and prominent loops to the right on the ascenders of the letters *b*, *h*, and *l*. Both straight *s* and *f* descend below the line and *g* is generally written with a loop on the descender which reaches well below the baseline. The Tironian *et*, sometimes crossed, is used. As

² This is one of the textual witnesses collated in the edition of this prologue belonging to the ‘Aristotelian tradition’; see Section 8.2 below.

³ This is hinted at in the manuscript catalogue; AUTENRIETH (1968), p. 159.

The Commentary of St2

regards spelling, the scribe alternates between *gn* and *ngn*.⁴ Fol. 49^r is reproduced here as Plate 5.

The text of the prologue *Dicit Aristoteles* in this manuscript is collated in Edition 4 below, but has not been chosen as the base manuscript for that edition. The prologue is written in a *cursiva antiquior*: the two-compartment *a* is used, the ascenders of *b*, *h* and *l* display prominent loops to the right. The shafts of the long *s* and *f* as well as other long downward strokes are highly accentuated and fairly broad.⁵

7.2 ON THE TEXT—THE COMMENTARY OF *St2*

In certain ways, the commentary of *St2* is one of the hardest texts to comprehend among this material on account of the peculiar and original definitions of musical terms especially in the latter part of the prologue. These do not seem to adhere to the standard understanding of contemporary medieval music theory as much as being a commentator's original interpretation of certain terms, perhaps in vogue at the time. A strong predilection to form tripartite interpretations of various terms is detectable, possibly in order to reflect the Trinity.

The text opens with an integrated prologue before the actual exposition of the sequence begins (lines 1–63). In this it is similar to Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis*. Three of the four headings in the prologue section are the same questions as Alan discusses at the beginning of his *Expositio*, though this author provides different answers.⁶ The subject-matter is here said to be divine praise, where for Alan it is 'spiritum increatum spiritusque creatos'.⁷ In the commentary of *St2* the intention inherent in the sequence is exclusively linked by the commentator to the subject-matter: its purpose is to express this divine praise. Alan instead identifies a twofold intention on the author's behalf, both to venerate Michael and to reveal the nature of the angels.

The commentator of *St2* expounds a fourfold *modus agendi* for this sequence and in doing so touches implicitly upon the question of *divisio textus*, since his

⁴ See for instance line 17, *ingnicoma*, and line 35, *significat*.

⁵ For *cursiva antiquior*, see DEROLEZ (2003), pp. 133–134.

⁶ These are a selection of headings belonging to the type C prologue, see Section 2.2.1.1 above.

⁷ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 195.

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linking of the *modus agendi* to different passages in the text has the effect of dividing it (lines 8–20). However, when analysed, the *modus agendi* seems rather to be duplex—an exhortative and a laudative mode—just as in Alan’s account, even if Alan had only identified three separate parts of the sequence.⁸ Both the first part, *clangat canora*, and the fourth, *transferte nos*, seem to be indicated by the author as being in the exhortative mode, although this specific term is not used. The second and the third parts seem both to be in the laudative mode: God is said to be praised for his acts of creation in the passage beginning ‘agmina per te facta’, and for his acts of re-creation at ‘facis hec flammea’.

In addition to these four parts, the author continues his *divisio textus* by identifying a further three separate sections (lines 15–20): the account of the angels and their offices, a distinction of the three hierarchies in the line ‘vices per binas’,⁹ and finally a separate part in the exhortative mode inviting us to sing praises: ‘vota demus per lyricas’.

Whereas Alan discusses authorship under the heading *quis auctor*, this commentator seems to be more interested in the genre of the sequence itself, to judge from the question ‘in quo vel in quibus consistat sequentia sive prosa’ (lines 3–4), the answer to which occupies the largest part of this integrated prologue (lines 21–63). As a preliminary remark before the issue is discussed in full, the author first makes a distinction between *prosa*, as understood by the grammarians, echoing Isidore’s definition, and a *prosa* in the church. In describing the latter, he declares that a *strophæ* is sung from one part of the choir and an *antistrophæ* is sung back.¹⁰

A sequence, according to this author, consists of *pneuma* and *carmen* (lines 33–38). In the etymological account of the former word this author seems to be unaware of the similar word spelt *neuma*, or of differences in meaning between the two, which is a matter of concern for Alan of Lille and repeated by the commentator of *Ox6*.¹¹ In the commentary of *St2* the word *pneuma* is interpreted in the standard way as the Latin *spiritus*, which interpretation is then

⁸ As in Alan’s text, these modes are not explicitly cited by the commentator but are referred to in descriptive language.

⁹ The word used here for hierarchies is *sacri principatus*, which is the general interpretation of the word (Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 202).

¹⁰ These forms are my emendations of *trophæ* and *antitrophæ*, which are found in the manuscript. It can, however, not be ruled out with certainty that the manuscript forms are neologisms, formed after the fashion of *antiphona*, with *trophæ* used to designate a sequence strophe. The term *tropa* is used as a synonym for sequences in the colophon of *Ox1*; see Section 6.2 above.

¹¹ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 198; Edition 1: *Expositio Ox6*, lines 21–30.

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used as an explanation as to why the notes in a musical manuscript are aptly called *pneuma* (lines 39–48).¹² Through an allusion to the definition by Peter Lombard,¹³ *pneuma* is further linked to *iubilus* as an expression of the exultant inexpressible joy.

In his development of the definition, the author claims three specific kinds of *pneuma*—‘est autem triplex *pneuma*’—the low, the middle and the high (lines 49–63). Sequences are said to be in the high kind, as they express the ineffable joy. Amalarius of Metz seems to have coined the similar term *neuma triplex* in his description of how troping in the form of three melismas is added to the Responsories *Descendit de caelis* and *In medio ecclesie*.¹⁴ Could it be that our author was aware of Amalarius’s term but adapted it to suit his own needs? In the commentary of *St2* the term *triplex pneuma* seems instead to refer to different kinds of notation. According to this author, the Office of Lent is notated with the low *pneuma*, which is said to express the soul’s desire for the remission of the temporal punishment while it fears to fall in the spiritual battle, and its being is, as it were, spared on behalf of the ‘nether spring’.¹⁵ This cryptic passage is an allusion to the two kinds of compunction of the soul, as explained, amongst others, by Gregory the Great in his Epistle 26. The compunction arising from the fear of punishment in hell for sins committed is distinguished from the second kind, the compunction arising from love for heavenly reward, which supersedes the former. According to Gregory the two kinds of compunction are figuratively described in Joshua 15 by the upper and nether springs that Axa asks of her father as a supplementary gift to the dry and southerly lands she had received.

The three kinds of *pneuma* are said to parallel three styles found in poetry (lines 49–50). The author is probably referring to the three *characteres* poets use in their work as found in Servius’s commentary on Virgil’s *Bucolica* and repeated by Bede in his *De arte metrica*.¹⁶ Each kind is furthermore linked to devotion,

¹² *Neuma* is usually the term for musical notation.

¹³ Petr. Lomb., in *psalm.* 46, PL 191, 456a.

¹⁴ KELLY (1988), p. 1. According to Kelly no one but Amalarius seems to use this term: ‘The usage is his alone: the term *neuma triplex* is used nowhere else, as far as I know, for this or any other phenomenon.’

¹⁵ In addition to being abstruse as regards content, the last clause furthermore displays an irregularity regarding grammar as *parcere* is here not construed with the dative. For *parcere* with the accusative, see HOFMANN-SZANTYR (1997), § 42 I b and VÄÄNÄNEN (1981), § 246.

¹⁶ According to Servius, the first style is when the poet alone speaks, the second when the characters introduced in the work are heard, ‘ut est in comoediis et tragoediis’, and the third style is a mixture of the first two; Serv., *eccl.* 3,1 and Bede, *metr.*, cap. 25.

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compunction and exultation respectively, which in turn are connected to ‘the way’, purgatory and the heavenly fatherland (lines 59–61). A fourth triad of mental, vocal and manual prayer is added, which leads the author to point out that a sequence is said to contain a twofold prayer: the *pneuma* alone represents the mental and the *pneuma cum carmine* the vocal prayer (lines 61–63).

The interest in musical terminology apparent in the introductory section is expressed again at various points in the commentary proper, most conspicuously towards the end (lines 221–234). In connection with the sequence strophe *cythara yperlidica* (lines 221–222) the author refers to Boethius and incorporates an adaptation of his account of the eight different musical modes. In this account the Boethian mode *hypolydius* is replaced with the mode *yperlidicus*, probably to agree with the sequence text.¹⁷ The names of the other modes also differ from the source text in that they end not in *-ius* but in *-icus*, as for instance *Lidicus* at line 228 and *Doricus* at line 229.¹⁸

In the exposition proper of the sequence (lines 64–251), the text is commented upon and paraphrased simultaneously with the presentation of the lemmata in the order in which they should be construed syntactically. Basic grammatical comments, such as the information on paradigms for nouns or verbs seen in *Expositio Ox1*, are not a major concern for the commentator in *Expositio St2*. In fact, his only comment in this category concerns the final consonant in *cherubin* and *seraphin* (lines 164–165), but the remark is laconic on the verge of being useless: to state that words of Hebrew origin ending in *-n* are neuter and plural but that the opposite is true for Greek is not particularly informative as he does not explain in what respect the Greek form is opposite.

The commentator offers some original interpretations for a few of the sequence strophes. The most remarkable is found at lines 112–117, regarding the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth strophes, following the numbering in AH 53. Instead of having a new sentence and a new theme begin in strophe 9, the commentator instead links it to the preceding strophe by means of the word *inquam*, letting *ymano* in strophe 8 act as the subject and

¹⁷ The mode *hyperlydius* is also mentioned in Isidore’s account of music, see Isid., *orig.* 3, 20, 7.

¹⁸ The forms in *-icus* seem to be the preferred one for these and similar words in sequences; see ELFVING (1962), p. 128 and 250.

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theologica symbola in strophe 9 as the object of *kathegorizans*.¹⁹ As a result, mankind is preaching the theological symbols, or praises as the word *symbolum* is understood here.

In connection with this, we may note that the interpretation of *symbolum* (lines 115–117) is here ultimately based on the understanding of the word as a composite of the meanings ‘with / together’ and ‘part / portion’, as was true of Alan’s commentary as well as the texts in *Ox6* and *Ox1*. The difference is seen in the identification of the referent: in this commentary, it is said to refer to the divine praises, since in these everyone contributes whatever he is capable of.

It can furthermore be pointed out that the image of mankind being created in the image of God is not contrasted here with the creation of the angels, which is the more common point of departure for a discussion of this issue for most of the other commentators. This author rather sees ‘sed ymago tua’ as an addition pointing to the excellence of mankind in spite of being God’s last making, invoking rationality and the gifts of grace: the fact that the soul, like God, is good, just and wise, becomes the grounds for the claim of being God’s image.²⁰

Another singular interpretation, at lines 181–200, concerns the numbers of the angels as presented in the fifteenth strophe. In this commentary the preference for interpretations in groups of three again comes to the fore as the separate numbers are assigned explicitly to each of the three levels in the celestial hierarchy. The commentator seems to divide the phrases accordingly: ‘vices bis per quinas bis’, equalling the number twenty,²¹ refers to the lower hierarchy of angels, as they double the perfection of the humans in their love of God and their neighbour; ‘atque quingenta dena’, which the commentator

¹⁹ The standard interpretation of these two strophes in the commentary material studied here is to let the theme of man as the image of God end with strophe 8 and let a new theme begin in strophe 9, where *theologica symbola* acts as the subject, with the subsequent *hec* as the object. For the form *kathegorizans*, see also Section 7.2.1 below. The word *dico* is used in the same manner at lines 168, 176 and 209.

²⁰ Compare Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 200.

²¹ Admittedly, the commentator only writes the phrase in this manner once. At the first instance (line 183) I have supplied the second *bis*, since the same interpretation is made here as further down in the text, namely that it equals twenty.

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equals to thousands,²² refers to the second hierarchy excelling over the first; and finally, ‘centena millena’ refers to the third and highest of the orders and represents consummate perfection.²³

The subsequent identification of man as the hundredth sheep is followed by a recapitulation of a peculiar grammatical rule saying that whatever the root of a numeral signifies in Scripture, a higher figure signifies the same (lines 201–210). This rule enables the author to link the figure ‘hundred’ to ‘ten’, denoting the fallen angels that are said to have been so numerous that they could have formed a tenth order of angels.

In his interpretation of *agalma* (lines 213–215) the author repeats the etymology of the word as meaning sheepfold, as we have seen in the commentaries of Alan and *Ox6*. In this respect it seems to denote heaven, as the author uses the simile of the shepherd gathering his sheep in the fold. However, this author also adds the original explanation *collegia*, perhaps influenced by the verb *colligo* in the subsequent image of the shepherd.

There is a further peculiarity concerning the sequence text as referred to by the commentator. In the *divisio textus* section there is a reference to the line ‘vota demus per lircas’ (line 20), but in the actual exposition to that passage the author instead refers to and comments upon ‘vota damus cythara yperlydica’ (lines 218–222), which is reported in the critical apparatus in AH 53 as a variant reading of ‘vota demus hyperlyrica cithara’. It is of course not possible to know for certain whether this was the exact words of the sequence text as used by the commentator or part of his paraphrase or interpretation of it, which could itself be influenced by a knowledge of other variants of the sequence.

Apart from Boethius, the only other author referred to explicitly in this text is Jerome, who is cited as the authority on the translations and meaning of *pneuma* in the passage discussed above (lines 44–46). A few Biblical passages are quoted, as well as two lines from *Laudes crucis attollamus*, the sequence by Adam of St Victor (lines 37–38), also cited by Alan.²⁴ Other sources are not easily detected in this text. The *distinctio* and exemplification of *clango* referred to above

²² There is perhaps the possibility that the numeral 5 (*v*) has been lost in the manuscript here (line 196), since the author is very specific about spelling out the result of the calculation in the previous clause. However, he could have chosen to be less specific at this instance, talking instead of ‘thousands’, wherefore my conjecture of a missing numeral has been placed in the apparatus.

²³ The more common way of dividing these phrases is ‘vices per bis quinas’; ‘bis atque quingenta dena’; ‘centena millena’.

²⁴ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 196.

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(lines 69–75) has the characteristic of a definition drawn from a dictionary, although the source has as yet not been possible to locate. The reference to *Laudes crucis* and the similar etymological understanding of *agalma* and *symbolum* could suggest an influence or at least a knowledge of Alan's *Expositio prosae de angelis*, but this amounts to no more than tentative speculation.²⁵ Like Alan (and the commentator of *Ox6*) this author comments on the inverted order of the angels in the sequence, referring to the Gregorian scheme for the authoritative order. Although the author of *Expositio St2*, like Alan, adheres to the Dionysian tradition of dividing the celestial orders in groups of three, as is clear from the above-mentioned assignment of the three numerical phrases to each, there is no definition or discussion of the concept of hierarchy, which by contrast is a salient feature in Alan's work.

In its originality as regards the understanding and rendering of certain terms pertaining to music theory, this text presents us with difficulties when attempting to assess its intended use. It is true that some of the explanations concerning music are standard and common, as for instance the definition of *symphonia* (lines 79–80) and of *iubilus*, *hymnus* and *canticum* (lines 41–44). However, the alterations in Boethius's scheme of musical modes and of their names suggest a greater concern on behalf of the author for adapting the theory to fit the sequence rather than using the sequence to explain the theory. The use of the term *pneuma triplex* and the puzzling definitions of it seem to confirm this impression. Based on the general absence of purely grammatical explanations and the higher literary style of the commentary, this text seems to be intended for a more advanced audience than many of the other commentaries in this material. The inclusion of discussions of musical terminology and theory would confirm this were it not that the interpretations are so eccentric.

7.2.1 Textual problems and remarks on the edition

As stated above, the manuscript *St2* is currently the only textual witness to this commentary, which means that the text is edited in accordance with the principles for Category 1 editions described above.²⁶ The text is generally fairly

²⁵ Other passages that could possibly indicate such a link are for example the addition of Uriel to the other individual angelic names (lines 98–99) and the two reasons for man being the image of God (lines 112–114).

²⁶ See Section 4.1.1 above.

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good, there is no reason to suspect any lacunas and there are no other major textual problems found here.

In the lemmata of the sequence, the scribe sometimes refers to each word with only the first few letters. This has not usually created a problem, as the words are repeated in the paraphrase or in the exposition. In one case, however, *kathegorizans* at line 115, this abbreviation technique has made it uncertain as to how the word should be spelt out. In this instance I have chosen to resolve the abbreviation as a present participle, since the lexical variant presented immediately afterwards is in this form. This is not the standard version of the sequence text but is reported as a variant in the critical apparatus in AH.²⁷

In three instances the word *effectu* appears in the manuscript, which has been changed to *affectu* in the edition (lines 7, 9 and 69). In all cases it has to do with the acts of singing and praying, that should be done *cum affectu*. I have judged it more reasonable that these acts are to be done with fervour than with effect. At lines 7 and 9 I have furthermore changed the manuscript *canet* to *canat* to conform with the accompanying *oret*. Perhaps this is a vacillation of vowels that could be linked also to the difference in *affectu* and *effectu*.

Two other corrections should be commented upon. The first concerns the phrase *pneuma compunctionis* at line 60. The manuscript reads *pneuma compassionis*, which here seems peculiar since it refers to the *pneuma* connected with purgatory, in connection with which compunction seems to be a more appropriate state of being than compassion. The second is the change of the manuscript *potestas almiphoma* to *potestas almiphona* in the edition (line 146), following the standard text of the sequence. I have here judged the manuscript form *almiphoma* with *m* as a scribal error for *n*, rather than as an orthographical rendering of the variant *almivoma*, reported in the critical apparatus of AH 53, with an *f*-sound for the *v*.²⁸ Since the interpretation of the epithet in *St2* is ‘sanctum sonum exprimens’, it seems more probable that the intended form would be with *-phona* to correspond to *sonum*.

²⁷ According to the apparatus in AH 53, this reading is found in seven manuscripts deriving from modern-day Italy, England and Germany.

²⁸ The critical apparatus in AH 53 reports the variant *almivoma* in two manuscripts, one from Seckau, Austria, and the other from Stavelot, Belgium. In the ‘Aristotelian tradition’ of the sequence commentaries (see Chapter 8) *almivoma* is the favoured variant. In the manuscript *Mü5* of the ‘Aristotelian tradition’ *almiphoma* has instead been judged as an orthographical variant for *almivoma*; see also Section 8.5.2.1 below.

EDITION 3: *Expositio St2*

49^r AD CELEBRES et cetera.

Ad huius sequencie evidenciam quatuor proponimus inquirenda: que materia, que intencio, quis modus agendi, in quo vel in quibus consistat sequencia sive prosa.

Materia omnium sequenciarum est generaliter laus divina. 5

Intencio est divinas laudes exprimere et orare, ut, quod canit vel orat ecclesia, canat vel oret cum affectu.

Modus quadripartitus est. Primo orat auctor huius operis inperans ecclesie, ut canat et oret cum affectu, quod pie canit vel orat, ibi: Et CLANGAT CANORA. Secundo laudat Deum ab operibus creacionis, id est AGMINA PER TE FACTA et ibi: NOS ULTIMA FACTURA. Tercio ab operibus recreacionis, ubi ait: FACIS HEC FLAMMEA et cetera. Quod enim angelos nobis deputat ad custodiam, ad nostram utilitatem pertinet. Et quarto et ultimo tamquam non de suis presumens meritis ecclesia militans ad vindicata recurrit suffragia, hoc est ad patrocinium angelorum, dicens TRANSFERTE NOS. Distinguit eciam novem ordines angelorum, dicens PLEBS ANGELICA, ubi intelligitur infimus ordo. Sequitur autem et de aliis usque ibi: AC SERAPHIN INGNICOMA. Deinde distinguuntur tres angelorum gerarchie, id est sacri principatus trinis constantes ordinibus, ibi: VICES PER BIS QUINAS. Tandem invitamur ad divinas laudes, ibi: VOTA DEMUS PER LIRICAS. 10 15 20

Nunc videndum est in quo vel in quibus consistat prosa. Sed nota aliud esse prosam apud grammaticos, aliud in ecclesiasticis officiis. Est enim prosa secundum grammaticos oratio lege metri soluta, et dicitur prosa quasi profusa, id est per diversas clausulas vel sentencias explicita. Sed, prout hic accipitur, dicitur prosa quasi prosoda vel prosodia, quod interpretatur accantus a 'pros', quod est ad, et 'oda', quod est cantus, quasi in ecclesia unus chorus accantat alii per stropham et antistropham, id est per conversionem cantandi et contrariam conversionem, que fit ex adversa parte chori. 25

23 secundum grammaticos] *cf. e.g. Isid., orig. 1, 38, 1.*

1 Ad] d *cod.*, *sed spatium litt. praebet* 7 canat] canet *cod.* | affectu] effectum *cod.* 8 inperans *ut vid.*
9 canat] canet *cod.* | affectu] effectum *cod.* 21 nota *ut vid.* 25 pros] prosos *cod.* 27 stropham]
tropham *cod.* | antistropham] antitropham *cod.*

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30 ‘Sequencia’ dicitur a sequendo, quia exprimit eternum bravium, quod ex
operibus evangelii assequemur. Inde est, quod evangelio precantatur quasi
quoddam prelude mentes humanas preparans et attentas faciens ad
audiendum evangelium et implendum.

35 Consistit sequencia in duobus, scilicet in carmine et pneumate, quasi
duplicem continens musicam, metricam sive rithmicam; rithmicam, ubi
numerus sillabarum attenditur. Et vocalis consonancia miliciam significat
Christianam, in qua nichil extra numerum, nichil absonum debet agere, quisquis
se verum exhibet Christianum, quia, ‘cum vox vitam non remordet, dulcis est
symphonia.’

40 Pneuma vero super annotatum supernum exprimit gaudium, quod iam
presagit fidelis anima et illud pneumate resonat et decantat. Est enim huiusmodi
pneuma, quod in prosis annotatur; idem est quod iubilus. Est enim iubilus vox
confusa mentis exprimens gaudium habitum de eternis, quod nec omnino taceri
potest nec penitus explicari. Ymnus vero est laus Dei cum cantico. Canticum
est exultatio mentis habita de eternis in vocem prorumpens. Notandum autem,
45 quod ait Ieronimus super Ecclesiasten idem esse ‘rua’ apud Hebreos, quod
‘pneuma’ apud Grecos, quod ‘spiritus’ apud Latinos; et bene notule, quibus
prose annotantur, dicuntur pneuma quasi spiritus, quia spirituale gaudium
significat.

50 Est autem triplex pneuma: Est enim humile, mediocre et altum, sicut tres
distinguuntur stili sive characteres in poemate.

Humile pneuma est, quo exprimitur desiderium, quod habet fidelis anima de
amocione pene temporalis timens, ne succumbat in lucta, et quasi parcutur ens
pro inferiori irriguo. Huiusmodi pneumate totum officium quadragesimale
annotatur, quod palam est in tractibus, qui tunc cantantur et humanos labores
55 resonant et dolores.

36 nichil¹ ... numerum] *cfr Hor., epist. 1, 18, lin. 59.* 37 cum ... 38 symphonia] ‘*Laudes crucis
attollamus*’, *AH 54, 120.* 41 Est ... 43 explicari] *cfr Petr. Lomb., psalm. 46, PL 191, 456a.* | vox
confusa] *cfr Aug., c. adv. leg. 1, 8.* 43 Ymnus ... 44 prorumpens] *cfr Petr. Lomb., psalm.
praefatio, PL 191, 58a.* 45 rua ... 46 Latinos] *cfr Hier., in eccles. 6, 9.* 49 tres ... 50 poemate]
cfr Serv., ed. 3, 1; cfr etiam Beda, metr. cap. 25. 51 desiderium ... 53 irriguo] *cfr Greg. M., dial. 3,
34, PL 77, 300d–301a: Sed quia, ut dixi, duo sunt compunctionis genera, dedit ei [i.e. Axae]
pater suus irriguum superius, et irriguum inferius. Irriguum quippe superius accipit anima,
cum sese in lacrymis coelestis regni desiderio affligit. Irriguum vero inferius accipit, cum
inferni supplicia flendo pertimescit.* 53 inferiori irriguo] *cfr Ios. 15, 19 et Idc. 1, 12–15.*

34 sive] scilicet *cod.* 41 idem est] *id est cod.* 42 quod *cum Petr. Lomb. scripsi, que cod.*
45 idem] *id est cod.* 52 timens *ut vid.* | ens *ut vid.*

Expositio St2

49^v Mediocre / pneuma est, quo exprimit ecclesia desiderium habitum de amocione pene purgatorii a defunctis, qui misere carnis ergastulum evaserunt.
Altum pneuma est [ut], de quo hic agitur, quod eterne mentis gaudium representat. Est ergo pneuma devocionis quantum ad viam; est pneuma compunctionis quantum ad purgatorium; est pneuma exultacionis quantum ad patriam. Item notandum, quod cum triplex sit oracio, mentalis scilicet, vocalis et manualis, prosa duplici oracione continetur. Mentalem enim pneuma significat, vocalis vero est ipsum pneuma cum carmine. 60

Literam sic construe: o REX CELICE, id est o tu rex, qui rengnas in eternum cum Patre et es celicus sive celestis, quia celestium mentes inhabitas et eos facis celum, id est celestes. CUNCTA CATERVA, que scilicet colleccio plurium adunata singnanter dicitur. CATERVA, ubi removeatur solitudo, que suspecta est et Deo odibilis: *Ve soli, quia, cum ceciderit, non habet*, qui sublevet eum. CLANGAT, id est canat vel oret cum affectu, quod sonat clangor vocalis. Plus enim est clangere quam canere simpliciter. Devocionem enim inportat et intensionem, que apud Deum meretur exaudiri. Est autem clangor sive celeuma nautarum et in bello congregiencium et proprie vindemiatorum. Clangunt naute, cum a litore se expediunt. Clangunt preliantes, cum ad bellum se mutuo cohortantur. Clangunt vindemiatores, ut sibi gratulentur. Clangunt Christiani milites, cum ad eterna gaudia spiritualiter extolluntur. 70 75

Sequitur: AD CELEBRES LAUDES, id est ad celebrandas divinas laudes, SYMPHONIA, id est vocum concordia. Est autem triplex simphonia: Est enim instrumentum musicum, de quo nichil ad presens; Est eciam mentalis et vocalis, que sic describitur et idem est quod armonia: Simphonia est plurium vocum in unum redacta concordia. 80

Sequitur: NOSTRA CONCIO SOLVAT ODAS. Et bene ait 'solvat'. Inportat enim debitum, quo tenemur ad Dei servicium et laudem.

Sequitur: CUM FESTA MICHAHELIS, id est angelorum, INCLITA, id est gloriosa, RENOVANTUR.

57 carnis ergastulum] *cfr e.g. Hier., epist. 22, 7, 4.* 68 Ve ... eum] *cfr Ecl. 4, 10.* 79 Simphonia ... 80 concordia] *cfr Boeth., mus. 1, 3.*

58 ut *delevi* 60 compunctionis] *compassionis cod.* 66 plurium] *plurimum cod.* 69 affectu] *effectu cod.*

EDITION 3

- 85 Nota: Michahel interpretatur quis ut Deus et est nomen tam multitudinis quam persone et exprimit divinam potentiam, quasi diceretur: Quis est tam potens ut Deus? Quia, cum aliquis angelus a Deo mittitur ad aliquid exsequendum, ubi est opus magna Dei potencia, Michahel nuncupatur. Talis fuit ille angelus, qui retrusit Luciferum in inferno et in reditu Christi ab inferis
 90 tamquam celestis athleta cum Christo potestates aereas expungnavit, et adhuc contra adversarium nostrum dyabolum ad custodiam nobis deputatur.
 Raphahel dictus est ille angelus, qui missus ad curandum Thobiam, et huiusmodi angelos credimus conferendis sanitatibus deputari, unde interpretatur Raphahel medicina Dei.
- 95 Gabriel vero dicitur ille angelus, qui nunciavit incarnationem beate virgini, unde interpretatur fortitudo Dei. Ubi enim maior virtus vel / fortitudo elucescit quam, cum Filius Dei *exinanivit semet ipsum formam servi accipiens?* 50f
 Invenitur eciam hoc nomen Uriel et interpretatur ignis Dei sed non est in celebri usu.
- 100 Sequitur: PER QUE, scilicet festa, TOTA MUNDI MACHINA LETABUNDA, id est leticia plena, PERORNATUR, id est valde ornatur. AGMINA PNEUMATUM, id est angelorum, spirituum, SUNT FACTA a TE. Ecce laus ab operibus creacionis. SED QUAMVIS FACIS HEC FLAMMEA, id est inflammancia nos ad amorem Dei, iuxta illud: *Qui facis ministros tuos ignem urentem*, vel FLAMMEA, id est nuncios, iuxta
 105 illud: *Qui facis angelos tuos spiritus*, et hoc: PER ANGELICAS OFFICINAS, id est per angelica officia, qui QUAMVIS HEC facias. HEC, de angelis, quod scilicet tibi serviunt et ministrant, cum SUNT INTER PRIMEVA, id est a primo evo creata et ita cum ratione creacionis tum ratione sue essencie dignissima et vere dingna. NAM HEC SUNT CREATA TUA, id est a te creata.
- 110 Sequitur: CUM SIMUS NOS ULTIMA FACTURA, sed, ut videatur in hoc ipso derogasse nostre conditioni, addit quoddam, quod pertinet ad hominis excellenciam, dicens SED YMAGO TUA. Est enim hic ymago Dei ratione naturalium, quia rationalis anima ut Deus, simul autem ratione gratuitorum,

85 Michahel ... Deus] *cf. Hier., nom. hebr., p. 82, lin. 7–8; cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 9.* 88 Talis ... 90 expungnavit] *cf. Apc. 12, 7–9.* 92 Raphahel ... Thobiam] *cf. Tb. 11, 7–15.* 94 interpretatur ... Dei] *cf. Hier., in Dan 2, 930–931; cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 9.* 95 Gabriel ... virgini] *cf. Lc. 1, 26–33.* | Gabriel ... 96 Dei] *cf. Hier., nom. hebr., p. 140, lin. 24; cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 9.* 97 exinanivit ... accipiens] *Phil. 2, 7.* 98 Uriel ... Dei] *cf. Isid., orig. 7, 5, 15.* 104 Qui ... urentem] *Ps. 103, 4.* 105 Qui ... spiritus] *Ps. 103, 4.* 112 Est ... 114 Deus] *cf. Alan. Ins., expos. pros. angel., p. 200.*

98 ignis *cum Isid. scripsi, ignitus cod.* 100 letabunda] *letatur cod.* 104 flammea] *flamea cod.*

Expositio St2

quia est bona, iusta, sapiens in suo genere, sicut Deus. YMAGO, inquam, 115
KATHEGORIZANS, id est predicans, THEOLOGICA SYMBOLA, id est divinas
laudes, que bene dicuntur symbola, quia in divina laude unusquisque pro
capacitate sua quasi bolum, id est partem suam, ponit.

Sequitur: HEC, scilicet agmina, sunt TRIPARTITA TER, id est trinis ordinibus
distincta, NOBIS, id est ad utilitatem nostram, quia inde ad nos mittuntur, ut 120
instruant, quid canendum, quid eligendum, et hoc PER OFFICIA PRIVATA, id est
singulis specialiter deputata, quod insinuat novem distinguens ordines
angelorum ab uno inchoans sic: PLEBS ANGELICA, quasi dicat: Primus ordo
distinctus ab aliis dicitur Angelus. Licet enim sit commune nomen omnium
angelorum, restringitur tamen ad unum ordinem. Sicut hoc nomen ‘confessor’
licet sit commune confessorum et martyrum, restringitur tamen ad ipsos 125
confessores, qui non sunt martyres. Interpretatur autem ‘angelus’ nuncius, quod
et ordini convenit et persone. Nam quilibet angelus est Dei nuncius et minister.

Sequitur de alio ordine: PHALANX, id est collectio, ARCHANGELICA, quasi
dicat: Secundus ordo est, qui dicitur Archangelus, id est angelorum princeps.
Revelant enim angeli huius ordinis inferiori ordini, quid nobis expediat. De hoc 130
ordine Michael a quibusdam esse dicitur. Dicunt enim hoc nomen convenire
uni soli persone.

Sequitur de alio ordine: PRINCIPANS TURMA, quasi dicat: Alius ordo est, qui
dicitur Principatus.

Notandum tamen, quod hic ordo non est tercius sed potius quintus, sed 135
ratione metri auctor coactus maluit servare rithmum quam ordinem. Huius
autem ordinis officium est formam insinuare reverendi maiores. Proximi autem
ordinis, qui dicitur Dominaciones, officium est nos hortari ad reverenciam
exhibendam. Quarti autem ordinis, qui dicitur Potestates, officium est repellere
50^v demones, qui nos impediunt in reverencia exhi- / benda et eius forma. Tercius 140
autem ordo, qui proximo loco sequitur post archangelos, bene dicitur Virtutes
eo, quod per eum Dominus virtutes et miracula operatur.

De hoc autem ordine dicitur VIRTUS URANICA, id est celestis. Nota: ‘Uranos’
interpretatur palatum, unde ‘urania’ quasi celestis, quia celum convexum est ad
modum palati. 145

126 Interpretatur ... nuncius] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8.* 130 De ... 131 dicitur] *cf. e.g. Iud. 9.* 144 celum ... 145 palati] *cf. Cic., nat. deor. 2, 49.*

114 inquam *ut vid.* 115 kathegorizans] *kathe cod.* 123 Angelus *ut vid.* 136 coactus *post corr. ut vid.* 137 Proximi *ut vid.* 138 dicitur *bis scr. cod.*

EDITION 3

Unus ordo desingnatur, ubi dicitur POTESTAS ALMIPHONA, id est sanctum sonum exprimens vel decantans.

Sequitur de sexto ordine, qui dicitur DOMINANCIA NUMINA.

De septimo autem ordine, qui dicitur Throni, sequitur: DIVINA SUBSELLIA, quasi dicat: Septimo loco sequitur ille ordo, qui dicitur subsellia sive Throni, cuius officium est nos invitare ad discernendum inter bonum et malum, unde sortitum est hoc nomen. Qui enim sibi thronum usurpat, tenetur habere discrecionem boni et mali. Dicuntur autem subsellia respectu cherubin et seraphin, qui sunt quasi prime sedes sive selle Dei, sicut sedes Dei est anima iusti.

De octavo sequitur: CHERUBIN ETHEREA, id est celestia. Interpretatur autem ‘cherubin’ plenitudo sciencie, nam ut ait auctoritas: Ab eo quisque denominatur ordo officio, quod plenius possedit in munere.

De nono autem et supremo ordine sequitur: SERAPHIN IGNICOMA quasi igneas comas habencia. Metaphorice ‘seraphin’ interpretatur ardens, cum quia ardet in amore Dei, tum quia nos facit inardescere in amore eius. Similiter cherubin denominatur a sciencia, cum quia habet plenam de Deo scienciam, tum quia mittit nos ad scienciam de divinis.

Et notandum, quod omnia nomina Hebraea in tali terminancia sunt neutri generis et pluralis numeri. Apud Grecos tamen, ut aiunt, accidit e contrario.

Sequitur: VOS, O MICHAHEL, CELI SATRAPA, id est principalis minister, et GABRIEL DANS VERA NUNCIA VERBI, id est de incarnatione verbi, ATQUE o tu RAPHAEL, VERNULA, id est nuncius, VITE, id est salvatoris. VOS, dico, TRANSFERTE NOS ad celestia. Et apostrophat ad angelos, quos suos constituit advocatos.

Sequitur: PER VOS COMPLENTUR MANDATA PATRIS, quasi dicat: Vobis utitur Pater ad explenda mandata circa homines.

Sequitur: Indivisa sunt, scilicet mandata et opera trinitatis. Ideo sequitur de Filio ibi: QUE, scilicet mandata, DAT SOPHIA EIUSDEM, id est sapiencia Patris.

Sequitur et de Spiritu sancto ibi: COMPAR QUOQUE PNEUMA, id est Spiritus sanctus, scilicet qui est par et equalis Filio et Patri. PNEUMA, dico, PERMANENS cum Patre et Filio IN UNA USYA, id est in eadem essencia, CUI DEO, id est uni

153 discrecionem ... mali] *cfr Hbr. 5, 14.* **154** sedes² ... 155 iusti] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 38, 2.* **157** cherubin ... sciencie] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.* | Ab ... 158 munere] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 14.* **160** seraphin ... ardens] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.*

146 Unus *ut vid.* | almiphona] almiphoma *cod.*

Expositio St2

Deo, qui unus est in essentia et trinus in personis, vos MILIA MILIUM regna, id est multa regna, id est multi angeli, in quibus regnat Deus, ESTIS ADMINISTRANCIA. 180

Sequitur trium gerarchiarum distinctio, quarum quilibet continet tres ordines angelorum, et distinguuntur tribus numeris diversi generis.

Inferior gerarchia designatur hac voce: VICES PER BIS QUINAS <BIS>, ubi designatur vicenarius sive denarius duplicatus, quod bene convenit infime gerarchie, que duplicat denarium, quia bone voluntati addit opus; vel duplicare dicitur, quia non est contenta humana perfectione, qua scilicet a homine observatur decalogus, sed longe perfectius diligit Deum et proximum. 185

51^r Secunda vero clausula secunda designatur / gerarchia, quia sicut precedens numerus a quingenteno deno superatur, ita prima a secunda ratione perfectionis exceditur gerarchia. 190

Per hoc, quod sequitur, CENTENA MILLENA, supreme gerarchie perfectio designatur, cui bene convenit uterque perfectionis numerus, centenarius dico et millenarius, ut hiis numeris consummata perfectio designetur.

Sic iunge litteram: o vos MILIA MILIUM regna, vos administratis PER VICES BIS QUINAS BIS, id est viginti, hoc quantum ad inferiorem gerarchiam, ATQUE QUINGENTA DENA, scilicet milia, et hoc quantum ad secundam gerarchiam, et CENTENA MILLENA et hoc quantum ad tertiam gerarchiam, ASSISTUNT IN AULA, hoc quantum ad triumphantem ecclesiam, AD QUAM, scilicet aulam, REX, qui est rex et sacerdos, DUXIT OVEM CENTESIMAM, id est humanum genus suo sanguine redemptum. 195 200

Sed quod dicitur 'centesima', proinde est ac si dicatur decima. Est enim regula, quod quicquid significat radix numeri alicuius in sacra pagina, idem significat numerus excrescens, unde per 'ovem centesimam' idem significatur quod per decimam, id est decimus ordo angelorum, qui cecidit, non quod decem unquam fuerint ordines, sed quia tot ceciderunt, quod posset ex eis unus ordo integrari. Quod autem dicit 'ovem', alludit evangelice parabole, ubi legitur, quomodo pastor dimissis nonaginta novem ovibus in deserto abiit et quesivit centesimam, quam amiserat, quam inventam ad priorem gregem piis humeris 205

187 diligit ... proximum] *cfr Mt. 22, 39; Mc. 12, 31; Lc. 10, 27.* 199 id ... genus] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 3 et 6.* 206 evangelice ... 209 reportavit] *cfr Mt. 18, 12-13; Lc. 15, 4-6.*

183 bis² *supplevi; cfr lin. 195* 185 bone] *boni cod.* 193 consummata] *consummata cod.* 196 ante milia *nota v (i.e. quinque) fortasse deest* 204 angelorum ... cecidit] *qui cecidit angelorum ante corr.*

EDITION 3

reportavit. OVEM, dico, VERBIGENAM, id est a verbo sive a Filio genitam, id est
 210 ex aqua et Spiritu regeneratam.

Sequitur: DRAGMAMQUE DECIMAM, id est eandem ovem, que in evangelio
 dicitur dragma inventa, scilicet a muliere dum scopis mundaret domum, DUXIT
 SUPER AGALMATA, id est super collegia, VESTRA, que dicuntur agalmata, quasi
 caule, quia sicut in caulis pastorum colliguntur oves, ita in agalmatis angelorum
 215 angeli colliguntur. 'Agalma' enim interpretatur caula, 'gerarchia' vero sacer
 principatus.

Sequitur: VOS PER ETHRA, id est in celo, NOS PER RURA, id est in terra, ubi more
 rusticano vivimus, rusticitate scilicet peccati, DAMUS DENA VOTA, id est
 decencia vota vel laudes armonie, id est laudis armonice. NOS, dico, PARS
 220 ELECTA. DENA vero dicitur respectu angelorum. Cum enim novem persolvunt
 Deo laudes, nos autem decimam utcumque persolvimus, et hoc CYTHARA
 YPERLIDICA, id est superiori quam sit Lidica, ut per cytharam Lidicam
 intelligamus laudem illam, que fit ab inferiori parte anime. Per cytharam vero
 yperlidicam intelligamus laudem digniorem, que fit a superiori parte anime, unde
 225 dicitur: *Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente.*

Et notandum, quod per hoc, quod ait YPERLIDICA, allusit ei, quod dicitur in
 musica Boecii, ubi agitur de tropis sive modis cantandi. Nam unus tropus est
 Lidicus a Lidica regione, ubi inventus est eius usus. Alius est yperlidicus, quasi
 super Lidicum, quia inferior est eo, et acucior. Alius dicitur Doricus, quia ipsum
 230 invenerunt Dores illi, scilicet Greci. Quartus dicitur ypodorius, quasi sub Dorio,
 quia micus intensus eo. Alius dicitur Frigius, quem invenerunt Friges. Alius
 ypopfrigijs, quasi sub Frigio, quia micus intensus eo. Septimus est Mixolidius, a
 Mixolidia regione sic dictus. Octavus et ultimus est ypermixolidius, quasi super
 Mixolidium.

Sequitur extrema conclusio, ubi orat, UT NOSTRA TIMIAMATA, id est nostre
 oraciones et pure devociones SINT accepte DEO et hoc CIRCA AUREAM ARAM,
 id est circa Christum, id est sint acceptabiles sanctis, qui assistunt ei laudantes et
 glorificantes eum. Christus autem bene dicitur ara, quia super ipsum et in fide
 eius spiritualia munera offeruntur. / Aurea vero dicitur propter excellens
 240 donum sapientie, quod possidet plenius omni creatura. 51^v

210 ex ... regeneratam] *cf. Io. 3, 5.* 211 evangelio ... 212 domum] *cf. Lc. 15, 8-9.* 219 Nos
 ... 220 angelorum] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 6; cf. etiam Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 9, 6.* 225 Psallam
 ... mente] *I Cor. 14, 15.* 227 musica ... 233 dictus] *cf. Boeth., mus., 4, 15-16.*

219 decencia *ut vid.* 221 utcumque *ut vid.* 231 micus *ut vid.* 232 micus *ut vid.*
 235 timiamata] *timiata cod.*

Expositio St2

Sed quid est, quod ait POST INCLITA MICHAHELIS BELLA? Per hoc innuitur illud spirituale bellum, quo adversus hostem malignum pro nobis dimicat angelus nobis ad custodiam deputatus formando in nobis scilicet merita, quibus dyabolice suggestiones repelluntur. Non enim inter ipsos angelos luctam intelligimus actualem. Legitur tamen Michahel a passione Domini Luciferum in inferno religasse, quem etiam mortuo antichristo creditur, ut ex Apocalipsi conicimus, in inferiori baratro retrusurum, ne scilicet potestate sibi ad tempus permissa ulterius abutatur. 245

Sequitur: QUO, id est ubi, scilicet circa aram, nos DECANTEMUS ALLELUIA, id est laudem Dei, et hoc IN GLORIA, id est in glorificatione nostra. 'Amen' idem vere vel sine defectu. 250

245 Michahel ... 246 religasse] *cf.* *Iud.* 6.

8 EDITIONS 4–7. Prologues and Commentaries of the ‘Aristotelian tradition’

8.1 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The great impact of the works of Aristotle in thirteenth-century scholarship becomes evident in a group of sequence commentaries representing a common ‘Aristotelian tradition’. All manuscripts now identified as belonging to this tradition are dated to the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, although for the time being it is not possible to date the texts themselves with certainty. Furthermore, the manuscripts all present collections of a large number of commentaries on sequences arranged according to the liturgical year, and the vast majority of them are also preceded by a prologue. The tradition seems to have flourished mainly in the southern parts of modern-day Germany and in modern Austria and Switzerland.

Three branches of the Aristotelian tradition have hitherto been identified among the texts investigated for the present work, each defined by the prologue preceding the commentary collection. These prefatory texts, here entitled *Dicit Aristoteles*, *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, also form the names of the separate branches of the tradition. The repertory of sequences commented upon in the collections varies, even within the same branch.¹

The present chapter presents the editions of these three prologues together with the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* from each branch, that is the commentaries of *Gr1* (Edition 4), *Kf4* (Edition 5) and *Kf1* (Edition 6) respectively. In addition, an abbreviated commentary from this tradition found in the manuscript *Mü5* is also edited (Edition 7).

The two prologues *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam* are more closely related to each other than to *Dicit Aristoteles*, as concerns the structure of the argumentation. Likewise, the commentaries on *Ad celebres rex* in *Kf4* and *Kf1*, belonging to the *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia* branches respectively, are also very intimately related, whereas the commentary of *Gr1*, from the *Dicit Aristoteles* branch, displays a more distinct text. Despite the close similarity between the

¹ A list of the sequence repertories in the manuscripts edited in this work is found as Appendix 3.

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commentaries in *Kf4* and *Kf1*, they nevertheless display certain differences, some very minor, that seem to belong firmly to one or other branch of the commentary.²

Here I will first briefly draw attention to certain specific traits of this tradition that separate the texts under discussion from the others edited in this work. The commentary of *Mi5*, although part of the Aristotelian tradition, will not be included in this general survey of characteristics since it is basically a collection of certain passages taken mainly from the *Vir speculativus* branch of the commentary tradition.

The prologues

All three prologues consist of two separate parts. The first deals with the discipline of theology to which divine praise and, hence, sequences are said to belong. The second part is dedicated to a discussion concerning the book of sequences to be commented upon. These two parts answer to the description by Minnis of the extrinsic and intrinsic sections of a prologue.³

The discussion of the discipline of theology is held along separate lines in the three prologues, each of which will be treated more thoroughly below, but all agree upon the absolute primacy of theology over all other sciences and commend its merits and goals.

In the intrinsic parts, the book of sequences is treated from the point of view of the four causes, which is the characteristic feature in the new kind of prologue developed in the thirteenth century—the type which Minnis labelled the ‘Aristotelian prologue’.⁴ The final cause in all the prologues is declared to be knowledge of different matters, whereas the material cause is treated differently in each text. All commentators embrace the common view of the formal cause being twofold—the form of the treatise and the form of procedure. The efficient cause, the author, is in all prologues claimed to be Gregory, an attribution which is probably made in order to adhere to the old convention of regarding Gregory the Great as the organiser of liturgical—‘Gregorian’—chant.

² These two commentaries will be discussed in Sections 8.3.3 and 8.4.3 below. I have found only one manuscript that does not adhere to the expected text: this is the manuscript *Go2* which presents a commentary collection preceded by *Sapientia vincit malitiam*. The commentary on *Ad celebres rex* follows the text as in *Kf1* for the first quarter of the commentary and thereafter the text in *Kf4*.

³ MINNIS (1988), pp. 30–33. See also Section 2.2.1.1 above.

⁴ MINNIS (1988), pp. 28–29. See also Section 2.2.1.1 above.

Prologues and Commentaries in the Aristotelian Tradition

In the well-known introductory poem found in several chant books from the ninth and tenth centuries and opening with the lines ‘Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus’, Gregory is said to have composed ‘hunc libellum musicae artis’.⁵ In our texts, there seems to be an attempt to make the traditional history of liturgical chant also embrace the genre of the sequence. The attribution seems at the same time to attest to the importance awarded to the sequence and effectively serves to put this genre on a par with the old liturgical chants.

In the three prologues the attribution to Gregory is made with some variation. In both *Dicit Aristoteles* (Edition 4) and *Sapientia vincit malitiam* (Edition 6) Gregory is said to have composed the old sequences, *antiquiores sequencias* (*Dicit Aristoteles*, line 24). In *Vir speculativus* (Edition 5) he is accompanied by Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome, ‘qui composuerunt sequencias de tempore pro maiori parte’ (line 92–93). These modifications of the efficient cause seem to reveal a possibility for the commentators of adhering to the tradition while still displaying an awareness that Gregory was probably not the author of all the sequences in the collection. Placing emphasis on the old sequences seems further to enable the commentators to view Gregory as the efficient cause of the genre of sequences itself.

In addition to the four causes, a number of headings from the type C prologue⁶ are also discussed in these prologues. In *Vir speculativus* the use of the book, its *utilitas*, is discussed together with the *titulus libri*, and in *Sapientia vincit malitiam* the title is treated together with the question of which part of philosophy the book belongs to—‘cui parti philosophiae supponitur’. This last issue is also briefly addressed in *Dicit Aristoteles*.

The commentaries

In the commentaries on *Ad celebres rex* belonging to the Aristotelian tradition, two new themes are treated that are not discussed in the previous texts edited here. The first of these is formed around the word *perornatur* in the sequence

⁵ The text is edited with some variants in AH 49, 1. The debate on the origins of Gregorian chant and the role of Gregory I has been long and intense. For a general survey of this tradition see HILEY (1993), pp. 503–513; for a recent contribution identifying Gregory with Gregory II, see MCKINNON (2001). For an edition and a discussion of different versions of this prologue, see STÄBLEIN (1968). An interesting passage linked to this issue is found in in Sicardus of Cremona’s *Mitrak*, where he writes that the Gradual, the Tract and the Alleluia were composed and brought into the Mass by Ambrose, Gregory and Gelasius; Sicard. Crem., *mitrale* 3, 3 (PL 213, 103d).

⁶ See Section 2.2.1.1 above.

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lines ‘per quae laetabunda/perornatur machina/mundi tota’. The commentators identify and thoroughly describe five separate ways in which the world is adorned through the feast of St Michael, although the five ways are not identical in all three texts.

The second new theme is that the angels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael are allotted to separate angelic orders. Their main missions—of defeating Lucifer, announcing Christ or healing Tobias respectively—are described in the other texts too, but here the nature of these missions seems to be the defining factor for placing them in separate orders, whence Michael is said to belong to the Principalities, Gabriel to the Archangels and Raphael to the Virtues.

In addition to these new topics, other themes are here developed in new ways or expanded. The three commentaries display similar descriptions of the offices of each angelic troop, introducing Albert the Great as a new authority in these matters alongside Gregory. In quoting from Albert, a new role for the Angels as guardians of the soul is defined. The Principalities, who in the other texts have not had a well-defined area of operation, are here said to delimit the power of the earthly principalities in removing or promoting rulers. As in the previous commentaries, the Powers are here seen as restraining evil forces from doing as much harm as they wish; but they are also referred to in the sequence text with the epithet *almivoma*—understood in the texts as promoting sanctitude—an alternative reading reported in the critical apparatus in AH 53 for the usual *almiphona*.

Another theme developed in this tradition is found in the discussion of man as the image of God. In Alan of Lille’s *Expositio prosae de angelis* two reasons for this are put forth, the first depending on the creation of man as a rational being, the second depending on the gifts of grace: that man is pious, strong and patient.⁷ These two reasons are repeated in different words in the commentary of *St2*.⁸ The commentaries in the Aristotelian tradition, though, form this discussion around the contradiction of the commonly held view of man as the image of God and Dionysius’s saying that the angel is an image of God. Three reasons are presented to prove the former: that man’s soul governs the microcosm, the human body, just as God governs the macrocosm; that man’s soul holds exemplars of everything, just as God held exemplars of the things he created at the beginning of time; and, finally, that God wanted to unite himself through Christ with human nature and not with the angelic nature.

⁷ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 200.

⁸ Edition 3: *Expositio St2*, lines 112–114.

Prologues and Commentaries in the Aristotelian Tradition

It seems that a remark made in the commentaries of the *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia* branches indicates a knowledge of the variant text *Has celebres rex* discussed above.⁹ In both commentaries the authors reject the version ‘quod aliqui legunt’, namely that the *d* in *Ad* is rendered as *c*. This could probably refer to a pronunciation of *Has* without the aspirated sound.¹⁰

It should finally be noted that since a complete and comprehensive catalogue of manuscripts containing medieval sequence commentaries is not yet available, it is very probable that this tradition will in future be revealed to have been larger and more influential, embracing further sub-branches than the three identified here.¹¹

⁹ See Section 3.1 above.

¹⁰ The passages are found in Edition 3: *Expositio Kf4*, lines 56–57, and in Edition 4: *Expositio Kf1*, lines 50–51.

¹¹ For instance, among the sequence commentaries that I have so far located (see the list of sequence commentary manuscripts in Appendix 2), the commentary collections in the manuscripts *Bg1*, *Bg2*, *Bg3*, *Lii1*, *Ma2*, *Om1*, *St3* and *Wi3* are all preceded by a prologue beginning *Gustate et videte*. The manuscript *St3* contains a commentary on *Ad celebres rex* which is not identical to the texts in any of the three sub-branches of the Aristotelian tradition identified here but nevertheless seems to be part of it as it treats some of the same themes in similar ways. Other commentary collections preceded by the same prologue text are *Gr5*, *Ma1* and *Sg1* (prologue beginning *Oportet in civitate*; none contains a commentary on *Ad celebres rex*). Two other manuscripts that could possibly also be part of this tradition are *Fr3* and *Fr2*. The manuscript *Fr3* contains a prologue beginning *Hoc est summum bonum* which discusses similar issues to those in the prologues edited here, but does not contain a commentary on *Ad celebres rex*. *Fr2*, which does not comment on *Ad celebres rex* either, has a very brief prologue on the causes for the sequences and contains sequences for the whole year.

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8.2 THE PROLOGUE *DICIT ARISTOTELES* AND THE COMMENTARY OF *Gr1*

In *Dicit Aristoteles*, which is the briefest of the three prologues in the Aristotelian tradition edited here, it is claimed that theology is the highest discipline and that justice makes man happy. In the commentary five strophes from the sequence *Iuga Bethel mens*, here attributed to Albert the Great, are quoted in connection with the description of the offices of the angelic troops.

8.2.1 Manuscript descriptions

The manuscripts are listed alphabetically according to their sigla. The base manuscript for the edition of *Dicit Aristoteles*, and the one from which the commentary is edited, is *Gr1*. In the *apparatus criticus* of the edition of the prologue the manuscripts are reported in the following order: *Gr1*, *Gr2*, *Mü3*, *St2*, *Kb2*, *Wi2*, *Go1* and *Sg2*.

Go1 Göttingen, Stiftsbibliothek, 210¹

A manuscript in four parts containing mainly sermons and hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date: 14th/15th century
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper (?)
Size: 4^o
Folios: 174

Contents: 1. 50 fols: Sermons (14th century)
 2. 66 fols: Compendium of the books of the Old Testament
 and a few sermons and miracles (14th century)
 3. 45 fols: Sequence and hymn commentaries (14th century)
 fols 1^r–23^v: ‘Synonima’ (fragment) and a *computus*
 fols 24^r–45^v: Sequence and hymn commentaries
 fol. 24^r: *Dicit Aristoteles*
 fols 32^r–33^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
 4. 13 fols: Sermons (15th century)

¹ The description is based on information in the manuscript catalogue, WERL (1844), and my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

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In the sequence commentary section, the text is written in a single column of 45 lines. Each new piece has a larger initial, two lines in height. There are a few marginal notes of one or a few words in length pointing out interesting passages in the commentary text. There is no rubric for the beginning of the sequence section but there is a remark in the upper margin, half of which seems to have disappeared when the page was trimmed. The last words read ‘celum et terram’.

Gr1 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 834²

A miscellany of instructive texts.

Date: 14th century

Provenance: St Lambrecht (Benedictine)

Material: Parchment

Size: 220 x 150 mm.

Folios: 193

Contents: fols 1^r–9^v: Laurentius de Aquileia: *Practica dictaminis*
fol 10^r: unidentified text fragment
fols 10^v–61^v: Priscianus: *Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVII et XVIII*. Incomplete with marginal glosses
fols 62^r–153^v: Sequence and hymn commentaries
 fol. 62^r: *Dicit Aristoteles*
 fols 83^v–85^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
fol. 101^r: The hymn commentary begins
fol. 125^v: A sermon. Inc.: ‘Disciplinam domini, fili mi, ne abicias’
fols 127^r–153^v: *Elementa theologiae*. Inc.: ‘Primus articulus respiciens [. . .] qui facit incestum’
fols 154^r–193^v: *Memorabilia, lexicalia, etymologica, grammatica, rhetorica*. Inc.: ‘Ulcus ais, pater genitor’

The following remarks concern only the sequence and hymn commentaries, which conclude with the following colophon: ‘In hoc volumine continetur opus bonum super sequencias et ymnos et hoc per totum annum et multa bona sunt

² The description is based on information in the manuscript catalogue, KERN (1942–1956), and my own observations of the manuscript. Fol. 62^r of this manuscript is reproduced as Plate 6 and fol. 83^v as Plate 7.

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ibi de x preceptis in generali et in speciali et eciam de vii sacramentis aliqua utilia et questiuncule pulcherrime.’ The first and last folios of this section are very dirty and damaged, which seems to suggest that they originally constituted a separate volume. On fol. 62^r the word *veteratus* is written with black ink in a different hand in the upper margin. The same hand seems to be responsible for marginal notes indicating certain passages beginning on fol. 89^v and onwards until the end of the sequence commentary. The margins are pricked and the pages are ruled for between 33 and 40 lines. The text is written in a textualis hand, and the scribe seems to use the horizontal stroke as a general abbreviation mark, not only for *m* and *n*.³ The ink is brown-black, with red ink used for the initial of each new sequence or hymn, for paragraph signs in the commentary and for underlining certain words, which can be the lemma, a source or an important concept to be commented upon. On fol. 62^r it is worthy of note that the lemma to the first sequence in the collection, *Grates nunc omnes*, is omitted and the commentary on it follows immediately as if continuing the prologue.⁴

Gr2 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 1592⁵

A miscellany of instructive texts.

Date: 14th century (in the colophon on fol. 123^v: 1344)
 Provenance: St Lambrecht (Benedictine)
 Material: Parchment
 Size: 150 x 100 mm.
 Folios: 123

Contents: fols 1^r–9^v: Hymn commentaries. Inc.: ‘Sicut dicit philosophus, quod unumquodque <scire> arbitramur’
 fols 10^r–19^r: Sequence commentaries
 fol. 10^r: ***Dicit Aristoteles***
 fol. 19^v: Blank
 fol. 20^r: A poem in German. Inc.: ‘Man hort abyrr richyn’. Fol. 20^v is blank

³ See Plate 7, line 8: *pangat*; line 11: *facit*.

⁴ This peculiarity can be noted also in *Gr2* and *Wi2*.

⁵ The description is based on information in the manuscript catalogue, KERN (1942–1956), and my own observations of the manuscript.

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fol. 21^r–39^v: Summa magistri Petri. Inc.: ‘Alter est modus
literarum sive epistolarum, qui docetur in scolis’. Fol. 39^v is
blank

fol. 40^r–71^v: Prosperus Aquitanus: Epigrammaticum ex sen-
tentiis S. Augustini liber unus (with glosses)

fol. 72^r–75^v: Aurelius Clemens Prudentius: Dittochaon (with
glosses)

fol. 76^r–93^v: John of Garland: Synonyma

fol. 94^r–97^v: John of Garland: De verbis deponentialibus

fol. 98^r–102^v: ‘De aequivocis nominibus versus’. Inc.: ‘Quid
sonat equivocum simile sub ymagine’

fol. 103^r–123^v: Ludolfus Hildesheimensis sive de Lucowe:
Flores grammaticae

In the hymn and sequence commentary section, the text is written in one column throughout in a textualis script. Black ink is used with red for initials, paragraph signs and for marking the lemmata. The margins are pricked and ruled for 39 lines. In the upper margin on fol. 1^r is written: ‘Frater Clemens H. de Ubelpach comparavit me’.⁶ The hymn prologue includes an account of the book of hymns in a similar style to *Dicit Aristoteles*.

Kb2 Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 925⁷

Glossed Sunday and feast day Gospels and Epistles, hymns and sequences.

Date: 15th century
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: 210 x 140 mm.
Folios: 458

Contents: fol. 1^r–145^r: Sunday and feast day Gospels with interlinear
glosses
fol. 146^r–154^r: Blank

⁶ According to the obituary of St Lambrecht, Clemens was a monk and prior there and died 3 February 1470; see PANGERL (1869).

⁷ The description is based on information in the manuscript catalogue (see the entry Klosterneuburg Kat. in the bibliography) and my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

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fol. 156^r–385^r: Sunday and feast day Epistles with interlinear glosses
fol. 385^v: Blank
fol. 386^r–413^v: Hymns and liturgical chants with interlinear glosses
fol. 413^v–458^r: Sequences with interlinear glosses
fol. 414^r: *Dicit Aristoteles*

All the texts in this manuscript have the same layout. The main text is written with ample space between the lines to accommodate the interlinear glosses and with broad outer margins for additional comments. Among the interlinear glosses are found syntactical numbering.⁸ The interlinear glosses in the sequence section end on fol. 430^v, which means that although the text of *Ad celebres rex* is included in the collection it is neither glossed nor commented. *Dicit Aristoteles* is written in a cursive script in one column of 40 lines with a large flourished initial and a large rubric in textualis formata.

Mü3 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 12205⁹

A miscellany.

Date: 13th/14th century
Provenance: Raitenbuch (Canons regular)
Material: Parchment
Size: 245 x 180 mm.
Folios: 93

Contents: fol. 1^r–16^v: Text on the Divine Office
fol. 17^r–24^v: Hugh of St Victor: *Speculum ecclesiae* (incomplete). Inc.: ‘De sacramentis ecclesiasticis ut tractarem’
fol. 25^r–36^v: Sequence and hymn commentaries
fol. 29^v: *Dicit Aristoteles*
fol. 37^v–47^v: Texts on the Canon Law
fol. 48^r–93^v: Various sermons

In the section containing hymn and sequence commentaries the text is written in a textualis script in two columns throughout. The columns comprise 54 lines.

⁸ See Section 2.2.1.3 above and 8.5.2 below.

⁹ The description is based on information in the manuscript catalogue, CCL, and my own observations of the manuscript.

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The sequence section begins with a rubric 'Expositio sequenciarum' that seems to be contemporary with the text.

Sg2 Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 467¹⁰

A miscellany containing *inter alia* sermons, *Gesta Romanorum* and sequence and hymn commentaries.

Date: 14th/15th century

Provenance: St Gall

Material: Paper

Size: 210 x 145 mm.

Pages: 396

Contents: pp. 3–66: Sermons
 pp. 67–70: Blank
 pp. 71^a–92^b: 'Summa paenitentiae'. Inc.: 'Peniteas cito. Iste liber cuius subiectum est penitencia cum eius partibus per modum introductionis' On p. 93 there is a text on why *Agnus Dei* is sung three times in the Mass
 pp. 94–96: Blank
 pp. 97–102: Versus de summa penitentiae. Inc.: 'Peniteas cito peccator cum sit misertor filius dei'
 pp. 104^a–111^a: Sermons and *Credo* in German; Raimundus, De collectis concludendis et aliis dubiis
 pp. 113–116: Blank. P. 117 holds various notes
 pp. 118^a–150^a: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: 'Sicut testatur philosophus'
 pp. 150^a–207^a: Sequence commentaries
 p. 150^{a-b}: ***Dicit Aristoteles***
 pp. 173^a–177^a: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
 pp. 207^b–210^b: Various excerpts
 pp. 211^a–217^b: A commentary on the hymn of John the Baptist (*Nuntius celso*). Inc.: 'In compendio theoloyce veritatis scribitur quod theologia sit imperatrix'
 pp. 218^a–225: Various excerpts

¹⁰ The description is based on information in the manuscript catalogue, SCHERRER (1875), and the proofs for the new manuscript catalogue in preparation by Beat von Scarpatetti, kindly made available to me by Theres Flury of the Stiftsbibliothek in St Gall, and on my own observations of the manuscript.

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pp. 226–357: *Gesta Romanorum* (selected passages)
pp. 358–373: A calender
pp. 374–375: A fable. Inc.: ‘Alexander magnus dictus macedo’
pp. 374–393: Notes by Gallus Kemli
pp. 394–396: Blank

In the sequence commentary section, the text is written in two columns, each consisting of around 40 lines throughout. In the upper margin on p. 150 ‘Exposiciones sequenciarum’ is written in gold. According to J. Duft the collection of sequence commentaries ‘wurde um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts geschrieben von P. Gall Kemly (1417–ca. 1481)’.¹¹ However, based on the information in the forthcoming manuscript catalogue for St Gall, in preparation by Beat von Scarpatetti, the miscellany seems instead to have been compiled and edited by him, with additions of his own hand, as for instance the index and a few other pieces. This volume can furthermore be identified with one of the entries in Kemli’s own catalogue of his book-collection.¹²

St2 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 88

This manuscript is described in Section 7.1 above.

Wi2 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3946¹³

‘Mammotrectus super Biblia’ and commentaries on sequences and hymns.

Date: 15th century (fol. 193^v: 1425; fol. 466^r: 1424)
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: 293 x 214 mm.
Folios: i + 477

¹¹ DUFT (1990), p. 123. This book gives two different dates for the year of Kemli’s death. On p. 27 Kemli is said to have died around 1477, which is claimed to be the last date when it can safely be assumed that Kemli was still alive (p. 137). On p. 123, on the other hand, he is said to have died around 1481, which information is repeated on p. 127.

¹² DUFT (1983), pp. 36–41. Gallus Kemli was an avid book-collector and later became a *clericus vagans*. For more information on Kemli, see DUFT (1990), pp. 27, 123, 127 and 137–138.

¹³ The description is based on information in the manuscript catalogue, CMV, on MENHARDT (1960–1961) and on my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

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- Contents: fols 1^r–470^v: Johannes Marchesinus: Mammotrectus super
Biblia; commentaries on sequences and hymns
fol. 327^{r-v}: ***Dicit Aristoteles***
fols 470^v–472^v: Four sequences in German: ‘Deynen haylant
lobe syon’ (*Lauda Sion*); ‘Ir lobet allew dew vil raine’ (*Verbum
bonum*); ‘Got grüss dich mutter unsers herrn’ (*Salve mater
salvatoris*); ‘Aller der welt gelegenheit’ (*Mundi renovatio*)
fols 473^r–474^v: Hymns with notation

The following remarks concern only fol. 327^{r-v}. The text is written in a cursive script in one column of 30 lines and the rubric in textualis formata. On fol. 327^r is written ‘Expositio sequenciarum lxxvi’ in another hand. The first sequence to be commented upon, *Grates nunc omnes* on fol. 327^v, lacks the large initial given to the other pieces as this text has been incorporated into the prologue text, as we have already seen happen in *Gr1* and *Gr2*.

8.2.2 On the text—the prologue *Dicit Aristoteles*

The title given to this prologue, *Dicit Aristoteles*, is also the opening phrase of the text, which invokes Aristotle as the main authority in the discussion both of the standing of theology and for the causes of the work in question.

In the extrinsic part of the prologue the author first proves the supremacy of theology by claiming it as the prerequisite science for man’s happiness. This argument takes as its point of departure a quotation from Aristotle’s *Magna Moralia* (line 5), in which work external advantages are pronounced a necessary auxiliary for man’s happiness.¹⁴ In its transferral to the medieval Latin world the quotation has undergone an extraordinary change in that it now declares quite the opposite. In *Dicit Aristoteles* the necessary requirement for a happy life is not external advantage but inner goodness, which meaning is achieved through an exchange of Aristotle’s ‘external’ for ‘internal’: ‘sine bonis interioribus non contingit hominem esse felicem.’ The Latin translation of the Greek, found in the florilegium *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, reads ‘in bonis exterioribus’ etc. which produces a meaning identical to that in *Dicit Aristoteles*. One of the textual witnesses to the prologue, *Mü3*, seems to be aware of the original Aristotelian

¹⁴ The authenticity of *Magna moralia* has been questioned. In BARNES (1995), p. xxiv, it is listed as ‘spurious’.

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sense and hence writes ‘sine rebus exterioribus’, but this is not in accordance with the essence of the argument in this context.

This argument is followed by a definition of justice, which is declared to be the vital component for man’s happiness. The whole passage is an adaptation of the opening section of the fifth chapter of *Formula vitae honestae*, a treatise by the sixth-century Spanish bishop Martin of Braga discussing the four cardinal virtues.¹⁵ This widely circulated text owes much to the writings of Seneca in both content and style, and was often ascribed to him during the later Middle Ages, sometimes under the title *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*.¹⁶ In *Dicit Aristoteles*, however, the work is referred to neither as Martin’s nor Seneca’s but is instead attributed to Aristotle, according to the introductory phrase of the section in question which classifies it among his ethical works: ‘[. . .] iusticia, quam diffinit Philosophus in moralibus’ (lines 8–9).¹⁷

Towards the end of this section, in connection with man’s specific capacity for reflection, Augustine is called upon in a citation equalling those who do not consider past, present and future with brute animals. The phrase as transmitted in the manuscripts has not been found in Augustine’s writings, although an echo of it can perhaps be found in Pseudo-Augustine’s *Sermones ad fratres in eremo commorantes* where he speaks of how the young make for bad leadership in that they will not pay regard to the past or the future.¹⁸

The intrinsic part of the prologue begins by placing the book of sequences in the realm of theology on account of its subject being divine praise (line 23). In the light of the conclusion drawn in the first section regarding the merits of theology, this placement attests to the importance and high standing awarded the sequences. Thereafter, the commentator analyses the sequences from the point of view of the Aristotelian four causes, albeit addressing only three causes

¹⁵ See the bibliography under the entry Mart. Brac., *form vit.*

¹⁶ The editor of the *Formula*, C. Barlow, adheres to the conjecture that Martin adapted a now lost work of Seneca’s just as he did with another work of his, *De ira*; BARLOW (1950), pp. 146–147. According to Martin’s own preface, *Formula vitae honestae* was written to help instruct laymen to lead a good and honourable life (Mart. Brac., *form. vit.* 1, 16–22). In successive years it was translated into various vernacular languages and also used as a school-book; BARLOW (1950), p. 208. Martin’s indebtedness to Seneca has been studied by BICKEL (1905); BARLOW (1950), p. 206.

¹⁷ Other examples of an attribution to Aristotle for this text have not been found.

¹⁸ Ps. Aug., *erem.* 14, PL 40, 1259: ‘Juvenes ergo imprudentes, duces vel Ecclesiarum pastores constituendi non sunt; ne ipsi simul cum populo pereant. Tales enim si praesunt, non solum *praeterita et futura non cogitant*; sed audire quod bonum est et verum aures suas obturant.’ (Emphasis added.)

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here (lines 24–30); the question regarding the material cause could seem to have been answered by the fact of placing the book of sequences under theology, as this is dependent on the subject-matter.¹⁹ As was mentioned above, Gregory is here stated to be the efficient cause for the ancient sequences.²⁰ The formal cause is, as expected, twofold: the mode of procedure is identified as being persuasive; the form of the treatise, its division, as consisting of as many parts as there are sequences. To conclude, the final cause is vaguely stated as the knowledge of that which is treated in the book, and hence the attainment of eternal bliss. Such a claim neatly proves again the importance of the book of sequences according to the preceding argument in the first part of the prologue.

8.2.2.1 *Dicit Aristoteles*: manuscript interrelations and textual problems

There are ten currently known textual witnesses for the prologue *Dicit Aristoteles*. Eight of these have been collated for the present edition, which is consequently made in accordance with the principles set out above for Category 3 editions.²¹ For the reasons stated there, no *stemma codicum* will be established. Still, manuscript relations will be analysed and discussed based upon agreements in errors and alternative readings in the manuscripts.

Six of the eight collated manuscripts, *Go1*, *Gr1*, *Gr2*, *Mü3*, *St2* and *Sg2*, are from the fourteenth century whereas two, *Kb2* and *Wi2*, are dated to the fifteenth. Only three of the manuscripts, *Go1*, *Gr1* and *Sg2*, include a commentary on *Ad celebres rex*. It is true that the manuscript *St2* also contains a commentary on this sequence but this exposition, as observed above, is not part of the large commentary collection but a unique work written in by a different hand as an additional piece.²² As regards the manuscript *Kb2*, it seems to have been planned for a commentary to *Ad celebres rex* as the sequence text is included but neither a commentary nor interlinear glosses have been written in.

Gr1 has been chosen as the base manuscript for the edition of *Dicit Aristoteles*, for which reason the commentary text to *Ad celebres rex* is edited from the same manuscript.

In the text of *Dicit Aristoteles*, the manuscript *Gr1* displays some unique errors and textual variants but provides nevertheless the best text in comparison with

¹⁹ The manuscript *Gr2* here adds the material cause, see the *apparatus criticus* to line 23.

²⁰ See above 8.1.

²¹ See Section 4.1.3 above. In addition to the eight manuscripts collated here, *Po1* and *S4* also display this text but were located too late to be incorporated into the present edition.

²² This commentary is edited here as Edition 3: *Expositio St2*.

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the other candidates for the base manuscript, *Go1* and *Sg2*. Some of its errors are found in the passage drawn from the moral treatise *Formula vitae honestae* by Martin of Braga (lines 9–16), which is textually problematic and will be discussed more fully below. Examples of alternative readings in *Gr1* against the others are *excogitet* for *consideret* (line 17) and *suadet* for *persuadet* (line 27). The base manuscript further displays a few unique omissions, of which some could be intentional, as for instance at line 2 (*et bonum* is left out), whereas others have the character of a mistake, as at lines 4 and 8 (*sit magis* and *felicem* omitted respectively).

A few words should be said about the most idiosyncratic of the textual witnesses to *Dicit Aristoteles*, the Weingarten manuscript *St2*, which has a number of omissions, rewritten passages and many alternative readings. The opening logical argument is rendered differently, for instance, as can be seen in the critical apparatus to lines 2–4. There are also several omissions, one in the problematic passage from Martin of Braga, which could be explained as a *saut du même au même* from *iustus* at line 13 to the same word at line 16, but the exclusion of these sentences could as easily be a scribe's drastic solution to dealing with a corrupt and incomprehensible passage. This manuscript also omits the attribution to Augustine of the quotation regarding the consideration for times future, present and past at lines 18–19.

Manuscript interrelations

The analysis of the interrelations of the manuscripts is based on an examination of agreements in error and alternative (but discarded) readings presented in two 'West tables' below, one for agreements between two textual witnesses that could also be shared with others and one for agreements unique to two manuscripts. As mentioned above,²³ these tables have their limitations; conclusions regarding the relationship between two textual witnesses can only be drawn after each shared error and alternative reading has been carefully examined. Such an examination is facilitated by the complete list of agreements between two manuscripts in Appendix 4a. With this *caveat* in mind, the tables taken together with the list are useful instruments for indicating possible relations between manuscripts.

²³ See Section 4.1.3 above. In Section 4.2.3 above, alternative readings not reported in the *apparatus criticus* and hence not included in the 'West tables' are listed.

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Table 1. Agreements in error and alternative readings

	<i>Gr1</i>	<i>Gr2</i>	<i>Kb2</i>	<i>Mü3</i>	<i>St2</i>	<i>Sg2</i>	<i>Wi2</i>
<i>Go1</i>	3	1	1	4	3	19	1
<i>Gr1</i>		1	2	3	6	2	2
<i>Gr2</i>			3	1	1	1	3
<i>Kb2</i>				1	1	1	17
<i>Mü3</i>					4	2	-
<i>St2</i>						3	-
<i>Sg2</i>							1

Table 2. Unique agreements in error and alternative readings

	<i>Gr1</i>	<i>Gr2</i>	<i>Kb2</i>	<i>Mü3</i>	<i>St2</i>	<i>Sg2</i>	<i>Wi2</i>
<i>Go1</i>	-	-	-	1	-	14	-
<i>Gr1</i>		1	-	1	3	-	-
<i>Gr2</i>			-	1	1	-	-
<i>Kb2</i>				1	1	-	12
<i>Mü3</i>					3	-	-
<i>St2</i>						-	-
<i>Sg2</i>							-

The manuscripts fall into two main families: one is formed by *Go1* and *Sg2*, which manuscripts are separated from all the others by a number of conjunctive errors and alternative readings. There is, for example, an omission on account of a *saut du même au même* at line 5 from one *felicem* to the next, they erroneously read *despiciunt* for *respiciunt* (line 19) and *dictas* for *causas* (line 20) as well as displaying a number of minor omissions and alternative readings (for example at lines 2, 4, 9 and 30).

Of the second family, the two fifteenth-century manuscripts, *Kb2* and *Wi2*, set themselves apart by twelve unique alternative readings and errors. Examples of alternative readings in *Kb2* and *Wi2* are for example *precedit* for *precellit* (line 7), a transposition at line 25 and the phrase ‘per ista scitur adaptacio’ for ‘per istam scienciam adeptio’ (line 30).

As for the rest of the manuscripts, there are no other two as closely linked as the pairs mentioned above. *Gr1* and *St2* share a few features, the most striking being an adaptation at line 30 where these two manuscripts end the text with an

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ut-clause and a finite verb, reading: ‘et per consequens, ut per istam scienciam ad scienciam felicitatis eterne deveniamus (pervenire valeamus *St2*).’ In addition to this, *Gr1* and *St2* share unique readings at line 6 and at line 23. The great number and the nature of the individual readings and adaptations in the text of *St2* renders it nevertheless hard to form certain judgements regarding its relationship to other manuscripts. The shared reading at line 30, however, suggests a link between *St2* and *Gr1*.

The manuscript *Mü3* shares only one unique alternative reading with the base manuscript, the addition of *tunc* at line 11 (although *Mü3* displays the preceding verb in the plural instead of the singular). With *St2*, *Mü3* shares 3 unique variants: an omission of *quod* (line 4), *sciencias* for *artes* (line 7) and *quam quis* for *quisquis* in the passage drawn from Martin of Braga (line 11). The three manuscripts together omit *iste liber* (line 28). However, none of these agreements, with the exception of line 11, carries much weight as a conjunctive reading or error.

Gr2, finally, seems to share features both with the pair *Kb2* and *Wi2*, and with the group consisting of *Gr1*, *Mü3* and *St2*. Together with the two fifteenth-century manuscripts *Gr2* reads *si* for *sed* (line 12) and *despiciunt* for non *respiciunt* (line 19). With *Gr1* it shares an omission of *animalia* (line 18), which seems to be a mistake. With *Mü3* it erroneously reads *sectam* for *sectari* (line 11).

To summarise: the eight collated textual witnesses to *Dicit Aristoteles* form two primary families where *Sg2* and *Go1* separate themselves from the rest. In the other family, *Kb2* and *Wi2* form a more closely knit pair and of the other four manuscripts—that is, *Gr1*, *Mü3*, *St2*, and *Gr2*—the first three could possibly be loosely connected whereas the last, *Gr2*, shares features both with *Kb2* and *Wi2* and with the other three.

In contrast to the picture sketched above, there are two instances where alternative readings are offered by a group of manuscripts that cuts across the two primary families. The first is in the quotation drawn from Aristotle at line 5, where *Gr1*, *St2*, *Go1* and *Sg2* have *convenit* instead of *contingit* as printed in the edition. The context makes *contingit* the better reading, as it rules out completely the possibility of a happy man without inner goodness, whereas *convenit* would

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make it possible but not appropriate.²⁴ The other instance is found at line 15, where the same group of manuscripts reads *mala* for *nulla*. Apart from the fact that *nulla* is the word used in the source, it is also judged as the better reading here as the sense must be that all verbal ambiguities are to be avoided, not just the wicked ones.

Textual problems

In spite of the brevity of this prologue, the text as transmitted in the manuscripts displays some demanding textual problems, of which the main ones are found in the passage drawn from the moral treatise by Martin of Braga. In the present edition the lines in question are 9–16, but the most problematic part begins at line 11. We can compare the corresponding section from Martin's text:

Quisquis ergo hanc sectari desideras, time prius deum et ama deum, ut ameris a deo. Amabis enim deum, si illum in hoc imitaberis, ut velis omnibus prodesse, nulli nocere et tunc te iustum virum appellabunt omnes, sequentur, venerabuntur et diligent. Iustus enim ut sis, non solum non nocebis, sed etiam nocentes prohibebis. Nam nihil nocere non est iustitia, sed abstinentia alieni est. [. . .] Ex nulla vocis ambiguitate controversiam nectas, sed qualitatem animi speculari.²⁵

with the text of the present edition:

Quisquis ergo hanc sectari desiderat, Deum prius amet, ut ametur ab eo. Sed in hoc illum imitaberis, ut velis omnibus prodesse et nulli nocere. Iustus ut sis, non solum non nocebis, sed etiam nocentes prohibebis. Nichil nocere non solum est iusticia, sed abstinentia alieni. Ex nulla ambiguitate vocis controversiam nectas sed calliditatem animi sectare.

²⁴ *Contingit* is also the word used in the florilegium *Auctoritates Aristotelis* (Auct. Arist. in the bibliography). On the difference in meaning between the Aristotelian original quotation and the Latin variant here and in *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, see Section 8.2.2 above. It is of course difficult to determine whether the commentators used a florilegium such as this or if they used a full translation of Aristotle's works. It is noteworthy, however, that the quotations from Aristotle in our texts are often phrased very similarly to those in *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, sometimes almost verbatim. Since the editor of the florilegium, J. Hamesse, shows that it must have been completed sometime between 1256 and 1325, it is not impossible that this collection could have been a source for these commentators. In any case, the many references to Aristotle in these texts attest to the same vivid interest in his works as does the making of the florilegium itself.

²⁵ Mart. Brac., *form. vit.* 5.

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No manuscript offers the text exactly as printed in the edition. To produce a coherent and syntactical text it has been necessary both to adopt readings from the two primary manuscript families and to make one emendation. In the following, this passage will be analysed in conjunction with selected errors and interesting alternatives in each manuscript.

There are four possible readings as regards the initial pronoun of this passage: *quisquis* as in Martin's text is offered by *Gr2* and *Wi2*; the manuscript *Kb2* reads *quis*; *quam quis* is found in *Mü3* and *St2*; and *si quis* is offered by *Go1* and *Sg2*.²⁶ It is interesting to note that *Go1* and *Sg2* place here the conditional conjunction found in the next sentence in the other manuscripts.

The variant *sectari* is offered only by the two fifteenth-century manuscripts, *Kb2* and *Wi2* (in *Gr1*, the abbreviation is difficult to interpret), although it is probable that the incomprehensible *sectam* in *Gr2* and *Mü3* is a result of a miscopying of this word. Even though *Mü3* and *St2* share readings initially in this sentence, *St2* omits the word corresponding to *sectari*, which could possibly be another example of this scribe's tactic when confronted with a dubious textual passage, as touched upon above. The reading *scienciam* found in *Sg2* and *Wi2* could be a solution to interpreting something illegible or incomprehensible, perhaps a corruption of *sectari*.

In the next sentence, *Go1* and *Sg2* offer the reading 'sed in hoc illum', which has been adopted in the edition. With the exceptions of *Mü3* and *St2*, both of which read *livet* and *sic aliquando* respectively,²⁷ the other manuscripts offer a reading which retains Martin's conditional conjunction but without the main clause to correspond with it. It is noteworthy that the base manuscript, *Gr1*, as well as retaining the conditional conjunction also has an initial *sed*.

Misunderstandings of abbreviations seem to have generated a range of errors and alternative readings in the last sentence of this passage, the most conspicuous of which is perhaps the nonsense phrase *communis iam* for *controversiam* found in *Go1* and *Sg2*, where it is also preceded by the addition *gracia vis*. In *Gr1* the word is rendered *contrarius iam* and in *Mü3* *conversa vitasset*. The verb *necto* is present only in *Kb2* and *Wi2*. Martin's *qualitatem* is not found in this prologue but we read instead *calliditatem* in *Gr2*, *Mü3*, *Kb2*, *Wi2*, *ex calliditate* in *Sg2* and *Go1*, and *castitate* in *Gr1*. A misinterpretation of the abbreviation for the word *animi* (that is, *ai* with a horizontal stroke above) could be the reason

²⁶ The reading in *Gr1*, 'quicquid habet genus sectari (?) desiderat', does not make syntactical sense.

²⁷ As has already been stated, *St2* breaks off the quotation after *nocere* in this sentence and resumes it again with 'Iustus enim secreta' at line 16.

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behind the puzzling presence of *cum* in *Go1* and *Sg2* (if the curved stroke of a cursive *a* is read as a *c* and the back stroke is taken together with the minim stroke of *i* to form *u*). In *Kb2* and *Wi2*, *animi* seems to have been replaced by the conjunctions *et* and *ac* respectively, to connect with the subsequent *secularitatem* in *Kb2* and *secularem* in *Wi2*, which is found instead of Martin's *speculare*. In the other manuscripts, *speculare* appears as *sectari* in *Gr2* and as *solare* in *Mü3*, *Go1* and *Sg2*, but has been left out in *Gr1*. The solution in the edition has been to emend the reading of *Gr2* to agree with the preceding *nectas* adopted from *Kb2* and *Wi2* resulting in the phrase *animi sectare*.

An explanation both of the manuscript errors and of the range of alternative readings in this passage could be that the paraphrased passage from Martin of Braga had been faulty in the various exemplars copied by the scribes which in turn caused new errors or triggered different strategies for copying: to copy what the scribe could interpret regardless of content, as with 'gracia vis communis iam'; to produce something new and coherent, as with *secularitatem* and *secularem* of *Kb2* and *Wi2* in the last sentence; or to leave out corrupted words or a whole passage as is perhaps the case with the omissions in *St2*. Another possibility could be that some scribes had immediate access to Martin's text or knew it more intimately and therefore changed or attempted a correction of an erroneous exemplar in order to make it conform more with the sense of the original, as with the presence of *nectas* in *Kb2* and *Wi2* and in the retaining of the conditional conjunction discussed above.

A variety of alternative readings has also been generated in the as yet unidentified passage allegedly taken from Augustine, in which the wicked are likened to brute animals. The reason for this simile is stated in the subsequent clause, where the animals are said to be unable to fulfil the requirements for attaining eternal bliss referred to in the preceding sentence, namely to consider the present, the past and the future. Among the textual witnesses, five manuscripts offer readings in agreement with this argument, namely *non respiciunt* in *Gr1* and *St2* and *despiciunt* in *Gr2*, *Kb2* and *Wi2*. The text of the edition is that of *Gr1* and *St2* as this is the more neutral of the two possibilities in that it does not seem to imply a deliberate or conscious act of will.

Finally, *Gr2* is the single witness to 'adepcio felicitatis eterne' at line 30, a reading which has been adopted in the edition as the *lectio difficilior* of the

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possible readings displayed in the other manuscripts.²⁸ The alternative *adopcio* is offered by *Go1* and *Sg2*, whereas *adaptacio* is displayed in *Kb2* and *Wi2*.²⁹ *Gr1* and *Sr2* here share a variant different from the others in that it produces a consecutive clause with a finite verb after *consequens*, giving the meaning that the goal of this work is not the attainment of eternal bliss but merely the knowledge of it ('ad scienciam felicitatis eterne'), which by comparison seems poor remuneration.

8.2.3 On the text—the commentary of *Gr1*

The commentary on *Ad celebres rex* in *Gr1* approaches the sequence primarily in theological and grammatical terms, whereas interpretations based on etymologies are not as prominent as in some of the other expositions presented here. In two instances the author notes and comments on the existence of transmitted variants of the sequence text even though no preference is stated (lines 201–203 and 225–226).

The structure of the commentary is formed around lemmata of the sequence text, which introduce each commentary section. The words of the lemmata are heavily abbreviated in this manuscript, mostly indicated only with the initial letter. This is of course a common abbreviation technique when the text referred to is well known, although it is not a standard method in the sequence commentaries examined for the present work. Sometimes, but by no means always, the words are written out in full in the subsequent section where the author repeats the sequence text, albeit restructured into prose and interspersed with pronouns, conjunctions, clarifying phrases, and sometimes also brief explanations and observations regarding a specific word.

In the first such section it becomes evident that the opening lines of the sequence pose problems for the readers.³⁰ The alternative understanding of 'pangat ad celebres laudes' presented in this commentary is to take *laude* (in the

²⁸ One parallel passage has been found where the same phrase is used in a similar context. The following is an excerpt of a discussion of the final cause in a sixteenth-century musical treatise by Nicolaus Wollick: 'De causis musicae artis. Capitulum tertium [. . .] Finalis autem est felicitatis aeternae adeptio vel ipsius animi ipsorumque spirituum recreatio'; NIEMÖLLER (1955), p. 7.

²⁹ *Mi3* has a different reading here, consisting of a sub-clause explaining the phrase *istam scienciam*.

³⁰ On the discussion regarding the opening words of the sequence, see Section 3.1 above.

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ablative) together with *canora symphonia* even though the prepositional phrase then seems to be left incomplete (lines 4–5).

After the paraphrase of the sequence, any grammatical issues in the passage are addressed, consisting mainly of explanations of the meaning of a word and its inflection. Examples of this are found at lines 7–9, where the different significations of *pango* are demonstrated together with the accompanying forms for the past tense, and at lines 147–150 where the words *satrapa* and *vernula* are thoroughly explained. In one such grammatical section (lines 80–82) we find the etymological definition of the word *symbolum* common to all the commentaries belonging to the Aristotelian tradition, where the component *sym* is translated into ‘with’ and *bole* into ‘meaning’, *sententia*, producing in this commentary an understanding of the word as ‘the collected meanings of the saints’. The word *agalma*, spelt in various ways in the manuscript, is here given two different interpretations (lines 191–193): divine mirrors (also understood as divine speculations or meditations) or divine receptacles, but, as the author himself states, the two suggestions amount to the same meaning: the angels are called divine mirrors since they are receptive of divine illumination. This interpretation is in stark contrast to that voiced in the other commentaries of the Aristotelian tradition edited here, which follow the understanding of *agalma* in its literal meaning of ‘sheepfold’ as found in Alan’s text.

A third section presents the interpretation of the sequence text in theological terms. The themes expounded in this commentary are: the ways in which the world is adorned through Michael (lines 18–31); the difference between angels and spirits (lines 37–46); man or the angels as the image of God (lines 54–74); the nine orders of angels and their offices (lines 84–138); the orders to which Michael, Gabriel and Raphael belong (lines 151–157); and, finally, the number of angels in heaven (lines 170–183).

The first of these themes is developed around the sequence lines ‘laetabunda perornatur machina mundi tota’ (lines 18–31). The world, including the heavens, is said to be adorned in five ways by St Michael: through the celebration of his feast, the intervention of his prayers, the heavenly as well as the daily battle that he fights on our behalf, his guidance of souls to heaven, and, finally, on account of his daily prayers for the church and for delivering our prayers to God. For these interpretations the author makes references to Daniel 12, 1, together with the Biblical Gloss to the same passage, and to Revelation 8, 3.

The difference between angels and spirits (lines 37–46) is defined with the aid of Gregory’s Homily 34 on the Gospel according to Luke together with a

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quotation from Psalm 103, 4, also in Gregory's text, and a passage from Isaiah 6, 6.

The dichotomy between the belief that man is made in the image of God and the words of Dionysius on the angels as the images of God is resolved by concluding that man is the image of God *par excellence*, a statement which is subsequently strengthened by the three reasons referred to above.³¹ This passage (lines 54–74) is introduced by a quotation attributed to Plato stating that man ought to be the image of God with respect to the soul, an opinion to which a certain Jeremias, *magister meus*, is also said to adhere.³²

Gregory's Homily 34, in conjunction with the works of Albert the Great, is again drawn upon in the explanatory account of the nine orders of angels and their respective offices (lines 84–138). In the commentator's interpretation of the names and offices of the angelic orders no mention is made of the differences in the hierarchical order as presented by Dionysius and Gregory; here, the order as presented in the sequence text is followed.³³ In the interpretation of the cherubim, a quotation from Seneca seems to be wrongly attributed to Aristotle under his usual epithet *Philosophus* (line 134).

In this section of the commentary five strophes of the sequence *Iuga Bethel mens* are quoted, in which the offices of the Angels, the Principalities, the Powers and the Dominions are respectively described.³⁴ The sequence is in this commentary attributed to Albert the Great and some of the strophes echo the formulations found in his commentary on Dionysius's *Celestial hierachy*, but they also resemble passages found in Peter Lombard's *Libri quattuor sententiarum*, Gregory's Homily 34 and Jerome's commentary on Matthew in the sections on the same subject. Paraphrases of these texts, albeit not the sequence strophes themselves, can also be found in the two commentaries of *Kf4* and *Kf1*.

The question regarding the number of the angels is answered here by quoting the well-known line from Daniel 7, 10 about the thousands upon thousands who administer and the myriads upon myriads who assist. Alongside this, the Biblical Gloss to the same passage notes that this is man's way of expressing the incomprehensible multitude of spirits in the heavens. The Gloss

³¹ See Section 8.1.

³² It has not been possible to identify this master, but the same name is mentioned in the two other textual witnesses to this commentary, *5g2*, from the abbey of St Gall, and *Go1*, from the abbey of Göttweig.

³³ Regarding the differences in the order of angels in the celestial hierarchy, see Section 3.1.2 above.

³⁴ The sequence text is edited in AH 37, 117.

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is likewise called upon to enlighten further the quotation from the book of Job drawn upon in the same passage.

8.2.3.1 *Expositio Gr1*: textual problems and remarks on the edition

The commentary of *Gr1* is edited in accordance with the principles set up for Category 2 editions above.³⁵ The text, which is edited from the representative manuscript *Gr1*, is found also in two other manuscripts, *Sg2* and *Go1*. The textual tradition for this commentary contains many problematic passages and even though the text in *Gr1* is generally better in comparison with *Sg2* and *Go1*, it nevertheless displays a number of errors. Most of these, however, are in passages where it has been possible to use the other two textual witnesses as correctives.

There is one easily identifiable *saut du même au même*, the missing passage of which has been supplied from the other two manuscripts (lines 57–60). Several omitted single words necessary for understanding the commentary text have likewise been inserted into the text, for example at lines 65, 69 and 151. Words left out of the lemma of the sequence text have also been inserted, but only if they are included in the subsequent paraphrased section, as at lines 10, 33 and 159.

From a number of peculiar errors it becomes apparent that the scribe of *Gr1* must have had difficulty in correctly identifying the letter *r* in the exemplar as it is often taken for *n*, as in the abbreviation *mgnos* for *mgros* (*magistros*, line 61), *un* for *ur* (line 102) and *negere inferiores* instead of *regere inferiores* (line 118).³⁶ This could possibly also explain the *unam* found in the manuscript, which has been emended in the edition to *vestra* (line 175), as it seems that the scribe must have misinterpreted the abbreviation *vra* with a horizontal stroke above.

At line 184 I have deleted the words *vel sic*, as they do not make syntactical or logical sense in the way they are placed in the manuscript; nor are they found in the other two manuscripts containing this text. It is possible that the phrase should have been placed at line 186, introducing an alternative interpretation of *rex verbigena*.

Remarks on the edition

As mentioned above, the scribe of this manuscript generally abbreviates the lemmata of the sequence by writing only the initial letter of each word. Other

³⁵ See Section 4.1.2 above.

³⁶ The erroneous *audent* for *ardent* could perhaps also be included in this category (line 138).

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words are sometimes also heavily abbreviated. An example is *agalma*: at lines 190–193 the word occurs four times, in a different guise at each instance—*almata*, *algal*, *algama* and *agal*. In the edition the word is rendered in the form *algama* as this seems to be the spelling hinted at by the scribe in three of the four instances. The word is always accompanied by a note in the critical apparatus as to its rendering in the manuscripts. The word *thymiama* is also only found in abbreviated forms, all of which omit the first *i* (lines 213–218). In the edition it is always printed *thymiamata* with a note in the apparatus on the form in the manuscript. The abbreviation *ibs* is resolved with the letter *h*, that is as *Ihesus*.

EDITION 4: *Dicit Aristoteles*

62^r Dicit Aristoteles in principio libro De anima, quod rerum noticiam certitudinaliter estimamus, quod honorabile et bonum, sed tamen magis illam scienciam, que est magis honorabilis et bona et felix, sicut theologia.

Quod ipsa theologia sit magis felix, patet per Philosophum, qui dicit, quod sine bonis interioribus non contingit hominem esse felicem. Theologia est bonorum interiorum, que faciunt hominem esse felicem. Ergo theologia est felix et honorabilis, et secundum hoc theologia precellit omnes alias artes.

5

1 quod ... 3 theologia] *cf. Arist., de an. Moerb. 402 a.* 5 sine ... felicem] *cf. Arist., M. M., 2, 8, 1: ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἡ τύχη ἐστὶ κυρία, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται εὐδαίμονα εἶναι; cf. Auct. Arist., p. 249 (1);* In bonis exterioribus quorum fortuna est domina, non contingit hominem esse felicem.

Fontes textus: *Gr1, Gr2, Mü3, St2, Kb2, Wi2, Go1, Sg2*

1 Dicit *praem.* sicut Mü3 Go1 | principio libro] primo libro Gr1, libro Mü3 Kb2, primo St2 anima + primo Mü3 | noticiam] necessarium Kb2, necessariorum Wi2 2 certitudinaliter] rectitudinem naturaliter Kb2 Wi2 | certitudinaliter estimamus *om.* St2 | estimamus] instruamus Gr1 | quod] quia Kb2 Wi2, + est Gr1, + dea *ut vid.* Gr2 | honorabile + est Mü3 et] est Kb2 | et bonum *om.* Gr1 | tamen *om.* Go1 Sg2 | magis *om.* Mü3 | illam ... 3 honorabilis] suadet que magis sunt honorabilia St2 3 magis *om.* Wi2 | et¹] est Kb2 | et bona *om.* Gr2 | sicut theologia *om.* St2 4 ipsa] autem Gr2, *om.* Go1 Sg2 | ipsa ... felix *om.* St2 | sit magis *om.* Gr1 | qui dicit *om.* Sg2 | dicit + quod magis felix Go1 | quod *om.* Mü3 St2 5 bonis] rebus Mü3, + operibus Kb2 | interioribus] exterioribus Mü3 | contingit] convenit Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2 | felicem + probatur Gr2 | Theologia] ergo theologia est felix et ipsa Mü3, sed ipsa theologia est felix et est honorabilis ergo theologia St2, sed ipsa theologia Kb2 Wi2 Theologia ... 6 felicem *om.* Go1 Sg2 6 bonorum interiorum] de bonis interioribus Mü3 que faciunt] quia (*ut vid.* Gr1) facit Gr1 St2 | felicem + et Gr1 | Ergo + ipsa Gr2 | Ergo ... 7 honorabilis] vel qui bona interiora facit St2 7 honorabilis] venerabilis Sg2 | secundum ... theologia *om.* Mü3 | hoc theologia] theologiam et ipsa theologia St2 | precellit] prevalet Mü3, precedit Kb2 Wi2 | alias artes] ciencias Gr1, alias ciencias Mü3 St2

10 Illud autem, quod facit hominem felicem, est ipsa iusticia, quam diffinit
Philosophus in moralibus dicens, quod iusticia est tacita nature convencio in
adiutorium multorum inventa. Iusticia non est nostra constitucio sed divina lex
et vinculum societatis humane. Quisquis ergo hanc sectari desiderat, Deum
prius amet, ut ametur ab eo. Sed in hoc illum imitaberis, ut velis omnibus
prodesse et nulli nocere. Iustus ut sis, non solum non nocebis, sed eciam
nocentes prohibebis. Nichil nocere non solum est iusticia, sed abstinentia alieni.
15 Ex nulla ambiguitate vocis controversiam nectas sed calliditatem animi sectare.
Iustus enim secreta non prodit, sed tacet tacenda et loquitur loquenda. Ad

9 iusticia ... 16 loquenda] *cf. Mart. Brac., form. vit. 5:* Quid est autem iustitia nisi nature tacita convencio in adiutorium multorum inventa? Et quid est iustitia nisi nostra constitucio, sed divina lex, et vinculum societatis humane? [. . .] Quisquis ergo hanc sectari desideras, time prius deum et ama deum, ut ameris a deo. Amabis enim deum, si illum in hoc imitaberis, ut velis omnibus prodesse, nulli nocere et tunc te iustum virum appellabunt omnes, sequentur, venerabuntur et diligent. Iustus enim ut sis, non solum non nocebis, sed etiam nocentes prohibebis. Nam nihil nocere non est iustitia, sed abstinentia alieni est. [. . .] Ex nulla vocis ambiguitate controversiam nectas, sed qualitatem animi speculari. [. . .] ubi honesta causa est iustus secreta non prodit. Tacenda enim tacet, loquenda loquitur; [. . .].

8 autem] quod *Gr1, om. Mü3* | hominem + esse *Mü3*, + scienciam vel *St2* | felicem *om. Gr1* | est *bis Mü3* | ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2* | quam] quod *Sg2* | quam diffinit] et diffinit eam *Mü3* | diffinit] diffinivit *Sg2* | diffinit ... **9** moralibus] philosophus in moralibus sic diffinit *St2* **9** dicens] dicit *Mü3 Go1 Sg2, om. St2* | quod *om. Gr2 St2* | est *om. St2 Kb2* tacita *cum Mart. Brac. scripsi*, tacite *codd.* | nature] tacita negando *Kb2 Wi2* | convencio] convens *Gr1*, conveniencia *Kb2 Wi2*, conveniens *Go1 Sg2* | in adiutorium] invidiorum *St2* **10** inventa] adinuenda *ut vid. St2*, + et *Mü3* | Iusticia + enim *Kb2 Wi2* | sed + divina clemencia et *St2* **11** et] est *Wi2* | Quisquis *Gr2 Wi2*, quicquid *Gr1*, quam quis *Mü3 St2*, quis *Kb2*, si quis *Go1 Sg2* | ergo hanc] habet genus *Gr1* | ergo ... desiderat] habere velit *St2* sectari *Kb2 Wi2*, sec^{et} *Gr1*, sectam *Gr2 Mü3*, scienciam *Go1 Sg2* | desiderat] desiderant tunc *Mü3*, + tunc *Gr1*, + ille *Kb2 Wi2* | Deum] deus *Gr2* | Deum prius] prius dominum *St2* **12** amet] amat *Go1* | ut¹] et *Gr1* | Sed] si *Gr2 Kb2 Wi2*, licet *Mü3*, + si *Gr1* | Sed ... illum] et sic aliquando *St2* | hoc] hec *Gr1* | imitaberis] imitabis *Go1 Sg2* | ut²] quod *St2*, + si *Kb2 Wi2* | omnibus] omni *Mü3* **13** Iustus ... 15 sectare *om. St2* | ut ... solum] non solum sis ut *Gr2* | sis *om. Mü3* | non¹] eciam *Gr1* | non² *om. Mü3* | nocebis] nocebit *Sg2* | sed ... 14 nocentes *om. Go1* | eciam *om. Gr1* **14** Nichil] nec *Mü3* | nocere *om. Gr2* | non *om. Go1* iusticia *om. Go1 Sg2* | alieni *supra lin. Gr1, om. Sg2* **15** nulla] mala *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2* controversiam nectas (nectat) *Kb2 Wi2*, contrarius iam *Gr1*, controversigiam *Gr2*, conversa vitasset *Mü3*, gracia vis communis iam *Go1 Sg2* | calliditatem] castitate *Gr1*, ex calliditate *Go1 Sg2* | animi] cum *Go1 Sg2, om. Wi2* | sectare *scripsi*, sectari *Gr2*, solare *Mü3 Go1 Sg2*, et secularitatem *Kb2*, ac secularem *Wi2, om. Gr1* **16** et] eciam *Gr1* | loquenda] loquendi *Gr2*

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felicitatem eternam requiritur, quod homo consideret presencia, preterita et futura, unde dicit Augustinus: Impii tamquam bruta animalia vivunt, quia presencia non respiciunt et futura, nec post hanc vitam requiem spectant.

Hiis visis accedendum est ad causas libri presentis, quia dicit Philosophus, quod unumquodque scimus, dum eius causas cognoscimus; ideo causas presentis operis videamus. 20

Supponitur autem iste liber theologie, quia subiectum est eius laus divina. Causa efficiens est sanctus Gregorius, qui antiquiores sequencias composuit. De causa efficiente non est multum curandum, dummodo sit bona sciencia et utilis. 25 Causa formalis est duplex: forma tractatus et forma tractandi. Forma tractandi est modus agendi, et ille est persuasivus; persuadet enim servire Deo nostro. Forma tractatus consistit in divisione libri, et dividitur iste liber in tot partes,

18 Impii ... 19 spectant] *locum non inveni.* 21 unumquodque ... cognoscimus] *cfr. Arist., metaph. Moerb. 983 a 25–26 et 994 b 29–30; Auct. Arist., p. 117 (29) et p. 119 (54).*

17 eternam *om. St2* | consideret] *excogitet Gr1* 18 unde] *ut Mü3* | unde ... Augustinus *om. St2* | dicit *om. Gr1 Kb2 Wi2* | Impii + autem *St2* | bruta animalia] *brutum animal Mü3 animalia om. Gr1 Gr2* | vivunt] *vivit Mü3* | quia] *quod Mü3, et Go1 Sg2* 19 non respiciunt *Gr1 St2*, despiciunt *Gr2 Kb2 Wi2*, non despicit *Mü3*, non despiciunt *Go1 Sg2* | et futura] *nec preterita St2, om. Go1* | nec *om. Mü3* | nec ... spectant *om. Gr2* | post + et post *Sg2* | hanc vitam] *habet unam St2* | spectant] *spectat Mü3, exspectant eternam Kb2, exspectant Wi2* 20 accedendum est *post libri Gr2* | causas] *dictas Go1 Sg2, + huius Gr2* | libri presentis] *huius St2* | quod + tunc *Gr2, om. Gr1 Mü3 Go1* 21 scimus] *scire arbitramur St2* | dum] *cum St2* | dum ... causas¹] *tunc rationes eius Kb2* | ideo] *ratio Wi2* | presentis] *istius St2* 22 operis] *libri St2 Go1 Sg2* | videamus] *accedamus Go1* 23 Supponitur] *supponendum ut vid. Gr1* | Supponitur ... eius] *est autem causa materialis sive subiectum Gr2* | iste liber] *huius libri Gr1* | theologie] *theologicæ sciencie Gr1 St2, philosophiæ Mü3* | quia] *et Mü3 eius laus om. Gr2* 24 sanctus] *beatus St2* | composuit] *exposuit Gr2, componebat Mü3* | De ... 25 utilis *om. Gr2* 25 efficiente + auctor *Gr1*, + aristoteles dicit quod *Mü3*, + aliarum *Kb2 Wi2* | dummodo] *dum nisi St2* | sit ... utilis] *sciencia est (sit Wi2) utilis et bona Kb2 Wi2* 26 duplex + scilicet *Kb2, om. Mü3* | forma¹ ... tractandi¹] *forma tractandi et forma tractatus Mü3* | forma tractandi] *di Gr2* | tractandi²] *tractatus Sg2* 27 et] *ut Kb2, om. Wi2* | ille + liber *Go1 Sg2* | est² *om. Kb2 Wi2* | persuasivus] *prosaycus Mü3, perswadivus St2, persuasive Kb2* | persuadet] *suadet Gr1* | enim *om. Kb2* | Deo] *domino Gr1* | nostro *om. Mü3* 28 tractatus + est que *St2* | libri *om. Sg2* | iste liber *om. Gr1 Mü3 St2* | partes + quod ponit sequencias sive *Gr2*

EDITION 4

quot sunt sequencie. Causa finalis est cognicio eorum, que in hoc libro
30 pertractantur, et per consequens per istam scienciam adeptio felicitatis eterne.

29 cognicio *om. Gr2* | eorum] rerum *Mü3* | que] qui *Kb2* | in ... 30 pertractantur] docentur
in hoc libro *St2* **30** pertractantur] tractantur *Gr1 Kb2 Wi2* | per²] ad *Mü3, om. Go1* | per² ...
eterne] ut per istam scienciam ad scienciam felicitatis eterne (eterne felicitatis *St2*)
deveniamus (pervenire valeamus *St2*) *Gr1 St2* | istam scienciam] ista scitur *Kb2 Wi2*
adeptio *Gr2*, que est de prosecucione *Mü3*, adaptatio *Kb2 Wi2*, adopcio *Go1 Sg2*

EDITION 4: *Expositio Gr1*

83^v AD CELEBRES, REX CELICE, LAUDES CUNCTA PANGAT CANORA CATERVA
SYMPHONIA

Sic ordina: o REX CELICE, CUNCTA CATERVA PANGAT AD CELEBRES LAUDES,
vel forte quibusdam placet, quod adtendatur per compositionem: PANGAT ergo
LAUDE CANORA SIMPHONIA, illud est ablativi casus. 5

Symphonia est dulcis cantus musicis instrumentis informata. Ieronymus dicit:
‘Symphonia’ Latine dicitur consonancia. Nota, quod ‘pango, -gis’ pro ‘cano’
facit preteritum ‘panxi’; ‘pango’ pro ‘coniungo’ facit ‘pegi’; ‘pango’ pro ‘pactum
facio’ facit ‘pepigi’.

ODAS ATQUE <SOLVAT> CONCIO TIBI NOSTRA, CUM IAM RENOVANTUR 10
MICHAHELIS INCLITA TOTA VALDE FESTA, PER QUEM LETABUNDA
PERORNATUR MACHINA MUNDI

ATQUE, CUM IAM MICHAHELIS FESTA VALDE INCLITA, id est valde solempnia,
RENOVANTUR, NOSTRA CONCIO SOLVAT, id est persolvat, TIBI ODAS, id est
laudes vel carmina—hoc nomen non invenitur habere plures casus nisi ‘odas’ et 15
‘odis’—PER QUEM, scilicet Michahalem, TOTA MACHINA MUNDI PERORNATUR
LETABUNDA.

Multipliciter autem per sanctum Michahalem perornatur machina mundi, id est
tota ecclesia in singulis partibus mundi dispersa. Primo ex ipsius festi annua
celebracione. Secundo perornatur suorum suffragiorum intervencione, unde 20
dicit in Danieli duodecimo capitulo: *In tempore illo consurget Michabel princeps
magnus, qui stat pro filiis populi sui vel tui.* Glossa ibidem: ut salventur predestinati.
Tercio perornatur ecclesia per sanctum Michahalem, quod tam de pugna celesti
quam de pugna cottidiana, quam pro nobis pugnat, intelligitur. Perornatur

6 est ... 7 consonancia] *cf. Hier., epist. 21, 29.* 21 In ... 22 sui] *cf. Dn. 12, 1.* 22 tui ...
predestinati] *cf. Gloss. 1498, gloss. interlin. ad Dn. 12, 1: STAT – ut salventur predestinati et
quasi stella maris.*

Fons textus: *Gr1*; **fontes emendationum:** *G01, Sg2*

3 pangat] pangant *cod.* 4 adtendatur *scripsi*, atteneatur *cod.* 10 solvat *supplevi*, *cf. lin. 14*
14 renovantur] ronoventur *cod.* 22 tui *bis* 23 tam *cum cett. scripsi*, iam *cod.*

EDITION 4

25 eciam machina celi per eum animarum inductione, quia ipse est ductor
animarum sanctarum in celum, secundum illud: Archangele Michahel, constitui
te principem super omnes animas suscipiendas. Orat eciam cottidie pro ecclesia
et oraciones nostras offert ad Deum, unde Apokalypsis octavo capitulo: *Stetit*
30 *angelus ante altare habens thuribulum aureum et cetera et data sunt ei incensa multa, ut*
daret deo oracionibus sanctorum omnium super altare aureum, quod est ante thronum
Domini et cetera.

NOVIES DISTINCTA PNEUMATUM SUNT AGMINA PER TE FACTA SED, CUM VIS,
FACIS HEC FLAMMEA PER <ANGELICAS> OFFICINAS

O rex celice, AGMINA PNEUMATUM, id est spirituum, FACTA PER TE SUNT
35 DISTINCTA NOVIES, id est in novem choros, SED, CUM tu VIS, FACIS HEC
FLAMMEA PER ANGELICAS OFFICINAS.

Qualiter hoc sit intelligendum, exponit Gregorius in omelia, dicens: ‘Angelus’
non est nomen nature sed officii. ‘Angelus’ enim Grece nuncius dicitur esse
Latine. Illi ergo celestis patrie spiritus semper quidem sunt spiritus, sed semper
40 vocari angeli nequaquam possunt, quia tunc solum sunt angeli, dum per eos
aliqua nunciantur, unde scilicet psalmus: *Qui facit angelos suos* et cetera. Ac si
dicat, quia eos, quos semper habet spiritus, et cum voluerit, facit angelos,
scilicet per missionem ad nos, et tunc dicuntur angeli fieri flammei, cum peccata
nostra purgant et nos in caritate Dei accendunt, unde Ysayas sexto capitulo:
45 *Volavit ad me unus de seraphin et in manu eius calculus, id est lapis ignitus, / quem* 84f
forcipe tulerat de altari et tetigit os meum et dixit: Purga peccatum tuum. Dicam igitur: o
rex celice, CUM VIS, FACIS HEC FLAMMEA PER ANGELICAS OFFICINAS.

INTER PRIMEVA SUNT HEC NAM CREATA TUA, CUM SIMUS NOS ULTIMA
FACTURA SED YMAGO TUA

26 Archangele ... 27 suscipiendas] CAO 1474. 28 Stetit ... 30 thronum] cfr *Apc.* 8, 3.
37 Angelus ... 42 angelos] cfr *Greg. M., in evang.* 34, 8; cfr etiam *Aug., in psalm.* 103, sermo 1, 15.
41 Qui ... cetera] *Hbr.* 1, 7, sed cfr etiam *Ps.* 103, 4. 45 Volavit ... 46 tuum] cfr *Is.* 6, 6.

26 illud] illum *cod.* | Archangele] archangelum *cod.* 32 agmina] an *cod.*, fortasse *perperam pro*
abbr. ag, cfr lin. 34 33 angelicas *supplevi, cfr lin.* 36 39 sunt *supra lin.* 46 Purga *post corr.*
peccatum] peccatus cod. 47 angelicas] angelica *cod.*

Expositio Gr1

NAM HEC, scilicet agmina, SUNT INTER PRIMEVA CREATA TUA, id est inter 50
primas creaturas tuas, quia primo die angeli sunt creati sicut habetur ex glossa
Strabi et Augustini super Genesim tercio, CUM NOS SIMUS ULTIMA FACTURA,
quia sexto die creatus fuit homo, et SIMUS YMAGO TUA.

Dicit Plato, sicut Ieremyas magister meus ait, in libro legis: Debet homo ad
ymaginem creatoris fieri tantum secundum animam. Hic oritur questio, 55
quomodo homo dicatur specialiter ymago Dei, quasi angelus non sit ymago
Dei, <cum tamen dicat Dionisius in libro de divinis nominibus: Angelus est
ymago Dei, manifestacio luminis non apparentis, speculum purum
perlucidissimum et cetera. Ad hoc dicendum, quod licet angelus etiam dicatur
ymago Dei,> tamen homo antonomasyce, id est per excellenciam, dicitur 60
ymago Dei, et hoc assignantur plures speciales rationes subtiles per magistros,
sed tres clariores intellectu sufficient.

Prima ratio, quia sicut Deus totus in mundo ubique est vivificans et movens
et gubernans omnia, sic anima in suo mundo, id est in corpore, unde Greci
appellant hominem microcosmum, <id est> minorem <mundum>. 65

Secunda ratio est, quia sicut Filius Dei est sapiencia Patris et exemplar
omnium—omnia enim Pater creavit in tempore secundum ydeas in Filio ab
eterno existentes—sic etiam in anima sunt similitudines omnium rerum, unde
quilibet artifex <volens> aliquid operari prius in anima concipit formam, quam
postea inducit in materiam. 70

Tercia ratio est, quia licet angelus sit in pleniori cognitione Dei secundum
naturam, non tamen secundum gratiam, quia homo fuit unibilis Deo, id est ut
Deus uniret sibi humanam naturam. Angelus autem non fuit unibilis, unde
Paulus ait: *Nusquam angelos apprehendit sed semen Abrahe.*

51 ex ... 52 Genesim] *cfr Gloss. 1498, gloss. interlin. ad Gn. 1, 1: CELUM – creatura spiritualis
ab exordio perfecta et beata, et gloss. interlin. ad Gn. 1, 3: FIAT LUX – angelica natura vel
corporalis lux. 54 in ... legis] locum non inveni sed cfr Aug., gen. ad litt. 7, 22. 57 Angelus ... 59
perlucidissimum] *cfr Job. Scot., versio Dion. Ar.: De divinis nominibus tom. 1, pag. 269.*
65 hominem microcosmum] *cfr e.g. Hraban., univ., PL 111, 306d; Petr. Comestor, hist. schol. 1, lin.*
12. 74 Nusquam ... Abrahe] *cfr Hbr. 2, 16.**

52 Strabi] *strabii cod.* | Augustini] *augustinus cod.* 56 homo *cum cett. scripsi*, *hic cod.*
specialiter *cum cett. scripsi*, *spiritualiter Gr1* | Dei *cum cett. scripsi*, *Christi Gr1* 57 cum ... 60
Dei *cum cett. supplevi* 60 antonomasyce] *antonomasye cod.* 61 magistros] *mgnōs cod.* 65 id
est *cum cett. supplevi* | mundum *cum cett. supplevi* 69 volens *cum cett. supplevi*

EDITION 4

75 THEOLOYCA KATEGORIZANT SIMBOLA NOBIS HEC TER TRIPARTITA PER PRIVATA OFFICIA

THEOLOICA SIMBOLA KATEGORIZANT NOBIS HEC, scilicet agmina, TER TRIPARTITA, idem est quod prius dixit ‘novies distincta’, PER PRIVATA, id est specialia, OFFICIA.

80 ‘Sinbolum’ dicitur a ‘sin’, quod est con, et ‘bole’, quod est sententia, quasi ‘collecta sententia sanctorum’. ‘Kategorizas’, id est predicas, unde ‘kategorie, -arum’, id est predicamenta.

Novenariamque distinctionem dicens:

85 PLEBS ANGELICA. Ibi tangitur primus chorus, scilicet angelorum. Horum speciale officium ponit dominus Albertus episcopus in quadam sequentia, dicens:

Dignitas est animarum
specialis, ut earum
sint custodes angeli.

90 PHALANX ET ARCHANGELICA. Ibi tangitur secundus chorus, scilicet archangelorum. Hi eiam habent privata officia, quia, ut dicit Gregorius: Qui minora nunciant, dicuntur angeli, qui vero summa nunciant, archangeli nuncupantur.

95 PRINCIPANS TURMA, id est caterva. Ibi tangitur chorus principatum. Horum et speciale officium tangit dominus Albertus:

Habent terre personatus
limitare principatus
et iura discernere,

78 prius dixit] *cfr lin. 32.* 80 bole ... sententia] *cfr Eberh. Beth., graecism. 8, 42.* 87 Dignitas ... 89 angeli] *‘Iuga Bethel mens’, AH 37, 117; cfr etiam Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 147, lin. 42–p. 148, lin. 45.* 91 Qui ... 92 archangeli] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8.* 96 Habent ... 101 statuere] *cfr ‘Iuga Bethel mens’, AH 37, 117; cfr etiam Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 139, lin. 3–34.*

82 post predicamenta *spatium fere 25 litteris praebet cod.* 83 Novenariamque distinctionem *ut vid.* 84 Horum] *horum rum cod.* 96 personatus *cum cett. scripsi, persenatus cod.* 97 limitare] *limitate cod.* 98 discernere *i.e. discernere*

Expositio Gr1

submovere superborum
sedes ducum et bonorum 100
hīs datur statuere.

VIRTUS URANICA. Ibi tangitur chorus virtutum. ‘Uranica’, id est ignea, ab ‘ur’, quod est ignis, unde in Genesi ait Dominus ad Abraham quindecimo capitulo: *Ego Dominus, qui eripui te de Ur Caldeorum*. Glossa ibidem: id est de igne. Et iterum alia glossa dicit: id est de incentivo viciorum. Virtutum autem officium 105
84^v exprimit Gregorius, dicens: Virtutes dicuntur hii spiritus, per quos signa et miracula frequenter fiunt. Dicuntur autem ‘virtutes uranice’, id est ignee, quia sicut ignis illuminat, sic illi angeli, qui signa et miracula exhibent, plurimum illuminant homines in cognitione Dei. Multi enim infideles nullo modo fuissent 110
illuminati ad fidem nisi per miraculorum visionem.

AC POTESTAS ALMIVOMA, id est alma. Ibi tangit chorum potestatum, vel dicuntur ‘potestates almivome’ quasi promoventes sanctitatem. Horum officium tangit Albertus:

Potestatum est arcere
nequam omne, <ne> nocere, 115
quantum vellet, valeat,

scilicet demones arcere a nocementis nostris.

DOMINANCIA NUMINA. Ibi tangit dominaciones. Horum officium est regere inferiores, unde Albertus ait:

Dominantes hii dicuntur, 120
quorum nutu disponuntur
actus ministrancium,

99 submovere ... 100 ducum] *cfr Sir. 10, 17.* **102** id ... 103 ignis] *cfr Hier., quaest. hebr. in gen., p. 15, lin. 1–2; cfr etiam Isid., orig. 16, 1, 9 cum app. crit.* **104** Ego ... Caldeorum] *cfr Gn. 15, 7.* **105** iterum ... viciorum] *cfr Gloss. 1498, gloss. interlin. ad Gn. 15, 7: UR – igne. Mistice: ignis Chaldeorum incentiva vitiorum.* **106** Virtutes ... 107 fiunt] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.* **114** Potestatum ... 116 valeat] *cfr ‘Iuga Bethel mens’, AH 37, 117; cfr etiam Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 127, lin. 45–72.* **120** Dominantes ... 122 ministrancium] *‘Iuga Bethel, mens’, AH 37, 117; cfr etiam Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 119, lin. 67–72.*

103 quod est *bis* **104** Ur] un *cod.* **107** Dicuntur] dicunt *cod.* | autem *ut vid.* | ignee] ignee *cod.* **111** potestatum] potestatum *cod.* **114** Potestatum] potestatum *cod.* **115** ne *cum AH supplevi* **118** regere *cum cett. scripsi, negere cod.*

EDITION 4

id est eorum, qui mittuntur ad ministrandum nobis, quia quattuor superiores
 chori numquam mittuntur ad nos sed illi dicuntur semper Deo assistere. Sed
 125 quinque inferiores ad nos mittuntur et illi dicuntur ministrare, ut dicit
 Dyonisius.

DIVINAQUE SUBSELLIA. Ibi tangit thronos, qui dicuntur eciam sella Dei, id
 est sedes. Horum officium ponit Gregorius, dicens: Throni dicuntur, quibus
 <ad> exercendum iudicium semper Deus presidet, unde psalmus: *Qui* sedes
 130 *super thronum* et *iudicas* equitatem.

CHERUBIN ETHEREA. Hic tangit octavum chorum. ‘Cherubin’ interpretatur
 plenitudo sciencie et bene dicit ‘etherea’, quia ether est superior aer
 serenissimus, et cherubin serenissimam habet intelligenciam in divina sciencia,
 unde eciam Philosophus animum sapientis etheri comparat, dicens: Animus
 135 sapientis est quasi mundus super lunam; et ibi enim semper serenitas est.

AC SERAPHIN IGNICOMA, id est ignea vel quasi igne compti. Seraphin enim,
 ut dicit Gregorius, ardentia vel incendencia vocantur eo, quod pre ceteris in
 amore Dei ardent et quia alios ad karitatem accendunt.

Postquam generaliter transivit auctor omnes choros, sequenter transfert se ad
 140 angelos personales, dicens:

O MICHAHEL, CELI SATRAPA, GABRIELQUE VERA DANS VERBI NUNCIA, ATQUE
 RAPHAEL, VITE VERNULA et cetera.

O MICHAHEL, SATRAPA CELI, et tu GABRIEL DANS VERBI NUNCIA, scilicet
 quando Christum nunciasti virgini gloriose Marie, dicens: *Ecce, concipies in utero et*
 145 *paries*. ATQUE o tu RAPHAEL, VITE VERNULA, VOS TRANSFERTE NOS INTER
 PARADISICOLAS, id est sanctos, qui sunt incole paradisi.

125 dicit Dyonisius] *cfr Job. Scot., ier. Dion. 10, lin. 86–88*: Ut enim prima ierarchia ipsum
 Deum annuntiat medie, ita media annuntiat primam tertie, et tertia annuntiat mediam quarte
 que est nostra; *cfr etiam Greg. M., in evang. 34, 12.* **128** Throni ... 130 equitatem] *cfr Greg. M.,*
in evang. 34, 10. **129** Qui ... 130 equitatem] *cfr Ps. 9, 5.* **131** Cherubin² ... 132 sciencie] *cfr*
Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10. **134** Animus ... 135 est²] *cfr Sen., epist. 59, 16.* **136** Seraphin ...
 137 vocantur] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.* **144** Ecce ... 145 paries] *Lc. 1, 31.*

127 dicuntur *cum cett. scripsi*, dicunt sunt *cod.* | sella] *sellia cod.* **129** ad *cum cett. suppleri*
131 Hic] *hec cod.* | interpretatur *cum Go1 scripsi*, interponitur *cod.* **134** sapientis *cum cett. scripsi*,
 sapienti *cod.* | dicens *cum cett. scripsi*, divinis *cod.* **136** ignicoma] *ignicema cod.* **137** pre ceteris]
 preteritis *cod.* **138** amore *post corr.* | ardent *cum cett. scripsi*, audent *cod.* **144** concipies]
 concipiet *cod.* **145** paries] *p post corr. ex pater cod.*

Expositio Gr1

‘Satrapa’, id est princeps, ut dicit glossa super primum regum. ‘Vernula’ est diminutivum a ‘verna’. ‘Verna’ id est servus. Inde vernaculus dicitur ille servus, qui in domo patris familias est genitus, unde angeli dicuntur vernule vel vernaculi, quia in domo summi patris familias, id est in celo, creati sunt. 150

Si autem queratur, de quibus <choris> sint predicti tres angeli, ad hoc dicendum, quod magistri nituntur probare, quod Michahel sit de choro principatuum per hoc, quod dicitur in Daniele: Ego *Michahel princeps magnus vester*. Et iterum in Daniele duodecimo: *Consurget Michahel princeps magnus*. Gabriel autem dicitur de choro archangelorum eo, quod summa nunciavit. Sed 155 Raphahel dicitur esse de coro virtutum eo, quod miraculose redidit Tobye visum, quia virtutum est miracula supra naturam valenter operari.

85^r Modo generaliter / includit omnia angelorum agmina:

PER VOS PATRIS CUNCTA COMPLENTUR MANDATA, <QUE> DAT EIUSDEM SOPHIA 160

PER VOS PATRIS et cetera. Per hoc pronomen ‘vos’ fit demonstratio propria ad omnes ordines spirituum pretaxatos, non tantum ad tres predictos angelos, sicut patet ex littera sequenti. Dicamus ergo: o vos agmina, CUNCTA MANDATA, PATRIS, QUE ipse DAT, COMPLENTUR PER VOS et eciam CUNCTA MANDATA, QUE EIUSDEM SOPHYA, id est Filius, qui est sapiencia, et CUNCTA MANDATA, QUE DAT PNEUMA, id est Spiritus sanctus. PNEUMA, dico, COMPAR utriusque, videlicet PERMANENS cum utroque IN USIA, id est substancia, CUI DEO vos agmina ESTIS SACRA AMMINISTRANCIA, id est sacri amministratorum. Agmina, dico, enim numero MILIA MILIUM. 165

Dicit quedam glossa super Daniele septimo: Milia milium, id est infinita milia. 170 Hic tangit numerum angelorum, qui expressus est in Daniele septimo. Ibi enim dicit: *Milia milium ministrabant ei et decies milies centena milia assistebant ei.*

147 dicit ... regum] *cfr Gloss. 1498, gloss. interlin. ad I Sm. 5, 8: SATRAPAS – id est principes.*

153 Ego ... 154 vester] *cfr Dn. 10, 21.* 154 Consurget ... magnus] *Dn. 12, 1.*

156 miraculose ... 157 visum] *cfr Tb. 11, 7–17.* 170 quedam glossa] *locum non inveni.*

172 Milia ... ei²] *Dn. 7, 10.*

147 Satrapa *cum cett. scripsi, seraphin cod.* 150 in² *supra lin.* 151 choris *cum cett. supplevi*

156 redidit *i.e. reddidit* 159 Patris] *principes cod., cfr lin. 164* | *que supplevi, cfr lin. 164*

162 pretaxatos *cum cett. scripsi, pertaxatos cod.* 163 cuncta] *tu nota cod.* 167 cui Deo] *cum do*

cod.

EDITION 4

VICES PER BIS QUINAS, ibi tangit illum numerum, scilicet ‘decies’, BIS ATQUE
 QUINGENTAS, ibi tangit hunc numerum ‘milies’, VESTRA CENTENA MILLENA,
 175 ibi tangit hunc numerum ‘centena milia’. ASSISTUNT IN AULA Deo VESTRA PER
 BIS QUINAS VICES, videlicet faciencia numerum denarium, ATQUE BIS
 QUINGENTAS VICES, id est faciencia numerum millenarium. Et dicit glossa
 super Daniele septimo: Non quod tantus numerus sit servorum Dei, sed quia
 180 humanus sermo exprimere non potest maiorem. Et ponitur hic numerus finitus
 pro infinito, quia dicitur in Iob: *Numquid est numerus militum eius?* Non autem
 simpliciter dico, quod numerus angelorum sit infinitus, sed sicut Gregorius et in
 glossa super Daniele: Supernorum civium numerus est infinitus nobis [est]
 sed Deo est finitus, nobis innumerabilis, Deo autem numerabilis.

Hii ergo Deo ASSISTUNT IN AULA, AD QUAM, scilicet aulam [vel sic] REX
 185 VERBIGENA, id est rex, qui est genitum verbum et tunc sumitur pro Filio, qui
 est verbum genitum a Patre. REX VERBIGENA, id est Pater generans verbum, id
 est Filium, DUXIT OVEM CENTESIMAM, que perdita fuit, sicut legitur ex
 evangelio, id est hominem, DRAGMAMQUE DECIMAM, id est hominem, qui
 additus novem choris angelorum dicitur facere ‘dragmam decimam’, que perdita
 190 et cetera. Quo igitur DUXIT, scilicet in aulam AD VESTRA ALGAMATA.

178 Non ... 179 maiorem] *cf. Gloss. 1498 ad Dn. 7, 10*: Milia milium. Non quod tantus numerus sit servorum Dei, sed quia humanus sermo maiorem exprimere non potuit.
180 Numquid ... eius] *Iob 25, 3*. **182** Supernorum ... 183 autem] *cf. Gloss. 1498 ad Dn. 7, 10*: Milia milium. Greg. Supernorum civium numerus et infinitus et definitus est Deo numerabilis et nobis innumerabilis.; *cf. etiam Greg. M., moral. 17, 18*. **187** ex evangelio] *cf. Mt. 18, 12–13; Lc. 15, 3–7*. **188** id¹ ... hominem¹] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 3*. | id² ... 189 decimam] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 6*. **189** que ... 190 cetera] *cf. Lc. 15, 8–9*.

173 quinas] quina *cod.* **175** Assistunt] assistit *cod.*, *cf. lin. 184* | vestra] unam *cod.* **176** quinas] quina *cod.* | videlicet *ut vid.* | faciencia *cum cett. scripsi*, faciencia *cod.* **177** faciencia *cum cett. scripsi*, faciencia *cod.* **182** est² *delevi* **183** innumerabilis *cum cett. scripsi*, numerabilis *cod.* **184** vel sic *delevi*; *fortasse ponendum post Patre lin. 186* | rex] rerum *cod.* **185** verbigena *cum cett. scripsi*, verbigenam *cod.* | genitum *cum cett. scripsi*, gencium *cod.* **186** genitum *cum cett. scripsi*, gencium *cod.* | verbigena *cum cett. scripsi*, verbigenam *cod.* **189** choris *cum cett. scripsi*, choros *cod.* facere + ag *ante corr.* | dragmam *post corr. ex dragmamque* **190** algamata] algmata *cod.*

Expositio Gr1

'Algamata' dicuntur divina specula vel divine speculationes, et eciam angeli dicuntur algamata, quia sunt receptibiles divine illuminacionis. Quidam tamen dicunt, quod 'algamata' sint divina receptacula, sed satis in idem reddit.

Nota differenciam inter 'tragma, -me' et 'dragma, -tis'. Hoc est idem quod canticum, unde in canticis: frequentate nobis dulcia cantica dragmatis. 195

VOS PER ETHRA

Sic ordina construccionem: NOS PARS ELECTA, id est predestinata <ad> beatitudinem, DEMUS Deo VOTA ARMONIE PER LYRICAS CYTHARAS. Sed VOS PER ETHRA, NOS PER RURA TERREA, id est vos in celo, nos in terra, DEMUS Deo VOTA et cetera. 200

85^v Quidam libri habent 'decima pars electa'. Tunc iste sensus: Nos dena, id est decima, pars electa. Vos enim estis novem chori angelorum. / Decima pars electa a Deo et cetera sicut prius.

'Armonia' dicitur sonus dulcis melodie, scilicet quomodo damus vota per lyricas cytaras. Lyra quattuor solet habere cordas et signat doctrinam quattuor evangelistarum. Cytara autem plures habet cordas et signat observanciam preceptorum Domini, ad que omnes tenentur [et eciam consiliorum tenentur] perfecte. 205

VOTA igitur Deo DEMUS PER LYRICAS CYTARAS, scilicet decem precepta et eciam consilia, que habemus ex doctrina quattuor evangelistarum, studiosius adinpleamus. 210

QUO POST BELLA MICHAHELIS INCLITA

QUO, id est ex quo vel ex qua re, NOSTRA TYMIAMATHA, id est nostre oraciones, SINT ACCEPTA DEO SUPER ARAM, vel circa aram, AUREAM.

191 Algamata ... 192 illuminacionis] *cfr. Job. Scot., ier. Dion. 3, lin. 115–126.* 192 Quidam ... 193 receptacula] *cfr. e.g. Hugo S. Vict., hier. coel., PL 175, 995b: [. . .] divina agalmata, id est sancta simulacra et receptacula divinitatis, et specula clarissima.* 195 frequentate ... dragmatis] *CAO 1438.* 201 Quidam ... electa] *cfr. AH 7, 178 et AH 53, 190 cum app. crit., p. 309.* 206 Cytara ... 207 Domini] *cfr. Isid., orig. 3, 22, 7.*

191 Algamata] *algal cod.* 192 algamata] *algama cod.* | Quidam *cum cett. scripsi*, quidem *cod.* 193 algamata] *agal cod.* | reddit *i.e. reddit* 197 ad *cum cett. supplevi* 203 prius *cum cett. scripsi*, primus *cod.* 207 ad que *cum cett. scripsi*, atque *cod.* | et ... tenentur² *cum cett. delevi* 210 consilia *cum cett. scripsi*, similia *cod.* 211 adinpleamus] *adinplemus cod.* 213 tymiamatha] *tymatha cod.*

EDITION 4

- 215 Thymiamatha est species aromatum suaviter redolens in igne et signat oraciones sanctorum, unde psalmus ait: *Fiat oracio vestra sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.* ‘Aurea ara’ signat dulcissimum Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, super quem et propter quem oracionum nostrarum thymiamatha debemus summo Patri devocius inmolare.
- 220 Et <nota>, quod iste versus extractus est de Exodo et partim de Apokalipsi. Dicit enim in Exodo tricesimo septimo: *Fecit Beselehel altare thymiamathis*, et signat corpus Christi, ut dicit glossa ibidem. Collectus est iste eciam versus de Apokalipsi octavo versiculo; dicitur: *Stetit angelus ante altare habens thuribulum* et cetera.
- 225 Quidam libri habent ‘quod post bella Michahelis ultima’, scilicet que in fine seculi exercet cum Antichristo, quem interficiet iussu Dei.

QUO IN COEVA IAM GLORIA CONDECANTEMUS ALLELUIA

- QUO, id est ex qua re, scilicet quod nostra thymiamatha erunt accepta Deo, nos et vos IN COEVA, id est in coequali, GLORIA CONDECANTEMUS, id est simul
- 230 cantemus, ALLELUIA.

- ‘Alleluia’, sicut dicit glossa in Apokalipsi, est laus verbis inexplicabilis. Dicitur autem in libro interpretacionum, quod ‘alleluia’ interpretatur laudate Dominum vel laudacio Domini. Ad hanc laudacionem exultanter perducatur nos dulcissimus pater noster Dominus Ihesus Christus, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto est
- 235 benedictus in secula. Amen.

216 *Fiat ... tuo*] *cf. Ps. 140, 2.* 221 *Fecit ... thymiamathis*] *cf. Ex. 37, 25.* 222 *dicit ... ibidem*] *cf. Gloss. 1498, gloss. interlin. ad Ex. 37, 25: ALTARE THYMIAMATHIS – s. corpus Christi vel quoslibet sanctos, in quibus ardet semper divinus ignis et semper caro consumitur.* 223 *Stetit ... 224 cetera*] *cf. Apc. 8, 3–4.* 225 *Quidam ... Michahelis*] *cf. AH 53, 190 cum app. crit., p. 309.* 231 *est ... inexplicabilis*] *cf. Gloss. 1498, gloss. interlin. ad Apc. 19, 1: ALLELUIA – scilicet laus humanis verbis inexplicabilis.* 232 *alleluia ... Dominum*] *Hier., nom. hebr., p. 159, lin. 13.*

215 *Thymiamatha*] *thyma cod.* 218 *thymiamatha*] *thymatha cod.* 220 *nota cum cett. supplevi* 221 *Beselehel cum Ex. 37, 1 scripsi, Yesabel cod.* 227 *coeva*] *in quo e cod., cf. lin. 229* 234 *est*] *et cod.*

8.3 THE PROLOGUE *VIR SPECULATIVUS* AND THE COMMENTARY OF *Kf4*

The prologue *Vir speculativus* and the commentary from this branch in the manuscript *Kf4* constitute the texts in Edition 5. The prologue proves the excellence of science in general and of theology in particular. The commentary text displays a concern for etymologies and includes a paraphrase of the sequence text both at the beginning and at the end of each new section in the exposition. The latter paraphrase is interspersed with numerous brief explanatory phrases functioning as glosses on the sequence text.

8.3.1 Manuscript descriptions

The manuscripts are listed alphabetically according to their sigla. The base manuscript for the edition of *Vir speculativus* and the manuscript from which the commentary is edited is *Kf4*. In the *apparatus criticus* of the edition of the prologue the manuscripts are reported in the following order: *Kf4*, *Fr1*, *Fr4*, *Kf2*, *Kf5*, *Ma4*, *Mii4*, *Ox2a*, *Sf2*, *Ox2b* and *Wi4*.

Fr1 Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Leonh. ⁹¹

A theological miscellany.

Date: 1356
Provenance: Leonhard-stift (Collegiate chapter)
Material: Paper
Size: 270 x 195 mm.
Folios: 373

Contents: fols 28^{ra}–84^{va}: Henricus de Uriamaria Iunior: Questiones quarti Sententiarum
fols 84^{va}–91^{ra}: On the coming of Antichrist. Inc.: ‘Hic agatur de antichristo. Antequam veniat dominus ad iudicium’
fols 92^{ra}–105^{vb}: Questions on the *Summa* of Raymond of Pennaforte. Inc.: ‘Queritur utrum circa summam reimundi primo et cetera’

¹ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, POWITZ (1968), and my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

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- fol. 106^{ra}–141^{va}: ‘Casus ad Summam Henrici de Merseburg’.
Inc.: ‘Labia sacerdotum custodiunt scienciam’
- fol. 142^{ra}–183^{rb}: Commentary on Honorius of Autun’s
Elucidarium. Inc.: ‘Trahe me post te’
- fol. 184^{ra}–258^{rb}: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.
‘Seneca ad Lucillum [sic] epistola undecima sic scribit: nulla
sapientia naturalia corporis ac anime vicia ponuntur’
- fol. 258^{va}–336^{rb}: Sequence commentaries
fol. 258^{va}–259^{rb}: *Vir speculativus*
- fol. 337^{ra}–350^{ra}: Johannes de Fonte: Conclusiones in quartum
Sententiarum. Inc.: ‘Samaritanus—de prima continet con-
clusiones quatordecim’
- fol. 350^{va}–361^{vb}: A Latin vocabulary. Inc.: ‘Quoniam ut ait
Aristoteles et facili paralogyzatur virtutem vocabuli ignorans’
- fol. 362^{ra}–365^{vb}: On the sacraments. Beginning defect
- fol. 366^{ra}–368^{vb}: ‘Regimen contra pestilentiam’. Inc.: ‘[F]amosa
pestilencia et nota de qua scripserunt ga[lienus] er cellmerdes
[?]
- fol. 368^{vb}–372^{ra}: ‘De pestilentia’. Inc.: ‘[R]everendissime
domine in regimen vestrum contra epidimiam seu pestilenciam
nunc currentum siccale’
- fol. 372^{ra}–^{va}: Notes on ‘De pestilentia’. Inc.: ‘[N]ota regimen
contra pestilenciam et curativum primo de aere universaliter
considera si in loco in quo morans hospicia’

Both the hymn and the sequence commentary sections are written in two columns throughout, consisting of around 52 lines each. The commentary is written in a *cursiva antiquior*, and the lemmata of the sequence are in a *textualis* hand.²

Fr4 Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. lat. qu. 78³

Sequence commentaries (incomplete manuscript).

Date: Beginning of the 15th century
Provenance: Germany
Material: Paper

² For *cursiva antiquior*, see DEROLEZ (2003) pp. 133–134.

³ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, POWITZ (1979), and my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

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Size: 285 x 210 mm.
Folios: 20
Contents: fols 1^r–20^v: Sequence commentaries
fol. 1^r: *Vir speculativus*

This manuscript is incomplete and the text ends in the first column on fol. 20^v. The text is written in two columns throughout with around 48 lines to each. The commentary text is written in a neat cursive script and the lemmata of the sequences in textualis. No initials are written in.

Kf2 Klagenfurt, Archiv der Diözese Gurk, XXXI b 2⁴

Hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date: 14th/15th century
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: 285 x 205 mm.
Folios: i + 217
Contents: fols 1^r–199^r: Sequence commentaries
fol. 1^{r-v}: *Vir speculativus*
fols 99^r–187^v: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc. ‘Venite filii audite me timorem Domini docebo vos’
fols 188^r–190^r: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
fol. 190^v–191^v: Word list
fols 192^r–215^v: A vocabulary. Inc.: ‘Hoc opus attendens, ne quaquam sit reprehendens’
fols 216^{r-v}: Blank
fol. 217^r: Hymn fragment with glosses. Inc. ‘[F]estum nunc celebre servet gens credula’⁵

The commentary on *Ad celebres rex* is in this manuscript an addition by a different hand after the collection of sequence and hymn commentaries, which ends at fol. 187^v with the words: ‘[. . .] sufficit et cetera’. In the sequence

⁴ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, MENHARDT (1927), and my own observations of the manuscript.

⁵ Edited in AH 4, 229.

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commentary section, fols 1^r–190^r, the text is written in a cursive script in two columns comprising between 42 and 46 lines. Black ink is used throughout with red for initials for each new piece, for framing the lemmata, for paragraph signs and for a vertical stroke through majuscules in the commentary. Fol. 190^r is the last page to have been rubricated, which means that initials are missing from the following leaves. There are a few marginal notes in the first part of the manuscript, most of which indicate the references to Scripture and the Fathers.

KfA Klagenfurt, Archiv der Diözese Gurk, XXXI b 4⁶

Hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date: 14th century
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: 292 x 215 mm.
Folios: i + 170

Contents: fol. i^r: A brief text on the four interpretational modes. Inc.:
‘Notandum est quod scriptura sacra iiii modis exponitur’ Fol. i^v
is blank
fols 1^r–83^v: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: ‘Seneca
epistola xi sic ait ad Lucillum [sic] nulla sapiencia corporis aut
animi vicia ponuntur’
fols 84^r–86^v: Blank
fols 87^r–169^v: Sequence commentaries
 fol. 87^{r-v}: *Vir speculativus*
 fols 147^v–149^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
fol. 170^r: Blank
fol. 170^v: Enumeration of certain Biblical books with brief
description of content in Latin and German

The text is written in a cursive script in two columns throughout the manuscript. The number of lines varies between 41 and 50. Brown-black ink is used in the commentary, with red for the initial of each prologue, for the initials of each new hymn or sequence, for underlining the lemmata and for paragraph signs in the commentary text. The lemmata seem to have been written in a

⁶ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, MENHARDT (1927), and my own observations of the manuscript.

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later stage with black ink. On fol. 122^v there is a change of hands and from 123^v onwards a darker ink has been used. There are a few marginal notes and corrections throughout the manuscript, made both by the first hand and by at least one other, perhaps the second hand taking over at fol. 122^v. The hymn commentary ends with a colophon on fol. 83^v: ‘Explicit hoc totum infunde da mihi potum.’⁷ On fol. 168^r the sequence commentary concludes in the second column with the colophon: ‘Explicit per manus duorum.’ However, a commentary on the sequence *Plausu chorus* has been added on fols 168^v–169^v by a third hand. On fol. 169^v the colophon to this last piece reads: ‘Explicit sequencia de ewangelistis.’ The scribe of the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* (the second hand in the manuscript) tends to use an abbreviation sign similar to the figure 4, usually resolved as *-rum*, as a general abbreviation sign. Fol. 87^r is reproduced as Plate 8; fol. 147^v as Plate 9.

Kf5 Klagenfurt, Archiv der Diözese Gurk, XXIX d 7⁸

Sequence commentaries.

Date: 15th century
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: 215 x 140 mm.
Folios: i + 156

Contents: fols 1^r–131^v: Sequence commentaries
 fols 1^r–2^r: *Vir speculativus*
 fols 132^r–156^v: Blank

The text is written in two columns of 41 lines in black ink throughout. Red ink, now faded, has been added to fill the round spaces in the letters of the lemmata and to underline them on the first six folios. No initials have been written in, but space is left to accommodate them. It is written in a cursive script with looped *b*, *d*, *h* and *l*, and the descenders of *s longa* and *f* reach beneath the line, but alongside the one-compartment, the two-compartment *a* is also used. The

⁷ Several versions of this colophon is known, see *Colophons de manuscrits*, 21039–21043.

⁸ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, MENHARDT (1927), and my own observations of the manuscript.

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colophon to the sequence commentaries on fol. 131^v reads: ‘Et sic est finis per manus Chonnradi Offinger in vigilia sancti Mathey.’⁹

Ma4 Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 591¹⁰

Sequence commentaries.

Date: 15th century

Provenance: Unknown

Material: Paper

Size: 220 x 150 mm.

Folios: 73

Contents: fols 1^r–65^r: Sequence commentaries
fol. 1^r–2^r: *Vir speculativus*
fols 43^r–46^r: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
fol. 65^v: Blank
fols 67^r–68^r: Hymn texts without commentaries
fol. 68^v: Unidentified text. Inc.: ‘Aristoteles in quarto ethicorum quod sapiens est maxime felix’
fol. 69^{r-v}: Unidentified text
fol. 70^r: Blank
fols 70^v–71^r: Enumerations of various kinds. Probationes penna
fol. 71^v: The text of the sequence *Summi regis archangele*
fol. 72^{r-v}: Unidentified brief textual notices amongst which is found the following: ‘Iste liber est Carthusiensis proprie Magunciam’

In the sequence commentary collection the text is written in two columns throughout consisting of around 40 lines each. The text of *Vir speculativus* seems to be written in a different hand from the commentaries.

⁹ It has not been possible to identify this scribe.

¹⁰ The description is based on information in the electronic catalogue at Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Minnesota (www.hmml.org) and my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

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Mi4 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 23856¹¹

Hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date: 15th century
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: 305 x 210 mm.
Folios: 288

Contents: fols 1^r–110^v: Sequence commentaries
fol. 1^r–v: *Vir speculativus*
fols 111^r–171^r: Hymn commentaries
fols 172^r–244^r: An exposition in German of Benedict's Rule
fols 245^r–288^v: Gregory the Great: Dialogorum liber primus
(incomplete)

The following remarks concern only the sequence commentary section. The text is written in a cursive script in two columns throughout with 37 lines to each. The margins are clean and do not display any notes or comments. The initial for *Vir speculativus* has not been written in but a square space of eleven lines in height has been left to accommodate it.

Ox2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hamilton 17¹² (S. C. 24447)

A codex made up of three manuscripts, all commentaries of different kinds.

Date: 15th century
Provenance: St Peter and St Paul monastery, Erfurt (Benedictine)
Material: Paper
Size: 300 x 215 mm.
Folios: ii + 241

Contents: 1. fols 1^r–65^v: Raymond of Pennaforte's 'Summa' with a commentary
2. fols 62^r–124^v: Sequence commentaries

¹¹ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, CCL, and my own observations of the manuscript.

¹² The description is based on the *Summary Catalogue* (S. C.) and my own observations of the manuscript.

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- fol. 62^{r-v}: *Vir speculativus* (Ox2a)
fol. 66^{r-v}: *Vir speculativus* (Ox2b)
fols 117^r–118^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
fols 125^r–176(a)^v: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.:
'Litera occidit spiritus autem vivificat'
3. fols 176(b)^r–226^r: The end of a commentary on Peter
Lombard's *Libri quattuor sententiarum*
fols 227^r–239^r: An exposition of the Canon of the Mass. Inc.:
'Videte quomodo caute'

A singular aspect of this manuscript is the fact that the first pieces in the sequence commentary are written twice, by two different hands. The first text of *Vir speculativus* is followed by the commentary on *Grates nunc omnes*. The following fols, 63^{vb}–65^{tb}, are blank. On fol. 65^v there is an enumeration of the vices and sins. On fol. 66^r *Vir speculativus* is written in for the second time with the collection of sequence commentaries following it. On account of this there are two sigla in the critical apparatus of *Vir speculativus* referring to the same manuscript but to different texts within it: Ox2a refers to the first text of the prologue; Ox2b to the second. In the sequence commentary section, the text is written in two columns throughout with 52 lines each when space is not left to accommodate for a lemma. Lemmata are not written in for all of the commentaries. Brown-black ink is used for the text and red ink for framing the lemmata. The prologues have a red initial.

f/2 Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, XI 436¹³

Two manuscripts bound in one codex, the first of which presents hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date: 13th/15th century
Provenance: St Florian (Augustinian Canons)
Material: Paper and parchment
Size: 2^o
Folios: 140

Contents: fols 1^r–45^v: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: 'Seneca
ad Lucillum [sic] epistola XI sic scribit' (15th century)

¹³ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, CZERNY (1871), and my own observations of the microfilm copy.

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fols 47^r–105^r: Sequence commentaries (15th century)
fol. 47^r: ***Vir speculativus***
fols 87^v–88^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
fols 106^r–109^r: An exhortation to priests (13th century)
fols 109^r–139^r: Excerpts from the council of Aachen (13th century)
fols 139^r–140^r: Prayers

This codex is made up of two manuscripts: fols 1–105 belong to the first, which is made of paper and dated to the fifteenth century; the second comprises fols 106–140 and is made of parchment and dated to the thirteenth century. In the sequence commentary section, the text is written in two columns throughout with around 50 lines to each. The sequences are referred to with incipits and lemmata. The commentary is written in a *cursiva antiquior* with the lemmata in a *textualis* hand.¹⁴

Wi4 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 14815¹⁵

Hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date: 15th century (1st half)
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: 308 x 210 mm.
Folios: 190

Contents: fol. 1^r: Hymn to the Blessed Virgin with neumes
 fols 2^r–94^v: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: ‘In lumine tuo’
 fol. 95^r: Blank
 fols 95^v–99^r: Song of Songs in Latin and German
 fols 99^v–105^v: Blank
 fols 106^r–190^v: Sequence commentaries
 fol. 107^{r-v}: ***Vir speculativus***
 fols 158^r–160^r: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***

¹⁴ For *cursiva antiquior*, see DEROLEZ (2003), pp. 133–134.

¹⁵ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, CMV, on MENHARDT (1960–1961) and on my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

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The commentary text in the sequence commentary section is written in a cursive script in two columns throughout. Each column holds approximately 48 lines. The lemmata of the sequences and the incipit of the prologue are written in a slightly larger textualis script. The initials of each new piece are about two lines in height whereas the large initial for the prologue is four lines. Before the prologue *Vir speculativus* a commentary on the sequence *Dilectus Deo et hominibus* has been added by another hand.

8.3.2 On the text—the prologue *Vir speculativus*

In the first part of the prologue here entitled *Vir speculativus* we are led through an extensive logical argumentation regarding the proposition borrowed from Seneca and quoted by the commentator: ‘*Vir speculativus est quasi Deus in humano corpore hospitatus*’ (lines 1–2). The argument is that it can be inferred from the proposition that a reflecting, or scientific, man is naturally virtuous, referring to *vir*, and excellent, referring to *quasi Deus*. Both conclusions are subsequently proved through syllogistic argumentation corroborated by citations from Seneca, Cicero, the Muslim philosopher Algazel (†1111), Robert Grosseteste (†1253) here called *Lincolniensis*, Aristotle and Averroes, the last two referred to with their epithets of *Philosophus* and *Commentator* respectively. In the edition, there is in this section also a reference (line 42) to the Jewish poet and neo-Platonic philosopher Avicbron (†1058), although this reference, as will be seen below, is found in a textually problematic passage.

Having proved the two conclusions, the author claims that they presuppose that the scientific man gains his perfection from his science, which should be sought after on account of the honour, joy and admiration it brings (lines 50–66).

The science to be sought above all is theology, which is said to be the head of all sciences and without which other sciences would be ‘headless’, as it were without a guiding principle (lines 67–71). Theology is subsequently divided into three specific kinds, of which the sequences, and hence the concern of the author, fall into the category consisting in praise made with a song, which serves to place the book of sequences firmly within the realm of theology (lines 72–77).

In the second, intrinsic, part of the prologue (lines 78–110), the author turns his attention to the book of sequences and considers three topics: the four

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causes of the book, its utility and its title, which combines the Aristotelian scheme with two headings from the type C prologue.¹⁶

The material cause is said to be multiple since there are different causes in different sequences, although the material cause for this book—*improprie loqui*, in the words of the commentator—is literary composition with melodious praise (lines 82–83). The formal cause is as usual duplex, consisting of the form of the treatise, which is the division of its parts, and the form of treatment, which in this work is said to be twofold, namely the proving and exemplifying modes (lines 84–88).¹⁷ The final cause of the book, which coincides with its *utilitas*, is the knowledge of its vocabulary (lines 89–90). In addition, the *utilitas* of the sequences is also said to be the divine remuneration given to man on behalf of the praising of Christ (lines 97–99).

As in all prologues of the Aristotelian tradition edited here, the efficient cause is said to be Gregory, here accompanied by Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome, although the commentator also states that for some sequences the authors are unknown to us.¹⁸ The author here adds a remark similar to that found in *Dicit Aristoteles* to the effect that the efficient cause is of no concern as long as what is said is good and useful (lines 94–95).¹⁹

The fact that the sequences are regarded here as being partly a teaching and learning aid for vocabulary, as is explicitly stated under the headings of the final cause and utility of the book as well as being evidenced in the numerous etymological analyses in the commentary, could suggest a less advanced audience for this commentary collection than for the expositions of the *Sapientia* branch.²⁰

8.3.2.1 *Vir speculativus*: manuscript interrelations and textual problems

The edited text of *Vir speculativus* has been established through a collation of all eleven currently known textual witnesses found in ten different manuscripts. Thus, the edition follows the principles set up and described above for texts

¹⁶ See Section 2.2.1.1 above.

¹⁷ In *Dicit Aristoteles* the author claims only one mode for sequences, which is the persuasive (lines 26–27). In the third prologue, *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, the modes are said to be laudatory and supplicatory (lines 166–167).

¹⁸ On this attribution of authorship, see Section 8.1 above.

¹⁹ See Edition 4: *Dicit Aristoteles*, line 25.

²⁰ A comparison between *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam* and the commentaries from each branch is made in Section 8.4.3 below.

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belonging to Category 3.²¹ As with *Dicit Aristoteles*, manuscript interrelations will be discussed based upon agreements in error and alternative readings.

The two earliest manuscripts, *Fr1* and *Kf4*, are dated to the fourteenth century. They both display texts of good quality, although they share with many other textual witnesses a few major, possibly archetypal, errors that will be discussed below. *Kf2* is dated to the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and all the other witnesses—*Fr4*, *Kf5*, *Ma4*, *Mii4*, *Ox2a*, *Ox2b*, *Sf2* and *Wi4*—belong to the fifteenth century. The sigla *Ox2a* and *Ox2b* refer to two textual witnesses found in the same manuscript, *Ox2*, where the prologue together with the first commentary in the collection is copied twice.²² All manuscripts except *Fr1*, *Kf5* and *Fr4* include commentaries on *Ad celebres rex* in their collection, although the commentary in *Kf2*, as noted above, is found at the very end of the collection and is written in by a different hand from the previous pieces.²³

In addition to the textual witnesses listed above, there are three other manuscripts that include parts or substantially rewritten passages of this prologue.²⁴ Usually they omit the entire first part of the prologue discussing the superiority of theology and include only the latter half, treating the four causes of the book of sequences, its utility and title. On account of their abbreviated state and various other idiosyncrasies in them, these manuscripts have not been used in establishing the text of the edition.

The manuscript *Kf4*, which is the only one of the two earliest manuscripts to contain a commentary to *Ad celebres rex*, has been chosen as the base manuscript for the edition as it generally displays a text of a good quality. It has a tendency toward succinct expression, often omitting words like *probat*, *nota*, *patet*, and the copula. This characteristic trait has not been retained in the edition of the prologue, where the omitted words have been supplied from readings shared by the majority of the other manuscripts. There are two slightly larger omissions in this manuscript, one at lines 64–65, which is a *saut du même au même* unique for *Kf4*, and the other at lines 96–97, an omission which it shares with *Fr4* and which will be discussed further below.

²¹ See Section 4.1.3 below.

²² See the manuscript descriptions in Section 8.3.1 above.

²³ See the manuscript descriptions in Section 8.3.1 above.

²⁴ The manuscripts are *Gr3*, *Sa1* and *S11*. *Gr3* comprises only the end part of *Vir speculativus* dealing with the four causes; *Sa1* displays the end parts of both *Sapientia vincit malitiam* and *Vir speculativus*, slightly rewritten, and, finally, *S11* presents a heavily abbreviated version of the prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, with a rewritten version of the end of *Vir speculativus*.

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Manuscript interrelations

The discussion regarding the interrelations of the manuscripts is based on agreements in error and alternative reading between pairs of manuscripts shown in the two ‘West tables’ found below. The first table accounts for all agreements in two manuscripts regardless of whether they are also shared by other manuscripts. The second table shows agreements unique to two manuscripts. As was mentioned in the previous section, a detected link between two manuscripts in these tables may be investigated further by examining the actual instances listed in Appendix 4b.

Table 1. Agreements in errors and alternative readings

	<i>Fr4</i>	<i>Kf2</i>	<i>Kf4</i>	<i>Kf5</i>	<i>Ma4</i>	<i>Mü4</i>	<i>Ox2a</i>	<i>Ox2b</i>	<i>Sf2</i>	<i>Wi4</i>
<i>Fr1</i>	6	10	6	11	11	5	12	8	11	6
<i>Fr4</i>		6	4	3	6	5	3	4	2	7
<i>Kf2</i>			7	5	8	3	8	7	11	4
<i>Kf4</i>				11	6	2	4	3	3	2
<i>Kf5</i>					5	6	6	4	5	4
<i>Ma4</i>						6	6	4	7	5
<i>Mü4</i>							8	3	3	4
<i>Ox2a</i>								6	11	3
<i>Ox2b</i>									4	30
<i>Sf2</i>										1

Table 2. Unique agreements in error and alternative readings

	<i>Fr4</i>	<i>Kf2</i>	<i>Kf4</i>	<i>Kf5</i>	<i>Ma4</i>	<i>Mü4</i>	<i>Ox2a</i>	<i>Ox2b</i>	<i>Sf2</i>	<i>Wi4</i>
<i>Fr1</i>	1	-	-	2	3	1	-	-	-	1
<i>Fr4</i>		2	2	-	2	3	-	-	-	1
<i>Kf2</i>			2	-	2	1	-	-	2	-
<i>Kf4</i>				5	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Kf5</i>					-	2	-	-	-	1
<i>Ma4</i>						3	-	-	1	1
<i>Mü4</i>							1	-	-	1
<i>Ox2a</i>								1	1	1
<i>Ox2b</i>									-	23
<i>Sf2</i>										-

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Our base manuscript for this prologue, *Kf4*, shares eleven agreements in error and alternative readings (five of them unique) with *Kf5*, and seven with *Kf2* (two of them unique), whereas the latter two have no unique errors or alternative readings in common. This could imply a dependence on *Kf4* for both of the manuscripts independently of each other.

The manuscript *Kf4* furthermore shares two unique omissions together with *Fr4*: one is a missing *quod* (line 82) to introduce the clause after *dicamus*, the other a more substantial omission at lines 96–97. As has been said above, *Kf4* often omits introductory words, and the omission of *quod* can be seen as just another example of this characteristic trait. Nor is *Fr4*, a manuscript displaying numerous alternative readings, abridgements and rewritings, a stranger to omissions of the same type as are found in *Kf4*, as can be seen in the omissions of *sic dicentem* (line 10) and *ubi dicit* (line 34). The omission of *quod*, then, cannot be regarded as a conjunctive error indicating a closer link, but seems to be part of the style of each manuscript text. The longer omission at lines 96–97, which contains a recapitulation of the second question of the present work, does not alter the sense of the passage and could therefore be seen as a deliberate avoidance of repetition, thus being yet another example of the terser style of these two manuscripts. Concerning *Kf4*, however, it cannot be completely ruled out that the omission has been caused by the likeness between *dubium* and *dicendum*, thus being a case of *saut du même au même*. Such an alternative explanation is not possible for *Fr4*, since this manuscript transposes the words in the preceding phrase so that it ends with *respondetur*. In short, the omission, which could be explained as a chance accident in *Kf4* and a deliberate choice in *Fr4*, cannot be used with certainty to establish a firm link between the two. Instead, in spite of the two unique errors in common, it seems that *Kf4* and *Fr4* are independent manuscripts.

Furthermore, *Kf4* seems to be independent from *Fr1*, *Mü4*, *Ox2a*, *Ox2b*, *Sf2* and *Wi4*, with which manuscripts it does not have any unique errors in common. The agreements with these, apart from the major ones to be discussed below, seem to be of minor significance. The agreements with *Fr1* are an omission of *patet* (line 10, also shared with *Kf2*) and the reading *destructivum* in place of *destructionem* (line 19, shared also with others). With *Ox2a* the agreement in error is *loquitur* where the text should be *dicitur* (line 69, shared also by *Kf5*). With both of these manuscripts and with *Sf2* the base manuscript reads *moderare* for *moderari* (line 46 share also with others). In addition to this, the only other agreements between *Kf4* and *Sf2* are the error in the problematic

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passage containing *modulose* (line 103), which will be discussed below, and the alternative reading at line 19 just mentioned. Together with *Mü4*, *Ox2a* and *Ox2b*, our base manuscript displays the reading *sunt* instead of *sint* (line 94, shared also with *Kf5*) and a missing stroke above the word *ipsa* (line 106, shared also with other manuscripts).

The two texts *Ox2a* and *Ox2b*, although found in the same manuscript, are written by two different hands and a comparison between their errors and readings (six in all but only one unique: the reading of *qui* for *que* (line 93), which could be explained as a simple miscopying or a *constructio ad sensum*) indicates that the two texts are independent.

The only firm link it is possible to establish seems to be between *Ox2b* and *Wi4*. They share 30 errors and alternative readings in all, of which 23 are unique to them, which figures clearly set them apart from the others. In addition, *Wi4* seems to be independent from *Sf2*, with which it shares only the *liber* error at line 103 to be discussed below (an error shared by all manuscripts with the exception of *Kf4*). *Ox2b* displays three further agreements with *Sf2*, none of which is unique or of major significance.

Textual problems

In the following, a number of interesting errors in the prologue text will be discussed, which are distributed in a way that seem to indicate that they appeared early in the textual tradition. It could also be possible that they are archetypal errors that have been corrected at later stages in the transmission of the text. The first problematic passage to be discussed here is found at lines 36–37 in the edition, which read:

Philosophia autem est rerum divinarum certa cognicio, ut patet per †Avicebron
in libro de disputacionibus †.

As the *apparatus criticus* makes clear, the manuscripts offer the following readings for the phrase surrounded by *crucis*:

per Avicebron *om. Mü4*
Avicebron *Ox2a* (abicebron) *Sf2*, albicebrum *Kf4 Fr1 Kf5 Ma4*, albitherum *Kf2*,
albertum *Ox2b Wi4*
disputacionibus] speculacionibus *Kf4 Kf5*, disposicionibus *Ox2b Wi4*

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The reading *Avicebron* is taken from *Ox2a*, with added support from *Sf2* although the *v* is there rendered as *b*.²⁵ The name of this Jewish neo-Platonic philosopher could be deemed the *lectio difficilior* of the sensible readings, that is of the readings *Avicebron* and *Albertum*, but it could of course be questioned whether it is thereby necessarily also the correct one. Though perhaps not an immediately familiar name today, Avicebron and his theory of the universality of matter was a point many of the great philosophers and theologians of the Middle Ages discussed in their works.²⁶ There is, however, no known work by Avicebron bearing any of the titles suggested by the manuscripts. In his most famous philosophical work, *Fons vitae*, there are references to two other treatises, which now seem to be lost.²⁷ We can therefore not rule out completely the possibility that there once existed a work known by the name of *De disputacionibus* or one of the other suggested names composed by Avicebron.

The other recognisable name offered by some of the manuscripts is Albert, who was almost a household name in the later Middle Ages and who is also referred to in the commentary text. These facts make it even more remarkable that so many of the manuscripts would fail to read and copy the name correctly. Nor do we find a work with such a title among Albert's writings.²⁸

The origin of the quotation in question seems to be in the Greek stoic writers and can be traced back to Aristotle and to Chrysippos (third century BC).²⁹ The same thought is later found in writers including Cicero and Augustine among others, and throughout the Middle Ages a range of authors

²⁵ Regarding the confusion between the labial sounds represented by these letters see STOTZ (1996), vol. 3 § 227.

²⁶ See for instance BEKKUM (1998) and PETERS (1967).

²⁷ The works referred to are *Tractatus de esse* (Chapter 5. 8) and *Origo largitatis et causa essendi* (Chapter 5. 40). The references are to the edition by BAEUMKER (1895).

²⁸ It is of course possible that works of Albert's have also been lost.

²⁹ The same sentiment is expressed in different words in Arist., *eth. Gros.*, 1141 a 19–20, where he says that wisdom must be knowledge of highly precious, valuable or honoured objects. In the works of Chrysippos we find a formulation closer to our text saying, with a reference to the stoics, that wisdom is knowledge of both human and divine things; see Chrysipp. 35.

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repeat the saying, some reading *sapientia* and *scientia* for *philosophia* and *cognitio*.³⁰ I have not hitherto been able to find the quotation in the writings of Albert the Great.

We seem to be faced with a few possible scenarios as to the origin of the problem: an archetype that had *Avicebron*, unrecognised by some scribes who therefore produced the other forms (and the corresponding scenario for an archetype that had *Albertum*); an archetype that had an abbreviation for an as yet unidentified author that was not understood by the copyists and therefore later reinterpreted into recognisable (and non-recognisable) authors' names; or an archetype that had an unusual or mis-shapen abbreviation for Aristotle that was dissolved into the other forms and names by the subsequent scribes. The last alternative is tempting since a sentiment to the same effect is indeed found in Aristotle's works, but the fact that the scribes rather resort to Avicebron and to Albert than to Aristotle speaks against it for two reasons: first, it seems improbable that the scribes would fail to copy such a familiar abbreviation, especially in a text which is studded with references to the Philosopher and his works; second, it seems to suggest that the quotation was not generally seen as a thought deriving from Aristotle. The possibility that *Albertum* is the original reading, which name was later corrupted into the other forms seems less likely, since it is a common name in the late medieval period and is also mentioned in the commentary, although it cannot be ruled out with certainty that a mis-shapen or misinterpreted abbreviation for Albert is the cause of the error.

The passage seems to have already been perceived of as problematic by some medieval scribes, as is shown by the alternative strategies presented in *Mii4*, where the reference to the author's name is omitted, and *Fr4*, which omits not only the name itself but the entire quotation preceding it.

In the edition I have placed *cruces* around the problematic passage, as it is not possible to determine the correct reading at this instance with the evidence at hand. The discovery of further textual witnesses may possibly help to resolve this problem.

³⁰ For instance in Cic., *fin.* 2, 12, 27: 'Aequam igitur pronuntiabit sententiam ratio adhibita primum divinarum humanarumque rerum scientia, quae potest appellari rite sapientia, deinde adiunctis virtutibus, quas ratio rerum omnium dominas, tu voluptatum satellites et ministras esse voluisti'; in Aug., *trin.*, 14, 1, 3: 'Sapientia est rerum humanarum divinarumque scientia.' It is found in Jerome's and Hraban Maur's commentaries on the epistle to the Ephesians. Isidore of Seville writes: 'Philosophia est rerum humanarum divinarumque cognitio' (*Isid., orig.*, 2, 24).

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In addition to this passage, the following problematic passages and errors in the manuscripts are worthy of separate discussion here:

- 35 Minor patet *Mii4 Ox2a Sf2, om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4*
- 83 modulosa compositum *Fr4 (modolosa) Ox2a Ox2b Wi4, medolosa compositum Fr1 Kf5, melodose composita Kf2, melodosa (ex medolosa corr.) propositum Kf4, melodosa compositum Ma4 Sf2, modulo hominum Mii4*
- 103 dictamen *Kf4, liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4 Mii4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4*
- 103 modulose *Fr4 Kf5 Wi4, melodose Fr1 Kf2 Kf4 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2, medolose Mii4, moduloso Ox2b*
- 104 compositum] compositus *Kf2 Mii4*

The distribution of errors at these instances renders it impossible to view any of them as conjunctive. They could furthermore be indicative of contamination between the manuscripts. It is also interesting to note that the two oldest manuscripts, *Fr1* and *Kf4*, contain most of them. The working hypothesis will be that they are possibly archetypal errors or derive from the first stages in the textual transmission and were later corrected by the copying scribes.

The omission of *minor patet* is an error shared by a large number of manuscripts; only *Mii4*, *Ox2a* and *Sf2* contain the phrase. If the phrase is omitted the syllogism will lack the supportive evidence for the minor premise, for which reason the omission is considered a proper error. Once spotted, however, it is not difficult to correct and could have been made by a copying scribe paying close attention to the text he was working on. As *Mii4* and *Sf2* seem to be independent, as can be inferred from the ‘West tables’ above, their readings carry weight here.

With regard to the error at line 83, the adjective *modulosa* as found in the manuscripts *Fr4*, *Ox2a*, *Ox2b* and *Wi4* has been adopted in the edition. One of the determining factors for this choice of reading is the combined testimony of the independent witnesses *Ox2a* and *Ox2b*. For the related passage and hence the related error at line 103, the adverb *modulose*, defining the participle *compositum*, has been used in the edition. This reading is taken from the manuscripts *Fr4*, *Kf5* and *Wi4*, of which the agreement between the independent manuscripts *Fr4* and *Kf5* here carries weight.³¹

³¹ It could, of course, be argued that *melodosa* (and consequently the adverbial form *melodose*) is a neologism formed on the word *melodus* (meaning ‘chant’ or ‘melody’) and the suffix *-osus*, which proliferated throughout the Middle Ages. Another possibility could be that it is a corrupt form of *melodiosus*, i.e. *melodia* and *-osus*. For the suffix *-osus*, see STOTZ (1996) vol. 2, Book 6, § 81. The many forms and variants visible in the apparatus seem to reflect a general confusion regarding words of this kind and it is easy to imagine that words deriving

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Regarding the errors at lines 103–104 concerning *dictamen* and *compositum*, we may note that all textual witnesses except our base manuscript read *liber* for *dictamen* and all but two read *compositum* in the following clause, which is in accordance with *dictamen* as in *Kf4*, but not with *liber*. Only *Kj2* and *Mii4* follow up their *liber* with the syntactically correct *compositus*. This is the only instance where a problematic passage is solved by favouring the reading of the base manuscript before the combined testimony of two possibly independent witnesses.³² The reason for this is that I consider it slightly more likely that the surrounding instances of the word *liber* at lines 102–104 could have affected the phrase under scrutiny here, but without a subsequent change in the participle, rather than it being an archetypal error corrected in different ways by the scribes of *Kf4* on the one hand and *Kj2* and *Mii4* on the other (or by the scribes of their exemplars). Furthermore, it could possibly be argued that the convention of titles incorporating the word *liber* induced the scribes to include it here. The point in this passage, however, seems to be that first a longer, more descriptive, perhaps even a more formal title is given—‘Incipit dictamen divinarum laudum modulose compositum’—whereas the more common *Liber sequenciarum* is offered as an alternative title.

8.3.3 On the text—the commentary of *Kf4*

Themes

All the main themes discussed in the exposition of *Gr1* (Edition 4) are included in the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* in *Kf4* of the *Vir speculativus* branch, in addition to a few minor points not treated in *Gr1*, or not treated to the same degree there. In comparison with *Gr1*, two distinctive features in the commentary in *Kf4* can be noted immediately. The first is found already in the opening sentence of the commentary: the pronounced preoccupation with text division linked to the identification of textual motifs and themes, both of the sequence as a whole and in the separate strophes. Related to this trait is probably also the careful and consistent disposition of the commentary text,

from *modus*, meaning rhythm, *modulus*, rhythmical measure or metre, and from *melodia* or *melodus* were easily confused.

³² In addition to the passages discussed here, the only agreements shared by *Kj2* and *Mii4* concern an omission of the phrase *et cetera* at line 31, which is also shared with a few other manuscripts, and the reading *memorari* for *memorare* at line 74.

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which will be examined here. The second distinctive feature is a stronger emphasis on etymological analysis in the lexical explanations.

In the opening paragraph of the commentary the author divides the sequence into two sections based on the identification of the two main themes in the sequence text, the praises to be sung to God and the account of the angelic orders and their names (lines 1–6).

In the commentary, the author generally adheres to the following textual scheme. First we find an identification of the main theme of the sequence strophes to be commented upon in the subsequent section. If the author identifies more than one theme in these lines, the themes form part of a *divisio textus* with references to the corresponding passages in the sequence text. Second follows a paraphrase in prose of the strophes, into which a number of brief clarifying phrases are inserted, together with the supplementing of implied words. Third comes the interpretative section where the author comments on and explains the meaning of the sequence text in theological terms. Fourth are placed any grammatical and etymological explanations. Finally, the commentator returns to the sequence text, which is now given in full but still restructured into prose and more heavily interspersed with explanatory phrases and brief comments than in the initial paraphrase. These clarifications could be said to fulfil the same function as interlinear glosses on the sequence text, albeit the ‘glosses’ are in the format of a running text.³³ The sequence is nowhere reproduced in its poetic form.

Although the six main themes included in the previous commentary in *Gr1* are found in *Kf4* they are nevertheless treated in a distinctively different way here. In both expositions the adornment of the world through St Michael’s feast is said to be achieved through the feast itself, through the support and assistance offered by St Michael and through his guidance of the souls to heaven (lines 22–36). But whereas in *Gr1*, the battle motif refers both to the war in heaven and to our daily battle fought by St Michael on our behalf, this topic is limited in *Kf4* to St Michael’s fight with the dragon in heaven, with a reference to the text of Revelation. In *Kf4* a quotation from Bernard of Clairvaux of the mediary who brings gifts and prayers between two lovers illustrates the interpretation of Michael as the carrier of our prayers to God (lines 29–30).

³³ For a comparison between these inserted phrases and the interlinear glosses in another commentary of the Aristotelian tradition see Section 8.5.2 below.

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In the corresponding passage, *Gr1* instead refers to a Biblical passage from Revelation 8, 3 of the angel standing before the altar.³⁴

Two other themes common to both commentaries are the difference between angels and spirits and the question of man as the image of God (lines 76–102). For the interpretation of ‘angel’ the commentator in *Kf4* refers to *Grecista*, under which name Eberhard of Béthune was known, the man behind the versified grammatical treatise, *Graecismus*, used widely in the later Middle Ages.³⁵ For the more comprehensive account of the difference between angels and spirits the author refers to the same passage of Gregory’s as in *Gr1*.

The question of which creature, angel or man, is created in the image of God is also addressed and resolved in similar ways in these two texts; the main difference lies in the authorities they draw upon. In *Kf4* the issue is said to rise from the dichotomy between the quotation from Dionysius in which the angel is referred to as *imago Dei*, and the passage from Genesis where man is created to God’s image (lines 85–102). In *Gr1*, on the other hand, it is a difference in opinion between Plato and Dionysius that forms the point of departure for the discussion.³⁶ In the commentary of *Kf4*, Plato is instead referred to in the second reason, where his doctrine of ideas is used to emphasise the similarities between God and man as regards the creative process. This same passage is further elaborated with a reference to Aristotle’s *De anima* in which the all-encompassing qualities of the human soul are expressed.

Other themes discussed in similar ways and using the same authorities are the assigning of Michael, Gabriel and Raphael to specific angelic troops (lines 180–186), the number of the angels (lines 214–224) and the difference between the lyre and the cithara and their respective interpretations (lines 265–269).

One of the central themes of the sequence, the hierarchy of the angelic troops, is by necessity treated in both texts but in two quite distinct ways (lines 122–149). In contrast to *Gr1* where the word ‘hierarchy’ is in itself never mentioned, this concept, introduced at the beginning of the whole account, permeates the whole section in *Expositio Kf4*. Whereas the orders of angels in

³⁴ In the commentary in *Gr1* this motif is not as explicitly stated as a separate way of adornment of the world, but follows on from the interpretation of Michael as the guide of souls to heaven; see Edition 4: *Expositio Gr1*, lines 25–31.

³⁵ Eberhard’s grammar was awarded this name on account of one chapter where he provides etymologies for Greek and Hebrew words. For further information on this work and its impact, see GRONDEUX (2000). On Greek learning in the Latin West and the use of the *Graecismus* and other such teaching aids, see for instance BERSCHIN (1988).

³⁶ See Edition 4: *Expositio Gr1*, lines 54–74.

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Gr1 are presented one by one following the sequence text strictly,³⁷ the presentation of the angelic hierarchy in *Kf4* is instead structured by the Dionysian division into groups of three, although the order of the troops follows Gregory's scheme. No comment, however, is made on the discrepancy between the order in the commentary and in the sequence, as was seen in Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis* and the commentary of *Ox6*.³⁸

The specific offices assigned to the troops are nevertheless described with great verbal similarity in the commentaries of *Kf4* and *Gr1*. The words echo those found in other texts discussing the same subject, such as Gregory's Homily 34 or in the second book of Peter Lombard's *Libri quattuor sententiarum*.³⁹ The sequence strophes cited in the commentary in *Gr1* are not found in *Kf4*, although there are great similarities in expression as regards the definitions of the angelic offices, especially of the angels, which description is here attributed to Albert the Great (line 126). Albert is furthermore referred to in the depiction of the Virtues (line 130), whereas in *Expositio Gr1* Gregory and the Biblical Gloss are cited in the corresponding passage.

In addition to the themes discussed above, the commentary of *Kf4* includes interpretations of the names of the three angels of the sequence (lines 16–21). The two parables hinted at in the sequence text are here given more emphasis, and the identification *secundum theologos* of the hundredth sheep and the tenth drachma as man, is treated in a separate paragraph (lines 225–233). The word *verbigena* from the sequence is likewise more carefully explained with two alternative interpretations (lines 234–237).

Vocabulary

Differences between these two commentaries may also be seen in the vocabulary sections, as regards placement, contents and method. In *Gr1* we have seen that comments on vocabulary are placed first in each commentary section. In *Expositio Kf4*, such information is instead found at the end of each expository subsection, immediately before the second paraphrase of the sequence text. The set of words explained in the two texts differs slightly. The words *drachma* and *harmonia* from *Gr1* are not explained in *Expositio Kf4*, which instead includes comments on the words *ara*, *caterva*, *laetabundus*, *paradisicola* and

³⁷ See Edition 4: *Expositio Gr1*, lines 83–138.

³⁸ Alan. Ins., *expos. pros. angel.*, p. 211; Edition 1: *Expositio Ox6*, lines 218–227.

³⁹ See the source apparatus to this passage in Edition 4: *Expositio Gr1* and Edition 5: *Expositio Kf4*.

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theologicus not found in *Gr1*. In the commentary in *Kf4* the explanations are generally fuller and mostly furnished with etymologies as well as brief digressions on related words, as can be seen for instance in the first vocabulary section (lines 37–53), where the explanation of *odus* involves comments also on *melodia* and the analysis of *laetabundus* leads to a specification of the meanings of the two suffixes *-bundus* and *-bilis*, for which differentiation Eberhard of Béthune's *Graecismus* is referred to. Further down in the text the author draws upon the Fathers for the various interpretations of *Alleluia* (lines 280–284), whereas the Biblical Gloss, so often used in the vocabulary sections in *Gr1*, is never cited explicitly. In addition to the etymological analyses in *Expositio Kf4* the commentator offers didactic help on lexical issues in the form of mnemonic verses, such as those on *pango* (lines 43–44) and *ara* (line 279).

As far as specific words are concerned, it is noteworthy that the interpretation of the word *agalma* (lines 238–241), understood as ‘divine mirrors’ or ‘divine contemplations’ in the commentary in *Gr1*,⁴⁰ here follows the interpretation of sheepfold, and figuratively as the heavenly kingdom, found in Alan's *Expositio* and in *Ox6* and *St2*.

8.3.3.1 *Expositio Kf4*: textual problems and remarks on the edition

The edition of *Expositio Kf4* is made in accordance with the principles for editions of texts belonging to Category 2.⁴¹ As is apparent from the title, the text is edited from the representative manuscript *Kf4* with the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* in the other manuscripts of the *Vir speculativus* branch—*Kf2*, *Ma4*, *Ox2*, *Sf2* and *Wi4*—as correctives when the text in *Kf4* is faulty in such a way that it cannot be remedied with the help of corresponding phrases or passages in the text itself.

The text of *Kf4* is generally very sound and instances of necessary emendations are not numerous. An example of an error corrected with the assistance of the manuscripts from the same commentary branch is found at line 48, where *constancia* of the manuscript has been corrected to *consonancia* given in four of the other manuscripts, which also seems to be correct judging from the argumentation in the etymological analysis. Another example is found at line 97 where the manuscript reads *contubernans* but the reading *gubernans* has been adopted from four other manuscripts in order to make sense of the passage.

⁴⁰ See Edition 4: *Expositio Gr1*, lines 191–193.

⁴¹ See Section 4.1.2 above.

CHAPTER 8

At the beginning of the second subsection of the commentary, treating the celestial hierarchy, we encounter an error in *Kf4*, found also in *Ma4*, which seems to derive ultimately from a misunderstanding of instructions in the text as to the lemma to be written in for the subsequent section (lines 63–64). In these two manuscripts, the preceding commentary section ends with the phrase ‘sequitur sunt chorus’, of which *sunt chorus* seems to have been perceived as a lemma and hence written as such, relating to the next section. As other instructions for lemmata in this text are written with *sequitur* followed by the lemma, the reading in *Kf4* and *Ma4* would not be a problem if *sunt chorus* was a phrase from the sequence. Here, however, the lemma should be *novies distincta*. As such it is a simple error to emend by internal references in the text itself, as the correct phrase is found in the opening *divisio textus*.

The correct lemma to this section is found in one manuscript only, *Sf2*, in which the preceding section concludes with ‘sequitur sunt choris’. In *Ox2*, in which no lemmata are written, the first commentary subsection ends with ‘sequitur sunt choris angelorum’. It seems that a scribal error somewhere in the transmission of the text could lie behind these grammatically incorrect directions regarding the commentary section to follow. As the following section treats the angelic orders, it could be that an instruction to that effect—for example ‘sequitur super choris’—was misinterpreted on account of the similarity between the abbreviations for *sunt* and *super*, which in turn generated the readings of other forms of the word *chorus*.

In the etymological analysis of *satrapa* (line 188) the edition reads *abba* adopted from *Sf2* (with added support from *Wi4*, which reads *aba*). In *Kf4* (and in the other manuscripts) we find the form *ana*, which has been rejected on grounds of meaning. If the commentator wishes the word to mean ‘father’ then the Hebrew *abba* must have been intended.

In two cases it was necessary to go beyond the *Vir speculativus* branch and instead use the commentaries of the *Sapientia* branch in order to render the text comprehensible. The first instance is found at line 5 of the edition, where *nomina* has been supplied from this branch; the second is at line 30, where all manuscripts of the *Vir speculativus* branch read ‘porrigens illam, placans illum’ and the *Sapientia* branch instead reads *corrigenens illam* for the first clause. The phrase is found in a passage paraphrasing a section from Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Sermones in Cantica canticorum*, in which the corresponding clause reads *excitat illam*.⁴² There seem to be two solutions that could render it possible to retain

⁴² Bernard., *serm. sup. cant.* 31, 5.

Vir speculativus and the Commentary of Kf4

porrigens in the edition. The first is to imply the words *manum ad* in the phrase, producing the meaning ‘helping her’. The second is to take *porrigens* literally as ‘offering (or presenting) her’. Neither option seems satisfactory, and so the consensus reading of the *Sapientia* branch has been adopted in the edition.

There are a few instances in the expository sections of the text where all manuscripts of the *Vir speculativus* branch display readings separate from the *Sapientia* branch. Two of the more interesting instances will be discussed briefly here. The first is found at lines 83–84, which is a rendering of a passage in Isaiah 6, 5–7, where a seraph is said to have taken a piece of coal from the altar with a pair of tongs and cleansed Isaiah from sins. In this passage the manuscripts of the *Vir speculativus* branch all display readings to the effect that the piece of coal is instead taken to, or by, the altar, and the tongs with which the piece of coal is taken, *quem forcipe*, have here been transformed to strength, *cum fortitudine*. These peculiar renditions of the Biblical text have been retained in the edition since the text is both comprehensible (though not the text of the Biblical source) and since it so clearly exhibits the consensus of the textual tradition of this particular branch of the Aristotelian tradition.

The second instance, where a minor difference in the readings separates the two branches, is found at lines 138–139, in the description of the office of the Dominions. The edition of *Expositio Kf4* here reads ‘ex ipsarum melioritate et dispositione’. The word *melioritate* is adopted from *Ox2* and *Wi4*, which manuscripts write the word in full. The reading in the base manuscript is difficult to decipher with certainty here, but the abbreviation seems to be read as *me^{or}*. In *Kf2* and *Ma4* the word *melior* is written out in full whereas the word in *Sf2* is illegible. The *Sapientia* branch here reads ‘ex ipsorum imperio et dispositione’, with *imperio* instead of *melioritate* and the pronoun in the masculine.

EDITION 5: *Vir speculativus*

Seneca in libro epistolarum sic ait: Vir speculativus est quasi Deus in humano corpore hospitatus. In qua propositione tanguntur duo. Primo tangitur hominis scientifici virtuositas per hoc, quod dicitur ‘vir’. Secundo tangitur hominis scientifici sublimitas per hoc, quod dicitur ‘quasi Deus’. Ex hiis duobus formo
5 duas conclusiones. Prima sit ista: Homo scientificus naturaliter est virtuosus. Secunda conclusio: Homo scientificus est homo excellentissimus.

Prima probatur sic: Iste, qui habet vitam mundam et incontaminatam, naturaliter est virtuosus. Sed homo scientificus habet vitam mundam et incontaminatam. Ergo est virtuosus. Maior nota, quia virtuositas consistit in
10 vita incontaminata. Minor patet per Senecam ad Lucilium sic dicentem: Philosophia facit vitam incontaminatam in cognitione virtutis non errantem. Sed, quia scientificus homo habet in se philosophiam, ergo habet vitam incontaminatam.

1 Vir ... 2 hospitatus] *cfr. Sen., epist. 31, 11.* 11 Philosophia ... errantem] *cfr. Sen., epist. 89, 8.*

Fontes textus: *Kf4, Fr1, Fr4, Kj2, Kj5, Ma4, Mü4, Ox2a, Sj2, Ox2b, Wi4*

1 ante Seneca verba scribit seneca in epistolis suis vir speculativus est quasi deus in humano scr. *Ox2b* | Seneca ... ait] seneca in libro epistolarum ad lucillum sic inquit *bis Fr4, om. Wi4* in¹ ... epistolarum] epistolarum libro quarto *Kj2* | in¹ ... ait] scribit in epistolis *Ma4*, scribit in epistolis suis *Ox2b* | epistolarum] etymoloyarum *Mü4* | sic ait *om. hic Kf4 sed cfr* hospitatus *lin. 2* | ait] dicit *Kj5* | speculativus + et *Fr1* | est ... 2 hospitatus] in humano corpore hospitatus est quasi deus *Fr4* 2 hospitatus] sic ait *Kf4* | qua + quidem *Wi4* | Primo] primum *Fr4* | tangitur *om. Fr1 Fr4* | hominis] omnis *Fr1* 3 scientifici] scientificae *Ox2b Wi4* | dicitur] dicit *Kj2* | tangitur] tangit *Fr4* | hominis] omnis *Fr1* 4 sublimitas] sublimitatem *Fr4*, stilinitas *Kj5* | dicitur] dicit *Fr4 Kj2* | formo duas] due inferuntur *Fr4*, formantur due *Mü4*, ponuntur due *Ox2b Wi4* 5 conclusiones + quarum *Ma4* | sit ista] est ista *Kj5*, sit iste *Mü4, om. Fr4* 6 conclusio] est hec *Ox2b Wi4*, + est ista *Kf4*, + est hec *Mü4, om. Fr4* 7 Prima] primo *Wi4*, + conclusio *Fr4 Mü4* | sic *om. Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4* | mundam ex mundanam *corr. Kf4, cfr lin. 8* | et + naturaliter *Mü4* 8 vitam mundam] vitam I (*ut vid.*) mundanam *Kf4* 9 Ergo + naturaliter *Mü4* | est virtuosus] et cetera *Ma4* | Maior + est *Fr4 Kj2* | Maior nota *om. Mü4* | consistit] stit *Mü4*, est *Ox2b Wi4* | in *om. Wi4* 10 incontaminata] contaminata *Ox2b*, + ut patet in ethicis sed *Fr4* | patet] probatur *Fr4, om. Kf4 Fr1 Kj2* | Lucilium] Lucillum *codd.* | sic *om. Ma4* | sic dicentem *om. Fr4* 11 Philosophia] scientia *Fr4* | facit] scientie *Wi4* | virtutis] veritatis *Fr4* | errantem] errante *Ma4*, hesitantem *Mü4* 12 Sed ... vitam *om. Fr1* | quia *om. Mü4* | in *om. Ox2a* philosophiam] scientiam *Fr4*

Vir speculativus

Secundo ad idem: Iste habet vitam mundam, qui in se habet correctorium
omnium viciorum. Sed homo scientificus habet in se correctorium omnium
viciorum. Igitur et cetera. Maior nota, quia correctio vicia removet et virtutes
inserit. Minor patet per Thulium sic dicentem: Sciencia est correctio viciorum,
doctrina virtutum, inventrix legum morumque magistra. 15

87^{rb} Tercio ad idem: Iste naturaliter est virtuosus, qui habet in se destructionem
vanarum cogitationum. Sed homo scientificus habet in se destructionem
vanarum cogitationum. Ergo est naturaliter virtuosus. Maior nota, quia vane
cogitationes inducunt vicia; sic per oppositum cogi- / taciones bone inducunt
virtutes, et illud, quod destruit malas cogitationes, hoc etiam causat bonas
cogitationes. Minor patet per Algazelem, qui dicit: Vane cogitationes
destruuntur per virtutes et ciencias. 20
25

Deinde probatur conclusio secunda, scilicet quod homo scientificus sit homo
excellentissimus, et hoc sic: Iste homo est excellentissimus, qui est similis Deo.
Sed homo scientificus est similis Deo. Ergo est excellentissimus. Maior nota,
quia ex quo Deus est ens perfectissimum et nobilissimum, tunc illud, quod sibi

17 Sciencia ... 18 magistra] *cfr Cic., Tusc. 5, 5.* 24 Algazelem ... dicit] *locum non inveni.*

14 idem] eandem *Fr4*, + probatur *Mü4* | in *om. Fr1* | correctorium] correctum *Kj5* 15 Sed
... 16 viciorum *om. Fr1 Kj5 Ox2a* | habet ... 16 Igitur *om. Fr4* | omnium² *om. Ma4 Wi4*
omnium viciorum² *om. Mü4* 16 Maior ... 17 inserit *om. Fr4* | correctio] corrector *Kj4*,
correctorium *Wi4* | vicia *om. Wi4* | removet] remanet *Mü4* 17 patet] probatur *Mü4, om.*
Kj4 | sic dicentem *om. Fr4* | correctio] corrector *Kj4* 18 inventrix] in ventre *Ox2a*, invencio
Ox2b Wi4 | -que *post* legum *Mü4* 19 Tercio] secundo *Kj2* | idem + probatur prima
conclusio *Mü4* | in se *om. Wi4* | destructionem] destructivum *Kj4 Fr1 Kj2 Kj5 Sj2*,
discretivum *Mü4*, + viciorum et *Fr4* 20 Sed ... 21 cogitationum *om. Fr1 Ox2b Wi4*
destructionem] destructivum *Kj2 Sj2*, discretivum *Mü4* 21 vanarum *om. Mü4* | est ...
virtuosus] et cetera *Ma4* | nota] patet *Fr4, om. Kj4* 22 sic ... 23 virtutes *om. Fr4* 23 hoc]
hunc *Fr1*, homo *Kj5* | hoc ... 24 cogitationes¹] inducit virtutes *Fr4* | etiam *om. Kj2* | causat]
creat *Mü4* 24 cogitationes¹ + sed *Mü4* | Minor ... cogitationes² *om. Ox2a* | patet *om. Kj4*
Algazelem] algasculum *Mü4*, algozlem *Wi4* | qui dicit *om. Kj4* | dicit] sic inquit *Fr4*
25 destruuntur] destruentur *Ox2b* 26 probatur] ponitur *Kj2* 27 et hoc] ut *Mü4* | et ... sic]
quia *Fr4* | Iste *om. Fr1* | est¹ ... Deo] qui est similis deo est excellentissimus *Kj2* | qui *om.*
Wi4 28 similis Deo] huiusmodi *Fr4* | est² *om. Fr1* | est excellentissimus] et cetera *Fr4 Ma4*
Wi4 | nota *om. Kj4* 29 ex quo *om. Fr4* | ens *om. Ox2a* | et + excellentissimum et *Mü4, om.*
Kj4 | et nobilissimum *om. Wi4* | tunc] et *Fr4* | quod + sic *et litt., quae non leg. Kj4*, + facit
Kj5 | sibi *om. Ox2b Wi4* | sibi ... 30 est] participat similitudinem Dei *Fr4*

30 simile est, eciam erit ens excellentissimum. Minor patet in auctoritate Seneca
primo proposita, in qua dicit: Est quasi Deus et cetera.

Secundo ad idem: Iste homo est excellentissimus, qui cognoscit encia divina.
Sed homo scientificus cognoscit encia divina. Ergo est excellentissimus. Maior
nota ex primo Ethicorum et eciam per Commentatorem tercio De anima, ubi
35 dicit, quod perfectio humana consistit in speculatione entis primi. Minor patet,
quia homo scientificus habet phylosophiam. Philosophia autem est rerum
divinarum certa cognicio, ut patet per † Avicbron in libro de disputacionibus †.

Tercio ad idem: Iste homo est excellentissimus, qui habet in se ens
nobilissimum. Sed homo scientificus est huiusmodi. Igitur et cetera. Maior nota,
40 quia unumquodque recipit denominationem a sibi inexistente. Minor probatur,

35 perfectio ... primi] *cfr Arist., eth. Gros. 10, 1177 a 14–19; Auct. Arist., p. 247 (209).*
36 Philosophia ... 37 cognicio] *cfr e.g. Arist., eth. Gros. 1141 a 16–20; Chrysipp. 35; Aug., trin. 14, 1, 3.: Sapientia est rerum humanarum divinarumque scientia; Isid., orig. 2, 24, 1: Philosophia est rerum humanarum divinarumque cognitio; Auct. Arist., p. 240 (113): Sapientia est cognitio rerum divinarum habens caput inter omnes alias scientias. 37 per ... disputacionibus] *locum non inveni.* 40 unumquodque ... inexistente] *cfr Arist., eth. Gros. 1178 a 2–3; Auct. Arist., p. 248 (214).**

30 eciam ... excellentissimum *om. Mü4* | erit] est *Ma4, om. Kf4* | erit ens] et est *Ox2a*
excellentissimum] perfectissimum et nobilissimum *Fr4*, nobilissimum *Ma4* | Minor *om.*
Ox2a | patet *om. Kf4 Kf2* | in ... 31 cetera] per senecam loco ubi supra *Fr4* | auctoritate ...
31 proposita] proposicione preassumpta *Ma4* 31 proposita] proposicione *Kf2* | dicit]
dicebatur *Ma4*, + quod *Kf4* | et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Sj2* 32 idem + probatur
Mü4, + ille est homo excellentissimus qui est similis deo sed homo scientificus est similis
igitur et cetera vel sic *Wi4* | homo *om. Wi4* | cognoscit] cognoscitur *Wi4* | encia] eciam
Kf5 | divina *non leg. Wi4* 33 homo *om. Kf4* | encia] eciam *Kf5* | est *om. Fr1* | est
excellentissimus] et cetera *Fr4 Wi4* | excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1 Kf2 Kf5 Ox2a Sj2*
Ox2b, + sive perfectissimus *Mü4* 34 nota ex] patet *Fr4* | ex *om. Ox2a Wi4* | eciam *om. Fr4*
Ma4 | per *om. Fr1* | Commentatorem + in *Ma4* | ubi dicit *om. Fr4* 35 quod + ultimata
supra lin. Sj2 | speculatione] inspiracione *Wi4* | Minor patet *Mü4 Ox2a Sj2, om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4*
Kf2 Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4 36 quia ... phylosophiam] quod fit per ipsam theologiam *Fr4*
habet *om. Wi4* | Philosophia ... 37 disputacionibus *om. Fr4* 37 divinarum *om. Wi4* | per
Avicbron *om. Mü4* | Avicbron *Ox2a* (avicebron) *Sj2*, albicebrum *Kf4 Fr1 Kf5 Ma4*,
albitherum *Kf2*, albertum *Ox2b Wi4* | disputacionibus] speculationibus *Kf4 Kf5*,
disposicionibus *Ox2b Wi4* 38 ens] res *Kf5* 39 est ... 41 scientificus *om. Kf5* | Maior + est
Fr4 40 unumquodque + ens *Fr4* | recipit + sibi *Ox2b Wi4* | a sibi] et sibi *Ox2a*, sibi
Ox2b, om. Wi4 | sibi inexistente] fine sed *Fr4* | inexistente] inexistenti *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sj2*
Ox2b, existenti *Mü4 Wi4* | probatur] patet ad hoc *Mü4*, patet *Fr4, om. Kf4 Kf2*

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quia homo scientificus in se habet scienciam. Sciencia autem est res nobilissima, quod probatur sic: Cuius finis est nobilissimus, ipsum in se est res nobilissima. Sed finis sciencie est quoddam nobilissimum. Ergo sciencia in se est res nobilissima. Maior nota per Aristotelem secundo De anima, ubi dicit: Iustum est a fine omnia denominari. Eciam patet per Lincolniensem primo Posteriorum, ubi dicit: Secundum exigenciam finis oportet omnia moderari. Minor probatur, quia felicitas est finis sciencie, sed per Aristotelem primo Ethicorum felicitas est optimum hominis secundum virtutem perfectissimam. Sic ergo sunt probate predictae due conclusiones. 45

Sed omnes predictae rationes et eciam conclusiones presupponunt hoc, quod homo scientificus omnem perfectionem suam sumit a sciencia, et igitur omnis 50

44 Iustum ... 45 denominari] *cfr Arist., de an. Moerb. 416 b 23–24; Auct. Arist., p. 181 (93).*

46 Secundum ... moderari] *cfr Gros., in post. analyt. 1, 2, lin. 7–8.* 48 felicitas ... perfectissimam] *cfr Arist., eth. Gros. 1, 1098 a 15–18; Auct. Arist., p. 233 (11).*

41 scienciam] habitum (*ut vid.*) sciencie *Fr4* 42 quod ... sic] cum ipsa sit habente (*ut vid.*) nobilissimo ut patet in libro sapiencie omnis sapiencia a domino deo est item *Fr4* probatur] proponitur *Kj2* | nobilissimus] nobilissimum *Fr1* | nobilissimus ... 43 quoddam *om. Ox2a* | ipsum] homo *Fr4* | est² ... nobilissima] nobilissimum est *Kj2* 43 Sed ... 44 nobilissima *bis Ox2b* | quoddam] quid *Fr1*, quodammodo *Fr4* | quoddam nobilissimum] res nobilissima *Mü4* | Ergo ... 44 nobilissima *om. Mü4* | sciencia ... 44 nobilissima] et cetera *Wi4* | in se *bis Kj4* | est² *post* sciencia *Ox2a* 44 nota] patet *Fr4, om. Kj4* | Aristotelem + in *Wi4* | ubi dicit *om. Mü4* 45 fine] falso *Ox2a* | omnia *om. Mü4* | denominari] denominare *Kj5*, nominari *Ox2b* | Eciam] ut *Kj5*, et sic *Wi4* | Lincolniensem *om. Wi4* 46 ubi dicit] quod *Fr4*, qui dicit quod *Ma4* | dicit *om. Kj4* | exigenciam] enigmam *Ox2a*, existenciam *Ox2b*, exigenciam *Wi4* | finis + sciencie *Fr1, om. Mü4 Ox2a* | omnia] nam *Fr1* | moderari] moderare *Kj4 Fr1 Fr4 Kj2 Kj5 Ma4 Ox2a Sj2* 47 Minor probatur] sed *Fr4* | probatur *om. Kj2* | felicitas] fidelitas *Wi4* | sed] ut patet *Ma4 Mü4* | sed ... 50 quod] ut patet decimo ethicorum quod homo scientificus est vere felix et quia *Fr4* | per *om. Kj2* 48 optimum] proprium *Mü4*, continuum *Wi4* | perfectissimam *Kj4 Kj5*, perfectissimum *Fr1 Kj2 Ox2a Sj2*, perfectionum *Ma4*, perfectiorem (*ut vid.*) *Ox2b Wi4, om. Mü4* 50 Sed] et *Kj5*, + quia ista *Ox2b*, + quia ille *Wi4* | Sed ... conclusiones *bis Kj4* | omnes predictae *om. Wi4* | rationes] oraciones *Mü4* | eciam] due *Kj4, om. Kj5 Mü4 Wi4* | presupponunt] presupponuntur *Kj2*, per se ponunt *Wi4* | quod] ut *Sj2*, + est *Ox2a* 51 scientificus *om. Fr4* | suam *om. Ox2b* sumit] sumat *Fr1 Ma4 Ox2a Sj2*, firmat *Mü4*, habet *Ox2b Wi4, om. Kj5* | a sciencia] ad scienciam *Sj2* | et ... 54 appetenda] ipsa merito est desideranda propter multas causas *Fr4* igitur] ideo *Kj2* | omnis] homo *Ox2b Wi4*

prosequens / naturalem aptitudinem scienciam desiderat ex natura, sicut etiam dicit Philosophus in prohemio Metaphysice: Omnes homines naturaliter scire desiderant. Ideo est notandum, quod sciencia multis de causis est appetenda. 87^{va}

55 Primo enim propter honorem, qui debetur homini scientifico, quod patet per Philosophum quarto Ethicorum, ubi dicit: Virtuti et sciencie debetur laus. Etiam patet per ipsum primo Ethicorum, ubi dicit: Cursores et pugillatores laudamus; felicem vero nullus laudat. Super quo verbo dicit Eustracius, quod felici, id est homini scientifico, debetur gloria et honor; laus enim datur cursoribus et pugillatoribus.

60 Secundo sciencia est appetenda propter delectaciones, quas generat, unde Aristoteles quarto Ethicorum dicit: Philosophia mirabiles confert delectaciones in stabilitate et firmitate.

53 Omnes ... 54 desiderant] *cfr Arist., metaph. Moerb. 1, 980 a 21; Auct. Arist., p. 115 (1).*
 56 Virtuti ... laus] *cfr Arist., eth. Gros. 4, 1124 a 1.* 57 Cursores ... 58 laudat] *cfr Arist., eth. Gros. 1, 1101 b 15–27.* 59 felici ... 60 pugillatoribus] *cfr Eustr., in eth., pp. 171–172 (ad Arist., eth. 1, 1101 b 10–27).* 62 Philosophia ... 63 firmitate] *cfr Arist., eth. Gros. 10, 1177 a 25–26; Auct. Arist., p. 247 (206).*

52 prosequens] persequens *Fr1 Kf5 Ma4 Sj2*, sequens *Kj2 Ox2b Wi4* | naturalem ... scienciam] habitudinem naturalem sciencie *Mü4* | aptitudinem] habitudinem *Kf4 Kf5*
 desiderat + hoc *Mü4* | ex] a *Wi4* | sicut] sic *Kf5 Mü4*, simul *Wi4* | etiam *om. Kf4 Kf5*
 53 Metaphysice *om. Ox2b* 54 desiderant + et cetera *Kf4* | Ideo *om. Mü4* | Ideo ... notandum *om. Ox2b* | est¹ + igitur *Mü4* | notandum] sciendum *Kf4 Ma4* | de] modis et *Kf4*
 55 enim] sciencia est appetenda *Fr4*, nam *Kf4* | honorem] hominem *Fr1* | qui] quod *ut vid. Kf4*, quia *Kj2*, que *Kf5* | debetur ... scientifico] homini scientifico debetur honor *Kj2*
 scientifico *om. Kf4* | quod] nam *Fr4*, ut *Kf5 Mü4*, sicut *Ox2a Sj2* 56 Philosophum] aristotelem *Fr4* | ubi dicit] quod *Fr4* | Virtuti] virtutem *Kf5*, virtute *Ox2b*, virtutes *Wi4*
 Virtuti ... sciencie] virtuoso et scientifico *Fr4* | debetur] detur *Kj2* 57 Etiam] et *Fr4* | ubi dicit *om. Fr4* 58 laudamus] laudemus *Mü4*, laudantes scienciam *Wi4* | vero nullus] nos vero *Ox2a* | laudat] laudatur *Fr1*, ludat *Sj2* | Super] ex *Mü4* | Super ... dicit] quod exponit *Fr4*
 verbo] vero *Ox2b Wi4*, *om. Fr1 Mü4* | Eustracius] Anstachius *Wi4*, + dicitur *Ox2b* 59 id est] et *Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4* | debetur ... laus] debetur laus et gloria honor *Kj2* | enim] quoque *Ma4* | datur] debetur *Fr4 Mü4* 61 est *om. Ox2a* | unde] ideo minus *ut vid. Kf4*
 62 Ethicorum + ubi *Wi4* | dicit *om. Fr4 Mü4* | Philosophia] sciencia *Fr4* | mirabiles] in mirabiles *Kj2*, mirabilis *Ox2b* | delectaciones + et *Kf5* 63 et *om. Fr4* | firmitate] sumitate *Wi4*

Vir speculativus

Tercio sciencia est appetenda propter ammirari, unde in prohemio
Methaphysice dicitur: Propter ammirari sacerdotes in Egypto inceperunt
philosophari. 65

Sed quia scienciarum nobilissima est ipsa theologia, que est vera sapiencia, que
de se ipsa loquitur, dicens: *Ego ex ore Altissimi prodigi*, igitur pre aliis scienciis
summe est appetenda. Ipsa enim est, de qua dicitur, quod sine ipsa omnes
sciencie sunt azephale, id est sine capite. Ipsa enim est capud omnium, et de illa
theologia est nostra principalis intencio. 70

Habet autem theologia tres partes principales. Quedam est theologia
informativa docens hominem virtuose vivere et eternam vitam possidere. Alia
est theologia hystoriace procedens et illa docet memorare res gestas,
quemadmodum est biblia et evangelia, et de istis nihil ad propositum. Alia est
theologia, que consistit in laude facta cum cantico, et de ista in proposito
dicitur, et huic eciam subalternatur liber iste sequenciarum. 75

65 Propter ... 66 philosophari] *cfr Arist., metaph. Moerb. 1, 982 b 12–13; Auct. Arist., p. 116 (18).* 68 Ego ... prodigi] *Sir. 24, 5.* 70 Ipsa ... omnium] *cfr Arist., eth. Gros. 1141 a 19–20; Auct. Arist., p. 240 (113).*

64 Tercio ... 71 intencio] et cum ipsa sciencia est de numero bonorum honorabilium ut patet in prohemio de anima ergo illud quod magis est honorabile magis est appetenda quia nobilitas sciencie provenit ex nobilitate subiecti ergo ipsa summa theologia cuius subiectum est deus pre omnibus aliis est appetenda quia sine ipsa omnes alie sciencie sunt acephale id est sine capite ipsa enim est capud omnium quia ab ore altissimi prodigit *Fr4* | unde] ut *Ox2b* | unde ... 65 ammirari *om. Kj4* 65 dicitur] dicit *Kj5, om. Ma4* | sacerdotes] sacerdote *Kj5* | inceperunt] ceperunt *Kj2* 67 ipsa *om. Ox2b Wi4* | vera + sciencia vel *Ox2a* sapiencia *om. Wi4* | que² *post corr. ut vid. Kj4*, quod *Ox2a*, + sic *Sj2* 68 ipsa] ipso *Sj2* | Ego + sapiencia *Kj2* | Altissimi] altissiorum *Wi4* | prodigi *om. Wi4* | igitur] ideo *Mi4*, et *Ox2b* scienciis *om. Mi4* 69 est¹ *om. Wi4* | appetenda] appetende *Ox2a* | enim] nunc *Wi4* | est² *om. Ox2a* | dicitur] loquitur *Kj4 Kj5 Ox2a* | ipsa + homo *Fr1* | omnes] alie *Wi4*, + alie *Kj2 Ma4 Ox2b* 70 sunt + quasi *Mi4* | azephale *i.e. acephale* | sine] in *Wi4* | Ipsa] in ipsa *Kj4* 71 principalis] princiialis *Fr1 Ma4* | intencio] antenetur *Wi4* 72 Habet ... tres] hec autem theologia habet tres *Fr4 Kj2 Wi4*, hec autem theologia tres habet *Ox2b* | theologia¹ *om. Kj4 Kj5* | principales + partes *Kj5* | Quedam + enim *Fr4 Mi4 Ox2a* | est] in *Ox2a* 73 docens ... possidere *om. Ox2a* | virtuose] bene *Mi4* | vivere] vicia *Kj4* | Alia + autem *Mi4* 74 est *om. Ox2a* | docet] est docens *Fr1* | memorare] memorari *Kj2 Mi4, om. Fr4* 75 est¹ *om. Kj4 Kj5* | est biblia *om. Ox2b* | est¹ ... propositum *om. Fr4* | istis] ista *Mi4* | nihil] nec *Ox2a*, non est *Ox2b* | ad] a *Sj2* | est² *om. Kj5* 76 theologia *om. Ox2b* | in proposito] est ad propositum *Mi4* 77 dicitur *om. Mi4 Ox2a Sj2* | dicitur ... 78 tria] est agendum sed dicantur *Fr4* | et] quod *Kj5* | huic] hec *Wi4* | subalternatur ... iste] dicitur *Wi4*

Unde circa principium istius libri queruntur tria: Primo que sint cause; secundo que sit utilitas libri; tercio quis sit tytulus libri.

80 Ad primum est dicendum, quod causa materialis istius libri non est una, quia in diversis sequenciis diverse sunt cause materiales, sed tamen, si volumus inproprie loqui, tunc dicamus, quod causa materialis istius libri est dictamen cum laude modulosa compositum.

85 Sed causa formalis dicitur esse duplex, scilicet forma libri et forma tractandi seu agendi. Forma libri est compositio parcium libri. Sed forma tractandi in aliis libris est quintuplex, / scilicet diffinitivus, divisivus, probativus, improbativus et exemplorum positivus. Sed tamen auctor in hoc libro solum habet duos modos tractandi, scilicet probativum et exemplorum positivum.

87^{vb}

90 Sed causa finalis est cognicio vocabulorum istius libri et coincidit cum utilitate istius libri.

Sed causa efficiens sunt quattuor doctores, scilicet Gregorius, Augustinus, Ambrosius et Ieronimus, qui composuerunt sequencias de tempore pro maiori

78 Unde + nota quod *Mü4* | libri *om. Kf4* | que] quod *Fr1* | sint] sit *Ox2a* | cause] causa *Ox2a*, + huius *Fr4*, + libri *Mü4* 79 libri¹ *om. Fr4 Ma4* | tytulus + istius *Ox2a* 80 est¹ ... quod] dicitur *Mü4* | libri *om. Ox2b Wi4* 81 in *om. Fr4* | sunt + attribuende *Fr4* | materiales + cum sciencia unitatem capit a subiecto quod cum materia incidit *Fr4* | sed *om. Sj2* | si *om. Fr4* | volumus ... 82 loqui] inproprie capiendo materiam *Fr4* 82 loqui] dici *Wi4* | tunc *om. Mü4* | dicamus] dicimus *Ox2b Wi4, om. Fr4* | quod *om. Kf4 Fr4* 83 modulosa compositum *Fr4* (modolosa) *Ox2a Ox2b Wi4*, melodosa (*ex medolosa corr.*) propositum *Kf4*, medolosa compositum *Fr1 Kf5*, melodose composita *Kj2*, melodosa compositum *Ma4 Sj2*, modulo hominum *Mü4* 84 dicitur esse] est *Kj2 Ma4* | duplex] divisio *Wi4* | libri] tractatus *Fr4* 85 seu ... 90 libri *om. Fr4* | agendi + et *Mü4* | compositio] cognicio *Kj2*, + vel *Wi4* parcium] precium *Ox2b (ut vid.) Wi4* | libri² *om. Fr1* | Sed] seu *Wi4* | forma] causa *Ox2b Wi4* | tractandi + est ut *Kj2* 86 libris + et *Kj2* | scilicet *om. Fr1 Ma4* | diffinitivus] diffinitiva *Mü4* | diffinitivus ... 87 positivus *subauditur* modus | divisivus] divinitivus *Fr1*, divisiva *Mü4* | probativus] probativa *Mü4*, + et *Wi4* | improbativus] improbativa *Mü4* | et *om. Ox2a* 87 positivus] positiva *Mü4* | tamen] cum *Fr1 Kj5* | solum *om. Mü4* | duos] tres *Kj2* 89 libri *om. Fr1* | et ... 90 libri] simul laus dei et sanctorum *Mü4, om. Kj5 Wi4* coincidit] quo incidit *Fr1*, tunc incidit *Ox2b* 90 istius] iste *Kj2* 91 Sed *om. Ma4* | sunt] scilicet *Kf4* | sunt ... scilicet] est secundum quosdam *Fr4* | doctores *om. Ox2b Wi4* Gregorius ... 92 Ieronimus] augustinus ambrosius gregorius et ieronimus *Fr1*, ambrosius augustinus gregorius et ieronimus *Mü4* | Augustinus ... 92 Ieronimus *om. Fr4* 92 composuerunt *om. Fr4* | de tempore *om. Ox2b Wi4* | de ... 93 parte] pro maiori parte et hoc de tempore *Kj2* | pro ... 93 parte] composuit *Fr4*, parari (*ut vid.*) sequencias sive illud volumine *Wi4* | maiori + volumine sive *Ox2b*

Vir speculativus

parte, sed de aliis sequenciis sunt diverse cause efficientes, que ignorantur, unde non multum est curandum, quis dicat, sed quid dicatur, dummodo dicta sint autentica et bona.

95

Deinde respondetur ad secundum dubium, cum queritur, que sit utilitas huius libri. Ad hoc est dicendum, quod utilitas istius libri est duplex: Quedam est cognicio vocabulorum subtilium; alia est remuneratio divina, que datur hominibus pro laude inpensa Christo. Unde, ex quo liber iste principaliter est de laude Dei sed quia nullum bonum manet a Deo irremuneratum, ideo remuneratio consequitur hunc librum.

100

Sed ad tertium dubium respondetur, cum queritur, quis sit tytilus libri. Dicendum: tytilus est: Incipit dictamen divinarum laudum modulose compositum. Sed tamen communi tytilo appellatur 'liber sequenciarum'. 'Sequencia' autem dicitur a 'sequor, sequeris', quia ipsa consequitur laudem et ipsam laus sequitur in divino officio, unde sequencia in divino officio cantatur ante evangelium et post Alleluia. Et evangelium est laus divina. Similiter Alleluia

105

93 sequenciis] scienciis *Wi4, om. Kf2* | que] qui *Ox2a Ox2b* | que ignorantur] de quibus non est ad presens *Fr4*, quorum tamen nomina sunt ignota *Wi4* | ignorantur + vestri *Ox2b* unde] sed *Ox2b Wi4* | unde ... 95 bona *om. Fr4* **94** quid] qui *Ox2a* | dummodo + saltim *ut vid. Mü4* | sint] sunt *Kf4 Kf5 Mü4 Ox2b* **95** et bona *om. Mü4* **96** Deinde respondetur *om. Mü4* | Deinde ... dubium] sed ad secundum dubium respondetur *Fr4* | respondetur] secundum *Ox2a* | ad] a *Sf2* | dubium ... queritur *om. Mü4* | cum] que *Wi4* | cum ... 97 dicendum *om. Kf4 Fr4* | queritur] dicitur *Ma4* | que] questione *Wi4* **97** libri¹ ... libri² *om. Kf5* | Ad ... libri² *om. Fr1 Mü4 Ox2a* | libri² *om. Fr4* | duplex *om. Mü4* | Quedam] que *Kf2* **98** est¹ *om. Mü4* | subtilium] subtile *Sf2*, + sed *Kf2* | est² *om. Fr1 Ma4* | remuneratio] enumeratio *Kf4* | que] quia *Kf4* **99** laude + christi *Mü4* | Christo *om. Fr4* | Unde *om. Wi4* **100** quia] secundum dictum boecii nullum malum impunitum et *Fr4* | manet ... Deo] irremuneratum manet a deo *Ox2b* (in remuneratum) *Wi4* | manet ... Deo *om. Fr4* | ideo] igitur *Ma4 Mü4* **101** remuneratio] irremuneratio *Fr1* | consequitur] sequitur *Ma4* | librum + tamquam quedam (*ut vid.*) utilitas *Fr4* **102** Sed *om. Kf2 Ma4* | Sed ... queritur *om. Mü4* cum ... 103 tytilus] quod tytilus huius libri *Fr4* | quis] quod *Sf2*, + autem *Mü4* | tytilus + huius *Mü4*, + istius *Ox2a* | libri] liber *Kf5, om. Ma4* **103** Dicendum] deo *Kf5*, + est quod *Ma4 Mü4*, + est *Ox2a* | tytilus + talis *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b*, + libri *Wi4* | tytilus est] iste *Mü4* | est *om. Ox2b* | dictamen *Kf4*, liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4* divinarum *bis Kf5* | modulose *Fr4 Kf5 Wi4*, melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2*, medolose *Mü4*, moduloso *Ox2b* **104** compositum] compositus *Kf2 Mü4* | tamen *om. Ma4* | communi] communiter *Ma4, om. Fr1* | tytilo] tytilus *Ma4* **105** autem] vero *Fr4* | consequitur] sequitur *Ox2a* | et ... 110 evangelium] et cetera *Fr4* **106** ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Ox2b Wi4* | laus] laudem *Kf5, om. Fr1 Wi4* | sequitur] sequetur *Kf2*, consequitur *Wi4* | divino¹] domo *Ox2a*, + autem *Wi4* | unde] cum *Ox2b Wi4* | divino²] domo *Ox2a* | cantatur] canitur *Mü4*, + et *Ox2b* **107** Et + quod *Mü4*

EDITION 5

est laus divina. Et ergo merito dicitur sequencia, quia consequitur laudem
divinam, scilicet Alleluia, et eciam ipsam sequitur laus divina, scilicet
110 evangelium.

108 Et ergo] quare *Mii4* | consequitur] sequitur *Fr1 Kj5 Mii4 Ox2a* **109** scilicet¹ ... 110
evangelium *om. Ox2a* | eciam *om. Ma4* | ipsam *om. Kj5* | sequitur] consequitur *Kj2*
110 evangelium + et cetera *Kj2 Sj2*, + et in hoc determinatur accessus sequenciarum *Mii4*

EDITION 5: *Expositio Kf4*

147^{va} AD CELEBRES, REX

Ista sequentia, que etiam cantatur in honore sanctorum angelorum, dividitur in duas: primo auctor dirigit sermonem suum ad Deum laudes sibi decantando in festivitate sancti Michaelis et aliorum angelorum; secundo exequitur pertractando choros angelorum et cum hoc <nomina> quorundam angelorum, ibi: NOVIES DISTINCTA. 5

Primo dicit: o celestis REX, scilicet Deus, CUNCTA CATERVA sonora PANGAT AD CELEBRES LAUDES tuas cum SYMPHONIA et NOSTRA CONCIO reddat TIBI dulces cantus, supple NUNC, quando INCLITA FESTA MICHAELIS archangeli RENOVANTUR in mundo. PER QUE FESTA TOTA MACHINA MUNDI PERORNATUR LETABUNDA. 10

Notandum de nominibus angelorum, quod secundum Gregorium angelis appropriantur nomina non ex eo, quod sine inposicione nominum in celesti patria cognosci non possunt, cum omnia ibi reluceant in speculo divinitatis, sed nomina specialia angelis inponuntur ex privatis officiis, que geruntur, cum ad nos mittuntur. Unde Michael hoc nomen obtinet, quod interpretatur ‘quis ut Deus’, ex eo, quia, quando aliquid mire virtutis agitur, quod nemo facere potest nisi Deus, tunc Michael mitti perhibetur. Similiter est de Gabriele, qui ‘fortitudo Dei’ dicitur, quia missus fuit ad annunciandum Christum nasciturum, quia fortis est in prelio. Similiter Raphael hoc nomen obtinuit, quod ‘medicina Dei’ interpretatur, ideo, quia ad curandum egros mittitur, ut prius tactum est. 15 20

Notandum: Dicit auctor PERORNATUR et cetera, quod tota ecclesia per sanctum Michaellem vel per eius festum perornatur quintupliciter: Primo ex ipsius festi celebritate; secundo ex sufraghii et adiutorii sui inpensione, unde dicitur in Daniele: *In tempore isto consurget Michael, princeps magnus, qui stabit pro filiis populi tui*, id est pro hiis, qui sunt predestinati ad vitam eternam; tercio 25

12 angelis ... 21 mittitur] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8–9.* 19 missus ... nasciturum] *cf. Lc. 1, 26–27.* 25 In ... 26 tui] *cf. Dn. 12, 1.*

Fons textus: *Kf4*; **fontes emendationum:** *Kf2, Ma4, Ox2, Sj2, Wi4*

3 ad Deum] *adeum cod.* 5 nomina *cum Expositio Kf1 supplevi; cf. etiam lin. 66* 23 quintupliciter *supra lin. post corr.* 24 sufraghii] *sufraghi cod.* 25 in Daniele *post corr. ex in evangelio*

mundus perornatur per festum sancti Michaelis, / et hoc per deportacionem nostrarum oracionum per manus Michaelis et angelorum aliorum ante conspectum Dei, unde Bernardus: Discurrit angelus inter dilectum et dilectam, vota afferens, dona referens, corrigens illam, placans illum; quarto mundus perornatur per festum Michaelis ex suscepcione animarum per sanctum Michaelem, unde de ipso canitur: Archangele Dei Michael, constitui te principem super animas suscipiendas; quinto mundus perornatur per sanctum Michaelem et eius festum ex ipsius solempni victoria et pugna, de qua dicitur in Apokalipsi: *Factum est prelium magnum et Michael archangelus pugnabat cum dracone*, quod dictum est.

Notandum circa litteram, quod ‘catherva’ idem est quod turba vel universitas et dicitur a ‘catha’ Grece, quod est universale Latine. Item ‘pango’ tria significat et secundum hoc triplex preteritum, quia aliquando idem est quod canto sicut in proposito et tunc habet ‘panxi’ in preterito; aliquando enim idem est quod promitto. Inde dicitur ‘pactum’ et tunc habet in preterito ‘pepigi’; eiam aliquando idem est quod coniungo et tunc habet ‘pegi’ in preterito. Versus:

Panxi cantavi; pepigi, dum fedus inivi;
dum quid coniunxi, potui bene dicere pegi.

Unde legitur: *Ossibus et nervis compegisti me*, id est coniunxisti me.

Unde ‘symphonia’ dicitur a ‘syn’, quod est con, et ‘phonos’, sonus, quasi consonancia sive concordancia sonorum, sicut habet fieri in instrumentis musicis. Sed ‘odus’ dicitur ab ‘odos’ Grece, quod est cantus Latine; vel secundum alios dicitur ‘oda, -e’, et inde dicitur ‘melodia’ a ‘melos’, quod est dulce, et ‘odos’, cantus, quasi dulcis cantus. Sed ‘letabundus’ dicitur quasi similis leto, quia per Grecismum nomina terminata in -bundus similitudinem inportant, ut dicit: Simulat -bundus, -bilis aptat.

27 deportacionem ... 29 Dei] *cf. e.g. Petr. Lomb., sent. 4, 45, 6, 2.* 29 Discurrit ... 30 illum] *cf. Bernard., serm. sup. cant. 31, 5: [...] discurrit medius inter dilectum et dilectam, vota offerens, referens dona. Excitat istam, placat illum.* 32 Archangele ... 33 suscipiendas] *cf. CAO 1474.* 35 Factum ... 36 dracone] *cf. Apc. 12, 7.* 43 Panxi ... 44 pegi] *cf. Firm., dict., s.v. ‘pango’.* 45 Ossibus ... me¹] *Iob 10, 11.* 51 Grecismum ... 52 aptat] *cf. Eberh. Beth., graecism. 25, 103–107.*

29 Discurrit] *descurret cod. | dilectum] delectum cod.* 30 corrigens *cum Expositio Kf1 scripsi, porrigens cod.* 34 de qua *supra lin.* 38 catha] *chata cod.* 41 promitto] *permitto cod.* 42 Versus *post corr.* 47 consonancia *cum Kf2, Ox2, Sj2, et Wi4 scripsi, constancia cod.*

Expositio Kf4

Littera: o CELICE REX, id est celestis rex, supple Deus, CUNCTA CATHERVA, id est omnis turba, CANORA, id est sonora, PANGAT, id est decantat, AD CELEBRES LAUDES, id est usque AD CELEBRES LAUDES tuas (vel secundum aliam litteram 55 legendo pro una dictione AD CELEBRES LAUDES ita, quod d mutatur in c), SYMPHONIA, id est cum convocali consonancia, ATQUE pro et, NOSTRA CONCIO, id est turba, SOLVAT, id est redat, TIBI ODAS, id est dulces cantus, supple NUNC, CUM pro quando, VALDE INCLITA FESTA, id est valde solempnia 60 festa, MICHAELIS / archangeli RENOVANTUR, id est quasi de novo innovantur, supple in mundo. PER QUE FESTA TOTA MACHINA MUNDI, id est tota constitutio vel compositio mundi, PERORNATUR, id est valde ornatur, supple existens LETABUNDA, id est gaudens. Sequitur super choris.

NOVIES DISTINCTA

Hic exequitur pertractando de choris angelorum, et dividitur in tres: Primo 65 pertractat de choris angelorum; secundo de quibusdam nominibus angelorum; tercio iterum revertitur super choros angelorum. Secunda ibi: VOS O MICHAEL; tercia ibi: PER VOS PATRIS. Prima in duas: Primo pertractat creacionem angelorum; secundo pertractat numerum chororum angelorum, ibi: THEOLOGICA. 70

Primo dicit: o celice rex, AGMINA angelorum DISTINCTA, id est novem chori, SUNT creata PER TE. SED tu FACIS HEC AGMINA FLAMMEA PER angelica ministeria, quando tu VIS. Et HEC AGMINA angelorum SUNT INTER prima 75 CREATA TUA, cum NOS homines SIMUS ULTIMA tua creatura, quia ultimo creasti hominem, SED tamen sumus TUA YMAGO.

Notandum circa istum versum SED CUM VIS et cetera: Secundum Grecistam 'angelus' est nomen officii, non nature, unde angelus dicitur nuncius. Unde Gregorius: Isti celestes spiritus quidem spiritus sunt semper, sed nequaquam semper angeli vocari possunt. Cum autem ad nos mittuntur, angeli nuncupantur. Unde psalmista: *Qui facit angelos suos spiritus* et cetera, quia angeli, 80

77 angelus¹ ... nature] *cfr Eberh. Beth., graecism. 9, 34–36; cfr etiam Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8.*

78 Isti ... 80 nuncupantur] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8.* 80 Qui ... spiritus] *Hbr. 1, 7, sed cfr etiam Ps. 103, 4.*

56 pro *supra lin.* 63 super] sunt *cod.* | choris *cum Sf2 scripsi*, chorus *cod.* 64 Novies distincta *cum Sf2 et Wi4 scripsi*, sunt chorus *cod.* 68 Patris] patres *cod.* 71 chori *post corr.* 72 hec in *marg.* 74 cum *cum Ma4, Sf2 et Wi4 scripsi*, tamen *cod.* | creasti *cum cett. scripsi*, creatus *cod.*

quando ad nos mittentur, tunc flammei dicuntur eo, quod a nobis scoriam peccatorum expurgant et in nobis ignem divini amoris incendunt. Unde dicit Ysaias: *Vidi et volavit angelus de seraphin ad me* et tulit calculum, id est lapidem ignitum, ad altare: ‘Cum fortitudine, dicens, purgavi peccatum tuum.’

85 Notandum: Dicit INTER PRIMEVA et cetera. Angelus dicitur primeva creatura Dei, quia primo die fuit creatus, unde dixit Deus: *Fiat lux et facta est lux*. Sed per lucem theologi exponunt naturam angelicam. Sed homo dicitur ultima creatura, quia sexto die de limo terre formatus. Et dicitur ymago Dei iuxta illud, quod dixit Deus: *Faciamus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram*. Sed tunc est
90 dubium, quare homo potius dicatur ymago Dei, cum tamen secundum Dyonisium angelus eciam sit ymago Dei et speculum purum et lucidissimum. Dicendum est: Licet angelus possit dici ymago Dei, tamen anthonomastice homo dicitur ymago Dei propter tres rationes.

Prima est, quia sicut Deus per suam potenciam <est> in toto <mundo>
95 maiori, ipsum regens et gubernans, sic anima fidelis humana est in toto mundo minori, scilicet / in homine, ipsum vivificans et gubernans.

148^{rb}

Secunda causa est, quia in Deo secundum Platonem ante mundi creacionem fuerunt rationes exemplares omnium rerum, sicut ars est in mente artificis, sic in anima humana per spiritualem recepcionem sunt similitudines omnium, unde
100 tercio De anima dicitur: Anima est quodammodo omnia.

Tercia ratio est, quia Deus naturam humanam sibi voluit uniri sed non naturam angelicam. Ergo et cetera.

Littera: o celice rex, AGMINA, id est chori, PNEUMATUM, id est spirituum vel angelorum, DISTINCTA NOVIES, id est in novem choros vel per novenarium
105 numerum, SUNT FACTA, id est creata, PER TE, et tu FACIS HEC, scilicet agmina

83 Vidi ... 84 tuum] *cf. Is. 6, 5–7.* 86 Fiat ... lux²] *Gn. 1, 3.* 87 theologi] *cf. e.g. Aug., civ. 11, 9.* 88 sexto ... formatus] *cf. Gn. 1, 25–27 et Gn. 2, 7.* 89 Faciamus ... nostram] *Gn. 1, 26.* 91 angelus ... purum] *cf. Job. Scot., versio Dion. Ar.: De divinis nominibus tom. 1, pag. 269.* 97 in ... 99 omnium] *cf. Thom. Aq., S. T. 1, q. 44, art. 3.* | secundum Platonem] *cf. e.g. Pl., Tim. Calc. 29 A, 30 D et 37 C–D.* 100 Anima ... omnia] *cf. Arist., de an. Moerb. 431 b 21; Auct. Arist., p. 188 (161).* 101 Deus ... 102 angelicam] *cf. Hbr. 2, 16.*

87 theologi *cum Ma4, Ox2, Sj2 et Wi4 scripsi, theologia cod.* | creatura *cum cett. scripsi, natura cod.* 88 quia ... ymago *in marg.; ymago in lin. iteravit cod.* 90 quare *cum cett. scripsi, quia cod.* 94 est² *cum cett. supplevi* | mundo *cum Kj2, Ox2, Sj2, et Wi4 supplevi* 95 maiori] *post corr.* 96 gubernans *cum cett. scripsi, contubernans cod.* 98 in mente *cum Kj2, Ox2, Sj2, et Wi4 scripsi, inesse cod.* | sic *post corr.* 99 in *supra lin.* | recepcionem *cum Ma4, Ox2, et Wi4 scripsi, redempcionem cod.* 100 est] *et cetera cod.* 105 id est *supra lin. post corr.*

Expositio Kf4

angelorum, FLAMMEA, id est ignea, PER angelica officia, id est per angelica ministeria, CUM pro quando, quando VIS. Et HEC, scilicet agmina, SUNT INTER PRIMEVA CREATA TUA, id est sunt prima creatura tua, CUM NOS homines SIMUS ULTIMA tua FACTURA, id est creatura ultimo facta, SED tamen sumus TUA YMAGO, id est similitudo. Sequitur theologica. 110

THEOLOGICA

Hic auctor pertractat numerum chororum angelorum, dicens: Divina scriptura predicat NOBIS HEC agmina angelorum esse TRIPARTITA sive in tria agmina distincta, et hoc essent novem PER PRIVATA OFFICIA. Et tunc enumerat choros, dicens: PLEBS ANGELICA, sive chorus angelorum, supple sunt agmina angelorum, deinde PHALANX ARCHANGELICA, scilicet chorus <arch>angelorum, deinde PRINCIPANS TURMA, scilicet principatus, deinde VIRTUS URANICA, id est chorus, qui dicitur virtutes, deinde POTESTAS ALMIVOMA, id est chorus, qui dicitur potestates, deinde DOMINANCIA, scilicet chorus, qui dicitur dominaciones, inde DIVINA SUBSELLIA, id est throni, CHERUBIN ETHEREA et IGNICOMA SERAPHIN. 115 120

Notandum: Regnum celeste tamquam domus bene disposita habet patrem familias ipsum Deum, qui domum celestem in tres ierarchias distinxit. In quarum ierarchiarum qualibet sunt tres chori angelorum.

<In> infima ierarchia sunt angeli, archangeli et virtutes. Officium angelorum secundum Albertum est, quod ipsi sunt deputati in custodes animarum, unde dicit: Dignitas est specialis animarum, quod angeli sunt custodes ipsarum. Sed officium archangelorum secundum beatum Gregorium est, quod ipsi nunciant maiora, angeli vero minora, unde etiam archangelus Gabriel ad Mariam missus 125

126 secundum Albertum] *cfr* *Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 147, lin. 42–p. 148, lin. 45.* 127 Dignitas ... ipsarum] *cfr* *Hier., in Matth., p. 159; cfr Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 11, 1, 1; cfr 'Iuga Bethel mens' AH 37, 117.* 128 ipsi ... 130 est¹] *cfr* *Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8.* 129 Gabriel ... 130 est¹] *cfr* *Lc. 1, 26–27.*

106 per¹ cum *Ma4*, *Ox2*, et *Wi4* scripsi, littera *cod.* 107 agmina cum *ceit. scripsi*, omnia *cod.* 110 theologica] *theol^a cod.* 111 Theologica] *theologia cod. sed cfr lin. 160* 113 predicat] *predicant cod. | in tria post corr.* 117 arch cum *Ox2 et Sj2 supplevi* 118 uranica] *uranicis cod. ut vid. | chorus] choros cod.* 122 patrem] *patres cod.* 123 ierarchias] *ierachias cod.* 124 ierarchiarum] *ierachiarum cod.* 125 In cum *Sj2 supplevi* | *ierarchia] ierachia cod.*

- 130 est. Officium autem virtutum secundum Albertum est, quod Deus per ipsos
 miracula facit, unde eciam dicuntur virtutes uranice quasi ignee, ab ‘ur’, quod
 est ignis. Nam sicut ignis / illuminat, sic angelice virtutes per miraculorum
 exsecuciones plurimos infideles ad cognoscendum Deum illuminant. 148^{va}
- In secunda ierarchia sunt tres alii chori, scilicet principatus, potestates et
 135 dominaciones. Officium potestatum est coercere omne nocivum, ne tantum
 noceat, quantum velit. Unde habent coercere demones a nocumentis nostris.
 Sed officium principatum est principatus terre limitare et sedes superbiorum
 dominorum destruere et bonos promovere. Sed officium dominacionum est, ut
 ex ipsarum melioritate et dispositione angeli inferiorum ordinum ad nobis
 140 ministrandum mittantur, unde dicuntur quasi dominantes aliis.
- In tertia ierarchia sunt alii chori, scilicet throni, cherubin et seraphin.
 Officium thronorum est, quod Deus in ipsis ad iudicandum presidet, unde
 psalmista: *Qui sedes super thronos et iudicas equitatem*. Sed ‘cherubin’
 interpretatur plenitudo sciencie. In ipsis enim est perfecta Dei cognicio. Ergo
 145 dicuntur etherea ab ‘ethere’, nam ether proprie est superior pars aeris semper
 existens serena. Inde dicuntur cherubin etherea, quia habent lucidam et serenam
 cognicionem Dei. Sed seraphin dicuntur quasi accensi vel ardentes, quia in
 amore Dei ardent et nos ad amorem Dei incendunt et inflammant. Et ergo
 dicuntur seraphin ignicoma quasi compti vel ornati igne.
- 150 Notandum circa litteram. ‘Cherubin’ et ‘seraphin’ per -n scripta significant
 choros angelorum, et sunt neutri generis et pluralis numeri; sed quando
 scribuntur per -m, tunc significant unum angelum de illis choris et sunt
 masculini generis. Versus:

130 Officium ... 131 facit] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.* | secundum Albertum] *cfr Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 124, lin. 36–p. 125, lin. 77.* **131** ur ... 132 ignis¹] *cfr Hier., quaest. hebr. in gen., p. 15, lin. 1–2; cfr etiam Isid., orig., 16, 1, 9 cum app. crit.* **135** Officium ... 136 velit] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10; cfr Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 9, 2, 2; cfr Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 127, lin. 45–72.* **137** Sed ... 138 promovere] *cfr Bernard., serm. sup. cant. 19, 3.* | sedes ... 138 destruere] *cfr Sir. 10, 17.* **138** Sed ... 140 aliis] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10; cfr Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 119, lin. 67–72.* **142** Officium ... 143 equitatem] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.* **143** Qui ... equitatem] *cfr Ps. 9, 5.* | Sed ... 144 cognicio] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.* **147** seraphin ... ardentes] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.*

130 Officium *supra lin.* | Deus] *deos cod.* **131** miracula] *miracula cod.* **132** per *supra lin.* **133** exsecuciones *in marg. post corr.* **134** ierarchia] *ierachia cod.* **139** melioritate *cum O:2 et Wi4 scripsi, me^{or} cod.* | dispositione + est *ante corr.* **140** mittantur *cum Sf2 scripsi, mittendos cod.* **141** ierarchia] *ierachia cod.* | chori *cum cett. scripsi, throni cod.*

Expositio Kf4

‘N chorus angelicus’ et cetera.

Notandum: ‘Synbolum’ dicitur a ‘syn’, quod est con, et ‘bole’, sententia, quasi collecta sententia. Item ‘theologicus’ dicitur a ‘theos’, quod est Deus, et ‘logos’, sciencia, vel ‘logos’, sermo, quasi divina sciencia sive sermo de Deo. Sed ‘kathégorizo’ est idem quod predico. Inde in loyca dicitur propositio kathegorica, id est predicativa. 155

Littera: THEOLOICA SYNBOLA, id est divina scriptura sive divine sententie, KATHEGORIZANT, id est predicant, NOBIS HEC, supple agmina angelorum, TRIPARTITA TER, id est in tria sive in novem agmina distincta, PER PRIVATA OFFICIA, id est per specialia officia. Tunc enumerat choros angelorum dicens, supple chori vel agmina angelorum sunt ista, scilicet PLEBS ANGELICA, id est chorus angelorum, PHALANX <ARCHANGELICA>, id est turba angelica, id est unus <chorus> archangelorum, PRINCIPANS TURMA, id est principatus, VIRTUS URANICA sive ignea, id est virtutes, AC pro et, et POTESTAS ALMIVOMA, id est pro- / movens sanctitatem, scilicet potestates, DOMINANCIA, id est dominaciones, -QUE pro et, DIVINA SUBSELLIA, id est divine sedes, scilicet throni, et CHERUBIN ETHEREA, id est serena vel celica, AC pro et, SERAPHIN 170
IGNICOMA, id est in amore Dei ardencia. Sequitur vos, o Michael. 170

VOS, O MICHAEL

Hic pertractat de quibusdam angelorum nominibus usitatis in sacra scriptura, dicens: O MICHAEL, princeps CELI, et GABRIEL, dicens, verus nuncius Dei, et o RAPHAEL, VERNULA VITE, vos transducite NOS INTER PARADISICOLAS sive in celo habitantes. 175

Notandum, quod auctor hos tres angelos sub specialibus nominibus ponit et maiorem mencionem de ipsis facit quam de aliis ideo, quia in sacra scriptura ipsorum nomina sunt magis nota et usitata.

Notandum: Dubitatur a quibusdam, in quibus choris angelorum sint hii tres angeli iam dicti, scilicet Michael et cetera. Et respondent quidam dicentes, quod 180

154 N ... angelicus] *versum non inveni; cfr Expositio Ox6 lin. 253.* 155 bole sententia] *cfr Eberh. Beth., graecism. 8, 42.*

165 archangelica *supplevi, cfr lin. 116* 166 chorus *cum Kf2 supplevi* 167 almivoma] *albinvoma cod., cfr lin. 119* 168 dominancia] *dominantur cod., sed cfr lin. 119* 169 sedes *in marg. post corr.* 172 Michael] *mich cod.*

EDITION 5

Michael sit de choro principatum, et hoc videtur haberi ex illa auctoritate Danielis prius allegata, que dicit: *In tempore illo consurget Michael princeps*. Sed alii dicunt, quod Gabriel sit de choro <arch>angelorum, quia ad nunciandum
185 maiora missus est. Et dicunt ulterius, quod Raphael sit de choro virtutum, quia miraculose Tobie visum reddidit.

Notandum circa litteram: ‘Satrapa’ idem est quod princeps et potest ethimoloizari per adverbium ‘satis’ et ‘abba’, quod est pater, inde ‘satrapa’ quasi sufficiens pater vel princeps. Sed ‘vernula’ est diminutivum a ‘verna’, quod est
190 idem quod servus, unde versus:

Non vult verna probus dominis servire duobus.

Sed ‘paradisicola’ componitur a ‘paradiso’ et a verbo ‘colo’ et dicitur quasi colens paradysum sive inhabitator paradisi.

Littera: O MICHAEL, supple existens SATRAPA, id est princeps, CELI, -QUE pro et, et o GABRIEL DANS, id est dicens, VERA NUNCIA VERBI, id est Filii Dei, -que pro et, et RAPHAEL VERNULA, id est minister vel famulus, VITE, VOS TRANSFERTE, id est transducite, NOS INTER PARADISICOLAS, id est habitantes in celo. Sequitur per vos Patris.

PER VOS PATRIS

200 Hic auctor revertitur super choros angelorum dirigens sermonem ad ipsos, et dividitur in duas: Primo dirigit sermonem suum ad ostendendum, quomodo ipsi adimplent preceptum Dei et ministerium nostrum; secundo dirigit sermonem ad ipsos incitans et exhortans nos ad laudem Dei, ibi: VOS PER ETHRA.

205 Primo dicit: o vos novem chori angelorum, omnia MANDATA celestis PATRIS, scilicet Filii Dei PER VOS / COMPLENTUR, QUE, scilicet mandata, sapientia 149^{ra} EIUSDEM Patris, scilicet Filius Dei, et COMPAR PNEUMA, scilicet Spiritus sanctus existens equalis Patri et Filio, PERMANENS idem cum ipsis in essentia, DAT et

183 In ... princeps] *cfr Dn. 12, 1.* **184** ad ... 185 est] *cfr Lc. 1, 26–33.* **186** miraculose ... reddidit] *cfr Tb. 11, 7–17.* **191** Non ... duobus] *Walther 18734; cfr etiam Mt. 6, 24.*

184 archangelorum] arch- *supplevi, cfr lin. 128–129* **188** abba *cum Sj2 scripsi, aba Wi4, ana cod.* **189** diminutivum *cum Kj2, Ox2, Sj2, et Wi4 scripsi, idem quod cod.* **198** Patris] *patres cod., cfr lin. 204* **199** Patris] *patres cod., cfr lin. 204* **203** Vos] *nos cod., cfr lin. 256*

Expositio Kf4

ministrat. CUI DEO sic existenti uno in essencia et trino in personis vos SACRA MILIA MILIUM ESTIS AMINISTRANCIA et CENTENA milia et eciam BIS QUINGENTA, id est mille, PER BIS QUINAS VICES, id est decies, ASSISTUNT IN AULA celesti. AD QUAM aulam Christus REX perduxit CENTESIMAM OVEM, que erat deperdita, eciam ipse VERBIGENA, scilicet Dei Filius, produxit DECIMAM DRAGMAM, que erat deperdita, AD VESTRA ALGAMATA sive habitacula. 210

Notandum: Auctor in hiis versibus tangit numerum angelorum, qui ponitur in Daniele, ubi dicitur: *Milia milium ministrabant ei*; et hunc numerum ponit in primo versu, et sequitur ibidem: *et decies milia centena milia asistebant ei*. ‘Decies milia’ auctor tangit, cum dicit VICES PER BIS QUINAS BIS ATQUE QUINGENTA, quia bis quingenta faciunt mille, sed bis quinque faciunt decem, et tunc auctor ponit residuum numerum, cum addit CENTENA MILLENA. 215

Notandum, quod non est intelligendum, quod solum tot sint angeli in regno celesti, ut dicit Iob: *Non est numerus militum eius*, id est angelorum Dei, et ergo Daniel per hoc, quod posuit tam magnum numerum, voluit exprimere, quod numerus angelorum apud nos esset infinitus et indeterminatus licet apud Deum finitus et terminatus. 220

Notandum, quod auctor in secundo versu tangit parabolas evangelii supradictas, quarum una est de homine habente centum oves in deserto, secunda est de muliere habente decem dragmas. Tum igitur <per> ovem centesimam perditam et per dragmam decimam perditam intelligitur homo, quem ipse Deus redemit et relinquens nonaginta novem in deserto, id est novem choros angelorum in celo, venit in hunc mundum, ut ipsum hominem perditum ad nonaginta novem oves, id est ad novem choros, reduceret. Et dicitur homo dragma decima, quia secundum theologos homo supplebit decimam partem angelorum, que cum Lucifero cecidit. 225

Notandum, quod Filius Dei dicitur verbigena ratione nature divine, secundum quam est verbum a Patre eternaliter genitum; vel dicitur verbigena 235

215 Milia ... ei] *Dn. 7, 10.* 216 et² ... ei] *cf. Dn. 7, 10.* 221 Non ... eius] *cf. Iob 25, 3.*
226 homine ... deserto] *cf. Mt. 18, 12–13; Lc. 15, 3–6.* 227 muliere ... dragmas] *cf. Lc. 15, 8–9.* 232 secundum theologos] *cf. e.g. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 3 et 6 et Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 9, 6.*
233 que ... cecidit] *cf. 2 Pt. 2, 4; Iud. 6.*

208 trino in marg. post corr. 209 estis supra lin. 211 rex per- supra lin. post corr. 212 eciam ...
213 deperdita in marg. superiore | ipse] ipsa cod. 213 ad ... algamata iterum in marg. superiore
cod. 218 bis² supra lin. 221 id est supra lin. 227 per supplevi 229 nonaginta] novaginta cod.

EDITION 5

secundum naturam humanam, quia solo verbo et sine virili semine conceptus est et genitus, unde canitur de beata virgine, quod ipsa verbo concepit Filium.

Notandum, quod 'algama' est idem quod habitaculum et proprie potest esse stabulum ovium, sed sumitur hic pro regno celorum, quia illud est / optimum
 240 ovile, cuius opilio est optimus ille pastor, scilicet Christus, qui posuit animam
 pro ovibus suis. 149^{rb}

Littera: o vos novem chori angelorum, CUNCTA MANDATA, id est omnia precepta, PATRIS, supple celestis, COMPLENTUR PER VOS, QUE, scilicet precepta, SOPHIA, id est sapientia, EIUSDEM, supple Patris, scilicet Filius Dei, QUOQUE
 245 pro et, COMPAR PNEUMA, id est Spiritus sanctus equalis, supple existens et PERMANENS, existens in potestate Patri et Filio, PERMANENS IN USIA, id est in vera et una essentia, supple cum ipsis, DAT precepta. CUI DEO, supple existente uno in essentia et trino in personis, vos existentes SACRA MILIA MILIUM ESTIS AMINISTRANCIA et CENTENA MILLENA ATQUE, pro et, et BIS QUINGENTA, id
 250 est mille, PER BIS QUINAS VICES, id est decies, <ASSISTUNT IN AULA, supple celesti>. AD QUAM aulam REX, Christus, DUXIT CENTESIMAM OVEM, id est hominem perditum, -QUE pro et, VERBIGENA, id est Filius Dei de verbo genitus, DUXIT DECIMAM DRAGMAM, id est hominem perditum, AD VESTRA ALGAMATA, id est ovilia sive habitacula, scilicet ad regna celorum. Sequitur vos
 255 per ethra.

VOS PER ETHRA

Hic auctor dirigit sermonem suum ad novem choros angelorum exhortans nos cum ipsis ad laudem Dei, dicens sic: VOS novem chori et ELECTA PARS ARMONIE celestis et NOS debemus simul VOTA sive laudes PER LIRICAS
 260 CYTHARAS <PER ETHRA> et PER RURA terre, scilicet referendo singula singulis ita, quod angeli per ethra et nos per terram debemus laudare, ut NOSTRA THIMIAMATA et oraciones SINT ACCEPTA DEO super aureo altari, QUO <POST> INCLITA BELLA MICHAELIS, ut nos simul DECANTEMUS cum angelis ALLELUIA sive laudes Deo IN eterna GLORIA.

236 sine ... semine] *cfr Ambr., hymn. 'Intende, qui regis Israel / Veni redemptor gentium'*. 237 verbo ... Filium] *'A solis ortus', AH 50, 53, cum app. crit. ad 4, 4.* 240 qui ... 241 suis] *cfr Io. 10, 15.*

237 verbo *cum Ox2, Sj2 et Wi4 scripsi, virgo cod.* 250 assistunt ... 251 celesti *cum Kf2 et Ox2 (assistent Ox2) supplevi* 258 electa] *o lecta cod., cfr lin. 285* 260 per ethra *cum Kf2, Ma4, Ox2 et Wi4 supplevi, cfr lin. 261* 262 altari] *altare cod. | quo post corr. ex quos | post supplevi, cfr lin. 291* 263 ut *cum Kf2 scripsi, vel cod.*

Expositio Kf4

- Notandum, quod lira est instrumentum musicum ad magis habens quattuor 265
cordas, sed cythara habet plures cordas, sicut decem vel plures. Igitur per 'liricas
cytharas' intelligitur observatio decem preceptorum secundum doctrinam
quattuor evangelistarum. Debemus igitur laudare Deum decem precepta eius
observando et doctrinam quattuor evangelistarum immitando.
- Notandum circa hoc QUO BELLA: Tangit illud, quod prius dictum, quia, ut 270
habetur ex Apokalipsi: Michael archangelus devincit Antichristum ipsum
interficiendo, cum in celum ascendere voluerit. Et istam hystoriam auctor vocat
hic BELLA INCLITA MICHAELIS.
- 149^{va} Notandum, quod thimiamata est species aromatum. Ponitur pro oratione 275
devota, quam offerre debemus super aureum altare, / scilicet ante conspectum
Dei.
- Notandum, quod 'ara' (prima brevis) est stabulum porcorum, et prima longa
est altare Christi. Versus:
- Est ara porcorum brevis et non ara deorum.
- Notandum, quod 'Alleluia' secundum diversos diversimode interpretatur: 280
Secundum Gregorium sic: 'Alle', Pater, 'lu', Filius, 'ia', Spiritus sanctus;
secundum Ieronimum sic interpretatur: 'Alle', id est creatura, 'lu', id est laudat,
'ia', Deum; secundum Augustinum: 'Alle', id est salva, 'lu', id est me, 'ia', id est
Domine.
- Littera: VOS, supple novem chori et ELECTA PARS ARMONIE, id est consonantie 285
celestis, et NOS, supple homines, demus simul VOTA, id est affectuosas laudes,
PER LIRICAS CITHARAS, id est per talia instrumenta musicalia, PER ETHRA, id est
per ethera et est sincopa, et PER RURA terre, id est per terram, sic referendo: Vos
angeli detis laudem per ethra et nos homines per terram, ut NOSTRA
THIMIAMATA, id est nostre oraciones, SINT ACCEPTA, id est grata, DEO SUPER 290
AUREAM ARAM, id est aureum altare, scilicet in conspectu Dei, POST INCLITA
BELLA, id est gloriosa bella, MICHAELIS, QUO pro ut, nos DECANTEMUS, id est
simul cum angelis cantemus, ALLELUIA, id est laudem Deo, IN COEVA, id est in
eterna, GLORIA.

267 cytharas ... preceptorum] *cfr Isid., orig. 3, 22, 7.* 271 Michael ... 272 voluerit] *cfr Apc. 12, 7-9.* 277 ara ... 279 deorum] *cfr Du Cange s.v. 2. 'ara'.* 281 Secundum ... 284 Domine] *cfr Auct. incert. (Beda?), excerpt., PL 94, 548c; cfr etiam Guill. Durand., ration. 4, 20, 4.*

269 immitando *in marg.* 270 quo] quos *cod., sed cfr lin. 262* 271 habetur *cum Kf2 et Wi4 scripsi,*
trahitur *cod.* 286 nos *supra lin.* 289 nostra] vestra *cod., cfr lin. 261* 290 nostre] vestre *cod.*
292 quo] quod *cod., cfr lin. 262*

CHAPTER 8

8.4 THE PROLOGUE *SAPIENTIA VINCIT MALITIAM* AND THE COMMENTARY OF *Kf1*

The texts in Edition 6 include the Aristotelian prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam* and the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* in the manuscript *Kf1*, dated to 1356. The prologue comprises numerous references to Scripture in the syllogisms proving the excellence of theology. The commentary of the *Sapientia* branch follows the text of the commentary in *Kf4* very closely, but many of the etymological analyses are excluded or abbreviated.

8.4.1 Manuscript descriptions

The manuscripts are listed alphabetically according to their sigla. The base manuscript for the edition of *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, and the one from which the commentary is edited, is *Kf1*.¹ In the *apparatus criticus* of the edition of the prologue the manuscripts are reported in the following order: *Kf1*, *Go2*, *Gr6*, *Kr1*, *Mü2*, *Wi1*, *Er1*, *Mü1* and *Sg3*.

Er1 Erfurt, Bistumsarchiv, Hs. Th. 16²

Hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date: 15th century (fol. 119^v: 1459)

Provenance: Unknown

Material: Paper

Size: 305 x 210 mm.

Folios: 273

Contents: fol. 1^{r-v}: Blank

fols 2^r–119^v: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: ‘Venite filii audite me’

fols 120^r–121^v: Blank

fols 122^r–270^v: Sequence commentaries

fols 122^r–124^r: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*

¹ It is my intention to edit the complete sequence commentary collection in this manuscript at a later stage.

² The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, CRAMER, and my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

Sapientia vincit malitiam and the Commentary of Kf1

fols 233^v–236^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
fols 271^r–273^v: Blank

The text in the sequence commentary section (fols 122–270) is written in one column throughout. The full sequence text, written with around 12 lines to the page, precedes the expository text on it, with around 44 lines to the page. Each new piece has a fairly large initial with flourishes, amounting to some eight lines of commentary text in height. The initial for the prologue is larger, fourteen lines in height.

G02 Göttinger, Stiftsbibliothek, 325³

A manuscript in three parts.

Date: 15th century
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: ?
Folios: 295

Contents: 1. 74 fols
 fols 1^r–66^v: Aegidius: Postilla de tempore
 fols 67^r–74^v: A treatise on the mortal sins
 2. 170 fols
 fols 1^r–96^r: Pronuntiamentum de sanctis
 fols 97^r–169^r: Sequence commentaries
 fols 97^r–98^v: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*
 fols 150^v–153^r: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
 3. 51 fols
 fols 1^r–51^v: *Gesta Romanorum* with a moralisation

The following remarks concern only the sequence commentary on fols 97–169. Several hands have been involved in the making of this part; the prologue and the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* are not written by the same hands. The text is written in two columns throughout, each of approximately 40 lines. The commentary text is written in a cursive script whereas the lemmata and the incipit of the prologue are written in a textualis hand.

³ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, WERL (1844), and my own observations of the microfilm of the manuscript.

CHAPTER 8

Gr6 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 314⁴

Alan of Lille's *Regulae theologicae* and a sequence commentary collection.

Date: Beginning of the 15th century
Provenance: Seckau (Chorherrenstift)
Material: Paper
Size: 270 x 210 mm.
Folios: 120

Contents: fols 1^r–23^v: Alanus ab Insulis: *Regulae theologicae*
 fol. 24^{r-v}: Blank
 fols 25^r–114^v: Sequence commentaries
 fols 25^r–26^v: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*
 fols 115^r–119^r: Hymn commentaries. Inc.: 'Inventor rutili dux.
 Quoniam materia illius ympni de qua in hoc tractatur est ignis'
 fols 119^v–120^v: Blank

On fol. 23^v in the section containing Alan's text, written by a different hand from the sequence commentary, the date 1415 is written. The sequence commentary section does not seem to have been originally a separate manuscript later bound together with the text of Alan of Lille; both the quality of the paper and the ruling for the columns are the same throughout the codex. In the sequence commentary section, the text is written in two columns with 36 lines to each, in a neat semi-hybrid script with both looped and loopless *b*, *d*, *b* and *l*, though the loopless form seems to be the preferred one.⁵ The *a* is always single-compartment. There are no marginal glosses or additional notes. The scribe accommodated for large initials of five lines in height, but these were not written in.

Kf1 Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Cart. 133

A miscellany consisting mainly of commentaries.

Date: 1356
Provenance: St Paul (Benedictine)

⁴ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, KERN (1942–1956), and my own observations of the manuscript.

⁵ See DEROLEZ (2003), pp. 163–169.

Sapientia vincit malitiam and the Commentary of Kf1

Material:	Paper
Size:	270 x 210 mm.
Folios:	151
Contents:	<p>fol. 1^r: Unidentified text</p> <p>fol. 1^v–83^r: Hymn and sequence commentaries</p> <p>fol. 1^v–37^r: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: ‘Accedite ad eum’</p> <p>fol. 37^{r-v}: Unidentified text</p> <p>fol. 38^r–83^r: Sequence commentaries</p> <p> fol. 38^{r-v}: <i>Sapientia vincit malitiam</i></p> <p> fol. 74^v–76^r: Commentary on <i>Ad celebres rex</i></p> <p>fol. 83^v: Blank</p> <p>fol. 84^r–114^r: An exposition on ambiguous words. Inc.: ‘Iste liber cuius subiectum est expositio dictionum equivocorum’</p> <p>fol. 115^{r-v}: <i>Auctoritates</i> on Deuteronomy</p> <p>fol. 116^r–146^v: A commentary on <i>Libri quattuor sententiarum</i></p> <p>fol. 146^v–149^v: Unidentified text</p> <p>fol. 150^{r-v}: Sermon on St Peter and St Paul</p> <p>fol. 150^v–151^r: A hymn for St Martin with glosses. Inc.: ‘Presulem ephebatum trabeate radiatum venustemus’</p> <p>fol. 151^v: Blank</p>

The hymn and sequence commentaries on fol. 1^v–83^r are written by the same hand in two columns throughout. The number of lines varies between 50 and 72. The text is a small and neatly written cursiva antiquior with looped *b*, *d*, *b* and *l* and the two-compartment *a*.⁶ The *f* and the long *s* are straight and reach below the line. Black ink is used throughout. The initials for each new piece are missing, but a square space of four lines in height was left for them. There are a few marginal notes which seem to be have been made by the same hand. The scribe tends to use the 9-abbreviation, *-us*, also for *-mus*. The colophon ending the sequence commentary reads: ‘Explicit glosa super ymnos et sequencias anno domini mcccclvi, indicione x mensis octobris necnon pontificatis sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Innocencii divina providencia pape sexti anno quarto.’ Fol. 38^r is reproduced as Plate 10 and fol. 74^v as Plate 11.

⁶ For cursiva antiquior, see DEROLEZ (2003), pp. 133–134.

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Kr1 Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 299⁷

A miscellany mainly comprising sermons and commentaries.

Date: 14th century
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: 4^o
Folios: 210

Contents: fols 1^r–94^v: Sequence commentaries
 fols 1^r–2^v: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*
 fols 71^v–73^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
 fols 97^r–100^r: Various sermons
 fol. 100^v: ‘De penitentia’
 fols 115^v–118^r: Treatise on the Gospel of St John
 fols 127^r–196^v: Hymn commentaries
 fol. 196^v: Mnemonic verses
 fols 197^r–198^r: Blank
 fols 199^r–203^r: Commentary on *Ad celebres rex*
 fols 203^v–210^r: Blank
 fol. 210^r: Two excerpts from Gregory and Augustine respectively

The text in the sequence commentary section is written in two columns of around 43 lines each. The sequence is referred to by lemmata. Later in the manuscript, on fols 199–203, there is a second commentary on *Ad celebres rex*, referred to in the manuscript catalogue as ‘Psalmodium vel panegyricum angelorum’, the text of which is not the same as the commentary in the collection. This second commentary, which is not edited here, concludes with a brief summary in German of the order of the angels.

⁷ The description is based on *Bibliotheca Cremifanensis. Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum. Auszug aus dem Katalog der P. Hugo Schmid. Alte Handschriften, cod. 11–416*, which are handwritten slips made by P. Beda Lehner, a copy of which is available at the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Minnesota. I have also examined the microfilm copy of the manuscript.

Sapientia vincit malitiam and the Commentary of Kf1

Mii1 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 11475⁸

Hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date: 15th century
Provenance: Polling (Augustinian canons)
Material: Paper
Size: 285 x 210 mm.
Folios: 219

Contents: fols 3^r–57^v: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: ‘Super salutem et omnem pulcritudinem’
fols 58^r–219^v: Sequence commentaries
fols 58^r–59^v: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*
fols 170^r–173^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***

The hymn and sequence texts in this manuscript are included in full before each commentary. The text is written in one column throughout, in a cursive script. Pages with commentary text contain around 48 lines of text whereas the pages with sequence text have around 15 lines, which leaves space for interlinear glosses. A number of hymns have interlinear glosses of which some are syntactical glosses in the form of Arabic numerals to help construe the words.⁹ The initial of each piece is decorated with a miniature; the initial for *Ad celebres rex* illustrates the theme of the sequence with a group of angels singing and playing instruments.

Mii2 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 22405¹⁰

Two collections of sequence commentaries.

Date: 15th century
Provenance: Windberg (Premonstratensian)
Material: Paper
Size: 215 x 165 mm.
Folios: 271

⁸ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, CCL, and my own observations of the manuscript.

⁹ See Sections 2.2.1.3 above and 8.5.2 below.

¹⁰ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, CCL, and my own observations of the manuscript.

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Contents:	fols 1 ^r –114 ^r : Sequence commentaries
	fols 1 ^r –3 ^r : <i>Sapientia vincit malitiam</i>
	fols 88 ^r –92 ^v : Commentary on <i>Ad celebres rex</i>
	fols 114 ^v –120 ^v : Blank
	fols 121 ^r –141 ^r : A commentary on the poem ‘Paeniteas cito’
	fols 141 ^r –166 ^r : A commentary in German on the poem ‘Ut dimittaris aliis peccata’
	fol. 168 ^r –168 ^v : A brief <i>vita</i> of a Windberg monk
	fols 169 ^r –271 ^v : A second collection of sequence commentaries
	fols 223 ^v –225 ^r : Commentary on <i>Ad celebres rex</i>

The two collections of sequence commentaries in this manuscript differ from each other both as regards the actual commentary texts and in the repertoires of texts commented upon. However, the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* in the second collection seems to be an abbreviated version of that in the first collection. In both collections the full sequence text is given with interlinear glosses, some also in the vernacular, and with syntactical glosses in the form of Arabic numerals.¹¹ In the first collection the sequence text is divided and presented in shorter segments with the corresponding commentary sections directly following beneath. In the first commentary section, fols 1–114, the text is written in one column throughout in a cursive script, although the *d* is often loopless. Each page holds around 34 lines.

§g3 Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 524¹²

Collections of hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date:	1443
Provenance:	St Gall
Material:	Paper
Size:	325 x 215 mm.
Pages:	272

¹¹ See further Sections 2.2.1.3 above and 8.5.2 below.

¹² The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, SHERRER (1875), and my own observations of the microfilm copy.

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- Contents:
- p. 1: Latin and German vocabulary
 - pp. 3–122: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: ‘Venite filii audite me’
 - pp. 123–268: Sequence commentaries
 - pp. 123–125: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*
 - pp. 230–233: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
 - p. 272: Latin and German vocabulary

This manuscript is very worn and in places is unreadable. The text in the sequence commentary section is mostly written in two columns, which is the case with the prologue and the commentary on *Ad celebres rex*, where the columns generally hold around 63 lines of text. Some pages are laid out in patterns, for example by dividing the page with a large ‘X’ or ‘S’ and writing the text in the areas created thereby; other pages have the text written in one column horizontally and in the other vertically.

W11 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3818¹³

Collections of hymn and sequence commentaries.

Date: 15th century
Provenance: Unknown
Material: Paper
Size: 220 x 150 mm.
Folios: 194

- Contents:
- fols 1^r–91^r: Sequence commentaries
 - fols 1^r–2^r: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*
 - fols 62^r–64^r: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***
 - fols 93^r–194^v: Hymn commentaries with a prologue. Inc.: ‘Accedite ad Deum’

This manuscript includes the full hymn and sequence texts with interlinear glosses and syntactical numbering.¹⁴ The commentary on each piece follows on immediately from the text in question. The sequence commentary seems to end imperfectly on fol. 91^r. Fols 91^v–92^v present texts for the sequences *Profitentes*

¹³ The description is based on the manuscript catalogue, CMV, and my own observations of the microfilm copy.

¹⁴ See more on this in Sections 2.2.1.3 above and 8.5.2 below.

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unitatem (Trinity) and *Prae hominum natis formosum* (St Barbara) without commentaries. The text is written in a single column throughout in cursive script. Each page holds around 53 lines. Part of the hymn commentary is written in two columns.

8.4.2 On the text—the prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam*

The Aristotelian prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam* opens with this proposition, which is a rephrased passage from Wisdom 7, 30 and here adopted as its title. According to the author, this proposition commends theology for two reasons: its singular dignity, referred to in *sapientia*, and its salutary virtue, referred to in *vincit malitiam* (lines 1–6).

The dignity of theology, the first part of the proposition, is proved by means of an extensive logical argumentation based on seven conditions for the wise man drawn from the works of Aristotle (lines 7–79). From these the commentator forms seven reasons, stating that theology is justly called wisdom since it is able to teach, it considers both the most difficult and the most sublime things, it knows everything as much as is possible, it exposes liars, it is pure truth without falsehood and it is the science without which all other sciences would be ‘headless’, that is without a guiding principle. All seven reasons are proved through syllogisms corroborated by quotations from Scripture.

The second part of the initial proposition, the salutary virtue of theology, is addressed next (lines 80–114) by proving in the same manner how theology can remedy the two evils in man, the evil of the intellect, defined as false understandings, and the evil of the disposition of the mind—that is, man’s appetite for wicked things. In this passage the author refers amongst other works to *De pomo*, here attributed to Aristotle, regarding the perfect philosopher who is able to curb all carnal desires. Although *De pomo* was widely spread in the Middle Ages under Aristotle’s name, both in the Latin West and in the Arabic tradition, it was already then suspected that it might not be a genuine

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work of Aristotle's.¹⁵ This could be the reason behind the various variants for the title of the book in the manuscripts, such as *De summo bono* in *Mü1*.¹⁶

Once the excellence of theology has been established, the commentator proceeds by stating that theology is to be investigated before other disciplines on account of its *utilitas*, its *certitudo* and the *nobilitas* of its causes (lines 115–161). The utility of theology, according to this author, is that this science functions as an instrument to show us both the good and the wicked in ourselves. The certainty of theology is vouched for as it derives not from syllogisms but from the authority of divine inspiration. The nobility of its causes becomes apparent when, in the examination of the four causes, the material, the efficient and the final causes all are ultimately found to rest in God. The formal cause, equated with the mode of procedure, is here said to be twofold in theology, consisting of the instructive and the supplicative, the latter being joined with the laudative mode. The last two modes are those used in hymns and sequences. The instructive mode of procedure is seen in the four senses of Scripture, which are subsequently explained through the sentence 'David vicit Goliath', interpreted in accordance with the four senses, the names of which are also analysed etymologically.

Finally comes an examination of the causes of the book in question, that is the book of sequences, together with two headings from the type C prologue,¹⁷ regarding the title and the part of philosophy to which the sequences belong. The answer to the latter is here, as in the other prologues, that they belong to the discipline of theology (lines 162–170). The material cause is said to be divine praise, and, as in all three Aristotelian prologues, Gregory is professed as being the efficient cause of the sequences.¹⁸ The formal cause is, as expected, claimed to be twofold: the form of the treatise, which is equalled to the division of the book into separate sequences, and the mode of treatment, which according to this author is always laudatory and supplicatory in hymns and sequences. The final cause is the knowledge of divine praise and hence that happiness towards which all arts and sciences are directed.

¹⁵ The work is written in the form of a dialogue between the dying Aristotle and his students after the model of Plato's *Phaedo*. The text may be partially based on a Greek original but the currently known versions of it all derive from an Arabic version dated to the tenth century. The Latin text, a translation from Hebrew, seems to have been produced in Sicily in 1255; SCHMITT (1985), p. 51.

¹⁶ See the critical apparatus to line 111.

¹⁷ See Section 2.2.1.1 above.

¹⁸ For a brief discussion on this attribution, see Section 8.1 above.

8.4.2.1 *Sapientia vincit malitiam*: manuscript interrelations and textual problems

The text of *Sapientia vincit malitiam* is edited in accordance with the principles for Category 3 editions described above.¹⁹ As with the other prologues in the Aristotelian tradition, no *stemma codicum* will be constructed, though manuscript interrelations will be discussed through an analysis of agreements both in errors and in alternative readings between manuscripts, indicating possible groupings of the textual witnesses.

Twelve textual witnesses to the prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam* have been located, nine of which are collated for this edition.²⁰ Two of the collated manuscripts—*Kf1* and *Kr1*—are from the fourteenth century and the other seven—*Go2*, *Gr6*, *Mü2*, *Wi1*, *Er1*, *Mü1* and *Sg3*—are all dated to the fifteenth. As will become evident, the last three of these manuscripts—*Er1*, *Mü1* and *Sg3*—form a group which will henceforth be referred to as ‘the pedagogical recension’ on account of certain additions, rewritings and restructurings of the text.

In addition to these textual witnesses to this prologue, there are three other manuscripts that include heavily abbreviated or rewritten variants of *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, and which have therefore been excluded from the edition.²¹

The manuscript *Kf1* can be dated precisely to 1356, according to the colophon, and is thus the earliest datable manuscript of this group. Since this manuscript also displays a text of exceptionally good quality and contains a commentary on *Ad celebres rex*, it has been chosen as the base manuscript for the edition. The idiosyncrasies of this manuscript consist mainly of alternative readings, just over twenty in number, such as *fit* for *fuit* at line 80, reading *desiderabilia* for *desideria* at line 112, or exchanging singular and plural (as at lines 49 and 162). Another possible base manuscript could have been the almost equally good *Kr1*, where the individual errors are mainly minor scribal errors or omissions of single words. In this case, *Kf1* was chosen on grounds of legibility.

¹⁹ See Section 4.1.3 above.

²⁰ The manuscripts *An1*, *Au1* and *Mü7* were located too late to be incorporated in this study. The prologue text in *Au1* has been shown to follow the pedagogical recension.

²¹ The manuscripts are *Sa1*, *Sf1* and *St1*. *Sa1* and *Sf1* both include the end part of *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, and *Sa1* also adds the end of *Vir speculativus*, slightly rewritten. *St1* combines a heavily abbreviated version of *Sapientia vincit malitiam* with a rewritten version of the end of *Vir speculativus*.

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Manuscript interrelations

The analysis of the interrelations of the manuscripts is based on an examination of agreements in error and alternative (but discarded) readings presented in two ‘West tables’ below, the first of which shows agreements that can be shared by more than two manuscripts while the second table shows agreements unique for two textual witnesses. The list of the actual instances of agreements is found in Appendix 4c. As has been mentioned above, the nature of a relationship between two manuscripts revealed in these tables needs to be examined with the help of the list of agreements.

Table 1. Agreements in error and alternative readings

	<i>Go2</i>	<i>Gr6</i>	<i>Kf1</i>	<i>Kr1</i>	<i>Mü1</i>	<i>Mü2</i>	<i>Sg3</i>	<i>Wi1</i>
<i>Er1</i>	8	13	3	2	89	8	61	8
<i>Go2</i>		9	12	11	8	17	6	7
<i>Gr6</i>			9	6	16	8	9	13
<i>Kf1</i>				6	4	3	4	4
<i>Kr1</i>					3	3	1	4
<i>Mü1</i>						9	69	8
<i>Mü2</i>							9	10
<i>Sg3</i>								7

Table 2. Unique agreements in error and alternative readings

	<i>Go2</i>	<i>Gr6</i>	<i>Kf1</i>	<i>Kr1</i>	<i>Mü1</i>	<i>Mü2</i>	<i>Sg3</i>	<i>Wi1</i>
<i>Er1</i>	-	2	-	-	20	-	2	-
<i>Go2</i>		1	4	3	-	7	3	-
<i>Gr6</i>			1	-	2	2	-	6
<i>Kf1</i>				-	-	-	2	1
<i>Kr1</i>					1	1	-	1
<i>Mü1</i>						1	6	1
<i>Mü2</i>							3	2
<i>Sg3</i>								1

The base manuscript for the edition of *Sapientia vincit malitiam*, *Kf1*, appears to be loosely connected with the other fourteenth-century manuscript, *Kr1*,

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although it does not share many unique agreements in error with this or any other manuscript. At one instance, line 133, *Kf1* agrees with the pedagogical recension in leaving out the word *principaliter*. In the edition the word is retained as it seems to be part of the general terminology of these issues when compared, for example, with a similar phrase in Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* I, q. 1, a. 5: 'Secundum dignitatem vero materiae, quia ista scientia est principaliter de his quae sua altitudine rationem transcendunt'. The word *principaliter* is also found in the prologue *Vir speculativus*, though not in connection with the final cause but in the discussion regarding the related issue of the *utilitas* of the work in question.²²

Gr6 shares a notable characteristic with the pedagogical recension in showing a new structure for the placement of the etymologies of the names of the four interpretational modes. This suggests a relationship with the manuscripts of the pedagogical recension, though not an exclusive relationship with that recension overall.²³ From Tables 1 and 2 above it would seem that *Gr6* is a contaminated manuscript sharing many errors and alternative readings with *Er1*, *Kf1*, *Mü1* and *Wi1*, and with a slightly closer connection to the last.

Gr6 displays furthermore a text of rather a poor quality, with nearly a hundred individual readings and errors, a figure surpassed only by another probably contaminated manuscript, *Go2*, whose number of unique alternative readings and errors exceeds a hundred. *Go2* seems to be connected primarily with *Kf1*, *Kr1* and *Mü2*, but is not particularly close to *Wi1* or the pedagogical recension, with which it shares the addition of *forma tractandi* after *et* at line 164.

The pedagogical recension

Of the three manuscripts belonging to the pedagogical recension, *Mü1* shares readings with both *Er1* and *Sg3*, whereas the two latter manuscripts very rarely agree against *Mü1*. This happens only at lines 56 and 168. The instance at line 56 concerns the phrase *sit hec*, which is omitted in *Mü1* and found as a single *est* in *Er1* and *Sg3*.²⁴ The error at line 168 concerns *parte* instead of *parti*, a reading *Er1* and *Sg3* share with *Wi1*. These two instances of agreement are not significant enough to suggest a link between *Er1* and *Sg3* other than that of a possible common ancestor for the whole of the pedagogical recension.

²² See Edition 5: *Vir speculativus*, line 99.

²³ There could be another link between *Gr6* and especially the manuscript *Mü1* of the pedagogical recension in the reading 'libro suo de bono' in *Gr6*, where *Mü1* reads 'libro De summo bono'. See the critical apparatus to line 111.

²⁴ *Er1* and *Sg3* also agree on reading *est* for *sit hec* at line 40, though *Mü1* is illegible here.

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There are more than forty readings shared by these three manuscripts that separate them from the others.²⁵ Usually the alternative readings they offer are conducive to an easier and more readily comprehensible text as far as syntactical structure and clarity of expression are concerned. Examples of such adaptations are changes of an adjective (as a predicative attribute) into an adverb:

90 primus] primo
123 certi] certe (not legible in *Sg3*; also shared with *Wit*)

The most frequent change is a clarification effected by an addition of an implied word or of an adverb, such as:

15 scilicet + ipsum
105 inest + ergo
107 tamen + hoc
117 aliis + scienciis
162 causa + igitur
168 omnes + alie

In some cases the grammar or the syntax is changed without any necessity:

24 sumitur] sumuntur
48 faciendo + et

In the first example the number of the verb is changed although the subjects are two inanimate nouns in the singular. In the second example the addition of the conjunction equates the two gerund forms, which certainly generates a more readily comprehensible passage, although this change is as unnecessary as the former since the second gerund could be seen as an instrumental ablative.

The most salient alteration, however, is a new structure in the paragraph on the four modes of procedure (lines 142–161),²⁶ in which the etymology of each name of the mode is placed immediately after the explanation of the same. In the other manuscripts, except for *Gr6* which shares this modification, the last

²⁵ For information on variations not reported in the critical apparatus and hence not included in this figure, see Section 4.2.3 above.

²⁶ The actual rearrangement applies only to lines 154–158. In *Sg3* the matter is further complicated by a *saut du même au même* (see the critical apparatus to line 153), which was subsequently corrected (see the critical apparatus to lines 157 and 160). The correction made by the scribe in *Sg3* is difficult to account for satisfactorily in the apparatus, but there can be no doubt that the exemplar of this manuscript displayed the new structure of the pedagogical recension in this passage.

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two etymologies appear together at the very end of the paragraph. Although the restructuring produces a more logical text, it has been judged unoriginal as it is hardly probable that a more logical disposition would be changed to a less logical; a transposition in the other direction seems more likely. The other manuscripts (with the exception of *Mü2*) have an initial *sed* in the last etymology, which could imply a contrasting continuation of the previous etymological analysis, but this is not strong evidence.

Within the same paragraph at lines 159–160, there is another interesting reading shared by *Er1*, *Mü1* and *Sg3* against the others. Instead of interpreting the whole word *anagogicus* as “ductio sursus” sive “expositio ad supernam patriam”, as in the other manuscripts, the two words *sive expositio* are in the pedagogical recension repositioned to follow immediately upon *ductio* as an alternative understanding of *-gogos*. The meaning of the whole word is then understood as ‘ductio sursus ad supernam patriam’. Though apparently clear and sensible it is somewhat simplistic and probably not original. The last phrase after *sive* in the majority of the manuscripts is more probably a further elaboration on and a concrete illustration of *ductio sursus*, so that *ductio* is understood as *expositio* and *sursus* as *ad supernam patriam*. What is more, a simple *ductio sursus* seems to be the standard etymology of the term *anagoge*,²⁷ without including *expositio* as the interpreted meaning.

To summarise: the close-knit group, labelled the ‘pedagogical recension’, consisting of *Er1*, *Mü1* and *Sg3*, share a great number of readings between the three of them, with comparatively few readings restricted to only two. The other manuscripts—*Go2*, *Gr6*, *Kf1*, *Kr1*, *Mü2* and *Wi1*—constitute a fairly disparate group in which no firm links seem discernible. The manuscript *Gr6* shares distinctive features both with the pedagogical recension and with the other textual witnesses.

Textual problems

The textual tradition of the prologue *Sapientia vincit malitiam* is fairly stable in comparison with the other prologue texts belonging to the Aristotelian

²⁷ The same etymological analysis is found, for example, in the prologue to Durandus of Mende’s liturgical work *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, where he continues the explanation and connects *sursus* with heaven (Guill. Durand., *ration. probemium* 12). The same interpretation of *ductio sursum*, albeit without the etymological analysis, is also seen in Hugh of St Victor (*In scripturam sacram*, PL 175, 12b) and Alan of Lille (*Liber sententiarum*, PL 210, 236c).

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tradition. There is only one particularly problematic passage, at lines 121–122, where the manuscripts offer several divergent readings. In the edition it reads:

Que quidem certitudo non consistit in silogistica demonstracione sed in auctoritate divine inspiracionis.

The main problem is found in the phrase ‘in auctoritate divine inspiracionis’. The reading of this phrase in the edition is adopted from *Mii2*, which is also close to the reading of *Gr6*, ‘in divine auctoritate inspiracione’. This version of course makes no sense, but the last ablative could be judged a mistake on account of the endings in the preceding words. Four manuscripts—*Go2*, *Kf1*, *Kr1* and *Wit*—share the reading ‘in auctoritatis divine inspiracione’ and the pedagogical recension—*Er1*, *Mii1* and *Sg3*—has ‘in auctoritatibus divine inspiracionis’. It is not surprising that these three manuscripts share a reading that separates them from the rest, but it is noteworthy that *auctoritas* is in the ablative, as in *Mii2*.

The reading of *Mii2* has been judged correct on grounds of content and identical or corresponding expressions in other medieval works discussing similar issues. In scholastic texts the word *auctoritas* is mainly used in two senses: in an abstract sense it refers to the reliability or credibility of an expression, and in a more concrete sense it designates the text itself, in which case it can also be used in the plural.²⁸ This latter sense could account for the reading in the pedagogical recension, while the reading in *Mii2* might adhere to the first sense. However, the expression here seems to concern the books of the Bible, which were not usually referred to as *auctoritates* in that sense, since the plural form is normally applied to gobbets from the Fathers, ancient philosophers and the like.

The expression seems furthermore to echo a phrase in the response section to Question 1, Article 5 in Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa theologiae*, in which he argues in favour of the higher dignity of divine science, partly on account of its greater level of certainty, saying that the *sacra doctrina* is worthier than all other sciences according to its certainty, ‘quia aliae scientiae certitudinem habent ex naturali lumine rationis humanae, quae potest errare; haec autem certitudinem

²⁸ For a fuller discussion of the concepts of *auctor* and *auctoritas*, see CHENU (1927) and CHENU (1954), pp. 106–117. I am grateful to Dr Philip L. Reynolds, Aquinas Associate Professor of Historical Theology, Emory University, Atlanta, for sharing his knowledge on this subject with me and for directing me towards this article and some examples from contemporary sources.

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habet ex lumine divinae scientiae.²⁹ In the second section of the same response Thomas stresses the fact that theology receives its fundamentals not from other sciences but directly from God through revelation. In his work on Isaiah, in Chapter 34, we find an expression identical to the phrase in our prologue: ‘Hic confirmat omnia quae dicta sunt ex auctoritate divinae inspirationis.’³⁰

The examples cited above and the scholastic use of the word *auctoritas* thus seem to speak against the readings of the other manuscripts. It is noteworthy that a similar phrase is found on the following line (123)—(*credere debemus*) *auctoritati divinae*—which is erroneously rendered *auctoritate divinae* in *Go2*, *Gr6* and *Kf1*. Is it possible that both this and the previous error were induced by two similar phrases having an effect upon each other? Or do the errors attest to a general confusion either between the sounds represented by the letters *e* and *i*, or between the dative and ablative cases? Five manuscripts—*Go2*, *Gr6*, *Kf1*, *Kr1* and *Mü1*—read *ratione* for *rationi* in the same line, which could be seen as supporting the latter view. In this connection the well-known tendency of word-endings to infect adjacent words in the copying process should not be forgotten.

Another possibility would be that the readings offered by *Mü2* and the pedagogical recension is that they are corrections of a corrupt passage made in two different ways by subsequent scribes. The large number of other adaptations and clarifications in *Er1*, *Mü1* and *Sg3* could speak in favour of this hypothesis. The fourth manuscript, *Mü2*, though not part of the same textual tradition, nevertheless displays a few such pedagogical and clarifying rewritings, the most conspicuous of which is an addition to *intellectus* at line 85.

Regardless of the true reasons behind the alternatives offered by the manuscripts, the reading of *Mü2* has been deemed correct and thus adopted in the edition.³¹

²⁹ Thom. Aq., *S. T.*, q. 1, a. 5 (response section).

³⁰ Thom. Aq., *expos. super Is.*, 34, 13. In the twelfth century Hildegard of Bingen uses a similar expression in the sixth vision of *Scivias*, Chapter 21: ‘Qui sunt ipsis angulis ex utraque parte sui coniuncti iuxta modum testudinis: quoniam tam ueteri quam nouo testamento ex utroque latere initii sui in honore et magistracione coadunati declarantur populi, et hoc in similitudinem testudinis, quod est in auctoritate diuinae prouidentiae bene et digne compositi ad statum aedificationis coelestis Ierusalem’ (emphasis added); Hildegard., *scivias*, 6, 21.

³¹ This is the only instance where a reading from *Mü2* is adopted in the edition without further support from other manuscripts.

8.4.3 On the text—the commentary of *Kf1*

The text of the commentary in *Kf1* is very close to the commentary text in *Kf4* of the *Vir speculativus* branch (Edition 5). The sequence text is divided into the same six sections, and in the expository passages the same theological themes are treated with an almost verbatim likeness, often citing or referring to the same *auctoritates*. There are therefore no major differences between the two branches in the interpretative sections, as will be seen below, but there is more divergence in their use of and reference to the sequence text, as well as in the extent to which the vocabulary of the sequence is explained. The differences in the interpretative section mainly concern variant readings which seem to be firmly fixed to one branch or the other.

The commentary opens with a *divisio textus* of the sequence text as a whole, identifying the same two parts as in *Kf4*: the address to God and the praises sung to him and the exposition of the angels along with their names and roles. The scheme followed throughout the text of *Expositio Kf1* by the commentator is also similar to that of *Kf4*. The six subsections in the commentary each open with an identification of the theme of the specific section of the sequence text together with an identification of any subsections. This is followed by a prose version of the text with additions of brief explanatory comments and implied words. Third comes the theological interpretation, then comments and explanations regarding the vocabulary.

One immediately noticeable difference between the two commentary branches is the treatment of the sequence text. In *Kf1* the sequence text is paraphrased into prose only once and placed immediately after the *divisio textus* and the identification of the motif of the strophes in question, while in *Kf4* (Edition 5) there are two paraphrases, at the beginning and at the end of each subsection. The paraphrase in *Kf1* includes a large number of brief inserted explanatory phrases and implied words, which results in a text often identical with the second prose version in *Expositio Kf4*.

Two manuscripts belonging to the *Sapientia* branch, *Wi1* and *Mü2*, display a different method for the syntactical explanation of the sequence by presenting the complete sequence text together with interlinear glosses including

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syntactical numbering of the individual words of the sequence.³² As the glosses correspond to the brief inserted comments and the syntactical numbering fulfils the same function as a restructuring of the sequence into prose, this method eliminates the need for a prose version in a running text format, which is hence not present in these two manuscripts.

Even though we find the same careful division of the sections of the sequence text and the identification of the separate expository themes in *Expositio Kf4* (Edition 5), there seems to be an overall tendency in *Expositio Kf1* to emphasise the disposition even more, as can be seen, for instance, in the discussion of man as the image of God (lines 81–96). This part is separated from the previous discussion of the primeval angels—an independent albeit related issue—with the words *nota, quod*, whereas in *Kf4* the commentator moves smoothly from one issue to the next without signalling the transition. Quite often, but not consistently throughout, the separate sections in *Expositio Kf1* are also numbered, for example at lines 16–48, 77 and 195. Although the reiteration of *notandum* and *nota quod* makes for tiresome reading, their role in facilitating the reader's text orientation cannot be overstated.

As regards the theological interpretations of the sequence text, there is nothing substantially different from the commentary in *Expositio Kf4* (Edition 5) except for an additional sentence commenting on the sequence phrase *quo post bella* (lines 227–228), which shows some similarity to the corresponding passage in *Gr1* (Edition 4). The commentator in *Kf1* points out that the phrase refers to passages from both Exodus and Revelation, although he cites only the latter passage. Immediately after this comes the interpretation of *thymiana*, before the commentator returns to the motif of Michael's war with a second comment. The Biblical sources for the phrase are also referred to in *Expositio Gr1*, though here both passages are cited and the explanation of *thymiana* has a different wording as well as placement.

Apart from this there are only a few minor differences in the interpretative sections, such as quoting the passage from Hebrews in full with a reference to Paul (lines 95–96) where in *Expositio Kf4* (Edition 5) an allusion is made to the Bible text with *ergo et cetera*, and placing the comment on the alternative reading

³² In *Wi1* the whole sequence text is found at the beginning of the commentary whereas in *Mii2* it is divided into smaller parts and placed before each subsection of the commentary. Often the interlinear glosses of these two manuscripts are identical with the inserted explanations in the sequence text as found in *Expositio Kf1*. For 'syntactical numbering' see Sections 2.2.1.3 above and 8.5.2 below.

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Has celebres rex at a different place in the commentary.³³ Another small variant is that the text of *Expositio Kf1* refers only to Gregory in the discussion of angels and spirits and leaves out any mention of Eberhard of Béthune.³⁴ As well as these examples, one could mention the differences in reading discussed above in the quotation from Isaiah and in the description of the office of the Dominions.³⁵

The more conspicuous differences between these two commentaries are found in the vocabulary sections. It can generally be said that the text in *Expositio Kf1* is more succinct in its explanations or comments on word usage, often providing the minimum necessary amount of information where the corresponding parts of *Expositio Kf4* contain additional comments on alternative interpretations and on other related words. A typical example of this is found in the explanation of *agalma*. In *Expositio Kf1* the commentator simply states that its literal meaning is sheepfold and that it should be understood here as the heavenly kingdom (line 208). Even though the commentary in *Kf4* provides the same meaning and interpretation, the explanation is fuller and gives the reasoning behind it.³⁶ Another example of this difference is found at the very end of the commentary: *Kf1* provides two alternative meanings for *Alleluia* where in *Expositio Kf4* three interpretations are found, with thorough etymologies for each.

Mnemonic aids in the form of verses are rarely provided by the commentator of *Expositio Kf1*. In this text there is only one such verse placed in the first vocabulary section, which is here limited to cover the words *caterva*, *symphonia*, *oda* and *laetabundus*, each provided with a brief etymology (lines 42–49). The hexameter verse is linked to the analysis of the last word, *laetabundus*, in which the difference in meaning of the three suffixes *-bundus*, *-osus* and *-bilis* is shown. Although the verse as such is not included in the corresponding section in the commentary belonging to the *Vir speculativus* branch, an alternative version of it seems to be hinted at in what could be the end of a hexameter line.³⁷

³³ In both commentaries it is placed in the first subsection of the commentary—in *Expositio Kf1* at the very end after the vocabulary section, lines 50–51, and in *Expositio Kf4* in the second prose version of the sequence after the phrase *ad celebres laudes*, lines 55–56.

³⁴ Some manuscripts belonging to the *Vir speculativus* branch also refer only to Gregory in this section.

³⁵ See Section 8.3.3.1 above.

³⁶ See Edition 5: *Expositio Kf4*, lines 238–241.

³⁷ See Edition 5: *Expositio Kf4*, line 52.

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A brief comparison between *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam*

Although theology is also claimed as supreme among all sciences in *Dicit Aristoteles*, the argument is not presented in the same strictly syllogistic method as in the two prologues *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam*. There is, however, a difference between the two latter texts as to the choice of authorities drawn upon in order to vouch for the truth in the premises. Both texts rely heavily on Aristotle's works, both explicitly and implicitly: the *Metaphysics* seem to be the favoured source in *Sapientia vincit malitiam* whereas in *Vir speculativus* the *Nicomachean Ethics* are frequently referred to. In *Vir speculativus* further support is generally provided by well-known masters or school-texts, while in *Sapientia vincit malitiam* the role is filled by Scripture. This difference is noticeable already in the main proposition used as the basis for the argument: in *Vir speculativus* a statement from Seneca constitutes the focus whereas a passage from the Book of Wisdom is the point of departure in *Sapientia vincit malitiam*. In the first part of the prologue the main concern for the latter text is the nature of theology, while in the former the focus is on *homo scientificus*. Furthermore, in *Vir speculativus* we are not presented with the four levels of interpretation of Scripture, nor are the three reasons for the excellency of theology present: that its ultimate efficient, material and final cause is God. Honour, joy and admiration, the three reasons in *Vir speculativus* as to why science should be sought after, appear shallow in comparison. In *Vir speculativus* there is also more emphasis on the introduction of the book of sequences than in *Sapientia vincit malitiam*. The final cause of the book of sequences is in both prologues connected with a kind of knowledge, but the knowledge stated in *Sapientia vincit malitiam* is not grammatically orientated as in *Vir speculativus*.

Though the texts of the commentaries are generally extremely close, some divergences of the two branches may be linked to the differences identified in the prologues. In the commentary of *KfA* in the *Vir speculativus* branch, there is a greater concern for paraphrases of the sequences text, grammatical comments and etymological analyses than in the commentary of the *Sapientia* branch.

The characters of the two texts could be suggestive of a difference in intended audience or in the milieu for their composition. The latter question is difficult to answer satisfactorily on account of the lack of known provenance for many manuscripts, especially from the *Vir speculativus* branch. Of the manuscripts whose origins are known we may note that each branch includes manuscripts from both monasteries and collegiate chapters.

Based upon the differences in grammatical and etymological comments together with the type of sources referred to in the texts, the *Sapientia* branch of

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the Aristotelian tradition seems to be aimed at a slightly more advanced audience than the *Vir speculativus* branch. To draw any definitive conclusions in this regard is, however, too premature at this stage: suffice it to note these differences in quotations and authorities, in the professed final causes together with the more numerous and detailed grammatical comments and etymological analyses in the commentary linked to *Vir speculativus*.

8.4.3.1 *Expositio Kf1*: textual problems and remarks on the edition

The edition of the commentary in *Kf1* has been made in accordance with the principles set out above for Category 2 editions.³⁸ The text in the representative manuscript, *Kf1*, is generally of an exceptionally good quality which in turn means that there has not been much need for editorial intervention. In three instances, at lines 16, 29 and 125, omitted words have been supplied with the help of the other manuscripts of the same tradition that comprise a commentary on *Ad celebres rex*: *Er1*, *Go2*, *Kr1*, *Mii1*, *Mii2*, *Sg3* and *Wit*. A few simple scribal errors have been corrected at lines 10, 200 and 215.

In the etymology of *satrapa* the manuscript reading *lap* has been discarded. As the conclusion of the etymological analysis is that the word literally means *pater*, the Hebrew *abba* must have been intended, which is found in only one of the other textual witnesses, *Mii1*. In order to make this word conform with *satrapa* it seems that three manuscripts—*Kr1*, *Sg3* and *Er1*—substitute the voiceless consonant *p* for *b* writing *appa*, which is the form adopted in the edition.³⁹

³⁸ See Section 4.1.2 above.

³⁹ In *Wit* this is rendered *a pa*. Compare also with the corresponding passage in Edition 5: *Expositio Kf4*, lines 187–189.

EDITION 6: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*

Sapientia vincit malitiam

38^{ra}

Hec propositio scribitur in libro Sapientie. In qua propositione duo tanguntur ad ipsius theologie commendacionem. Primum est ipsius theologie dignitas singularis. Secundum est eiusdem efficacia salutaris. Primum tangitur, cum
5 dicitur ‘sapientia’. Ipsa enim theologia pre ceteris scientiis nomine sapientie merito nuncupatur. Secundum tangitur, cum dicitur ‘vincit malitiam’.

Primum, scilicet quod theologia merito sapientia nominetur, potest probari septem rationibus, propter quod sciendum, quod septem sunt condiciones sapientie seu sapientis precipue. Prima est, quod sapientis est posse docere.
10 Secunda est ipsum sapientem difficilima cognoscere. Tercia est ipsum altissimas causas considerare. Quarta est ipsum, prout possibile est, scire omnia. Et iste quattuor condiciones ponuntur in prohemia Methaphysice. Quinta condicio est sapientem non mentiri de hiis, que novit. Sexta est ipsum mencies

1 Sapientia vincit malitiam] *cf. Sap. 7, 30.* **9** sapientis² ... docere] *cf. Arist., metaph. Moerb. 981 b 7; cf. Auct. Arist., p. 115 (8).* **10** sapientem ... cognoscere] *cf. Arist., metaph. Moerb. 982 a 10; cf. Auct. Arist., p. 115 (12).* | altissimas ... **11** considerare] *cf. Arist., metaph. Moerb. 981 b 28–29; cf. Auct. Arist., p. 115 (11).* **11** ipsum ... omnia] *cf. Arist., metaph. Moerb. 982 a 8–9; cf. Auct. Arist., p. 115 (12).*

Fontes textus: *Kf1, Go2, Gr6, Kr1, Mü2, Wi1, Er1, Mü1, Sg3*

1 malitiam + et cetera *Kr1 Wi1* **3** ad *om. Kr1* | ipsius¹ *om. Wi1* | theologie¹ + dignitatem et *Go2* | commendacionem] commendacioni *Kr1* **4** est *om. Wi1* | efficacia] efficacio *Gr6 Mü1* | Primum + enim *Mü2* **5** sapientia *om. Mü2* | nomine ... **6** merito] merito sapientia *Gr6* | sapientie] sapientia *Go2 Kr1 Mü2* **6** merito *post* theologia (*lin. 5*) *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* dicitur] subdicat *Kf1*, scribitur *Wi1*, + vel subdicat *Kr1* | vincit] vicit *Er1* **7** Primum *om. Sg3* | scilicet] sed *Sg3* | quod *om. Wi1* | nominetur] vocatur *Wi1*, nominatur *Er1*, nomine nuncupatur *Mü1* **8** propter quod] pro quo *Er1 Mü1* | sciendum + est *Gr6* | quod² *om. Wi1* **9** sapientie] sapientia *Er1* | est¹ *om. Er1* **10** Secunda] secundum *Kf1 Gr6 Wi1* difficilima] dulcissima *Gr6* | Tercia] tertium *Gr6 Wi1* | ipsum²] ipsas *Wi1*, + sapientem *Go2* **11** causas] res *Gr6* | Quarta + condicio *Mü2* | est¹ + ut *Mü2* | ipsum + sapientem *Go2* prout *om. Gr6* | est² *om. Er1* | Et ... **12** Methaphysice *om. Er1* | iste] ista *Go2* **12** ponuntur] sunt scripte a philosopho *Sg3* | condicio *om. Mü2* | est + ipsum *Go2* **13** ipsum + sapientem *Go2*, + mencies] vel *Mü1* | mencies] mencies] *Wi1*

Sapientia vincit malitiam

manifestare posse. Et iste due tanguntur in primo Elencorum, ubi dicitur: Duo
sunt opera sapientis, scilicet non mentiri de quibus novit, et menciendem 15
manifestare posse. Septima condicio est, quod sine sapientia alie sciencie
dicuntur acephale, id est sine capite, et ipsa est prima et caput aliarum
scienciarum. Illa condicio ponitur sexto Ethicorum.

Ex hiis septem condicionibus possunt formari septem rationes, per quas
probatur theologiam merito sapienciam nominari. 20

Prima sit hec: Ista sciencia merito sapientia dicitur, cuius proprium est posse
docere. Sed theologia est huiusmodi. Ergo et cetera. Maior patet ex prima
condicione sapientis. Minor probatur, quia potestas et auctoritas doctrine
sumitur a docente sive efficiente doctrinam. Sed efficiens doctrine theologice
est ipse Deus. Non enim humanitus est inventa sed per Spiritum sanctum 25
inspirata, unde merito Christus discipulis suis tamquam viris theologis dicebat:
Ite, *docete omnes gentes*.

Secunda ratio sit hec: Ista sciencia, que considerat difficilima, digne sapientia
dicitur. Theologia est huiusmodi. Ergo et cetera. Maior patet ex secunda

14 Duo ... 16 posse] *cf. Arist., soph. elen. Boeth. 1, 165 a 24–27; cf. Auct. Arist., p. 332 (8).*

17 ipsa ... 18 scienciarum] *cf. Arist., eth. Gros. 1141 a 19–20; cf. Auct. Arist., p. 240 (113).*

27 Ite ... gentes] *cf. Mt. 28, 19.*

14 posse *om. Kf1 Go2* | Et ... 16 posse *om. Go2* | primo] principio *Gr6*, prohemio *Mü2*
dicitur] dicit *Kr1*, dicimus *Er1 Mü1* 15 sapientis] sapientie *Gr6* | scilicet + ipsum *Er1 Mü1*
Sg3 | quibus] hiis que *Sg3* 16 posse *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | est *om. Go2 Mü2* | quod] quia *Sg3*
sapientia + theologie *Go2* | alie] septem *Gr6* 17 acephale] acephane *Sg3* | id est] quasi
Gr6 | et ipsa] ipsa enim sapientia *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*; ante ipsa *litt. unam, quae non leg. Sg3* | et² +
est *Go2* | aliarum] omnium *Gr6* 18 scienciarum + et ad eam omnes alie sciencie ordinantur
et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | Illa] et ista *Go2* | ponitur] tangitur *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*, + in *Gr6* | sexto] sexta
Go2, septimo *Wi1* | Ethicorum] elencorum *Go2 Mü2* 19 possunt formari] possumus habere
Gr6 | rationes + id est argumenta *Mü1* | per *om. Mü2* 20 theologiam ... nominari]
theologia merito sapientia denominari *Kf1* (nominari) *Go2* 21 sit] est *Mü2* | hec *om. Kr1*
Ista *om. Gr6* 22 et cetera *om. Sg3* 23 sapientis + et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | doctrine] docendi *Gr6*,
om. Go2 24 sumitur] sumuntur *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | sive + ab *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | efficiente]
efficitante *Go2* | doctrinam] doctrina *Sg3* | doctrine] doctrino *Mü2* | theologice] theohoyce
id *Mü2* 25 est¹ *om. Go2* | Deus + gloriosus *Mü1* | est² *om. Gr6* | inventa] in essentia *Go2*,
inventus *Kr1* | sanctum + divinitus *Gr6*, + inspiranda vel *Mü1* 26 inspirata] conspirata
Go2 | suis *om. Gr6*, + dixit *Go2* | viris] veris *Gr6* | dicebat *om. Go2* 28 hec *om. Er1 Mü1*
que] quod *Go2* | digne] digna *Go2* 29 dicitur + sed *Mü2 Er1 Mü1* | huiusmodi] huius *Kf1*,
huius generis *Gr6* | et cetera *om. Sg3*

- 30 condicione sapientis. Minor probatur: Theologia enim illa considerat, que naturalem capacitatem ingenii nostri transcendunt, puta unitatem essencie et trinitatem personarum in divinis et huiusmodi. Unde bene dicebat Paulus: *O altitudo diviciarum sapientie et sciencie Dei. Quam investigabiles sunt vie eius.*
- 35 Tercia ratio sit hec: Illa sciencia merito sapiencia dicitur, que causas altissimas considerat. Theologia est huiusmodi. Ergo et cetera. Maior patet ex tercia condicione sapientis. Minor probatur: Ipsa enim de Deo considerat, qui omnium est causa altissima, et quod de Deo consideret, patet ex vocabuli interpretacione. Dicitur enim theologia quasi ‘sermo de Deo’ seu ‘sciencia divina’.
- 40 Quarta ratio sit hec: Ista sciencia merito sapiencia dicitur, que considerat omnia, prout possibile est. Theologia est huiusmodi. Ergo et cetera. Maior patet ex quarta condicione sapientis. Minor declaratur: Ipsa enim theologia est ista mulier, que visa est Boecio supra verticem astitisse, que capite suo celos penetrat maiestatem divinitatis perscrutando, pedibus suis terram perforat
- 45 inferni penas et dampnatorum cruciatus declarando, brachio suo dextro orientem attingit iustis viam iusticie et premia virtutum proponendo, brachio suo sinistro occidentem attingit iniustos seu perversos a viciis declinare

32 O ... 33 eius] *cf. Rm. 11, 33.* 43 mulier ... 44 penetrat] *cf. Boeth., cons. 1, 1, 1–2.*

30 sapientis *om. Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | Theologia enim] nam theoloya *Sg3* | illa *om. Er1* | illa ... que] est que considerat *Go2*, est illa que considerat *Gr6*, considerat *Kr1* 31 nostri] et que *Go2*, nam *Gr6* | transcendunt] transcendit *Mü2* | puta] videlicet *Er1* 32 huiusmodi + ergo et cetera *Go2* | bene dicebat] dicit *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | Paulus] apostolus *Wi1*, + ad romanos *Sg3* 33 et sciencie *om. Mü2* | Quam *bis Mü2*, + incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia sua et *Kr1*, + in *Mü1* | sunt *om. Kr1* 34 Tercia] tercio *Go2* | sit] est *Go2* | sit hec] est *Er1 Mü1, non leg. Sg3* hec] talis *Wi1* 35 considerat + sed *Mü2 Er1 Mü1* 36 sapientis *om. Gr6* | qui] que *Go2* | qui ... 37 consideret *om. Wi1* 37 et] sed *Sg3* | de] ex *Go2* | de Deo *om. Gr6* | consideret] considerat *Gr6 Mü2 Wi1 Sg3* | vocabuli] rationali *Go2* 38 quasi ... 41 Theologia *om. Go2* 40 ratio + *verbum, quod non leg. Mü1* | sit hec] est *Er1 Sg3, om. Mü2* 41 est¹ + sed *Er1*, + et *Mü1* | huiusmodi] huius *Kf1* | et cetera *om. Sg3* 42 declaratur] probatur nam sic *Sg3* | enim *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | ista ... 43 que¹] illa que mulier *Gr6* 43 que visa *bis Kr1* | est *om. Sg3* Boecio] boecium *Mü2* | Boecio ... verticem] super verticem boeci *Gr6* 45 penas *om. Wi1* et *om. Kr1* | cruciatus] penas *Kr1* | declarando] cruciando *Kr1*, declinando *Mü1 Sg3* | dextro ... 47 suo *om. Go2* 46 attingit] tangit *Er1*, attingitur *Mü2* | proponendo] apponendo *Wi1* 47 attingit + et *Gr6 Wi1*

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faciendo eis penas comminando, et sic quasi omnia considerat. Item ipsa de principio omnium et modo factionis omnium pertractat.

38^{rb} Quinta ratio sit hec: Illa sciencia, que est firme veritatis nullo mendacio falsitatis / admixta, merito sapiencia dicitur. Theologia est huiusmodi. Ergo et cetera. Maior patet ex quinta condicione sapientis. Minor probatur auctoritate Domini dicentis in evangelio: Neque *unum iota* neque *apex* transibit, *donec omnia fiant*. Item alibi in evangelio: *Celum et terra transibunt; verba autem mea* (supple: que sunt sacre theologie) permanent. 50 55

Sexta ratio sit hec: Ista sciencia, que habet manifestare mencientes et falsum dicentes, merito sapiencia dicitur. Theologia est huiusmodi. Ergo et cetera. Maior patet ex sexta condicione sapientis. Minor probatur, quia ad eandem scienciam pertinet veritatis pertractacio et falsitatis manifestacio, cum eiusdem sciencie sit opposita considerare. Sed ut iam patuit in quinta racione, ad theologiam pertinet veritatem pertractare. Ergo ad eam pertinet falsitatem 60

53 Neque ... 54 fiant] *cfr Mt. 5, 18.* 54 Celum ... mea] *cfr Mt. 24, 35; cfr Mc. 13, 31; cfr Lc. 21, 33.* 59 eiusdem ... 60 considerare] *cfr Arist., metaph. Moerb. 1004 a 9-10; cfr Auct. Arist., p. 122 (93).*

48 faciendo + et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | et ... 49 pertractat *om. Mü1* | quasi ... Item] patet theoloyam omnia scire et *Sg3* | considerat *om. Kr1* | Item ipsa] ipsa enim *Gr6* | Item ... 49 pertractat *om. Er1* | ipsa *om. Go2* 49 principio] principiis *Kf1* | modo] materie *ut vid. Kf1* factionis] factorum *Wit Sg3* | omnium² *om. Gr6* 50 sit hec *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | firme] fit vie *Mü2* | veritatis] virtutis *Go2* | nullo ... 51 falsitatis *Kf1 Go2*, nullius falsitatis *Gr6*, nulli mendaci falsitatis *Kr1*, nulli mendacio falsitatis *Mü2*, nulli falsitatis *Wit*, nullius falsitate mendacii *Er1 Mü1*, nulla falsitate mendaci (*ut vid.*) *Sg3* 51 admixta *non leg. Sg3* | dicitur + sed *Er1 Mü1* | est + ergo *Mü2* | Ergo *om. Go2* | et cetera *om. Sg3* 52 patet] probatur *Sg3* quinta] sexta *Gr6*, quinto *Er1* | sapientis + sed *Sg3* | Minor + declaratur et *Go2* | probatur] eciam patet *Er1 Mü1* 53 Domini] christi *Er1*, salvatoris *Sg3* | dicentis] dicantis *Go2* Neque unum *om. Go2* | Neque ... 54 evangelio *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | iota] rota *Mü2*, ota *Wit*, + id est littera aut *Go2* | neque] unum *Go2*, ut *Gr6*, nec *Kr1* | apex + id est ligatura unius *Go2* | transibit] transit *Kf1*, + a lege *Go2* | donec] quando *Go2* 54 fiant] implentur *Go2*, sint *Gr6* | Item et *Gr6* | in evangelio *om. Gr6* | supple] scilicet *Mü2, om. Wit Er1 Mü1 Sg3* supple que] non transibunt propter *Go2*, non transibunt que *Gr6* | que *bis Er1* 55 sacre + scripture *Go2* | theologie + et *Go2* 56 sit hec] hec est *Go2*, est *Er1 Sg3, om. Mü1 Mü2* mencientes] mendaces *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* 57 dicitur] dicitur *Mü2*, + sed *Gr6 Mü1* | et cetera *om. Sg3* 58 sapientis *om. Gr6* | eandem] eandam *Gr6* 59 veritatis] veritates *Kr1* | cum] cuius *Sg3* 60 sit] sint *Gr6* | opposita] optima *Go2*, oppositum *Wit* | considerare Sed *om. Kf1* patuit in] patet ex *Mü1 Sg3* | quinta] ista *Go2, supra quinta verbum sexta ser. Mü2, sexta Er1 Mü1 Sg3* 61 Ergo ... pertinet²] et *Mü2*

manifestare, et ergo ipsa de seipsa in libro Sapiencie loquitur, dicens: Superborum colla propria *virtute calcavi*, hoc est: Philosophorum gentilium in sua falsitate gloriantium documenta mea auctoritate falsa declaravi.

- 65 Septima ratio sit hec: Ista sciencia, que prima omnium scienciarum dicitur, et sine qua omnes alie sciencie acephale dicuntur et ad quam omnes alie ordinantur, merito sapiencia dicitur. Theologia est huiusmodi. Ergo et cetera. Maior patet ex septima condicione sapientis. Minor probatur: Ipsa enim prima respectu aliarum scienciarum dicitur, ita quod de ipsa dicatur illud, quod
- 70 scribitur in libro Sapiencie: Primo *omnium creata est sapiencia*, et alibi ipsa de seipsa loquens dicit: Inter gentes *primatum* tenui, id est inter alias sciencias. Quod eciam alie sciencie sine theologia sint acephale, id est sine capite, et quod omnes alie ad ipsam ordinantur, patet, quia secundum Philosophum decimo Ethicorum: In speculatione primi principii, scilicet Dei gloriosi, consistit nostra
- 75 felicitas, ad quam nos homines et omnes actus et habitus nostri finaliter ordinantur. Sed ipsa theologia de primo principio speculatur et ad eius

63 Superborum ... calcavi] *cf. Sir. 24, 11; cf. etiam Hraban., Univ., PL 111, 156b.* 70 Primo ... sapiencia] *cf. Sir. 1, 4.* 71 Inter ... tenui] *cf. Sir. 24, 10.* 74 In ... 75 felicitas] *cf. Arist., eth. Gros. 1177 a 17–19; cf. Auct. Arist., p. 247 (209).*

62 et ... ipsa] et *Gr6*, et ergo *Kr1*, ergo ipsa *W11*, quare ipsa *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | de seipsa *post* Sapiencie *Mü1 Sg3*, de se *post* Sapiencie *Er1* | in ... loquitur] loquitur in libro sapiencie *Go2* | dicens + s *Mü2* 63 hoc ... 64 declaravi *om. Sg3* | est *om. Mü2* 64 gloriantium] glosarum *Gr6* 65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 W11 Er1 Mü1* | Ista *om. Sg3* | prima ... dicitur] prima est omnium scienciarum aliarum *Er1 Mü1*, prima est omnium aliarum scienciarum *Sg3* 66 acephale] acephane *Sg3*, + id est sine capite *W11* | omnes² + sciencie *Sg3* | alie² + sciencie *Go2 Er1 Mü1* 67 sapiencia] sapiencie *Go2* | dicitur *bis Gr6*, + sed *Er1*, + et *Mü1* huiusmodi] huius *Kf1* | et cetera *om. Mü2 Sg3* 68 sapientis] sapiencie *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* probatur *om. W11* | prima *post* scienciarum *Gr6* 69 respectu *om. Go2* | ita] eciam *ut vid. W11* | quod¹ ... ipsa *om. Mü2* | de ipsa] per ipsam *Gr6* 70 scribitur] dicitur *Kr1* | Primo ... creata] prima omnium creaturarum *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | omnium] enim *Mü2*, + creaturarum *Gr6* | et] item *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | ipsa + est *Gr6* 71 dicit] dicens *Mü1, om. W11* | tenui] cepi *W11* | Quod] cui (*ut vid.*) *sed postea del. Mü2*, sed quod *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* 72 eciam *om. Sg3* acephale *non leg. Sg3* | id est *om. Gr6* 73 alie + sciencie *Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | ordinantur] ordinantur *Go2 Gr6 Mü2* | quia *om. Go2* | Philosophum + in *Sg3* | decimo] tercio *Go2 Mü2*, quarto *Gr6 W11* 74 Ethicorum + tunc *Sg3* | primi] primum *Go2* | gloriosi *om. Gr6* | nostra + gloriosa *Gr6, om. Go2* 75 ad ... homines] ad quem nos omnes homines *Go2*, ad quem omnes res *Gr6*, ad quam nos omnes *W11*, et ad ipsum nos omnes *Mü1*, et ad ipsum nos homines *Sg3* | actus] intellectus *Go2* | finaliter ordinantur] firmantur *Go2*

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cognitionem ordinatur. Ergo merito ipsa caput aliarum scienciarum dicitur et omnes alie sine ea acephale nominantur. Sic patet probatum primum in propositione assumpta tactum.

Nunc restat probare secundum, quod fuit ipsius theologie efficacia salutaris, quod tangebatur, cum dicebatur ‘vincit malitiam’. Propter quod sciendum est, quod duplex est malicia in homine reperta. Una est ipsius intellectus, et est error vel falsitas in intelligendo. Alia est ipsius voluntatis sive affectus, et est appetitus ad mala prosequenda. Modo ipsa theologia utramque malitiam vincit, scilicet malitiam intellectus, que est error et falsitas, et malitiam affectus, que est appetitus ad mala prosequenda. 80 85

Primum probatur sic: Ista sciencia, que est prima et caput aliarum, habet errores et falsitates condemnare. Theologia est huiusmodi. Ergo et cetera. Maior patet per Philosophum quarto Methaphysice, ubi tamquam philosophus primus falsitatem circa prima principia condempnat. Sed minor probatur ex minori septime rationis prius habita. Idem potest persuaderi auctoritate Boecii, 90

89 Philosophum ... Methaphysice] *locum non inveni.*

77 cognitionem] condicionem *Wi1 Mü1* | ordinatur] ordinantur omnes homines et omnes intellectus et habitus nostri firmantur *Go2*, orditur *Gr6* | caput ... scienciarum] aliarum scienciarum caput *Gr6 Kr1 Wi1* | et] enim *Go2* | et ... 79 tactum *om. Sg3* 78 alie + sciencie *Go2 Mü2 Er1 Mü1* | sine ea *om. Gr6* | nominantur] denominantur et *Er1*, + et *Mü1, om. Go2* | Sic] sicut *Go2 Mü2* | patet *om. Kr1* 79 assumpta] assumptum *Gr6* | tactum *non leg. Mü2*, tractum *Go2*, captum *Kr1*, et + *verbum, quod non leg. Wi1, om. Gr6* 80 Nunc] tunc *Kr1* fuit] fit *Kf1*, sit *Wi1, om. Go2* 81 dicebatur] dicebat *Go2*, dixit *Gr6* | est *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3* 83 vel falsitas] falsitas ut simplicitas *Go2* | in *om. Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Mü2* | sive] et *Mü1* | affectus] effectus *Gr6* | et est *om. Go2* | est² + eius *Mü2* 84 ad *om. Wi1* | prosequenda] prosequendo *Mü2* | Modo ... 86 prosequenda *om. Go2* | ipsa *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | theologia *om. Gr6* utramque] ii *Sg3* | vincit] vicit *Gr6 Er1* 85 intellectus + et malitiam affectus malitiam intellectus vincit *Mü2* | et¹] vel *Wi1* | et² + vincit *Mü2, om. Kf1* 87 sic] ic *Wi1* | sciencia que *om. Gr6* | prima ... habet *non leg. Sg3* | aliarum + scienciarum *Go2 Er1 Mü1*, + que *Gr6* | habet *post* falsitates *Gr6* 88 condemnare + sed *Er1 Mü1*, probare *Sg3* | huiusmodi] huius *Kf1 Go2* | et cetera *om. Sg3* 89 Philosophum + in *Go2 Kr1 Wi1* | quarto] decimo *Er1*, in *Mü1* | quarto Methaphysice *verba fere sex, quae non leg. Sg3* | Methaphysice] in ethicorum *Go2* | tamquam philosophus *om. Mü1* 90 primus] prius *Mü2 Wi1*, primo *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* falsitatem] falsitate *Mü2* | prima *om. Mü1* | principia] principalia *Mü1* | Sed *om. Er1 Mü1* 91 minori] maioris *Go2*, minore *Er1 Mü1*, + per philosophum *Gr6* | septime] septem *Go2* prius] superius *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | habita] habitate *Go2*, prehabite *Gr6*, habite *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* Idem] illud *Wi1*, et ibi eciam *Er1*, + et eciam *Mü1*, + *duo verba, quae non leg. Sg3* | persuaderi] consuaderi *Go2*

cui visa est mulier supra verticem astitisse, ad cuius presenciam omnes muse
poetice dicuntur recessisse. Hec mulier theologia est, que sua presenciali
auctoritate omnes musas poeticas, hoc est omnes errores et falsitates gentilium,
95 condempnat.

Secundum probatur, scilicet quod theologia eciam vincat maliciam appetitus,
que consistit in inclinacione ad vicia et recessu a virtutibus. Probatur dupliciter.

Primo sic: Ista sciencia, que est magistra omnium virtutum, ista vincit et
reprimat maliciam / appetitus in prosequendo vicia. Theologia est huiusmodi. 38^{va}
100 Ergo et cetera. Maior patet de se. Minor probatur: Ipsa enim de seipsa per
prophetam Iohalem sic dicit: *Indicabo tibi homo, quid oporteat te facere coram*
Domino Deo tuo: facere iudicium et iusticiam et sollicitum ambulare in conspectu
Dei tui. Ipsa eciam theologia est, quam Boecius alloquitur, dicens: O omnium
virtutum magistra, cur de superno cardine lapsa venisti?

105 Secundo probatur sic: Si illud, quod minus videtur inesse, inest, et illud, quod
magis. Sed minus videtur inesse, quod philosophia gentilium vincat et reprimat
maliciam appetitus per recessum a viciis, et tamen facit. Ergo ipsa theologia
magis vincit maliciam appetitus. Maior patet, quia est maxima in loyca. Minor

92 cui ... astitisse] *cf. Boeth., cons. 1, 1, 1.* 101 Indicabo ... 103 tui] *cf. Mi. 6, 8.* 103 O ...
104 venisti] *cf. Boeth., cons. 1, 3, 3.* 105 Si ... 106 magis] *cf. Arist., top. Boeth. 115 a 10.*

92 visa est *om. Gr6* | presenciam] presencie *Go2* 93 poetice] poete *Go2* | est *om. Go2*
94 musas ... omnes² *om. Sg3* 95 condempnat] condempnare habet potestatem *Gr6*,
condempnet *Mü1*, contempnat *Sg3* 96 Secundum] sed *Wi1* | scilicet *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1*
Mü1 | eciam *om. Go2 Sg3, post* probatur *Er1 Mü1* | vincat] vincit *Kr1 Mü1* 97 que] qui *Mü1*
Sg3 | in *om. Go2* | vicia] encia *Gr6* | virtutibus + illud *Sg3* | dupliciter] dicendo *Wi1*
98 Primo] prima *Go2* | sic *om. Gr6* | sciencia] femina *Gr6* | ista *om. Er1 Mü1* | et *om. Sg3*
99 reprimat + vicia et *Go2 Mü2* | appetitus *om. Wi1* | prosequendo + mala vel *Mü2* | vicia +
sed *Er1*, + et *Mü1* | huiusmodi] huius *Go2* 100 et cetera *om. Sg3* | probatur *om. Wi1* | enim
om. Go2 | seipsa] ipsa loquitur *Gr6* 101 sic dicit] ubi *Go2*, dicentem *Gr6* | tibi + o *Go2 Er1*
Mü1 Sg3 | quid] quod *Go2* | oporteat] oportebat *Wi1* 102 conspectu + domini *Go2 Mü2*
Wi1 103 Ipsa ... 104 venisti *om. Sg3* | eciam] enim *Go2*, igitur *Wi1* | quam] qui *Go2*
dicens + in prima prosa prima libri *Mü1* 104 cur] cui *Wi1* | superno] summo *Er1 Mü1*
cardine] ordine *Kf1, om. Gr6* 105 Secundo + modo *Er1 Mü1* | sic *om. Gr6 Wi1* | quod¹ *om.*
Go2 | inesse + et *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 Mü2* | inest + ergo *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* 106 Sed] et *Go2* | minus +
d *Go2* | inesse quod] quod *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*, quia *Go2, om. Mü2* | et reprimat *om. Wi1* | reprimat
bis Sg3, reprobatur *Go2*, + et *Kr1* 107 per *om. Go2* | et ... facit] quam theoloya *Wi1* | tamen +
hoc *Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3* | tamen facit *om. Go2* | tamen ... ipsa] eciam ipsa facit *Kr1* 108 in
loyca] et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

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probatur auctoritate Commentatoris, qui dicit, quod perfectus philosophus
debet esse perfectus in omni genere virtutum. Hoc idem probatur auctoritate 110
Philosophi in libello suo De pomo, ubi dicit: Nescitis, quia perfectus
philosophus mortificavit omnia desideria carnis in commessacionibus, in
ebrietatibus, in operibus venereis, que vitam apocopant atque necant? Patet
igitur declarata propositio assumpta, que fuit: Sapientia vincit malitiam.

Licet igitur omnes sciencie appetende sint—secundum Philosophum in 115
prohemio Methaphysice: Omnes enim homines naturaliter scire
desiderant—ipsa tamen theologia pre aliis appetenda est triplici ratione.

Primo ratione utilitatis eius. Ipsa enim secundum beatum Gregorium quasi
quoddam speculum oculis nostre mentis opponitur, ut in ea, que in nobis feda,
id est viciosa, et que pulcra, id est virtuosa, sint, aspiciamus. 120

109 auctoritate Commentatoris] *locum non inveni.* **111** Nescitis ... 113 necant] *cfr Ps. Arist., de pomo 12.* **116** Omnes ... 117 desiderant] *cfr Arist., metaph. Moerb. 980 a 21; cfr Auct. Arist., p. 115 (1).* **119** quoddam ... 120 aspiciamus] *cfr Greg. M., moral. 2, 1, 1.*

109 probatur + primo *Gr6*, + prima *Kr1* | qui] que *Kr1* | quod + propter *Go2* **110** in omni] ratione *Go2* | auctoritate] per auctoritatem *Mü2* | auctoritate Philosophi] inclitum philosophum *ut vid. Sg3* **111** libello] libro *Gr6 Mü1 Sg3* | suo ... pomo] de pomo *Kf1 Sg3*, de summo bono *Mü1* | pomo] bono *Gr6* | ubi + sic *Mü1 Sg3, om. Gr6* | quia] quod *Go2 Mü2 Wi1* **112** mortificavit] mornavit *Go2*, multiplicavit *Gr6*, mortificat *Mü2 Wi1* | desideria] desiderabilia *Kf1* | commessacionibus + et *Gr6* **113** ebrietatibus + et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | in] et *Kr1* | venereis] veneris *Kf1 Go2 Mü2 Wi1*, + id est *Kr1* | apocopant + id est abbreviant *Mü1* atque + animam *Kr1* | Patet *om. Kf1* **114** assumpta *praem. et Go2 Mü2* | fuit + sic *Kf1* **115** igitur *om. Gr6 Wi1* | sint] sunt *Go2 Gr6, om. Mü1* | secundum Philosophum] ut agit philosophus *Sg3* **116** naturaliter] natura *Mü1* **117** tamen] enim *Go2 Gr6 Mü2* | aliis + scienciis *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | appetenda] appetendi *Go2* | est] et *Go2, non leg. Sg3* **118** Primo] prima *Mü2* | eius *om. Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3* **119** quoddam] quodam *Go2* | speculum + *duo verba, quae non leg. Sg3* | oculis *om. Go2, post* mentis *Gr6* | opponitur] apponitur *Wi1* | in¹ *om. Go2 Mü2 Wi1* | ea] eo *Go2 Sg3* **120** id est¹] et *Kf1 Gr6* | virtuosa] munda *Gr6*

Secundo ratione certitudinis sue. Que quidem certitudo non consistit in silogistica demonstracione sed in auctoritate divine inspiracionis. Magis enim certi credere debemus auctoritati divine quam debili rationi humane.

125 Tercio ipsa propter causarum suarum nobilitatem aliis scienciis est preappetenda.

Causa enim eius efficiens sanctus Spiritus est, per quem in doctores ecclesie est inspirata, unde secundum beatum Gregorium: Doctores sacram scripturam docentes similes sunt fistulis, que afflatum aeris a creatura rationali recipiunt et sic ex consequenti sonum faciunt. Sic doctores ecclesie non locuti sunt, nisi ut a
130 Spiritu sancto inspirati.

Causa materialis eius est etiam ipse Deus, unde etiam 'sciencia de Deo' dicitur.

Causa finalis eius est etiam principaliter cognicio et dilectio ipsius Dei. Concurrent igitur et coincidunt in theologia causa efficiens, materialis et finalis,
135 que omnia Deus est, ut dictum est. Unde ipsa merito mulier ista dicitur, de qua scribitur in Apocalipsi: *Mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus eius et corona duodecim*

121 Que ... 122 inspiracionis] *cf. Thom. Aq., S. T. q. 1, a. 5.* **127** secundum ... Gregorium] *locum non inveni.* **129** Sic ... 130 inspirati] *cf. 2 Pt. 1, 21.* **136** Mulier ... 137 eius] *cf. Apc. 12, 1.*

121 Secundo ... sue *non leg. Sg3* | sue *om. Er1 Mü1* | quidem] *quedam Gr6, om. Er1*
122 demonstracione] *demonstracionem Go2* | in] *etiam Go2* | auctoritate ... inspiracionis
Mü2, auctoritatis divine inspiracione *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 (ut vid.) Wi1*, divine auctoritate inspiracione
Gr6, auctoritatibus divine inspiracionis *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* **123** certi] *certe Wi1 Er1 Mü1* | certi
... divine *non leg. Sg3* | auctoritati] *auctoritate Kf1 Go2 Gr6* | debili + nature vel *Mü2*
rationi] *ratione Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1* **124** ipsa *om. Kf1 Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | nobilitatem +
theologia Er1 Mü1 Sg3 **126** eius *om. Kf1* | efficiens] *affectus Go2*, effectus *Gr6, om. Wi1*
est post efficiens Er1 Mü1 Sg3 | quem] *que Er1* | in *om. Kr1* | ecclesie + *sciencia Go2*
127 unde] *nam Wi1* **128** docentes] *dicentes Kr1* | similes ... afflatum *non leg. Sg3* | fistulis]
fistula Er1 | afflatum *Wi1 Mü1*, aflatu *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*, afflatu *Go2 Mü2*, flatum *Er1* | et *om.*
Mü1 | et sic] *ac Mü2 Wi1* **129** ex] *a Go2* | doctores + *sancte ut vid. Sg3* | non *om. Gr6* | ut
a Go2, om. Gr6 | ut ... 130 inspirati *non leg. Sg3* **130** inspirati] *inspirantes Go2*, inspirata
Mü2 **131** eius ... *etiam¹ est Go2 Sg3*, eius est *Gr6 Wi1*, etiam est *Er1 Mü1* | unde] *tantum*
ipsa Go2, *tantum ut Mü2* | unde ... 132 dicitur *om. Sg3* | sciencia ... Deo] *de eo (ut vid.)*
sciencia Wi1 | Deo] *ipso Go2* **133** eius *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | etiam *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1*
Mü1 Sg3 | principaliter *om. Kf1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | Dei] *legi Mü1*, + *verbum, quod non leg. Sg3*
134 Concurrent ... theologia] *ex illis patet quod Sg3* | igitur *om. Wi1* | in theologia *om. Er1*
Mü1 | causa ... 135 est² *non leg. Sg3* | efficiens] *effectus Gr6* **135** est¹] *et Go2* | est² + *et*
cetera Er1 | ipsa + *theologia Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | ista *om. Gr6* | dicitur *om. Go2* **136** eius] *tuis*
Go2, om. Wi1 | corona] *coronam Er1*

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stellarum in capite eius. Ipsa enim theologia sole amicta est de vero sole iusticie scilicet de Deo pertractans; luna sub pedibus eius est, quia ipsa ciencias humanitas inventas puta philosophiam gentilium tamquam erroneas conculcat et condempnat; corona duodecim stellarum in capite eius est, quia auctoritate duodecim apostolorum est confirmata. 140

Causa autem formalis in theologia est modus procedendi suus, qui duplex est, scilicet instructivus et supplicativus et cum hoc laudativus. Modus procedendi supplicativus et laudativus in ymnis et sequenciis servatur. Modus procedendi instructivus quadruplex est, scilicet hystoricus, allegoricus, tropoloycus et anagoycus. Modus procedendi hystoricus est, quando res narratur, sicut gesta est, ut cum narratur, qualiter David vicerit Goliam. Et dicitur 'hystoria' quasi 'gesticulacio', id est 'geste rei narracio'. Sed modus procedendi allegoricus est, quando illud, quod gestum est, ad Christum vel ad eius ecclesiam convertimus, ut dicendo 'David vicit Goliam', id est Christus vicit Dyabolum. Et dicitur 'allegoricus' ab 'alleos', quod est 'aligenum', et 'gore', 145 150

147 qualiter ... Goliam] *cfr 1 Sm. 17.* 148 hystoria ... gesticulacio] *cfr Guill. Durand., ration. probemium 9.* | geste ... narracio] *cfr Isid., orig. 1, 41, 1.*

137 eius *om. Wit* | sole¹ sola *Go2 Kr1* | vero] novo *Wit* | iusticie *om. Kr1* 138 de + domino *Mü1* | pertractans] tractans *Go2 Kr1* | est *om. Gr6* | quia *om. Go2* | ipsa] ipsas *Go2* ipsa ciencias] illam scienciam *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | ciencias] sciencia + *verbum, quod non leg., supra lin. Wit* 139 inventas] inventa est *Wit*, inventam *Er1 Mü1, non leg. Sg3* | puta] puto *Kf1*, puram *Kr1*, ipsa *Wit* | erroneas] erroneam *Er1 Mü1, non leg. Sg3* | erroneas ... 140 duodecim *om. Gr6* 140 stellarum + corona *Gr6* | in ... est *non leg. Sg3* | eius *om. Kf1 Er1 Mü1* 141 apostolorum] stellarum *Wit* | apostolorum ... confirmata] apostolis constituta est ac confirmata *Gr6, non leg. Sg3* | confirmata *om. Go2* 142 autem *om. Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | in theologia] eius *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | procedendi suus] procedendissimus *Go2* | suus] eius *Wit, om. Mü2 Sg3* 143 scilicet *om. Kr1* | instructivus] fructivus *Go2* | supplicativus] simplificativus *Go2* | et² ... hoc *non leg. Sg3* | hoc *om. Gr6* | Modus ... 144 laudativus *om. Kf1 Wit* 144 supplicativus] simplificativus *Go2* | in *om. Go2* | et² + in *Kf1* | servatur + sed *Gr6* 145 instructivus + et est *Kf1*, + qui *Wit* | est *om. Kf1 Sg3* | hystoricus] hystoriacus *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1, non leg. Sg3* | allegoricus + et *Kf1* 146 hystoricus] hystoriacus *Kf1 Go2* 147 sicut] que *Go2* | gesta est *non leg. Sg3* | ut] sicut *Wit* | narratur²] dicitur *Gr6* | qualiter] quod *Wit, om. Go2 Kr1* | vicerit] vicit *Gr6 Kr1 Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3* 148 hystoria] hystoricus *Gr6* | id est] vel *Kf1* | geste ... narracio] narracio (*ut vid. Sg3*) rei geste *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* 149 quando ... est² *om. Gr6* | ad² *om. Gr6 Er1 Mü1* 150 ut *om. Go2* 151 allegoricus] allegoria *Gr6* | alleos] alos *Gr6* | quod ... 152 ferre] alienum *Er1* | aligenum *i.e. alienum* | gore] goro *Kf1*, gole *Kr1*, gero is quod est *Wit*, + quod est *Sg3* | gore ferre] gogus sermo *Gr6*

‘ferre’, quasi ‘aligena / translacio’ sive ‘exposicio’. Modus procedendi 38^{vb}
 tropoloycus est, quando illud, quod gestum est, ad mores convertimus, ut
 ‘David vicit Goliath’, id est humilitas superbiat. Modus procedendi anagoycus
 155 est, quando illud, quod gestum est, ad celestem patriam convertimus, ut
 dicendo ‘David vicit Goliath’, id est sancti in celo existentes tribulaciones
 mundi devicerunt. Et dicitur ‘tropoloycus’ a ‘tropos’, quod est ‘mos’ vel
 ‘conversio’, et ‘logos’, ‘sermo’, quasi ‘sermo ad mores nostros conversus’. Sed
 ‘anagoycus’ dicitur ab ‘ana’, quod est ‘sursum’, et ‘gogos’, ‘ductio’, quasi ‘ductio
 160 sursus’ sive ‘exposicio ad supernam patriam’. Patet igitur theologiam aliis
 scienciis preferri certitudine, utilitate et causarum nobilitate.

Hiis visis ad causas libri accedamus. Causa materialis huius libri est laus divina
 in pertractando virtutes eius in se et in suis sanctis. Causa efficiens est sanctus

157 dicitur ... 158 conversus] *cfr Guill. Durand., ration. probemium 11.* 159 anagoycus ... 160
 sursus] *cfr Guill. Durand., ration. probemium 12.*

152 ferre] ferere *Kf1*, fore *ut vid. Sg3* | quasi] id est *Go2*, quod est *Er1* | aligena *i.e.* aliena
 translacio sive *om. Er1* | sive exposicio] sermonis vel exposicionis *Gr6* | exposicio + sed
Er1 | procedendi + scilicet *Wi1* 153 est¹ *om. Sg3* | quando] quod *Gr6* | ad ... 155 est² *om.*
hic Sg3 sed inserit cum verbis antecedentibus post patriam lin. 160 | mores + nostros *in marg. Wi1*
 convertimus] convertimur *Er1* | ut] dicendo *Gr6*, + dicendo *Wi1* 154 vicit *om. Go2*
 humilitas] humanitas *Go2*, + vicit *Gr6 Er1 Mü1* | superbiat + et dicitur tropoloycus a
 tropos quod est mos (mores *Gr6*) vel conversio et logos sermo quasi sermo ad mores
 nostros conversus *Gr6 Er1 Mü1* | Modus] sed modus *Gr6* 155 quando] quod *Gr6* | est²
om. Kr1 | celestem] celestiam *Gr6* | convertimus] convertimur *Er1* 156 dicendo *om. Gr6*
Mü2 | in ... existentes] nunc existentes in celo *Gr6* | tribulaciones + huius *Gr6 Er1 Mü1*
Sg3 157 devicerunt] vicerunt *Gr6 Mü2* | Et ... 158 conversus *om. hic sed inserunt post*
superbiat lin. 154 Gr6 Er1 Mü1, om. hic sed inserit ante patet lin. 160 Sg3 | tropos] tropeo *Mü2*
 158 nostros *om. Wi1* | conversus] convertimus *Go2* | Sed] et *Gr6 Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 159 anagoycus] allagoricus *Sg3, om. Gr6* | quasi] id est *Mü2* | quasi ... 160 exposicio] sive
 exposicio quasi duccio sursum *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* 160 sursus] sersus *Mü2*, sursum *Wi1* | sursus
 ... exposicio *om. Gr6* | supernam] celestem *Gr6* | patriam + et sic *Gr6*, + *verbum, quod non*
leg. (ante corr.?), et modus procedendi tropoloycus est quando illud quod gestum est ad mores
 nostros convertimus ut david vicit golyam id est humilitas vicit superbiat et dicitur
 tropoloycus a tropos quod est mos vel conversio et logoes (*ut vid.*) sermo quasi sermo ad
 mores nostros conversus *Sg3* | theologiam + pre *Er1* 161 preferri + tripliciter *Wi1*
 utilitate] utilitatem *Go2*, virtute *Gr6* 162 ad *om. Kr1* | causas] causam *Kf1*, + *litt. unam, quae*
non leg. Sg3 | Causa + igitur *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | materialis + est *Go2* | huius] *om. Sg3* 163 eius]
 dei *Er1 Mü1 Sg3, om. Kr1* | suis + partibus sive *Go2* | est] scilicet *Go2*

Sapientia vincit malitiam

Gregorius, qui sequencias antiquas omnes composuit. Causa formalis duplex
est, scilicet forma tractatus, et ista consistit in divisione libri in speciales 165
sequencias; sed forma tractandi consistit in modo agendi, qui est laudativus et
supplicativus, ut dictum est. Causa finalis est cognitio laudis divine et ex
consequenti ipsa felicitas, ad quam omnes sciencie ordinantur. Cui parti
philosophie supponatur? Dicendum, quod prime philosophie, scilicet theologie.
De tytulo libri dicendum est: 'Incipit liber sequenciarum'. 170

164 qui *om. Go2* | omnes *post* sequencias *Gr6, post* composuit *Wit, om. Kr1 Mü2* | composuit
compilavit *Mü1* | formalis] finalis *Go2* **165** est *fortasse post* formalis *Sg3* | scilicet *om. Go2 Kr1*
Er1 | et + forma tractandi *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | ista] forma tractatus *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*, est
que *Gr6* | divisione + huius *Gr6* | in² *om. Go2* | speciales] speciali *Kr1*, + huius *Gr6, om. Er1*
Mü1 **167** supplicativus] simplificativus *Go2* | et] scilicet *Er1* **168** consequenti] sequenti
Gr6, consequente *Er1* | omnes + alie *Er1 Mü1 Sg3* | ordinantur + sed dicitur *ut vid. Sg3*
parti] parte *Wit Er1 Sg3* **169** philosophie¹ + subordinatur vel *Mü1 Sg3* | supponatur]
supponitur *Gr6 Mü2 Wit Mü1 Sg3*, subordinatur *Er1* | Dicendum] respondetur *Gr6*, + est
Er1 Mü1 Sg3 | Dicendum ... 170 sequenciarum *om. Go2* | quod *om. Er1 Mü1* | quod prime
om. Gr6 | scilicet theologie] sermocinali (*ut vid.*) et thelogice *Gr6* **170** tytulo + huius *Gr6*
libri *om. Kr1* | dicendum est] dicitur *Gr6 Er1* | est *om. Kf1* | Incipit + hic *Gr6, om. Mü2 Wit*
Er1 | Incipit ... sequenciarum] beati gregorii sequenciarum liber incipit *Mü1*
sequenciarum + et cetera *Mü2 (ut vid.) Sg3*, + beati gregorie *Er1*

EDITION 6: *Expositio Kf1*

AD CELEBRES, REX

74^{vb}

Ista sequencia, que in honore sanctorum angelorum canitur, dividitur in duas partes: primo autor dirigit sermonem suum ad ipsum Deum laudes sibi decantando in festivitate sancti Michahelis; secundo exsequitur pertractando
5 choros angelorum et cum hoc nomina quorundam angelorum. Secunda ibi: NOVIES DISTINCTA.

Primo dicit sic: o CELICE REX, supple Deus, CUNCTA CATERVA, id est omnis turba, CANORA, id est sonora, PANGAT, id est decantet, AD CELEBRES LAUDES, id est usque ad celebres laudes tuas, SYMPHONIA, id est cum vocali consonancia,
10 ATQUE / pro et, NOSTRA CONCIO, id est turba, SOLVAT, id est reddat, TIBI ODAS, id est dulces cantus, supple NUNC, CUM pro quando, VALDE id est INCLITA FESTA, id est valde gloriosa festa, MICHAHELIS archangeli RENOVANTUR, id est quasi de novo celebrantur vel honorantur, PER QUEM, supple Michahalem (vel PER QUE, supple festa), TOTA MACHINA MUNDI, id est
15 totus mundus, PERORNATUR, id est valde ornatur, LETABUNDA, id est gaudens.

75^{ra}

<Nota> de nominibus angelorum, quia secundum beatum Gregorium angelis appropriantur nomina non ex eo, quod sine nominum inposicione in celesti patria cognosci non possint, cum omnia ibidem reluceant in speculo deitatis, sed nomina specialia angelis appropriantur ex privatis officiis, que gerunt, cum
20 ad nos mittuntur. Unde Michahel hoc nomen optinet, quod interpretatur ‘quis ut Deus’, ex eo, quia, quando aliquid mire virtutis agitur, quod nemo facere potest nisi Deus, tunc Michahel mitti perhybetur. Simili modo est de Gabriele, qui ‘fortitudo Dei’ dicitur ex eo, quia missus fuit beate virgini ad annunciandum Deum, qui est fortis in prelio. Similiter hoc nomen Raphahel obtinuit, quia
25 ‘medicina Dei’ interpretatur, quia ad curandum egros mittitur, ut patet in Thobia.

16 angelis ... 25 mittitur] *cf* Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8–9. 23 missus ... 24 Deum] *cf* Lc. 1, 26–27. 25 in Thobia] *cf* Tb. 11, 7–17.

Fons textus: *Kf1*; **fontes emendationum:** *Er1, Go2, Kr1, Mü1, Mü2, Sg3, Wi1*

1 Ad] d *cod.*, sed *spatium litt. initialis praebebet cod.* 3 ad ipsum *post corr.* 9 tuas *bis* 10 id est² *cum Go2, Kr1, Mü1 et Sg3 scripsi, et cod.* 16 Nota *cum Go2, Kr1 et Er1 supplevi* 22 nisi *cum cett. scripsi, ibi cod.*

Expositio Kf1

Secundo nota de hoc, quod dicit PERORNATUR, quod tota ecclesia per sanctum Michaelem vel per festum eius perornatur quintupliciter: Primo ex eius festi celebracione; secundo ex suffragii <et> adiutorii sui inpensione, unde dicitur in Daniele: *In tempore illo consurget Michahel, princeps magnus, qui stabit pro filiis populi sui*, id est pro hiis, qui sunt predestinati ad vitam eternam; tercio mundus perornatur per festum sancti Michahelis, et hoc per deportacionem oracionum nostrarum per manus Michahelis et aliorum angelorum ante conspectum Dei, unde dicit Bernhardus: Discurrit angelus inter dilectum et dilectam, vota offerens, dona referens, corrigens illum, placans illum; quarto mundus perornatur per festum Michahelis ex suscepacione animarum per sanctum Michaelem, unde de ipso cantatur: Archangele Michahel, constitui te principem super omnes animas suscipiendas; quinto mundus perornatur per sanctum Michaelem ex ipsius solempni victoria et pugna, de qua dicitur in Apokalipsi: *Factum est prelium magnum in celo. Michahel archangelus pugnabat cum dracone*, quod expositum est.

Tercio nota circa litteram: ‘caterva’ idem est quod turba vel universitas et dicitur a ‘chata’ Grece, quod est universale. ‘Symphonia’ dicitur vocalis consonancia in instrumentis musicis et dicitur a ‘syn’, quod est con, et ‘phonus’ sonus, quasi consonancia. ‘Oda, ode’ est cantus et derivatur ab ‘odos’ Grece, quod est cantus Latine. ‘Letabundus’ per ethymologiam vocabuli dicitur similis leto quia ‘-bundus’ significat similitudinem, ‘-osus’ plenitudinem, ‘-bilis’ aptitudinem, unde versus:

-Osus plena notat, -bundus similat, -bilis aptat.

Item sciendum quod aliqui legunt hic ‘ad celebres’ per unam diccionem mutando ‘d’ in ‘c’ sed prior lectura videtur melior.

30 In ... 31 sui] *cfr Dn. 12, 1.* 32 deportacionem ... 34 Dei] *cfr e.g. Petr. Lomb., sent. 4, 45, 6, 2.* 34 Discurrit ... 35 illum] *cfr Bernard., serm. sup. cant. 31, 5: [. . .] discurrit medius inter dilectum et dilectam, vota offerens, referens dona. Excitat istam, placat illum.* 37 Archangele ... 38 suscipiendas] *cfr CAO 1474.* 40 Factum ... 41 dracone] *cfr Apc. 12, 7.* 49 -Osus ... aptat] *versum non inveni, sed cfr Eberb. Beth., graecism. 25, 103–109.*

27 perornatur] perornatus *cod.* 28 perornatur *ex* per festum ornatur *corr. cod.* 29 et *cum cett. supplevi* 43 dicitur² *ex* dicitur et *corr. cod.* 46 vocabuli] vocabule *cod.*

EDITION 6

NOVIES DISTINCTA

Hic autor prosequitur pertractando choros angelorum et de quibusdam
nominibus angelorum. Dividitur in tres: Primo pertractat de choris angelorum,
55 secundo pertractat de quibusdam nominibus angelorum et tercio iterum
revertitur super choros angelorum. Secunda ibi: VOS O MICHAHEL. Tercia ibi:
PER VOS PATRIS CUNCTA. Prima in duas: Primo pertractat creacionem
angelorum; secundo pertractat numerum chororum angelicorum. Secunda ibi:
THEOLOYCA.

60 Primo dicit sic: o celice rex, AGMINA, id est turbe vel chori, PNEUMATUM, id est
spirituum vel angelorum, DISTINCTA NOVIES, id est in novem choris, SUNT
FACTA, id est creata, PER TE, SED tu, rex celice, FACIS HEC, supple agmina
angelorum, FLAMMEA PER ANGELICAS OFFICINAS, id est per angelica ministeria,
CUM pro quando, VIS. HEC, supple agmina angelorum, SUNT INTER PRIMEVA
65 CREATA TUA, / id est prima creatura tua, CUM NOS homines SIMUS ULTIMA
FACTURA, id est ultima creatura, SED, supple sumus, TUA YMAGO.

75^b

Nota circa istum versum SED CUM VIS et cetera: Secundum beatum Gregorium
'angelus' est nomen officii, non nature, unde angelus nuncius dicitur, unde dicit
sanctus Gregorius: Illi celestes spiritus semper quidem spiritus sunt, sed
70 nequaquam semper angeli vocari possunt. Sed cum ad nos mittuntur, tunc
angeli nuncupantur, unde eciam dicit psalmus: *Qui angelos suos spiritus facit et
ministros suos flammam ignis*, quia quando angeli ad nos mittuntur, tunc flammei
dicuntur, quia a nobis scoriã peccatorum expurgant et in nobis ignem divini
amoris accendunt. Unde dicit Ysaïas: *Vidi et volavit angelus de seraphin ad me et*
75 *tulit calculum*, id est lapidem ignitum, de altari cum forcipe, dicens, 'purgavit
peccatum tuum.'

Secundo nota de hoc, quod dicit INTER PRIMEVA, quod angelus dicitur prima
creatura, quia primo die fuit creatus, unde dixit Deus: *Fiat lux et facta est lux*. Per
lucem theologi exponunt naturam angelicam. Sed homo dicitur ultima creatura,
80 quia sexto die de limo terre formatus est.

68 angelus¹ ... 71 nuncupantur] *cfr Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8.* 71 Qui ... 72 ignis] *Hbr. 1, 7, sed
cfr etiam Ps. 103, 4.* 74 Vidi ... 76 tuum] *cfr Is. 6, 5-7.* 78 Fiat ... lux²] *Gn. 1, 3.*
79 theologi] *cfr e.g. Aug., cin. 11, 9.* 80 sexto ... est] *cfr Gn. 1, 25-27 et Gn. 2, 7.*

52 distincta] *distin cod.* 54 tres *cum Er1, Mü1 et Sg3 scripsi, duas cod.* 56 Vos *post corr.*
72 suos *cum Hbr. scripsi, tuos cod.* 74 Vidi *cum Is. et cett. scripsi, vidit cod.* 75 calculum]
calalum cod. 80 die *supra lin. post corr.*

Expositio Kf1

Nota, quod homo dicitur ymago Christi iuxta illud, quod dixit Deus: *Faciamus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram*. Sed tunc est dubium, quare homo potius dicatur ymago Dei, cum tamen secundum Dyonisium angelus etiam sit ymago Dei et manifestatio luminis non apparentis et speculum purum et perlucidissimum. Dicendum est: Licet angelus possit dici ymago Dei, tamen antonomasice homo dicitur ymago propter tres rationes. 85

Prima est: Nam sicut Deus per suam potentiam est in maiori mundo, ipsum regens et gubernans, sicut anima humana est in toto mundo minori, scilicet in homine, qui microcosmus dicitur, ipsum vivificans.

Secunda causa est, quia sicut in Deo ante mundi creationem fuerunt rationes exemplares omnium rerum secundum Platonem, sicut ars est in mente artificis, sic in anima humana per spiritualem receptionem sunt similitudines omnium, unde tertio De anima dicitur: Anima est quodammodo omnia. 90

Tercia ratio est, quia Deus naturam humanam sibi voluit uniri, non naturam angelicam. Numquam enim semen angelorum *aprehendit sed semen Abrahe*, ut dicit sanctus Paulus. 95

THEOLOYCA

Hic autor pertractat numerum chororum angelorum.

Dicit sic: THEOLOYCA SIMBOLA, id est divina scriptura, KATHEGORIZANT, id est predicant, NOBIS HEC, supple agmina angelorum, TRIPARITTA TER, id est inter tria agmina distincta, id est in novem agmina, PER PRIVATA OFFICIA, id est scilicet per specialia officia. Et tunc enumerat choros angelorum dicens, supple agmina angelorum sunt: PLEBS ANGELICA, id est chorus angelorum, PHALANX ARCHANGELICA, id est chorus archangelorum, PRINCIPANS TURMA, id est principatus, VIRTUS URANICA, id est ignea et virtus, AC pro et, POTESTAS ALMIVOMA, id est promovens sanctitatem, scilicet potestates, DOMINANCIA NUMINA, dominaciones, -QUE pro et, DIVINA SUBSELLIA, id est divine sedes, 100
105

81 Faciamus ... 82 nostram] *Gn. 1, 26.* 83 angelus ... 84 purum] *cf. Job. Scot., versio Dion. Ar.: De divinis nominibus tom. 1, pag. 269.* 89 microcosmus dicitur] *cf. e.g. Hraban., univ., PL 111, 306d; Petr. Comestor; hist. schol. 1, lin. 12.* 90 in ... 92 omnium] *cf. Thom. Aq., S. T. 1, q. 44, art. 3.* 91 secundum Platonem] *cf. e.g. Pl., Tim. Calc. 29 A, 30 D et 37 C-D.* 93 Anima ... omnia] *cf. Arist., de an. Moerb. 431 b 21; Auct. Arist., p. 188 (161).* 95 Numquam ... Abrahe] *cf. Hbr. 2, 16.*

82 ad ymaginem *post corr.* 85 perlucidissimum] *prelucidissimum cod.* 99 kathergorizant *post corr. ex kathergorizant* 103 phalanx] *psallanc cod.* 106 promovens *supra lin. post corr.*

EDITION 6

scilicet troni, CHERUBIN ETHEREA, id est serena et celica, AC pro et, IGNICOMA
SERAPHIN, id est in amore Dei ardentia.

110 Nota, quod regnum celeste tamquam domus bene disposita habet patrem
familias ipsum Deum, qui domum celestem in tres yerarchias distinxit. In
quarum yerarchiarum qualibet sunt tres chori angelorum.

In infima yerarchia sunt angeli, archangeli et virtutes. Officium angelorum est
secundum dominum Albertum, quod ipsi sunt deputati in custodes animarum,
115 unde dicit: Dignitas est specialis animarum et ipsarum angeli sunt custodes. Sed
officium archangelorum secundum beatum Gregorium est, quod ipsi nunciant
maiora, angeli vero minora, unde eciam archangelus Gabriel ad Mariam missus.
Tercio: Officium virtutum secundum dominum Albertum est, quod Deus per
ipsum miracula facit, unde eciam dicuntur virtutes uranice, id est ignee. Nam
120 sicut ignis illuminat, sic angelice virtutes per miraculorum exsecuciones
plurimos infideles ad cognoscendum Deum illuminant. Et dicuntur uranice ab
'ur' Grece, quod est ignis Latine.

In secunda yerar- /chia sunt tres alii chori, scilicet potestates, principatus et 75^{va}
dominaciones. Officium potestatum est cohercere omne nocivum et nequam,
125 ne tantum noceat, quantum velit. Unde eciam habent <cohercere> demones a
nocumentis nostris. Sed officium principatum est principatus terre limitare et
sedes superborum dominorum amovere et bonos promovere. Sed officium
dominationum est, ut ex ipsorum imperio et dispositione angeli inferiorum
ordinum ad nobis ministrandum mittantur, unde dicuntur quasi dominantes
130 aliis.

114 secundum ... Albertum] *cfr* *Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 147, lin. 42–p. 148, lin. 45.*
115 Dignitas ... custodes] *cfr* *Hier., in Matth., p. 159; cfr Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 11, 1, 1; cfr etiam*
Tuga Bethel mens', AH 37, 117. 116 ipsi ... 117 missus] *cfr* *Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8.*
117 Gabriel ... missus] *cfr* *Lc. 1, 26–27.* 118 Officium ... 119 facit] *cfr* *Greg. M., in evang. 34,*
10. | dominum Albertum] *cfr* *Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 124, lin. 36–p. 125, lin. 77.* 122 ur ...
Latine] *cfr* *Hier., quaest. hebr. in gen., p. 15, lin. 1–2; cfr etiam Isid., orig., 16, 1, 9 cum app. crit.*
124 Officium ... 125 velit] *cfr* *Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10; cfr Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 9, 2, 2; cfr Albert.*
M., cael. hier., p. 127, lin. 45–72. 126 Sed ... 127 promovere] *cfr* *Bernard., serm. sup. cant. 19, 3;*
cfr etiam Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 139, lin 3–34. 127 sedes ... amovere] *cfr* *Sir. 10, 17.* | Sed ...
130 aliis] *cfr* *Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10; cfr Albert. M., cael. hier., p. 119, lin. 67–72.*

109 ardentia] *ardentis cod.* 118 dominum] *dominus cod.* 124 *in marg.* de tronis et choris celi
add. cod. | cohercere *post corr.* 125 cohercere *cum cett. supplevi* 127 amovere *post corr.*

Expositio Kf1

In tertia yerarchia sunt tres alii chori: troni, cherubin et seraphin. Officium tronorum est, quod Deus in ipsis ad iudicandum presidet, unde psalmus: *Qui sedes super tronos et iudicas equitatem*. Sed ‘cherubin’ interpretatur plenitudo sciencie. In ipsis enim est perfecta Dei cognicio et ergo dicuntur etherea ab ‘ethere’, nam ether est superior pars aeris semper serena existens. Inde dicuntur cherubin etherea, quia habent serenam et lucidam cognicionem Dei. Sed ‘seraphin’ interpretatur accensi vel ardentis, quia in amore Dei ardent et nos ad amorem Dei accendunt et inflammant. Ergo dicuntur seraphin ignicoma quasi compta igne, id est ornati igne. 135

Et est sciendum circa litteram: ‘Cherubin’ et ‘seraphin’ per -n scripta significant choros angelorum, et sunt neutri generis et pluralis numeri; sed ‘cherubim’ et ‘seraphim’ significant unum angelum de illis choris et sunt masculini generis. Nota: ‘Symbolum’ dicitur a ‘sym’, quod est con, et ‘bolos’, sententia, quasi collecta sententia. ‘Theoloycus’ dicitur a ‘theos’, quod est Deus, et ‘logos’, sermo. ‘Kathegorizas’ id est quod predicat. Inde dicitur kathegorica. 140 145

VOS, O MICHAHEL

Hic autor pertractat de quibusdam nominibus angelorum in sacra scriptura usitatis.

Dicit sic: O MICHAHEL, SATRAPA, id est princeps, CELI, -QUE pro et, o GABRIEL DANS, id est dicens, VERA NUNCIA VERBI, id est Filii Dei, ATQUE pro et, o RAPHAHEL VERNULA, id est minister vel famulus, VITE, VOS TRANSFERTE, id est transducite, NOS INTER PARADYSICOLLAS, id est inter habitaciones in celo. 150

Nota: Ab aliquibus dubitatur, in quibus choris angelorum sint hii tres angeli, Michahel, Gabriel et Raphahel. Et quidam respondent dicentes, quod Michahel sit de choro principatum, et hoc nituntur probare auctoritate Danielis allegata, que est: *In tempore illo consurget Michahel princeps magnus*. Sed dicunt ulterius, quod Gabriel sit de choro archangelorum, quia ad nunciandum maiora missus est. Et 155

131 Officium ... 133 equitatem] *cf* Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10. **132** Qui ... 133 equitatem] *cf* Ps. 9, 5. **133** Sed ... 134 cognicio] *cf* Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10. **137** seraphin ... ardentis] *cf* Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10. **143** bolos sententia] *cf* Eberh. Beth., *græcism.* 8, 42. **156** In ... magnus] *cf* Dn. 12, 1. **157** ad ... est] *cf* Lc. 1, 26–33.

EDITION 6

dicunt ulterius, quod Raphahel sit de choro virtutum, quia miraculose Thobie visum reddidit.

160 Circa litteram sciendum: ‘Satrapa’ idem est quod princeps et potest ethymologizari per ‘satis’ adverbium et ‘appa’, quod est pater, inde ‘satrapa’ quasi sufficiens pater vel princeps. ‘Vernula’ id est quod famulus. ‘Paradysicola’ componitur a ‘paradysus’ et a verbo ‘colo, -lis’, quasi colens paradysum, id est celum.

165 PER VOS PATRIS CUNCTA

Hic autor iterum revertitur super choros angelorum dirigendo sermonem suum ad ipsos. Dividitur in duas: Primo dirigit sermonem suum ad ipsos ostendendo, quomodo ipsi adimplent precepta Dei in ministerium nostrum; secundo dirigit sermonem suum ad ipsos incitans et exhortans ipsos et nos ad laudem Dei.

170 Secunda ibi: VOS PER ETRA.

Primo dicit sic: o vos novem chori angelorum, CUNCTA MANDATA, id est omnia precepta, PATRIS, supple celestis, COMPLENTUR PER VOS, QUE, supple precepta, SOPHYA, id est sapiencia, EIUSDEM, supple Patris, id est Filius Dei, QUOQUE pro et, QUE, supple mandata, COMPAR PNEUMA, id est Spiritus sanctus equalis
 175 in potestate Patri et Filio, PERMANENS IN UNA USIA, id est in una essencia, DAT, CUI DEO, supple existente uno in essencia et trino in personis, vos existentes SACRA MILIA MILIUM ESTIS AMINISTRANCIA, <id est> ministratis et CENTENA MILLENA ATQUE, pro et, BIS QUINGENTA, mille, PER BIS QUINAS VICES, id est decies ASSISTUNT IN AULA, supple celesti. AD QUAM aulam REX, Christus,
 180 DUXIT CENTESIMAM OVEM, id est / hominem perditum, -QUE pro et, 75^{vb} VERBIGENA, id est Filius Dei de verbo genitus, DUXIT DECIMAM DRAGMAM, id est hominem perditum, AD VESTRA ALGAMATA, id est ovilia, id est ad regnum celorum.

Nota, quod autor in hiis versibus tangit numerum angelorum, qui ponitur in
 185 Daniele, ubi dicitur: *Milia milium ministrabant ei*; et hunc numerum autor ponit in primo versu, et sequitur ibidem: *et decies milies centena milia assistebant ei*. ‘Decies

158 miraculose ... 159 reddidit] *cf. Tb. 11, 7–17.* 185 Milia ... ei] *Dn. 7, 10.* 186 et² ... ei] *cf. Dn. 7, 10.*

159 reddidit *ex reddidit corr. cod.* 161 appa *cum Kr1, Er1, Sg3 scripsi, lap cod.* 173 quoque *cum Kr1, Mü1 et Sg3 scripsi, -que cod.* 177 id est *cum Kr1, Er1, Mü1 et Sg3 supplevi* | *et cum Kr1, Er1, Mü1 et Sg3 scripsi, hoc cod.* 182 vestra] *vestram cod.*

Expositio Kf1

milia' autor tangit, cum dicit VICES PER BIS QUINAS, BIS ATQUE QUINGENTA, quia bis quingenta faciunt mille, sed quinque bis faciunt decem, et tunc autor ponit residuum numerum, cum addit CENTENA MILLENA.

Nota, quod non est intelligendum, quod solum tot sint angeli in regno celesti, quia, ut dicit Iob: *Non est numerus militum eius*, id est angelorum, et ergo Daniel per hoc, quod posuit tam magnum numerum angelorum, voluit exprimere, quod numerus angelorum apud nos esset infinitus, id est indeterminatus, licet apud Deum sit finitus et certus. 190

Tercio nota, quod autor in secundo versu tangit duas parabolas evangelii sepe dictas, quarum una est de homine habente centum oves in deserto, secunda est de muliere habente decem dragmas. Per ovem centesimam perditam et dragmam decimam perditam intelligitur homo, quem ipse Deus relinquens nonaginta novem in deserto, id est novem choros angelorum in celo, venit in hunc mundum, ut ipsum hominem ad nonaginta novem oves, id est ad novem choros angelorum, reduceret. Et dicitur homo dragma decima, quia secundum theologos homo supplebit decimam partem angelorum, que cum Lucifero cecidit. 195 200

Nota: Filius Dei dicitur verbigena ratione nature divine, secundum quam est verbum a Patre ab eterno genitum; vel dicitur verbigena secundum naturam humanam, quia solo verbo non ex virili semine conceptus est et genitus, unde cantamus de beata virgine: verbo concepit Filium. 205

Nota: 'algama, -tis' est stabulum ovium, et sumitur hic pro regno celorum.

VOS PER ETRA

Hic autor iterum dirigit sermonem suum ad novem choros angelorum exhortans nos cum ipsis ad laudem Dei. 210

Dicit sic: VOS, supple novem chori angelorum et ELECTA PARS ARMONIE, id est consonantie celestis, et NOS DEMUS simul VOTA, id est affectuosas laudes, PER LIRICAS CHYTARAS, id est per talia instrumenta musicalia, PER ETRA, id est per

191 Non ... eius] *cf. Iob 25, 3.* 196 homine ... deserto] *cf. Mt. 18, 12–13; Lc. 15, 3–6.*
197 muliere ... dragmas] *cf. Lc. 15, 8–9.* 202 secundum theologos] *cf. e.g. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 3 et 6 et Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 9, 6.* | que ... 203 cecidit] *cf. 2 Pt. 2, 4; Iud. 6.* 206 non ... semine] *cf. Ambr., hymn. 'Intende, qui regis Israel/Veni redemptor gentium'.* 207 verbo ... Filium] *'A solis ortus', AH 50, 53, cum app. crit. ad 4, 4.*

200 id est *cum cett. scripsi, et cod.* 211 Dei ... 212 Dicit *post corr.* 212 electa] *elocata cod.*

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215 ethera per sincopam, et PER RURA TERREA, id est per terram—referendo singula
singulis sic: Vos angeli detis laudes per etra et nos homines demus laudes in
terris—QUO, pro ut, NOSTRA THYMIAMATA, id est nostre oraciones, SINT
ACCEPTA, id est grata, DEO SUPER AUREAM ARAM, id est super aureum altare,
220 POST INCLITA BELLA MICHAHELIS, QUO pro ut, nos DECANTEMUS, id est simul
cum angelis cantemus, ALLELUIA, id est laudem Deo, IN COEVA GLORIA, id est
in eterna gloria.

Nota: lira est instrumentum musicum habens ad maius quattuor cordas, sed
cithara habet plures cordas, ut decem vel plures. Igitur per ‘liricas chytaras’
intelligitur observacio decem preceptorum secundum doctrinam quattuor
225 evangelistarum. Debemus igitur laudare Deum decem precepta eius observando
et doctrinam quattuor evangelistarum imitando.

Secundo nota, quod autor in illo versu QUO POST BELLA et cetera tangit illud,
quod partim dicitur in Apokalipsi et in Exodo: *Stetit angelus* et cetera. Per
thymiamata, quod est species aromatica, intelligitur devota oracio, quam offerre
230 debemus super auream aram, id est mediante Domino nostro, Ihesu Christo.

Nota de hoc, quod dicit QUO POST BELLA, ut traditur in Apokalipsi: Michahel
archangelus devinct Antichristum ipsum interficiendo, cum in celum ascendere
voluerit et illam victoriam autor vocat hic BELLA INCLITA MICHAHELIS.

Nota, quod ‘Alleluia’ interpretatur laudate Deum vel laus Dei et cetera.

223 chytaras ... 224 preceptorum] *cf. Isid., orig. 3, 22, 7.* **228** Exodo] *cf. Ex. 37, 25.* | *Stetit angelus*] *cf. Apc. 8, 3.* **231** Michahel ... 233 voluerit] *cf. Apc. 12, 7–9.*

215 et *cum Kr1, Er1, Mü1 et Sg3 scripsi, id est cod.* **227** cetera *cum Kr1 et Mü2 scripsi, eiam cod.*
231 traditur *cum Er1, Mü1 et Sg3 scripsi, trahitur cod.*

Sequence Text with Glosses and Commentary in Mü5

8.5 SEQUENCE TEXT WITH GLOSSES AND COMMENTARY IN *Mü5*: THE ‘ELEMENTARY VERSION’

This manuscript displays three levels of text simultaneously: the sequence text, an interlinear gloss and a continuous commentary. Among the interlinear glosses a special type is found consisting of Arabic numerals to indicate the order in which to construe the words in the sequence strophes. It is the only manuscript with this layout edited here, but not a unique format among the sequence commentaries. This exposition has been subtitled the ‘elementary version’ as it consists mainly of excerpts from the commentary belonging to the *Vir speculativus* branch, put together to form a concise and basic version of that textual tradition.¹

8.5.1 Manuscript description

Mü5 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 4242²

Hymns and sequences with interlinear glosses and commentaries.

Date: 15th century (on fol. 70^v: 1464)
Provenance: St Moritz, Augsburg (Collegiate chapter)
Material: Paper
Size: 210 x 300 mm.
Folios: 70

Contents: fols 1^r–36^r: Hymn commentaries
fols 36^v–37^v: Blank
fols 38^r–70^v: Sequence commentaries
fols 58^v–59^v: **Commentary on *Ad celebres rex***

¹ The commentary of *Mü5* is not the only example of an elementary version in the complete sequence commentary material. The manuscript *Mü2*—described in Section 8.4.1 above—includes a second collection of commentaries to sequences where the manuscript layout is the same as in *Mü5*. The abbreviated commentary text there, however, produces an ‘elementary version’ different from that in *Mü5*. In *St1* the commentary on *Ad celebres rex* is likewise a compilation of passages from the textual traditions of the commentaries linked to *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia vincit malitiam*.

² This description is based on the information in the manuscript catalogue, CCL, and on my own examination of the manuscript.

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The hymns and sequences are arranged according to the liturgical year and all are presented with complete texts, interlinear glosses (including syntactical numerical glosses) and a running text commentary in a separate outer column sometimes spilling over into the bottom margin of the page. The first sequence commentary (on *Grates nunc omnes*) is found on fol. 38^r and the last (on *Psallat ecclesia*) ends on fol. 70^r. On fol. 70^v the text to the sequence *De profundis tenebrarum* is written in a different hand, with some interlinear glosses and syntactical numbering but no commentary.

On the two first folios red, green and black ink is used. In the rest of the manuscript black ink is used with red for rubrics, initials and vertical strokes through initial majuscules at the beginning of a new section. The layout of the three different kinds of texts varies to a certain degree depending on the length of the texts, which could suggest that the execution of the manuscript was made one page at a time and not planned beforehand. Regarding the exposition of *Ad celebres rex*, for example, we may note that on fol. 58^v, reproduced here as Plate 12, the commentary text spills over into the bottom margin of the page. On fol. 59^r the commentary text ends before the scribe has reached the end of the sequence text, resulting both in a small blank space in the outer column of fol. 59^r and in the last strophes of the sequence being written in a single column on half of fol. 59^v (just as happened with the preceding sequence *Stirpe Maria regia*, as can be seen in Plate 12). Thus it seems that the scribe tried to include as much commentary text as possible at the beginning of each new sequence, perhaps for self-assurance that all of it would be accommodated. The sequence text is written in a semi-hybrid script with both looped and loopless ascenders of *b*, *d*, *h* and *l*, and single-compartment *a*.³ The continuous text-commentary is written by the same hand in the same script, albeit generally with loopless ascenders, giving an impression of being quite rapidly written.

³ See DEROLEZ (2003), pp. 163–175.

8.5.2 On the text—the commentary and the glosses in Mü5

The commentary

This commentary may be classified as a simple and elementary version of the expositions in *Kf4* and *Kf1* edited above. In fact, with only a few exceptions every line in *Mü5* is copied almost verbatim from these textual traditions.⁴ Since the etymological analyses in *Mü5*, such as the definitions of *simphonia* (lines 28–30) and *agalma* (lines 126–129), are identical to those found in the *Vir speculativus* branch, comparisons will here be made to this commentary variant, although it cannot be judged with certainty upon which of the two branches this elementary version ultimately depends.⁵

The ‘editor’ of *Mü5* (or its exemplar) has naturally had to make a certain amount of rewriting of the expository passages adopted from the model text in order to achieve the desired brevity and concision characteristic of this commentary. This may be seen in the definition of *angelus* (lines 24–25), in the sections describing the celestial hierarchies (lines 54–73), and in the attribution of Michael, Gabriel and Raphael to separate orders in the hierarchy (lines 85–88). In these sections, the adaptations are mostly made with a ‘cut and paste’ method: certain passages are omitted and others are copied verbatim. The passage on the lowest level of the celestial hierarchy, with similar phrases in bold type-face, may serve as an example:

Expositio Kf4, lines 125–133

<In> **infima ierarchia sunt angeli, archangeli et virtutes.** Officium angelorum secundum Albertum est, quod ipsi **sunt deputati in custodes animarum**, unde dicit: Dignitas est specialis animarum, quod angeli sunt custodes ipsarum. Sed officium

Expositio Mü5, lines 55–60

Et **in infima ierarchia** tres chori angelorum **sunt, scilicet angeli, archangeli et virtutes.** Et angeli **deputati sunt in custodiam animarum** et **minora nunciant;** archangeli **vero maiora.** Sed **officium virtutum est, quod per ipsas**

⁴ The only exception is the added etymology for *numen* at the end of the commentary (lines 153–154), which seems to have been written by a later hand.

⁵ On account of the similarities in the etymological passages, references to the corresponding sections in *Kf4* have been placed in the *apparatus fontium* of the edition. Certain passages in *Mü5*, as for instance the phrase ‘ex ipsorum imperio et dispositione’ at lines 64–65, seem to indicate a connection also with the commentary text of the *Sapientia* branch.

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archangelorum secundum beatum Gregorium est, quod ipsi **nunciant maiora**, angeli **vero minora**, unde etiam archangelus Gabriel ad Mariam missus est. **Officium autem virtutum** secundum Albertum est, **quod Deus per ipsos miracula facit, unde etiam dicuntur virtutes uranice** quasi **ignee**, ab ‘ur’, quod est ignis. **Nam sicut ignis illuminat, sic angelice virtutes per miraculorum** executiones **plurimos infideles ad cognoscendum Deum** illuminant.

mirabilia fiunt a Deo, unde etiam virtutes dicuntur uranice, ignee. Nam sicut ignis illuminat, sic angelice virtutes per miraculorum facciones **plurimos infideles** excitant **ad cognoscendum Deum.**

One of the differences here is the omission of the authors’ names referred to in *Kf4*, in this case Albert and Gregory, although their explanations are repeated in *Mü5*.⁶ The phrase attributed to Albert in *Kf4* regarding the status of the angels as guardians of the souls is left out in its entirety. Gregory’s specification of the differences between Angels and Archangels is included but has had to be rewritten in order to conform to the structure of the passage chosen by the editor of *Mü5*, that is, to deal with each group in turn: first the Angels only, then the Archangels and finally the Virtues. The mention of Gabriel being an archangel on account of his great mission is not repeated. For the explanation of the Virtues Albert’s name is again left out but the definition is retained. It is interesting to note the difference in gender of the pronoun in this sentence. In spite of the referent being *virtutes* the pronoun in *Kf4* is in the masculine, *per ipsos*, probably because the individual angels are thought of as being male regardless of the name of the order. In *Mü5*, on the other hand, a strict concord regarding gender is observed.

The same kind of technique applies to most of the explanatory sections. The word explanations and etymological analyses, though, are usually copied more or less verbatim from the model text. Sometimes, however, they are cut short, as can be seen in the explanation of *cathegoriso* (line 78), where the comment regarding the use of a related word in logic is omitted (*Expositio Kf4*, lines 158–159), and in the etymology for *paradisicola* where the alternative interpretation ‘sive inhabitator paradisi’ (*Expositio Kf4*, line 193) is left out of the analysis in *Mü5*.

⁶ A few Biblical passages are referred to with the names of the books, but no authors are mentioned explicitly in *Mü5*.

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As can be inferred from the brevity of the commentary of *Mü5*, several of the themes commented upon in the model texts are left out completely. Among these are the five ways the world is adorned through Michael's feast, the difference between angels and spirits, the question of man as the image of God and the interpretation of the three angelic names Michael, Gabriel and Raphael.

The glosses

The interlinear gloss in this manuscript seems to fulfil a variety of functions.⁷ Four separate kinds of gloss seem to be represented in this commentary, each of which will be presented here with examples taken from the first few strophes of the sequence.

Lexical glosses

A great many of the glosses may be classified as lexical glosses, providing mainly synonyms to the words in the sequence.

- line 10 **pangat**: decantat
- line 11 **caterva**: id est omnis turba
- line 11 **simphonia**: id est cum vocali consonancia
- line 12 **odas**: dulces cantus

Grammatical glosses

In addition to the lexical glosses, there are also quite a few grammatical glosses, the principal function of which is to clarify the grammatical property of a word, perhaps by commenting on morphology or by providing nouns for pronouns and pronominal adverbs. Examples of this are:

- line 10 **celice**: o [indicating the vocative case]
- line 15 **quem**: scilicet Michaellem
- line 19 **vis**: id est volueris

Commentary glosses

In spite of the running text commentary in this manuscript, there are a few glosses that could be characterised as commentary glosses, which here mainly

⁷ The terminology for and definitions of the categories of interlinear gloss are borrowed from WIELAND (1983).

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interpret figurative language. Among the interlinear glosses to the first strophes of the sequence only two seem to represent this type:

line 16 **machina**: id est totus mundus
line 21 **officinas**: id est per angelica misteria

Syntactical glosses

The vast majority of the glosses are, however, syntactical glosses, that is glosses to help in structuring the phrases syntactically. This type of gloss can consist either of words or of symbols. Syntactical glosses in the form of words in *Mi5* principally supply words in order to clarify the structure of the text. Examples of this kind are:

line 11 **simphonia**: scilicet et
line 20 **facis**: tu

Syntactical glosses in the form of symbols consist in this material of sets of Arabic numerals indicating how the words of the sequence should be construed, according to the commentator. Almost every word in the sequence text has been given such a numeral, which means that this type of gloss is the most frequent of all in this material. How these glosses work can be clearly seen if we compare the first few strophes of the sequence, laid out as prose:

Ad celebres, rex celice, laudes cuncta pangat sonora caterva simphonia
odas atque solvat concio tibi nostra,
cum iam renovantur Michaelis inclita valde festa,
per quem letabunda perornatur machina mundi tota.

with the same lines construed in accordance with the syntactical glosses provided by the manuscript:

Celice rex, cuncta caterva pangat sonora ad celebres laudes simphonia [the words
numbered from 1 to 10]
atque nostra concio solvat tibi odas, [the words numbered from 1 to 6]
cum valde inclita festa Michaelis renovantur iam [the words numbered from 1 to 7]
per quem tota machina mundi perornatur letabunda. [the words numbered from
1 to 7]

This kind of syntactical guidance is of course more helpful the longer and more complex the phrases are. In longer clauses the numbering reaches higher than in the examples above: in the strophe addressing the Trinity towards the end of

Sequence Text with Glosses and Commentary in Mü5

the sequence (*Per vos patris*, etc.) the numbering includes seventeen words in one clause.

Naturally, some glosses are more difficult to categorise than others since they seem to fulfil more than one purpose. A gloss such as ‘*simphonia: id est cum vocali consonancia*’ (referred to above as a lexical gloss) could be said to have a dual function, since *vocali consonancia* provides a synonym for *simphonia*, whereas the preposition *cum* is strictly speaking a syntactical gloss supplementing a preposition that defines the understanding of *simphonia* in this phrase.

The affinity between the commentary of *Mü5* and the *Expositio Kf4* may also be seen in the interlinear glosses, although the exposition in *Kf4* does not contain interlinear glosses as such since it is a lemmatic commentary. There is, nevertheless, a striking similarity between the phrasing of the interlinear glosses in *Mü5* and that of the brief explanatory words and phrases found in the construing sections in *Kf4*. In order to facilitate a comparison between the two, these running text explanations from *Kf4* have been rewritten following the format of the interlinear glosses in the edition of *Mü5*. The examples are again taken from the first strophes.

Expositio Kf4 (lines 53–58)

celice rex: id est celestis rex
catherva: id est omnis turba
canora: id est sonora
pangat: id est decantat
simphonia: id est cum convocali
consonancia
atque: pro et
concio: id est turba
solvat: id est redat
odas: id est dulces cantus

Mü5 (lines 10–13)

celice: o; id est celestis rex
caterva: id est omnis turba
—
pangat: decantat
simphonia: id est cum vocali
consonancia
atque: pro et
concio: id est turba
solvat: id est reddat
odas: dulces cantus

8.5.2.1 Textual problems and remarks on the edition

The manuscript *Mü5* is the only currently known textual witness to this variant of a commentary belonging to the Aristotelian tradition. Thus the edition follows the principles for Category 1 editions set out above.⁸ The text of the manuscript is very good; a few scribal errors have been corrected, such as *non* for *nos* at line 73, and in two places a word has been supplied, once following the Biblical source text (*super* at line 69) and the second time using the text of the commentaries in *Kf4* and *Kf1* as correctives (*ratione* at line 122).

Regarding the epithet for the Powers (in the strophe beginning *Plebs angelica*) I have judged the spelling *almiphoma* in the sequence text in *Mü5* to be an orthographical variant for *almivoma*, which is the reading favoured by all manuscripts of the Aristotelian tradition for the standard *almiphona*. This peculiar spelling, where the *ph* seems to represent a pronunciation of *v* as an *f*-sound,⁹ is also found in two other manuscripts of this tradition—twice in *Mü1*, in the sequence text and in the commentary, and once in *Er1*, in which the spelling *almivoma* is also used. In the Aristotelian tradition the standard explanation of this epithet is that the Powers promote sanctitude, ‘*id est promovens sanctitatem*’ (compare *Expositio Kf4*, line 167–168). No explanation of this sort is found in the glosses nor in the running text commentary in *Mü5*, but the close dependence of this commentary upon the textual traditions of the *Vir speculativus* and *Sapientia* branches makes it highly unlikely that this would be a scribal error for *almiphona*.¹⁰

Remarks on the edition

This edition adheres to the general principles set out above,¹¹ but the layout of the manuscript deserves a few remarks in this context. The edition aims to preserve the presentation of the manuscript, with the three levels of text displayed simultaneously: the sequence text, the interlinear glosses and the continuous text commentary. The sequence text is found at the top of the page in facing strophes. The interlinear glosses are placed in the middle section, each preceded by the reference word from the sequence in bold type. When a word

⁸ See Section 4.1.1 above.

⁹ Orthographical variants with interchanges between *f* and *v* are displayed in other manuscripts in the Aristotelian tradition, for example in *Ox2* where we find the spellings *vifificando* for *vivificando* (fol. 117^{va}) and *transverte* for *transferte* (fol. 118^{rb}).

¹⁰ See also the related discussion above regarding this form in the commentary of *St2* in Section 7.2.1.

¹¹ See Section 4.2 above.

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has more than one interlinear gloss, they are separated with a semicolon. The syntactical glosses in the form of Arabic numerals are treated as other interlinear glosses and placed as the first gloss to each word. A vertical line is inserted to separate the different sets of numerals (that is, when the numbering begins anew with 1).

The commentary proper is found at the bottom of the page and in certain cases continues on the subsequent page.

Textual criticism for all three kinds of text is found in a common *apparatus criticus* at the bottom of the page.

In addition to the sources for the commentary text the *apparatus fontium* contains references to corresponding sections in the commentary of Kf4.

EDITION 7: *Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü5*

Ad celebres, rex celice, laudes cuncta

58^v

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| | pangat sonora
caterva simphonia | odas atque solvat
concio tibi nostra, |
| 5 | cum iam renovantur
Michaelis inclita
valde festa, | per quem letabunda
perornatur machina
mundi tota. |
| | Novies distincta
pneumatum sunt agmina
per te facta, | sed, cum vis, facis hec
flammea per angelicas
officinas. |
- 10 **Ad:** 7 **celebres:** 8 **rex:** 2 **celice:** 1; o; id est celestis rex **laudes:** 9 **cuncta:** 3 **pangat:** 5; decantat **sonora:** 6 **caterva:** 4; id est omnis turba **simphonia:** 10; scilicet et; id est cum vocali consonancia | **odas:** 6; dulces cantus **atque:** 1; pro et **solvat:** 4; id est reddat **concio:** 3; id est turba **tibi:** 5 **nostra:** 2 | **cum:** 1; scilicet tunc pro quando **iam:** 7 **renovantur:** 6; id est de novo celebrantur **Michaelis:** 5; scilicet archangeli **inclita:** 3
15 **valde:** 2 **festa:** 4; id est gloriosa festa | **per:** 1 **quem:** 2; scilicet Michaelem **letabunda:** 7; scilicet existens; id est gaudens **perornatur:** 6; id est valde ornatur **machina:** 4; id est totus mundus **mundi:** 5 **tota:** 3 | **Novies:** 4; id est in novem choros angelorum **distincta:** 3 **pneumatum:** 2; id est spirituum vel angelorum **sunt:** 5 **agmina:** 1; o celice rex; id est chori **per:** 7 **te:** 8 **facta:** 6; id est creata | **sed:** 1 **cum:** 5 **vis:** 6; id est volueris **facis:** 2; tu **hec:** 3; scilicet agmina angelorum **flammea:** 4; id est ignea **per:** 7
20 **angelicas:** 8 **officinas:** 9; id est per angelica ministeria

AD CELEBRES REX CELICE

Hec sequencia canitur de sancto Michaele et aliis angelis.

- 25 Et 'angelus' est idem quod nuncius, et formantur nomina ex officiis, que gerunt, cum ad nos mittuntur.

24 Et ... 25 mittuntur] *cf* Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8.

1 celebres *litt.* le *supra lin.* 8 flammea] flamea *cod.*

Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü5

Item ‘caterva’ est idem quod turba vel universitas, et dicitur a ‘catha’ Grece, quod est universale Latine.

Item ‘simphonia’ dicitur a ‘sin’, quod est con, et ‘phonos’, sonus, quasi consonancia sive concordancia sonorum, sicut habet fieri in instrumentis musicalibus.

30

Item ‘odas’ dicitur ab ‘odos’ Grece, quod est cantus Latine, vel secundum alios dicitur ab ‘oda, ode’, et inde ‘melodia’, et dicitur a ‘melos’, quod est dulce, et ‘odos’, cantus, quasi dulcis cantus.

26 Item ... 27 Latine] *cfr* *Expositio Kf4 lin. 37–38*. **28** Item ... 33 cantus?] *cfr* *Expositio Kf4 lin. 46–50*.

EDITION 7

35	Inter primeva sunt hec nam creata tua, cum simus nos ultima / factura, sed ymago tua.	Theoloyca cathégorisant simbola nobis hec ter per tripartita per privata officia:	59 ^r
40	Plebs angelica phalanx et archangelica, principans turma, virtus uranica ac potestas almiphoma,	dominancia numina divinaque subsellia, cherubin etherea ac seraphin ignicoma.	

Inter: 3 **primeva:** 5 **sunt:** 2 **hec:** 1; scilicet agmina **nam:** 1 **creata:** 6 **tua:** 4; id est prima creatura tua **cum:** 7 **simus:** 9 **nos:** 8; scilicet homines **ultima factura:** 10; id est creatura ultimo facta **sed:** 11 **ymago:** 13; scilicet nos sumus; id est tua similitudo **tua:** 12 | **Theoloyca:** 1 **cathégorisant:** 3; id est predicant **simbola:** 2; id est divine scripture **nobis:** 3 **hec:** 4; scilicet agmina angelorum **ter:** 6 **per:** 5 **tripartita:** 7; id est in novem agmina divisa **per:** 8 **privata:** 9 **officia:** 10; id est per specialia officia | **Plebs angelica:** 1; scilicet chori angelorum vel agmina sunt illa; id est chorus angelorum **phalanx:** 4; id est chorus archangelorum **et:** 2 **archangelica:** 3 **principans:** 5; id est principatus **turma:** 6 **virtus:** 8 **uranica:** 7; id est ignee virtutes **ac:** 9; id est et **potestas:** 11 **almiphoma:** 10; id est chorus potestatis | **dominancia numina:** 1; id est chorus dominacionis **divina:** 3 **-que:** 2; id est et **subsellia:** 4; id est divine sedes, scilicet throni **cherubin:** 6 **etherea:** 5; scilicet et **ac:** 7 **seraphin ignicoma:** 8; id est amore Dei ardentia

Item in regno celesti tres ierarchie distincte sunt.

55 Et in infima ierarchia tres chori angelorum sunt, scilicet angeli, archangeli et virtutes. Et angeli deputati sunt in custodiam animarum et minora nunciant; archangeli vero maiora. Sed officium virtutum est, quod per ipsas mirabilia fiunt a Deo, unde eciam virtutes dicuntur uranice, ignee. Nam sicut ignis illuminat, sic angelice virtutes per miraculorum facciones plurimos infideles excitant ad cognoscendum Deum.

60 Item in secunda ierarchia sunt tres alii chori, scilicet potestates, principatus et dominaciones. Et officium potestatum est coercere demones a nostris

55 Et ... 60 Deum] *cfr* *Expositio Kf4 lin. 125–133*. 56 Et ... animarum] *cfr* *Hier., in Matth., p. 159; cfr Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 11, 1, 1.* | minora ... 57 maiora] *cfr* *Greg. M., in evang. 34, 8*. 57 Sed ... 58 Deo] *cfr* *Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10*. 61 Item ... 66 mittantur] *cfr* *Expositio Kf4 lin. 134–140*.

46 3 *ut vid.* 50 7 *ex 6 corr. cod.* 62 nostris] *nostros cod.*

Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü5

nocumentis. Sed officium principatus est sedes superborum dominorum
amovere et bonos promovere. Sed officium dominacionum est, ut ex ipsorum
imperio et dispositione angeli inferiorum ordinum ad ministrandum nobis 65
mittantur.

Item in tercia ierarchia sunt tres chori, scilicet throni, cherubin et seraphin.
Officium tronorum est, quod Deus in ipsis ad iudicandum presidet, unde
psalmista: *Qui sedes <super> tronos et iudicas equitatem.* Sed ‘cherubin’
interpretatur plenitudo sciencie. In ipsis enim est Dei perfecta cognicio et ergo 70
dicuntur ethera ab ‘ether’. Nam ‘ether’ proprie est superior pars aeris, semper
existens serena. Sed seraphin dicuntur quasi accensi vel ardentis, quia in amore
non accendunt; ergo dicuntur seraphin ignicoma quasi ornati igne.

Item ‘simbolum’ dicitur a ‘sin’, quod est con, et ‘bolon’, sententia, quasi
collecta sententia. 75

Item ‘theoloicus’ dicitur a ‘theos’, quod est Deus, et ‘ycos’, custos vel ‘logos’,
sermo, quasi divinus sermo, scilicet de Deo.

Item ‘categoriso’ est idem quod predico.

63 Sed ... 64 promovere] *Bernard., serm. sup. cant. 19, 3.* | sedes ... 64 amovere] *cf. Sir. 10, 17.*
64 Sed ... 66 mittantur] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.* 67 Item ... 73 igne] *cf. Expositio Kf4 lin.*
141–149. 68 Officium ... 69 equitatem] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.* 69 Qui ... equitatem]
cf. Ps. 9, 5. | Sed ... 70 cognicio] *cf. Greg. M., in evang. 34, 10.* 72 Sed ... ardentis] *cf. Greg.*
M., in evang. 34, 10. 74 Item ... 78 predico] *cf. Expositio Kf4 lin. 155–158.* | bolon sententia]
cf. Eberh. Beth., graecism. 8, 42.

63 superborum *cum Sir. scripsi, supernorum cod.* 69 super *cum Ps. supplevi* 73 nos] *non cod.*
76 custos + *litt. q ante corr.*

EDITION 7

80 Vos, o Michael, celi satrapa, atque Raphael, vite vernula,
Gabrielque vera dans verbi nuncia, transferte nos inter paradiscolas.

Vos: 15 **o:** 1 **Michael:** 2 **celi:** 4 **satrapa:** 3; id est princeps **Gabriel:** 6; o **-que:** 5; id est et **vera:** 8 **dans:** 7; id est dicens **verbi:** 10; id est Filii Dei **nuncia:** 9 **atque:** 11; id est et **Raphael:** 12; o **vite:** 14 **vernula:** 13; id est minister **transferte:** 16; id est transmittite **nos:** 17 **inter:** 18 **paradiscolas:** 19; id est habitantes in paradiso

85 Item Michael, ut quidam dicunt, est in choro principatus, ut patet ex auctoritate Danielis, / ubi dicitur: *In tempore isto consurget Michael princeps.* Et Gabriel est in choro archangelorum ad Mariam missus. Et Raphael est in choro virtutum, quia miraculose Thobie visum reddidit. 59^r

90 Item ‘satrapa’ est idem quod princeps, et dicitur a ‘satis’ et ‘appa’, quod est princeps vel pater.

Item ‘vernula’ derivatum a ‘verna’, quod est servus vel serva. Versus:

Non vult verna probus dominis servire duobus.

Item ‘paradiscola’ dicitur a ‘paradisus’ et ‘colo, colis’ quasi colens paradisum.

85 Item ... **88** reddidit] *cfr Expositio Kf4 lin. 181–186.* **86** In ... princeps] *cfr Dn. 12, 1.*
87 ad ... missus] *cfr Lc. 1, 26–33.* **88** miraculose ... reddidit] *cfr Tb. 11, 7–17.* **89** Item ...
93 paradisum] *cfr Expositio Kf4 lin. 187–193.* **92** Non ... duobus] *Walther 18734; cfr etiam Mt.*
6, 24.

Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü5

59 ^v	Per vos patris summi complentur mandata, que dat eiusdem sophia compar quoque pneuma una permanens in usia, cui estis administrancia Deo milia milium sacra.	Vices per bis quinas bis atque quingenta vestra centena millena assistunt in aula, ad quam rex ovem centesimam verbigena tragram /-que decimam vestra duxit ad algamata.	95 100
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Per: 5 **vos:** 6 **patris:** 3; scilicet celestis **summi:** 2 **complentur:** 4 **mandata:** 1; o vos novem chori angelorum cuncta **que:** 7; scilicet precepta **dat:** 17 **eiusdem:** 9; scilicet Patris; scilicet Dei Filii **sophia:** 8; id est sapiencia **compar:** 11 **quoque:** 10; id est et **pneuma:** 12; id est Spiritus sanctus **una:** 14; id est equalis in potestate Patris et Filii **permanens:** 13; id est existens **in:** 15; scilicet et **usia:** 16; id est in una essencia, scilicet cum ipsis | **cui:** 1; scilicet Deo **estis:** 5; scilicet Deo **administrancia:** 6; id est ministrantes **Deo:** 1 **milia:** 3 **milium:** 4 **sacra:** 2; scilicet vos existentes | **Vices:** 7; id est decies **per:** 4 **bis:** 2 **quinas:** 6 **bis:** 5 **atque:** 1; pro et **quingenta:** 3; id est mille **vestra:** 10 **centena millena:** 1 **assistunt:** 8 **in:** 9 **aula:** 10; scilicet celesti **ad:** 11 **quam:** 12; scilicet aulam **rex:** 13; id est Christus **ovem centesimam:** 15; id est hominem perditum **verbigena:** 17; id est Christus de verbo genitus **tragram:** 19; id est hominem perditum **-que:** 16 **decimam:** 18 **vestra:** 21 **duxit:** 14 **ad:** 20 **algamata:** 22; id est ad regnum celorum

Item quod in littera dicitur ‘centena milia’ et cetera, non est intelligendum, quod sit certus numerus angelorum Dei, sed auctor posuit tam magnum numerum, per quem voluit exprimere, quod numerus angelorum apud nos esset infinitus et indeterminatus.

Item dicitur, quod homo sit tragma decima perditam, quia secundum theologos homo suplebit decimam partem angelorum, que cum Lucifero cecidit.

Item Christus dicitur verbigena <ratione> nature divine, secundum quod est verbum a Patre ab eterno genitum; vel dicitur verbigena secundum naturam

116 Item ... 119 indeterminatus] *cfr* *Expositio Kf4 lin. 220–224.* **120** Item ... 121 cecidit] *cfr* *Expositio Kf4 lin. 231–233.* | secundum theologos] *cfr* e.g. *Greg. M., in evang. 34, 3 et 6; Petr. Lomb., sent. 2, 9, 6.* **121** cum ... cecidit] *cfr* *2 Pt. 2, 4 et Iud. 6.* **122** Item ... 129 suis] *cfr* *Expositio Kf4 lin. 234–241.*

100 in *supra lin.* **109** 1 *ex 7 corr. cod.* **116** quod¹ + ad *ante corr.* **121** decimam] decima *cod.* **122** ratione *cum Kf4 et Kf1 supplevi* **123** genitum] genito *cod.*

EDITION 7

humanam, quia solo verbo non ex virili semine conceptus est et genitus, unde
125 cantamus de beata virgine: Verbo concepit filium.

Item ‘algama, -tis’ est idem quod habitaculum, sed proprie est stabulum ovium, et sumitur hic pro regno celorum, quia id est optimum ovile, cuius opilio est optimus, ille pastor, scilicet Christus, qui posuit animam suam pro ovibus suis.

125 Verbo ... filium] *‘A solis ortus’, AH 50, 53 cum app. crit. ad 4, 4.* 128 qui ... 129 suis] *cf. Ia. 10, 15.*

Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü5

Vos per ethra, quo post bella 130
nos per rura terrea, Michaelis inclita
pars electa nostra Deo
armonie vota sint accepta auream
demus hinc per lyricas citharas, super aram thimiamatha,

quo in choeva iam gloria condecantemus Alleluia. 135

Vos: 1; scilicet novem chori angelorum **per:** 11 **ethra:** 12; id est per ethera, scilicet vos angeli **nos:** 2; scilicet et; scilicet homines **per:** 13 **rura:** 15; scilicet nos homines, scilicet reddenda singula singulis **terrea:** 14 **pars electa:** 3 **armonie:** 10 **vota:** 5; id est affectuosas laudes **demus:** 4; scilicet sit **hinc:** 6 **per:** 7 **lyricas:** 8 **citharas:** 9; id est per talia instrumenta musicalia | **quo:** 1; id est ut **post:** 10 **bella:** 12 **Michaelis:** 13 **inclita:** 11; gloriosa **nostra:** 2 **Deo:** 9 **sint:** 4 **accepta:** 5; id est grata **auream:** 7 **super:** 6 **aram:** 8; id est aureum altare, scilicet in conspectu Dei **thimiamatha:** 13; id est nostre oraciones | **quo:** 1; id est pro ut **in choeva:** 5 **iam:** 4; id est in presenti **gloria:** 6 **condecantemus:** 2; scilicet simul cum angelis **Alleluia:** 3; id est laudes 140

Item lira est instrumentum musicale sed citara est instrumentum habens decem vel plures cordas. Igitur per 'lyricas citharas' intelligitur observancia decem preceptorum Christi, secundum doctrinam quattuor evangelistarum. Debemus igitur laudare Deum, decem precepta eius observando et doctrinam quattuor evangelistarum ymitando. 145

Item 'timiamata' est idem quod aromatica, et ponitur hic pro oracione devota, quam offerre debemus super aureum altare, scilicet ante conspectum Dei. 150

Item 'numen' interpretatur influencia Dei et derivatur ab antiquo verbo 'nuo, nuis', quod idem est quod influo.

145 Item ... 149 ymitando] *cf. Expositio Kf4 lin. 265–269.* 146 citharas ... 147 preceptorum] *cf. Isid., orig. 3, 22, 7.* 150 Item ... 152 Dei] *cf. Expositio Kf4 lin. 274–276.*

134 lyricas + *litt. off ante corr. ut vid.* 139 sit *ut vid.* 150 timiamata] *timeameta cod.* 153 Item ... 154 influo *alia manus add.?*

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. The text of *Ad celebres rex* with the variants used by the commentators

The text of *Ad celebres rex* is here reproduced from AH 53, 190 with the variants used in the commentaries placed in a critical apparatus. With the exception of the manuscript *Mü5*, words omitted or transposed in the commentaries are not remarked upon as the sequence text in the other manuscripts is found in the form of lemmata or paraphrases only. As regards textual variants of the sequence text I have in this appendix applied the same rule as in the editions of the commentaries: if the word is reported in the critical apparatus of AH it is regarded as part of the sequence text and hence included in the apparatus here. The spelling of a reported variant is that of the first reported manuscript. The manuscript sigla in the apparatus follow the order of editions in the present work, that is *Ox6*, *Ox1*, *St2*, *Gr1*, *Kf4*, *Kf1* and *Mü5*.

1. Ad celebres, rex caelice, laudes cuncta

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2. pangat nunc canora
caterva symphonia | 3. odas atque solvat
contio tibi nostra, |
| 4. cum iam renovantur
Michaelis inclita
valde festa, | 5. per quae laetabunda
perornatur machina
mundi tota. |
| 6. Novies distincta
pneumatum sunt agmina
per te facta; | 7. sed, cum vis, facis haec
flammea per angelicas
officinas. |
| 8. Inter primaeva
sunt haec nam creata tua,
cum simus nos ultima
factura, sed imago tua. | 9. Theologica
categorizant symbola
nobis haec ter tripartita
per privata officia: |

2. pangat] clangat *St2* | nunc *om. Mü5* | canora] sonora *Mü5*
5. quae] quem *Ox6 Ox1 Gr1 Kf1 (et per que Kf1) Mü5* | perornatur] perornantur *Ox6*
7. cum vis] quamvis *St2*
8. simus] sumus *Ox6*
9. theologica] theologa *Ox6 Ox1* | categorizant] categorizent *Ox6*, kategorizans *ut vid. St2*
ter + per *Mü5*

APPENDIX 1

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>10. Plebs angelica
phalanx et archangelica, principans
turma, virtus uranica
ac potestas almiphona,</p> | <p>11. dominantia
numina divinaque subsellia,
cherubim aetherea
ac seraphim ignicoma.</p> |
| <p>12. Vos, o Michael, caeli satrapa,
Gabrielque vera dans verbi nuntia,</p> | <p>13. atque Raphael, vitae vernula,
transferte nos inter paradiscolas.</p> |
| <p>14. Per vos patris cuncta
complentur mandata,
quae dat
eiusdem sophia,
compar quoque pneuma,
una
permanens in usia;
cui estis administrantia
Deo milia milium sacra.</p> | <p>15. Vices per bis quinas
bis atque quingenta
dena
centena millena
assistunt in aula,
ad quam
rex ovem centesimam
verbigena drachmamque decimam
vestra duxit super agalmata.</p> |
| <p>16. Vos per aethra,
nos per rura terrea
pars electa
harmoniae vota
demus hyperlyrica cithara,</p> | <p>17. quo post bella
Michaelis inclita
nostra Deo
sint accepta auream
super aramque thymiamata,</p> |
| <p>18. Quo in coeva iam gloria</p> | <p>19. condecantemus Alleluia.</p> |

10. almiphona] almivoma *Gr1 Kf4 Kf1* (almiphoma) *Mü5*

11. cherubim] cherubin *Ox6 Ox1 St2 Gr1 Kf4 Kf1 Mü5* | seraphim] seraphin *Ox6 Ox1 St2 Gr1 Kf4 Kf1 Mü5*

14. cuncta] summi *Mü5*

15. dena] vestra *Gr1 Mü5* | verbigena] terrigenam *Ox6*, verbigenam *St2* | super] ad *Gr1 Kf4 Kf1 Mü5*

16. terrea] dena *Ox6 Ox1 St2* | demus] damus *Ox6 St2* | hyperlyrica] yperlidica *St2*
hyperlyrica cithara] per lyricas cytharas *Gr1 Kf4 Kf1*, hinc per lircas citharas *Mü5*

17. Quo] ut *Ox6 Ox1 St2* | super] circa *Ox6 Ox1 St2* | aramque] aram *Mü5*

18. coeva] celesti *Ox6 Ox1*

19. condecantemus] decantemus *St2 Kf4 Kf1*

Appendix 2. Sequence commentary manuscripts¹

Unless remarked upon in a footnote, all manuscripts in the list present collections of commentaries on sequences for the entire liturgical year. The manuscripts edited in the present work are marked with an asterisk (*) after their sigla.

<i>An1</i>	Ansbach, Staatliche Bibliothek, Ms. lat. 74
<i>Au1</i>	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 318
<i>Au2</i>	Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, II. 1. 2 ^o 85
<i>Ba1</i>	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B IX 24 ²
<i>Ba2</i>	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A X 20
<i>Ba3</i>	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A XI 55
<i>Ba4</i>	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A X 73
<i>Be1</i>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat. Qu. 368 ³
<i>Bg1</i>	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Theol. 42. Q. II. 4
<i>Bg2</i>	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Theol. 84 Q. III. 41
<i>Bg3</i>	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 52 Q. IV. 39
<i>Bo1</i>	Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, S 363 ⁴
<i>Br1</i>	Braunschweig, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 157 ⁵
<i>Ca1</i>	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 314 ⁶
<i>Ca2</i>	Cambridge, University Library, Dd. III. 87 ⁷
<i>Ca3</i>	Cambridge, St John's College, 140 ⁸
<i>Ca4</i>	Cambridge, Peterhouse, 255 ⁹
<i>Du1</i>	Durham, Cathedral Library, B. IV. 30 ¹⁰
<i>Erf1*</i>	Erfurt, Bistumsarchiv, Hs. Th. 16

¹ This list of the sources that I have found hitherto makes no claim to being exhaustive.

² Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis*; ed. D'ALVERNY (1965), pp. 194–217.

³ Caesarius of Heisterbach's commentary on *Ave praeclara maris stella*; ed. HUYGENS (2000), pp. 425–436.

⁴ An anonymous commentary on *Ave praeclara maris stella*; ed. HUYGENS (2000), pp. 442–490.

⁵ As reported by HUYGENS (2000), p. 414, n. 7. This manuscript is said to include 'Hugo de S. Victore, Commentarius super hymnum "Ave maris stella."'

⁶ Extracts from Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis*; D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 187.

⁷ Signalled by GNEUSS (1968), p. 205.

⁸ An adaptation of Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis*; D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 188.

⁹ A commentary of Stephen Langton on the sequence *Ave maris stella* according to HUYGENS (2000), p. 413, n. 7.

¹⁰ As reported by HUYGENS (2000), p. 414, n. 7.

APPENDIX 2

<i>Er2</i>	Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Ampl. Ca 12 ^o 10 ¹¹
<i>Fr1*</i>	Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Leonh. 9
<i>Fr2</i>	Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Leonh. 10
<i>Fr3</i>	Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. lat. qu. 22
<i>Fr4*</i>	Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. lat. qu. 78
<i>G01*</i>	Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, 210
<i>G02*</i>	Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, 325
<i>G03</i>	Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, 427
<i>Gr1*</i>	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 834
<i>Gr2*</i>	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 1592
<i>Gr3</i>	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 900
<i>Gr4</i>	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 990
<i>Gr5</i>	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 1072
<i>Gr6*</i>	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 314
<i>Gw1</i>	Greifswald, Geistliches Ministerium, XXIV. E. 101
<i>Kb1</i>	Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 633 A
<i>Kb2*</i>	Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 925
<i>Kj1*</i>	Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Cart. 133
<i>Kj2*</i>	Klagenfurt, Archiv der Diözese Gurk, XXXI b 2
<i>Kj3</i>	Klagenfurt, Archiv der Diözese Gurk, XXXI c 1 ¹²
<i>Kj4*</i>	Klagenfurt, Archiv der Diözese Gurk, XXXI b 4
<i>Kj5*</i>	Klagenfurt, Archiv der Diözese Gurk, XXIX d 7
<i>Ko1</i>	Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, W* 86 ¹³
<i>Ko2</i>	Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, GB 4 ^o 128 ¹⁴
<i>Ko3</i>	Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, GB 2 ^o 196
<i>Kr1*</i>	Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 299
<i>Lo1</i>	London, Lambeth Palace, 481 ¹⁵
<i>Lo2</i>	London, British Library, Add. 11414 ¹⁶
<i>Lo3</i>	London, British Library, Harley 2925
<i>Lü1</i>	Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Theol. 2 ^o 68
<i>Ma1</i>	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 20

¹¹ A commentary on *Ave praeclara maris stella*; presented in an *apparatus criticus* in HUYGENS (2000), pp. 437–440.

¹² A commentary on *Laude Christo debita*.

¹³ A commentary on *Ave praeclara maris stella*.

¹⁴ According to the manuscript catalogue, the last piece in this manuscript is an ‘Expositio sequentiae sanctorum Thebaeorum martyrum’.

¹⁵ Extracts from Alan of Lille’s *Expositio prosae de angelis*; D’ALVERNY (1965), p. 188.

¹⁶ A missal with brief interlinear glosses and some longer marginal comments.

Sequence Commentary Manuscripts

<i>Ma2</i>	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 31
<i>Ma3</i>	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 80
<i>Ma4*</i>	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 591
<i>Me1</i>	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 777
<i>Me2</i>	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 998
<i>Me3</i>	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 1466
<i>Ms1</i>	Maria Saal, Archiv des Kollegiatstiftes, 16 ¹⁷
<i>Mü1*</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 11475 ¹⁸
<i>Mü2*</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 22405 ¹⁸
<i>Mü3*</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 12205 ¹⁸
<i>Mü4*</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 23856 ¹⁸
<i>Mü5*</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 4242 ¹⁹
<i>Mü6</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 6954 ¹⁸
<i>Mü7</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 28315
<i>Om1</i>	Olomouc, Státní vědecká knihovna, M II 138
<i>Ox1*</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 16 (S. C. 6472)
<i>Ox2*</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hamilton 17 (S. C. 24447) ¹⁸
<i>Ox3</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C 301 (S. C. 12158)
<i>Ox4</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 343 (S. C. 2406) ²⁰
<i>Ox5</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 524 (S. C. 1049)
<i>Ox6*</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 6. 8 (S. C. 8840)
<i>Ox7</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C 90 (S. C. 11955)
<i>Ox8</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 103 (S. C. 21677) ²¹
<i>Ox9</i>	Oxford, Magdalen College, lat. 115
<i>Pa1</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14865 ²²
<i>Pa2</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3517 ²³
<i>Pa3</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3350 ²⁴
<i>Po1</i>	Poznan, Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Edwarda Raczyńskiego, 162 II H. d. 7
<i>Pr1</i>	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, ms I. B. 16

¹⁷ A commentary on *Ave praeclara maris stella*.

¹⁸ Signalled by ALLEN (1973), p. 32.

¹⁹ Signalled by D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 91, n. 82.

²⁰ A fragment of an adaptation of Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis*; ed. OLLERIS (1867), pp. 568–572; D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 187.

²¹ As reported by GNEUSS (1968), p. 205.

²² Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis*; ed. D'ALVERNY (1965), pp. 194–217.

²³ Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis* (fragmentary); D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 186.

²⁴ A commentary on *Ave praeclara maris stella*; HUYGENS (2000), p. 415.

APPENDIX 2

<i>Pr2</i>	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, ms. IV. D. 19
<i>Pr3</i>	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, ms. X. G. 18
<i>Pr4</i>	Praha, Archiv Pražského hradu, O LIX ²⁵
<i>Sa1</i>	Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter, cod. b. IV. 22
<i>Sf1</i>	Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, XI 433
<i>Sf2*</i>	Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, XI 436
<i>Sg1</i>	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 466
<i>Sg2*</i>	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 467 ²⁶
<i>Sg3*</i>	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 524
<i>Sm1</i>	San Marino (California), Huntington Library, HM 128
<i>St1</i>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 59
<i>St2*</i>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 88
<i>St3</i>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 157
<i>St4</i>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB IV 9
<i>Up1</i>	Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 178 ²⁷
<i>Va1</i>	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. Regin. lat. 424 ²⁸
<i>Wi1*</i>	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3818 ²⁹
<i>Wi2*</i>	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3946
<i>Wi3</i>	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4839 ²⁹
<i>Wi4*</i>	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 14815 ³⁰
<i>Zw1</i>	Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 386 ³¹

²⁵ I thank Dr Robert Curry, Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts, for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

²⁶ Signalled by KRUCKENBERG (1997), p. 9.

²⁷ Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis*; D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 187.

²⁸ Extracts from Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis*; D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 190.

²⁹ Signalled by ALLEN (1973), p. 32.

³⁰ Signalled by ALLEN (1973), p. 32, although he erroneously claims that the sequence commentaries lack a separate *accessus*.

³¹ An adaptation of Alan of Lille's *Expositio prosae de angelis*; D'ALVERNY (1965), p. 189.

Appendix 3. Sequence repertories in the edited manuscripts

The manuscripts are listed according to the order of the editions in the present work.
The texts edited here are in bold type.

Edition 1

Ox6

Alma chorus Domini

Alle caeleste

Ad celebres rex

Edition 2

Ox1

(The first leaves in this manuscript are missing)

Qui regis scepra forti dextra

Iubilemus omnes una

Nato canunt omnia

Sonent regi nato

Caeleste organum hodie

Magnus Deus in universa terra

Iohannes Iesu Christo

Sollemne canticum

Christi hodierna

Eia recolamus

Epiphaniam Domino

Stola iucunditatis Alleluia

Sollemnitas sancti Pauli

Hac clara die turma festiva

Fulgens praeclara

Zyma vetus expurgetur

Prome casta contio

Concinat orbis cunctus Alleluia

Dic nobis quibus

Victimae paschali laudes

Iubilans concrepa

Laudes salvatori voce

Salve crux sancta arbor digna

Rex omnipotens die hodierna

Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia

Sonent sacrata iam turma (?)

Eia musa dic quaesio

Lux iucunda lux insignis

Alma chorus Domini

Benedicta sit beata trinitas

Lauda Sion salvatorem

Ierusalem et Sion filiae

Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus

Quam dilecta tabernacula

Eia gaudens caterva

Sancti baptistae

Laude iucunda melos turma persona

Testamento veteri Anna

Mane prima sabbati

Nunc luce alma splendescit

Ave mundi spes Maria ave mitis ave pia

(misplaced according to the commentator)

A rea virga primae matris Evae

Post partum virga Maria

Ave Maria gratia plena

Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus Alleluia

Hac clara die turma

Ave mundi spes Maria

Hodiernae lux diei celebris

Ave praeclara maris stella

Alle caeleste

Laudes crucis attollamus

Ad celebres rex caelice

Christo inclita candida

Sacerdotem Christi Martinum

Odas hac in die laetas

Congaudentes exsultemus

Laus devota mente

Clare sanctorum senatus

Alleluia nunc decantet

Organicis canamus modulis ... quique in suis

Ecce pulchra canorum resultet voce Alleluia

Mirabilis Deus in sanctis mirabilia dans

Alma cohors una

Virginis venerandae de numero sapientium

Exsultemus in hac die

Missus Gabriel de caelis

Mittit ad virginem non quemvis

Verbum bonum et suave

APPENDIX 3

Edition 3

St2 (see the *Dicit Aristoteles* branch)

Edition 4: The *Dicit Aristoteles* branch

Gr1

Dicit Aristoteles

Grates nunc omnes

(incorporated into the prologue)

Eia recolamus

Natus ante saecula

Hanc concordi famulatu

Festa Christi omnis christianitas

Dixit Dominus ex Basan

Concentu parili

Laudes salvatori voce

Agni paschalis esu

Victimae paschali

Summi triumphum

Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia

Benedicta semper sancta

Sancti baptistae

Petre summe Christi pastor

Caeli enarrant

Laus tibi Christe qui es creator

Laurenti David

Congaudent angelorum

Psallite regi nostro psallite

Stirpe Maria

Omnes sancte seraphin

Sacerdotem Christi Martinum

Laudes crucis attollamus

Sanctissimae virginis

Deus in tua virtute

Sospitati dedit aegros

Clare sanctorum senatus

Agone triumphali

Psallat ecclesia mater illibata

O beata beatorum

Exsultent filiae Sion

Verbum Dei Deo natum

Ave praeclara maris stella

Ad celebres rex

Haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum

Laudes salvatori voce

Rex Deus Dei agne

Gr2

Dicit Aristoteles

Grates nunc omnes

(incorporated into the prologue)

Eia recolamus

Natus ante saecula

Hanc concordi famulatu

Iohannes Iesu Christo

Festa Christi omnis christianitas

Concentu parili

Laudes salvatori voce

Agni paschalis esu

Victimae paschali

Summi triumphum

Dixit Dominus ex Basan

Caeli enarrant

Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia

Benedicta semper sancta

Sancti baptistae

Petre summe Christi pastor

Laus tibi Christe qui es creator

Laurenti David

Congaudent angelorum

Stirpe Maria

Omnes sancti seraphin

Psallite regi nostro psallite

Sacerdotem Christi Martinum

Sanctissimae virginis

Deus in tua virtute

Clare sanctorum senatus

Agone triumphali

Psallat ecclesia mater illibata

Ave praeclara maris stella

O beata beatorum

Laudes crucis attollamus

Verbum Dei Deo natum

Verbum bonum et suave

Hodiernae lux diei celebris

Mii3

Dicit Aristoteles

Grates nunc omnes

Eia recolamus

Sequence Repertories in the Edited Manuscripts

Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordi famulatu
Concentu parili
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Victimae paschali
Summi triumphum
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Caeli enarrant
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Benedicta semper sancta
Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Stirpe Maria
Omnes sancti seraphin
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Clare sanctorum senatus
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Ave praeclara maris stella
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Verbum bonum et suave
Hodiernae lux diei celebris

St2

Dicit Aristoteles

Grates nunc omnes
Natus ante saecula
Eia recolamus
Hanc concordi famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Concentu parili
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Laudes salvatori voce
Victimae paschali
Summi triumphum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia

Benedicta semper sancta
Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Stirpe Maria
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Clare sanctorum senatus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Verbum bonum et suave
Hodiernae lux diei celebris
Laudes crucis attollamus
Sanctissimae virginis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Ad celebres rex (an additional piece)

Kb2

Dicit Aristoteles

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordi famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi nate
Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Pangamus creatoris atque
(the marginal comments end with this piece)
Agni paschalis esu
Grates salvatori ac regi
Victimae paschali
Haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum
Rex Deus Dei agne
Mundi renovatio nova
Surgit Christus cum tropaeo ... dic Maria
Virgini Mariae laudes intonent
christiani Eva tristis
Verbum Dei Deo natum

APPENDIX 3

Summi triumphum
 Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
 Veni sancte spiritus
 Benedicta semper sancta
 Lauda Sion salvatorem
 Sancti baptistae
 Petre summe Christi pastor
 Gratuletur orbis totus
 Caeli enarrant
 Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
 Exsulemus et laetemur et in Deo
 Gloriosa fulget dies exsultet
 Grates Deo et honor
 Laurenti David
 Congaudent angelorum
 Stirpe Maria
 Summi regis archangele
Ad celebres rex
 Virginalis turma
 Omnes sancti seraphin
 Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
 Gaude Sion quod egressus
 Sanctissimae virginis
 Deus in tua virtute
 Psallite regi nostro psallite
 Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
 Clare sanctorum senatus
 Agone triumphali
 O beata beatorum
 Dilectus Deo et hominibus
 Exsultent filiae Sion
 Ave praeclara maris stella

Wi2

Dicit Aristoteles
 Grates nunc omnes
 Eia recolamus
 Natus ante saecula
 Hanc concordii famulatu
 Iohannes Iesu Christo
 Festa Christi omnis christianitas
 Contentu parili
 Laudes salvatori voce
 Agni paschalis esu
 Victimae paschali
 Summi triumphum

Dixit Dominus ex Basan
 Caeli enarrant
 Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
 Benedicta semper sancta
 Sancti baptistae
 Petre summe Christi pastor
 Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
 Laurenti David
 Congaudent angelorum
 Stirpe Maria
 Omnes sancti seraphin
 Psallite regi nostro psallite
 Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
 Sanctissimae virginis
 Deus in tua virtute
 Sospitati dedit aegros
 Laudes crucis attollamus
 Crux fidelis inter omnes
 Verbum Dei Deo natum
 Clare sanctorum senatus
 Agone triumphali
 O beata beatorum
 Exsultent filiae Sion
 Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
 Ave praeclara maris stella
 Verbum bonum et suave
 Hodiernae lux diei celebris

Go1

Dicit Aristoteles
 Benedicta semper sancta
 Grates nunc omnes
 Eia recolamus
 Hanc concordii famulatu
 Iohannes Iesu Christo
 Festa Christi omnis christianitas
 Dixit Dominus ex Basan
 Contentu parili
 Laudes salvatori voce
 Victimae paschali
 Agni paschalis esu
 Summi triumphum
 Verbum Dei Deo natum
 Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
 Sancti baptistae
 Petre summe Christi pastor

Sequence Repertories in the Edited Manuscripts

Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe Maria
Laudes crucis attollamus
Ad celebres rex
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Sospitati dedit aegros
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Clare sanctorum senatus
Agone triumphali
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Ave praeclara maris stella

sg2

Dicit Aristoteles
Benedicta semper sancta
Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordii famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Victimae paschali
Agni paschalis esu
Summum triumphum
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe Maria
Laudes crucis attollamus

Ad celebres rex caelice
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Sospitati dedit aegros
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Clare sanctorum senatus
Agone triumphali
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Ave praeclara maris stella
Rex Deus Dei agne

Edition 5:
The *Vir speculativus* branch

Kf4

Vir speculativus
Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordii famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Victimae paschali
Pangamus creatoris atque
Rex Deus Dei agne
Mane prima sabbati
Mundi renovatio nova
Virgini Mariae laudes intonent christiani
Summi triumphum
Laudes crucis attollamus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Benedicta sit beata
Veni sancte spiritus
Lauda Sion salvatorem
Sancti baptistae

APPENDIX 3

Petre summe Christi pastor
 Gratuletur orbis totus
 Caeli enarrant
 Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
 Grates Deo et honor
 Laurenti David
 Congaudent angelorum
 Psallite regi nostro psallite
 Stirpe Maria
 Summi regis archangele
Ad celebres rex
 Virginalis turma
 Omnes sancti seraphin
 Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
 Gaude Sion quod egressus
 Deus in tua virtute
 Laude Christo debita
 Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
 Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
 Ave praeclara maris stella
 Verbum bonum et suave
 Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus
 Alleluia regem regum
 Salve mater salvatoris
 Clare sanctorum senatus
 O beata beatorum
 Exsultent filiae Sion
 Sospitati dedit aegros
 Plausu chorus

Frf

Vir speculativus
 Grates nunc omnes
 Eia recolamus
 Natus ante saecula
 Hanc concordie famulatu
 Iohannes Iesu Christo
 Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
 nate Deus omnipotentiae
 Festa Christi omnis christianitas
 Dixit Dominus ex Basan
 Contentu parili
 Laudes salvatori voce
 Agni paschalis esu
 Victimae paschali
 Pangamus creatoris atque

Rex Deus Dei agne
 Mane prima sabbati
 Mundi renovatio nova
 Virgini Mariae laudes intonent christiani
 Summi triumphum
 Laudes crucis attollamus
 Verbum Dei Deo natum
 Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
 Veni sancte spiritus
 Benedicta semper sancta
 Lauda Sion salvatorem
 Sancti baptistae
 Petre summe Christi pastor
 Gratuletur orbis totus
 Caeli enarrant
 Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
 Grates Deo et honor
 Laurenti David
 Congaudent angelorum
 Psallite regi nostro psallite
 Stirpe Maria
 Plausu chorus
 Summi regis archangele
 (the incipit is erroneously *Summi triumphum*)
 Virginalis turma
 Omnes sancti seraphin
 Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
 Gaude Sion quod egressus
 Sanctissimae virginis
 Deus in tua virtute
 Laude Christo debita
 Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
 Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
 Ave praeclara maris stella
 Exsultent filiae Sion
 (the incipit is *Exsultent celus la*)
 Crux fidelis inter omnes

Frf

Vir speculativus
 Grates nunc omnes
 Eia recolamus
 Natus ante saecula
 Hanc concordie famulatu
 Iohannes Iesu Christo
 Laus tibi Christe patris optimi

Sequence Repertories in the Edited Manuscripts

nate Deus omnipotentiae
Laus tibi Christe cui sapit
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Victimae paschali
Summi triumphum
Laudes crucis attollamus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta
Lauda Sion salvatorem
Sancti baptistae
(A commentary with neither incipit nor
lemmata. For Peter and Paul;
probably: Petre summe Christe pastor)

Kj2

Vir speculativus

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordii famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Victimae paschali
Pangamus creatoris atque
Rex Deus Dei agne
Mane prima sabbati
Mundi renovatio nova
Virgini Mariae laudes intonent christiani
Summi triumphum
Laudes crucis attollamus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta
Lauda Sion salvatorem

Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Gratuletur orbis totus
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Grates Deo et honor
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe Maria
Plausu chorus
Summi regis archangele
Iucundare plebs
Virginalis turma
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Gaude Sion quod egressus
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Laus et gloria Deo sit
Clare sanctorum senatus
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Verbum bonum et suave
Hodiernae lux diei celebris
Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus
Alleluia regem regum
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris

Kj5

Vir speculativus

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordii famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Petre summe Christi pastor
Gratuletur mundus totus
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Grates Deo et honor
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite

APPENDIX 3

Stirpe Maria
 Plausu chorus
 Summi regis archangele
 Virginalis turma
 Omnes sancti seraphin
 Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
 Gaude Sion quod egressus
 Sanctissimae virginis
 Deus in tua virtute
 Gaude Christo debita
 Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
 Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
 Ave praeclara maris stella
 Agni paschalis esu
 Pangamus creatoris atque
 Rex Deus Dei agne
 (unidentified sequence for the
 Blessed Virgin. No incipit.)
 Mundi renovatio nova
 Virgini Mariae laudes concinant
 christiani O beata
 Summi triumphum
 Laudes crucis attollamus
 Verbum Dei Deo natum
 Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
 Veni sancte spiritus
 Benedicta semper sancta
 Lauda Sion salvatorem
 Sancti baptistae
 Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
 nate Deus omnipotentiae
 Festa Christi omnis christianitas
 Dixit Dominus ex Basan
 Concentu parili
 Laudes salvatori voce
 Salve mater salvatoris
 Verbum bonum et suave
 Clare sanctorum senatus
 O beata beatorum
 Exsultent filiae Sion

Ma4

Vir speculativus

Grates nunc omnes
 Eia recolamus
 Natus ante saecula
 Hanc concordie famulatu
 Iohannes Iesu Christo
 Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
 nate Deus omnipotentiae
 Festa Christi omnis christianitas
 Dixit Dominus ex Basan
 Concentu parili
 Laudes salvatori voce
 Agni paschalis esu
 Victimae paschali
 Pangamus creatoris atque
 Rex Deus agne leo
 Mane prima sabbati
 Mundi renovatio nova
 Virgini Mariae laudes intonent christiani
 Summi triumphum
 Laudes crucis attollamus
 Verbum Dei Deo natum
 Summi regis archangele
Ad celebres rex
 Virginalis turma
 Omnes sancti seraphin
 Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
 Gaude Sion quod egressus
 Sanctissimae virginis
 Deus in tua virtute
 Gaude Christo debita
 Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
 Ave praeclara maris stella
 (Commentary on an unidentified
 sequence for the Blessed Virgin.
 No incipit)
 Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus
 Alleluia regem regum
 Clare sanctorum senatus
 O beata beatorum
 Exsultent filiae Sion
 Sospitati dedit aegros

Sequence Repertories in the Edited Manuscripts

Mii4

Vir speculativus

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordii famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Pangamus creatoris atque
Agni paschalis esu
Grates salvatori ac regi
Victimae paschali
Rex Deus Dei agne
Mundi renovatio nova
Mane prima sabbati
Virgini Mariae laudes intonent
christiani Eva tristis
Laudes crucis attollamus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Summi triumphum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta
Lauda Sion salvatorem
Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Gratuletur orbis totus
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Grates Deo et honor
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe maria
Plausu chorus
Virginalis turma
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Gaude Sion quod egressus
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute

Laude Christo debita
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris
Verbum bonum et suave
Clare sanctorum senatus
O beata beatorum

Ox2

Vir speculativus

Grates nunc omnes
(a few blank leaves)

Vir speculativus

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordii famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
(from this text forward the
commentaries lack incipits)
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Victimae paschali
Pangamus creatoris atque
Rex Deus Dei agne
Mane prima sabbati
Mundi renovatio nova
Virginis Mariae
Summi triumphum
Laudes crucis attollamus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
(with incipit)
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta
Lauda Sion salvatorem
Sancti baptistae
Gratuletur orbis totus
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Grates Deo et honor
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite

APPENDIX 3

Stirpe maria (with incipit)
Plausu chorus

Ad celebres rex

Summi regis archangele
Virginalis turma
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Sanctissimae virginis

Sf2

Vir speculativus

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordi famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Pangamus creatoris atque
Rex Deus Dei agne
Mane prima sabbati
Mundi renovatio nova
Summi triumphum
Laudes crucis attollamus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta
Lauda Sion salvatorem
Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Gratuletur orbis totus
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Grates Deo et honor
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
(after this commentary, there
are a few columns, partly
mutilated, with unidentified text)
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe maria
Plausu chorus

Summi regis archangele

Ad celebres rex

Virginalis turma
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Gaude Sion quod egressus
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Laude Christo debita
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris
Verbum bonum et suave
Clare sanctorum senatus
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Hodiernae lux diei celebris

Wi4

Vir speculativus

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordi famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Victimae paschali
Pangamus creatoris atque
Rex Deus Dei agne
Mane prima sabbati
Mundi renovatio nova
Virginis Mariae
Summi triumphum
Laudes crucis attollamus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta
Lauda Sion salvatorem

Sequence Repertories in the Edited Manuscripts

Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Gratuletur orbis totus
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Grates Deo et honor
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe maria
Plausu chorus

Ad celebres rex

Summi regis archangele
Virginalis turma
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Gaude Sion quod egressus
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Laude Christo debita
Sospitati dedit aegros
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris
Verbum bonum et suave
Laetabundus exsultet
Agone triumphali
Clare sanctorum senatus
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Nativitas Mariae
Dies laeta celebratur
Iucundare plebs
Gratulare sponsa Christi
Uterus virgineus
Ad laudes salvatoris

Edition 6:

The *Sapientia vincit malitiam* branch

Kf1

Sapientia vincit malitiam

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula

Hanc concordi famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Pangamus creatoris atque
Rex Deus Dei agne
Mane prima sabbati
Surgit Christus cum tropaeo ... dic Maria
Mundi renovatio nova
Haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum
Virgini Mariae laudes intonent christiani
Summi triumphum
Laudes crucis attollamus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta
Lauda Sion salvatorem
Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Gratuletur orbis totus
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Grates Deo et honor
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe Maria
Plausu chorus
Summi regis archangele
Ad celebres rex
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Gaude Sion quod egressus
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Laude Christo debita
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris

APPENDIX 3

Verbum bonum et suave
 Clare sanctorum senatus
 Virginalis turma
 O beata beatorum
 Exsultent filiae Sion

G02

Sapientia vincit malitiam

Grates nunc omnes
 Eia recolamus
 Natus ante saecula
 Hanc concordii famulatu
 Iohannes Iesu Christo
 Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
 nate Deus omnipotentiae
 Festa Christi omnis christianitas
 Dixit Dominus ex Basan
 Concentu parili
 Laudes salvatori voce
 Agni paschalis esu
 Mundi renovatio nova
 Haec est sancta sollemnitas
 (a few blank leaves)
 Laudes crucis attollamus
 Verbum Dei Deo natum
 Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
 Veni sancte spiritus
 Benedicta semper sancta
 Lauda Sion salvatorem
 Sancti baptistae
 Petre summe Christi pastor
 Gratuletur orbis totus
 Caeli enarrant
 Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
 Grates Deo et honor
 Laurenti David
 Congaudent angelorum
 Psallite regi nostro psallite
 Stirpe Maria
 Plausu chorus
Ad celebres rex
 Virginalis turma
 Omnes superni ordines (a hymn)
 Sacerdotem Chisti Martinum
 Gaude Sion quod egressus
 Sanctissimae virginis

Deus in tua virtute
 Laude Christo debita
 Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
 Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
 Verbum bonum et suave
 Clare sanctorum senatus
 O beata beatorum
 Exsultent filiae Sion

G16

Sapientia vincit malitiam

Grates nunc omnes
 Eia recolamus
 Natus ante saecula
 Hanc concordii famulatu
 Iohannes Iesu Christo
 Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
 nate Deus omnipotentiae
 Festa Christi omnis christianitas
 Dixit Dominus ex Basan
 Concentu parili
 Laudes salvatori voce
 Agni paschalis esu
 Pangamus creatoris atque
 Rex Deus Dei agne
 Mane prima sabbati
 Surgit Christus cum tropaeo ... dic Maria
 Mundi renovatio tenuit primordia
 Haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum
 Virgini Mariae laudes intonent christiani
 Summi triumphum
 Laudes crucis attollamus
 Verbum Dei Deo natum
 Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
 Veni sancte spiritus
 Benedicta semper sancta
 Lauda Sion salvatorem
 Sancti baptistae
 Petre summe Christi pastor
 Gratuletur orbis totus
 Caeli enarrant
 Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
 Grates Deo et honor
 Laurenti David
 Congaudent angelorum
 Psallite regi nostro psallite

Sequence Repertories in the Edited Manuscripts

Stirpe Maria
Plasu chorus
Summi regis archangele
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Gaude Sion quod egressus
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Gaude Christo debita
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Virginalis turma
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris
Verbum bonum et suave
Clare sanctorum senatus
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion

Kr1

Sapientia vincit malitiam

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordi famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Pangamus creatoris atque
Rex Deus Dei agne
Mane prima sabbati
Surgit Christus cum tropaeo ... Dic Maria
Mundi renovatio nova
Haec est sancta sollemnitas
Virgini Mariae laudes concinant
christiani O beata
Summi triumphum
Laudes crucis attollamus
Verbum Dei Deo natum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta

Lauda Sion salvatorem
Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Gratuletur orbis totus
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Grates Deo et honor
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe Maria regia
Plasu chorus
Summi regis archangele
Ad celebres rex
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Gaude Sion quod egressus
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Laude Christo debita
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris
Verbum bonum et suave
Clare sanctorum senatus
Virginalis turma
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion

Mii2

(The first of two commentary collections)

Sapientia vincit malitiam

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordi famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Pangamus creatoris atque
Rex Deus Dei leo

APPENDIX 3

Mundi renovatio nova	(a second time, now with interlinear glosses but no continuous commentary)
Mane prima sabbati	Eia recolamus
Surgit Christus cum tropaeo ... dic Maria	Natus ante saecula
Victimae paschali laudes	Hanc concordi famulatu
Haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum	Iohannes Iesu Christo
Virgini Mariae laudes intonent christiani	Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Summi triumphum	Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Laudes crucis attollamus	Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Verbum Dei Deo natum	Concentu parili
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia	Laudes salvatori voce
Veni sancte spiritus	Agni paschalis esu
Benedicta semper sancta	Pangamus creatori atque
Lauda Sion salvatorem	Rex Deus Dei agne
Sancti baptistae	Mane prima sabbati
Gratuletur orbis totus	Surgit Christus cum tropaeo
Caeli enarrant	Victimae paschali
Petre summe Christi pastor	Mundi renovatio nova
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator	Haec est sancta sollemnitas
Grates Deo et honor sit	Virgini Mariae laudes intonent christiani
Laurenti David	Eva tristis
Congaudent angelorum	Summi triumphum
Psallite regi nostro psallite	Laudes crucis attollamus
Stirpe Maria	Verbum Dei Deo natum
Plausu chorus laetabundo	Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Summi regis archangele	Veni sancte spiritus
Ad celebres rex	Benedicta semper sancta
Virginalis turma	Lauda Sion salvatorem
Omnes sancti seraphin	Sancti baptistae
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum	Petre summe Christi pastor
Gaude Sion quod egressus	Caeli enarrant
Sanctissimae virginis	Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Deus in tua virtute	Grates Deo et honor
Laude Christo debita	Laurenti David
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis	Congaudent angelorum
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata	Psallite regi nostro psallite
Ave praeclara maris stella	Stirpe Maria
Salve mater salvatoris	Plausu chorus laetabundo
Verbum bonum et suave	Ad celebres rex
Clare sanctorum senatus	Omnes sancti seraphin
O beata beatorum	Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Exsultent filiae Sion	Gaude Sion quod egressus
	Sanctissimae virginis
<i>Wi</i>	Deus in tua virtute
Sapientia vincit malitiam	Laude Christo debita
Grates nunc omnes	Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Grates nunc omnes	

Sequence Repertories in the Edited Manuscripts

Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris
Verbum bonum et suave
Clare sanctorum senatus
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Virginalis turma
Ave virginalis forma
(neither interlinear glosses nor commentary)
Gloriosa fulget dies
(interlinear glosses but no commentary)
Gratuletur orbis totus
Prae hominum natis formosam
Profitentes unitatem
(the last two pieces seem to be later additions)

(The pedagogical recension)

Er1

Sapientia vincit malitiam

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordii famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu
Pangamus creatoris atque
Rex regum Dei agne
Mane prima sabbati
Surgit Christus cum tropaeo ... dic Maria
Victimae paschali
Haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum
Virgini Mariae laudes intonent christiani
Summi triumphum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta
Lauda Sion salvatorem
Sancti baptistae

Petre summe Christi pastor
Gratuletur orbis totus
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Grates Deo et honor
Laurenti David
Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe Maria
Plausu chorus laetabundo
Summi regis archangele
Ad celebres rex
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Gaude Sion quod egressus
Sanctissimae virginis
Deus in tua virtute
Gaude Christo debita
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris
Verbum bonum et suave
Clare sanctorum senatus
Virginalis turma
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Laudes crucis attollamus
Salve crux sancta arbor
Salve crux sancta salve
Magnificent confessio

Mii1

Sapientia vincit malitiam

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordii famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Agni paschalis esu

APPENDIX 3

Pangamus creatoris atque
 Rex regum Dei agne
 Mane prima sabbati
 Surgit Christus cum tropaeo ... dic Maria
 Mundi renovatio nova
 Haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum
 Virgini Mariae laudes
 Summi triumphum
 Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
 Veni sancte spiritus
 Benedicta semper sancta
 Lauda Sion salvatorem
 Sancti baptistae
 Petre summe Christi pastor
 Gratuletur orbis totus
 Caeli enarrant
 Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
 Grates Deo et honor
 Laurenti David
 Congaudent angelorum
 Psallite regi nostro psallite
 Stirpe Maria
 Plausu chorus laetabundo
 Summi regis archangele
Ad celebres rex
 Omnes sancti seraphin
 Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
 Gaude Sion quod egressus
 Sanctissimae virginis
 Deus in tua virtute
 Gaude Christo debita
 Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
 Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
 Ave praeclara maris stella
 Salve mater salvatoris
 Verbum bonum et suave
 Clare sanctorum senatus
 Virginalis turma
 O beata beatorum
 Exsultent filiae Sion
 Sospitati dedit aegros
 Magnum te Michaellem
 Laudes crucis attollamus
 Salve crux sancta arbor
 Salve crux sancta salve
 Magnificent confessio
 Verbum Dei Deo natum

Sg3
Sapientia vincit malitiam
 Grates nunc omnes
 Eia recolamus
 Natus ante saecula
 Hanc concordie famulatu
 Iohannes Iesu Christo
 Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
 nate Deus omnipotentiae
 Festa Christi omnis christianitas
 Dixit Dominus ex Basan
 Contentu parili
 Laudes salvatori voce
 Agni paschalis esu
 Pangamus creatoris atque
 Rex regum Dei agne
 Mane prima sabbati
 Surgit Christus cum tropaeo ... dic Maria
 Mundi renovatio nova
 Haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum
 Virgini Mariae laudes
 Summi triumphum
 Laudes crucis attollamus
 Verbum Dei Deo natum
 Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
 Veni sancte spiritus
 Benedicta semper sancta
 Lauda Sion salvatorem
 Sancti baptistae
 Petre summe Christi pastor
 Gratuletur orbis totus
 Caeli enarrant
 Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
 Grates Deo et honor
 Laurenti David
 Congaudent angelorum
 Psallite regi nostro psallite
 Stirpe Maria
 Plausu chorus laetabundo
 Summi regis archangele
Ad celebres rex
 Omnes sancti seraphin
 Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
 Gaude Sion quod egressus
 Sanctissimae virginis (without incipit)
 Deus in tua virtute

Sequence Repertories in the Edited Manuscripts

Gaude Christo debita
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis
Ave praeclara maris stella
Salve mater salvatoris
Verbum bonum et suave
Clare sanctorum senatus
Virginalis turma
O beata beatorum
Exsultent filiae Sion
Sospitati dedit aegros
Magnum te Michaelem

Edition 7

Mü5

Grates nunc omnes
Eia recolamus
Natus ante saecula
Hanc concordii famulatu
Iohannes Iesu Christo
Laus tibi Christe patris optimi
nate Deus omnipotentiae
Festa Christi omnis christianitas
Dixit Dominus ex Basan
Concentu parili
Laudes salvatori voce
Pangamus creatoris atque
Agni paschalis esu
Haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum
Victimae paschali
Magnificent confessio
Summi triumphum
Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia
Veni sancte spiritus
Benedicta semper sancta
Lauda Sion salvatorem
Sancti baptistae
Petre summe Christi pastor
Caeli enarrant
Laus tibi Christe qui es creator
Verbum sapientiae
Laurenti David

Congaudent angelorum
Psallite regi nostro psallite
Stirpe Maria
Ad celebres rex
Grates Deo et honor
Omnes sancti seraphin
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum
Gaude Sion quod egressus
Clare sanctorum senatus
Plausu chorus laetabundo
(no commentary)
O beata beatorum
(no commentary)
Agone triumphali
Exsultent filiae Sion
Ave praeclara maris stella
Ave Maria gratia plena
Laetabundus exsultet
Hodiernae lux diei celebris
Verbum bonum et suavum
Salve mater salvatoris
Psallat ecclesia mater illibata
De profundis tenebrarum
(no commentary)

Appendix 4a. Common errors and variants: *Dicit Aristoteles*

In the list the manuscripts are ordered alphabetically; in the instances of agreement they are ordered as in the *apparatus criticus* of the edition.

Go1 + Gr1

5 contingit] convenit *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*
15 nulla] mala *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*
20 quod *om. Gr1 Mü3 Go1*

Go1 + Gr2

8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*

Go1 + Kb2

8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*

Go1 + Mü3

1 Dicit *praem.* sicut *Mü3 Go1*
9 dicens] dicit *Mü3 Go1 Sg2*
15 sectare] solare *Mü3 Go1 Sg2*
20 quod *om. Gr1 Mü3 Go1*

Go1 + St2

5 contingit] convenit *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*
15 nulla] mala *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*
22 operis] libri *St2 Go1 Sg2*

Go1 + Sg2

2 tamen *om. Go1 Sg2*
4 ipsa *om. Go1 Sg2*
5 contingit] convenit *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*
5 Theologia ... 7 felicem *om. Go1 Sg2*
(*saut du même au même*)
8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*
9 dicens] dicit *Mü3 Go1 Sg2*
9 convencio] conveniens *Go1 Sg2*
11 Quisquis] si quis *Go1 Sg2*
11 sectari] scienciam *Go1 Sg2*
12 imitaberis] imitabis *Go1 Sg2*
14 iusticia *om. Go1 Sg2*
15 nulla] mala *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*
15 controversiam nectas] gracia vis

communis iam *Go1 Sg2*

+ 15 calliditatem] ex calliditate *Go1 Sg2*

+ 15 animi] cum *Go1 Sg2*

+ 15 sectare] solare *Mü3 Go1 Sg2*

18 quia] et *Go1 Sg2*

19 non respiciunt] non despiciunt *Go1 Sg2*

20 causas] dictas *Go1 Sg2*

22 operis] libri *St2 Go1 Sg2*

27 ille + liber *Go1 Sg2*

30 adeptio] adopcio *Go1 Sg2*

Go1 + Wi2

8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*

Gr1 + Gr2

18 animalia *om. Gr1 Gr2*

Gr1 + Kb2

18 dicit *om. Gr1 Kb2 Wi2*

30 pertractantur] tractantur *Gr1 Kb2 Wi2*

Gr1 + Mü3

11 desiderat] desiderant tunc *Mü3*, + tunc *Gr1*

20 quod *om. Gr1 Mü3 Go1*

28 iste liber *om. Gr1 Mü3 St2*

Gr1 + St2

5 contingit] convenit *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*

6 que faciunt] quia (*ut vid. Gr1*) facit *Gr1 St2*

15 nulla] mala *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*

23 theologie] theologice sciencie *Gr1 St2*

28 iste liber *om. Gr1 Mü3 St2*

30 per² ... 34 eterne] ut per istam scienciam
ad scienciam felicitatis eterne (eterne
felicitatis *St2*) deveniamus (pervenire
valeamus *St2*) *Gr1 St2*

APPENDIX 4a

Gr1 + Sg2

5 contingit] convenit *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*
15 nulla] mala *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*

Gr1 + Wi2

18 dicit *om. Gr1 Kb2 Wi2*
30 pertractantur] tractantur *Gr1 Kb2 Wi2*

Gr2 + Kb2

8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*
12 Sed] si *Gr2 Kb2 Wi2*
19 non respiciunt] despiciunt *Gr2 Kb2 Wi2*

Gr2 + Mü3

11 sectari] sectam *Gr2 Mü3*

Gr2 + St2

9 quod *om. Gr2 St2*

Gr2 + Sg2

8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*

Gr2 + Wi2

8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*
12 Sed] si *Gr2 Kb2 Wi2*
19 non respiciunt] despiciunt *Gr2 Kb2 Wi2*

Kb2 + Mü3

1 principio *om. Mü3 Kb2*

Kb2 + St2

9 est *om. St2 Kb2*

Kb2 + Sg2

8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*

Kb2 + Wi2

2 certitudinaliter] rectitudinem
naturaliter *Kb2 Wi2*
2 quod] quia *Kb2 Wi2*
5 Theologia] sed ipsa theologia *Kb2 Wi2*
7 precellit] precedit *Kb2 Wi2*
8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*

9 nature] tacita negando *Kb2 Wi2*

+ 9 convencio] conveniencia *Kb2 Wi2*

10 Iusticia + enim *Kb2 Wi2*

11 desiderat + ille *Kb2 Wi2*

12 Sed] si *Gr2 Kb2 Wi2*

12 ut² + si *Kb2 Wi2*

18 dicit *om. Gr1 Kb2 Wi2*

19 non respiciunt] despiciunt *Gr2 Kb2 Wi2*

25 efficiente + aliarum *Kb2 Wi2*

25 sit ... 28 utilis] sciencia est (sit *Wi2*)

utilis et bona *Kb2 Wi2*

27 est² *om. Kb2 Wi2*

30 pertractantur] tractantur *Gr1 Kb2 Wi2*

30 istam scienciam] ista scitur *Kb2 Wi2*

+ 30 adeptio] adaptacio *Kb2 Wi2*

Mü3 + St2

4 quod *om. Mü3 St2*

7 artes] ciencias *Mü3 St2*

11 Quisquis] quam quis *Mü3 St2*

28 iste liber *om. Gr1 Mü3 St2*

Mü3 + Sg2

9 dicens] dicit *Mü3 Go1 Sg2*

15 sectare] solare *Mü3 Go1 Sg2*

Mü3 + Wi2

—

St2 + Sg2

5 contingit] convenit *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*

15 nulla] mala *Gr1 St2 Go1 Sg2*

22 operis] libri *St2 Go1 Sg2*

St2 + Wi2

—

Sg2 + Wi2

8 ipsa *om. Gr2 Kb2 Wi2 Go1 Sg2*

Appendix 4b. Common errors and variants: *Vir speculativus*

In the list the manuscripts are ordered alphabetically; in the instances of agreement they are ordered as in the *apparatus criticus* of the edition.

Fr1 + Fr4

- 2 tangitur *om. Fr1 Fr4*
 7 sic *om. Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*
 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4*
Kf2 Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sj2
 59 id est] et *Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sj2 Ox2b Wi4

Fr1 + Kf2

- 10 patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
 19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Sj2
 31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4*
Ox2a Sj2
 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 40 inexistente] inexistenti *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a*
Sj2 Ox2b
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sj2
 48 perfectissimam] perfectissimum *Fr1 Kf2*
Ox2a Sj2
 103 tytilus + talis *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sj2 Ox2b*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sj2 Ox2b Wi4
 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2 Ma4*
Ox2a Sj2

Fr1 + Kf4

- 10 patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
 19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Sj2
 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 37 Avicbron] albicebrum *Kf4 Fr1 Kf5 Ma4*
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*

Ma4 Ox2a Sj2

- 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2 Ma4*
Ox2a Sj2

Fr1 + Kf5

- 15 Sed ... 16 viciorum *om. Fr1 Kf5 Ox2a*
(saut du même au même)
 19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Kf5 Sj2
 33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1 Kf2*
Kf5 Ox2a Sj2 Ox2b
 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Ox2b Wi4
 37 Avicbron] albicebrum *Kf4 Fr1 Kf5 Ma4*
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2a Sj2
 52 prosequens] persequens *Fr1 Kf5 Ma4 Sj2*
 83 modulos compositum] medolosa
 compositum *Fr1 Kf5*
 87 tamen] cum *Fr1 Kf5*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sj2 Ox2b Wi4
 108 consequitur] sequitur *Fr1 Kf5 Mü4 Ox2a*

Fr1 + Ma4

- 31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Sj2*
 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 37 Avicbron] albicebrum *Kf4 Fr1 Kf5 Ma4*
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sj2
 51 sumit] sumat *Fr1 Ma4 Ox2a Sj2*
 52 prosequens] persequens *Fr1 Kf5 Ma4 Sj2*
 71 principalis] princialis *Fr1 Ma4*
 86 scilicet *om. Fr1 Ma4*
 98 est² *om. Fr1 Ma4*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sj2 Ox2b Wi4

APPENDIX 4b

103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

Fr1 + Mü4

31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4*
Ox2a Sf2

58 verbo *om. Fr1 Mü4*

97 Ad ... libri² *om. Fr1 Mü4 Ox2a*
(saut du même au même)

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

108 consequitur] sequitur *Fr1 Kf5 Mü4 Ox2a*

Fr1 + Ox2a

15 Sed ... 16 viciorum *om. Fr1 Kf5 Ox2a*
(saut du même au même)

31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2*

33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1 Kf2*
Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b

40 inexistente] inexistenti *Fr1 Kf2*
Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

48 perfectissimam] perfectissimum *Fr1*
Kf2 Ox2a Sf2

51 sumit] sumat *Fr1 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2*

97 Ad ... libri² *om. Fr1 Mü4 Ox2a*
(saut du même au même)

103 tytilus + talis *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b*

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

108 consequitur] sequitur *Fr1 Kf5 Mü4 Ox2a*

Fr1 + Ox2b

7 sic *om. Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*

20 Sed ... 21 cogitationum *om. Fr1 Ox2b Wi4*
(saut du même au même)

33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1 Kf2*
Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

40 inexistente] inexistenti *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a*
Sf2 Ox2b

59 id est] et *Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*

103 tytilus + talis *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b*

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Fr1 + Sf2

19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Sf2

31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4*
Ox2a Sf2

33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b

40 inexistente] inexistenti *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a*
Sf2 Ox2b

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

48 perfectissimam] perfectissimum *Fr1 Kf2*
Ox2a Sf2

51 sumit] sumat *Fr1 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2*

52 prosequens] persequens *Fr1 Kf5 Ma4 Sf2*

103 tytilus + talis *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b*

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

Fr1 + Wi4

7 sic *om. Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*

20 Sed ... 21 cogitationum *om. Fr1*
Ox2b Wi4 (saut du même au même)

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

59 id est] et *Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

106 laus *om. Fr1 Wi4*

Fr4 + Kf2

4 dicitur] dicit *Fr4 Kf2*

9 Maior + est *Fr4 Kf2*

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4*
Kf2 Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

72 Habet ... tres] hec autem theologia
habet tres *Fr4 Kf2 Wi4*

Common Errors and Variants: Vir speculativus

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mi4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Fr4 + Kf4

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4*
Kf2 Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

82 quod *om. Kf4 Fr4*

96 cum ... 97 dicendum *om. Kf4 Fr4*
(not *saut du même au même*)

Fr4 + Kf5

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4*
Kf2 Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mi4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Fr4 + Ma4

28 est excellentissimus] et cetera *Fr4 Ma4 Wi4*
34 eciam *om. Fr4 Ma4*

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

79 libri¹ *om. Fr4 Ma4*

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mi4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Fr4 + Mi4

7 Prima + conclusio *Fr4 Mi4*

59 datur] debetur *Fr4 Mi4*

62 dicit *om. Fr4 Mi4*

72 Quedam + enim *Fr4 Mi4 Ox2a*

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Mi4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Fr4 + Ox2a

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4*
Kf2 Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

72 Quedam + enim *Fr4 Mi4 Ox2a*

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mi4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Fr4 + Ox2b

7 sic *om. Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

59 id est] et *Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mi4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Fr4 + Sf2

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mi4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Fr4 + Wi4

7 sic *om. Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*

28 est excellentissimus] et cetera *Fr4 Ma4 Wi4*

33 est excellentissimus] et cetera *Fr4 Wi4*

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

59 id est] et *Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4*

72 Habet ... tres] hec autem theologia
habet tres *Fr4 Kf2 Wi4*

103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mi4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Kf2 + Kf4

10 patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*

19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Sf2

30 patet *om. Kf4 Kf2*

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

41 probatur *om. Kf4 Kf2*

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

103 moduose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

Kf2 + Kf5

19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Sf2

33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1 Kf2*
Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4

APPENDIX 4b

46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Kf2 + Ma4

31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4*
Ox2a Sf2
 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 69 omnes + alie *Kf2 Ma4 Ox2b*
 84 dicitur esse] est *Kf2 Ma4*
 102 Sed *om. Kf2 Ma4*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

Kf2 + Mü4

31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4*
Ox2a Sf2
 74 memorare] memorari *Kf2 Mü4*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 + 104 compositum] compositus *Kf2 Mü4*

Kf2 + Ox2a

31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2*
 33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1 Kf2*
Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 40 inexistente] inexistenti *Fr1 Kf2*
Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 48 perfectissimam] perfectissimum *Fr1 Kf2*
Ox2a Sf2
 103 tytilus + talis *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

Kf2 + Ox2b

33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1 Kf2*
Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 40 inexistente] inexistenti *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a*
Sf2 Ox2b
 52 prosequens] sequens *Kf2 Ox2b Wi4*
 69 omnes + alie *Kf2 Ma4 Ox2b*
 103 tytilus + talis *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Kf2 + Sf2

19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Sf2
 20 destructionem] destructivum *Kf2 Sf2*
 31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2*
 33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1 Kf2*
Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 40 inexistente] inexistenti *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a*
Sf2 Ox2b
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 48 perfectissimam] perfectissimum *Fr1 Kf2*
Ox2a Sf2
 103 tytilus + talis *Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2 Ma4*
Ox2a Sf2
 110 evangelium + et cetera *Kf2 Sf2*

Kf2 + Wi4

35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 52 prosequens] sequens *Kf2 Ox2b Wi4*
 72 Habet ... tres] hec autem theologia
 habet tres *Fr4 Kf2 Wi4*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Kf4 + Kf5

19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Sf2

Common Errors and Variants: Vir speculativus

- 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 37 Avicbron] albicebrum *Kf4 Fr1 Kf5 Ma4*
 37 disputacionibus] speculationibus *Kf4 Kf5*
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 52 aptitudinem] habitudinem *Kf4 Kf5*
 52 eciam *om. Kf4 Kf5*
 69 dicitur] loquitur *Kf4 Kf5 Ox2a*
 72 theologia¹ *om. Kf4 Kf5*
 75 est *om. Kf4 Kf5*
 94 sint] sunt *Kf4 Kf5 Mii4 Ox2b*

Kf4 + Ma4

- 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 37 Avicbron] albicebrum *Kf4 Fr1 Kf5 Ma4*
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 54 notandum] sciendum *Kf4 Ma4*
 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 106 ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mii4 Ox2a*
Ox2b Wi4

Kf4 + Mii4

- 94 sint] sunt *Kf4 Kf5 Mii4 Ox2b*
 106 ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mii4 Ox2a*
Ox2b Wi4

Kf4 + Ox2a

- 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 69 dicitur] loquitur *Kf4 Kf5 Ox2a*
 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 106 ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mii4 Ox2a*
Ox2b Wi4

Kf4 + Ox2b

- 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 94 sint] sunt *Kf4 Kf5 Mii4 Ox2b*
 106 ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mii4 Ox2a*
Ox2b Wi4

Kf4 + Sf2

- 19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Sf2
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

Kf4 + Wi4

- 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mii4 Ox2a*
Ox2b Wi4

Kf5 + Ma4

- 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 37 Avicbron] albicebrum *Kf4 Fr1 Kf5 Ma4*
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 52 prosequens] persequens *Fr1 Kf5 Ma4 Sf2*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mii4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Kf5 + Mii4

- 50 eciam *om. Kf5 Mii4 Wi4*
 52 sicud] sic *Kf5 Mii4*
 55 quod] ut *Kf5 Mii4*
 94 sint] sunt *Kf4 Kf5 Mii4 Ox2b*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mii4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 108 consequitur] sequitur *Fr1 Kf5 Mii4 Ox2a*

Kf5 + Ox2a

- 15 Sed ... 16 viciorum *om. Fr1 Kf5 Ox2a*
(saut du même au même)
 33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1 Kf2*
Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 69 dicitur] loquitur *Kf4 Kf5 Ox2a*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mii4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 108 consequitur] sequitur *Fr1 Kf5*
Mii4 Ox2a

APPENDIX 4b

Kf5 + Ox2b

- 33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 94 sint] sunt *Kf4 Kf5 Mü4 Ox2b*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Kf5 + Sf2

- 19 destructionem] destructivum *Kf4 Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Sf2
 33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus *Fr1*
Kf2 Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 52 prosequens] persequens *Fr1 Kf5*
Ma4 Sf2
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Kf5 + Wi4

- 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 50 eciam *om. Kf5 Mü4 Wi4*
 89 et ... 90 libri *om. Kf5 Wi4*
(saut du même au même)
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Ma4 + Mü4

- 31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4*
Ox2a Sf2
 47 sed] ut patet *Ma4 Mü4*
 100 ideo] igitur *Ma4 Mü4*
 103 Dicendum + est quod *Ma4 Mü4*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a*
Ox2b Wi4

Ma4 + Ox2a

- 31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4*
Ox2a Sf2
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

- 51 sumit] sumat *Fr1 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 106 ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a*
Ox2b Wi4

Ma4 + Ox2b

- 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5*
Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 69 omnes + alie *Kf2 Ma4 Ox2b*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a*
Ox2b Wi4

Ma4 + Sf2

- 31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4*
Ox2a Sf2
 46 moderari] moderare *Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 51 sumit] sumat *Fr1 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2*
 52 prosequens] persequens *Fr1 Kf5*
Ma4 Sf2
 83 modulosus compositum] melodosa
 compositum *Ma4 Sf2*
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 103 modulose] melodose *Kf4 Fr1 Kf2*
Ma4 Ox2a Sf2

Ma4 + Wi4

- 15 omnium *om. Ma4 Wi4*
 28 est excellentissimus] et cetera *Fr4*
Ma4 Wi4
 35 Minor patet *om. Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2*
Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 103 dictamen] liber *Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4*
Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa *Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a*
Ox2b Wi4

Mü4 + Ox2a

- 31 et cetera *om. Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4*
Ox2a Sf2

Common Errors and Variants: Vir speculativus

46 finis *om.* Mü4 Ox2a
 72 Quedam + enim Fr4 Mü4 Ox2a
 77 dicitur *om.* Mü4 Ox2a Sf2
 97 Ad ... libri² *om.* Fr1 Mü4 Ox2a
 (*saut du même au même*)
 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a
 Ox2b Wi4
 108 consequitur] sequitur Fr1 Kf5
 Mü4 Ox2a

Mü4 + Ox2b

94 sint] sunt Kf4 Kf5 Mü4 Ox2b
 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a
 Ox2b Wi4

Mü4 + Sf2

31 et cetera *om.* Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4
 Ox2a Sf2
 77 dicitur *om.* Mü4 Ox2a Sf2
 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Mü4 + Wi4

40 inexistente] existenti Mü4 Wi4
 50 eciam *om.* Kf5 Mü4 Wi4
 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a
 Ox2b Wi4

Ox2a + Ox2b

33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus Fr1
 Kf2 Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 40 inexistente] inexistenti Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a
 Sf2 Ox2b
 93 que] qui Ox2a Ox2b
 103 tytilus + talis Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a
 Sf2 Ox2b
 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a
 Ox2b Wi4

Ox2a + Sf2

31 et cetera *om.* Fr1 Kf2 Ma4 Mü4
 Ox2a Sf2
 33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus Fr1
 Kf2 Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 40 inexistente] inexistenti Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a
 Sf2 Ox2b
 46 moderari] moderare Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2
 Kf5 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 48 perfectissimam] perfectissimum Fr1 Kf2
 Ox2a Sf2
 51 sumit] sumat Fr1 Ma4 Ox2a Sf2
 55 quod] sicut Ox2a Sf2
 77 dicitur *om.* Mü4 Ox2a Sf2
 103 tytilus + talis Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 103 modulose] melodose Kf4 Fr1 Kf2 Ma4
 Ox2a Sf2

Ox2a + Wi4

34 ex *om.* Ox2a Wi4
 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa Kf4 Ma4 Mü4 Ox2a
 Ox2b Wi4

Ox2b + Sf2

33 excellentissimus] perfectissimus Fr1
 Kf2 Kf5 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 40 inexistente] inexistenti Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a
 Sf2 Ox2b
 103 tytilus + talis Fr1 Kf2 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b
 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mü4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Ox2b + Wi4

3 scientifici] scientificae Ox2b Wi4
 4 formo duas] ponuntur due Ox2b Wi4
 6 conclusio] est hec Ox2b Wi4
 7 sic *om.* Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4
 9 consistit] est Ox2b Wi4
 18 inventrix] invencio Ox2b Wi4
 20 Sed ... 21 cogitationum *om.* Fr1
 Ox2b Wi4 (*saut du même au même*)

APPENDIX 4b

- 29 sibi *om.* Ox2b Wi4
 35 Minor patet *om.* Kf4 Fr1 Fr4 Kf2
 Kf5 Ma4 Ox2b Wi4
 37 Avicebron] albertum Ox2b Wi4
 37 disputacionibus] dispositionibus
 Ox2b Wi4
 40 recipit + sibi Ox2b Wi4
 48 perfectissimam] perfectiorem (*ut vid.*)
 Ox2b Wi4
 51 sumit] habet Ox2b Wi4
 51 omnis] homo Ox2b Wi4
 52 prosequens] sequens Kf2 Ox2b Wi4
 58 verbo] vero Ox2b Wi4
 59 id est] et Fr1 Fr4 Ox2b Wi4
 67 ipsa *om.* Ox2b Wi4
 80 libri *om.* Ox2b Wi4
 82 dicamus] dicimus Ox2b Wi4
 85 parcium] precium Ox2b (*ut vid.*)Wi4
 85 forma] causa Ox2b Wi4
 91 doctores *om.* Ox2b Wi4
 92 de tempore *om.* Ox2b Wi4
 93 unde] sed Ox2b Wi4
 100 manet ... Deo] irremuneratum manet
 a deo Ox2b (in remuneratum) Wi4
 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mii4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4
 106 ipsam] ipsa Kf4 Ma4 Mii4 Ox2a
 Ox2b Wi4
 106 unde] cum Ox2b Wi4

Sf2 + Wi4

- 103 dictamen] liber Fr1 Fr4 Kf2 Kf5 Ma4
 Mii4 Ox2a Sf2 Ox2b Wi4

Appendix 4c. Common errors and variants: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*

The manuscripts are listed in alphabetical order, with the exception of the pedagogical recension under *Er1*, which is there listed together at the end. In the instances of agreement they are ordered as in the *apparatus criticus* of the edition.

Er1 + Go2

- 65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
 66 alie² + sciencie *Go2 Er1 Mü1*
 78 alie + sciencie *Go2 Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
 85 aliarum + scienciarum *Go2 Er1 Mü1*
 101 tibi + o *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 142 autem *om. Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 165 scilicet *om. Go2 Kr1 Er1*
 165 et + forma tractandi *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 + 165 ista] forma tractatus *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

Er1 + Gr6

- 30 sapientis *om. Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
 84 vincit] vicit *Gr6 Er1*
 96 scilicet *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
 124 ipsa *om. Kf1 Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 133 eciam *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 147 vicerit] vicit *Gr6 Kr1 Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3*
 149 ad² *om. Gr6 Er1 Mü1*
 154 humilitas + vicit *Gr6 Er1 Mü1*
 154 superbiam + et dicitur tropoloycus a
 tropos quod est mos (mores *Gr6*) vel
 conversio et logos sermo quasi sermo ad
 mores nostros conversus *Gr6 Er1 Mü1*
 156 tribulaciones + huius *Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 158 Sed] et *Gr6 Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 170 dicendum est] dicitur *Gr6 Er1*

Er1 + Kf1

- 124 ipsa *om. Kf1 Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 133 principaliter *om. Kf1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 140 eius *om. Kf1 Er1 Mü1*

Er1 + Kr1

- 147 vicerit] vicit *Gr6 Kr1 Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3*
 165 scilicet *om. Go2 Kr1 Er1*

Er1 + Mü2

- 29 dicitur + sed *Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
 35 considerat + sed *Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
 50 sit hec *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 73 alie + sciencie *Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 78 alie + sciencie *Go2 Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
 133 eius *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 158 Sed] et *Gr6 Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 170 Incipit *om. Mü2 Wi1 Er1*

Er1 + Wi4

- 54 supple] *om. Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
 96 scilicet *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
 118 eius *om. Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 123 cert] certe *Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
 133 eciam *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 168 parti] parte *Wi1 Er1 Sg3*
 170 Incipit *om. Mü2 Wi1 Er1*

The pedagogical recension

Er1 + Mü1 + Sg3

- 6 merito *post* theologia (*lin. 5*) *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 15 scilicet + ipsum *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 16 posse *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 17 et ipsa] ipsa enim sapientia *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 18 scienciarum + et ad eam omnes
 alie sciencie ordinantur et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 18 ponitur] tangitur *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 23 sapientis + et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 24 sumitur] sumuntur *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 24 sive + ab *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 30 sapientis *om. Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 32 bene dicebat] dicit *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 42 enim *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
 48 faciendo + et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

APPENDIX 4c

- 50 sit hec *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
53 Neque ... 54 ewangelio *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
(saut du même au même)
54 supple *om. Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
56 mencies] mendaces *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
60 quinta] sexta *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
62 et ... ipsa] quare ipsa *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
68 sapientis] sapiencie *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
70 Primo ... creata] prima omnium
creaturarum *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
70 et] item *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
71 Quod] sed quod *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
73 alie + sciencie *Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
81 est *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
84 ipsa *om. Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
90 primus] primo *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
91 prius] superius *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
91 habita] habite *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
101 tibi + o *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
105 inest + ergo *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
107 tamen + hoc *Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3*
108 in loyca] et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
113 ebrietatibus + et *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
117 aliis + sciencis *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
118 eius *om. Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
122 auctoritate ... inspiracionis] auctoritatibus
divine inspiracionis *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
124 ipsa *om. Kf1 Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
124 nobilitatem + theologia *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
126 est *post* efficiens *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
133 eius *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
133 principaliter *om. Kf1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
133 eciam *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
135 ipsa + theologia *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
139 ipsa sciencias] illam scienciam *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
+ 139 inventas] inventam *Er1 Mü1, non leg. Sg3*
+ erroneas] erroneam *Er1 Mü1, non leg. Sg3*
142 autem *om. Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
142 in theologia] eius *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
147 vicerit] vicit *Gr6 Kr1 Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3*
148 geste ... narracio] narracio *(ut vid. Sg3)* rei
geste *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
156 tribulaciones + huius *Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
158 Sed] et *Gr6 Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
159 quasi ... 160 expositio] sive expositio
quasi duccio sursum *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
- 162 Causa + igitur *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
163 eius] dei *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
165 et + forma tractandi *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
+ 165 ista] forma tractatus *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
168 omnes + alie *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
169 Dicendum + est *Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
- Er1 + Mü1 (where not Sg3)**
8 propter quod] pro quo *Er1 Mü1*
14 dicitur] dicimus *Er1 Mü1*
28 hec *om. Er1 Mü1*
29 dicitur + sed *Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
34 sit hec] est *Er1 Mü1*
35 considerat + sed *Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
50 nullo ... 51 falsitatis] nullius falsitate
mendacii *Er1 Mü1*
51 dicitur + sed *Er1 Mü1*
52 probatur] eciam patet *Er1 Mü1*
65 prima ... dicitur] prima est omnium
scienciarum aliarum *Er1 Mü1*
66 alie² + sciencie *Go2 Er1 Mü1*
78 alie + sciencie *Go2 Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
87 aliarum + scienciarum *Go2 Er1 Mü1*
88 condemnare + sed *Er1 Mü1*
90 Sed *om. Er1 Mü1*
91 minori] minore *Er1 Mü1*
96 scilicet *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
96 eciam *post* probatur *Er1 Mü1*
98 ista *om. Er1 Mü1*
104 superno] summo *Er1 Mü1*
105 Secundo + modo *Er1 Mü1*
121 sue *om. Er1 Mü1*
123 certi] certe *Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
131 eius ... eciam¹] eciam est *Er1 Mü1*
134 in theologia *om. Er1 Mü1*
140 eius *om. Kf1 Er1 Mü1*
149 ad² *om. Gr6 Er1 Mü1*
154 humilitas + vicit *Gr6 Er1 Mü1*
154 superbiam + et dicitur tropoloycus a
tropos quod est mos (mores *Gr6*) vel conversio
et logos sermo quasi sermo ad mores nostros
conversus *Gr6 Er1 Mü1*
165 speciales *om. Er1 Mü1*
169 quod *om. Er1 Mü1*

Common Errors and Variants: Sapientia vincit malitiam

Er1 + Sg3 (where not Mü1)

40 sit hec] est *Er1 Sg3*
56 sit hec] est *Er1 Sg3*
168 parti] parte *Wi1 Er1 Sg3*

Go2 + Gr6

65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
73 ordinentur] ordinantur *Go2 Gr6 Mü2*
83 in *om. Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Mü2*
115 sint] sunt *Go2 Gr6*
106 inesse quod] quod *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*, quia *Go2*
117 tamen] enim *Go2 Gr6 Mü2*
123 auctoritati] auctoritate *Kf1 Go2 Gr6*
123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*
145 hystoricus] hystoriacus *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1*

Go2 + Kf1

14 posse *om. Kf1 Go2*
20 theologiam ... nominari] theologia merito
sapiencia denominari *Kf1 (nominari) Go2*
83 in *om. Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Mü2*
88 huiusmodi] huius *Kf1 Go2*
105 inesse + et *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 Mü2*
106 inesse quod] quod *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*, quia *Go2*
113 veneris] veneris *Kf1 Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
122 auctoritate ... inspiracionis] auctoritatis
divine inspiracione *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 (ut vid.) Wi1*
123 auctoritati] auctoritate *Kf1 Go2 Gr6*
123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*
145 hystoricus] hystoriacus *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1*
146 hystoricus] hystoriacus *Kf1 Go2*

Go2 + Kr1

5 sapiencie] sapiencia *Go2 Kr1 Mü2*
89 Philosophum + in *Go2 Kr1 Wi1*
105 inesse + et *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 Mü2*
106 inesse quod] quod *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*, quia *Go2*
122 auctoritate ... inspiracionis] auctoritatis
divine inspiracione *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 (ut vid.) Wi1*
123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*
137 sole¹] sola *Go2 Kr1*
138 pertractans] tractans *Go2 Kr1*
145 hystoricus] hystoriacus *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1*
147 qualiter *om. Go2 Kr1*
165 scilicet *om. Go2 Kr1 Er1*

Go2 + Mü1

65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
66 alie² + sciencie *Go2 Er1 Mü1*
73 alie + sciencie *Go2 Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
87 aliarum + scienciarum *Go2 Er1 Mü1*
101 tibi + o *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*
142 autem *om. Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
165 et + forma tractandi *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
+ 165 ista] forma tractatus *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

Go2 + Mü2

5 sapiencie] sapiencia *Go2 Kr1 Mü2*
16 est *om. Go2 Mü2*
18 Ethicorum] elencorum *Go2 Mü2*
73 ordinentur] ordinantur *Go2 Gr6 Mü2*
73 decimo] tercio *Go2 Mü2*
78 alie + sciencie *Go2 Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
78 Sic] sicut *Go2 Mü2*
83 in *om. Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Mü2*
99 reprimi + vicia et *Go2 Mü2*
102 conspectu + domini *Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
105 inesse + et *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 Mü2*
111 quia] quod *Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
113 veneris] veneris *Kf1 Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
114 assumpta *praem. et Go2 Mü2*
117 tamen] enim *Go2 Gr6 Mü2*
119 in¹ *om. Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
128 afflatum] afflatu *Go2 Mü2*

Go2 + Sg3

96 eciam *om. Go2 Sg3*
101 tibi + o *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
119 ea] eo *Go2 Sg3*
131 eius ... eciam¹] est *Go2 Sg3*
142 autem *om. Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
165 et + forma tractandi *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
+ 165 ista] forma tractatus *Go2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

Go2 + Wi4

65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
89 Philosophum + in *Go2 Kr1 Wi1*
102 conspectu + domini *Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
111 quia] quod *Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
113 veneris] veneris *Kf1 Go2 Mü2 Wi1*

APPENDIX 4c

119 in¹ *om. Go2 Mü2 Wi1*

122 auctoritate ... inspiracionis] auctoritatis
divine inspiracione *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 (ut vid.) Wi1*

Gr6 + Kf1

10 Secunda] secundum *Kf1 Gr6 Wi1*

83 in *om. Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Mü2*

106 inesse quod] quod *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*

120 id est¹] et *Kf1 Gr6*

123 auctoritati] auctoritate *Kf1 Go2 Gr6*

123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*

124 ipsa *om. Kf1 Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

128 afflatus] aflatu *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*

145 hystoricus] hystoriacus *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1*

Gr6 + Kr1

77 caput ... scienciarum] aliarum scienciarum
caput *Gr6 Kr1 Wi1*

106 inesse quod] quod *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*

123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*

127 afflatus] aflatu *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*

145 hystoricus] hystoriacus *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1*

147 vicerit] vicit *Gr6 Kr1 Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3*

Gr6 + Mü1

4 efficacia] efficacio *Gr6 Mü1*

30 sapientis *om. Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

57 dicitur + sed *Gr6 Mü1*

65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*

96 scilicet *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*

111 libello] libro *Gr6 Mü1 Sg3*

123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*

124 ipsa *om. Kf1 Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

133 etiam *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

147 vicerit] vicit *Gr6 Kr1 Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3*

149 ad² *om. Gr6 Er1 Mü1*

154 humilitas + vicit *Gr6 Er1 Mü1*

154 superbiam + et dicitur tropoloycus a
tropos quod est mos (mores *Gr6*) vel
conversio et logos sermo quasi sermo ad
mores nostros conversus *Gr6 Er1 Mü1*

156 tribulaciones + huius *Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

158 Sed] et *Gr6 Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3

Gr6 + Mü2

37 consideret] considerat *Gr6 Mü2 Wi1 Sg3*

73 ordinentur] ordinantur *Go2 Gr6 Mü2*

83 in *om. Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Mü2*

117 tamen] enim *Go2 Gr6 Mü2*

156 dicendo *om. Gr6 Mü2*

157 devicerunt] vicerunt *Gr6 Mü2*

158 Sed] et *Gr6 Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3

Gr6 + Sg3

30 sapientis *om. Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

37 consideret] considerat *Gr6 Mü2 Wi1 Sg3*

111 libello] libro *Gr6 Mü1 Sg3*

124 ipsa *om. Kf1 Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

133 etiam *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

147 vicerit] vicit *Gr6 Kr1 Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3*

156 tribulaciones + huius *Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

158 Sed] et *Gr6 Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3

Gr6 + Wi4

10 Secunda] secundum *Kf1 Gr6 Wi1*

10 Tercia] tertium *Gr6 Wi1*

40 consideret] considerat *Gr6 Mü2 Wi1 Sg3*

47 attingit + et *Gr6 Wi1*

65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*

73 decimo] quarto *Gr6 Wi1*

77 caput ... scienciarum] aliarum
scienciarum caput *Gr6 Kr1 Wi1*

96 scilicet *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*

105 sic *om. Gr6 Wi1*

115 igitur *om. Gr6 Wi1*

131 eius ... etiam¹] eius est *Gr6 Wi1*

133 etiam *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3

Kf1 + Kr1

105 inesse + et *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 Mü2*

106 inesse quod] quod *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*

122 auctoritate ... inspiracionis] auctoritatis
divine inspiracione *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 (ut vid.) Wi1*

123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*

Common Errors and Variants: Sapientia vincit malitiam

128 afflatum] afluat *Kf1 Gr6 Kr1*
145 hystoricus] hystoriacus *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1*

Kf1 + Mü1

123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*
124 ipsa *om. Kf1 Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
133 principaliter *om. Kf1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
140 eius *om. Kf1 Er1 Mü1*

Kf1 + Mü2

83 in *om. Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Mü2*
105 inesse + et *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 Mü2*
113 veneris] veneris *Kf1 Go2 Mü2 Wi1*

Kf1 + Sg3

111 suo ... pomo] de pomo *Kf1 Sg3*
124 ipsa *om. Kf1 Gr6 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
133 principaliter *om. Kf1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
145 est *om. Kf1 Sg3*

Kf1 + Wi4

10 Secunda] secundum *Kf1 Gr6 Wi1*
113 veneris] veneris *Kf1 Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
122 auctoritate ... inspiracionis] auctoritatis
divine inspiracione *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 (ut vid.) Wi1*
143 Modus ... 144 laudativus *om. Kf1 Wi1*
(*saut du même au même*)

Kr1 + Mü1

96 vincat] vincit *Kr1 Mü1*
123 rationi] ratione *Kf1 Go2 Gr6 Kr1 Mü1*
147 vicerit] vicit *Gr6 Kr1 Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3*

Kr1 + Mü2

5 sapiencie] sapiencia *Go2 Kr1 Mü2*
105 inesse + et *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 Mü2*
164 omnes *om. Kr1 Mü2*

Kr1 + Sg3

147 vicerit] vicit *Gr6 Kr1 Er1 Mü1 (ut vid.) Sg3*

Kr1 + Wi4

1 maliciam+ et cetera *Kr1 Wi1*
77 caput ... scienciarum] aliarum
scienciarum caput *Gr6 Kr1 Wi1*

89 Philosophum + in *Go2 Kr1 Wi1*
122 auctoritate ... inspiracionis] auctoritatis
divine inspiracione *Kf1 Go2 Kr1 (ut vid.) Wi1*

Mü1 + Mü2

29 dicitur + sed *Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
35 considerat + sed *Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
50 sit hec *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
56 sit hec *om. Mü1 Mü2*
73 alie + sciencie *Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
78 alie + sciencie *Go2 Mü2 Er1 Mü1*
133 eius *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
158 Sed] et *Gr6 Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3

Mü1 + Sg3 (where not Er1);

(see also the pedagogical
recension *Er1 + Mü1 + Sg3*)
45 declarando] declinando *Mü1 Sg3*
60 patuit in] patet ex *Mü1 Sg3*
62 de seipsa *post* Sapiencie *Mü1 Sg3*
97 que] qui *Mü1 Sg3*
111 libello] libro *Gr6 Mü1 Sg3*
111 ubi + sic *Mü1 Sg3*
169 philosophie¹ + subordinatur vel *Mü1 Sg3*
169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3

Mü1 + Wi4

54 supple *om. Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
65 sit] est *Go2 Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
77 cognicionem] condicionem *Wi1 Mü1*
96 scilicet *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
118 eius *om. Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
123 cert] certe *Wi1 Er1 Mü1*
133 eciam *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3

Mü2 + Sg3

37 consideret] considerat *Gr6 Mü2 Wi1 Sg3*
50 sit hec *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
67 et cetera *om. Mü2 Sg3*
73 alie + sciencie *Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
133 eius *om. Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*

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- 142 *suus om. Mü2 Sg3*
158 Sed] et *Gr6 Mü2 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3
170 sequenciarum + et cetera *Mü2 (ut vid.) Sg3*

Mü2 + Wi4

- 37 consideret] considerat *Gr6 Mü2 Wi1 Sg3*
91 primus] prius *Mü2 Wi1*
102 conspectu + domini *Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
111 quia] quod *Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
112 mortificavit] mortificat *Mü2 Wi1*
113 veneris] veneris *Kf1 Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
119 in¹ *om. Go2 Mü2 Wi1*
128 et sic] ac *Mü2 Wi1*
169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3
170 Incipit *om. Mü2 Wi1 Er1*

Sg3 + Wi4

- 37 consideret] considerat *Gr6 Mü2 Wi1 Sg3*
49 factionis] factorum *Wi1 Sg3*
54 supple *om. Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
118 eius *om. Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
133 eciam *om. Gr6 Wi1 Er1 Mü1 Sg3*
168 parti] parte *Wi1 Er1 Sg3*
169 supponatur] supponitur *Gr6 Mü2*
Wi1 Mü1 Sg3

INDICES

Index nominum et rerum

In this select vocabulary are listed characteristic words from the edited sequence commentaries.¹ On account of the angelic theme of *Ad celebres rex*, the words *angelus*, *archangelus* and their derivatives are too ubiquitous to be incorporated here. Words from the sequence text itself are, with a few exceptions, excluded from this index. The spelling of words in this index has been standardised. References are made to lines in the editions, the texts of which are further specified with *Prol.* and *Exp.* respectively when necessary.

Abraham	Ed. 4: <i>Exp.</i> : 74, 103; Ed. 6: <i>Exp.</i> : 95
accantus, -us <i>m.</i>	Ed. 3: 25
acephalus, -a, -um	Ed. 5: <i>Prol.</i> : 70; Ed. 6: <i>Prol.</i> : 17, 66, 72, 78
adverbium, -ii <i>n.</i>	Ed. 2: 201; Ed. 5: <i>Exp.</i> : 188; Ed. 6: <i>Exp.</i> : 161
Aegyptus	Ed. 5: <i>Prol.</i> : 65
agalma, -atis <i>n.</i>	Ed. 1: <i>Exp.</i> : 308, 322–329; Ed. 2: 64, 206; Ed. 3: 213–215; Ed. 4: <i>Exp.</i> : 190–193; Ed. 5: <i>Exp.</i> : 213, 238, 254; Ed. 6: <i>Exp.</i> : 182, 208; Ed. 7: 102, 126
Albertus	Ed. 4: <i>Exp.</i> : 85, 95, 113, 119; Ed. 5: <i>Exp.</i> : 126, 130; Ed. 6: <i>Exp.</i> : 114, 118
algama <i>vide</i> agalma	
Algazel	Ed. 5: <i>Prol.</i> : 24
allegoria, -ae <i>f.</i> ; -icus, -a, -um; -ce;	Ed. 1: <i>Prol.</i> : 18, 19, 25; Ed. 6: <i>Prol.</i> : 145, 149, 151
Alleluia	Ed. 1: <i>Exp.</i> : 361–365, Ed. 2: 79, 220; Ed. 3: 249; Ed. 4: <i>Exp.</i> : 227, 230–232; Ed. 5: <i>Prol.</i> : 107, 109; Ed. 5: <i>Exp.</i> : 263, 280, 293; Ed. 6: <i>Exp.</i> : 220, 234; Ed. 7: 135
Ambrosius	Ed. 5: <i>Prol.</i> : 92
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Analytica posteriora	Ed. 5: <i>Prol.</i> : 46
anima, -ae <i>f.</i>	Ed. 1: <i>Exp.</i> : 50; Ed. 3: 40, 51, 113, 154, 223, 224; Ed. 4: <i>Prol.</i> : 15; Ed. 4: <i>Exp.</i> : 25–27, 55, 64, 68, 69, 87; Ed. 5: <i>Exp.</i> : 31, 33,

¹ The following dictionaries have been consulted: DBr, DU CANGE, L&S, La, LN, MLW, NGML and OLD.

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- 95, 99, 100, 126, 127, 240; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 36, 38, 88, 92, 93, 114, 115; **Ed. 7:** 56, 128
- animal, -alis *n.* **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 71, 353; **Ed. 2:** 152; **Ed. 4:** *Prol.*: 18
- animus, -i *m.* **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 134
- annoto, -are **Ed. 3:** 39, 41, 47, 54
- anthropomorpha, -ae *m.* **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 153
- Antichristus **Ed. 3:** 246; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 226; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 271; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 232
- antiphona, -ae *f.* **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 25
- antistropha, -ae *f.* **Ed. 3:** 27
- antonomas(t)ice **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 60; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 92; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 86
- Apocalypsis **Ed. 3:** 246; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 28, 220, 223, 231; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 35, 271; **Ed. 6:** *Prol.*: 136; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 40, 228, 231
- Aristoteles **Ed. 2:** 100; **Ed. 4:** *Prol.*: 1, 4, 9, 20; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 134; **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 44, 47, 53, 56, 62; **Ed. 6:** *Prol.*: 73, 89, 111, 115
- armonia *vide* harmonia
- ars, -tis *f.* **Ed. 4:** *Prol.*: 7; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 98; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 91
- articulum, -i *n.* **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 60
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- assisto, -ere **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 307, 311; **Ed. 2:** 59, 127, 129; **Ed. 3:** 197, 237; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 124, 172, 175, 184; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 210, 216, 250; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 179, 186; **Ed. 7:** 98
- auctor, -oris *m.* **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 327, 330; **Ed. 3:** 8, 136; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 139; **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 87; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 3, 22, 112, 177, 200, 214, 217, 218, 225, 257, 272; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 3, 53, 98, 147, 166, 184, 185, 187, 188, 195, 210, 227, 233; **Ed. 7:** 117
- auctoritas, -atis *f.* **Ed. 3:** 157; **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 30; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 182; **Ed. 6:** *Prol.*: 23, 52, 64, 91, 94, 109, 110, 122, 123, 140; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 155; **Ed. 7:** 85
- Augustinus **Ed. 4:** *Prol.*: 18; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 52; **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 91; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 283
- autor *vide* auctor
- Averroes **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 34; **Ed. 6:** *Prol.*: 109
- Avicbron (?) **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 37
- Bernardus **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 29; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 34
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- Boethius **Ed. 3:** 227; **Ed. 6:** *Prol.*: 43, 91, 103
- bonitas, -atis *f.* **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 111–113
- caelestis, -is, -e **Ed. 1:** *Prol.*: 10, 21; **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 27, 43, 76, 78, 81, 84, 262,

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- cano, -ere **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 4; **Ed. 2:** 212; **Ed. 3:** 6, 7, 9, 69, 70, 120; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 7; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 32, 237; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 2; **Ed. 7:** 23
- canticum, -i *n.* **Ed. 1:** *Prol.*: 1–5, 8, 9, 12–15; **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 330, 367; **Ed. 2:** 7, 70, 80, 220; **Ed. 3:** 43; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 195; **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 76
- canto, -are **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 362; **Ed. 2:** 2, 5, 79; **Ed. 3:** 27, 54, 227; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 230; **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 106; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 2, 39, 43, 293; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 37, 207, 220; **Ed. 7:** 125
- cantus, -us *m.* **Ed. 1:** *Prol.*: 14; **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 11, 30; **Ed. 2:** 210, 219; **Ed. 3:** 26; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 6; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 9, 48, 50, 58; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 11, 45, 46; **Ed. 7:** 12, 31, 33
- carmen, -inis *n.* **Ed. 3:** 33, 63; **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 15
- casus, -us *m.* **Ed. 4:** *Exp.*: 5, 15
- causa, -ae *f.* **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 133, 135, 136, 162, 219, 227; **Ed. 4:** *Prol.*: 20, 21; **Ed. 5:** *Exp.*: 97; **Ed. 6:** *Prol.*: 11, 34, 37, 124, 161, 162; **Ed. 6:** *Exp.*: 90
- causa efficiens **Ed. 4:** *Prol.*: 24, 25; **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 91; **Ed. 6:** *Prol.*: 126, 134, 163
- causa finalis **Ed. 4:** *Prol.*: 29; **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 89; **Ed. 6:** *Prol.*: 133, 134, 167
- causa formalis **Ed. 1:** *Exp.*: 160; **Ed. 4:** *Prol.*: 26; **Ed. 5:** *Prol.*: 84; **Ed. 6:** *Prol.*: 142, 164
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- clango, -ere **Ed. 3:** 9, 68–74
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compositio, -onis <i>f.</i>	Ed. 1: <i>Exp.</i> : 157; Ed. 4: <i>Exp.</i> : 4; Ed. 5: <i>Prol.</i> : 85; Ed. 5: <i>Exp.</i> : 62
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² This word is marked with a ? in MLW and explained as meaning *plena portio, summa*. Compare also the word *comportionarius, -ii*, ‘one who shares a portion (eccl.)’ in DBr.

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**Inapit scripto polepms aysu Almy de susula sup ppa pta ayu
michaelis archangli**

Nota h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati] no[n] lauge q[ui] stricte accipere Aliq[ui] n[on] carit[ati] ita
lauge sumit[ur] et carit[ati] q[ui] sit ad plau[dit] alioq[ui] ut ad mo[do]s ip[s]o[r]u[m]
do[ct]o[rum] ut ad m[od]os exultaco[n]e de celestib[us] ut et em[er]s[us] h[er]em[us] exp[er]ies
carit[ati] exp[er]it[ur] vocat[ur] his que h[uius]m[od]i vocat[ur] lauge accipit[ur] e[st] ordo
actio in quib[us] ad m[od]os p[ri]mo dirigit[ur] et eis qu[er]e sit applaus[us]
carit[ati] possit ino[mp]ari. In luc[er]o. Et s[ic] ali[us] deo fact[us] n[on]o
in sumens d[omi]n[u]m et ip[s]u[m] ap[er]it[ur]. Carit[ati] est q[ui] sit ad m[od]os
instruend[um] carit[ati] ino[mp]at[ur]. Et illud ex[er]c[is]e. Ego dixi in d[omi]n[u]m
d[omi]n[u]s me[us] d[omi]n[u]s ad p[er]is inferi. Eut[er]o[rum] est m[er]it[us] et habit[us] de
et em[er]s[us] in voce p[ri]ncip[is] h[uius]m[od]i vocat[ur] applaus[us] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]. In carit[ati]n[em]
illud q[ui] carit[ati]n[em] filij ip[s]i[us] p[er] d[omi]n[u]m m[er]it[us] v[er]bi carit[ati] applaus[us]
Et em[er]s[us] exultaco[n]e m[er]it[us] h[er]em[us] de et em[er]s[us] liberat[ur] vocaliter
exp[er]it[ur]. **E**specialit[er] exultaco[n]e m[er]it[us] h[er]em[us] de et em[er]s[us] in **Artem**
p[ri]ncip[is] p[er]do[ct]o[rum] carit[ati]n[em] vocalit[er]. In Ep[isto]la[m] salom[on]is carit[ati]n[em]
carit[ati]n[em] d[omi]n[u]m q[ui] no[n] ibi carit[ati]n[em] m[er]it[us] h[er]em[us] de et em[er]s[us] exp[er]it[ur] ad
quia p[er]o[ra] m[er]it[us] gaud[er]e q[ui] de celestib[us] ap[er]it[ur]. Hor[um] igit[ur] ca[us]a
q[ui] p[er] m[er]it[us] h[er]em[us] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] carit[ati]n[em] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] d[omi]n[u]m. In eo m[er]it[us] exultaco[n]e m[er]it[us] de
et em[er]s[us] h[er]em[us] m[er]it[us] et mo[do] ad id m[er]it[us] ad h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] em[er]s[us]
noticia sub p[er]do[ct]o[rum] delib[er]at[ur] et quis m[er]it[us] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] q[ui] m[er]it[us]
et ad h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] q[ui] m[er]it[us] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] q[ui] m[er]it[us] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em]
ordina[n]t. **P**apa e[st] d[omi]n[u]m q[ui] no[n] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] q[ui] m[er]it[us] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em]
p[er]p[et]u[us] dignit[as] supra h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] ed[er]it[ur] in quo sicut et in p[er]t[ur]t[ur] m[er]it[us]
exat[ur] f[er]a d[omi]n[u]m et m[er]it[us] carit[ati]n[em] m[er]it[us] apparuit. **H**ic e[st] ille de q[ui]
celeb[er] ille d[omi]n[u]m p[er]t[ur]t[ur] **C**riste ab **P**. g[ul]l[er]o ad **P**. p[er]t[ur]t[ur] m[er]it[us] **P**.
Qui q[ui]s p[er]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] carit[ati]n[em] m[er]it[us]
religiosisimo sine q[ui] carit[ati]n[em] de p[er]t[ur]t[ur] carit[ati]n[em] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em]. Qui m[er]it[us]
polep[er]m[us] michael[is] archang[eli] quod d[omi]n[u]m aplaus[us] m[er]it[us] carit[ati]n[em] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]
et quod d[omi]n[u]m m[er]it[us] et p[er]t[ur]t[ur] et ordina[n]t[ur] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em]
p[er]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] d[omi]n[u]m q[ui] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] quod d[omi]n[u]m
celestiu[m] carit[ati]n[em] m[er]it[us] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] et carit[ati]n[em] quod in sui p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur]
michael[is] carit[ati]n[em] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] **M**ichael[is] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em]
m[er]it[us] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] carit[ati]n[em] de quib[us] sub p[er]t[ur]t[ur] ordina[n]t[ur] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] quod d[omi]n[u]m p[er]t[ur]t[ur]
carit[ati]n[em] et qua m[er]it[us] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] eluce[n]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] d[omi]n[u]m p[er]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em]
de p[er]t[ur]t[ur] p[er]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] et p[er]t[ur]t[ur] **P**ort[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] illa theologie
p[er]t[ur]t[ur] que de h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] et d[omi]n[u]m h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur]. Quid e[st]
p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] q[ui] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] d[omi]n[u]m q[ui] in ea de p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] d[omi]n[u]m ag[er]it[ur]
p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] illa theologie p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] que celestiu[m] carit[ati]n[em] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] d[omi]n[u]m
m[er]it[us] et p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] q[ui] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] d[omi]n[u]m q[ui] carit[ati]n[em] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur]
aula[n]t[ur] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] In t[er]t[er]o h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] ordo p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em]
h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] In qua ad d[omi]n[u]m dirigendo p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur] a p[er]t[ur]t[ur]t[ur]
h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em] carit[ati]n[em] et in a nob[is] carit[ati]n[em] lauge ex[er]c[is]e h[uius]m[od]i carit[ati]n[em]
in art[em]. **A**d celestib[us] **C**onsequen[te] ab officis et ordina[n]t[ur]

Plate I
Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 178, fol. 120'

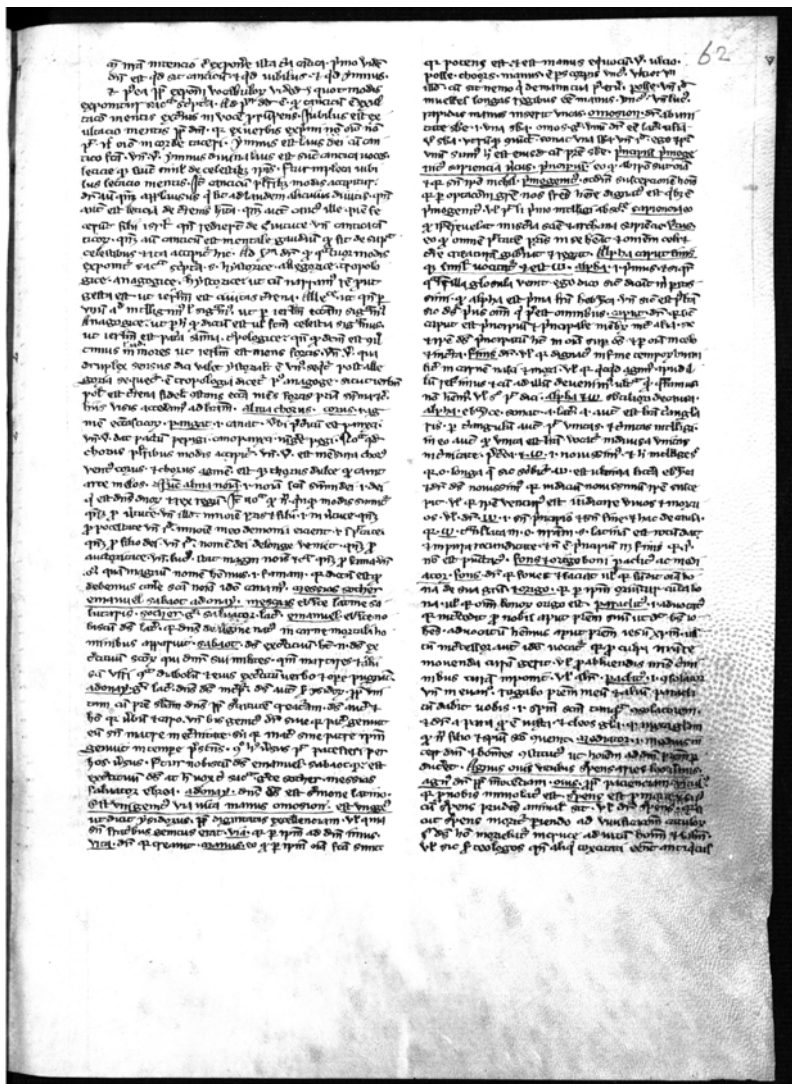


Plate II
The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Auct. F. 6. 8, fol. 62^r
(EDITION 1: *Quoniam . . . tria cantica*)

Dicit Aristoteles primo lib. de anima q. rex notitia cum
 dicitur uoluntate q. honorabile. Et in mag. illa sciam qe
 ino. honorabilis et bonum et felicitas sic Theologia q. ipse dicitur felicitas
 p. p. q. dicit q. sit bonis prioribus n. uenit hinc et felicitas in hoc
 e. b. d. d. uoluntate q. facit bonum et felicitas et ergo theos et felicitas et uoluntate
 et p. h. theos p. ceteris omnia scias illud q. q. facit bonum et ipse
 q. dicitur p. h. in moralibus dicitur q. magis et ceteris ut dicitur in ad
 inuicem in istis uicibus iusti n. e. in istis uicibus h. dicitur lex et
 uicem socie. hinc q. q. h. gen. lect. dicitur ut dicitur in istis uicibus
 et amice ab eo q. h. in h. illi amicitia ut uel omnia p. dicit
 te et in istis uicibus iustis ut sit etiam solum n. necesse h. necesse h. h. h. h.
 b. nichil necesse non solum et uicem h. abstinere ab omnia aliquid
 necesse etiam in h. casti et iustis enim lecta n. p. dicit et tacet cetera
 et loq. loq. ad dicitur ceteris rebus q. h. q. dicitur p. dicitur in istis
 sicut in ad. In p. magis bruti uicibus q. p. dicitur n. res p. dicitur
 et sicut n. p. h. h. uicibus rebus h. dicitur. Hinc uicibus dicitur et ad
 eas lib. p. dicitur. dicitur p. dicitur q. dicitur in istis uicibus dicitur
 et eas p. dicitur opus uideam. Sicut autem hinc lib. dicitur. hinc q.
 dicitur et laus dicitur. et a dicitur e. hinc dicitur. dicitur in istis
 sequens p. dicitur dicitur esse auctor n. e. in istis uicibus dicitur in istis
 sit bonum et uicibus et a dicitur et dicitur et sit etiam dicitur
 et mo. dicitur et illa p. dicitur hinc dicitur enim dicitur dicitur in istis
 dicitur dicitur dicitur lib. et dicitur in istis uicibus q. dicitur et hinc
 mal. et q. dicitur q. in lib. dicitur et hinc ut p. dicitur ad
 scias felicitas etiam dicitur. p. ego in istis uicibus in istis dicitur
 dicitur q. dicitur uicibus nos uicibus dicitur dicitur q. dicitur in istis
 uicibus dicitur dicitur dicitur q. dicitur in istis uicibus dicitur
 h. in istis uicibus dicitur dicitur p. dicitur tot dicitur. hinc dicitur
 dicitur et gram dicitur p. dicitur ad dicitur gram n. ad dicitur dicitur
 noe kam dicitur et dicitur dicitur et gram dicitur et dicitur nos hinc
 ut ad dicitur p. dicitur et amala dicitur dicitur. hinc dicitur ut dicitur
 nam laude et hinc angl. q. dicitur h. et laus et gram dicitur dicitur
 q. dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur q. dicitur hinc dicitur et dicitur

I

Plate VI
 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 834, fol. 62^r
 (EDITION 4: *Dicit Aristoteles*)

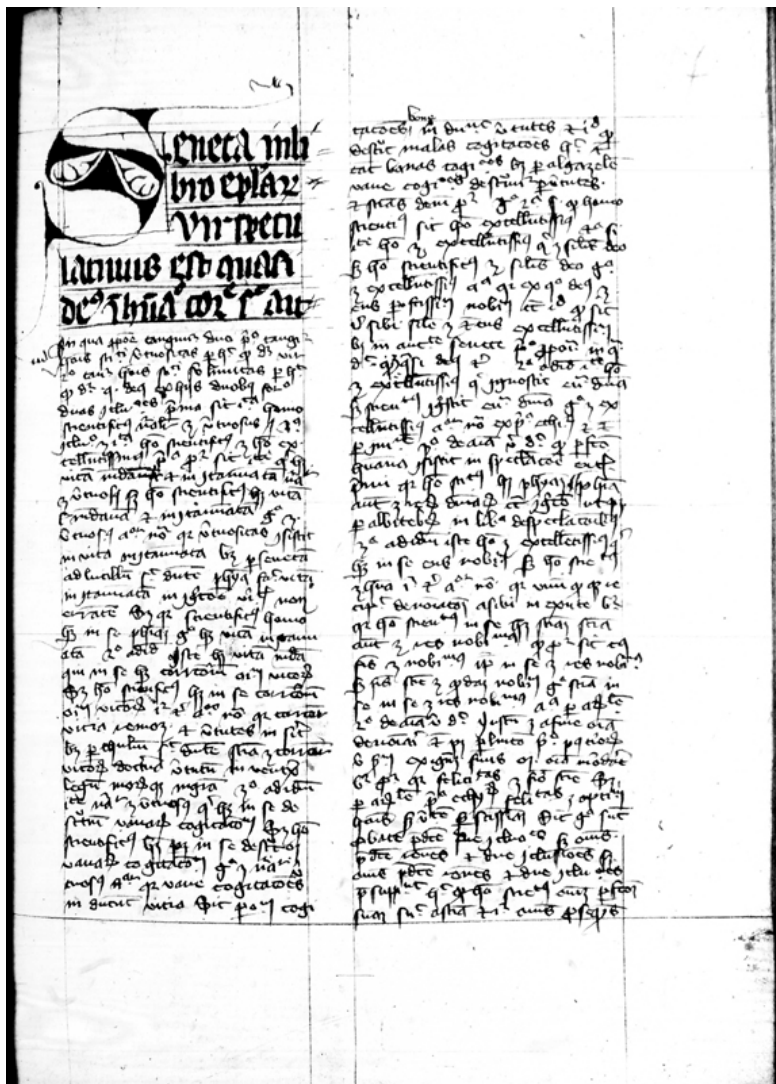


Plate VIII
Klagenfurt, Archiv der Diözese Gurk, XXXIX b 4, fol. 87^r
(EDITION 5: *Vir speculativus*)



Plate IX
Klagenfurt, Archiv der Diözese Gurk, XXXIX b 4, fol. 147^v
(EDITION 5: *Expositio Kf4*)



Plate X
Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Cart. 133, fol. 38^r
(EDITION 6: *Sapientia vincit malitiam*)

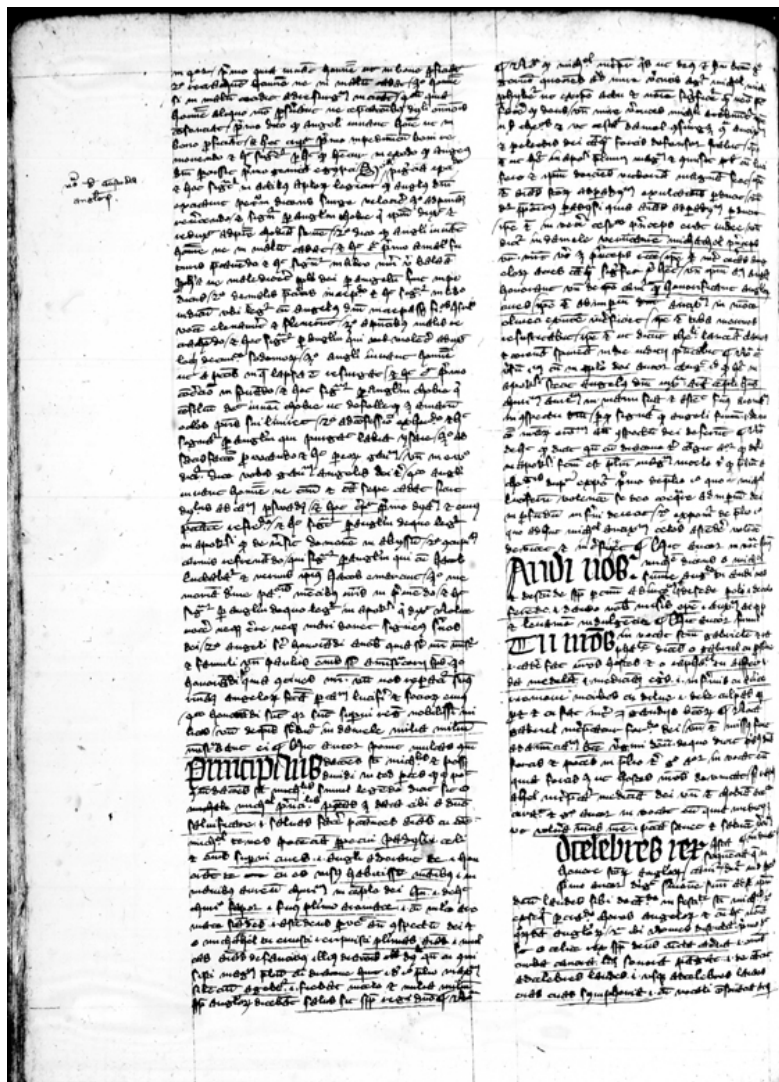


Plate XI
Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Cart. 133, fol. 74^v
(EDITION 6: *Expositio Kfl*)

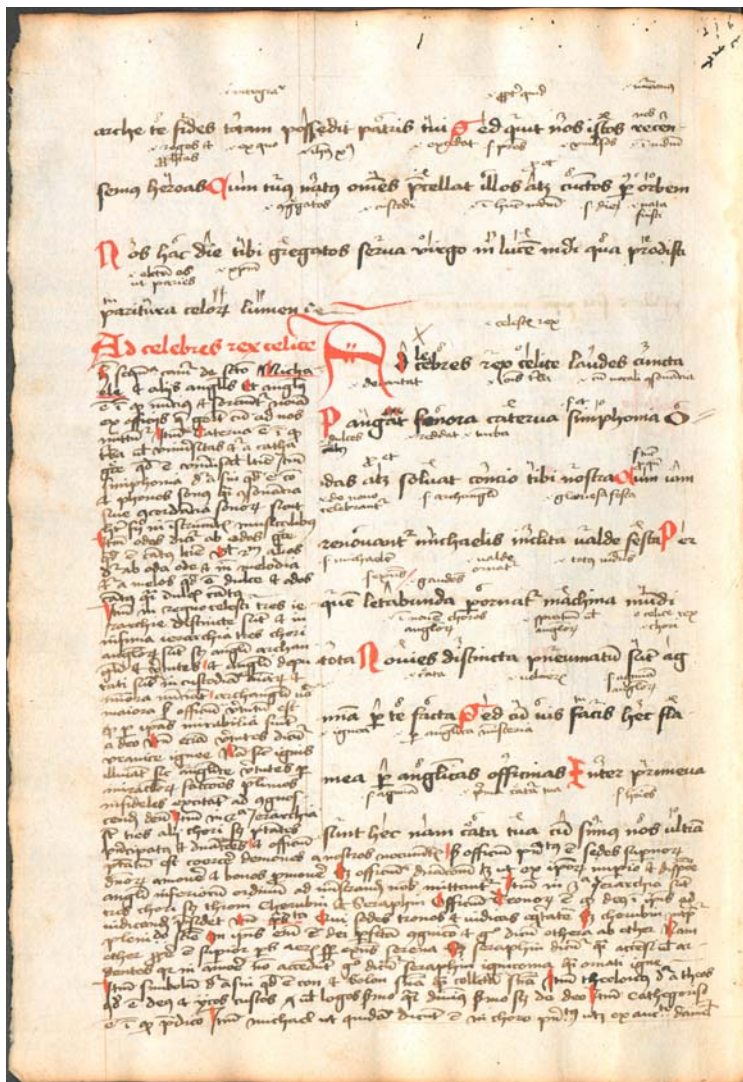


Plate XII

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.l.m. 4242, fol. 58^v
(EDITION 7: *Sequentia cum glossis et expositione Mü5*)

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