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ROYAL ADVICE AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN SMARAGDUS OF ST. MIHIEL'S  
*VIA REGIA:*  
AN ANALYSIS AND CRITICAL EDITION

by

Roland Black

A thesis submitted to the Graduate College  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
The Medieval Institute  
Western Michigan University  
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ROYAL ADVICE AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN SMARAGDUS OF ST. MIHEL'S  
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AN ANALYSIS AND CRITICAL EDITION

Roland Black, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 2016

Around 813 CE, the Carolingian monk Smaragdus of St. Mihiel produced the first medieval moral guidebook for a king, entitled the *Via regia*. The text was most likely intended for Charlemagne's sole surviving heir, Louis the Pious. Smaragdus incorporated passages from both the Old and New Testaments and provided exegesis meant to guide the king in correct moral behavior. The text asserted the critical importance of the king's correct moral behavior, and offered a window into the Carolingian court as well as political and religious life at the turn of the ninth century. Presented here for the first time is a critically edited text of Smaragdus's Latin work drawn from its four surviving witnesses, along with a critical apparatus recording all textual variants, and a biblical apparatus recording the loci for each biblical citation designated in the text by Smaragdus. The introduction lays out editorial methods and offers a limited historical analysis of the significance, cultural context, and later medieval transmission of this text.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project is both the culmination of my introduction to critical editing and, hopefully, the beginning of a career in which Latin textual criticism and analysis of early medieval texts will play an essential role. I could not have conducted this work without the cumulative investment of so many academic mentors who each took the time and effort help me in move to each consecutive step. As with medieval studies in general, this work requires training in many academic fields, including historical methods, Latin philology, codicology, and paleography.

I would like to thank the staff of the Archive Histórico Nacional in Madrid, whose assistance and generosity allowed me to spend time with the earliest manuscript witness to this text, as well as the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University which provided funding that in part made that trip possible.

Lastly, I would like to thank my committee members, Drs. E. Rozanne Elder and John Wickstrom, whose comments, revisions, and suggestions improved this work, and whose continued mentorship I value greatly. Above all, this project would not have been possible without the initial encouragement and continued extraordinary investment of time and effort paid by my thesis advisor, Dr. Rand Johnson. Our conversations expanded my understanding of the role philology must play in any study of medieval history. The work we conducted together will influence me in all future endeavors.

Roland Black

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## INTRODUCTION

Shortly after the year 800, during the waning years of the life of Charlemagne (c. 742–814), the Carolingian abbot Smaragdus of St. Mihiel (c. 770–826) composed a moral guide most likely for the emperor's sole surviving heir, Louis the Pious.<sup>1</sup> Smaradus's text, entitled the *Via regia* ("Royal Way"), was the first medieval example of a moral guide written for a king, a genre that proliferated in the later Middle Ages as *specula principum* ("mirrors for princes").<sup>2</sup> Although he is never explicitly named in the work, it seem Smaragdus wrote the text for Louis the Pious around 813, just before Louis inherited the empire.<sup>3</sup> Although the *Via regia* is unfailingly reverential to its royal addressee, in writing this new type of text Smaragdus asserted an authority through his moral and exegetical teachings as well as the importance of moral instruction for the secular power. In setting limits on the acceptable behavior of a king and arguing that upright behavior is essential to maintaining his position as king, Smaragdus, a monk, set himself up as a sort of prophet conveying God's commands to the king.

The *Via regia* is organized into thirty-six chapters, each dealing with a different moral theme; for example, "De dilectione Dei et proximi" ("On the love of God and the

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<sup>1</sup> The text survives in three manuscripts: Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1007; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 956; and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2356. It is currently available as an edition only through the version in the *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina* (PL), ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64): 102:131–970, which is taken from the transcription produced by Luc d'Achéry, *Spicilegium 1* (Paris, 1723), 238–254, from the now lost codex Vaticanus Reginensis Latinus 190. A critical edition, translation, and commentary is set to be released

<sup>2</sup> Hans Hubert Anton discusses the development of "mirrors for princes" in his work on Carolingian mirrors *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1968).

<sup>3</sup> The precise date is uncertain, but we can arrive fairly closely at 813 by placing the *Via regia* in the context of Smaragdus's other texts and of historical events. Anton demonstrated the *Via regia*'s priority before his monastic guide the *Diadema monachorum* and his commentary on the Rule of Benedict in *Fürstenspiegel*, 136–60, and definitively dated it to at least before 817. Because the unnamed king is never referred to as emperor, and moreover as a *parvulus* ("young man"), it stands to reason that it was composed before Louis was crowned co-emperor in 813.

neighbor”), “De obseruandis mandatis Dei” (“On heeding the commands of God”), “De timore” (“On fear”), “De sapientia” (“On wisdom”), “De prudentia” (“On prudence”), “De clementia” (“On forbearance”), and “De simplicitate” (“On frankness”). Like later Carolingian moral guidebooks, the *Via regia* relies heavily upon biblical examples, drawn from both the Old and New Testaments, and upon unacknowledged late antique Christian authors. The phrase *via* or a *via regia* has biblical origins and came into common usage in the early Christian tradition.<sup>4</sup> Augustine frequently used the metaphor of “ambulans via” (“walking on the way”) in his sermons to indicate the action of adopting proper Christian behavior.<sup>5</sup> Alcuin, Charlemagne’s schoolmaster, likewise used the phrase in his letters as a metaphor for living a good Christian life.<sup>6</sup> For writing the *Via regia*, Smaragdus is often credited with producing the first text identifiable as a medieval “mirror for a prince,” a moral guidebook written for a king, but several similar works also appeared around the same time typically for lesser

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<sup>4</sup> Num. 21, 22: “obsecro ut transire mihi liceat per terram tuam. Non declinabimus in agros et vineas, non bibemus aquas ex puteis, via regia gradiemur donec transeamus terminos tuos” (“I request that it be allowed to me to pass through your land. We will not go down into the fields and vineyards, we will not drink waters from the wells, we will go by the royal road until we cross your borders.”); Matth. 7, 14: “quam angusta porta et arta via quae dicit ad vitam et pauci sunt qui inveniunt eam.” (“how narrow is the gate and strait is the way that leads to life and there are few who find it”).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Augustine, *Sermo IX*, CCSL, 41:107–108, “Si autem tamquam quotidianus sperandus est incertus dies, componatur cum aduersario, dum est tecum in uia. Via enim uocatur haec uita, per quam omnes transeunt.” (“If as much as the uncertain [final] day must be sought daily, it must be contrasted with the enemy, while he is with you on the road [via]. For this life is called a road [via], through which all people pass.”).

<sup>6</sup> For instance, Alcuin urges in no. 193, MGH Epp. 4:319–321, “Noli, noli tacere; sed clama et non cesses, exalta sicut tuba vocem tuam et ostende omnibus viam salutis aeternae, et dic: ‘Currite, haec est via regia, haec est strata publica, quae dicit ad palacium dei Christi’” (“Do not be silent, but cry out and do not cease. Raise up your voice like a trumpet and show the way [viam] of eternal salvation to all, and say, ‘Hurry, this is the royal way [via regia], this is a common paved way, which leads to the palace of Christ God’”); and no. 281, MGH Epp. 4:346–349: “In omni re temperantia servanda est, quae est via regia totius vitae nostrae” (“Moderation must be observed in each thing, which is the royal way [via regia] of our whole life”).

nobles.<sup>7</sup> Taken together these works constitute an important and innovative genre that offers a unique view of Carolingian thought on the role of the king and the church.<sup>8</sup> Each of their texts conveys moral instruction drawn from biblical examples of good rule as well as thought from patristic texts that are usually unattributed. All are written in a classicizing Latin grammar typical of the period that places them within the Carolingian renewal of education, the so-called “Carolingian Renaissance.”

Although Jean Leclercq described Smaragdus as contributing to “a spiritual renewal among lay people with his [*Via regia*]” and “influencing monastic reform with his [*Diadema monachorum*] and the *Commentary on the Rule*,”<sup>9</sup> the latter two works, both of which reflected Smaragdus’s support for the monastic reforms, received more widespread attention in the later Middle Ages than did the *Via regia*.<sup>10</sup> It is important to note, however, that during his lifetime the *Via regia* was not the only or first evidence for Smaragdus’s close association with the royal family. He first became

<sup>7</sup> Their works are available through editions in the Patrologia. The most important other examples for the laity were written by Alcuin of York (c. 735–804), “De virtutibus et vitiis,” addressed to count Wido, in *PL* 101:613–38; Paulinus of Aquileia (c. 730–802), “Liber exhortationes ad Henricum,” in *PL* 99:197–282; and Jonas of Orleans (c. 780–841/843), “De institutione laicali,” addressed to count Matfred, *PL* 106:121–278; and for royalty: Jonas of Orleans, *De munere regio siue De institutione regia*, SC, 407 (A. Dubreucq, 1995); Hincmar, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis*, ed. Doris Nachtmann (Munich: MGH, 1998); Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Pippini regis*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, Poetae 2, 1884, 79–91; Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, eds. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer (Hanover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1980); *Sedilius Scottus*, ed. Sigmund Hellmann (Munich: Beck, 1906).

<sup>8</sup> Thomas F. X. Noble discusses the role of the nobility prescribed in Carolingian “ethical treatises” in “Secular Sanctity: Forging an Ethos for the Carolingian Nobility,” 8–36 in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Paul J. E. Kershaw deals with many aspects of Carolingian kings as peacemakers and their role in the church in *Peaceful Kings: Peace, Power, and the Early Medieval Political Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), and the role ascribed to kings in ninth-century mirrors especially in the section on “New Solomons,” 174–240.

<sup>9</sup> Jean Leclercq, “Smaragdus,” 37 in *An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics*, Paul E. Szarmach, ed. (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1984).

<sup>10</sup> For an analysis of the dichotomy between Smaragdus as monastic reformer and court advisor, see J. Bovendeert, “Royal or Monastic Identity? Smaragdus’ *Via regia* and *Diadema monachorum* Reconsidered,” 239–51 in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. R. Corradini, R. Meens, C. Pössel, and P. Shaw (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2006).

known to history for articulating the Frankish position on the *filioque* conflict in a letter that he personally carried to Rome.<sup>11</sup> The *Via regia* is interspersed with images of the court that are reminiscent of Einhard's *Vita Karoli*.<sup>12</sup> Both of these educated men enjoyed a close relationship with Charlemagne and his family and attended court; both men produced texts describing ideal rulers. There are many similarities between the goals of these texts, each written for Louis the Pious and each intended to teach him how he should behave in order to ensure his own rule would be successful and blessed by God. Einhard focused on Charlemagne's secular achievements, but his biography certainly conveys discreet judgments on his kingship and was probably a reaction to perceived weaknesses in Louis's reign. Smaragdus was not so subtle in his approach and focused instead on spiritual guidance.

Smaragdus was involved in the promotion of the monastic reforms that standardized the use of the Benedictine Rule. His authorship of the *Via regia* and later adaptation of this secular work for monastic audiences in the *Diadema monachorum* demonstrates that Smaragdus saw an essential unity between the virtues of an abbot or abbey and the king and nobility.<sup>13</sup> Yet while Smaragdus's monastic works survive in hundreds of copies, the *Via regia* survives in only three manuscripts. Perhaps

<sup>11</sup> An edition of this text, *De processione spiritus sancti*, appears in *Das Konzil von Aachen 809*, ed. Harald Willjung, MGH Conc. II, Suppl. II (Hanover, 1998), 303–312; Willjung had earlier studied it in “Zur Überlieferung der Epistola *De processione spiritus sancti* Smaragds von Saint-Mihiel,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 47 (1991): 161–166; likewise see Fidel Rädel, *Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Mihiel* (Munich, 1974), 60–62. Rädel doubted that *De processione* was an official document carried by the *missi* to represent the opinions of the Council. Because it appears in the manuscripts among other texts directed to Charlemagne, Rädel thought it more likely to be a text likewise meant to answer a direct question of the emperor.

<sup>12</sup> An edition of that text is available in Einhardus, *Vita Karoli*, ed. G. Waitz, SS rer. Germ. 25, 19111, 1–41.

<sup>13</sup> Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum*, PL 102:593B–690A, and in English translation through *The Crown of Monks Diadema monachorum*, trans. David Barry (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2013).

Smaragdus himself did not distribute the *Via regia* widely or did not intend it to go far beyond its royal recipient; maybe it was eclipsed in the regard of monastic copyists by his revision of the work for a monastic context; perhaps it was not received well or at least not enthusiastically endorsed by the Carolingian royal family, who then did not patronize its reproduction. Although answers to these questions may not be possible, the idea that the *Via regia* discomfited the secular laity does provoke an interesting line of thought. Smaragdus is reverential towards the secular power, an aspect of his style that has perhaps obscured hints of any tension that might have been present.

It is hard to account for a lack of interest in a text, because that requires hypothesizing from an absence of information. To put the situation in context, Willibord Witters's 1975 catalog of manuscripts lists 214 extant manuscripts containing various of Smaragdus's works and 43 entries recorded in medieval library catalogs.<sup>14</sup> The *Diadema monachorum* survives in the greatest numbers. Of the total recorded manuscripts containing Smaragdus's texts, the *Diadema* is found in 114 manuscripts and there are 18 entries in medieval library catalogues.<sup>15</sup> It is notable that among all these Smaragdus manuscripts, Witters identified only one manuscript containing several Smaragdus texts, the lost fourth *Via regia* manuscript: Codex Vaticanus Reginensis latinus 190.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Willibord Witters, "Smaragde au moyen age: La diffusion de ses écrits d'après la tradition manuscrite," *Etudes Ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévale* (1975): 361–76.

<sup>15</sup> David Barry discusses the importance of the *Diadema* to monastic movements throughout the Middle Ages in the introduction to his translation of the text, *The Crown of Monks*, xiv–xvi.

<sup>16</sup> Idem. Barry calls attention to this remarkable discovery by Witters.

### *Asserting Monastic Authority*

In some ways it is inaccurate to talk about Smaragdus as the “first” of this genre. The earliest known text giving instructions to a king dates to Egypt ca. 2100 BCE.<sup>17</sup> In the fourth-century BCE Isocrates wrote instructions for King Nicocles that advised moderation and education.<sup>18</sup> In the Latin tradition, Seneca’s *De clementia* was an educational text written in 56 CE for the emperor Nero that again advised moderation.<sup>19</sup> In discussion of the medieval genre, Lester Born and others have identified Seneca’s work as the “first ‘mirror of a prince.’”<sup>20</sup> Smaragdus’s text therefore represents both an appropriation of an ancient genre by a dutiful and intellectually creative Carolingian monk and the continuation of a late antique and early medieval Christian joining of moral conduct to royal power.

Smaragdus derived inspiration for the organization of the moral qualities he describes in the *Via regia* and some of its language from an anonymous cycle of twenty hexameter verses produced in seventh-century Visigothic Spain. The verses were included in Madrid 1007B following the *Via regia* text and ascribed to the same author, although neither is attributed by name there. The poem handles not just kings, but also addresses the moral duties of other classes of society including priests, bishops, and monks, perhaps an inspiration also for Smaragdus’s choice to use nearly

<sup>17</sup> “The Teaching of Khety” is translated into English by R. B. Parkinson, 273–286, in *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>18</sup> Available in English translation in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), 47–113, and there are several fragmentary Ancient Greek instructions for rulers

<sup>19</sup> An edition and English translation are available in Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *De clementia*, ed. Susanna Morton Braund (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Lester Born, *The Education of a Christian Prince* (New York: Norton, 1964), 66. In his magnum opus on the *Via regia*, Otto Eberhardt briefly discusses the history of “mirrors” literature, *Via Regia: der Fürstenspiegel Smaragds von St. Mihiel und seine literarische Gattung* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1977), 286–320.

the same admonitions for kings and monks. The poet ascribes as the necessary qualities of a king, *sapientia*, *prudentia*, *simplicitas*, and *patientia*.<sup>21</sup> In producing this new type of text, Smaragdus reinforced the idea that divine approval of moral behavior is the source of a king's power and that an educated clergyman like Smaragdus is needed to interpret biblical commandments and transmit such a guide for this behavior to the king or ruler. His contribution to this renewal of the ancient genre of advice for princes was its reorientation of the genre towards a Christian worldview. In place of an ancient pagan piety, Smaragdus established a Christian rationale for this genre in which proper moral conduct is foundational for secular power and in which he and other religious function as authorities between these two realms. The *Via regia* may not have reached far in terms of direct readership but the impetus behind its message reverberated throughout the following centuries.

In the context of the *Via regia*, the legitimacy of Smaragdus's royal addressee rests on conformity to the principles the author describes. This text does not, however, set up a dichotomy in which the secular rulers have no religious role. On the contrary, Smaragdus presents the ideal king at court as a quasi-priest who dispenses bread and wine to his subjects and through whose moral behavior his subjects receive a model of divinely-mandated conduct. The world that Smaragdus presents is a hierarchy in which God's instruction is received and interpreted by the clergy,

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<sup>21</sup> Kershaw notes the stylistic debt the poet in turn owed to Eugenius's poetry in *Peaceful Kings*, 114–118. Editions of the poem are available, both attributed to Smaragdus, in Wilhelm Meyer, "Smaragds Mahnbüchlein für einen Karolinger," 61–69 in *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907), and in MGH Poetae 4.3, 918–924.

specifically by monks, and then conveyed to the laity and, through them, by actions to the kingdom at large.

### *A Servant of Servants*

Smaragdus begins with a proviso that he was moved to write not by the “spirit of presumption, but by the spirit of love and affection.”<sup>22</sup> He humbly describes himself as a servant, but in so doing he draws attention to the luxury of the royal court. He is self-conscious about his boldness in addressing the king directly and laying down rules for royal behavior and he acknowledges the eminence of the king with a barbed analogy to wit: low servants prepare a feast for an exulted lord. Smaragdus says that it might seem incongruous that he, “would feast a king, whom various food of horned and feathered animals nourished from infancy, … with my meager and vegetable-based nourishment, as if my tasteless, un-reduced pot would be sufficient for the royal power [*potestas regia*].”<sup>23</sup> This image is likely a veiled allusion to the biblical example of Daniel in Nebuchadnezzar’s court who, “declared in his heart that he would not be defiled from the table of the king, nor from the wine of his cup....”<sup>24</sup> Daniel had been brought to court with other boys because he was “accomplished in all wisdom, careful

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<sup>22</sup> “Non nos ad hunc conficiendum libellum spiritus commouit praesumptionis sed dilectionis et caritatis,” l. 2–3. The prologue alone appears in no. 23, MGH Epp. 4:532–33, based on the text in Vienna 956.

<sup>23</sup> “Alioquin incongruum omnibus uideretur et ineptum ut serui domino humillimi excenso, pauperes potenti, famuli clarissimo regi conuiuium praepararent, et quem ab infantia multiplex cornigerum pennigerumque cibus nutriuit, et multigenae regiaeque diuitiae regio educarunt in gremio, ad nostrum modicum et olericum regem inuitaremus pabulum, quasi nostra insulsa nec ad purum decocta potestati regiae sufficeret olla.” l. 2–9.

<sup>24</sup> Dan. 1, 8: “Proposuit autem Daniel in corde suo ne pollueretur de mensa regis, neque de vino potus eius....”

in knowledge, skilled in learning.”<sup>25</sup> Instead of meat from the king’s table, Daniel ate beans and avoided being corrupted by the king’s food and wine. He was rewarded by God with “knowledge and learning in every book and wisdom....”<sup>26</sup> Unlike later explicit analogies to the kings of Israel, including Solomon, David, and Joshua, this first comparison, although indirect, between Louis the Pious and Nebuchadnezzar is not an especially flattering comparison. Furthermore it puts Smaragdus in the position of Daniel, a prophet who remained pure by abstaining from the king’s indulgent court and in turn is given by God wisdom that he is to convey to the king.

He next describes the qualities that make the king fit to hold power. The final precondition is not birth or even education, but selection by God:

He anointed your head with the sacred oil of the chrism and, regarding it as fit, he adopted you as a son, established you as king of the people of the earth, and commanded that you be the heir of his own son in heaven. Having been enriched by these sacred gifts, may you duly bear the crown of the king. First, because you descend from the loins and royal family of a king, suitably it is proper for you to rule many kingdoms well. Second, because of anointing by the sacred [oil] of the chrism, the confession of the faith, and the doing of work confirms that you are the king. Third, because the king of kings mercifully adopted you as a son when you were a small boy, so that you would take possession of the eternal kingdom with Christ. These conspicuous and clear signs cry out you are king from infancy. It is left that you prudently keep these royal gifts sound and equally defend them with works and character.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Dan. 1, 4: “eruditos omni sapientia, cautos scientia, et doctos disciplina”

<sup>26</sup> Dan. 1, 17: “Pueris autem his dedit Deus scientiam, et disciplinam in omni libro, et sapientia...”

<sup>27</sup> “Caput tuum sacri chrismatis oleo linuit et dignaner in filium adoptauit, constituit te regem populi terrae, et proprii filii sui in caelo fieri iussit heredem. His etenim sacris ditatus muneribus rite portas diadema regis. Primum, quia de femore regis regalique descendis prosapia, decenter tibi conuenit et bene et multa regere regna. Secundo, quia te regem esse et sacri chrismatis unctio et fidei confessio, operisque confirmat et actio. Tertio, quia, ut aeternum cum Christo perciperes regnum, misericorditer adhuc te parvulum rex regum adoptauit in filium. Haec te perspicua claraque indicia ab infantia regem clamitant. Superest ut haec ipsa regalia quaece percepisti a Domino munera sollicite salua custodias et operibus pariter moribusque defendas.” l. 29–39.

Although the king was from a royal family and it was Charlemagne who had anointed him, the point of attention is his election by God. Beyond the “signs” that show the boy was born to be king, his being anointed and his confessing the Christian faith, it is his “adoption” as a son by God that confirms his right to rule. Even after all these indications, however, he still continually has to merit these gifts by his moral conduct. This is the reason Smaragdus writes to the king with a guide for living, thus making his earlier description of his offering as meager an obvious understatement. Without following this guide, the king does not merit the position of a ruler and apparently can lose it.

### *Political Life and Monastic Reform*

Smaragdus was a man devoted both to service at court and to monastic reform. The monastic reforms promoted by Benedict of Aniane under Louis the Pious heavily influenced Smaragdus’s later texts, especially his *Commentary on the Rule of Benedict*, which advocated for adoption of the reforms laid out in the synod at Aachen in 816 and 817.<sup>28</sup> It is likely he attended the church synods over Benedict presided.<sup>29</sup> It is not, however, as obvious that his moral guide for the king was intended as praise for

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<sup>28</sup> Whole chapters of the *Via regia* were taken and modified slightly for use in the *Diadema monachorum* and excerpts appear as well in Smaragdus’s commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, the first commentary on the Rule ever produced. See Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*, 136–60. The Latin text of the *Diadema monachorum* is available in PL 102:593–686 and in English translation in David Barry, *The Crown of Monks*, CS245 (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2013), and Smaragdus’s commentary is available in PL 102:689B–932C and in an edition produced by Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert, *Smaragdi abbatis Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti*, CCM, vol. 8 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1974) and in English translation in David Barry, *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel: Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007).

<sup>29</sup> There is no direct evidence that Smaragdus was present, but he was a supporter of monastic reform, the abbot of a royal abbey, and he had a documented history in the court. As Matthew Ponesse put it, “Clearly, it is not a lack of regard for the movement of reform that would have kept him away from this council,” “Learning in the Carolingian Court and Cloister,” PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2005, p. 34, n. 41.

the king's good behavior so much as a reminder that Louis's power rested on God's favor. Smaragdus was confident about his sovereign's integrity, but by writing this text, he inevitably drew attention to the potential he or any king had for failure. By pointing out that *virtus regia* ("royal strength/virtue") is chosen behavior and not an inherited asset or easily acquired, he defines the king's secular rule in spiritual terms. *Virtus* is a multivalent word that classically meant strength, vigor; bravery, or courage, but by Smaragdus's day had taken on a Christian moral definition (i.e. "virtue" meant a moral trait, or excellence).<sup>30</sup>

In chapter XVIII, "De zelo rectitudinis" ("On the zeal of uprightness") Smaragdus specifically approves and encourages the king's role as a corrector of church practice when ecclesiastical figures erred, at least by personal ethical failings. Smaragdus notes that Jesus put disapproval into action when he chased the merchants from the temple. Smaragdus begins this discussion with the clear sentiment that the king is a "member" of the church but that Christ is its head, and, consequently, that "the members ought to follow the head."<sup>31</sup> Although he makes this clear, Smaragdus immediately follows that clarification with an exhortation:

If perhaps you see something perverse in the church of Christ, busy yourself to set it right and do not delay to correct it. If you hear anyone in the house of the Lord, which is the church, running to extravagance, to drunkenness: impede, forbid, put them in fear. ... If you see someone puffed up by arrogance, or raging with anger, or intoxicated from drinking wine, or envious of his brother from spite, or unclean from lust, or given to theft [and] greed, or violent with harshness: check them all, threaten them, most sternly restrain them all. Do whatever you are able on account

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<sup>30</sup> Alcuin in his own letter to a secular lord on moral behavior, "De virtutibus et vitiis," available in *PL* 101:613–38, defines "virtus" as "animi habitus, naturae decus, vitae ratio, morum pietas, cultus divinitatis, honor hominis, aeternae beatitudinis meritum." ("the condition of the mind, dignity of character, method of life, conscientiousness of habit, adoration of the divinity, honor of a man, merit of eternal blessedness."), c. XXXV.

<sup>31</sup> "In qua domo Dei et tu membrum es Christi. Debent etenim caput sequi membra." l. 1001–1002.

of the personage which you bear, according to the royal office which you bear, according to the Christian name which you have, according to the place of Christ which you represent.<sup>32</sup>

It is hard to imagine a more clear confirmation that in Smaragdus's perspective the king played a central role in establishing the proper spiritual life of the realm, including that of ecclesiastical officials. It is then clear that, far from this being a text that seeks to place the king below ecclesiastical authority, Smaragdus is trying to bring the king into and establish his place within the church and his responsibility for the correct use of the royal power. The king had great power to correct people at all levels of society, and so his own behavior had necessarily to be constrained.

### *Virtus regia*

Smaragdus often ties the chapters of the *Via regia* together by explaining how any quality he describes in a new section is in fact an aspect of the *virtus* of the ruler. He equates virtuous royal power with prudence, temperance, wisdom, and humility. The decision to practice these virtuous qualities, or not, legitimates a king's rule and power. Smaragdus nearly personifies this royal power by presenting it as a companion whom a king must court. His description of the hospitality that contributes to the king's *virtus* mirrors the behavior of a priest in church. In a description of the king's proper behavior at court—which is a moment of insight into the court life

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<sup>32</sup> "Si quid forte peruersum aliquid in ecclesia uideris Christi, satage corrigere et emendare non cesses. Si audieris aliquem in domo Dei, quae est ecclesia, currere ad luxuriam, ad ebrietatem: prohibe, ueta, terre. ... Si uideris superbia inflatum, aut iracundia saeuum, aut uinolentia temulentum, aut liuore fratriis inuidum, aut libidine incestum, aut auaritiae rapinae deditum, aut crudelitate violentum, reprime omnes, minare omnibus, refrena seuerissime omnes. Fac quidquid potes propter personam quam gestas, pro ministerio regali quod portas, pro nomine christiano quod habes, pro uice Christi qua fungeris." l. 1002-1011.

Smaragdus actually witnessed—he says, “This is royal power [*uirtus*], as I see it,” writes Smaragdus, “to break the bread of joy with all people in the palace [and] to extend the wine of cheerfulness to all. [*Virtus regia*] bestows sweet kisses to all and, loving, it embraces all people with outstretched arms. Therefore, oh renowned king, hold on to such renowned and holy and royal power, let it be with you, let it remain with you, let it rise with you, let it proceed with you, let it rejoice with you, and let it feast with you. For it is fitting that such royal power be present at the banquet of a king.”<sup>33</sup>

Smaragdus personifies *virtus regia* and makes clear that this *virtus* is something that accompanies a king but is not part of him. If the ruler’s conduct deviates from these moral precepts in Smaragdus’s conception, *virtus regia* is thus not guaranteed by birth or carried through heredity. The good moral behavior of the king is essential for the health of the kingdom. In his prologue he addresses the king by formal appellations such as “clarissime,” “nobilissime,” and “piissime,” terms familiar since late Roman times. Perhaps more interesting, though, are the other superlatives that imply a certain expected behavior: “iustissime,” “prudentissime,” “acutissime,” “mitissime,” “clementissime,” “largissime.” These appellations betray some judgments about behavior that Smaragdus expects of his king. Smaragdus praises a most “just,” “cautious,” “clear-sighted,” “kindly,” “gentle,” “generous,” king—character traits, we

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<sup>33</sup> “Vere enim haec, ut uideo, regalis est uirtus quae cunctis in palatio panem laetitiae frangit, cunctis uinum iucunditatis porrigit, dulcia cunctis oscula tribuit, et diligens omnes ulnis extensis amplectitur. Tene ergo, o clarissime rex, tam claram et beatam regiamque uirtutem, tecum sit, tecum maneat, tecum surgat, tecum perget, tecumque laetetur et conuiuetur. Decet etenim in conuiuio regis tam regiam iugiter inesse uirtutem.” l. 174–180.

should recall, not invariably exhibited by all ninth-century European lords, but terms which do appear in Frankish charters.

Smaragdus's text is full of allusions to the Old Testament kings, whom he calls *reges prisci* ("ancient kings"). He says that, by walking the *via regia*, Joshua crushed the necks of his foes; David spared Saul's life, killed Goliath, and freed God's people; Hezekiah walked the path so faithfully that the Lord called him back from death and extended his life. By walking this "royal way," Solomon was filled with wisdom, but by retreating from it he committed an unforgivable [*inexpiabilis*] sin; and by walking the *via regia* Josiah "brought down the exalted things" and "removed various abominations from the people."<sup>34</sup> Smaragdus tells his Carolingian addressee: "You see clearly, oh noble king, how kings walk the royal way to the Lord and how they happily fly to the kingdoms of heaven with the other saints."<sup>35</sup>

Smaragdus's ideal king is generous at court and shares his table. More specifically the actions of breaking the bread of joy [*panem letitiae frangere*] and pouring the wine of delight [*uinum iucunditatis porrigere*] suggest almost priestly actions by king. In the *City of God*, Augustine interprets a passage from Samuel that claims that God will give power to the kings of Israel as a metaphor for the Christian

<sup>34</sup> "Per illam Iosue firmissimo properans gradu multorum regum colla attinuit nefandorum, phalanges strauit, Hierichontinos muros euerit, et Israhelitico populo terram repromotionis distento fune diuisit. Per illam Dauid indeclinabiliter gradiens persecutori Sauli pepercit, lapideo ictu Goliam extinxit, et ab improprio Allophilorum Dei populum liberauit, et sibi regnum perpetuum solidauit. Per illam firmiter ambulantem Ezechiam misericorditer Dominus uisitauit, a mortis termino reuocauit, et quinquies ternos ad uitam pristinam addidit annos. Per illam adhuc ambulans Salomon quasi fluuius aqua impletus est sapientia et ab illa recedens inexpiablem gloriae suae intulit maculam. Per illam intrepidus Iosias rex iustus ambulans excelsa comminuit, abominationes diuersas a populo Dei abstulit." l. 64–75.

<sup>35</sup> "Ecce conspicis perspicue, rex nobilissime, qualiter per regiam ad Dominum reges ambulant uiam, et ad caelorum regna cum caeteris sanctis reges quoque feliciter uolant." l. 76–78.

church, which Augustine describes as the “city of the great king.”<sup>36</sup> Smaragdus’s presentation of the king acting at court as a secular priest fulfills this image and invites the king to join or imitate the *regnum Christi*.

Beyond his discussion of moral behavior in this life, Smaragdus describes that walking the royal way offers the possibility that the ruler will reign forever. Although he does not mean this literally, he does suggest that receiving in addition to receiving a reward in heaven, the virtuous king will beget the line of kings that will last forever, or that just kings as a type will last forever. He quotes the Book of Job, which he says is “very much a witness regarding kings when it says, ‘He will not take away his eyes from the just and he places kings on the throne forever and they are exalted.’”<sup>37</sup> He then quotes God’s promise to Israel in Leviticus that, if they keep the commandments, their enemies will fall to their sword, but that their own name and seed will never end. But alternatively, for a king who does not walk the royal path, Smaragdus warns in quoting the rest of this same passage: “If you despise my laws and disdain my judgments so that you do not do these things which have been established by me, and make my covenant void, I will do these things to you. I will quickly punish you with poverty and burning heat, and I will set my face against you, and you will fall down before your enemies and will be subjected to those who hate you and you will flee

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<sup>36</sup> Augustine, in *De Ciuitate Dei*, CC SL, 47; 48, book 17, chap 4, quotes the verse of 1 Sam. 2, 10 as “dat virtutem regibus nostris” while the Stuttgart Vulgate transmits the same line as “dabit imperium regi suo” (Lewis & Short: “command; the right or power of commanding”). This interpolation of *virtus* and *imperium* demonstrates the meaning of “power” that Augustine attributed to *virtus* and which was transmitted in his writings.

<sup>37</sup> “Liber quoque Iob ore Domini sacratus, de hoc ipso testis est maxime de regibus dicens, *Non auferet a iusto oculos, et reges in solio collocat in perpetuum et illuc eriguntur.*” l. 206–208, Job 36, 7.

when no one pursues you.”<sup>38</sup> Smaragdus then helpfully concludes, “Therefore it is a good thing for you, o king, that you love the Lord your God and keep his commandments diligently and carefully on account of his great love.”<sup>39</sup>

Much of the *Via regia* is devoted to concrete suggestions meant to limit the potentially destructive force of the royal power. Chapter VIIII, “De iudicio” (“On judgment”) admonishes the king to be generous to the poor and widows and to act to check violent or oppressive men in the kingdom. Chapters X, “De misericordia” (“On mercy”) and XVIII, “De clementia” (“On forbearance”), advise the king to show forbearance in his dealings with subject people because, “It is this [forbearance] that makes people happy to serve the king.”<sup>40</sup> Similarly, Chapters XXIII, “De non reddendo malum pro malo” (“On not rendering an evil for an evil”) and XXIIII “De reprimenda ira” (“On restraining anger”), warn that a king’s power makes him potentially dangerous. He quotes Prou. 19, 12, “Like the roaring of a lion, so is the anger of a king.”<sup>41</sup> He glosses this passage with another warning that the king’s actions in the secular realm are given authority through his good behavior and that this behavior will decide his eternal fate, “Therefore, however more strong is the anger of a king for rendering the rod, that much more ought it to be regulated and guarded against. And

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<sup>38</sup> Lev. 26:17: “cadent inimici uestri in conspectu uestro gladio, quod si non audieritis me, nec feceritis omnia mandata mea; si spreueritis leges meas et iudicia mea contempseritis, ut non faciatis ea quae a me constituta sunt, ut ad irritum perducatis pactum meum, ego quoque haec faciam uobis. Uisitabo uos uelociter in egestate et ardore, et corrueatis coram hostibus uestris et subiecimini his qui oderunt uos fugietisque nemine persequente.”

<sup>39</sup> “Bonum ergo tibi est, o rex, ut diligas Dominum Deum tuum et ob dilectionem eius nimiam sollicite et diligenter custodias praecepta.” l. 250–252.

<sup>40</sup> “Ipsa est enim quae laetos regi facit seruire populos” l. 1029.

<sup>41</sup> “Sicut fremitus leonis, ita ira regis” l. 1218/1219.

you, most gentle king, if you want to walk by this royal way which I have written and to climb happily to the celestial and royal homeland, be mild and gentle.”<sup>42</sup>

### *Larger Context*

There are many similarities between the *Via regia* and the slightly earlier moral guide written by Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, a work which may have directly influenced Smaragdus’s text.<sup>43</sup> Charlemagne’s schoolmaster described four principle virtues that Smaragdus also features, “prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia” (“prudence, justice, strength, temperance”), used here to describe the best possible secular virtues as, or in addition to, the three specifically Christian “theological virtues” of faith, hope and charity. Alcuin, in considering the importance of good moral behavior strictly as it relates to his addressee’s salvation, spoke about their value as a part of *virtus*. Alcuin said these virtues were important in ensuring personal salvation, and used most of his text to urge generosity to the poor, the suppression of anger, and devotion to God. Smaragdus, in contrast, emphasizes the connection between the king and his kingdom and notes that if the king acquires these moral precepts, his kingdom will flourish and he will be rewarded eternally as a king in heaven. If he does not, then his land and people will suffer. Smaragdus prudently does

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<sup>42</sup> “Ergo quantum ualidior est ira regis ad reddendam uindictam, tantum a fidelissimis regibus temperata debet esse et cauta. Tu uero, mitissime rex, si uis per hanc quam scribimus regiam currere uiam et ad superam feliciter regiamque scandere patriam, mansuetus atque mitissimus esto” l. 1218/1222.

<sup>43</sup> It was probably written shortly before Smaragdus’s text. As opposed to the *Via regia*, Alcuin’s moral guide survives in more than 140 extant manuscript witnesses that extend from near the time of its composition through the end of the Middle Ages and with copies from Sweden and Poland, as well as England, Spain, and Italy. See Paul E. Szarmach, “A Preliminary Handlist Of Manuscripts Containing Alcuin’s *Liber De Virtutibus et Vitiis*,” *Manuscripta* (1981): 131–140.

not mention anything about the king going to hell, a theme that was to appear in many later ninth-century admonitions.

Smaragdus also took a stronger position on the treatment of servants and the liberation of slaves than his contemporaries. Near the end of the *Via regia*, in Chapters XXX “Prohibendum ne captivitas fiat” (“Forbidding so that there not be bondage”) and XXXI “Vt iuste et recte erga seruo agatur” (“That slaves be treated justly and correctly”), Smaragdus addresses the king’s need to forbid *captivitas* in his realm.

After quoting the Old Testament injunction to free brothers from servitude after seven years, Smaragdus asserts that:

On account of [God’s] exceeding love, each person must set his slaves free, considering that nature did not subject them to him but rather a crime. For in [natural] condition we were created equally, but some were subjected to others by a crime. At the same time even considering if you send [the yoke] away it will be taken from you, for the restrictive yoke of the Lord oppresses even you. .... By making free men from [your slaves], by distributing alms from them, you are not remiss in obeying his commandments.<sup>44</sup>

In the midst of a long list of virtuous deeds at the end of his *Liber exhortationis*, written probably around 795, Paulinus of Aquileia (c. 726–802/804) threw in the need for his addressee, Heiric, margrave of Friuli, “to set free slaves” (“redimere captivos”).<sup>45</sup> Jonas of Orléans (c. 760–843), in his moral guide *De institutione laicali*, written for Matfrid, count of Orléans († 836), describes a similar argument that “all people are equal in the condition of nature” (“omnes conditione naturae aequales

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<sup>44</sup> “Propter illius nimiam caritatem unusquisque liberos debet dimittere seruos, considerans quia non illi eos natura subegit sed culpa. Condicione enim aequaliter creati sumus, sed aliis alii culpa subacti. Simul et considerantes quia si dimiseritis demittetur uobis. Nam et uos Domini condicionale oppremit iugum. .... Ex illis liberos faciendo, ex istis elemosinas tribuendo, praeceptis illius oboedire non cesses”, l. 1400/1408.

<sup>45</sup> Paulinus Aquileiensis, *Liber exhortationis*, PL 99:197–282C, see 281B.

existunt"), but he does not go on to suggest that Matfrid needs to free his slaves on account of this natural equality.<sup>46</sup> The foundation for this philosophy was certainly not new. In *De civitate Dei*, Augustine describes servitude not as something in "nature" but rather as the result of man's fall:

[God] did not wish [man] having been made rational in his image to be lord except over unrational beings; not a human [to be a lord] to a human, but a human to cattle. ... Therefore we never read 'seruum' in scripture before the just man Noah by this word avenged the sin of his son. And so he deserved the title on account of his guilt, not by nature. ... The first cause of servitude is sin, so that man was placed under man by the fetter of condition. ... Just as the heavenly Lord says, *Each one who commits sin is a slave of sin*. And through this indeed many pious people are slaves to wicked lords....<sup>47</sup>

Smaragdus's innovation was then not in articulating a new conceptualization of the causes of sin, but in asserting that slaves need to be freed. The fact that he would recommend such a blanket unfettering of slaves speaks probably to conditions within the empire that have gone unrecorded, or perhaps to policies of Louis's predecessors that Smaragdus wished to see ended. Michael McCormick notes that this section of the *Via regia* may refer to anxieties Smaragdus held about Christian Visigoth slaves taken in the campaigns of Pippin III and Charlemagne, which may also support the theory that he himself was of Visigothic origin in Spain.<sup>48</sup> That Smaragdus felt comfortable

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<sup>46</sup> Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali*, PL 106:121–278, see col. 259A.

<sup>47</sup> Augustinus Hippomensis, *De ciuitate Dei*, CCSL, 48 (B. Dombart / A. Kalb, 1955), lib. 19, cap. 15, l. 1, "Rationalem factum ad imaginem suam noluit nisi inrationabilibus dominari; non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori. ... proinde nusquam scripturarum legimus seruum, antequam hoc uocabulo noe iustus peccatum filii vindicaret. Nomen itaque istud culpa meruit, non natura.... Prima ergo seruitutis causa peccatum est, ut homo homini condicionis uinculo subderetur.... Sicut autem supernus dominus dicit: omnis, qui facit peccatum, seruus est peccati, ac per hoc multi quidem religiosi dominis iniquis..."

<sup>48</sup> Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 751–752.

asserting a policy that, as far as we can tell, no other advisor admitted also speaks to the comfort he apparently felt in counseling potentially controversial opinions.

### *Later Carolingian Trends*

The chaos and insecurity caused by the wars among the feuding Carolingian heirs later in the rule of Louis the Pious drove abbots and bishops to defend their positions sometimes even through arms but often through creatively written appeals. After Louis the Pious's son Louis the German (c. 810–876) invaded his brother Charles the Bald's (823–877) lands in western Francia in 858, Hincmar of Reims (806–882) rallied a synod of prelates at Quierzy to denounce the invasion. They drafted a letter to Louis that told the king he was placing his soul in jeopardy by threatening church property instead of preserving it.<sup>49</sup> Hincmar emphasized the king's duty to be an upstanding example with whom "no one should be able justly to find fault."<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Hincmar announced that the king had to be a model of behavior for his subjects, declaring, "If you tear down by a bad example those who through you and by you had to be built up to a good example, in such a case without doubt it will be necessary that you be tortured in punishments in the age to come."<sup>51</sup> To remove any ambiguity his threat, Hincmar reported a thitherto unrecorded vision story of Eucherius of Orléans (c. 687–743) that he said had been reported to him orally by those who had been living then. In the vision, Eucherius entered a state of

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<sup>49</sup> *Quierzy, Nov. 858*, no. 41, MGH Con. 3:403–; Paul Edward Dutton discusses this event in greater detail in his *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 170–78.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 419: "nemo in vobis iuste valeat reprehendere."

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 419: "Quos si malo exemplo destruxeritis, qui per vos et a vobis in bonum debuerant aedificari, sub tantis sine dubio in futuro saeculo in poenis vos necesse erit torqueri."

rapture in which he saw Charles Martel (c. 680–741), Louis the German's great-great grandfather, being tormented. An angelic guide announced that Charles was being punished for his offenses against the saints because he had stolen and divided their properties.<sup>52</sup> After relating the story, Hincmar warned the king, “ask about the good way [*via bona*] and walk by it, because, as it is said in the Gospel, the way is wide which leads to ruin, and many go by it.”<sup>53</sup> Yet Hincmar was no partisan of Charles. The next year Charles the Bald drove his brother out of the west and when Hincmar became dismayed by the violence of his own lord's soldiers, he once more reacted and reprimanded Charles with the same warning he had given to his brother Louis.<sup>54</sup>

Later ninth-century churchmen such as Hincmar produced texts that asserted spiritual danger to those who threatened their property. As in the *Via regia*, such criticism was not limited to laymen. Haimo of Auxerre (d. c. 878) commented on the rapacious ways of the clergy in his commentary on Ezechiel.<sup>55</sup> In contrast to those texts, Smaragdus's assertion of the authority of an educated clergyman to guide a ruler in moral behavior is not a fully articulated criticism of the king or a direct challenge to his supremacy. The afterglow of Charlemagne's reign is present between the lines of the *Via regia* and clearly Smaragdus sees himself as a servant of the king

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 414–417. It is worth noting here that, although Carolingian commentators railed against “bad” kings, they did not go so far as eleventh-century reformers who argued that by its nature kingship was evil and those who held such office hell-bound.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 421: “interroga de via bona et ambula per eam, quia, sicut dicitur in evangelio, ampla via est, quae ducit ad perditionem, et multi vadunt per eam.”

<sup>54</sup> No. 126, MGH Epp. 8,1:64: “Et nolite neglegere illa capitula, quae synodus de Carisiaco ... transmisit ad hunc Attiniacum praeterito anno Hludouuico frati vestro et me transmittente Hincmarus filius meus vobis dedit, quando vobiscum in Burgundia fuit. Sed relegite illa diligenter, quia — michi credite — plus pro vobis quam pro illo facta fuerunt.” “And do not neglect those chapters which the Synod of Quierzy sent ... last year to your brother Louis at the palace of Attigny. I passed it along and my nephew Hincmar [of Laon] gave it to you when he was with you in Burgundy. But reread the chapters of that letter carefully, because—believe me—they were composed more for you than for your brother.”

<sup>55</sup> See John J. Contreni, “By Lions, Bishops Are Meant; by Wolves, Priests’: History, Exegesis, and the Carolingian Church in Haimo of Auxerre’s *Commentary on Ezechiel*,” *Francia* 29 (2002): 29–56.

working with him to achieve common purposes. Yet Smaragdus's work inaugurated a century that would eventually produce many creative religious responses to rapacious rulers. All of them were based on the idea Hincmar would express at Quierzy, "For the court of a king is called such on account of the rational people dwelling in it and not on account of its insensible walls or bricks."<sup>56</sup>

Clearly a new kind of moral instruction is evident in Carolingian "mirrors for princes" that was first laid out by Smaragdus. Smaragdus's text is certainly innovative, but not usually so much for the advice he gives the king than for his "presumption" in addressing the king directly with his exegesis, presentation, and analysis of the divine lessons revealed in the Bible. The relationship he enjoyed with the young king is different from the outright hostility felt against more reckless rulers in the later decades of the ninth century. Smaragdus's tone is one of cooperation and reflects the collaborative work he and other churchmen did at court: his contributions to the theological discussion at the Council of Aachen 809 or his efforts in support of monastic reform. Smaragdus became the first medieval author to produce a "mirror for a prince" because he worked closely with the king and saw his own role as that of a supportive servant. The strength he perceived in the king, however, was grounded in his hope for the ruler's commitment to moral behavior and the underlying message of this treatise from a contemporary Daniel is that *virtus regia* cannot be assumed simply because of the inheritance of kingship and is divinely rewarded. Without having such a moral guide as Smaragdus and the *Via regia*, or, more importantly, without following the advice of such a guide, the king would find his position invalid.

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<sup>56</sup> No. 41, MGH Con. 3:413: "Palatum enim regis dicitur propter rationabiles homines inhabitantes, et non propter parietes insensibiles sive macerias."

Smaragdus's confidence in his relationship with the king and his confidence in the king's receptivity brought attention to this issue. His certainty that the king would follow divine precepts allowed him to assert his guidance and the accompanying implication that failure to follow such guidance could mean the invalidation of his authority.

### *Critical Edition and Manuscripts*

The critical edition of the *Via regia* presented here is the first such work made available.<sup>57</sup> The Latin text is drawn from the three surviving manuscript witnesses and an eighteenth-century transcription of a lost fourth manuscript now preserved in the *Patrologia Latina* edition.<sup>58</sup> The Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid houses the earliest witness to the text in a codex copied in 932 CE, Madrid, Códices, 1007, signed and dated by the primary scribe Eximinus, who can be identified through another manuscript which he copied and in which named himself as a monk of the northern Spanish monastery of San Millan de la Cogolla.<sup>59</sup> The Madrid manuscript was used as an exemplar to copy an excerpt of the *Via regia* in the *Codex Vigilanus* in 976 in Albelda, also named and dated in the manuscript. The other two extant medieval copies of the *Via regia* are housed at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna: Vienna 956, an eleventh-century (probably “West German” according to Bischoff) manuscript containing a collection of texts, and Vienna 2356, a late-fifteenth-century individual codex, copied probably in the Netherlands for the Emperor Maximilian I,

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<sup>57</sup> A critical edition, translation, and commentary is set to be released soon, edited by James LePree and Matthew Ponesse.

<sup>58</sup> Luc d'Achéry, *Spicilegium 1* (Paris, 1723), 238–254, available in PL 102:131–970.

<sup>59</sup> In the manuscript Madrid, Academia de la Historia, Aemilianensis 25.

which contains only the *Via regia*. The *Patrologia* edition preserves the transcribed text of a lost manuscript which was apparently copied in the eleventh century and was in the seventeenth century part of the collection given to the Vatican Library by Christina (1626–1689), Queen of Sweden, and housed there until being moved and lost by Napoleon’s troops. Except for this lost Vatican manuscript, none of the manuscripts attribute the work to Smaragdus by name, and they do not place it in the historical context of the Carolingian court or connect it to Charlemagne.

The Madrid manuscript, the *Via regia*’s earliest witness, places the text after works by patristic authors, as well as texts by early medieval Spanish authors, religious works as well as a description of the provinces and rivers of Spain and the wider world. After the *Via regia*, the manuscript includes Alcuin’s letter to Beatus of Liebana, praising him for his opposition to the Adoptionist controversy. This letter is chronologically inconsistent with the other texts besides the *Via regia*, though it does fit with the larger theme in the compendium of texts discoursing on how to avoid spiritual error, and perhaps its inclusion immediately after the *Via regia* indicates the copyist’s awareness of their similar origin. It seems from its copy history that Smaragdus’s *Commentary on the Rule* arrived in Spain around the same time.

The *Via regia* also has survived in excerpts copied from the Madrid manuscript into the Codex Vigilanus by the scribe Vigila who also names himself and places the manuscript at the monastery of Albelda in 976, near San Millan de la Cogolla. In this codex, the second and ninth chapters of the *Via regia* appear following the *Ordines de celebrando concilio*, the main text of which was drafted at the fourth council of Toledo in 633. The *Ordo* itself includes an exhortation to the king, and so immediately

following its conclusion the text includes this excerpt of the *Via regia* as an “Exortatio ad principem.” Quotations from a homily of Gregory the Great then follow under the headings “Admonitio ad sacerdotes” and “Admonitio ad episcopos,” and then excerpts from the Rule of Benedict. While Gregory and the Rule are attributed, Smaragdus is not. But it is evident from the surrounding material that Smaragdus’s text fit “in a liturgical, timeless sense … apparently, in the same rank as a homily of Gregory the Great and the second chapter of the Rule of St. Benedict.”<sup>60</sup> The *Via regia*’s existence in this earliest record is presented as a universalized work of moral advice for rulers no longer advice to a particular king. Stripped of the work’s preface and its identifying characteristics, the *Via regia* excerpts serve as general, timeless advice to all kings. By this point, it had changed from being regarded simply as an anonymous Carolingian tract into a universal mirror of princes.

Bischoff dated the next witness, Vienna 956, paleographically to the late tenth or early eleventh century. Before being moved to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, it was last held by Göttweig Abbey. The first half is in its entirety a collection of commentaries. Still, the manuscript is potentially useful to a study of Carolingian advice for rulers. It contains Alcuin’s *De virtutibus et vitiis*,<sup>61</sup> a moral treatise he dedicated to Count Wido of Brittany.<sup>62</sup> Then follows Fulgentius

<sup>60</sup> Eberhardt, *Via regia*, 133.

<sup>61</sup> Alcuinus, *De fide sanctae trinitatis et de incarnatione Christi* (*De fide sanctae et indiuiduae trinitatis*), eds. E. Knibbs and E. Ann Matter, CCCC, 249 (2012), 5–147.

<sup>62</sup> This manuscript is also the source for the MGH critical edition of Alcuin’s text. It is notable that *De virtutibus et vitiis* exists in more than 140 extant manuscript witnesses that extend from near the time of its composition through the end of the Middle Ages, and represent Sweden and Poland, as well as England, Spain, and Italy, Paul E. Szarmach, “A Preliminary Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Alcuin’s *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis*,” *Manuscripta* 25 (1981): 131–140.

Ferrandus's *Ad reginum comitem*,<sup>63</sup> Augustine's *De disciplina christiana*,<sup>64</sup> Valerianus Cimelensis's *De bono disciplinae*,<sup>65</sup> and excerpts from Isidore of Seville's *Sententiae* dealing with the just rule and moral behavior of princes.<sup>66</sup> Because these texts together give the impression that the latter half of the manuscript was intended for a prince, Eberhardt conjectured that these texts were all copied from an exemplar which itself was intended for a lord.<sup>67</sup> This is an interesting speculation that, after a thorough exploration of the manuscripts of all these texts is made, could demonstrate a lost manuscript that collected Carolingian mirrors for a particular ruler.

The only manuscript that preserves the *Via regia* as a standalone codex, Vienna 2356, was part of the collection moved to Vienna from Ambras Castle near Innsbruck in the seventeenth century by Ferdinand I. Bischoff dated it on paleographical grounds to around the fifteenth century, and noted that its association with the Ambras collection and its refined illustrations likely tie it to Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519), who commissioned a large manuscript collection during a sojourn in the Netherlands. Although we do not have any direct evidence of when or where this copy of the *Via regia* was made, the *Weißkunig*, one of the two autobiographical books Maximilian produced in his lifetime, describes the emperor sending out “learned people” to all the monasteries to find books about the royal line and those of the dukes and copy everything down.

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<sup>63</sup> Fulgentius Ferrandus, *Epistola VII. Ad reginum comitem paraeneticus*, PL, 67:928B–950A.

<sup>64</sup> Augustinus Hipponensis, *De disciplina christiana*, CCSL, 46 (R. Vander Plaetse, 1969), 207–224.

<sup>65</sup> Valerianus episcopi Cimelensis, *HOMILIA I. De bono disciplinae*, PL, 52:691C–696C.

<sup>66</sup> Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, CCSL, 111 (P. Cazier, 1998), cap. 48–52.

<sup>67</sup> Eberhardt, *Via regia*, 125–126.

...he spared no cost, but rather he sent out learned people who did nothing else than make inquiries in all the monasteries, cloisters, books, and educated people about the dynasty of the king and the dukes, and bring all such information into writing for the honor and praise of his kingly and princely lines.<sup>68</sup>

Among the books that actually populated Maximilian's library, none, in Theodor Gottlieb's estimation, show signs of having been removed from a monastery, which fits with the codicological evidence of this manuscript.<sup>69</sup> It is reasonable to read into this statement by Maximilian an interest in books on kingship that would have found the *Via regia* useful or relevant to his mission. We know for a fact that the manuscript was in Maximilian's library at Innsbruck in 1538 thanks to the library inventory Gottlieb uncovered at the university library there.<sup>70</sup> The inventory demonstrates that this copy of the *Via regia* was present in the imperial collection by that time and was listed under "Litere humaniores" ("humanist literature") as a book "about the guidance of princes and of people" ("de regimine principum et hominum").<sup>71</sup> We also learn from the inventory that the manuscript was read by Maximilian's son Ferdinand I or at least by his family, who were responsible for the collection at that point. The librarians kept track of which books were called up by the imperial family, and if the records are accurate we can see them actively interacting with the books in the collection (roughly 100 of the 326 books in the catalogue were viewed by them).<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> "...sparet er kainen kosten, sonder er schicket aus gelert leut, die nichtsanders teten, dann das sy sich in allen stiften, klostern, puechern und bey gelertn leutn erkundigeten alle geschlecht der kunig und fursten, und liess solichs alles in schrift bringen, zu er und lob denen kuniglichn und furstlichen geschlechten." Maximilian, *Kaiser Maximilians Weisskunig*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Velag, 1956), 225.

<sup>69</sup> Theodor Gottlieb, *Büchersammlung Kaiser Maximilians: mit einer Einleitung über älteren Bücherbesitz in Hause Habsburg* (Amsterdam: Gérard Th. van Heusden, 1968), 299, 318.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

With this more or less clear image of Maximilian sending out messengers who may have acquired a copy of the *Via regia* during the more than a decade in which he was based in the Netherlands, coupled with the useful insight that his grandchildren checked it out from his library, we are still left with two questions: what it meant for them and where they acquired the exemplar for this copy. We cannot now answer this question with certainty, but there is evidence for a Spanish connection for the manuscript. In his own lifetime, Maximilian successfully established the Habsburg dynasty in Spain by marrying his son Philip the Handsome to eventual queen Joanna of Castile in 1498 and his grandson Charles eventually held the thrones of Castile and Aragon. The late Vienna manuscript and Madrid are textually close, although not identical. The orthography does not match, and there is no notation that Madrid was the immediate exemplar, but it is clear that these two form one branch of the tree, and it is quite possible that Maximilian's learned messengers found a copy in that branch in the monasteries of his newfound Spanish allies. A further exploration of this subject would have to begin with a closer look at the other manuscripts listed in the Ambras inventory. Such evidence could more clearly show the transmission of the *Via regia* text as well as its significance to post-Carolingian readers.

### *Editorial Principles*

In general, I have followed the editorial standards of the Brepols *Corpus Christianorum* series. In both the *apparatus criticus* and the biblical apparatus, all editorial remarks, references, and manuscript sigla are given in italics. The apparatus criticus is given with editorial comments in Latin, using the Brepols suggested

abbreviations: the most commonly employed being *om.* (*omittit*), *add.* (*addidit*), *tr.* (*transposuit*), and *eras.* (*erasit*). In employing the negative principle, one assumes that unless variant readings are given in the apparatus, the manuscripts contain the text as printed. The system for indicating variations in the apparatus varies slightly from that of the *Corpus* in excluding the abbreviations that indicate the placement of corrections or additions in the manuscripts. Instead, the only distinction made between original writing and corrections is made when something is written by the primary hand, indicated by the manuscript siglum alone, and, when any writing has been written by another hand appearing to be contemporaneous to the main scribe, the variation is indicated by the siglum with a superscript<sup>2</sup>. In cases where nothing varies except the order of words, *tr.* appears before the indicated change. Smaragdus generally cited his biblical sources explicitly and then exegeted on the passage. Because of time constraints, the biblical apparatus includes only the biblical passages that Smaragdus himself referenced. He never explicitly cited a non-biblical text, but it is clear that he read works from Augustine and other patristic authors at least, so a thorough study of his other sources is still needed.

Punctuation in the edited text does not follow either the manuscript witnesses or the PL edition. Instead punctuation has been placed with a goal of consistency, clarity for the reader, and minimalism. Commas designate dependent clauses or indicate a change in subject, but they have been generally avoided within a clause unless it was deemed that the phrase would otherwise be confusing, or to indicate a preferred reading when there was more than one possibility. Commas separate lists, but semicolons indicate a variation in grammatical structure in the often lengthy lists

Smaragdus employs. Orthographic variants among the manuscripts have not been indicated in the apparatus except in the case of proper names, as suggested by the *Corpus* editorial board. As the three surviving manuscripts vary widely in geographical location and time period so broadly, and none originates in the area or time that Smaragdus wrote, none was chosen to model the orthography in the edited text. Instead, consistency was the primary goal, as was a secondary mandate to avoid spelling a word in a way that does not appear in one of the three manuscripts.

Pursuant to this, ae-diphthongs have been expanded throughout; prepositions have been assimilated into the words they begin except in certain cases (e.g. *adtingo* to *attingo*, *conminuo* to *commínuo*, but not *afflicto* for *adflicto*). Support for these choices as being potentially closer to the orthography of Smaragdus comes from Alcuin's advice in *Orthographia*: "Often for the sake of euphony [the preposition] is left off in the following consonant, as *afficio*, *affluo*, *allido*, *ammoneo*, *annuo*, *appono*, *arripio*, *assumo*"; "The preposition *ad* is broken if the word following begins with a consonant, as *apponit*, *ammittit*"; "*Attingit* is written with two *Ts*"; "The letter *D* is similar to these consonants *C G L P R M T*, which take its place, as *accipe*, *aggere*, *alliga*, *appare*, *ammitte*, *attende*"; "*Collocat* is written with two *Ls*, *comminus* with two *Ms*, *eminus* with one *M*."<sup>73</sup>

The resulting text is not a direct witness of any one manuscript, but aims to offer a best reading of Smaragdus's work using each as evidence. Some of the

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<sup>73</sup> Teubner (Keil, 1880) [Grammatici LGatini, VII], 295–312, "Saepe ad euphoniae causa in sequentem mutabitur consonantem, ut *afficio* *affluo* *allido* *ammoneo* *annuo* *appono* *arripio* *assumo*", 295, l. 7; "Ad praepositio corrumpitur, si sequens verbum a consonante incipit, ut *apponit* *ammittit*", 295, l. 17; "*Attingit* per duo *t* scribatur", 297, l. 23; and "D littera propinqua est consonantibus his, *c g l p r m t*, quae succedunt in locum eius, ut *accipe* *aggere* *alliga* *appare* *arripe* *ammitte* *attende*", 261, l. 5; and "*Collocat* per duo *l* scribitur, *comminus* per duo *m*, *eminus* per unum *m*", 298, l. 32.

historical points that the *Via regia* touches upon have been addressed in this introduction, but many more remain untouched. The work is a novel example of a genre repurposed from classical examples and Christian tradition. Its rhetoric, focus on morality, justice, and on the critical role Smaragdus argues that the king should play in the Carolingian church all speak to the unique and formative period of Carolingian reform, renewal, and innovation. Through the presentation of this edited text, and the accompanying critical apparatus that makes each textual variation visible for the first time, it is hoped that a more thorough reading of this work can be conducted by critical readers to lead to new and deeper readings of this text.

## IN NOMINE DOMINI LIBER QVI VOCATVR VIA REGIA INCIPIT PRAEFATIO

Non nos ad hunc conficiendum libellum spiritus commouit praesumptionis

sed dilectionis et caritatis. Alioquin incongruum omnibus uideretur et

ineptum ut serui domino humillimi excuso, pauperes potenti, famuli

5 clarissimo regi conuiuim praeparent, et quem ab infantia multiplex

cornigerum pennigerumque cibus nutriuit, et multigenae regiaeque diuitiae

regio educarunt in gremio, ad nostrum modicum et olericum regem

inuitaremus pabulum, quasi nostra insulsa nec ad purum decocta potestati

regiae sufficeret olla. Sed non, ut praefati sumus, nos ad hoc peragendum

10 opus praesumptionis commouit audacia sed dilectionis et caritatis excitauit

fiducia. Indesinenter etenim omnia, quae de uobis audiuimus, recordamur

bona, et multiplicem circa sanctae ecclesiae quod geritis curam, et in

pauperes Domini per amorem Christi multa impenditis solacia. Gauisi

sumus in Domino ualde, qui tantam dignatus est largiri in uestro regali

15 pectore clementiam, ut sitis quamuis in extremis finibus sanctae ecclesiae

columna et forma et circa gentem rebellem unde sepius uobis consurgit

tribulatio maxima. Sed uerba uestra utpote regia, melliflua, dulcia et suauia,

uelut thesaurus uestrae mentis archano sunt recondita, ut felices dicantur

illi qui cotidie uobiscum uiuunt, felices qui iugiter uobiscum orant. Vesta

20 enim forma patiens et ornata omnes laetificat, omnes glorificat et exaltat,

omnibus munera, dilectionem et amorem ministrat. Hoc nos regio dulcique

amore permoti et regali munere excitati, hunc paruulum libellum

digessimus quem diuinis testimonis multipliciter confirmauimus. Nomen

illi uia regia dedimus et tibi regi feliciter legendum direximus, ut uelut rex  
 25 per regia currens itinera ad regem regum et ad regiam feliciter peruenias  
 patriam. Explicit praefatio.

Deus omnipotens te, o clarissime rex, quando uoluit et ubi uoluit de regali  
 nobilique genere nobiliter procreauit et misericorditer ad lauacrum  
 regenerationis perduxit. Caput tuum sacri chrismatis oleo linuit et dignanter

30 in filium adoptauit, constituit te regem populi terrae, et proprii filii sui in  
 caelo fieri iussit heredem. His etenim sacris ditatus muneribus rite portas  
 diadema regis. Primum, quia de femore regis regalique descendis prosapia,  
 decenter tibi conuenit et bene et multa regere regna. Secundo, quia te regem  
 esse et sacri chrismatis unctio et fidei confessio, operisque confirmat et

35 actio. Tertio, quia, ut aeternum cum Christo perciperes regnum,  
 misericorditer adhuc te paruulum rex regum adoptauit in filium. Haec te  
 perspicua claraque indicia ab infantia regem clamitant. Superest ut haec  
 ipsa regalia quae percepisti a Domino munera sollicite salua custodias et  
 operibus pariter moribusque defendas. Exiguo etenim tempore in hac qua

40 uiuimus morabimur uita quia uia uniuersae carnis pergimus et celeri cursu  
 ad promissam cotidie patriam festinamus. Restat ergo ut de illa tantum  
 sollicite interrogemus uia quae nos a latronibus tutos uitiisque defecatos  
 desideratam feliciter ducat ad patriam. Hortatur etenim nos de hac re

propheta cum dicit, *State super uias et uidete et interrogate de semitis  
 antiquis et uidete quae sit uia bona et ambulate in ea et inuenietis requiem  
 animabus uestris.* Sollicite ergo haec a nobis discreteque quaerenda est uia

quae nos saluos ad requiem perducat aeternam. Et cum, Domino nobis  
monstrante, fuerit inuenta, caute discreteque nobis ambulandum est per  
eam ne ad dexteram declinantibus aut ad sinistram occurrat illa de qua  
50 propheticus sermo denuntians clamitat, *Est uia quae uidetur hominibus  
recta, cuius nouissima demergunt ad inferna.* Sed ne aliquis nostrum per  
ignorantiam in hoc oberrans incidat deuium, pie nos propheta ammonet  
Esaias et ad rectam sanctamque uiam dulciter reuocans clamat, *Et erunt  
oculi tui uidentes paeceptorem tuum, et aures tuae audient uerbum  
postergum monentis.* Haec uia, ambulate in ea neque ad dexteram neque ad  
sinistram. Nam et Israheliticus populus, cum per aliena transiens regna ad  
repromissionis tenderet patriam, nuntios misit ad Sehon regem  
Ammorrhaeorum dicens, *Obsecro ut transire mihi liceat per terram tuam,  
non declinabimus ad dexteram neque ad sinistram sed per uiam regiam  
gradiemur donec transeamus fines tuos.* Et tibi ergo, nobilissime rex, si uis ad  
60 supernam feliciter promissionis tendere patriam, diligenter regia  
quaerenda est uia, quia cum sis rex in terra ad caelorum properans regna  
per regiam debes currere uiam. Trita etenim est et antiquitus sanctorum  
regum uestigiis confricata. Per illam Iosue firmissimo properans gradu  
multorum regum colla attinuit nefandorum, phalanges strauit,  
65 Hierichontinos muros euertit, et Israhelitico populo terram repromissionis  
distento fune diuisit. Per illam Dauid indeclinabiliter gradiens persecutori  
Sauli pepercit, lapideo ictu Goliam extinxit, et ab improposito Allophilorum  
Dei populum liberauit, et sibi regnum perpetuum solidauit. Per illam

70      firmiter ambulantem Ezechiam misericorditer Dominus uisitauit, a mortis  
 termino reuocauit, et quinques ternos ad uitam pristinam addidit annos.  
 Per illam adhuc ambulans Salomon quasi fluuius aqua impletus est sapientia  
 et ab illa recedens inexpiablem gloriae suaे intulit maculam. Per illam  
 intrepidus Iosias rex iustus ambulans excelsa comminuit, abominationes  
 75     diuersas a populo Dei abstulit, et iustificationes a Domino multiplices  
 accepit. Ecce conspicis perspicue, rex nobilissime, qualiter per regiam ad  
 Dominum reges ambulant uiam, et ad caelorum regna cum caeteris sanctis  
 reges quoque feliciter uolant. Via etenim regia est quae per prophetam  
 uocatur *sancta*, per quam *non transibit pollutus*. Ait idem propheta nec  
 80     inuenietur ibi leo, Diabolus scilicet, qui rugiens circuit quaerens quem  
 deuoret, nec mala bestia, daemon uidelicet, ascendit per eam, sed est directa  
 uia et ambulabunt qui redempti a Domino et liberati fuerint per eam. Per  
 quam et te cotidie, auxiliante Domino, ire cognoscimus et gratulamur et ad  
 aeternam gloriam te esse uenturum fideliter credentes non dubitamus.  
 85     Tantum est ut quod coepisti bonum perficias et usque ad perseuerantiae  
 finem perducas, quia non qui inchoauerit sed qui perseuerauerit saluus erit.  
 En iam aggrediar, Domino miserante, tibi, rex, regiam describere uiam,  
 quam ambulans non habebis offendiculum sed perfectum in finem  
 aeternumque cum gaudio a Domino excipies regnum. In qua uia dilectionis  
 90     gradum conuenienter ponimus primum.

## I. DE DILECTIONE DEI ET PROXIMI

Dilige ergo, mitissime rex, Dominum sicut ille paecepit, scilicet *ex toto corde, tota anima, et tota uirtute tua*, dilige quia prior ille dilexit te. Sic enim

95 Iohannes ille qui super dilectionis fontem in cena recubuit, in epistola sua ait, *Fratres diligamus Dominum quoniam ille prior dilexit nos.* Neque enim poterat Dominum fragilitas diligere humana, nisi ille primum nostram

diligeret naturam. Illius est enim omne quod possumus, illo uiuificantem uiuimus illoque uegetante mouemur. Nihil enim habet homo quod non

100 acceperit, nec bene uelle in arbitrio constat humano, quanto magis perficere? Dilexit etiam te priusquam esses, et ideo ut esses creauit. Illi etenim laudem referens sancta clamitat scripture. *Diligis enim omnia quae sunt, et nihil odisti horum quae fecisti, nec enim odiens aliquid constituisti.*

Diligens etenim Dominus, o mitissime rex, creauit te et uiuificauit, nutriuit

105 et custodiuuit, et ad lauacrum regenerationis perduxit, renouauit, gubernauit, et ad intelligibilem perduxit aetatem. Et dum adhuc paruulus esses, regali te sede sublimiter euexit. Haec omnia tibi misericorditer et per dilectionem operatus est Deus. Aperi ergo, o rex, oculos cordis, et in tantum te a Iesu

Christo Domino nostro antequam esses cognosce dilectum, ut pro te eius

110 sanguinem non dubites fusum. Suspende cor tuum ad dilectionem creatoris tui, et non modicum aut ex aliquo, sed, sicut superius dictum est, *ex toto corde, et ex tota anima, et ex tota mente tua.* Dilige Dominum Deum tuum ita ut nullius rei dilectionem paeponas dilectioni Domini tui. Ipso te docente intellege. Ait enim, *Qui diligit patrem aut matrem plusquam me, non est me dignus et qui diligit filium aut filiam plusquam me, non est me dignus.* Vere

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enim si Dominum toto corde diligimus, dilectioni eius nec parentum nec filiorum dilectionem paeferre debemus. Sed si diligis Dominum, o piissime rex, ex toto corde, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua, necesse est ut diligas proximum tuum sicut te ipsum, *Quia in his duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet et prophetae.*

120 Ergo legem et prophetas non implet qui Deum proximumque non diligit. Et uera perfectaque in hoc consistit dilectio: ut diligatur Deus, diligatur et proximus. Scriptum est enim, *Qui non diligit fratrem suum quem uidet, Deum quem non uidet quomodo potest diligere? Et hoc mandatum habemus a Deo, ut qui diligit Deum, diligat et fratrem suum.*

125 Ipse namque auctor dilectionis Dominus Iesus Christus mentibus nostris mandatum dilectionis inculcans ait, *Mandatum nouum do uobis, ut diligatis uos inuicem sicut dlexi uos. In hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei discipuli estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem.* Nam et ille discipulus qui de pectore Domini caritatis fluenta potabat, dilectionem Dei et proximi uaporans

130 agebat, *Carissimi, diligamus nos inuicem quoniam caritas ex Deo est, et omnis qui diligit fratrem suum ex Deo natus est et cognoscit Deum. Qui autem non diligit fratrem suum non habet caritatem et non nouit Deum. Si diligimus inuicem, Deus in nobis manet et caritas eius in nobis perfecta est.* Nam et Petrus princeps apostolorum in epistola sua, ut nos inuicem diligamus dulciter exorans ait, *Estote itaque prudentes, sobrii, uigilantes in orationibus, ante omnia in uobismetipsis caritatem continuam habentes, quia caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum.* Attendendum est quia non dixit, ‘temporalem habete caritatem,’ quae aliquando sit nobiscum et aliquando

discedat a nobis, sed *continuam* inquit, id est quae nobiscum perseuerans  
 140 maneat et a cordibus nostris numquam discedat. Beata uirtus dilectionis et  
 caritatis quae sic operit multitudinem peccatorum et delet a cordibus  
 fidelium, ut numquam pereant in aeternum. Quaerere nonnulli solent quis  
 sit proximus quem tam germane praecipit diligere Deus. Nos uero  
 proximum fidelem omnem dicimus Christianum, qui non solum  
 145 rationabiliter proximus sed et fideliter frater uocatur. Vnum enim Deum  
 habentes eundemque, Patrem eius gratia renati uocamus. Ergo generaliter  
 omnis Christianus Christiano proximus appellatur, cuius singillatim ponens  
 species apostolus praecipit diligendas ut uxores diligentur. Ait, *Viri, diligite  
 uxores uestras et nolite amari esse ad illas.* Vt filii diligentur, idem apostolus  
 150 ammonet parentes dicens, *Parentes, nolite ad iracundiam prouocare filios  
 uestrros.* Vt serui diligentur, idem apostolus dominos ammonet dicens,  
*Domini, quod iustum est et aequum praestate seruis, scientes quoniam et uos  
 Dominum habetis in caelis.* Nam et alibi de illis scriptura ait, *Si est tibi seruus,  
 sit quasi anima tua, quasi fratrem sic eum tracta.* Vt amicus pariter diligentur  
 155 et inimicus, praecipit apostolus ubi amicum in Deum et inimicum propter  
 Deum ammonet diligendum. Nam et Dominus in euangelio ait, *Diligite  
 inimicos uestrros, benefacite his qui oderunt uos, et orate pro persequentibus et  
 calumniantibus uos.* Ecce liquide patet quem proximum Dominus praecepit  
 diligendum, uxorem uidelicet et filios, seruos, amicos et inimicos. In quibus  
 160 nominibus, omnis christianus cognoscitur dici proximus, omnisque et a  
 Domino praecipitur diligendus. Beata ergo uirtus dilectionis et caritatis

quae omnes amplectitur et diligit, et quasi unius proximi imminentis  
 archana omnium amorem recondit. Vere beata quae nutrit uirtutes et delet  
 peccata, opprimit iram, secludit odia, expellit auaritiam, comprimit rixam,  
 165 effugat pariter omnia uitia, omnia tolerat, omnia credit, omnia sperat, inter  
 opprobria secura est, inter iras placida, inter odia benefica, in ueritate firma,  
 a prauis impugnatoribus non diripitur, a latronibus non furatur, a  
 praedonibus non rapitur, a flumine non distrahitur, ab incendio non  
 crematur, ab heresim non diuiditur; indiuidua stat, inexpugnabilis manet,  
 170 inexplicabilis durat, inconcussa perseverat, incorrupta laetatur.

Ligamentum est enim omnium uirtutum, gluten est animarum, concordia  
 mentium, societas angelorum et exultatio electorum. Ne aduersitatibus  
 frangatur, fortem mentem roborat. Ne prosperitatibus eleuetur, caute  
 temperat. Ne ira superetur, rationabiliter reprimit. Vere enim haec, ut uideo,  
 175 regalis est uirtus quae cunctis in palatio panem laetitiae frangit, cunctis  
 uinum iucunditatis porrigit, dulcia cunctis oscula tribuit, et diligens omnes  
 ulnis extensis amplectitur. Tene ergo, o clarissime rex, tam claram et  
 beatam regiamque uirtutem, tecum sit, tecum maneat, tecum surgat, tecum  
 180 perget, tecumque laetetur et conuiuetur. Decet etenim in conuiuio regis tam  
 regiam iugiter inesse uirtutem.

## II. DE OBSERVANDIS MANDATIS DEI

Quia Domino auxiliante uiam regiam scribere coepimus, necesse est ut in ea  
operis gressus firmiter, diligenter et ordinate ponamus, ut currens per eam  
non ibi damnosum offendiculum sed lucrosum aeternum inueniat gaudium.

Videamus quod nobis ipse delectionis auctor post executionem dilectionis  
conseruandum concedat praeceptum. Ait enim, *Si diligitis me, mandata mea  
seruate, et ego rogabo patrem et alium paraclitum dabit uobis ut maneat  
uobiscum in aeternum.*

Attende ergo, o clementissime ac mitissime rex,  
quantum nos diligit Dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui cum promissione a  
nobis suam exigit dilectionem et Spiritum Sanctum dicit nobiscum esse in  
aeternum mansurum si post dilectionem suam mandata eius seruauerimus.

Ab ipso enim, ut iam superius diximus, nobis omnia bona conceduntur, et  
uelle bonum et operari ab illo prius nobis largitur. Diligimur enim ut  
diligamus, amamus ut amemus, cognoscimur ut cognoscamus, adiuuamur,  
ut operemur et operando uirtutibus ditemur. Ergo si te dilectio Dei  
proximique demulcet, consequens est ut facias quod ille praecepit, quia in  
tantum diligis, in quantum facis. Neque enim potest sincere Deum diligere  
qui mandata eius fideliter non custodit. Ipso te Domino docente intellege.

Ait enim, *Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum seruabit et pater meus diligit  
eum et ad eum ueniemus et mansionem apud eum faciemus, et qui non diligit  
me, sermones meos non seruat.* Iohannes quoque apostolus dilectione Dei  
repletus in epistola sua ait, *In hoc scimus quoniam cognouimus eum si  
mandata eius obseruamus. Qui dicit se nosse eum et mandata eius non  
custodit mendax est et in eo ueritas non est. Qui seruat uerbum eius, uere in*

*hoc caritas Dei perfecta est. Liber quoque Iob ore Domini sacratus, de hoc ipso testis est maxime de regibus dicens, Non auferet a iusto oculos, et reges in solio collocat in perpetuum et illuc eriguntur. Reuelat quoque aurem eorum ut corripiat, et loquitur ut reuertantur ab iniquitate. Si audierint et*

210 *obseruauerint complebunt dies suos in bono et annos suos in gloria. Si uero non audierint transibunt per gladium et stultitia consumentur. De se quoque ipse Iob bonum rectumque dans testimonium ait, Vestigia Dei secutus est pes meus, uiam eius custodiu et non declinaui ex ea, a mandatis labiorum eius non recessi, et in sinu meo abscondi uerba oris eius. Tale ergo de te, o bone rex, uolumus semper audire testimonium, tale uidere frequenter et opus.*

*Ipse quoque Dominus de dilectione sua atque mandatorum suorum obseruantia populum Israheliticum ammonens dicit, Et nunc Israhel, audi praecepta et iudicia quae ego doceo te, ut faciens ea uiuas in eis. Obserua et caue nequando obliuiscaris Domini Dei tui et neglegas mandata eius atque*

220 *iudicia et ceremonias quas ego praecipio tibi hodie, ne postquam comederas et satiates fueris, domus pulchras aedificaueris et habitaueris in eis, habuerisque armenta et ouium greges, argentum et aurum, cunctarumque rerum copiam,*

*eleuetur cor tuum, et non reminiscaris Domini Dei tui. Et nunc Israhel, quid Dominus Deus tuus petit a te nisi ut timeas Dominum Deum tuum, et ambules*

225 *in uiis eius, et diligas eum, ac seruias ei in toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, custodiasque mandata et caerimonias eius quas ego praecipio tibi hodie ut bene sit tibi? Si autem audieris ut facias omnia mandata eius, faciet te Dominus excelsiorem cunctis gentibus quae uersantur in terra. Benedictus eris*

in ciuitate et benedictus in agro. Benedictus fructus uentris tui et fructus  
 230 terrae tuae. Mittet Dominus super cellaria tua et super omnia opera manuum  
 tuarum benedictionem. Dabit Dominus inimicos tuos qui consurgent aduersus  
 te corruentes in conspectu tuo. Addens quoque Dominus adhuc ad Israhelem  
 dicens, *Si in praeceptis meis ambulaueritis, et mandata mea custodieritis, et*  
*feceritis ea, dabo uobis pluuias temporibus suis et terra gignet gerumen suum,*  
 235 *et pomis arbores replebuntur. Apprehendet messium tritura uindemiam, et*  
*uindemia occupabit sementem, et comedetis panem uestrum in saturitate, et*  
*absque pauore habitabitis in terra uestra. Dabo pacem in finibus uestris,*  
*dormietis et non erit qui exterreat. Auferam malas bestias, et gladius non*  
*transbit terminos uestros. Persequimini inimicos uestros et corruent coram*  
 240 *uobis. Persequentur quinque de uestris, centum alienos, et centum ex uobis,*  
*decem milia, cadent inimici uestri in conspectu uestro gladio. Quod si non*  
*audieritis me nec feceritis omnia mandata mea, si spreueritis leges meas et*  
*iudicia mea contempseritis, ut non faciatis ea quae a me constituta sunt, ut ad*  
*irritum perducatis pactum meum, ego quoque haec faciam uobis: uisitabo uos*  
 245 *uelociter in egestate et ardore, et corruetis coram hostibus uestris et*  
*subiciemini his qui oderunt uos fugietisque nemine persequente. Per Esaiam*  
*Dominus quoque ad Israhel clamat et dicit, *Vtinam attendisses mandata mea**  
**facta fuisset sicut flumen pax tua et iustitia tua sicut gurgites maris, et fuisset**  
**sicut harena semen tuum, et stirps uteri tui ut lapilli eius non interiisset, et**  
 250 **non fuisset attritum nomen eius. Bonum ergo tibi est, o rex, ut diligas**  
*Dominum Deum tuum et ob dilectionem eius nimiam sollicite et diligenter*

custodias praecepta. Sancta sunt enim mandata eius et iusta et  
 obseruantibus uero ualde salutaria. Propterea Pater et Filius et Spiritus  
 Sanctus ad te uenient et apud te in perpetuo laetam mansionem facient, et  
 255 beatus eris in perpetuo tali hospite uisitatus. Propterea complebuntur in  
 benedictionibus dies tui et in gloria anni tui. Propterea pax tua feliciter  
 multiplicabitur, et gaudium tuum sicut flumen in aeternum complebitur.

### III. DE TIMORE

260 Ecce iam auxiliante Deo ad tertium uiae regiae peruenimus gradum in quo  
 operis nostri rectum debemus figere gressum. Sed quia per nosmetipsos hoc  
 agere non ualemus, prophetam eiusdem Domini cuius uiam gradimur  
 diligenter interrogemus. Adest enim nobis beniuolus humilisque Dauid  
 Spiritu Sancto repletus, et ubi, post obseruantiam mandatorum Dei  
 265 seruitiumque beatum, pedem operis nostri figere debeamus, ostendit  
 dicens, *Seruite Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore.* Nam et  
 apostolus aequo nos ammonet dicens, *Cum timore et tremore uestram*  
*ipsorum salutem operamini.* Ecce quomodo uia regia patet, ecce quomodo  
 prospicua est, ecce quomodo ultiro se currentibus offert, plana se iter  
 270 agentibus sternit et lucida se calcantibus praebet. Quid enim clarius, quid  
 lucidius quidue congruentius esse potest quam ut qui diligit Deum mandata  
 eius obseruet et operetur in eis, et qui operatur, non inaniter aut iactanter  
 sed cum timore Dei operetur, et non sibi de bono opere inanes et uacuas  
 tribuat laudes sed Domino iugiter dignas gratias referat qui eum et fructum

275 boni operis impleat et in operando felix adiutorium praebeat? Scriptum est enim, *Qui timent Dominum sperauerunt in Domino: adiutor eorum et protector eorum est.* Time ergo, o mitissime rex, Dominum, ut protectionem tibi iugiter adiutoriumque felix ministret, et tua uox cum uoce Mariae, Moysi, et Aaron unita ad regem regum clamet et dicat, *Adiutor et protector meus Dominus et factus est mihi in salutem.* Necnon et uox tua cum regis  
 280 Dauid uoce coniuncta iubiloque exultationis repleta uociferans clamet et dicat, *Dominus uirtus mea, firmamentum meum et refugium meum et liberator meus, Deus meus adiutor meus et sperabo in eum, protector meus et cornu salutis meae, susceptor meus, laudans inuocabo Dominum et ab inimicis meis saluus ero.* Time ergo, rex, Dominum ut iugem tibi animae uirtutem corporisque ministret, firmamentum mentis et adiutorium concedat aeternum, cornu regni tui faciat sublime, et brachium fortitudinis robore confirmet. In timoris etenim laude Salomon ait, *Timor Domini apponet dies.*  
 Time ergo Dominum, o rex, sed illo timore qui sanctus permanet in  
 290 saeculum saeculi. Illo casto timore qui tibi ad dies temporis huius adiciet dies aeternos, dies perpetuos, dies immortales et dies perennes, immo diem unum sine uespera et infinitum, diem felici gaudio plenum, indeficiente luce refertum, angelico comitatu suffultum, diem quem nox non interpolat, tenebrae non obscurant, nubilum non offuscant, importabilem non efficit calor aestatis, pigrum non reddit frigus hiemis. Dies qui tibimet unus erit cum sanctis, communis cum angelis, aeternus cum uerisque, qui tibi cum felici gaudio consortium tribuat angelorum et socium faciat patriarcharum.

In numero computet prophetarum, in exaltatione socium faciat  
 apostolorum. Ipse quoque Salomon de laude boni timoris iterum ait, *Timor  
 300 Domini fons uitae.* Ergo si uis, rex, in aeternum feliciter uiuere, alacriter ad  
 fontem debes recurrere uitae. Ipse enim est fons uitae qui, dans poculum  
 aeternum, aufert sitim, et cum gloria tribuit immortalitatis coronam. Ipse  
 iterum Salomon ait, *Timor Domini ad uitam.* Vides ergo, rex, quia in timore  
 Dei plenitudo inuenitur uitae. Vides quia timor Domini nobis immortalem et  
 305 aeternam ministrat uitam. Praesens etenim uita dierum plenitudine non  
 fulcitur sed futura. In dimidio namque dierum nostrorum tollimur, et ab ista  
 dum adhuc uiuere cogitamus rapimur uita. Sic enim, rex, iustus Ezechias ait,  
*Ego dixi in dimidio dierum meorum, Vadam ad portas inferi et caetera. Nam*  
*quod in timore Dei plenitudo sit sapientiae et plenitudo fructuum et*  
 310 *plenitudo generationis et thesaurus salutis, una sententia comprehendit,*  
*pariter ecclesiasticus liber et dicit, Plenitudo sapientiae timere Deum et*  
*plenitudo a fructibus illius. Omnem domum illius inpleuit generationibus et*  
*receptacula thesauris illius. Corona sapientiae timor Domini, replens pacem et*  
*salutis fructum, et addidit utraque autem sunt dona Dei.* Ipse iterum te  
 315 *timere Dominum salutariter ammonet dicens, Serua illius timorem et in illo*  
*ueterescere. Metuentes Dominum sustinete misericordiam eius, et non*  
*deflectatis ab illo ne cadatis. Qui timetis Dominum credite illi, et non*  
*euacuabitur merces uestra. Qui timetis Dominum diligite illum, et*  
*illuminabuntur corda uestra.* Ipse iterum Salomon ait, *Timor Dei est non*  
 320 *despicere pauperem iustum et non magnificare peccatorem diuitem, quia*

*quamuis magnus sit iudex et potens in honore, non est maior illo qui timet  
Dominum. Quam magnus qui inuenit sapientiam et scientiam sed non est  
super timentem Deum. Timorem Domini super omnia superposuit. Beatus cui  
donatum est habere timorem Dei. Timor Domini sicut paradisus benedictionis,*

325 *et super omnem gloriam operuerunt illum. Vides ergo, rex, quia et ista regia  
uirtus est in qua fiducia fortitudinis est, in qua uitae plenitudo inuenitur, in  
qua fructuum plenitudo nutritur, in qua generationis crescit prosapia, per  
quam fructus pullulat salutis et pacis, per quam thesaurus reconditur  
salutaris, per quam illuminabuntur corda iustorum, per quam*

330 *centumpliciter crescat merces eorum. Vere uerus est beatus cui datum est  
habere timorem Dei. Audi adhuc et diligenter attende, rex, quid Dominus  
per Malachiam prophetam timentibus se promittat. Orietur, inquit, uobis  
timentibus nomen meum sol iustitiae et sanitas in pennis eius, et egrediemini  
et salietis sicut uituli de armento, et calcabitis impios cum fuerint cinis sub*

335 *planta pedum uestrorum. Et tibi ergo timendum est nomen Domini, ut sol  
iustitiae tibimet oriatur Christus qui mentis tuae tenebras reppellat,  
ignorantiam cordis auferat, et lucem intellegentiae infundat, sapientiae  
radios in te dirigat, et discretionis tibi memoriam porrigat, inimicorum colla  
plantis tuis calcanda substernat, et fidelium regna ab inimicorum insidiis, te  
340 donante, defendat.*

#### III. DE SAPIENTIA.

Vberes Deo gratias agere debemus, qui nos ad caelica regna per regiam  
 iubet pergere uiam, ut per rectam gradientes uiam ad caelestem feliciter  
 mereamur pertingere patriam. Ergo ne declinetur ad dexteram aut ad  
 sinistram, firmo solidoque gradu per regiam nobis incedendum est uiam, et  
 casto sanctoque timori caelestis et sancta iungenda est sapientia, ut utraque  
 uirtute sociata ad immortalem mereamur pertingere uitam. *Corona enim*, ait  
 scriptura, *sapientiae timor Domini est*, et, *Initium sapientiae timere Deum*, et,  
 350 *Plenitudo sapientiae et radix sapientiae*, ut dicit scriptura, *timor Domini est*.  
 Si ergo timor Domini initium est sapientiae et plenitudo eius et corona  
 ipsius radixque eiusdem, liquide apparet quia una de alia pendet, et alteri  
 succedit altera, et ideo proxime sunt a nobis ponendae non separatae.  
 Congruenter ergo post timorem ponimus sapientiam quia non in maliuolam,  
 355 ut scriptum est, animam sed in timentem Deum ingreditur sapientia. Time  
 ergo, clarissime rex, Dominum, et animam tuam praepara ad excipiendum  
 sapientiam, ut sicut rex regiam cum sapientia sapienter possis pergere  
 uiam. Regibus enim liber sapientiae maxime frequenterque clamitans ait, *Ad  
 uos ergo, reges, sunt hi sermones mei, ut discatis sapientiam et non excidatis.*  
 360 *Qui enim custodierint illam, iustificabuntur ab ea. Clara est et quae numquam  
 marcescit sapientia, et facile uidetur ab his qui diligunt eam, et inuenietur ab  
 his qui quaerunt illam.* Audis ergo, clarissime rex, quia specialiter regibus, ex  
 quibus diuina largiente gratia unus es tu, haec superna dirigitur uox et, ut  
 sapienter agant, oraculum diuinum frequenter regibus clamitat, unde et nos  
 365 uestram clarissimam acclines flagitamus excellentiam, ut sedulus diuinam

claramque discas sapientiam, et diligenter et assidue requiras illam, et non  
 tepide aut tarde sed sagaciter uigilanterque inuestiges illam, et super aurum  
 et argentum concupicas illam. Sic enim scriptum est de illa, *Concupiscentia*  
*itaque sapientiae deducit ad regna perpetua, Si ergo delectamini sedibus et*  
 370 *aestimantibus, reges populi, diligite sapientiam ut in perpetuum regnetis cum*  
*ea, diligite lumen sapientiae omnes qui praeestis populis.* Oramus ergo te, rex  
 sanctissime, diligenter attende quid de se Salomon, quid de laude sapientiae  
 loquatur, *Sum quidem et ego mortalis homo similis omnibus et ex genere illius*  
*terreno qui prius finctus est et in uentre matris figuratus sum caro. Decem*  
 375 *menses coagolatus in sanguine ex semine hominis et delectamento somnii*  
*conueniente, et ego natus accepi communem aerem et in similiter factam*  
*decidi terram, et primam uocem similem omnibus emisi foras plorans in*  
*inuolumenit nutritus sum et curis magnis. Nemo enim ex regibus aliud habuit*  
*natiuitatis initium. Vnus ergo introitus est omnibus ad uitam et similis exitus.*  
 380 *Propter hoc optaui et datus est mihi sensus, et inuocaui, et uenit in me spiritus*  
*sapientiae, et praeposui illam regnis et sedibus, et diuitias nihil dixi esse in*  
*comparatione illius, nec comparaui illi lapidem pretiosum quoniam omne*  
*aurum in comparatione illius harena exigua est et tamquam lutum*  
*aestimabitur argentum in conspectu illius. Super salutem et speciem dilexi*  
 385 *illam et praeposui pro luce habere illam, quoniam inextinguibile est lumen*  
*illius. Venerunt autem mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa et innumerabilis*  
*honestas per manus illius, et laetatus sum in omnibus, quoniam antecedebat*  
*me ista sapientia, et ignorabam quoniam mater omnium est, quam sine*

*fictione didici, et sine inuidia communico, et honestatem illius non abscondo.*

390     *Infinitus enim thesaurus est hominibus, quod qui usi sunt participes facti sunt amicitiae Dei, propter disciplinae dona commendati. Mihi autem det Deus dicere ex sententia et praesumere digna horum quae dantur, quoniam sapientiae ipse dux est et sapientium emendator. In manu enim illius nos et sermones nostri. Ipse mihi dedit horum quae sunt scientiam ueram, ut sciam dispositiones orbis terrarum et uirtutes elementorum, initium et consummationem et medietatem temporum, uicissitudinem, permutationes et commutationes temporum, anni cursus, et stellarum dispositiones, naturas animalium et iras bestiarum, differentias arborum et uirtutes radicum, et quaecumque sunt absconsa et improuisa didici. Omnia artifex docuit me sapientia. Est enim in illa spiritus, intellectus, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, mobilis, dissertus, incoquinatus, certus, suauis, amans bonum, acutus, humanus, stabilis, certus, securus, omnem habens uirtutem, omnia prospiciens, et qui capiat omnes spiritus intellegibiles, omnibus enim mobilibus mobilior est sapientia. Vapor est enim uirtutis Dei et emanatio claritatis omnipotentis sincera. Candor est lucis aeternae et speculum sine macula Dei maiestatis et imago bonitatis illius. Est enim speciosior sole et super omnem stellarum dispositionem eius. Luce comparata inuenitur prior, luci enim succedit nox. Sapientiam autem non uicit malitia, attingit enim a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponit omnia suauiter. Hanc amauit et exquisiui a iuuentute mea et amator factus sum formae illius sed et omnium Dominus dilexit illam. Sobrietatem enim et sapientiam docet et iustitiam et*

*uirtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in uita hominis. Propter hanc habebo  
immortalitatem, disponam populos, et nationes mihi subditae erunt. Timebunt  
me audientes reges horrendi. In multitudine uidebor bonus et in bello fortis.*

415     Animaduerte et intellege, o nobilissime et clarissime rex, quia sapientia  
          uirtus regia est quae inuestigabiliter a regibus regum praediuitem procedit  
          thesaurum, et non neglegentibus aut superbis, inuidis aut maliuolis datur,  
          sed mitibus, humilibus et timentibus Deum conceditur. Vere enim sine  
          dubio sapientia uirtus est regia ad quos specialiter ut discatur sapientiam  
420     sermo propheticus clamat. Regia namque uirtus est sapientia quia bene  
          operantes reges iustificat et lumen scientiae illis inextinguibile radiat,  
          oculos cordis illuminat, sensus mentis illustrat, subrium intellectum  
          ministrat, salutem corporis praestat, honestatem morum concedit,  
          thesauros infinitos multiplicat, uirtutem regni roborat, et participem  
425     amicitiae Dei constituit, spiritu sapientiae et intellectus, consilii et  
          fortitudinis, scientiae et pietatis, et timoris Domini replet, iustitiam regibus  
          et prudentiam, fortitudinem et temperantiam donat, uirtutem et  
          sobrietatem ministrat, stabiles facit in regno, certos in uerbo, dulces in  
          eloquio, hilares in dato, in misericordia humanos, in respondendo suaues, in  
430     discernendo sagaces, in prosperitate mites, in aduersitate securos, acutos in  
          sensu, per lucidos in facto, candidos in uultu, et fortiter in bello. Sapientia  
          regibus ostendit sibi subdita discrete disponere regna, et suauiter populos  
          iam sibi facit seruire possessos, exteras gentes fortiter facit debaccare  
          minaces, et nationes subici diras, et reges calcare feroce, et, ut ita dicam, in

435        sapientia constat regni dispositio cuncta. Thesaurus etenim magnus est  
             sapientia quam qui inuenierit inueniet uitam, et qui possiderit immortalitatis  
             habebit coronam. Thesaurus est enim Domini occultus et non omnibus  
             manifestus. Sic enim de sapientia uir famosissimus Iob testatur dicens,  
             *Sapientia uero ubi inuenitur, et quis est locus intellegentiae, nescit homo*  
 440        *premium eius, nec inuenitur in terra suauiter uiuentium. Abyssus dicit, Non est*  
             *in me, et mare loquitur, Non est mecum. Non dabitur aurum obrizum pro ea,*  
             *nec appendetur argentum in commutatione eius. Non conferetur tinctis indiae*  
             *coloribus, nec lapidi sardinico pretiosissimo, nec saphiro, nec adaequabitur ei*  
             *aurum uel uitrum, nec commutabitur pro ea uasa auri, excelsa et eminentia*  
 445        *non memorabuntur comparatione eius. Trahitur autem sapientia de occultis,*  
             *non adaequabitur ei topazius de Ethiopia, nec tinctura emundissime*  
             *componetur. Vnde ergo sapientia ueniat et quis est locus intellegentiae?*  
             *Abscondita est ab oculis omnium uiuentium, uolucres caeli latet, perditio et*  
             *mors dixerunt auribus nostris, audiuiimus famam eius, Deus intellegit uiam*  
 450        *eius et ipse nouit locum illius, ipse enim fines mundi intuetur et omnia quae*  
             *sub caelo sunt respicit qui fecit uentis pondus et aquas appendit mensura.*  
             *Quando pluuiis legem ponebat et uiam procellis sonantibus, tunc uidit illam et*  
             *narravit et praeparauit et dixit homini. Ecce timor Domini ipse est sapientia,*  
             *et recedere a malo intellegentia. Grandis enim hic, rex clarissime, ut video, et*  
 455        *inuestigabilis fama de sapientia sonat. Regia sine dubio uirtus est cui non*  
             *comparatur aurum mundum uel obrizum, nec adaequabitur argentum*  
             *clarissimum, nec confertur uitrum per lucidum, in cuius comparatione lapis*

uilescit sardonicus, pro nihilo ducitur saphirus, paruipendetur topazius,  
 aurea non magnifice feruntur uascula, mundissimae non appendentur  
 460 tincturae, nec aliquid pretiosi et uarii aestimabuntur lapilli. Vere, ut video,  
 regia uirtus est sapientia et a regibus maxime diligenda. Dilige ergo illam, o  
 clarissime rex, ut diligaris ab illa. Taliter uox eius in prouerbiis sonat. *Ego  
 diligentes me, inquit, diligo, et qui mane uigilauerit ad me, inueniet me.* Tale  
 tuum bonis actibus regium praepara pectus, ut tuo semper inesse consilio  
 465 delectetur, internis te doceat cogitationibus quidquid gerere debes  
 operibus. Suum est enim consilium, et cui uult intimat illud. Sua est  
 prudentia, et cui uult porrigit illam. Sua est fortitudo, et cui uult tribuit eam.  
 Suum est regnum, et cui uult, et quantum uult, commendat illud. Sua etenim  
 470 uox per Salomonem in prouerbiis taliter clamitat, *Ego sapientia habito in  
 consilio, et eruditis intersum cogitationibus. Meum est consilium et aequitas,*  
*mea est prudentia, mea est et fortitudo, per me reges regnant et legum*  
*conditores iusta decernant, per me principes imperant et potentes decernant*  
*iustitiam. Ego diligentes me diligo, et qui mane uigilauerint ad me, inuenient*  
*me. Mecum sunt diuitiae et gloria, opes superbae, et iustitia. Melior est fructus*  
 475 *meus auro et lapide pretioso, et genimina mea electo argento. In uiis iustitiae*  
*ambulo, in medio semitarum iudicii, ut ditem diligentes me et thesauros*  
*eorum repleam. Ergo, rex, ut terrenos tibi thesauros replete Christus et*  
 concedat aeternos, clama medullis cordis, et clama tota intentione mentis, et  
 cum Salomone non cesses ad Dominum fundere preces. Ora iugiter, ora  
 480 frequenter, ora instanter, ora indesinenter Dominum et dic, *Deus patrum*

meorum et Domine misericordiae qui fecisti omnia uerbo tuo et sapientia tua  
 constituisti hominem, ut disponat orbem terrarum in aequitate et iustitia, in  
 directione cordis iudicium iudicet. Da mihi sedium tuarum assistricem  
 485      sapientiam et noli me reprobare a pueris tuis, quoniam ego seruus tuus sum et  
              filius ancillae tuae, homo infirmus et exigui temporis et minor ad intellectum  
              iudicii et legum. Mitte illam de caelis sanctis tuis ut tecum sit et tecum  
              laboret et sciam quid acceptum sit apud te. Scit enim illa omnia et intellegit,  
              deducet me in operibus meis sobrie, et custodiet me in sua potentia, et erunt  
              accepta omnia mea opera, et disponam populum tuum iuste et ero dignus  
 490      sedium patris mei. Vere, rex, beata est uirtus sapientiae et qui inuenit eam  
              beatus efficitur ab illa. Sapientia filiis suis uitam praeparat, diligentibus se  
              iustitiam ministrat, amantibus se prudentiam donat. Qui tenuerit illam,  
              uitam hereditabit aeternam. Diligit enim Deus illum qui diligit sapientiam.  
              In temptatione ambulat cum eo, et in primis elegit eum, et firmabit illum, et  
 495      iter adducet directum ad illum, et denudabit absconsa sua illi, et thesaurizat  
              super illum scientiam et intellectum prudentiae.

#### V. DE PRVIDENTIA

Post illuminationem ergo sapientiae thesaurosque scientiae, oportet illum  
 500      qui cupit regiam feliciter currere uiam, Domino donante, impleri prudentia.  
              Regia etenim uirtus est prudentia et a prioribus regibus nimium dilecta. Sic  
              enim de Dauid rege scriptum est, *Egrediebatur quoque Dauid ad omnia ad  
              quae mittebat eum Saul et prudenter se agebat.* Prudentia enim quasi porro

uidentia dicitur. Porro autem et a longe oportet praeuidere regem quid  
 505 agere debeat, ne post actum egressus paeniteat. Omnia namque quae agit, et  
 erga Deum et erga homines, prudenter agere debet et prouide, omnia iuste,  
 omnia recte, omnia sapienter, et cum prudentia necesse est ut faciat, ne  
 regis opera uel consilia ut caeterorum hominum reprehensionis recipient  
 linguam. Qui enim multa Domino donante gubernat, necesse est ut alto  
 510 consilio prudenter cuncta disponat. Sic enim prudentissimus Salomon in  
 prouerbiis ait, *Qui sapiens est multa gubernat prudentia.* Item ipse ait, *Vir  
 prudens dirigit gressus suos.* Iterum dicit, *Sapientia aedificabitur domus et  
 prudentia roborabitur.* Grandis enim uirtus est maxime in pectore regis  
 prudentia, quae cuncta prudenter regna regit atque gubernat. Prudentia  
 515 namque ornamentum est omnium uirtutum, gloria uerbi decusque sermonis  
 sicut scriptum est, *Ornamentum aureum prudenti, doctrina et quasi brachiale  
 in brachio dextro.* Prudentia custos est oris, gubernatio actionis, temperantia  
 cordis, moderatio linguae, omniumque statera uerborum et ponderatio  
 rerum. Sic enim scriptum est, *Verba prudentium in statera ponderabuntur.*  
 520 Iterum scriptum est, *Aurum tuum et argentum tuum confla, et uerbis tuis fac  
 ostiola et frenos ori tuo rectos.* Rursum scriptum est, *Aperi os tuum, decerne  
 quod iustum est et iudica inopem et pauperem.* Quia de fructuoris sui  
 unusquisque replebitur bonis, et iuxta opera manuum suarum retribuetur ei.  
 Malachias quoque ex persona Domini de Leui ait, *Pactum meum cum Leui  
 525 dicit Dominus exercituum, pactum meum fuit cum eo uitae et pacis, et dedi ei  
 timorem et timuit me et a facie nominis mei pauebat. Lex ueritatis fuit in ore*

*eius et iniquitas non est inuenta in labiis eius. In pace et aequitate ambulauit  
mecum et multos conuertit ab iniquitate.* Paulus ad Colosenses ait, *Sermo  
uester in gratia semper sale sit conditus, ut sciatis quomodo oporteat uos*

530     *unicuique respondere.* Dilige ergo, rex, hanc clarissimam regiamque  
uirtutem, quae tibi gubernationem regni disponat et discretionem actionis  
conferat, quae tibi gressus operis dirigat et cognitionis actus disponat, quae  
tibi regiam prolibusque fecundam domum aedificet et aedificatam  
sublimiter roboret, quae tibi ornamenta uirtutum copiamque ministret et  
535     rerum, quae tibi regium cornu sublimet et brachio fortitudinem donet, quae  
ori tuo legem ueritatis ministret et cordi tuo intellectum sapientiae  
multiplicet, quae tibi multarum gentium colla subiciat et te cunctis  
amabilem reddat, quae sermonibus tuis aureum ornamentum inponat et  
argenteum munus labiis conferat, quae omnibus tuis iugem custodiam,  
540     congruam ministret et gloriam.

## VI. DE SIMPLICITATE

Magna est quidem prudentiae uirtus sed necesse est ut simplicitatis uirtute  
545     temperetur. Sic enim Dominus in euangelio ait, *Estote prudentes sicut  
serpentes et simplices sicut columbae.* Ambula ergo, nobilissime rex, de  
uirtute in uirtutem et iugiter proficiens in melius ab itinere non declines  
regio, sed de prudentia in simplicitate firmiter pone gressum. Via enim regia  
est simplicitas et a sanctis regibus antiquitus dilecta. Laudabile etenim de

550 Iob laudabili uiro Dominus dat testimonium dicens Diabolo, *Numquid considerasti seruum meum Iob quod non sit ei similis super terram, simplex et rectus ac timens Deum et recedens a malo.* De Moyse quoque scriptura commemorat dicens, *Erat mitissimus super omnes homines qui morabantur in terra.* Specialiter namque liber sapientiae regibus regumque ministris clamat et dicit, *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram, sentite de Domino in bonitate, et in simplicitate cordis quaerite illum quoniam inuenietur ab his qui non temptant illum.* Generaliter autem et de omnibus sanctis Salomon in prouerbiis ait, *Simplicitas iustorum diriget eos, et, Qui ambulat simpliciter saluus erit.* Paulus uero ait, *Volo uos sapientes esse in bono et simplices autem in malo.* Debet enim electorum corda prudentia in bonum iugiter acuere et simplicitas ab acumine prudentiae temperare, ne aut prudentia modum rectitudinis excedat aut simplicitas ignorantiae fallacia torpescat. Regia etenim uia est simplicitas quae regum simpliciter dirigit gressus, ut ad caelestia per regia gradientes itinera feliciter perueniant regna. Curre ergo, rex, firmiter per simplicitatis itinera, ut ad perennem citius peruenias uitam et immortalitatis cito accipies praemia et stola cito induaris pacis et gloriae.

565

## VII. DE PATIENTIA

Transi iterum, rex, de uirtute in uirtutem, et de simplicitate in patientiam feliciter pone pedem. Posside patientiam si uis tuam possidere dulciter animam. Sic enim Dominus auctor nostrae salutis et pacis in euangelio ait, *In patientia uestra possidebitis animas uestras.* Salomon quoque dicit, *Doctrina*

570

*uiri per patientiam noscitur, et gloria eius iniqua praetergreditur.* Paulus  
 quoque ait, *Induite uos sicut electi Dei uiscera misericordiae, humilitatem,*  
 575     *patientiam, supportantes inuicem* et caetera. Nam quod et ista uirtus  
 principum uirtus sit, Salomon in prouerbiis testatur dicens, *Patientia  
 linietur principes, et lingua mollis frangit duritiam.* Apostolus uero ad  
 eosdem principes clamat dicens, *Corripite inquietos, consolamini  
 pusillanimes, suscipite infirmos, patientes estote ad omnes.* Iacobus apostolus  
 580     ait, *Patientia autem opus perfectum habet, ut sitis perfecti et integri in nullo  
 deficientes.* Virtus ergo quae limit principes et docet corripere inquietos et  
 opus regum ad perfectum perducit sine dubio uirtus et uia regia est. Ambula  
 ergo per eam, mitissime rex, et dilige illam quia currens per eam non  
 habebis offendiculum, sed plenum et aeternum in futuro inuenies gaudium.  
 585     Magna enim est uirtus patientiae, quae laedentem se non laedit sed diligit,  
 quae iniurianti iniurias remittit non reddit, cui nocere potest non nocet sed  
 parcit. Patientia est quae nos Deo commendat et a malis omnibus custodit et  
 seruat. Ipsa est quae iram temperat. Ipsa est quae linguam refrenat. Ipsa est  
 quae mentem gubernat. Ipsa est quae pacem custodit. Ipsa est quae  
 590     disciplinam moderate peragit. Ipsa libidinis impetum frangit. Ipsa furoris  
 uiolentiam comprimit, incendium simultatis extinguit, cohercet potentiam  
 diuitium, refouet inopiam pauperum; facit humiles in prosperis, fortes in  
 aduersis, contra iniurias et contumelias mites; temptationes expugnat,  
 persecutiones tolerat. Ipsa est quae fidei nostrae fundamenta fortiter munit.  
 595     Ipsa est quae incrementa spei nostrae sublimiter prouehit. Ipsa actum

nostrum dirigit. Ipsa nos, ut tenere possimus uiam Christi, gubernat. Ipsa ut filii Dei perseueremus confirmat. Hanc enim, rex, ama uirtutem, hanc dilige, hanc cum gaudio et totis uiribus amplectere festina. Vere enim regia uia est et per se gradientes feliciter ad regnum perducit aeternum. Cae ne declines 600 ad dexteram aut ad sinistram. Scitote quia sicut Domini est bonum patientia, ita Diaboli malum est impatientia, et sicut ille in quo inhabitat et manet Christus patiens inuenitur, ita ille impatiens semper existit cuius mentem Diaboli nequitia possidet. Tu ergo, rex, regiam tene uiam et non declines ab ea sed de ista felici beataque uirtute, in eam quae uocatur iustitia actionis 605 tuae feliciter pone pedem.

### VIII. DE IVSTITIA

Quod regale sit officium facere iustitiam et iudicium, Hieremias testatur ubi ei praecepit Dominus dicens, *Descende in domum regis Iuda et loqueris ibi uerbum hoc et dices, Audi uerbum Domini, rex Iuda qui sedes super solium Dauid, tu et serui tui et populus tuus qui ingredimini per portas istas. Haec dicit Dominus, Facite iudicium et iustitiam et liberate ui oppressum de manu calumniatoris, et aduenam et pupillum et uiduam nolite contristare, neque opprimatis inique, et sanguinem innocentem ne effundatis in loco isto. Si enim facientes feceritis uerbum istud, ingredientur per portas domus huius reges sedentes de genere Dauid super thronum eius et ascendentess currus et equos, ipsi et serui et populus eorum. Quod si non audieritis uerba haec, in memetipso iuraui, dicit Dominus, quia in solitudine erit domus haec.* Dilige ergo iustitiam, 610 615

rex, si uis perpetua frui uita, si uis honorari in perpetuo ab ea. Scriptum est  
 620       enim, *Si sequaris iustitiam, apprehendes eam, et indues quasi phoderem*  
*honoris et inhabitabis cum ea, et proteget te in sempiternum et in die*  
*agnitionis inuenies firmamentum.* Tu ergo cum sis rex in terra, ut sis filius  
 regis in caelo dilige iudicium et iustitiam. Imitare operibus quem patrem  
 clamas sermonibus. Dilige iustitiam et operare in ea quia pater tuus  
 625       caelestis diligit et operatur in ea. Ipse enim ait per Hieremiam, *Ego sum*  
*Dominus qui facio misericordiam et iudicium et iustitiam in terra. Haec enim*  
*placent mihi ait Dominus.* Totis uiribus tuis debes imitari illum cum quo  
 feliciter speras uiuere in aeternum. Sic enim Dominus per prophetam  
 Ezechiel ait, *Vir si fuerit iustus et fecerit iudicium et iustitiam; inter uirum*  
 630       *et uirum et in praeceptis meis ambulauerit et iudicia mea custodierit, uita*  
*uiuet ait Dominus.* Dilige ergo, rex, iustitiam et iudicium quae est uia regia et  
 a prioribus regibus antiquitus trita. Per eam enim desiderium bonum iustis  
 dabitur, per eam de angustia iusti liberabuntur, per eam semen eorum in  
 aeternum saluabitur, per eam domus eorum in aeternum fundamentabitur,  
 635       per illam domus eorum plurimam accipiet fortitudinem; illam tenendo erit  
 memoria iustis cum laudibus, illam sequendo sancti diliguntur a Deo, illam  
 custodiendo exaltabuntur ab eo, illam obseruando honorificabuntur ab eo,  
 in illa fidendo absque terrore erunt quasi leo; laborantes in illa  
 benedictionem merebuntur aeternam, operantes cum illa mercedem  
 640       accipient sempiternam, sicut scriptum est, *Datio Dei permanet iustis et*  
*benedictio eius in mercedem iusti festinat.* Haec est uia regia per quam, rex,

gradiens cito peruenies ad perpetua regna. Sed tempera iustitiam, et  
 crudelitatis sollicite caue sinistram. Temperata etenim iustitia regiam tenet  
 uiam, quod si caute non temperetur in crudelitatem cito dilabitur. Sed ne  
 645 haec tibi deueniat, salutariter te ammonet scriptura dicens,

#### VIII. DE IVDICIO

*In iudicando esto pupillis misericors ut pater et pro uiro matri illorum et eris  
 uelut altissimi oboediens et miserebitur tui magis quam mater.* Iob quoque  
 650 ait, *Oculus fui caeco et pes claudio, pater eram pauperum, et causam quam  
 nesciebam diligentissime inuestigabam, conterebam molas iniqui, et de  
 dentibus illius auferem praeclaram. Flebam quondam super eum qui afflictus  
 erat et compatiebar pauperi.* Nam et haec regiam esse uirtutem rex Salomon  
 approbat dicens, *Rex qui iudicat in ueritate pauperes, thronus eius in  
 655 aeternum firmabitur.* Si uis ergo, o rex, ut thronus tuus a Domino in  
 aeternum firmetur, non cesses iustificare pauperem et pupillum, non cesses  
 subuenire uiduae et oppresso, non cesses defendere aduenam et desolatum,  
 subueni misero, eleua iacentem, solida confractum, conforta et robora  
 lassum, diuitiis non cesses fulcire mendicum, de manu peccatoris non cesses  
 660 liberare oppressum. Audi quid regibus regumque iudicibus Dominus per  
 Dauid clamitat dicens, *Iudicate egenum et pupillum, humilem et pauperem  
 iustificate. Eripite pauperem et egenum de manu peccatoris liberate eum.*  
 Huic sententiae concordans liber ecclesiasticus ait, *Libera eum qui iniuriam  
 patitur de manu superbi.* Esaias nihilominus praedicans ait, *Quaerite*

665       *iudicium, subuenite oppresso, iudicate pupillo, defendite uiduam, et uenite et  
                 arguite me, dicit Dominus. Si fuerint peccata uestra ut coccinum quasi nix  
                 dealbabuntur et si fuerint rubra quasi uermiculus, uelut lana munda erunt. Si  
                 uolueritis et audieritis me, bona terrae comedetis.* Vide ergo et diligenter  
                 attende, rex, quid defensoribus euenit pauperum. Se illis esse debitorem  
 670        seque redditorem pronuntiat Deus. Niuis candorem peccatoribus promittit,  
                 et albae lanae munditiam pollicetur, postremo bona terrae comedere tribuit,  
                 terrae scilicet illius de qua scriptum est, *Sancti in terra sua duplia  
                 possidebunt, et de qua psalmista ait, Credo uidere bona Domini in terra  
                 uiuentium.* Vides quia bona terrae aeternae illis regibus conceduntur qui hic  
 675        pauperum defensores existunt. Illis in escam fructus aeternae conceditur  
                 terrae qui hic pauperes sciunt defendere pie, fructus optimos scilicet  
                 angelorum, fructus aeternos, fructus perpetuos, fructus dulcissimos et  
                 amantissimos, fructus plenos saturitate et pinguedine, plenos laetitia et  
                 gaudio, plenos felicitate et gloria. O quam beata est uita regum iustorum  
 680        quae et hic temporalibus rebus fulta nitescit et in aeternum cum angelis  
                 immortaliter requiescit. Hic terrenis nutritur deliciis, illic gloria uestitur  
                 decoris. Hic populorum constipatur cateruis, illic choris comitatur angelicis.  
                 Hic hominum multitudine delectatur, illic cum angelorum choro laetatur.  
                 Hic illi militia imperatoris obtemperat, illic in militia redemptoris exultat.  
 685        Hic stola uestitus regali nitescit, illic gloria immortalitatis indutus refulget.  
                 Hic regis diademata portat, illic gaudio exultationis resultat. Hic terreni  
                 regis filius uocatur, illic caelestis regis filius confirmatur. Hic terreni regni

decenter magnam capit hereditatem, illic caelestis regni felicem feliciter  
 accipit portionem. Haec ut tibi eueniat, clarissime rex, totis uiribus laborare  
 690 non cesses. Nullus te felicior erit si tibi haec auxiliante Domino euenerit.  
 Nullus te transcendet in gloria si haec tibi a Domino feliciter fuerint collata.

#### X. DE MISERICORDIA

695 Qui enim Domino adiuuante pie cupit pauperes et uiduas, aduenas et  
 pupillos defendere misericorditer, si ualet, eorum inopiam bonis suis debet  
 abstergere et mendicitatem eorum elemosinis frequenter debet fulcire, sicut  
 scriptum est, *Fili, elemosinam pauperis ne fraudes et oculos tuos ne auertas a  
 paupere. Animam esurientem ne dispexeris et cor inopis ne afflixeris. Non  
 auertas faciem tuam ab egeno et ab inopi oculos tuos. Declina pauperi aurem  
 tuam et redde debitum tuum et responde pacifica in mansuetudine. Propter  
 mandatum assumme pauperem et propter inopiam eius ne dimittas illum  
 uacuum. Conclude elemosinam in corde pauperis et haec pro te exorabit ab  
 omni malo et super scutum potentis et super lanceam aduersus inimicum  
 tuum pugnabit.* Sed et quod ista uirtus sit regia, rex Salomon in prouerbii  
 700 indicat. Ait enim, *Misericordia et ueritas custodiunt regem et roboretur  
 clementia thronus eius.* Dauid quoque rex tam de se quam et de omnibus  
 elemosinas misericorditer facientibus ait, *Beatus qui intellegit super egenum  
 et pauperem, in die mala liberabit eum Dominus.* Iob quoque simplex et  
 705 rectus et timens Deum de se uerax proferens testimonium fiducialiter ait, *Si*

*negaui quod uolebant pauperibus et oculos uiduae expectare feci, si comedи  
 bucellam meam solus, et non comedit pupillus ex ea quia ab infantia mea  
 creuit mecum miseratio et de utero matris meae egressa est mecum. Si dispexi  
 praetereuntem eo quod non habuerit indumentum et absque operimento  
 pauperem, si non benedixerunt mihi latera eius et de uelleribus ouium  
 mearum calefactus est, si leuaui super pupillum manum meam etiam cum  
 uiderem me in porta superiore, humerus meus a iunctura sua cadat et  
 brachium meum cum suis ossibus confringatur. Non enim tepide aut tarde uel  
 formidando elemosinas erogare debet pauperibus qui ex illis feliciter  
 720 thesaurizare sperat in caelo. Cum magna mentis alacritate pauperibus  
 debemus elemosinas dare, quando ipsi Domino sine dubio datur quod  
 hilariter pauperibus erogatur. Ipse namque Dominus in iudicio his qui a  
 dextris eius erunt dicturus est, *Venite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum*  
*quod uobis praeparatum est ab origine mundi. Esuriui enim et dedistis mihi*  
*725 manducare. Sitiui et dedistis mihi bibere et caetera. Illis autem*  
*interrogantibus et quando haec fecissent scire uolentibus, respondens*  
*Dominus ait, Quando fecistis uni de his minimis meis, mihi fecistis. Ergo, rex,*  
*ut ab origine mundi praeparatum percipias regnum, debes pauperibus*  
*elemosinas frequenter porrigere propter Christum. Illum in aeternum*  
*730 senties retributorem. Si pro illo pauperibus hilariter porrexeris panem, ab*  
*illo aeternam consequeris misericordiam, si pro illo plenam pauperibus*  
*porrexeris dextram. Neque enim mereri Dei misericordiam poterit qui*  
*misericors et ipse non fuerit, aut impetrabit de diuina pietate aliquid in**

precibus qui ad precem pauperis non fuerit humanus. Sic spiritus ueritatis

735 per Salomonem dicit, *Qui obturat aures suas ad clamorem pauperis et ipse*

*clamabit et non exaudietur.* Raphahel quoque angelus, ut elemosina libenter

ac largiter fiat, hortatur nos dicens, *Bona est oratio cum ieunio et elemosina*

*quia a morte liberat et peccata purgat.* Reuelat angelus et affirmat

elemosinis petitiones nostras efficaces fieri, elemosinis uitam de periculis

740 redimi, elemosinis a morte animas liberari. Quam bonum tibi erit, o

nobilissime rex, quam dulce et suave quando ipse saluator, redemptor et

gubernator tuus, coram omnibus angelis, et archangelis, patriarchis,

prophetis et apostolis totiusque mundi, caeli uidelicet et terrae, exercitu

congregato tibi ad dexteram suam misericorditer constituto, taliter fuerit

745 cum caeteris allocutus, *Venite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum quod*

*uobis praeparatum est* et caetera, ut superius dicta sunt. Ergo, mitissime

atque clarissime rex, fide plena, mente deuota, operatione continua Domino

Deo tuo obsequium praepara. Da Christo in terra uestimentum, ut ab illo

caeleste recipias indumentum. Da cibum et potum, ut cum Abraham, Isaac et

750 Iacob ad conuiuium merearis peruenire aeternum. Quae illa erit tibi aeterna

laetitia, quam grandis et summa gloria, quando tibi cooperit Dominus

retribuere pro terrenis caelestia, pro temporalibus sempiterna, pro modicis

magna, pro caducis permanentia, pro fuscatis paeclarissima, pro fragilibus

firmissima, pro transeuntibus permansura. Ergo, rex, de redditibus tuis

755 portionem fac Domino tuo, possessionum terrestrium fac tibi participem

Christum, ut et ille te coheredem faciat regnorum caelestium. Ille etenim tibi

omnia quae habes concessit et a te, quam tibi centumpliciter postmodum reddat, in pauperibus elemosinam rogat. Ille te facere uult in aeternum honorificando sublimem et in pauperibus a te paruum expetit honorem.

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#### XI. VT OPERIBVS DOMINVS HONORETVR

Operibus enim misericordiae honorari Dominus comprobatur, sicut scriptum est, *Qui calumniatur egenti exprobrat factori suo, honorat autem eum qui miseretur pauperi. Facere autem misericordiam et iudicium magis placent Deo quam uictimae.* Iterum Salomon ait, *Fili, honora Dominum et ualebis.* Iesus filius Syrach ait, *Honora Dominum ex tota anima tua, et honorifica sacerdotes eius, et pauperi porrige manum tuam, ut perficiatur propitiatio et benedictio tua.* Nam quod et haec uirtus sine dubio uirtus regia sit, regi Dauid Dominus clamat et per eum ad honorificandum se alios reges prouocat dicens, *Sacrificium laudis honorificabis me, et illic iter in quo ostendam illi salutare meum.* Nam et ipse Dauid rex de se ipso dicit, *Confitebor tibi Domine in toto corde meo et honorificabo nomen tuum quoniam bonum est.* Dignum enim et iustum est ut pre omnibus hominibus reges honorificant Deum quia pre omnibus hominibus honorificantur ab eo. Honorificate, o reges, Dominum quia ille prior honorificauit uos. Illius etenim uox per Salomonem clamat et dicit, *Ego sapientia habitu in consilio, et eruditis intersum cogitationibus. Meum est consilium et aequitas mea est prudentia et fortitudo, per me reges regnant et legum conditores iusta decernunt, per me principes imperant et potentes decernunt iustitiam.* Mecum

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780      *sunt diuitiae et gloria. Ego diligentes me diligo et thesauros eorum repleo.*

Honorificare ergo, rex, totis uiribus tuis debes Dominum Deum tuum, qui  
 tantam iam tibi contulit laudem et tantum adhuc promisit honorem, hic iam  
 tibi regni eruditionem, prudentiam pariter concessit et fortitudinem, illuc  
 uero aeternae uitae promisit immortalitatem. Hic te terrenum euexit in  
 785      regnum, illic tibi caeleste promisit imperium. Hic tibi gaudium temporale  
 concessit, illic gaudium aeternum promisit. Hic amplam regni dedit  
 hereditatem, illic amplissimam paradisi promisit possessionem. Hic  
 affluentiam in diuiniis sumministrat, illic postea accipendas praeparet. Hic  
 te iam regali uestiuit purpura, illic uestiet immortalitatis adhuc stola. Hic  
 790      iam capiti tuo posuit diademata regia, sed illic adhuc aeternitatis ponet  
 coronam. Hic iam concessit florentia regna, illic dabit grandia et  
 inenarrabilia gaudia. Hic contulit multiplicia munera, illic promisit candida  
 et perpetua regna. Hic sine tristitia dedit ducere tempora, illic perennem et  
 sine fine dabit uiuere uitam. Hic dedit uirtutem habere in castris, illic dabit  
 795      societatem felicem cum angelis. Hic terrenas multiplicesque contulit  
 diuitias, illic caelestes communesque cum sanctis omnibus promisit  
 aeternas, illas uidelicet de quibus apostolus ait, *quas oculus non uidit nec*  
*auris audiuit nec in cor hominis ascendit quae praeparauit Deus his qui*  
*diligunt eum.*

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## XII. DE DECIMIS ET PRIMITIIS

Honorifica ergo, rex clarissime, moribus et actibus tuis Dominum Deum

tuum, honorifica decimis et primitiis et omnibus oblationibus tuis in uita tua  
 Dominum Deum tuum sicut scriptum est, *Fili, si habes, bene fac tecum et Deo*  
 805 *dignas oblationes offer. Memor esto quoniam mors non tardat.* Nam et in lege  
 Dominus praecipiens filiis Israhel ait, *Quando compleueris decimas*  
*cunctarum frugum tuarum, dabis leuitae et aduenae et pupillo et uiduae, ut*  
*comedant in portis tuis et saturentur et benedicant tibi.* Ipse iterum Dominus  
 per Malachiam prophetam ait, *Inferte omnem decimam in horreum meum, et*  
 810 *sit cibus in domo mea, et probate me, dicit Dominus, si non aperuero uobis*  
*cataractas caeli et effudero uobis benedictionem usque ad abundantiam. Et*  
*increpabo pro uobis deuorantem et non corrumpet fructum terrae uestrae nec*  
*erit sterilis uinea in agro, dicit Dominus exercituum. Et beatos uos dicent*  
*omnes gentes, eritis enim uos terra desiderabilis, dicit Dominus exercituum.*

815 Vide ergo et prudenter intellege, clarissime rex, largitorem bonum  
 optimumque datorem qui, cum tibi innumerabiles regiasque dederit  
 diuitias, in horreo inferre suo iussit tantum decimas et primitias. Tu eum  
 adhuc in terra positus decimis honoras atque primitiis, ille uero te in caelo  
 collocatum diuitiis ditabit angelicis. Considera, rex, quam dulcis tibi erit  
 820 societas regum iustorum, quam suavis collatio patriarcharum, quam dulce  
 consortium prophetarum, quam clarissima germanitas apostolorum, quam  
 laeta dignitas martyrum, quam excellentissima gloria uirginum, quam  
 delectabilis et honoranda aequalitas angelorum, quam felix uita  
 inextinguibilis manens in saecula saeculorum. Hunc tam grandem et  
 825 inenarrabilem, rex, accipies in futuro thesaurum si modo decimis et

primitiis tuum honorificaueris Dominum.

### XIII. VT THESAVRVS IN CAELO COLLOCETVR

Et ut thesaurus rerum nostrarum in caelo collocetur, ammonet nos Dominus

830 in euangelio dicens, *Thesaurizate uobis thesauros in caelo, ubi nec aerugo nec tinea demolitur.* Ipse igitur in euangelio diuiti ait, *Si uis perfectus esse, uade et uende omnia quae habes et da pauperibus et habebis thesauro in caelo, et ueni, sequere me.* Thesaurum ergo tuum in caelo pone, clarissime rex, ubi non times hostem et expugnatorem, ubi non times occultum furem atque latronem, quem rapere non possit publicus praedo atque grassator. Patria enim tua paradisus est. In patria enim tua postmodum recepturus multiplices debes condere thesauros. Magnus te illic carorum numerus expectat parentum, fratrum atque sororum. Copiosa turba te illic uidere desiderat, de sua iam immortalitate securi sed adhuc de tua salute solliciti.

840 Chorus etenim te illic patriarcharum expectat, numerus prophetarum desiderat, apostolorum, uirginum, et omnium sanctorum cuneus cernere cupit. O quam grandis laetitia est ad istorum omnium sanctorum peruenire consortium, ad istorum omnium felicem uenire complexum. Quam summa et perpetua felicitas, illic apostolorum gloriosos cernere choros, illic prophetarum exultantium numero interesse sacrato, inter uirginum martyrum, confessorum et omnium pro Domino triumphantium candidato cuneo interesse sanctorum. Ergo ut ad istorum merearlis, rex felix, consortium pertingere patrimoniorum tuorum, cotidie in caelo thesauros

repone, et regiam pergens uiam caue sinistram. Thesauros semper tibimet  
 850 repone bonos, et noli condere malos. Sunt etenim thesauri mali sicut et boni,  
 sicut scriptum est, *Bonus homo de bono thesauro suo profert bona, et malus  
 homo de malo thesauro suo profert mala.* Quem enim superbia inflat,  
 iracundia inflammat, rapacitas inquietat, crudelitas stimulat, ambitio  
 delectat, libido praecipitat; quid aliud facit, quam thesauros iniquitatis sibi  
 855 reponit? De talibus enim Paulus apostolus ait, *Tradidit eos Deus in reprobum  
 sensum, ut faciant quae non conueniunt, repletos omni iniquitate, malitia,  
 fornicatione, auaritia, plenos inuidia, homicidia, contentione, dolo,  
 malignitate, susurrones, detractores, elatos, Deo odibiles, contumeliosos,  
 superbos, inuentores malorum, incompositos, absque foedere, sine  
 860 misericordia.* De quibus et subdit quod secundum duritiam suam et cor  
*impaenitens, thesaurizant sibi iram in die irae et reuelationis iusti iudicii Dei.*

XIII. QVALEM ET QVANTVM THESAVRVM IN VITA SIBI HOMO  
 RECONDERIT, TALEM ET TANTVM POST MORTEM INVENIET  
 865 Qualem thesaurum et quantum unusquisque adhuc uiuens homo in caelo  
 reconderit, talem et tantum post mortem inueniet. Sic enim Paulus ait ad  
*Galatas, Nolite errare, Deus non irridetur. Quae enim seminauerit homo haec  
 et metet, quoniam qui seminat in carne de carne et metet corruptionem. Qui  
 autem seminauerit in spiritu de spiritu metet uitam aeternam. Bonum autem  
 870 facientes non deficiamus, tempore enim suo metemus non deficientes. Ergo  
 dum tempus habemus operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad*

*domesticos fidei.* Salomon quoque ait, *Qui seminat iniquitatem metet mala.*

*Qui pronus est ad misericordiam benedicitur.* Esto pronus, rex, ad misericordiam, ut merearis a Deo accipere gratiam, seminando pauperibus in praesenti saeculo quod ipse cum multiplici fenore metiaris in futuro.

Mitte panem tuum in esurientium uiscera, ut eum multiplicem inuenias in aeterna patria. Sic enim Salomon ait, *Mitte panem tuum super transeuntes aquas, quia post multa tempora inuenies illum.* Quid est autem ‘super transeuntes aquas mittere panem’ nisi pauperibus et egentibus et de isto saeculo transeuntibus elemosinam dare? Quid est uero ‘post multa tempora inuenies illum’ nisi in futuro saeculo retributionis ex illo largum accipies praemium?

#### XV. DE NON FIDENDVM IN DIVITIIS

Et quia tibi Dominus misericorditer regias concessit in praesenti saeculo et largas diuitias, sollerter agere debes ut multas inuenias ex illis in futura patria repositas. Neque enim aliae ueraciter dicendae sunt diuitiae nisi illae quae in caelesti thesauro feliciter sunt reconditae. Audi ergo, rex, apostolum et noli confidere in caducis istius praesentis saeculi diuitiis sed in illis de quibus pauperibus erogatis caelestem thesaurum aedificaueris. Ait enim Paulus apostolus ad Timotheum, *Diuitibus huius saeculi praecipe ne superbe sapere neque sperare in incerto diuitiarum sed in Domino qui praestat nobis abunde ad fruendum, bene agere, diuites fieri in operibus bonis, facile tribuere, communicare, thesaurizare sibi fundamentum bonum in futuro, ut*

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895      *apprehendant ueram uitam.* Opus enim misericordiae et iustitiae  
 patrocinatur homini post mortem non diuitiae. Sic enim Salomon ait, *Non  
 proderunt diuitiae in die ultionis. Iustitia autem liberabit a morte. Quia qui  
 confidit in diutiis suis corruet, iusti autem quasi uirens folium germinabunt.*  
 Dauid quoque ait, *Nolite sperare in iniquitatibus, et rapinas nolite  
 concupiscere, diuitiae si adfluent nolite cor apponere.* Ille diutiis cor apponit  
 qui in ipsis singularem esse felicitatem credit. Iste sic illis cor apponit, ut  
 non uelit res pauperibus erogare sed magis eas ambire, non uult aurum  
 suum expendere sed celare, patrimonia sua non uult egenis largiri sed  
 heredibus congregata seruare. Et ideo post mortem nihil inueniunt quia in  
 900     uita pauperibus nihil tribuunt. De quibus congrue psalmista ait, *Dormierunt  
 somnum suum et nihil inuenerunt omnes uiri diuitiarum in manibus suis.* Ad  
 hunc finem Salomon de diutiis suis computatam sententiam perduxit ubi  
 ait, *Magnificaui opera mea, aedificaui mihi domos, plantaui uineas, feci hortos  
 et pomaria, et conserui cunctis generibus arboris. Instruxi mihi piscinas  
 aquarum, ut irrigarem siluam germinantium. Possedi seruos et ancillas  
 multamque familiam habui, armenta quoque et magnos ouium greges ultra  
 910     omnes qui fuerunt ante me in Hierusalem. Coaceruaui mihi argentum et  
 aurum et substantias regum ac prouinciarum, feci mihi cantores et  
 cantatrices et delicias filiorum hominum, sciphos et urceolos in ministerio ad  
 uina fundenda et supergressus sum opibus omnes qui fuerunt ante me in  
 Hierusalem. Et uidi in his omnibus uanitatem et afflictionem animi et nihil  
 915     permanere sub sole. Largas enim diuitias psalmographus habere non damnat*

sed ne cor in illis apponatur uetat. Non tibi oberit diuitiarum congregatio  
 iusta, si adfuerit distributio larga. Ex illis enim munus misericordiae egenis  
 920 porrigitur, ex illis nuditas pauperum operitur, ex illis peregrinorum inopia  
 suppletur, ex illis pupillorum miseria detergitur, ex illis uiduarum solacia  
 tribuuntur, ex illis esurientium fames repellitur, ex illis sitientium sitis  
 fugatur, ex illis infirmantium desideria supplentur, ex illis accipientes a  
 miseriis liberabuntur, et illorum fidelis dispensator in futuro ditabitur.

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#### XVI. DE NON GLORIANDVM IN DIVITIIS SED IN HVMILITATE

Ergo si illae diuitiae quae conduntur thesauro permanent in aeternum, et  
 istae quae tenentur in saeculo caduae transeunt et pereunt, non  
 gloriandum est sicut nec confidendum in perituris diutiis, sed potius  
 930 laetandum et gloriandum est in bonis magnisque uirtutibus. Numquam  
 oportet diuites in diutiis gloriari sed in humilitate Iacobus testatur dicens,  
*Glorietur autem frater humilis in exaltatione sua, diues autem in humilitate  
 sua.* Noli ergo in diutiis gloriari, rex, sed in humilitate. Esto humilis, esto in  
 humilitate fundatus. Quamuis sublimis sis, magnus et summus, humilitatem  
 935 tene. Sic enim scriptum est, *Quanto magnus es humilia te in omnibus, et  
 coram Deo inuenies gratiam.* Vides ergo, rex, quia si humilitatem tenueris,  
 habebis gratiam, habebis et gloriam, insuper et animae tuae inuenies  
 requiem. Sic enim Dominus tuus redemptor et doctor tuus, creator et  
 gubernator tuus te quem sequi debeas docet, et quid discere debeas tibimet  
 940 ostendit dicens, *Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde et inuenietis*

*requiem animabus uestris.* Idem ipse Dominus per prophetam clamat et dicit,  
*Ad quem autem respiciam nisi ad humilem et quietum et trementem sermones meos.* Si uis ergo ut ad te respiciat Deus, sublimem faciat, glorificet et exaltet,  
 humilia te in conspectu illius. Sic enim Iacobus apostolus ait, *Humiliamini in  
 945 conspectu Domini et exaltabit uos.* Per hanc regiam humilitatis uiam  
 purpuratus et infulatus fortissimus rex Dauid et sacerdos firmiter currens  
 clamabat, *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum neque elati sunt oculi mei  
 neque ambulaui in magnis neque in mirabilibus super me. Si non humiliter  
 sentiebam et caetera.* Magna enim est uirtus humilitas et mirabilis genetrix  
 950 omnium et educatrix uirtutum. Sed non haec uirtus humana uoluntate a  
 quoquam sumitur sed misericorditer a Domino cui uoluerit largitur quae  
 ideo inter uirtutes eximias maxime honorata consurgit quia eam maiestas  
 diuina dignanter assumpsit. Nam quod et haec regia uirtus sit priscorum  
 regum acta testantur. Saulem superbum humilians Dominus ait, *Cum essem  
 955 paruulus in oculis tuis caput te constitui in tribus Israhel,* et est subauditio,  
 ‘*Cum te magnum aestimasti in oculis tuis, paruus et abiectus factus es in  
 oculis meis.*’ Nam Dauid, cum Micol filia Saulis eo quod se humiliasset  
 reprehendit, ait, *Ludam et uilior fiam plusquam factus sum et ero humiliis in  
 oculis meis.* Vides ergo, rex, quia unus ex illis de regni solio per superbiam  
 960 est deiectus, et aliis ad regni gloriam per humilitatem est euectus. Vnde et  
 in illis impletum est, *Quia omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat  
 exaltabitur.* Vnus ex illis cum in oculis suis fuisset elatus, in oculis Domini  
 iuste est humiliatus. Alius cum in oculis suis humiliiter fuisset despectus, in

oculis Dei decenter est exaltatus. Humilia te ergo, rex, in oculis tuis ut  
 965 exalteris in oculis Domini, quia quantum humilior fueris in conspectu tuo,  
 tantum gloriosior eris in conspectu altissimi.

## XVII. DE PACE

Nemo enim se apud Deum magis exaltat quam qui se apud semetipsum  
 970 propter Deum humiliat. Ad hoc enim a Domino humilis exaltatur ut filius Dei  
 et heres Christi uocetur. Tantum est ut pacem sequatur quia pacem  
 quaerere debet et sequi filius pacis. Taliter enim nos ammonens apostolus  
 dicit, *Pacem sequimini cum omnibus et sanctimoniam sine qua nemo uidebit*  
*Deum. Ipse quoque Dominus in euangelio ait, Beati pacifici quoniam filii Dei*  
 975 *uocabuntur. Nam et inter sua diuina mandata et magisteria salutaria,*  
*passioni iam proximus hoc nobis praeceptum atque mandatum*  
*commendauit saluator custodiendum. Ait enim, Pacem meam do uobis,*  
*pacem meam commendo uobis. Hanc nobis hereditatem ascendens Dominus*  
*in caelum reliquit, et sequi eam per suum fidelissimum regem Dauid atque*  
 980 *prophetam mandauit. Ait enim, Declina a malo et fac bonum. Inquire pacem*  
*et sequere eam. Si hanc enim sincero corde sequi uoluerimus, Christi*  
*heredes erimus. Si autem Christi heredes cupimus esse, in Christi pace*  
*debemus uersari. Si filii Dei sumus, pacifici esse debemus. Pacificos enim*  
*esse oportet, Dei filios et humiles, mente mites, corde simplices, sermone*  
 985 *puros, animo innocentes, affectu concordes, fideliter sibimet unanimiter*  
*coherentes.*

## XVIII. DE ZELO RECTITVDINIS

Viam etenim regiam perge, rex, nec declines ab ea neque ad dexteram neque  
 990 ad sinistram. Sic enim tene uiam humilitatis et pacis, ut a zelo non declines  
 rectitudinis. Tene, inquam, rex, humilitatem et pacem et ad Dominum cum  
 Dauid clama et dic, *Zelus domus tuae comedit me.* Quam sententiam in  
 actione sua Dominus ueraciter compleuit quando uendentes et ementes de  
 templo flagellatos eliminauit. Nam et Phinees filius Eleazari pro zelo  
 995 rectitudinis pactum a Domino meruit accipere sempiterni sacerdotii. Ait  
 enim Dominus ad Moysen, *Phinees filius Eleazari filii Aaron sacerdotis auertit  
 iram meam a filiis Israhel quia zelo meo commotus est contra eos, ut non ipse  
 delerem filios Israhel in zelo meo. Idcirco loquere ad eum, Ecce, do ei pacem  
 foederis mei et erit tam ipse quam semen illius pactum sempiterni sacerdotii  
 1000 quia zelatus est pro Deo suo et expiauit scelus filiorum Israhel.* Et te ergo,  
 mitissime rex, zelus Domini rationabiliter comedat. In qua domo Dei et tu  
 membrum es Christi. Debent etenim caput sequi membra. Si quid forte  
 peruersum aliquid in ecclesia uideris Christi, satage corrigere et emendare  
 non cesses. Si audieris aliquem in domo Dei, quae est ecclesia, currere ad  
 1005 luxuriam, ad ebrietatem: prohibe, ueta, terre. Sic zelus domus Domini  
 comedit te. Si uideris superbia inflatum, aut iracundia saeuum, aut  
 uinolentia temulentum, aut liuore fratris inuidum, aut libidine incestum, aut  
 auaritiae rapinae deditum, aut crudelitate uiolentum, reprime omnes,  
 minare omnibus, refrena seuerissime omnes. Fac quidquid potes propter

1010 personam quam gestas, pro ministerio regali quod portas, pro nomine  
christiano quod habes, pro uice Christi qua fungeris. Noli quiescere lucrari  
Christum, quia lucratus es a Christo, et perficis in te, *Zelus domus tuae  
comedit me.* Iste enim zelus salutem tribuit, fidem retinet, pudicitiam seruat,  
rectitudinem amat, et ecclesiam Dei gloriosa uiuacitate custodit.

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### XVIII. DE CLEMENTIA

Memento te quia sic debes exercere rectitudinis zelum, ut humilitatis atque  
clementiae non relinquas officium. Audi quod scriptum est, *Clementia  
praeparat uitam et sectatio malorum mortem.* Non enim paruipendenda est  
1020 sed summopere quaerenda firmiterque tenenda uirtus quae nobis aeternam  
et immortalem praeparat uitam. Non enim turbulento animo sed cum  
clementia debes disponere cuncta. Quamuis ergo auro nitescas et purpura,  
humilitatis non debes abicere clementiam, quamuis regali cultu  
resplendeas, ab humilitatis clementia non recedas, quamuis populorum sis  
1025 circumdatus multitudine, tu tamen piam clementiam tene. Regalis enim  
uirtus est, et bonorum regum custos est. Illam enim custodiendo, illorum  
proles seruabitur et thronus illorum solidabitur. Sic enim scriptum est,  
*Misericordia et ueritas custodiunt regem, et roborabitur clementia thronus  
eius.* Ipsa est enim quae laetos regi facit seruire populos, ipsa est quae  
1030 iucundissime regis facit hilarescere uultum, sicut Salomon ait, *In hilaritate  
uultus regis, uita et clementia eius quasi imber serotinus.* Ipsa est quae  
omnibus in palatio regis iucunditatem ministrat atque laetitiam, ipsa est

quae cunctis pueris regis larga dona multiplicat, ipsa est quae paruulos et  
 iuuenes senesque laetificat, ipsa quae per cunctos palatii angulos laetos facit  
 1035 discurrere natos, ipsa quae nonnullis oscula plerisque ministrat amplexus.  
 Volo ergo, clementissime rex, ut et in tuo iugiter uultu resplendeat  
 clementiae uirtus, quae cunctis laetitiam cunctisque ministret amorem.

## XX. DE CONSILIO

1040 Et, ut haec omnia cum consilio agas, scriptura te diuina per Salomonem  
 ammonet dicens, *Astutus omnia agit cum consilio*, et Iesus filius Sirach ait,  
*Fili, sine consilio nihil facias*. Nam et, ut sapienter et cum disciplina et cum  
 consilio semper uiuas, idem te Salomon ammonet dicens, *Audi, fili, consilia  
 mea, suscipe disciplinam, ut sis sapiens in nouissimis tuis. Qui agunt cuncta  
 cum consilio reguntur sapientia. Dissipantur cogitationes ubi non est  
 consilium, ubi uero plures sunt consiliarii confirmantur*. Ipse iterum ait,  
*Vnguento et uariis odoribus delectatur cor, et bonis amici consiliis anima  
 dulcoratur. Cum consilii dispositione initur bellum, et erit salus ubi multa  
 consilia sunt*. Magna etenim res est consilium, et non paruipendendum sed  
 1045 super aurum et argentum constituendum, et hoc ipsum diuina approbat  
 scriptura dicens, *Aurum et argentum et constitutio pedum, et super utrumque  
 consilium bene placitum. Scientia sapientis tamquam inundatio abundantiae  
 et consilium illius, sicut fons uitae permanet*. Vides ergo, rex, quam regia  
 uirtus est consilium, quam super aurum et argentum esse praedicat  
 1050 scriptura, quam sicut fontem clamitat affluenter manantem. Hanc igitur

uirtutem consilii omnes dilexerunt regia currentes itinera. Virtute consilii  
 roboratus constanter Noe per centum annos arcam fabricauit, et in diluui  
 gubernauit eam. Virtute consilii Abraham confirmatus de cognitionis sua  
 genere intrepidus est egressus, et inter gentes exteris prudenter est  
 1060 commoratus. Virtute consilii firmiter credens Isaac benedictionem a  
 Domino in se omnium gentium accepit. Consilium matris audiens Iacob  
 benedictionem paternam hereditauit, primogenita fratris accepit, et in  
 duodecim tribubus filiorum suorum largiter excreuit. Per hanc uirtutem  
 consilii mitissimus Moyses sexcenta milia per heremum gubernauit. Per  
 1065 hanc uirtutem consilii frater eius Aaron fideliter sacerdotis ministerium  
 sacrumque sacerdotis officium regendo peregit. Per hanc uirtutem consilii  
 Phinees sacerdotis Eleazari filius, zelo Domini plenus, Zamrim cum scorta  
 Medianitis gladio perforauit, et saeuendam Domini iram super populum  
 pendentem retinuit, unde et benedictionem perpetui sacerdotii posteris suis  
 1070 reliquit. Hoc uirtutis consilium Iesu naue a Moyse nutritore suo accipiens  
 triginta gentium reges occidit illorumque regna destruxit, Hiericuntinos  
 muros subuertit, in terram repromotionis populum Domini intromisit, et  
 eam illis per consilii rationem distento fune partiuit. Per hanc uirtutem  
 consilii Samuel populum Dei iuste iudicans gubernauit. Per hanc uirtutem  
 1075 consilii Dauid Goliam interfecit, cum leonibus lusit, et regnum acceptum  
 prudenter et fortiter gubernauit. Per hanc uirtutem consilii Salomon cum  
 pace gentibus imperauit, et sublime Domino in Hierusalem templum  
 aedificauit. Per hanc uirtutem consilii Helias bis quinquagenos caelesti igne

consumpsit, congruo tempore caeli pluuiam distulit, et iterum congruo  
 1080 Domino opitulante reduxit. Per hanc uirtutem consilii martyres, ut  
 aeternum praemium a Domino acciperent, morti temporalem uitam  
 tradiderunt. Per hanc uirtutem consilii uirgines et confessores in seruitio  
 Domini usque in finem perseuerauerunt. Et tu ergo, rex, omnia quae agis  
 cum consilio age, quia scriptum est, *Ante omnia opera uerbum uerax  
 1085 praecedat te, et ante omnem actum consilium stabile et in his omnibus  
 deprecare altissimum, ut dirigat in ueritate uiam tuam. Si enim magnus  
 Dominus uoluerit, spiritu intellegentiae replebit te, et quasi imbre mittet tibi  
 eloquia sapientiae, et aperiet in oratione os tuum et diriget consilium tuum in  
 bono, et usque in saeculum non delebitur memoria tua.*

1090

XXI. VT CAVEAT VNVSQVISQVE SVPERBIAM

Hactenus quid auxiliante Deo, rex, agere debeas ordinatim digessimus. Quid  
 uero deinceps uitare debeas salubriter proferamus. Neque enim minoris est  
 uirtutis homo qui mala sollicite uitat quam qui bona salubriter congregat.  
 1095 Vnde necesse est, clarissime rex, ut in omnibus actibus uiam regiam discrete  
 custodias, et per eam salubriter ambulans gressus operis firmiter ponas, et  
 dextera feliciter tenens itinera caute et sollicite caue sinistra. Dextera enim  
 uia est uirtus humilitatis quae caeteras nutrit uirtutes et bene uiuentes ad  
 uitam perducat aeternam. Sinistra est uitium superbiae quae caetera nutrit  
 1100 uitia et sibi male consentientes aeternam perducit ad poenam. Superbia  
 enim primum et summum uitium est, et, sicut scriptum est in ecclesiastico,

*Odibilis coram Deo et hominibus est superbia et, Initium omnis peccati est  
 superbia. Qui tenuerit illam adimplebitur maledictis, et subuertet eum  
 Dominus in finem. Propterea exhonorauit Dominus conuentus malorum, et  
 destruxit eos usque in finem. Sedes ducum superborum destruxit Deus et  
 sedere fecit mites pro illis. Are fecit eos et disperdidit, et cessare fecit  
 memoriam eorum de terra. Perdidit Deus memoriam superborum, et reliquit  
 memoriam humilium. Dominus quoque dans de ligno humilibus et superbis  
 comparationem per Ezechiel ait, *Et scient omnia ligna regionis, quia ego*  
 1105 *Dominus humiliaui lignum sublime et exaltaui humile. Exsiccaui lignum uiride*  
*et frondere feci lignum aridum. Ego Dominus locutus sum et feci.* Dominus  
*quoque in euangelio ait, Omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat*  
*exaltabitur.* Ipse quoque Dominus per Hieremiam superbo comminans ait,  
*Ecce ego ad te, dicit Dominus Deus exercituum, quia ueniet dies tuus tempus*  
 1110 *uisitationis tuae, et cadet superbis et corruet, et non erit qui suscitet eum.* Et  
*succendam ignem in urbibus eius, et deuorabit omnia in circuitu eius.* Grande  
 malum est superbia quae Diabolum de caelo depositum et hominem de  
 1115 paradiso proiecit, quae et cotidie de statu rectitudinis miseros ad infima  
 premit, et post obitum ad inferna demergit. Superbia prius in cogitatione  
 eleuat hominem et post elatum extollit in opere. Prius in secreto cordis  
 tumidum facit et postea in publico praecipitem reddit. Inde superbi  
 1120 extrinsecus cadunt, unde prius miseri intrinsecus eleuantur. Iuste enim  
 homo peccato substratus iacet, qui auctorem suum superbiendo contemnit.  
 Tu ergo, prudentissime rex, time tantum et caue superbiae malum. Declina*

1125 seruilem sinistram et per dexteram, quae est regia, uelociter curre uiam.

Dilige et tene humilitatem et quid tibi Dominus per scripturam clamet diligenter attende. Ait enim, *Rectorem te posuerunt, noli extolli. Esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis, curam illorum habe, et sic conside, et omni cura tua explicata recumbe, et laetaberis propter illos, et ornamentum gratiae coronam accipies.*

1130

## XXII. DE ZELO ET LIVORE

Zelare et inuidere alterius bono non est paruum sed grande et magnum peccatum. Diabolus inter initia statim mundi zeli liuore perculsus periit primus et sic perdidit alios. Postquam uero hominem ad imaginem Dei factum conspexit in zeli liuorem prorupit et hominem miserum suadendo decepit. Sed et angelicam beatitudinem quam habebat miserrimus amisit, et ex tunc, ut scriptum est, *Inuidia Diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum.*

Imitantur autem illum qui sunt ex parte illius. Imitatus est enim illum Cain iniquus et per zeli liuorem Abel fratrem suum iustum occidit. Per zeli liuorem Esau factus est inimicus fratri suo Iacob. Per zeli liuorem a fratribus suis uenditus est Ioseph. Per zeli liuorem Dauid inimicus et persecutor factus est Saul, et, ne longius eam recensem per singulos, Iudeorum populus per zeli liuorem interiuit qui Christo maluit inuidere quam credere.

Zeli enim liuor, quamquam unius uitii censeatur nomine, multiplices per

1140

diuersa uitia generat ramos. Radix est omnium malorum et fons uitiorum.

Inde odium surgit, animositas inde procedit, auaritiam zelus inflamat, ambitionem zelus excitat. Per iniquum liuoris zelum Dei timor spernitur,

1145

magisterium Christi neglegitur, iudicii dies non prouidetur, inflatur  
 superbia, exacerbatur saeuitia, perfidia praeuaricatur, impatientia  
 1150 concutitur; fuit discordia, feruescit ira. Nec se iam poterit cohibere uel  
 regere qui factus est potestati subditus alienae. Hinc omne pacis uinculum  
 rumpitur, hinc fraterna caritas uiolatur, hinc adulteratur ueritas, unitas  
 scinditur; ad hereses atque scismata prosilitur, dum obtrectatur  
 sacerdotibus episcopis inuidetur; de zelo superbus efficitur, de zelo  
 1155 peruerse animus mutatur. Non est cibus talibus laetus, non est potus  
 iucundus. Suspirat semper de alterius bono et ingemiscit. Hinc uultus minax,  
 toruus aspectus, pallor in facie, in labiis tremor, stridor in dentibus. Quid  
 plura referam? De zeli liuore fons omnium uitiorum consurgit. Tu uero,  
 mitissime rex, dilige omnes, et paterno regalique affectu complectere  
 1160 cunctos et tantum et tam perniciosum odii caute deuita malum, quia, ut  
 Iacobus apostolus ait, *Vbi est zelus et contentio, ibi inconstantia et omne opus*  
*prauum.* Vides ergo, rex, quam zelifera est liuoris et inuidiae indignatio. Ipsa  
 est quae cuncta uirtutum germina concremat, ipsa quae cuncta bona ardore  
 pestifero deuorat, ipsa quae sensum comedit, ipsa quae pectus urit, ipsa  
 1165 quae mentem afficit et cor hominis quasi quaedam pestis depascit. Occurrat  
 ergo tibi, o rex, contra zeli liuorem animi bonitas ponere, aduersus inuidiam  
 fraterna caritas praeparetur et arma dilectionis. Pacem ama cum omnibus,  
 pacem retine cum cunctis. In mansuetudine et caritate amplectere omnes.  
 Stude in terris a cunctis hominibus dulciter amari, ut merearis in caelo cum  
 1170 angelis feliciter laetari.

### XXIII. DE NON REDDENDO MALVM PRO MALO

Dilige proximum sicut te ipsum puro animo, mente sincera, ita ut si etiam in  
 te peccauerit, dimittas, et non reddas malum pro malo, sicut scriptum est in  
 1175 prouerbiis, *Ne dicas, Redde malum pro malo. Expecta Dominum, et liberabit te.* Ergo et tu ex toto corde in te dimitte peccanti et expecta Dominum, ut a proprio libereris peccato, et noli uindicari in homine qui in te deliquerit,  
 quia scriptum est, *Qui uindicari uult, a Deo inueniet uindictam, et peccata illius seruans seruabitur.* Tu uero, cum sis rex et summi regis filius, patrem  
 1180 tuum bonum imitare Deum et proximo relinque peccata, ut et tua a Domino dimittantur commissa. Fac tu proximo tuo quod uis, ut faciat tibi Deus tuus.  
 Noli quaerere de proximo uindictam, ne expectantur a te Domino uindicante  
 delicta. *Noli uinci a malo sed uince in bono malum.* Quod non uis ut faciat tibi  
 Deus, noli tu homo facere homini. In utroque testamento scriptum reperitur,  
 1185 'Quod tibi non uis fieri alteri ne facias.' Si ergo cauet quisquam alteri facere  
 quod nequaquam uult ab altero perpeti, cauet utique ne in superbia elatus  
 proximum despiciat. Cauet ne ambitione commotus fratrem ad iracundiam  
 prouocet, cauet ne inuidiae morsu dilaniat. Cum quisque uero cogitat ea  
 alteri facere quae sibi ab alio uult fieri, sine dubio pensat, ut malis bona et  
 1190 bonis meliora retribuat, procacibus mansuetudinem ostentet, humilibus  
 gratiam benignitatis demonstret, discordes ad pacem reuocet, necessaria  
 indigentibus ministret, errantibus uiam rectitudinis demonstret, adflictos  
 uerbo consolationis subleuet, et cuncta quae ualet proximis fideliter

sumministret.

1195

#### XXIII. DE REPRIMENDA IRA

Nam quia solet homo homini per iram reddere uindictam, ideo peccare per iram nos apostolus prohibet dicens, *Irascimini et nolite peccare. Sol non occidat super iracundiam uestram. Nolite locum dare Diabolo.* Vides ergo,

1200 mitissime rex, quia qui per iram in fratrem expetit uindictam, Diabolo in corde suo facit locum, et uero soli, qui est Christus, quantum in semetipso est facit occasum. Recte etenim per solem Christus et per tenebras Diabolus intellegitur. Neque etenim potest in uno hominis pectusculo sol et tenebrae pariter commorari. Habitante etenim luce fugantur tenebrae,

1205 commorantibus tenebris excluditur lux. Neque enim commorari potest cum amaritudine dulcedo, aut cum lumine caligo, aut cum pace pugna, aut cum tranquillitate tempestas. Depone ergo, mitissime rex, auxiliante Domino iram et noli per iram homini reddere uindictam. Attende diligenter quid

Pauli nos ammonens dicat sententia. Ait enim, *Nunc autem deponite et uos*

1210 *omnem iram, indignationem et malitiam.* Iacobus enim dicit, *Ira enim uiri iustitiam Dei non operatur.* Salomon uero ait, *Zelus et iracundia minuunt dies et ante tempus ad senectutem perducunt.* Ipse quoque Dominus noster, totius ecclesiae suae ornamentum et decus, praedicator et doctor, exemplum et forma, creator, gubernator et rector, ab ira nos fratris omnino remouens ait,

1215 *Omnis qui irascitur fratri suo, reus erit iudicio.* Cauendum est ergo maxime regibus ad effectum suam perducere iram. Neque enim aequalis est

cuiuslibet hominis ira cum ira regis. De ira regis scriptum est, *Sicut fremitus leonis, ita ira regis.* Et iterum, *Ira regis nuntius mortis.* Ergo quantum ualidior est ira regis ad reddendam uindictam, tantum a fidelissimis regibus

1220 temperata debet esse et cauta. Tu uero, mitissime rex, si uis per hanc quam scribimus regiam currere uiam et ad superam feliciter regiamque scandere patriam, mansuetus atque mitissimus esto. Et si proruperit iracundia, restringe illam. Si praeoccupauerit mentem, mitiga eam. Si emerserit animo, comprime illam. Si iracundiae furor pulsauerit animum, fraternus amor

1225 comprimat illum. Fraterna dulcedo temperet iracundiam, fraterna caritas temperet animositatem, fraterna dilectio mitiget indignationem. Grande enim uitium est iracundia. Per iram sapientia perditur. Per iram iustitia relinquitur. Per iram societas amoris dissoluitur. Per iram pacis concordia rumpitur. Per iram lex ueritatis amittitur, iracundiae stimulis agitatum

1230 corpus tremit, lingua balbutit, uultus ignescit, cor palpitans tremulat, et oculi turbati caligant. Haec autem, rex, ne tibi contingent refrena iram, omnia dispone cum patientia. Sermo etenim tuus potestate plenus est, cui nemo resistere potest. Ergo cum pace dispone quae disponenda sunt, et cum tranquillitate rege quae regenda sunt, ut et regnum bene et iuste gubernes

1235 et animae tuae possessor in aeternum laeteris.

## XXV. DE NON CONSENTIENDO ADVLATORIBVS

Solent namque adulatores ad reddendum malum pro malo sibi consentientes incitare potentes, qui et sibi aeternum praeparant incendium

1240 et illis perniciosum inferunt detrimentum. Quos diligenter, discretissime  
 rex, uitare memento, et qui sint illi acutissime et caute discutito, et talibus  
 nullo modo nulloque pacto consentire digneris, ne te lactantes atque  
 laudantes a uia diuertant regia et gressum operis tui in uia faciant ponere  
 non recta. De talibus enim adulatoribus scriptum est, *Vir iniquus lactat  
 amicum suum et dicit eum per uiam non bonam.* Iterum de principibus qui  
 1245 consentiunt adulatoribus scriptum est, *Princeps qui libenter audit uerba  
 mendacii, omnes ministros habebit impios.* Item de adulatoribus, *Lingua  
 fallax non amat ueritatem, et os lubricum operatur ruinas.* Item de  
 consentientibus, *Malus oboedit linguae iniquae, et fallax obtemperat labiis  
 mendacibus.* Tu ergo, clarissime rex, caue adulatorum lubricas  
 1250 mortiferasque ruinas, et, ne, sub amicorum specie, illorum te decipient male  
 sanae fallacie. Audi quid de illis scriptum est, *Simulator ore decipit amicum  
 suum.* Item de illis scriptum est, *Qui beatos uos dicunt, ipsi uos decipiunt, et  
 semitam pedum uestrorum conturbant.* Te ergo quid inter tales agere debeas,  
 1255 Spiritus Sanctus per diuinam scripturam ammonet dicens, *Quomodo  
 probatur argentum in conflatore et in fornace aurum, sic probatur homo ore  
 laudatoris.* Ecce qualis inter laudantium adulantiumque linguas iustus et  
 rectus inuenitur princeps, scilicet lucidior argento et clarior auro. Haec illi  
 tamen euenient si diuinae concordauerit scripturae ubi ait, *Voluntas regum  
 1260 labia iusta. Qui recta loquitur dirigetur.* Diligenter attende, rex, et uide si in  
 conspectu summi regis ille dirigitur qui recta loquitur, debet et in conspectu  
 tuo ille dirigi qui non adulantia sed uera loquitur uerba. Respuie ergo ab

auribus tuis suasorios deceptoriosque sermones. Respue blandam  
 adulantium linguam. Bene etenim sonant sed male decipiunt, suauiter  
 1265 cantant sed male maculant, promittunt dulcia sed perdunt animam.

## XXVI. DE CAVENDA AVARITIA

Tu ergo, rex, nec pro adulatoribus nec pro muneribus a recto regioque  
 diuertas itinere, nec ad auaritiae malum rectum regiumque digneris flectere  
 1270 gressum. Regum etenim specialiter inculcans auaritiam, scripta diuinitus  
 inuenitur sententia. Ait enim Salomon in prouerbiis, *Rex iustus erigit terram;*  
*qui auarus est destruit eam.* Item ipse, *Conturbat domum suam qui sectatur*  
*auaritiam. Qui autem odit munera uiuet.* Dominus in euangelio discipulis ait,  
*Cauete autem ab omni auaritia, quia non in abundantia cuiusquam uita eius*  
 1275 *est quae possidet.* Huic sententiae concordans ecclesiastes ait, *Auarus non*  
*implebitur pecunia, et qui amat diuitias, fructus non capiet ex eis.* Abacuc  
 quoque propheta dicit, *Vae qui congregat auaritiam malam domui sua, ut*  
*sit in excelsu nidus eius, et liberari se putat de manu mali.* Paulus apostolus  
 praedicat dicens, *Omnis fornicatio et immunditia aut auaritia nec nominetur*  
 1280 *inter uos. Omnis fornicator aut immundus aut auarus, quod est idolorum*  
*seruitus, non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Tu ergo, largissime  
 rex, ama misericordiam et fuge auaritiam, ut cum Christo hereditatem  
 habere merearis aeternam. Omnibus esto munificus, omnibus largus, ut per  
 te non male destruatur, sed feliciter erigatur regni tui terra. Non ut auarus  
 1285 domum tuam conturbes, sed ut largus aedifices. Grande enim et ingens

malum est auaritia. Ignis est enim inextinguibiliter ardens et incessabiliter urens. De auaritia enim in libro beati Iob scriptum est, *Ignis deuorabit tabernacula eorum qui munera libenter accipiunt*. Sicut enim corpus habitat in materiali aedificio, sic mens habitat in cogitationis consilio, sed ignis tabernacula deuorat, cum aestus auaritiae cogitationes mentis deuastat.

1290 Auaritia modum ignorat, temperamentum nescit, finem habendi postponit, et, cum cuncta deuoret, saturitatem penitus nescit; esurit semper et mendicat, inops est et paupertate repleta, et, cum feralibus cuncta dentibus rodat, adhuc se ieunam horribilis confitetur et clamat; et, cum sit unum nominetenus uitium, multa ab illo alia pullulant et emergunt uitia, sicut 1295 scriptum est, *Radix omnium malorum est auaritia*. Et non solum occulta plurima, sed et aperta generat multa mala. Inde erugata fronte in conuentu inueniuntur falsarii, inde in medio ciuitatis sicarii, inde in publico uenefici, inde aperte crimen ammittitur, inde scelus publice operatur.

1300

## XXVII. VT DE IMPENSIS ALIENIS DOMVS NON AEDIFICETVR

Tu ergo, rex, uelut mundissimi regis filius, ab omni munere nocuo regias excutias mundas manus, quia scriptum est, *Qui excutit manus suas ab omni munere, iste in excelsis habitat*. Ergo ut merearis in excelso sedere feliciter throno, muneribus pauperum non amplifices tibimet aut aedifices domum, quia scriptum est, *Qui aedificat domum suam impensis alienis, quasi qui colligit lapides in hieme*. Hieremias quoque ait, *Vae qui aedificat domum suam in iniustitia et cenacula sua in iudicio, amicum suum opprimit frustra et*

mercedem eius non reddet ei, qui dicit, Aedificabo mihi domum latam et  
 1310 cenacula spatiosa, qui aperit sibi fenestras, et facit laquearia cedrina,  
 pingitque sinopidem. Esaias talibus clamat et dicit, Vae qui coniungitis  
 domum ad domum et agrum agro copulatis usque ad terminum loci. Numquid  
 habitabitis uos soli in medio terrae? In auribus meis sunt haec, dicit Dominus  
 exercituum. Hoc ipsum ut et Salomon prohibet dicens, Ne attingas terminos  
 1315 paruolorum et agrum pupillorum non introeas. Tibi ergo, rex, omnipotens  
 Dominus ampla et florida diuiniisque plena tribuit regna parentumque  
 multiplicia diuisit et praedia, fiscorum plurima dedit uectigalia, et multorum  
 potentium honorauit munera, unde regia possis fabricare palatia. Cae ne  
 pauperum lacrimis miserorumque impensis tibi domus aedificetur regalis.

1320  
 XXVIII. VT PRO FACIENDA IVSTITIA, NVLLA A IVDICIBVS REQVIRANTVR  
 PRAEMIA  
 Iudicibus ergo tuis praecipe, rex, ut nullum pro iustitia praemium istius  
 saeculi requirant. Praecipe ut pro iusto iudicio temporalia lucra non  
 1325 appetant sed aeterna, mercedem non requirant perituram sed  
 permansuram, pauper an diues sit causam praespiciant non personam, in  
 omnibus ueritatem custodiant non ambitionis munera. Qui praesentia dona  
 affectat, futuram gloriam non sperat. Qui cupidus hic recipit pro iustitia  
 dona, ulterius aeterna non accipiet praemia. Contra delinquentium iudicum  
 prauitatem per Moysen dicitur, *Iuste quod iustum est exequaris*. Iuste ergo  
 1330 iustum exequitur, qui iustitiam propter Deum exercit non propter

auaritiam. Omnis qui recte iudicat, stateram in manu gestat. In utroque  
 penso iustitiam et misericordiam portat, sed per iustitiam promet peccati  
 sententiam. Per misericordiam peccati temperat poenam, ut iusto libramine  
 1335 quaedam pro aequitatem corrigat, quaedam uero per miserationem  
 indulgeat.

### XXVIII. NE STATERA DOLOSA INVENIATVR IN REGNO TVO

Prohibe ergo, iustissime atque rectissime rex, ne statera dolosa sit in regno  
 1340 tuo. Audi quid Dominus populo Israhel prohibet dicens, *Non habebis in  
 sacculo diuersa pondera maius et minus, nec erit in domo tua modius maior et  
 minor. Pondus habebis iustum et uerum et modius aequalis et uerus erit tibi,  
 ut multo uiuas tempore super terram quam Dominus Deus tuus dederit tibi.*  
*Abominabitur enim Dominus eum qui facit haec.* Salomon quoque ait,  
 1345 *Abominatio est apud Deum pondus et pondus: statera dolosa non est bona.*  
 Item ipse, *Statera dolosa abominatio est apud Deum, et pondus aequum  
 uoluntas eius. Pondus et statera iudicia Domini sunt.* Vere enim grandis est  
 prauitas propter terrena commoda Domini deserere iudicia. Dolus enim  
 occultus et diabolicum opus, pro terreno lucro, iustum et legaliter sanctitum  
 1350 fraudulenter mutare modium, aut diuinitus instituta commutare pondera in  
 deceptione fraterna. A Domino enim traditum ab illoque fideliter  
 confirmatum tenemus, quia in dilectione Dei et proximi tota lex pendet et  
 prophetae. Ergo qui dolosa statera aut minore modio pondereque doloso  
 decipit innocentem, nec proximum diligit, quem fraudulenter supplantat,

1355 nec Dominum, cuius leges atque praecepta despiciens calcat. Et in hoc conuincitur quia leges et prophetas a se inobediendo procul expellit, quia oboediendo praecepta Domini non custodit.

### XXX. PROHIBENDVM NE CAPTIVITAS FIAT

1360 Prohibe ergo, o clementissime rex, ne in regno tuo captiuitas fiat. Esto fidelissimus illius patris filius ad quem cotidie cum caeteris clamas fratribus, *Pater noster qui es in caelis.* Quidquid ille amans diligit, et tu dilige; quidquid ille odiens prohibet, et tu prohibe. Imitare illum fideliter cum quo speras regnare perenniter. Ipse enim Moysi praecipiens ait, *Si deprehensus fuerit homo sollicitans fratrem suum de filiis Israhel, et uendito accipiens pretium, interficiatur, et auferes malum de medio tui.* Ipse quoque per Amos prophetam clamat et dicit, *Super tribus sceleribus Gazae et super quattuor non conuertam eam, eo quod transtulerit captiuitatem perfectam, ut concluderet eam in Idumea.* Item ibi, *Super tribus sceleribus Tyri et super quattuor non conuertam eam, eo quod concluserit capituitatem perfectam in Idumea et non sunt recordati foederis fratrum.* Item ipse, *Super tribus sceleribus Israhel et super quattuor non conuertam eum, pro eo quod uendiderit argento iustum et pauperem pro calciamento.*

### 1375 XXXI. VT IVSTE ET RECTE ERGA SERVOS AGATVR

Vt iuste et recte erga seruos agatur et ut liberi dimittantur, Esaias clamat et dicit, *Hoc est magis ieunium quod elegi, dicit Dominus.* Dissolute colligationes

impietatis, solue fasciculos deprimentes, dimitte eos qui confracti sunt  
liberos, et omne onus disrumpe. Ecclesiastes quoque ait, *Non laedas seruum  
1380 operantem in ueritate neque mercenarium dantem animam suam. Seruus  
sensatus dilectus quasi anima tua. Non defraudes illum libertate neque  
inopem derelinquas illum.* Item ipse, *Si est tibi seruus, sit tibi quasi anima tua,  
quasi fratrem sic eum tracta.* Dominus quoque per Hieremiam populo  
Israhel de seruis hunc dedit praeceptum. Ait enim, *Haec dicit Dominus Deus  
1385 Israhel, Ego percussi foedus cum fratribus uestris, in die qua eduxi eos de  
domo seruitutis dicens, Cum completi fuerint septem anni, dimittat  
unusquisque fratrem suum liberum qui uenditus est ei, et seruiet tibi septem  
annis et dimittes eum a te liberum, et non audierunt patres uestri me nec  
inclinauerunt aurem suam, et conuersi estis uos hodie et fecistis quod rectum  
1390 est in oculis meis, ut praedicaretis libertatem unusquisque ad amicum suum,  
et in istis pactum in conspectu meo in domo in qua inuocatum est nomen  
meum super eam, et reuersi estis, et commaculastis nomen meum, et reduxistis  
unusquisque seruum suum et unusquisque ancillam suam, quos dimiseratis ut  
essent liberi et sua potestatis, et subiugastis eos ut sint uobis serui et ancillae.  
1395 Propterea haec dicit Dominus, *Vos non audistis me ut praedicaretis libertatem  
unusquisque fratri suo et unusquisque amico suo. Ecce ego praedico  
libertatem, ait Dominus, ad gladium et pestem et famem, et dabo uos in  
commotionem cunctis regnis terrae.* Vere oboedire debet homo Deo et eius  
praeceptis, in quantum ille possibilitatem dederit oboedire, et inter alia  
1400 praecepta salutaria et opera recta propter illius nimiam caritatem*

unusquisque liberos debet dimittere seruos, considerans quia non illi eos  
 natura subegit sed culpa. Condicione enim aequaliter creati sumus, sed aliis  
 alii culpa subacti, simul et considerantes quia si dimiseritis demittetur  
 uobis. Nam et uos Domini condicionale oppremit iugum. Honorifica ergo,  
 1405 iustissime ac piissime rex, piae omnibus Dominum Deum tuum, quia ut  
 superius scriptum est, piae omnibus honorificauit te, siue in seruis tibi  
 subactis, siue in diuitiis tibi concessis. Ex illis liberos faciendo, ex istis  
 elemosinas tribuendo, paeceptis illius oboedire non cesses. Esto pauperum  
 pater, pupillorum nutritor, orfanorum amator, uiduarum defensor,  
 1410 peregrinorum educator, omniumque secundum regale ministerium  
 defensor et rector. Esto, Christo donante illiusque gratia largiente, sapientia  
 plenus. Esto prudentia praeditus. Esto simplicitate ditatus. Esto patientia  
 fundatus, zelo tamen rectitudinis erectus. Omnibus esto mitis atque  
 pacificus, sed tamen zelo rectitudinis accensus. In perquirendo iustitiam  
 1415 esto sollicitus indagator. In iudicando esto cautissimus executor, ita tamen  
 ut misericordia semper iudicio paeponatur. Memento quia a Domino  
 misericordiam accipiet qui fratri misericorditer indulserit.

XXXII. CVIVS VVLT DOMINVS BRACHIVM CONFIRMAT ET ROBORAT ET  
 1420 GLADIVM AD VICTORIAM FACIENDAM DONAT  
 Haec si diligenter agens impleueris, rex, robarabit Dominus regnum tuum et  
 exaltabit solium et brachium confirmabit, quoniam cuius uult Dominus  
 brachium confirmat et ad faciendam uictoriam suum gladium cum auxilio

praestat. Sic enim per Ezechiel prophetam ait, *Et confortabo brachia  
Babilonis regis daboque gladium meum, et constringam brachium Pharaonis,  
et gement gemitibus interficti coram facie eius, et confortabo brachia regis  
Babilonis, et scient quia ego Dominus cum dedero gladium meum in manu  
regis Babilonis, et extenderit eum super terram Egypti.*

1430 XXXIII. NAM CVIVS VVLT DOMINVS BRACHIVM DEBILITAT ET FRANGIT  
 Nam et cuius uult Dominus brachium debilitat et frangit. Ipse enim et hoc ad  
 Ezechiel dicit, *Fili, hominis brachium Pharaonis regis Egypti confregi, et  
ecce non est obuolutum ut restitueretur linteolis ut recepto robore possit  
tenere gladium. Propterea haec dicit Dominus Deus, Ecce ego ad Pharaonem  
1435 regem Egypti, et comminuam brachium eius forte sed confractum, et deiciam  
gladium de manu eius, et dispergam Egyptum in gentibus, et uentilabo eos in  
terrīs. Et in psalmo scriptum est, Auertisti adiutorium gladii eius et non est  
auxiliatus ei in bello.*

1440 XXXIIII. NAM ET VICTORIAM ANTEQVAM FIAT DOMINVS COGNOSCIT  
 Quod autem et uictoriam antequam fiat Dominus cognoscat. Ipse per  
 Ezechiel ait, *Tu ergo, fili hominis, haec dicit Dominus Deus, Dic omni  
uolucri et uniuersis bestiis terrae. Conuenite, properate, concurrite undique ad  
uictimam meam, quoniam ego immolo uobis uictimam grandem super montes  
1445 Israhel, ut comedatis carnes et bibatis sanguinem. Carnes fortium comedetis  
et sanguinem principum terrae bibetis, arietum, agnorum, et hircorum*

taurorumque, altilium et pinguium omnium. Et comedetis adipem in  
 saturitatem et bibetis sanguinem in ebrietatem de uictima quam ego immolo  
 uobis. Et saturabimini super mensam meam de equo et de equite forti, et de  
 1450 uniuersis uiris bellatoribus, ait Dominus Deus.

### XXXV. DE PRAESIDIO DOMINI REQVIRENDVM

Tu ergo, clarissime rex, ut tibi Dominus et in brachio fortitudinem et in bello  
 uictoram donet, ipsius semper require solatium et ad eius confuge  
 1455 praesidium. Sic enim scriptum est, *Turris fortissima nomen Domini ad ipsum  
 currit iustus et saluabitur*. Ergo salus non consistit in multitudine populi  
 nec in armatura multiplici sed in inuocatione nominis Domini. Stabilis enim  
 et inconcussa tutela est caeleste praesidium, quod quia a regibus sollicite sit  
 quaerendum Dauid rex est dulciter imitandus, qui Domino humiliter  
 1460 supplicans ait, *Exaudi, Deus, deprecationem meam, intende uoci orationis  
 meae. A finibus terrae ad te clamaui. Dum anxiaretur cor meum, in petra  
 exaltasti me. Deduxisti me, quia factus es spes mea, turris fortitudinis a facie  
 inimici*. ‘Petra’ enim hic et ‘turris’ Christum significant. In hac enim ‘petra’ se  
 exaltatum recte pronuntiat qui in fide illius se fundatum non dubitat. Et in  
 1465 hac ‘ture’ ille defenditur qui in auxilio eius confidens uirtutibus armatur.  
 ‘Turris’ enim ista uirtutibus plena non gladiis, pugnat uerbo non proelio, nec  
 localiter defendit sed uniuersaliter inuicta fortitudine electos suos protegit  
 et custodit

1470

## XXXVI. DE ORATIONE

Nam et hoc intuendem est, quia ad hoc caeleste praesidium rex Dauid orando peruenit. Sic enim incohans coepit, *Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam cum deprecor* et caetera. Et tu ergo, fidelissime rex, ut Domini possis auxilio fultus tuum defendere regnum, eius iugiter orans require praesidium. Ipsius enim Dauid regis innumerabilia de oratione in psalmis habes exempla. De Salomone quoque rege et hic per pauca ponimus exempla. Ait enim, *Longe est Dominus ab impiis, et orationes iustorum exaudiet. Qui conseruat legem multiplicat orationem.* Item ipse, *Oratio in humilitate penetrabit super montes.* Dominus in euangelio ait, *Omnia, quidquid, petieritis in oratione credentes accipietis. Vigilate itaque omni tempore orantes, ut digni habeamini fugere quae futura sunt et stare ante filium hominis.* Paulus quoque ait, *Orationi instantes. Orantes omni tempore in spiritu, uigilantes in omni instantia.* Iacobus autem dicit, *Orate pro inuicem ut saluemini. Multum enim ualet deprecatio iusti assidua.* Nam et nos oramus semper cum apostolo pro uobis, ut dignetur uos uocatione sua Deus et impleat omnem uoluntatem bonitatis et opus fidei in uirtute, ut clarificetur nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi in uobis, et uos in illo secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Iesu Christi. *Confidimus autem de uobis in Domino, quoniam quae paecepimus et facitis et facietis. Dominus autem dirigat corda uestra in caritate Dei et patientia Christi.* Amen.

1475

1480

1485

1490

EXPLICIT LIBER QVI VOCATVR VIA REGIA

## APPARATUS CRITICUS

(M) - Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Códices, 1007

(G) - Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 956

(A) - Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2356

(r) - Vaticanus Reginensis Latinus 190 (preserved in PL 102:131–970)

**1** IN NOMINE DOMINI LIBER QUI VOCATUR VIA REGIA] *om. A G*

INCIPIT PRAEFATIO] *om. A*, INCIPIT PROLOGUS *G*

**1/27** IN – praefatio] *om. praefatio r*

**3** omnibus uideretur] uideretur omnibus *G*

**6** regiaeque] regiae quae *M*

**7** regio] *om. A*

**8** insulsa] insula *G*, corr. *G<sup>2</sup>*

**11/17** omnia – Sed] omnium uestrorum recordamur bonorum et multiplicium uestrorum non obliuiscimur munerum amplexus quos nobis dulciter regalis ulna porrexit in mentis archano depinximus oscula melliflua in cordis tabulis fortiter sculpsimus *G*

**11** uobis] uestra *M*

**12** multiplicem] multiplici *M*

**14/15** est – pectore] *tr. est in uestro regali pectore A, add. largiri A<sup>2</sup>*

**14** tantam] cuncta *M*

**15** clementiam] clementia *M*

**16** uobis] uerbis *A*

**18** thesaurus] thesaurum *M G*

uestrae mentis archano sunt recondita, ut] in mentis tenemus archano *G*

dicantur] dicimus *G*, dicant *M*

**19** illi] illos *G*, omnes homines illos *M*

cotidie uobiscum] uobiscum cotidie *G*, *dub. eras. M*

orant] morantur *G*, morant *M*

- 20** glorificat et exaltat] exaltat et glorificat *G*
- 21** dilectionem] *om. A*
- Hoc] Hunc *G M*
- 22** excitati] excitat *M*
- hunc] *add. parui G*
- 26** Explicit praefatio.] *add. Alia A, om. G, add. Incipit liber qui uocatur uia regia G*
- 29** sacri chrismatis oleo] *tr. oleo sacri chrismatis r*
- linuit] liniuit *r*
- 31** etenim] *om. A*
- ditatus] ditatis *M, corr. M<sup>2</sup>*
- 32** diadema] diademata *M*
- de] *om. A*
- prosapia] prosapiae *M, corr. M<sup>2</sup>*
- 34/35** et fidei – et actio] *om. A, – confirmat actio. G*
- 35** quia] *om. r*
- Christo] *add. feliciter G r*
- 37** perspicua] prospicua *G r*
- clamitant] *add. regemque confirmant G r*
- 39** etenim] enim *r*
- 40** uia] uiae *M, uiā M<sup>2</sup>*
- 42** sollicite] sollerter *G r, solliciter M*
- tutus] totis *G*
- 43** defecatos] defecatis *G*
- etenim] est enim *G*
- 44/45** et uidete – antiquis] *om. G*
- 45** et uidete] *om. r*
- requiem] refrigerium *r*
- 46** haec a nobis] a nobis haec *A, haec nobis M, corr. M<sup>2</sup>*
- 47** Et] Que *A*
- 49** ne] non *r*
- declinantibus] ambulantibus *r*

**50** clamitat] clamat *G r*

**51** demergunt] demerserunt *A*

**52** hoc] hunc *G M, corr. G<sup>2</sup> M<sup>2</sup>*

oberrans] oberrens *M, corr. M<sup>2</sup>*

**53/54** et ad – clamat] *om. r*

**53** Esaias] Ysaias *A*, Esayas *M*, Isaias *r*

et ad rectam – clamat] *om. r*

sanctamque] semitamque *A*

clamat] clamant *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**54** audient] audiant *G*, auditentes *r*

**55** postergum] post tergum *A r*

Haec] *add. est G r*

in ea] *add. ut non declinetis r*

**56/72** cum – Salomon] *om. A*

**56** Israheliticus] Israeliticus *A r*

aliena] alienam *M*

**57** Sehon] Seon *G*

**58** Ammorrhaeorum] Amorreorum *G, Amorrhæorum r*

**59** per] ad *r*

declinabimus] *add. neque G*

**60** transeamus] transeam *M*

**61** promissionis] *om. G, add. G<sup>2</sup>*

**65** attinuit] comminuit *r*

phalanges] phalangas *M*

**66** Hierichontinos] Iericunctinos *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>, Ihierichuntinos M, Hiericuntinos r*

Israhelitico] Israelitico *A r*

repromiseonis] promissionis *M, corr. M<sup>2</sup>*

**68** Goliam] Golian *G*

Allophilorum] Allofilorum *M*, Allophylyrum *r*

**71** termino] thoro *r*

**72** Salomon] Salemon *G*

aqua] *om. G*  
**73** et] nam *G r*  
**74** Iosias] Ozias *G r*  
 comminuit] commouit *G*  
**77** Dominum] Deum *r*  
**78** etenim] enim *A*  
**79** transibit] transiuit *M*  
**80** Diabolus] Diabolas *r*  
**81** ascendit] ascendet *G<sup>2</sup>*  
**82** fuerint] fuerunt *A*  
**84** credentes] *A<sup>2</sup>*  
**87** uiam] uitam *A*  
 quam] qua *G r*  
**88** offendiculum] *om. G, add. G<sup>2</sup>*  
 finem] fine *A*  
**89** cum] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*  
**90** conuenienter] *add. nos G*  
**93** Dilige] Diliges *M*  
 Dominum] Deum *A*  
**94** ille] *om. r*  
 te] *om. r*  
**95** Iohannes] Ioannes *r*  
**96** Dominum] inuicem *r*  
**97** poterat Dominum fragilitas] Dominum fragilitas poterat *A*  
**98** diligeret] dilexisset *A*  
**99** non] *add. ab eo A*  
**100** magis] minus *A*  
**102** etenim] autem *r*  
**103** nihil] nil *r*  
 horum] eorum *A*  
 constitueristi] constituit *A, constituti M, corr. M<sup>2</sup>*

**104** Dominus] *add.* scilicet creator noster *A*

**112** anima] *add.* tua *G*

mente tua] uirtute *A*, uirtute tua *r*

**113** rei] *om. r*

tui] *add.* Et *r*

**114** intellege. Ait enim] qui ait *A*

aut] et *r*

**115** et qui diligit filium – dignus.] *om. A r*

**116** Dominum] Deum *r*

dilectioni] dilectio *M*

nec] non *r*

**117** si] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*

Dominum] Deum *r*

**118** mente] uirtute *r*

**119/120** duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet] *tr.* tota lex pendet duobus praeceptis *G*,  
duobus mandatis uniuersa lex pendet *r*

**119** praeceptis] mandatis *A*

**122** diligatur] diligat *M*

**127** uos] *om. r*

quia mei discipuli estis] mei estis discipuli *A, tr.* quia discipuli mei estis *r*

**130** agebat] aiebat *r*

nos] *add.* ad *r*

**131/132** Qui – Deum.] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*

**132** diligimus] diligamus *r*

**134** in epistola sua] *om. r*

inuicem diligamus] *tr.* diligamus inuicem *r*

**135** exorans] exhortans *G r*

itaque] *om. A, ergo G*

omnia] *add.* autem mutuam *r*

**138** habete] habere *A*

**139** nobis] uobis *r*

nobiscum] uobiscum *r*  
 perseuerans] perseueret *A*  
**140** maneat] *om. G, add. G<sup>2</sup>*  
 nostris] uestris *r*  
**142** quis] qui *G M*  
**143** germane] germanum *A*  
 praecipit] paecepit *G*  
**148** species apostolus] *tr. apostolus species A*  
**148** diligendas] *om. A*  
 ut uxores diligentur] *om. r*  
 Ait] dicens *A*  
**149/50** apostolus ammonet] *tr. ammonet apostolus A*  
**150** Parentes] Patres *G r*  
**151** apostolus] *om. A*  
 dominos ammonet dicens] dominis ait *A, om. dominos r*  
**152** praestate seruis] seruis facite *A, praestare seruis M*  
**153** Dominum] Deum *r*  
**154** tracta] *add. et A*  
**155** Deum] *corr. Deo G*  
 liquide] liquido *r*  
**158** Dominus paecepit] *tr. paecepit Dominus r*  
**160** omnisque et] *eras. G<sup>2</sup>, add. qui G<sup>2</sup>, om. et r*  
**162** amplexitur] amplectit *M, add. omnes G*  
 et] omnes *r*  
 imminentis] in mentis *r*  
**162** unius] unus *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*  
**163** archana] archano *A G<sup>2</sup>*  
**163** et] *om. A*  
**166** inter iras placida] *om. r*  
 benefica] beneficia *G M, corr. G<sup>2</sup> M<sup>2</sup>*  
**168** distrahitur] distruitur *r*

**169** heresim] *corr.* heresi *A<sup>2</sup> G<sup>2</sup> r*

**171** enim] *om. A r*

gluten est] glutinum *A*

concordia] concordiae *M*

**172** frangatur] frangantur *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**173** fortem] fortiter *A G r*

**173/174** Ne presperitatibus – temperat.] *om. r*

**177** amplectitur] amplectit *M*

ergo] *add.* istam *r*

et] *om. A*

**179** etenim] enim *r*

**182** DEI] DOMINI *r*

**183** scribere] describere *A*

**184** firmiter] *add.* et *r*

**185** aeternum] aeternumque *r*

gaudium] gradium *A, corr. A<sup>2</sup>*

**189** clementissime ac mitissime rex] clementissime rex ac mitissime *r*

**190** Christus] *om. G*

**193** conceduntur] creduntur *r*

**194/195** Diligimus enim ut diligamus] Diligimus – diligamus *G*

**195** amamus, ut amemus] amamus – amemus *G*

cognoscimus, ut cognoscamus] cognoscimus – cognoscamus *G*

**195/196** adiuuamus, ut operemur] adiuuamus – operemur *G*

**197/198** in tantum diligis, in quantum] in quantum – tantum *A*

**199** custodit] implet *G r*

Ipsò] Ipse *r*

intellege] *exp. G*

**201** et mansionem apud eum faciemus] *om. A, tr.* et apud eum mansionem faciemus *r*

**202** Iohannes] Ioannes *r*

Dei] domini *G r*

**204** obseruamus] obseruemus *r*

Qui] *add.* autem *r*

**205** eo] hoc *r*

Qui] *add.* autem *r*

**207** auferet] aufert *r*

oculos] *add.* suos *r*

**208** illuc] illi *r*

Reuelat] Reuelabit *r*

quoque] *add.* ore *A*

**209** loquitur] loquetur *r*

**210** uero] autem *r*

**211** transibunt per gladium] per gladium transibunt *A*

et stultitia consumentur] *tr.* et consumentur stultitia *G*, ut consumantur in stultitia *r*,

*om.* et stultitia *M*, *add.* *M<sup>2</sup>*

**216** de] *om.* *A*

**217** dicit] ait *G*

Israheliticum] Israeliticum *r*

Israhel] Israel *r*

**219/223** et neglegas – Domini Dei tui] *om.* *r*

**221** domus] domos *A*

**222** copiam] copia *M*

**223** Israhel] *om.* *A*

**224** Dominum] *om.* *r*

**225** seruias] seruies *M*

ei] *om.* *G*, *add.* *G<sup>2</sup>*, Domino Deo tuo *r*

**226** tua] *om.* *r*

**226/227** ego praecipio tibi hodie ut] hodie praecipio tibi ut *r*

**227** audieris] *add.* uocem Domini Dei tui *r*

facias omnia] *om.* omnia *A*, *add.* atque custodias *r*

eius] *add.* quae ego tibi praecipo hodie *r*

**228** Dominus] *add.* Deus tuus *r*

terra] *add.* uenientque super te uniuersae benedictiones istae, et apprehendent te si tamen praecepta eius audieris *r*

**229** eris] *tu r*

**230** tui] *om. G, add. G<sup>2</sup>, tuum r*

tuae] *add.* fructusque iumentorum tuorum greges armentorum tuorum et caulae ouium tuarum *r*

Mittet] *Emittet r*

**230/231** Dominus super – tuarum benedictionem] *tr.* Dominus benedictionem – tuarum *r*

**231** opera] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*

**232** consurgent] *consurgunt G r, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

aduersus] *aduersum r*

**233** adhuc] *om. A*

Israhelem] *Israel A, Israelem r*

dicens] *dicit A r*

**234** et] *om. G, add. G<sup>2</sup>*

feceritis] *feritis G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**236** occupabit] *occupauit M G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**239** persequimini] *persequemini A r*

**240** ex] *de r*

**241/242** uestri in conspectu uestro gladio] *tr.* uestri gladio – uestro *r*

**243** ut ad] *et ad r*

**245** ardore] *add.* qui conficiat oculos uestros et consumat animas uestras. Frustra seretis semen tem quae ab hostibus deuorabitur. Ponam faciem meam contra uos *r*

**246** fugietisque] *fuietis r*

Esiam] *Isaiam A r, Ysayam M*

**247** Dominus quoque] *tr.* quoque Dominus *r*

Israel] *Israel A*

**249** gurgites] *gurges A*

sicut] *quasi r*

stirps] *stirpes M*

**250** interisset] interissent *M*, *interiisset r*

non] *om. G*, *add. G<sup>2</sup>*

eius] tuum *G*

est, o] *om. A*

**252** praecepta] *add. eius G r*

**253** obseruantibus] *add. eius M<sup>2</sup>*

uero] *om. G r, exp. M<sup>2</sup>*

**254** perpetuo] *perpetuum A, proprio r*

**255** in perpetuo] *eras. in G*

**255/256** Propterea – Propterea] *corr. Propter ea – Propter ea G<sup>2</sup>*

**257** tuum] *om. r*

in aeternum complebitur] *tr. complebitur in aeternum A*

**260** iam auxiliante] *tr. auxiliante iam A*

quo] *qua A*

**261** gressum] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*

hoc] *om. r*

**262** prophetam – gradimur] *om. A*

**263** enim] *om. A r*

**264** obseruantiam] *obseruantia M*

**265** debeamus] *debemus G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**268** ipsorum] *om. r*

**268/269** ecce quomodo prospicua est] *om. A, – perspicua est r*

**269** offert] *offeret M*

currentibus] *occurentibus r*

plana] *planam G r*

**270** lucida] *lucidam G r*

**272** Dominum] *Deum r*

**273/274** de bono – laudes] *tr. inanes laudes et uacuas de bono opere G*

**274** eum] *ei A*

fructum] *fructu r*

**275** felix] *felicem M, add. ei r*

**277** eorum] *eras.* *M<sup>2</sup>*

Dominum] Deum *G*

**278** adiutoriumque] et adiutorium *r*

**280** salutem] salute *M*

**282** uirtus – meum] *tr.* firmamentum meum, uirtus mea *G*

**284** meae] *add.* et *G*

**285** rex Dominum] Deum rex *r*

**286** corporisque] *add.* et *exp.* uirtutem *G*

**288** laude] laudem *r*

Salomon] Salemon *G*

**289** Dominum] Deum *r*

timore] tempore *G*, *eras.* et *corr.* timore *G<sup>2</sup>*

**291** et] *om. r*

**293** quem] quam *A*

**295** Dies qui tibimet unus] Deum qui timet *A*

**296** cum uerisque] *om. G*, cum utrisque *r*

**296/297** cum – tribuat] *tr.* tribuat cum felici gaudio consortium *G*

**297** et] *eras.* *G<sup>2</sup>*

**298** exaltatione] exultatione *r*

socium faciat] *tr.* faciat socium *G*

patriarcharum] apostolorum *r*

**299** Salomon] Salemon *G*

**300/301** ad fontem debes recurrere] *tr.* debes recurrere ad fontem *G*

**301** qui] *add.* iuge *G r*, *add.* iugens *M*

**302** aeternum] aeternam *r*

aufert] auferet *G*

tribuit] tribuet *r*

**303** ad uitam] apponet uitam *A*, dat uitam *r*

Salomon] Salemon *G*

**304** Dei] Domini *G r*

plenitudo inuenitur] *tr.* inuenitur plenitudo *A*

Domini] Dei *A*

**305** ministrat uitam] *tr.* uitam ministrat *G*

**308** portas] portam *A*

caetera] *add.* Praecisa est uelut a texente uita mea, dum adhuc ordirer, succidit me,  
de mane usque ad uesperam finies me *r*

**309** plenitudo fructuum et] *om. A*

**311** et dicit] cum dicit *A*

sapientiae] *add.* est *r*

**312** a fructibus] in fructibus *A*

illius] eius *r*

impleuit] implebit *r*, *add.* a *r*

**313** receptacula] *add.* a *G*

illius] eius *G*

**314** addidit] uidit, et dinumerauit eam *r*

**315** Dominum] Deum *G*

salutariter] *add.* uel salubriter *G<sup>s.l.</sup>*

**316** ueterescere] ueterasce *A r*, ueteresceret *G*, *corr.* ueterasce *G<sup>2</sup>*

misericordiam] miseicordias *A*

**318** uestra] *add.* Qui timetis Dominum, sperate in illum, et in oblectatione uobis  
ueniet misericordia. *r*

Dominum] Deum *G*

**319** iterum] quoque *A*

Salomon] Salemon *G*

**320** non] noli *r*

**322** Dominum] Deum *G*

**322/323** non est super timentem Deum] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*

**323** Timorem – omnia] Timor enim Domini omnibus *A*, *corr.* Timorem Domini  
omnibus *A<sup>2</sup>*, Timor Dei super omnia *G*, *corr.* Timorem Dei omnibus *G<sup>2</sup>*, Timor Dei se  
super omnia *r*

Beatus] *add.* homo *r*

**324** Dei] Domini *A*

Domini] *om. A*

**325** operuerunt] *corr.* optauerunt *A<sup>2</sup>*

**326** qua] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*

fortitudinis est] *om. est G, add. G<sup>2</sup>*

**329** illuminabuntur] illuminantur *A*

**330** centumpliciter] multipliciter *G r*

uerus] uerum *A r*

**331** habere timorem Dei] *tr.* timorem Dei habere *G, add. Adhuc r*

**332/333** Dominus per] Deo *A, corr.* Deus per *A<sup>2</sup>*

**335** sub planta] siue planta *A*

**336** oriatur] *add. idem G*

**338** tibi] tui *r*

**340** donante] dominante *G*

**343** caelica] caelestia *G*

**344** rectam] recta *G r*

uiam] itinera *G r*

**345** ne] nec *A, non r*

declinetur] declinemus *G r*

ad sinistram] *om. ad r*

**351** Si ergo timor Domini] *tr.* Timor ergo Domini si *G*

**352** radixque] *eras.* radix *G*

liquide] liquido *A*

separatae] separate *r*

**354** maliuolam, ut] maliuola *M*

**355** ut scriptum est animan] *tr.* animam ut scriptum est *r*

animam – ingreditur] ingredietur animam sapiencia, sed in timentem Deum *A*

**356** Dominum] Deum *r*

**357** sapientiam] *eras. dub.* *G, add. G<sup>2</sup>*

**358** clamitans] clamans *A*

**360** illam] iusta *r, add. iuste r*

ab ea] *om. r*

- 361** marcescet] marcescit *r*  
uidetur] ui debitur *G*  
eam] illam *r*  
inuenietur] inuenitur *A r*
- 365** uestram] *eras. et corr.* tuam *G<sup>2</sup>*  
**365** acclines] *om. A*
- 366** discas] diuertis
- 369** itaque sapientiae] *om.* itaque *A*, sapientia *M G*
- 370** aestimantibus] praelationibus *A*, stipatibus *G, corr.* stipationibus *G<sup>2</sup>*,  
stemmatibus *r*
- reges populi] *tr.* populi reges *G*
- 371/372** rex sanctissime] *tr.* sanctissime rex *r*
- 372** de se] *om. A G*
- Salomon] Salemon *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*
- quid de laude] *om.* quid *A*
- 373** loquatur] *add.* ait enim *G r*
- similis] *add. et eras.* homo *G*
- 373/374** illius terreno] illius terreni *A G, terreni illius r*
- 374** qui prius finctus est] *tr.* qui finctus est prius *G, corr.* – prior *G<sup>2</sup>*, – factus est *r*
- 375** menses] mensium *G r, corr.* mensibus *G<sup>2</sup>, add.* tempore *r*
- coagulatus] *add.* sum *r*
- ex semine] *et semine G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*
- somnii] somni *r*
- 377** foras] *eras. G<sup>2</sup>, forans M, corr. M<sup>2</sup>*
- 380** et datus] *om. A*
- 381** dixi esse] *tr.* esse dixi *A*, dixisse *G M, corr.* dixi esse *G<sup>2</sup>, duxi r*
- 383** exigua est] *tr.* est exigua *r*
- 384/386** Super –illius.] *om. r*
- 388/406** et ignorabam – bonitatis illius] *om. r*
- 389** mater omnium est] *tr.* mater est omnium *A, add.* bonorum *A<sup>2</sup>*
- fictione] fictione *G M, corr. G<sup>2</sup> M<sup>2</sup>*

**389/390** sine inuidia] *om. M, add. M<sup>2</sup>*

communico] *om. A M, add. A<sup>2</sup> M<sup>2</sup>*

**391** quod] quo *A, corr. quia G<sup>2</sup>*

commendati] commandati *A, commendata G*

det] dedit *A*

**392** sententia] scientia *G*

digna] *om. G M*

quae] *add. mihi A*

**400** sapientia] sapientiam *A*

**402** acutus] argutus *G*

**404** mobilior] melior *A*

**405** lucis] *add. et exp. ecclesiae A*

**406** est] Haec *r*

speciosior] pretiosior *r*

**406** enim] *add. haec G*

**407** omnem] omne *M*

stellarum dispositionem] *tr. dispositionem stellarum r*

eius] *om. M*

Luce] Luci *A r*

**408** luci] illi *r*

Sapientiam] Sapientia *r*

uicit] uincit *A, uincitur r*

enim] ergo *G r*

**410** mea] *add. et quaesiui eam mihi sponsam assumere r*

et amator] et amans *r*

illius] *add. generositatem illius glorificat, contubernium habens Dei r*

**411** et sapientiam] *om. A, et prudentiam r*

**412** hominis] hominibus *r*

**413** immortalitatem] *add. et memoriam aeternam his qui post me futuri sunt*

*relinquam r*

subditae erunt] subiectae erunt *G, tr. erunt subditae r*

audientes] odientes *A*

**416** a regibus] a rege *A*, regis *G*, a regis *r*

praediuitem] praediuies *A*, praediuite *r*

**417** thesaurum] thesaurus *A*, thesauro *r*

**419** discatur] discant *G r*

sapientiam] *om. A*

**420** clamat] clamitat *G r*

est sapientia] est in sapientia *A*, *exp.* in *A<sup>2</sup>*

**421** reges] *om. G*

**422** subrium] subtilem *G r*, subolem *M*

**423** honestatem morum] honestatis morem *G*, – moribus *r*

**425** amicitiae Dei] *tr.* Dei amicitiae *r*

**429** dato] datu *M*

**430** acutos] argutos *G*

**431** per lucidos in facto] in facto placidos *r*

fortiter] fortes *A*

**432** ostendit] concedit *r*

**433** exteras] *add.* et *G*, *add.* etiam *r*

debaccare] debellare *r*

**434** diras] duras *A*

calcare] calcari *r*

**435** regni] regna *M*

**436** quam] quem *A*

immortalitatis] immortalis *A*

**438** manifestus] manifestatus *r*

**439** sapientia] ea *A*

**442** commutatione] commutationem *A*

**442/443** conferetur – nec] *om. r*

**443** sardinico] sardini[?] *G*, *corr.* *G<sup>2</sup>*

adaequabitur] aequabitur *r*

**444** commutabitur] commotabitur *M*, commutabuntur *r*

auri] *add.* uasa A

**446/447** non – componetur.] et caetera r

**446** topazius] topazion A, topazium M

emundissime] ei mundissima A, *corr.* emundissima G<sup>2</sup>

**446** ueniat] uenit A r

**450/453** illius – praeparauit] *om.* r

**453** praeparauit] apperuit illam A

**453** homini] illi A

**454** Grandis enim] *om.* enim A

uideo] uides r

**456** aurum mundum uel obrizum] *tr.* aurum uel obrizum mundum A

**457** confertur] conferetur A

**457** uitrum per lucidum] *tr.* per lucidum uitrum A

**458** pro nihilo] uel nihilo A

**458** paruipendetur] paruipenditur A r, *corr.* paruipenditur G<sup>2</sup>

**459** feruntur] *corr.* conferuntur G<sup>2</sup>

appendentur] appendetur M

**460** aestimabuntur] existimabuntur G, extimabuntur M

**462** Taliter] *add.* enim G

**462/463** Ego – diligo] *tr.* Ego, inquit, diligentes me diligo A

**463** uigilauerit] uigilauerint G, uigilant r

inueniet] inuenient G r

**465** quidquid] quid A

debes] debeas G

**467** et cui uult porrigit] ut – A

eam] illam r

**468** commendat] commodat A

etenim] enim G

**469** Salomonem] Salemonem G

**472** conditores iusta] *tr.* iusta conditores r

decernant] decernunt r

- 473** uigilauerint] uigilant *r*
- 475** genimina] gemma *G*
- electo argento] *tr.* argento electo *r*
- 477** tibi thesauros] *tr.* thesauros tibi *r*
- 478** medullis] medullitus *G M*
- et] *om. r*
- total] *om. A*
- intentione mentis] *tr.* mentis intentione *G*
- 479** Salomone] Salemone *G*
- ad Dominum] ad Deum *G, Deum r*
- Ora] *add.* igitur *A<sup>2</sup>*
- 480** indesinenter] *add.* ad *G*
- 482** hominem] *add.* ut dominaretur creaturae quae a te facta est *r*
- et iustitia] et in iustitia *A, exp. in A<sup>2</sup>, add.* et *r*
- 485** exigui] exiguus *M*
- 486** tuis] *add.* et a sede magnitudinis tuae *r*
- 487** laboret et] laboret ut *A r*
- intellegit] *add.* et *G*
- 488** deducet me] *om. me r*
- sobrie] sobriae *M*
- 489** omnia] *om. r*
- 490** inuenit] inueniet *A*
- 493** hereditabit] hereditauit *G*
- 494** elegit] eligit *A r*
- 500** impleri] implere *G*
- 501** regibus] regnis *M*
- 502** Dauid] *om. r*
- 502/503** quae mittebat] omnia quaecumque misisset *r*
- 504** oportet praeuidere] *tr.* praeuidere oportet *G, prouidere oportet r*
- 506** prouide] prouidere *A*
- 508** recipiant] recipiat *G, recipit M*

- 509** gubernat] gubernant *M*
- 510** Salomon] Salemon *G*
- 511/512** Vir – dicit] *om. A r*
- 512** Iterum] Item *A r*
- 513** pectore] [dub.] *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*
- 515** gloria] gloriam *M*
- 516** prudenti] prudentis *r*
- 520** Iterum] Item *A*
- 521** tuum] *add.* muto, et causis omnium filiorum qui pertranseunt, aperi os tuum *r*
- 523** iuxta] [dub.] *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*
- opera] oper[dub.] *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*
- retribuetur] retribuentur *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*
- 524** ait] inquit *r*
- Pactum meum] Peccatum meum *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*
- 524/525** cum – meum] quod *r*
- 525** cum eo] cum Leui *G*
- 525/526** ei timorem] *tr.* timorem ei *A*, ei timore *M*
- 528** conuertit] auertit *G r*
- 529** in gratia semper] *tr.* semper in gratia *r*
- quomodo] quando *r*
- 532** cognitionis] cogitationis *r*
- 533** domum] *om. r*
- 534** sublimiter] *om. r*
- copiamque] copiaque *M*
- 535** tibi regium] tui regni *G*, tibi regnum *M*, tibi regni *r*
- 539** omnibus] operibus *r*
- 549** Laudabile] Laudabilis *G*
- 551** super terram] in terra *r, add.* homo *r*
- 552** ac] *om. A*
- 555** et dicit] dicens *A*
- iustitiam] iudicium *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**556** inuenietur] inuenitur *G*

**557** Salomon] Salemon *G*

**558** et] *om. r*

**559** et simplices] *om. et G*

autem] *om. A r*

**560** enim] etenim *G r*

**561** temperare] temperari *r*

aut] autem *A*

**562** ignorantiae] ignorantia *M*

**563** etenim] enim *A G*

**566** accipies] accipias *r*

**570** uis] uelis *G*

possidere dulciter] *tr. dulciter possidere r*

**572** Salomon] Salemon *G*

**573** noscitur] dignoscitur *A*, agnoscitur *G*

eius] *add. est r*

iniqua] in qua *A*

praetergreditur] praetergredi *M r*

**574** uos] *add. ergo r*

Dei] *add. sancti, et dilecti r*

misericordiae] *add. benignantatem r*

humilitatem] *add. modestiam r*

**575** et caetera] et donantes uobis metipsi si quis aduersus aliquem habet querelam:

sicut Dominus donauit uobis, ita et uos *r*

**576** uirtus sit] *corr. uirtutis sit G<sup>2</sup>*

Salomon] Salemon *G*

**577** linetur] linitur *r*

principes] princeps *G r*

duritiam] duritiem *r*

**581** lenit] linit *r*

**582** perducit] deducit *G*

dubio] *add.* haec *A*

et uia] *om. r*

**583** illam] eam *r*

**584** et aeternum] aeternumque *A*, add. et *G<sup>2</sup>*, *om.* et *M*

**585** enim] *om. A*, *tr.* est enim *M*

patientiae] patientia *r*

**593** mites] mitis *A*

**595/596** Ipsa actum – dirigit.] – diligit *G*, *om. r*

**597** ergo] enim *r*

rex, ama] *tr.* ama, rex *G r*

**598** amplectere] amplexi *G r*

**600** ad sinistram] *om. ad G*

Scitote] Scito *A r*

Domini] Domino *A*

**601** Diaboli] Diabolo *A*

**602** ille impatiens semper] *tr.* impatiens semper ille *r*

**603** ergo] uero *G r*

**604** de] *om. r*

eam] ea *A*

**608** Hieremias] Iheremias *A*

**609** ei] et *r*

**610** qui] quia *G*

**612** ui] uirum *A*

oppressum] oppressos *G*

**613** contristare] contristari *G r*

**616** genere] gente *r*

**617** memetipso] me ipso *A*

**618** solitudine] solitudinem *M r*

iustitiam] *add.* tuam *G*

**619** frui] perfrui *M*

honorari in perpetuo] *tr.* in perpetuo honorari *A*

**620** sequaris] sequeris *r*

eam] illam *r*

phoderem] ponderam *A*, poderem *r VG*

**625** Hieremiam] Iheremiam *A M*, Ieremiam *r*

**627** placent] placentur *G*

**628** feliciter] *om. r*

**629** iustitiam] *add.* in montibus non comederit, et oculos suos non leuauerit ad idola domus Israel: et uxorem proximi sui non uiolauerit, et ad mulierem menstrualem non accesserit; et hominem non contristauerit; pignus debitori reddiderit; et nudum operuerit uestimento: panem suum esurienti dederit; per uim nihil rapuerit; ad usuram non commodauerit, et amplius non acceperit; ab iniquitate auerterit faciem suam, et judicium uerum fecerit *r*

**630** custodierit] *add.* ut faciat ueritatem, hic justus est *r*

**631** uiuet] uiuit *G*

**632** enim] *om. r*

**632/633** iustis dabitur] *tr.* dabitur iustis *A*

**633** iusti] *om. A*

eorum] *om. A*

**634** saluabitur – aeternum] *om. r*

fundamentabitur] fundabitur *A r*

**635** eorum] illorum *A*

**636** iustis] iusti *A*

diliguntur] diligentur *r*

**636/637** illam custodiendo exaltabuntur ab eo] *om. A*, – exultabuntur – *M*

**638** illa] ea *r*

**639** merebuntur] consequentur *r*

**640** accipient] accipient *A r*

**641** benedictio] benediction[i?] *A*

iusti] *om. G*, *add. G<sup>2</sup>*

festinat] festinant *A*

**642** peruenies] perueniet *A*

**643** crudelitatis] credulitatis *G*, corr. *G<sup>2</sup>*

iustitia] iustitiam *A*, iustitiae *M*

**644** uiam] *om. M*

dilabitur] delabitur *G*

ne] ut *A*

**644/647** Sed ne haec deueniat – dicens, VIIII. DE IVDICIO] – eueniant – *G*, VIIII. . DE IVDICIO. Sed ne hoc eueniat – dicens, *r*

**645** deueniat] eueniant *G*, eueniat *r*

**648** eris] *add. tu r*

**649** altissimi] *add. et exp. filius A*

**652** eum] *eo G r*

**653** compatiebar] compatiebatur anima mea *r*

pauperi] illi *G*

Nam et haec] Nam et hanc *A r*

Salomon] Salemon *G*

**655/656** in aeternum firmetur] *om. in aeternum r*

**661** egenum et pupillum] egeno et pupillo *A r*

liberate eum] *om. eum G r*

**663** iniuriam] iniuria *M*

**664** Esaias] Ysayas *A*, Isaias *G r*

nihilominus praedicans] quoque *A*

**667** munda] alba *r*

**669** attende] *add. o r*

euenit] eueniat *G r*

**671** munditiam] munditiem *r*

**673** Domini] *om. r*

**675** escam] esca *A*

**676** sciunt defendere] defendant *A*

pie] *add. habent G*

optimos] optimus *A*

**677** aeternos] aeternus *A*

perpetuos] perpetuus *A*

dulcissimos] dulcissimus *A*

**678** amantissimos] amantissimus *A*

fructus] *om. G r*

plenos –, plenos] plenus –, plenus *A*

**678/679** plenos saturitate – gaudio] plenus – plenus – *A, tr.* plenos laetitia et gaudio,  
plenos saturitate et pinguedine *G*

**679** plenos felicitate] plenus felicitate *A*

**682** cateruis] caterua *G*

**683** hominum] homini *A*

**684** imperatoris] imperii *r*

**685** indutus] *om. r*

**686** hic regis – resultat] *om. A*

**689** eueniat] eueniant *A G*

**690** euenerit] euenerint *A G<sup>2</sup>*

**695** pie] piae *M*

**697** debet fulcire] *tr.* fulcire debet *G*

**698** fraudes] defraudes *r*

auertas a paupere] transuertas a paupere *r*

**699** dispexeris et] *add.* non exasperes pauperem in inopia sua *r*

afflixeris] *add.* et non protrahas datum angustianti: rogationem contribulati ne  
abicias *r*

**699/700** Non auertas] Ne auertas *A*

**700** inopi] *add.* ne auertas *r*

pauperi] *add.* sine tristitia *r*

**701** responde] *add.* illi *r*

**702** dimittas illum] dimittes eum *r*

**703** corde] cor *r*

haec] *om. A*

exorabit] *add.* et defendet *A*

**704** malo et] *om. et r*

**705** pugnabit] purgabit *r*

Salomon] Salemon *G*

**706** roborabitur] roboratur *r*

**707** rex] *om. r*

**708** misercorditer] misercordiam *A*

**709** mala] malo *G*

**710** et timens] ac timens *r*

uerax] ueraci *M*

**711** uolebant] uolebam *A*

**714** praetereuntem] pereuntem *r*

**715** benedixerunt] benedixit *A*, benedixerint *G*

**716** pupillum] pillum *G*, corr. *G<sup>2</sup>*

**717** porta] portam *A*

**718** enim] *om. A*

uel] nec *r*

**719** pauperibus] *om. r*

**721** hilariter pauperibus] *tr.* pauperibus hilariter *r*

**722** a dextris] ad dextris *G M*, corr. *M<sup>2</sup>*

**723** eius erunt] *tr.* erunt eius *A*

percipite] possidete *r*

**723/724** regnum quod uobis praeparatum est] paratum uobis regnum *r*

**724** ab origine mundi] a constitutione mundi *r*

**725** mihi] *om. r*

et caetera] hospes eram, et collegitis me; nudus, et cooperuistis me; infirmus, et uisitastis me; in carcere eram, et uenistis ad me *r*

**726** scire uolentibus] *om. A*

**727** his minimis meis] fratribus meis minimis *r*

**729** Illum] *add.* enim *G r*

**730** porrexeris] porrigit *G*

**733** aliquid in] *om. in r*

**735** Salomonem] Salemonem *G*

aures suas] aurem suam *r*

**736** Raphahel] Raphael *A r*

**738** quia] magis quam thesauros auri recondere, quoniam eleemosyna *r*  
et peccata purgat] et ipsa est quae purgat peccata *r, add.* et facit inuenire  
misericordiam et uitam aeternam *r*

affirmat] *add.* per *A*

**740** elemosinis] per elemosinas *A, elemosinas M*

animas liberari] *tr.* liberari animas *A*

erit] erat *M*

**741** saluator] creator *G r*

**742** et archangelis] *om. et G*

**743** caeli uidelicet] *tr.* uidelicet caeli *r*

**745/746** percipite regnum quod uobis praeparatum est et caetera] – est ab origine  
mundi – *G*, possidete paratum uobis regnum a constitutione mundi *r*

**746** ut superius dicta sunt] *om. r*

**749** Abraham] Abraam *M*

Isaac] Ysaac *A M*

**753** fuscatis] fucatis *r*

praeclarissima] permanentia *r*

**755** Domino] *add.* Deo *G*

**756** te coheredem] *tr.* coheredem te *r*

Ille etenim] Ille enim *G, Illic etenim M*

**757** tibi centumpliciter] *tr.* centumpliciter tibi *A*

**763** egenti] aegenti *G M, cf. aeger, egentem r*

**764** pauperi] pauperis *r*

**764/765** Facere – uictimae.] *om. r*

**765** placent] placet *A*

Iterum] Item *r*

Salomon] Salemon *G*

Dominum] Deum *r*

**766** ualebis] ualebit *A*

Syrach] Sirac *G*

**767** eius] *om. et add.* et propurga te cum brachiis. Da illis partem, sicut mandatum est tibi, primitiarum et purgationis; et de negligentia tua purga te cum paucis. Datum brachiorum tuorum, et sacrificium sanctificationis offeres Domino, et initia sanctorum *r*

**770** honorificabis] honorificabit *A r*

in quo] *om. in G r*

**771** Nam et] *om. et r*

**772** Domine] *add.* Deus meus *r*

honorificabo] glorificabo *r*

tuum] *add.* in aeternum *r*

**773** pree] pro *r*

**774** pree] pro *r*

**776** Salomonem] Salemonem *G*

**778** et fortitudo] mea est fortitudo *r*

**779/780** mecum – repleo] – sunt diuitia – *M*, – me dito – *G*, ... diligo, et qui de mane uigilant ad me, inuenient me. Mecum – *r*

**781** totis uiribus tuis debes] *om. debes A, add. A<sup>2</sup>, debes totis uiribus r*

**783** illuc uero] illic uero *G<sup>2</sup> r*

**784** immortalitatem] hereditatem *A*

**785** gaudium temporale] *tr.* temporale gaudium *A*

**788** accipiendas] accipendus *G M, corr. G<sup>2</sup>, accipiendam r*

praeparet] praeparat *r*

**789** immortalitatis adhuc] *tr.* adhuc immortalitatis *r*

**793** ducere] deducere *G r*

perennem] perenni *r*

**794** fine] *om. G*

uitam] uita *r*

uirtutem habere] *tr.* habere uirtutem *G r*

**797** apostolus ait] *tr.* ait apostolus *G r*

quas] quia *r*

**798** auris audiuit] aures audiunt *G*

his] iis *r*

**798/799** qui diligunt eum] *om. A*

**802** Deum] *om. G*

**803** uita] uia *A*

**804** Fili] Filii *M*

**805** quoniam] quia *A*

**806** Israhel] Israel *A*

**807** tuarum] *add.* anno decimarum tertio *r*

**808** in portis tuis] intra portas tuas *r*

et benedicant tibi] loquerisque in conspectu Domini Dei tui. Abstuli quod sanctificatum est de domo mea, et dedi illud leuitae et aduenae, et pupillo ac uiduae, sicut jussisti mihi: non praeteriui mandata tua, nec sum oblitus imperii tui. Non comedи ex eis in luctu meo, nec separauи ea in qualibet immunditia, nec expendi ex his quidquam in re funebri *r*

iterum] *add.* dicens *A*

**809** meum] *om. r*

**810** me] *add.* super hoc *G r*

**812** fructum] fructus *r*

**813** erit] est *M*

dicit Dominus exercituum] *tr.* exercituum dicit Dominus *M*

**813/814** et beatos uos dicent omnes gentes.] *om. A,* dicent omnes gentes *M*

**814** Eritis – exercituum] *om. A,* *om. Eritis r*

**817** in horreo] *om. in G*

suo] *om. r*

**818** positus] positum *M*

honoras] honora *r*

**823** uita] *add.* est *A*

**824** Hunc] Hanc *A M, corr. A*

**825** inenarrabilem] enarrabilem *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**826** tuum] tuis *A*

Dominum] Deum *r*

**829** Et] *om. A*

ammonet] ammonens *M*

Thesaurizate] *add.* autem *r*

nec] neque *r*

**831** igitur] etiam *A*, iterum *G*

**834** times] timeas *G r*

hostem et – non times] *om. A*, – timeas *G r*

**836** recepturus] recipiendus *A*, recepturos *G M, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**837** condere] recondere *r*

**839** securi] secura *r*

solliciti] sollicita *r*

**841** uirginum] *om. r*

omnium] *om. A*

cuneus] cuneis *M*

**844** apostolorum gloriosos] *tr.* gloriosos apostolorum *G*

**846** et omnium] *om. A*

**846/847** candidato cuneo] candidatum cuneum *r*

**847** felix] felicem *M*

**849** repone] *add.* bonos *r*

**851** de bono thesauro suo profert bona] de thesauro cordis sui profert bonum *r*

**852** suo] *om. r*

mala] malum *r*

**855** Paulus apostolus] *tr.* apostolus Paulus *A*

eos] illos *r*

**856** faciant] *add.* ea *r*

conueniunt] conueniant *G, corr. conuenient G<sup>2</sup>*

**857** auaritia] *add.* nequitia *r*

homicidia] homicidiis *A, corr. homicidio G<sup>2</sup> r*

**858** suserrones] susurrores *G*

**858/859** elatos – superbos] *tr.* Deo odibiles, contumeliosos, superbos, elatos *G r*

**859** malorum] *add.* parentibus non obedientes, insipientes *r*  
 incompositos] *add.* sine affectione *r*

**860** duritiam suam] duritiem tuam *r*

**860/861** cor impaenitens] *tr.* impaenitens cor *r*

**865** thesaurum et quantum] *tr.* et quantum thesaurum *A*

**867** ait] *om. r*

Nolite] Noli *A*

**868** in carne] *add.* sua *r*

**869** seminauerit] seminat *r*

in spiritu] de spiritu *r*

**871** autem] *om. r*

**872** Salomon] Salemon *G*

**873** pronus rex] *tr.* rex pronus *r*

**874** Seminando] Semina dando *G r*

**875** quod] quae *r*

**877** Salomon] Salemon *G*

**878** multa tempora] *tr.* tempora multa *r*

autem] *om. A*

**879** isto] hoc *r*

**884** DE NON FIDENDVM IN DIVITIIS] QUOD NON SIT FIDENDVM – *A*, DE NON  
 FIDENDO DIVITIIS *r*

**891** Paulus apostolus] *tr.* apostolus Paulus *A*

ad Timotheum] ad Timoteum *A, om. r*

ne] non *A r*

superbe] sublime *r*

**892** Domino] Deo uiuo *r*

nobis] *add.* omnia *r*

**893** operibus bonis] *tr.* bonis operibus *r*

**894** futuro] futurum *r*

**896** patrocinatur] patrocinantur *G M r*

homini] hominem *A*

Salomon] Salemon *G*

**899** iniquitatibus] iniquitate *r*

et] *add.* in *M*

**900** adfluent] *corr.* adfluant *A<sup>2</sup> r*

**903** celare] calcare *r*

**905** psalmista ait] per psalmistam dicitur *A*

**907** Salomon] Salemon *G*

ubi] ut *A*

**908** domos] *add.* et *r*

**909** et pomaria] pomeria *A, om.* et *r*

conserui cunctis generibus arboris] – arbores *G*, conseui ea cuncti generis arboribus  
et *r*

Instruxi] Extruxi *r*

**910** siluam] *add.* lignorum *r*

**912** Hierusalem] Iherusalem *A M*

**912/916** Coaceruaui – Hierusalem] *om. r*

**913** regum] regni *A*

**914** urceolos] ortiolos *M*

**916** Hierusalem] Iherusalem *A M*

his omnibus] *tr.* omnibus his *G*

**920** porrigitur] porrigit *M*

nuditas pauperum] *tr.* pauperum nuditas *G r*

inopia] pia *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**922** esurientium fames]

**926** DE – GLORIANDUM] QVOD NON SIT GLORIANDVM *A, DE* NON GLORIANDO *r*

**927** Ergo] *add.* si *r*

quae] *add.* in caelesti *G r*

**928** caducae] caduco *G<sup>2</sup> r*

**930** Numquam] Nam quia *G r*

**931** diuites] *add.* non *G M r*

humilitate] *add.* ut *G*

- 932** exaltatione] exultatione *G*  
**934** sublimis sis] *tr. sis sublimis G r*  
**936** Deo] Domino *r*  
 gratiam] *add. quoniam magna potentia Dei solius, et ab humilibus honoratur r*  
**938** doctor tuus] *om. tuus A*  
**939** debeas] *debes r*  
**942** humilem et quietum] pauperculum et contritum spiritu *r*  
**943** Deus] *om. G*  
**945** hanc] *add. enim G r*  
**947** clamabat] clamat *A*  
**949** et caetera] sed exaltaui animam meam *r*  
 humilitas] humilitatis *M*  
**953** regia uirtus] *tr. uirtus regia r*  
**955** te constitui] *om. r*  
 tribus] tribubus *G r*  
 Israhel] Israel *A r, add. factus es, unxitque te Dominus in regem super Israel r*  
**956** Cum] *add. tu r*  
 aestimasti] existimasti *A r*  
 paruus] paruulus *A*  
**957** Micol] Michol *G r*  
 filia] filiam *G*  
 reprehendit] *add. et G*  
**961** exaltat] exaltauerit *r*  
 humiliat] humiliauerit *r*  
**962** elatus] eleuatus *r*  
**963** despectus] deiectus *G, dispectus M*  
**966** altissimi] Domini *A*  
**969** magis exaltat] *tr. exaltat magis A, magis exaltet M*  
**972** ammonens] ammonet *A r*  
**973** dicit] dicens *A M r*  
 nemo uidebit] non uidebitis *r*

**975** diuina mandata] *tr.* mandata diuina *A*

**978** pacem meam commendo uobis] *om. r*

Dominus] *om. A*

**980** Ait enim] *om. r*

Declina] Diuerte *r*

**981** sequere] persequere *r*

**985** sibimet unanimiter] et unanimiter sibimet *A*

**989** etenim] *om. A*, enim *G*

perge] tene *A*

nec] ne *r*

**990** enim] *om. A*

**991** Dominum] Deum *r*

**994** Phinees] Finees *A*, Fineaes *G*

**996** Moysen] Moysem *A*

Phinees] Finees *A*, Fineaes *G*

**997** Israhel] Israel *A r*

**998** Israhel] Israel *A r*

**999** ipse] ipsi *r*

semen illius] semini eius *r*

sempiterni sacerdotii] sacerdotii sempiternum *r*

**1000** zelatus] zelatur *A*

et expiauit scelus filiorum Israhel] – Israel *A, om. r*

**1001** zelus] add. domus *G r*

**1002** es] *om. A*

**1003** aliquid] *om. r*

**1004** audieris] uideris *G r*

**1005** Sic] Si *G r*

**1007** uinolentia] uiolentia *r*

incestum] incensum *r*

**1008** auaritiae rapinae] auaritiae et rapinae *A*, auaratiae rapina *M*

aut crudelitate uiolentum] *om. A*

**1009** minare] mina *M*

omnibus] *add.* et *r*

**1009/1010** propter personam] pro persona *r*

**1011** christiano] christiani *r*

**1012** perficis in te] dic *A*

**1017** te] *om. A*

debes] *add.* rex *G*

rectitudinis zelum] *tr.* zelum rectitudinis *A*

**1020/1021** aeternam et immortalem] *tr.* immortalem et aeternam *r*

**1022** auro nitescas] *tr.* nitescas auro *A*

nitescas] nitesces *G*

**1026** uirtus est] *tr.* est uirtus *G*

custos est] *om.* est *A*, *tr.* est custos *G*

**1028** roborabitur] roboratur *r*

**1029** facit] faciat *A*

**1030** regis] reges *G*

facit] faciat *A*

uultum] uultu *G M*

Salomon] Salemon *G*

**1031** quasi] sicut *r*

**1034** ipsa] *add.* est *G r*

**1035** ipsa] *add.* est *r*

nonnullis] nonnulla *A*

plerisque] pluresque *A*

**1040** Et ut] *om.* Et *A*

Salomonem] Salemonem *G*

**1041** Sirach] Sirac *G*

**1042** Nam] *om. r*

**1043** Salomon] Salemon *G*

fili] *om. r*

**1043/1044** consilia mea] consilium et *G r*, corr. consilium *M<sup>2</sup>*

**1046** confirmantur] confirmatur *A*

**1047** Vnguento] Vngendo *A*

**1048** consilii] *om. r*

**1049** consilium, et] *add.* regibus ualde praenecessarium *G*, *add.* regibus ualde necessarium *r*

**1050** ipsum] id ipsum *r*

**1051** et] est *r*

utrumque] uitrum *A*, uitrumque *M*

**1052** placitum] *add.* permanet *r*

abundantiae] abundabit *G*

**1053** regia] regiam *M*

**1056** regia – itinera] regio – itinere *G*

**1056/1057** Virtute consilii roboratus] Virtute consilium roborantes *G*

**1057** Noe] Noae *G*

arcam fabricauit] *tr.* fabricauit arcam *G r*

**1058** Abraham] Habraham *A*

**1059** est egressus] *tr.* egressus est *A*

**1060** Isaac] Ysaac *A*

**1063** tribubus] tribus *M*

suorum] *om. r*

**1064** mitissimus] nouissimus *r*

**1065** sacerdotis] *om. r*

**1066** sacerdotis officium] *tr.* officium sacerdotis *A*

**1067** Phinees] Finees *A*, Fineaes *G*, Phenees *M*

scorta] scorto *A r*

**1068** Madianitis] Madianitico *r*

saeuiendam] saeuentem *r*

iram] *add.* iam *G r*

**1070** Hoc uirtutis consilium Iesu naue] Hanc uirtutem consilii Iosue *r*

naue] nauis *G*

Moysel] Moysi *M*

nutritore] nutritorio *G*, nutritori *M*

**1071** triginta] xxx *A M*

occidit] occisit *M*

Hericuntinos] Iericontinos *A*, Iericontinos *G*

**1072** Domini] Dei *A G r*

intromisit] introduxit *r*

**1074** iudicans] uindicans *M*

**1076** Salomon] Salemon *G*

**1077** Hierusalem] Iherusalem *A M*

**1078** Helias] Helyas *A*, Elias *r*

caelesti] caeli *r*

**1079** congruo Domino] *corr.* congrue Domino *G*

**1080/1082** Per – tradiderunt. Per – perseuerauerunt.] *tr.* Per – perseuerauerunt.

Per – tradiderunt. *A*

**1081** aeternum praemium] *tr.* praemium aeternum *A*, aeternam *G r*

acciperent] *add.* uitam *r*

temporalem uitam] temporali se *r*

**1084** scriptum est] *add.* ante omnia scriptum est *M*

**1084/1086** Ante – stabile et in his – tuam.] *tr.* Et in his – tuam. Ante – stabile. *r*

**1086/1087** magnus Dominus] *tr.* Dominus magnus *r*

**1087** quasi] quas *M*

imbris] imber *A*

**1088** in oratione os tuum] *tr.* os tuum in oratione *G*

et diriget consilium tuum] *om. r*

**1092** ordinatim] ordinatum *A*

**1092/1093** est uirtutis] *tr.* uirtutis est *G r*, uirtus *M*

**1095** actibus] *add.* tuis *G r*

**1097** caute et sollicite caue] caue et sollicite caue *A*

**1099** perducat] perducit *A r*

**1102** Deo] *add.* est *r*

et] *om. r*

**1102/1103** Odibilis – superbia, et initium – superbia.] *tr.* Initium – superbia, odibilis – et hominibus. *A*

**1103** maledictis] maledictionibus *A*  
eum] eos *M*

**1104/1105** Propterea – finem.] Propter eam – *G, om. r*

**1105** ducum – sedere] *om. A*

**1106** illis] eis *r, add.* Terras gentium euertit Dominus, et perdidit eas usque ad fundamentum *r*

eos] ex ipsis *r*

disperdidit] disperdit *M, add. eos r*

**1107** de terra] a terra *r*

**1109** Ezechiel] Ezechielem *r*

**1110** Exsiccaui] Et siccaui *r*

**1112** exaltat] exaltauerit *r*

humiliat] humiliauerit *r*

**1113** Hieremiam] Iheremian *A*

superbo] *om. A*

**1114** te] *add. superbe A r*

**1119** post] postea *G*

**1120** post] postea *r*

**1122** substratus] substratos *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**1125** regia] regiam *M*

**1126** quid] quod *r*

clamet] clamat *M*

**1127** extolli] *add. sed A*

**1128** conside] confide *M*

omni] omnia *G M r*

**1129** laetaberis] laeteris *G r, laetaris M*

**1129/1130** coronam accipies] accipias coronam *r*

**1133** statim] status *G*

percensus] percussus *A r*

**1135** liuorem] liuore *A*

**1137** ex] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*

**1138** enim] *exp. A<sup>2</sup>, om. r*

Cain] Chain *A*

**1139** liuorem] liuore *M*

**1139/1141** Per zeli liuorem Esau – Iacob. Per zeli liuorem a fratribus – Ioseph.] *tr.*

Per zeli liuorem a fratribus – Ioseph. Per zeli liuorem Esau – Iacob. *A*

**1142** eam] eum *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

recensem] recensendo *A M r*

**1143** populus] populos *G M*

interiuit] interiit *A*

**1147** spernitur] expernitur *G, exponitur r*

**1148** inflatur] inflammatur *A*

**1149** exacerbatur] exaceruatur *G*

**1150** poterit] potest *G*

**1151** potestati subditus] *tr. subditus potestati r*

**1152** fraterna caritas uiolatur] *om. M, add. M<sup>2</sup>*

**1156** bono] bona *r*

**1157** toruus] turbidus *A*

**1158** uero] ergo *G r*

**1159** mitissime] *add. atque nobilissime G r*

**1160** et tam] tamque *A*

ut] *om. r*

**1161** opus] *om. r*

**1162** zelifera] lethifera *r*

**1166** liuorem] liuore *M*

ponere] *om. A, plena munere G r*

**1167** praeparetur] praeparentur *A*

**1172** DE NON – MALO] QUOD NON SIT REDDENDUM MALUM PRO MALE *A*

**1173** proximum] *add. tuum G*

ut si etiam] etiam ut si *A*

**1174/1175** in prouerbiis] *om. r*

**1176** tu] *add. rex A*

**1179** seruabitur] seruabit *A<sup>2</sup> r, add. relinque proximo tuo nocenti te et tunc deprecanti tibi peccata soluentur r*

**1180/1181** a Domino dimittantur] a Domino deleantr *A, tr. dimittantur a Domino G r*

**1181** quod] *add. et r*

**1185** quisquam] quispiam *A*

**1186** in] *om. r*

**1187** superbia] superbiae *G*

elatus] latus *G*

**1189** cogitat] cogitet *G*

alio] altero *G r*

pensat] penset *G*

**1190** procacibus] procaducibus *M*

ostentet] ostentat *A M, ostendat A<sup>2</sup> r*

**1191** demonstret] demonstrat *A M r, corr. A<sup>2</sup>*

reuocet] reuocat *A M r, corr. A<sup>2</sup>*

**1192** ministret] ministrat *A M r, corr. A<sup>2</sup>*

demonstret] demonstrat *A M r, corr. A<sup>2</sup>, add. discordes ad pacem reuocat, necessaria indigentibus ministrat r*

**1193** subleuet] subleuat *A M R, corr. subleuet A<sup>2</sup>*

ualeat] ualet *A M r*

**1194** sumministret] sumministrat *A M r, corr. A<sup>2</sup>*

**1197/98** per iram] *om. A*

**1199** uestram] *add. et A*

**1201** semetipso] se *A*

**1200/1201** Diabolo in corde sue] *tr. in corde suo Diabolo G r*

**1203** etenim] *om. A, add. enim A<sup>2</sup>*

potest] possunt *r*

hominis pectusculo] *tr. pectusculo hominis A*

**1208** homini] *om. r*

**1209** ammonens] ammonentis *r*

**1210** malitiam] *add.* et *A*

enim dicit] *om. A*, quoque dicit *G r*

Ira enim] *om. enim A*

**1211** Salomon] Salemon *G*

uero] *om. r*

**1212** ad senectutem perducunt] adducet senectam cogitatus *r*

**1216** effectum] defectum *M*

**1217** hominis ira] *om. ira r*

**1218** nuntius] nuntia *G*

**1219** reddendam] reddendum *A r*

**1225** iracundiam] amaritudinem *A*

**1230** palpitanus] palpitanis *A*

**1231** Haec] Hoc *M*

refrena] refranata *G r*

iram] ira *G M r*

**1234** gubernes] gubernas *G*

**1238** malum] *om. M, add. M<sup>2</sup>*, bono *r*

**1239** praeparant] praeparent *r*

**1240** perniciosum inferunt] inferent *A M*, pernicie iinferant *r*

**1241** acutissime] *add.* rex *A*

discutito] discutio *G, corr. G<sup>2</sup>*

**1243/1244** ponere non recta] *tr. non recta ponere A*

**1246** uerba] uerbum *r*

**1247** ministros habebit impios] *tr. impios habebit ministros A, – habet – r*

**1251** specie] speciae *M*

**1251/1252** male sanae fallacie] male fallacie sane *A M*

**1253** beatos uos] uos bonos *A*

et] *om. r*

**1255** diuinam scripturam] *tr. scripturam diuinam A*

- 1256** argentum in conflatorio] – conflatorium *M*, corr. *M<sup>2</sup>*, tr. in conflatorio argentum  
*r*
- 1257** laudatoris] laudantis *G*, laudationis *M*
- 1259** scripturae] *om. A*, add. *A<sup>2</sup>*
- 1260** qui recta loquitur] *om. M*
- 1263** suasorios deceptoriosque] suasoriosque *G*
- 1265** promittunt] Quod mittunt *A*
- 1267** DE CAVENDA AVARITIA] DE NON HABENDA AVARITIA *A*
- 1269** rectum] *om. A*, add. *A<sup>2</sup>*
- 1270** inculcans] inculpans *r*
- 1271** Salomon] Salemon *G*
- 1272** destruit] destruet *A*
- Qui auarus est] Vir auarus *r*
- 1274** in abundantia] *om. in G*, add. *G<sup>2</sup>*
- cuiusquam] cibis quam *M*
- uita] uitae *G M*, corr. *G<sup>2</sup>*
- 1274/1275** eius est] est eorum *A*, add. ex his *r*
- 1276** amat] amant *A*
- fructus] fructum *r*
- capiet] capient *A*
- Abacuc] corr. Abbacuc *G<sup>2</sup>*, Habacuc *r*
- 1277** domui] domi *r*
- 1279/1280** fornicatio – uos] *om. r*
- 1280** inter uos] in uobis *G*
- 1281** largissime] clarissime *A*
- 1286** Ignis est] *om. est r*
- incessabiliter] incessanter *A*, incensabiliter *G*
- 1293** mendicat] add. et *A*
- 1297** multa] *om. A*
- erugata] erecta *A*, corr. corrugata *G<sup>2</sup>*, rugata *r*
- 1298** inueniuntur] inueniunt *M*

**1301** DE] *om. A*

**1302** ergo] *uero r*

*o] om. r*

**1303** excutias] *executiens G r*

mundas] *om. A, munda G r*

**1304** munere] *add. qui obturat aures suas ne audiat sanguinem, et claudit oculos suos ne uideat malum r*

habitat] *habitabit r*

excelso] *excelsis M*

sedere feliciter] *tr. feliciter sedere A*

**1306** impensis] *impendiis r*

**1307** lapides] *add. suos r*

in hieme] *om. in A*

Hieremias] *Iheremias A, Ieremias r*

**1308** sua] *add. non r*

opprimit] *opprimet r*

**1311** pingitque] *pingetque A*

Esaias] *Esayas A, Isaias r*

**1313** habitabitis] *habitatis G*

terrae] *terrarum r*

**1314** ut] *om. A G*

et Salomon] *om. G, add. Salemon G<sup>2</sup>*

prohibet dicens] *in prouerbiis dicit A*

**1314/1315** terminos paruulorum] *tr. paruulorum terminos r*

**1315** non introeas] *ne introeas G r*

**1318** potentium] *potentum G r*

honorauit] *onerauit G*

possis fabricare] *tr. fabricare possis r*

**1321** FACIENDA IVSTITIA] *tr. IVSTITIA FACIENDA r*

**1321/1322** REQVIRANTVR PRAEMIA] *tr. PRAEMIA REQVIRANTVR A*

**1324** temporalia] *tempora A*

- 1326** praespicient] perspicient *r*
- 1327** dona] munera *r*
- 1328** affectat] affectant *A M*
- 1329** accipiet] accipiat *M*
- 1230** Moysen] Moysem *A*
- 1331** exercit] exercet *A r*, exerit *G*
- 1332** stateram] statera *M*
- 1333** promet] promisit *A*, promit *G r*
- 1334** sententiam] *add.* et *r*
- 1336** indulgeat] indulgeat *M*
- 1339** atque rectissime] *om. A*
- 1340** Israhel] Israel *A*
- 1343** ut multo – tibi.] *om. A*
- uiuas tempore] *tr.* tempore uiuas *r*
- 1344** Abominabitur] Abominatur *r*
- Dominus] *add.* Deus tuus *r*
- facit haec] contra haec facit *A*
- Salomon] Salemon *G*
- 1345** Deum] Dominum *r*
- 1346** Deum] Dominum *r*
- 1347** Pondus – sunt] *om. r*
- 1348/1349** iudicia – lucro] *om. A*
- 1349** opus] *add.* est *A*
- iustum] iuste *A*
- 1350** fraudulenter] fraudulentum *A*
- 1353** doloso] dolose *r*
- 1355** Dominum] Deum *r*
- 1356/1357** quia oboediendo] qui inoboediendo *r*
- 1360** o] *om. r*
- 1361** cum caeteris clamas] *tr.* clamas cum caeteris *r*
- 1363** odiens] audiens *r*

**1364** Moysi praecipiens] *tr.* praecipiens Moysi *G*

**1365** Israhel] Israel *A*

uendito] *add.* eo *G r*

acciens] acceperit *r*

**1366** interficiatur] interficietur *r*

**1368** eam] eum *A*

transtulerit] transtulerint *r*

**1369** concluderet] concluderent *r*

Idumea] Ydumea *A*, Idumaea *r*

**1370** concluserit] clausurit *A*, concluserint *r*

**1371** Idumea] Ydumea *A*

sunt recordati] *tr.* recordati sunt *r*

**1372** Israhel] Israel *A r*

**1373** uendiderit] *add.* pro *r*

argento iustum] argentum iustum *G*, argento iusto *M*

**1375/1450** XXXI. – Deus] *om. capitula xxxi. – xxxiu. r*

**1376** Esaias] Ysayas *A*, Isaias *G*

**1377** magis] magnum *A*

**1378** impietatis] impietates *M*

**1379** disrumpe] *add.* Et *A*

**1381** dilectus] *add.* sit tibi *A*

libertate] libertatem *M*

**1383** eum] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*

Hieremiam] Iheremiam *A*

**1384** Israhel] Israel *A*

hoc] hunc *M*

**1385** fratribus] patribus *G*

eos] *om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup>*

**1387** est ei] *tr.* ei est *G*

**1387/1388** et seruiet – liberum] *om. A*

**1388** eum] *om. G*

- et non] Ante *A*  
 patres uestri me] *tr.* me patres uestri *A*  
**1389** estis uos] *tr.* uos estis *G*  
**1392** super eam] *om. A*, super ea *M*  
**1401/1402** eos natura] *tr.* natura eos *A*  
**1401** illi] ulli *G*  
**1402** Condicione] Condictione *A*  
**1403** demittetur] dimittetur *A G*  
**1408** cesses] cessas *G*  
**1410** regale] regalem *M*  
**1412** Esto simplicitate] *om.* Esto *A*  
 Esto patientia] *om.* Esto *A*  
**1414** perquiendo] quirendo *A*  
**1416** memento] *add.* te *M*  
**1424** brachia] brachium *A*  
**1428** extenderit] extendero *A*  
 Egypti] Aegipti *G*  
**1430** NAM] *om. A G*  
**1432** Ezechiele] Ezekihelem *M*  
 Egypti] Aegipti *G*, Aegypti *M*  
**1434** Pharaonem] Faraonem *M*  
**1435** Egypti] Aegipti *G*, Aegypti *M*  
**1436** Egyptum] Aegiptum *G*  
**1437** est] es *A G*  
**1440** NAM ET] *om. A G*  
**1441** cognoscat] cognoscit *G*  
**1442** Ezechiele] Ezekihelem *M*  
**1443** uniuersis] *add.* auibus cunctisque *G*, uniuersi *M*  
**1444** immolo] immolabo *G*  
**1445** Israhel] Israel *A*  
**1450** Deus] *om. G*

**1452** XXXV.] XXXI. *r*

REQVIRENDVM] REQVIREND0 A G *r*

**1455** Domini] Dei *A*

**1456** saluabitur] exaltabitur *r*

**1457** nec] *add.* in *A*

**1458** a regibus] *om.* a *M*, *add.* *M<sup>2</sup>*

**1460/1461** uoci orationis meae] orationi meae A G *r*

**1463/1464** se exaltatum recte] *tr.* recte se exaltatum *r*

**1466** uirtutibus] *add.* est G *r*

**1473** deprecor] *add.* a timore inimici eripe animam meam. Protexisti me a conuentu malignantium, a multitudine operantium iniquitatem *r*

**1476** Salomone] Salemone *G*

rege] *om.* *r*

per pauca] pauca *A*

**1478** penetrabit] penetrauit *A*

**1479** Omnia] *om.* *A G*

quidquid] quaecumque *r*

**1481** Paulus] Psalmus *G*

**1482** instantes] instare (?) *A*

**1485** sua] *add.* uocare *G*

**1490** Amen] *om.* *M*

**1492** LIBER QUI VOCATUR] LIBER SAMARGDI ABBATIS QUI DICITUR *r*

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